

BYZANTIUM IN THE ICONOCLAST  
ERA (*ca* 680–850): THE SOURCES

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John Haldon



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BYZANTIUM IN THE  
ICONOCLAST ERA  
(*ca* 680–850): THE SOURCES

An annotated survey

Leslie Brubaker  
John Haldon

With a section on  
The Architecture of Iconoclasm: the Buildings  
by Robert Ousterhout

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# Abbreviations and Frequently Cited Works

Since the present volume represents a bibliography in itself, full references to all sources and relevant secondary literature are given in the text and notes. This bibliography presents abbreviations and the most commonly cited works only.

- AB* *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels 1882ff.)
- ACO* *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*
- ADAJ* *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
- Alexander,  
*Nicephorus* P. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1958)
- Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos* G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos: der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, 2 vols (Leipzig–Berlin 1913, 1917)
- AS* *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp 1643ff.)
- Auzépy, 'L'analyse littéraire' M.-F. Auzépy, 'L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: l'exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes', *BS* 53 (1992) 57–67
- B* *Byzantion* (Brussels 1924ff.)
- Baumstark,  
*Geschichte* A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn 1922/Berlin 1968)
- BBA* *Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten* (Berlin 1955ff.)
- BBS* *Berliner byzantinistische Studien* (Berlin 1994ff.)
- BCH* *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* (Paris 1877ff.)
- Beck, *Kirche* H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft xii, 2.1 = Byzantinisches Handbuch 2.1. Munich 1959)



- Beck, *Volksliteratur* H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Handbuch d. Altertumswiss. xii, 2.3 = Byzantinisches Handbuch 2, 3. Munich 1971)
- BBOM *Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs*
- BF *Byzantinische Forschungen* (Amsterdam 1966ff.)
- BGA M.-J. De Goeje, ed. 1870ff./ 1938ff. (R. Blachère, ed.). *Bibliotheca Geographorum Araborum*. Leiden
- BHG F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Subsidia hagiographica 8a. 3rd edn Brussels 1957)
- BHG, Auct. F. Halkin, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae* (Subsidia hagiographica 65. Brussels 1959)
- BMGS *Byzantine & Modern Greek Studies* (Oxford 1975–83 Birmingham 1984ff.)
- Brandes and Winkelmann W. Brandes and F. Winkelmann, eds, *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4.–9. Jahrhundert). Bestand und probleme* (BBA 55. Berlin 1990)
- Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century* L. Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century: Dead or alive? Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 5. Aldershot 1998)
- Brubaker, *Vision and meaning* L. Brubaker, *Vision and meaning in ninth-century Byzantium. Image as exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 6. Cambridge 1999)
- Bryer and Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm* A.A.M. Bryer and J. Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm: Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (University of Birmingham, March 1975. Birmingham 1977)
- BS *Byzantinoslavica* (Prague 1929ff.)
- Byzance *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* (Paris 1992)
- BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Leipzig–Munich–Cologne 1892ff.)
- Cedrenus I. Bekker, ed., *Cedrenus, Compendium historiarum*, 2 vols (CSHB, Bonn 1838–39)

- CJC* *Corpus Juris Civilis*, I: *Institutiones*, ed. P. Krüger; *Digesta*, ed. Th. Mommsen; II: *Codex Iustinianus*, ed. P. Krüger; III: *Novellae*, ed. R. Schöll and W. Kroll (Berlin, 1892–95, repr. 1945–63)
- Const. Porph., *Three treatises* *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Three Treatises on imperial military expeditions*, ed., trans., and comm. J.F. Haldon (CFHB 28. Vienna 1990)
- Cormack and Hawkins, 'Mosaics' R. Cormack and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'The mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul: the rooms above the southwest vestibule and ramp', *DOP* 31 (1977) 177–251
- Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Constantinople', i, ii G. Da Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles', i, *B* 24 (1954) 179–263, 453–511; ii, *B* 25–7 (1957), 783–852
- CPG* M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I–IV (Turnhout 1983, 1974, 1979, 1980); M. Geerard and F. Glorie, V (Turnhout 1987)
- CPG*, Suppl. M. Geerard and J. Noret, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum, Supplementum* (Turnhout 1998)
- CFHB *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* (Series Washingtoniensis, Washington DC 1967ff.); (Series Berolinensis, Berlin, New York 1967ff.); (Series Vindobonensis, Vienna 1975); (Series Italica, Rome 1975ff.); (Series Bruxellensis, Brussels 1975ff.)
- CSCO *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Paris 1903ff.)
- CSHB *Corpus Scriptorum Hystoriae Byzantinae* (Bonn 1828–97)
- Cunningham and Allen, eds, *Preacher and audience* M.B. Cunningham and P. Allen, eds, *Preacher and Audience: Studies in early Christian and Byzantine homiletics* (Leiden 1998)
- DMA* *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols (New York 1982–89)
- DOC* Ph. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, II: *Phocas to Theodosius III, 602–717*, 2 vols (Washington DC 1968); III: *Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717–1081*, 2 vols (Washington DC 1973)

- Von Dobschütz, 'Methodios und die Studiten' E. von Dobschütz, 'Methodius und die Studiten', *BZ* 18 (1909), 41–105
- Dölger, *Regesten* F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565 – 1453*, 5 parts (Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit, Reihe A, Abt. 1, Munich–Berlin 1924–32/Hildesheim 1976)
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Washington DC 1941ff.)
- DOS Dumbarton Oaks Studies
- DOT Dumbarton Oaks Texts
- Doukakis, *Megas Synaxaristês* K. Doukakis, *Μέγας Συναξαριστῆς πάντων τῶν ἁγίων*, 12 vols (Athens 1889–96)
- EEBS* Ἐπετηρὶς ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (Athens 1924ff.)
- EPhSA* Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν (Athens 1902–22; 1935ff.)
- EHR* *English Historical Review* (London 1885ff.)
- Ehrhard A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols (Leipzig 1936–39)
- EI* *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn (Leiden–London 1960ff.)
- EO* *Échos d'Orient*, 1–39 (Paris [Constantinople–Bucarest] 1897–1941/2)
- FHG* *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. and Th. Müller, 5 vols (Paris 1874–85)
- Gero, *Leo III* S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V with particular attention to the oriental sources* (CSCO subsidia, 41. Louvain 1973)
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- GRBS* *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* (1: *Greek and Byzantine Studies*), (San Antonio, TX–Cambridge, MA–Durham, NC 1958ff.)
- Grumel, *Regestes* V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, i: *Les actes des Patriarches* ii: *Les regestes de 381 à 715* (Chalcedon 1932/2nd rev. edn ed. J. Darrouzès, Paris 1972); ii and iii: *Les Regestes de 715 à 1206* (Chalcedon 1936, 1947 [Bucharest]/2nd rev. edn ed. J. Darrouzès, Paris 1989)
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- Hennepf Hof H. Hennepf Hof, *Textus byzantinos ad iconomachiam pertinentes in usum academicum. Byzantina Neerlandica*, ser. A, Textus, fasc. 1 (Leiden 1969)
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- JE Ph. Jaffé, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, ab condiate ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, I, 2nd rev. edn by W. Wattenbach, S. Löwenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald (Leipzig 1885/ Graz 1956)
- JGR* *Jus Graecoromanum*, ed. I. and P. Zepos, 8 vols (Athens 1931/Aalen 1962)
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London 1880ff.)

- JÖB* *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 18ff. (Vienna 1969ff.)
- JÖBG* *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 1–17 (Vienna 1951–68)
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies* (London 1911ff.)
- Karayannopoulos and Weiss J. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324–1453)* (Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa 14/1–2. Wiesbaden 1982)
- Kazhdan, *Literature* A. Kazhdan, with L.F. Sherry and Chr. Angelidi, *A history of Byzantine literature (650–850)* (Institute for Byzantine Research, Research Series 2. Athens 1999)
- Kotter, *Schriften* B. Kotter, ed., *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 5 vols (Berlin–New York 1969–88)
- LA* *Liber Annuus. Studi biblica francescani*
- Leo gramm. *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn 1842) 1–331
- Lilie, *Patriarchen* R.-J. Lilie, ed., *Die Patriarchen der ikonoklastischen Zeit. Germanos I. – Methodios I. (715–847)* (BBS 5. Berlin–Frankfurt a. Main 1999)
- LP* *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, II sér. 3. Paris 1884–92)
- Ludwig, *Sonderformen* C. Ludwig, *Sonderformen byzantinischer Hagiographie und ihr literarisches Vorbild* (BBS 3. Berlin 1997)
- Mai, *NPB* *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, ed. A. Mai, vols i–vii (Rome 1852–54); ed. I. Cozza-Luzi, vols viii–x (Rome 1871–1905)
- Malamut, *Sur la route des saints* E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris 1993)
- Mango, *Brazen House* C. Mango, *The Brazen House: a Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Arkeologisk-Kunsthistoriske Meddelelsev udgivet af der Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Bind 4, nr. 4. Copenhagen 1959)
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- Mansi *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, ed. J.D. Mansi (Florence 1759ff.)
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hannover–Berlin 1826ff.)
- MGH (AA) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (auctores antiquissimi)* 15 vols (Berlin 1877–1919/1961)
- MGH, Leges *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Legum)*, 5 vols (Hannover 1835–89)
- MGH (SGUS) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum)* (Hannover 1871–1965); n.s. 13 vols (Berlin–Weimar 1920–67)
- MGH (Script. Rerum Langobardicorum) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptores rerum Langobardicorum et italicarum saec. VI–IX)* (Hannover 1878)
- MGH (Script. Rerum Merovingicarum) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptores rerum merovingicarum)*, 7 vols (Hannover 1885–1920)
- MGH(SS) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (scriptorum)*, 32 vols (Hannover 1826–1934)
- MGH, Epp. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Epistolarum)*, 8 vols (Berlin 1887–1939)
- Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica I: Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker; II: Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen* (BBA 10, 11. Berlin 1983)
- OCP *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome 1935ff.)
- ODB A.P. Kazhdan et al., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford–New York 1991)
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας I–V* (St Petersburg 1891–98)
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sylogé* A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Συλλογὴ Παλαιστίνης καὶ Συριακῆς Ἀγιολογίας, I* (St Petersburg 1907)

- Parastaseis* Παράστασεις σύντομοι χρονικάί, in: *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, 2 vols (Leipzig 1901, 1907 / New York 1975 / Leipzig 1989) I, 19–73; English trans. and comm. in: Av. Cameron and J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Eighth Century* (Leiden 1984)
- Patlagean, ‘Sainteté’ E. Patlagean, ‘Sainteté et pouvoir’, in S. Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine Saint* (Studies Supplementary to *Sobornost* 5. London 1981) 88–105
- PBE *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire, I: 641–867*, ed. J.R. Martindale. CD-ROM (Aldershot 2001)
- PG *Patrologiae Cursus completus*, series Graeco-Latina; ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris 1857–66, 1880–1903)
- Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum* J.B. Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta*, 2 vols (Rome 1864–68)
- Pitra, *Spicilegium* J.B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense complectens Sanctorum Patrum Scriptorumque Ecclesiasticorum Anecdota hactenus Opera etc.* 4 vols (Paris 1852–58)
- PmbZ 1, 2* R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch, I. Rochow *et al.*, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867)*, 1: Aaron (# 1) – Georgios (# 2182) (Berlin–New York 1999); 2: Georgios (# 2183) – Leon (# 4270) (Berlin–New York 2000)
- PmbZ, Prolegomena* R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch and I. Rochow, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867). Prolegomena* (Berlin–New York 1998)
- Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites* T. Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites (759–826) – zwischen Dogma und Pragma* (BBS 4. Berlin 1998)
- Rhalles and Potles, *Syntagma* K. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols (Athens 1852–59)
- RE *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, neue Bearbeitung, ed. G. Wissowa (vol. I/1, Stuttgart, 1893ff.); vol. I/1 (1893) – XXIII/2 (1959; with index of additions); XXIV (1963); I/A1 (1914) – X A (1972); Suppl. I (1903) – XIV (1974)
- REA *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, n.s. (Paris 1964ff.)

- REB* *Revue des Études Byzantines* (vols 1–3: *Études Byzantines*) ([Bucarest] Paris 1944f.)
- REG* *Revue des Études Grecques* (Paris 1888ff.)
- RESEE* *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* (Bucarest 1913ff.)
- RH* *Revue Historique* (Paris 1876ff.)
- ROC* *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, ser. 1, vols 1–10 (Paris 1896–1905); ser. 2, vols 1–10 (Paris 1906–15/17); ser. 3, vols 1–10 (Paris 1918/19–35/6) = vols 1–30.
- RSBN* *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. (Rome 1964ff.)
- Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine* R. Schick, *The Christian communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic rule. A historical and archaeological study* (Studies in late Antiquity and early Islam, 2. Princeton 1995)
- Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken* P. Schreiner, ed., *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. Chronica byzantina breviora*, 3 vols (Vienna 1975–78)
- Ševčenko, 'Hagiography' I. Ševčenko, 'Hagiography of the iconoclast period', in Bryer and Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm*, 113–31
- SLAEI *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, ed. Av. Cameron, L. Conrad and G. King (Princeton 1992ff.)
- Speck, *Ich bin's nicht* P. Speck, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen. Die Legenden vom Einfluss des Teufels, des Juden und des Moslem auf den Ikonoklasmus* (Poikila Byzantina 10. Bonn 1990)
- Speck, *Konstantin VI* P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich 1978)
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- (Pseudo-) Sym. Mag. in: *Theophanes continuatus, Ioannes Caminiata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn 1838) 603–760
- Synax. CP* H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi adiectis synaxariis selectis* (Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Brussels 1902)



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- TM *Travaux et Mémoires* (Paris 1965ff.)
- Van Dieten, *Geschichte* J.-L. Van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610–715)* (Amsterdam 1972)
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- VV *Vizantiiskii Vremmenik*, vols 1–25 (St Petersburg [Leningrad], 1894–1927); n. s. (Moscow 1947ff.)
- WBS *Wiener Byzantinistische Studien* (Vienna [Graz–Cologne] 1964ff.)
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# Introduction

The present volume grew out of a joint venture of the authors, namely a survey history of the Byzantine state and society in the eighth and ninth centuries. In the opening stages of preparing this project it became apparent that any attempt to reassess the period through such a general survey would necessarily entail a presentation and discussion of the sources. The categories of written and non-written evidence for the history of the Byzantine world during the eighth and ninth centuries are numerous and diverse, however. Because of the problem of ninth-century iconophile rewriting or suppression of older material, any attempt to get to grips with that history must face the problems of methodology and interpretation which accompany both the written and the non-written sources.

This volume is intended as a brief survey of this source material and a guide to the sorts of problems with which the historian will be confronted, and will need to resolve, in exploiting the information it can provide and in attempting the interpretation of such information in a historical context. We have tried to present, however cursorily, all the major categories of data, and where appropriate also a very brief introduction to the secondary literature to be consulted. In so doing, we have highlighted some of the major problems associated with a particular source or type of source, not in order to offer definitive answers, but merely in order to make the reader aware of the issues and to suggest approaches appropriate to their resolution. We should like to stress this point at the outset: although we have presented an analysis of some types of source or individual texts and monuments, the material assembled is intended to assist researchers in locating key sources within each category, to provide them with brief notes on the nature of the source, to offer a brief overview of the category or categories to which it belongs, and a summary of associated methodological issues, supported by relevant recent or important secondary discussions. This volume is emphatically not an analysis of each source – many of which require a volume to themselves – but rather a guide to such analysis, which those engaged upon research in this period of Byzantine history will necessarily have to carry out. The context within which these sources, of all categories, should be understood will be examined in greater detail in a second publication, dealing with the history of Byzantine state and society during the period of iconoclasm.

The presentation of the sources has been arranged by theme or category of material, primarily to facilitate an overview of the types of material and the methodological issues each brings with it. Inevitably, this has certain disadvantages, in particular where individual authors are concerned, since although some wrote only single works, or works which all belong to a single category, many wrote

several works belonging to several different categories. Thus the oeuvre of a particular writer will appear under several separate headings (such as 'Hagiography', 'Homiletic', 'Letters', for example), which may themselves overlap, as in the cases of hagiography and homiletic writing. The disadvantages are obvious, in so far as this will obscure important issues – for example, of particular developmental trends, or of the authorship or interpolation of texts associated with a particular author – issues which are especially intractable for the period from the later sixth and seventh centuries through to the later ninth century, particularly in respect of what we may define very broadly as 'theological' literature. In spite of this, however, we do not believe the alternative would have been an improvement. Guided by our initial purpose, to produce a volume intended primarily as a work of reference, rather than an analysis of genres and literary cultural development, we believe that the structure adopted achieves this end more effectively than does the alternative. We have attempted briefly to highlight some of these other issues in the introductory paragraph to each section.

The period from the late seventh until the later ninth century witnessed the birth and formation of the characteristic features of middle Byzantine state and culture. The transformations which took place during the seventh century, and especially after the first Arab Islamic conquests, were accompanied by shifts in the direction of both secular and ecclesiastical literary culture. One of the most obvious developments was the drastic reduction in all types of secular literary production from the later years of the reign of Heraclius until the last years of the eighth century, from historiography to verse, a change which was to a degree a result of the transformations in urban culture and in the structure and nature of élite society at this time. It was also a reflection of changed priorities and concerns, as subjects of the empire had to confront and make sense of a dramatically altered world. Naturally enough, therefore, literature which grapples with theology and dogma, with issues of belief and the meaning of life, indeed the purpose of the Roman empire itself, comes to the fore. It is important to realize that what is now referred to as the iconoclast controversy was part of this continuum, another facet of an ongoing quest for meaning and reaffirmation, and that while it also reflects changes in power-relations within society, altered perceptions of the imperial position, as well as more concrete transformations in social structure, state administration, and material culture, it is also, and essentially, about understanding the relationship between heaven and earth, how that relationship was conceived, how it was perceived and represented, and what the implications of misconstruing these issues were.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the general context and development, see J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the seventh century: the transformation of a culture* (Cambridge 1997), especially 425–35; and more specifically on types of literature, see Av. Cameron, 'New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature: Seventh-Eighth Centuries', in Av. Cameron and L. Conrad, eds, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I: Problems in the Literary Source Material* (Princeton 1992) 81–105; *eadem*, 'Byzantium in the seventh century: the search for redefinition', in J. Fontaine and J. Hillgarth, eds, *The seventh century* (London 1992) 250–76; M. Whitby,

But the nature of the literary production of the first period of iconoclasm is very different from that which was generated by the period following the seventh ecumenical council in 787 and by the period of the second iconoclasm, from 815 until 842. This reflects several developments. First, the theology of images was in its infancy during the period up to the council of 787: both sides were, so to speak, learning from one another's polemic, both in respect of how to manipulate texts and in terms of the development of their own theology. The issues which emerged from the council of 787 concerned not simply religious-theological matters, however. As the empire found itself in a more stable political, military, and economic situation towards the end of the century (largely due to the efforts of the emperor Constantine V), as a new social élite began to consolidate in both Constantinople and the provinces, and as the reasons for the adoption of iconoclasm by Leo III and its promotion by Constantine V began to be worked over, so Byzantines, especially the literate élite in Church and state, began also to look for meaning in the past and to search for connections between their own times and those of an earlier age, in particular, the 'golden age' of the emperor Justinian I. As well as serving as weapons in the theological struggle, texts now became also weapons in an increasingly intense struggle to establish a firm cultural identity, in which the Roman past and a sense of historical development and purpose became important issues.<sup>2</sup>

It is no accident that the later patriarch Nikephoros appears to have been the first to produce a history which ran from the period of the reign of Heraclius to his own times (in spite of a lacuna for the reign of Constans II), nor that the greatest medieval Greek chronographical history, that of the monk Theophanes, appeared a few years later, based on many of the same sources. Theophanes drew on the work of George, a *sygkellos* at the patriarchal court during the patriarchate of Tarasios, who had collected a body of material from various sources, including Palestine, for his own *Selection from Chronography* (*Eklogê chronographias*). Nor is it an accident that the greatest period of medieval Greek hagiography coincides with this period, for hagiographical texts were not simply encomiastic and miracle-filled accounts of saints or martyrs for the faith (and, especially, to iconoclasm), but represented also a form of history writing through which the past, and orthodoxy, could be reappropriated for the new age. Finally, it is worth noting that the appearance of minuscule writing – more compact than uncial script, written at greater speed and

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'Greek Historical Writing after Procopius: Variety and Vitality', in Cameron and Conrad, eds, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I*, 25–80.

<sup>2</sup> P. Speck, 'Ideologische Ansprüche – historische Realität. Zum Problem des Selbstverständnisses der Byzantiner', in A. Hohlweg, ed., *Byzanz und seine Nachbarn* (Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch 26. Munich 1996) 19–42; *idem*, 'Ikonoklasmus und die Anfänge der makedonischen Renaissance', in *Varia I* (Poikila Byzantina 4. Bonn 1984) 177–210; *idem*, *Ich bin's nicht*; Av. Cameron, 'Disputations, polemical literature and the formation of opinion in early Byzantine literature', in G.J. Reinink and H.J.L. Vanstiphout, eds, *Dispute poems and dialogues in the ancient and medieval Near East* (Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 42. Leuven 1991) 91–108; *eadem*, 'Texts as weapons: polemic in the Byzantine Dark Ages', in A. Bowman and G. Woolf, eds, *Literacy and power in the ancient world* (Cambridge 1994) 198–215.



using more ligatures to connect or combine letters – also occurs at about this time (early evidence from Palestine and Constantinople from *ca* 800), a development which seems greatly to have influenced the rate of reproduction of older manuscripts on either parchment or papyrus, as well as the production of new texts, and possibly also the record-keeping systems of the imperial administration. All these factors are relevant to the production of texts of this period.<sup>3</sup>

This process of reappropriation affected all forms of literary activity. Study of the texts which provide us with most of our information about the iconoclast controversy has begun to illustrate the extent to which anti-iconoclast theologians and others in the later eighth and ninth centuries rationalized the past in constructing their narratives of what happened. This raises many problems about the extent to which texts were interpolated or tampered with, in particular texts which were used in these polemical conflicts to support one position or the other. The issue is complicated by the fact that many of the texts employed no longer survive in their original form, so that comparison with an original is impossible. It also raises issues of motivation and intention: it has been argued, for example, that iconophile writers in the later eighth and especially in the ninth century did not, on the whole, tamper with ‘the facts’, nor did they deliberately manipulate ‘the truth’. Rather, the cultural effort of rethinking and re-appropriating the past coincided with the need to copy out, in order to preserve, many older texts which were beginning to decay; and since the copyists and commentators on these texts were, for the most part, working in a monastic context, and largely in Constantinople or its environs, the ideological context rendered it relatively easy for them to write their own common-sense assumptions about the past, as well as about the values and morality of their own culture, into the texts they copied out. Thus if it was accepted that holy images had always been venerated in the form defined by the Seventh Ecumenical Council (and the sessions of the council went to great lengths to show that this was indeed the case), adding references to images in texts to make them ‘make sense’ in the light of such beliefs became straightforward. There is no need to assume that this happened to all texts, nor that it was necessarily all innocent. But it does mean that each text has to be examined on its own merits, put in a context of genre, authorship, and style, and conclusions drawn accordingly. It means that the history of the many key texts for the period is especially complicated.

As well as the texts themselves, the economic and material context for their production is also important, a factor which impacts directly on how texts were employed. The degree of literacy in the Byzantine world at this period remains a matter for debate, but it was probably fairly limited, at least as far as a good knowledge of the classical language and literature of the ancient and Roman periods was concerned. Functional literacy and numeracy was certainly more common, and indeed the imperial administration depended upon it to work properly.<sup>4</sup> But

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<sup>3</sup> *ODB* 2, 1377–8; and Pt I, Ch. 2, below.

<sup>4</sup> See N.G. Wilson, ‘Books and readers in Byzantium’, in *Byzantine books and bookmen: a Dumbarton Oaks symposium* (Washington DC 1975) 1–16; C. Mango, ‘The availability of books in the Byzantine empire, AD 750–850’, *ibid.*, 29–45. But see the critical

education appears to have been limited to Constantinople, and possibly one or two of the few remaining major urban centres, where private tutors might school those from families who could afford to pay; and to monasteries, where biblical and patristic texts were the staple. In the provinces, literacy was very much more limited, and some rural clergy may not have had much more than a very basic ability. Only private teachers, who cannot have been very numerous at this period, would provide instruction in the traditional syllabus, including rhetoric, philosophy, and arithmetic, along with a knowledge and an understanding of ancient writers. But the Church frowned on the pre-Christian literature of the ancient world, which had a further dampening effect on interest as well as on its availability. Classical literature could be employed allegorically or formalistically, however, so that it retained a niche in the more explicitly and self-consciously Christian context of the fifth and sixth centuries onwards (a tendency which intensified during the seventh century).<sup>5</sup>

The number of those equipped with this sort of cultural capital must nevertheless have been quite small, a fact reflected in the surviving literature from the period in question which is, as noted, predominantly of a theological and religious character.<sup>6</sup> While we would agree that book-ownership in itself is not a conclusive indicator of literacy, the sources suggest that substantial libraries were relatively limited in number. Some monastic contexts, and perhaps also the patriarchate at Constantinople, could furnish a complete range of studies of Biblical and patristic literature as well as some elements of rhetoric (which was fundamental to the writings of many of the theologians and polemicists of the period up to the sixth century); and there existed a strong continuity of tradition in this respect through the seventh and into the eighth century, in the writings of such theologians as Maximos Confessor, for example, or Anastasios of Sinai. But only with the expansion in the traditional classical curriculum in higher education which took place after the middle of the ninth century, partly under imperial auspices, did this picture of restricted access and

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remarks in M. Mullett, 'Writing in early medieval Byzantium', in R. McKitterick, ed., *The uses of literacy in early medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1990), especially 158–63, who challenges the pessimistic view of the level of literacy expressed in the contributions to the DO symposium *Byzantine books and bookmen*: cf. B. Stock, *The implications of literacy: written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Princeton 1983); and N. Oikonomides, 'Byzance: à propos d'alphabétisation', in J. Hamesse, ed., *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales en Europe (FIDEM, Textes et études du Moyen Age 3. Louvain-la-Neuve 1995)* 35–42.

<sup>5</sup> See R. Browning, 'Literacy in the Byzantine world', *BMGS* 4 (1978) 39–54; A. Moffatt, 'Schooling in the iconoclast centuries', in Bryer and Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm*, 85–92; P. Lemerle, *Byzantine humanism. The first phase. Notes and remarks on education and culture in Byzantium from its origins to the 10th century*, trans. H. Lindsay and A. Moffat (Byzantina Australiensia 3. Canberra 1986) 281–308; E. Patlagean, 'Discours écrit, discours parlé: niveaux de culture à Byzance au VIIIe–XIe siècle', *Annales: Économies – Sociétés – Civilisations* 34 (1979) 264–78; and especially Mullett, 'Writing in early medieval Byzantium', 156–85.

<sup>6</sup> See J. Irigoin, 'Centres de copie et bibliothèques', in *Byzantine books and bookmen*, 17–28; Mango, 'The availability of books in the Byzantine empire'.

breadth of education change. The association between the availability of different types of education, the cultural and political context which facilitated them, and the literary output of the period, has only recently become the focus of serious scholarly attention.<sup>7</sup>

By the same token, since parchment was expensive, its conservation and reuse played an important role in the ways through which literary and theological texts were preserved. Further, few private individuals had more than a small number of books, and the patriarch Germanos himself notes (in a letter written probably after his abdication as patriarch in 730, and thus not from the physical setting of the patriarchate) that his arguments against iconoclast ideas suffered because he was unable to consult the necessary patristic texts.<sup>8</sup> The imperial household and palace appear to have had a library, as did the patriarchate, but their extent is unclear.<sup>9</sup> Limited access to key texts meant that selections from authorities were collected to illustrate particular issues or arguments, so that the role of such compendia, known as *florilegia* (see Part II below), becomes especially important during the iconoclast era. The reliability and trustworthiness of quotations of this sort was also a problem, however, and supporting evidence began to be demanded, already to a degree at the council of 680, but notably at the council of 787, to demonstrate the authenticity of texts used by the different sides in discussion. Many of the texts at the heart of the discussion over the nature of the iconoclast debate are problematic in these respects, and as proof of the genuineness of a text, the demand for appropriate patristic authority, and more sophisticated means of verifying texts mark the debates of the period, a further complicating dimension is added to the problems confronting the historian of the theological discussions of the period from the seventh century on.<sup>10</sup>

A number of source handbooks have appeared in the last thirty or so years, some dealing with the whole Byzantine era from the fourth or fifth to the fifteenth century, others with specific periods within this time-frame, some with particular categories or genres, others with the whole range of sources. Of these, the two most comprehensive and useful in respect of both the written and several categories of non-written evidence are the *Quellenkunde* by Karayannopoulos and Weiss,

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<sup>7</sup> See the excellent survey in Mullett, 'Writing in early medieval Byzantium'.

<sup>8</sup> Mansi xiii, 109 C2-7 (Germanos' letter to Thomas of Claudioupolis). See Irigoín, 'Centres de copie et bibliothèques'.

<sup>9</sup> See O. Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien* (Munich 1955); Irigoín, 'Centres de copie et bibliothèques'; N. Wilson, 'The libraries of the Byzantine world', in D. Harlfinger, ed., *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung* (Darmstadt 1980) 276–309.

<sup>10</sup> See K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine iconophile thought of the eighth and ninth centuries* (Leiden 1996) 145–65; L. Brubaker, 'Icons before iconoclasm?', in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, XLV. Spoleto 1998) 1215–54, especially 1220–4; Av. Cameron, 'The language of images: the rise of icons and Christian representation', in D. Wood, ed., *The Church and the arts* (Studies in Church History 28. Oxford 1992) 1–42, at 15–17.

and the *Prolegomena* to the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, which deal respectively with the whole Byzantine period, on the one hand, and the years 641–867, on the other.<sup>11</sup> We have not attempted simply to reproduce the information these different compilations provide in this volume since, given their breadth and detail of coverage, this would be to produce an extremely long and very unwieldy volume. Rather, while also drawing upon the material they make available, we have produced an annotated survey of the sources for the period from *ca* 680 to *ca* 850, covering the last years of the seventh century and the immediate background to the development of imperial iconoclasm at Constantinople under Leo III, up to the restoration of orthodoxy shortly after the death of the emperor Theophilos in 842. There are no English-language equivalents for the handbooks in question, although useful translations of short extracts from many texts relevant to the material culture of the period, as well as to the issues associated with iconoclasm, are included in Mango's collection *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453*. But this is an isolated example. Untranslated extracts from many sources directly connected with iconoclasm are assembled in Hennephof's *Textus Byzantinos ad iconomachiam pertinentes in usum academicum*; while a detailed survey of the theological aspects of the iconoclast debate and the associated texts can be found in Thümmel's *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre*. It seemed to us appropriate, therefore, and in view of the difficulties presented by the sources for this period, to produce something which would not only be of general value to scholars and students of the Byzantine world at this time, but which would more specifically address the needs of an English-language readership, and in particular, undergraduate students, those just commencing a programme of research, and those at a more advanced stage.

As well as providing some guidance and bibliographical assistance for the Greek sources, however, we have also attempted to point to the most important sources in other languages. For in addition to the considerable number of written sources in Greek, there are also a number of non-Greek sources, in particular those in Latin, Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian, in the form of letters, theological and hagiographical collections, histories and chronicles or annalistic records, as well as geographies and works of a more literary character – historical poems, for example – which provide valuable corroborative or additional information about the history of Byzantine society and politics and its relations with its neighbours during the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>12</sup>

Material culture has been treated in a similar manner, though we have been more restrictive here, beginning rather later, with the reign of Leo III, and ending rather

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<sup>11</sup> See also the chronologically broader-ranging prosopographical lexikon ed. by A. Savvides, *Εγκυκλοπαιδικό προσωπογραφικό λεξικό Βυζαντινής ιστορίας και παλιτισμού*, 1–3 (Athens 1996–98), which is ongoing.

<sup>12</sup> On the Latin sources in general, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 187–92, 197ff.; W. Eggert, 'Lateinische Historiographie vom 7. bis zum 9. Jahrhundert', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 224–33; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 203–5 for helpful surveys of the nature of the sources and the problems associated with them.

earlier, with the patriarchate of Methodios. In part this was because there is so much material: had we begun in 680 rather than 717 and ended later in the ninth century, Part I would have doubled in length.<sup>13</sup> But our most compelling justification for the decision to focus heavily on the years of iconoclasm was lead by the sources rather than by the pragmatics of publishing. Artisanal production was effected by iconoclasm to a greater extent – and sometimes more interestingly – than was text production. The years preceding 717 certainly impacted on the works made thereafter, and we have signalled that impact, but in fact the issues that arose during iconoclasm form a coherent context for a fairly self-contained body of material, and we have respected its autonomy.

For the same reason, we have focused far more on the Byzantine heartland, the empire itself, in our dealings with material culture than in our dealings with the written sources, though work produced outside Byzantium is also considered where relevant. We have also emphasised artisanal production rather than archaeology. Although we have provided a general overview of the archaeological data, a rough guide to the material, the current state of knowledge about the eighth- and ninth-century remains ‘on the ground’ is limited, incomplete, and in a state of continual revision. An entire study could (and should) be devoted to the issues raised – but this is not the place to write it.

The particular importance of the relationship between certain aspects of artisanal production and the phenomenon of iconoclasm persuaded us to open our study with a survey of material culture. The more ‘traditional’ arrangement, which places textual before material evidence, implicitly privileges the former, an imbalance that seemed to us singularly inappropriate to a consideration of iconoclasm.

Finally, we would like to stress that, although we have tried to deal with all the many different categories of source materials, and indeed to provide information on each individual item within these categories, in some cases this would not be possible without unnecessarily extending the volume or providing long lists of documents and publications which can be reached just as easily by following up the bibliographical guidance offered. There seemed little value, for example, in attempting to produce a complete bibliography of all Byzantine inscriptions, or seals, since reference to the most recent works, which we have listed, will provide this information more readily. In addition, since further biographical details for most of the authors of the various works dealt with in this volume can readily be found alphabetically arranged by first name under the appropriate entries in the *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire*, and the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, the reader should refer in the first instance to these works for such information: references to the respective entries in these volumes are not included here. In consequence, we make no claim to have been absolutely exhaustive in our coverage; indeed, there is such a vast range of secondary literature on so many of the sources and authors covered that to reproduce this bibliography alone would extend the present

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<sup>13</sup> For a consideration of Byzantine imagery of the second half of the ninth century, see Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, with extensive bibliography.

undertaking by more than half. Wherever possible, therefore, we have given the most recent publications dealing with key themes, texts or persons, and in particular those that contain good surveys of the reference literature, which the reader should use to follow up specific issues. We hope that the editions of texts, relevant literature, and bibliographies and catalogues of materials which we have included will provide the appropriate support for those already engaged in, or presently embarking upon, a study of the history of the Byzantine world in a period which was, without doubt, crucial to the evolution of Byzantine culture.

*Major Works of Reference and Source Handbooks Cited*

- H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft xii, 2.1 = Byzantinisches Handbuch 2.1. Munich 1959)
- H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Handbuch d. Altertumswiss. xii, 2.3 = Byzantinisches Handbuch 2, 3. Munich 1971)
- W. Brandes and F. Winkelmann, eds, *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4.-9. Jahrhundert). Bestand und probleme* (BBA 55. Berlin 1990)
- H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft xii, 5.1 and 2 = Byzantinisches Handbuch 5, 1 and 2. Munich 1978) (= Hunger, *Literatur*, 1/2)
- J. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324–1453)* (Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa 14/1–2. Wiesbaden 1982)
- R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, Th. Pratsch and I. Rochow, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867). Prolegomena* (Berlin–New York 1998)
- Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. Die byzantinischen Quellen zur Geschichte der Türkvölker*, 2 vols (BBBA 10. 2nd edn, Berlin 1958)
- The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan *et al.*, 3 vols (New York–Oxford 1991)
- W. Hörandner, 'Byzanz', in: M. Bernath and G. Krallert, *Historische Bücherkunde Südosteuropa*, I: Mittelalter, 1 (Munich 1978) 131–408

Several other works of reference include details of the work and biography of many Byzantine and medieval authors, and we have not thought it appropriate simply to produce a catalogue of every such entry. Should the reader wish to pursue them, the main resources are as follows:

- Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols (New York 1982–89)
- Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant, E. Megenot and E. Amann, 15 vols (Paris 1903–50); indices, 3 vols (Paris 1951–72)
- Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 vols (Munich–Zurich 1977–98)
- Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, neue Bearbeitung, ed. G. Wissowa (Stuttgart 1893ff.): I/1 (1893)–XXIII/2 (1959; with index of addns); XXIV (1963); I/A1 (1914)–X/A (1972); Suppl. I (1903)–XIV (1974)
- Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. Th. Klauser (Stuttgart 1950ff.)
- Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, ed. P. Wirth, vol. 1, 1–6 (Amsterdam 1968ff.)
- Reallexikon der byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. K. Wessel and M. Restle (Stuttgart 1978ff.)
- Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, 3rd rev. and expanded edn W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg and O. Prinz (Munich–Zurich 1982)
- The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, ed. J.N.D. Kelly (Oxford 1986)

*Electronic Media*

A number of web-sites now cater for Byzantine history, including catalogues and lists of sources, particularly those available in translation. There will also be a major on-line database accessible to researchers, in the form of the prosopography developed by the British Academy-supported project, the *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire* (which parallels that supported and published in book form by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*). At the present time part I of this project, dealing with the period 641–867, is published in CD-ROM form:

*Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire, I: 641–867*, ed. J.R. Martindale (Aldershot 2001).

The main sites which provide reference materials relevant to the sources for the iconoclast period are as follows:

<i>Dumbarton Oaks survey of translations of Byzantine saints' lives</i>	<a href="http://www.doaks.org/translives.html">http://www.doaks.org/translives.html</a>
<i>Dumbarton Oaks hagiography project Database</i>	<a href="http://www.doaks.org/DOHD.html">http://www.doaks.org/DOHD.html</a>

*A Note on Names and Place-Names*

Adopting an appropriate and consistent form for Byzantine Greek names of people and places is always problematic, since several possibilities exist. We have preferred to use standard anglicized forms of personal names, where they exist – thus George, Constantine, Michael, Theodore, etc. – but where no such standard English version exists, we have transcribed the names in question literally – Theodosios, Epiphanius, Germanos, Nikephoros, Niketas, Romanos, Theophilos – rather than use Latinized versions, which were not used by the Byzantines themselves, except on the fringes of the empire, in Italy. By the same token we have left titles and official posts in the Greek form – *sygkellos*, not *syncellus*, *magistros*, not *magister*, for example. Not everyone will agree with this, but like all such decisions, it reflects our own preferences as much as any scientific rationale.





PART I

MATERIAL CULTURE



# The Architecture of Iconoclasm

## Buildings

The age of iconoclasm was not conducive to the documentation of building activity.<sup>1</sup> The period nevertheless accounts for dramatic and permanent changes in Byzantine religious architecture in both form and scale, and the transformations of the period remain to be fully explicated. The lack of secure criteria for dating the surviving buildings has long plagued Byzantine scholarship. An earlier generation of scholars familiar with the architectural programme of Basil I, recounted in the *vita Basilii*, had viewed his reign as a formative period and consequently dated a variety of ‘transitional’ churches in Constantinople to the ninth century.<sup>2</sup> None of the buildings mentioned in the *vita* survives, however; nor do any other of the great monuments of ninth-century Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> The palaces of Theophilos have similarly vanished without a trace, and only paltry foundations remain for the well-documented monasteries on the Princes’ Islands.<sup>4</sup>

Architectural history relies on the study of buildings, of course, but it has not been entirely clear which surviving buildings belong in the period in question. A comparison of Chapter 13 (‘The Cross-Domed Church’) in the 1965 edition of Richard Krautheimer’s *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* with the same in the revised 1986 edition gives some indication of the changes that have occurred in recent scholarship. Following the typological model of earlier scholars, Krautheimer believed that the cross-domed church formed the transitional link between the Early Christian and the Middle Byzantine church building, yet between the printing of the first and third editions of his handbook, many of his key monuments had been convincingly redated. The Gül Camii (Hagia Theodosia?) and the Kalenderhane

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<sup>1</sup> V. Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582–867): Its History and Structural Elements* (Orientalia christiana analecta 237. Rome 1991) 187–270, assembles documented examples, most of which no longer survive; for those that survive, *idem*, *L’architettura religiosa nell’impero Bizantino (fine VII–IX secolo)* (Messina 1995); both should be used with caution.

<sup>2</sup> For example, A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches of Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London 1912) 333.

<sup>3</sup> This problem has recently been addressed in R. Ousterhout, ‘Reconstructing ninth-century Constantinople’, in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the Ninth Century*, 115–30, with additional bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, 205–10.

Camii (Theotokos Kyriotissa) in Istanbul belong to the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup> Two additional monuments often included in this discussion should now be placed earlier. A seventh-century date for Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki is supported both by epigraphic and by dendrochronological evidence, although this is still disputed.<sup>6</sup> Most scholars now date the Koimesis church at Nicaea to *ca* 700 – that is, shortly before the beginning of iconoclasm, although the transformation of its apse decoration during and after the iconoclast period remains central to any discussion of the visual arts.

Lacking documentary evidence for most building campaigns, scholars have turned to other kinds of evidence for the dating of buildings. Most common, and most problematic, has been the reliance on the typological analysis of building forms (to which we shall return shortly) and on the iconographic analysis of monumental painting. The difficulties of the latter are amply demonstrated by the burgeoning bibliography on the painted rock-cut churches of Cappadocia. Numerous churches are painted with geometric patterning and display prominently images of the cross. Following the pioneering scholarship of G. de Jerphanion, Nicole Thierry remains the major proponent for dating Cappadocian churches with aniconic decoration to the period of iconoclasm.<sup>7</sup> However, key monuments, such as Hosios Vasilios in Elevra, the hermitage of Niketas the Stylite in Güllü Dere, and Hagios Stephanos near Cemil, have primarily aniconic decoration, into which a few figures have been inserted. Scholars have justifiably raised questions concerning the iconoclast dating of these buildings.<sup>8</sup> Should they be interpreted as betraying an iconoclasm not fully absorbed, or lingering iconoclast sentiments dating from after the so-called Triumph of Orthodoxy? Do they, in fact, have anything to do with iconoclasm as legislated from Constantinople?

Considering the well-documented Arab incursions into the region, it would appear that Cappadocia remained destabilized for much of the period in question,

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<sup>5</sup> Compare R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (1st edn, Harmondsworth 1965), 201–13, with the same (4th rev. edn, 1986 with S. Ćurčić), 285–300.

<sup>6</sup> K. Theocharidou, in *Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 31 (1980) 265–73; *idem*, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki, from Its Erection up to the Turkish Conquest* (BAR International Series 339. Oxford 1988); and Ch. Bakirtzis, in *Byzantina* 11 (1982) 167–80, for the early dating; R. Cormack, ‘The arts during the age of iconoclasm’, in Bryer and Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm*, 35, dates the building *ca* 780–87; in his notes accompanying the reprinting of this article in *The Byzantine eye: studies in art and patronage* (London 1989) 6–7, he is sceptical of Theocharidou’s chronology and still prefers the later date. For dendrochronology, see below, n. 16.

<sup>7</sup> See G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l’art byzantin. Les églises ruprestres de Cappadoce*, 4 vols of pls, 3 vols of text (Paris 1925–42); N. Thierry, ‘Mentalité et formulation iconoclastes en Anatolie’, *Journal des Savants* (April–June 1976) 81–119; *idem*, ‘Les enseignements historiques de l’archéologie cappadocienne’, *TM* 8 (1981) 501–19, among many others; most recently, *idem*, ‘De la datation des églises de Cappadoce’, *BZ* 88 (1995) 419–55, especially 428–31, with full bibliography.

<sup>8</sup> For a more balanced view, see C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce: Le programme iconographique de l’apside et ses abords* (Paris 1991); J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, ‘Pour une problématique d’église Byzantine à l’époque iconoclaste’, *DOP* 41 (1987) 321–37.

and that artistic production would have been at best minimal. Still, the theme of *continuité ou rupture* continues to dominate Cappadocian studies. Moreover, the impact of Constantinopolitan iconoclasm in the provincial setting of Cappadocia may have been limited. At Kurt Dere, for example, crudely decorated tombs and chapels can be dated to this period on epigraphic grounds, but here we find figural and aniconic decoration side by side, perhaps by the same painters.<sup>9</sup>

The belief that non-figural church decoration must best be placed into the period of iconoclasm has affected the scholarship in other regions of the Byzantine world as well. Various 'iconoclast' monuments have been identified in the Pontos<sup>10</sup> and elsewhere in Anatolia;<sup>11</sup> all have been, or should be, dated with caution. On Naxos, thirteen monuments have aniconic decoration, about which much has been written, but not all may be from the period of iconoclasm, and some of the 'iconoclast' paintings remained exposed centuries after the Triumph of Orthodoxy.<sup>12</sup> A church excavated on the Via Egnatia in Thessaloniki had similar decorations.<sup>13</sup> Other 'iconoclast' monuments have been identified in Cherson, Georgia, Crete, Greece, and Turkish Thrace.<sup>14</sup> In all, the dating is insecure, and in any event, the architectural forms of these buildings tend to be simple and conservative, less interesting and considerably less problematic than their painting.

The contribution of dendrochronology has been more fruitful if less fully absorbed into scholarship. Wooden beams were part of the standard system of structural reinforcement in masonry buildings, and when they survive, their pattern of tree-rings can be matched against other wood samples from the same region.<sup>15</sup> Following years of data collecting, Peter Kuniholm and his staff at Cornell University have finally been able to connect a long series of tree-ring data, extending their master chronology back to the year 362.<sup>16</sup> As the dendrochronologists insist, the tree-ring data must be used with caution, for their studies provide a date for the wood, not for the building. When bark is preserved on the wood sample, and when

<sup>9</sup> C. Jolivet-Lévy and G. Kiourtzian, 'Découvertes archéologiques et épigraphiques funéraires dans une vallée de Cappadoce', *Etudes Balkaniques* 1 (1994) 135–76.

<sup>10</sup> A.A.M. Bryer and D. Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 20. Washington DC 1985) 212–15, 270–1, 277.

<sup>11</sup> Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Problématique d'église Byzantine', 332.

<sup>12</sup> A. Vasilakes, 'Εικονομαχικές ἐκκλησίες στη Νάξο', *Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας* (1962/3) 49–72; *idem*, 'The Byzantine Churches of Naxos', *American Journal of Archaeology* 72 (1968) 284–286. For a more balanced assessment, Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos* (Athens 1989) especially 53–57 (by M. Acheimastou-Potamianou); and Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Problématique d'église Byzantine'. See further 24–8 below.

<sup>13</sup> Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, 258–9.

<sup>14</sup> For the *état de la question*, see Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Problématique d'église Byzantine'.

<sup>15</sup> For use of wood in Byzantine masonry churches, see R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton 1999) esp. 192–4, 210–16.

<sup>16</sup> P.I. Kuniholm, 'New Tree-Ring Dates for Byzantine Buildings', *Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts of Papers* 21 (1995) 35; *idem*, 'Aegean Dendrochronology Project December 1995 Progress Report', 3–4; *idem*, 'First Millennium AD Oak Chronologies', report of 14 March 1995.

several samples from the same monument have matching ring patterns, however, they can provide a *terminus post quem* within a few years of construction. This is borne out by the close correlation between the tree-ring dates and documented construction activity, as for example in the two sixth-century phases of building at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.<sup>17</sup> Dendrochronology also bears out the seventh-century dating for Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki proposed by Theocharidou.<sup>18</sup>

For the poorly documented period of iconoclasm, this information is invaluable. For example, the reconstruction of Hagia Eirene in Constantinople following the earthquake of 740 can now be securely positioned in 753 or shortly thereafter – a date that accords well with the political career of its patron Constantine V. Similarly, the church of Hagia Sophia in Vize may be dated sometime after 833, supporting Mango's interpretation.<sup>19</sup> The Fatih Camii at Trilye, often said to be the oldest surviving cross-in-square church, yields a tree-ring date of 799, placing the building comfortably into the early ninth century. Several ninth-century modifications to Hagia Sophia in Constantinople are indicated by the tree-ring data. A beam in the Baptistry suggests an otherwise unattested remodeling after 814. The room over the southwest vestibule dates sometime after 854, and this agrees with the date assigned to the mosaics by Cormack and Hawkins.<sup>20</sup> An intermediate room in the northeast buttress dates after 892.

Returning to the problems of formal analysis, the standard approach to Byzantine architecture has been typological, with buildings categorized according to ground plan and spatial definition. Although typology provides a simple system of description, as Mango notes, 'Buildings are labeled and pigeon-holed like biological specimens according to formal criteria: where a resemblance is found a connection is assumed even across a wide gulf in time and space.'<sup>21</sup> When what is simple becomes simplistic, a system of categorization can easily misdirect scholarly inquiry. Moreover, a typological approach fails to provide an adequate explanation of the relationship between different types of buildings.

Traditional scholarship presents four major steps of development that mark the transition between the Early Christian basilica and the domed Middle Byzantine church. The domed basilica makes its appearance in the sixth, and possibly already in the late fifth century, marking an important change from wooden-roofed to vaulted forms, best witnessed at Hagia Sophia or Hagia Eirene in Constantinople or Basilica B in Philippi. With the introduction of bilaterally symmetrical bracing for the dome, as occurred in the rebuilding of Hagia Eirene *ca* 753, a cross-domed unit was introduced on the gallery level. A similar structural unit became the core of the cross-domed church, as at the Koimesis in Nicaea, with supports defining a cruciform naos. This type, significantly, exists in two versions: the larger, which was similar in organization to the domed basilicas, and the smaller, with the cruciform

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Theocharidou, *Architecture of Hagia Sophia*.

<sup>19</sup> C. Mango, 'The Byzantine church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St Mary the Younger', *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 9–13.

<sup>20</sup> Cormack and Hawkins, 'Mosaics', 235–47.

<sup>21</sup> C. Mango, 'Approaches to Byzantine Architecture', *Muqarnas* 8 (1991) 41.

naos framed by four corner chambers, as at Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in Constantinople. By the end of the eighth century, a more open design was developed for small churches, with the central dome supported above four piers or columns, in the cross-in-square church type, as at the Fatih Camii (Hagios Stephanos?) at Trilye. It is tempting to see an evolutionary process here, with one building type providing the impetus for the next stage of development. In a long process of experimentation, something like this must have occurred, but the process of transformation was neither neat nor linear, and other factors must be taken into consideration.

Often omitted from the discussion is the importance of scale. Following the changes in patronage and worship during this period, churches became smaller and more centralized, accommodating smaller congregations and a more static liturgy. The sixth-century Hagia Sophia in Constantinople had a dome measuring 100 Byzantine feet in diameter; the dome of the tenth-century Myrelaion church was barely one-tenth of that. From a practical point of view, churches of different scales demanded different structural systems. From the sixth century onward, the dome remained a central theme in church design, and the new building types resulted from the reduction in scale and simplification of the domed basilica. Galleries and ambulatories were unnecessary in a building of smaller scale; internal supports could be reduced to either piers or columns. The cross-domed church offered an effective structural design for a church of intermediate proportions; for a church with a dome of less than 20 Byzantine feet in diameter, the cross-in-square plan proved most effective. Within the development, then, there was a good deal of trial and error, with more than one church type, and numerous variations, existing side by side and at different scales.

Another important consideration is that many of the monuments under discussion represent the reconstruction or remodelling of older buildings. That is, rather than representing a new theoretical model, they express the very real concerns of a society in transition and of its builders. In many examples, we find the reduction in scale of an Early Christian basilica into a new church constructed on the same foundations, reemploying many of the same architectural elements, with its basic design transformed.<sup>22</sup> Hagia Eirene, for example, is still most often discussed as a Justinianic building, although almost all of its superstructure – and its reformulated structural system – belong to the eighth century.<sup>23</sup>

For the sake of convenience, the following catalogue of monuments is organized by building type. It should in no wise suggest an evolutionary development. Rather, the organization tends to bring together buildings of similar scale. The nit-picky distinctions between building types reinforce the limitations of typological analysis. For example, we include in the section on domed basilicas several large churches that maintain a basilican plan on the ground level, while introducing a cross-domed unit on the upper level. Cross-domed churches exist in two distinct sub-categories.

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<sup>22</sup> Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 86–127 ('Buildings that Change'), especially 86–92.

<sup>23</sup> For example, Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn, includes it in the chapter on Justinianic architecture, 249–51.

Similarly, a distinction between cross-domed churches and cross-in-square churches may be based not so much on the types of support (e.g., columns vs. piers) but on whether or not the corner spaces function as part of the naos.

i) DOMED BASILICAS

*Hagia Eirene in Constantinople* Justinian's domed basilica was destroyed in the earthquake of 740 and substantially rebuilt by Constantine V, ca 753 or slightly later (fig. 1). The reconstruction maintained the scale of the original, as well as the basilican plan at ground level, but it introduced a cross-domed unit on the gallery level, providing transverse barrel vaults to the north and south of the dome.<sup>24</sup> This corrected a major structural flaw in the original – indeed, one that had plagued most of the earlier domed basilicas. The second-largest surviving church in the capital, Hagia Eirene's dome measures close to 15 m. in diameter. With the reformulation of the vaulting throughout the building, a domical vault was introduced over the western bay of the nave, braced by transverse barrel vaults on the gallery level, quite similar to the eastern bay. Characteristic Early Christian features, such as the atrium and the synthronon, were maintained, but the vault of the apse was given a slightly pointed form and decorated with the simple, two-dimensional image of a cross against a gold background. Additional fresco decoration from this period survives in the south side aisle,<sup>25</sup> and fragments of what appears to have been a templon screen installed by Constantine V are embedded in the floor of the north colonnade.<sup>26</sup>

*Dere Ağzı Church* Although a date in the early ninth century has been suggested, the large and impressive church may well be somewhat later in date. Set into an isolated inland valley of Lycia, the church may be connected with developments in Constantinople. Its dome measured ca 9 m. in diameter. Following the architecture of the capital, the church was constructed of alternating bands of brick and stone, and building materials seem to have been imported as well.<sup>27</sup> Like Hagia Eirene, the Dere Ağzı church combines a basilican plan on the ground floor with a cross-domed unit on the gallery level, with transverse barrel vaults originally covering the central bays of the gallery. Side aisles and the narthex were groin-vaulted. The narthex is flanked by stair towers, and an elaborate porch projects westward. Subsidiary chapels of uncertain purpose were added to the north and south of the basilica; both were niched internally and domed.

Viewed as a slightly smaller, more sophisticated version of Hagia Eirene, Dere Ağzı fits typologically into the transitional period under discussion. On the other hand, the exterior articulation with pilasters conforming to the structural divisions, the consistent use of groin vaults in the subsidiary spaces, the tetraconch form of

<sup>24</sup> U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul* (Istanbul Mitteilungen 18. Tübingen 1977).

<sup>25</sup> Cormack, 'Arts during the age of iconoclasm', 36–7.

<sup>26</sup> T. Ulbert, 'Byzantinische Reliefplatten des 6. bis 8. Jahrhunderts', *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 19/20 (1969/70) 349–50, pl. 72.

<sup>27</sup> J. Morganstern, *The Byzantine Church at Dere Ağzı and its Decoration* (Istanbul Mitteilungen 29. Tübingen 1983) especially 81–93.



the pastophoria, and the full integration of the tripartite sanctuary all find better comparison with Constantinopolitan churches of the early tenth century, such as the Theotokos of Lips.

*Hagia Sophia in Vize* Similar in design, the church may be dated sometime after 833 (fig. 2).<sup>28</sup> It seems likely that this was the episcopal church of Bizye, associated with events mentioned in the *vita* of St Mary the Younger.<sup>29</sup> Basilican on the ground level, the gallery includes a cross-domed unit, with barrel vaults bracing a dome *ca* 6 m. in diameter, raised above a windowed drum. The corner compartments are isolated on the gallery level, not unlike the considerably later churches of Mistra. Minor vaults are an admixture of groin vaults, domical vaults, and barrel vaults. An arcosolium in the south aisle appears to be original, with a fragmentary fresco of the Deesis above it.<sup>30</sup> A tomb was excavated in the floor immediately in front of the arcosolium. The original construction of the church was of alternating bands of brick and stone, but this had been much repaired in rough stonework. The church was built above the foundations of an older basilica, the foundations of which are exposed to the east. Additional foundations uncovered on the south side of the building may be the remnants of annexed chapels.

*Hagios Nikolaos at Myra* The domed basilica has been attributed to the eighth century on archaeological grounds.<sup>31</sup> Built on the foundations of an Early Christian basilica, the church was completely renovated in the eighth century, creating a domed basilica with a dome diameter of *ca* 7.70 m. Elements of the older building are incorporated in the atrium and south chapels. The domed naos is extended to the east and west by narrow barrel vaults and enveloped by lateral aisles and a narthex on the ground floor, with galleries above. Triple arcades open on three sides of the naos. The dome was replaced in the Russian restoration of 1862–63 with a groin vault, giving the interior a truncated impression. The church also included a second aisle to the south, with arcosolia, joining the south chapel. The sanctuary preserves a multi-stepped synthronon, much restored. Additional constructions expanded the building on all sides, dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. There do not appear to have been proper pastophoria in the eighth-century church: the bema opened to double chapels on the south and to a rectangular space to the north, originally with a door in its east wall. *Opus sectile* pavements may be from the eighth century, although the surviving fresco decoration is later. The church was built to enshrine the tomb of the sainted fourth-century bishop Nicholas. The tomb exuded aromatic myrrh that attracted numerous pilgrims, including Italian merchants from

<sup>28</sup> See 6 above.

<sup>29</sup> Mango, 'Byzantine Church at Vize'; Ruggieri, *L'architettura religiosa*, 132–5, includes a more detailed description.

<sup>30</sup> Y. Ötügen and R. Ousterhout, 'Notes on the monuments of Turkish Thrace', *Anatolian Studies* 39 (1989) 138–42.

<sup>31</sup> U. Peschlow, 'Die Architektur der Nikolaokirche', in J. Borchhart, ed., *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin 1975), 303–59; Y. Ötügen, 'Demre, Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kazısı', in *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (annual reports, Ankara 1992–99), for ongoing excavations at the site.

Bari who stole the body in 1087. It remains unclear where within the rather complicated building the venerated tomb was located.

*Church of the Archangels at Sige (Kumyaka)* Set in a village on the south shore of the Sea of Marmara, the core of the domed basilica is preserved, although the impression is complicated by many later additions.<sup>32</sup> The dome, *ca* 6.5 m. in diameter, was raised above four corner piers and narrow arches. The apse, semi-circular on the interior and polygonal on the exterior, extends almost the full width of the naos, with no traces of pastophoria or lateral apses. Arcades originally opened to the north and south. The date given by Buchwald, *ca* 780, is based partially on stylistic grounds, partially on the interpretation of an inscription recorded by Hasluck.

*Cathedral of Herakleia (Ereğli)* Although it no longer survives, this example on the Marmara coast of Thrace appears to have been similar to the church at Sige, with a square core and a broad apse. Wulff recommended a date no later than the ninth century, noting that it was built on the site of an older church.<sup>33</sup>

## ii) CROSS-DOMED CHURCHES

*Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki* Although it now may be dated slightly earlier than the period under discussion, the Hagia Sophia of Thessaloniki is nevertheless crucial for our discussion.<sup>34</sup> The church represents a smaller, simpler, and heavier version of its namesake in the capital, with a dome *ca* 10 m. in diameter. The dome is raised above a cruciform naos, with barrel vaults to brace it on all sides. Unlike the domed basilicas, just discussed, the corner piers project into the naos, creating a distinctly cruciform plan on the ground level. The corner piers are broken by tunnels on two levels that visually lighten their rather heavy forms. A U-shaped envelope formed by the narthex, lateral aisles, and galleries surrounds the core of the building. A tripartite sanctuary projects to the east, poorly integrated into the building's overall design.

*Koimesis at Nicaea (Monastery of Hyakinthos)* Closely related to the design of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, the Koimesis church was destroyed in the 1920s, although it was studied twice before then and its remains were subsequently excavated (fig. 3).<sup>35</sup> Dated perhaps *ca* 700, it similarly has an atrophied Greek-cross plan with the cruciform naos enveloped by a narthex, aisles and a tripartite sanctuary.

<sup>32</sup> H. Buchwald, *The Church of the Archangels in Sige near Mudania* (Vienna 1969).

<sup>33</sup> O. Wulff, *Die byzantinische Kunst* (Potsdam 1924) 453–4; see also E. Kalinka and J. Strzygowski, 'Die Kathedrale von Herakleia', *JOAI* 1, Beiblatt, 3–27; Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, 235–6, supports an earlier date.

<sup>34</sup> Theodoridou, *Architecture of Hagia Sophia*; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn, still gives an early eighth-century date, 291–5.

<sup>35</sup> O. Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicäa und ihre Mosaiken* (Strassburg 1903); F. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia. Das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken* (Berlin 1927); U. Peschlow, 'Neue Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Ausstattung der Koimesiskirche in Iznik', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 22 (1972) 145–87. On the mosaics, see 21–3 below.

It is smaller in scale, however, with a dome diameter *ca* 6.30 m. and lacking galleries above the side aisles. The corner piers of the naos are solid, and the overall length and width of the plan have been brought into balance.

*St Clement in Ankara* Destroyed in 1921, the atrophied cruciform core of the church opened to enveloping spaces through triple arcades on two levels. Corner compartments were isolated to the east and west on both levels. Studied by Jerphanion before its destruction, only a fragment of the bema now stands, hidden behind modern shops. Jerphanion suggested a date in the period of the seventh to ninth centuries, based on the similarities with the Koimesis of Nicaea and Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki.<sup>36</sup> Krautheimer recommended a date closer to the mid-ninth century, based on the neat alternating brick and stone construction, tall proportions, and comparisons of the masonry with the citadel walls.<sup>37</sup> In contrast, Ruggieri supports a sixth-century Justinianic date, based on the same masonry and the fact that the gored pumpkin dome lacked a drum.<sup>38</sup> The pastophoria are fully developed, however, and this may encourage the later dating.

*Church of the Theotokos, Ephesus* The third phase of construction in a structure that began its life as a market basilica, the cross-domed church represents a reduction in scale of the fourth-century cathedral. Undated by its excavators, Foss places it into the eighth century, although this has been questioned, and new investigations suggest it may be earlier.<sup>39</sup> Little of its superstructure remains, but it was nevertheless a substantial building, with a dome *ca* 12 m. in diameter raised above corner piers. Aisles extend to the north and south, and what appear to be pastophoria flank but do not connect to the apse.

*Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in Constantinople* Although scholars continue to maintain the ninth-century date of the church, it has never been convincingly identified.<sup>40</sup> The commonly given designation of Sts Peter and Mark should be abandoned. The building represents a second, smaller version of the cross-domed church, in which the cruciform plan of the naos is brought out to square by enclosed by chapels or subsidiary spaces at the corners (fig. 4). This building type appears occasionally in the Early Christian period, as for example at Hosios David in Thessaloniki. Its small, compact form apparently found currency in the iconoclast

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<sup>36</sup> G. de Jerphanion, 'Mélanges de l'archéologie anatolienne', *Mélanges de l'Université St Joseph* 13 (1928) 113–43.

<sup>37</sup> Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn, 287–9.

<sup>38</sup> Ruggieri, *L'architettura religiosa*, 170.

<sup>39</sup> *Forschungen in Ephesos*, IV/I, 51 ff.; C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979) 112; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn, 489 n. 22, suggests a sixth- or seventh-century date; see also S. Karwiese, *Erster vorläufiger Gesamtbericht über die Wiederaufnahme der archäologischen Untersuchung der Marienkirche in Ephesos* (Wien 1989).

<sup>40</sup> Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches of Constantinople*, 164 ff.; T. Mathews and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'Notes on the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in Istanbul and its frescoes', *DOP* 39 (1985), 125–34; J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris 1913) 130–6.

period, providing a setting appropriate for the worship of a small congregation. In this and similar buildings, the arms of the cross are more pronounced than in the previous examples; here the central dome has a diameter of 5 m. The cross-arms originally opened with triple arcades into lateral porches. The eastern chapels connected to the bema and must be interpreted as pastophoria. The function of the western corner spaces is not clear. Details revealed in the recent remodelling indicate that there were originally corner chambers on two levels.<sup>41</sup>

*Church on Büyükada, Amasra* Known only from foundations, the church is similar in plan and scale to Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii. The eastern chapels, however, do not connect to the bema. Eyice, who published the church in 1951, dated it to the eighth century on the basis of its typology, suggesting that this was the monastery of patriarch Cyrus (705–12?), a view more recently supported by Ruggieri.<sup>42</sup> Architecturally, it may represent the reconfiguration of an older basilica.

*Church of the Archangel Gabriel, Lycia (Alakilise)* The *enkainia* inscription preserved in the narthex of the basilica gives a date of 812. This must represent a second phase of construction, in which the main church was rebuilt.<sup>43</sup> Now in ruins, a cruciform chapel with corner compartments was added in the ninth-century phase, attached to the southeast of the basilica. If it was domed, the dome had a diameter *ca* 4 m.

*Monastery of St Constantine on Lake Apolyont* The partially destroyed church was studied by Mango, who published its rather unusual plan.<sup>44</sup> Although similar to aforementioned examples, the cross-domed church had elaborated corner compartments and a unique western apse. The dome had a diameter of *ca* 4.3 m., supported above complex piers. Within the narthex, niches flank the entrance to the naos. Mango suggests a dating in the ninth or tenth century, making the very tentative association of the monastery with one on the island of Thasios visited by St Ioannikios in 825. Ruggieri supports a ninth-century date on the basis of the rough masonry.<sup>45</sup>

### iii) CROSS-IN-SQUARE CHURCHES

*Fatih Camii, Trilye-Zeytinbağı* Picturesquely set at the center of an historic town on the south shore of the Sea of Marmara, the Fatih Camii (Hagios Stephanos?) has long been recognized as a significant early example of the cross-in-square

<sup>41</sup> L. Theis, 'Die Flankenräume im mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenbau', unpublished Habilitation thesis (University of Bonn 1996).

<sup>42</sup> S. Eyice, 'Büyükada'sında bir Bizans Kilise', *Belleten* 15 (1951) 469–96; Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, 233; *idem*, *L'architettura religiosa*, 66–7.

<sup>43</sup> H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (Leipzig 1908), 320; R.M. Harrison, 'Churches and Chapels in Lycia', *Anatolian Studies* 13 (1963) 128–9; Ruggieri, *L'architettura religiosa*, 91–2.

<sup>44</sup> C. Mango, 'The Monastery of St Constantine on Lake Apolyont', *DOP* 33 (1979) 329–33.

<sup>45</sup> Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, 216.

church type (fig. 5).<sup>46</sup> It can now be securely placed in the early ninth century by dendrochronology, with a *post quem* date of 799 for the wood analysed from the building.<sup>47</sup> The recent Turkish dissertation by Sacit Pekak has clarified several elements of its original design.<sup>48</sup> The naos is close to square in overall plan, with a dome just under 5 m. (*ca* 15 Byzantine feet) in diameter, raised on a tall drum above four columns (fig. 6). The crossarms are covered by barrel vaults. The corner compartments are somewhat uneven, isolated by projecting pilasters and covered by ovoid domical vaults. The pastophoria were quite large – the diakonikon is now missing – with their lateral walls projecting beyond the width of the naos. The bema has an extra bay before the apse, which was curved on the interior and polygonal on the exterior, opened by three windows. The pastophoria each included a setback before the apse, which was semicircular on both interior and exterior. To the west is a broad, barrel-vaulted narthex, preceded by a colonnaded portico.

Exposed remains of architectural sculpture and additional marbles littering the site suggest that the original building was lavishly fitted out. Much of the sculpture, including the capitals of the naos and closure panels, is reused from the sixth century, although some, including the capitals of the lateral arcades and some of the cornice patterns (fig. 7), may be of the ninth century. The interior was originally decorated with mosaics, the presence of which was noted during the period of Greek occupation in 1920–22, when the building was briefly reconverted to a church.<sup>49</sup> Mosaics in a simple grid of oversized tesserae survive in the soffits of the south arcade and east windows.<sup>50</sup> A restoration of 1995–96 opened the arcades on the north and south sides of the naos. Fragments of *opus sectile* were uncovered at the same time.

*Church H at Side* Another early example of the cross-in-square plan, the ruinous foundations church at Side exhibit a lack of coordination in its details (fig. 8). Four free-standing columns would have supported a dome *ca* 3.2 m. in diameter. However, wall thicknesses vary, the chambers flanking the apse (pastophoria?) project slightly outward, and the church appears to incorporate older remains. Eyice proposed a ninth-century date, at the latest, based on the evidence for the decline

<sup>46</sup> See F.W. Hasluck, 'Bithynica', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 13 (1906–7) 285–308; C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, 'Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara', *DOP* 27 (1973) 235–77, esp. 236–8.

<sup>47</sup> P.I. Kuniholm, 'First Millenium A.D. Oak Chronologies' (Typescript report from the Wiener Laboratory, Cornell University) 5: all samples were taken from the naos tie beams; no sapwood is preserved, 'putting the cutting date for the timbers in the early ninth century'.

<sup>48</sup> M.S. Pekak, 'Zeytinbağı/Trilye Bizans Döneme Kiliseleri', *XIII. Araytirma Sonuçları Toplantısı I* (Ankara 1995) 307–38, esp. 310–14, based on the author's unpublished Ph.D thesis, *Zeytinbağı (Trigleia) Bizans Döneme Kiliseleri ve 'Fatih Camii' (Tarih ve Mimarisi)* (Ankara: Hacettepe University 1991), which was unavailable to us.

<sup>49</sup> T. Evangelides, *Vryllion-Trigleia* (Athens 1934) 119, unavailable to us, is quoted by Mango and Ševčenko, 'Churches and Monasteries', 236: 'after the whitewash had been scraped off the walls, there appeared wonderful mosaics, which I deeply regret I did not photograph for lack of film.'

<sup>50</sup> Mango and Ševčenko, 'Churches and Monasteries', 236.

of Side.<sup>51</sup> Ruggieri supports the ninth-century date 'with some confidence,' while providing evidence of the older foundations on the site.<sup>52</sup>

*Chapel in the Episcopal Palace, Side* Similar in scale and details to Church H, the chapel is also built on older foundations. Decorated marble pilasters are reused, built into the lateral walls. A stepped synthronon is set into the apse; flanking rooms are square, without niches. Although the excavators would place it earlier, Ruggieri recommends a date between 750 and 850.<sup>53</sup>

*Megas Agros Monastery-Kurşunlu* The identification of this site with the famed monastery of Theophanes the Confessor, located on the Bithynian coast of the Sea of Marmara, is not entirely certain. The monastic gate survives, and the local Greek tradition associated the site with Megas Agros.<sup>54</sup> The church is only partially preserved, however, but enough to indicate a cross-in-square plan with columns supporting a dome *ca* 4 m. in diameter. The construction is rough, of alternating brick and stone bands. Like the church at Trilye, the main apse is polygonal on the exterior, while the pastophoria apses are semicircular. Both pastophoria have niches in their lateral walls, and the prothesis has a cruciform loculus in the apse, similar to that at the Theotokos of Lips. The date is uncertain. If this were the church built by Theophanes the Confessor, as Pančenko believed, it would date shortly before 787, although it could easily be later.<sup>55</sup> Similarities with the church at Trilye encourage an iconoclast dating.

*St John of Pelekete* Located a few kilometers west of Trilye, the monastery played a prominent role in the iconoclast period.<sup>56</sup> An early version of the cross-in-square plan, the eastern part of the building is preserved, its neat, alternating bands of brick and stone encased in modern masonry. The southeast naos column still stood when Mango and Ševčenko studied the building, and the dome diameter was estimated at 4 m. A finely carved marble cornice and capital are Early Christian spolia. The north and south crossarms may have been opened by tribela. These and other details recommend a comparison with the Fatih Camii in Trilye. It may be slightly later in date, although the ninth century seems highly probable.

#### iv) CONTINUATION OF TRADITIONAL FORMS

*Kalenderhane Camii in Constantinople* The excavators have reconstructed an intermediate phase for an ecclesiastical building at the site, in the form of an

<sup>51</sup> S. Eyice, 'L'église cruciforme Byzantine de Side en Pamphylie', *Anatolia* 3 (1958) 34–42.

<sup>52</sup> Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, 242; *idem*, *L'architettura religiosa*, 108–10.

<sup>53</sup> A.M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side* (Berlin 1963) 168–9; Ruggieri, *L'architettura religiosa*, 110–13.

<sup>54</sup> Mango and Ševčenko, 'Churches and Monasteries', 253–67; Ruggieri, *L'architettura religiosa*, 96–100.

<sup>55</sup> Pančenko quoted in Mango and Ševčenko, 'Churches and Monasteries', 253–6.

<sup>56</sup> Mango and Ševčenko, 'Churches and Monasteries', 242–8; Ruggieri, *L'architettura religiosa*, 105–7.

irregular aisled basilica with galleries.<sup>57</sup> Only the bema of this phase survives. It is very tentatively dated by coin finds to after 687. Construction blocked the exposed mosaic of the Presentation, recommending the beginning of iconoclasm as a *terminus ante quem*.

*Church of St Michael, Miletus* An inscription records the building, possibly the rebuilding, of the large, three-aisled basilica under patriarch Cyriacus.<sup>58</sup> It had an atrium and rested on Hellenistic foundations.

*Church of the Archangel Gabriel, Lycia (Alakilise)* As noted, the *enkainia* inscription date of 812 must represent a second phase of construction for the large, three-aisled basilica.<sup>59</sup>

*Church on Söğüt adası (near Bozburun)* In ruins and poorly recorded, the outline of the eastern part of the squarish plan is preserved. It is not entirely clear if it was a basilica with pastophoria or (possibly) a cross-domed church. On the basis of its crude masonry and the history of the surrounding area, Ruggieri dates it to the first half of the ninth century.<sup>60</sup>

*Fatih Camii, Amasra* The single-aisled basilica measures about 9 × 17 m. internally, including the nave and narthex – the wall between the two has been removed, and there is no other indication of internal divisions. The broad, semi-circular apse is pierced by three windows. Most distinctive is the masonry, which alternates bands of brick and stone, including bands of reticulate stonework. Eyice proposed a date in the eighth or ninth century, and Ruggieri supports the latter.<sup>61</sup>

*Kilise Mescidi, Amasra* Smaller but similar to the Fatih Camii, the second church at Amasra is also a single-aisled basilica. It measures about 5 × 10 m., including a narthex covered by three groin vaults. The mural masonry is also similar, alternating brick and stone courses, including a band of reticulate. It must be close in date to the Fatih Camii.<sup>62</sup>

*Second Church at Syllion* The small, three-aisled basilica may be dated to the late seventh or early eighth century.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> C.L. Striker and Y.D. Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The Buildings* (Mainz 1997) 45–58.

<sup>58</sup> W. Müller-Wiener and O. Feld, 'Michaelskirche und Dionysiostempel', *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 27–8 (1977–78) 94–125; Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, 239–40.

<sup>59</sup> Harrison, 'Churches and Chapels', 128–9; Ruggieri, *L'architettura religiosa*, 91–2.

<sup>60</sup> Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, 242.

<sup>61</sup> S. Eyice, 'Deux anciennes églises byzantines de la citadelle d'Amasra', *Cahiers archéologiques* 7 (1954) 9–105; Ruggieri, *L'architettura religiosa*, 62–9.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, 250; V. Ruggieri and F. Nethercott, 'The metropolitan city of Syllion and its churches', *JÖB* 40 (1990) 153–5.

## v) LITURGICAL PLANNING

Changes in the liturgy parallel the architectural changes noted above. Sometime after the sixth century, the tripartite sanctuary was developed, and this became standard by the Middle Byzantine period. The central space of the bema is flanked by pastophoria, the prothesis and diakonikon. These were functional extensions of the bema and connected directly to it. The appearance of the tripartite sanctuary corresponds with the development of the prothesis rite, documented in the eighth century. In the Early Christian church, gifts were presented at a chamber accessible from the atrium, often called a *skevophylakion*, then brought forward during one of the several entrance processions that characterized the early service. When this chamber was replaced by the pastophoria, the structure of the service changed from one of linear processions by the clergy to a more circular movement, in and out of the sanctuary in a series of 'appearances'.<sup>64</sup>

The more circular movement corresponds with the development of a more centralized church, the design of which focused on a centrally positioned dome. The development of the tripartite sanctuary also has architectural implications. Its earliest appearance may be at the sixth-century cathedral at Caričin Grad in northern Yugoslavia, where the bema and pastophoria have a different character to the wooden-roofed basilica to which they were attached.<sup>65</sup> Walls are thicker, and the spaces were apparently barrel-vaulted. What we see is the juxtaposition of distinct architectural elements, rather than their integration into a unified built form. This lack of integration continued in most of the surviving churches from the following two centuries. At Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, the tripartite sanctuary is narrower than the main block of the church, and the entrances from the aisles are noticeably off-centre. In terms of design, they are a separate concern. The same is true at the Koimesis church in Nicaea and at the Fatih Camii in Trilye, where the pastophoria project beyond the lateral walls of the naos. Only in rare examples, such as the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in Istanbul, are the pastophoria integrated into the building's design, achieved here by truncating the eastern arm of the naos. Full integration of the tripartite sanctuary became common only after the period under discussion, as for example at the Theotokos of Lips (907) and the Myrelaion (920) in Constantinople.

In addition to pastophoria, subsidiary chapels become common in this period.<sup>66</sup> The design of small cross-domed churches like that on Büyükada at Amasra encouraged the incorporation of functional spaces into the corners. At Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, these apparently existed on two levels – as later occurs at the Theotokos of Lips. Larger churches at Ankara, Vize, and Dere Ağzı all had chapels on the gallery level, and the spaces flanking the bema of Hagia Eirene may have been similar. Although we are uncertain how any of these spaces were used in the

<sup>64</sup> T.F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park 1971) 155–76.

<sup>65</sup> Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn, 274.

<sup>66</sup> S. Ćurčić, 'Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 36 (1977) 94–110.



preserved examples, they were obviously regarded as functional necessities. Here we suppose that architectural design intersected with changes in worship, creating smaller, annexed spaces for veneration, commemoration, or possibly burial.<sup>67</sup>

#### vi) SECULAR ARCHITECTURE

Non-religious architecture is difficult to discuss for this period, primarily due to lack of evidence. The buildings of Theophilos at the Great Palace are known only from texts. Some remains are preserved from the contemporaneous palace of Krum at Pliska.<sup>68</sup> These include the impressive substructures of the throne room and living quarters, and they might help to envisage the architecture of the Byzantine capital.

With the demise of the ancient *polis*, outside Constantinople Byzantine civic architecture was often limited to fortifications. At Ephesos and elsewhere the area contained by the fortification wall was severely reduced.<sup>69</sup> Some cities became citadels, as at Ankara, Pergamon, and Sardis.<sup>70</sup> In other locations, civic monuments of Late Antiquity were dismantled to construct defences. At Nicaea, the ancient circuit was maintained, but various honorific monuments and other spolia were built into the walls.<sup>71</sup>

Constantinople seems to have been in decline from the sixth century onward, its population decimated by plague and subjected to various sieges by Avars, Slavs, and Arabs. By the eighth century, its population may have been reduced from perhaps 400,000 at its height in the fifth century, to perhaps a tenth of that number. Moreover, civic amenities had been severely curtailed. The aqueduct system, necessary in a city without a natural source of drinking water, had been cut by the Avars in 626.<sup>72</sup> Numerous harbours had fallen into disrepair and had been abandoned. The process of decline was reversed during the long and difficult reign of Constantine V. Although universally anathematized as the most heinous of iconoclasts by subsequent iconophile authors, Constantine is perhaps responsible for reformulating Constantinople as a medieval city and guaranteeing its survival.<sup>73</sup> Born during the Arab siege of 717/8, Constantine's accession to the throne was followed by a series of natural disasters, most notably the 26 October 740 earthquake, which, according to Theophanes, destroyed churches and monasteries, toppled statues and public monuments, caused the Land Walls to fall down, and devastated many cities and villages in Thrace and Bithynia, including Nicomedia and Nicaea (where only one church remained standing). 'In some places the sea overflowed its shores, and the

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<sup>67</sup> G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris 1969).

<sup>68</sup> Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn, 315–18.

<sup>69</sup> C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979) 111, dates the fortifications generally to the seventh–eighth centuries.

<sup>70</sup> C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications* (Pretoria 1986), 131–42; most date to the seventh century with subsequent repairs.

<sup>71</sup> Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications*, 100.

<sup>72</sup> C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe–VIIe siècles)* (Paris 1990) 51–62, especially 56.

<sup>73</sup> Robert Ousterhout thanks Paul Magdalino for these observations.

shocks lasted for twelve months.<sup>74</sup> The earliest documented response was the reconstruction of the Land Walls, whose southern towers preserve brick inscriptions of Constantine V and Leo IV.<sup>75</sup> The construction is in fact remarkably good, often indistinguishable from the masonry of the fifth century, with bands of brick and stone.

Throughout Constantine's long reign, there is evidence of the reformulation of the capital, including the resettlement of immigrants from Greece and the islands, some new construction, adaptive reuse of older buildings, and the concentration of commercial activities at the Harbour of Julian. Following the drought of 766, the Aqueduct of Valens was repaired. This was a major undertaking, for which Constantine summoned workers from all parts of the empire. We assume that the project encompassed not just the surviving line of aqueduct within the city walls, but a good portion of the water supply system extending into the hills of Thrace as well. Theophanes itemizes the workers involved: one thousand masons and two hundred plasterers from Asia and Pontos, five hundred clay-workers from Greece and the islands, five thousand labourers and two hundred brickmakers from Thrace.<sup>76</sup> When we add to these activities the construction and reconstruction of churches, the addition of decoration to Hagia Sophia, and the almost complete reconstruction of Hagia Eirene – the second largest surviving Byzantine church in the city – we may begin to suspect a coherent building programme with ideological overtones.

Building activity in Constantinople was continued under Constantine's iconoclast successors. Further repairs to the Land Walls were carried out under Leo IV and Constantine VI, Leo V, and Theophilos.<sup>77</sup> Theophilos is best known for the construction of palaces, including the famous Arab-style Bryas Palace in an Asian suburb,<sup>78</sup> and additions to the Great Palace. Perhaps more importantly, he had the Sea Wall and Golden Horn Wall substantially rebuilt, as the numerous surviving inscriptions testify (fig. 9). The number of recorded inscriptions from the Golden Horn alone (sixteen in all) suggests the revival of commercial activity in this area of the city under Theophilos.<sup>79</sup> The claim of one inscription that Theophilos had 'renewed the city' might not be far from the truth, but it is best seen as one stage in a century-long programme of urban revival, beginning with Constantine V and

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<sup>74</sup> Theoph., *Chronographia*, 412; Mango–Scott, 572; Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, 142, proposes an epicentre near Gemlik – that is, not far from the centre of the 17 August 1999 earthquake. His suggestion (*ibid.*, 142–53) that new building types developed as a response to the earthquake is without merit.

<sup>75</sup> Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications*, 53–4.

<sup>76</sup> Theoph., *Chronographia*, 440 (trans. Mango–Scott, 607–8).

<sup>77</sup> Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications*, 54.

<sup>78</sup> For the remains incorrectly identified as the Bryas Palace at Küçükaly, see now A. Ricci, 'The road from Baghdad to Byzantium and the case of the Bryas Palace in Istanbul', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the Ninth Century*, 131–49.

<sup>79</sup> C. Mango, 'The Byzantine inscriptions of Constantinople: a bibliographical survey', *American Journal of Archaeology* 55 (1951) especially 54–7; Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications*, 70–1.

extending into the reign of Basil I. The later ninth-century restorations chronicled in the *vita Basilii* must also be placed into this larger context.

### Mosaics and Frescoes

While Byzantine buildings preserved from the years of iconoclasm reveal little direct response to the debate about religious imagery, architectural decoration participated in the contest. The public visibility of much monumental decoration made it well suited to convey ideological messages from patrons to clients – a broad, and usually local, audience. The mosaics and frescoes preserved from the eighth and early ninth centuries thus give visual expression to the parameters of discussion as it impacted on local areas.

#### i) PRESERVED WORKS

##### *Hagia Eirene, Constantinople*

The apse mosaic at Hagia Eirene (fig. 1) dates from Constantine V's reconstruction of the church after 753.<sup>80</sup> It shows a cross outlined in black tesserae set against a ground composed of gold cubes (gold foil sandwiched between the glass tesserae and a thin protective outer layer of clear glass) into which silver tesserae (made using the same technique) are inserted at random.<sup>81</sup> This is the earliest preserved example of this formula, which continued in Constantinople into the ninth century when it is found in, for example, the apse mosaic at Hagia Sophia of 867.<sup>82</sup> At Hagia Eirene, it was not used as a means to cut costs – the tesserae here are unusually closely set and small, thereby using far more gold than was necessary – but rather to soften and lighten the gold.<sup>83</sup> The cross, with flared ends terminating in teardrop shapes, rests on three steps set against a two-tone green ground. Its cross arms are not truly horizontal, but curve downward: by careful calibration, the mosaicist compensated for the curve of the apse in order to make the arms of the cross look horizontal from the ground.<sup>84</sup> This is a mosaic of high technical quality.

The decision to decorate the apse with a single, monumental cross was presumably suggested by the iconoclast beliefs of Constantine V and his supporters, for whom only the cross and the eucharist were acceptable images of Christ.<sup>85</sup> The symbolic impact of the cross – particularly as a victorious standard closely associated with the imperial house, and perhaps also as an emblem of Christian opposition to Islam – was strong and multivalent; and the motif was comfortingly

<sup>80</sup> See 6, 8 above.

<sup>81</sup> W.S. George, *The church of Saint Eirene at Constantinople* (Oxford 1912) 47–56, pls 17, 18, 22.

<sup>82</sup> C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'The apse mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul. Report on work carried out in 1964', *DOP* 19 (1965) 141.

<sup>83</sup> See George, *Saint Eirene*, 47.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*; and P.A. Underwood, 'The evidence of restorations in the sanctuary mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea', *DOP* 13 (1959) 235–44 at 239.

<sup>85</sup> See, especially, S. Gero, 'The eucharistic doctrine of the Byzantine iconoclasts and its sources', *BZ* 68 (1975) 4–22; for a survey of the literature, K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine iconophile thought of the eighth and ninth centuries* (Leiden 1996) 178–90.

familiar: before the ninth century, the mosaic decoration in the main body of Hagia Sophia appears to have consisted solely of crosses and non-representational motifs, and since the sixth century the stepped cross had also appeared on coins.<sup>86</sup>

The apse mosaic is framed by two lengthy inscriptions and strips of ornament. Wreaths of leaves, banded at the apex of the arch, frame an inscription, taken from Amos 9:6, which George reconstructed as

Ο ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝ, ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΑΥΤΩ ('[It is he] that builds his ascent up to the sky, and establishes his promise on the earth; the Lord Almighty is his name').<sup>87</sup>

The inner borders are decorated with an abstract geometric pattern formed of lozenges with fleur-de-lys infill. The inscription here has been extracted from Psalm 64:4–5; it originally read:

ΠΛΗΣΘΗΣΟΜΕΘΑ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΣΟΥ, ΑΓΙΟΣ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΣΟΥ, ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΤΗΝ ΕΠΑΚΟΤΣΟΝ ΗΜΩΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ Ο ΣΩΤΗΡ ΗΜΩΝ, Η ΕΛΠΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΑΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ ΜΑΚΡΑΝ ('We shall be filled with the good things of thy house; thy temple is holy. [Thou art] wonderful in righteousness. Harken to us, O God our saviour; the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them [who are] afar off on the sea').<sup>88</sup>

This same passage is partially reproduced in the slightly later mosaics at Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, discussed below; in the *typikon* of Hagia Sophia, the preserved version of which dates from the early tenth century, it is cited as a reading for the *enkainia* (dedication or anniversary of the dedication) of a church.<sup>89</sup>

### *Hagia Sophia, Constantinople*

In the room over the southwest ramp at Hagia Sophia, the mosaic decoration of the south tympanum shows two medallions, one on either side of a now-blocked window (fig. 10). These contain gold crosses, with flared ends from which extend teardrop-shaped motifs, set against concentric circles of blue cubes. The crosses are in form virtually identical to that at Hagia Eirene (fig. 1). At Hagia Sophia, they replace medallion portraits of figures.<sup>90</sup> These figures were once named, and it is still possible to see the disruption of the cubes below the crosses where the identifying inscriptions were picked out.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Gero, *Constantine V*, 162–4; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Pour une problématique de la peinture d'église byzantine à l'époque iconoclaste', *DOP* 41 (1987) 321–37; Av. Cameron, 'The language of images: the rise of icons and Christian representation', in D. Wood, ed., *The Church and the Arts* (Studies in Church History 28. Oxford 1992) 1–42; Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 153–5; and for the role of the cross in anti-Muslim polemic, K. Corrigan, *Visual polemics in the ninth-century Byzantine psalters* (Cambridge 1992) 91–4.

<sup>87</sup> George, *Saint Eirene*, 48–50.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 50–1.

<sup>89</sup> J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église* II (Orientalia christiana analecta 166. Rome 1963) 186–7.

<sup>90</sup> The suture line indicative of replacement work was noted by P. Underwood, 'Notes on the work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1954', *DOP* 9/10 (1955/6) 292–3.

<sup>91</sup> Cormack and Hawkins, 'Mosaics', 204–5, figs 14, 20–1.

The room over the southwest ramp has been plausibly identified as the small *sekretion* (council hall) of the patriarchate.<sup>92</sup> The substitution of crosses for portraits suggests a date during iconoclasm, and the alteration has been linked specifically with the patriarch Niketas.<sup>93</sup> According to Theophanes, in 766/7 Niketas ‘scraped off the images in the small *sekretion* of the patriarchate, which were of mosaic, and those in the vault of the large *sekretion*, which were in paint, he removed and plastered the faces of the other images’.<sup>94</sup> Nikephoros places what appear to be these same actions in 768/9, when he notes that Niketas ‘restored certain structures of the cathedral church that had fallen into decay with time. He also scraped off the images of the saviour and of the saints done in golden mosaic and in encaustic that were in the ceremonial halls that stand there (these are called *sekreta* by the Romans), both in the small one and in the big one.’<sup>95</sup> The delay in removing holy portraits from the ecclesiastical administrative centre of the empire suggests that iconoclasm was not consistently imposed, and did not have immediate impact, even in the capital.

### *Koimesis Church, Nicaea*

As noted in the preceding section, the Koimesis church was destroyed in 1922; since then the ruins have been excavated, but for the interior decoration we must rely on Kluge’s photographs, taken in 1912, and on studies undertaken before the building’s destruction.<sup>96</sup> The church was part of a monastic complex founded by Hyakinthos, whose cruciform monogram appeared on a lintel that has recently been published as well as on various capitals,<sup>97</sup> and whose dedicatory inscription survived in the form of seven cruciform monograms carved on a marble plaque. The inscription read Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰακύνθῳ μοναχῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἡγουμένῳ (‘Theotokos, help your servant Hyakinthos, monk, priest, abbot’).<sup>98</sup> Inscriptions formed of a series of monograms have been associated with the eighth century,<sup>99</sup> and Gregory, abbot of the Hyakinthos monastery in Nicaea, signed the

<sup>92</sup> Mango, *Brazen House*, 53.

<sup>93</sup> C. Mango, *Materials for the study of the mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul* (DOS 8. Washington DC 1962) 94; Cormack and Hawkins, ‘Rooms above the southwest vestibule’, 210–11.

<sup>94</sup> Theoph., *Chronographia*, 443; trans. Mango–Scott, 611.

<sup>95</sup> C. Mango, ed. and trans., *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History* (DOT 10. Washington DC 1990) 160–3.

<sup>96</sup> See 10–11 above; Kluge’s photographs were published by T. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia. Das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken* (Berlin 1927).

<sup>97</sup> The lintel, found by Peschlow, was published by C. Mango, ‘Notes d’épigraphie et d’archéologie: Constantinople, Nicée’, *TM* 12 (1994) 351–2, figs 4–5.

<sup>98</sup> Schmit, *Koimesis-Kirche*, 12–14, pl. X,3. Related formulae appear on seventh-, eighth-, and ninth-century seals (see 131–5 below), and on the doors at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople erected by Theophilos (see 109–11 below).

<sup>99</sup> E. Weigand, ‘Zur Monogramminschrift der Theotokoskirche von Nicaea’, *B* 6 (1931) 411–20; also C. Foss, in H. Buchwald, *The Church of the Archangels in Sige near Mudania* (Byzantina Vindobonensia IV. Vienna 1969) 66–7; C. Barber, ‘The Koimesis Church, Nicaea. The limits of representation on the eve of iconoclasm’, *JÖB* 41 (1991) 43–60 at 44.

Acts of the Council of Nicaea in 787;<sup>100</sup> for these, and architectural, reasons, the church is usually dated to the late seventh or early eighth century,<sup>101</sup> although the sixth has also been proposed.<sup>102</sup>

The mosaic decoration of concern here was in the conch of the apse (fig. 11) and on the barrel vault over the bema (figs 12–13). In 1922, the conch showed a central image of the Virgin standing on a jewelled podium against a gold ground; she held the Christ child before her breast, and both figures were frontal. Above the Virgin's head, the hand of God emerged from an arc of heaven, along with three rays of light. An inscription taken from Psalm 109:3 (+ΕΓ [for ἔκ] ΓΑΣΤΡΟΣ ΠΡΟ ΕΩΣΦΟΡΟΤ ΓΕΓΕΝΗΚΑ [for ΕΓΕΝΝΗΣΑ] ΣΕ = 'I have begotten thee from the womb before the morning') echoed the curve of the ark.<sup>103</sup> The whole conch was framed with a band of abstract geometric motifs. The summit of the vault was occupied by a medallion that contained a backless throne supporting a jewelled book (the *hetoimasia*), above which hovered a dove set against a cross from which seven rays of light issued (fig. 12). On either side of the vault, two archangels stood (fig. 13), holding long staffs from which hung banners inscribed ΑΓΙΟΣ, ΑΓΙΟΣ, ΑΓΙΟΣ ('holy, holy, holy', the Trisagion); legends identified the figures as representing the four angelic orders: ΚΤΡΙΑΟΤΙΤΕΣ (for Κυριότητες, Dominions), ΕΞΟΥΣΙΕ (for Ἐξουσίαι, Virtues), ΑΡΧΕ (for Ἀρχαί, Principalities) and ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ (for Δυνάμεις, Powers). Beneath the angels ran an inscription, taken from Hebrews 1:6 (itself derived from Psalm 96:6): ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΤΝΕΣΑΤΩΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΝΓΕΛΟΙ (for ἄγγελοι) Θ[εο]ῦ ('And let all the angels of God worship him'); the viewer is left to supply the opening words of the verse: 'And when he bringeth in the firstbegotten into the world, he saith ...'.

The combination appears to herald the image of the Virgin and child in the apse. On the south side of the vault, another inscription appears between the wings of the two angels (fig. 13); this identifies a certain Naukratios as the restorer of the images.<sup>104</sup>

Evidence for the intervention usually attributed to Naukratios is clear even in the old photographs. In the apse, the outlines of a cross are clearly visible, as is the suture line that indicates where the gold background was picked out in order to insert it (fig. 11). When Naukratios' contribution, the Virgin and child, was substituted, the cubes used to outline the cross were removed and replaced with gold cubes that were

<sup>100</sup> H. Gregoire, 'Encore le monastère d'Hyacinthe à Nicée', *B* 5 (1930) 287–93, citing Mansi XII, 1111.

<sup>101</sup> See, especially, Buchwald, *Church of the Archangels*; U. Peschlow, 'Neue Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Ausstattung der Koimesiskirche in Iznik', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 22 (1972) 145–87; Mango, 'Notes d'épigraphie', 350–7.

<sup>102</sup> Most recently by F. de' Maffei, 'L'Unigenito consustanziale al Padre nel programma trinitario dei perduti mosaici del bema della Dormizione di Nicea e il Christo trasfigurato del Sinai', *Storia dell'arte* 45 (1982) 91–116 and 46 (1982) 185–99. We thank Glenn Peers for this reference. For a sixth-century dating for the sculpture, see C. Barsanti, 'Una nota sulle sculture del Tempio di Giacinto nella Chiesa della Dormizione (Koimesis) a Iznik-Nicea', *Storia dell'arte* 46 (1982) 201–8.

<sup>103</sup> On this citation and its interpretation, Barber, 'Koimesis Church', esp. 52–4.

<sup>104</sup> See Weigand, 'Zur Monogramminschrift', 420.

presumably meant to blend in with the background gold but which in fact are somewhat darker; they therefore remained visible in twentieth-century photographs.<sup>105</sup> The cross was not, however, the original decoration of the apse. As Kitzinger first suspected and Underwood was able to demonstrate, the cross replaced an earlier motif: the sutures that run parallel to the Virgin's elbows clearly show that two alterations were imposed on the original design, the first when the background was picked out to accommodate the cross, the second when the central area of the cross was itself removed to accommodate the Virgin and child.<sup>106</sup> Whatever it replaced, it is generally accepted that the cross was inserted during iconoclasm. Since the background remained largely intact, the original decoration must have been confined to the centre of the conch, and it is widely (but not universally) believed that a Virgin and child quite like the pair that survived until 1922 anticipated them.<sup>107</sup>

The archangels (fig. 13), too, are believed to have undergone restoration. At the very least, the inscription recording Naukratios' intervention – the letters of which differ considerably from those of the inscriptions presumed to be original – must have been added, and Underwood argued that the figures themselves were removed during iconoclasm, and replaced after 843.<sup>108</sup> The issue remains unresolved.

The alterations imposed on the Koimesis church at Nicaea were extreme: no parallel examples survived into the modern period. A ninth-century (?) miracle story suggests, however, that the changing fortunes of the Nicaea mosaics may document a more familiar story than we now suspect. Here, the author Elias, priest and *oikonomos* at the Great Church, claims that Constantine V destroyed the mosaics at the Chalkoprateia church in Constantinople, and replaced the image of the Annunciation in the apse with a cross; having removed the cross, the iconophile patriarch Tarasios (784–806) restored the images of Christ and his mother.<sup>109</sup>

### *Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki*

Although dendrochronology has now allowed a conclusive dating of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki to the seventh century, the mosaic decoration of the bema vault incorporates a monogram of Eirene and Constantine VI (780–97) and remnants of a cross in the conch of the apse apparently also belong to this period.<sup>110</sup> This was either

<sup>105</sup> See Underwood, 'Evidence of restorations', 237.

<sup>106</sup> E. Kitzinger, 'Byzantine art in the period between Justinian and Iconoclasm', *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* IV, 1 (Munich 1958) 12–16; repr. in *idem, The art of Byzantium and the medieval west, selected studies*, W.E. Kleinbauer, ed. (Bloomington 1976). Underwood, 'Evidence of restorations', 235–43.

<sup>107</sup> Compare, for example, de' Maffei, 'L'Unigenito consustanziale al Padre', who argues for an image of Christ (in the sixth century) with Barber, 'Koimesis Church', who assumes that the original image looked like the one destroyed in 1922.

<sup>108</sup> Underwood, 'Evidence of restorations', 240–2.

<sup>109</sup> See Mango, 'Notes d'épigraphie', 350 n. 34. The text has been edited by W. Lackner, 'Ein byzantinisches Marienmirakel', *Βυζαντινά* 13/2 (1985) 835–60, at 851–2, trans. 856–7; on the date, *ibid.*, 837–9.

<sup>110</sup> See S. Pelekanidis, 'Bemerkungen zu den Altarmosaiken der Hagia Sophia zu Thessaloniki und die Frage der Datierung der Platytera', *Βυζαντινά* 5 (1973) 31–40; R. Cormack, 'The apse mosaics of S Sophia at Thessaloniki', *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* 10 (1980/1) 111–35; repr. in *idem, The Byzantine eye: studies*

the original mosaic decoration of the bema or a replacement so thorough that no trace of an earlier programme remains.

The vault mosaic is fully preserved (figs 14–15). A cross surrounded by stars sits in a medallion that occupies the apex of the vault while on either side below, just above the cornice that separates the walls from the curved surface of the vault, an inscription and the monogram of Eirene and Constantine is topped by six rows of ornament. The inscription reads Χ[ρῖστ]Ε ΒΟΗΘΗ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΤ ... ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΤ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΤ ('Christ, help Theophilus, humble bishop'), a formula familiar on contemporary seals.<sup>111</sup> The rows of ornament are formed of small squares, divided by bands decorated with simulated jewels and pearls, that contain alternating crosses and leaves. The crosses, with flared ends terminated in teardrops, are virtually identical to those at Hagia Eirene and Hagia Sophia in Constantinople; the five-lobed leaves also find numerous parallels in late eighth- and, especially, ninth-century Byzantine ornament.

The outline of the cross that was originally in the apse was picked out when the Virgin and child were installed, and gold cubes were inserted to create a seamless background. Its faint outline is barely visible in reproductions (fig. 14). As at Hagia Eirene (but not Nicaea), the arms curved downward so that they appeared horizontal from floor level.<sup>112</sup> The inscription that accompanied the cross, now disrupted by the seated Virgin, was taken from Psalm 64 and was identical to that at Hagia Eirene.

## ii) THE PROBLEM OF ANICONIC DECORATION: THE CASE OF NAXOS

The painted or sculpted decoration of a number of churches has been used as a basis for attributing them either to the years of iconoclasm or to the period immediately following. In particular, the dominance of cross decoration is sometimes seen as a hallmark of iconoclasm, while programmes that combine crosses with holy portraits suggest to some the period between the two iconoclasms (787–815), to some the half century after iconoclasm had ended (i.e. the second half of the ninth century), and to some the second phase of the debate (815–43). Reliance on iconography to date a monument is problematic, and virtually every suggestion that aniconic decoration indicates a date during iconoclasm has been countered by the observation that cross decoration was not restricted to iconoclast circles, and that aniconic decoration in general appears to signal an inability to fund (or to find) a well-trained artisan as much as, or even more often than, it appears to indicate iconoclast tendencies.<sup>113</sup> Less often remarked – but as important – the inclusion of holy portraits does not automatically exclude a dating during iconoclasm, especially in the areas far from

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*in art and patronage* (London 1989) study V; and K. Theoharidou, *The architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki from its erection up to the Turkish conquest* (BAR International ser. 399. Oxford 1988) 31, all with extensive earlier bibliography.

<sup>111</sup> See 131, 133 below.

<sup>112</sup> See Underwood, 'Evidence of restorations', 239.

<sup>113</sup> The latter point is especially well put by A. Wharton Epstein, 'The "iconoclast" churches of Cappadocia', in Bryer and Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm*, 103–11. For a somewhat different argument, see D.I. Pallas, 'Eine anikonische lineare Wanddekoration auf der Insel Ikaria. Zur Tradition der bilderlosen Kirchengestaltung', *JÖB* 23 (1974) 271–314.



the capital where most programmes that combine cross sequences with figures have been preserved.

Roughly fifty buildings have been assigned a date during iconoclasm solely on the basis of their decoration. About half of these are in Cappadocia; the remainder are scattered across the empire, from Cherson to Crete, but with a high proportion on the island of Naxos in the Cyclades. In Cappadocia and on Naxos, there are sufficient monuments with figural and with aniconic decoration over a relatively long time span to make comparisons, and in both areas a reasonably coherent architectural tradition provides at least a modicum of controlled data. Elsewhere, the random nature of the sample makes it exceptionally difficult to date the works involved, especially as many of the decorative programmes are fragmentary or badly abraded, and many appear to be rough products done by untrained hands. As has already been noted, historical circumstances make it particularly unlikely that Cappadocia was the locus of extensive artisanal activity in the eighth and first half of the ninth centuries.<sup>114</sup> Naxos, therefore, is the focus of the following discussion.

### *Naxos*

One hundred and thirty churches have been catalogued on the island of Naxos, and of these at least thirteen retain aniconic decoration as (usually) the first layer of painted ornament.<sup>115</sup> The decoration in most of these is now fragmentary – and it was in many cases eventually painted over and only recovered during a massive restoration project originally financed by the Greek National Research Institute, which raises the question of how many other aniconic layers await discovery at other sites – but four churches retain sufficient quantities of non-figural painting to allow discussion.<sup>116</sup>

On the undercoating plaster of Hagios Ioannis Theologos at Adisarou, a crude cross over the south door and random and indistinct markings in black and red on the

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<sup>114</sup> See 4–5 above.

<sup>115</sup> M. Chatzidakis, N. Drandakis, N. Zias, M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, and A. Vasilaki-Karakatsani, *Naxos* (Athens 1989) 10, 53. Fourteen aniconic programmes are noted, but only thirteen listed. The Panagia Drosiani at Mani is said (*ibid.*, 11) to have a layer of aniconic decoration between two figurative layers, but it is not included in the list of aniconic monuments produced by Acheimastou-Potamianou (*ibid.*, 53) and Drandakis does not mention aniconic decoration in his essay on the church (*ibid.*, 18–26). The only church that clearly has aniconic decoration over figural imagery is the Protothronos near Chalki, discussed below.

<sup>116</sup> The others are Hagios Georgios, near Apiranthos, with a painted cross in a circle in the conch of the parekklesion (Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 51, 53); a second Hagios Georgios, at Kakavas near Apiranthos (*ibid.*, 53); the Panagia Kaloritissa, a cave church near Damarionas with an apsidal cross (Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Pour une problématique', 334; Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 10–11, 53); the cemetery church of Hagios Ioannis Theologos at Danakos, with a cross-in-a-circle painted in the apse (Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Pour une problématique', 334; Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 51, 53); Hagios Demetrios, the katholikon of an abandoned monastery in Chalandra near Kynidaros (*ibid.*, 53); the Panagia Monasteriotissa at Engares (*ibid.*, 53); and, with only faint traces of aniconic decoration, Hagios Ioannis Theologos at Kaloxylou, Hagios Panteleimon at Mersini near Apiranthos and the church at Potamia (*ibid.*, 53).

walls have been attributed to the builders.<sup>117</sup> The first decorative programme added to the church was restricted to the sanctuary, and consists of carefully planned fields of non-figural ornament, sometimes with incised guidelines, painted in earth tones. A cross (now largely destroyed) occupied the conch of the apse; other motifs include simulated marble panels, regular patterns of polygons enclosing floral motifs or geometric ornament, circles and lozenges framed by entwined-rope decoration that encase more floral forms and are themselves set within squares with heavy palmettes filling the corners (fig. 16), multi-coloured chevrons, and scale decoration.<sup>118</sup> A fragmentary inscription suggests that the church may originally have been dedicated to the Theotokos.<sup>119</sup>

The first layer of painting in Hagia Kyriake at Kalloni near Apiranthos was also restricted to the east end of the church and consisted of non-figural decoration painted in earth colours. Again, a cross probably originally filled the conch of the apse; below this there are paintings simulating marble revetments and two panels painted with six birds each. Smaller crosses flanked by palm trees, scale ornament, chevrons, and repeated patterns of filled polygons, circles, and squares appear, as do floral motifs reminiscent of those at Hagios Ioannis Theologos.<sup>120</sup>

The aniconic decoration at Hagios Artemios at Stavros near Sangri is better preserved than that at Hagia Kyriake, and includes many similar motifs. Simulated marble panels, geometric patterns filled with floral motifs (fig. 17), spiral and scale decoration all recur, and as at Hagia Kyriake they are restricted to the east end of the church and are painted with a palette limited to earth colours.<sup>121</sup>

Hagios Ioannis Theologos, Hagia Kyriake, and Hagios Artemios are all usually dated to the ninth century, the arguments for which rely principally on the association of non-figural decoration with iconoclasm and have most recently been presented by Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou for the first programme and by Agapi Vasilaki-Karakatsani for the latter two.<sup>122</sup> More precisely, Vasilaki-Karakatsani has suggested that the ribbons around the necks of the birds at Hagia Kyriake and the tile-like layout of the patterns in all three monuments suggest Arab influence that she associates with the reign of Theophilos.<sup>123</sup> While much of the ornamental repertory

<sup>117</sup> M. Acheimastou-Potamianou in Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 50; the same phenomenon has been observed in Cappadocia: see R. Cormack, 'Byzantine Cappadocia: the archaic group of wall-paintings', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 30 (1967); repr. in *idem*, *The Byzantine eye: Studies in art and patronage* (London 1989) 27.

<sup>118</sup> Acheimastou-Potamianou in Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 50–7, figs 3–9.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 51, where the inscription is dated to the ninth century.

<sup>120</sup> A. Vasilaki-Karakatsani in Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 58–64, figs 1–6.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 58–64, figs 7–14.

<sup>122</sup> In Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 50–64, with earlier bibliography to which should be added Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Pour une problématique', 333–4 and V. Ruggieri, *Byzantine religious architecture (582–867): Its history and structural elements* (Orientalia christiana analecta 237. Rome 1991) 259–60; Cormack, 'Byzantine Cappadocia', 29 is more cautious.

<sup>123</sup> Vasilaki-Karakatsani in Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 63–4; she first made this suggestion in A. Vasilaki, 'Εικονομαχικές εκκλησίες στη Νάξο', *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* 3–4 (1962–63) 59–63. The so-called Sasanian ribbon motif, along with many other 'Arab' patterns, apparently entered the Byzantine repertoire through the medium of textiles: see Chapter 5, below.

found in the three churches is ubiquitous and virtually undatable, the specific configurations of the floral motifs and the palmettes point to a date somewhat later than the years of Theophilus' rule (829–42).

Many of the floral decorations in all three churches are of a specific type known as the 'almond-rosette' (*Mandelrosette*), a motif that consists of a circular-, square- or lozenge-shaped border within which four almond-shaped 'petals' radiate from a central circle while additional multi-coloured scalloped bands between the almond petals expand the shape of the bloom. The earliest known painted version of the almond-rosette appears in a manuscript of the homilies of John Chrysostom from the monastery of Hagia Anna in Kios (modern Gemlik) in Bithynia that is dated by colophon to 862/3.<sup>124</sup> Another simple version appears in the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris, a Constantinopolitan manuscript datable to 879–82 on the basis of its imperial portraits.<sup>125</sup> More elaborate examples that are closer to the wall paintings on Naxos appear in a group of manuscripts with related decoration that includes a manuscript of saints' lives copied by a certain Anastasios in 890, probably in a Greek monastery in Italy,<sup>126</sup> and the so-called Leo Bible, another Constantinopolitan manuscript usually dated to *ca* 940,<sup>127</sup> along with a half dozen books usually assigned to the late ninth or early tenth century.<sup>128</sup> Heavy palmettes of the type found in the Naxos paintings also appear in this group of manuscripts, especially in the mid tenth-century Leo Bible.<sup>129</sup> On the basis of these comparisons, it would appear that the taste for aniconic decoration on Naxos represented by Hagios Ioannis Theologos, Hagia Kyriake and Hagios Artemios should be ascribed to the late ninth century at the earliest, and more likely the first half of the tenth. It

<sup>124</sup> Now Meteora, Monastery of the Transfiguration, cod. 591: line drawing in K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1935) fig. 31b.

<sup>125</sup> Paris. gr. 510, f.285v: L. Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth centuries: rethinking centre and periphery', in G. Prato, ed., *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito* (Florence 2000) 523, pl. 9b.

<sup>126</sup> Paris. gr. 1470, f.3r: *ibid.*, pl. 9a; line drawing in Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, fig. 37a.

<sup>127</sup> Vat. reg. gr. 1, f.282r: *ibid.*, pl. XLVII, 278. On the date, C. Mango, 'The date of cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 1 and the "Macedonian Renaissance"', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 4 (1969) 121–6; on the place of origin, P. Canart and S. Dufrenne, 'Le Vaticanus Reginensis graecus 1 ou la province à Constantinople', in G. Cavallo, G. de Gregorio and M. Maniacci, eds, *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio 2* (Spoleto 1991) 631–6.

<sup>128</sup> The so-called 'Bithynian group': see Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 39–44. Note that while two of the manuscripts originated in Bithynia (at Kios and Broussa), others did not: see I. Hutter, 'Scriptoria in Bithynia', in C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds, *Constantinople and its Hinterland* (Aldershot 1995) 379. The decoration of one of these manuscripts (Athens, National Library cod. 212) has already been connected with the wall paintings at Naxos by A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and C. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the illuminated Byzantine manuscripts of the National Library of Greece 3, Homilies of the church fathers and menologia 9th–12th century* (Athens, 1997) 22–3.

<sup>129</sup> For example, Vat. reg. gr. 1, ff.337r, 428r, 451r, 303r: Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pls XLVI, 275–7, XLVII, 282.

need not be directly related to the official Byzantine policy of iconoclasm promoted by Constantinople.<sup>130</sup>

The aniconic layer at the Protothronos near Chalki is more limited in scope and is apparently unrelated to the other three. Here, a rather carefully drawn arcade was painted on the curved wall of the apse, with a simple cross with slightly flaring arms inserted in each simulated opening (fig. 18).<sup>131</sup> The cross-arcade remained the visible layer of decoration until it was covered by portraits of the hierarchs in the thirteenth century;<sup>132</sup> unusually, it was not the first decoration of the church, but was painted over full-length portraits of the apostles which have been tentatively assigned to the sixth or seventh century.<sup>133</sup> As Acheimastou-Potamianou has already observed, this not only indicates acceptance of aniconic decoration but suggests a conscious decision to switch to it.<sup>134</sup> When this decision was taken, however, is unclear.

There are two alternatives. The first is that the cross decoration represents a response to state iconoclasm and should therefore be dated to the eighth or ninth century. The second, suggested by the aniconic decoration at Hagios Ioannis Theologos, Hagia Kyriake and Hagios Artemios, is that the cross-arcades at the Protothronos responded to a local rather than to a state initiative, and should therefore be dated with those churches to the late ninth or early tenth century. While the frescoes at the Protothronos are quite different in form from those in the other three churches – they cannot all be seen as part of a focused island-wide campaign by a single team of painters – this does not necessarily indicate that the Protothronos was decorated at a significantly earlier or later date than Hagios Ioannis Theologos, Hagia Kyriake, and Hagios Artemios. If any frescoes on Naxos belong to the years of iconoclasm, it is likely to be the second layer at the Protothronos, but the dating is still too uncertain to permit firm conclusions.

### iii) TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

The texts that describe mosaics or wall paintings destroyed or installed during the years of iconoclasm are extremely well known. Nearly all were published in English translation by Mango, and many were discussed extensively by Grabar.<sup>135</sup> One that was not – the miracle story about the image of the Virgin at the Chalkoprateia – has already been mentioned;<sup>136</sup> another, apparently concerning a decorative programme that focused on images of saints and martyrs installed by the patriarch Tarasios,

<sup>130</sup> For other suggestions, see Acheimastou-Potamianou in Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 53–7.

<sup>131</sup> Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 11, 34, 37, 42–4, 53, 56, fig. 28. Nicos Zias notes that the arcade also enclosed ‘birds and fish that have not survived in good condition’ (*ibid.*, 42); these are not visible in the reproduction that accompanies his essay and we have not seen the frescoes, which have been detached from the wall and had been sent away for restoration when we were on Naxos.

<sup>132</sup> Zias in Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 48.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 41–2, fig. 7.

<sup>134</sup> In Chatzidakis *et al.*, *Naxos*, 56.

<sup>135</sup> Mango, *Art*, 152–65; Grabar, *Iconoclasm*, 115–42. See also Part II: The written sources, below.

<sup>136</sup> See 23 above.

has received considerable comment elsewhere.<sup>137</sup> Many (perhaps most), although interesting as set-pieces of anti-iconoclast rhetoric, are suspect as sources about actual events.

The texts fall into several groups. Several, most focused on the reign of Constantine V, castigate the iconoclasts for destroying venerable religious images and replacing them with secular themes or, rarely, as in the account of the Chalkoprateia church mentioned above, the cross.<sup>138</sup> The early ninth-century author of the *Life* of St Stephen the Younger claims, for example, that Constantine V removed the depictions of six ecumenical councils from the Milion (a building in front of Hagia Sophia from which all distances were measured) and 'portrayed in their stead a satanic horse-race and that demon-loving charioteer whom he called Ouranikos'.<sup>139</sup> The *vita* also accuses him of removing the images of Christ's life from the church of the Theotokos at the Blachernai in Constantinople and of converting the church 'into a storehouse of fruit and an aviary: for he covered it with mosaics [representing] trees and all kinds of birds and beasts, and certain swirls of ivy-leaves [enclosing] cranes, crows, and peacocks, thus making the church ... altogether unadorned'.<sup>140</sup> The same text asserts that 'wherever there were venerable images of Christ or the Mother of God or the saints, these were consigned to the flames or were gouged out or smeared over. If, on the other hand, there were pictures of trees or birds or senseless beasts and, in particular, satanic horse-races, hunts, theatrical and hippodrome scenes, these were preserved with honour and given greater lustre.'<sup>141</sup>

In other texts, new decorative programmes set up by iconoclasts are mentioned without apparent criticism. These mostly concern Theophilos, and the neutral tone may respond to the 'rehabilitation' of that emperor after his death that has been discussed by Markopoulos.<sup>142</sup> According to Theophanes *continuatus*, Theophilos decorated his armoury with 'pictures of shields and all kinds of weapons'; and had the lower walls of a newly built section of the palace known as the Kamilas 'revetted with slabs of the same [green] marble, while the upper part has gold mosaic

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<sup>137</sup> *Life* of Tarasios 49–52: St. Efthymiadis, *The Life of the patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the Deacon* (BHG 1698) (BBOM 4. Aldershot 1998) 139–42; trans. 194–7; comm. 238–42, where Theodore the Stoudite's description of a John the Baptist martyrdom sequence is also noted (PG 99:768B–769A). Additional commentary: W. Wolska-Conus, 'Un program iconographique du patriarche Tarasios', *REB* 38 (1980) 247–54; C. Walter, 'An Iconographical Note', *REB* 38 (1980) 255–60; L. Brubaker, 'Perception and conception: art, theory and culture in ninth-century Byzantium', *Word & Image* 5/1 (1989) 19–32.

<sup>138</sup> See 23 above.

<sup>139</sup> *Life* of St Stephen the Younger 65: M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre* (BBOM 3. Aldershot 1997) 166; trans. *ibid.*, 265; Mango, *Art*, 153.

<sup>140</sup> *Life* 29: Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, 126–7; trans. *ibid.* 221–2; Mango, *Art*, 153.

<sup>141</sup> *Life* 26: Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, 121, trans. *ibid.* 215; Mango, *Art*, 152.

<sup>142</sup> A. Markopoulos, 'The rehabilitation of the emperor Theophilos', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 37–49. It has been suggested that references to Theophilos' islamicizing works may have been meant to associate the emperor with enemies of the empire: C. Barber, 'Reading the garden in Byzantium: nature and sexuality', *BMGS* 16 (1992) 1–19.

representing figures picking fruit'.<sup>143</sup> In the same complex was a room on the walls of which were 'mosaics whose background is entirely gold, while the rest consists of trees and green ornamental forms'.<sup>144</sup> The latter is reminiscent of the mosaics at the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the Great Mosque at Damascus, installed a century earlier, perhaps with Byzantine assistance.<sup>145</sup>

Finally, a few texts note new programmes installed during the period between the two iconoclasms. These include the hagiographic and martyrdom sequences attributed to Tarasios by his early ninth-century biographer<sup>146</sup> and a tenth-century account of panels installed at the church of the Virgin of the Source to commemorate Eirene's healing there:

In gratitude for which she, together with her son [Constantine VI], dedicated veils woven of gold and curtains of gold thread ... as well as a crown and vessels for the bloodless sacrifice decorated with stones and pearls. She also ordered that, as a lasting memorial, their portraits should be executed in mosaic on either side of the church, handing over the offerings that have been enumerated so as both to express their faith and to proclaim for all time the miracle ....<sup>147</sup>

### Beyond the Empire: The Christian Monuments of Syria and Palestine

This section is concerned primarily with Christian architecture and its decoration in Syria and Palestine, areas that had only recently been lost to the Arabs and which maintained a strong Christian cultural presence throughout the eighth century and into the ninth.<sup>148</sup> It does not cover Egypt because it is virtually impossible to date any of the so-called Coptic material to the eighth or early ninth century with any assurance.<sup>149</sup> Nor does it treat Italy. Although a large number of buildings were constructed and decorated in the eighth and ninth centuries, especially in Rome,<sup>150</sup> and some of them have been associated with Byzantium,<sup>151</sup> the particularities of Italy (and, again, especially Rome) during these years are quite distinct from those of the

<sup>143</sup> Theoph. Cont. 139ff; trans. Mango, *Art*, 163.

<sup>144</sup> Theoph. Cont. 139ff; trans. Mango, *Art*, 164.

<sup>145</sup> Reproductions in K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture I: the Umayyads*, 2nd edn (Oxford 1969); on the possibilities of Byzantine assistance, see, e.g., H.A.R. Gibb, 'Arab-Byzantine relations under the Umayyad caliphate', *DOP* 12 (1958) 221–33, especially 225. On the architecture of Syria and Palestine, see below.

<sup>146</sup> Above, and n. 137.

<sup>147</sup> *De sacris aedibus Deiparae ad Fontem*: in *AS* Nov. III, 880C; trans. Mango, *Art*, 156–7. On later donations to this shrine, see A.-M. Talbot, 'Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and its art', *DOP* 48 (1994) 135–65.

<sup>148</sup> See, for example, Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 161–3.

<sup>149</sup> The tenth-century Egyptian chronicler Severus ibn al-Muqaffa notes a Coptic church built in Jerusalem between 819 and 830, but no additional detail is known: see Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 121.

<sup>150</sup> See R. Krautheimer, *Rome: profile of a city* (Princeton 1980) 89–142; and R. Coates-Stevens, 'Dark age architecture in Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 65 (1997) 177–232.

<sup>151</sup> For example, St Maria Antiqua, pope Zacharias' additions to the Lateran, Pope Leo III's arch: all are discussed in Krautheimer, *Rome*, with bibliography.

east Roman empire.<sup>152</sup> How the cultural interaction between Italy and Byzantium played itself out in the buildings of the western half of the former Roman empire is an interesting and complex problem, but it is outside the scope of this study.<sup>153</sup> Islamic architecture and architectural decoration in the eighth and ninth centuries will also be ignored here. It should be noted, however, that mosques and the so-called desert palaces – several of which survive – were constructed and decorated by the Umayyads in Syria and Damascus.<sup>154</sup> These provide an artisanal context for the Christian monuments considered below.

The Christian monuments have one feature in particular that demands attention here: the figural decoration of many of them shows signs of deliberate defacement. They document the force, or at least the accommodation, of iconoclasm outside of the Byzantine empire. This response is particularly obvious in Palestine because the area had a strong tradition of mosaic decoration, especially (it appears) on floors; this is a durable medium that survives much better than does wall decoration of any sort. Palestine has therefore left us with evidence that may simply have disappeared from other areas where different, more perishable media were favoured. One striking feature of the Palestinian floor mosaics is that most of them are dated by inscriptions. They are therefore considered in chronological order.<sup>155</sup>

*al-Quwaysmah, Lower Church (717/8)*

At al-Quwaysmah, a settlement about 3 km. south of Amman (ancient Philadelphia), an inscription in the mosaic floor of the church commemorates the installation of the floor and the restoration of the church, possibly necessitated by the earthquake of 717/8 recorded by Theophanes.<sup>156</sup> If so, the response was immediate and suggests a well-organized and well-funded Christian community. The church, which appears to have been part of a monastic complex, was also slightly enlarged at this time.

The building consists of an apsed hall, a southern aisle nearly equal in size to the main nave, and a room to the east of the south aisle; three smaller rooms lie to the west. All three main spaces received mosaic floors. The western three-quarters

<sup>152</sup> C.J. Wickham, 'Ninth-century Byzantium through western eyes', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 245–56.

<sup>153</sup> For the same reason, Frankish works that have been associated with Byzantium in one way or another (e.g., St Germigny des Près) will not be considered here. On Carolingian buildings in the Holy Land, see Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 338, 358.

<sup>154</sup> On mosaic and fresco decoration of the surviving desert palaces, see M. Almagro et al., *Qusayr 'Amra. Residencia y baños omeyas en el desierto de Jordania* (Madrid 1975); R. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Maffar. An Arabian mansion in the Jordan valley* (Oxford 1959); M. Piccirillo, *The mosaics of Jordan* (Amman 1992) 343–52.

<sup>155</sup> For overviews of the monuments, see M. Piccirillo, 'The Umayyad churches of Jordan', *ADAJ* 28 (1984) 333–41; Piccirillo, *Mosaics*; P.-L. Gatier, 'Les inscriptions grecques d'époque islamique (VIIe–VIIIe siècles) en Syrie du sud', in P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, eds, *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VIIe–VIIIe siècles* (Damascus 1992) 145–57; Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*; R. Schick, 'Palestine in the early Islamic period: luxuriant legacy', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 61/2 (1998) 74–108, especially 86–8.

<sup>156</sup> R. Schick and E. Suleiman, 'Preliminary report on the excavations of the lower church at el-Quweisma, 1989', *ADAJ* 35 (1991) 325–40; Piccirillo, *Mosaics*, 35, 46, 258, 266–7; Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 433–4.

of the nave floor showed connected medallions containing birds, floral motifs, baskets, and chalices; the eastern quarter, mostly destroyed before the building was excavated, was filled with a large panel containing animals and plants. The south aisle mosaic contains the dating inscription, in Greek, and a pattern of connected squares and oblongs. The squares enclose geometric ornament or representations of grapes, containers, and, in four cases, buildings. An Aramaic inscription set into the eastern edge of the floor between the two rooms asks Christ to bless the site. The floor of the room off the south aisle is divided into two panels, both with geometric ornament.

At some point before the church was abandoned in, probably, the ninth century, the nave mosaic was altered: the cubes forming the heads and legs of the birds were carefully picked out and replaced with tesserae of the same size and approximately the same colour as the whitish background (fig. 19). Like the crosses which replaced medallion portraits of saints at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in the 760s (fig. 10), the changes at al-Quwaysmah were not made with intent to damage or deface the church; they were modifications designed to reconfigure the content of the floor with the least possible disruption to its quality. Unlike the changes made at Hagia Sophia, however, Byzantine iconoclast policy cannot be directly responsible for those made at al-Quwaysmah: Palestine was under the jurisdiction of Umayyad Damascus, not of Constantinople. Nonetheless, the alterations at al-Quwaysmah are not isolated examples.

*Umm al-Rasas, St Stephen's Church (718)*

At Umm al-Rasas (ancient *Kastron Mefaa*), about 30 km. southeast of Madaba, the floor of the basilica of St Stephen is entirely covered in mosaic, most of which can be dated by inscription to 718.<sup>157</sup> The inscription fills a panel at the east end of the nave, and the donors were once depicted at the east end of the two aisles. Portions of the bodies remain, but the bulk of each figure has been reconstructed by removing the tesserae and replacing them at random (figs. 20–21). The main body of the nave is filled with a vine scroll that contained figures and animals, now partially obscured by the scrambled cube technique already seen in the donor panels. This is framed by a river scene (a so-called nilotic landscape), also disfigured, but with undamaged representations of ten cities of the Nile delta. Between the nave and the side aisles, panels containing additional city portraits depict the cities along the Jordan, eight, from the west bank, to the north, and seven (including a double-size image of *Kastron Mefaa*), from the east bank, to the south. Geometric patterns fill the side aisles, with infill of vegetal motifs, jars, baskets, and a few partridges that escaped later damage.

<sup>157</sup> Piccirillo, *Mosaics*, 218–31, 238–9; M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata, *Umm al-Rasas/ Mayfa'ah I, Gli scavi del complesso di Santo Stefano* (Studium biblicum franciscorum, Collectio major 28. Jerusalem 1994) 134–240. The dating has been disputed, but the issue seems to have been resolved in favour of 718 by Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 472–3 (see the review by H. Kennedy in the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 [1999] 813–14). On the later bema and apse mosaics, see below.



*Ma'in, Church on the Acropolis (719/20)*

Segments of the mosaic floor from the nave of a church and an adjoining room to the north were uncovered in Ma'in in 1934.<sup>158</sup> The nave mosaic consisted of a central carpet of geometric interlace, once filled with animals and perhaps figures; these were later removed and replaced by flowers, baskets of fruit, a sailing boat, and such like. The central panel was framed with an acanthus scroll that was originally inhabited by hunters and animals; these too have been replaced by plants, although some segments of animals and hunting weapons are still visible. An outer frame contained images of cities, of which eleven have survived, separated by fruit trees. All are identified in Greek, and represent cities along the banks of the Jordan river; all were episcopal sees except for Ma'in itself. Ma'in is about 5 km. southwest of Madaba, site of the well-known sixth-century mosaic map,<sup>159</sup> and the region seems to have favoured city portraits. Panels at the east and west ends of the nave contain inscriptions. That at the east is based on Psalm 50:19; that at the west quotes two additional Psalms and gives the date of 719/20.<sup>160</sup> The room to the north once illustrated Isaiah 65:24, 'And the lion shall eat chaff like the ox', but most of the ox was later replaced by a tree and an urn (fig. 22), and the segment that portrayed the lion has not survived.

*Deir al-'Adas, Church of St George (722)*

The floor mosaic at Deir al-'Adas, in southern Syria, has been little studied, and the dedicatory inscription giving the date 722 has never been edited.<sup>161</sup> The mosaic depicts hunting scenes, and shows no signs of later disfigurement. The dating locates it amongst the group of churches that were apparently repaired after the earthquake of 717/8, while the undamaged figures may suggest that later Christian iconoclasm in the Umayyad territories was localized in Palestine.<sup>162</sup>

*Nabha, Church (732/3 and 746)*

The extensive mosaic pavement of the church at Nabha, just off the Orontes river in modern Lebanon, was laid in two campaigns that are dated by inscription to 732/3 and 746.<sup>163</sup> The floor is decorated exclusively with geometric and floral patterns. This may suggest that a change in attitude toward figural representation had occurred.

<sup>158</sup> R. de Vaux, 'Une mosaïque byzantine à Mâ'in (Transjordanie)', *Revue biblique* 47 (1938) 227–58; Piccirillo, *Mosaics*, 35–6, 46, 196–201; *idem*, *Chiese e mosaici di Madaba* (Jerusalem 1989) 228–34; Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 398–9.

<sup>159</sup> Conveniently reproduced in Piccirillo, *Mosaics*, fold-out plate between 80 and 81, figs 62–77. Detailed discussion and full bibliography in H. Donner, *The mosaic map of Madaba* (Palaestina antiqua 7. Kampen 1992).

<sup>160</sup> De Vaux, 'Une mosaïque byzantine à Mâ'in', believed that the inscription was a later insertion, a thesis countered by Piccirillo, with whom Schick appears to agree: see *Christian communities of Palestine*, 399.

<sup>161</sup> J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques de Syrie* (Brussels 1977) 148–50; Gatier, 'Les inscriptions grecques d'époque islamique', 148.

<sup>162</sup> So too Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 121, 126, 205–6, 217.

<sup>163</sup> Gatier, 'Les inscriptions grecques d'époque islamique', 148, 152.

*Umm al-Rasas, St Stephen's Church (756)*

The mosaic floors of the bema and apse were installed in 756, for Bishop Job (fig. 23). The decoration is non-figural and consists entirely of geometric ornament.<sup>164</sup>

*Ramot, Church of St George (762)*

A monastic complex in Ramot, a suburb of Jerusalem, contains a simple mosaic floor, the decoration of which is composed almost entirely of a framed inscription that gives the year 762.<sup>165</sup>

*'Ayn al-Kanisa, Chapel of the Theotokos (762)*

The monastic chapel of the Theotokos at 'Ayn al-Kanisa, in the neighbourhood of Mount Nebo, has an elaborate mosaic floor, with a central vine scroll once inhabited by birds and animals (later mostly reworked), a bema with sheep and fruit trees flanking a curtained portal, and two inscriptions (fig. 24).<sup>166</sup> The first is integral with the vine scroll and is undated; the second appears on a large geometric panel at the west entrance, is dated to 762, and commemorates the rebuilding of the chapel at the time of the same Bishop Job who was commemorated at Umm al-Rasas in 756. The epigraphy of the two inscriptions is quite different. Piccirillo believes that the undated one, with the vine scroll that it accompanies, probably belongs to the second half of the sixth century, and that the 762 reconstruction was limited to the western panel containing the inscription. When the iconoclast intervention occurred is unclear. Ognibene has argued that it predates a fire that blackened the tesserae of the original floor and of the alterations, the effects of which are not evident in the 762 panel – she suggests, in fact, that the restoration cited by the 762 inscription was occasioned by this otherwise unattested fire. Since other figural mosaics are dated to *ca* 720, while geometric ones predominate at mid-century, Ognibene locates the height of iconoclasm in Palestine to sometime between *ca* 720 and *ca* 750.<sup>167</sup>

*Church of the Virgin at Madaba (767)*

Although fragments appear elsewhere in the church, the mosaic floor at the church of the Virgin in Madaba is fully preserved only in the circular nave (fig. 25). It reconstructs an earlier pavement, portions of which are still visible at the edges of the room. The decoration is almost entirely geometric, with only a few heart-shaped

<sup>164</sup> Piccirillo, *Mosaics*, 220, 238; Piccirillo and Alliata, *Umm al-Rasas I*, 136–7; Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 473.

<sup>165</sup> R. Arav, L. Di Segni and A. Kloner, 'An eighth-century monastery near Jerusalem', *LA* 40 (1990) 313–20; Gatier, 'Les inscriptions grecques d'époque islamique', 155. On the situation in Jerusalem itself, see A. Linder, 'Christian communities in Jerusalem', in J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai, eds, *The history of Jerusalem. The early Muslim period 638–1099* (Jerusalem 1996) 121–62.

<sup>166</sup> M. Piccirillo, L. Di Segni and E. Alliata, 'Le due iscrizioni della cappella della Theotokos nel Wadi 'Ayn al-Kanisah – Monte Nebo', *LA* 44 (1994) 521–38; M. Piccirillo, 'La chapelle de la Theotokos dans le Wadi 'Ayn al-Kanisah au Mont Nébo en Jordanie', *ADAJ* 39 (1995) 409–20; Schick, 'Palestine in the early Islamic period', 87; M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata, *Mount Nebo: new archaeological excavations 1967–1997* (Studium biblicum franciscorum, Collectio major 27. Jerusalem 1998) 359–64, 448–51; S. Ognibene, 'The iconophobic dossier', in *ibid.*, 373–89.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

leaves, stylized flowers, and two bowls of fruit, each accompanied by a knife. There are two inscriptions. One, on a panel at the east end of the nave, dates the reconstruction to the year 767. The second fills the central medallion round which the rest of the pavement is focused. It reads 'If you want to look at Mary, virginal mother of God, and to Christ whom she generated, universal king, only son of the only God, purify [your] mind, flesh and works. May you purify with prayer the people of God.'<sup>168</sup> This is usually taken to indicate that an icon of the Virgin and Christ child stood in the apse.

*Shunah al-Janubiyah, Church (undated)*

A mosaic church pavement without an inscribed date has also been assigned to the Umayyad period by Piccirillo on stylistic grounds. It covers an earlier floor, and consisted of geometric ornament interspersed with birds. The central inscription was unfortunately damaged beyond legibility during the accidental discovery of the building by bulldozer in 1980; only the word 'deacon' can now be reconstructed.<sup>169</sup>

*Iconoclasm in Palestine*

Excavation in modern Jordan is currently well-funded, and new archaeological discoveries are frequent. At the present time, however, the latest dated floor with figural mosaics is apparently the church of St George at Deir al-'Adas, of 722. After this, geometric ornament prevails and at some point, perhaps in the second quarter of the eighth century, people, animals, fishes, and birds were replaced, or partially replaced, by non-representational motifs in a number of churches. It is worth reiterating that this iconoclasm was far from consistent: it seems to have been a localized response, just as in Byzantium different areas appear to have responded differently to the official iconoclasm of the court.

Iconoclasm in Palestine was not, however, the same phenomenon as it was within the empire. Byzantine iconoclasm targeted holy portraits, while Palestinian iconoclasm seems to have been directed more widely at representations of any living creature – it had, in fact, more in common with Islamic prohibitions than with Christian iconoclasm as promoted from Constantinople.<sup>170</sup> Nor was Byzantine iconoclasm accepted by the Christian church hierarchy in the east: it was condemned in 760, 764, and 767 by eastern synods and patriarchs,<sup>171</sup> and two of the strongest voices against the Byzantine position were raised by the eastern monks John of Damascus and Theodore Abu Qurrah.<sup>172</sup> Further, the central mosaic inscription at the church of the Virgin at Madaba, which is contemporary with the geometric

<sup>168</sup> L. Di Segni, 'The date of the Church of the Virgin at Madaba', *LA* 42 (1992) 251–7; Gatier, 'Les inscriptions grecques d'époque islamique', 149; Piccirillo, *Mosaics*, 50, 64–5; Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 395 (with an incorrect date).

<sup>169</sup> M. Piccirillo, 'A church at Shunah Nimrin', *ADAJ* 26 (1982) 335–42; Piccirillo, *Mosaics*, 46, 320–3.

<sup>170</sup> For discussion of this issue, see Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 180–219; Ognibene, 'The iconophobic dossier'; Schick, 'Palestine in the early Islamic period', 87–8.

<sup>171</sup> Discussion in Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 210–11.

<sup>172</sup> On whom, see 248–50 and 255, below.

ornament of the floor, suggests that panel portraits of at least the Virgin were acceptable, even when figures and animals were removed or absent from floors.

Iconoclasm in Palestine does not, then, seem to have been inspired by Byzantine iconoclasm. Nor does it seem to respond directly to Islamic policy. Even if the caliph Yazid II actually sponsored the iconoclast edict of 721 that is attributed to him by later Christian writers (notably the 787 council at Nicaea), many churches that were assuredly still in use at the time were not affected and there is anyway little evidence for hostile destruction.<sup>173</sup> As has been argued strongly, especially by Schick, the disfigurement is so carefully done that it seems most likely to have been executed by people who used and respected the buildings affected – in other words, the Christian population of Palestine itself.<sup>174</sup>

If the Christians of Palestine were responding to coercion from local Muslim authorities, it is not documented. Less-official social pressure may, however, have been at work. We know, particularly from Theodore Abu Qurrah, that Islamic arguments against images were often persuasive: Abu Qurrah wrote his tract about the value of Christian images not to condemn the iconoclast policies of Constantinople (as had John of Damascus, less than half a century earlier) but to convince his Christian audience, swayed by the beliefs of their Islamic neighbours, that icons were not idols.<sup>175</sup> The desire to deflect criticism on a very local and intimate level may provide the most compelling context for the apparent change in taste witnessed by the floor mosaics of mid-eighth-century churches in Palestine.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Full discussion of Yazid's edict, with bibliography, in Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 215–17; list of churches in use during the Umayyad period that were not altered in *ibid.*, 184–5.

<sup>174</sup> References in n. 170, above.

<sup>175</sup> See S. Griffith, 'What has Constantinople to do with Jerusalem? Palestine in the ninth century: Byzantine orthodoxy in the world of Islam', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 181–94, especially 189–90.

<sup>176</sup> See also Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 218–19, who, however, thinks that Yazid II's edict had a more precise effect.

## Manuscripts

Perhaps the most significant development in the production of manuscripts during the eighth and ninth centuries was the introduction of a new script, minuscule.<sup>1</sup> Minuscule developed from cursive, with letters connected one to another, frequent combinations of letters (ligatures), and no word separation. Although first documented in the Uspensky Gospel of 835, minuscule apparently began to replace the old majuscule (or uncial) hand around the year 800. Because minuscule letters take up less space than their majuscule counterparts, and are quicker to write, the new script reduced the cost of manuscripts considerably.

In the ninth century, we also find an increasing interest in inserting ornament into the text.<sup>2</sup> Most common are division bars, headpieces, and enlarged and/or decorated initials, all of which are used to divide the document into coherent units by signalling the beginnings and endings of text segments. In Byzantium, until the second half of the ninth century (and often thereafter), such ornament was the responsibility of the scribes, who used the same ink(s) for words and decoration.

### Dated Greek Manuscripts, 700–850

Four manuscripts contain inscriptions that allow them to be securely dated between the years 700 and 850. They are considered here in chronological order:

#### *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1291: Ptolemy*

The illustrated copy of Ptolemy's 'handy tables', written in a careful upright majuscule and now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (gr. 1291),<sup>3</sup> includes three full-page miniatures. Two represent the constellations of the north (f. 2v; fig. 26) and

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, R. Barbour, *Greek literary hands AD 400–1600* (Oxford 1981) xviii–xix; *ODB* 2, 1377–8, with additional bibliography; A. Blanchard, 'Les origines lointaines de la minuscule', in J. Bompaigne and J. Irigoin, eds, *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Colloques internationaux du CNRS 559. Paris 1977) 167–73.

<sup>2</sup> L. Brubaker, 'The introduction of painted initials in Byzantium', *Scriptorium* 45 (1991) 22–46; I. Hutter, 'Scriptoria in Bithynia', in C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds, *Constantinople and its Hinterland* (Aldershot 1995) 379–96; L. Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth centuries: rethinking centre and periphery', in G. Prato, ed., *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito* (Florence 2000) 513–34.

<sup>3</sup> 95 folios; 280 × 204 mm. Bibliography in P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Studi e testi 261. Vatican City 1970) 566–567; I. Spatharakis, 'Some observations on the Ptolemy Ms. Vat. gr. 1291: its date and the two initial miniatures', *BZ* 71 (1978) 41 n. 1.

south hemispheres (f. 4v); the third is a 'sun-table' (f. 9r), with personifications of the hours, the months, and the signs of the zodiac encircling a personification of the sun in a chariot (fig. 27). Folios 22r to 37v contain tables, each composed of three columns surmounted by a lunette in which is pictured the relevant sign of the zodiac (figs 28–29), so that the full set is repeated eight times. Other tables picture personifications of the four winds in lunettes (f. 45v), of the two winds and of the moon, also in lunettes (f. 46r), of the four winds in medallions (f. 46v), of the moon, in the centre, with four medallions of day and night in the corners (f. 47r), and of the four winds in the corner spandrels surrounding a circular diagram (f. 47v).<sup>4</sup>

The Vatican Ptolemy was for many years dated to the reign of Leo V (813–20). This attribution was based on the list of emperors accompanied by their regnal years on f. 17r, which early commentators believed to have originally stopped after Leo's name. In 1978, Ioannes Spatharakis reassessed the palaeography, and argued that the last emperor whose name had been written by the original scribe was Theophilos (829–42).<sup>5</sup> Further precision was offered by the sun-table on f. 9r (fig. 27), with legends that indicate the time the sun enters each sign of the zodiac. This calculation varies year to year, and the times listed on f. 9r are accurate for the years 680/1, 753/4, and 830/1, with a margin of error of four years earlier or later.<sup>6</sup> Spatharakis thus concluded that the Vatican Ptolemy should be dated somewhere between 829 and 835.

Following a suggestion from Ihor Ševčenko, David Wright examined the hands responsible for f. 17r yet again, and determined that the last emperor originally named was, in fact, Constantine V (741–75); accordingly, he opted for the middle date possible for the sun-table on f. 9r, *ca* 753/4.<sup>7</sup> While the latter is perhaps overly precise, Ševčenko's initial observation holds: a change of script, particularly evident in the constructions of the *lambda* and *omega*, appears with the name of Constantine's son, Leo (IV). The Vatican Ptolemy was, then, almost certainly made during the second half of the eighth century, and probably during the reign of Constantine V, an emperor with an indisputable iconoclast attitude. Its place of origin, too, is clear from the tables, which were calculated to be accurate from the latitude of Constantinople.<sup>8</sup>

Assigning the Ptolemy illustrations to the reign of Constantine V raises no obvious problems: these are pictures without any religious pretensions. They provide important evidence of the interest in scientific information in eighth-century

<sup>4</sup> Reproductions are cited in Spatharakis, 'Some observations', 41 n. 1; see especially K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1935) 1–2, pls 1–5.

<sup>5</sup> Spatharakis, 'Some observations'.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, 46; D. H. Wright, 'The date of the Vatican illuminated handy tables of Ptolemy and of its early additions', *BZ* 78 (1985) 358.

<sup>7</sup> I. Ševčenko, 'The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 800', *DOP* 46 (1992) 279 and n. 2, 281, 287; Wright, 'The date of the Vatican Ptolemy', especially 356–8. Examination of the manuscript in 1984 independently led Brubaker to draw the same conclusions; she thanks Professor Ševčenko for subsequent fruitful discussions of the manuscript.

<sup>8</sup> See Wright, 'The date of the Vatican Ptolemy', 359.

Constantinople, and are also our best witness to painting styles in the capital during iconoclasm. Although it would be unsound to place too much weight on a single example, it is nonetheless important to define the formal characteristics of the only datable figural miniatures which can be localised in eighth-century Constantinople.

Two and possibly three different hands are evident in the miniatures, but we cannot agree with Spatharakis that the first two miniatures – the constellations of the north and south hemispheres on ff. 2v (fig. 26) and 4v – are additions to the manuscript inserted in the second half of the ninth century.<sup>9</sup> This thesis was primarily based on the date of the later scholia added to these pages, and has been discussed and corrected already by Wright.<sup>10</sup> Wright nonetheless believes that the two miniatures differ in style and technique from the later paintings in the book, and that they did not form part of the original manuscript, but were added slightly later, probably before *ca* 815.<sup>11</sup> This is hard to justify. The constellations are painted in a very dark blue (almost black) with white highlights against a deep-blue sphere, a technique appropriate only to representations of the night sky. It is not surprising that the technique recurs neither in the sun-table – which has, equally appropriately, a gold background – nor in the other diagrams, and its use on ff. 2v and 4v cannot be cited as evidence for a different date for these two pages. Unfortunately, the difference in technique also makes formal comparisons tenuous. The figures of the constellations are, however, at least generally similar stylistically to the personifications on f. 9r. Iconographically, they follow slightly different conventions – wingless as a constellation (figs 26, 28, 29), for example, Virgo is winged on f. 9r (fig. 27) – but the formulae used on ff. 2v, 4v, and 9r are far more closely related to each other than to the zodiac forms found in the lunettes of the tables that follow. On balance, one may group the three full-page miniatures together, and see them all as parts of the original eighth-century programme. The style exemplified on the most varied of these pages, f. 9r (fig. 27), is characterized by small figures, carefully modelled in three, and sometimes four, tones. Little hard contour line is found, except for a fairly sharply pointed v-shape that defines the groins of the personifications; faces are particularly sketchy and vivid.

The small images in the lunettes at the top of the tables, in medallions, or in spandrels, have different formal requirements from the full-page miniatures and are therefore not easily compared. It is clear, however, that these images were painted by two distinct hands, one responsible for ff. 22r–23v (fig. 28) and 45r–47v, the other for ff. 24r–37v (fig. 29).<sup>12</sup> The zodiac lunettes of the first sequence (ff. 22r–23v) have a blue background while the following seven sequences (ff. 24r–37v) are unpainted. Different iconographic formulae are followed: Virgo, for example, on f. 23r is a full figure turned three-quarters to the right and wearing a sleeveless pale-red peplum over a green tunic, while the following seven sequences show the figure three-

<sup>9</sup> Spatharakis, 'Some observations', 47–9.

<sup>10</sup> Wright, 'The date of the Vatican Ptolemy', 359–61.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 360–1.

<sup>12</sup> The zodiac sequence on ff. 22–3 also follows a different order from that in the rest of the zodiac tables.

quarter length, turned to the left, and wearing a lavender mantle over a red undergarment. The two groups also differ stylistically. While both use more linear systems of highlighting than the full-page miniatures, expressed as prominent white and black slashes, this linearity is far more pronounced in the second group. The personifications of the winds, day and night, and the moon on ff. 45v–46v are closely related to those on ff. 22r–23v save that the background colour has been changed to gold.

We may conclude that two, and (if the opening sequence was produced by a distinct hand) perhaps three, miniaturists worked together on the Vatican Ptolemy. These artisans used a wide range of colours, including gold and the always-expensive blue. The paintings are technically accomplished. Taken together, these points suggest that artisanal production did not stagnate in eighth-century Constantinople.

*Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1666: Dialogues of Gregory the Great*  
This copy of the Greek translation of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, first prepared by pope Zacharias in the mid-eighth century, was copied in 800, certainly in Italy and probably in Rome; it is now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. gr. 1666).<sup>13</sup> The text is written in majuscule, with some headings and rubrics in red-orange ink at the beginning of the manuscript.<sup>14</sup> Decoration is limited to division bars and simple frames, both composed of various geometrical shapes, supplemented by enlarged initial letters. Initial decoration is limited, simple, and, although predominantly restricted to ink, includes the earliest painted letters preserved in a Greek manuscript. The text is divided into four sections; for the first three of these, paint was restricted to the opening initials and division bars or

<sup>13</sup> A. Frantz, 'Byzantine illuminated ornament', *Art Bulletin* 16 (1934) 51, pl. IV, 2; Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 77, figs 520–1; C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci (codices 1485–1683)* (Vatican City 1950) 408–9; A. Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXe–XIe siècles)* (Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 8. Paris 1972) 9–10, 18, 30–1, 36, 47, 82, figs 64–7; G. Cavallo, 'Funzione e struttura della maiuscola greca tra i secoli VIII–XI', in Bompaigne and Irigoien, eds, *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, 107, 111–12; J. Leroy, 'Les manuscrits grecs en minuscule des IXe et Xe siècles de la Marcienne', *JÖB* 27 (1978) 30; G. Cavallo, 'Interazione tra scrittura greca e scrittura latina a Roma tra VIII e IX secolo', in P. Cockshaw, M.-C. Garand and P. Jodogne, eds, *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata* 1 (Ghent 1979) 23–9; G. Cavallo, 'La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria', in G. Cavallo, V. Von Falkenhausen, R. Farioli Campanati, M. Gigante, V. Pace, F. Panvini Rosati, eds, *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan 1982) 505–6, fig. 450; P. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 82; S. Dufrenne, 'Problèmes des ornements de manuscrits byzantins. Deux études dédiées à Kurt Weitzmann: I. Trois manuscrits byzantins du Xe siècle à la Bibliothèque nationale de Madrid (Cod. 4595, 4596 et Res. 235); II. Essai d'analyse des lettrines des manuscrits byzantins', *Scriptorium* 41 (1987) 50 n. 51; J. Osborne, 'The use of painted initials by Greek and Latin scriptoria in Carolingian Rome', *Gesta* 29/1 (1990) 77–80, figs 1–4; Brubaker, 'The introduction of painted initials', 39, 43; K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts, Addenda und Appendix* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 244, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, IV, 2, 2. Vienna 1996) 63–4; Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth centuries', 517–18, figs 2–3.

<sup>14</sup> The manuscript consists of 185 folios, and the red-orange rubrics end at f. 47r.



headpieces. The text of the last section (Book 4), which begins on f. 136v, was the responsibility of a second scribe/illuminator,<sup>15</sup> who introduced into the body of the text a few painted and somewhat more elaborately decorated initials. In addition, the initial that opens the fourth book uses a new ornamental vocabulary: interlace, palmettes, snakes and dog-heads replace the fish and stripe decoration of the previous three initials.<sup>16</sup> The second artisan also adds a fresh colour, green, to the red, yellow, and blue of the initials that introduce the first three books. This scribe/illuminator, although writing in Greek, relied on Latin models for the decorative vocabulary: even the interlace, a common Byzantine motif, reproduces a 'celtic' rather than Greek pattern.<sup>17</sup>

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 437: Dionysios the Areopagite*  
*St Petersburg, GPB (Gosudarstvennaia Publichnaia Biblioteka im. Saltykova-Shchedrina), gr. 219: Uspensky Gospel*

Few Greek manuscripts can be dated securely to the eighth century, but a handful have been attributed convincingly to the first half of the ninth. Most of these have minimal decoration that is restricted to simple division bars and slightly enlarged initial letters written in the ink of the text, sometimes with a very simple foliate terminal. Two dated or datable manuscripts of the period follow this system, which seems to be characteristic of early Stoudite products, although it is not restricted to that group.<sup>18</sup> The earliest is Paris. gr. 437, a majuscule copy of Dionysios the Areopagite that was probably written before 827 and sent west by the Byzantine emperor Michael II as a gift to the Frankish emperor Louis the Pious.<sup>19</sup> Here, the decoration consists of small red crosses that accompany chapter headings, undulating horizontal lines punctuated with small vertical squiggles that sometimes

<sup>15</sup> So, too, Osborne, 'The use of painted initials', 79. The ink colour also changes here.

<sup>16</sup> The second illuminator does, however, sometimes use fish to embellish letters in the text (see ff. 143v, 148r, 167v, 169v, 171v, 172v, 174r, and 175r).

<sup>17</sup> See, further, Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth centuries', 521.

<sup>18</sup> On the Stoudite group, see B.L. Fonkič, 'Scriptoria bizantini. Risultati e prospettive della ricerca', *RSBN* n.s. 17–19 (1980/82) 83–92, pls 1–7; and N.F. Kavrus, 'Studiiskii skriptorii v IX v (po materialam rukopisei Moskvyy i Leningrada)', *VV* 44 (1983) 98–111. On the decoration of Stoudite products, see L. Perria, 'Scrittura e ornamentazione nei manoscritti di origine studita', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 47 (1993) 245–60, esp. 245–54.

<sup>19</sup> H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements* I (Paris 1886) 47–8; H. Omont, *Fac-similés des plus anciens manuscrits grecs en oncial et en minuscule de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1892) 8, pl. XIV; H. Omont, 'Manuscrit des oeuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople à Louis le Débonnaire en 827', *REG* 17 (1904) 230–6; J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris 1926) 76; J. Leroy, 'Un témoin ancien des Petites Catéchèses de Théodore Studite', *Scriptorium* 15 (1961) 42–3, 54–5; Cavallo, 'Funzione e struttura', 99; Fonkič, 'Scriptoria bizantini', 84; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 6–9, 125 n. 10, 143; *Byzance*, 188–9 (no. 126); Perria, 'Scrittura e ornamentazione', 247. The description that follows originally appeared in Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth centuries', 514–15.

fill the space left at the end of a line of text, a scattering of red initials and titles, and simple enlarged initials. In some cases, a letter stroke is slightly elongated;<sup>20</sup> in others, the letter form itself is drawn out into a point or the serifs attached to the base line are elongated.<sup>21</sup> The most complicated ornament is a terminal tail that is often attached to the letter *kappa* when it appears at the end of a line or in the lowest line of text. Stripped of the elongated majuscule letter forms and tailed *kappas*, this same basic formula recurs in a series of undated minuscule manuscripts, most associated with the Stoudite monastery.<sup>22</sup> These virtually undecorated books find parallels in a dated Stoudite book, the so-called Uspensky Gospel written by the scribe Nicholas in 835 and now in St Petersburg (Petropol. gr. 219),<sup>23</sup> although Nicholas adds a small terminal leaf to the base of certain marginal annotations, and once inserts a cross partially framed by a vine with small grape clusters formed of dots, all in the ink of the text (fig. 30).<sup>24</sup>

While manuscripts written in Latin had long since developed extensive repertoires of initial decoration, the *Dialogues* is the oldest Greek book to incorporate painted initials, a practice not found in books produced in Byzantium proper until the 860s, and not fully developed until the 880s. The connections between the *Dialogues'* initials and decorative motifs already well-established in Latin texts demonstrate how Greek texts written in the west could adapt an ornamental vocabulary developed for Roman script to the Greek alphabet, and this affiliation suggests that certain motifs developed in the west moved to Byzantium through the intermediary of Italo-Greek books wherein 'local' decorative features invented to embellish Roman letters had already been adapted to the Greek alphabet.<sup>25</sup> Some of the motifs favoured in the west – such as the 'celtic' style interlace mentioned earlier – were not continued in the Byzantine heartlands; others were: the snakes, fish, palmettes, and stripes of Vat. gr. 1666 all recur in ninth-century eastern manuscripts.<sup>26</sup> The critical point is not that there was a precise one-to-one correlation between motifs, but that the sudden proliferation of painted initials in Byzantium after *ca* 880 may have been stimulated by imported texts with painted letters.<sup>27</sup> The *Dialogues* provides an important early witness to this process. It is, however, exceptional and cannot be considered a product of Byzantium proper. The three dated manuscripts that may

<sup>20</sup> For example, an *eta* on f. 54r, an *alpha* on f. 93v.

<sup>21</sup> For example, a *delta* on f. 6r, an *epsilon* on f. 7r, a *sigma* on f. 22v, an *omikron* on f. 31r.

<sup>22</sup> For example, Vat. gr. 2625 and Paris. Coisl. 20, ff. 1–2 (both *ca* 830): see Fonkič, 'Scriptoria bizantini', 84–6; Perria, 'Scrittura e ornamentazione', 249–52.

<sup>23</sup> As noted in the introduction to this chapter, Petropol. gr. 219 is apparently the oldest dated minuscule manuscript. See Fonkič, 'Scriptoria bizantini', 84–5, pls 1–4; Kavrus, 'Studiiskii skriptorii', 99–102, pls 1–3; and, for the manuscript's decoration, Perria, 'Scrittura e ornamentazione', 248–9.

<sup>24</sup> Fonkič, 'Scriptoria bizantini', pls 2–3; Kavrus, 'Studiiskii skriptorii', pl. 2b; Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, fig. 236.

<sup>25</sup> Brubaker, 'The introduction of painted initials'.

<sup>26</sup> Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth centuries', 522–3.

<sup>27</sup> See Brubaker, 'The introduction of painted initials'.

be attributed to Constantinople or its environs suggest that the acceptance of the painted initial there was not an offshoot of iconoclasm and that in fact texts produced between the years 730 and 843 were given at best minimal scribal ornament.

### Undated Greek Manuscripts with Decoration

The following Greek texts with decoration, presented in alphabetical order by current location, have been attributed to the first half of the ninth century. Not all of these attributions can, however, be accepted; nor can all of the manuscripts be assigned to a Byzantine centre of production.

*Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. E.49/50 inf.: Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*

The two earliest illustrated copies of the *Homilies* (sermons) of Gregory of Nazianzus both belong to the ninth century. The edition now held in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510), which dates to 879–82 and belongs to a distinctly post-iconoclast milieu, falls well outside the remit of this book; the other – Milan, Ambrosiana E.49/50 inf. – may well have been produced earlier in the century, although whether or not it pre-dates 843 is unclear.<sup>28</sup> The text is written in two columns in a slanting majuscule. After a painted and gilded frontispiece (p. 1), the central writing block of two sides (pp. 2–3) has been stained purple and carries gold writing; the remaining text is embellished with enlarged initials and simple scribal decoration in the ink of the text or in the orange-red ink that is also used for some of the titles. About 250 marginal miniatures, usually black ink drawings infilled with gold, survive;<sup>29</sup> although technically similar to the images in the *Sacra Parallela* (on which see below), the style of the Milan miniatures is quite different, and the Gregory artisan was considerably less proficient.<sup>30</sup> The Milan *Homilies* is usually credited to (what is now) Italy on the basis of its script, the style of its miniatures, and its depictions of tonsured monks.<sup>31</sup> Whatever the precise date of the manuscript, the Italian attribution probably removes its miniatures from consideration as products of iconoclast Byzantium. It must be admitted, further, that the miniatures find no compelling parallels in works from either the Greek-speaking areas of the west or from Byzantium proper.

*Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 129: Khludov Psalter*

*Mount Athos, Pantokrator 61: Psalter*

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 20: Psalter*

Another three manuscripts with illustrations in the margins of the text, the so-called marginal psalters, are amongst the best-known products of ninth-century

<sup>28</sup> See Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 13–18, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>29</sup> A. Grabar, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne (Ambrosiana 49–50)* (Paris 1943) published most of the miniatures.

<sup>30</sup> See Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, especially 15, 25.

<sup>31</sup> Cavallo, 'La cultura italo-greca', 507; Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 20–1.

Byzantium.<sup>32</sup> They have been associated with the iconophile patriarch Methodios (843–47), and with his chief advisor, Michael the Sygkellos, from the Chora monastery.<sup>33</sup> The miniaturists of the Khludov Psalter (Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 129) and of the related marginal psalter on Mount Athos, Pantokrator 61, allude frequently to iconoclasm and other topical issues of the eighth and first half of the ninth century.<sup>34</sup> These allusions have been studied elsewhere in detail by, amongst others, André Grabar, Suzy Dufrenne, Ihor Ševčenko, and Kathleen Corrigan.<sup>35</sup> Here we will look briefly at six images which portray events of iconoclasm or known iconoclasts.

Perhaps the best-known of these is the illustration in the Khludov Psalter that accompanies Psalm 68:22, 'They gave me also gall for my food, and made me drink vinegar for my thirst'.<sup>36</sup> As in many other illustrated psalters, the Khludov miniaturist here painted the Crucifixion (fig. 31), a typological image from the New Testament. But in addition to this, a second vignette showing an iconoclast whitewashing a portrait of Christ draws a visual parallel between the murder of Christ and the defacement of his image. The comparison is reinforced by the inscriptions 'they [mixed] vinegar and gall' beside the Crucifixion and 'they mixed water and lime on his face' next to the iconoclasts. This conceit was not invented by the psalter miniaturist: in written rather than visual form, it had appeared already in the anti-iconoclast text *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*.<sup>37</sup> The relevant passage reads 'formerly the impious put to the lips of Jesus a mixture of vinegar and gall; in our day, mixing water and lime and fixing a sponge to a pole, they applied it to the icon and besmeared it'.<sup>38</sup> Whether or not the Khludov miniature derives directly from this passage is uncertain;<sup>39</sup> we may certainly assume, however, that the ideas

<sup>32</sup> All miniatures have been published: S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen age I* (Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 1. Paris 1966); M.V. Shchepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi Psaltyri* (Moscow 1977).

<sup>33</sup> I. Ševčenko, 'The anti-iconoclastic poem in the Pantocrator Psalter', *Cahiers archéologiques* 15 (1965) 52–60; K. Corrigan, *Visual polemics in the ninth-century Byzantine psalters* (Cambridge 1992) 124–34.

<sup>34</sup> The psalter in Paris, while related to the Khludov manuscript, is fragmentary and will not be considered here. Its miniatures were published by Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*; see also Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, 146–7. The most recent study, with earlier literature, is J. Anderson, 'Further prolegomena to a study of the Pantokrator psalter: an unpublished miniature, some restored losses, and observations of the relationship with the Khludov Psalter and Paris fragment', *DOP* 52 (1998) 305–21, especially 315–21.

<sup>35</sup> Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 196–202, 214–33; *idem*, 'Quelques notes sur les psautiers illustrés byzantins du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Cahiers archéologiques* 15 (1965) 61–82; S. Dufrenne, 'Une illustration "historique" inconnue du psautier du Mont-Athos, Pantokrator no. 61', *Cahiers archéologiques* 15 (1965) 83–95; Ševčenko, 'The anti-iconoclastic poem in the Pantocrator Psalter', 39–60; Corrigan, *Visual polemics*.

<sup>36</sup> The following relies on Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, 21, 30–1.

<sup>37</sup> On this text, see 250–1 below.

<sup>38</sup> *PG* 95:333A–336B; trans. Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, 31. The connection was first made by J.R. Martin, 'The Dead Christ on the Cross in Byzantine Art', in K. Weitzmann, ed., *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend Jr.* (Princeton 1955) 189–96, at 192.

<sup>39</sup> C. Walter, 'Latter-day saints and the image of Christ in the ninth-century

expressed in both verbal and visual form were current in iconophile circles during the years of iconoclasm and its immediate aftermath.

This same sort of parallelism recurs three times. As an illustration to Psalm 51:9, 'Behold the man who made not God his strength and trusted in the abundance of his wealth, and strengthened himself in his vanity', the miniaturist of the Khludov Psalter painted an image of St Peter trampling on Simon Magus (fig. 32), who had attempted to buy the gift of healing from the apostles (Acts 8:9–24). This is accompanied by a portrait of the iconophile patriarch Nikephoros (806–15), who holds a portrait of Christ and tramples on the iconoclast patriarch John the Grammarian (837–43). The inscriptions read 'Peter does away with Simon Magus on account of his love for money' and 'Patriarch Nikephoros pointing out Iannes [John the Grammarian], the second Simon and iconoclast'.<sup>40</sup> Again, the parallel appeared in written form as well, notably in the *Canon on the setting up of the holy images* attributed to Methodios. This reads 'They have soiled his sanctuary by their illicit ordinations for money. Canonically they have been cast out. And they have fallen from the divine glory, Simon Magus and with him ... John'.<sup>41</sup>

The association of John the Grammarian with simony, this time contrasted with a personification of Charity on the preceding page, had also appeared earlier in the Khludov Psalter (f. 35v) as an illustration to Psalm 36:35, where John is portrayed being inspired by a 'money-loving demon'.<sup>42</sup> The link between iconoclasts in general and simony continues on f. 67v, where a group of Jews bribing the guards at Christ's tomb is paralleled with an image of an iconoclast bishop – again inspired by a 'money-loving demon' – who ordains two men for payment, offered in prominent red sacks. The bishop is labelled 'simoniacs ... and those who dishonoured the icon of Christ earn an addition to their iniquity', a reference to the accompanying Psalm 68:28–29, 'Add thou iniquity to their iniquity, and let them not come into thy righteousness. Let them be blotted out of the book of the living and not be enrolled with the righteous.'<sup>43</sup>

Both the Khludov (fig. 33) and the Pantokrator (fig. 34) Psalters depict the iconoclast Council of 815 as an illustration to Psalm 25:5, 'I hated the assembly of evil doers, and with the ungodly I cannot sit', a reference to the patriarch Nikephoros' refusal to attend the Council that reinstated iconoclasm. In the Khludov Psalter, Nikephoros, holding a portrait of Christ, stands above the gathered Council, the participants of which watch two men whitewash a portrait of Christ; the blood that appears to drip down the wall and engulf the iconoclasts has been interpreted

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Byzantine marginal psalters', *REB* 45 (1987) 205–22 at 216, believes that the inscriptions were lifted from the *Adversus*.

<sup>40</sup> Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, 27–8. Iannes, the Egyptian magician of II Timothy 3:8, is a negative epithet regularly bestowed on John the Grammarian: see Ševčenko, 'The anti-iconoclastic poem in the Pantokrator Psalter', 45–6.

<sup>41</sup> *PG* 99:1772C; trans. Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, 28. The connection was first made by J.J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter* (*Acta societatis scientiarum fennicae* 31, 5. Helsinki 1903) 81.

<sup>42</sup> Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, 28–29.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 29–30.

as a reference to stories that circulated in iconophile circles during iconoclasm of Christ's icon responding to attack by bleeding.<sup>44</sup>

The Pantokrator miniature (fig. 34) also shows Nikephoros, now seated, with a portrait of Christ, above the prostrate figures of the emperor Leo V and the iconoclast patriarch Theodotos, responsible for the Council of 815 which is depicted alongside. This takes place in a two-storey building, with the majority of participants clustered around Theodotos below, and a single figure – usually identified as John the Grammarian – with a scroll above. Corrigan has persuasively argued that the composition should be interpreted as the rejection of the writings of the iconoclasts, and especially of the *florilegium* of passages in support of iconoclasm compiled by John the Grammarian at the request of Leo V, which she believes is represented by the scroll held by the figure identified as John.<sup>45</sup>

The Pantokrator image is accompanied by a poem, probably added shortly after the miniature was painted (perhaps, as Corrigan has speculated, by the patriarch Methodios).<sup>46</sup> This has been edited, with commentary, by Ihor Ševčenko.<sup>47</sup> It opens: 'Nikephoros, standing as a steadfast keep of orthodoxy, trampling on the hostile head of Diosdotos [Theodotos] ... and crushing the abominable neck of the ferocious Lion [Leo], the savage fighter against God ... speaking evil against the venerable icons'.<sup>48</sup> Whether or not either the text or the image circulated independently of the Pantokrator Psalter is, however, unknown.<sup>49</sup>

A final anti-iconoclast image appears only in the Pantokrator Psalter (fig. 35), where it accompanies Psalm 113:12–15: 'The idols of the nations are silver and gold; the workmanship of men's hands. They have a mouth but they cannot speak; they have eyes but they cannot see; they have ears but they cannot hear; they have noses but they cannot smell; they have hands but they cannot handle; they have feet but they cannot walk; they cannot speak through their throat. Let those that make them become like to them, and all who trust in them.' The miniaturist has painted a representation of the temple, below which the psalmist David turns away from John the Grammarian, who gestures toward two idols, while pointing toward Beseleel, the artisan instructed by God to build the temple (Exodus 31:1–11).<sup>50</sup> This refers to a complex set of arguments concerning the proper interpretation of Psalm 113. For the iconoclasts, the passage cited above constituted biblical proof that their position was God-given, and that the iconophiles were idolators. The iconophiles countered this argument by introducing Beseleel, ordered by God to decorate the temple with,

<sup>44</sup> N. Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'art byzantin considérée principalement dans les miniatures* 1, trans. M. Trawinski (Paris 1886; repr. New York 1970) 179–80; Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, 32–3, 113–14.

<sup>45</sup> Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, 114–16, 120–1.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 132–3.

<sup>47</sup> Ševčenko, 'The anti-iconoclastic poem in the Pantokrator Psalter', 39–60.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 43–4.

<sup>49</sup> For discussion on this point, see Ševčenko, 'The anti-iconoclastic poem in the Pantokrator Psalter', especially 54–60, and Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, especially 114–15.

<sup>50</sup> The following relies on Dufrenne, 'Une illustration "historique" inconnue du psautier du Mont-Athos', 83–95, and Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, 33–5, 62, 92–3, 111, 121.

as shown prominently in the Psalter miniature, images of the cherubim (Exodus 25:18–20). Idols were inspired by the devil; images were required by God.<sup>51</sup> The Psalter miniature pictures the psalm's author, David, rejecting the iconoclast position in favour of the iconophile arguments.

The polemical miniatures found in the marginal psalters responded to, and participated in, the climate of debate that characterized the years of iconoclasm and its immediate aftermath. While it was not only iconoclast attitudes toward religious imagery that were pilloried, it nonetheless seems particularly appropriate that in the marginal psalters images were used to condemn those who had previously spurned them.

*Mount Athos, Lavra A.23: Gospel*

A gospelbook now on Mount Athos (Lavra A.23) was attributed by Kurt Weitzmann to the late eighth or early ninth century.<sup>52</sup> The manuscript is written in minuscule, and contains canon tables, at least one decorated initial, and three evangelist portraits.<sup>53</sup> The Uspensky Gospel of 835 (see above) is the earliest dated example of minuscule script, and the Lavra hand looks considerably later: its 'figure-eight' *omega*, for example, is characteristic of manuscripts from the late ninth century.<sup>54</sup> The initial *beta* on f. 16r, too, finds parallels in manuscripts of *ca* 900 such as a martyrology now in Paris and a lectionary from Prousa (modern Bursa) in Bithynia.<sup>55</sup> It would thus appear that the Lavra Gospel was produced well after iconoclasm.

*Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine: Menaion*

A manuscript listing the readings for the fixed liturgical feasts (a menaion) for January, written in a thick majuscule with a pronounced slant to the right, was discovered in the 1970s at the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai, and has been dated by Linos Politis to *ca* 800.<sup>56</sup> It includes an enlarged initial *chi* of the hollow-bar type that is filled in with stripes and has a large terminal heart-shaped ivy leaf on its left descender (fig. 36). Stripes and ivy-leaf terminals are among the most common ornaments in the oldest Greek books with decorated letters,<sup>57</sup> and this may prove to be one of the earliest examples from the Greek east.

<sup>51</sup> For further discussion on this point, Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 20–1, 27–8, 31–2.

<sup>52</sup> Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 2, pls 6–10; Weitzmann, *Addenda*, 19.

<sup>53</sup> In addition to Weitzmann, see L. Nees, *The Gundohinus Gospels* (Medieval Academy Books 95. Cambridge MA 1987) especially 47, 74–5, 101, 119, 159–61, 218, figs 11, 20, 36–8, 57.

<sup>54</sup> Compare Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. 10 (or Nees, *The Gundohinus Gospels*, fig. 20) with the so-called Anastasios style: e.g., Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*, pl. 16 (Paris. gr. 1470 of 890). See, further, note 23 above.

<sup>55</sup> For example, Paris. gr. 1470 + 1476 of 890 and London, British Library, Harley 5787 of *ca* 900 (or perhaps the very early tenth century): bibliography and discussion of both in Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth centuries', 518, 528–9.

<sup>56</sup> L. Politis, 'Nouveaux manuscrits grecs découverts au Mont Sinaï, rapport préliminaire', *Scriptorium* 34 (1980) 10, pl. 3.

<sup>57</sup> See Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth centuries', 519, 523.

*Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. 30: Psalter*

This psalter is dated by Kurt Weitzmann and George Galavaris to the first half of the ninth century on the basis of its script, a thick majuscule with a slant to the right that appears to them more 'spontaneous' and therefore perhaps earlier than the major dated example of this script, the Uspensky Psalter of 862/3.<sup>58</sup> An inscription on f. 368r reads 'the preceding verses are 4780 as we chant in the Holy Anastasis of Christ our Lord' (i.e. the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem), suggesting to Weitzmann and Galavaris that the manuscript was made either in Jerusalem or that it simply follows Jerusalem usage and was produced on Sinai.<sup>59</sup> The decoration consists of division bars, hollow bar initials, and a cross within a medallion; the ornament is restricted to wavy lines, interlace, and leaf terminals. The colours used are red, green, and pale-yellow wash, with some details in the brown and red-orange inks of the text.

*Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. 32: Psalter*

A psalter, written in inclined majuscule, with an inscription in Arabic on f. 409r identifying the copyist as Michael, priest of Sinai; a Greek inscription on f. 374v – 'the 150 psalms have, then, 4782 verses as we chant in Holy Sinai' – cements the connection with the monastery.<sup>60</sup> The red and black ink decoration consists of five headpieces and a tailpiece, in interlace or, once, rosettes, some embellished with interlace crosses. Although they lean toward an earlier dating, Weitzmann and Galavaris compare the interlace crosses with those in the lectionary from Bithynia of ca 900 already mentioned;<sup>61</sup> the rosettes, too, point toward the end of the ninth century, when this motif first appears in manuscript decoration. Examples comparable to those in the Sinai psalter can be found in Paris. gr. 510 of 879–82 and Paris. gr. 1470 of 890.<sup>62</sup>

*Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. 211: Lectionary*

This lectionary, written in inclined majuscule, contains an interlace headpiece, several hollow bar initials with reddish-brown ink infill, and an *omikron* in the shape of a fish.<sup>63</sup> The scribe, Leo, appended two prayers on f. 250v, and an inscription on f. 151v notes that 'from this point begin the gospels according to the canon of the Holy City' (i.e. Jerusalem).<sup>64</sup> Weitzmann and Galavaris compare the interlace with

<sup>58</sup> 431 folios, of which ff. 49–403 are original; 180 × 123 mm. K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The illuminated Greek manuscripts I: From the ninth to the twelfth century* (Princeton 1990) 15–16, figs 1–3, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Greek Manuscripts*, 16–17, figs 4–6.

<sup>61</sup> See note 55 above.

<sup>62</sup> Both reproduced in Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth century', pls 9a–b.

<sup>63</sup> 253 folios; 248 × 180 mm. Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Greek Manuscripts*, 19–20, fig. 13.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*



that found in a manuscript from Kios in Bithynia dated 862/3,<sup>65</sup> but nonetheless believe that the Sinai lectionary probably dates to the first half of the ninth century.

*Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. 863: Horologion*

Sinai 863 is a monastic liturgical book containing the invariable list of daily prayers (horologion) 'according to the rule of the Lavra of our father Sabas' (i.e. the St Sabas monastery in Palestine), a formula that suggests to Weitzmann and Galavaris that the manuscript may have been made there.<sup>66</sup> Text and decoration – a few hollow bar initials, simple division bars, and four headpieces ornamented with interlace, rinceau, and rosettes – are done in red and black inks. The colours and the rinceau motif recall a lectionary also at Sinai (cod. 210 + NE Meg. Perg. 12) dated by inscription to 861/2,<sup>67</sup> and the rosette decoration also favours a date in the second half of the ninth century.

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 923: Sacra Parallela*

A copy of the *Sacra Parallela* now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (gr. 923) has sometimes been attributed to the early ninth century, and has been variously assigned to Palestine, Italy, and Constantinople.<sup>68</sup> The text is written in two columns in a majuscule with a pronounced slant to the right, with occasional simple scribal ornament, enlarged initials in the ink of the text, a painted and gilded headpiece (f. 2r), and decorated letters – all hollow bar letters filled with a solid black guilloche (interlace) against a gold ground – at the beginning of each chapter.<sup>69</sup> Approximately 800 images, most of them portraits of the authors quoted in the text, appear in the margins; most are drawn in black and orange-red ink and filled in with gold.<sup>70</sup> The palaeography of the manuscript does not allow precision on its place of origin, but

<sup>65</sup> Meteora, Transfiguration Monastery, cod. 591: Brubaker, 'The introduction of painted initials', 31; Hutter, 'Scriptoria in Bithynia', 381–3; Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth centuries', all with earlier bibliography. The date given by Weitzmann and Galavaris (861/2) is incorrect: see E. Follieri, 'Tommaso di Damasco e l'antica minuscola libraria greca', *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morale, storiche e filologiche, Rendiconti*, ser. 8, 29 (1974) 146–8.

<sup>66</sup> 104 folios; 173 × 138 mm. Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Greek Manuscripts*, 20–1, fig. 14.

<sup>67</sup> See note 79 below.

<sup>68</sup> 394 folios; 362 × 263 mm. K. Weitzmann, *The miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Parisinus graecus 923* (Studies in manuscript illumination 8. Princeton 1979) 20–3 argued for Palestine; Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 21–4, 87–8 and Cavallo, 'La cultura italo-greca', 506–8 suggested Italy; W. Jaeger, 'Greek uncial fragments in the Library of Congress in Washington', *Traditio* 5 (1947) 101–2, R. Cormack, 'Patronage and new programs of Byzantine iconography', *The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers* (New York 1986); repr. in *idem, The Byzantine eye: studies in art and patronage* (London 1989) study X, 635 n. 39, and Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 25, 112–13 claim an origin in Constantinople. All provide earlier bibliography.

<sup>69</sup> See the references in the preceding note and, for the initials, Brubaker, 'The introduction of painted initials', 28–9, 38.

<sup>70</sup> Many of the miniatures were published by Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*; see also L. Brubaker, 'Byzantine culture in the ninth century: an introduction', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 68–71.

the decorated initials, the style, and the iconography of the marginal images all find their closest parallels in manuscripts produced after 843 in Constantinople, most notably in the Paris copy of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus from 879–82, and it thus seems most likely that the Paris *Sacra Parallela* was produced after iconoclasm, in the capital.<sup>71</sup> Unlike the marginal psalters, the impact of iconoclasm is not expressed in the *Sacra Parallela* directly; instead, the method of illustration, with portraits of saints and churchmen authorizing and validating quotations from their works, responds to concerns about forgery during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries.<sup>72</sup>

*Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, cod. 171: Job*

The Job manuscript on Patmos (Monastery of St John the Theologian, cod. 171) is written in two majuscule scripts, an upright round form for the Job text itself, and a smaller and more compressed upright form for the extensive commentary that surrounds the biblical text on three sides. Twenty full-colour miniatures contemporary with the text illustrate the first two chapters, and usually occupy part of the lower margin; additional miniatures were inserted further along in the book at a later date.<sup>73</sup> There are numerous painted initials as well as enlarged letters in the brown ink of the text or in the red ink of the titles.<sup>74</sup> In addition to the standard division bars, scribal ornament includes rosettes and crosses.<sup>75</sup>

The date and place of origin of the manuscript are contested. A fixed point is supplied by the text added on page 516, which lists prices in Constantinople in 957 and 959, thus providing a secure *terminus ante quem* and documenting the manuscript's presence in the capital *ca* 960.<sup>76</sup> Although dates from the seventh to the tenth century have been proposed, the manuscript is now usually dated to the eighth or ninth century; and while its place of origin is often left unspecified, the manuscript has sometimes been assigned to Rome, Palestine, or central Asia Minor.<sup>77</sup> No

<sup>71</sup> See the references in notes 68 and 69 and also, on the date, J. Osborne, 'A note on the date of the *Sacra Parallela* (Parisinus graecus 923)', *B* 51 (1981) 316–17.

<sup>72</sup> Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 49–57.

<sup>73</sup> Pace Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 24–5; see Weitzmann, *Addenda*, 50. D. Mouriki and N.P. Ševčenko, 'Illustrated manuscripts', in A.D. Kominis, *Patmos, Treasures of the Monastery* (Athens 1988) 278–80, figs 2–4, with earlier bibliography at 375, provide the best discussion, and good reproductions. Additional reproductions (of lower quality) appear in G. Jacopi, 'Le miniature dei codici di Patmo', *Clara Rhodos* 6–7, pt. 3 (1932/33) 574–6, with descriptions of the miniatures and some of the decoration at 584–91; and Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pls 325–36.

<sup>74</sup> Jacopi, 'Codici di Patmo', figs 126–7; Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pls 328–30; C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Zierbuchstaben* (Stockholm 1970) 196–7, pls 37a, 58b.

<sup>75</sup> Jacopi, 'Codici di Patmo', fig. 126; rosettes appear on 45, 77, 90, 307, 322, etc.

<sup>76</sup> N. Oikonomides, 'Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au Xe siècle: prix, loyers, impositions (cod. Patmiacus 171)', *DOP* 26 (1972) 345–56, especially 345–7; reproduction and transcription also in A. Kominis, *Facsimiles of dated Patmian codices* (Athens 1968) 17–18.

<sup>77</sup> On the basis of palaeography, Cavallo, 'La cultura italo-greca', 506–7, argues for a late eighth-century date and a Roman origin; Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 49–51 suggested central Asia Minor as a place of origin; he has also speculated that the

compelling parallels for the style of the miniatures survive, although it has been suggested that features such as the 'almost tapestry-like distribution of forms across the surface of the compositions' find closer matches in later ninth-century illuminations of, for example, the Paris Gregory of 879–82 than in earlier painting.<sup>78</sup>

The ornament of the manuscript also suggests a date in the ninth century, and probably in the latter part of that century. The enlarged initials are all of the hollow bar type, with the interior space filled with geometrical ornament in ink; or solidly painted in ochre, taupe, blue or red; or filled with painted stripes, circles, triangles or simple single-strand interlace. A few, for example the red-filled *pi* on p. 27, include gold, here used to form bands that extend across and beyond the vertical bars of the letter. Other initials have attached birds or trees, or terminal vine leaves, but these never infringe on the basic letter shape. Frame ornament includes rosettes and other foliate decoration, as well as undulating stripes, interlace, and diverse geometric patterns. The use of paint suggests a date after 800: the earliest dated Greek book to contain painted initials is Vat. gr. 1666 of 800 (see above), a manuscript almost certainly produced in Rome; while this does not preclude older examples, it will be recalled that the first painted letters do not appear in manuscripts from the Greek east proper until the 860s, when they surface in a fragment of a gospel lectionary now at Sinai (gr. 210 + NE Meg. Perg. 12), probably from Palestine, dated to 861/2; and in the Meteora Chrysostom, from Bithynia, of 862/3.<sup>79</sup> It is thus intrinsically more probable that the Patmos Job belongs to the ninth century than to the eighth, and the decorative motifs would seem to confirm a date in the second half of the century, when all of the patterns recur in dated or datable manuscripts from the Greek east.<sup>80</sup> If the manuscript proves to be from the Greek-speaking areas of (modern) Italy, it might date before 843; but if, as the price lists suggest, it was made in the Greek east and did not leave for Patmos until after these were added in the tenth century, the ornament as well as the style of the miniatures suggests that the book was produced after the end of iconoclasm.

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manuscript may belong to the years of iconoclasm (K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in roll and codex: a study of the origin and method of text illustration*, 2nd edn [Princeton 1970], 250–1) and might have originated in Palestine (Weitzmann, *Addenda*, 8). The marginal commentary suggests to Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, 108–10 a ninth-century date.

<sup>78</sup> Mouriki and Ševčenko, 'Illustrated manuscripts', 280.

<sup>79</sup> Sinai. gr. 210 + NE Meg. Perg. 12: Politis, 'Nouveaux manuscrits grecs', 10–11; D. Harlfinger, D. R. Reinsch, and J.A.M. Sonderkamp, *Specimina Sinaitica. Die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katherinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai, 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1983) 13–14, frontispiece and pls 1–4; Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Greek Manuscripts*, 17–19, figs 7–12. For the Meteora Chrysostom, see note 65 above.

<sup>80</sup> Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth centuries' discusses the dated manuscripts. It might also be noted that the iconography finds some parallels in Paris. gr. 923 (see Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 112, 115–17) which we believe belongs to post-843 Constantinople.

*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 749: Job*

Another copy of the book of Job with commentary is preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (gr. 749).<sup>81</sup> The majuscule hand contains certain western features such as the Latin form of S, and the book is generally agreed to have been produced in Italy, and perhaps in the area around Rome.<sup>82</sup> The script has sometimes been assigned to the first half of the ninth century;<sup>83</sup> on the basis of the style of the miniatures, which has points in common with both the *Sacra Parallela* and the Paris Gregory (879–82), the second half may be more probable.<sup>84</sup> Whatever its precise date, however, the Vatican Job cannot be considered as a product of iconoclast Byzantium.

### Documentary Evidence: Polemical Pamphlets?

It has sometimes been suggested that 'pieces of pictorial propaganda' targeting iconoclasts may have been produced by iconophiles during iconoclasm.<sup>85</sup> If such polemical propaganda was produced, it no longer survives. This does not necessarily mean that pictorial propaganda was not prepared: anything of the sort meant for circulation would likely be brief and cheap, and it would quickly have outlived its usefulness, after which there would have been no reason to preserve it. In any event, evidence for the creation of anti-iconoclast pamphlets is entirely tangential, and dates from the years after iconoclasm. In his *Life of St Ignatios*, Niketas the Paphlagonian claims that in 867 a volume was found in the possession of the just-deposed patriarch Photios that contained seven synodal acts directed against the former patriarch Ignatios. According to Niketas, the volume had been illustrated by Photios' friend Gregory Asbestos, archbishop of Syracuse.<sup>86</sup> As Cyril Mango has noted,<sup>87</sup> the images described present a parody of a martyrdom cycle:

At the head of the first act ... he portrayed Ignatios being dragged and beaten, and above his head he wrote 'the devil' ... At the second act he showed him being spat upon and

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<sup>81</sup> Canart and Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici*, 480; H. Belting, 'Byzantine art among Greeks and Latins in southern Italy', *DOP* 20 (1974) 8–12; Cavallo, 'Funzione e struttura', 101–3; Cavallo, 'La cultura italo-greca', 507.

<sup>82</sup> In addition to the references in the preceding note, see C. Eggenberger, 'Mittelalterliche Miniaturen aus Rom zum Buch Hiob', *Sandoz Bulletin* 51 (1980) 22–31, who, following Belting, 'Byzantine art among Greeks and Latins', 10 n. 34 attributed the manuscript to the Monastery of St Saba in Rome. The S-form was, as recorded by Belting (*ibid.*), observed by Ihor Ševčenko.

<sup>83</sup> For example, by Cavallo, 'La cultura italo-greca', 507. Cavallo, 'Funzione e struttura', 101–3 has also, however, noted the similarity between the script of Vat. gr. 749 and Vat. gr. 699, a manuscript that was certainly produced in the second half of the ninth century, and probably in Constantinople (see Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 25–6, 113).

<sup>84</sup> See, further, Belting, 'Byzantine art among Greeks and Latins', 8–12, whose discussion of style is to be preferred to that in Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 16–20.

<sup>85</sup> Citation from Ševčenko, 'The anti-iconoclastic poem in the Pantocrator Psalter', 60.

<sup>86</sup> *PG* 105:540D–541A. On the *Vita Ignatii*, see below, 214.

<sup>87</sup> Mango, *Art*, 191 n. 39.

violently pulled about, and the inscription [said] 'the origin of sin'. At the third he was being deposed and [it was written] 'the son of perdition'. At the fourth act he portrayed him being fettered and banished, and he wrote 'the greed of Simon the Sorcerer'. At the beginning of the fifth he represented him wearing a prisoner's collar above this abusive inscription: 'he who raises himself above God and above worship.' At the sixth he depicted him already condemned and there was this empty dictum against Ignatios: 'the abomination of desolation'. At the seventh and last he painted him being dragged along ... and the inscription he wrote was 'the anti-Christ'.<sup>88</sup>

This notice appears only in the *Vita Ignatii*, wherein Niketas consistently paints Photios as an evil aesthete. It is therefore suspect; but whether or not the volume described by Niketas ever existed, the account indicates that the concept of the polemical pamphlet with images was not inconceivable in the second half of the ninth century.

As we have seen, a body of polemical imagery from precisely that period has been preserved in the psalters with marginal illustrations that were produced in the years immediately after iconoclasm.<sup>89</sup> The connections between the cycle described by Niketas and various polemical images included in the psalters are clear, and these connections were enumerated by André Grabar already in 1957.<sup>90</sup> The most overt point of comparison is between Niketas' description of the headpiece to the fourth act and the page in the Khludov Psalter that aligns an image of St Peter trampling on Simon Magus (the Sorcerer) with one of the iconophile patriarch Nikephoros trampling on the iconoclast patriarch John the Grammarian (fig. 32): although differently described, both Ignatios and John are being equated with the arch heretic, Simon Magus, and are intended to be tarnished by the comparison. Further, we have seen that the anti-iconoclast poem in the Pantokrator Psalter describes John the Grammarian as 'the all-wicked anti-Christ', an epithet corroborated by various portraits in the marginal psalters wherein John is accompanied by a demon.<sup>91</sup>

Polemical imagery directed against one's opponents was clearly known in the second half of the ninth century. The question of whether this concept had precedents during iconoclasm remains unanswerable, but may receive some support from those images in the marginal psalters that find parallels in earlier polemical literature directed against heresy,<sup>92</sup> and particularly in the anti-Jewish literature that grew up from at least the seventh century.<sup>93</sup> However, even if we were to accept the idea that some polemical pictures were made during iconoclasm, it would be unwise to assume that the earlier and the later versions looked exactly the same, or that they communicated identical sentiments. As regards iconophile attitudes toward iconoclasts, circumstances before and after 843 were quite different, and it is almost inconceivable that the switch from a defensive to an offensive position did not affect

<sup>88</sup> Trans. Mango, *Art*, 191–2. See also Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 185–6.

<sup>89</sup> See 43–7 above.

<sup>90</sup> Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 196–8, 215.

<sup>91</sup> Ševčenko, 'The anti-iconoclastic poem in the Pantokrator Psalter', 45–7, 49.

<sup>92</sup> See Corrigan, *Visual polemics*, especially 27–33, 43–61.

<sup>93</sup> See Av. Cameron, 'Byzantines and Jews: some recent work on early Byzantium', *BMGS* 20 (1996) 249–74, especially 258–70; and 268–72 below.

the construction of whatever polemical imagery was being produced. In sum, while it remains an open question whether or not pictorial propaganda was produced during iconoclasm, we should not interpret later examples as simple copies of visual polemic of the iconoclast period.

## Icons

While the Greek word *eikon* simply means image, standard modern usage usually restricts the definition to one of its many Byzantine meanings and confines the term to portable panels with depictions of Christian religious significance. These are usually portraits of a holy person or persons, or quasi-narrative scenes of events celebrated in the orthodox liturgy. Such images existed from at least the fourth century, at which time they were basically commemorative and honorific. By the third quarter of the sixth century, *acheiropoeita* (images 'not made by human hands') appear, and these are credited with the power to protect cities before the end of the century. But as mediators between ordinary people and the divine, holy images remained subordinate to relics and visions of holy people until the end of the seventh century in Byzantium, at which time portraits of sacred persons seem to have been assimilated into the well-developed cult of relics; from this point onwards, icons received the veneration (*proskynesis*, lights, and sometimes curtains) previously accorded only to relics. A 'theology of icons' may perhaps have been implicit in the 82nd canon of the Quinisext Council of 692, but was fully expressed only during iconoclasm itself.<sup>1</sup>

The modern understanding of the Byzantine sacred portrait icon as a transparent image, a window that the viewer sees through to the original – the saint him- or herself, now ensconced in heaven – owes everything to the views expressed as part of the iconoclast debates. The icons that may have been produced during iconoclasm itself are rarely considered in this context. While a detailed analysis of the panels that appear to date from the years between *ca* 700 and *ca* 850 is outside the remit of this volume, the following assessment is intended to introduce the monuments and to set the stage. All surviving icons from this period have been preserved at Mount Sinai.

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<sup>1</sup> For development of the above, with references and bibliography, see L. Brubaker, 'Icons before iconoclasm?', *Morfologie sociali e culturali in europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo 45. Spoleto 1998) 1215–54; and, for the relationship between early Christian and non-Christian sacred portraits, T. Mathews, *The clash of gods: a reinterpretation of early Christian art*, rev. edn (Princeton 1999) 177–90.

### The Evidence from Mount Sinai

In his publication of the icons from St Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai, Kurt Weitzmann attributed fourteen to the seventh–eighth, eighth, eighth–ninth or first half of the ninth century.<sup>2</sup> Two of these are too damaged to assess.<sup>3</sup> Of the remaining twelve, ten should probably be attributed to the years roughly circumscribed by iconoclasm (*ca* 700–*ca* 850), and another that Weitzmann believed to be later should be added to the group. These will be considered below in roughly chronological order, followed by a brief outline of the reasons why the two additional icons that Weitzmann attributed to the period should probably be reassigned to, respectively, the years before and the years after iconoclasm. Before turning to the icons themselves, however, it is necessary to address three more general issues.

None of the icons that may belong to the period of iconoclasm carry an inscription or any other indication specifying its place of origin, date, or maker. The date assigned to each by Weitzmann is based almost entirely on his assessment of its formal qualities. This is problematic, in large part because, as Weitzmann himself observed, 'Not before the eleventh century will we find an icon style that recalls parallels in either miniature or fresco painting.'<sup>4</sup> While Weitzmann's appraisal is perhaps overly pessimistic – there are, in fact, some points of resemblance between certain icons and other paintings from the second half of the ninth century onwards – his assessment holds for the earlier period: there are few compelling formal comparisons to be made between the Sinai icons of relevance to this study and other dated or datable works. This deficit is not surprising in itself, for images of any description are relatively scarce before the end of iconoclasm. The quantity of material that survives on Sinai is exceptional, and this presumably impelled Weitzmann to impose some sort of order on the material. He achieved this by the problematic (albeit understandable) means of comparing the Sinai icons with each other, and he then divided them into three large groups arranged in rough chronological clusters of (1) sixth through early seventh century; (2) later seventh through the first half of the ninth century; and (3) later ninth through the tenth

<sup>2</sup> Sinai B.32–41, B.46–8, B.50: K. Weitzmann, *The monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, the icons I: from the sixth to the tenth century* (Princeton 1976) 57–82.

<sup>3</sup> On Sinai B.38, see Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 65–6, pl. XCII. Here the reuse of two originally separate triptych wings in the post-Byzantine period as the backing for another icon resulted in the loss of the lower segment of both and the destruction of the faces of the two figures represented. The faces were repainted, probably in the second quarter of the twentieth century, and one of the inscriptions was rewritten. What remains of the original panels are portions of the nimbed heads and the torsos of two monks holding large books with jewelled covers. Part of the inscription accompanying the left figure survives, and identifies him as Theodosios (ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΣ); that on the right is a restoration and, probably incorrectly, identifies the second monk as St Gregory the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus). Sections of the drapery, too, have been repainted. While Weitzmann's broad dating of eighth to tenth century seems plausible, further precision is difficult; whether or not the wings were produced during iconoclasm remains a moot issue. On Sinai B.46, see Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 76–7, pl. CII. The icon apparently once portrayed Christ enthroned, but only a strip of the left border remains, the surface is badly abraded, and none of the figure survives.

<sup>4</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 4.



century. Although the dates of some individual icons have been adjusted by various scholars, Weitzmann's tripartite arrangement has been broadly accepted. Here, it is only the middle group – which includes the icons Weitzmann assigned to the eighth and first half of the ninth centuries – that concerns us. Two fundamental problems with his assessment of this group of images must be addressed here.

One basic assumption that underlies Weitzmann's understanding of the material is that, in his words, 'The Arab conquest in the seventh century neither interrupted the flow of icons to Sinai nor prevented their production at Sinai itself. But it did apparently stop the influx from Constantinople and ... the majority of icons here attributed to the seventh and eighth centuries ... came from regions that were at that time already under Moslem domination.'<sup>5</sup> The basis for this judgement is Weitzmann's equation of technical quality – measured primarily by the use of the encaustic technique – and so-called naturalistic ('hellenistic') painting style with the art of Constantinople. The lack of documentary inscriptions on the Sinai icons makes this appraisal difficult to evaluate. It is, however, clear that the Christian community at Sinai continued to receive pilgrims and other visitors after the conquest. From the north, travellers coming from or landing in Egypt followed any of several routes to Klyasma (near modern Suez), whence a well-attested road followed the coast past Raithou before heading across the Sinai peninsula to Ayla (modern 'Aqaba);<sup>6</sup> shortly after passing the town of Pharan (modern Wadi Firan, biblical Rephidim) the road divided, with the right fork leading to Mount Sinai, roughly twenty miles away.<sup>7</sup> Travellers from Jerusalem, the Negev (the area between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 'Aqaba), or any of the coastal settlements of Palestine either followed an inland route that led more or less due south from Gaza to Mount Sinai, or took a route south to Ayla, then followed the road to Raithou and took a deviation to Mount Sinai.<sup>8</sup>

The possibilities of travel to Mount Sinai after the Arab conquest are illuminated by four examples. The first two are papyri from Nessana (modern Nitzana), a village

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>6</sup> See F. Zayadine, 'Ayla-'Aqaba in the light of recent excavations', *ADAJ* 38 (1994) 485–501, especially 499–501.

<sup>7</sup> For Raithou, see P. Grossmann, *Die antike Stadt Pharan, ein archäologischer Führer* (Cairo 1998) especially 24–35.

<sup>8</sup> Excellent discussion and maps in P. Mayerson, 'The pilgrim routes to Mount Sinai and the Armenians', *Israel Exploration Journal* 32 (1982) 44–57. See also his 'The desert of southern Palestine according to Byzantine sources', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963) and the fundamental studies of R. Devreesse, 'Le christianisme dans la péninsule Sinaïtique, des origines à l'arrivée des musulmans', *Revue biblique* 49 (1940) 205–23; B. Rothenberg, 'An archaeological survey of south Sinai', *Palestine exploration quarterly* (1970) 4–29, esp. 18–19; J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster 1977) 16–28. See also I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century* I.2: *ecclesiastical history* (Washington DC 1995) 967–89; Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 410–12; Y. Tsafrir, 'Trade, exchange and settlements in southern Palestine, late antiquity and Islam', in L. Conrad and Av. Cameron, eds, *Trade and exchange in the late antique and early Islamic Near East* (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam. Princeton, in press). The route from Gaza to Mount Sinai was travelled and described by the Piacenza pilgrim (ca 570): see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims*, 85–7.

in the Negev conquered by the Arabs in 636 that lay on the route between Gaza and Mount Sinai.<sup>9</sup> Nessana papyrus 72, tentatively dated to March 684, was sent by the governor of the province to George, an administrator of Nessana, requesting him to supply (and pay) a local man to guide a freed slave 'on the trip to the Holy Mount'.<sup>10</sup> Papyrus 73, dated to December 683 (?), also from the governor, directed the people of Nessana: 'When my wife Ubayya comes to you, furnish her a man bound to direct her on the road to Mount Sinai. Also furnish the man's pay.'<sup>11</sup> Clearly, pilgrimage to Mount Sinai did not cease with the Arab occupation of the peninsula, and the system of guides attested in the pre-Islamic period continued as well.<sup>12</sup> If we may trust the account of the Piacenza pilgrim, who followed the route from Gaza to Mount Sinai ca 570, the journey across the desert took about ten days.<sup>13</sup>

A third mention of travel to Mount Sinai after the conquest appears in the *Life of Stephen the Sabaite* (the ascetic, d. 794), written shortly after 807 by Leontios of Damascus.<sup>14</sup> Here two women from Damascus are described as making regular pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai.<sup>15</sup> Finally, at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, a compilation that now goes under the name of Epiphanius Hagiopolites records travels around Palestine, Egypt, and Sinai.<sup>16</sup> 'Epiphanius' went from Cyprus to Tyre, then to Jerusalem and its environs; he next followed the coast west from Ascalon to Alexandria and the monastery of St Menas, headed inland to Babylon (modern Cairo) and the tomb of St Arsenios, then travelled for six days to the Red Sea, stopping at the monastery of St Antony *en route*. The next site mentioned is Raithou, although whether the journey was achieved by boat across the Red Sea or by road, via Klyisma, is not noted. The passage from Raithou to Sinai, the itinerary claims, took about five days; from there to Thebes, eight days; and back to Jerusalem, sixteen.<sup>17</sup>

While the journey to Mount Sinai can never have been easy, these accounts suggest that it was well within the realm of the possible, and that the routes from Egypt, Jerusalem, and Gaza normally remained passable under Umayyad and early Abbasid rule. Michael Stone, who surveyed the Armenian Christian inscriptions on

<sup>9</sup> For a recent survey with earlier bibliography, see J. Shereshevski, *Byzantine urban settlements in the Negev desert* (Beer-Sheva V. Beer-Sheva 1991) 49–60.

<sup>10</sup> C.J. Kraemer, Jr, *Excavations at Nessana 3: Non-literary papyri* (Princeton 1958) 205–6.

<sup>11</sup> Kraemer, *Nessana 3*, 207–8.

<sup>12</sup> For example, Nessana papyrus 89, dated to the late sixth or early seventh century and thus before the conquest, includes payment 'to the Arab escort who took us to the Holy Mountain' and the cost of offerings made there: Kraemer, *Nessana 3*, 256–7 (lines 22–4).

<sup>13</sup> See note 8, above.

<sup>14</sup> On the two Stephens from the St Sabas monastery in Jerusalem, see M.-F. Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIIIe–IXe siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène', *TM* 12 (1994) 183–218, especially 184–204.

<sup>15</sup> *AS* Jul. III, 557 col. 133.

<sup>16</sup> On Epiphanius, see *ODB* I, 714.

<sup>17</sup> H. Donner, 'Palästina-Beschreibung des Epiphanius Hagiopolita', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 87 (1971) 42–91 (text 66–82; German trans. 82–91); Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims*, 117–20. A similar route was followed by the Piacenza pilgrim in the sixth century: *ibid.*, 88–9.

the Sinai peninsula, has also noted 'the continuation of the pilgrim traffic after the Moslem conquest; indeed, it seems that most of the Armenian inscriptions stem from the period after that conquest'.<sup>18</sup> Throughout the eighth century, traffic between Jerusalem and Constantinople also remained active: as Sidney Griffith has put it, the two cities 'were still just over one another's horizons' until *ca* 800.<sup>19</sup> The purpose of this brief excursus is to make the point that it is unnecessary to assume, with Weitzmann, that the Arab conquest automatically ended imports from the capital to Mount Sinai.

A second problem follows from Weitzmann's belief that Sinai was effectively isolated from everywhere but Palestine: he concluded that many of the icons preserved at the monastery had been made in Palestine, but in Jerusalem rather than at Sinai itself,<sup>20</sup> and he developed a pattern of 'Palestinian' stylistic evolution based on his interpretation of the relationships between the icons in question. The dates that he suggested for individual icons depend, in fact, upon this pattern. The argument is obviously circular; and imposes a web of connections between icons that is hard to sustain: however understandable the desire to make order out of chaos, a neutral eye would find it hard to argue that a single formal current runs through all of the icons that Weitzmann ascribed to the 'Palestinian school'. Furthermore, while the monks of Mount Sinai certainly maintained links with inhabitants of the area around Jerusalem and of the Negev, they did also sustain contact with communities well outside Palestine – notably with those of Egypt, whence, as is evident from its Coptic inscription, came at least one of the Sinai icons (or its creator) dated to the years of iconoclasm.<sup>21</sup> The Soterious, in fact, argued that the primary stylistic impact on the icons of Sinai came not from Palestine but from Egypt, as exemplified by the monastic wall paintings of, for example, Bawit or Saqqara.<sup>22</sup>

This thesis, too, is problematic. In fact, the crucial problem with evaluating the Sinai icons is, as already noted, that no compelling parallels survive. The frescoes from the Egyptian monastic communities present general similarities only; they have different functions and contexts from the icons, and they are not tightly dated. No more can be said for the evidence that survives from Syro-Palestine, all of which is in the format of manuscripts, floor mosaics, or secular (Umayyad) wall paintings.<sup>23</sup> Neither the Soterious's nor Weitzmann's dating systems can be accepted without caution.

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<sup>18</sup> M. Stone, *The Armenian inscriptions from the Sinai* (Cambridge MA 1982) 52; for inscriptions from the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, see the list in *ibid.*, 16 and H Arm 15, dated 852 (*ibid.*, 8, 109). Stone also provides a good survey of the Greek epigraphic evidence for pilgrimage routes: *ibid.*, 25–52.

<sup>19</sup> S. Griffith, 'What has Constantinople to do with Jerusalem? Palestine in the ninth century: Byzantine orthodoxy in the world of Islam', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 181. See also Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople' and C. Mango, 'Greek culture in Palestine after the Arab conquest', in G. Cavallo, G. de Gregorio and M. Maniaci, eds, *Scrittura, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di bisanzio I* (Spoleto 1991) 149–60.

<sup>20</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 6.

<sup>21</sup> Sinai B.49: see below.

<sup>22</sup> G. Soteriou and M. Soteriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, 2 vols (Athens 1956–58).

<sup>23</sup> For manuscripts of the sixth and seventh centuries see J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits*

Finally, whilst it seems perfectly plausible that some of the icons still housed on Mount Sinai were actually made there, it is doubtful that every monk who inhabited the monastery had lived on the Sinai peninsula all of his life. It is at least equally likely that amongst the residents of, and pilgrims to, Mount Sinai at any time there were artisans from elsewhere capable of painting icons *in situ*, and bringing with them the hallmarks of training from across the Christian world. A fresh examination of the Sinai icons from this perspective is needed.

## The Icons

### *Icon of the Crucifixion (Sinai B.36)*<sup>24</sup>

A kolobion-clad Christ, wearing the crown of thorns, hangs from the cross with closed eyes; a double stream of blood and water gushes from the wound beneath his right arm (fig. 37). Christ is identified as IC [XC] and, unusually in a Byzantine context, as the 'king of the Jews' (Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ [*sic*] ΤΟΝ [*sic*] ΗΘΥΑ[ΑΙΩΝ]). The Virgin Mary, identified by the monogram Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ, stands in front of the thief Gestas (ΓΕΤΣΑΚ), shown with arms hitched around the horizontal bar of the cross and tied behind his back.<sup>25</sup> John (ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ), with one arm encased in drapery and the other held in a sling-like fold, appears to lean against a rock in front of the remnants of the second thief, Demas (ΔΗΜ[ΑΚ]). The omission of the epithet ὁ ἅγιος before John's name follows early practice that lingered well into the ninth century (and sometimes later).<sup>26</sup> At Christ's feet, three soldiers gamble for his clothes; half-figures of angels flank Christ's head along with the sun and, presumably, once the moon.

The Sinai icon apart, depictions of Christ as dead on the cross first appear in post-iconoclast works such as the Khludov Psalter. The reality of Christ's death was, however, developed earlier as an important plank in the Chalcedonian response to

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*syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient* (Paris 1964). For the mosaics and frescoes, see, e.g., the church at Quwaysmah near Amman (717/8), the Church on the Acropolis at Ma'in (719/20), St Stephen's at Umm al-Rasas (719/20 and 756), and the four great Umayyad palaces from the first half of the eighth century: Qasr al Hallabat, Qastal, Qusayr 'Amra, and Khirbat al-Mafjar. The churches have already been discussed (see 30–6 above); for convenient reproductions, see M. Piccirillo, *The mosaics of Jordan* (Amman 1993); and R. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar. An Arabian mansion in the Jordan valley* (Oxford 1959). It should be noted that, unlike the frescoes and mosaics of (modern) Israel, Jordan, and Syria, the author has not been able to study the Egyptian monastic paintings first-hand, nor those in present-day Lebanon.

<sup>24</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons* I, 61–4, pls XXV, LXXXIX–LXC.

<sup>25</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons* I, 62 – followed by A. Kartsonis, 'The emancipation of the Crucifixion', in A. Guillou and J. Durand, eds, *Byzance et les images* (Paris 1994) 185 n. 32 – suggests that Gestas is here presented as a female, but this seems unlikely. Numerous examples of nude and clearly male figures who could be seen by modern eyes as having female breasts can be adduced, e.g. the sixth-century mosaic satyr from an estate in Madaba or the seventh-century (?) camel driver from the upper church at Kaianus: Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, figs 33, 277.

<sup>26</sup> C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'The Mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul. The Church Fathers in the North Tympanum', *DOP* 26 (1972) 28.

the Monophysite position. The significance of the dead Christ was expressed particularly clearly in the *Guidebook (Hodegos)* written in the 680s by Anastasios of Sinai.<sup>27</sup> We may presume that icon B.36 dates after this, and also after the Quinisext Council (the Council in Trullo) of 691/2, when the liturgical practice of mixing water with the wine of the eucharist – represented on our icon by the twin streams emerging from Christ's side – was instituted.<sup>28</sup> The icon has, in fact, been dated to the first half of the eighth century by comparison with another image of the Crucifixion that shares this latter feature, a fresco at St Maria Antiqua in Rome painted during the papacy of Zacharias (742–51), which is the earliest securely dated image to incorporate the double stream, although Christ's eyes remain open in the Roman fresco.<sup>29</sup> If we accept a dating in the eighth century, Sinai B.36 provides the oldest known representation of the crucified Christ wearing the crown of thorns and of the dead Christ on the cross;<sup>30</sup> it is also the earliest witness to the identification of the thieves as Gestas and Demas, names which apparently next occur at the church of Kiliçlar in Cappadocia (ca 900).<sup>31</sup>

The place of origin for Sinai B.36 is, perhaps, the monastery itself. As Weitzmann noted long ago, the icon shares details such as the 'dotted rosette' decoration of drapery and pearl-bordered nimbi with two encaustic paintings applied directly to the marble revetments of the piers flanking the apse of Justinian's basilica that are usually dated to the seventh century.<sup>32</sup> He added that 'weakening of the organic structure of the bodies and the more summary treatment of the garments point to a somewhat later date',<sup>33</sup> and opted for a Palestinian origin, probably in Jerusalem. Whatever the ultimate source for the style, however, the pier panels of the basilica were painted *in situ*, by an artisan resident at least temporarily in the monastery or its immediate environs. As the dead Christ on the cross is closely linked with ideas expressed by another occupant of the Sinai monastery, Anastasios, it is possible to speculate that icon B.36 was also produced there.

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<sup>27</sup> See especially H. Belting and C. Belting-Ihm, 'Das Kreuzbild im "Hodegos" des Anastasios Sinaites. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der ältesten Darstellung des toten Crucifixus', *Tortulae: Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten* (Römische Quartalschrift Suppl. Freiburg i. B. 1966) 30–9; and A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis, the making of an image* (Princeton 1986) 40–68.

<sup>28</sup> See Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 234–5.

<sup>29</sup> Belting and Belting-Ihm, 'Das Kreuzbild im "Hodegos" des Anastasios Sinaites', 37–8; Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 63; Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 40, 68, 234–5; I. Kalavrezou, 'Images of the mother: when the Virgin Mary became *meter theou*', *DOP* 44 (1990) 169–70; H. Belting, *Likeness and presence, a history of the image before the era of art*, trans. E. Jephcott (Chicago 1994) 120.

<sup>30</sup> So, too, Belting and Belting-Ihm, 'Das Kreuzbild im "Hodegos" des Anastasios Sinaites', 36.

<sup>31</sup> M. Restle, *Byzantine wall paintings in Asia Minor*, trans. I.R. Gibbons, 3 vols (Recklinghausen 1967) II, fig. 385.

<sup>32</sup> K. Weitzmann, 'The Jephthah panel in the bema of the church of St Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai', *DOP* 18 (1964) 341–52, especially 347.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

*Icon of the Crucifixion (Sinai B.32)*<sup>34</sup>

The icon, now in two parts, shows a Christ on the cross flanked by the Virgin Mary and St John the evangelist; half-figures of angels rest on the cross arms, while an arc of heaven above Christ's head is overlapped by the sun, the moon, and, in the centre, a third disk that is too indistinct to interpret (fig. 38).<sup>35</sup> The surface of the icon is badly damaged, and the loss of part of the upper layer of paint reveals that Christ originally wore a white loincloth that was later covered by a long purple kolobion. The vacillation between two garment types for Christ is documented already in the sixth-century west by Gregory of Tours,<sup>36</sup> and it recurs in the Crucifixion miniature in the Paris Homilies of 879–82, where the position of Christ is replicated almost exactly.<sup>37</sup> In the manuscript, however, the drapery is shattered by highlighted folds to a far greater extent than is apparent on the icon, suggesting that the miniature is, in fact, a later example. The only original inscription preserved on the icon is a monogram that identifies the Virgin as H AFIA MAPIA. The use of this formula rather than the more usual post-iconoclast form of MHTHP ΘEOT,<sup>38</sup> and parallels with a group of enamels once dated to the seventh or eighth century and attributed to Palestine, led Weitzmann to date the icon, too, in the seventh or eighth century, and to suggest that it was made in Palestine.<sup>39</sup> Since Weitzmann's study appeared, however, these enamels have been conclusively redated to the ninth century (and later), which makes an origin in Palestine unlikely.<sup>40</sup> It must also be said that the epithet MHTHP ΘEOT does not become ubiquitous until the tenth century – it is, for example, lacking from the apse mosaic of 867 at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, where the Virgin is not identified by inscription at all – and, although not common, the monogram form used for H AFIA on the icon continues into the first half of the ninth century.<sup>41</sup> The scarcity of securely dated Byzantine material from the period makes stylistic comparison difficult, but the linear hatchings apparent in the drapery of the Virgin recur in the Vatican Ptolemy of ca 754, and the drapery folds defined by

<sup>34</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 57–8, pls XXIII, LXXXIV.

<sup>35</sup> Weitzmann does not note this last feature.

<sup>36</sup> *Liber in Gloria Martyrum* 22; ed. B. Krusch, *MGH, Scriptores rer. Merovingicarum* I.2 (Hanover 1885) 51; trans. R. van Dam, *Gregory of Tours, Glory of the martyrs* (Translated texts for historians, Latin ser. III. Liverpool 1988) 41.

<sup>37</sup> Paris. gr. 510, f. 30v; Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 293–4, fig. 7.

<sup>38</sup> Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 107–9; and Kalavrezou, 'Images of the mother', 170–1.

<sup>39</sup> See note 34 above. Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 89 ('late seventh century'); *eadem*, 'The emancipation of the Crucifixion', 166; and Kalavrezou, 'Images of the mother', 169–70 ('probably eighth century') follow Weitzmann without further discussion. Earlier, Belting and Belting-Ihm, 'Das Kreuzbild im "Hodegos" des Anastasios Sinaites', 37 opted for the first half of the eighth century on the basis of the inscription and Christ's open eyes; the latter motif continues, however, throughout the ninth century.

<sup>40</sup> Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 94–125; H. Evans and W. Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and culture of the middle Byzantine era, AD 843–1261* (New York 1997) 74. On the enamels, see 111–13 below.

<sup>41</sup> See J. Osborne, 'The atrium of S Maria Antiqua, Rome: a history in art', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 55 (1987) 193 n. 32. On the epithet, see the references in note 38 above; and, for its continuation well into the tenth century outside the Byzantine heartlands, K. Weitzmann, 'The ivories of the so-called Grado chair', *DOP* 26 (1972) 78–80.

linear light patterns are generally similar to those found in the frescoes dated to the second half of the eighth century at St Maria Antiqua in Rome, a monument closely associated with Byzantine works.<sup>42</sup> Icon B.32 thus probably dates from the second half of the eighth or the first half of the ninth century. A dating in the years between the two iconoclasms (787–815) would not, in fact, surprise, for it is precisely in this period that some scholars believe that the earliest of the enamelled reliquary crosses, with which Weitzmann compared the icon, were produced.<sup>43</sup> Most of these enamels were apparently made in Constantinople; hence, although the place of origin for the icon B.32 cannot be securely established, the capital should not be excluded.

One detail that has not yet been mentioned may, however, argue against this. The Virgin's robe is articulated by two red clavi (stripes) that run from her waist to the bottom of her hemline, decorated at mid-thigh, mid-calf, and hemline by four red dots. Four dots, arranged in a diamond shape, also embellish her mantle. The latter motif is not uncommon and recurs, for example, on icons B.36, B.37, and B.41 (figs 37, 39, 44) and in other media. The dotted clavi are more unusual. They are not found in surviving seventh- and eighth-century works from Constantinople, Rome, or Thessaloniki,<sup>44</sup> but appear in seventh-century wall paintings in Egypt and on three other Sinai icons that are roughly contemporary with icon B.32:<sup>45</sup> Nicholas and John Chrysostom both wear them on icon B.33 (fig. 40), although here there are three pairs of dots rather than two; the same is true of Eirene on icon B.39 (fig. 42) and, now with four pairs of dots, the Virgin on the probably somewhat later icon B.41 (fig. 44). Icon B.32 is not otherwise particularly closely related to any of these images, but the shared clavi may signal the continuity of this particular motif in a given locale: it is possible that the pattern was carried to Sinai from Egypt, and there entered the local repertory to be used by painters of diverse backgrounds and various levels of ability.

*Icon of Sts Chariton and Theodosios (Sinai B.37)*<sup>46</sup>

Once the right wing of a triptych, the panel shows half-figures of Sts Chariton (O AΓ[IOC] XAPITONOC) and Theodosios (O AΓ[IOC] ΘEOΔOCIOC) as monks, with hands raised before their chests in a gesture of prayer (fig. 39). Although frontal, both monks glance to the (viewer's) right. Chariton is probably to be

<sup>42</sup> See especially the frescoes attributed to the reigns of Popes Zacharias (741–52) and Paul I (757–67): W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique* (Rome 1911); Romanelli and Nordhagen, *S. Maria Antiqua*.

<sup>43</sup> See below; and Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 118–20.

<sup>44</sup> For example, the Kalenderhane Presentation mosaic in Constantinople, the mosaics at Hagios Demetrios in Thessaloniki, and the frescoes of St Maria Antiqua in Rome: C.L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: the buildings, their history, architecture, and decoration* (Mainz 1997) pls 148–9; G. Soteriou and M. Soteriou, *Η Βασιλική τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens 1952); and R. Cormack, 'The mosaic decoration of S. Demetrios, Thessaloniki. A re-examination in the light of the drawings of W.S. George', *Papers of the British School at Athens* 64 (1969) 17–52; repr. in *idem*, *The Byzantine eye: studies in art and patronage* (London 1989) study I; see also the references in note 42, above, and note 64, below.

<sup>45</sup> See the discussion of icon B.39 below.

<sup>46</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 64–5, pls XXVI, XCI.

identified as the fourth-century abbot who founded the Old Laura (or Souka), a monastery in Palaestina Prima, while Theodosios is presumably the sixth-century monk who founded a monastery at the site of the Magi's cave, also in Palestine.<sup>47</sup> The right half of a cross appears on the reverse; this would originally have been completed on the reverse of the now-lost left wing. On the basis of the sideways glance – which, oddly, was directed away from the central image of the triptych – Weitzmann attributed the icon to Palestine; he argued that the linear presentation suggested a date in the eighth or ninth century.<sup>48</sup> The double-line fold, which runs across the chests of both figures, is indeed a broad indicator of an eighth- or, more usually, ninth-century date;<sup>49</sup> the attribution to Palestine, however, remains speculative, although the portrayal of two Palestinian monks may point in that direction.

*Icon (attached pair of triptych wings) of Sts Paul, Peter, Nicholas, and John Chrysostom (Sinai B.33)*<sup>50</sup>

Two panels that were apparently once the exterior faces of the outside wings of a triptych are here joined into a single frame. Each panel is divided into two horizontally, creating four rectangular quadrants, all of which show a standing and nimbed saint in front of a wall set against a dark ground (fig. 40). Paul, in the place of honour on the (viewer's) left, and Peter occupy the upper tier; the former holds a red book, the latter a closed scroll and keys. Both wear the standard apostolic chiton and himation. Nicholas and John, below, carry books and are dressed as bishops. The modelling is schematic, with the unmodulated base colours overlaid with shadow lines of a slightly darker tone and white linear highlights.

In his 1976 publication of the Sinai icons, Weitzmann dated this one to the seventh or eighth century, and suggested an origin in Palestine;<sup>51</sup> by 1990, he had apparently changed his mind about the icon's date, for he listed it amongst the icons of the eighth and ninth century that exemplified for him the 'provincial style' characteristic of Sinai in those years.<sup>52</sup> Without specifying a possible place of origin, Nancy Ševčenko opted for a date in the early ninth century.<sup>53</sup> The latter is intrinsically more likely, for the cult of St Nicholas is barely attested outside of his home town of Myra before *ca* 800, and was only developed in Constantinople from the first half of the ninth century, perhaps under the inspiration of Joseph the

<sup>47</sup> These are the most frequently encountered saints of these names; it may however be noted that both also appear amongst the sixty martyrs of Jerusalem, who are said to have died during the reign of Leo III. See *BHG*, 106, 288–9. On the monastic sites, Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 283, 373.

<sup>48</sup> Weitzmann, 'The ivories of the so-called Grado chair', 74; K. Weitzmann, 'Loca sancta and the representational arts of Palestine', *DOP* 28 (1974) 50; Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 65.

<sup>49</sup> See, e.g., Weitzmann, 'The ivories of the so-called Grado chair', 74–7.

<sup>50</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 58–9, pls XXIV, LXXXV–LXXXVII.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Weitzmann and Galavaris, *The illuminated Greek manuscripts I*, 10 n. 16.

<sup>53</sup> N.P. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Centro studi bizantini Bari, monografie I. Turin 1983) 19–20 and note 14.



Hymnographer.<sup>54</sup> Formal characteristics neither confirm nor deny this dating, but iconographically the icon fits a ninth-century context: while the asymmetrical presentation of the omophorion, with the front end hanging over the bishop's left shoulder, replicates the formula found in works from the sixth through the ninth century,<sup>55</sup> the portrait type used for Nicholas finds a general parallel on the ninth-century Fieschi-Morgan enamelled reliquary (fig. 73), and John Chrysostom's facial type recurs in the ninth-century *Sacra Parallela*.<sup>56</sup> There are technical parallels with icons B.34 and 35 (discussion of which follows) which may indicate a dating in the second half of the eighth or early ninth century; the presence of Nicholas on icon B.33 suggests that the latter is perhaps more likely.

*Triptych Wings, with St John and an Unidentified Female Saint (Sinai B.34 and B.35)*<sup>57</sup>

The pair of triptych wings showing St John (identified by inscription, Ο ΑΓΙΟC [ΙΩΑΝ]ΝΗC) and an unidentified female (the Virgin Mary?) is too badly damaged to permit detailed description, although the grey hair and beard of the male figure suggests that John the Baptist, rather than the evangelist John, is intended (fig. 41).<sup>58</sup> The reverse of each panel shows a cross, best preserved on icon B.35. This is inscribed IC XC NIKA and CTAVPO[C] XPICTI[ANOC], a legend which suggests a date in the eighth century – the epithet IC XC NIKA is first securely recorded in an inscription commemorating the restoration of the walls of Constantinople in 740/1<sup>59</sup> – or later. Technical details, such as the restriction of gold to the inscriptions and haloes, are shared with icon B.33, suggesting that the two triptychs may have been

<sup>54</sup> Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas*, 19–21; N.P. Ševčenko, 'Canon and calendar: the role of a ninth-century hymnographer in shaping the celebration of saints', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 101–14, especially 107–12.

<sup>55</sup> For example, at San Vitale in Ravenna (ca 540), the Khludov Psalter (843–7) and Pantokrator 61 (probably third quarter of the ninth century); other ninth-century examples show the front band falling from the centre of the neck loop (e.g. the tympanum mosaics at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, the miniatures in the *Sacra Parallela* and the Milan Gregory). F.W. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Baden-Baden 1958) figs 369–70; Shchepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi Psaltyri*, f. 23v; Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen age I*, pl. 2; Mango and Hawkins, 'Church Fathers', figs 12, 17, 28; Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, figs 540, 543, 544, 565, 567–73, 576–81, *passim*; Grabar, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne*, pls II, IV.4, X.1–2, XI.1, XII, XIII, XIV.2–XV.2, *passim*. Paris. gr. 510 (879–82) uses both forms: Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, figs 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 27, 29, 36, 38, 40, 46.

<sup>56</sup> On the enamel, see 111–13 below; on the *Sacra Parallela*, 49–50 above. For the miniatures of Chrysostom, Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, figs 698–711.

<sup>57</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 60–1, pl. LXXXVIII.

<sup>58</sup> *Pace* Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 60. The apparently extended forefinger also suggests the Baptist: see K. Corrigan, 'The witness of John the Baptist on an early Byzantine icon in Kiev', *DOP* 42 (1988) 1–11, esp. 10–11. If so, the now-lost central image is unlikely to have been the Crucifixion suggested by Weitzmann.

<sup>59</sup> A. Frolov, 'IC XC NIKA', *BS* 17 (1956) 106. Two lintels with the same inscription have, however, recently been found in 'Aqaba and Madaba, the latter in a cistern renovated by Justinian: see Zayadine, 'Ayla-'Aqaba', 489–94, figs 8–9, 12.

produced by the same artisan or atelier.<sup>60</sup> As noted, the presence of St Nicholas on icon B.33 suggests a date after *ca* 800; the triptych fragments may therefore date to the early years of the ninth century.

*Icon of St Eirene (Sinai B.39)*<sup>61</sup>

St Eirene, identified by inscription (Η ΑΓΙΑ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ) is portrayed standing frontally, holding a cross and a folded piece of cloth (fig. 42). Her halo is gold, and is bordered with simulated pearls. She stands on a narrow strip of ground, against a shoulder-high green wall. At her feet, to the left, kneels a man with short dark hair and beard; he is identified as Nicholas [Sab]atianos (ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ [ΣΑΒ]ΑΤΙΑΝΟΣ).

The icon has been dated to the seventh century by Belting,<sup>62</sup> and to the eighth or ninth by Weitzmann. The earlier dating is based on parallels with panels from Egypt, notably the Louvre icon of Christ and St Menas from Bawit (fig. 43) – which shares with Sinai B.39 the top-heavy figural proportions, linear drapery, and motifs such as the narrow clavi edged with dotted patterns that run down each leg – and the wall paintings at Saqqara, which incorporate the same features and also include a prostrate donor figure at the feet of, in this case, St Apollo.<sup>63</sup> The three formal features also recur, however, in the Sinai icon of Peter, Paul, Nicholas and John Chrysostom (B.33) that seems to date to *ca* 800; and restriction of gold to Eirene's halo also recalls both Sinai B.33 and the related triptych wings of St John and a female saint (B.34–B.35), where the nimbi and inscriptions alone were in gold. The angular linearity of Eirene's drapery and facial features find closer parallels on the Sinai icons attributed to the eighth and ninth centuries than on the seventh-century Egyptian paintings as well. A date of *ca* 800 would seem reasonable.

The format of the panel, with its large saint standing on a narrow groundline against a wall, is anticipated by other images that, like Sinai B.39, join human and divine personages. The seventh-century mosaics at Hagios Demetrios at Thessaloniki supply a well-known example,<sup>64</sup> and the Menas and Christ icon (fig. 43) is related, although here the backdrop seems to have been intended to simulate hills rather than a wall. The icon uses roughly the same scale for human and divine figures, and this visual equality appears in some of the mosaics at Hagios Demetrios, while others anticipate the small scale of the donor in the St Eirene icon. The latter formula ultimately supersedes the former: the discrepancy of scale, and Eirene's apparent obliviousness to the prostrate Nicholas at her feet, foreshadow Middle Byzantine developments.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons* I, 60.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 66–7, pls XXVI, XCIII.

<sup>62</sup> Belting, *Likeness and presence*, 78–80.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, with reproductions. The parallels are best described by Weitzmann, *The icons* I, 66–7. A colour plate of the Menas icon appears in *L'Art copte* (Paris 1964) no. 144.

<sup>64</sup> Discussion, bibliography, and reproductions in L. Brubaker, 'Elites and patronage in early Byzantium: the mosaics of Hagios Demetrios in Thessaloniki', in J. Haldon, ed., *Elites old and new in late antiquity and early Islam* (Princeton, in press).

<sup>65</sup> See N.P. Ševčenko, 'The representation of donors and holy figures on four Byzantine icons', *Deltion*, ser. 4, 17 (1993/4) 157; and *eadem*, 'Close encounters: contact

*Icon of the Nativity (Sinai B.41)*<sup>66</sup>

The Virgin lies on a mattress before an altar-like manger into which a niche is set, and on the top of which lies the swaddled Christ child with a gold cruciform nimbus (fig. 44). Two youthful and barelegged shepherds enter from the left, accompanied by a pair of tiny sheep. Below the Virgin, a midwife identified as Salome (ΣΑΛΟΜΗ) sits on a rock in front of a basin in which a nude Christ child (larger than above, but still with a gold cruciform nimbus) reclines; he is inscribed IC XC. A second midwife pours water into the basin. Meanwhile, in the lower right corner, Joseph (ΙΩΣΗΦ) sits on a stool in his characteristic pose, with his chin resting on his hand.

The icon is composed of blocks of undifferentiated colours articulated by white striations and hatchings. The emphasis on surface decoration notwithstanding, Weitzmann correctly noted that certain details point to a date in the eighth or ninth century. The dotted clavi running along the Virgin's legs recall Sinai B.32, B.33, and B.39 (figs 38, 40, 42), all dated to *ca* 800, and the restriction of gold to nimbi also recalls icon B.39. The use of red to outline flesh areas, the articulation of the eyes with heavy upper lids and brows, and the slightly pursed lips with dark slashes at either side and below all closely recall Sinai B.33, an icon that Weitzmann dated to the seventh or eighth century, but which might be better ascribed to *ca* 800. While Weitzmann's description of the Nativity icon as 'a later product of the same workshop' as Sinai B.33 is problematic, the comparison nonetheless supports a date in the early ninth century for icon B.41 as well.

*Icon of St Kosmas (Sinai B.47)*<sup>67</sup>

The panel was originally the left wing of a triptych. The back is decorated with three crosses with rounded ends and central foliate (?) shoots, set into dotted roundels; the front shows a standing male saint holding what appears to be a scalpel in his right hand (fig. 45). Because he was evidently once the left half of a pair, Weitzmann plausibly suggested that the figure represents Kosmas, who is usually represented in the way that the saint appears here, with a short dark beard and short dark hair, and whose brother-physician Damian always appears on the right.

The surface of the icon is rubbed, in some places so badly that the wood of the panel has been exposed. Nonetheless, vestiges of the double-fold style are visible in the drapery covering Kosmas' right shoulder, suggesting a date in the eighth or, more likely, ninth century; while the configurations of the nose and mouth are similar to those found on the icon of St Eirene (Sinai B.39), probably of *ca* 800. The large staring eyes, however, are quite distinct from those of Eirene, and may point to an artisan with Egyptian connections.

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between holy figures and the faithful as represented in Byzantine works of art', in A. Guillou and J. Durand, eds, *Byzance et les images* (Paris 1994) 257–85, especially 283 n. 12.

<sup>66</sup> Weitzmann, 'Loca sancta', 37; Weitzmann, *The icons* I, 68–9.

<sup>67</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons* I, 77, pl. CII.

*Icon of St Merkourios (Sinai B.49)*<sup>68</sup>

St Merkourios, on horseback, slays Julian the Apostate – the top of whose head is just visible – with a lance (fig. 46). In the upper left, a hand of God extends the crown of martyrdom; in the upper right, an angel carrying a cruciform staff points toward the saint. As first recognised by Leslie MacCoull, the saint is identified in Sahidic Coptic (Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΡΚΤΡΦΟΣ).

On the basis of parallels with ninth- and tenth-century Coptic manuscript illuminations, Weitzmann tentatively dated the panel to the tenth century, although he noted that the style of the icon was less ‘popular’ than that found in the miniatures. MacCoull argued instead for eighth-century Egypt, an attribution based on the popularity of Merkourios in the immediate wake of the Islamic conquest. In fact, the panel seems to sit mid-way between the seventh-century Louvre icon from Bawit (fig. 43) and certain ninth-century Coptic miniatures (fig. 47). Although the miniaturist was less interested in highlights and hatching to simulate modelled forms, the image of the Virgin and child with angels in a Synaxary from Hamouli, dated 893, resembles the icon in its lack of attention to physiognomy, and in its ovoid faces with mouth and nose-eyebrow definition identical to those in the synaxary.<sup>69</sup> A date during the years of iconoclasm thus seems reasonable.

The artisan responsible for icon B.49 was certainly an Egyptian Christian who wrote in Sahidic Coptic, but it cannot be said whether the icon was produced in Egypt and then transported to Mount Sinai at some point or whether it was created at the monastery by a monk originally from Egypt.

*Icon of the Crucifixion (Sinai B.50)*<sup>70</sup>

Sinai B.50 shows the dead Christ on the cross, with closed eyes and in a translucent loincloth (fig. 48). He is flanked by the two thieves, their arms tied behind the crossbars as on Sinai B.36 (fig. 37). As he had done for icon B.36, Weitzmann identified the thief on the left of icon B.50 as a female, an improbability that is countered both by comparative visual evidence and by direct examination of the icon itself, which demonstrates that the left breast appears far more pronounced in published photographs of the image than it does on the recently cleaned icon.<sup>71</sup> A red sun sits in the upper left; a larger blue moon in the upper right; and a blue arc of heaven curves between them to reveal six youthful figures, usually identified as angels but without obvious wings, extending covered hands toward Christ. Christ’s nimbus and the backdrop to the scene are gold. The Virgin stands to the (viewer’s) left, and is identified by the inscription ΜΗ[ΤΗΡ] Θ[ΕΟΥ]. John (ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ) stands to the right; his left hand is covered, as on icon B.36, and his right hand

<sup>68</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons* I, 78–9, fig. 30, pls XXXI, CIV; L. MacCoull, ‘Sinai icon B.49: Egypt and iconoclasm’, *JÖB* 32 (1982) 407–14.

<sup>69</sup> F. Friedman, ed., *Beyond the Pharaohs. Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th centuries A.D.* (Providence 1989) 221, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>70</sup> Belting and Belting-Ihm, ‘Das Kreuzbild im “Hodegos” des Anastasios Sinaites’, 37; Weitzmann, *The icons* I, 79–82, pls XXXII, CV–CVI; Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 68, 108; Kalavrezou, ‘Images of the mother’, 170 note 27.

<sup>71</sup> See n. 25, above.

emerges awkwardly from his shoulder, behind which a red book protrudes. The shared details suggest that Sinai B.50 was copied from Sinai B.36,<sup>72</sup> as do John's strangely placed hand, details of his garments, and the position of the 'angels' in the prominent arc. Considerable modifications were, however, imposed. In addition to the infusion of gold, the replacement of Christ's kolobion by a loincloth, the omission of wings from the 'angels' and of the gambling soldiers at the foot of the cross, the inscriptions of Sinai B.50 are quite different. Not only is the icon apparently the first to identify the Virgin as the 'mother of God', but it also includes Christ's dying words,  $\text{I}\Delta\text{O}\text{T}\ \text{O}\ \text{T}[\text{I}\text{O}]\Sigma\ \Sigma\text{O}\text{T}$  to his mother, and  $\text{I}\Delta\text{O}\text{T}\ \text{H}\ \text{M}\text{H}[\text{T}\text{H}]\text{P}\ \Sigma\text{O}\text{T}$  to John. The differences between Sinai B.36 and Sinai B.50 indicate that the latter is a more recent production, and it is usually dated to the late eighth or first half of the ninth century.<sup>73</sup> A dating in the ninth century is most plausible: the modelling of the drapery finds its closest parallels in the Paris copy of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus (879–82) and in the Vatican copy of the *Christian Topography*, of roughly the same date. All three works share the use of 'arrow' highlights, zig-zag articulation of folds, and accumulation of crumpled drapery between figures' legs, as well as the more common double-line fold and three-tone modelling system.<sup>74</sup> The articulation of facial features on the icon is not, however, found in either of the two manuscripts but instead recalls that in icons Sinai B.32 and B.33 (figs 38, 40).

The continuity with earlier icons at Mount Sinai would suggest that icon B.50 was produced there. But the artisan responsible for it must have been aware of formal developments in the capital, and must also have had access to gold leaf, a relative rarity in the icons attributed to the eighth and early ninth centuries. While it is not impossible that Sinai B.50 was painted during the final years of iconoclasm, it is perhaps more likely that it is a post-iconoclast product.

### Icons of Questionable Association with Iconoclasm

#### *Icon of the Enthroned Virgin holding the Christ Child (Sinai B.48)*<sup>75</sup>

This badly rubbed and damaged icon shows the Virgin enthroned on a high-backed gold throne, resting her hands on the Christ child, dressed entirely in gold, who floats before her (fig. 49). The Virgin is dressed in blue and red; a red cushion lies behind her. Her footstool is gold, as is the background. The gold furniture is distinguished from this background by fine brown contour lines and by the punched decoration of double circles that defines the parts of the throne and stool. Punched double circles also ring the Virgin's halo.

Weitzmann dated icon B.48 to 'about [the] eighth century'. Although he found its closest formal comparison to be Sinai B.27, an icon of the Chairete that he assigned to the seventh century, the 'more rigid' brushwork inclined him toward a later date.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>72</sup> The parallels have also been noted by Weitzmann, *The icons* I, 80–1.

<sup>73</sup> References in note 70 above.

<sup>74</sup> See Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 107–18.

<sup>75</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons* I, 77–8, pl. CIII.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 78; on B.27, 50–1, pls XXI, LXXV.

The exuberant use of gold on Sinai B.48 is not, however, duplicated in any surviving eighth- or ninth-century icons, where it is usually restricted to haloes and inscriptions, if it appears at all. Punched decoration is also missing from icons of the eighth and ninth centuries, but it appears in earlier examples: double circles virtually identical to those of icon B.48 appear on the famous panel of the enthroned Virgin and Christ child flanked by Sts Theodore and George that is usually dated to the sixth or seventh century.<sup>77</sup> The composition of Sinai B.48 is also most closely paralleled by sixth-century works, and is particularly similar to a fresco in the Commodilla catacomb in Rome that is dated by inscription to 528.<sup>78</sup> These features all suggest that the Sinai icon of the enthroned Virgin pre-dates the period of iconoclasm.

*Icon of the Virgin and Child (Sinai B.40)*<sup>79</sup>

Schematic and geometrically conceived figures such as the Virgin Mary and the Christ child of icon B.40 are hard to date (fig. 50). For Weitzmann, the panel's 'increasingly abstract and decorative tendency' pointed to the eighth or ninth century, and while the cyclic evolution that his model of stylistic development was predicated upon no longer carries much weight, other details not only confirm his speculation but in fact point toward the ninth century. The double-line fold system used in the Virgin's drapery appears in the eighth century, but is more common in the ninth, while the method of painting eyes – with equally heavy upper and lower rims that do not always meet at the corners – is a characteristically ninth-century feature.<sup>80</sup> The calligraphic formulation of the noses, and the delineation of the mouths by two parallel inked lines softened by compressed lips, recall the late ninth-century *Sacra Parallela*, the mosaics of ca 880 from the rooms above the southwest vestibule and ramp at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, and some tenth-century wall paintings in Cappadocia.<sup>81</sup>

The iconographic type used is the Hodegetria, with the Virgin looking out into space and gesturing with her right hand toward the Christ child whom she balances on her left arm; Christ blesses with his right hand and holds a scroll in his left. The formula is known before iconoclasm, but early images show a standing, full-length figure.<sup>82</sup> The half-figure of Sinai B.40 suggests a date after iconoclasm, and thus appears to corroborate the formal evidence.

<sup>77</sup> Sinai B.3: Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 18–21, pls IV–VI, XLIII–XLVI.

<sup>78</sup> Conveniently reproduced in K. Weitzmann, *The Icon* (New York 1978) pl. 5.

<sup>79</sup> Weitzmann, *The icons I*, 67, pl. XCIV.

<sup>80</sup> See Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 109.

<sup>81</sup> Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*; Cormack and Hawkins, 'Mosaics'; and for Cappadocia see, e.g., the New Church at Tokalı: A.W. Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise: tenth-century metropolitan art in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington DC 1986).

<sup>82</sup> Standing figures of the Virgin Hodegetria appear on imperial seals from the reigns of Constantine IV (681–85) through that of Leo III (seal of 717–20), and recur on patriarchal seals after iconoclasm: Zacos and Veglery I,1, nos 23, 25, 27–33; for the patriarchal seals, see 134–5 below.

## The Evidence from Texts

Incidental references to icons in texts from the period of iconoclasm are noted elsewhere in this volume;<sup>83</sup> here, we will review the evidence for the examples that seem to have been ideologically most important to the Byzantines: the Chalke Christ, the icons 'secretly' worshipped by imperial women, and the products of the painter Lazaros. It should also be noted that according to the later patriarch Photios, the iconoclast patriarch John the Grammarian (837–43) 'had been a worshipper of the venerable images, and actually exercised the art of the painter as his life's profession'.<sup>84</sup>

### *The Chalke Christ*

The opening move of iconoclasm used to be identified as Leo III's order to remove an image of Christ from above the main entrance into the imperial palace, a structure called the Chalke, or bronze, Gate. Recently, the existence of any icon on the Chalke before *ca* 800 has been called into question. But whether or not a portrait of Christ guarded the palace before 800, it is clear that the empress Eirene installed (or reinstalled) such an image at some time before Leo V removed it *ca* 815.<sup>85</sup> As the sole image involved that could have been actually produced during the iconoclast centuries, it is only Eirene's image that is of crucial importance here. What this image looked like is, unfortunately, not clear. If the arguments that date an ivory panel in Trier (fig. 53) to the ninth century are accepted,<sup>86</sup> the image carved on the gate on the far left of the ivory probably provides our closest approximation of either the icon installed by Eirene or its replacement shortly after 843.

### *'Secret' Icons in the Palace*

A number of texts ascribe iconophile sentiments to imperial women. Of these the most compelling is a letter from Theodore of Stoudios to Theodosia, widow of Leo V (813–20), praising the empress for her conversion to orthodoxy and rejection of iconoclasm.<sup>87</sup> Other accounts were written long after the fact. The late tenth-century pseudo-Symeon Magistros, followed in the twelfth century by George Kedrenos, claimed that near the end of his life, around 780, Leo IV ended 'marital relations' with the empress Eirene because he found two icons under her pillow.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> See 305–7 below on the epigrams written by Theodore of Stoudion that Paul Speck believes once accompanied icons.

<sup>84</sup> Trans. C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople* (DOS 3. Washington DC 1958) 246.

<sup>85</sup> For the arguments, and for earlier bibliography, see L. Brubaker, 'The Chalke gate, the construction of the past, and the Trier ivory', *BMGS* 23 (1999) 258–85; and J.F. Haldon and B. Ward-Perkins, 'Evidence from Rome for the image of Christ on the Chalke gate in Constantinople', *BMGS* 23 (1999) 286–96.

<sup>86</sup> See Brubaker, as in preceding note.

<sup>87</sup> Epistle 538: ed. G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistolae* (Berlin 1992).

<sup>88</sup> On pseudo-Symeon, see below, 173–6. For the pseudo-Symeon material, see R. Browning, 'Notes on the "Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio"', *B* 35 (1965) 409; for Kedrenos: I. Bekker, ed., *Cedrenus, Compendium historiarum*, 2 vols (CSHB, Bonn 1838–39) II, 19–20. Cf. Theoph., *Chronographia* (trans. Mango–Scott, 626 n. 9).

Pseudo-Symeon and the mid-tenth-century compiler known as Theophanes Continuatus claim that the empress Theodora, wife of Theophilos, worshipped icons in the privacy of her bedroom, and took her daughters to her mother, Theoktiste (or to her step-mother-in-law, Euphrosyne), who secretly taught them how to venerate icons.<sup>89</sup> Another mid-tenth-century compiler, Symeon the Logothete, also records that Theodora secretly worshipped icons before Theophilos' death in 842;<sup>90</sup> and two tenth-century texts that Athanasios Markopoulos has associated with what he calls the 'rehabilitation' of Theophilos continue to link Theodora with icons.<sup>91</sup>

Whether these accounts are accurate is uncertain. The tale of Eirene's icons does not appear in Theophanes' *Chronicle*, which was written only a decade after her deposition. Theophanes is sympathetic to the empress, and applauds her restoration of orthodoxy; had he known the story of the icons, it seems unlikely that he would have omitted it. We may probably accept the account as a later invention. The case of Theodora is equally nebulous. While her approval of the Council of 843 that ended iconoclasm assures us that the empress bore no antipathy toward icon veneration, her *vita*, which was probably composed in the late ninth or early tenth century, fails to mention the anecdotes related by the later compilers; at best, as Martha Vinson has already observed, it portrays Theodora as an 'iconophile sympathizer'.<sup>92</sup>

### *Lazaros*

The main sources of information about Lazaros are the *Liber pontificalis*, the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, and Theophanes *continuatus*. According to the first of these, 'the monk Lazaros ... very well trained in the painter's skill, although he was a Khazar by race', brought gifts to the pope from Michael III in 857/8.<sup>93</sup> Lazaros had apparently travelled to Rome as an emissary of the patriarch Ignatios to defend the latter's deposition of three Sicilian bishops, one of whom was Gregory Asbestos, who had appealed to the pope.<sup>94</sup> The tenth-century account in the *Synaxarion* also identifies Lazaros as a monk and painter, and adds that he was persecuted during iconoclasm,<sup>95</sup> but the fullest details of his life appear in Theophanes *continuatus*. Here we learn that Theophilos

<sup>89</sup> Theophanes continuatus: *Theoph. cont.*, 89–91; pseudo-Symeon, *ibid.*, 603–760, at 628–9. See also A. P. Kazhdan and A.-M. Talbot, 'Women and iconoclasm', *BZ* 84/85 (1991/2) 391.

<sup>90</sup> *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn 1842) 1–331, at 228.

<sup>91</sup> See A. Markopoulos, 'The rehabilitation of the emperor Theophilos', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 37–49.

<sup>92</sup> M. Vinson, 'Gender and politics in the post-iconoclastic period: the lives of Antony the Younger, the empress Theodora, and the patriarch Ignatios', *B* 68 (1998) 469–515, quotation 496. Vinson's trans. of the *vita*, based on the ed. of A. Markopoulos, appears in Talbot, ed., *Byzantine defenders of images*, 353–82.

<sup>93</sup> Trans. from R. Davis, *The lives of the ninth-century popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool 1995) 186.

<sup>94</sup> Discussion in *ibid.*, 185 n. 81.

<sup>95</sup> *Synax. CP*, 231–4.



determined to bring pressure on the monk Lazaros who at that time was famous for the art of painting. Finding him, however, to be above flattery and not amenable to his will, and having been reprovved by him not once or twice, but several times, he subjected him to such severe torture that the latter's flesh melted away along with his blood, and he was widely believed to have died. When [Theophilos] heard that Lazaros, having barely recovered in prison, was taking up his art again and representing images of saints on panels, he gave orders that sheets of red-hot iron should be applied to the palms of his hands. His flesh was thus consumed by fire until he lost consciousness and lay half dead . . . . When [Theophilos] was informed that Lazaros was on his deathbed, he released him from prison thanks to the supplication of the empress [Theodora] and some of his closer associates, and Lazaros took refuge at the church of the forerunner called *tou Phoberou* where, in spite of his wounds, he painted an image of the precursor [John the Baptist] that exists to this day and performs many cures.<sup>96</sup>

The continuator adds that, at the end of iconoclasm in 843, Lazaros restored the image of Christ above the Chalke gate. By *ca* 1200, he was (wrongly) credited with the apse mosaic at Hagia Sophia;<sup>97</sup> in 1977, Shchepkina, without providing evidence, attributed the Khludov Psalter to him.<sup>98</sup>

The painting monk Lazaros certainly existed, and he appears to have formed part of the patriarchal entourage during Ignatios's first tenure (847–58). The trials and tribulations enumerated by Theophanes *continuatus* cannot, however, be independently substantiated.

## Conclusions

The panels surviving on Mount Sinai demonstrate that icons continued to be painted throughout the period of iconoclasm.<sup>99</sup> Where they were painted, and for whom, is more problematic. The restricted use of gold leaf on the examples from the years of iconoclasm suggests either that they were not produced for particularly wealthy clients or that they were produced in a locale where gold was not readily available. It is thus perhaps unlikely that they were produced in a major urban centre such as Constantinople. As the geographical centre of official iconoclasm, this would not be expected in any case, except perhaps during the interval between 787 and 815 when religious imagery was officially favoured.

Rather than Constantinople, the evidence points to Mount Sinai itself, and to Egypt, as potential points of origin for at least some of the iconoclast-period icons. On the Sinai peninsula, and in Palestine, there is certainly other evidence of artisanal production and building work commissioned by Christians during the years of iconoclasm.<sup>100</sup> The witness of the icons themselves should not, however, be

<sup>96</sup> *Theoph. cont.*, 102–4; trans. Mango, *Art*, 159. For discussion, see Mango, *Brazen House*, 125–6; C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'The apse mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul. Report on work carried out in 1964', *DOP* 19 (1965) 144–5.

<sup>97</sup> Mango and Hawkins, 'The apse mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul', 142–5. For a conflicting opinion, see Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 190–1.

<sup>98</sup> Shchepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi Psaltyri*, English summary at 317–18. There is no reason to accept this speculation.

<sup>99</sup> So too Weitzmann, 'Loca sancta', 50–1.

<sup>100</sup> See 30–6 above and, e.g., I. Finkelstein, 'Byzantine monastic remains in

over-exaggerated: it cannot be interpreted as indicating that Sinai was a unique, thriving centre of icon production during iconoclasm, and it certainly does not provide evidence of a 'Palestinian school' of icon painting.

Wherever the surviving icons were made, the style in which they are painted is far from coherent. Only rarely are technical details similar, and only one motif – the dotted clavus – recurs with any frequency. But the population of the Mount Sinai monastery was not static: monks cannot reproduce themselves and pilgrims from all over the Mediterranean basin came and went. Sinai did not exist in a vacuum. Icons may have been imported as gifts; they may have been painted by itinerant pilgrims as thank offerings. In short, even if many of the icons preserved on Mount Sinai were actually produced on the spot, the artisans responsible for them need not have been local, and this diversity is presumably responsible for the formal heterogeneity displayed by the surviving panels.

The subject matter of the icons is less variable. It is probably no accident that three of the eleven icons present the Crucifixion, a subject of particular interest during iconoclasm and the years leading up to it, especially at the monastery on Mount Sinai. Excepting the Coptic panel that depicts Merkourios – which, wherever it was actually made, appears to respond to Egyptian interests in that saint after the Arab conquest – the only icon to present a narrative episode other than the Crucifixion is Sinai B.41, which shows the Nativity, another image that, like the Crucifixion, fronts the human nature of Christ, and the role of his mother. The remaining icons portray saints: Peter and Paul, Nicholas and John Chrysostom (B.33); John and an unidentified woman (B.34–35); Chariton and Theodosios (B.37); Eirene (B.39); and Kosmas (B.47). These would seem to correspond with the visualization of the cult of saints and to bear witness to the emerging role of icons as transparent windows, mediating access to the saint him- or herself, that crystallized during iconoclasm. The icons suggest that visual practice and rhetorical theory here coincided.

## Sculpture (Non-Architectural)

Large-scale sculpture and public statuary are not commonly associated with the art of the eastern Roman empire after the seventh century. Older monuments survived and sometimes occasioned comment, but the evidence for a revival of portrait statuary under Constantine VI and Eirene that has been mooted is late and unreliable.<sup>1</sup> While it is possible that Leo III was responsible for two monumental sculptural groups, surviving non-architectural sculpture from the period between *ca* 700 and *ca* 850 is confined to ivories.

### Sculpture in the Round: Textual Evidence

It is clear from the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* that numerous statues existed in Constantinople during the iconoclast period.<sup>2</sup> Many of these were imperial portraits, and although the *Parastaseis* lists no rulers from the years of iconoclasm, the tenth-century *Patria* cites statues of Constantine VI and Eirene.<sup>3</sup> Other statues listed in the *Parastaseis* were of animals, or of ancient gods and goddesses. Aside from crosses, which are mentioned several times, the only Christian works described as surviving in the city are statues (ζώδια) of Adam and Eve at ‘the place called Neolaia’.<sup>4</sup>

The *Parastaseis* attributes one work to Leo III: a statue (otherwise unidentified) at the Neorion harbour.<sup>5</sup> Another sculptural group (?), this one ‘in front of the palace’ (τὴν πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων) is attributed to Leo III and Constantine V (elevated as co-emperor in 720) by the patriarch Germanos in a letter to Thomas of Claudioupolis that is usually dated to between 720 and 729. Here, the patriarch claims, the

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, below.

<sup>2</sup> See Av. Cameron and J. Herrin, eds, *Constantinople in the early eighth century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 10. Leiden 1984) especially 48–51. On this text, see 301 below.

<sup>3</sup> T. Preger, ed., *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* II (Leipzig 1907) 56, 202. These are presumably the statues noted by C. Mango, ‘Antique statuary and the Byzantine beholder’, *DOP* 17 (1963) 71 n. 96, repr. in *idem*, *Byzantium and its image* (London 1984), study V, followed by R. Cormack, ‘The arts during the age of iconoclasm’, in Bryer and Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm*, 40; repr. in *idem*, *The Byzantine eye*, study III.

<sup>4</sup> Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 60–1. The authors suggest that this was a location near the hippodrome (*ibid.*, 171–2). For the crosses, see Chapters 16, 34, 52, 58, 78 (*ibid.*, 78–9, 94–5, 126–7, 134–5, 158–9); all except the last – described as above the ‘four so-called Gorgons’ that surround the Chalke – were accompanied by statues of Constantine and Helena.

<sup>5</sup> Chapter 72: Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 152–3.

emperors 'have represented the likenesses of apostles and prophets, and written down their utterances about the Lord – thus proclaiming the cross of salvation to be the proud ornament of their faith'.<sup>6</sup> As Marie-France Auzépy has observed, the commission apparently provided a visual parallel to Leo's praise of the apostles, the prophets, their writings, and the cross at the beginning of his law code, the *Ecloga* of 741.<sup>7</sup> The subsequent history of this group is unknown.

## Ivories

### *The So-called Grado Ivories*

In 1899, Graeven grouped together fourteen ivory panels (figs 51–2) and argued that they had decorated a throne given to the city of Grado around 630 by the emperor Heraclius; he dated the ivories themselves to *ca* 600.<sup>8</sup> Three-quarters of a century later, Weitzmann reevaluated what had by then come to be called the Grado ivories.<sup>9</sup> He observed, correctly, that they were not stylistically homogeneous; and he divided the fourteen panels into two groups: an 'early' clutch of six dated to the late seventh or early eighth century and a 'late' cluster of eight that he attributed to the mid-eighth century. Since then, a ninth panel has been added to the latter corpus.<sup>10</sup> This same group had also, however, been associated with the ivory antependium in the cathedral of Salerno, the panels of which have been dated to the 1080s.<sup>11</sup> In his catalogue of late antique and early medieval ivories, Volbach therefore argued that the so-called Grado ivories dated not to the early medieval Byzantine east but to eleventh-century south Italy.<sup>12</sup> This last thesis is not sustainable: while the Salerno ivories are iconographically related to the 'Grado' panels, stylistically they are quite

<sup>6</sup> On this passage, see Mango, *Brazen House*, 112; and M.-F. Auzépy, 'La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalce de Léon III: Propagande ou réalité?', *B* 40 (1990) 445–92 at 446–8. Stein, *Bilderstreit*, 70–4 argued that Germanos was referring to the Chalke, a thesis countered by Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 175.

<sup>7</sup> Reference in preceding note. For a brief survey of the archaeological evidence for sculpture in the period from the sixth to the eleventh century, see J.-P. Sodini, 'La sculpture médio-byzantine: le marbre en ersatz et tel qu'en lui-même', in C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds, *Constantinople and its hinterland* (Aldershot 1995) 289–311; and for the immediately preceding centuries, see J.-P. Sodini, 'La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde Byzantin (IV–VII siècle)', *DOP* 47 (1993) 139–84, at 162–5.

<sup>8</sup> H. Graeven, 'Der heilige Markus in Rom und in der Pentapolis', *Römische Quartalschrift* 13 (1899) 109–26.

<sup>9</sup> K. Weitzmann, 'The ivories of the so-called Grado chair', *DOP* 26 (1972) 45–91; repr. in *idem*, *Studies in the arts at Sinai* (Princeton 1982) study VI.

<sup>10</sup> M. Estella, 'Esculturas de marfil medievales', *Archivo español de arte* 56 (1983) 89–114, esp. 90–8; discussion in R. Bergman, 'A new addition to the Grado throne ivories', in C. Moss and K. Kiefer, eds, *Byzantine East, Latin West: art historical studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton 1995) 121–9.

<sup>11</sup> The historiography is summarized by both Weitzmann, 'The ivories of the so-called Grado chair', and Bergman, 'A new addition'. On the date of the Salerno ivories, see R. Bergman, *The Salerno ivories, ars sacra from medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge MA 1980) 87–90.

<sup>12</sup> W.F. Volbach, *Elfenarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3rd edn (Mainz 1976) 138–42.

different. The artisan responsible for the Salerno antependium copied the so-called Grado ivories.<sup>13</sup> This tells us that the 'Grado' ivories (or their clones) were in south Italy in the late eleventh century, but no more than that.

Despite an attempt to revive the thesis of the ivory throne,<sup>14</sup> Weitzmann's core argument about the dates for the group holds.<sup>15</sup> Whether or not the six panels that he collected in his 'early' group in fact represent a coherent ensemble – and arguments against this thesis can be marshalled – all of them seem to belong to the years before iconoclasm. The 'late' group is both more coherent and more difficult to date.

Five of the plaques form a clear set: they all show scenes from the life of St Mark, are stylistically identical, and are still together in the Museo del Castello Sforzesco in Milan (figs 51–2). The remainder – two in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, one in the British Museum, and one in the Museum of Mallorca – depict scenes from the life of Christ. These are stylistically closely linked, but not absolutely identical, to the Mark panels; Weitzmann wanted to divide the cluster into three phases.<sup>16</sup> Such precision is not critical to the argument here, but the date of the cluster as a whole is relevant.

So long as we accept the ivories as products of the mainstream east Christian community, Weitzmann's framing is convincing: from within the context of Byzantine ivory production, the panels appear to be later than *ca* 630 and earlier than the tenth century. Where the ivories might date within that span is more problematic, and where they might have been made is even more difficult to determine.

The dominating formal characteristics of the panels are flat figures, carved in low relief, enveloped in drapery, modelled almost exclusively with double- (in one case triple-) line folds, that hugs and articulates body parts such as thighs. The figures dominate, and are pushed to the foreground; they often appear to float before the backdrop. Faces have double-rimmed eyes and long thin noses; they lack protruding bones. Hair sits on the surface of the skull and is created by repeating patterns. Architectural backdrops are created with receding orthogonals that do not follow 'scientific' rules of perspective.

While many of these features recur throughout the middle ages, the double-line fold system is most normally encountered in the eighth and (especially) the ninth century. Cross-media comparisons are dangerous, but the parallels that Weitzmann drew between the articulation of architecture and drapery on the ivories and in the *Sacra Parallela* are sound in so far as one can compare carving and drawing. This might point toward a post-iconoclast date for the ivories for, although Weitzmann thought that the *Sacra Parallela* was a product of early ninth-century Palestine, it is now generally agreed that it belongs to post-iconoclast Constantinople.<sup>17</sup> Certain details in the ivories, however, also find close parallels in Umayyad works of the first

<sup>13</sup> This has been conclusively established by Weitzmann, followed by Bergman: references in n. 11, above.

<sup>14</sup> S. Tavano, 'Le cattedre di Grado', *Antichità altoadriatiche* 12 (1977) 445–89.

<sup>15</sup> The panels now in France were exhibited in 1992 as 'fin du VIIe–VIIIe siècle': *Byzance*, 182–4.

<sup>16</sup> Weitzmann, 'The ivories of the so-called Grado chair', especially 70–3.

<sup>17</sup> See 49–50 above.

half of the eighth century. Notable among these are the trapezoidal stepped gable (fig. 51), which is replicated in Umayyad architecture, and the scalloped conch with a central wave motif (fig. 52), which appears in Umayyad mosaics.<sup>18</sup> The delineation of architecture is generally similar to the mosaic versions that proliferated in Christian contexts in (modern) Jordan,<sup>19</sup> but there are other comparisons that can be made only with Umayyad works: for example, hair, eye, and, to a certain extent, drapery configurations are repeated in the stucco-work from early eighth-century Khirbat al-Mafjar but not in any preserved Christian works from the near east during the 'iconoclast' years.<sup>20</sup> The recently discovered ivory panels from the Abbasid estate at Humeima (southern Jordan, ca 50 km north of 'Aqaba), dated before the mid-eighth century, are less similar, but share the elongated nose, a version of the stepped gable motif, and double-line fold drapery, albeit in highly schematised form; these, however, may not have been locally produced.<sup>21</sup>

The argument then is that the 'later' works of the so-called Grado throne corpus could date to the first half of the eighth century, and could have been made in an area influenced by the Umayyads, presumably Syria, Palestine or Egypt. These areas were in constant contact with ivory suppliers;<sup>22</sup> the question is which Christian community in these Arab-controlled areas would have produced ivories dedicated to the story of St Mark and would, presumably later, have had contacts with Amalfi or Salerno so that the panels arrived there. While Weitzmann insisted that Egypt lost its artistic prominence after the advent of official Christianity, it is, in fact, only Alexandria, the putative home city of Mark, that really fits the profile. The excavator of early medieval Alexandria, Rodziewicz, notes that bone- and ivory-carving workshops 'continued their production after the Arab conquest'.<sup>23</sup> If the 'Grado' ivories do belong in the east, their production site is most plausibly sought in post-conquest Egypt.

### *The Trier Ivory*

The Trier ivory (fig. 53) has recently been dated to the ninth (or very late eighth) century.<sup>24</sup> Because it depicts Constantinople, it was almost certainly produced in the

<sup>18</sup> Weitzmann, 'The ivories of the so-called Grado chair', 57–8; Bergman, 'A new addition', 123.

<sup>19</sup> See N. Duval, 'Le rappresentazioni architettoniche' in M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata, *Umm al-Rasas – Mayfa'ah I: gli scavi del complesso di Santo Stefano* (Studium biblicum franciscanum collectio maior 28. Jerusalem 1994) 165–230.

<sup>20</sup> R.W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar. An Arabian mansion in the Jordan valley* (Oxford 1959).

<sup>21</sup> See R.M. Foote, 'Frescoes and carved ivory from the Abbasid family homestead at Humeima', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999) 423–8, especially 425–6 and figs 5–7.

<sup>22</sup> See A. Cutler, *The hand of the master. Craftsmanship, ivory and society in Byzantium (9th–11th centuries)* (Princeton 1994) 56–65.

<sup>23</sup> M. Rodziewicz, 'Graeco-islamic elements at Kom el Dikka in the light of new discoveries', *Graeco-Arabica* 1 (1982) 45. I thank Chris Wickham for this reference.

<sup>24</sup> L. Brubaker, 'The Chalke gate, the construction of the past, and the Trier ivory', *BMGS* 23 (1999) 258–85.

Byzantine capital, and presumably for the church so prominently depicted on it, Hagios Stephanos in Daphne.<sup>25</sup> The closest stylistic parallels, the Palazzo Venezia ivory casket and the so-called Leo sceptre in Berlin, both of the late ninth or early tenth century, are not so similar as completely to circumscribe a date for the Trier panel. The unusual prominence of an empress (the augusta Pulcheria) on the panel and the style suggest that it is worth entertaining a date during the reign of Eirene for the panel.<sup>26</sup> Lack of comparable material unfortunately does not allow this speculation to be taken further.

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<sup>25</sup> On which see I. Kalavrezou, 'Helping hands for the empire: imperial ceremonies and the cult of relics at the Byzantine court', in H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine court culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington DC 1997) 53–79.

<sup>26</sup> See, too, J. Wortley, 'The Trier ivory reconsidered', *GRBS* 21 (1980) 381–94.

# Textiles

## Introduction

The study of Byzantine textiles is hampered by the scarcity of dated or datable material, ignorance of the original context for most examples, and our still only partial understanding of weaving techniques, in particular how and if Byzantine techniques differed from those of its neighbours. Anna Muthesius' monograph on Byzantine silks has introduced precision about weaving types, and has provided the first summary catalogue of the material;<sup>1</sup> I will therefore focus on silk rather than wool or linen here. Despite Muthesius' major contribution, however, no one would claim that all questions about Byzantine textile production have been answered.

For our purposes, the date of individual silks is important, and this is an area fraught with difficulties and riven by differences of opinion. The specialised technical skills needed to weave, and particularly to produce complex patterns in silk textiles, make comparisons with media less dependent on technology (and therefore subject to different sorts of formal rules and developments) especially problematic. Issues of date are also complicated by the impact of Persian motifs on Byzantine textile work, for this seems to have occurred earlier in textiles than in other media.<sup>2</sup> The Sasanian motifs are known from stucco relief, metalwork, and frescoes, but many were apparently developed for, and were certainly most widely distributed by, textiles.<sup>3</sup> The availability of Sasanian silks in the Byzantine empire may have stimulated imitation of Persian motifs;<sup>4</sup> it is even possible that techniques for

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<sup>1</sup> A. Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving AD 400 to AD 1200* (Vienna 1997). See also her collected studies: A. Muthesius, *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic silk weaving* (London 1995); and the earlier fundamental work of J. Beckwith, 'Byzantine tissues', *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines* (Bucharest 1974) 343–53.

<sup>2</sup> For example, they do not appear in manuscript decoration until the last quarter of the ninth century, when they proliferate in the Paris Gregory (Paris. gr. 510) of 879–82.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin 1920) and *idem, Die Malereien von Samarra* (Berlin 1937). A concise and accessible survey of Sasanian textiles appears in *The Cambridge History of Iran III.2* (Cambridge 1983) 1107–12. See also N.A. Reath and E.B. Sachs, *Persian textiles and their technique from the sixth to the eighteenth centuries including a system for general textile classification* (New Haven 1937) 13–19; W.F. Volbach, *Early decorative textiles* (London 1969) esp. 103–13.

<sup>4</sup> See also H. Granger-Taylor, 'The weft-patterned silks and their braid: the remains of an Anglo-Saxon dalmatic of c. 800?', in G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe, eds, *St Cuthbert, his cult and his community* (Woodbridge 1984) 303–27, esp. 312–21. According



weaving specific decorative patterns were learned from the Persians by Byzantine weavers. The shared repertory not only complicates issues of dating, but may also obscure the place of origin.

Previous scholarship has tended to rely on four criteria for assigning a date in the eighth or ninth century to Byzantine silks. Perhaps the most reliable is the complexity of the weave. Though this provides a relative index rather than an absolute guide to dating, it is generally agreed that 'simple weaves' with small-scale designs preceded more complex weaves and more elaborate patterns that required specialized loom accoutrements. Two types of weave, in particular, are currently attributed to the eighth or ninth century:<sup>5</sup> both are weft twills – that is, the silk drawn through the threads on the loom (the weft) rather than the silk threads attached to the loom itself (the warp) predominates on the front surface of the finished cloth, and the weft is passed over two or three warps before going under the next in a staggered pattern that results in the diagonal 'furrows' on the face of the fabric that signal twill – but in one the warp is composed of single threads and in the other of double (paired) threads, usually twisted together.<sup>6</sup> The latter is therefore somewhat heavier than the former. Though many of the silks in these two groups are related to each other and seem to form coherent clusters, none are dated or datable by inscription: it is only their relative complexity that has suggested a date later than the sixth or seventh century.

A second justification often offered for a date in the eighth or ninth century – and particularly during iconoclasm – is the subject matter woven into silks. Sixth- and seventh-century silks have been characterized as typified by small-scale patterns, eighth- and ninth-century silks by figurative designs, and, paradoxically, post-iconoclast silks by the renewed absence of figures. A change in approach to figural decoration has, in fact, been claimed for all textiles: Henry Maguire has argued convincingly that repeated figures, and Christian ornament on domestic textiles in general, disappeared after iconoclasm, a victim of new attitudes toward imagery.<sup>7</sup> Certain motifs have also been claimed as appropriate to the years of iconoclasm, in particular secular imagery that promoted imperial ideology, such as hunters or charioteers.<sup>8</sup> Some pieces have even been attached to particular emperors: a silk now in London (fig. 54) that represents a charioteer has, for example, been associated with Theophilos, who, probably as part of his victory celebrations after the pillage of

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to Theophanes, most of the silk and silken garments, linen shirts, and carpets found by Heraclius' soldiers as they took the various palaces of Chosroes II in 625/6 were burned, as they were too heavy to carry off as booty (Theoph., *Chronographia*, 321, trans. Mango–Scott, 451); others, however, presumably entered Constantinople during diplomatic exchanges: see Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 71–2.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 79 n. 94.

<sup>6</sup> See Beckwith, 'Byzantine tissues', esp. 350; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 151–3. An excellent discussion of weaving techniques, with diagrams, appears in E.D. Maguire, *Weavings from Roman, Byzantine and Islamic Egypt: the rich life and the dance* (Urbana–Champaign IL 1999) 14–17.

<sup>7</sup> H. Maguire, *The icons of their bodies: saints and their images in Byzantium* (Princeton 1996) 100–6, and especially 137–45.

<sup>8</sup> So, e.g., Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 2, 60, 68–72, 146; *Byzance*, 192.

Zapetra in 837, participated in (and of course won) a race in the hippodrome.<sup>9</sup> Such specificity is impossible to confirm, and even the more general association of secular themes with the years of iconoclasm is problematic. In Byzantium, imperial themes were always appropriate to produce, no matter what period; furthermore, some of the silks closely related to those with secular subject matter that have been associated with iconoclasm portray Christian scenes such as the Annunciation and the Nativity (figs 55–6).<sup>10</sup> While we may presume that the silk workshops remained active during iconoclasm – a supposition supported by the *Liber pontificalis* and claims such as that by Leo the Grammarian that under Theophilos the imperial vestments were renovated and ‘adorned with gold embroidery’<sup>11</sup> – subject matter alone is an insufficient indicator of date.

The context in which a silk was found is also sometimes used for dating purposes, and, if undisturbed, the date of the find spot does indeed provide a *terminus ante quem* for the silk. Unfortunately, most preserved silks were used to line reliquaries, and it is rarely possible to demonstrate that these remained untouched throughout the centuries.<sup>12</sup> The Vatican Pegasus silk (fig. 70), for example, lined a box in which was housed a reliquary of the true cross presented by *Paschalis episcopus*, presumably pope Paschal I (817–24).<sup>13</sup> It is, however, impossible to determine whether or not the reliquary was ever refurbished; also, because silks were often kept in store for considerable periods of time, even were we to accept Paschal’s association with the fabric there would be no way of knowing whether or not it was made during his papacy (and hence during second iconoclasm) or long beforehand.<sup>14</sup>

## Silks Known from Written Evidence

### *Silks in the Liber Pontificalis*

A fourth and final criterion sometimes used to date, or at least partially to contextualize, textiles is the mention of silks in the *Liber pontificalis*. As others have observed, these appear with particular frequency during the second half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century.<sup>15</sup> Because silk was not yet produced in the west

<sup>9</sup> A. Grabar, *L’empereur dans l’art byzantin* (Paris 1936) 63; cf. Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 58. On the occasion, M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium and the early medieval west* (Cambridge 1986) 149–50; on the silk, see further 101–2 below.

<sup>10</sup> See 91–2 below.

<sup>11</sup> Trans. Mango, *Art*, 161. On the *Liber pontificalis*, see below.

<sup>12</sup> On the few excavated from a datable context, all previous to 700, see Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 66.

<sup>13</sup> On this silk, see 102 below.

<sup>14</sup> On the importation of silk into western Europe, see also the general comments of J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, ‘L’influence artistique byzantine dans la région Meuse-Rhin du VIIIe au début du XIIIe siècle’, in C. Moss and K. Kieffer, eds, *Byzantine east, Latin west: art historical studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton 1995) 181–2, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>15</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 125, with earlier bibliography.

except possibly in the Islamic areas of Spain,<sup>16</sup> most of the *Liber pontificalis* silks are probably eastern, and some are specified as Alexandrian, Byzantine, or Tyrian. The latter term is also used as a noun, and probably refers to the purple dye for which Tyre was famous,<sup>17</sup> and thus more generally simply to purple cloth,<sup>18</sup> whether or not it actually was imported from Tyre. Whatever its origin, however, it seems fairly certain that Tyrian designates silk rather than wool or linen, for we are told that pope Hadrian (772–95) ‘provided and presented cloths of silk materials, that is cross-adorned silk or Tyrian’.<sup>19</sup>

The longest of the relevant papal lives is that of Leo III (795–816), and its compiler was also the most enthusiastic recorder of donations to churches: if we follow the *Liber pontificalis*, it would appear that Leo III donated as much silver to the churches of Rome as all other popes between 700 and 850 combined.<sup>20</sup> His donations of silk are also extensive: the *Liber pontificalis* refers to over 700, and there are many additional references to fabrics that are perhaps silks but are not specified as such. Except for the donation list for the year 807, the text is preserved as a narrative, but it, in fact, concentrates almost exclusively on Leo’s gifts. The use of repetitive formulae to describe these suggests that the narrative was constructed from a donation list similar to that preserved for 807, and one which relied on the notation ‘as above’ (*ut supra*) more often than this expression now appears.<sup>21</sup> But whatever its textual history, it is clear from the *Liber pontificalis* that a large quantity of silk was available in Rome during the period between the two iconoclasms. The silk is most often described as cross-adorned (*stauracius*), sometimes with purple or gold borders;<sup>22</sup> it also appears interwoven with gold (*vestem chrysoclabam*). When

<sup>16</sup> ‘Fourteen Spanish veils with silver’ are recorded as gifts from pope Gregory IV to St Mark’s in 829/31 (trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 54) but the fabric type is not specified. On the early silk industry in Islamic Spain, see O.R. Constable, *Trade and traders in Muslim Spain, the commercial realignment of the Iberian peninsula, 900–1500* (Cambridge 1994) 173–81, especially 177–8 (ninth-century references to Spanish silk, the earliest in 823).

<sup>17</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 66 and n. 26, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>18</sup> So J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden 1976) 1028. On names for purple dyes, see, further, Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 27–8; Const. Porph., *Three treatises*, 205–7.

<sup>19</sup> ... *ex palleis, id est stauracim seu tyreis, vestes fecit atque offeruit*: L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire I* (Paris 1955) 501; trans. R. Davis, *The lives of the eighth-century popes (Liber pontificalis)* (Liverpool 1992) 146.

<sup>20</sup> See P. Delogu, ‘The rebirth of Rome in the 8th and 9th centuries’, in R. Hodges and B. Hobley, eds, *The rebirth of towns in the west AD 700–1050* (CBA research report 68. London 1988) 32–42, esp. 36–7.

<sup>21</sup> As, for example, in the discussion of Leo’s gifts recorded for 798–800: ‘In St Pancras’ church, a Tyrian cloth representing the Lord’s ascension. In St Maria *ad martyres*, a Tyrian cloth as above. In St Sabina’s titulus, as above. In St Boniface’s deaconry, as above. In the deaconry of St Maria called Cosmedin, as above’ (*Item in ecclesia sancti Pancratii veste tyrea habentem storiā ascensionis domini. Seu et in sancta Maria ad martyres fecit veste tyrea, ut supra. Et in titulo sanctae Savinae, ut supra. Et in diaconia sancti Bonifacii ut supra. Et in diaconia sanctae Mariae qui vocatur Cosmidin, ut supra*): LP II, 9; trans. Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, 194.

<sup>22</sup> There are over 300 examples of cross-adorned silk, about half of which have additional decoration such as a purple border, e.g., *Fecit autem et in titulo sancti Quiriaci*

decorated, the most frequently cited motifs are crosses (often of pearls, or in contrasting gold or purple) and roses.<sup>23</sup> Nearly three dozen silks showing animals – griffins and elephants, both well-represented on surviving Byzantine silks<sup>24</sup> – or figures are also described (Table 1).

One of the standard formulae used to describe the figurative silks reads *vestem holosericam, habentem in medio tabulam de ... cum historia ...* ('an all-silk cloth, with a panel of ... in the centre representing ...'). From this, it would appear that the representations themselves were often distinct from, but appliquéd to, a silk backdrop, so that, unless the central panel is specifically described as silk, the figural panels may have been Roman products attached to imported silk backings. Those panels that are identified as silk, and that one may reasonably assume to have been Byzantine, all show scenes from the life of Christ: the resurrection is noted three times, the Crucifixion once, and, on five veils, Christ calls the apostles from a ship. Another silk was covered with 'wheels' (presumably medallions) depicting the Annunciation, Nativity, passion, and resurrection. Two silks have inserted panels of Tyrian, both showing the Crucifixion, five are described as 'a Tyrian cloth representing the Lord's ascension', and one Tyrian cloth combined an image of the healing of the blind man and the resurrection; these were all probably imported purple silk weavings, possibly from Tyre in Syria rather than from Byzantium proper. We may also probably assume that the 'cloth of Byzantine purple' showing the Nativity and, apparently, the Presentation was an imported silk. Preserved fragments of a ninth-century silk now at the Vatican (figs 55–6), showing the Annunciation and Nativity in medallions, suggest what some of the silks described in the *Liber pontificalis* might have looked like.<sup>25</sup>

The *Liber pontificalis* has fewer notices of silk during the early years of iconoclasm. This may have as much to do with the interests of the compiler, or with the ability of the pope in question to provide activities more attractive to report than distributing goods, as with the availability of silk in Rome. But whatever the explanation, the 'white silk veils adorned with purple' given to St Chrysogonus are the only silks mentioned during the papacy of Gregory III (731–41).<sup>26</sup> Under Zacharias (741–52) 'veils of silk material to hang between the columns' at Sts Peter

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*vestem de stauraci cum periclisin de blathin, et in gyro chrisoclabo et in medio crucem de margaretis* ('In St Quirico's titulus he provided a cross-adorned silk cloth with a purple border, a gold-studded surround and in the centre a cross of pearls'): *LP* II, 11; trans. Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, 198. In addition to *tyrium*, *blatta* and *alithinus* are the words most commonly used to designate purple in the *Liber pontificalis* (on *blattion* see D. Jacoby, 'Silk in western Byzantium before the fourth crusade', *BZ* 84/5 [1991/92] 458 n. 29).

<sup>23</sup> For pearls, see the preceding note. Rose decorated silks are noted over 80 times, e.g., *in monasterio sancti Martini ... fecit veste alba oloserica rosata, habentem in medio crucem de chrisoclabo cum periclisin de tireo* ('in St Martin's monastery, a white all-silk cloth with roses, with a gold-studded cross in the centre and a border of Tyrian'): *LP* II, 31; trans. Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, 226.

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 38–9, 50–4.

<sup>25</sup> On these silks, see 91–2 below.

<sup>26</sup> ... *vela sirica alba, ornata blattio*: *LP* I, 418; trans. Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, 24.

and Paul and 'four purple silk veils ... decorated with wheels and various gold-worked adornments' at St Peter's are cited.<sup>27</sup> No silks appear in the *Liber pontificalis* accounts of Stephen II (752–57), Paul (757–67),<sup>28</sup> or Stephen III (768–72).

Under Hadrian I (772–95), however, the number of silks reported picks up dramatically. Hadrian's donations are recorded both in the account of his own pontificate and at the beginning of the account of the life of the subsequent pope, Leo III, where reports of papal gifts for the last three years (792–95) of Hadrian's rule are inserted without comment.<sup>29</sup> In all, over 1,000 silks are noted, nearly half of them in a single passage recording gifts made in 776/7: 'The holy pontiff provided for the various tituli veils of cross-adorned silk or Tyrian, twenty for each titulus ... which totals 440 silk veils ... For the various deaconries he also provided veils of cross-adorned silk and Tyrian, six for each deaconry, which totals ninety-six veils.'<sup>30</sup> Few of the remaining silks are described in any more detail than these, and in the account provided by Hadrian's own compiler the descriptive terms used differ somewhat from those favoured under pope Leo III. While in both lists 'cross-adorned' silks (*stauracius*) predominate, the earlier compiler neglects the silks' places of origin (there are no Byzantine or Alexandrian fabrics mentioned, and Tyrian, as we have seen, seems often to designate a colour rather than a production site) to focus instead on the weave, usually described as fourfold (*quadrupulum*), but occasionally as eight (*octapulum*).<sup>31</sup> The decorative motifs noted also differ. The rose decoration that appears over eighty times under Leo III is anticipated by only one reference under Hadrian, and that is found in the list that was inserted at the beginning of Leo's life by the later compiler. Mention of interwoven gold is also far rarer; aside from the 'sixty-five veils of Tyrian material with interwoven gold' given to St Peter's between 772 and 74,<sup>32</sup> gold-shot silk appears only in the descriptions of donations from the end of Hadrian's pontificate inserted by the Leo compiler. Further, there are only two accounts of representational silk, and these, too, were added at the

<sup>27</sup> ... *vela inter columnas ex palleis siricis fecit* and *vela sirica alithina IIII, quas et ornavit in rotis et ornamentis variis aurotextis*: LP I, 432; trans. Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, 44–5.

<sup>28</sup> A gloss in some versions of the *Liber pontificalis* credits Paul with gifts to St Petronilla's mausoleum *in aurum et argentum atque palleis*; the latter normally means 'material' and sometimes refers to silk, but its significance is not certain here (Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, 81, translates it as 'brocade').

<sup>29</sup> See Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, xv, 174–5, 180 n. 7.

<sup>30</sup> *Item isdem sanctissimus pontifex fecit per diversa titula vela de stauracim seu tyrea, per unumquemque titulum numero XX... quae fiunt simul vela sirica numero CCCCXL. ... et per diversas diaconias fecit simili modo vela stauracia seu tyrea per unaquaque diaconia numero VI, qui fiunt simul vela numero XCVI*: LP I, 504; trans. Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, 153.

<sup>31</sup> The precise meaning of these terms is unclear, though according to Niermeyer, *Lexicon*, 873, *quadrupulum* always designates silk. On the related Byzantine terms ending in -πῶλον see Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 28, who believes that the terms apply 'to different weights of silk depending on the density of warps used'; and Const. Porph., *Three treatises*, 218.

<sup>32</sup> ... *palleis tyreis atque fundatis fecit vela numero LXV*: LP I, 499; trans. Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, 143.

beginning of Leo's life. The first is a cloth given to St Maria *ad praesepe* in 793/4 which showed the Annunciation – identified by a Latin transliteration of its Greek name, *cheretismon* – with the Nativity and the Presentation;<sup>33</sup> this is not identified as silk, but the use of the Greek title suggests that it was a Byzantine work. The second is 'a gold-studded Tyrian cloth representing the Lord's passion and resurrection', given to St Laurence in the same year.<sup>34</sup>

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the differences in the information presented about silk by the compilers of Hadrian's and Leo's lives has as much to do with differences between the two compilers as with whatever silk was available. Hadrian's compiler lists silk, but is uninterested in most aspects of it save, sometimes, for its weave; Leo's compiler, in contrast, records the details of the donations with care. Although the sudden proliferation of figured and heavily decorated silk in the years between the two iconoclasms is suggestive, the two different systems of recording compel caution in drawing the conclusion that the production of figured silk for export only began (or recommenced) after the end of first iconoclasm in 787.

Nonetheless, the evidence of later accounts in the *Liber pontificalis* may corroborate this hypothesis: it is in any event clear that after the reinstatement of iconoclasm in 815 far fewer figural silks appear in Rome. All we learn about Stephen IV's textile donations during his short pontificate (816–17) is that St Peter's was supplied with an unspecified number of 'all-silk veils with a border of interwoven gold'.<sup>35</sup> The compiler of the life of Paschal I (817–24), however, like Leo III's compiler before him, appears to have been more interested in Paschal's patronage than in his ecclesiastical policy: the *Liber pontificalis* records his donation of silks to numerous churches, and lists them yearly. Alexandrian, Byzantine, and Tyrian fabrics are all noted, one, a curtain from Alexandria, decorated with 'various [unspecified] representations'.<sup>36</sup> There are also eight representational silks, one with peacocks,<sup>37</sup> the others figurative. Six of the seven figural textiles follow a familiar formula:

- To St Maria in Domnica in 818/9, *vestem de blati bizantea, habentem tabulam de chrisoclabo, cum vultu sanctae Dei genetricis et angeli obsequia stantes, cum periclisin de stauraci* (a 'cloth of Byzantine purple, with a gold-studded panel

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<sup>33</sup> ... *vestem de chrisoclaba, habentem storia nativitatis domini et sancti Symeonis et in medio cheretismon*: LP II, 2; trans. Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, 180–1. See, further, *Byzance*, 192; Maguire, *Icons of their bodies*, 140.

<sup>34</sup> ... *veste tirea chrisoclaba habentem storia dominice passionis et resurrectionis*: LP II, 2; trans. Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, 181.

<sup>35</sup> ... *vela olosirica cum periclisin de fundato*: LP II, 49; trans. Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, 236.

<sup>36</sup> ... *cortinam maiorem alexandrinam cum diversis storiis*: LP II, 62; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 28.

<sup>37</sup> ... *vestem de stauraci, habentem pavones et in medio crucem de blatin* ('a cloth of cross-adorned silk with peacocks and in the centre a purple cross'): Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis* II, 55; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 14.

with the face of God's holy mother and angels standing as her retinue, with a border of cross-adorned silk').<sup>38</sup>

- To St Caecilia in 819/20, *vestem de blatin bizantea, habentem in medio tabulam de chrisoclabo cum storia qualiter angelus beatam Caeciliam seu Valerianum et Tyburtium coronavit, cum periclisin de chrisoclabo* (a 'cloth of Byzantine purple, with a gold-studded panel in the middle representing an angel crowning St Caecilia and Valerian and Tiburtius, with a gold-studded border').<sup>39</sup>
- To Sts Processus and Martinian in 820/1, *vestem de blatin bizantea, habentem tabulas de chrisoclabo II, cum vultu beati Petri et sanctorum martyrum Processi et Martiniani, et periclisin de chrisoclabo* (a 'cloth of Byzantine purple, with two gold-studded panels, with the face of St Peter and of the holy martyrs Processus and Martinian, and a gold-studded border').<sup>40</sup>
- To the same, also in 820/1, *vestem olosiricam, habentem in medio tabulam de chrisoclabo cum vultu dominicae Resurrectionis domini nostri Iesu Christi et periclisin de blatin bizantea* ('an all-silk cloth, with a gold-studded panel in the middle with the face [image?] of our Lord Jesus Christ's lordly resurrection and a border of Byzantine purple').<sup>41</sup>
- To Sts Cosmas and Damian in 820/1, *vestem de tyreo, habentem in medio tabulam de chrisoclabo cum vultu domini nostri Iesu Christi atque beatorum martyrum Cosme et Damiani, cum aliis tribus fratribus, cum cruce de auro texta et periclisin de olovero* ('a Tyrian cloth, with a gold-studded panel in the middle with the face of our Lord Jesus Christ and the martyrs Sts Cosmas and Damian with their three other brothers, with a gold-worked cross and a purple-dyed border').<sup>42</sup>
- To the oratory of St Michael in the Lateran in 822/3, *vestem albam olosiricam, habentem in medio tabulam de chrisoclabo, cum storia dominicae Resurrectionis domini nostri Iesu Christi et periclisin de chrisoclabo* ('an all-silk white cloth with a gold-studded panel in the middle representing our Lord Jesus Christ's resurrection, and a gold-studded border').<sup>43</sup>

In none of these figural textiles is the central panel designated as silk; and, in four cases, the 'gold-studded' central panels in fact portray the saints to whose churches they were donated (St Maria in Domnica, St Caecilia, Sts Processus and Martinian, Sts Cosmas and Damian): these seem particularly unlikely to have been imported from Byzantium. The only cloth that might be interpreted as silk was a *vestem aliam de quadrapulo, circumstuta, cum storia beatae Dei genitricis* ('a cloth of fourfold weave, sewn around, representing the mother of God') given to the oratory of St Michael in the Lateran in 822/3.<sup>44</sup> In short, with the possible exceptions of this last

<sup>38</sup> LP II, 55; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 14.

<sup>39</sup> LP II, 57; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 20.

<sup>40</sup> LP II, 58; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 22.

<sup>41</sup> LP II, 58; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 22.

<sup>42</sup> LP II, 59; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 22–3, changing *olovero* from 'all-silk' to 'purple-dyed' (see Niermeyer, *Lexicon*, 491).

<sup>43</sup> LP II, 60; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 24.

<sup>44</sup> LP II, 60; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 24.

image of the Virgin and the peacock cloth – which represents a motif familiar on eastern silks<sup>45</sup> – the figural textiles noted during Paschal's pontificate cannot be claimed as Byzantine.

The donation list for Eugene II (824–27) is lost, and Valentine (827) was pope too briefly to make any bequests. Gregory IV (828–44), however, is recorded as bestowing about seventy silks. Of these, two dozen are representational. Most present secular subjects. Three show 'men and horses',<sup>46</sup> recalling the large group of 'hunter' silks produced in Byzantium and the Islamic east during the eighth and ninth centuries (figs 61–4); one shows 'trees and wheels',<sup>47</sup> the latter presumably medallions. Others show pheasants, ducks, griffins, and apples; eight show eagles, and seven depict lions.<sup>48</sup> Only five present Christian themes. A 'gold-studded cloth with Byzantine purple' portrays the Nativity, the resurrection, and also the Virgin with 'an image of [the silk's] presenter', presumably pope Gregory.<sup>49</sup> This latter detail is, once again, unlikely to have been included on a silk imported from Byzantium, suggesting either that the donor portrait was on a separate cloth or that the Byzantine purple was applied to a Roman representational embroidery. The remaining four are all Tyrian, and fall into two sets: two represent the Nativity and resurrection,<sup>50</sup> themes popular as well under pope Leo III, and two more show Daniel, a motif familiar from pre-iconoclast textiles.<sup>51</sup> It is possible that donated silks were not newly arrived in Rome, and the traditional subject matter here may indicate that these examples were taken from store. But, as these are the first Tyrian cloths with figures noted in the *Liber pontificalis* for twenty years (see Table 2), it is maybe more likely that here Tyrian designates the place of origin rather than the colour of the silk, in which case the fabrics are not Byzantine but were produced in Islamic Syria.<sup>52</sup> Whatever the solution, during the whole of second iconoclasm, these – and perhaps the image of the Virgin given by Paschal I – are the only figured silks mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis*.

<sup>45</sup> See Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 82, pl. 34a, and, for a tenth-century Spanish example, J.D. Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus, the art of Islamic Spain* (New York 1992) 224–5.

<sup>46</sup> *Vela Alexandrina ... habentia homines et caballos*: LP II, 75; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 54.

<sup>47</sup> *... arbores et rotas*: LP II, 75; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 54.

<sup>48</sup> On the survival of most of these motifs in eastern silks, see, e.g., Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 44–57.

<sup>49</sup> *... vestem chrysoclabam cum blatta bizantea, habentem historia Nativitatis et Resurrectionis domini nostri Iesu Christi, et insuper imaginem beatae Dei genitricis Mariae refoventem imaginem oblitoris sui*: LP II, 80; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 65.

<sup>50</sup> *... vestem de tyreo, habentem storiama dominicae Nativitatis atque Resurrectionis domini nostri Iesu Christi*, to St Maria in Trastevere and to St Maria in Cosmedin (which differs only in that Christ is designated *veri Dei nostri*, 'our true God') in 832/3 and 833/4 respectively: LP II, 77; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 58.

<sup>51</sup> *... vestem de tireo, habentem storiama Danielis*, to St Chrysogonus in 833/4 and to St Xystus in 834/5: LP II, 77–8; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 59. On earlier textiles of Daniel, see, e.g., Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, M20, 80, 171.

<sup>52</sup> So Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 66, who appears to believe that the adjective Tyrian in the *Liber pontificalis* always indicates an origin in Syria.



The great majority of figured silks recorded in the *Liber pontificalis* between 730 and 843 thus date to the years between the two periods of iconoclasm (Table 2), and nearly three-quarters of them appear in the donation lists of 798/800, 812/3 and 813/4. While it is clear that the various compilers of the *Liber pontificalis* had their individual idiosyncrasies, the pattern is striking, and it is tempting to speculate that it reflects large acquisitions of eastern silks in the years immediately preceding 798 and 812. Perhaps it is significant that most of the silks in the first group are Tyrian, while most in the second are not: might this, too, respond to two deliveries of distinct merchandise?

#### *Other Silks Known from Texts*

The most important silk that may date from the years between 730 and 850, now known through a text other than the *Liber pontificalis*, is a silk decorated with lions given to the church of St Eusebius at Auxerre by bishop Gaudry (918–33).<sup>53</sup> This was inscribed 'Ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου ('during the reign of Leo, the Christ-loving ruler'). It thus seems to have belonged to a small group of inscribed lion silks, all made in Constantinople and identified with the name of the reigning emperor. Four others are known, though only two are still preserved. The surviving examples are technically identical, use the same composition, share a colour scheme, and follow the same inscription pattern as that ascribed to the Leo lion silk. One was made during the joint reign of Romanos I and Christopher (921–23), the other under Basil and Constantine, whom Muthesius thinks are probably to be identified with Basil II and Constantine VIII (976–1025). The two known through documentary evidence are assigned to Basil and Constantine, and Constantine and Basil. Watercolours of the latter resemble the two preserved examples, and Muthesius believes that the inscription was incorrectly recorded with the names reversed: she thinks that this too should be assigned to the joint reign of Basil II and Constantine VIII. The silk identified with Basil and Constantine is known only through a brief written description, but sounds quite different from the preserved pieces, with the lions' bodies decorated with red and green ornament. This Muthesius has linked with the Vatican pegasus silk (fig. 70) of ca 800. She is therefore inclined to attribute the silk to the brief joint reign of Basil I and Constantine (869).

The Auxerre silk has been linked with Leo VI (886–912), but Muthesius believes that this is unlikely since Leo always ruled jointly with his brother Alexander and, from 908, with his son Constantine. She therefore thinks that Leo must designate one of the three emperors of that name who ruled alone: Leo III (717–19), Leo IV (775) or Leo V (813–20). Any of these identifications is possible, but it should be remembered that Leo VI despised his brother Alexander, and had no scruples about being depicted without him on coins.<sup>54</sup> Contrary to Muthesius, there is no reason why the Auxerre silk need be earlier than the reign of Leo VI.

<sup>53</sup> For the following, see *ibid.*, 34–8.

<sup>54</sup> See Grierson, *DOC* III,2, 507–11.

## Preserved Representational Byzantine Silks

None of the four criteria used to date silks to the period of iconoclasm is in itself decisive, and there are no silks that can conclusively be tied to the years between 730 and 843. Combinations of evidence, however, suggest that at least some of the silks often attributed to the second half of the eighth or first half of the ninth century were in fact produced during iconoclasm. If this is correct, a significant proportion of silks with figural decoration were produced during iconoclasm, albeit probably in the intermission between its two phases, as suggested by the evidence from the *Liber pontificalis*.

As noted earlier, the silk types most commonly dated to the years between 700 and 850 are twills with single or paired main warp threads. The two twill types share a number of features, and a large establishment such as, perhaps, the imperial workshops may have used both. Single main warp twill had a somewhat shorter period of production: Muthesius believes that the weave was used between *ca* 500 and *ca* 900; paired main warp twill, in contrast, only appears *ca* 700 but then continues until at least 1204.<sup>55</sup>

### i) SINGLE MAIN WARP TWILLS

Muthesius lists over 400 examples of single main warp twill, and discusses about twenty in detail.<sup>56</sup> The weave type includes a number of well-known groups of silks with animal or figural decoration. These will be considered here, along with a few individual silks.

#### *Border Ornament*

One ornamental framing motif is particularly common amongst the single main warp twills: a heart-shaped floral motif – usually enclosing a smaller heart with yet a third, very small one, inside it – that rests on a V-shaped calyx. This is used in a number of ways. Most frequently, it is attached to a stem or stalk (often with a knob simulating a sepal at the point of attachment) from which protrude tear-shaped leaves, with bifurcated sub-divisions like rounded hearts at their bases. This configuration is shared by a number of silks that will be considered in more detail below, notably the Vatican medallions with the Annunciation and the Nativity (figs 55–6), the Aachen charioteer (fig. 58), and various of the so-called Amazon silks (fig. 57).<sup>57</sup> The first and last of these silks alternate the stemmed heart with a lotus-flower motif on an identical stem, all picked out in five colours; the charioteer includes a stemmed heart, and is defined by two colours only.<sup>58</sup> A simplified version,

<sup>55</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, especially 145–8. Elsewhere she suggests that the weave was fully exploited *ca* 800: see note 108 below.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, weaving type C.i, catalogue numbers M16–M37; M323–M603, M1235–M1334. On these numbers, see note 62, below.

<sup>57</sup> See also Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 71–3.

<sup>58</sup> The pattern was also copied in wool: see F. Friedman, ed., *Beyond the Pharaohs. Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th centuries A.D.* (Providence 1989) 159. What may be a somewhat earlier version of this pattern, with longer stems and appended ivy leaves, appears

found for example on the Brussels charioteer (fig. 59) and the Dumbarton Oaks Amazon silks,<sup>59</sup> substitutes tendrils for the tear-shaped leaves. A third variation rests the heart and calyx on a much smaller heart, with heart-shaped ivy leaves extending on tiny stems from either side of the join. This version is found on a number of the so-called hunter silks (fig. 61). It is possible that these various border designs are the hallmarks of distinct workshops or weavers, but too little is known about weaving practices to permit further speculation.

Sometimes, certainly, the border design travels with the subject matter. As with the group of hunter silks sharing a common heart-based framing, another group with identical subject matter, the so-called Samson silks, also shares a border pattern, this time of rectangles from which sprout two leaves and a squared-off flower (fig. 65). Other motifs, however, join promiscuously with a variety of subject matters: amongst the paired main warp twill silks, for example, a fleur-de-lys variant appears on the Sens portrait bust silk (fig. 68), the Vatican Pegasus silk (fig. 70), and a hunter silk now also in the Vatican (fig. 69).<sup>60</sup>

Many of these forms appear in Byzantine manuscript decoration. The fleur-de-lys, the lotus-like and heart-shaped flowers, the protruding ivy-leaf tendrils – along with other motifs that we have not yet described, such as the fleshy half-palmette seen in the corner of the Vatican New Testament scenes (figs 55–6) – all surface in illuminated initials and frames, but not until the last quarter of the ninth century, after which they continue well into the tenth.<sup>61</sup> These motifs have, on the whole, emigrated from Sasanian Persia; as intimated at the beginning of this chapter, it seems plausible to speculate that they entered the Byzantine repertory first through the medium of silk, and then gradually inserted themselves into other media.

#### *Silks with New Testament Subject Matter*

*Medallions with the Annunciation and the Nativity (Vatican, Museo Sacra) (M35)*<sup>62</sup>  
Two fragments of silk from what was once a single Byzantine piece (figs 55–6) show the Annunciation and the Nativity, in medallions decorated with the heart and lotus-flower border just described.<sup>63</sup> The medallions are connected by smaller

on a tabby weave silk that Muthesius has dated to the seventh or eighth century: *Byzantine silk weaving*, pl. 55b.

<sup>59</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, pl. 90a.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 19a.

<sup>61</sup> See L. Brubaker, 'The introduction of painted initials', *Scriptorium* 45 (1991) 22–46; L. Brubaker, 'Greek manuscript decoration in the ninth and tenth centuries: rethinking centre and periphery', in G. Prato, ed., *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito* (Florence 2000) 513–34; and P. Canart and S. Dufrenne, 'Le Vaticanus Reginensis graecus 1 ou la province à Constantinople', in G. Cavallo, G. De Gregorio and M. Maniaci, eds, *Scritture, libri et testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio, Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)* 2 (Spoleto 1991) 631–6.

<sup>62</sup> The M numbers following each silk are Muthesius', and correspond with the catalogue in her *Byzantine silk weaving*.

<sup>63</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 67, 175, pls 20a–b; R. Schorta, in C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff, eds, *799: Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, 2 vols (Mainz 1999) II, 657–60 (cat. no. IX.38).

roundels that continue the line of the medallion border, in an elaborate interlace. The background colour is red, with five additional colours (green, yellow-green, brown, blue, and cream). The silks have been connected with an entry in the *Liber pontificalis* for the years 835–37 that reads ‘In the church of St Paul the apostle, teacher of the gentiles, this prelate [Gregory IV] presented a gold-interwoven curtain, hanging on the triumphal arch, with the Annunciation and birth of our Lord Jesus Christ in the middle.’<sup>64</sup> As Muthesius has noted, however, the fabric is not described as silk; and she does not identify the preserved fragments with Gregory’s gift to St Paul’s.<sup>65</sup> But there are numerous other silks recorded in the *Liber pontificalis* that are described as depicting the Nativity, and one ‘with disks and wheels of silk’ – presumably medallions, as seen on the Vatican fragments – that showed the Annunciation and Nativity along with other scenes from Christ’s life.<sup>66</sup> That particular silk was given to St Apollinare in Classe (the port of Ravenna) in 813/14 and is unlikely to be identical with the fragments preserved in the Vatican, but it does indicate that a dating in the early ninth century is a possibility.

Muthesius, however, dates the roundels to the late ninth century on the basis of rather unconvincing stylistic parallels with the Paris Gregory of 879–82 and, more compellingly, the technical complexity of the weaving.<sup>67</sup> This she believes to have been achieved on a loom fitted with a figure-harness more ‘advanced’ than that used for the Sens lion-strangler silk (on which see below), and she accordingly dates the Vatican fragments after iconoclasm, when she thinks they were produced in an imperial workshop. The silks most closely connected to them – the Aachen charioteer (fig. 58), and the Amazon silk at Säkkingen – she nonetheless places in the eighth or ninth century, and even speculates that the first of these might have been sent from Byzantium in 781.<sup>68</sup> Such precision is impossible to sustain, but since the bulk of our evidence for figural Byzantine silk points to the years between the two periods of iconoclasm, a date in the early ninth century seems plausible for the two Vatican fragments.

*Medallion with the Annunciation (Baume-les-Messieurs) (M382b)*

This small fragment is closely related to the Vatican Annunciation, of which it appears to be almost a mirror image. Unfortunately, only bits of the furniture remain, along with sections of the borders of three medallions and an indistinct form in the roundel beneath the Virgin’s footstool.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> ... in ecclesia doctoris gentium beati Pauli apostoli cortinam fundatam, pendentem in arcum triumphalem, habentem in medio Adnunciatio et Nativitatem domini nostri Iesu Christi: LP II, 79; trans. Davis, *Ninth-century popes*, 62. See Beckwith, ‘Byzantine tissues’, 347–8.

<sup>65</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 125; at 66 she remarks that ‘No depictions, stylistic descriptions or archaeological remains of the textiles mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis* have come to light’.

<sup>66</sup> See Table 1.

<sup>67</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 67.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 71–3.

<sup>69</sup> *Byzance*, 192, fig. 1; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 214.

### *The So-Called Amazon Silks*

Muthesius catalogued nearly twenty examples of silks showing hunters, normally with one breast exposed, mounted on horses that gallop away from the centre while their riders turn inward to shoot large felines with arrows (fig. 57).<sup>70</sup> Each group is set within a medallion; when connected, the small linking roundel does not continue the larger border but is an autonomous circle with a closed contour. The silks are usually woven in two or three colours, sometimes, rather unusually, with red medallions set against a cream-coloured ground. They are normally assigned to the years of iconoclasm on account of their non-religious subject matter.<sup>71</sup> While this is not a convincing argument, the less complex weaving technique and the related but less fluid border decoration of many members of the group may suggest a date slightly earlier than that of the Vatican New Testament silks. Alternatively, a different weaving centre may be indicated. Certainly Amazon silks were produced in more than one locale: some incorporate crosses, while others include Koranic inscriptions, 'indicating that practically identical Amazon silks were being woven simultaneously in Islamic and Byzantine centres of the eastern Mediterranean'.<sup>72</sup> They are, nonetheless, considerably less influenced by Sasanian iconography than at least one group of the conceptually related, and apparently roughly contemporary, hunter silks (fig. 61).

### *The Charioteer Silks*

Fragments of a handful of silks representing charioteers survive, of which the two discussed below are best known; a third, a paired main warp twill, will be considered in the next section. They are not closely related.

#### *Aachen Charioteer (M29)*

Fragments of this silk are preserved in Aachen, Florence, and Paris (fig. 58).<sup>73</sup> In medallions linked by circular roundels, a victorious charioteer, holding the reins of his quadriga, is offered crowns by two small flanking figures while below, two others distribute money. Paired goats occupy the spandrels. The silk, woven in yellow against a blue ground, was recovered from the coffin of Charlemagne in Aachen, where it had been placed either in 814 or during one of the tomb's later refurbishments. It has been almost universally assigned to the period of iconoclasm, and John Beckwith even suggested that it responded to the 'Abbasid tastes' of the emperor Theophilos.<sup>74</sup> More usually, the association with iconoclasm is based on the

<sup>70</sup> M27, M232a–325c, M327–M332a: Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 68, 71–2, 172–3, 211, pl. 77a. See also *Splendeur de Byzance* (Brussels 1982) 212; *Byzance*, 196. *Pace* Muthesius, M326 is not an Amazon silk: see 97 and note 95 below.

<sup>71</sup> For example, *Byzance*, 192.

<sup>72</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 71, and for a similar pattern amongst the so-called Akhmim silks, 81. See also *Byzance*, 192, where a Syrian origin is mooted.

<sup>73</sup> M29, M333a–c. *Splendeur* (1982) 210; *Byzance*, 194; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 72–3, 173, 212, pl. 23a; Schorta, in Stiegemann and Wemhoff, eds, *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit*, 62–4 (cat. no. II.17).

<sup>74</sup> Beckwith, 'Byzantine tissues', 348–9.

understanding of the charioteer as a symbol of imperial triumph,<sup>75</sup> and on two passages from the *Life of Stephen the Younger* that have been taken to indicate that images of charioteers were especially favoured by iconoclast emperors. These explain that while holy images were removed from churches, 'satanic horse races' and 'hippodrome scenes were preserved and given greater lustre',<sup>76</sup> and credit Constantine V with substituting a portrayal of 'a satanic horse race and that demon-loving charioteer whom he called Ouranikos' for images of the ecumenical church councils.<sup>77</sup> Whatever the accuracy of these accusations, images of charioteers were familiar long before iconoclasm, and the subject matter alone cannot here provide a convincing reason to date the silk. The border ornament is, however, a two-colour version of the polychrome heart motif found on the Annunciation and Nativity silks from the Vatican (figs 55–6),<sup>78</sup> and a comparable date seems likely.

### *Brussels Charioteer (M30)*

Two pieces of the same silk, from the reliquaries of St Landrada (died 680–90) and St Amor (ninth century) at Münsterbilder, are now united in Brussels (fig. 59).<sup>79</sup> Three full medallions, and part of a fourth, are preserved; they are linked by autonomous roundels. In each medallion is a quadriga carrying a charioteer with upraised arms brandishing whips; he is flanked by small winged genii offering crowns, and the rays emanating from his head suggest an identification with the sun. In the spandrels between the medallions, figures with lunate crowns drive bigas. The pairs thus presumably represent the sun and moon, and Muthesius has drawn attention to the resemblance between the former and the image of Helios in the eighth-century copy of Ptolemy now in the Vatican (fig. 27).<sup>80</sup> The background colour throughout is red, with four additional colours (green, yellow, cream, and blue). As noted earlier, the border ornament here is distinct from those considered thus far, with tendrils replacing the fleshy leaves below the heart-shaped flowers, and with each motif separated by a simple rosette. The multi-coloured oblong beads alternating with small white pearls that edge the border in a sort of bead and reel motif are, however, duplicated on the Vatican New Testament silk (figs 55–6). The Brussels silk is thus related, if somewhat tangentially, to the other silks considered thus far and, like them, apparently dates to the decade or so on either side of the year 800.

### *The Dioskouroi Silk (M36)*

A large piece of the silk removed in the nineteenth century from the shrine of St Servatius at Maastricht is retained in the church (fig. 60), and additional fragments

<sup>75</sup> For example, *Byzance*, 194.

<sup>76</sup> M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d'Etienne le Jeune par Etienne le Diacre* (BBOM 5. Aldershot 1997) 121, trans. and commentary 215; English trans. Mango, *Art*, 152.

<sup>77</sup> Auzépy, *Etienne le Jeune*, 166, 264–5 (for another mention of the hippodrome, 126, 220); English trans. Mango, *Art*, 153.

<sup>78</sup> See Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 72–3; her other comparisons are not, however, convincing.

<sup>79</sup> *Splendeur* (1982) 209; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 72–3, 173–4, pl. 22a.

<sup>80</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 72.

are preserved in Berlin, Lyon, Manchester, and Paris.<sup>81</sup> In medallions linked by autonomous roundels, two figures in military costume stand on a fluted column, the base of which is decorated with a bull's skull. Winged genii hover on either side of the main figures, and pour coins from sacks; bulls are sacrificed by kneeling men on either side of the column. In the spandrels are trees with palmettes rising from their bases. The two main figures are normally identified as Castor and Pollux, the Dioskouroi, patrons of the hippodrome at Constantinople, and the genii dispersing coins have been associated with the practice of *sparsio* (the distribution of money to the hippodrome audience),<sup>82</sup> an allusion probably shared by the figures distributing coins beneath the Aachen charioteer (fig. 58). The border ornament is distinct from those considered thus far, with alternating upward- and downward-facing fat, almost tulip-shaped flowers linked by tendrils. Hero Granger-Taylor has noted stylistic links with the Brussels charioteer silk, and has found similar borders on two-colour silks found in Akhmim.<sup>83</sup> She has dated the silk to the eighth century, while Muthesius prefers a broader dating in the eighth or ninth. The bead and reel edging of the medallion borders – a detail lacking from the Akhmim silks, but found on the Brussels charioteer and the Vatican New Testament silk – highlights the connection with the Brussels silk noted by Granger-Taylor, and suggests a similar dating.

### *The Hunter Silks*

About two dozen fragments of single main warp silk twill displaying hunters have survived.<sup>84</sup> They fall into several clusters, and reveal a variety of distinct approaches. Here we will consider the largest group, 'Sasanian' hunters, and three individual examples that are of particular interest to the themes of this book.

### *Sasanian Hunters*

At least eight silks fall into this category (fig. 61).<sup>85</sup> Against a blue or dark green ground, unconnected medallions decorated with the double-heart motif described earlier are edged with alternating beads and pearls along their inner, and interlace along their outer, contours; the spandrels are filled with elaborate floral interlace. Within the medallions, a central date palm separates two hunters riding away from each other on horseback; the men wear peaked helmets, and twist back to aim arrows toward the centre. Beneath them, an arrow has already struck a lion attacking an ass. Animals, birds, and floral motifs fill the interstices. Five colours are used. The subject has been associated with an account, apparently first recorded by the Arab

<sup>81</sup> M36, M334–M339. Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 73, 175–6, 212, pl. 22b; H. Granger-Taylor, in D. Buckton, ed., *Byzantium, treasures of Byzantine art and culture from British collections* (London 1994) 123–4.

<sup>82</sup> See the discussion in Granger-Taylor, in Buckton, ed., *Byzantium*, 123–4.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 123–4. For the Akhmin borders, Volbach, *Early decorated textiles*, pl. 45; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, pls 31b, 84a–b.

<sup>84</sup> M28, M31–M34, M37, M326 (wrongly identified as an Amazon silk) M347–M355b, M417b, M420, M451, M1245, M1317, M1328: Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 173–6, 211, 213, 215–16, 241–2.

<sup>85</sup> M31, M347–M350d: *Splendeur*, 211; *Byzance*, 195; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 68–70, 174, 213, pls 25a–b, 79b.

historian Tabarî (838–923), in which the killing of a lion and wild ass with a single arrow is attributed to the fifth-century Sasanian king, Bahram Gor.<sup>86</sup>

Several examples are associated with ninth-century contexts: the piece in Milan was used to line the doors of the gold altar at Sant' Ambrogio, apparently from the latter's inception (824–59); the Prague silk lines the boards of a ninth-century manuscript;<sup>87</sup> and the St Calais fragment seems to have been used to wrap the saint's relics at some point between 816 and 832 or in 837.<sup>88</sup> The silks would therefore seem to date before the mid-ninth century. Though a distinct variant, the decoration is in the same family as that incorporated in the Vatican New Testament fragments, and this, too, would seem to point toward the years around 800.

*Imperial Hunters from Mozac (M34)*

Three fragments of this silk are preserved, the largest in Lyon (fig. 62), where about three-quarters of a single medallion with its autonomous linking circle survives.<sup>89</sup> Within the medallion, two horsemen (using stirrups) in Byzantine imperial regalia flank a tree;<sup>90</sup> each holds a vertical spear, which enters the mouth of a lioness attacked from below by a small dog. The border ornament is quite distinct: the stemmed heart acts as a base for additional petals that form a broad lotus-type flower, which in turn supports a polylobed floral design internally divided into three colour fields. The background is dark blue, with red, pale yellow, and an unusual light blue.

The silk came from the tomb of St Austremoine at St Calmin in Mozac, to which it was supposedly given in 764 by king Pippin the Short, whom Muthesius believes may have received it as a gift from the emperor Constantine V in 756/7, as part of the diplomatic exchanges surrounding the proposed marriage between Constantine's son and Pepin's daughter.<sup>91</sup> She therefore dates the silk to the mid-eighth century. Marielle Martiniani-Reber is sceptical, and has linked the silk with an eleventh-century textile from the tomb of bishop Gunther of Bamberg showing an equestrian emperor.<sup>92</sup> The light-blue silk thread used for the faces of the Mozac hunters does indeed find eleventh-century parallels, though not for flesh areas,<sup>93</sup> and the iconography of the Mozac and Bamberg pieces is related, but stylistically the two are not, in fact, very similar. Nor do the lions recall examples on middle Byzantine silks.<sup>94</sup> The trappings of the horses, and articulation of the lion bodies, point to an earlier rather than a later date, and it may be that a dating in the first period of iconoclasm is sustainable.

<sup>86</sup> See, e.g., Volbach, *Early decorative textiles*, 100; *Byzance*, 195.

<sup>87</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 69, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>88</sup> *Byzance*, 195.

<sup>89</sup> M34, M355a–b: *Splendeur*, 211; *Byzance*, 197; Muthesius, *Studies*, 167–8; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 68–9, 175, 213, pl. 24b (reversed).

<sup>90</sup> For earlier examples of stirrups (with discussion), see the seventh-century wool and linen Alexander roundel now at the Textile Museum in Washington DC, which is believed to have been copied from an imperial silk: Friedman, *Beyond the pharaohs*, 162.

<sup>91</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 69, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>92</sup> *Byzance*, 197. Reproductions in Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, pls 52b, 53a.

<sup>93</sup> For example, Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 51–2, pls 16a, 61b.

<sup>94</sup> For example, *ibid.*, pls 2–3, 10–11.



*Lion Hunters from Maastricht (M326)*

Like some of the Amazon silks (fig. 57), the Maastricht lion hunters silk shows a red medallion against a cream-coloured ground (fig. 63).<sup>95</sup> The mounted hunters turn toward the centre of the composition to shoot arrows from heart-shaped bows; wounded lions crouch below, and a small tree separates the hunters above. There are no devices to link the medallion to any other. The spandrel palmettes are generally similar to those found in the lower register of the Vatican New Testament panel (figs 55–6), and the inner medallion bead and reel edging is also similar, though there are multiple beads rather than single ones.<sup>96</sup> The medallion ornament itself, however, is a quite distinct floral wreath wrapped with ribbon, which stems from paired cornucopia at the cardinal points. This, and the multicoloured and interlocking L-shapes and squares of the outer edging, seems to be a translation into silk of a pattern familiar from Egyptian wool and linen work.<sup>97</sup> If this ancestry is correct, the distinction between the red medallion and the cream background may also follow the lead of domestic textiles, where coloured panels or strips set against neutral cloth were common.<sup>98</sup> While the parallels with the Vatican silk suggest a dating *ca* 800, the differences between the Maastricht hunters and those already considered highlight the range of approaches available at this time.

*Archers and Tigers (M417b)*

Three fragments of the same silk are now preserved in the Keir Collection in London (fig. 64).<sup>99</sup> The panel is of interest here because it shows unmounted hunters, and a variation on the medallion formulae seen thus far. The two hunters stand back to back, aiming their arrows away from the centre; a small tree separates the figures above, and rampant tigers crouch below. The ground is red, with green, blue, yellow, and cream. The medallion in which the scene is woven is not fully preserved, but enough survives to show that while the inner circle was unbroken, the outer contour was lobed: the top and bottom lobes are still visible, as are the springing points of two more, from which it may be deduced that there were originally six lobes. The inner circle, and the inner contour of the lobed surround, are edged with the familiar bead and reel ornament; the outer contour is edged with guilloche, a motif that we have not yet encountered, but that recurs on the Sens lion-strangler silk (fig. 66),

<sup>95</sup> Only the left half of the silk is original: see Volbach, *Early decorative textiles*, 100, pl. 47. Curiously, Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 71, 211, pl. 21b, identifies the hunters as Amazons, and ignores other pieces of the same fabric now held in American museums: see *Early Christian and Byzantine art* (Baltimore 1947) 150–1 (nos 762–3) pl. CXVI.

<sup>96</sup> A precise parallel is provided by a seventh-century (?) Egyptian wool and linen roundel of Joseph: Friedman, *Beyond the pharaohs*, 19, 160–1.

<sup>97</sup> E.g., Volbach, *Early decorative textiles*, pls. 33, 34, 39; J. Trilling, *The Roman heritage, textiles from Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean 300 to 600 AD* (Washington DC 1982) fig. 24; Friedman, *Beyond the pharaohs*, 19, 160–2.

<sup>98</sup> See E.D. Maguire, H. Maguire and M. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and holy powers in the early Christian house* (Urbana–Champaign 1989) 138–52; Maguire, *Weavings*, 10–13, with catalogue nos A7, A8, A10, A12, A21, C3, C23.

<sup>99</sup> Granger-Taylor, in Buckton, ed., *Byzantium*, 125–6, with earlier bibliography; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 215.

discussed below, and on innumerable wool and linen textiles. The decoration of the border itself is the familiar heart and sepal motif, with smaller buds; the lobes contain large multicolour tear-shaped leaves from which tendrils and small heart-shaped ivy leaves protrude. The spandrels contain peacocks. The Keir silk shows closer links with the other pieces we have considered thus far than does the Maastricht fragment, but, like it, reveals the variation possible.

### *The So-Called Samson Silks*

At least twenty fragments of silk belong to this group (fig. 65).<sup>100</sup> The design consists of rows of male figures, each fighting a lion, who alternate between lunging left or right but are otherwise identical. The rows are separated by a scalloped border decorated with rectangles and floral motifs; the inner edge repeats the familiar bead and reel pattern, the outer edge is simply decorated with pearls. The ground is red, with cream, blue, green, and ochre.

The identity of the protagonist (Herakles? David? Samson?) is never revealed, and may never have been intended to be specific in any case, but the group as a whole is often called after the lion-killer from the Old Testament book of Judges, Samson. According to Muthesius, the largest surviving piece is now in the cathedral treasury in Ottobeuren (M26) and was at some point used to cover relics of St Alexander that were brought from Rome in the eighth century.<sup>101</sup> She dates the piece to the eighth or ninth century, and finds sufficiently close stylistic parallels with the Vatican Annunciation and Nativity medallions to posit that they 'could have been woven in the same workshop'.<sup>102</sup> In fact, the decorative motifs of this and other Samson silks are far less complex than those of the Vatican fragments, as are the drapery folds and the articulation of the faces. The general parallels between the Samson group and the other red silks that we have considered nonetheless favour a date in the late eighth or the early ninth century. The preserved examples are sufficiently numerous to suggest that production of the pattern continued for a considerable time, but the repetitive pattern suggests that all should be dated before the codification of sacred portraiture that Maguire has argued mitigated against repeated motifs after iconoclasm.<sup>103</sup>

### *Other Single Warp Twill Silks*

In addition to the groups considered above, a number of silks that may date from the years of iconoclasm have small non-representational patterns, portray animals, or incorporate figures but are too fragmentary to identify the subject matter with confidence. As an example of an animal silk that is related to the figural silks we have considered, one might cite the affronted tigers in medallions that are linked at all four cardinal points by superimposed roundels, now in Brussels. The yellow and purple colour scheme recalls the Aachen charioteer (fig. 58), as does the

<sup>100</sup> M26, M356–M373: *Splendeur*, 213 (8); *Byzance*, 199; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 67–8, 172, 213–14, pls 21a, 78a.

<sup>101</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 67–8, 172, pl. 78a.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>103</sup> Maguire, *The icons of their bodies*, 100–6, 137–45.

configuration of the stemmed heart-shaped foliate motifs with leaves that fill the medallion border.<sup>104</sup>

A good example of a fragmentary figural piece is provided by another medallion silk, this one in red with blue, green, cream, ochre and two shades of blue, that retains the upper forequarters of a bull, held by a pair of hands somehow associated with a billowing cloth, and accompanied by a small medallion portrait of a man.<sup>105</sup> The corner palmettes are very close to those of the Vatican New Testament fragments (figs 55–6), as is the bead and reel edging of the border, while the border itself shows a stacked-heart pattern that is a multicoloured version of the border found on the Sasanian hunter silks (fig. 61). A second example, a small scrap of fabric only, preserves the upper torso of a mounted emperor, his crown adorned with a cross.<sup>106</sup>

## ii) PAIRED MAIN WARP TWILLS

Muthesius lists over 300 paired main warp twill silks;<sup>107</sup> she has argued that the technique developed in the late eighth or early ninth century,<sup>108</sup> and it is thus only the earliest examples of the weave that concern us here. Unlike the single main warp twills, none of the paired main warp twill silks that may date from the years of iconoclasm form iconographic sets: all are preserved only as single specimens. Fewer than ten are figural. These form a coherent group, linked by shared ornamental motifs. Muthesius states categorically that ‘These silks are datable no later than the early ninth century’, and other silk specialists – notably Granger-Taylor and Martiniani-Reber – are in agreement.<sup>109</sup> The group is thus roughly contemporary with the single main warp twills, and some of the silks share certain features with them.

### *Border Ornament*

Like the single main warp twills, the paired main warp twill silks have a characteristic range of border ornament. This consists of pearl edging, which appears on every example discussed below, interlace, rosettes, and a pattern of alternating fleur-de-lys and heart-shaped motifs. Interlace is shared by the Sens lion-strangler (fig. 66) and the earth goddess at Durham (fig. 67); rosettes appears on the Sens lion-strangler, London emperor (fig. 54), and Vatican hunter (fig. 69) silks; the fleur-de-lys and heart pattern is found on a portrait bust from Sens (fig. 68), the Vatican hunters, and the fleur-de-lys alone on the Vatican pegasus silk (fig. 70).

<sup>104</sup> Brussels, Musées royaux, inv. tx. 371 (M399): *Splendeur* (1982) 214; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 215.

<sup>105</sup> Nancy, Musée Lorrain, inv. 54.I.11 (M424b): *Byzance*, 198; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 216.

<sup>106</sup> Gandersheim, Stiftskirche (M1244) Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 241, pl. 17b.

<sup>107</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, weaving type C.ii; catalogue numbers M38–M67, M604–M838a, M1335–M1365.

<sup>108</sup> A. Muthesius, ‘A practical approach to the history of Byzantine silk weaving’, *JÖB* 34 (1984) 235–54, especially 245–6 (= *Studies*, 55–76, especially 61);

<sup>109</sup> Quotation from Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 37; for the opinions of the other two authorities, see below.

Compared with the single main warp twills, this range of ornament shows far less Sasanian impact, and it seems plausible that the development of the new weaving type inspired weavers to abandon traditional silk ornamental border patterns in favour of new motifs which were perhaps better suited to the paired main warp technique.

### *Figural Silks*

#### *Sens Lion-strangler (M44)*

Oval medallions with guilloche borders edged in pearls are linked at the four cardinal points by roundels (fig. 66).<sup>110</sup> Each encloses a frontal, standing male who holds a profile lion by the throat on either side while two additional lions, only their heads and front legs visible, clutch his feet. The background is pale brown, with blue, white, and yellow. Muthesius has noted that the repeats are uneven – some of the connecting roundels, for example, are oval while others are round – and this indicates that ‘the loom used to weave the silk did not have a sophisticated figure-harness for the automatic, even repeat of the design across the fabric’.<sup>111</sup> While this suggests that the Sens silk is an early example of paired main warp twill, its high quality led Granger-Taylor to speculate that it may have been sent from the imperial workshops as a gift to Charlemagne in 812.<sup>112</sup>

Muthesius has compared the Sens lion-strangler with a silk at Dumbarton Oaks that represents a man holding the trunks of pendant elephants, but stylistically the two are not similar.<sup>113</sup> She also finds parallels between the ‘flat style’ of the Sens silk and ‘a two dimensional style known in hippodrome art before iconoclasm’ as well as in the post-iconoclast mosaics at Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki, and dates the silk to the eighth or ninth century.<sup>114</sup> More convincingly, Clare Higgins finds a close stylistic and qualitative match for the Sens lion-strangler in another paired main warp twill silk, the so-called earth goddess at Durham,<sup>115</sup> which as we have noted shares ornamental details with the Sens piece. Granger-Taylor accepts and amplifies this argument, and dates both to the first half of the ninth century.<sup>116</sup>

#### *Durham Earth Goddess (M42)*

Numerous fragments of this extraordinary silk, found in the tomb of St Cuthbert at Durham in 1827, survive (fig. 67).<sup>117</sup> The design is formed of large, unconnected medallions edged with interlace and filled with a rinceaux of grapes, pomegranates, and other fruits. Within the medallion, the torso of what appears to be a female figure rises from the water, which is filled with fish and has ducks floating upon it.

<sup>110</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 58–9, 178, pl. 17a.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>112</sup> Granger-Taylor, in Buckton, ed., *Byzantium*, 128.

<sup>113</sup> M836b: Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 59, pl. 80b.

<sup>114</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 59.

<sup>115</sup> C. Higgins, ‘Some new thoughts on the Nature Goddess silk’, in Bonner, Rollason and Stancliffe, eds, *St Cuthbert*, 329–37.

<sup>116</sup> Granger-Taylor, in Buckton, ed., *Byzantium*, 128.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 126–8; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 59–62, 68–9, 177–8, pl. 18a, all with earlier bibliography.

The woman's head is no longer preserved, but she holds up a cloth filled with fruit, and clutches two objects that have been identified as short sceptres. Urns filled with grapes and flanked by Sasanian ducks fill the spandrels. Remnants of the edge of the silk show white pearl decoration and fragments of an indecipherable Greek inscription.<sup>118</sup> The background is reddish-purple, with yellow, dark blue, green, white, and purple.

The female is apparently a personification of Gaia (earth), a subject known on textiles from the first century.<sup>119</sup> The fragmentary inscription anticipates those on a handful of imperial silks dated to the tenth century; this, and the remarkably high quality of the piece, suggest an origin in the imperial silk workshops of Constantinople.<sup>120</sup> The panel was probably brought to Cuthbert's tomb sometime between 944 and 947, when king Edmund of Wessex wrapped the relics in two *pallia greca* (lengths of Greek cloth),<sup>121</sup> but the silk itself is believed to be considerably earlier. As noted above, Granger-Taylor believes it to date to the early ninth century, while Muthesius thinks it was produced during iconoclasm and has written that 'Technically an eighth to ninth century date is most appropriate for the piece.'<sup>122</sup>

#### *Sens Medallion with Portrait Bust (M43)*

The fragment shows a male bust in a medallion, with segments of ornament edged with a fleur-de-lys and heart motif below (fig. 68).<sup>123</sup> The ground is red, the figure green. Martiniani-Reber opts for a date in the late eighth century; Muthesius again posits an eighth- to ninth-century date.

#### *London Charioteer (M45)*

The fragment shows a charioteer who is generally similar to that in Brussels (fig. 59), save that he is nimbed, crowned, and dressed in imperial regalia (fig. 54).<sup>124</sup> The figure was enclosed in a medallion, only the pearled edge and two connecting roundels of which survive; the roundels also have pearled edges, and encase rosettes. The ground is a reddish-purple, with yellow, dark green, red, and white. It is this silk that, as was mentioned earlier in this chapter, was once associated with Theophilus

<sup>118</sup> See H. Granger-Taylor, 'The inscription on the Nature Goddess silk', in Bonner, Rollason and Stancliffe, eds, *St Cuthbert*, 339–41.

<sup>119</sup> H. Maguire, *Earth and ocean: the terrestrial world in early Byzantine art* (University Park 1987) 73–5; H. Granger-Taylor, 'The earth and ocean silk from the tomb of St Cuthbert at Durham: further details', *Textile history* 20 (1989) 151–66.

<sup>120</sup> A. Muthesius, 'Silken diplomacy', in J. Shepard and S. Franklin, eds, *Byzantine diplomacy* (Aldershot 1992) 239–40 (= Muthesius, *Studies*, 165–7); Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 60.

<sup>121</sup> See Granger-Taylor, in Buckton, ed., *Byzantium*, 128.

<sup>122</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 59–60.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 59, 62, 178, pl. 18b; M. Martiniani-Reber, in *Abbaye Saint-Germaine d'Auxerre, Intellectuels et artistes dans l'Europe carolingienne IXe–XIe siècles* (Auxerre 1990) 186–7; summarized in *Byzance*, 193. Martiniani-Reber's comparison with the coins of Leo IV (775–80) is not terribly convincing, but neither is the tenth-century silk she cites as a parallel stylistically similar (for a reproduction, see Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, pl. 86b).

<sup>124</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 59, 178–9, pl. 16b.

by André Grabar.<sup>125</sup> While that association does not prove sustainable, parallels with the single main warp twill silks – notably the use of the medallion compositional format and similarities with the Brussels charioteer – intimate that the London imperial charioteer is roughly contemporary with that group.

#### *Vatican Hunters (M40 and M41)*

Other paired main warp silk twills that are related to the single main warp twills are two hunter silks in the Vatican. One, with medallions linked by roundels containing rosettes, shows a hunter spearing a lion on either side of a date palm, with two additional hunters spearing tigers below (fig. 69).<sup>126</sup> Each figure appears to be wearing a crown surmounted by a cross, a motif replicated on the London charioteer (fig. 54). The medallions are edged with pearls, and decorated with the alternating fleur-de-lys and heart motif that appears on the Sens portrait medallion. The ground is red, with yellow, green, and cream. In addition to the medallion format and the colour scheme, a strong point of resemblance with the single main warp silks is the configuration of the tree, which is very similar to that found on the Sasanian hunter silks (fig. 61). The second Vatican hunter silk also shows pearl-edged medallions, with a centre motif of a hunter spearing what appears to be a standing bear.<sup>127</sup> The border motif consists of alternating half-rosettes and hearts; the background here is a dark blue-green, with red and yellow.

#### *Non-Figural Silks*

##### *Vatican Pegasus (M39)*

Two rows of winged horses survive, the top row left-facing and the bottom right-facing (fig. 70).<sup>128</sup> Legs and tails are ribboned. The horses are patterned with a pearl border and a fleur-de-lys on the wings, and half-palmettes on the body. The ground is red, with green, yellow, cream, and purple. It is this silk that was found on the cushion supporting a cross inscribed with the name of a pope Paschal, presumably Paschal I (817–24), noted earlier.<sup>129</sup> The silk itself, like other members of this group, appears to date somewhat earlier than this.

##### *Vatican Pearled Medallions (M38)*

This silk, with empty medallions edged with pearls, also once lined a reliquary box commissioned by Paschal I.<sup>130</sup> The border decoration, based on hearts, recalls that of the single main warp twills already considered. The ground is red, with yellow, white, and blue.

<sup>125</sup> See note 9, above.

<sup>126</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 62, 69, 177, pl. 19a.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 62, 69, 177, pls 123a–b.

<sup>128</sup> Muthesius, as in note 108 above; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 37, 62, 69, 176–177, pl. 19b; Schorta, in Stiegemann and Wemhoff, eds, *Kunst und Kultur des Karolingerzeit II*, 656–8 (cat. no. IX.37).

<sup>129</sup> See 82 above.

<sup>130</sup> Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 62–3, 176 (not illustrated); Schorta, in Stiegemann and Wemhoff, eds, *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit II*, 654–5 (cat. no. IX.35) with colour plate.

Other contemporary non-figural paired main warp twills show floral motifs, geometric ornament, and birds.<sup>131</sup>

### Conclusions

Other weaves continued throughout the period with which we are concerned,<sup>132</sup> but nearly all fragments with figures or animals are single or paired main warp twills. Muthesius has argued that the paired main warp twill group should be dated no later than the early ninth century, and that the single main warp group pre-dates the late ninth century.<sup>133</sup> Though the two groups have distinguishing features, particularly in the range of ornament favoured, there are also a considerable number of parallels between them; the silks that we have considered all seem to be roughly contemporary. The evidence from the *Liber pontificalis* suggests that the bulk of the imported figural silks recorded in Rome arrived there in the period between the two phases of iconoclasm (787–815). It is perhaps not unreasonable to suspect that this is also the period when most were produced.

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<sup>131</sup> E.g., Aachen, cathedral treasury T 010602 (M46) with a floral pattern, or Lyon, Musée historique des Tissus, inv. 24577/2–888.III.1 (M707b?) with crosses, birds, and floral motifs: *Splendeur* (1982) 208; Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 179, 223.

<sup>132</sup> See, for example, Muthesius, *Byzantine silk weaving*, 110.

<sup>133</sup> See above; for concise dating statements: *ibid.*, 37, 47.

**Table 1** Representational silks described in the *Liber pontificalis* under pope Leo III (795–816), in chronological order

		795/6	Eudoxia's titulus
'a Tyrian cloth with great griffins and two gold-studded wheels with a cross and a purple and gold-studded border' (182) <sup>134</sup>			
	<i>veste ... super altare tyrea habente gripas maiores et duas rotas chrisoclabas cum cruce et periclisin blathi et chrisoclabum</i> (3) <sup>135</sup>	798/800	titulus of Callistus
'a gold-studded cloth of Byzantine purple representing the Lord's birth and St Symeon' (194)	<i>veste chrisoclaba in blatin byzanteo, habentem storiām Nativitatis Domini et sancti Symeonis</i> (9)	798/800	St Pancras
'a Tyrian cloth representing the Lord's Ascension' (194)	<i>veste tyrea habentem storiām Ascensionis Domini</i> (9)	798/800	St Maria <i>ad martyres</i>
'as above' (194)	<i>veste tyrea, ut supra</i> (9)	798/800	St Boniface's deaconry
'as above' (194)	<i>ut supra</i> (9)	798/800	St Maria in Cosmedin
'as above' (194)	<i>ut supra</i> (9)	798/800	St Sabina
'Tyrian cloth representing the blind man being given his sight and the resurrection' (193)	<i>veste tyrea habentem storiā caecum inluminantem et Resurrectionem</i> (8)	798/800	St Paul
'Tyrian cloth representing the Lord crucified' (193)	<i>veste cum storiis crucifixi Domini tyrea</i> (8)	798/800	St Peter

<sup>134</sup> Numbers in parentheses following all English translations indicate the page reference in Davis, *Eighth-century popes*, which we have followed with minor modification (e.g., for *periclisin* border seems preferable to fringe).

<sup>135</sup> Numbers in parentheses following the Latin indicate the page reference in Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis* II.



'two [cloths] of Tyrian with a border of interwoven gold, representing elephants' (200)	<i>alias II de tyreo cum periclisin de fundato, cum storia de elephantos</i> (12)	802/3	Holy Archangel
'an all-silk white cloth with roses, with a gold-studded panel in the centre representing our Lord Jesus Christ's Presentation and St Symeon, with a Tyrian border' (219)	<i>veste alba olosirica rosata, habentem in medio tabulam de chrisoclabum cum storia Adpraesentatio domini nostri Iesu Christi et sancti Symeonis cum periclisin de tyreo</i> (26)	807/8	St Maria Callistus
'a white all-silk cloth with roses, with a panel in the centre of cross-adorned silk representing the Lord's resurrection, and all round a gold-studded cloth, and gold-studded disks with a Tyrian border' (226)	<i>veste alba olosirica rosata, habentem in medio tabula de stauracim cum storia dominicae Resurrectionis et in circuitu veste de chrisoclabo, necnon et orbiclos de chrisoclabo cum periclisi de tyreo</i> (31)	812/3	Church of the Apostles on Via Lata
'a white all-silk cloth with roses, with a cross-adorned silk panel in the centre, representing the Crucifixion, adorned with Tyrian and with gold-studded roses' (227)	<i>veste alba oloserica rosata, habentem in medio tabula de stauracim cum storia Crucifixi, ornata de tyreo et rosas de chrisoclabo</i> (31)	812/3	St George
'a white all-silk cloth with roses, with a panel of Tyrian, representing the Crucifixion, and a gold-studded wheel, adorned all round with Tyrian' (226)	<i>veste alba olosirica rosata cum tabula de tyreo, habentem storia Crucifixi et rota de chrisoclabo, ornata in circuitu de tyreo</i> (30)	812/3	St Maria <i>ad martyres</i>
'a white all-silk cloth with a gold-studded panel, representing the Lord's resurrection, and gold-studded edging all round' (226)	<i>veste alba olosirica cum tabula de chrisoclabo, habentem storia dominicae Resurrectionis et in circuitu lista de chrisoclabo</i> (30)	812/3	St Maria in Cosmedin
'a white all-silk cloth with roses, with a panel of Tyrian in the centre representing the Crucifixion, and gold-studded wheels, adorned all round with fourfold-woven silk' (225)	<i>veste alba oloserica rosata, habentem in medio tabula de tyreo cum storia Crucifixi, necnon et rotas de chrisoclabo, ornata in circuitu de quadrapulo</i> (30)	812/3	St Maria in Domnica

<p>'a white all-silk cloth with roses, with a gold-studded panel representing the Lord's resurrection, and all round it a gold-studded edging.' (226)</p>	<p><i>veste alba oloserica rosata cum tabula de chrisoclabo, habentem storia dominicae Resurrectionis et in circuitu listam de chrisoclabo</i> (31)</p>	<p>812/3</p>	<p>St Andrew's altar at St Peter's</p>
<p>'a white all-silk cloth with roses, with a gold-studded panel representing the Lord's resurrection, and all round it a gold-studded edging.' (226)</p>	<p><i>veste alba oloserica rosata cum tabula de chrisoclabo, habentem storia dominicae Resurrectionis et in circuitu eius listam de chrisoclabo</i> (31)</p>	<p>812/3</p>	<p>St Petronilla's altar in St Peter's</p>
<p>'a white all-silk cloth with roses, with a cross-adorned silk panel in the centre representing the Lord's resurrection, and all round it a gold-studded edging.' (227)</p>	<p><i>veste alba olosirica rosata, habentem in medio tabula de stauraci cum storia dominicae Resurrectionis, et in circuitu lista de chrysoclavo</i> (31)</p>	<p>812/3</p>	<p>St Sabina</p>
<p>'a white all-silk cloth with roses, with a cross-adorned silk panel in the centre representing the Lord's resurrection, and a gold-studded cross.' (227)</p>	<p><i>veste alba olosirica rosata, habentem in medio tabula de stauraci cum storia dominicae Resurrectionis et cruce de chrisoclabo</i> (31)</p>	<p>812/3</p>	<p>St Stephen</p>
<p>'a white all-silk cloth with roses, with a gold-studded panel in the centre representing the Lord's resurrection, and all round it a gold-studded edging.' (227)</p>	<p><i>veste alba olosirica rosata, habentem in medio tabula de chrisoclabo cum storia dominicae Resurrectionis et in circuitu listam de chrisoclabo</i> (31)</p>	<p>812/3</p>	<p>St Susanna</p>
<p>'a white all-silk cloth with Tyrian round it and in the centre a representation of the resurrection' (229)</p>	<p><i>vestem albam olosiricam, habentem in girum de tyreo et in medio storiā Resurrectionis</i> (32)</p>	<p>813/4</p>	<p>St Agatha</p>
<p>'a white all-silk cloth, with a border round it of interwoven gold and in the centre a representation of the resurrection' (228)</p>	<p><i>vestem albam olosiricam, habentem in giro periclisin de fundato et in medio storiā Resurrectionis</i> (32)</p>	<p>813/4</p>	<p>St Cyriacus in Thermis</p>

‘five veils of fourfold-woven silk representing the saviour calling the disciples from the ship’ (229)	<i>vela de quadrapulo numero V, habentem storiā Salvatoris vocantem discipulos de nave</i> (32)	813/4	St Cyriacus on the Via Ostiensis
‘a white all-silk cloth with a Tyrian border and in the centre a representation of the Ascension’ (228-229)	<i>vestem albam olosiricam, habentem periclisin de tyreo et in medio storiā Ascensionis</i> (32)	813/4	Holy Archangel
‘a similar cloth’ (229)	<i>similem vestem</i> (32)	813/4	St Abbacyrus
‘a white all-silk cloth, adorned around with interwoven gold, representing the Crucifixion, Ascension and Pentecost.’ (229)	<i>vestem albam olosericam, ornatam in giro de fundato, habentem storiā Crucifixi, Ascensionis et Pentecosten</i> (32)	813/4	Pammachius’ titulus
‘a white all-silk cloth with an interwoven gold border and in the centre a representation of the resurrection’ (228)	<i>vestem albam olosericam, habentem periclisin de fundato et in medio storiā Resurrectionis</i> (32)	813/4	St Vitalis
‘a white silk cloth with roses, with a gold studded cross in the centre, with disks and wheels of silk representing the Annunciation, birth, passion and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, his Ascension into heaven and Pentecost, adorned all round like the cloth itself with gold studs.’ (228)	<i>vestem siricam rosatam albam, habentem in medio crucem de chrisoclabo cum orbicclis et rotas siricas habentes storiā Adnuntiatione seu Natale domini nostri Iesu Christi atque Passionem et Resurrectionem, necnon et in caelis Ascensionem atque Pentecosten, ornatas in circuitu simili modo sicut et veste, de chrisoclabo</i> (32)	813/4	Ravenna, St Apollinare in Classe
‘two cloths, one of them white all-silk, representing the Lord’s birth, resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost, adorned all round with gold studs’ (230)	<i>vestes II, ex quibus unam albam olosiricam, habentem storiā dominicae Nativitatis seu Resurrectionis, Ascensionis atque Pentecosten, ornata in circuitu de chrisoclabo</i> (33)	815/6	Sts Nereo ed Achilleo

Table 2 Figural silks recorded in the *Liber pontificalis* between 730 and 843

Material	Subject	Date	Location
gold-studded cloth	Nativity, Presentation (?), Annunciation ( <i>cheretismon</i> )	793/4	St Maria <i>ad praesepe</i>
gold-studded silk	passion, resurrection	793/4	St Laurence
Byzantine purple	Nativity, Presentation (?)	798/800	titulus of Callistus
Tyrian	Ascension	798/800	St Pancras
Tyrian	Ascension	798/800	St Maria <i>ad martyres</i>
Tyrian	Ascension	798/800	St Boniface deaconry
Tyrian	Ascension	798/800	St Maria in Cosmedin
Tyrian	Ascension	798/800	St Sabina
Tyrian	healing of the blind man, resurrection	798/800	St Paul
Tyrian	Crucifixion	798/800	St Peter
Tyrian	Crucifixion	812/3	St Maria <i>ad martyres</i>
Tyrian	Crucifixion	812/3	St Maria in Domnica
cross-adorned	Crucifixion	812/3	St George
cross-adorned	resurrection	812/3	Apostles on Via Lata
cross-adorned	resurrection	812/3	St Sabina
cross-adorned	resurrection	812/3	St Stephen
all-silk cloth	resurrection	813/4	St Agatha
all-silk cloth	resurrection	813/4	St Abbacyrus
fourfold-woven	calling the disciples from the ship	813/4	St Cyriacus, Via Ostiensis
all-silk cloth	Crucifixion, Ascension, Pentecost	813/4	Pammachius' titulus
silk cloth, wheels of silk	Annunciation, Nativity, passion, resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost	813/4	Ravenna, St Apollinare in Classe
all-silk [cloth]	Nativity, resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost	815/6	Sts Nereo ed Achilleo
fourfold-woven (?)	Virgin	822/3	St Michael, Lateran
Tyrian	Nativity, resurrection	832/3	St Maria in Trastevere
Tyrian	Nativity, resurrection	833/4	St Maria in Cosmedin
Tyrian	Daniel	833/4	St Chrysogonus
Tyrian	Daniel	834/5	St Xystus

## Metalwork

Perhaps the most significant development in luxury metalwork during the eighth and ninth centuries was the rise of cloisonné enamel around the year 800, a technical innovation that was apparently imported to the Byzantine east during the first half of the ninth century. Most artisanal metalwork that survives from the period was made of less expensive materials, predominantly base metal (chiefly copper alloy), and generally consists of small-scale objects such as pectoral crosses.<sup>1</sup> No large-scale non-architectural metalwork has been preserved, although textual descriptions suggest that it was produced, and the only monumental works in metal still extant are the copper-alloy and silver panels that covered the southwest door into Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

### *The 'Beautiful Door' at Hagia Sophia*

The doors at the southwest entrance to the inner narthex at Hagia Sophia, composed of copper-alloy plates attached to a wooden core, are just over fourteen feet (4.35 m) high and, together, just under nine and a half feet (2.91 m) wide (fig. 71).<sup>2</sup> The central panels contain eight paired monograms, inlaid with silver. The uppermost two read Κύριε βοήθει ... Θεοφίλω δεσπότη ('Lord help ... the ruler Theophilos'), and Θεοτόκε βοήθει ... Θεοδώρα ἀνγούστη ('Mother of God help ... the empress Theodora') (fig. 72). The lower two originally read Χριστὲ βοήθει ... Ἰωάννη πατριάρχη ('Christ help the patriarch John [the Grammarian]') and ἔτους ἀπὸ κτίσεως ... κόσμου ,στμζ ινδ. β ('the year from the creation of the world 6347, indiction 2' [838/9]). With the birth of Michael III, the silver letters spelling out 'the patriarch John', the ζ of the date, and the indiction number were picked out, and Μιχαὴλ δεσπότη ('the ruler Michael'), Θ and δ inserted, giving the new date 840/1. At this time, the inscription panel at the top of the doors, which reads [Θεοφίλου καὶ] Μιχαὴλ νικητῶν ('Theophilos and Michael, victors'), was inserted.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Seals and coins are treated in later chapters.

<sup>2</sup> E.H. Swift, 'The bronze doors of the gate of the horologion at Hagia Sophia', *Art Bulletin* 19 (1937) 137–47; T.F. Mathews, *The early churches of Constantinople, architecture and liturgy* (University Park 1971) 91, 93; R. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: architecture, structure and liturgy of Justinian's great church* (New York 1988) 29, fig. 28. The wood is four to five inches (10–12.5 cm) thick; the metal ranges in thickness from 1/8–1/4 inch (2–6 mm) for the frames around the central panels, to 3/8–1/2 inch (9–13 mm) for the rest: Swift, 'Bronze doors', 137.

<sup>3</sup> See C. Mango, 'When was Michael III born?', *DOP* 21 (1967) 253–8, esp. 253–4; repr. in *idem, Byzantium and its image* (London 1984) study XIV.

The ornament consists of decorative frames surrounding these central panels, with six smaller horizontal plates and four narrow vertical bands, all set into a plain copper-alloy matrix embellished with protruding bosses. The frames consist of a plain outer moulding, followed by three bands of ornament, each of which is edged with pearl shapes along its inner rim. Moving inwards, these show a rinceau filled with rosettes and leaves, a meander pattern interspersed with projecting bosses identical to those of the surrounds and, closest to the monogram panels, a smaller version of the outermost rinceau; between each of these major frames is a narrow leaf-and-dart moulding. Two of the small horizontal panels are situated above the main panels on each door, with one below. The topmost contained the inscription, in majuscule, mentioned earlier. The remainder show a rinceau, interspersed with grapes and fleur-de-lys motifs, filled with berry-like clusters of three or four circles (trilobes and quatrelobes) and five-lobed leaves. This same pattern, now edged with pearl shapes, also fills three zones of the main vertical bands; the remaining three zones, also edged in pearls, rearrange the same group of motifs into a tree-of-life design. The zones are separated by strips containing stepped gable motifs and spindly palmettes. The final bands of ornament, vertical strips that run between the main vertical bands and the bosses surrounding the central panel, consist of alternating rosettes and two versions of five-leaved palmettes.

Emerson Swift believed that the doors were composed of pieces from three different periods. He dated the frames around the central panels to the fourth century, and suggested that they had been made for the original church, built *ca* 360 and destroyed by fire in 404. This belief was based primarily on the leaf-and-dart mouldings, for, as Swift recognized, the ornament of the framing bands themselves is widespread and 'offers no reliable criterion of date'.<sup>4</sup> The outer frames he assigned to the Justinianic rebuilding of Hagia Sophia (532–37) because the 'heavier, flatter, less naturalistic, more coloristic style of the work is clearly of the sixth century' and because he believed that details from them could be matched with decoration elsewhere in Justinian's church.<sup>5</sup> Swift concluded that only the central panels and two vertical rows of alternating leaves and rosettes 'in debased and flattened form' belonged to the ninth century.<sup>6</sup>

Without a conservation report and technical analysis, it is impossible to evaluate Swift's theory with assurance. On purely visual grounds, however, it fails to convince. The leaf-and-dart moulding that Swift finds so similar to fourth- and fifth-century examples has, in fact, a completely different profile from these early reliefs;<sup>7</sup> details of the outer frame are not especially close to those in Justinian's church; and the bosses that are integral to the meander pattern of the central frame are identical

<sup>4</sup> Swift, 'Bronze doors', 142.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 146–7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>7</sup> Swift cites the arch of Constantine of *ca* 312 (his fig. 17), the Milan ivory of the Maries at the tomb of *ca* 400 (well reproduced in W. Volbach and M. Hirmer, *Early Christian art* [London 1961] fig. 92), and the St Sabina doors of *ca* 430 (G. Jeremias, *Die Holztür der Basilika S Sabina in Rom* [Tübingen 1980] figs 20, 26, 30, 32b, 34, *passim*); these mouldings are similar to each other, but not to those on the door at Hagia Sophia.

to those of the main door frame itself. Except for the five-lobed leaf, which in metalwork is a predominantly (although not exclusively) ninth-century Constantinopolitan motif,<sup>8</sup> the decorative forms repeat long-established patterns, many of which we have already seen in roughly contemporary textiles. The various forms of rinceau found on the door also find parallels in the mosaics of the rooms above the vestibule, which have been dated to the 870s: the alternating trilobe and quatrilobe fill, for example, recurs here, as does the combination of thick scrolls with slender emerging tendrils.<sup>9</sup> Although the rinceaux of the long vertical and short horizontal panels is distinct from either form found in the central frames, the confluence of other shared features makes it most likely that the door panels were produced as part of a single campaign, and that the ensemble should be dated to the years suggested by the monograms: 840–2.

Theophilos' door is called the Ὠραία Πύλη (the 'Beautiful Door') in the mid-tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*, and was one of the major points of entry to the church for the emperor when that text was written.<sup>10</sup> Its embellishment by Theophilos suggests that its importance as an imperial portal had been established before the end of iconoclasm. Unfortunately, the archaeology of this section of the Hagia Sophia complex is unclear: the southwest vestibule is an addition to the Justinianic core of the building, but its precise date of construction is uncertain.<sup>11</sup> Dendrochronological dating of a wooden beam in the adjacent baptistry demonstrates that this structure was at least partially reconstructed sometime after 814;<sup>12</sup> and it is possible that the remodelling and enhancement of the vestibule was part of this same campaign.<sup>13</sup>

### *Cloisonné Enamels*

Cloisonné enamel consists of cells, defined by thin strips of gold applied to a metal ground, which are filled with coloured glass; the piece is heated until the glass melts and fuses to the metal, and then the composite surface of glass and metal is ground and polished.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See L. Brubaker, 'The introduction of painted initials in Byzantium', *Scriptorium* 45 (1991) 33–4.

<sup>9</sup> Cormack and Hawkins, 'Rooms above the southwest vestibule', 244–7, figs 11–17, 22–5.

<sup>10</sup> See A. Vogt, *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le Livre des Cérémonies*, 2nd edn, I, *commentaire* (Paris 1967) 58; C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1973) 40, 46, 49–52, 68; G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre: étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris 1996) 109, 116, 287. Strube, *Westliche Eingangsseite*, 52, believes that the name was probably stimulated by Theophilos' gift of the door.

<sup>11</sup> Discussion, with earlier bibliography, in Cormack and Hawkins, 'Rooms above the southwest vestibule', 199–202.

<sup>12</sup> See 6 above.

<sup>13</sup> Later commentators speak of a great mosaic of St Michael in the vestibule, but its date is uncertain. See G. Majeska, *Russian travellers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* (Washington DC 1984) 202–5.

<sup>14</sup> See *ODB* 1, 695.

*The Fieschi-Morgan Reliquary (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art)*

The earliest preserved Byzantine cloisonné enamel is probably the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary now in New York.<sup>15</sup> Its name derives from two of its former owners, Sinibaldo Fieschi (pope Innocent IV, 1243–54) and J. Pierpont Morgan; the latter gave the box to the Metropolitan Museum in 1917.<sup>16</sup> The box is a *staurotheke*, a container for a relic of the true cross. Appropriately, the lid shows the Crucifixion, in cloisonné enamel, with a kolobion-clad Christ flanked by the Virgin and St John; the scene is surrounded by cloisonné busts of fourteen saints, and cloisonné busts of fourteen more saints cover the sides of the box (fig. 73). The gold cloisonné enamel panels were all made separately, then mounted on a silver box. The cover slides off to reveal the compartment that once housed the relic of the true cross, and four additional scenes in niello on the reverse of the lid: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Crucifixion, and the Anastasis (fig. 74). The back of the box itself depicts a cross.

The Fieschi-Morgan reliquary was for many years dated to around the year 700, but it has recently been convincingly re-dated to the first half of the ninth century.<sup>17</sup> Close technical and stylistic comparisons appear on the cloisonné plaques of a reliquary in the Sion Cathedral treasury, possibly made in north Italy but certainly western, that can be dated on the basis of its inscription *Altheus episcopus* to between 780 and 799.<sup>18</sup> The similarities assure a relationship between the eastern and western enamels; but the dates are so close – and our losses of precious metalwork so great – that it would be imprudent to ascribe primacy either direction were it not for David Buckton's demonstration that cloisonné was produced continuously in the west from the Roman period; he concludes that the technique was imported to Byzantium in the late eighth or early ninth century.<sup>19</sup> Anna Kartsonis has observed that the enamelist of the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary was unfamiliar with Byzantine conventions: she suggested that the artisan was either a 'recent convert' or, more likely, 'a recently imported skilled labourer' working in Constantinople.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> K. Wessel, *Byzantine enamels from the 5th to the 13th century* (Shannon 1969) 42–4; H. Evans and W. Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and culture of the middle Byzantine era, AD 843–1261* (New York 1997) 74–5. For an excellent recent survey of the earliest history of Byzantine enamels, see D. Buckton, 'Enamels', in *The Dictionary of Art IX* (London 1996) 659–60.

<sup>16</sup> The reliquary is said to have been brought west after the fourth crusade; it is sometimes also known as the Oppenheim reliquary after another of its owners: see Wessel, *Byzantine enamels*, 42–3.

<sup>17</sup> D. Buckton, 'The Oppenheim or Fieschi-Morgan reliquary in New York, and the antecedents of middle Byzantine enamel', *Eighth annual Byzantine Studies Conference, abstracts of papers* (Chicago 1982) 35–6; A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis, the making of an image* (Princeton 1986) 94–116; D. Buckton, 'Byzantine enamel and the west', in J. Howard-Johnston, ed., *Byzantium and the west c. 850–c. 1200* (Amsterdam 1988) 242–3.

<sup>18</sup> Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 111–12; Buckton, 'Byzantine enamel', 243.

<sup>19</sup> See the articles cited in note 17, above, and 20, below, and 'Enamelling in gold: a historical perspective', *Gold bulletin* 15 (1982) 102–6. The Byzantines had previously favoured filigree enamel.

<sup>20</sup> Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 118. Although he was once sceptical, David Buckton – whom we thank for numerous enormously helpful discussions of enamels – now believes the enamel is Constantinopolitan: see his 'Enamels', as in note 15 above. He reports Ihor



The Fieschi-Morgan reliquary is of particular importance not only for its technique but also for its subject matter. It is one of the earliest examples of the Crucifixion to include Christ's dying instructions to his mother and St John,<sup>21</sup> and to identify the Virgin as Theotokos;<sup>22</sup> it also presents what appears to be the oldest known Byzantine image of the Anastasis, using an iconographic formula that Kartsonis believes was invented around the year 700.<sup>23</sup>

The Fieschi-Morgan *staurotheke* is related technically and iconographically to a number of other reliquaries and decorated crosses, including the cloisonné enamel cross of Paschal I, made in Rome sometime between 817 and 824.<sup>24</sup> This, however, is stylistically unrelated to the New York piece, and, two medallions on the Khakhuli triptych apart, the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary's other surviving relatives seem to be later.<sup>25</sup> The enamel perhaps most closely associated with it is the Beresford Hope cross in London, which Buckton has dated to the second half of the ninth century. In his words, 'it is less "primitive" than the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary in New York and less accomplished than the votive crown of Leo VI (886–912) in Venice.'<sup>26</sup> If any Byzantine enamels date to the years of iconoclasm – or, more precisely, presumably to the interval between the two phases of iconoclasm – the New York *staurotheke* is the most likely candidate.<sup>27</sup>

### *Niello Work*

The underside of the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary lid is, as we have seen, decorated in niello, a technique in which black (usually silver sulphide) is inlaid in silver (fig. 74). This work has been compared with the niello decoration on crosses found in Vicopisano and Pliska; again, however, these must be dated somewhat later.<sup>28</sup> It is nonetheless probably safe to assume that some of the enkolpia and phylacteries that textual evidence suggests were produced during the years between the two phases of iconoclasm were decorated in niello.

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Ševčenko's observation that the numerous errors in Greek all find parallels in undoubtedly Byzantine works of the ninth century, a point easily corroborated by examination of the inscriptions embellishing the miniatures in an undoubted product of the capital, the Paris Gregory of 879–82. For a summary of the issues, see also R. Cormack, 'Reflections on early Byzantine cloisonné enamels: endangered or extinct', in M. Vassilaki, *et al.*, eds, *Θυμιάμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα* (Athens 1994) 67–72.

<sup>21</sup> See I. Kalavrezou, 'Images of the mother: when the Virgin Mary became *meter theou*', *DOP* 44 (1990) 165–72, especially 168–70.

<sup>22</sup> Kalavrezou, 'Images of the mother'; Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 108–9.

<sup>23</sup> Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 94–125.

<sup>24</sup> See, most recently, C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff, eds, *799: Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, 2 vols (Mainz 1999) II, 650–1 (cat. no. IX.32), with earlier literature.

<sup>25</sup> Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 109–16.

<sup>26</sup> Buckton, in D. Buckton, ed., *Byzantium, treasures of Byzantine art and culture from British collections* (London 1994) 132.

<sup>27</sup> David Buckton, however, writes: 'I have never considered that there is any real evidence for a date earlier than the eventual end of iconoclasm' (personal communication, January 2000).

<sup>28</sup> Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 109–10.

### *Pectoral Crosses*

Less expensive metalwork, usually of copper-alloy, exists in some quantity. Because much of it is non-representative or uses a linear technique that seems to have changed little over the centuries, what one might term low-status metalwork is often extremely difficult to date. The complexity of the problem is indicated by a group of pectoral crosses that show Christ in a kolobion – a garment rarely shown in this scene after the ninth century – which has sometimes been attributed to the eighth or ninth century but is now known to date to the eleventh.<sup>29</sup> A group of pectoral crosses that does appear to date from the late eighth or early ninth century shows the crucified Christ in relief on the front, with the Virgin and Christ child, also in relief, on the reverse.<sup>30</sup> Brigitte Pitarakis believes that most members of this group were produced in Constantinople.<sup>31</sup> That some were produced during the intermission between the first and second phases of iconoclasm is intimated by several texts, to which we shall now turn.<sup>32</sup>

### *Textual Evidence*

In 811, the patriarch Nikephoros sent gifts to pope Leo III, the most important of which, according to the letter that accompanied them, was ‘a gold pectoral [cross], whose one side is entirely enclosed in crystal, while the other side is decorated in the encaustic (= niello) technique, and this has inside another pectoral [cross], in which particles of the True Cross are inserted’.<sup>33</sup> This was, presumably, a considerably more luxurious version of the reliquary pectoral crosses made of copper-alloy that are preserved in such number from the eighth and ninth centuries.

After his deposition in 815, Nikephoros wrote a passage that seems to refer to phylacteries (religious talismans usually worn around the neck) more similar to those preserved than to the deluxe reliquary sent to the pope:

And what do these impious men think of the so-called phylacteries, that is, the gold and silver objects which have been made for Christians from the very beginning, and which we Christians wear suspended from the neck and hanging down over the breast for the protection and security of our lives ... and upon which the passion and miracles of Christ and his life-giving resurrection are often represented, which objects are found in countless number among Christians? Instead of preserving them, they abominate them; instead of seeking them, they avoid them.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Compare S. Campbell, ed., *The Malcove Collection* (Toronto 1985) 116–17, 120–1 (nos 158–9, 165–7) with B. Pitaraki, in M. Vassilaki, ed., *Mother of God, representations of the Virgin in Byzantine art* (Milan 2000), 311 (no. 25). We are grateful to Brigitte Pitarakis for discussion of this group, and for allowing us to consult her as yet unpublished PhD dissertation.

<sup>30</sup> B. Pitarakis, ‘Un groupe de croix-reliquaires pectorals en bronze à décor en relief attribuable à Constantinople avec le Crucifié et la vierge Kyriotissa’, *Cahiers archéologiques* 46 (1998), 81–102, especially 92–5, 98.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 97–8.

<sup>32</sup> See further A. Kartsonis, ‘Protection against all evil: function, use and operation of Byzantine historiated phylacteries’, *BF* 20 (1994).

<sup>33</sup> *PG* 100, 200; trans. and discussion in Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 118–19.

<sup>34</sup> *Antirrhetikos* III, 36 (on this text see 256, below): *PG* 100, 433; trans. Mango, *Art*, 176.

Interestingly, Nikephoros does not claim that the iconoclasts were destroying phylacteries; it was apparently sufficient proof of one's iconoclast leanings to 'abominate' and 'avoid' them.

In the *Life* of St Theodora the empress, probably written toward the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century,<sup>35</sup> a religious medal worn on a chain around the neck (an *enkolpion*) is credited with comforting the dying emperor Theophilos. On his deathbed, Theophilos tossed and turned in pain, crying out that 'because of the icons I am being beaten, because of the icons I am being flogged'. Theoktistos, a high official at court, took an *enkolpion* bearing 'the holy and venerable image of our saviour and God' out from hiding and put it around his neck. Theophilos drew it to his mouth and kissed it, and was immediately calmed.<sup>36</sup> While this is one of the *de post facto* exonerations of Theophilos, the last iconoclast emperor was also associated with a number of non-religious constructions made from precious metals.

### *Automata and Organs*

*Automata* and organs were associated in Byzantium because both worked mechanically, powered by water or by bellows (compressed air). Organs were associated with the court, and in the eighth and ninth centuries seem to have been a Greek speciality particularly valued in diplomatic gift exchange: one sent to the Frankish court of Pippin in 757 was heralded as 'not previously seen in Francia'; another Greek organ (*urghan rumi*) belonged to the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mûn (813–33).<sup>37</sup> Closer to home, Theophilos is said to have commissioned 'two enormous organs of pure gold ... decorated with different stones and glasses'.<sup>38</sup>

Theophilos was credited by a number of later authors with the commission of a number of other elaborate mechanical devices. Perhaps the best known of these are the 'golden tree in which were perched birds that warbled musically by means of some device' and the throne – later also noted by Liutprand of Cremona – that rose high in the air, accompanied by the roaring of golden lions.<sup>39</sup> Theophilos also ordered from the master of the mint a piece of furniture known as the Pentapyrgion, a large cupboard surmounted with five towers that sat in the throne room (Chrysotriklinos) of the Great Palace and apparently functioned like a display case.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> On this *Life*, see 228–9, below.

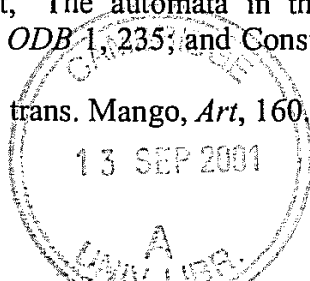
<sup>36</sup> Trans. M. Vinson, in Talbot, ed., *Byzantine defenders of images*, 372–3. See, further, M. Vinson, 'The terms ἐγκόλπιον and τεράστιον and the conversion of Theophilos in the *Life of Theodora* (BHG 1731)', *GRBS* 36 (1995) 89–99.

<sup>37</sup> See J. Herrin, 'Constantinople, Rome and the Franks in the seventh and eighth centuries', in J. Shepard and S. Franklin, eds, *Byzantine diplomacy* (Aldershot 1992) 91–107.

<sup>38</sup> Leo gramm., 215; trans. Mango, *Art*, 160–1.

<sup>39</sup> Leo gramm., 215; trans. Mango, *Art*, 161. Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* VI, 5; trans. F. Wright, *The embassy to Constantinople and other writings* (London 1993) 153. For discussion, see G. Brett, 'The automata in the Byzantine "Throne of Solomon"', *Speculum* 29 (1954) 477–87; *ODB* 1, 235; and Const. Porph., *Three treatises*, (C) 860 and comm., 291.

<sup>40</sup> Leo gramm., 215; trans. Mango, *Art*, 160.



## Coins and Numismatics

Numismatic material is central to the economic and administrative history of the empire, as well as to the history of art and technology. For a useful brief introduction, see the remarks of Karayannopoulos and Weiss, in their *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz* (at pp. 172–8), with a detailed bibliography of available catalogues, literature on finds, evaluation and analysis, and historical interpretation and value; the introduction to Hendy's *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*; and the methodological considerations in Ph. Grierson, *Numismatics* (London–Oxford 1975) and 'Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 498–ca 1090', in *Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo* (*Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 8. Spoleto 1961) 411–53. Particularly relevant here is M. Restle, *Kunst und byzantinische Münzprägung von Justinian I. bis zum Bilderstreit* (Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinischen-neugriechischen Philologie 47. Athens 1964).<sup>1</sup>

### Coins and the Economy

Numismatics represents an area of study which can cast light not simply on the origins, design, and production of coins, but also on their administrative and economic, social and cultural role, and importance. As a medium of exchange, through which wealth could be redistributed and consumed, coins reflect the interests of those who produce them as well as the nature of the economy of the society in which they circulate. Coins can tell us about prices and values; but just as important, coins are highly political objects, carrying inscriptions and symbolic imagery which reflect the political values and beliefs of society, as well as the propaganda and claims of a state or government or ruler. In appropriate numbers and adequate samples, they can cast light upon production techniques, state fiscal policy, the relationship between centre and provinces or between taxation and the wider economic life of society, and hence about the workings of the government. Coin finds, as hoard deposits, as finds in archaeological contexts and as isolated finds, play an especially important role in the study of Byzantine economic and social history. Isolated finds can, for example, be used to illustrate the range of circulation of particular types of coin at certain periods. Hoards, that is, collections of coins deliberately concealed, can provide important information about the proportions of

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<sup>1</sup> See also Hörandner, *Byzanz*, 160–4.

different types of coins in circulation at a given moment, although there are a number of methodological problems associated with their evaluation: hoards taken in isolation can be misleading, for example, since provenance and composition can only be properly evaluated in a broader context, both in respect of the make-up of the hoard itself, and in terms of the incidence of related or overlapping hoards for the same period or region. And in archaeological contexts, they can be (although they are not necessarily) crucial to the dating of other artefacts and archaeologically attested events.

Coins thus become accessible as evidence only after they have been studied, dated, contextualised, and published by specialists, a continuing task laden with technical problems as well as those of interpretation. The result is that coins are by no means a straightforward category of historical evidence, and the number of debates which the use of coins as a historical source has stimulated should make this very clear. It means that non-specialists need to consult a range of appropriate works by specialist numismatists before they can begin to evaluate this material in an appropriate and useful way.

The study of 'Byzantine' coinage in the narrower sense naturally depends on a sound understanding of coins and coinage in the late Roman period; but it is generally agreed that the reforms of the emperor Anastasius (491–518) mark a convenient historical point from which the establishment of a specifically East Roman imperial coinage can be said to have taken place. The fiscal and economic crisis which beset the Roman empire during the third century was resolved at the level of coinage and monetary policy by the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine I. The older gold and silver, along with the minor bronze and copper coinages of account, had become unmanageable. In the 280s, Diocletian inaugurated a reform by which a new gold coin, the *aureus*, worth 1/60 of a Roman pound, a silver coin, of which there were 96 to a pound and a reformed billon coinage, the *nummus* (copper with a small silver content) were introduced. Constantine transformed this system between 312 and 324 by changing the value of the gold coin to 1/72 of a pound, and introducing a second silver coinage, slightly higher in value than the Diocletianic coin. During the fourth and fifth centuries, while the billon and silver coinages suffered a series of reforms and fluctuations in value and weight, the gold remained relatively stable. By the reign of Anastasius the silver coinage was little more than vestigial, and the billon suffered from instability to such a degree that it became too cumbersome and inflexible to be employed in normal exchange. Anastasius, while modifying only slightly the gold:silver ratio and maintaining the stability of the gold, introduced a radically reformed copper coinage to replace the older base-metal coinage, with weights and values clearly marked, facilitating exchange across the whole system. While it did suffer from considerable fluctuations, especially during the seventh and eighth centuries, the reformed coinage remained the basis for copper coin until the later eleventh century.

Silver, especially in the form of the *miliarensis* (Hellenised as *miliaresion*), a heavy coin struck at the rate of 72 to the pound, played a relatively minor role during the later fifth and sixth centuries, except in the empire's western regions (especially those reconquered from the Vandals and Ostrogoths) until the reign of Heraclius,

when the hexagram was introduced, a silver coin worth 1/12 of a gold *solidus* (confusingly, Byzantine texts often use the term *miliaresion* to describe this coin). But it maintained its position in the monetary system of the empire only briefly, and by the end of the reign of Constantine IV was being issued on a very limited basis. The copper coinage, especially as represented by the *folles*, of which there were (with fluctuations) some 288 to the *solidus* (now called the *nomisma*), also suffered during the seventh century, being reduced to less than half its weight under Heraclius. A short-lived reform took place under Constantine IV, but thereafter the reduction in weight and value reasserted itself, and there seems also to have been a dramatic curtailment in production from the end of the reign of Constantine II. Under Leo III a reformed silver coin, the *miliaresion*, was (re-)introduced, like the hexagram valued at 1/12 of a gold *nomisma*, smaller than its predecessor of the fourth century, and struck initially at a rate of 144 to the pound. The evidence until the later eighth century, however, suggests that it had as much a ceremonial as functional exchange role. It has been argued that its introduction was connected with the introduction shortly before of the new Muslim silver coin, the dirhem. The reformed silver coinage effected the gold in so far as the minting of fractional issues of the *nomisma* declined during the eighth century and after. But apart from relatively minor fluctuations in the weight of the gold coinage, and more significant ones in the relationship of copper to gold, the system as a whole remained unchanged in its essentials until the later tenth century.<sup>2</sup>

During the first half of the ninth century the copper coinage underwent a major transformation, with an increase of issues beginning during the reign of Michael II (821–29), and the establishment of at least one, and probably two new mints for copper (Thessaloniki and Cherson in the Crimea). There was also an increase in weight of the standard *folles*.<sup>3</sup> The initial minor increase in copper coin production, associated with a slightly larger coin under Michael II in the 820s, was followed by

<sup>2</sup> There is a huge literature on the imperial coinage. Apart from the commentaries to the collections cited already, useful and accessible surveys can be found in: P. Grierson, 'Byzantine coins as source material', in *Actes du XIIIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines* (Oxford 1966) 317–33; *idem*, 'Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 498–c.1090', in *Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, VIII. Spoleto 1960) 411–53; M.F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy, ca 300–1450* (Cambridge 1985) 448–512; C. Morrisson, 'La monnaie d'or byzantine à Constantinople: purification et modes d'altérations (491–1354)', in Cl. Brenot, J.-N. Barrandon, J.-P. Callu, J. Poirier, R. Halleux and C. Morrisson, *L'or monnayé, 1: purification et altérations de Rome à Byzance* (Cahiers Ernest Babelon 2. Paris 1985) 113–87; also T. Bertelé and C. Morrisson, *Numismatique byzantine* (Wetteren 1978). See Hörandner, *Byzanz*, 160–4; also Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 172–8, with a broad selection of literature, methodological discussion, and published catalogues (up to 1977); *ODB* 1, 477–9.

<sup>3</sup> See, especially, D.M. Metcalf, 'How extensive was the issue of Folles during the years 775–820?', *B* 37 (1967) 270–310; with the comments of Grierson, *DOC* III, 1, 94–7, 406–8, 412–15; D.M. Metcalf, 'The reformed Folles of Theophilus: their styles and localization', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 14 (1968) 121–53; *idem*, 'The Folles of Michael II and of Theophilus before his reform', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* 21 (1967) 21–34. New mints: Hendy, *Studies*, 424–5.

a sixfold increase in the issue of a fully reformed and still larger coin type. This development is usually connected with the (still occasional) reappearance of such coins from urban archaeological contexts from the Balkans and from Asia Minor at about the same time. It has suggested to some scholars a recognition by the government of a market-led demand for copper coin, and a connection between that and the state's fiscal requirements,<sup>4</sup> although it is also the case that most excavated sites demonstrate such an upturn in finds of such coins only from the later years of the ninth century.<sup>5</sup> Thus the numismatic evidence, in conjunction with other materials, seems to imply an economic recovery and stabilization, especially in the southern Balkans. It might also suggest an increased demand for taxable resources in cash, and therefore an increase in the degree of monetization of the economy in general. These are evidently issues of considerable significance for the history of the empire during the ninth century, and illustrate very clearly the unique importance of the study of coins in this respect.

Interpreting the presence or absence of coins from an archaeological context is by no means a straightforward business, however, and it is important to emphasize that they can only adequately be understood if accompanied by an acquaintance with the ways in which coinage was issued by the government (which maintained a jealously guarded monopoly on its issue), and why.

Coin, at least until the middle of the eleventh century, was issued chiefly to oil the wheels of the state machinery, and wealth was appropriated and consumed through a redistributive fiscal mechanism: the state issued gold in the form of salaries and largesse to its bureaucracy and armies, who exchanged a substantial portion thereof for goods and services in maintaining themselves. The state could thus collect much of the coin it put into circulation through tax, the more so since fiscal policy generally demanded tax in gold and offered change in bronze.<sup>6</sup> During the second half of the seventh and through much of the eighth century, this system was constrained by circumstances, so that a large proportion of the state's requirements for its army and administration was raised chiefly – but not exclusively – in kind. There always remained strong regional as well as chronological variations: areas in which urban or rural markets existed and were secure from hostile attack, such as the metropolitan regions around Constantinople, were generally supplied not only with gold but also with bronze coinage, for example, in contrast to what appears to have been the situation in the provinces away from the capital. Such constraints had

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<sup>4</sup> Grierson, *DOC* III, 1, 70–1; D.M. Metcalf, 'Corinth in the ninth century: the numismatic evidence', *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 180–251.

<sup>5</sup> For summaries of the evidence, see A. Harvey, *Economic expansion in the Byzantine empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge 1989) 86–8; M. Angold, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine "city"', *BF* 10 (1985) 1–37 at 7–8.

<sup>6</sup> Hendy, *Studies*, 602ff., 662ff.; *idem*, 'Economy and State in Late Rome and early Byzantium: an Introduction', in *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium* (London 1989) study I. For a critique of the 'statist' approach favoured by Hendy, however, see the remarks of C. Morrisson, in *Journal Numismatique*, 6e sér. 33 (1991) 307–10.

always operated in remoter localities, or areas where the activities of the state did not promote such monetized activity, such as in Anatolia after the cutting back of the state postal and transport service in the 530s; and they continued to operate thereafter, affected from time to time by the particular historical situation.

The Roman and Byzantine system worked as it did because it was a plurimetallic system: a base-metal coinage of account was available through which day-to-day exchanges could be carried out. This functioned because it usually had a stable rate of exchange with the precious-metal coinage. When this broke down, price inflation usually followed, accompanied by a move from the extraction of taxes in cash to one in kind (with all the implications for economic relations and activity which that entails): this was the case in the fourth and early fifth centuries, and in the later seventh and much of the eighth century.

The government faced two main problems. To begin with, it had to estimate how much gold coinage should be produced to maintain the cycle of redistribution through taxation. In the second place, it needed to know how much bronze coinage was required to facilitate this cycle at the lower level. In the first case, there are several historical examples showing the effects of a shortage of gold: Procopius and John Lydus note that the closure of the postal stations on many of the routes operated by the *cursus publicus* deprived local producers of a market for their goods, and thus of the gold with which to pay their taxes. A similar situation to that described by Lydus and Procopius affected the rural population of the provinces during the 760s, when the emperor Constantine V seems deliberately to have restricted the circulation of gold but demanded tax payments in coin, thus forcing the producers to sell their crops at artificially deflated prices; and there are other examples from the following centuries.<sup>7</sup> In the second case, the fate of the base-metal coinage contrasts with the relatively constant rate of production and gold-content of the precious-metal coinage from the middle of the seventh to the ninth century and beyond. The history of the Byzantine coinage during this period is certainly complex, involving considerable variations in the weight and style of the bronze issues, with several changes introduced by successive rulers, the (re) introduction of a silver coinage linking the gold and bronze denominations under Leo III (which adversely affected the production of fractional gold denominations), and substantial reforms and stabilization of the bronze under Leo IV and, later under Michael II and Theophilos.

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<sup>7</sup> For Procopius and Lydus: Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, xxx, 5–7 (*Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Haury, 3 vols [Leipzig, 1905–13]; revised edn with corr. and addns G. Wirth, 4 vols [Leipzig, 1962–64]); *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi De magistratibus populi Romani libri tres*, ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig, 1903) iii, 61; for Constantine V: Theoph., *Chronographia*, 443 (trans. Mango–Scott, 611); *Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople. Short History*. Text, trans. and commentary by C. Mango (CFHB, ser. Washingtoniensis 13 = DOT 10. Washington DC, 1990) 160 (§85).



## Coins: The Material Evidence

### *Leo III (717–41)*

Three major numismatic innovations were introduced by Leo III, affecting the gold, silver, and copper coinage respectively. The first concerned the distribution of portraiture. Before Leo's reign, when the junior emperor was (or the junior emperors were) portrayed, he or they shared the obverse (front) with the senior emperor. When Constantine V was proclaimed co-emperor in 720, however, he appeared on the reverse of the gold coins (*nomismata*), and this formula was normally followed henceforth throughout the remainder of the eighth and the ninth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Constantine's portrait replaced the cross on steps, a motif that was transferred to the silver coinage.

Leo's second innovation was the re-introduction of a silver coin, the *miliaresion* (fig. 75). This had a number of striking features. First, the shape differed from earlier Byzantine coins. It was thinner and broader, features which seem to have been borrowed from the epigraphic Muslim dirhem, a coin introduced in the 690s that had itself followed the form of the Sasanian dirhem. In addition to the shape, the *miliaresion* repeated the triple-dot border and the filling of the obverse with an imperial inscription familiar from its Muslim exemplar. The inscription itself, however, was resolutely Christian, as was the obverse, on which was depicted the cross on steps with a new invocation to victory: *Iesus Christus Nika* replaced the *victoria augusti* which had appeared on earlier *nomismata*. Once introduced, the type remained standard for the following century.<sup>9</sup> The coins were apparently intended for ceremonial use, for which reason the inscription took the form of an acclamation, and until the reign of Theophilos they were always struck with the names of both the senior and the junior emperors.<sup>10</sup> As a final new feature, the *miliaresion* carried the first use of the term *basileus* on coins.<sup>11</sup>

In the 720s the copper coinage mimicked the *miliaresion* by locating Constantine on the reverse, but in the 730s the previous formula, with the two emperors side by side on the obverse and the value mark on the reverse, was reinstated. A significant change had, however, occurred: the mint mark was omitted – presumably because only one eastern mint, that in Constantinople, remained in operation – and the date was replaced by the purely decorative formula XXX NNN.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Grierson, *DOC III*, 1, 226–30. For a detailed examination of numismatics during the eighth and ninth centuries, see also Hendy, *Studies*, especially 424–5, 496–506.

<sup>9</sup> Grierson, *DOC III*, 1, 5, 62, 179, 182, 227, 231–2. Grierson notes that the cross and inscription were borrowed from seals.

<sup>10</sup> Grierson, *DOC III*, 1, 63–4. Fractional silver was also struck briefly, a procedure not repeated until the eleventh century: *ibid.*, 231.

<sup>11</sup> Grierson, *DOC III*, 1, 177–8.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 227, 232–4. Western mints in Sicily, Naples, Rome, and Ravenna continued: *ibid.*, 234–40. Interestingly, though the coinage became debased during Leo's reign (perhaps because Leo confiscated papal revenues), the introduction of iconoclasm had no other impact on the appearance of coins produced in Rome (*ibid.*, 239).

When he appears, Leo III is always shown frontally and as a bust;<sup>13</sup> he wears a chlamys and a crown, usually surmounted by a cross. In his right hand he holds a *globus cruciger* (an orb surmounted by a cross that symbolized imperial power), in his left the *akakia* (a cylinder made of silk that contained dust and was symbolic of imperial humility).<sup>14</sup> Constantine V first appears as a beardless youth with short hair, and subsequently is portrayed as increasingly mature and sometimes bearded.<sup>15</sup>

#### *Artabasdos (742–43)*

A single *nomisma* struck before Artabasdos made his son Nikephoros junior emperor survives. Its obverse shows a frontal bust of Artabasdos, who distinguished himself from Leo III and Constantine V by the attribute he holds, a cross with two cross bars (a patriarchal cross). The reverse shows the stepped cross and inscription *Iesus Christus Nika* borrowed from Leo's *miliaresion*. *Nomismata* struck after Nikephoros' elevation replace the cross with his portrait; early versions showed the youth wearing a chlamys and carrying a patriarchal cross, but later striking depict him in a loros and show both emperors carrying the *globus cruciger* and *akakia* favoured under Leo III. Gold coins portraying Artabasdos and Nikephoros were also minted in Rome. The silver *miliaresia* with Artabasdos and Nikephoros follow the tradition established by Leo III. No copper coins survive.<sup>16</sup>

#### *Constantine V (741–75)*

Two innovations mark the minted monies of Constantine V. The first is the almost complete discontinuation of fractional gold coinage (the *semissis* and the *tremissis*): the only two forms known were apparently ceremonial issues commemorating Constantine's accession in 741 and the coronation of his son Leo IV in 751.<sup>17</sup> The second is Constantine's retention of portraits of his deceased father on *nomismata*. Leo III occupied the obverse of coins minted before 751;<sup>18</sup> after the elevation of Leo IV, however, the portrait type was redesigned and Leo III moved to the reverse. Philip Grierson has speculated that, in this, Constantine V created 'a pictorial representation of the filiation formulae which played a major role in Arab personal names' (what one might call the 'son of' formula).<sup>19</sup> In the case of the early coins that retain the obverse position for Leo III, however, it is also possible that delays in changing mint moulds were responsible for the continuation of the pattern, a prospect that Grierson has raised in regard to the copper coinage, some versions of which continued to show Constantine as a beardless youth well into the 740s.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Facing busts remained normal until the reign of Basil I (867–86): Grierson, *DOC* III,1, 107.

<sup>14</sup> See, further, *ODB* 1, 42 and 3, 1936; Grierson, *DOC* III,1, 127, 131, 133–4.

<sup>15</sup> Grierson, *DOC* III,1, 227–8, with descriptive lists at 241–63, pls I–IV. On the distinction between bearded and beardless emperors, *ibid.*, 110.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 284–5, descriptive lists at 286–9, pl. VII.

<sup>17</sup> Grierson, *DOC* III,1, 291–2, 294.

<sup>18</sup> It is thus difficult to distinguish between coins minted toward the end of Leo's reign from those minted toward the beginning of Constantine's: see Grierson, *DOC* III,1, 226–7, 291.

<sup>19</sup> Grierson, *DOC* III,1, 9, 292.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 294.

The three generations of leaders who appear on the later *nomismata*, however, were clearly intended to make a point, presumably about the stability of the Isaurian dynasty.<sup>21</sup> After 751, Leo IV appeared with a now-always-bearded Constantine V on the coppers (fig. 76), sometimes as two busts on the obverse, and then as two enthroned figures.<sup>22</sup> In silver, the *miliaresion* continued the model established by Leo III.<sup>23</sup>

Grierson also notes that, according to the *Chronicon episcoporum Neapolitanae ecclesiae*, during the siege of Constantinople in 743 Constantine paid the merchants supplying the imperial troops with leather *nomismata*, later redeemed for gold. In this, he was apparently following what was believed to be ancient Roman practice.<sup>24</sup> If so, the episode provides an example of the self-conscious imperial use of ancient Roman models.

#### *Leo IV (775–80)*

For the most part, the coins of Leo IV continue the patterns established by his Isaurian forebears, though the *nomismata* and the *folles* (coppers) now show four generations rather than three: Leo IV and his son Constantine VI, crowned in 776, appear on the obverse, Leo III and Constantine V on the reverse (fig. 77).<sup>25</sup> The figures appear as busts between 776 and 778, after which the living rulers are shown seated; perhaps, as Grierson speculated, to commemorate the victory over the Arabs in 778.<sup>26</sup>

#### *Constantine VI (780–97)*

Constantine's gold coinage (closely followed by the copper) falls into three groups, and may be seen as a barometer of the fluctuations in imperial status visited upon Constantine VI and his mother, the regent empress Eirene. *Nomismata* struck between 780 and 790 show busts of Constantine VI (left) and Eirene, both holding the *globus cruciger*, on the obverse; and on the reverse Constantine V, Leo III, and Leo IV, seated together. Constantine VI thus takes precedence over his mother, but is shown beardless to signal his relative immaturity (although by 790 he was nineteen years of age). The inscriptions vary slightly, and are heavily abbreviated. They follow the basic formula 'Constantine and Eirene his mother', with Constantine given the titles C', b', and Δ', which Grierson interprets as *caesar*, *basileus* and *despotes*, and Eirene designated *augusta* (empress). The inscriptions begin on the reverse and continue on the obverse, so that Eirene's name appears on the front of the

<sup>21</sup> So, too, G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre: étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris 1996) 51–2.

<sup>22</sup> Grierson, *DOC* III,1, 295.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 294. During Constantine's reign, mints are attested in Sicily, Rome, perhaps Naples, and until 751 Ravenna: *ibid.*, 295–8. Descriptive lists and reproductions of all coins at *ibid.*, 299–324, pls VIII–XI.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 325–6. No Constantinopolitan coins survive from the period before the coronation of Constantine VI.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 325; lists and reproductions at 328–35, pls XII–XIII. On Italian mints, and their problems, *ibid.*, 326–7. Grierson believes that the last coins struck in Rome to name the Byzantine emperor date to the very beginning of Leo's reign: *ibid.*, 327.

coin.<sup>27</sup> Eirene is the first woman to be portrayed on a Byzantine coin since Martina, wife of Heraclius, in the first third of the seventh century.<sup>28</sup>

A second group of *nomismata* change this formula slightly but significantly: Eirene no longer holds the *globus cruciger* and the inscription begins on the obverse, thereby fronting the name of Constantine rather than of his mother. Because these alterations effectively lower the status of the empress, Grierson dates this issue to the years between 790 and 792 when, according to Theophanes, Eirene was banished from the Great Palace and placed in another palace that she had built, called the Eleutherios.<sup>29</sup>

The third and final group is of higher quality. Eirene, labelled *augusta* and again with the *globus cruciger*, appears on the obverse; Constantine, called *basileus* and still beardless, appears on the reverse. The ancestors have disappeared. Grierson dates this issue to 792–97.<sup>30</sup>

The silver *miliaresion* continued the pattern established by Leo III, while the copper essentially followed the lead of the *nomismata* but without inscriptions. The half *folles*, however, no longer appears.<sup>31</sup> It is worth remarking that the second Council of Nicaea, which restored the veneration of icons in 787, had no visible impact on coin production.<sup>32</sup>

#### *Eirene (797–802)*

The obverse of the *nomismata* minted during Eirene's sole rule depict her frontally and as a bust, holding the *globus cruciger* and a sceptre; she is identified as *basilissa*, the first time this designation appears on coins. On *nomismata* struck in Constantinople, the reverse is identical to the obverse (fig. 78).<sup>33</sup> It is understandable that Eirene no longer wished to be associated with her son, whom she had deposed and blinded; and it is also comprehensible that, after 787, Eirene might not wish to associate herself with the iconoclast Isaurians by reinstating them on the reverse. Perhaps for this same reason she avoided the stepped cross favoured under Leo III. It must be said, however, that the *folles* revert to the cross formula used by Leo III, while retaining Eirene's bust portrait on the obverse.<sup>34</sup> Whatever the reason for the double portrait on the gold coinage, it was not apparently considered inappropriate: Leo V and Michael II (and probably Michael I before them) repeated the formula.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 337–8.

<sup>28</sup> See L. Brubaker and H. Tobler, 'The gender of money: Byzantine empresses on coins (324–802)', *Gender and History* 12 (2000) 572–94.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 338; Theoph., *Chronographia*, 467 (trans. Mango–Scott, 641).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 338–9.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 68, 339; descriptive lists and plates at 340–6, pls XIII–XIV.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–4.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 181, 347–8; here too discussion of the minor variations that appear in coins minted in Syracuse.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 347. From an economic point of view, it is also significant that Eirene's *folles* were twice the weight of those struck under Constantine VI (*ibid.*). Descriptive lists and plates at *ibid.*, 349–51, pl. XV.

*Nikephoros I (802–11)*

After the deposition of Eirene, Nikephoros I changed the decoration of the *nomismata*, presumably in a deliberate attempt to disassociate his reign from hers. The gold coinage minted before the coronation of Nikephoros' son Staurakios in 803 shows the emperor on the obverse holding a cross and the *akakia*, with the stepped cross and inscription familiar from the *miliaresion* on the reverse. After 803, Nikephoros appears on the obverse, Staurakios on the reverse.<sup>35</sup>

No coins are known from the two-month reign of Staurakios in 811.<sup>36</sup>

*Michael I (811–13)*

No *nomismata* survive from the three-month period that Michael ruled alone. Grierson has, however, speculated that should any surface, he believes that 'they will probably show a reversion to [E]irene's practice of exhibiting the imperial bust on both faces of the coin'.<sup>37</sup> After the coronation of Michael's son Theophylact in December 811, the gold coinage portrays Michael on the obverse and Theophylact on the reverse.

On the accession of his son, Michael I revived the *miliaresion*, which had not been struck since the deposition of Constantine VI. It followed the previous pattern, with one significant exception: perhaps in response to the coronation of Charlemagne in Rome in 800, Michael I and Theophylact now designate themselves not simply *basileis* but *basileis romaiôn* ('emperors of the Romans').<sup>38</sup>

*Leo V (813–20)*

On the *nomismata* struck at the beginning of his reign, Leo V appears alone, and, like Eirene before him, is pictured on both obverse and reverse. With the accession of Leo's son Symbatios, renamed and crowned as Constantine in December 813, Constantine replaces the second image of Leo on the reverse.<sup>39</sup> Leo V's emulation of Leo III (and, perhaps, Leo IV, whose son was also called Constantine) is attested elsewhere, as, for example, in the inscription he had placed over the Chalke after removing the image of Christ placed there by Eirene; according to the roughly contemporary *Scriptor incertus*, Leo V imitated Leo III 'because he wanted to reign as long as the other had done'.<sup>40</sup>

The *miliaresia* continue the familiar pattern, and retain the inscription *basileis romaiôn* introduced under Michael I.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>35</sup> No *miliaresia* are known. Grierson, *DOC* III,1, 352–4, with descriptive lists at 355–61, and pls XVI–XVII.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 362.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 363.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 64, 178, 363–5, with descriptive lists and reproductions at 366–70, pl. XVII.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 371–2.

<sup>40</sup> On this text, see 179–80 below. On the Chalke image, see L. Brubaker, 'The Chalke gate, the construction of the past, and the Trier ivory', *BMGS* 23 (1999), 258–85, at 278–9; and J.F. Haldon and B. Ward-Perkins, 'Evidence from Rome for the image of Christ on the Chalke gate in Constantinople', *ibid.*, 286–96, at 291–2.

<sup>41</sup> Grierson, *DOC* III,1, 372–3; descriptive lists and reproductions at 375–86, pls XVIII–XIX.

*Michael II (820–29)*

As Grierson has noted, ‘The gold and silver coinage of Michael II continued with little change the general pattern of the preceding decade.’<sup>42</sup> That is: before the coronation of Theophilos, Michael II appears on both the obverse and reverse of the *nomismata*; after the coronation, Theophilos is shown on the reverse. The *miliaresia* continued to follow the standard pattern.<sup>43</sup> The later coins show Theophilos with a beard. The major innovation appears in the later *folles*, which are larger and heavier than those minted earlier, suggesting revaluation.<sup>44</sup>

*Theophilos (829–42)*

Five distinct issues of *nomismata* were struck during the reign of Theophilos. The first shows a frontal bust of the emperor, bearded and holding the *globus cruciger*, on the obverse; a patriarchal cross and the invocation Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ (‘Lord, help your servant’) appear on the reverse. Grierson dates this issue to 829–30/1.<sup>45</sup> The second issue shows Theophilos on the obverse and his son Constantine on the reverse. Constantine died as an infant, and was co-emperor only briefly in 830 or 831, to which period this issue apparently dates. After his death, Constantine remains on the reverse but is now joined by Michael II, his dead grandfather. The coins thereby revert to a variant on the ancestor type used intermittently throughout the years of iconoclasm. This later recurred, toward the end of the century, under Basil I.<sup>46</sup>

Probably between about 838 and 840, a fourth issue was minted. This shows Theophilos flanked by the empress Theodora and their eldest daughter Thekla on the obverse, with their daughters Anna and Anastasia on the reverse. Very few of these *nomismata* survive. The emphasis on family suggests that some type of dynastic statement was intended: perhaps the issue could be seen as a visual repudiation of Alexios Mousele, designated *caesar* after his marriage to Theophilos’ daughter Maria but apparently no longer next in line for the throne.<sup>47</sup> The final issue was struck after the birth of Michael III in 840, and shows Theophilos on the obverse, Michael III on the reverse.<sup>48</sup>

Five issues of *miliaresia* also appear. The earliest is remarkable as the first *miliaresion* struck in the name of a single emperor. This suggests to Grierson that the coin was no longer considered as a ceremonial issue, but had instead become a regular denomination.<sup>49</sup> The second issue is larger and heavier. It adds the name of Constantine and includes a longer inscription than had been found before, invoking the ‘servants of Christ, the faithful emperors of the Romans’. Like the second issue of the *nomismata*, this rare coin was apparently only struck briefly sometime

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 387.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 387–9.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 389; descriptive lists and reproductions at 394–405, pls XX–XXI.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 131, 179, 411–12.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, 412–13.

<sup>47</sup> Maria’s absence signals either her death or an (otherwise unattested) disgrace. See Grierson, *DOC* III,1, 407, 415–16.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 416.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 63, 406, 411.

in 830/1. After Constantine's death, his portrait was removed; and in what was apparently a fifth issue the smaller size and lighter weight were reinstated.<sup>50</sup>

*Folles* survive in three issues. The earliest continues the larger and heavier formula initiated under Michael II. This shows Theophilos, holding a patriarchal cross and the *akakia*, on the obverse; the weight mark M (for forty *nummi*, the standard notional 'weight' of the *folles* since its invention under the emperor Anastasius in 498) on the reverse. The second issue, struck in 830/1, includes two busts, one of Theophilos and the other of the infant Constantine. The third and final issue is quite different. The obverse portrays a half-figure (not a bust) of Theophilos, holding the *globus cruciger* but also now the *labarum*, the military standard associated with Constantine the Great.<sup>51</sup> The emperor wears the *tufa*, a headpiece with a central, fan-shaped plume of peacock feathers associated with imperial victories;<sup>52</sup> an inscription, which reads 'Theophilos augustus, thou conquerest', replaces the old weight designation which was anyway meaningless since half-*folles* had ceased to be minted,<sup>53</sup> and is now dropped forever. The insistent references to victory have suggested that this issue was first minted to celebrate a military triumph in 831. The type continued until the end of Theophilos' reign.<sup>54</sup>

#### *Michael III (842–67)*

Michael III issued three classes of *nomismata*, the relationship between which is not certain. One issue shows the regent empress Theodora, identified as 'despoina', on the obverse, with a young Michael and his sister Thekla on the reverse. This issue is, unusually, often struck over older coins, and exhibits considerable variations: Grierson believes it was struck in haste in, probably, 842/3 as a publicity ploy 'to circumvent attempts to set up rivals'.<sup>55</sup> Both the need to secure the succession and Theodora's prominence on the obverse here are presumably to be explained by Michael's extreme youth: he was two years old at Theophilos' death in 842.

What appears to be a second issue shows a bust of Christ, copied from the late seventh-century coinage of Justinian II, on the obverse, with Michael III, beardless but in the place of honour on the (viewer's) left, and Theodora on the reverse. This is tentatively dated to the years between 843 and 856, and is clearly a response to the restoration of image veneration. The portrait of Christ, while borrowed from Justinian II's first series of Christ coins, is not identical to its seventh-century exemplar: the most striking deviation is the omission of the Latin designation *rex regnantium*. The final issue dates from after Theodora's retirement to a convent in 858. She is omitted from the reverse, and Michael III is now shown bearded and holding the *labarum*; the portrait of Christ remains.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 412–13, 416.

<sup>51</sup> On the *labarum*, see Grierson, *DOC* III, 1, 127, 134–5.

<sup>52</sup> On the *tufa*, see Grierson, *DOC* III, 1, 129–30.

<sup>53</sup> In fact, however, a half-weight issue of this same coin was effectively a half-*folles*, though it is not labelled as such: see Grierson, *DOC* III, 1, 413–15.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 406, 411–13. Distribution lists and reproductions of all coinage under Theophilos at *ibid.*, 424–51, pls XXII–XXVII.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 457.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 458.

The *miliaresion* also appeared in three issues. The first carried the names of Michael, Theodora, and Thekla; the second and third of Michael alone. The latter adds the epithet 'great' (μέγας) to the by-now standard 'emperor of the Romans'.

The coppers minted in Constantinople are in many ways more interesting. These only survive from 866/7, and show Michael on the obverse, Basil (designated *caesar* in 866) on the reverse. Most unusually, both are given Latin titles – Michael is designated as *imperator*, Basil as *rex* – possibly in response to pope Nicholas's scorn at Byzantine linguistic inadequacies.<sup>57</sup>

#### *Main Catalogues Relevant to the Period*

- Ph. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, II: *Phocas to Theodosius III, 602–717*, 2 vols (Washington DC 1968); III: *Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717–1081*, 2 vols (Washington DC 1973).  
 C. Morriison, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I (491–711), II (711–1204) (Paris 1970).  
 W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, III: *von Heraclius bis Leo III/Alleinregierung (610–720)* (Vienna 1981).

#### *Older Catalogue Publications*

- H. Goodacre, *A handbook of the coinage of the Byzantine empire* (London 1957).  
 R. Ratto, *Monnaies byzantines et d'autres pays contemporaines à l'époque byzantine. La plus riche et la plus vaste collection privée* (Lugano 1930).  
 W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum*, 2 vols (London-Oxford 1908) (repr. as *Imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum* [Chicago 1966]).

#### *Useful Introductory Guides*

- J.L. Malter, *Byzantine numismatic bibliography 1950–1965* (Chicago 1968).  
 M. Restle, 'Forschungen zur byzantinischen Numismatik 1950–1960', *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 19 (1966) 225–59.  
 M. Restle, *Kunst und byzantinische Münzprägung von Justinian I. bis zum Bilderstreit* (Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinischen-neugriechischen Philologie 47. Athens 1964).  
 P.D. Whitting, *Byzantine coins* (London 1973).

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<sup>57</sup> On this issue, see M.T. Fögen, 'Reanimation of Roman law in the ninth century: remarks on reasons and results', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 11–22, esp. 17–22. See Grierson, *DOC* III, 1, 456. Distribution lists and reproductions at *ibid.*, 461–70, pls XXVIII–XXIX.



# Sigillography

## Seals and their Value

Lead seals represent one of the most important sources for the administrative and institutional, as well as the social, history of the Byzantine world at this period. They constitute, however, a complex and difficult subject, and the dating of many seals and types of seal is subject to conflicting interpretations. Sigillography is thus a specialist discipline concerned with all aspects of the production, design, cultural meaning, and daily use of such artefacts. Not all seals were of lead – gold, silver, and wax were also employed, gold exclusively by the emperors and associated with state documents and imperial acts, attached to diplomatic documents for foreign potentates, for example, or to special acts of the emperor, such as a grant of land or taxation privileges and so forth. The term for gold seal – *chrysoboullon* – thus came to refer by association to the documents to which they were originally attached. Wax seals were used by the imperial administration, but hardly any have survived. This section deals, however, exclusively with lead seals, for the simple reason that over 80,000 survive, in public and private collections, and because they played an especially prominent role in the public and private administrative life of imperial officials of all ranks, as well as private persons, during the period from the sixth to the twelfth century, with a particularly clear pre-eminence in the seventh to tenth centuries. Very few seals have survived (in libraries or other archives) actually associated with the document they sealed, the great majority having been recovered either through archaeological excavation, or – as with most known and catalogued seals – in collections or in the possession of dealers, far removed from the context where they were last used. But seals have been recovered from all over the empire, both in the central regions and from the peripheral zones of imperial power such as Sicily, Romania or Cherson in the Crimea.

Seals are generally circular, with an average diameter of some 25 mm, although there are many which are very much smaller, and some larger. They were made from circular lead blanks, pierced for the cord or tie, which was fed through a channel running through the middle of the blank after the document or bundle in question had been tied or closed (with wax, for example). The lead blank was then placed in a *boullôtêrion* or seal-clamp (in appearance like a pair of pliers), on the inside faces of which the seal inscription and design were engraved, and which was then struck by a hammer, closing the channel around the cord and impressing the image on to the lead. Seals of the period up to *ca* 700 are impressed with both simple monogrammatic formulae (name and title of owner or invocation to Christ, the

Virgin, or a saint) and images, although the former predominate. During the eighth and early ninth century monograms and inscriptions predominate; thereafter, and following the defeat of iconoclasm, images come to play a much more prominent role alongside inscriptions.

Dating seals is often difficult, due not only to damage suffered in the course of time, deleting some of the lettering or monogram, but also because of the high number of abbreviations used and the complexity of many of the monograms. As a result of an increasingly sophisticated understanding of such matters, many seals published in older collections (those of Mordtmann, Schlumberger and Likhachev, for example) have been or can be re-dated, often dramatically affecting our understanding of the evolution of a particular title or aspect of the state administration. The work of Zacos and Veglery, in particular, stimulated a major reassessment of assumptions about how to date seals, and the principles which they enunciated, since refined by scholars such as Shandrovskaja, Seibt, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides, are still evolving. But the value of seals is hard to overestimate: seals tell us about the titles and position of individuals at a specific moment in their careers. As soon as their title, rank, and post change, they need a new seal, so that frequently it is possible to build up a picture not only of an individual's career, but also of the history of the various posts or titles which he (rarely she) held. By the same token, seals also tell us a great deal about the use of different personal names, nicknames and family names, thus contributing also to the history of the social organization and cultural values and attitudes of Byzantines. Many seals of officials bear also the name of the location where the official held office, or at least over which he exercised his functions. Thus officials associated with taxation issued seals which included the name of the town and district for which they were responsible; military officers often named their headquarters or base on their seals; while provincial governors or generals named their administrative circumscriptions. Some seals carried also dates, in the form of indictional numbers, which help to reconstruct the history of particular institutions – best-known, perhaps, are the seals of *kommerkiarioi* in the second half of the seventh century. Some types of these seals carry also the head of the reigning emperor, suggestive of the nature and method of the appointment and the relationship of this element of imperial provincial administration to the central government and the individual emperor in question.

It should be apparent from the foregoing that seals are a vitally important, yet extremely difficult type of source, which need to be used with care and in the knowledge of as broad a range of comparable material as possible. It should always be borne in mind that the dating of seals is frequently problematic. Reference to current or recent reviews of work using sigillography is essential to remain abreast of such matters, since reviewers may well offer alternative dates for many objects, which in its turn may entail the re-thinking of important aspects of Byzantine administrative practice.

## Seals: The Material Evidence

Seals preserved from the years between *ca* 700 and *ca* 850 fall into a number of broad categories. Following the model supplied by the catalogues of Zacos and Veglery, the seal types that dominate – by categories that combine both design and content – may be classed as imperial seals, dated seals, monogrammatic seals (figs 79–81), seals with representations of eagles (fig. 82), seals with bilateral inscriptions, iconographic seals (fig. 81), and patriarchal seals.

### *Imperial Seals*

Imperial seals survive from the reigns of all emperors involved, however tangentially, with iconoclasm (Table 3). At the beginning of his reign, Leo III retained the image of the Virgin Hodegetria that had been favoured on imperial seals since the time of Constantine IV (681–85);<sup>1</sup> but, as on his coins, once Constantine V had been elevated to the throne he was shown on the imperial seals as well. Two of the three types initiated by Leo III continued to be used over the following century. On one (type A), a bust portrait of Leo appears on the obverse, a bust portrait of Constantine (beardless) on the reverse. On the other (type C), a cross on steps occupies the obverse along with the beginning of an inscription that continues on to the reverse; this reads Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, Λέων καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος πιστοὶ βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων ('In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Leo and Constantine, faithful emperors of the Romans'). The bilateral portraits appear under iconoclast and iconophile rulers alike, but – with the possible exception of the seal of Michael III, Theodora, and Thekla, the date of which is uncertain – the cross on steps accompanied by the long inscription was used only by later iconoclast emperors. The iconophile version of this sigillographic type replaced the cross with a standing figure of the Virgin holding the Christ child on her left arm and gesturing toward him as he blesses the viewer (the Hodegetria), the formula favoured before iconoclasm, and changed the beginning of the inscription to read Θεοτόκε βοήθει ('Mother of God, help thou...'). Under Theophilos and the regency which followed, the expression ἐκ Θεοῦ ('through Christ') was inserted into the inscription, an expansion also found on Theophilos' coins. From 856, Michael III's seal depicted the bust of Christ on the obverse, a visual reinforcement of the so-called triumph of orthodoxy that apparently deliberately returned to a numismatic formula initiated by the emperor Justinian II in 692.<sup>2</sup>

### *Dated Seals*

In addition to seals which are datable by other means, from the sixth through the ninth century, a variety of officials used seals that incorporated imperial portraits on the obverse, and sometimes indicated the indiction (the year within a repeating

<sup>1</sup> Zacos and Veglery I, 1, nos 23, 25, 27–33.

<sup>2</sup> *DOC* II, 2, 569–70, pl. XXXVII; J.D. Breckenridge, *The numismatic iconography of Justinian II* (Numismatic notes and monographs 144. New York 1959).

fifteen-year cycle) in which the die was cast.<sup>3</sup> We have, therefore, more dated seals from this period than from any other in Byzantine history. The vast majority of those from the reigns of Leo III to Theophilos (by whose reign the dated seal goes out of use) follow one of two formulae:

- busts of a pair of emperors, with the junior beardless, on the obverse with an inscription on the reverse;<sup>4</sup> or
- two emperors, half-length or as busts, flanking a cross on the obverse with an inscription on the reverse.<sup>5</sup> Rarely, the emperors are shown in full.<sup>6</sup>

During the brief periods of sole rule, the emperor or empress appears alone either, as was the case under Leo III between 717 and 719, standing frontally on the obverse with an inscription on the reverse;<sup>7</sup> or, as under Eirene, Michael II, and Theophilos, in bust form, again with the inscription on the reverse.<sup>8</sup>

The most important deviation from this pattern was introduced under Constantine V, who – as on his coins – appears together with his deceased predecessor, his father Leo III. Seals from the first ten years of Constantine V's reign (those that pre-date the elevation of his son Leo IV in 751) are thus very similar to those struck after Constantine's accession in 720, save that while his father was alive Constantine appears always to have been shown beardless, while on the seals struck after his father's death he is bearded.<sup>9</sup> After 751, Constantine V and Leo IV (beardless) appear on the obverse, with either Leo III or an inscription on the reverse.<sup>10</sup> This practice continued, with minor variations, until some point in the joint rule of Constantine VI and Eirene: Leo IV and Constantine VI (beardless) sit on a lyre-backed throne on the obverse with Leo III and Constantine V on the reverse; Constantine VI (beardless) and Eirene, both shown as busts on the obverse, are backed by Constantine V, Leo III, and Leo IV.<sup>11</sup> Possibly in response to the Council of Nicaea in 787, the ancestor portraits are then dropped. On some seals the date of

<sup>3</sup> For excellent general introductions to seals, see N. Oikonomides, *Byzantine lead seals* (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 7. Washington DC 1985); and *idem*, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals* (Washington DC 1986).

<sup>4</sup> For example, Leo III and Constantine V: Zacos and Veglery I,1, nos 224–39.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Leo III and Constantine V (when the latter is bearded, the seal dates to after his father's death); Artabasdos and Nikephoros; Nikephoros and Staurakios; Michael II and Theophilos: Zacos and Veglery I,1, nos 242–62, 264–7, 281, 283 (and I,3, no. 2765); Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, nos 34, 36.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Leo III and Constantine V: Zacos and Veglery I,1, nos 240–1, apparently at the beginning of the series (see further Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, no. 31).

<sup>7</sup> Zacos and Veglery I,1 nos 221–3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, nos 279–80, 282, 285; Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, nos 44, 46, 48A.

<sup>9</sup> So Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, no. 31.

<sup>10</sup> Zacos and Veglery I,1, nos 269–70; Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, nos 38–9.

<sup>11</sup> Zacos and Veglery I,1, nos 271–6; Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, nos 40, 42.

which is uncertain, they are replaced by an inscription; on others, Eirene appears on the obverse with the beardless Constantine VI on the reverse. She appears alone, backed by an inscription, in seals presumably struck after Constantine's deposition in 797.<sup>12</sup> The ancestor portraits are not revived during second iconoclasm.

### *Monogrammatic Seals*

The name of this class is self-explanatory. The monograms themselves, typically on the obverse, are normally arranged as a block or in a cruciform shape (figs 79–81). The reverse may continue or spell out the name, or contain a short inscription. In seals that appear to belong to the eighth and ninth centuries, this is most often the formula Θεοτόκε βοήθει ('Mother of God, help thou ...'),<sup>13</sup> although Κύριε βοήθει and Χριστὲ βοήθει are also relatively common. Sometimes Ἁγία Τριάς βοήθει ('Holy Trinity, help thou ...') or ... δούλου τοῦ σταυροῦ ('servant of the cross') appears; such invocations may be indicative of iconoclast sympathies.<sup>14</sup> A few examples have brief quotations from Psalms; these appear all to date from the eighth century and may perhaps be associated with first iconoclasm.<sup>15</sup> Decoration is rare, and is limited to a small cross, sometimes with basal tendrils.<sup>16</sup>

### *Seals with Representations of Eagles*

Relatively common until the middle of the eighth century, this class shows an eagle on the obverse (fig. 82). Examples dated to the first half of the century are often inscribed with the familiar formula Θεοτόκε βοήθει.<sup>17</sup>

### *Seals with Bilateral Inscriptions*

Again, the name of the class is self-explanatory: the border apart, the content of the seals is restricted to an inscription, which begins on the obverse and is completed on the reverse. Those attributed to the eighth or ninth century invoke the Theotokos, the Lord, Christ, and the Holy Trinity.<sup>18</sup> As noted above, the latter invocation may signal iconoclast tendencies.

<sup>12</sup> Zacos and Veglery I,1, nos 277–80.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., Zacos and Veglery I,1, nos 387, 403, 405, 406, 425, 487, 555B; *ibid.* I,2, nos 1409–11, 1419, 1421–3, 1426, 1427, *passim*; Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, nos 32, 33, 37, 41, 48.

<sup>14</sup> E.g., Zacos and Veglery I, 2, nos 1425 (Παναγία Τριάς ...), 1440; *ibid.* I,3, no. 2781; for commentary, *ibid.*, I,1, 549.

<sup>15</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, nos 323, 579; *ibid.* I,3 no. 2835; for discussion, see *ibid.* I,2 no. 1984.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., *ibid.* I,1, no. 320.

<sup>17</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, nos 590A, 598, 624 (also invoking the Holy Trinity), 628, 643, 645, 684, 693, 703, 709, 716, 727 (the last four with a cross).

<sup>18</sup> Theotokos: Zacos and Veglery I,1, nos 760, 783, 784A, 827, 845, 849, *passim*; Lord: *ibid.*, nos 735, 748, 831, 840, 905, 909, *passim*; Christ: *ibid.*, 785, 878, 1070, 1073; Holy Trinity: *ibid.*, 743, 751, 752, 753, 759A, 770A, *passim*. Once, the seal's owner is identified as a 'servant of the cross' (*ibid.* I,3, no. 2937).

### *Iconographic Seals*

The so-called iconographic seals show images (fig. 81), and are often dated primarily on the basis of their subject matter, a risky proposition. Those decorated with a cross, for example, are usually attributed to the eighth century,<sup>19</sup> while those with images of the Virgin and child that exhibit characteristics familiar on other eighth- or ninth-century seals are lumped together by Zacos and Veglery in a group labeled 'the iconophile reaction' and dated 787–815.<sup>20</sup> Sometimes, however, the signatory is known and the seal can be dated with greater assurance. A seal depicting the Virgin and child in the name of Aimianos, bishop of Kyzikos, can be dated to the late eighth or early ninth century since that unusual name (and title) belonged to a man who died in 813.<sup>21</sup> Others, similarly decorated, are associated with signatories of the Council of Nicaea in 787.<sup>22</sup> For example, one, depicting St John, belonged to John, bishop of Ephesus, a signatory of the 787 council.<sup>23</sup> Another seal, showing St Demetrios, includes the name of an archbishop of Thessaloniki otherwise attested in the mid-eighth century.<sup>24</sup> His successor, interestingly, replaced the saint with a cruciform monogram, perhaps suggesting the impact of iconoclast policies after the Council of Hieria in 754.<sup>25</sup>

### *Patriarchal Seals*

No eighth-century patriarchal seals survive, but those of eight patriarchs of Constantinople during the ninth century have been preserved. Five of these coincide with the years of iconoclasm and its immediate aftermath. The earliest belonged to Theodotos, patriarch from 815 until 821; this shows a cruciform invocative monogram of Κύριε βοήθει with crosses in each corner on the obverse, and is inscribed Θεοδότω πατριάρχη Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ('Theodotos patriarch of Constantinople') on the reverse.<sup>26</sup> The seal of Antony (patriarch 821–37) is identical, save that he is styled ἐπίσκοπος ('bishop') of Constantinople.<sup>27</sup> John VII Grammatikos (John the Grammarian), holder of the see from 837 until 843, continues the Κύριε βοήθει on the obverse, but omits the crosses in order to accommodate a much longer inscription that continues on to the reverse: Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰωάννῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας Ῥώμης ('Lord, help your servant John, bishop of Constantinople, New Rome'). This is the earliest preserved patriarchal seal so to designate the Byzantine capital.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For example, Zacos and Veglery I,2, nos 1356, 1367, 1368; *ibid.* I,3, nos 2990, 2991, 2993.

<sup>20</sup> For example, *ibid.* I,2, nos 1325, 1326, 1329–32, 1335, 1337, 1341, *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1326.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, nos 1332, 1348A.

<sup>23</sup> Zacos and Veglery I,3, no. 2986.

<sup>24</sup> Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, no. 35.

<sup>25</sup> Zacos and Veglery I,2, no. 1701; Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, no. 37.

<sup>26</sup> Zacos II, no. 2; Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, no. 43.

<sup>27</sup> Zacos II, no. 3; Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, no. 45.

<sup>28</sup> Zacos II, no. 4; Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, no. 49.

Methodios (patriarch 843–47) presided over the Council of 843 that restored the veneration of holy images; fittingly, the obverse of his seal shows the Virgin Hodegetria. The inscription reads Ἱεραγία Θεοτόκε, βοήθει Μεθοδίω ἐπισκόπῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, δούλῳ τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ ('Most holy Theotokos, help Methodios, bishop of Constantinople, servant of the servants of God').<sup>29</sup> The seals of Ignatios, patriarch from 847 until 858 and then again from 867 until 877, present Christ (standing or as a bust) on the obverse; the inscriptions invoke God or Christ, and include the first use of the title ἀρχιεπίσκοπος (archbishop) of Constantinople New Rome.<sup>30</sup>

### *Introductory and General Guidance*

- J.-Cl. Cheynet and C. Morrisson, 'Lieux de trouvaille et circulation des sceaux', *Studies in Byzantine sigillography* 2 (Washington DC 1990) 105–36.  
 Hörandner, *Byzanz*, 158–60.  
 Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 178–83.  
 N. Oikonomides, 'The usual lead seal', *DOP* 37 (1983) 147–57.  
 N. Oikonomides, *Byzantine lead seals* (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection publications 7. Washington DC 1985).  
 N. Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals* (Washington DC 1986).  
 V.S. Shandrovskaja, 'Die Bedeutung der Bleisiegel für das Studium einiger Aspekte der byzantinischen Geschichte', *JÖB* 32/2 (1982) 165–73.  
 V.S. Shandrovskaja, 'Byzantinische Sphragistik', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 65–80.  
*Studies in Byzantine sigillography* 1–4, ed. N. Oikonomides (Washington DC 1987, 1990, 1993, 1995: the series is continuing).  
 For seals as evidence for the structure and dynamic of the imperial administration, see, in particular, F. Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (BBA 53, Berlin 1985).

Below are listed the major published collections currently accessible, followed by a number of articles in which smaller groups of seals, or individual seals, have been published. The list is by no means exhaustive, since new material is constantly appearing, while many seals from older collections are regularly being re-dated, their inscriptions reinterpreted and re-edited, and their significance re-assessed. For the most easily accessible and up-to-date information on literature, newly edited or discovered seals and sigillographic methodology, see Oikonomides, ed. *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*.

### *Major Published Collections*

- J.-Cl. Cheynet, C. Morrisson and W. Seibt, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig. Catalogue raisonné* (Paris 1991).  
 J.-Cl. Cheynet, 'Sceaux byzantins des musées d'Antioche et Tarse', *TM* 12 (1994) 391–478.  
 J. Ebersolt, *Musées impériaux ottomans. Catalogue des sceaux byzantins* (Paris 1922).

<sup>29</sup> Zacus II, no. 5; Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, no. 50.

<sup>30</sup> Zacus II, no. 6; Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*, nos 51–2.

- J. Ebersolt, 'Sceaux byzantins du Musée de Constantinople', *Revue Numismatique* 4 ser. 18 (1914) 207–78.
- W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, V (London 1898) 1–106.
- I. Koltsida-Makri, *Βυζαντινά μολυβδόβουλλα συλλογῆς Ορφανίδη-Νικολαΐδη Νομισματικού Μουσείου Αθηνῶν* (Athens 1996).
- K.M. Konstantopoulos, *Βυζαντιακά μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθηναῖς Ἐθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου* (Athens 1917) (= *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique* 5 [1902] 149–64, 189–228; 6 [1903] 49–88, 333–64; 7 [1904] 161–76, 255–310; 8 [1905] 53–102, 195–222; 9 [1906] 61–146; 10 [1907] 47–112).
- K. Konstantopoulos, *Βυζαντιακά μολυβδόβουλλα. Συλλογὴ Α. Σταμούλη* (Athens 1930).
- V. Laurent, *Documents de sigillographie. La collection C. Orghidan* (Bibliothèque Byzantine, Documents I. Paris 1952).
- V. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins du médailleur Vatican* (Medagliere della Biblioteca Vaticana I. Città del Vaticano 1962).
- V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, II: *L'administration centrale* (Paris 1981).
- V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V, 1–3: *L'Église* (Paris 1963, 1965, 1972).
- N.P. Likhachev, 'Datirovannye vizantiiskie pechati', in: *Izvestiia Rossiiskoi Akademii Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury* 3 (1924) 153–224.
- N.P. Likhachev, *Molivdovuli grecheskogo Vostoka*, ed. with comm. V.S. Shandrovskaiia (Moscow 1991).
- C. Morrisson and W. Seibt, 'Sceaux de commerciaires byzantins du VIIe siècle trouvés à Carthage', *Revue numismatique* 6e ser. 24 (1982) 222–41.
- J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, I: *Italy, North of the Balkans, North of the Black Sea* (Washington DC 1991); II: *South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor* (Washington DC 1994); III: *West, Northwest and Central Asia Minor and the Orient* (Washington DC 1996).
- B.A. Panchenko, 'Kolleksii Russkago Arkheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole, Katalog Molyvdovoullov', in: *IRAİK* 8 (1903) 199–246; 9 (1904) 341–96; 13 (1908) 78–151.
- V.S. Shandrovskaiia, *Vizantiiskie pechati v sobranii Ermitazha* (Leningrad 1975).
- G. Schlumberger and A. Blanchet, *Collections sigillographiques* (Paris 1914).
- G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris 1884).
- W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, I: *Kaiserhof* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik II, 1. Vienna 1978).
- C. Sode, with P. Speck, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Berlin II* (Poikila Byzantina 14. Bonn 1997).
- P. Speck *et al.*, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Berlin (West)* (Poikila Byzantina 5. Bonn 1986).
- G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. I, pts 1–3 (Basel 1972).

#### *Publications of Smaller Collections or Single Seals*

- N. Bănescu, 'Les sceaux byzantins trouvés à Silistrie', *B* 7 (1932) 321–33.
- I. Barnea, 'Plombs byzantins de la Collection Michel C. Soutzo', *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 7 (1969) 21–33.
- I. Barnea, 'Unpublished Byzantine seals in the collection of the National History Museum', *Cercetări Numismatice (Romania)* 4 (1982) 169–76.
- I. Barnea, 'Sceaux byzantins de la collection du Musée d'histoire de la République socialiste de Roumanie', *Studii și cercetări de Numismatica* 8 (1984) 95–104.
- I. Barnea, 'Byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Rumänien', *Byzantina* 13 (1985 = *Δῶρημα στον Ι. Καραγιαννόπουλο*) 295–312.



- I. Barnea, 'Sceaux byzantins de Dobroudja', *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, ed. N. Oikonomides, 1 (Washington DC 1987) 77–88.
- S. Borsari, 'L'amministrazione del tema di Sicilia', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 62 (1954) 133–58.
- J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Byzantine seals from the collection of George Zacos, part I: Spink auction 127, catalogue* (London 1998).
- J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Byzantine seals from the collection of George Zacos, part II, with ancient and Gaulish coins: Spink auction 132, catalogue* (London 1999).
- H. Hunger, 'Zehn unedierte byzantinische Beamtensiegel', *JÖBG* 17 (1968) 179–88.
- N.V. Ismailova, 'Opisanie vizantiiskikh pechati iz sobraniia Akademii', in: *Izvestiia Rossiiskoi Akademii Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury* 3 (1924) 337–51.
- V. Laurent, 'Sceaux byzantins', *EO* 27 (1928) 417–39; *EO* 29 (1930) 314–33.
- V. Laurent, 'Bulletin de sigillographie byzantine, I', *B* 5 (1929–30) 571–654.
- V. Laurent, 'Bulletin de sigillographie byzantine, II', *B* 6 (1931) 771–829.
- V. Laurent, 'Mélanges d'épigraphie grecque et de sigillographie byzantine II: sceaux byzantins inédits', *EO* 31 (1932) 417–45.
- V. Laurent, 'Sceaux byzantins inédits, I', *EO* 32 (1933) 34–56.
- V. Laurent, 'Sceaux byzantins inédits, II', *BZ* 33 (1933) 331–61.
- V. Laurent, 'Mélanges', *REB* 20 (1962) 210–21.
- V. Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 2. Athens 1932) (also publ. *separatim* in *Hellenika* 4 [1931] 191–228; 5 [1932] 131–74; 389–420; 6 [1933] 81–102, 205–30; 7 [1934] 63–71, 277–300).
- A. Mordtmann, 'Plombs byzantins de la Grèce et du Péloponnèse', *Revue archéologique* 33 (1877) 289–98; 34 (1877) 47–61.
- A. Mordtmann, 'Περὶ Βυζαντινῶν μολυβδοβούλλων', *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* 7 (1872–1873) 57–81.
- A. Mordtmann, 'Μολυβδόβουλλα τῆς Δύσεως, ἤγουν τῆς Εὐρώπης', *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* 13 (1880) 44–9.
- A. Mordtmann, 'Μολυβδόβουλλα Βυζαντινὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τῆς Εὐρώπης', *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* 17 (1886) 144–52.
- N. Oikonomides, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals* (Washington DC 1986).
- G. Schlumberger, 'Sceaux byzantins inédits', ser. i, ii, iii, in: *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine* (Paris 1885) 199–274; iv, in: *REG* 13 (1900) 467–92; v, in: *RN* 9 (1905) 321–54; vi, in: *RN* 20 (1916) 32–46.
- A. Szemioth and T. Wasilewski, 'Sceaux byzantins du Musée National de Varsovie', *Studia źródłoznawcze* 11 (1966) 1–38; and *Studia źródłoznawcze* 14 (1969) 63–89.
- J. Turatsoglou, 'Les sceaux byzantins en plomb de la collection Michel Ritsos au Musée de Thessaloniki', *Byzantina* 5 (1973) 269–87.

Table 3: Imperial seals, Leo III–Michael III

emperor	no. <sup>31</sup>	obverse	reverse	date
Leo III	33	Hodegetria	Leo, bust	717–20
Leo III & Constantine V	33 bis	Leo, bust	Constantine, beardless, bust	720–41 type A
	34	Leo, standing, figures bowing	Constantine, beardless, standing, figures bowing	720–41 type B
	34 bis	cross on steps, inscription 'in the name of the father and of the son and of the holy spirit ...'	completion of inscription '... Leo and Constantine, faithful emperors of the Romans'	720–41 type C
Artabados	35	cross on steps, inscription as 34 bis	completion of inscription '... Artabados, faithful emperor of the Romans	742–43
Constantine V <sup>32</sup>	35 bis	cross on steps, inscription as 34 bis	completion of inscription '... Constantine, faithful emperor of the Romans'	741–51
Constantine V & Leo IV	36	cross on steps, inscription as 34 bis	completion of inscription '... Constantine and Leo, faithful emperors of the Romans'	751–75
Leo IV & Constantine VI <sup>33</sup>	37	cross on steps, inscription as 34 bis	completion of inscription '... Leo and Constantine, faithful emperors of the Romans'	776–80
Constantine VI	38	Constantine, bust	blank	790–92? type A
	39	Constantine, bust	cross on steps	790–92? type B

<sup>31</sup> In Zacos and Veglery I.3.

<sup>32</sup> It is possible that this represents Constantine VI.

<sup>33</sup> It is possible that the emperors represented here are Leo III and Constantine V.

emperor	no.	obverse	reverse	date
Eirene	40	Eirene, bust	blank	797-802 type A <sup>34</sup>
Nikephoros I?	42	Nikephoros, bust	blank	802-3?
Nikephoros I	43	Hodegetria	Nikephoros, bust	802-3
Nikephoros I & Staurakios	44	Nikephoros & Staurakios, beardless, busts	blank	803-11 type A
	45	Nikephoros, bust	Staurakios, beardless, bust	803-11 type B
	46	Hodegetria, inscription 'Theotokos, help ...'	completion of inscription '... Nikephoros and Staurakios, emperors of the Romans'	803-11 type C
Staurakios	47	Staurakios, bust	blank	811
Leo V & Constantine	48	Hodegetria, inscription as 46	completion of inscription '... Leo and Constantine, emperors of the Romans'	813-15 type A
	49	cross on steps, inscription as 34 bis	completion of inscription '... Leo and Constantine, faithful emperors of the Romans'	815-20 type B
Michael II	50	Michael, bust	blank	820-21
Michael II & Theophilos	51	cross on steps, inscription as 34 bis	completion of inscription '... Michael and Theophilos, faithful emperors of the Romans'	821-29
Theophilos	52	Theophilos, bust	blank	829-42 type A
Theophilos	53	cross on steps, inscription as 34 bis	completion of inscription '... Theophilos, through God faithful emperor of the Romans'	829-42 type B

<sup>34</sup> A lead disk with a bust of Eirene on both obverse and reverse, listed as seal no. 41 (type B) in Zacos and Veglery I.3, is, as they themselves note, almost certainly a *nomisma* proof rather than a seal.

emperor	no.	obverse	reverse	date
Michael III, Theodora & Thekla	54	cross on steps, inscription as 34 bis	completion of inscription '... Michael and Theodora and Thekla, through God emperors of the Romans'	842-43?
Michael III & Theodora	55	Michael III, bearded, bust	Theodora, bust	843?-56
Michael III	56	Christ, bust	Michael, bearded, bust	856-67

## Epigraphy

Epigraphy, like numismatics and sigillography – with which it is related methodologically in several respects – represents an important and independent branch of study in its own right (epigraphers certainly no longer consider themselves as practising an auxiliary or marginal science), which has over the last century and a half evolved its own specific techniques and methods of interpretation. In contrast with the preceding centuries, however, the fifth and sixth centuries show a marked decline in the production of inscriptions of all categories; and from about 600/650 there is an even more apparent diminution. Inscriptions thus provide only very limited material for the iconoclast period, not only because the absolute number of inscriptions dateable to this period is smaller, but also because the dateable inscriptions themselves tend to be far less informative or detailed – there are only a handful of detailed imperial edicts or administrative ordinances, for example, preserved in epigraphic form.<sup>1</sup> One of the effects of this has been that epigraphy has not developed a strong identity as an independent specialism within Byzantine studies as it has for Roman and classical studies. The reduction in the number of inscriptions made has been associated with the changing priorities of late Roman society, and, in particular, with the changing character and shift in cultural values of the social élites in the towns and cities of the provinces. These changes have been connected not only with developments in the ways in which the central government supervised provincial fiscal matters, and the transformation of the dominant elements in provincial society, but also with the christianization of the élite and their priorities. In the seventh century, furthermore, and with the longer term effects of invasions and social and economic dislocation in both the Balkans and Asia Minor, the dramatic reduction in the incidence of epigraphic material seems to run in parallel with the dramatic reduction in urban culture and the disappearance of traditional urban culture and its values. We may assume a direct causal relationship, although its exact nature needs further research.

Inscriptions occur in a variety of contexts, quite apart from those on coins and seals, noted already; on precious-metal plate and on much humbler items such as pilgrim flasks, amulets, and charms, or on items of personal and household furniture, and jewellery. They also occur in monumental contexts, commemorating the acts of emperors or generals or acclaiming an emperor's rule, on gravestones or boundary markers, and accompanying wall-paintings or mosaic work. Such inscriptions thus

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<sup>1</sup> See below for some examples.

tell us about the building work of the emperors or their officers – on fortifications, churches, and bridges, for example. Without this information we would have very little direct information about the involvement of the emperors in maintaining the walls of Constantinople or other towns, or in the construction or repair of fortresses and frontier defences, in Thrace or Asia Minor. Epigraphy also informs us about the beliefs of ordinary people: the various invocations for divine protection or assistance against evil spirits found on amulets, for example, are particularly important in this respect; while grave markers furnish evidence for the development of funerary beliefs as well as about the nature of the society which erected them.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions found outside the empire's political territory are also important: the so-called proto-Bulgarian inscriptions provide very important evidence both for the organization and history of the Bulgar khanate, but also about the role of Greek in Bulgar culture and about the evolution of the Bulgar language. Other isolated inscriptions in Greek from even further afield, such as a mid-eighth-century inscription from Kerch in the Crimea, provide similarly important information. In spite of the relative sparseness of the material, therefore, inscriptions remain an important source for all aspects of Byzantine life and culture in the period from the later seventh to the ninth century and afterwards, and cannot be ignored in constructing the overall picture derived from the sources at the historian's disposal.<sup>3</sup>

Note that many inscriptions which have not survived are included in the Palatine Anthology, compiled during the tenth century, the authors of which drew upon collections of classical epigrams, as well as on funerary inscriptions, or commemorative inscriptions (for example, the verses on the Chalke of the imperial palace recording the erection of crosses and other images by the emperors Eirene and Constantine, and Leo V: see under Theodore of Stoudios, below):

W.R. Paton, *The Greek anthology*, 5 vols (London–New York 1925–27) (Greek text, English trans.).

H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca*, 4 vols (2nd edn, Munich 1965) (Greek text, German trans.).

P. Waltz et al., *Anthologie grecque*, 13 vols (Paris 1928–80).

Because there has as yet been no corpus of Byzantine inscriptions collected on an empire-wide basis – although there are large numbers of studies devoted to establishing localized corpora for particular areas – establishing a broad overview of the subject is particularly difficult, since the material is unusually widely scattered.

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<sup>2</sup> Useful introductions to the subject can be found in *ODB* 1, 711–13; E. Popescu, 'Griechische Inschriften', in Brandes and Winkelmann, eds, *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz*, 81–105. On funerary inscriptions, see E.A. Ivison, 'Burial and urbanism at late antique and early Byzantine Corinth (c. A.D. 400–700)', in N. Christie and S.T. Loseby, eds, *Towns in transition. Urban evolution in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages* (Aldershot 1996) 99–125.

<sup>3</sup> See Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I: *die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*; II: *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen* (BBA 10, 11. Berlin, 3rd edn 1983), I, 303–8 ('Inscriptiones Bulgaricae'), and 311 ('Inscriptiones variae'), with editions and literature.

Inscriptions are published and analyzed in a wide variety of publications, including both monographs and journals. The bibliographical material which follows is intended to provide some very basic guidance and an *entrée* to the material.

### *Methodological Guidance*

- N. Avi-Yonah, 'Abbreviations in Greek inscriptions (200 B.C.–A.D. 1100)', *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 9 (suppl.) (Jerusalem–London 1940).  
 M. Guarducci, 'Epigrafa cristiana', in *Epigrafia greca* IV (Rome 1978) 301–556.  
 Karayannopoulos and Weiss, *Quellenkunde*, 162–5.  
 L. Robert, *Die Epigraphik der klassischen Welt*, trans. H. Engelmann (Bonn 1970).

### *On Chronology and Dating, and on Measurements*

- V. Grumel, *La chronologie* (Traité d'études byzantines I. Paris 1958).  
 A.E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman chronology, calendars and years in classical antiquity* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I, 7. Munich 1972).  
 E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII, 4. Munich 1970).

### *Bibliographical Works incorporating Epigraphic Collections and Lists of Publications of Inscriptions*

- J.S. Allen and I. Ševčenko, *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies* II, 1: *Epigraphy* (Washington DC 1981).  
 Hörandner, *Byzanz*, 164–5.  
 Karayannopoulos and Weiss, under the section heading 'Inchriftliche Quellen' for the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries (316–17, 334 and 364); see also the bibliographical sections at 165–72.  
 E. Popescu, 'Griechische Inschriften', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 81–105, especially 100–5.

### *Selected Major Reference Collections (excluding those concerning the period before the later seventh century)*

- C. Asdracha, 'Inscriptions byzantines de la Thrace orientale (VIIIe–XIe siècles)', *Archaiologikon Δελτίον* 44–6 (1989–91) 239–334.  
 A. Avramea and D. Feissel, 'Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance, IV: Inscriptions de Thessalie', *TM* 10 (1987) 357–98.  
 A.C. Bandy, *The Greek Christian inscriptions of Crete, I: IV–IX cents. A.D.* (Athens 1970).  
 N.A. Bees, ed., *Die griechisch-christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnes, I: Isthmos, Korinthos* (Athens 1941/1968).  
 V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften* (Berlin 1963).  
 V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (BBA 30, Berlin 1964).  
 F. Cumont, 'Les inscriptions grecques chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 15 (1895) 245–99.  
 E. Curtius and A. Kirchhoff, *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* IV, xl: *Inscriptiones christianae* (Berlin 1877), nos. 8606–9926, to be used in consultation with:  
 G. Dagron and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, 'Inscriptions de Cilicie et d'Isaurie', *Belleten* 42 (1978) 373–420.  
 D. Feissel and J.-M. Spieser, 'Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance, II. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique, supplément', *TM* 7 (1979) 303–48.

- D. Feissel and A. Philippidis-Braat, 'Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance, III. Inscriptions du Peloponnèse', *TM* 9 (1985) 267–395.
- H. Grégoire, 'Inscriptions historiques byzantines', *B* 4 (1927–28) 437–68.
- H. Grégoire, 'Notes épigraphiques', *B* 8 (1933) 49–88.
- H. Grégoire, 'Rapport sur un voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et en Cappadoce', *BCH* 33 (1909) 3–147.
- H. Grégoire, *Recueils des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1922), to be used in consultation with: E. Hanton, 'Lexique explicatif de recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure', *B* 4 (1927–28) 53–136.
- F. Halkin, 'Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes relatives à l'hagiographie', *Analecta Bollandiana* 67–70 (1949–52) (repr. in *Études d'épigraphie grecque et d'hagiographie byzantine* [London 1973] studies I–VI).
- C. Mango, 'The Byzantine inscriptions of Constantinople. A bibliographical survey', *American Journal of Archaeology* 55 (1951) 52–66.
- C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, 'Some recently acquired Byzantine inscriptions at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum', *DOP* 32 (1978) 1–28.
- K. Mentzou-Meimarê, 'Dated Byzantine inscriptions in the Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum IV, 2', *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής αρχαιολογικής εταιρείας* 4/9 (Athens 1977–79) 77–131.
- R. Merkelbach, F.K. Dörner and S. Šahin, *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon* (Bonn 1980). *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, eds W.M. Calder, J. Keil *et al.* (Manchester 1928–62).
- A.K. Orlandos and L. Vranoussis, *Τα χαράγματα του Παρθενώνος ητοι επιγραφαί χαραχθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῶν κιπνῶν κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοχριστιάνους καὶ βυζαντινοὺς χρόνους* (Athens 1973).
- E. Popescu, *Inscriptiile Grecești și Latine din Secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România* (Bucarest 1976).
- S. Šahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)*, I (Bonn 1979); II, 1 (Bonn 1981); II, 2 (Bonn 1982).
- J.-M. Spieser, 'Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance, I. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique', *TM* 5 (1973) 145–80.
- Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, ed. J.J.E. Hondius and A.G. Woodhead (Leiden 1927–).
- The catalogue of collections and publications in Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 166–9 provides a wealth of material up to 1980.

New inscriptions, or improved readings of the established text and date of those which have already been known for some time, are regularly published in the major Byzantine journals: see, in particular, *Travaux et Mémoires*; *Bulletin de correspondance Hellénique*; *Revue des Études Grecques* ('Bulletin épigraphique'), *Hellenika*.

Some well-known important Byzantine inscriptions from the period *ca* 680–840:

1. The edict attributed to Justinian II (see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 316; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 258): A.A. Vasiliev, 'An edict of the emperor Justinian II. September 688', *Speculum* 18 (1943) 1–13; H. Grégoire, 'Un édit de l'empereur Justinien II daté de septembre 688', *B* 17 (1945) 119–24; J.-M. Spieser, 'Inventaires' I, 156–9 (no. 9).
2. An inscription commemorating the reconstruction of a tower on the walls of Nicaea by the emperors Leo III and Constantine V in 727 after the unsuccessful siege by the Arabs: see A.-M. Schneider and W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik* (Berlin, 1938), 49 (no. 29).
3. I. Ševčenko, 'Inscription commemorating Sisinnios "Curator" of Tzurulon (A.D. 813)', *B* 35 (1965) 564–74 (see Asdracha, 'Inscriptions byzantines de la Thrace orientale', no. 64).



4. C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, 'Inscription concerning the repair of a bridge under Constantine V and his sons', *BZ* 65 (1972) 383–93 (see Asdracha, 'Inscriptions byzantines de la Thrace orientale', no. 50).
5. Inscriptions in Constantinople recording imperial work on the fortifications of the capital from *ca* 680–860: see Mango, 'Bibliographical survey', 53, 55–7, for some of several examples.

## Archaeology

The term 'archaeology' covers such a wide range of sub-specialisms that several important elements have already been addressed in the foregoing: archaeology can, in the broadest definition, include the study of minor artefacts and household objects, including items of clothing, tools, metalwork, and jewellery, to that of buildings and matters of architecture. The evidence of seals and inscriptions, as well as that of coins, can also count as 'archaeological', in the sense that these objects represent facets of everyday life in the Byzantine world which are not, or only occasionally, explicitly recognized, discussed or described in the literary sources. At the same time, archaeology also implies the excavation of particular sites or material remains, the establishment of a sequence of development within a specific site context and its relationship with other such sites, and the analysis of the material found in association with them through the application of a range of auxiliary sciences such as soil and pollen analysis, dendrochronology, and so forth. The word thus reflects a vast range of specialisms in addition to the skills of draughtsmanship and planning, stratigraphic recording and interpretation, conservation and cataloguing traditionally associated with it.

Archaeological evidence provides us with insights into a huge range of aspects of medieval life: dwellings, fortifications, diet, clothing, tools, and items of daily existence, as well as a certain amount of information about the production and distribution of luxury products. It can tell us about patterns of exchange and the movement of goods, about animal husbandry, technology, and related matters. It provides both a control on the interpretation of textual evidence and, more importantly, informs us about vast areas of medieval life about which the texts are entirely silent.<sup>1</sup> Archaeological investigation is, in consequence, essential to any balanced picture of the development of Byzantine society, since it has long been clear that the written sources can provide only partial information about political developments, and virtually none about matters such as the appearance and extent of houses, palaces, and fortresses, or the structure of village communities. Unfortunately, it is also the case that the archaeology of the Byzantine lands has, until very recently, lagged a long way behind that of the medieval west, although there have been some exceptions, where greater advances have been made than

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<sup>1</sup> See the survey of J.-P. Sodini, 'La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde Byzantin (IV-VII siècle)', *DOP* 47 (1993) 139-84, which illustrates all these facets of archaeological research.

elsewhere. The issue is not simply one of techniques and attitude, but also of finance and scientific resources.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of this general situation, however, a considerable expansion and refinement in our knowledge of Byzantine society in its physical context have now been achieved through archaeology. The design, construction, and development of fortifications,<sup>3</sup> of churches and related buildings (see above), the history of specific urban sites and their hinterlands are all aspects about which archaeology has been able to tell us a great deal, and at the same time act as a measure against which to judge the written sources.<sup>4</sup> A particularly obvious aspect in which this is true is the history of late antique and early Byzantine urbanism, where a very much more complex, both regionally and locally diversified, picture is emerging than is painted by the written sources. Indeed, were it not for the archaeological evidence, an entirely different view of the nature of urban life and its relationship to rural society would have prevailed, based upon literary *topoi* and late Roman legislative terminology which revealed little of the physical or actual social-economic evolution of towns and cities in the Byzantine period. Archaeological investigation can reveal the general physical disposition of an urban centre, for example, and give some idea of both appearance and land-use, population density, social organization, and economic status. Very few sites have been surveyed or excavated in detail in this respect, however; and although general site surveys, as well as surveys of surface finds, can provide valuable indications of the density of occupation of particular areas, the relationships between different zones of occupation, and the chronology of occupation, very little such work has yet been done.

This is especially important for the history of the later seventh and eighth centuries, since the historical sources make it clear that government policy in respect of the movement and transfer of populations, as well as in terms of re-fortifying or defending newly recovered districts, had a direct impact upon both patterns of settlement and the nature of the settlements themselves. While there remains a great deal of research to be done, while several important issues of methodology are still debated, and while the relationship between texts and archaeological work needs further elaboration, significant advances in understanding have been achieved.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> A useful survey of the types of material evidence derived through archaeological investigation is to be found in Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 37–45, together with comments on the associated methodological issues. For the archaeology of tombs and related materials, see also R. Chapman, I. Kinnes and K. Randsborg, eds, *The archaeology of death* (Cambridge 1981); and E.A. Ivison, 'Burial and urbanism at late antique and early Byzantine Corinth (c. A.D. 400–700)', in N. Christie and S.T. Loseby, eds, *Towns in transition: Urban evolution in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages* (Aldershot 1996) 99–125.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine fortifications: An introduction* (Pretoria 1986); and A.W. Lawrence, 'A skeletal history of Byzantine fortification', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 78 (1983) 171–227.

<sup>4</sup> For brief surveys of the more important material cultural elements for the period with which we are concerned, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 318, 335–6; 365–6; and Sodini, 'La contribution de l'archéologie'.

<sup>5</sup> See, in particular, A. Dunn, 'The transformation from *polis* to *kastron* in the Balkans (III–VII cc.): general and regional perspectives', *BMGS* 18 (1994) 60–80; *idem*,

Archaeology provides unique information in respect of secular and religious building, as well as about communications and transport. Standing remains – of bridges, for example – as well as the evidence of milestones and other epigraphic materials (see above) can speak volumes about the use or not of particular routes, as well as about who was responsible for maintaining or constructing them, although the evidence for the Byzantine period is, as we have seen, sparse compared with that for the Roman world. And in spite of the existence of several literary descriptions devoted to specific buildings – *ekphraseis* – archaeology and the material remains of such structures are the sole sources for what one might call the ‘reality’ of the site, including details such as the actual physical size and construction of most Byzantine buildings.

But archaeological evidence also has its limitations, and the sometimes unrealistic assumptions of historians in respect of what archaeology can do to complement or supplement the textual evidence need to be underscored. To begin with, excavations are generally fairly limited in scope, both in respect of the area excavated and of the resources available to survey the material which is produced. Usually, it is possible properly to excavate only a minute portion of a site in any detail, and according to modern scientific methods – which are, inevitably, rather slow. Results from excavation and survey are thus generally extremely selective, so that generalizing from them can produce misleading, and certainly methodologically problematic, results. Again, complex stratigraphy is easily glossed over in an attempt to establish some generalizable picture of a site’s development over time, and given the often limited areas involved may give rise to a rationalized but not necessarily sound interpretation. Where an effort also exists to relate excavation results to known historical events, further problems arise, since it is often tempting to tie in particular site phenomena – destruction levels, for example – which may contain no independently dateable evidence, to the events in question. This has been the case with Sardis and its supposed sack by the Persians in 616 (for which there is no textual evidence), and remains the case with Amorion, for example. Here, the relationship of certain excavated materials, or surveyed remains, to the siege and sack of the year 838 remains obscure, although conclusions – and the corresponding chronological framework – have been assumed, which may be entirely inaccurate, given the fact of earlier sieges and captures, in 665/66, 669, 708, and on further occasions during the eighth century.

Two particularly important issues are those of the significance of the presence or absence of numismatic and ceramic data on sites, on the one hand, and the question

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‘Stages in the transition from the late antique to the middle Byzantine urban centre in S. Macedonia and S. Thrace’, in *Αφιέρωμα στον Ν.Γ.Λ. Hammond* (Thessaloniki 1997) 137–50; *idem*, ‘From polis to kastron in southern Macedonia: Amphipolis, Khrysoupolis, and the Strymon delta’, in *Castrum 5. Archéologie des espaces agraires méditerranéens au Moyen Age* (1999) 399–413; and *idem*, ‘Heraclius’ “Reconstruction of cities” and their sixth-century Balkan antecedents’, in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae*, III (= *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku*, Supl. vol. 87–89. Vatican City–Split 1998) 795–806.

of dating techniques, using coins, pottery or other criteria, on the other. The absence of pottery or of coins does not necessarily signify that a site was uninhabited, for example: it is perfectly possible to suppose the existence of a community in which coins played no role at all at certain times, or only an extremely limited role, the more so in view of the fact that the issue and circulation of low-denomination coins was always patchy and dependent upon several variables, including both the availability of local markets and state fiscal policy in particular regions. In addition, while coins themselves can sometimes be dated exactly in terms of their year of issue – where the inscription is legible and the type identifiable – the contexts in which they are found are not always so clear. Coins are often used to fix a *terminus ante quem*, that is to say, the date by which the features must have been in existence (or by which a certain event had occurred). But this assumes that the stratum or context in question is not contaminated in some way – there are many examples where two entirely conflicting pieces of evidence have been found in the same context, one of which reached that context through movement of the earth, human or animal agency, or simple slippage.

The lack of supply of base metal issues during the second half of the seventh and much of the eighth century in Asia Minor (see above: ‘Coins and Numismatics’) has been associated with the transformation of urban centres and insecurity of the internal market. Does the almost complete absence of bronze coins from all excavated sites in Asia Minor and the Balkans after the early 660s, with the exception of Constantinople and its immediate environs and one or two other sites, reflect government policy<sup>6</sup> – a restructuring of tax collection, for example, suggesting that the government was concerned almost exclusively with the fiscal functions of the coinage, ignoring its involvement in market exchange? Very probably. Does it mean that the sites were simply not occupied? Other evidence makes this very unlikely.

The government seems, in fact, to have understood that a low-denomination medium of exchange was necessary to sustain urban markets, since it continued production of appropriate quantities of bronze – as far as the limited archaeological and documentary record can tell us – for Constantinople itself, and since the dramatic increase in the issue of bronze coins during the reigns of Michael II and Theophilos (829–42) seems to have reflected some awareness of this. But these structural elements in the patterns of production and circulation of coinage directly impact upon how we can interpret the presence of coins in archaeological contexts, and without some awareness of them, the use of coins from archaeological contexts as evidence to say anything about the economy of the empire is clearly fraught with difficulties.

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<sup>6</sup> See P. Grierson, ‘Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 498–c.1090’, in *Moneta e scambi nell’alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, VIII. Spoleto, 1960) 411–53, see 436, with table 2; *idem*, *DOC* II, 1, 6f.; summarized in Hendy, *Studies*, 496–9; 640f.

One of the most important areas within archaeology is the study of ceramics, including both vessels of various types and sizes, and tiles. Since it has unfortunately been the case that in many older excavations throughout the Byzantine lands the classical and Roman periods have been favoured at the expense of medieval strata and artefacts, information on the Byzantine ceramic record is still very fragmentary from several important sites which have otherwise received a good deal of archaeological attention. This has greatly hindered the efforts of those who have attempted to establish clear sequences in the evolution of the medieval ceramics of the area, and is reflected in the fact that the otherwise very useful survey of Byzantine sources of all categories by Karayannopoulos and Weiss makes virtually no mention whatsoever of pottery and includes no bibliography on the subject. The literature listed below is intended as a very brief introduction to some of these issues, and merely touches the surface of the available material. Reference to the excellent survey of Sodini, listed below, will make this abundantly clear. Only relatively recently – since the 1970s – have systematic attempts to establish proper typologies across a wide range of sites been undertaken, for both coarse and fine wares, and although this represents only the opening stages of a longer term process, archaeologists do now have the basic tools with which to begin to establish local, regional, and trans-regional typologies, and to begin to employ them to see how and over what periods different regions intersect and overlap, both in respect of the production as well as the movement of pots.

One of the most obvious features emerging from this still very limited picture is the high degree of localization of both exchange and manufacture of ceramics, reflecting in its turn a similar localization in the movement of most goods, which seems to be typical of the east Roman world from the middle of the seventh century – although with considerable regional variations. Excavations in the Crimea suggest that this pattern affected the whole east Roman area, but it is also clear that it was one which began to evolve long before the Islamic invasions, for example, or the barbarian disruption of imperial control in the Balkans from the middle of the sixth century on, reflecting in its turn longer term transformations in the movement and production of goods, and the relationship between urbanism, market demand, and production within the late Roman world.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See the contributions in G.R.D. King, ed., *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East, IV: Trade and exchange in late antiquity and early Islam* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1/IV. Princeton; in press); as well as those in G.R.D. King and Av. Cameron, eds, *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East, II: Land use and settlement patterns* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1/II. Princeton 1994) which provide useful overviews of many aspects of the use of archaeological data in the period from the sixth up to the later eighth centuries. For general background, see also the essays in R. Hodges and W. Bowden, eds, *The sixth century: production, distribution and demand* (Leiden–Boston–Cologne, 1998); and in I.L. Hansen and C.J. Wickham, *Production, distribution and demand. The long eighth century (c. 660s–830s)* (Leiden 2000). The much older but important and pioneering work of D. Talbot-Rice, *Byzantine glazed pottery* (Oxford 1930), and *idem*, 'Byzantine pottery, a survey of recent discoveries', *Cahiers archéologiques* 7 (1954) 69–78, although dealing only in passing with the iconoclast period, are still useful.

This situation with respect to pottery, and especially to the more readily dated fine wares, makes using ceramic evidence from medieval Byzantine sites, whether in the Balkans or Asia Minor or the islands, especially problematic. Without adequate typologies related chronologically to one another and to other dateable features of the period it has proved impossible so far to use the pottery evidence to establish a convincing chronology for individual sites, with the sole exception of Constantinople, and those sites mostly closely connected to it by sea or in the immediate area, where the lead-glazed white wares which begin to predominate in the seventh century have been found. This problem is particularly marked for the period from the early seventh to the tenth and eleventh centuries, and so spans the whole of the iconoclast era.

In the half century immediately preceding the iconoclast period the ceramic picture still displayed the vestiges of the late Roman pattern which had dominated during the sixth century. Until the late fifth and early sixth century North African imports were strongly represented throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean regions. Thereafter, there occurred a reduction in regional North African ceramic production, a reduction in the variety and sometimes the quality of forms and types, especially of amphorae, and a corresponding increase of eastern exports to the west. The incidence of African imports to the east Mediterranean, for example, as reflected in both fine wares (most particularly in African red slip ware) and amphorae, declines sharply from about 480–90 on, recovering only partly after the Byzantine reconquest of the area in the 530s and its partial incorporation into an east Mediterranean-centred network of exchange.<sup>8</sup> The incidence of Phocaeen slip-coated wares – the production of which appears to represent an industry intimately connected with the development of Constantinople as an imperial centre during the fourth century – increases in proportion as that of African wares decreases; while over the same period the importance of imported fine wares from the Middle East, especially Syria and Cilicia, increases. But while North African fine wares continue to appear in quantity at major urban sites throughout the sixth century, even if on a smaller scale than before, even experiencing a certain revival in the central and more westerly regions of the Mediterranean trading world, they no longer occur on many of the southern Aegean regional or provincial sites where they had previously been found. Phocaeen and a range of locally produced wares from Cyprus and, possibly, other western Asia Minor centres, dominate. By the last decades of the seventh century these late Roman forms of fine ware were still current, but produced in a range of local variations, indicating both the fragmentation of the patterns of trade and exchange which had dominated during the period up to the later fifth century and thereafter progressively dissolved, and the influence of these forms on the newly evolving traditions. For example the clearly late Roman forms of the fine wares excavated from the monastic complex at Ostrakine on the western coast of the Sinai

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<sup>8</sup> See, in particular, the survey articles of C. Panella, 'Gli scambi nel Mediterraneo occidentale dal IV al VII secolo dal punto di vista di alcune "merci"', *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin, I: IVe–VIIe siècle* (Paris 1989) 129–41; C. Abadie-Reynal, 'Céramique et commerce dans le bassin égéen du IVe au VIIe siècle', *ibid.*, 143–59.

peninsula, and dated to the period up to 680 (at about which time the site was destroyed) provide the typical forms of the fine wares of the Umayyad period.<sup>9</sup>

As far as coarse wares are concerned – transport vessels such as amphorae, and cooking vessels, in particular – North African wares continue to be found in quantity at major centres, although local Aegean forms begin to compete with the western imports during the sixth century and, finally, to dominate from the decades around 600. They are also themselves exported, being found on sites in Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor, precisely those areas from which exports were drawn to match the decline in North African imports at an increasing rate over the fifth and into the sixth century. A complex typology of all these wares, both fine and coarse, has now been evolved (although it is still in the process of refinement), which has established a fairly firm comparative chronology for the various types.<sup>10</sup>

North African amphorae continued to hold an important position in the archaeological record in the southern Aegean area until after the middle of the seventh century, although the northern Aegean region and much of Greece demonstrates the production of locally produced imitations of imports from further afield, except in some coastal centres. Local wares are found in abundance, so that although African imports are by no means negligible (and at certain sites, such as Argos, as well as at others in southern Greece in particular, are found in quantity), the former clearly dominate. The pattern of ceramic distribution reflects a variety of factors, including highly localized economic sub-systems. Amphorae from Palestine and North Syria are found in quantity in the Peloponnese and in Constantinople from the middle of the sixth century, for example, complemented by amphorae from western Asia Minor, presumably representing imports of olive oil and wine.

From the late sixth and early seventh century, and with the increasing localization of fine-ware production, new fine wares begin to predominate locally, in particular the lead-glazed white ware of Constantinople, which became the most important local fine ware until the thirteenth century.<sup>11</sup> The economic implications of these

<sup>9</sup> See J.W. Hayes, 'Pottery of the sixth and seventh centuries', in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae*, III, 541–50, at 542; *idem*, J.W. Hayes, 'Problèmes de la céramique des VIIe–IXe siècles à Salamine et à Chypre', in *Salamine de Chypre, histoire et archéologie: État des recherches* (Colloques internationaux du CNRS, no. 578. Paris 1980) 375–87, at 378–9 for Umayyad pots made in the Byzantine pattern.

<sup>10</sup> P. Reynolds, *Trade in the western Mediterranean A.D. 400–700: the ceramic evidence* (BAR Int. Ser. 604, Oxford, 1995) 34–5 and 118–21; D.P.S. Peacock and D.F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman economy* (London 1986); Abadie-Reynal, 'Céramique et commerce', 155–7; J.W. Hayes, *Late Roman pottery* (London, 1972) 418; J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul, 2: The Pottery* (Princeton 1992) 5–8.

<sup>11</sup> Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, 12–34; J.-M. Spieser, 'La céramique byzantine médiévale', in *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin, II: VIIIe–XVe siècle* (Paris, 1991) 249–60, see 250. For useful orientation: V. François, *Bibliographie analytique sur la céramique byzantine à glaçure. Un nouvel outil de travail* (Varia Anatolica 9. Paris 1997). See also G.D.R. Sanders, *Byzantine glazed pottery at Corinth to c. 1125* (PhD University of Birmingham 1995); and the collection in V. Déroche and J.-M. Spieser, eds, *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine (BCH, Suppl. XVIII. Paris 1989)*. For the glazed tiles produced at or near Constantinople, see R.B. Mason, M. Mundell and C. Mango, 'Glazed "tiles of



patterns is that there were therefore several overlapping networks of ceramic production and exchange: northern and southern Aegean networks, for example, the former less open to the longer distance movement of pottery, but with specific foci at sites which served as centres for local redistribution of wares, such as Constantinople and Argos, to which both fine and semi-fine wares from North Africa, on the one hand, and amphorae from Syria/Palestine, on the other, were directed. From the first half of the seventh century the northern region begins also to show the impact of the white glazed ware localized at Constantinople, which shares the field with later Phocaeian red slip wares; while the distribution of locally produced amphorae types in the central and southern Aegean region is evidence for an Aegean-based export network, presumably for olive oil and possibly for wine also. This type (known as Late Roman 3) and its later sub-types produced locally appear from the sixth into the eighth century, with a distribution extending to Chios, Crete, Cyprus, Constantinople, and the western Asia Minor coast; other related types, which disappear by the end of the seventh century, are found over a similar area and as far afield as the southern Black Sea coast and Carthage.<sup>12</sup>

Evidence for the disruption of local ceramic production during the sixth and seventh centuries comes from many sites in the southern Balkan region, and the appearance of hand-formed pots at certain Greek sites has suggested to some the arrival of Slav immigrants during the later sixth and seventh centuries and the cessation or radical reduction of the production of the previous late Roman types of pottery. But there are methodological objections to such a simple equation, and it has now been argued that both hand-formed and wheel-turned wares were produced at the same time and at the same sites, suggesting, in fact, that the indigenous population, isolated from major supplies from outside their localities, produced both, the former for cooking and basic domestic uses.<sup>13</sup> A similar phenomenon, unconnected with any Slav occupation or threat, and dated to the period *ca* 670–*ca* 705, is reported from the site of the episcopal complex at Kourion in Cyprus, where local coarse hand-made wares are found together with locally manufactured

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Nicomedia" in Bithynia, Constantinople, and elsewhere', in G. Dagron and C. Mango, eds, *Constantinople and its hinterland* (SPBS Publications 3. Aldershot 1995) 313–31; and D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, F. Mavrikiou and Chr. Bakirtzis, *Byzantine glazed pottery in the Benaki Museum* (Athens 1999), 17–18 for a slightly different interpretation.

<sup>12</sup> See Sodini, 'La contribution de l'archéologie', 175–6; C.L. Striker, 'Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul', *DOP* 29 (1975) 306–18, see 316. Note also the contributions in Papanikola-Bakirtzi *et al.* *Byzantine glazed pottery in the Benaki Museum* which includes some useful comments on the dating and centres of production of white glazed wares. Although dealing largely with later material, some useful methodological issues are discussed in H. Maguire, ed., *Materials analysis of Byzantine pottery* (Washington DC 1997). The developments described here are exemplified in the finds from the excavations at Kourion in Cyprus: see the interim report by A.H.S. Megaw, in *Reports of the department of Antiquities of Cyprus* (1979) 358–65.

<sup>13</sup> See T.E. Gregory and P.N. Kardoulias, 'Geographical and surface surveys in the Byzantine fortress at Isthmia, 1985–1986', *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 467–512; and, in contrast, H. Anagnostakes and N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, 'Η πρωτοβυζαντινή Μεσσήνη (5ος – 7ος αιώνας) και προβλήματα της χειροποίητης κεραμικής στην Πελοπόννησο', *Symmeikta* 11 (1997) 229–322, esp. 252–91.

wheel-turned vessels.<sup>14</sup> Inland, especially in Asia Minor, where production was highly localized throughout the late Roman period, the very limited evidence available to date suggests that the pattern of production remained more or less the same, although it may be assumed – there is no detailed survey of even a specific group of local wares yet available – that some dislocation of both centres of production and of ceramic types, whether coarse, fine or semi-fine wares, must have occurred in the conditions prevailing during the second half of the seventh century. Already during the course of the fifth century the penetration of Phocaean and other Aegean wares into inland Italy had become increasingly restricted; the same process can be observed in Asia Minor during the later sixth and seventh century.<sup>15</sup> Very little African red slip ware or Phocaean ware appears to have reached Amorion, for example, although routes across Anatolia from Constantinople were regularly travelled by both military and non-military personnel.<sup>16</sup>

At other inland centres, such as Ankara, as well as at less important sites on the coast such as Anemourion, where local wares can be clearly identified, highly regionalized production predominated after the middle of the seventh century, with very little evidence for any inter-regional movement; while in more distant regions which had been tied in with a wider late Roman network, such as Cherson in the Crimea, the ceramic evidence shows a very marked decline in non-locally produced wares after the middle of the seventh century (although Constantinopolitan wares have been identified).<sup>17</sup> Some evidence of the movement of fine wares from western Asia Minor into the Aegean continues to occur up to the later seventh century – on Chios, for example, where Phocaean red slip ware has been found in contexts after *ca* 650, or on Thera and Cyprus, where clay lamps or amphorae of a particular late Roman type are found up to about the middle of the seventh century, tailing off thereafter and replaced by local imitations of the earlier types.<sup>18</sup> The proportion of imports to Cyprus appears to diminish fairly rapidly after about 650; ceramic evidence from sites on Crete shows similarly a concentration of locally produced wares, with little evidence for imports, which were mostly of Aegean origin. At Sparta the predominant types from the later seventh to ninth centuries were locally produced wares, evidence for which was also found at the Saraçhane site,

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<sup>14</sup> Hayes, 'Problèmes de la céramique des VIIe–IXe siècles à Salamine et à Chypre', 378–83.

<sup>15</sup> Hayes, 'Pottery of the sixth and seventh centuries', 545–6 with literature.

<sup>16</sup> For a useful summary of these trends, see Hayes, 'Pottery of the sixth and seventh centuries'.

<sup>17</sup> See R.M. Harrison, 'Amorion 1991', *Anatolian Studies* 42 (1992) 207ff., at 216. For Anemourion, see the summary report in J. Russell, 'Anemurium: the changing face of a Roman city', *Archaeology* 33/5 (1980) 31–40; and, especially, C. Williams, 'A Byzantine well-deposit from Anemourium (Rough Cilicia)', *Anatolian Studies* 27 (1977) 175–90. The ceramic profile here is of the dominance of Phocaean and related wares, with an admixture of Palestinian wares, until the 650s, followed by a period of local production and the appearance of some glazed wares, although not from Constantinople. For Cherson: A.I. Romanchuk, 'Torgovlia Chersonnesa v VII–XII vv.', *Byzantinobulgarica* 7 (1981) 319–31.

<sup>18</sup> For example, J. Boardman, 'Pottery', in M. Balance *et al.*, *Excavation in Chios 1952–1955: Byzantine Emporio* (BSA Suppl. 20 Oxford 1989) 88–121, see 92f., 106.

suggesting some exchange of produce from the Peloponnese to the capital during this period.<sup>19</sup>

An important feature of both the fine and coarse wares produced in the Aegean and east Mediterranean regions from the first half of the seventh century on is the reduction and disappearance of decoration. A similar phenomenon has been noted for glassware and on clay lamps. While such decoration was usual during the fifth and first half of the sixth century, the majority of wares from the later sixth century are plain and undecorated, suggestive of a cultural shift in this respect; the only exception appears to be the use of texts from scripture, or dedicatory passages indicating the purpose and function of the object in question.<sup>20</sup> From the middle and later ninth century variants of the Constantinopolitan glazed white wares included stamped or moulded relief-decorated bowls, plates, and vases. These found their way as far afield as Corinth and other central Greek sites, Mesembria in Bulgaria, the Dobrudja region, and the Crimea, suggesting the importance of the capital from this time on as a centre of distribution of goods to the coastal regions of the Black and Aegean Seas, but reinforcing also the picture of a large number of highly localized centres of production and distribution of ceramics.<sup>21</sup> The extent to which these shifts in fashion in decoration are connected with the cultural and social history of the Byzantine world as known from other sources remains to be investigated.

This changing context for the production and distribution of ceramics is crucially important for understanding what was happening to the economy of the empire (quite apart from the art historical and technological aspects). Yet apart from a (still limited) profile of ceramic production around Constantinople, the various scraps of evidence from the numerous excavations across the Byzantine world are as yet insufficient to establish the sort of framework which has now been generated for the late Roman period. The conclusions drawn by excavators from many sites with regard to both the dating of the features revealed as well as to the outline history of

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<sup>19</sup> For examples, see A.H.S. Megaw, 'A Byzantine castle site at Saranda Kolones, Paphos', *Reports of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1970–71) 131; Hayes, 'Problèmes de la céramique des VIIe–IXe siècles à Salamine et à Chypre', 375–87; N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, 'La monastère byzantin à Pseira, Crète: la céramique', *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie* (Bonn 1991) 2, 1123–5.

<sup>20</sup> Typical undecorated material comes from the site at Emporio on Chios: see Boardman, 'Pottery', 89–115, with pls 21–5; also G.F. Bass, *Yassı Ada I* (College Station 1982) figs 8–9. On the inscribed pots, see Hayes, 'Pottery of the sixth and seventh centuries', 548.

<sup>21</sup> See *The great palace of the Byzantine emperors, being a first report on the excavations carried out in Istanbul on behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St Andrews 1935–1938)* (London 1947) 46; Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, 12, 19; Sanders, *Byzantine glazed pottery at Corinth*, 232–3, 259–60; R. Waagé, 'The Roman and Byzantine pottery', *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 279–328 at 321–2 (for Athens, Agora excavations); Ch. Bakirtzis and D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, 'De la céramique en glaçure byzantine à Thessalonique', *Byzantinobulgarica* 7 (1981) 421–36 at 422 (various Greek sites); A.L. Iakobson, *Keramika e keramicheskoe proizvodstvo srednevekovoi Tavriki* (Leningrad 1979) 83–93; I. Barnea, 'La céramique byzantine de Dobroudja, Xe–XIIe siècles', in Déroche and Spieser, eds, *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, 75, 139; J. Čimbuleva, 'Vases à glaçure en argile blanche de Nessèbre (IXe–XIIe s.)', in *Nessèbre II* (Sofia 1980) 202–53 at 214–28.

the sites in question must, in consequence, remain very provisional for the time being, however solidly they may appear to be based.

The distribution of archaeological work, and the access granted to archaeologists to carry out excavation or survey work, varies considerably across the former Byzantine lands, and this lies in part behind the very variable results that archaeology offers. But all these considerations mean that the archaeological evidence relevant to the eighth and ninth centuries continues to grow, and yet remains very difficult to apply in interpreting historical developments. Apart from a very few locations where the standing or other surveyed remains can be related specifically to references in texts, there are no 'eighth- or ninth-century sites' as such – although there are large numbers of sites where the stratigraphy extends from the late Roman through to the later medieval periods. Where such sites have been surveyed or where excavations have taken place, the possibility of locating evidence for this period is usually limited. As noted already, it is also hindered by the relative ignorance still prevailing in respect of the ceramic record, although the record is being improved all the time – excavations in Greece, as well as in Crete and Cyprus, already make it possible to say a little about the local situation during this period, and excavations elsewhere are increasing the data available.<sup>22</sup> But the current situation still makes the task of the historian who wants to integrate archaeological evidence and textual evidence especially difficult. Nonetheless, excavation results must be taken on their merits, and both the conclusions drawn by the excavators as well as the individual elements of the excavation – ceramic, numismatic and other aspects – must be taken into account in order to evaluate their possible significance for the general pattern.<sup>23</sup> The literature which follows is intended as a guide to the methodological problems alluded to above, and to the coverage and the types of archaeological work currently being pursued.

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<sup>22</sup> For some of the very many examples, see, for example: Gregory and Kardoulias, 'Geographical and surface surveys in the Byzantine fortress at Isthmia', 467–512; A.H.S. Megaw, 'Excavations on a castle site at Paphos', *DOP* 26 (1972) 323–43; G. Waywell and J. Wilkes, 'Excavations at the ancient theatre of Sparta, 1992–4: preliminary report', *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 90 (1995) 435–61. For Asia Minor: F.H. Van Doorninck, 'Reused amphorae at Yassi Ada and Serçe Limani', *BCH*, Suppl. XVIII (Paris 1989); N. Atik, *Die Keramik aus dem Südthermen von Perge (= Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 40, Tübingen, 1995)*; C. Wagner, 'Pottery', in C.S. Lightfoot, 'Amorium excavations 1994: the seventh preliminary report', *Anatolian Studies* 45 (1995) 105–38 at 122. A useful bibliography and survey of the archaeological work carried out on Byzantine urban sites in Anatolia can be found in W. Brandes, *Die Städte Kleinasiens im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (BBA 56. Berlin 1990) 81–132. Although concerned chiefly with the seventh century, much of the material is also relevant to the eighth- and ninth-century history of Asia Minor.

<sup>23</sup> See the contributions in R.E. Jones and H.W. Catling, eds, *New aspects of archaeological science in Greece* (BSA, Athens 1988).

### General Bibliography and Surveys

- N. Christie, 'The archaeology of Byzantine Italy: a synthesis of current research', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 2 (1989) 249–93.
- F. Deichmann, *Einführung in die christliche Archäologie* (Darmstadt 1983) 1–45.
- R.E. Jones and H.W. Catling, eds, *New aspects of archaeological science in Greece* (BSA, Athens 1988).
- Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 46–64 (46–52: typology of material remains; 52–8: regional survey; 58–64: site survey).
- A. Snodgrass, *An archaeology of Greece, the present state and future scope of a discipline* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1987).
- J.-P. Sodini, 'La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde Byzantin (IV–VII siècle)', *DOP* 47 (1993) 139–84 (an excellent survey article covering the whole range of archaeological investigation, with good bibliography up to 1992).

### Methodological Issues

- A. Bazzana and G. Noyé, 'Du "Bon usage" de l'archéologie extensive: une réponse en forme de bilan', *Castrum* 2 (1988) 543–62.
- J. Cherry *et al.*, *Landscape archaeology as long-term history, Northern Keos from the earliest settlement until modern times* (Los Angeles 1991).
- A. Dunn, 'The transformation from *polis* to *kastron* in the Balkans (III–VII cc.): general and regional perspectives', *BMGs* 18 (1994) 60–80.
- A. Dunn, 'From *polis* to *kastron* in southern Macedonia: Amphipolis, Khrysoupolis, and the Strymon delta', in *Castrum 5. Archéologie des espaces agraires méditerranéens au Moyen Age* (1999) 399–413 (with a good survey of the relevant Balkan archaeological material and recent secondary literature).
- P.A. Février, 'Une archéologie chrétienne pour 1986', *Actes du XIe Congrès international d'Archéologie chrétienne* (1986) (Rome 1989) I, lxxxv–xcix.
- T. Gregory, 'Intensive archaeological survey and its place in Byzantine studies', *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines* 13 (1986) 155–75.
- J. Rosser, 'A research strategy for Byzantine archaeology', *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 6/7 (1979) 152–66.
- D. Rupp, 'Problems in Byzantine field reconnaissance: a non-specialist's view', *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 13 (1986) 177–88.
- J. Russell, 'Transformations in early Byzantine urban life: the contribution and limitations of archaeological evidence', in: *Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers* (New York 1986) 137–54.
- J. Russell, 'Byzantine *instrumenta domestica* from Anemurium: the significance of context', in R. Hohlfelder, ed., *City, town and countryside in the early Byzantine era* (New York 1982) 133–6.3

### Some Important Publications on Pottery

- N. Atik, *Die Keramik aus dem Südthermen von Perge* (= *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Beiheft 40. Tübingen 1995).
- V. François, *Bibliographie analytique sur la céramique byzantine à glaçure. Un nouvel outil de travail* (Varia Anatolica 9. Paris 1997).
- W. Hautumm, *Studien zu Amphoren der spätrömischen und frühbyzantinischen Zeit* (Bonn 1981).
- J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul, 2: The Pottery* (Princeton 1992).
- J.W. Hayes, *Late Roman pottery* (London, 1972).
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- Salamine de Chypre, histoire et archéologie: État des recherches* (Colloques internationaux du CNRS, no. 578. Paris 1980) 375–87.
- A.H.S. Megaw and R.E. Jones, 'Byzantine and allied pottery: a contribution by chemical analysis to problems of origin and distribution', *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 78 (1983) 235–63.
- P. Reynolds, *Trade in the western Mediterranean A.D. 400–700: the ceramic evidence* (BAR int. ser. 604, Oxford 1995).
- F. Sogliani, 'Le testimonianze ceramiche tardoantiche e medievali a Bosra (Siria). Per un primo contributo alla conoscenza delle tipologie', in *Ravenna, Costantinopoli, Vicino Oriente* (XLI Corso di cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina. Ravenna 1994) 433–62.
- J.-M. Spieser, 'La céramique byzantine médiévale', in *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin, II: VIIIe–XVe siècle* (Paris, 1991) 249–60.

# Historical Geography

An important aspect of the study of the Byzantine world which must be taken into account at any period is its historical geography, both in respect of settlement patterns and the relationship of urban to rural habitation and land-use, climate, geography, demography, transport and communications. The movement of goods and people, for example, whether in small or large numbers, is always an issue of importance, and in a pre-modern technological context the issue of the nature of communications and transport is vital to an understanding of the political and the economic life of the society. But this brings with it a need to examine the physical context in all its many aspects, if only to be aware of the ways in which the social, economic, political, and also the cultural history and evolution of society are structured by these factors. Changes in climate, land-use, and in sea levels, all have crucially important effects on the ways in which society functions at the local level of the village community and its economy, and these must at the least be taken into account in any consideration of the history of a particular period.

To a certain extent, these issues overlap with those of the archaeologist, so that the division made here between the two is a little artificial. This is not the place to present a detailed discussion of the issues, nor indeed to analyse the different problems which confront historians in their efforts to understand them. On the other hand, the nature of the source material is so diffuse and diverse that some general guidance has been thought useful, and in the brief bibliography that follows we enumerate some key texts which will be of assistance in approaching the various subjects concealed under this broad rubric.

## *General Guidance and Further Literature*

- H. Ditten, 'Historische Geographie und Ortsnamenkunde', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 348–62.
- H. Ditten, 'Zu den Aufgaben, Desiderata und bisher erbrachten Leistungen der historischen Geographie der frühbyzantinischen Welt (bis 900 u. Z.)', *Klio* 68 (1986) 552–74.
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- Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 24–6.
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- M. Whittow, 'The strategic geography of the Near East', in *idem*, *The making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025* (London 1996) 15–37.

*Geography, Climate, Communications (including maps)*

- H. Ahrweiler, *Geographica Byzantina* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 3. Paris 1981).
- K. Belke, 'Von der Pflasterstrasse zum Maultierpfad? Zum kleinasiatischen Wegenetz in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit', in N. Oikonomides, ed., *Byzantine Asia Minor (6th–12th cents.)* (Athens 1998) 267–84.
- K. Belke, F. Hild, J. Koder and P. Soustal, *Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die TIB 2. Denkschriften der österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 283. Vienna 2000).
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- E. Guidoboni (with A. Comastri and G. Traina), *Catalogue of ancient earthquakes in the Mediterranean area up to the tenth century*, trans. B. Phillips (Rome 1994).
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- F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die TIB 2. Denkschriften der österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 131. Vienna 1977).
- E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071* (Brussels 1935).
- C.J. Jirecek, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe. Eine historisch-geographische Studie* (Prague 1877).
- B. Koutaba-Delêboria, Ο γεωγραφικός κόσμος Κωνσταντίνου του Πορφυρογεννήτου, Α: Τα γεωγραφικά γενικά στοιχεία φυσικής γεωγραφίας, βιογεωγραφίας και ανθρωπογεωγραφίας (Athens 1991) (with a useful general bibliography, including older literature, at 18–52);  
 Β: Η εικόνα: Οι άνθρωποι, οι τόποι και η χαρτογραφική αποτύπωσή τους (Athens 1993).
- E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris 1993).
- A. Philippson, *Des byzantinische Reich als geographische Erscheinung* (Leiden 1939).
- W.M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor* (Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers IV. London 1890/Amsterdam 1962).

*Useful Cartographic Resources*

1. *British Admiralty, Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division:*

- Greece, I: Physical Geography, History, Administration and Peoples*, Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series, B.R. 516 (London 1944).
- Greece, II: Economic geography, ports and communications*, Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series, B.R. 516A (London 1944).
- Greece, III: Regional Geography*, Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series, B.R. 516B (London 1945).
- Turkey, I*, Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series, B.R. 507 (London 1942).
- Turkey, II*, Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series, B.R. 507A (London 1943).
- Other volumes in the series, for Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are now accessible (produced both during the period 1914–19 and 1940–45).



## 2. *Tabula imperii Byzantini*:

- J. Koder and F. Hild, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 1: Hellas und Thessalia* (Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 125. Vienna 1976).;
- F. Hild and M. Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 2: Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos)* (Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 149. Vienna 1981).
- P. Soustal, with J. Koder, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 3: Nikopolis und Kephallenia* (Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 150. Vienna 1981).
- K. Belke, with M. Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4: Galatien und Lykaonien* (Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 172. Vienna 1984).
- F. Hild and H. Hellenkamper, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 5, 1/2: Kilikien und Isaurien* (Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 215. Vienna 1990).
- P. Soustal, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 6: Thrakien (Thrakê, Rodopê und Haimimontos)* (Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 221. Vienna 1991).
- K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7: Phrygien und Pisidien* (Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 211. Vienna 1990).
- K. Belke, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 9: Paphlagonien und Honorias* (Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 249. Vienna 1996).
- Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8: Lykien und Pamphylien*; 11: *Makedonien*; and 12: *Marmarameer-Region (Bithynia, Hellespontos, Europê)* to appear.

For the lands to the South and East of the Byzantine world, see also:

*Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (Wiesbaden).



## PART II

# THE WRITTEN SOURCES



# Historiography and Chronography

## Introduction

Byzantine histories and chronicles constitute one of the richest and most informative types of written source material for the period, partly because of the relative sparseness of evidence such as archival documents (until the later tenth and eleventh centuries), and (in great contrast to the Roman period before the sixth century) epigraphy. For the same reason, history writing is also one of the most problematic types of source at the historian's disposal, since corroborative material is difficult to find, while the ideological programme inherent in the choice of material, mode of reportage, and narrative structure, whether unconscious or deliberate, creates difficulties of interpretation which are especially problematic. Authorial intention, assumptions and agendas, as well as the formal framework within which the historian or chronicler worked – consciously or not – played an equally crucial role in determining how the material employed by the writer interplayed with the broader cultural context as well as the psychological frame of reference in which the writing took place.<sup>1</sup>

To begin with, the distinction between 'history' and 'chronicle', or more exactly between 'annals' and 'chronicles', which remains an important aspect of the late Roman heritage in the medieval West, is of little value except in the crudest terms. Byzantine annalists followed the Thucydidean model for the most part, with a 'weak' year-by-year framework tempered by thematic narratives in which particular issues are pursued, sometimes at the expense of any regular form in the yearly structure; chroniclers and 'chronographers', who organized their material on a model more obviously based around short yearly entries, were by the same token drawn to thematic narrative. There remains a distinction between those writers who adhere to a strict year-by-year account, and those who construct a more biographical narrative, taking the reigns of individual emperors as their basic structure, although invariably pursuing also a chronological framework within each reign.<sup>2</sup> Yet while it

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<sup>1</sup> See R. Macrides, 'The historian in the history', in C.N. Constantinides, N.M. Panagiotakis, E.E. Jeffreys and A.D. Angelou, *ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ. Studies in honour of Robert Browning* (Venice 1996) 206–24; Ya.N. Lyubarskii, 'Quellenforschung and/or literary criticism: narrative structures in Byzantine historical writings', *Symbolae Osloenses* 73 (1998) 5–22. The issue is further problematised in A. Kaldellis, *The argument of the Chronographia of Psellos* (Leiden 1999).

<sup>2</sup> See, in particular, W. Adler, *Time immemorial: Archaic history and its sources in Christian chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Washington DC 1989);

is possible to divide Byzantine historiography into these two categories, there are often as many similarities between examples of each as there are differences, a point emphasized by the fact that the term for both was 'chronography': although the word 'history' was also used, it is less prominent during the seventh-ninth centuries. Furthermore, much of the chronicle literature of the period draws on hagiographical materials, and on occasion approaches hagiography in content and structure, while many hagiographies present themselves in the form of narrative 'histories' of the lives of their protagonists. This being the case, we have classed all the relevant historiographical texts under the same double rubric.<sup>3</sup>

The historiography of the period *ca* 680–843, however, is made more than usually complicated by the very sharp ideological conflict which the iconoclasm of the eighth and early ninth century generated: all the accounts of the iconoclast period itself which have survived were written by iconophiles, with the result that information about the deeds of the iconoclast emperors Leo III and Constantine V, in particular, along with those leading members of the clergy who supported (or failed to oppose) their policies, must be treated with the greatest caution. Careful textual analysis of these sources – both the *Chronographia* written by the monk Theophanes, and the *Brief History* of Nikephoros written some twenty or thirty years earlier – has shown both the variety of sources they drew upon, as well as the ways in which they each interpreted the same source slightly – or not so slightly – differently, reflecting their own personal political and religious attitudes.<sup>4</sup> It has also shown fairly clearly that some of the sources they employed for the eighth century were probably more favourable to imperial iconoclasm than they could permit themselves to say, so that these 'iconoclast' elements were rewritten and restyled, not always very successfully, with a more negative and hostile attitude to iconoclasts, their deeds, and their beliefs. While the sources used by different historians and chroniclers are rarely named, it is also clear that the nearer they were in their account to their own time, the more they relied upon both their own memories of events, as well as orally transmitted information from, for example, eyewitnesses, or those who remembered talking with eyewitnesses. This makes any assessment of their narrative more problematic still, since the value of eyewitness accounts and,

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the brief survey in Kazhdan, *Literature*, 19–35, and for a characterization of the literature for the period from the late seventh to the middle of the eighth centuries, *ibid.*, 137–65; and that of I. Rochow, 'Chronographie', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 190–201; together with the general survey in Hunger, *Literatur*, 1, 331ff., and the descriptive treatment in Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 65–70; *ODB* 1, 443–4; 2, 937–8. The general discussion in Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica I: die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvolker* (BBA 10. Berlin 1958) 165–200 remains useful. In less detail, Hörandner, *Byzanz*, 186–228.

<sup>3</sup> See, especially, Kazhdan, 'The monastic revival of literature (ca. 775–850)', in *idem*, ed., *Literature*, 381–407; and see, especially, the discussion in Macrides, 'The historian in the history', 214ff.

<sup>4</sup> As in the differing accounts in Theophanes and Nikephoros, based on the same sources, of the internal political events in the Bulgar Khanate in the 760s, for example. See the discussion in V. Beševliev, 'Die Berichte des Theophanes und Nikephoros über die Thronwirren in Bulgarien, 763–765', *JÖB* 20 (1971) 67–82, with literature.

especially, the effects of the passage of time on a particular story as retailed by different witnesses are notorious.

The ninth century witnessed a major transformation in the cultural horizons of educated Byzantines, initially stimulated by the desire to rediscover their own immediate history following upon the defeat of iconoclasm, and in the context of a growing economic recovery and increased political stability (ironically in part at least a result of the efforts of the iconoclast emperors themselves). As the ninth century progressed, events such as the conversion of the Bulgars in the 860s and afterwards, and in particular the increasingly sharp differences between the interests and claims of the two patriarchal sees at Rome and Constantinople, brought wider issues to the attention of the literate and political elite. These issues in turn recur in the historical work of the tenth-century chroniclers and signal a conscious effort to rediscover and to reclaim the heritage of the classical world. Such developments affected not just history writing: hagiography, too, was dramatically affected by iconoclasm and by the broadening perspective of the ninth and tenth centuries, both in terms of style and content. Most graphically, the revival of Roman law and the attempt to reclaim and then reassert Eastern Roman cultural and political pre-eminence in the time of Basil I and, more particularly, his son and successor Leo VI, illustrates the sea-change in East Roman cultural politics at this time.<sup>5</sup>

Much of the history of the ninth century was written in the tenth century, and these developments in the cultural and political direction which Byzantine society took naturally had important consequences. The sources upon which the Chronicle of the Logothete were based, for example, were shared to a large extent by the parallel chronicles and histories of the mid-tenth century, with some (important) exceptions; yet they are virtually all lost, so that it is difficult to say to what extent the ideological programme of whoever commissioned a particular work affected its structure, selection of material, and so forth, or to control it by comparing it with other similar works – although in so far as this has been done, very important results have been obtained.

Using the historical works of the period, in consequence, brings with it a number of difficulties, of which the historian must be aware. And these problems are not simply of the order described so far: technical problems, for example, with chronology – dates for events, calculations of eras, and lengths of reigns – are common. Repetition and reuse of material, especially well-known stories, is also not unusual, with the result that the reader should never take the account of the text for granted, but rather seek to establish the context of the information given, if there are any parallel traditions or sources of information, whether they are historiographical in nature or not. The following brief notes are intended to facilitate that process.

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<sup>5</sup> On various aspects of this question, see the useful collection of articles in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*; also Kazhdan, *Literature*, 205–34; and I. Ševčenko, 'The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 800', *DOP* 46 (1992) 284–7.

## Byzantine Texts

### *The Chronographia of Theophanes Confessor*

The most important sources for the eighth century are the *Chronography* of the monk Theophanes, and the *Brief History* of the patriarch Nikephoros. While independent of one another, they rely in many cases on common sources, so that differences between them become especially important in respect of the other traditions and chronicles or sources which they used. Both were eyewitnesses to many of the events they recorded for the last years of the eighth century. On the whole, it is generally agreed that Nikephoros presents a less heavily biased account of many of the events and developments portrayed, in other words, less determined in its presentation by iconophile propaganda where the iconoclast emperors and their deeds are concerned, but one which is often more concise or even superficial when compared with that of Theophanes.

The *Chronography* was written between about 810 and 814, covers the period from the time of Diocletian to the reigns of Michael I and his son Theophylact, and represents an extension of the *Chronicle* (entitled *Eklogê chronographias*) prepared by George the *sygkellos* (*syncellus*), which covered the period from the Creation to Diocletian, written at some point in the last fifteen years of the eighth century, using material collected and partly arranged by George before he died. George's work is an often repetitious compilation of ancient sources, intended to narrate and illustrate the history of humanity according to a formal chronological framework.<sup>6</sup> Theophanes's chronicle was written in Constantinople but based on materials largely collected by George, many of them brought from Palestine, where George may have spent some time; and it is generally thought that the organization and structure of the *Chronographia* owes much to George's original text.<sup>7</sup> It is organized on an annalistic basis, with a series of dates at the head of each section. Although substantially

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<sup>6</sup> *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*, ed. A.A. Mosshammer (Leipzig 1984). The only manuscript containing the whole *Chronography* is dated to 1021. The work was drawn on by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in the *Historia tripartita*. See Adler, *Time immemorial*, 132–234; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 205ff.; Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 331–2; and Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 338–9. Older literature also in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 531–7.

<sup>7</sup> See C. Mango, 'Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?', *ZRVI* 18 (1978) 9–17 (arguing for the authorship of George, with Theophanes simply as copyist), and I. Chichurov, 'Feofan Ispovednik – Publikator, Redaktor, Avtor?', *VV* 42 (1981) 78–87 (arguing that Theophanes was the composer, but made extensive use of materials obtained from George). This latter seems generally accepted now. See the survey of arguments and assessment of all previous literature in I. Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes* (BBA 57. Berlin 1991) 40–1. For George, and his stay in Palestine, see R. Laqueur, 'Georgios Synkellos', in *RE* IV/2 (1932) 1388–410. Although V. Grecu (see *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie Roumaine* 28/2 [1947] 241–5) challenged the idea that George actually visited Palestine (arguing instead that his account was based on the writings of earlier authors), the generally-accepted view is that he did indeed spend some time there. The most recent discussion: Mango–Scott, xlili–xcix, with the discussion of this translation in the review of W. Brandes, *BZ* 91 (1998) 549–61; and Ya.N. Lyubarskii, 'Concerning the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor', *BS* 56 (1995) 317–22.



accurate, it has been demonstrated that there are discrepancies for several blocks of entries, so that care must be taken in reading off Theophanes's attribution of year to event. Theophanes's sources were varied, and only some of them can be firmly identified. He – or George the *sygkellos* – relied on certain important Syriac sources, for example, which have survived only in much later versions, as well as Greek sources from Constantinople, and possibly pro-papal sources originally in Latin.<sup>8</sup> In addition, Theophanes incorporated material which he edited or altered to suit his own ideological concerns (especially in respect of the iconoclast emperors), as well as material the original propaganda or ideological slant of which he did not fully comprehend. Thus, as Speck has argued, elements of an account favourable to the usurper Artabasdos influenced both his treatment of the emperor Constantine V and the empress Eirene. Apparently, among the materials at his disposal were in addition elements of a (hypothesized) *Life* of the patriarch Germanos, as well as a number of documents describing the origins of the emperors Leo III and Constantine V, polemical attacks on the latter based in turn on accounts originally favourable to the Isaurian emperors, and documents drawn from the acts of the

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<sup>8</sup> On the chronology, see G. Ostrogorsky, 'Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert', *BNJ* 7 (1930) 1–56; also Rochow, 'Chronographie', especially timechart at 198–9; the important corrective tables to these in Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes*, 53–4 and 325–327 and 328–37; also *eadem*, 'Zu einigen chronologischen Irrtümern in der "Chronographie" des Theophanes', in: *Griechenland – Byzanz – Europa* (BBA 52. Berlin 1984) 43–9; and the discussion in Mango–Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, lxiii–lxxiv. For general background and literature, see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 334–59; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 338–9. The most recent account of Theophanes' *Chronography* is Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes*: see, especially, 44–51 on his use of sources, and 52–4 on the chronology; for parallel sources see 54–74; and see also A.S. Proudfoot, 'The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty', *B* 44 (1974) 367–439; for the seventh century, P. Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier. Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und seine Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros* (Poikila Byzantina 9. Berlin–Bonn 1988). Although concentrating on the reigns of Heraclius and his immediate successors, Speck's analysis has important implications for the eighth-century material used by George and Theophanes; see also *idem*, *Ich bin's nicht*. On the oriental sources on which Theophanes partly relied, see, in particular, L.I. Conrad, 'Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition: some indications of intercultural transmission', *BF* 15 (1990) 1–44, who notes in particular that the assumption of a clear division between 'western' (i.e. predominantly Greek) and 'eastern' (i.e. predominantly Arabic and Syriac) source traditions is not as straightforwardly acceptable as has often been thought, in particular because Christians of the Syrian and Palestinian as well as Mesopotamian regions were by the middle of the eighth century quite familiar with Arabic as a literary form, through the use of which the Syriac Christian and Muslim traditions often came together in either a Greek or a Syriac form. The *Chronicle* of Theophilus of Edessa, preserved in fragmentary form in the later chronicle of Dionysios of Tell-Mahré and in a series of later historical compilations, including that of Michael the Syrian, plays a particularly significant role in this respect as an important source, containing information derived from the Arabic Islamic tradition, eventually translated into Greek by Syrian or Palestinian monastic sources, for Theophanes. See, in addition, 'Die gemeinsame Vorlage der syrischen Quellen mit Theophanes für die Zeit zwischen 641 und 751', in: R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch and I. Rochow *et al.*, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867). Prolegomena* (Berlin–New York 1998) 226–34.

council of 787.<sup>9</sup> Theophanes tended to shorten or paraphrase some of his sources, so that he often produces sentences which are very confusing and difficult to understand. Disagreements between those who have dealt with aspects of the *Chronography* often depend upon how a particular piece of problematic text is to be understood – should one postulate a lacuna, for example, or merely an incompetent reformulation on the part of the chronographer?<sup>10</sup> To what extent, and in which cases, did Theophanes/George the *sygkellos* merely copy out their source, and to what extent did they alter the tendency or content to suit the ideological needs of their own authorial context? In short, the *Chronography* is an essential, but extremely tendentious and very complex source, which has to be used with the greatest caution. Further, it has recently been suggested that the manuscript tradition and the interdependencies between the *Chronography* of Theophanes and the *Chronicle* of George the *sygkellos*, as well as the relationship between the work ascribed to Theophanes and the translation of the *Chronography* into Latin by Anastasius *bibliothecarius*, is further complicated by the existence of a ‘second Theophanes’, a relative of the imperial family of Basil I and his successor Leo VI, who was intimately involved with the traditions incorporated into the various works that make up Theophanes *continuatus*, on which see further below.<sup>11</sup> The number of recent publications which deal with the *Chronographia* is adequate testimony to the complexity of the issues surrounding its composition and value.<sup>12</sup>

#### *Editions and translations*

*Chronography*:                    *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols (Leipzig 1883, 1885) (vol. 2: Latin text of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, made ca 871–74 in Rome).<sup>13</sup>

*The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, trans. C. Mango, R. Scott (Oxford 1997).

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<sup>9</sup> Documents or fragments hypothesized by Speck, *Konstantin VI.*, 389–97; and the review by F. Winkelmann, in *Klio* 62 (1980) 625–31, especially 626ff.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Speck, *Konstantin VI.*, 799, n. 326, who argues for a gap in the text, and Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes*, 270, who suggests merely an inadequate attempt at abbreviating a longer original.

<sup>11</sup> P. Speck, ‘Der “zweite” Theophanes. Eine These zur Chronographie des Theophanes’, in *Varia V* (Poikila Byzantina 13, Bonn 1994) 433–83.

<sup>12</sup> See, in particular, Speck, *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren* (Poikila Byzantina 2, Bonn 1982) 25–41, 234ff., for example, for a hypothetical lost report on the war between Constantine and Artabasdos, favourable to the latter, and a later *Vita* of Germanos, compiled in its turn towards the end of the eighth century from a series of notices and protocols. See also *idem*, ‘Das letzte Jahr des Artabasdos’, *JÖB* 45 (1995) 37–52. Although Speck has been criticized for his readiness to hypothesize, his literary-philological analyses of the relevant sections present a more reasonable answer to the problems posed by the texts in question than many other suggestions; but for some sensible alternatives, see also R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz unter Eirene und Konstantin VI. (780–802). Mit einem Kapitel über Leon IV. (775–780) von I. Rochow* (Berliner byzantinistische Studien 2, Frankfurt a. Main 1996) esp. 378–422.

<sup>13</sup> On which, see Mango–Scott, xciv–xcvii.

*The Chronicle of Theophanes. An English translation of Anno Mundi 6095–6305 (A.D. 602–813)*, introd., trans., and notes by H. Turtledove (Philadelphia 1982).

*Bilderstreit und Arabersturm in Byzanz. Das achte Jahrhundert (717–813) aus der Weltchronik des Theophanes*, introd., trans., and notes by L. Breyer (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 6. 2nd edn, Wien–Graz–Köln 1964).

### *The Brief History of the Patriarch Nikephoros*

The patriarch Nikephoros, who occupied the patriarchal throne at Constantinople from 806 until 815, compiled a short historical survey of the years from 602 to 769. It appears to have been written while he was active as an imperial secretary, perhaps *ca* 780, during which period he was present also at the sittings of the seventh ecumenical council at Nicaea in 787, although an early ninth-century date for its compilation has also been argued.<sup>14</sup> Much of the account of the reign of the seventh-century emperor Constans II is missing, and the work is much less detailed and relies on a far smaller range of source materials than that of Theophanes, although many of them are common to both writers.<sup>15</sup> One of the sources common to both Nikephoros and Theophanes has been supposed to be the so-called ‘*megas chronographos*’, ascribed to the eighth century, perhaps under Constantine V or Leo IV.<sup>16</sup> In fact, the case for a ‘*megas chronographos*’ who predates Theophanes has been substantially weakened in recent discussion, partly because a dependency of the former on Theophanes has been demonstrated; and it is now believed that these extracts represent a ninth-century compilation dependent upon Nikephoros and Theophanes, rather than vice versa.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, some of these fragments (largely Constantinopolitan) occasionally present more detail than the account of Theophanes – for example, on the great frost of 763–64.<sup>18</sup> With Theophanes’s *Chronographia*,

<sup>14</sup> For the author, see *Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople: Short History*. Text, trans., and commentary by C. Mango (Washington DC 1990) 1–4; and for discussion of the text, its sources and structure, *ibid.*, 5–18. For the later date, see Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier*, 429–30, who suggests, on various grounds, a date of *ca* 790 to as late as 820.

<sup>15</sup> See Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 344–7; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 339–40; and Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 456–9.

<sup>16</sup> See L.M. Whitby, ‘The Great Chronographer and Theophanes’, *BMGS* 8 (1982–83) see 17–20; C. Mango, ‘The *Breviarium* of the patriarch Nicephorus’, in Nia A. Stratos, ed., *Βυζάντιον. Αφιέρωμα στον Ανδρέα Ν. Σπράτο* (Athens 1986) II, 545–8; also M. and M. Whitby, trans., *Chronicon Paschale* (Liverpool 1989) app. 2; and P. Schreiner, ed., *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. Chronica byzantina breviora* I–III (Vienna 1975–78) I (Vienna 1975) 37ff. Fragments of this anonymous author were edited by J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis*, I–IV (Oxford 1839–41; repr. Hildesheim 1967) II, 111.32–114.31. See also Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 321. For parallel passages, see the commentary in the Mango edn of Nikephoros, 173–225; and discussion in Kazhdan, *Literature*, 214.

<sup>17</sup> See Mango–Scott, xc–xci. For a discussion of some of the dependencies between Theophanes and Nikephoros, see Lilie, *Byzanz unter Eirene und Konstantin VI*, 386–400.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Mango, 145f. (de Boor, 67f. ;) and the introduction at 1ff., 8ff. for Nikephoros himself. See also *ODB* 3, 1477.

the *Brief History* is one of the most important sources for the period. As well as the *Brief History*, a *Chronographikon syntomon*, or *Short Chronicle*, has also been attributed to Nikephoros, although his authorship is by no means certain. This consists of a set of chronological lists or tables, including two dealing respectively with emperors up to the time of Michael III and Basil I, as well as catalogues of patriarchs of Constantinople up to Stephen I, the popes, and the patriarchs of the East. The earliest version appears to be a work of Nikephoros himself, and a second version represents a revision of this original, produced in the middle of the ninth century. The lists contain a little information not found elsewhere, chiefly of a biographical nature, but do not represent historical accounts in the manner of Nikephoros's *Brief History* or Theophanes's *Chronographia*.<sup>19</sup>

#### *Editions and translations*

*Breviarium*, in: *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula Historica*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1880) 1–77.

*The London manuscript of Nicephorus' 'Breviarium'*, ed. and introd. by L. Orosz (Budapest 1949) (partial edn).

*Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople. Short History*. Text, trans. and commentary by C. Mango (CFHB, ser. Washingtoniensis 13 = DOT 10. Washington DC 1990).

*Chronographikon syntomon*, in: C. de Boor, ed., *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula* (Leipzig 1880) 79–135.

#### *The Chronikon syntomon of George the Monk*

For the later eighth and first part of the ninth centuries this 'chronicle' represents an important source, contemporary with many of the events described.<sup>20</sup> It covers the period from Adam to the year 842, and was written probably, although not certainly, during the reign of Michael III (842–67) and completed in this emperor's last year. George's work has been described as 'the typical representative of the monastic chronicle', and in respect of the author's ideological programme – to present history in an uncompromisingly Christian and orthodox light, whereby the victory of his own faith is understood as both inevitable and foreordained – this is an accurate description.<sup>21</sup> In this respect, George's chronicle can rarely be taken at face value, since those he sees as his opponents, especially the iconoclast emperors, are condemned from the outset, through a pre-emptive vocabulary of curses and epithets

<sup>19</sup> For the question of the authorship of the *Chronographikon syntomon*, see Kazhdan, *Literature*, 208. Also see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 340; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 164.

<sup>20</sup> The literature is considerable. For a survey, see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 277–80; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 342–3; Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 347–51; Ya.N. Lyubarskii, 'Concerning the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor', *BS* 56 (1995) 317–22.

<sup>21</sup> Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 347; and 347–9 for the *Chronicle*.

applied to each individual, as well as a range of stories whose origins may lie somewhere between reality and legend, and whose value is hence extremely difficult to assess – the classic story of the destruction of an imperial school by Leo III provides an excellent example. The chronicle is based for the most part on Theophanes for the seventh and eighth centuries, but the author seems also to have had at his disposal the Acts of the Church councils, in the original or in an abridged form, upon which he sometimes draws. The date of composition is variously placed in *ca* 866/67 or after 872, but it has also been argued that the main body of the text was actually produced much earlier, shortly after the death of the emperor Theophilus (829–42), possibly *ca* 845/46.<sup>22</sup>

### *Editions and translations*

*Georgii Monachi Chronicon*: ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols (Leipzig 1904); revised and emended P. Wirth (Stuttgart 1978)

### *The Chronicle of Symeon, magistros and logothetês*

1. Leo Grammatikos, Theodosios Melitenos, George the Monk *continuatus* (A)
2. George the Monk *continuatus* (B)
3. Pseudo-Symeon

George's chronicle was continued by a later writer during the reign of Nikephoros Phokas (963–69). This text deals with the years from 842 until 963, and is generally referred to as *Georgius continuatus*. It constitutes, also, the final sections of the chronicles of Symeon *magistros*, a fictional Theodosios Melitenos, and Leo Grammatikos.<sup>23</sup> Its two variant redactions, known as (A) and (B), constitute two of the three main groups of chronicle accounts for the ninth and tenth centuries, with Genesis, Theophanes *continuatus* (and, in the eleventh century, John Skylitzes), on one side, and on the other, Leo Grammatikos, Theodosios Melitenos, and a first version of *Georgius Monachus continuatus* (A), and a second redaction of the latter,

<sup>22</sup> *Chronikon syntomon*, 33; see P. Speck, *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Byzantinisches Archiv 14. Munich 1974) 82ff.; and, especially, D. Afinogenov, 'The date of *Georgios Monachos* reconsidered', *BZ* 92 (1999) 437–47. George's narrative used a wide range of anti-iconoclast sources or the documents upon which they in turn appear to have been based. His account of the eighth-century iconoclast emperors certainly owes a great deal to tracts such as the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, for example (see below), as has plausibly been suggested by Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, esp. 139ff., 321ff. See also Lyubarskii, 'Concerning the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor'.

<sup>23</sup> See P. Schreiner, 'Fragment d'une paraphrase grecque des Annales d'Eutychès d'Alexandrie', *OCP* 37 (1971) 384–90. The two versions are referred to as redaction A and B. See A. Sotiroudis, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des 'Georgius continuatus' (Redaktion A)* (Thessaloniki 1989); A. Markopoulos, *Η χρονογραφία του Ψευδοσυμεών και οι πηγές της* (Ioannina 1978); *idem*, 'Sur les deux versions de la Chronographie de Syméon Logothète', *BZ* 76 (1983) 279–84; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 368–72; Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 349–57; I, 140–3, 321–3; older literature in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 269–73. General comments in *ODB* 3, 1982–3.

together with the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete on the other (redaction B). A third compilation, based on those of Theophanes, George the Monk, and Symeon the Logothete was written during the reign of Basil II and is known as the 'pseudo-Symeon'. With these names, we encounter some of the most difficult problems facing scholars who have studied these sources.

Symeon the *magistros* and *logothetês* was a contemporary of Constantine VII (913–59), and his world chronicle extended to the year 948. It does not survive in its own right, however, but only in a second version, compiled by a certain Leo Grammatikos and completed, apparently, in 1013;<sup>24</sup> a third version was known under the name of Theodosios Melitenos (*recte* Melissenos), but this author has been shown to be an invention of the sixteenth-century scholar Symeon Kabasilas;<sup>25</sup> while a fourth version, ascribed to Julius Polydeuces (a second-century author) and known in consequence as pseudo-Polydeuces, was in fact an invented attribution of the sixteenth-century copyist and scholar Andreas Darmarios.<sup>26</sup>

It has generally been accepted that these versions were all based upon an original anonymous chronicle or *Epitomê*, which reached to the year 842, and was based in turn on an earlier chronicle reaching to the reign of Justinian II and ascribed traditionally to a certain Trajan *patrikios*. Additions up to 842 were then made to this original, establishing thereby the *Epitomê*, with a further set of additions taking the whole up to the year 948. The result was a wide range of variant redactions (including that of Georgius *continuatus* referred to above). The issue has been further complicated by the question of whether Symeon the Logothete is the same as Symeon *metaphrastês*, the tenth-century editor and hagiographer.<sup>27</sup>

Three different sections have been identified in the chronicle itself, one dealing with the reigns of Michael III and Basil I, one with Leo VI and Alexander, and the last with Constantine VII and Romanos I.<sup>28</sup> For the first section, there have been identified in turn three different editorial or redactional stages: a hypothetical 'original' text which was not particularly favourable to Basil I, but contained little sensationalism; a second redaction with a number of additions for the reigns of Michael III and Basil I, as well as a genealogy of the Phokas clan; and the third, which forms the first part of a compilation taken from Theophanes, Theophanes *continuatus*, George the Monk, and redaction A of George *continuatus*, originally ascribed to Symeon the magister, and hence referred to as the pseudo-Symeon. This redaction, importantly, draws upon an anti-Photian pamphlet used also by

<sup>24</sup> According to a subscriptive note in cod. Par. graec. 1711.

<sup>25</sup> See O. Kresten, 'Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte', *JÖB* 25 (1976) 207–22.

<sup>26</sup> On Darmarios, see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 245f.; for the pseudo-Polydeuces, see O. Kresten, 'Andreas Darmarios und die Überlieferung des Pseudo-Julios Polydeukes', *JÖB* 18 (1969) 137–65.

<sup>27</sup> On whom see Beck, *Kirche*, 570–5 and *ODB* 3, 1983–4; W.T. Treadgold, 'The chronological accuracy of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the years 813–45', *DOP* 33 (1979) 157–97. See also Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 369–70.

<sup>28</sup> See the detailed arguments presented by Kazhdan, 'Chronika Symeona Logofeta', *VV* 15 (1959) 125–43.

the authors of the *vita Ignatii* and the later *vita Euthymii patriarchae CP*.<sup>29</sup> Two versions of the original redaction were then compiled, one representing the various versions of Leo Grammatikos and the text later ascribed to 'Theodosios Melitenos', and another which is represented in two Old Church Slavonic translations, and provide in places a more trustworthy version of the original than the Greek texts edited so far.<sup>30</sup> According to Kazhdan's analysis, all were written before 963.

The second section (886–913) is very different from the first – there are no substantial variants between the different versions, and all show a pronounced interest in natural and supernatural phenomena – which has been used to argue that a Constantinopolitan annalistic compilation is its ancestor.<sup>31</sup> The final section is securely ascribed to Symeon the *magistros* and logothete himself, whose views are expressed in his sympathy for Romanos I and distaste for the doings of members of the Macedonian dynasty.<sup>32</sup>

The value of the various forms of the *Chronicle* varies: for the ninth century, for example, sources are employed which, unlike the historical accounts of the next group of sources (Theophanes *continuatus*), are critical of the Macedonian dynasty, and give a somewhat different perspective to that presented by the latter; for the earlier period, in contrast, although some material not found elsewhere was used, most of the material appears in earlier sources which are still extant, such as Theophanes. The material is used by the variant versions of the *Chronicle* in occasionally different ways, leading to repetitions, chronological confusions or contradictions, many of which remain to be resolved. The *Chronicle* of pseudo-Symeon has a little more value for the eighth century, incorporating some material not found in Theophanes or Nikephoros, and for the ninth and tenth centuries was based on the *Chronicles* of George the Monk, Symeon *Logothetês*, and other sources known from later writers, including Skylitzes.<sup>33</sup>

### *Texts and translations*

Symeon *magistros*: ed. Gy. Moravcsik, 'Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I.', *DOP* 15 (1961) 115–22 (reconstituted extract).

<sup>29</sup> See J. Gouillard, 'Le Photius du Pseudo-Syméon Magistros. Les sous-entendus d'un pamphlet', *RESEE* 9 (1971) 397–404 and C. Mango, 'The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the patriarch Photios', in Bryer and Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm*, 133–40, see 138.

<sup>30</sup> W.K. Hanak, 'Some historiographical observations on the Old Slavonic text of the Chronicle of Symeon Logothete', *Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* 2 (1976) 9f.; G. Moravcsik, 'Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I.', *DOP* 15 (1961) 59–126, especially 110ff.; and the older W. Weingart, *Byzantské kroniky v literaturě cirkevnoslovanské*, I (Bratislava 1922) 76–83.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 141; R.J.H. Jenkins, 'The Chronological Accuracy of the "Logothete" for the years A.D. 867–913', *DOP* 19 (1965) 89–112; Treadgold, 'Chronological Accuracy'.

<sup>32</sup> See F. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien* (Leipzig 1876, repr. Amsterdam 1965), and the summary of his findings in Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 349–50.

<sup>33</sup> A good analysis of the sources and structure of the text is found in Markopoulos, *Η χρονογραφία του Ψευδοσυμεών*, 138–43 for the years 641–813, and 141–81 for 813–962. See also J.M. Featherstone, 'The Logothete Chronicle in Vat gr 163', *OCP* 64 (1998) 419–34; older literature also in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 500–2.

- Leo Grammatikos: *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn 1842) 1–331 (= redaction A).
- Georgius *continuatus*: *Vitae recentiorum imperatorum*, in: *Theophanes continuatus, Ioannes Caminiata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn 1838) 761–924 (= redaction A).
- V.M. Istrin, 'Prodolzhenie chroniki Georgiia Amartola po Vatikanskomu spisku No. 153', in *idem, Chronika Georgiia Amartola v drevnem slavianorussskom perevode. Tekst, issledovanie i slovar* II (Petrograd 1922) 1–65 (= redaction B).
- Slavic translation 1: 'Vremennik', *ibid.* I (Petrograd 1920) 503–72.
- Slavic translation 2: V. I. Sreznevskii, ed., *Slavianski perevod chroniki Simeona Logotheta* (St Petersburg 1905/repr. with intro. by I. Dujchev, London 1971) (= redaction A).
- Theodosios Melitenos: *Theodosii Meliteni qui fertur chronographia*, ed. Th.L.F. Tafel, in *Monumenta Saecularia* III/1 (Munich 1859), 143–238; (= redaction A).
- Pseudo-Symeon (for 813–963) in: *Theophanes continuatus, Ioannes Caminiata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn 1838) 603–760.
- also in: F. Halkin, 'Le règne de Constantin d'après la chronique inédite du Pseudo-Syméon', *B* 29–30 (1929/30) 11–27 (section on the reign of Constantine I).

### *The Scriptores post Theophanem*

1. Theophanes *continuatus*.
2. Joseph Genesisios.
3. John Skylitzes.

The *Chronography* of Theophanes was itself continued during the tenth century, drawing on the continuator of George the monk (redaction B) and a number of other sources, in the form of a series of *Chronicles* known collectively as the *Scriptores post Theophanem*. These deal with the period from the reign of Leo V (813–20) to that of Romanos II, who ruled from 959 until 963, although the chronicles stop short, in 961.<sup>34</sup> The *Chronicle* known as *Theophanes continuatus* was commissioned during the reign of Constantine VII (913–59). There are six books, the first four of which are devoted to an emperor each, while the fifth book was probably compiled by Constantine himself, and consists of an extremely favourable account of the life and works of his grandfather, Basil I (this is generally referred to as the *vita*

<sup>34</sup> On the text, its origins and structure, and further literature, see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 339–43; also *ODB* 3, 2061f.; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 370–1; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 540–4.



*Basilii*).<sup>35</sup> Book six is the least homogeneous piece, dealing with the reigns of the emperors from Leo VI to Romanos II. Books 1–5 are the most relevant to the iconoclast period, although the degree of objectivity evident in each book varies considerably, Books 1–4 usually being seen as somewhat more balanced than Book 5, for example. In fact, the whole collection was intended to justify the rule of Basil I, so that previous emperors tend to be treated in a less than sympathetic way. The sources are varied, heavily tinged with anti-iconoclast sentiment in respect of the emperors from Leo V to Theophilos, many of them used by the other major writers working in this tradition, in particular Joseph Genesios.<sup>36</sup>

Genesios received a commission from Constantine VII to write a history of the emperors of the ninth century. The reigns of the four emperors from Leo V to Michael III are described in detail, that of Constantine's grandfather Basil I more briefly. Although no less subjective in its interpretation than the *Scriptores post Theophanem*, Genesios's history, known as the *Basileiai* or 'Imperial History', presents a somewhat more nuanced picture of the reigns of the emperors dealt with – including Basil I – and is hence of considerable importance for the study of the ninth century. For sources he appears to have drawn on the material used by Constantine in his *Vita Basilii*, but appears, likewise, to have written his history of the period from 813 to 867 before the authors of the various chapters making up Theophanes *continuatus* had completed their endeavours, and incorporates some material found neither in that compilation nor the later *Synopsis of Histories* of John Skylitzes. The propagandistic element is somewhat less pronounced, and he often gives more than one version of a particular story or event.<sup>37</sup>

Later histories, such as that of John Skylitzes and that of George Kedrenos, were heavily dependent on Theophanes *continuatus*. Skylitzes' *Synopsis* covers the period from 811 to 1057. It was compiled towards the end of the eleventh century, is based on Genesios and Theophanes *continuatus*, and adds little that is new, although his interpretation places more emphasis on seeking rational explanations for the events of the past than the sources on which the account was based.<sup>38</sup> Kedrenos

<sup>35</sup> See P.J. Alexander, 'Secular biography at Byzantium', *Speculum* 15 (1940) 194–209; A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (London 1973) 582ff.

<sup>36</sup> See E.W. Brooks, 'On the date of the first four books of the Continuator of Theophanes', *BZ* 10 (1901) 416f.; R.J.H. Jenkins, 'The classical background of the *Scriptores post Theophanem*', *DOP* 8 (1954) 13–30; J. Signes-Codoñer, *El periodo del segundo iconoclasmo en Theophanes continuatus. Análisis y comentario de los tres primeros libros de la crónica* (Classical and Byzantine Monographs 33. Amsterdam 1995); also *ODB* 3, 2180–1.

<sup>37</sup> Hunger, *Literatur* I, 351–4; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 341; *ODB* 2, 829; and, especially, P. Karlin-Hayter, 'Etudes sur les deux histoires du règne de Michel III', *B* 41 (1971) 452–96; and F. Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie von Prokop bis Niketas Choniates* (Munich 1971) 88–90; older literature: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 318–19. For a detailed discussion, see Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, 583ff.; Ya.N. Lyubarskii, 'Theophanes Continuatus und Genesios. Das Problem einer gemeinsamen Quelle', *BS* 48 (1987) 12–27; J. Signes-Codoñer, 'Constantino Porfirogénito y la fuente común de Genesio y Theophanes continuatus', *BZ* 86/7 (1994) 319–41.

<sup>38</sup> Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 389–93; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 406–7; *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (CFHB 5, Berlin–New York 1973) introd.,

(Cedrenus) was in turn based entirely upon Skylitzes for the period from Leo V on, and on Theophanes and the tenth-century historians who used him for the earlier period. John Zonaras, from the first half of the twelfth century, provides little on the eighth and ninth century that is new, relying again almost entirely on the histories and chronicles already mentioned, although with occasional extra snippets of information, of uncertain source, not included in the older works.<sup>39</sup>

### *Texts and translations*

Theophanes *continuatus*: *Theophanes continuatus, Ioannes Caminiata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn 1825) 1–481.

Russian translation: Ya.N. Lyubarskii, *Prodolzhatel' Feofana. Zhizneopisaniia vizantiiskikh tsarei* (St Petersburg 1992).

Genesios: *Iosephi Genesisii Regum libri quattuor*, ed. I. Lesmüller-Werner, I. Thurn (CFHB 14, Berlin–New York 1978).

German translation: A. Lesmüller-Werner, *Byzanz am Vorabend neuer Grösse. Überwindung des Bilderstreites und der innenpolitischen Schwäche (813–886). Die vier Bücher der Kaisergeschichte des Ioseph Genesios* (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 18. Wien 1989).

Skylitzes: *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (CFHB 5, Berlin 1973).

German translation: H. Thurn, *Byzanz wieder ein Weltreich. Das Zeitalter der Makedonischen Dynastie, I: Ende des Bilderstreites und Makedonische Renaissance (Anfang neuntes bis Mitte zehntes Jahrhundert). Nach dem Geschichtswerk des Johannes Skylitzes* (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 15. Köln 1983).

Kedrenos: I. Bekker, ed., *Cedrenus, Compendium historiarum*, 2 vols (CSHB, Bonn 1838–39).

Zonaras: Th. Büttner-Wobst, ed., *Ioannis Zonarae epitome historiarum libri XIII–XVIII* (Bonn 1897).

### *Minor and Fragmentary Chronicles/Reports*

1. The deacon Agathon.
2. *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio*.
3. *Chronicle of 811*.

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14–19; *ODB* 3, 1914; and Ya.N. Lyubarskii, 'Man in Byzantine historiography from John Malalas to Michael Psellos', *DOP* 46 (1992) 177–86. Older literature in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 335–41.

<sup>39</sup> Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 393–4 and 416–19, with details of editions and literature; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 434; *ODB* 2, 1118; 3, 2229; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 273–5.

4. *Chronicon Bruxellense*.
5. *Chronicle* of Peter of Alexandria.
6. *Chronicle* of Monemvasia.
7. Peter of Sicily, *History of the Paulicians*.
8. *Chronicle* of Cambridge.
9. *Catalogi patriarcharum*.

For the early eighth century, the brief report of the archdeacon and *chartophylax* Agathon, written in 713, and preserved in the acts of the council of 787, provides important information about the years preceding Leo III's seizure of power, especially concerning the deposition of Justinian II and the reintroduction of an imperial monothelete policy by Philippikos Bardanes. Agathon is otherwise known only from the fact that Andrew of Crete dedicated a 128 verse poem in iambics to him, celebrating Andrew's return to Orthodoxy after his period of support for Monotheletism under the emperor Philippikos.<sup>40</sup>

The *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio* and the so-called 'Chronicle of 811' are particularly important texts. The first fragment, discovered in the 1930s in a Vatican manuscript containing a variety of religious and educational tracts, recounts in some detail the disastrous Byzantine defeat at the hands of the Bulgars under Krum in 811, and was supposedly reworked during the second half of the ninth century in a hagiographical vein, probably after 864.<sup>41</sup> The other, edited by Bekker in the 1842 edition of Leo Grammatikos, is a short extract in chronicle form and deals with the period from 811 to 820.<sup>42</sup> Grégoire proposed that the two fragments were parts of what may originally have been a longer work, a continuation of the sixth-century *Chronicle* of John Malalas. Browning suggested that, in fact, both fragments belonged to a chronicle compiled by a certain Sergios the confessor (died after 829, exiled by Theophilos) referred to by Photios in his *Bibliothèque*. This chronicle

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<sup>40</sup> For Agathon and his career, see *PmbZ* 1, s.n. Agathon, no. 132 (41–2); *PBE* 1, s.n. Agatho 3; and for the role of the patriarchal *chartophylax*, see Beck, *Kirche*, 109–110; for the poem by Andreas: text: *PG* 97, 1437–44; cf. A. Heisenberg, 'Ein jambisches Gedicht des Andreas von Kreta', *BZ* 10 (1901) 505–14; Beck, *Kirche*, 501; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 217–18.

<sup>41</sup> See Hunger, *Literatur* I, 334; *ODB* 3, 1855. The text was first edited by I. Dujčev, 'Novi žitijni dani za pochoda na Nikifora I v Bulgariya prez 811 god', *Spisanie na Bulgarsk. Akademiya na naukite* 54 (1936) 147–88 (revised in *idem*, 'La chronique byzantine de l'an 811', *TM* 1 (1965) 205–54) (= *idem*, *Medioevo Bizantino-Slavo* [Rome 1968] 425–89, 618–21); edited anew by H. Grégoire, 'Un nouveau fragment du "scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio"', *B* 11 (1936) 417–27, see 417ff.; including also a French trans. in *idem*, 'Du nouveau sur la chronographie byzantine: le "Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio" est le dernier continuateur de Malalas', in *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, 5e sér., XXII/10–12 (1936) 420–36.

<sup>42</sup> For general reference: Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 333–4; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 342; *ODB* 3, 1855.

may have been used as a source by Genesios and Theophanes *continuatus*.<sup>43</sup> The proposal that the fragments belonged to an original longer chronicle met with general acceptance.<sup>44</sup> But it has now been shown that, in fact, the style and internal content of the two fragments suggest very different dates of composition, and that the notion of a common chronicle must be abandoned, at least insofar as these two texts are concerned. Thus it has plausibly been argued that the 'Chronicle of 811' was in fact composed, rather than merely rewritten, in the later 860s, whereas the *Scriptor incertus* must have been composed during the reign of Michael II (820–29): it is marked by a strongly anti-iconoclast sentiment, for example, and gives the impression of being a pamphlet specifically aimed at the emperor Leo V. Furthermore, the notion that the 'Chronicle' was in origin a historical text which was later reworked on a hagiographical basis to celebrate the 'martyrs' of the soldiers who fell at the hands of the pagan Bulgars in 811 has also been doubted.<sup>45</sup> Rather, the text was in fact a hagiographical composition, which drew for its detail on a dossier of eyewitness and other official or semi-official accounts for its information to produce a 'historical' hagiography.<sup>46</sup>

The *Chronicon Bruxellense* survives in a single manuscript, and dates probably to the middle of the eleventh century. It consists of a summary account of Roman and Byzantine rulers from Julius Caesar to Romanos III Argyros (1033). While based for the most part on older histories and chronicles, it includes occasional references not found in the older tradition, a considerable number of mistakes and misunderstandings, and seems to represent the working of an independent compiler. Its importance for the history of the period lies in its portrayal of Constantine V,

<sup>43</sup> See R. Browning, 'Notes on the "Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio"', *B* 35 (1965) 389–411. Cf. *ODB* 3, 1880 on Sergios, with lit.; and Mango, 'The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the patriarch Photius'; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 503–4. For the suggestion that the fragments of the *Scriptor incertus* derive from Sergios's hand, see W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford, CA 1988) 378; and for Sergios as a source for the tenth-century historians, see F. Barišić, 'Les sources de Génésios et du Continuateur de Théophane pour l'histoire du règne de Michel II (820–829)', *B* 31 (1961) 257–71. More doubtful: Kazhdan, *Literature*, 211.

<sup>44</sup> Common chronicle: Fr. Iadevaia, *Scriptor incertus. Testo critico, traduzione e note* (Messina 1987). Dujčev, 'La chronique byzantine de l'an 811', *TM* 1 (1965) 253 remained open; as do A.P. Kazhdan and L. Sherry, 'Some notes on the *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio*', *BS* 58 (1997) 110–12.

<sup>45</sup> See for the historical/textual context and history of the story and its hagiographical tone: L. Clugnet, 'Histoire de S. Nicolas, soldat et moine', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 7 (1902) 319–30 (= *Bibl. Hagiogr. Or.*, 3 [Paris, 1902] 27–38); E. Follieri and I. Dujčev, 'Un acolutia inedita per i martiri di Bulgaria dell'anno 813', *B* 33 (1963) 71–106, cf. 90, n. 1; also J. Wortley, 'Legends of the Byzantine disaster of 811', *B* 50 (1980) 533–62. See the discussion in Kazhdan, *Literature*, 211, where similar results to those of Markopoulos are reached.

<sup>46</sup> See A. Markopoulos, 'La Chronique de l'an 811 et le *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio*: problèmes des relations entre l'hagiographie et l'histoire', *REB* 57 (1999) 255–62, with recent literature. In this connection, see also the comments of F. Lifshitz, 'Beyond positivism and genre: "hagiographical" texts as historical narrative', *Viator* 25 (1994) 95–113.

which is less negative and more balanced in respect of this emperor's iconoclasm than in most of the Byzantine historiographical tradition.<sup>47</sup>

The *Chronicle* of Peter of Alexandria, written in the first half of the tenth century, contains one or two details not otherwise found in the mainstream tradition, just as does the earlier *Chronographikon syntomon* ('Short Chronography') of the patriarch Nikephoros;<sup>48</sup> while a range of mostly later minor notices known as the *Lesser Chronicles*, provide occasionally useful dating or other material.<sup>49</sup>

The so-called *Chronicle of Monemvasia* was compiled probably in the later tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, provides useful, but rarely corroborated, information about the Peloponnese in the period from the sixth to early ninth centuries. Later additions take the history up to the fourteenth century. The exact date of composition is debated, and three possibilities have been proposed: before 932 (when it, or a source upon which it drew, was employed by Arethas of Caesarea); around 901/2; and between 963 and 1018. A fourth argument hypothesizes an earlier composition based on documents of the reign of Nikephoros I (802–11), and associated with that emperor's grant of certain privileges and Metropolitan status to the church of Patras. The original composition was thus a propagandistic product from the milieu of the metropolitanate of Patras during the ninth century.<sup>50</sup>

The *History of the Manichaeans, also called Paulicians* of Peter of Sicily, compiled after the middle of the ninth century and later revised, is not, strictly speaking, a *History* or *Chronicle* in the usual sense, although it bears this title. Although there is some doubt as to whether Peter actually visited the Paulicians in their homeland, the *History* nevertheless constitutes one of the fullest and most detailed sources on the Paulicians of eastern Anatolia and their history, and consists of three sections.<sup>51</sup> The

<sup>47</sup> Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 410; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 233.

<sup>48</sup> Z.G. Samodurova, 'Chronika Petra Aleksandriiskogo', *VV* 18 (1961) 150–97, especially 150–80; Hunger, *Literatur* I, 360; *ODB* 3, 1638. Not to be confused with another 'Chronicle of Alexandria' compiled during the fifth century: Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 243.

<sup>49</sup> Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*; and Hunger, *Literatur* I, 481f.; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 521.

<sup>50</sup> Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 237–8; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 373; I. Dujčev, *Cronaca di Monemvasia* (Palermo 1976) introd. For the date of compilation see *ODB* 1, 445; Hunger, *Literatur* I, 482; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 373; Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, 21f, nn. 47, 48; P. Lemerle, 'La chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie', *REB* 21 (1963) 5–49, see especially 5–7 and 21–44 (before 932); J. Koder, 'Arethas von Kaisareia und die sogenannte Chronik von Monembasia', *JÖB* 25 (1976) 75–80 (ca 901/2); and, elaborating on the arguments presented in his edition of the text, I. Dujčev, in A.E. Laiou, ed., *Charanis Studies: Essays in honor of Peter Charanis* (New Brunswick, NJ 1980) 51–9 (963–1018). See S. Turlej, 'The so-called Chronicle of Monemvasia. A historical analysis', *B* 68 (1998) 446–8.

<sup>51</sup> See P. Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotos, seine Historia und der Erzbischof von Bulgarien', *Hellenika* 27 (1974) 381–7; C. Ludwig, 'The Paulicians and ninth-century Byzantine thought', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 23–35, see 24, 29–30.

first part is a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Bulgaria, compiled after 867, while the *History* proper falls into two sections. The first was written before Peter is supposed to have stayed with the Paulicians in Tephrike (caps. 7–93), and deals with their beliefs and dogmas, as well as incorporating anti-Manichaean citations from Scripture and accounts of legends about the origins of the heresy, including the early history of the movement up to the seventh century. The second is an account of the development and history of the movement from the middle of the seventh century to his own time (caps. 94–189). This last section seems to be based upon a Paulician account of their own history, including a number of legendary elements and some letters of Paulician leaders, but the whole work is intended to illustrate the heretical nature of Paulician beliefs, so that the ‘historical’ and legendary or propagandistic elements are difficult to separate.<sup>52</sup> Another text attributed to a certain Peter, *hegoumenos*, represents an abridged version of the *History* of Peter of Sicily with no independent information. Later accounts of the Paulicians, such as that by the patriarch Photios, are similarly based on Peter of Sicily’s original compilation, but with certain omissions or additions – Photios’s version, for example, includes information about the persecution of the Paulicians under Michael II which is more detailed than that of the original.<sup>53</sup>

The so-called *Chronicle of Cambridge* is in fact an anonymous compilation of the late tenth and early eleventh century, comprising short notices and some important chronological references for the period 825–965, and dealing primarily with the wars between Byzantines and Arabs in Sicily. It has been seen as the continuation of a more general chronological account from Adam to 825. It survives in two eleventh-century Greek manuscripts and a thirteenth-century Arabic version, which may have

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<sup>52</sup> Peter wrote several tracts (1): *Historia Manichaeorum*, ed. Ch. Astruc, D. Papachryssanthou and J. Gouillard, *TM* 4 (1970) 3–67 (older edn in *PG* 104, 1240–349); (2) six *Logoi* ‘against the Manichaeans, called Paulicians’, of which only two and fragments of a third survive, and which deal with purely theological and dogmatic issues, see *PG* 104, 1305–49; and (3) the shorter tract ‘On the Paulicians or Manichaeans’ (ed. Ch. Astruc, in *TM* 4 [1970] 69–97 as the ‘Précis’), later incorporated into the *Chronicle* of George the Monk and then into *Kedrenos*. The text was designed as a practical guide to the heresy and how to combat it. For further discussion and literature, see P. Lemerle, ‘L’histoire de Pauliciens d’Asie Mineure d’après les sources grecques’, *TM* 5 (1973) 1–144; M. Loos, ‘Le mouvement Paulicien à Byzance’, *BS* 24 (1963) 281–6; 25 (1964) 52–68; and *idem*, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague 1974) 32–40; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 363–4. There are many problems with the text as it has been transmitted, see Ch. Astruc, W. Conus-Wolska, J. Gouillard, P. Lemerle, D. Papachryssanthou and J. Paramelle, ‘Les sources grecques pour l’histoire des Pauliciens d’Asie Mineure’, *TM* 4 (1970) 1–227, and the accompanying discussion; and, especially, C. Ludwig, ‘Wer hat was in welcher Absicht wie beschrieben? Bemerkungen zur *Historia* des Petros Sikeliotes über die Paulikianer’, in *Varia* II, *Poikila Byzantina* 6 (Bonn 1987) 149–227; *eadem*, ‘The Paulicians and ninth-century Byzantine thought’. For the other sources relating to Paulicianism, see also N. Garsoian, *The Paulician heresy* (The Hague–Paris 1967); Lemerle, ‘L’histoire des Pauliciens’, 17–47; *ODB* 3, 1606, 1640–1.

<sup>53</sup> See the texts edited by Astruc and Lemerle, in ‘Les sources grecques pour l’histoire des Pauliciens d’Asie Mineure’, 69–97 and 99–183 respectively.

been written first in the early eleventh century, shortly after the compilation of the original.<sup>54</sup>

The *Catalogi patriarcharum* were compiled in the eleventh century and afterwards, and consist of lists with biographical details of all the bishops of Constantinople, beginning with the legendary bishop Stachys, anointed by the apostle Andrew. The earliest version of the list reaches the patriarchates of Nikolaos I Mystikos (901–7, 912–25), and the editor identifies three different authors, whose sources appear chiefly to have been the documents associated with patriarchal diptychs and the information they contained; a second version expands the list to the patriarchate of John VIII Xiphilinos (1064–75). A second catalogue reaches the first year of the second patriarchate of Athanasios I in 1303, and was composed by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos shortly thereafter. While its material is for the most part identical with that in the earlier lists, it contains some information not found elsewhere. The first catalogue includes a good deal of biographical information about the patriarchs of the eighth and ninth centuries not found in the secular historiography or other sources.

#### *Texts and translations*

- Agathon *diakonos* and *Chartophylax* in: Mansi xii, 189–96.
- Scriptor incertus*: *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio*, in: *Leo Gramm.*, 335–62; provided with a critical apparatus by R. Browning, in: *B* 35 (1965), 391–411. New edn with commentary and translation by Fr. Iadevaia, *Scriptor incertus. Testo critico, traduzione e note* (Messina 1987).
- Chronicle of 811* I. Dujčev, ‘Novi žitijni danni za pochoda na Nikifora I v Bulgariya prez 811 god’, *Spisanie na Bulgarsk. Akademiya na naukite* 54 (1936) 147–88 (revised in *idem*, ‘La chronique byzantine de l’an 811’, *TM* 1 [1965] 205–54) (= *idem*, *Medioevo Bizantino-Slavo* [Rome 1968] 425–89, 618–21); a 2nd edn by H. Grégoire, ‘Un nouveau fragment du “scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio”’, *B* 11 (1936) 417–27; and a French trans. in *idem*, ‘Du nouveau sur la chronographie byzantine: le “Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio” est le dernier continuateur de Malalas’, in *Bulletin de l’Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et desc sciences morales et politiques*, 5e sér., XXII/10–12 (1936) 420–36. The text is also included in the edition of the *Scriptor incertus* by Iadevaia.
- Chronicon Bruxellense* in: F. Cumont, ed., *Anecdota Bruxellensia I: Chroniques byzantines du manuscrit 11376* (Gent 1894), 13–36.

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<sup>54</sup> Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 413; see Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes* I, 342–6, for a translation of the Arabic version, for the years 825–67 and a valuable historical commentary.

- Peter of Alexandria: Z.G. Samodurova, 'Chronika Petra Aleksandriiskogo', *VV* 18 (1961) 15–197 (text: 180–97).
- Chronicle of Monemvasia*: P. Lemerle, 'La chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie', *REB* 21 (1963) 5–49; I. Dujčev, *Cronaca di Monemvasia. Introduzione, testo critico e note* (Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici. Testi e monumenti. Testi 12. Palermo 1976).
- Peter of Sicily: ed. D. Papachryssanthou, in: Ch. Astruc, W. Conus-Wolska, J. Gouillard, P. Lemerle, D. Papachryssanthou, J. Paramelle, 'Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure', *TM* 4 (1970), 1–227, at pp. 3–67.
- Chronicle of Cambridge*: G. Cozza-Luzi, ed., *La Cronaca Siculo-Saracena di Cambridge* (= Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia 4, 2. Palermo 1890) (and cf. C.O. Zuretti, in *Athenaeum* 3 [1915], 186ff. for corrections to the edition); Greek text in Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, 1, no. 45 (326–40); comm. in 2, 107–38.
- Catalogi Patriarcharum*: F. Fischer, *De Patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum catalogis et de chronologia octo primorum patriarcharum. Accedunt eiusmodi catalogi duo adhuc non editi* (Commentationes philologiae Jenenses III, Leipzig 1884) 282–94 (discussion and analysis 263–82); Nicephori Callisti Xanthopuli diegesis de episcopis Byzantinis et de patriarchis Constantinopolitanis, in *PG* 147, 449–68. Literature/discussion in Fischer, *op. cit.*, 267ff.

### Historical and Chronicle Literature in Other Languages

As well as the Greek-language literature, there is also a considerable range of histories, chronicles and related material (such as historical biographies, for example) which has a direct bearing on the Byzantine world and which often fills *lacunae* in the Greek tradition, or provides important corroborative information confirming or casting doubt on a particular tradition or set of reports in Byzantine writers. The following brief summary is not intended as anything more than a guide to what might be looked at, depending on the functional demands of the questions one asks.

#### *Latin Texts*

The Latin material is first and foremost relevant because of the information it provides on Byzantine relations with the West, in particular on affairs in the Frankish lands and Italy; but it often provides useful material relevant to the internal situation of the empire. More usefully, the western chronicles make reference to events about which Constantinopolitan chroniclers and historians in the Byzantine world often report nothing at all, including not only embassies which travelled to western rulers, particularly at the Frankish courts, but also accounts of military and naval expeditions. This information is all the more important since the Byzantine sources often present a very inward-orientated account, in which relations with the empire's



nearest neighbours – Bulgars and Arabs – figure much more prominently than affairs and contacts with the West.<sup>55</sup> In addition, the Latin sources also shed important light on the way in which western, especially Frankish, attitudes to the eastern empire and its rulers changed, illustrating a shift from the seventh-century assumption that the Roman empire (in the East) was the only empire, to the situation reflected in the middle and later eighth century where the Eastern Roman empire becomes an empire of the Greeks, and treated as in no wise superior to the kingdom and – from 800 – (western) empire of the Franks.<sup>56</sup>

Among the Frankish sources, the continuation of the *Chronicle* of Fredegarius (mid-eighth century), the *Liber historiae Francorum*, compiled in 725/26, the *Annales regni Francorum* (dealing with the period from 741 to 829, and compiled from 793),<sup>57</sup> the *Annales Fuldenses* (up to 876)<sup>58</sup> and the *Annales Xantenses* (up to 873), the *Annales Bertiniani* (up to 867), which continued the *Annales regni Francorum*,<sup>59</sup> the *Gesta Karoli Magni* of Notker of St Gall (written ca 887) are among some of the most important chronicles in respect of attitudes of the Franks towards the eastern empire and its rulers, and Byzantine-Western relations. But there are several others which are marginally relevant, particularly in respect of western attitudes to iconoclasm, including the important *Life* of Charles the Great by Einhard.

The Frankish chronicles are not alone: the *Liber pontificalis*, the chief collection of *Lives* of the popes up to 892, and the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* of Agnellus (written ca 830–48) are fundamental sources for the history of the Churches of Rome and Ravenna, and also shed light on Roman or Italian attitudes to the Byzantine world,<sup>60</sup> along with a series of minor and local annals.<sup>61</sup> The *Historia*

<sup>55</sup> For a helpful evaluation of this material, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 187–92; R. McKitterick, 'Introduction: sources and interpretation', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II: c.700–c.900 (Cambridge 1995) 3–17; and W. Eggert, 'Lateinische Historiographie vom 7. bis 9. Jahrhundert', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 224–33. For discussion of the general context of this material, and further literature on western medieval historiography in general, see R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word* (Cambridge 1989). For the embassies, see T.C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident, depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux Croisades (407–1096)* (Athens 1980).

<sup>56</sup> See the useful survey by M. McCormick, 'Byzantium and the West, 700–900', in R. McKitterick, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History II* (Cambridge 1995) 349–80; C. Wickham, 'Ninth-century Byzantium through western eyes', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 245–56.

<sup>57</sup> The so-called *Annales Einhardi/Annales Laurissenses maiores*, ed. G. Pertz, in: *MGH (SS) I* (Hanover 1826/repr. Leipzig 1925) 124–218, text 134–218, represent a re-working of the *Annales regni Francorum* (see below) carried out after 814. See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 344; *ODB* 1, 104.

<sup>58</sup> Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 377–8.

<sup>59</sup> See also R. Rau, *Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte II* (Darmstadt 1966) 1–5, 11–287. Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 344; *ODB* 1, 103.

<sup>60</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 347–8; *ODB* 2, 1223–4. Particularly important for the earliest stages of iconoclasm, for example, are the *Vita Gregorii II*, in *LP* i, 396–410 and the *Vita Gregorii III*, in *LP* i, 415–21. See also P. Schreiner, 'Der *Liber Pontificalis* und Byzanz: Mentalitätsgeschichte im Spiegel einer Quelle, mit einem Exkurs: Byzanz und der

*Langobardorum* of Paul the deacon (to 744) is important for Byzantine-Italian affairs, as is the later *History of the Lombards of Benevento* of Erchempert of Monte Cassino, although much more limited than Paul's *History*, and the *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, which contains much of interest for the eighth and first half of the ninth century.<sup>62</sup> The *Chronicon Altinate*, a source compiled probably in its original form during the tenth century, includes lists of Byzantine rulers and some details of their reigns not found elsewhere, although the sources for the information are unknown and the date of the compilation is debated.<sup>63</sup> The numerous local chronicles which make reference to events connected with Byzantine politics and religious issues provide occasionally corroborative evidence for, or cast light from a different angle upon, the events of the empire's internal and external relations: the various monastic or related annals, for example, of which some of the more useful include the *Lamberti Hersfeldensis Annales*, the *Annales Laureshamenses*, the *Annales Maximiani*, and the *Annales Mosellani*.<sup>64</sup>

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*Liber Pontificalis* (Vat. Gr. 1455)', in K. Borchardt and E. Bünz, eds, *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte* (Stuttgart 1998) 33–48. For Agnellus, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 347; *ODB* 1, 36–7; and J.M. Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna. The Liber Pontificalis of Andreas Agnellus* (Ann Arbor 1995).

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, the *Continuatio Byzantia-Arabica*, of the year 741 (known also as the *additio ad Iohannem Biclarensem*), derived in part from an Arabic Syrian monophysite Chronicle, and its parallel the *Continuatio Hispana*, reaching to 754: ed. Th. Mommsen, as *Continuationes Isidorianae Byzantina Arabica et Hispana*, in *MGH (AA) XI*, ii (Berlin 1894/repr. 1961) 323–59 (*Continuatio Byzantia Arabica a. DCCXLI*) and 323–68 (*Continuatio Hispana a. DCCLIV*); also English trans. of the *Continuatio Hispana* in K. Baxter Wolf, *Conquerors and chroniclers of early medieval Spain* [Liverpool 1990] 111–58). For local sources relevant to the history of Byzantine Italy, for example, see the extensive bibliographies in T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial administration and aristocratic power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554–800* (Rome 1984) and J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 179. Rome 1993); and chronicles such as the *Anonymi Chronicon sancti Benedicti Casinensis*, ed. G. Waitz, in *MGH (SS Langobard. et Ital.)* 467–88 (text 468ff.), for the period 839–67: cf. Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 344.

<sup>62</sup> Paul the Deacon: for further literature: Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 320–1. Erchempert covers the years 807–89: see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 343; *ODB* 1, 726. The *Chronicon Salernitanum* (ed. U. Westerbergh, *Chronicon Salernitanum. A critical edition with studies on literary and historical sources and on language* [Studia Latina Stockholmiensia III. Stockholm 1956]), compiled by a monk of Salerno, is important for the *thema* Langobardia, covering the period 747–974. Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 378.

<sup>63</sup> See *ODB* 1, 447, with literature.

<sup>64</sup> Other chronicles which contain limited information about Byzantium – usually on embassies and diplomatic connections – include: *Annales Mettenses*, ed. B. de Simson, in *MGH (SGUS X)*. Hanover–Leipzig 1905); *Annales Lobienses*, ed. G. Waitz, in *MGH (SS) XIII* (Hanover 1881/repr. Leipzig 1943) 224–35, text 226ff.; *Annales Sithienses*, ed. G. Waitz, in *MGH (SS) XIII*, 34–8, text 35ff.; *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *MGH (SS) III* (Hanover 1889/repr. Leipzig 1925) 18–69, text 22ff. (*Continuatio a. 994–1025: 72–90*); *Annales Weissenburgenses*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *MGH (SS) III*, 33–72 (= appendix to *SGUS XXXVIII*); *Lamberti Annales*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *MGH (SS) III*, 22–69 (*continuatio: 90–102*).

*Texts and translations*

- Agnellus, Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* ed. O. Holder-Egger, in: *MGH (SS. Langobard. et Italic.)* (Hanover 1878) 265–391, text 275ff.
- Annales Bertiniani* ed. G. Waitz, in: *MGH (SGUS V. Hanover 1883)*; ed. F. Grat, J. Vielliard, C. Clémencet, *Annales de Saint-Bertin* (Paris 1964); also English trans.: J.L. Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester 1991).
- Annales Fuldenses* ed. F. Kurze, in: *MGH (SGUS VII. Hanover 1891)*; ed. and German trans. in R. Rau, *Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte 3* (Darmstadt 1960) 19–117; English trans. T. Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda* (Manchester 1992).
- Lamberti Hersfeldensis Annales* ed. O. Holder-Egger, in: *MGH (SGUS XXXVIII. Hanover 1843)*.
- Annales Laureshamenses* ed. G. Pertz, in: *MGH (SS) I* (Berlin 1826/repr. Leipzig 1925) 22–39.<sup>65</sup>
- Annales Maximiani* ed. G. Waitz, in: *MGH (SS) XIII* (Hanover 1881/repr. Leipzig 1943) 19–25.
- Annales Mosellani* ed. I.M. Lappenberg, in: *MGH (SS) XVI* (Hanover 1859/repr. Leipzig 1925) 491–9, text 494ff.
- Annales regni Francorum* ed. F. Kurze, in: *MGH (SGUS VI. Hanover 1895/repr. 1950)*; English trans. B. Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles* (Ann Arbor 1970).
- Annales Xantenses* ed. B. de Simson, in: *MGH (SGUS XII. Hanover 1909)* 1–39.
- Chronicle of Fredegarius* *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegari scholastici libri IV*, ed. B. Krusch, in: *MGH (Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum II. Hanover 1888/repr. Hanover 1956)* 1–168, text 18ff.; *Continuationes*, 168–93; ed. and English trans. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The fourth book of the Chronicle of Fredegar and its continuations* (Oxford 1960).
- Chronicon Altinate* R. Cessi, ed., *Chronicon Altinate et Chronicon Gradense* (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 73. Rome 1933).
- Einhard's Life of Charles the Great* *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. G. Pertz, in: *MGH (SGUS XXV. Hanover 1863/repr. 1911)*, 1–34; ed. with French trans. L. Halphen, *Eginhard: vie de Charlemagne* (Paris, 3rd edn 1947); English trans. L. Thorpe, *Two Lives of Charlemagne* (Harmondsworth 1969).
- Erchempert, History of the Lombards of Benevento* *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, ed. G. Waitz, in: *MGH (SS. Langobard. et Ital.)* (Hanover 1878), 231–64, text 234ff.

<sup>65</sup> Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 345; *ODB* 1, 103.

- Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* *Gesta episc. Neapolitanorum* I, ed. G. Waitz, in: *MGH (SS. Langobard. et Ital.)* (Hanover 1878), 398–435, text 402ff.
- Gesta Karoli Magni* *Notker Balbulus, Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, ed. H.F. Haefele, in: *MGH (SGUS, n.s. XII)*. Berlin 1959); ed. and German trans. in Rau, *Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte 3* (Darmstadt 1960), 322–426; English trans. L. Thorpe, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*.
- Liber historiae Francorum* ed. B. Krusch, in *MGH (Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum II)*. Hanover 1888/repr. Hanover 1956); English trans. R. Gerberding, *The rise of the Carolingians and the 'Liber historiae Francorum'* (Oxford 1987).
- Liber pontificalis* *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, II sér., 3 Paris 1886/92); vol. 3: *Additions et corrections*, ed. C. Vogel (Paris 1957). English trans. R. Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool 1989); *idem*, *The Lives of the eighth-century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool 1992).
- Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* *Pauli diaconi Historia gentis Langobardorum*, ed. L. Bethmann, G. Waitz, in: *MGH (SS. Langobard. et Ital.)* (Hanover 1878), 12–187, text 45ff.; English trans. W.D. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon's History of the Lombards* (Philadelphia 1907).

### *Eastern Christian (Syriac and Arabic) Histories*

The Syriac tradition represents an equally important source, especially in view of the close connection between the Orthodox (neo-Chalcedonian) communities in the eastern patriarchates and Constantinople. Syriac history writing, most of which can reasonably be described under the rubric of Church or ecclesiastical historiography, evolves from the later fifth century, following the appearance in Syriac of a translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. The closeness of Syriac history writing to the Byzantine tradition, however much it then proceeded to evolve its own particular styles and priorities, is largely a result of this shared background. The assumption of a clear division between Greek, Arabic, and Syriac sources is no longer widely accepted, chiefly because Christians from both Syria/Palestine and Mesopotamia seem to have been quite familiar with Arabic as a literary form by the mid-eighth century, through which the Christian and Muslim traditions often came together in either a Greek or a Syriac form. In addition, Syriac texts, both historiographical and others, were also influenced by Jewish traditions, a factor which is sometimes forgotten.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, the artificial division by language – Syriac

<sup>66</sup> P. Nagel, 'Grundzüge syrischer Geschichtsschreibung', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 245–59; L.I. Conrad, 'Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition: some indications of intercultural transmission', *BF* 15 (1990) 1–44; *idem*, 'Syriac perspectives on Bilâd al-Shâm during the Abbasid period', in M.A. al-Bakhit and R. Schick, eds, *Bilâd al-Shâm during the Abbasid period (132 A.H./750 A.D.–451 A.H./1059 A.D.)* (Proceedings of the fifth international conference on the history of Bilâd al-Shâm. Amman 1412/1991) 1–44. For

or Arabic – in fact conceals the common tradition, style, and subject matter of Syriac and Christian Arabic historiography (on which, see below), and the fact that, since many of the writers concerned wrote in both languages, sometimes even producing parallel Syriac and Arabic versions of the same text, we have here a single, though bilingual, historiographical literature. For this reason, the Christian Arabic chronicles are included in this section, rather in the ‘Islamic’ Arabic section, below.

Quite apart from what the Christian historiography of the Muslim lands of the East tells us about the culture, attitudes, and understanding of the secular and ecclesiastical literati of this part of the Christian world, a number of Syriac chronicles contain important material for Byzantine internal developments as well as the political history of the empire and its impact on the East. Syriac historical writing falls into a number of groups, according to confessional differences: the Jacobite (West Syrian), the Nestorian (East Syrian), and the Maronite traditions.

Important differences in style and form distinguish Nestorian from Jacobite historiography. Both rely heavily upon the late Roman ecclesiastical historical tradition with a strong chronological framework, the chronicle of Eusebius providing the most obvious inspiration in this respect.<sup>67</sup> But whereas the Jacobite historians based their accounts on an annalistic framework, adding to the narratives of their predecessors more recent and contemporary material, derived both from word of mouth and from documents, in successive stages of compilatory work, the Nestorian chroniclers followed a model derived from hagiography and martyrology. The differences reveal themselves in the more evidently biographical tendencies of the latter, as opposed to the strongly annalistic approach of the former tradition. From the historian’s point of view, however, the Jacobite tradition brings with it a particular advantage. For the compilatory methods employed by successive generations of historical writers or chronographers (a distinction between the two was not observed) meant that considerable bodies of material were simply copied out wholesale, with the result that it has been possible, to a degree at least, to reconstruct a close approximation of the original text from which many later historians drew their material. This approach also implies that the account of earlier events in later works has often been taken over unaltered, so that the original language and form of the source in question is preserved. Thus contemporary or near-contemporary accounts of events which took place in the eighth or ninth century are often preserved, a fact which is of particular importance to the historian of those years.<sup>68</sup>

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Jewish influence: S. Brock, ‘Jewish traditions in Syriac sources’, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 30/2 (1979) 210–32.

<sup>67</sup> For a helpful survey of this tradition, see F. Winkelmann, ‘Kirchengeschichtswerke’, in: Brandes and Winkelmann, 202–12, with literature.

<sup>68</sup> For general bibliography and further literature, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 230–3; and 322–3; and the helpful discussion of the inter-relationship of the various Syrian chronicles with each other and with Byzantine sources such as the *Chronographia* of Theophanes, in *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 226–34, with literature. For an excellent overview and introduction to the surviving texts and their editions, see S. Brock, ‘Syriac sources for

As noted already, not all histories written in Arabic are Muslim. There evolved a flourishing Christian Arabic historiographical tradition, represented by two major sources in particular: the *World History* of Agapios of Mabboug, compiled in the tenth century, which drew on the Maronite chronicle (see below); and the *Chronicle* of Eutychios, Melkite patriarch of Alexandria (935–40), which reached to the year 938, and was continued in that of Yahya of Antioch (d. ca 1066) to 1027. In structure and general form these histories are close to the Greek and Syriac chronicles and histories discussed already. But their focus was the Christian world of Syria and Palestine, so that Byzantine and Constantinopolitan affairs are referred to usually only where they impinge directly on the writer's narrative, or where the sources – whether Christian or Muslim – used by a particular writer mention them. Most writers in this tradition were bilingual in Syriac and Arabic, certainly by the ninth century, and many also knew Greek, so that the breadth of source materials potentially at their disposal was probably wider than that available to writers within the Byzantine empire. The Melkite (Chalcedonian) Bishop Agapius of Hierapolis (Mabboug), who died some time after 942, wrote in Arabic from the beginning; in contrast, Elias of Nisibis composed his *opus chronologicum* in both Syriac and Arabic (parallel texts); the anonymous *Chronicle of Se'ert* has survived in its Arabic version only.<sup>69</sup>

- Agapios: ed. A.A. Vasiliev, *Kitab al-'Unvan. Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj* (= PO VI/4, 557–692; VII/4, 457–91; VIII/3, 399–547 [Paris 1910, 1911, 1912]); ed. L. Cheikho, *Agapius episcopus Mabbugensis. Historia universalis/Kitâb al-'unvan* (CSCO 65, *Scriptores arabici* 10. Paris 1912).<sup>70</sup>
- Eutychios: *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychius von Alexandrien. Ausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Sa'îd ibn Batrîq um 935 A.D.*, ed. and trans. M. Breydy (CSCO 471–2, *Scriptores arabici* 45–6. Louvain 1985) (abridged).

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seventh-century history', *BMGS* 2 (1976) 17–36 (repr. in *idem*, *Syriac perspectives on Late Antiquity* [London 1984] VII); for the evolution and characteristics of Syriac historiography, see Nagel, 'Grundzüge syrischer Geschichtsschreibung'; also R. Hoyland, 'The historical context', in Palmer, *The seventh century in West-Syrian chronicles*, xiv–xxviii; and in detail, J.-M. Fiey, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'Église en Iraq* (CSCO 310, subsid. 36. Louvain 1970); A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922/repr. 1968) with the reference materials in P. Kawerau, *Christlich-arabische Chrestomathie aus historischen Schriftstellern des Mittelalters* (CSCO 385, subsid. 53. Louvain 1977), helpful also for the Syriac historiography. Further useful discussion in R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as others saw it. A survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian writings on early Islam* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13. Princeton 1997) 387–453.

<sup>69</sup> See L. Conrad, 'Syriac perspectives on Bilâd al-Shâm during the Abbasid period', in M.A. al-Bakhit and R. Schick, eds, *Bilâd al-Shâm during the Abbasid period (132 A.H./750 A.D.–451 A.H./1059 A.D.)* (Proceedings of the fifth international conference on the history of Bilâd al-Shâm. Amman 1412/1991) for a bibliographical survey of the Syriac sources for the later eighth and ninth centuries.

<sup>70</sup> Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 376; *ODB* 1, 35; L. Conrad, 'Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition'; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 234–5.

ed. P. Cachia, with English trans. W.M. Watt, *The Book of the Demonstration*, I–IV (Louvain 1960–1961).

Fuller version: L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux, H. Zayyat, *Eutychie patriarchae Alexandrini Annales* (CSCO 50–1, *Scriptores arabici* 6–7. Louvain 1954); translation B. Pirone, *Eutichio, Patriarca di Alessandria (877-940). Gli Annali*. Introd., trans., and notes (Cairo 1987).<sup>71</sup>

Yahya of Antioch (ibn Sa'id al-Antâkî): *Ta'rikh*, ed. L. Cheiko et al. (CSCO 51, *Scriptores arabici* 3/7, 89–363. Paris 1909); *Histoire*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, trans. A. Vasiliev (= *PO XVIII/5*, 700–833; *XXIII/3*, 347–520 [Paris 1924, 1932]).<sup>72</sup>

The Maronite tradition is only very sparsely represented: the *Chronicle* of Theophilos of Edessa was preserved in fragmentary form only in the later chronicles of Dionysios of Tell-Mahré and in a series of later historical compilations, including that of Michael the Syrian. It may belong together with the fragments of a Maronite Chronicle covering the period from Alexander the Great up to the year 664, which survive as the main representatives of the Maronite tradition.<sup>73</sup> Similar considerations apply to the Melkite or Chalcedonian historiography in Syriac (in contrast to the Melkite Arabic tradition), of which only a single chronicle, reaching up to the end of the reign of Heraclius in 641, survives, although it has been suggested that both depended upon a now-lost Byzantine source.<sup>74</sup>

The chief representatives of the Jacobite, or western, tradition in Syriac history writing can be enumerated as follows: first, the *Chronicle* of Dionysios of Tell-Mahré, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (818–45) compiled in the mid-ninth century and covering the years 582–842, but which does not survive in its own right. Substantial sections were, however, copied by Michael 'the Syrian', patriarch of Antioch (1166–99). Michael's *Chronicle* includes also extracts from the lost work of other writers, such as his contemporary Dionysios ibn Salibi, who likewise drew heavily on earlier compositions.<sup>75</sup> The so-called Chronicle of pseudo-Dionysios of Tell-Mahré, the final part of which reaches to the year 755, was actually compiled not by the patriarch of that name, but by an anonymous author in the monastery of

<sup>71</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 376; Vasiliev and Canard, *Byzance et les arabes*, II/2, 24–7; *ODB* 2, 760.

<sup>72</sup> For the Arabic sources in general, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 345–7; 375–7; 412–14. For discussion of Yahya, J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle (938–1034) of Yahyâ B. Sai'id al-Antâkî*, 2 vols (Michigan 1977); Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 412.

<sup>73</sup> See Conrad, 'Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition'. For the chronicle up to 664: *Chronicon Maroniticum*, ed. E.W. Brooks, trans. J.B. Chabot, in *CSCO Scriptores Syri*, ser. 3, t.4, *Chronica minora* pars ii, 3, 35–57; and the translation in Palmer, *The seventh century in the West-Syrian chronicles*, 29–35 for extracts. There is some debate as to whether the two are to be connected: see P. Nagel, 'Grundzüge syrischer Geschichtsschreibung', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 254 and n. 10.

<sup>74</sup> See A. de Halleux, 'La chronique melkite abrégée du Ms. Sinai Syr. 10', *Le Muséon* 91 (1978) 5–44 (incl. text).

<sup>75</sup> See Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 298.

Zuqnin around the year 775. Parts of it have been published separately by different editors. An important parallel history to the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian is the anonymous *Chronicle* to the year 1234, written in Edessa. Its value lies in the fact that it drew on many of the same sources as Michael, but was independent of his own history, so that it serves to supplement or corroborate information in the latter.

A number of other anonymous chronicles of the eighth and ninth centuries provide important additional or corroborative material, including a series of anonymous chronicles to the years 724, 813, 819, and 846, the last depending closely on the second for much of its material, both compiled in the monastery of Qartmin. The final history in this tradition is the world chronicle of Bar Hebraeus, writing in the thirteenth century, and heavily dependent upon Michael the Syrian.

*La Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche*, ed. and trans. J.B. Chabot, 4 vols (Paris 1899, 1901, 1905, 1924).<sup>76</sup>

*Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré, quatrième partie*, ed. and trans. J.B. Chabot (Paris 1895) (for the period 586–775); trad. R. Hespel (*CSCO* 507, *Scriptores syri* 213 Louvain 1989). For the third part, covering the period 488–586, see *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Mahré: Chronicle (known also as the Chronicle of Zuqnin)*, part III, trans. with notes and introd. W. Witakowski (*TTH* 22. Liverpool 1996).<sup>77</sup>

*Anonymi Chronicon ad annum Domini 1234 pertinens*, ed. J.B. Chabot (*CSCO* 81–2, *Scriptores syri* 36–7. Paris 1916–20); tr. J.B. Chabot (*CSCO* 109, *Script. syri* 56. Paris 1937) (pt 1); trans. A. Abouna (*CSCO* 354, *Script. syri* 154. Louvain 1974) (pt 2). Excerpted and translated in Palmer, *West-Syrian chronicles*, 111–221.<sup>78</sup>

*Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum Domini 724 pertinens*, ed. E.W. Brooks, trans. J.B. Chabot (*CSCO* 3–4, *Scriptores syri* 3–4. Paris 1904/repr. Louvain 1955), *Chronica minora* pars ii, 4, 77–154/63–119; partial ed. in: J.P.N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, 4 vols (Leiden 1862–75), 1, 2–22/103–21 (= 129–54 of Brooks/Chabot edn).

*Fragmenta chronici anonymi auctoris ad annum domini 813 pertinentia*, ed. E.W. Brooks (*CSCO* 6, *Scriptores syri* 6. Louvain 1960), *Chronica minora* iii, 183–96.

*Chronicon anonymi ad annum Domini 819 pertinens*, ed. and trans. E.W. Brooks (*CSCO* 109, *Scriptores syri* 56. Paris 1937/repr. Louvain 1965), *Chronica minora* iii, 1, 3–22/1–16.

*Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum Domini 846 pertinens*, ed. E.W. Brooks, trans. J.B. Chabot, in: *CSCO* 3–4, *Scriptores syri*, 3–4. (Paris 1904/repr. Louvain 1955), *Chronica minora* ii, 5, 157–238/123–80.<sup>79</sup>

P. Bedjan, ed., *Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon syriacum* (Paris 1890), repr. as *The*

<sup>76</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 441; *ODB* 2, 1362–63. Dionysios also relied for earlier material on the chronicler Jacob of Edessa, who wrote ca 691/2: see Palmer, *op. cit.*, 36–42. Some translated extracts in Palmer, *The seventh century in the West-Syrian chronicles*, 85–110 (introd.), 111–221 (text), but all for the preceding period.

<sup>77</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 322–3; R. Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre, jakobitischer Patriarch von 818–845. Zur Geschichte der Kirche unter dem Islam* (Leipzig 1940) especially 22ff.; and W. Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysios of Tell-Mahré. A study in the history of historiography* (*Studia Semitica Upsaliensis* 9. Uppsala 1987). For discussion and translation of extracts, see Palmer, *The seventh century in the West-Syrian chronicles*, 53–4 and 54–68 (English).

<sup>78</sup> Literature in: Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 471; *ODB* 1, 444. For its dependency on Dionysios of Tell-Mahré, see Conrad, 'Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition'; and Palmer, *The seventh century in the West-Syrian chronicles*, 85ff., with earlier literature.

<sup>79</sup> Further comment with translated extracts in E.W. Brooks, 'A Syriac chronicle of the year 846', *ZDMG* 51 (1897) 569–88; Palmer, *The seventh century in the West-Syrian chronicles*, 75–84; and see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 322–3, 343.



*Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Glane-Losser 1987); English trans.: E.A. Wallis-Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj ... commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, being the First Part of his Political History of the World*, I (London 1932/repr. Amsterdam 1976).<sup>80</sup>

In the Nestorian or East Syrian tradition the chronicle of Elias of Nisibis, surviving in both Syriac and Arabic, is probably the best known: it covers the period up to 1018, whereas the later *Chronicle of Se'ert* (written in Arabic) is fragmentary, and reaches only as far as the mid-seventh century.

*Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum*, i, ed. E.W. Brooks (CSCO 62–3, *Scriptores syri* 21–4. Paris 1909–10); also partial ed. and trans. F. Baethgen, *Fragmente syrischer und arabischer Historiker* (Leipzig 1884); trans. L.J. Delaporte, *La chronographie d'Elie Bar-Sinaya, métropolitain de Nisibe* (Bibl. de l'école des hautes études 181. Paris 1910).<sup>81</sup>

Earlier Nestorian chronicles, such as that of Simon Barqāyā and John bar Penkāyē, end in the seventh century.<sup>82</sup>

### *Islamic (Arabic) Texts*

Arabic Islamic history writing is a very difficult subject, and although the sources are extremely valuable for many aspects of Byzantine history, they must be used with extreme care.<sup>83</sup> In its fundamental characteristics Islamic historiography is quite different from that familiar from the western – Latin and Greek, but also Christian Syriac/Arabic – tradition. The earliest major historiographical works were compilations of parallel traditions about particular individuals and events, with no overarching chronological framework providing a guide to the direction and tendency of the account or accounts thus generated. These collections of material consisted chiefly of large numbers of disparate accounts, often given in great detail, of specific moments or chains of events. Each is presented from a different perspective, reflecting the author's social status and identity, the original reasons for the record being made or transmitted, and reflecting also very varied socio-political contexts – tribal or familial political concerns, genealogical vested interests, regional affiliations and identities, and so forth. The first 'histories' were thus rather compendia, and the means through which the different and often contradictory tales and accounts were incorporated and justified was the *isnād*, or chain of transmission, a means of verifying information according to the (assumed) reliability of the various witnesses whose testimony to the event or facts in question could be invoked. The method derives directly from the system employed in collecting and validating the *hadīth* material, the sayings of the Prophet and his companions. This

<sup>80</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 470; *ODB* 2, 878–9.

<sup>81</sup> See Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre*, 14; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 413f. For the *Chronicle of Se'ert*, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 414.

<sup>82</sup> See Brock, 'Syriac sources for seventh-century history', 24 (John of Phenek).

<sup>83</sup> On this complex subject, see, especially, A. Noth (with L. Conrad), *The early Arabic historical tradition. A source-critical study* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 3. Princeton 1994); F.M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic origins. The beginnings of Islamic historical writing* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 14. Princeton 1998).

represents one of the earliest foci for Islamic historical interests and activities, since collections of sayings had to be accompanied by as complete and extensive a collection as possible of witnesses to the saying in question, each of which was then prefaced by its own specific such 'chain of witnesses', *isnâd*. In just the same way, a historical tradition evolved in which differing accounts of specific individuals' deeds, of particular events, of historical speeches and harangues of leaders and warriors, and so forth was evolved.<sup>84</sup> But in the process of constructing such compilatory accounts, older reports were omitted, newer ones invented and validated with their own *isnâd* tradition, events and factual details reorganized and reordered to fit in with a particular framework, determined by priorities external to the work itself (political, ethnic, geographical, etc.). At the same time, a whole series of *topoi* evolved, about battles, numbers in armies, what commanders say before and after battles, how towns and cities are captured, how the caliphs issued orders, what happened when a new territory was conquered, even down to the attributes of horses or other animals in particular contexts.

This process, it should be emphasized, describes less the deliberate rewriting of 'history' than the longer term and unconscious results of a series of choices, selections and systematizations of material made under particular historical conditions and under specific and chronologically-local constraints. The problem for the historian who wishes to draw upon this material is how to verify the information given in a specific source, and how to distinguish the invented or imagined from 'what really happened'; and it is clear that the accretion of legend, vested interest, and *topoi* over the centuries has made this an exceedingly difficult – some scholars of the material would say impossible – task, particularly where no corroborative tradition exists. Yet even where several sources appear to agree, the information may still be suspect, particularly if there is present one or more of the *topoi* with which the Arab historiographical tradition is replete.<sup>85</sup>

All these issues make the use of the Arabic histories for the period with which we are concerned especially problematic, the more so since specialists in the field of early Islamic historiography themselves often disagree completely on how the sources may be employed or interpreted (although all recognize the problem).<sup>86</sup> It is possible for the non-Arabist to derive some value from this complex body of material, at the very least where references to events or people occurring in

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<sup>84</sup> See F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography* (Leiden 1968); A.A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, ed. and trans. L.I. Conrad (Princeton 1983).

<sup>85</sup> For illustrations of these methods, and a deconstruction of the texts in question, see L.I. Conrad, 'The conquest of Arwâd: a source-critical study in the historiography of the early medieval Near East', in Av. Cameron and L.I. Conrad, eds, *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East, I: Problems in the literary source material* (SLAEI 1/I. Princeton 1992) 317–401; A. Noth, 'Isfahân – Nihâwand. Eine quellenkritische Studie zur frühislamischen Historiographie', *ZDMG* 118 (1968) 274–96; and the summary in Noth (with L. Conrad), *The early Arabic historical tradition. A source-critical study*, 1–23.

<sup>86</sup> Compare M. Cook and P. Crone, *Hagarism: the making of the Islamic world* (Cambridge 1977), with J. Wansbrough, *The sectarian milieu: content and composition of Islamic salvation history* (Oxford 1978); and more recently, F. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic origins*.

Byzantine and Eastern Christian sources are echoed in the Arabic material. But the historian who wishes to use even the most widely respected and detailed Arab historians must proceed with the utmost caution and in the full knowledge of the complex nature of this material.

The historiographical tradition for the period is dominated by the great history of Tabarî (the *History of the prophets and kings*);<sup>87</sup> but the several lesser chroniclers of the warfare between Byzantines and Arabs, all written down in the ninth century or later, also provide a wealth of important information.<sup>88</sup> Among the most important (because they serve also as a control on Tabarî), are al-Balâdhurî (d. 893), whose history, while dealing chiefly with the first period of the Islamic conquests in the seventh century, nevertheless contains useful information about the later period;<sup>89</sup> and al-Ya‘qûbî (d. after 905, also referred to as Ibn Wâdhîh), who wrote a history of the Byzantine empire, but this, along with the Byzantine section of his geographical compendium, has not survived. A ‘World History’ survives, but treats only very briefly relations with the Byzantines, covering the later ninth century.<sup>90</sup>

Also important are the *Chronology* of al-Bîrûnî (937–1048), whose annalistic compilation was based on Byzantine as well as Arab sources;<sup>91</sup> the anonymous *Book of Sources*, probably of the second half of the eleventh century, but based on earlier

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<sup>87</sup> For older editions and translations, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 375; also *ODB* 3, 2003; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes*, i, 278–86.

<sup>88</sup> Good summaries of these sources, with discussion and selected translations, are to be found in E.W. Brooks, ‘The struggle with the Saracens 717–867’, in: *The Cambridge Medieval History* IV (Cambridge 1923) 119–38; ‘Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the early Abbasids (I)’, *EHR* 15 (1900) 728–47; (II) *EHR* 16 (1901) 84–93; ‘The Arabs in Asia Minor (641–750) from Arabic sources’, *JHS* 18 (1898) 182–208; ‘The Campaign of 716–718 from Arabic Sources’, *JHS* 19 (1899) 19–31; and A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* i: *La dynastie d’Amorium (820–867)*; ii: *Les relations politiques de Byzance et des Arabes à l’époque de la dynastie macédonienne (Les empereurs Basile I, Léon le Sage et Constantin VII Porphyrogénète) (867–959)*, éd. fr. H. Grégoire and M. Canard (Corpus Bruxellense Hist. Byz. I, II, Bruxelles 1950, 1968); and M. Canard, ‘Les expéditions des arabes contre Constantinople dans l’histoire et la légende’, *JA* 108 (1926) 61 ff.; ‘Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes’, *DOP* 18 (1964) 33–56.

<sup>89</sup> Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 346; *ODB* 1, 246–7; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes*, I, 268–9; and especially E.W. Brooks, ‘Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the early Abbasids (II)’, *EHR* 16 (1901) 84–93.

<sup>90</sup> Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 345. Edn of the world history: *Ta’rîkh*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, 2 vols (Leiden 1883); translated extracts: Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes*, I, 272–7, and in Brooks, ‘The Arabs in Asia Minor (641–750)’ and ‘Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the early Abbasids’, I and II. For the geography: *Ya’kubî, Kitâb al-Buldân, Le livre des pays*, trad. G. Wiet (Cairo 1937); text in: *Bibliotheca Geographorum Araborum*, ed. M.-J. De Goeje (Leiden 1870ff.); nunc continuata consultantibus R. Blachère (etc.) (Leiden 1938ff.) vii. Also including occasional references to Byzantine-Arab relations is the later writer al-Kindî (d. 961): see R. Guest, ed., *El-Kindi. The Governors and judges of Egypt* (London 1912); translations of excerpts in E.W. Brooks, ‘The Relations Between the Empire and Egypt from a New Arabic Source’, *BZ* 22 (1913) 381–91, and Vasiliev, I, 393–4; II, 44–5.

<sup>91</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 414; and Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes*, II, 2, 427–30 for extracts and commentary.

material, including a very detailed account of the siege of Constantinople in 717–18 and Arab raids into Asia Minor; and the *History of Baghdad* of a certain Ibn Taifûr (A.D. 819–93), a poet and intellectual at the caliphal court in Baghdad, most of which is no longer extant, with the exception of the account for the years 819–33, and which furnishes valuable material for the reign of the caliph Ma'mûn.<sup>92</sup> Much later historians included also earlier material, and in some cases this can serve to corroborate or control other sources. Particularly valuable are the works of the tenth-century writer al-Mas'ûdî, whose annalistic work is lost, but in whose other writings (*The fields of gold: Murûj al-dhahab wa-ma'âdin al-jawâhir*; and *The book of notice and revision: Kitâb al-tanbîh wa-l-ishrâf*) a vast amount of historical information is embedded, and who includes valuable material about Byzantine administrative and military organization, internal politics, as well as relations between the empire and its neighbours. In addition, the later historian Ibn al-Athîr (A.D. 1160–1233), who wrote in the 1220s, includes useful information both about the Islamic conquest of Sicily during the ninth century as well as about internal Byzantine politics; while al-Nuwairî (A.D. 1279–1332), writing a century or so later, supplies useful data for the conquest of Sicily (using a now lost earlier source).

- al-Balâdhurî                    *Al-Balâdhurî, Kitâb futûh al-Buldân. The Origins of the Islamic State*, trans. P.K. Hitti, F.C. Murgotten (London 1916/Beirut 1966).
- al-Tabarî                        *Ta'rîkh al-rusul wa-l-mulûk*, ed. M.-J. de Goeje *et al.*, 15 vols (Leiden 1879–1901). English trans. *The History of al-Tabarî (Ta'rîkh al-rusul wa-l-mulûk)*, ed. I. Abbas, C.E. Bosworth *et al.*, 39 vols (New York 1985–).
- al-Bîrûnî                        E. Sachau, *Chronology of Ancient Nations. An English Version of the Arabic Text of the Athâr al-Bâkiya of Albîrûnî 'Vestiges of the Past'* (London 1879/repr. 1969).
- al-Mas'ûdî                      *Maçoudî, le livre de l'avertissement et de la révision*, trad. B. Carra de Vaux (Paris 1896) (excerpted in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes*, I, 333–7).
- Maçoudî, les prairies d'or*, texte et trad. C. Barbier de Meynard, P. de Courteille, 9 vols (Paris 1861–77). German trans. G. Rotter, *Al-Mas'ûdî. Bis zu den Grenzen der Erde. Auszüge aus dem 'Buch der Goldwäschen'* (Tübingen–Basel 1978); excerpts also in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes*, I, 329–33.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Vasiliev, I, 369–72; II, 220–5 (for ninth-century extracts); E.W. Brooks, 'The Campaign of 716–718 from Arabic Sources', *JHS* 19 (1899) 19–33. Text: *Kitâb al-Uyûn*, ed. M.-J. De Goeje and P. De Jong, in *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum* I (Leiden 1869). See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 414. Ibn Taifûr: H. Keller, *Sechster Band des Kitâb Bagdâd von Ahmad Ibn Abi Tâhir Taifûr*, 2 vols (Leipzig 1908) (text and German translation); Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 345–6.

<sup>93</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 397–8; A. M. Shboul, *Al-Mas'ûdî and his world. A Muslim humanist and his interest in non-Muslims* (London 1979) especially 227–84; *ODB* 2, 1312.

- Ibn al-Athîr *Ibn al-Athîr, Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, trans. E. Fagnan (Algier 1898); excerpts in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes* I, 351–69.<sup>94</sup>
- al-Nuwairî excerpted in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes* I, 379–85.<sup>95</sup>

Apart from those which have survived only in very fragmentary form, a number of minor chronicles complete this survey, mostly containing only the briefest details about the Byzantine world, and usually concerned with military confrontation.<sup>96</sup>

### *Armenian Texts*

Armenian historiography, similar in its structure and framing principles to the mainstream Byzantine historiographical tradition, provides important information about both secular and ecclesiastical politics, about Byzantine-Armenian and Byzantine-Arab relations, and about the internal affairs of the Byzantine world.<sup>97</sup> Armenian historians developed relatively early, however, a highly localised and 'national' aspect to their historiography which, associated with the history of the Armenian Church, gave a specific and clear focus to their interests and concerns. The majority of historians concentrated on the history of a particular region or family (and thereby also region), and its contacts with the surrounding principalities and powers, so that much Armenian historical writing deals with the Byzantine world only very briefly. An exception is the *History* of Moses Xorenac'i, probably written in the tenth century (although the date is debated) which attempts an account of the origins of the Armenian nation but takes the story only as far as the middle of the fifth century. This parochialism is particularly true of the eighth and ninth centuries, when Byzantine influence and political power in eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus was at a very low ebb, although the information which is provided offers important details and often serves to corroborate or to challenge the Byzantine accounts.<sup>98</sup>

The most important sources for Byzantine-Armenian relations in the period in question here are the *History of Armenia* of Leontios the priest, or Ghevond;<sup>99</sup> the

<sup>94</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 472; *ODB* 2, 972.

<sup>95</sup> Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 498–9.

<sup>96</sup> See, for example, the anonymous *Chronicle of Cambridge*, discussed above; or the *History of al-Wâqidî*, of which only the section dealing with the original conquest of Syria in the 630s survives: see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 346–7; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* I (Leiden 1967) 294–7; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic origins*, 245–8. Text: *Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Wâqidî, Kitâb al-Maghâzî*, 3 vols, ed. Marsden Jones (London 1966) (older version of extracts in J. Wellhausen, *Muhammad in Medina* [Berlin 1882]).

<sup>97</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 224–227, 320, 374–375; Chr. Bartikian, *To Βυζάντιον εις τας αρμενικας πηγας* (Thessaloniki 1981). For a good critical survey, see R. W. Thomson, *A bibliography of classical Armenian literature to 1500 A.D.* (Turnhout 1995)

<sup>98</sup> See K.H. Maksoudian, 'Armenian literature', in: *DMA* 1 (New York 1982) 507–12, esp. 508–10; R. W. Thomson, 'The formation of the Armenian literary tradition', in *East of Byzantium* (Washington DC 1982) 135–50; *ODB* 1, 180–1. For Moses Xorenac'i, see *History of the Armenians*, trans. R. W. Thomson (Cambridge, MA 1978) and introd.

<sup>99</sup> This is essentially a continuation – up to the year 788 – of the seventh-century

*History of the House of Ardzruni* of Thomas Ardzruni,<sup>100</sup> the *History of Armenia* (up to 925) of the katholikos John VI of Draskhanakert (tenth century),<sup>101</sup> and the *Universal History* of Stephen Asoghik (Stephen of Taron) (eleventh century).<sup>102</sup> Other, minor chronicles also contain much that is relevant to Byzantine affairs.<sup>103</sup> For the most part, these sources concern themselves only marginally with Byzantine matters, although where individual Armenians, or Byzantine-Armenian relations, are concerned, they often provide information not found in the Byzantine sources.

- Ghevond, *History of Armenia*: Fr. trans. *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes par l'éminent Ghévond, vardabed arménien, écrivain du huitième siècle*, ed. and trans. G. Chahnazarian (Paris 1856); English trans. Z. Arzoumanian, *History of Lewond, the eminent vardabet of the Armenians*. Trans., introd., and commentary (Wynnewood, PA 1982); English trans. (partial): N.A. Newman, *The early Christian-Muslim dialogue. A collection of documents from the first three Islamic centuries (632–900 A.D.)* (Hatfield, Penn. 1993).
- Thomas Ardzruni, *History of the House of Ardzruni*: ed. M.-F. Brosset, in V. Langlois, ed., *Collection des Historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, 2 vols (Paris 1868–69 [St Petersburg 1874–76]/repr. Amsterdam 1979) I, 1–266; English trans. and commentary R.W. Thomson, *History of the house of the Artsrunik'* (Detroit 1985).
- katholikos John VI, *History of Armenia*: trans. M.J. St-Martin, *Histoire d'Arménie par le patriarche Jean VI dit Jean Catholicos* (Paris 1841); English trans. K. Maksoudian, *History of Armenia* (Atlanta, GA 1987); older edn by M. Emin, *Patmut'iwn Hayots'* (Moscow 1853/repr. Tbilisi 1912/New York 1980).
- Stephen of Taron, *Universal History*: trans. E. Dulaurier, *Histoire universelle par Etienne Açogh'ig de Daron*, I (Paris 1883); F. Macler, *Histoire universelle par Etienne Asolik de Taron* (Paris 1917), II–III; German trans. H. Gelzer, A. Burckhardt, *Stephanos von Taron, armenische Geschichte* (Leipzig 1907).

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*History of Heraclius* of Sebeos. See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 320; *ODB* 2, 1220; Thomson, *Bibliography*, 149–50; and B. Martin-Hisard, 'L'empire byzantin dans l'oeuvre de Lewond', in: *L'Arménie et Byzance. Histoire et culture* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 12. Paris 1996) 135–44.

<sup>100</sup> Written in the tenth century and reaching to the year 936. See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 374–5; Thomson, *Bibliography*, 204–5.

<sup>101</sup> In *The Book of Letters*, ed. Y. Ismireanc' (Tiflis 1901), Fr. trans. M. Tallon (Beirut 1955ff.) a collection of documents concerning ecclesiastical affairs from the fifth century on includes also the *History of the Armenian Councils* by the eighth-century katholikos John IV.

<sup>102</sup> The *Universal History* goes up to the year 1004. A reliable source for the later tenth and early eleventh centuries, the information for the earlier period, although useful, must be used with care. See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 410–11; Thomson, *Bibliography*, 202–3.

<sup>103</sup> For example, the *History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movses Dasxuranc'i*, trans. C.J.B. Dowsett (Oxford 1961). The original *History* appears to reach to the year 944, with later interpolations and additions.

# Hagiography and Related Writing

## Hagiography: Sources and Genre

Hagiographical writings for the eighth and ninth centuries represent a particularly important source, since they can reflect popular and unofficial views and attitudes in a way less open to works which are conceived as belonging to the genre of historiography and chronography. Saints' lives and related collections of miracles have regularly been used by historians to shed light on Byzantine society and institutions as well as beliefs, everyday life and the development of the Greek language. But they are also a dangerous source, since they are always informed by a clear ideological programme – representing the saint or chief character in the best possible light, encouraging the reader or listener to imitate the piety and spiritual purity of the protagonists as far as they were able, and imbued in consequence with sets of values, implicit and explicit, which invariably meant the introduction of a strongly interpretative element by the writer or compiler.<sup>1</sup> They also presented strongly

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the discussion in C. Walter, 'Theodore, archetype of the warrior saint', *REB* 57 (1999) 163–210, on the relationship between hagiography and iconography (with further literature on the cults of the 'military' saints); and especially that in M. Vinson, 'Gender and politics in the post-iconoclastic period: the *Lives* of Antony the Younger, the Empress Theodora, and the patriarch Ignatios', *B* 68 (1998) 469–515. For aspects of the use of hagiography in social history and the history of cultural values, see, for example, A.-M. Talbot, 'Byzantine women, saints' lives and social welfare', in E.A. Hanawalt and C. Lindberg, eds, *Through the eye of a needle: Judaeo-Christian roots of social welfare* (Kirkville, MO 1994) 105–22; D. de F. Abrahamse, 'Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period', *BF* 8 (1982) 3–17; H.J. Magoulias, 'The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.: Sorcery, Relics and Icons', *B* 37 (1967) 228–69; *idem*, 'The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries', *BZ* 57 (1964) 127–50; L. Rydén, 'Gaza, Emesa and Constantinople: Late Ancient Cities in the Light of Hagiography', in L. Rydén and J.O. Rosenqvist, eds, *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* 4 (Stockholm 1993) 133–44; G. Dagron, 'Quand la terre tremble ...', *TM* 8 (1981) 87–103 (repr. in *idem*, *La romanité chrétien en Orient* [London 1984] III) and 'Le saint, le savant, l'astrologue: étude de thèmes hagiographiques à travers quelques recueils de "Questions et réponses" des Ve–VIIe siècles', in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés (IVe–VIIe siècles): études augustiniennes* (Paris 1981) 143–55 (repr. in G. Dagron, *La romanité chrétienne en Orient* [London 1984] IV). On the lexicography of the hagiographical texts, see the brief remarks of E. Trapp, 'Die Bedeutung der byzantinischen Hagiographie für die griechische Lexikographie', J.O. Rosenqvist, ed., *Leimon. Studies presented to Lennart Rydén on his sixty-fifth birthday* (Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Uppsaliensia 6. Uppsala 1996) 1–10.

historiographical/chronographical traits, so that chronicles and hagiographies display many elements in common, particularly during the period from the later seventh into the later ninth century.<sup>2</sup>

The term 'hagiography' embraces several sub-categories of writing, including as well as the standard saint's *Life* related writings such as panegyrics and homilies about particular saints, miracle collections, stories about relics and their movement. In this section we will confine ourselves to the first category, namely the saint's *Life* (the *bios kai politeia*, or *vita*).<sup>3</sup> Hagiographies were a widely used type of literature, both read by individuals and groups, as well as listened to by even larger numbers of people – in churches or monasteries, for example.<sup>4</sup> A major watershed was reached in the middle of the tenth century, when large numbers of earlier lives were restyled and in part rewritten by a certain Symeon Metaphrastes ('the translator'), probably the same as the historian Symeon the Logothete treated above.<sup>5</sup> But similar work was

<sup>2</sup> See Kazhdan, *Literature*, 22–35 and 143–81, 381–407.

<sup>3</sup> See, especially, I. Ševčenko, *Observations on the study of Byzantine hagiography in the last half-century* (Toronto 1995); Kazhdan, *Literature*, 138–43.

<sup>4</sup> See the useful remarks of St. Efthymiadis, 'The Byzantine hagiographer and his audience in the ninth and tenth centuries', in Ch. Høgel, ed., *Metaphrasis. Redactions and audiences in middle Byzantine hagiography* (Oslo 1996) 78–80; R. Browning, 'The "low-level" Saint's Life in the early Byzantine world', in S. Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine saint* (Studies supplementary to *Sobornost* 5. London 1981) 117–27; M. van Esbroeck, 'Le saint comme symbole', *ibid.*, 128–40; and E. Patlagean, 'Ancient Byzantine hagiography and social history', trans. J. Hodgkin, in S. Wilson, ed., *Saints and their cults: studies in religious sociology, folklore and history* (Cambridge 1983) 101–21. On audience and author in general in the period ca 700–850, see Kazhdan, *Literature*, 149–54. For further discussion, see in addition L. Rydén, 'Überlegungen zum literarischen Wert oder Unwert hagiographischer texte', *Eranos* 91 (1993) 47–60, and F. Lifshitz, 'Beyond positivism and genre: "hagiographical" texts as historical narratives', *Viator* 25 (1994) 95–113. For a survey of the genre in its wider and comparative context up to the middle of the eighth century, see S. Döpp and W. Geerlings *et al.*, *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur* (Freiburg–Basle–Vienna 1998).

<sup>5</sup> For a good survey of the nature of Byzantine hagiography, its origins, characteristics and functions, see J. Dümmer, 'Griechische Hagiographie', in Winkelmann and Brandes, eds, *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz*, 284–96, together with the remarks of V. Vavřínek, 'Altkirchenslawische Hagiographie', *ibid.*, 297–304; also Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 71–5. Still fundamental is A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols (Leipzig 1936–39), especially I, 18–24 on the pre-Metaphrastic lives; together with H. Delehaye, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Brussels 1934); *idem*, *L'ancienne hagiographie byzantine* (Subsid. Hag. 73. Brussels 1991); and R. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie. Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Paris 1953). See also P. Peeters, *Orient et Byzance. Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Subsid. Hag. 26. Brussels 1950). For briefer treatments, see *ODB* 2, 897–9; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 71–5, with literature on all aspects of hagiographical writing; and F. van Ommeslaeghe, 'The *Acta sanctorum* and Bollandist methodology', in Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine saint*, 155–63. On the *Lives* of saints of the eighth and ninth centuries, see also E. Patlagean, 'Sainteté et pouvoir', in Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine saint*, 88–105. For a reassessment of the work of Metaphrastes, see C. Rapp, 'Byzantine hagiographers as antiquarians, seventh to tenth centuries', *Bosphorus. Essays in honour of Cyril Mango* (Amsterdam 1995) (= *Byzantinische Forschungen* 21) 31–44, especially 34–6.



done, albeit on a smaller and more piecemeal basis, by other writers during the ninth century and in the aftermath of iconoclasm, so that establishing an 'original' for many of the hagiographies preserved in these collections is almost impossible.<sup>6</sup>

Collections of saints' lives seem to have been readily available by the later sixth or seventh centuries, and probably were compiled long before this time. Hagiography itself goes back even farther, to the fourth century at the latest; but the first clear evidence that hagiographies were becoming a standard element in the reading material of the pious, whether churchman, monk or layman, dates from the early seventh century.<sup>7</sup> Their influence was considerable, and herein lies precisely one of the problems associated with them. For it was this influential position which encouraged also later writers, apologists or editors to rewrite parts of the text, introduce interpolations or explanatory notices, or cut out sections which may have seemed unsuitable, according to their own values and priorities. Distinguishing what was originally in a text and what was later added or emended has thus become one of the most time consuming and at the same time essential aspects of the study of a hagiographical text. No more so than in the period of Byzantine iconoclasm was this the case, and numerous studies have shown just how complex the hagiographies of the eighth and ninth/tenth centuries are in these respects. That the iconoclasts placed great emphasis on the cult of saints, and, in particular, on hagiography (which they contrasted with images of the saints in question), is well known. And it has also recently been shown that the criteria for the 'good' saint or holy man from the iconoclast point of view were somewhat different from those common to the iconophile tradition (which also became the dominant and mainstream tradition after 843).

The literary analysis of saints' lives which show elements of their iconoclast origins has demonstrated a number of differentiating features: saints are defined in terms of what they achieve for their fellows, rather than their essential characteristics as persons with divine or holy attributes; what they achieve are, for the most part, not miracles, but charitable deeds and the exercise of mercy; and when miracles are performed, they tend to reflect acts which benefit society as a whole; the ideals of sainthood are drawn from Scripture, thus from textual tradition, rather than from the custom and practice of the Church. The apostles, the prophets, the fathers of the Church are the heroes upon whose characters, accomplishments, and reputation the iconoclast hagiographers modelled their actors. And at the same time, the deeds and lives of the saints in question are set firmly in a real social context, in which the work of the peasant, the duties of the soldier, and the spiritual functions of the priest in

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<sup>6</sup> See, for example, St. Efthymiadis, 'John of Sardis and the *Metaphraseis* of the *Passio* of St Nikephoros the Martyr (BHG 1334)', *RSBN* 28 (1991) 23–44.

<sup>7</sup> See C. Mango, 'A Byzantine hagiographer at work: Leontios of Neapolis', in I. Hutter, ed., *Byzanz und der Westen. Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters* (Vienna 1984) 25–41; and see Rapp, 'Byzantine hagiographers as antiquarians', 34. See also *eadem*, 'Figures of female sanctity: Byzantine edifying manuscripts and their audience', *DOP* 50 (1996) 313–32; and, esp., the contributions to Chr. Høgel, ed., *Metaphrasis. Redactions and audiences in middle Byzantine hagiography* (Oslo 1996).

administering the eucharist are central. Iconoclast hagiography was thus, in one sense, a more pragmatic and socially engaged hagiography.<sup>8</sup>

Yet, in spite of appearances, many saints' lives which seem, or claim, to be contemporary with the events they describe were actually written down much later, often during the later ninth or tenth century. Stylistic uniformity masks many divergences between the lives, and each has its own subtle or not-so-subtle hidden agenda. Contemporary or near-contemporary lives of saints who lived during the periods of iconoclast rule were generally rewritten or restyled (along with many earlier hagiographies) during the ninth century or later, thus considerably affecting the way in which iconoclast emperors and their officials or soldiers are represented, as well as affecting the historical details offered, the rhetorical or ideological import of the life, and the moral tone of the composition.<sup>9</sup> Many lives were written later, sometimes much later, than the events they purport to describe, thus giving greater scope to the pious imaginations of the authors who were thus able freely to situate their heroes in situations through which their piety and faith could best be demonstrated. Often, the hagiographer worked well-known historical figures or events into the narrative, locating the saint or saints in a specific historical time and context, and drawing on other hagiographical writings and even histories for relevant material. The extent to which this is the case varies not only from saint's life to saint's life, but in respect of the original motives for the composition.<sup>10</sup> In some cases, hagiographers invented fictional saints in order to develop a moral-religious message; in others, they took the name of a known martyr of the iconoclasts (or the Muslims, or the Bulgars, depending upon the historical time and context of composition), but about whom virtually nothing was known, and wove around him or her a convincing narrative based on other hagiographical writings. This does not

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<sup>8</sup> See M.-F. Auzépy, 'L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: l'exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes', *BS* 53 (1992) 57–67. Four examples are drawn on: the *Vitae* of George of Amastris, Eudokimos, Philaretos and Leo of Catania. See also G. Huxley, 'Hagiography and the first Byzantine iconoclasm', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 80 [C], no. 9 (1980) 187–96.

<sup>9</sup> The work of the hagiographers of the ninth century is treated by L. Rydén, 'New forms of hagiography: heroes and saints', in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major papers* (New York 1986) 537–54; and by W. Lackner, 'Die Gestalt des Heiligen in der byzantinischen Hagiographie des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts', *ibid.*, 523–36. See also A. Kazhdan, 'Hermitic, cenobitic and secular ideals in Byzantine hagiography of the ninth and tenth centuries', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985) 473–87.

<sup>10</sup> For the best survey of hagiography during the eighth and ninth centuries, see I. Ševčenko, 'Hagiography of the iconoclast period', in Bryer and Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm*, 113–31 (also repr. in I. Ševčenko, *Ideology, letters and culture in the Byzantine world* [London 1982] no.V) – see 113 for the question of stylistic uniformity; and for a discussion of their historical value, see *PmbZ, Prolegomena* (Berlin 1998) 52–5, 80–1, 106, 116, 142–6; see also Patlagean, 'Sainteté et pouvoir'. Further literature and details of most of the hagiographies included here can be found in the *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 55–142. An older but still valuable survey can also be found in L. Bréhier, 'L'hagiographie byzantine des VIIIe et IXe siècles à Constantinople et dans les provinces', *Journal des Savants* 14 (1916) 358–67, 450–65. For discussion of some of the functions of hagiography, see G. Dagron, 'L'ombre d'un doute: l'hagiographie en question, VIe–XIe siècle', *DOP* 46 (1992) 59–68.

mean that such lives are historically worthless: on the contrary, they tell us a great deal about religious, cultural, and political priorities and concerns, and they can also contain important reflections of the political situation both at the time of writing or composition of the life or, when written not too long after the events they claim to describe, about the social and political history in general of the period at which the saint lived.<sup>11</sup> By the same token, lives of much earlier saints – from the sixth or fifth century or earlier – which were copied, rewritten or emended during the ninth century, can often tell us a great deal, if not about the events of the world in which this literary activity took place, then about its values and assumptions. But even the most apparently reliable accounts must be treated with some caution.<sup>12</sup>

The texts – both saints' lives and related writings – which are most relevant for the period with which we are concerned are listed alphabetically below, with brief remarks on their value, chief characteristics or problems associated with them.<sup>13</sup> But apart from individual lives, there are several other sources of information which belong to this hagiographical category, sometimes overlapping with the lives, often providing information which has not survived in any other form. Unique to the last years of the emperor Theophilos, but possibly dating to the later ninth or early tenth century, is a painter's handbook – ascribed to a certain Ulpus (or Elpius) the Roman, certainly fictitious – describing the physical appearance and characteristics of the Fathers of the Church. This is certainly the oldest extant such guide, but whether it served as a model book for the painter and for the purposes of church decoration in reference to feast days and the needs of the liturgical calendar, as has been thought, is unclear. The parallels which were thought to exist between its descriptions and those in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, for example, have been shown to be very limited. But the text should be taken together with the liturgical and hagiographical material discussed in this section, and there is no reason to doubt that, whatever the nature of the relationship between them, its transmission accompanied that of the Constantinople *synaxarion* (see below). Historians have paid scant attention to it, however, although one attempt at least has been made to extract from other texts information about the pictorial decoration of church and monastic buildings. The consensus in this case, however, is that the text was probably a literary exercise rather than a practical guide to portraiture.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See, in particular, the excellent brief discussion by Rapp, 'Byzantine hagiographers as antiquarians'.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, M.-F. Auzépy, 'Les *Vies d'Auxence* et le monachisme "Auxentien"', *REB* 53 (1995) 205–35; also Lifshitz, 'Beyond positivism and genre' (n. 4 above).

<sup>13</sup> Halkin's *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, together with the accompanying *Auctarium*, is the most important catalogue raisonné available for these hagiographical works.

<sup>14</sup> For a full edition with detailed textual commentary and discussion of the manuscript tradition: M. Chatzidakis, *Studies in Byzantine art and archaeology* (London 1972) No. III (first publ. in *EEBS* 14 [1938] 393–414). Most recent re-edition with commentary and further literature: F. Winkelmann, "'Über die körperlichen Merkmale der gottbeseelten Väter". Zu einem Malerbuch aus der Zeit zwischen 836 und 913', in G. Prinzing and D. Simon, eds, *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz* (Munich 1990) 107–27, 202–3. For the association between this text and versions of the *Synaxarion*, see *Synax. CP* LXVI; but see the detailed

Three of the most important sources of hagiographical material are: the *synaxaria*, which contain brief remarks or notices for the saints of each day of the year; the *menologia*, collections of full-length saints' lives organised by calendrical date of saints' days (and according to the canonical year, beginning with September); and – especially important for liturgical history – the various liturgical *typika* (also referred to as *synaxaria*) of the Church and of monasteries – formal calendars for the ecclesiastical year originally produced in a monastic context (such as the monasteries of Stoudios and Evergetis in Constantinople, for example, and that of St Sabas in Palestine, from which the Sabaitic *typikon*, and thence the later standard Byzantine *typikon* evolved) with details of the liturgies for the various church feasts and holy days, including brief encapsulations of saints' lives as appropriate.<sup>15</sup> Just as important, although none survive for the iconoclast period, are monastic *ktêtorika typika* (i.e. founders' *typika*), which set out the regulations for the governance, administration and communal regulation of a monastic community, but may include also the monastic liturgical calendar as well. In the case of the Evergetis monastery there were two *typika*, a regulatory one and a liturgical *synaxarion*.<sup>16</sup>

Of the liturgical *typika*, the most important for the middle Byzantine period are:

1. *Typikon* of the Great Church in Constantinople: *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Ste-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle. Introduction, texte critique, trad. et notes*, ed. J. Mateos, 2 vols (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165/6. Rome 1962, 1963); see also A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei*, I: *Typika*; III: *Typika*, pt 2 (Kiev 1895, 1917) (repr. Hildesheim 1965), I, 1–163. The earliest manuscripts date from the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>17</sup>
2. *Typikon* of Messina: *Le Typicon du monastère du St-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messinensis gr. 115, A.D. 1131. Introd., texte critique et notes*, ed. M. Arranz (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 185. Rome 1969). The *typikon* was compiled, in Greek, in 1131.
3. *Typikon* of the Evergetis monastery in Constantinople, ed. in Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie I*, 256–614.

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critical discussion in J. Lowden, *Illuminated prophet books. A study of Byzantine manuscripts of the major and minor prophets* (London 1988) 51–5. Lowden offers a translation of the text (translated extracts also in Mango, *Art*). For efforts to reconstruct a cycle of images from textual sources: P. Speck, 'Ein Heiligenbilderzyklus im Studios-Kloster um das Jahr 800', in *Actes du XIIIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines 3* (Belgrade 1964) 333–44.

<sup>15</sup> Beck, *Kirche*, 252–3; *ODB* 3, 1823, 2131–2. For technically distinct definitions of the three terms, see Beck, *Kirche*, 251 n. 3. For a survey of monastic *typika*, see C. Galatariotou, 'Byzantine ktetorika typika: a comparative study', *REB* 45 (1987) 77–138.

<sup>16</sup> For the *ktetorikon typikon* of the Evergetis monastery, see P. Gautier, 'Le Typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis', *REB* 40 (1982) 5–101; and for its context, see M. Mullett, 'Introduction: work and worship', in M. Mullett and A. Kirby, eds, *Work and worship at the Theotokos Evergetis 1050–1200* (Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 6.2. Belfast 1997) 1–20; and, especially, J. Klentos, 'The *Synaxarion* of Evergetis: algebra, geology and Byzantine monasticism', *ibid.*, 329–55, with useful discussion of definitions, form and character of liturgical *typika*.

<sup>17</sup> *ODB* 3, 2132–3, with literature; also K. Onasch, *Lexikon Liturgie und Kunst der Ostkirche unter Berücksichtigung der alten Kirche* (Berlin–Munich 1993) 370–1.

Other *typika* are edited and published in Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, although they are of less immediate relevance for this period than the three listed here.

Of the various *menologia* which are extant and which date from the middle Byzantine period (the earliest manuscripts are of ninth-century date, and the first reference to what may have been a *menologion* occurs in a text of Theodore of Stoudios), two are of particular importance.<sup>18</sup> The eleventh-century anonymous 'imperial' *menologion* was probably commissioned during the reign of Michael IV (1034–41). The text was edited by V. Latyshev, although unfortunately only part of the year is extant. Some of the manuscripts are illustrated, but the miniatures are, in fact, copied from the so-called *Menologion* of Basil II, which is, in fact, a *synaxarion* (see below). The 'imperial' *menologion* was based on an earlier such collection attributed to the tenth-century hagiographer Symeon Metaphrastes, a ten-volume collection of 148 lives arranged by the monthly liturgical calendar of the church which formed the basis of all later Byzantine *menologia* and which became standard thereafter – indeed, its importance both in the liturgical life of the orthodox church and for the later study of medieval hagiography is illustrated by the fact that it is preserved in nearly 700 manuscripts.<sup>19</sup>

Closely associated with the *menologia*, but representing, as noted above, a slightly different genre, are the *synaxaria*. The two most important in respect of date of compilation and the material they include are the so-called *Synaxarion* of Constantinople (or *Synaxarium Sirmondianum*, named after the Jesuit Sirmond with whom the manuscript was first associated)<sup>20</sup> and the (misleadingly named) *Menologion* of Basil II, the latter derived from the former and covering the months from September to February. The *Menologion* of Basil survives in a lavishly illustrated version including 430 miniatures, but the texts which the images illustrate have been carefully edited by the original compilers so that text and miniature each occupy half of each page, resulting in the exclusion of material found in the fuller *Life* of the saint in question (where this survives).<sup>21</sup> For the texts:

<sup>18</sup> See the discussion of Rapp, 'Byzantine hagiographers as antiquarians', 33f.

<sup>19</sup> Beck, *Kirche*, 253f.; 572–5; 579–80; *ODB* 2, 1341; F. Halkin, *Le ménologie impérial de Baltimore* (Brussels 1985); and, esp., N.P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated editions of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago 1990). On Symeon Metaphrastes' work, see also the still useful survey article by J. Gouillard, 'Syméon Logothète et Magistros, surnommé le Métaphraste', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Catholique* 14, 2 (Paris 1941) col. 2968.

<sup>20</sup> The *synaxarion* of Constantinople was commissioned by the emperor Constantine VII, and compiled by the deacon and librarian Evaristos: see A. Luzzi, 'Note sulla recensione del Sinassario di Costantinopoli patrocinata da Costantino VII Porfirogenito', *RSBN* 26 (1989) 183; and, especially, *idem*, *Studi sull Sinassario di Costantinopoli* (Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neellenici 8. Rome 1995); also J. Noret, 'Le Synaxaire Leningrad gr. 240. Sa place dans l'évolution du synaxaire byzantin', *ADSV* 10 (1973) 125. As well as entries for the saints and martyrs of the Church, it includes also entries for important events, such as the *Memoria obsidionis*, commemorating the siege of 717: *Synax. CP*, 895–904.

<sup>21</sup> S. der Nersessian, 'Remarks on the date of the Menologium and the Psalter written for Basil II', *B* 15 (1940/1941) 104–25; *ODB* 2, 1341–2; 1991; Beck, *Kirche*, 251–2; H. Delehaye, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica* (London 1977). The illustrations (without text) are reproduced in *Il menologio di Basilio II (cod. Vaticano greco 1613)* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti VIII. Turin 1907).

*Menologii anonymi Byzantini saec. X quae supersunt, fasc. prior: Februarium et Martium menses continens. Fasc. alter: Menses Iunium, Iulium, Augustum continens. Sumptibus Caesareae Academiae scientiarum e cod. Hierosolimitano S. Sepulcri 17* (Petropoli 1911/1912, repr. Leipzig 1970).

*Menologion Basilii*, in: *PG* 117, 20–613.

The *menologion* attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes: ed. J. Malou, in: *PG* 114–116.

*Synaxarion Sirmondianum* (or: of Constantinople): ed. H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi adiectis synaxariis selectis* (Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Brussels 1902).

### Individual Lives

*Vita Andreae apostoli* by Epiphanius, monk of the monastery of Kallistratou, in: *PG* 120, 216–60 (*BHG* 102); A. Dressel, *Epiphanii monachi et presbyteri edita et inedita* (Paris–Leipzig 1843) 45–82. Epiphanius claims in his account to have travelled widely in the northern Black Sea region during his exile in the reign of Leo V, and this purportedly early ninth-century confection contains some information on the writer and his world, and events of the recent past (see, for example, Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, 219 n. 188; *eadem*, *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin*, 274–5). See Beck, *Kirche*, 513. Epiphanius also wrote a *Life* of the Virgin Mary, q.v.

*Vita Andreae Hierosolymitani, archiepisc. Cretae* ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in: *Analekta* v, 169–80, 422–44 (*BHG* 113); ed. B. Laourdas, in, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 7 (1953) 63–74, text at 66–74 (*BHG* 114); ed. Latyshev, in *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saeculi X*, II, 136f. (*BHG* 114a). See Beck, *Kirche*, 500, 561; *ODB* 1, 92–3. Andrew died *ca* 740; his *Life* was written by Niketas, but the original date of composition remains debated. L.G. Westerink, *Nicétas Magistros, lettres d'un exilé* (Paris 1973) 45–6 prefers an earlier date (middle of the eighth century); Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 127 n. 105b is not convinced. One argument in favour of its early date would be the fact that icons are nowhere in the *Life* an issue, which would be strange for a life composed after 842/3 or later. See M.-F. Auzépy, 'La carrière d'André de Crète', *BZ* 88 (1995) 1–12.

*Vita Andreae in Crisi* in: *AS* Oct. VIII, 135–42 (*BHG* 111); 142–9 (*BHG* 112). Cf. *Synax. CP*, 147–8, 151–4. Beck, *Kirche*, 561 n. 4, 562; Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Constantinople', i, 214–16; Th. Detorakes, *Oi 'Αγιοι τῆς πρώτης βυζαντινῆς περιόδου τῆς Κρήτης καὶ ἡ σχετικὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλολογία* (Athens 1970) 197–210. Of little value, probably a fictional saint invented during the period following the restoration of images, and drawing on the *Life* of Stephen the Younger. See M.-F. Auzépy, 'De Philarète, de sa famille, et de certains monastères de Constantinople', in *Les saints et leurs sanctuaires*, 117–35, especially 128–34 on the background to the invention; *eadem*, *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin*, 192; also Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 114, 129.

*Vita Andreae Sali* in: *PG* 111, 621–888 (*BHG* 117); L. Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, I: *Introduction, testimonies and Nachleben*; II: *Text, translation and notes* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 4, 1/2.

Uppsala 1995). Written probably in the first part of the tenth century, but incorporating elements of an earlier (seventh-century) hagiographical cycle. Andrew was again a fictional character, but the *Life* contains interesting information on Constantinople, depending on the date attributed to it. See C. Mango, 'The Life of St Andrew the Fool reconsidered', *RSBS* 2 (= *Miscellanea A. Pertusi* II, Bologna 1982) 297–313 (repr. in *Byzantium and its Image* [London 1984] VIII); Lennart Rydén, 'The *Life* of St Basil the Younger and the *Life* of St Andreas Salos', in *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his sixtieth birthday by his colleagues and students* (= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7, Cambridge, MA 1983) 568–86; *idem*, 'The holy fool', in Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine saint*, 106–13; and C. Ludwig, *Sonderformen byzantinischer Hagiographie und ihr literarisches Vorbild* (BBS, 3. Berlin 1997), 220–90.

*De Anna* in: *Synax. CP*, 170; 173–8 (*BHG* 2027). A short account made up mostly of well-established hagiographical topoi concerning Anna who, under the name Euphemianos, lived a pious life under a false identity as a eunuch in a monastery. See *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 117–18.

*De Anthusa* (of Mantineion) in: *Synax. CP*, 848–52 (*BHG* 2029h; cf. also *Synax. CP*, 825; 847–52; and 853f.). Trans. of *Synax. CP*, 848–52, by A.-M. Talbot, 'The *Life* of St Anthusa of Mantineion', in Talbot, ed., *Byzantine defenders of images* (Washington DC 1998), 13–19 (trans. 16–19). Anthusa lived in the eighth century and was a contemporary of Constantine V; the synaxarion notice has been shown by Mango to be historically reliable when properly understood, and sheds valuable light on political and social conditions in Asia Minor at that time. It was probably composed before the council of 787, and based on a more detailed *Life* which has not survived. See C. Mango, 'St Anthusa of Mantineion and the family of Constantine V', *AB* 100 (= *Mélanges offerts à B. Gaiffier et F. Halkin* [Brussels 1982]) 401–9 (= *Byzantium and its Image*, IX).

*De Anthusa* (daughter of Constantine V) *Synax. CP* 598–600; 607; 613–14; 617. Eng. trans. of *Synax. CP* 613–14 by N. Constas, 'The *Life* of St Anthusa, daughter of Constantine V', in Talbot, ed., *Byzantine defenders of images*, 21–4 (trans. 23–4) (German trans. in I. Rochow, *Kaiser Konstantin V. [741–775]. Materialien zu seinem Leben und Nachleben* [BBS 1. Frankfurt, 1994] 14). See U.V. Bosch, 'Anthusa. Ein Beitrag zum Kaisertum der Eirene', *BF* 1 (1966) 24–9; Mango, 'St Anthusa of Mantineion and the family of Constantine V'; and Rochow, *Kaiser Konstantin V.*, *loc. cit.*

*Vita Antonii iunioris* ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in: *Sbornik Palestinskoi i Siriiskoi agiologii I. Pravoslavonii Palestinskii Sbornik* 19/3 (57) (St Petersburg 1907) 186–216 (Russian trans. V. Latyshev, 209–43) (*BHG* 142); F. Halkin, 'Saint Antoine le jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863 (d'après un texte inédit)', in: *AB* 62 (1944) 187–255, text 210–55 (*BHG* 142 add.). Antony originated in Jerusalem, emigrated to Byzantium and became general of the Kibyrrhaiot thema under Michael II. He eventually became a monk, and died in 865. The *Life* claims to have been written by an eyewitness to his later years, but many years after the saint's

death. See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 353; and E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris 1993) 249–51; *ODB* 1, 126.<sup>22</sup>

*Miracula S. Artemii* ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca sacra* (St Petersburg, 1909), 1–75 (*BHG* 173). Eng. trans. J. Nesbitt, V. Crysafulli, *The Miracles of Saint Artemios: translation, commentary and analysis* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC 1995). The collection was compiled, perhaps in two or possibly three different stages, in the period *ca* 660–700: see J.F. Haldon, ‘The Miracles of Artemios and contemporary attitudes: context and significance’, in Nesbitt and Crysafulli, *The Miracles of Saint Artemios*, 33–73; but for a single and unified text, Nesbitt and Crysafulli, *ibid.*, 7–8. The *Miracles*, which describe cures attributed to the saint (obtained through the ancient tradition of incubation, which is to say, the saint, in a variety of different guises, attended the afflicted in their sleep. See *ODB* 2, 991 and A. Krug, *Heilkunst und Heilkult. Medizin in der Antike* [Munich 1984] 137ff.), provide an important link in the chain of evidence leading from the world of late Antiquity to that of the age of iconoclasm, reflecting the concerns of ordinary people, albeit through the eyes of a compiler who was far from objective as far as the achievements of his patrons – the saint and his cult – were concerned. References to the function and importance of relics, as well as some problematic mentions of icons, render the text particularly interesting for the history of the immediately pre-iconoclast period. See the literature cited in Haldon, ‘The Miracles of Artemios and contemporary attitudes’, and Nesbitt and Crisafulli, *loc. cit.*

*Vita Athanasiae Aeginae* ed. F. Halkin, *Six inédits d'hagiologie byzantine* (Subsid. Hag. 74. Brussels 1987), 179–95 (*BHG* 180b); ed. L. Carras, ‘The Life of St Athanasia of Aegina. A critical edition with introduction’, in A. Moffatt, ed., *Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning* (Canberra 1984) 199–224, text 212–24 (*BHG* 180); cf. also *Synax. CP*, 611–14. English trans. L. Sherry, in Talbot, ed., *Holy women of Byzantium*, 137–58, text 142–58. For discussion, see also A. Kazhdan and A.-M. Talbot, ‘Women and iconoclasm’, *BZ* 84/85 (1991/92), 391–408, 393. A late ninth- or early tenth-century composition containing useful information about Aegina and social and political life in the 820s. See *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 118–19.

*De Athanasio Paulopetrii* in: *Synax. CP*, 483; also in: *Menologium Basilii*, in *PG* 117, 324D. See *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, ed. G. Fatouros (*CFHB* 31/1–2. Berlin–New York 1992) 261 n. 407. An associate of Theodore of Studios. The brief Synaxarion notice serves to place him in the historical context of the period between the two phases of iconoclasm.

*Vita Bacchi* ed. F. Combefis, *Christi martyrum lecta trias* (Paris 1661) 61–126

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. also Vinson, ‘Gender and politics in the post-iconoclastic period’; and for the structure and composition of the *Life*, see Kazhdan, *Literature*, 291–4.



(*BHG* 209); cf. *Synaxarium Bacchi*, ed. Ph. Demetrakopoulos, in *EPhSA* 26 (1977/78), 344–50 (*BHG* 209b; and *Synax. CP*, 310–12). The martyr appears to have been active in the period *ca* 770–87, but the accounts have only very limited historical value. See R. Schick, *The Christian communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic rule. A historical and archaeological study* (Studies in late Antiquity and early Islam, 2. Princeton, 1995), 176.

*Vita Blasii Amoriensis* in: *AS* Nov. IV, 657–69 (*BHG* 278). Died between 909 and 912; the *Life* appears to have been written by a studite contemporary in about 940. See H. Grégoire, ‘La Vie de S. Blaise d’Amorium’, *B* 5 (1929–30) 391–414; Beck, *Kirche*, 565; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 383; E. Patlagean, ‘Sainteté et pouvoir’, in S. Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine Saint* (Studies Supplementary to *Sobornost* 5. London 1981) 88–105, see 90.

*Vita Callinici archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani* in: *AS* Aug. IV, 645–6 (*BHG* 288); cf. *Synax. CP*, 917–20; 929–30. For Kallinikos’s patriarchate, see J.-L. Van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610–715)* (Amsterdam 1972) 156–60. The *Life* is probably late, and contains only limited reliable information for the period during which Kallinikos lived.

*Vita Constantini (= Cyrilli) et Methodii* in: F. Griveć, F. Tomšić, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes* (Radovi Staroslavenskog Instituta IV. Zagreb 1960), 95–143; 145–67. See F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (*BS* suppl., Prague 1933/repr. Hattiesburg 1969) (French trans.); *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz. Leben und Wirken der Slavenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios nach den Panmonischen Legenden und der Klemensvita. Bericht von der Taufe Russlands nach der Laurentiuschronik*, trans. and comm. J. Bujnoch (Slavische Geschichtsschreiber I. 2nd edn, Graz–Wien–Köln 1972). The Old Church Slavonic version of the *Life* of Constantine and Methodios is the main source of information about their lives and missionary and ecclesiastical-political activities, dealing with their missionary activity among Khazars and Moravians, and with Byzantine-Papal relations in the Balkans. Includes also much information about Byzantine administration. See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 348–9, with literature; *ODB* 1, 507, 1354–5; and summary of the literature in *PmbZ. Prolegomena*, 246.

*Vita Constantini Hiberi* in: *AS* Nov. IV, 554–63 (Georgian text, Latin trans.). Constantine was executed by the Muslims in 853; the short *Vita* contains very little reliable historical information, but is a good example of the genre. See P. Peeters, in *AS* Nov. IV, 541–54 for discussion and commentary.

*Vita Constantini Synnadensis (= Constantini Iudaei)* in: *AS* Nov. IV, 627–56 (*BHG* 370; cf. *BHG* 370c, in *Synax. CP*, 345–6). Constantine died supposedly during the reign of Basil I, was a converted Jew, and his life was written by a monk after Basil’s death, probably during the reign of Leo VI. It is possible that the saint was a fictional character, to be connected with Basil’s decree on the baptizing of Jews: cf. Patlagean, ‘Sainteté’, 89, n.15; L. Rydén, ‘Cyprus at the time of the condominium as reflected in the *Lives* of Sts Demetrianos and Constantine the Jew’, in A.A.M. Bryer,

G. Georghallides, eds, *The Sweet Land of Cyprus* (Nicosia 1993) 189–202, at 189–97; Malamut, *Sur la route des saints*, 252–4.

*Vita Cosmae et Ioannis Damasceni* in: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* iv, 271–302; v, 404f. (*BHG* 394); 303–50; v, 405ff. (*BHG* 395; also *Vita et miracula*, ed. Th. Detorakes, *EEBS* 41 [1974] 257–96, text 265–96 [*BHG* 394a]; and *Vita*, ed. Th. Detorakes, *AB* 99 [1981] 101–16, text 105–16 [*BHG* 394b]). The *Synaxarion* of Constantinople contains a brief summary of the *Life*: *Synax. CP*, 395–6 (*BHG* 394c). See also *BHG* 884 and 884a. The textual tradition underlying this *Life* is particularly complex. It seems to reflect a legendary account based around a core of factual material relating to the reigns of Constantine VI and Eirene, with useful insights into iconophile attitudes to the iconoclast emperors and to their Orthodox successors, especially Constantine VI. It draws also, but indirectly, on the *Vita Stephani iunioris*, for example. See M. Jugie, ‘La vie de Saint Jean Damascène’, *EO* 23 (1924) 137–61; Speck, *Konstantin VI.*, pp. 385f.; and Th. Detorakes, *Κοσμάς ὁ Μελωδός. Βίος καὶ ἔργον* (Thessaloniki 1979) 30–70; A. Kazhdan, S. Gero, ‘Kosmas of Jerusalem: a more critical approach to his biography’, *BZ* 82 (1989) 122–32 (repr. in Kazhdan, *Authors and texts in Byzantium* [Aldershot 1983] X) 122–32; M.-F. Auzépy, ‘De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIIIe–IXe siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène’, *TM* 12 (1994) 183–218, at 199–204; *eadem*, *L’hagiographie et l’iconoclisme byzantin*, 198–9; *ODB* 2, 1063–4; and *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 92 for historical context and worth.

*Vita Danielis Thasii* ed. Doukakis, in: *Megas Synaxaristês IX*, 143–7. Cf. R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galésios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique)* (Paris 1975) 154. Daniel is supposed to have lived in the middle years of the ninth century; the *Life* includes sections from the *Vita Ioannicii* relating to another Daniel, who was abbot of a monastic community on the islet of Thasios in Lake Apollonia in Bithynia. It contains little historical information.

*Acta Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii* (‘Acta Graeca Sts Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo’), ed. E. Van Den Gheyn, in: *AB* 18 (1899) 211–59; I.M. Phountoules, ‘Οἱ ὄσιοι ἀδελφοὶ Δαβίδ, Συμεὼν καὶ Γεώργιος οἱ ὁμολογηταί’, *Λεσβιακὸν Ἐορτολόγιον* 3 (1961) 17–54 (*BHG* 494). English trans.: D. Domingo-Foraste, D. Abrahamse, in: Talbot, ed., *Byzantine defenders of images*, 143–241. The date of composition of the *Deeds* has been set either in the first half of the eleventh century or, according to more recent opinion, during the ninth century. According to the second view, the author either knew or knew a great deal about the various real personages referred to in the *Deeds*, and had a good knowledge of the upper levels of Byzantine secular and ecclesiastical society of the time. The *Deeds* are purportedly about three brothers from Lesbos, supposedly witnesses to the first iconoclasm, and include many inaccuracies and much spurious detail. In fact, it is likely that the figure of David was actually a father or grandfather to the other two, and little can be said about whether they themselves really ever existed. Thus while some names and titles reflect the realities of the period, the

information contained in the text is mostly derived from other sources, notably the *Lives* of Ioannikios and Anthony the Younger, and there is confusion between the saints in question and two other Georges of Mitylene.<sup>23</sup>

*De sacris aedibus Deiparae ad Fontem* in: *AS* Nov. III, 880C; trans. Mango, *Art*, 156–7: an anonymous tenth-century description of the church of the Virgin of the Source (*tês pégês*) and the miraculous cures that occurred there, including an account of panels installed there to commemorate the healing of the empress Eirene, which contains some information on the material culture of the period.

*Vita Eliae iunioris* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sylloge*, 42–59 (*BHG* 578–9); Italian trans. in: G. Rossi Taibbi, *Vita di sant'Elia il Giovane* (Palermo 1962). See G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)* (Subsid. Hag. 30. Brussels 1958), xlvi, 151; Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 176, with literature (Elias is also mentioned in Garitte, *Calendrier palestino-géorgien*, 48). A partly legendary account with some elements of historical reality for the period of the 790s in Palestine.<sup>24</sup>

*Vita Euaresti* ed. C. van de Vorst, 'La vie de S. Évariste higoumène à Constantinople', *AB* 41 (1923) 288–325, text 288–325 (*BHG* 2153; cf. also 2153c). See also *Synax. CP* 346, 354. The saint, born in 819, died in 897; he belonged to the circle of supporters around the patriarch Ignatios, and to the Stoudite 'party' in Constantinople, and his family seems to have been connected to the palace. The *Life* was written within a generation of the saint's death. See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 351–2; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 561.

*Vita Eudocimi* ed. Chr. Loparev, 'Zhitie sv. Evdokima', in, *IRAIK* 13 (1908) 152–252, text 199–219 (*BHG* 606); and in: *Pamiatniki Drevnei Pis'mennosti* 96 (St Petersburg 1893) 1–23 (*BHG* 607); also ed. Latyshev, in: *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saeculi X*, II, 228–32 (*BHG* 607e; and cf. *Synax. CP*, 857–8; *Menologium Basilii*, 565D–568B). See Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Constantinople', ii, 783–8; Beck, *Kirche*, 699; *ODB* 2, 740; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 116–17, n. 23. Eudokimos probably died before 842; the edited *Life* is a Metaphrastic version, based on an earlier (mid-ninth century?) account which Ševčenko thinks may, like the *Lives* of George of Amastris, Philaretos, the patriarchs Nikephoros and Tarasios, and Gregory the Decapolite, be a non-iconophile (but not necessarily iconoclast)

<sup>23</sup> See F. Halkin, 'Y a-t-il trois saints Georges, évêques de Mitylène et confesseurs sous les iconoclastes?', *AB* 77 (1959) 464–9; and *idem*, in *AB* 62 (1944) and *AB* 72 (1954); Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 117–18; I.M. Phountoules, 'Οἱ ἅγιοι Γεώργιοι Μυτιλήνης', *Λεσβιακὸν Ἐορτολόγιον* 1 (1959) 33–43; A. Kazhdan, 'Hagiographical notes', *B* 54 (1984) 185–8; St. Efthymiadis, 'Notes on the correspondence of Theodore the Studite', *REB* 53 (1995) 141–64, see 153–5. Mango has noted one example of the value of the text: see C. Mango, 'The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the patriarch Photios', in Bryer and Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm*, 133–40, see 134–5, n. 16; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 351. Further literature and discussion in *ODB* 1, 589.

<sup>24</sup> See also the comments in St. Efthymiadis, 'Hagiographica varia (9th–10th c.)', *JÖB* 48 (1998) 41–8 at 46–8.

composition. Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 127 n. 105b. M.-F. Auzépy, 'L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: l'exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes', *BS* 53 (1992) 57–67, argues that it is definitely an iconoclast account, and shares with several other *Lives* (Leo of Catania, Philaretos, George of Amastris, q.v.) typical characteristics of iconoclast hagiography. See also *ODB* 2, 740. Contains useful information about contemporary life, politics, and military affairs.

*Euphemia* of Chalcedon: Konstantinos of Tios, 'On the Relics of St Euphemia', in: F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcedoine* (Subsid. Hag. 41, Brussels 1956) 84–106; also ed. in: *AS Sept.* V, 274–83 (*BHG* 619–24n); see *ODB* 2, 747–8. Euphemia was martyred in 303; the story told by Konstantinos of Tios relates to the rescue of her relics from the emperor Leo III, who ordered them cast into the sea.

*Vita Eustratii* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in: *Analekta* iv, 367–400; v, 408–10 (*BHG* 645); cf. *Synax. CP* 380–2. Eustratios lived 772–ca 867. Probably a later compilation, perhaps tenth century, and drawing heavily on the *Lives* of Stephen the Younger, Ioannikios, Philaretos, and, purportedly, eyewitnesses of the period. Includes interesting material for the period of the second iconoclasm, but the relative lack of historicity renders its value problematic. See von Dobschütz, 'Methodius und die Studiten', 100–2; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 562; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 121–2; and Auzépy, *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin*, 195–6.

*Vita Euthymii episcopi Sardensis* ed. J. Gouillard, 'La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes (+831), une oeuvre du patriarche Méthode', *TM* 10 (1987), 1–101 (text 21–89) (*BHG* 2145); and *idem*, 'Une oeuvre inédite du patriarche Méthode: la Vie d'Euthyme de Sardes', *BZ* 53 (1960) 36–46; A. Papadakis, 'The Unpublished Life of Euthymius of Sardis: Bodleianus Laudianus Graecus 69', *Traditio* 26 (1970) 63–89 (*BHG* 2146). The *Life*, which is anonymous in the manuscript tradition, has been shown to be a work of the patriarch Methodios, and was written probably in 832, shortly after Euthymios' death. It is extremely valuable for the period of the second iconoclasm. An encomium, derivative of the *Vita*, is variously dated to shortly after the saint's death or the period after 843/late ninth century. See von Dobschütz, 'Methodius und die Studiten', 75–6; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 563; *ODB* 2, 756; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 116 and n. 21; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 375–7.

*Miracula S. Georgii* ed. and comm: J.B. Aufhauser, *Das Drachenvunder des heiligen Georg* (Leipzig 1913). The oldest collection was compiled in the first half of the eleventh century and includes miracle accounts going back only to the early tenth century; later additions, including the story of St George and the dragon, were made during the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Although none of the first collection dates to the ninth century, the information they include is relevant to the social as well as to the general history of the Byzantine world at that time. See Beck, *Kirche*, 578–9; *ODB* 2, 834–5.

*Vita Georgii Amastrensis* ed. V. Vassilievskij, in: *Russko-Vizantiiskii Isledovaniia* II (St Petersburg 1893) 1–73 (*BHG* 668). See also *BHG* 668e; *Synax. CP* 481f. George died ca 825; the *Life* has been convincingly shown to be a product of Ignatios

the deacon, written before his composition of the *Lives* of the patriarchs Nikephoros and Tarasios and of Gregory the Decapolite, probably between 839 and 842. See Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Constantinople', i, 479–80; W. Wolska-Conus, 'De quibusdam Ignatiis', *TM* 4 (1970) 329–60; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 121–5 for detailed discussion; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 350; *ODB* 2, 837; St. Efthymiadis, 'On the hagiographical works of Ignatios the Deacon', *JÖB* 41 (1991) 73–83; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 356–60. Auzépy, 'L'analyse littéraire', shows its iconoclast characteristics. It is an important source for the middle of the ninth century, and in particular for the Russian attack on Constantinople in 860: see A.A. Vasiliev, *The Russian attack on Constantinople in 860* (Cambridge, MA 1946), 83–8; W. Treadgold, 'Three Byzantine provinces and the first Byzantine contacts with the Rus', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/89), 132–144, at 136–41; and *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 85–6.

*Vita Georgii Mytilenae* ed. I.M. Phountoules, 'Οἱ ἅγιοι Γεώργιοι Μυτιλήνης', *Δεσβιακὸν Ἑορτολόγιον* 1 (Athens 1959), 33–43 (*BHG* 2163; and cf. *Synax. CP*, 589–90). See *ODB* 1, 589 and the discussion in Phountoules, *op. cit.* The *Life* was compiled probably in the tenth century, although George was a contemporary of the emperors Nikephoros I, Michael I and Leo V. Contains some information on the political-economic situation of the period, although its reliability is problematic. George may be the same as the George associated with the saints David and Symeon of the *Acta Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii* etc., *q.v.*

*Vita Germani archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani* in: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μαυρογορδάττειος Βιβλιοθήκη. Ἀνέκδοτα Ἑλληνικά* (Istanbul 1884) 3–17; ed. and trans. L. Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos I. von Konstantinopel (715–730). Versuch einer endgültigen chronologischen Fixierung des lebens und Wirkens des Patriarchen. Mit dem griechisch-deutschen Text der Vita Germani am Schluss der Arbeit* (Das östliche Christentum, n. F. 27. Würzburg 1975) (*BHG* 697). See *ODB* 2, 846–7; Beck, *Kirche*, 473–5, 506; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 113–14. Historically more or less worthless, compiled or radically re-written probably in the twelfth century, based on Theophanes, George the Monk, Kedrenos and the *Vita Stephani iunioris*: see Auzépy, *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin. Le cas de la Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* (BBOM 5. Aldershot 1999) 194. See also Lemerle, *Premier humanisme*, 92.

*De Gregorio Acritae* cf. *Synax. CP*, 372–4 (*BHG* 2166), and Detorakes, *Οἱ ἅγιοι*, 211–18 with previous literature. No *Life* survives; he lived *ca* 770–820. The notice in the synaxarion gives some details of his ascetic lifestyle, but there is little specific historical information (and hardly any reference to iconoclasm).

*Vita Gregorii Decapolitani* in: Th. Ioannou, *Mnêmeia Hagiologika* (Venice 1884/ repr. Leipzig 1973) 129–64; F. Dvornik, 'La Vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves Macédoniens au IXe siècle', *Travaux publiées par l'Institut d'Études Slaves* 5 (Paris 1926), 45–75; with corrections by S.G. Mercati, in *SBN* 3 (1931), 296f. Also ed. G. Makris, *Ignatios Diakonos und die Vita des hl. Gregorios Dekapolites. Edition und Kommentar. Mit einer Übersetzung der Vita von M.*

*Chronz* (Byz. Archiv 17. Stuttgart 1997) (*BHG* 711). Gregory died *ca* 842; the *Life* was written by Ignatios of Nicaea before his death, *ca* 845 (although Makris, *op. cit.*, esp. 3–11, argues for a later date, *ca* 855–70, depending upon a later date for the death of Ignatios). See von Dobschütz, ‘Methodius und die Studiten’, 76–7; Wolska-Conus, ‘De quibusdam Ignatiis’, 340–2; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 350; *ODB* 2, 880; Ševčenko, ‘Hagiography’, 123; and St. Efthymiadis, ‘On the hagiographical works of Ignatios the Deacon’, 75–80; *idem*, *The Life of the patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the deacon (BHG 1698). Introduction, text, translation and commentary* (BBOM 4. Aldershot 1998), 38–50; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 360–6.

*Vita Hilarionis Dalmatae* the text is not yet published (cod. rescr. Vat. 984: see P. Franchi de’ Cavalieri, in ‘Note Agiografiche’, *Studi e Testi* 33 [Rome 1920] 107; T. Matantseva, ‘Vita Hilarion. Dalmat. [*BHG* 2177]’, *RSDN*, n.s. 30 [1993], 17–29 [*BHG* 2177]). The synaxarion entry is derived from the *Life: Synax. CP*, 731–4; cf. *AS* Iun. I, 747–8 (*BHG, Auct.* 2177b). The *Life* of the abbot Hilarion (d. 845) and his deeds during the reign of Leo V, Michael II and Theophilos are preserved in a short mid-ninth-century account, purportedly written by Sabas, who also wrote the *Lives* of Ioannikios and Peter of Atroa. Although showing evidence of a distinct tendency to exaggerate the saint’s courage (direct confrontation and condemnation of the emperor at court – see *Synax. CP*, 734.27–28), there is a core of useful information.<sup>25</sup>

*Vita Hilarionis Hiberi* Fr. trans. B. Martin-Hisard, ‘La pérégrination du moine géorgien Hilarion au IXe siècle’, *Bedi Kartlisa* 39 (1981), 101–38, text 120–38; Latin trans. P. Peeters, ‘S. Hilarion d’Ibérie’, *AB* 32 (1913), 236–69 (text 243–69). Four Georgian versions of this *Life* survive; according to the *Life* it is based on a Greek original, although this cannot be proved. The saint lived in the middle years of the ninth century, and the *Life* throws some light on social and monastic history at this time, although its reliability is questionable. See also R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’empire byzantin I: le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique 3: les églises et les monastères* (Paris 1953/2nd edn 1969), 256–7 on the monastery of the Iberians

*Vita Ignatii archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani* in: *PG* 105, 488–574; English trans. in: A. Smithies, *Nicetas Paphlago’s Life of Ignatius: a critical edition with translation* (State University NY, Buffalo 1987) (*BHG* 817). Ignatios died in 877, the *Life* was written by Niketas David Paphlago between 901 and 912. See Costa-Louillet, ‘Saints de Constantinople’, i, 461–78; *ODB* 2, 983–4; Beck, *Kirche*, 520ff.; R.J.H. Jenkins, ‘A Note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the Vita Ignatii’, *DOP* 19 (1965), 241–7 (repr. in *idem*, *Studies on Byzantine history of the ninth and tenth centuries* [London 1970] IX); Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 350–1; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 565. An encomium to Ignatios was written by a Michael *sygkellos* in the later ninth century: *BHG* 818; Mansi, xvi, 292–4.

<sup>25</sup> See T. Matantseva, ‘La vie d’Hilarion, higoumène de Dalmatos, par Sabas (*BHG* 2177). Données chronologiques et topographiques, rapports avec la notice du synaxaire (*Nov. Auct. BHG* 2177b)’, *RSDN* n.s. 30 (1993) 17–29.

*Vita S. Ioannicii* (by Sabas), in: *AS Nov.* II/1, 332–83 (*BHG* 935); (by Peter), in: *AS Nov.* II/1, 384–434 (*BHG* 936); metaphrastic version (*BHG* 937) in: *PG* 116, 36B–92D. English trans. D. Sullivan, ‘The *Life* of St Ioannicius’, in Talbot, ed., *Byzantine defenders of images*, 243–351. Ioannikios lived between 754 and 846; his biographers were both monks and younger contemporaries: Peter wrote *ca* 847, while Sabas, who wrote the revised second version in the 850s (V. Laurent, *La Vie merveilleuse de S. Pierre d’Atroa* (837) [Subsid. Hag. 29. Brussels 1956] 15–16, suggests a broad period for its composition, between 847 and 860) gives a slightly more detailed account of the saint’s early years. But some of the information included in the second version is suspect: for example, Sabas changed the chronology of Ioannikios’ career in the army so that he served for a longer period and thus could be cleared of desertion and abandoning his comrades (although, as Efthymiadis has noted, the patriarch Methodios conceded the saint’s desertion, but turned it into a positive attribute in his canon on Ioannikios, by referring to the saint in an approving context as a *ripsaspis*, ‘caster-away of the shield’: Efthymiadis, ‘Hagiographica varia’, 42–3). It is not clear how reliable other such details in the *Life*, whether in the ‘revised’ version or not, actually are, and the relationship between the two versions seems quite complex. See Kazhdan, *Literature*, 327–36 with the more recent literature; and von Dobschütz, ‘Methodius und die Studiten’, 93–100; *ODB* 2, 1005–6; C. Mango, ‘The Two Lives of St Ioannikios and the Bulgarians’, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983) 393–404; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 352; older literature in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 567.

*Vita Ioannis Ascetae* ed. K. Kekelidze, in *Bedi Kartlisa* 19–20 (1965), 61–6; cf. D. Stiernon, *REB* 31 (1973), 260–2 with older literature. John seems to have lived in the second half of the ninth century in the Boukellarion district. The *Life* exists only in Georgian, and offers a little historical information, although it remains for the most part very vague about details.

*Vita Ioannis Damasceni* in: *PG* 94, 429–89 (*BHG* 884); *PG* 140, 812–85 (*BHG* 885); ed. M. Gordillo, in: *OCP* 8/2, 29 (1926), 63–5 (*BHG* 885b); ed. Th. Detorakes, in: *AB* 104 (1986) 371–81 (*BHG* 885c). There are also joint *Lives* of John and Cosmas of Maiuma: ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* iv, 271–302; v, 404–5 (*BHG* 394); and *Analekta* iv, 303–50; v, 405–7 (*BHG* 395) (partly based on the *Synaxarion* version or its sources, and dating to the eleventh century). *BHG* 884 is the earliest Greek version, dating to the mid-tenth century and compiled by the patriarch of Jerusalem, John VII (died probably 969). It was probably based on an earlier, ninth- or earlier tenth-century Arabic *Life*, of which at least two versions have been assumed, one dating to the later eleventh century: see J. Nasrallah, *Saint Jean de Damas. Son époque, sa vie, son oeuvre* (Harisa 1950); Beck, *Kirche*, 477, 508, 567; Kazhdan and Gero, ‘Kosmas of Jerusalem: a more critical approach to his biography’, 125–7. Versions of the Arabic, Russian and Georgian *Lives* are also extant: C. Bacha, *Biography of St John Damascene. Original Arabic text, published for the first time* (London 1912) (also idem, *Biographie de S. Jean Damascène, publié pour la première fois* [Harisa 1912]; and cf. German trans.: G. Graf, in *Der Katholik* 12 [1913], 164–90); A. Vasiliev, *Arabskaia versiiia zhitiya sv.*

*Ioanna Damaskina* (St Petersburg 1913). The Georgian *Life* was translated from the Arabic version *ca* 1100: K. Kekelidze, 'Gruzinskaia versiiia arabskago zhitiya sv. Ioanna Damaskina', *Khristianskii Vostok* 3/3 (1914), 119–74. See B. Flusin, 'De l'arabe au grec, puis au géorgien: une Vie de Saint Jean Damascène', in: *Traductions et traducteurs au Moyen-Age* (Paris 1989), 51–61. See further: M.-F. Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIIIe–IXe siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène', *TM* 12 (1994), 183–218, at 199–204; Th. Detorakes, *Κοσμάς ὁ Μελωδός. Βίος καὶ ἔργο* (Thessaloniki 1979), 15–80; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 64–5.

*Vita Ioannis Gotthiae* in: *AS* Jun. VII, 167–71; v, 184–94 (*BHG* 891; cf. *Synax. CP*, 771–4). John died *ca* 792, and the *Life*, of which there were several versions, was written probably during the second period of iconoclasm, that is, between 815 and 842. It contains important and accurate historical and topographical information. See A.A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA 1936) 89–96; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 325; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 565–6; Beck, *Kirche*, 512; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 115; and *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 90–1.

*De Ioanni* (ἡγεμὼν τῆς μονῆς τῶν Καθαρῶν) in: *Synax. CP*, 631–4 (*BHG, Auct.* 2184n). A ninth-century notice based on a lost *Life*, which contains interesting details of the nature of imperial iconoclast measures of repression, as well as of provincial geography. See Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Constantinople', i, 241–4; Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, 158–60.

*De Ioanni (episcopi Polyboti)* in: *Synax. CP*, 277–80. No *Life* survives; the synaxarion notice includes some information about life in Constantinople and the provinces during the second iconoclasm.

*Vita Ioannis Psichaita* ed. P. Van den Ven, 'La vie grecque de S. Jean le Psichaïte confesseur sous le règne de Léon V l'Arménien', in: *Le Muséon* ns. 3 (1902) 97–125, text 103–25 (*BHG* 896). John died *ca* 820–25; the *Life* was written probably not long after 842–43. See Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Constantinople', i, 256–63; Beck, *Kirche*, 512–13; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 117 with nn. 27, 28; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 89–90. John appears to have lived *ca* 750–820s; the *Life* contains useful material about monastic and Church affairs in the period of both the first and second iconoclasms.

*Iosephus, archiepiscopus Thessalonicensis* cf. *Translatio Theodori Studitae et Iosephi*, ed. C. Van de Vorst, 'La translation de S. Théodore Studite et de S. Joseph de Thessalonique', *AB* 32 (1913) 27–62 (*BHG* 1756t); cf. T. Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites (759–826) – zwischen Dogma und Pragma* (BBS 4. Berlin 1998) 50–1. A brother of Theodore of Stoudion, no *Life* of Joseph survives, although he was an important figure in the monastic and ecclesiastical politics of the time.

*Vita Iosephi hymnographi* ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia*, II (St Petersburg 1901) 1–14 (*BHG* 944); see also *BHG* 945–7 (and *PG* 105, 940–76) for a later *Life* of Joseph by John the deacon; and *Synax. CP*, 581–4. Joseph lived 816–86, and the *Life* was



written by the monk Theophanes in the late ninth or early tenth century. See von Dobschütz, 'Methodius und die Studiten', 77–8; Beck, *Kirche*, 601; *ODB* 2, 1074; Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Constantinople', ii, 812–23; E.I. Tomadakis, Ἰωσήφ ὁ ὕμνογράφος. *Bios καὶ ἔργον* (Athens 1971) (with the critical review by D. Stiernon in *REB* 31 [1973] 243–66); and N.P. Ševčenko, 'Canon and calendar: the role of a ninth-century hymnographer in shaping the celebration of the saints', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 101–14.

*Vita Irenae* (of Chrysobalanton) in: *AS* Jul. VI, 602–34; J. Rosenqvist, *The Life of St Irene abbess of Chrysobalanton* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 1. Uppsala 1986) text 2–112, English trans. (*BHG* 952). Eirene died during the reign of Michael III, and the *Life*, which appears mostly fictional, in spite of the mention of certain well-known persons of the period, was written after the accession of Basil I in 867. See *ODB* 2, 1010, and N.I. Serikoff's review in *BS* 52 (1991) 154–7.

*Vita Irenae imperatricis* ed. F. Halkin, in *AB* 106 (1988) 5–27, text 6–27 (*BHG* 2205); W. Treadgold, 'The unpublished Saint's Life of the empress Irene', *BF* 7 (1982) 237–51. The *Life* is almost entirely derived from the account of her reign in Theophanes's *Chronographia*, and dates from the twelfth century. See Kazhdan and Talbot, 'Women and iconoclasm', 393–4 (no. 6).

*Vita Leonis Cataniae* A. Longo, 'La Vita di S. Leone Vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del Mago Eliodoro', *RSBN* 26 (1989) 80–98; comm. 3–79 (*BHG* 981) (see also *BHG* 981b, probably the oldest version of the *Life*, ed. V. Latyshev, in: *Mémoires de l'Acad. impériale de St Petersburg*, classe phil.-hist., viii sér., 12/2 [1914] 12–28, with 150f.; and *BHG* 981c–e; *Synax. CP*, 479–80). cf. A. Kazhdan, 'Hagiographical Notes', *Erytheia* 9/2 (1988) 197–209, at 205–8 ('One more Faust-Legend in Byzantium'). See Auzépy, 'L'analyse littéraire', especially 62ff., who demonstrates its iconoclast structure and characteristics. One version places him in the reigns of Constantine IV and Justinian II, another in that of Leo IV and Constantine VI (775–80). See *ODB*, 2, 1214; Beck, *Kirche*, 799; and G. da Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles', *B* 29/30 (1959/60) 89–95; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 325; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 295–302 (on composition and structure).

*Liber Pontificalis* see chapter 12, p. 185 above.

*Liber ecclesiae Ravennatis* see chapter 12, p. 185 above.

*Vita Lucae iunioris (Steiriotae)* in: *PG* 111, 441–80; E. Martin, in *AB* 13 (1894) 81–121 (*BHG* 994); English trans. by R. and C. Connor, *The life and miracles of St Luke* (Brookline MA 1994). Although later than our period – the *Life* was written ca 962, and Luke lived from 896–953 – it contains much information relevant to the social history of the period. See G. da Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Grèce aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles', *B* 31 (1961) at 330–43; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 381; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 568–9.

*Vita Lucae Stylitae* in: H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites* (Subsid. Hag. 14, Brussels 1923) 195–237 (BHG 2239; see also *Synax. CP*, 301–4). Luke lived between 879 and 979, the *Life* was written by an eyewitness in the 980s. Although late, it contains valuable information on aspects of state and society shortly after 843; see Beck, *Kirche*, 576; Costa-Louillet, ‘Saints de Constantinople’, ii, 839–52; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 380; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 569.

*Vita S. Macarii hegumeni Pelecetae* ed. J. van den Gheyn, ‘S. Macarii monasterii Pelecetes hegumeni acta Graeca’, in: *AB* 16 (1897) 140–63, text 142–63 (BHG 1003; see also BHG 1003c, *Synax. CP*, 578–80; 909–10). Died ca 833–42, the *Life* was commissioned by his successor Sabas: Ševčenko, ‘Hagiography’, 117 with nn. 29–31; Kazhdan and Talbot, ‘Women and iconoclasm’, at 406. Ševčenko suspects the date, but adduces no evidence other than the vapidness of the text, which consists chiefly of imprecise miracles concerned with, in particular, the saint’s healing powers.

*Vita S. Mariae* by Epiphanius of Kallistratou, in: *PG* 120, 185–216; A. Dressel, *Epiphanii monachi et presbyteri edita et inedita* (Paris–Leipzig 1843) 13–44 (BHG 1049). A *Life* of the Virgin Mary, written probably in the first half of the ninth century, containing some material of relevance to the cultural history of the period: see Beck, *Kirche*, 513 (and cf. Auzépy, *La Vie d’Étienne le Jeune*, 262 n. 391). For Epiphanius, see above, *Vita Andreae apostoli*. A purportedly ninth-century miracle, written by the priest Elias, concerns the Virgin Mary. See W. Lackner, ‘Ein byzantinisches Marienmirakel’, *Βυζαντινά* 13/2 (1985) 835–60 (with trans. at 856–7). For the date, 837–9; and see above, 23.

*Vita S. Mariae iun.* in: *AS* Nov. IV, 688–705 (BHG 1164); excerpts in M. Gedeon, *Βυζαντινὸν Ἐορτολόγιον. Μνημαὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δ' μέχρι τῶν μέσων τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰῶνος ἑορταζομένων ἀγίων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει* (Constantinople 1899) 294–301; English trans. by A. Laiou, in Talbot, ed., *Holy women of Byzantium*, 239–89. Maria, Armenian in origin, d. ca 903, the anonymous *Life* seems to have been written in the first half of the eleventh century. See Beck, *Kirche*, 565; C. Mango, ‘The Byzantine church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St Mary the Younger’, *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 9–13; P. Peeters, ‘Une sainte Arménienne oubliée. Sainte Marie la Jeune’, in: *idem*, *Recherches d’histoire et de philologie orientales*, 2 vols (Subsid. Hag. 27, Brussels 1951), 1, 129–35; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 382.

*Acta Martyrorum in Bulgaria* (a. 811) in: *Synax. CP*, 846–8; cf. 837–8; *Menologium Basilii*, 556B–C; *AS* Jul. V, 484. A commemoration of those who died at Bulgar hands after the disastrous defeat of 811 (cf. above, s.t. *Scriptor incertus*), probably compiled late in the ninth century. See BHG 2263, 2263b; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 570.

*Acta Martyrorum in Bulgaria* (a. 815) in: *Synax. CP*, 414–16; also in *Menologium Basilii*, 276D–277A. A commemoration of those (numbering 380) captured after the siege of Adrianople in 813 and executed eventually in 815; another group of fourteen martyrs was commemorated in a short work by Theodore of Stoudios. Cf. BHG

2264; E. Follieri, I. Dujčev, 'Un acolutia inedita per i martiri di Bulgaria dell'anno 813', *B* 33 (1963) 71–106, text 75–85; also J. Wortley, 'Legends of the Byzantine Disaster of 811', *B* 50 (1980) 533–62; E. Thomadakis, 'Η ἀκολουθία τῶν ἐν Βουλγαρία ἸΔ' νεομαρτυρῶν (814–815 μ. Χρ.) καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ στουδίτης', *Athēna* 72 (1971), 333–51. Cf. above, s.t. *Scriptor incertus*.

*Acta XX martyrorum Sabaitorum* in: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Syllogē* I, 1–41; *AS* Mart. III, app. 2–12 (*BHG* 1200). The text was written between 797 (when the martyrdom took place: the monks of the monastery of St Sabas, having hidden their treasures, are attacked and, when they refuse to reveal the hiding place of the treasure, killed by being burned and suffocated in their cave church in the rocks) and ca 807, when the author, a certain Stephen of Saba, probably died (although the internal structure of the text permits further discussion in this respect).<sup>26</sup> The account reveals interesting details of monastic life in Palestine during a period of civil war in the Abbasid caliphate. There is also a Georgian version (probably translated from an Arabic version): ed. R.P. Blake, 'Deux lacunes comblées dans la Passio XX Monachorum Sabaitorum', *AB* 68 (1950), 27–43 (text: 32–7; Latin trans. 39–43).

*De XLII martyribus Amoriensibus Narrationes et carmina sacra* ed. B. Wassiliewsky, P. Nikitine, in: *Mémoires de l'Acad. impériale de St Petersburg*, classe phil.-hist., viii sér. 3 (1898) no. 3, 9–17; viii sér. 7 (1905) no. 2. Some nine different texts dealing with the forty-two martyrs were written after the events in question (capture and sack of Amorion in 838, execution of the martyrs in 845), some dealing specifically with individuals, others with the forty-two as a group. The editors and other commentators divide the texts into two basic groups, A (texts *BHG* 1211, 1214, 1214a–c = Wassiliewsky, Nikitine nos A and Z, M, K, P) and B (texts *BHG* 1209, 1210, 1212, 1213 = Wassiliewsky, Nikitine nos D, D1, B, G). Thus the text *BHG* 1213 (Wassiliewsky, Nikitine, G, 22–36: de Callisto), which was written by a Michael *sygkellos*<sup>27</sup> (d. 846, see Beck, *Kirche*, 503–4), and was read out in 843, 844 or 845, contains a mass of interesting and clearly contemporary titles and other details. The texts in group B are probably earlier, some of those in group A may be as late as the tenth century. Text *BHG* 1214 has been reprinted with a modern Greek translation by St. Efthymiadis, *Εὐδοδίου μοναχοῦ, οἱ σαρανταδύο τοῦ Ἀμορίου* (Ἀγιολογικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 2. Athens 1989); text *BHG* 1214c has been edited by F. Halkin, in *Hagiologie byzantine. Textes inédits publiés en grec et traduits en français* (Subsid. Hag. 71. Bruxelles 1986) 152–69; texts *BHG* 1209, 1210 by J. Zaimov, M. Capaldo, in *Suprasulski ili Retkov Sbronik* (Sofia 1982/83) 54–68

*Passio Sanctorum martyrorum Constantinopolitanum* in: *AS* Aug. II, 428–48 (*Acta Gregorii spatharii*) (*BHG* 1195; cf. *Synax. CP*, 877–80). Accounts of the

<sup>26</sup> See Kazhdan, *Literature*, 169–81.

<sup>27</sup> Since the martyrs died in 845 and Michael the *sygkellos* of Jerusalem and Constantinople (see *Vita Michael syncelli*) died in 846, he is an unlikely candidate for authorship. More probable is another Michael, who was *sygkellos* in Constantinople later in the ninth century (Beck, *Kirche*, 503–5; Cunningham, *Michael the Synkellos*, 1–17, 34–5).

death, at the hands of Leo III's soldiers, of the 'ten martyrs' in 729/30. There are three versions, each involving slightly different persons (Maria and the population of the City in the *AS* and the *Synaxarion* notice for the 9th August, and Theodosia and others in the *Synaxarion* notice for the 18th July). The version with Mary as the protagonist is a late ninth-century confection, drawing partly on the *Chronographia* of Theophanes and the *Life* of Stephen the Younger, of little historical value, composed in 869. See Beck, *Kirche*, 561; Mango, *Brazen House*, 116–17; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 114 and n. 6; and below (*Vita Stephani iunioris*); Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 325. For a detailed analysis, see M.-F. Auzépy, 'La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalcé par Léon III: propagande ou réalité?'. *B* 60 (1990), 445–92, at 466–72; *L'Hagiographie et l'iconoclasme*, 193–4, 298–300. The text was produced for the propagandistic purposes of the patriarchate at the time, based on legendary material associated with the various myths circulating about Leo III's adoption of iconoclasm. The version with Theodosia in the leading role appears first in the *Menologion* of Basil II for 18th July (*PG* 117, 548–9; cf. 580B, for August 9th, also mentioning Maria). See Mango, *Brazen House*, 117–18; and below, *De S. Theodosia Constantinopolitana*.<sup>28</sup>

*Passio LX martyrorum Hierosolimitanorum* ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in *Pravoslavni Palestinski Sbornik* xii/1, 34 (1892) 1–7 (*BHG* 1217); *Passio LXIII martyrorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sylloge*, 136–63 (*BHG* 1218). See Beck, *Kirche*, 483, 506; Gero, *Leo III*, 176–81; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 111–12. Later compilations from a cycle of stories, mostly legendary, from Palestine and Constantinople about supposed mass executions of Christians at the hands of the Arabs, drawn in part from a *Passio* of the time of the emperor Heraclius. The tale is set in the time of Leo III, probably based on stories circulating locally in Palestine/Syria, that originated during the seventh century: see G. Huxley, 'The sixty martyrs of Jerusalem', *GRBS* 18 (1977), 369–74; Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 171–3. Whereas this version is favourable to Leo III, the Arabic version derived from it is fiercely anti-iconoclast, and draws on the *Vita Stephani iunioris* for its tone and some details: see Auzépy, *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin. Le cas de la Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* (BBOM 5. Aldershot 1999) 196–7.

*Passio XXVI monachorum Zobae* in: *Synax. CP*, 98 (and cf. *Menologium Basilii*, 80D–81A): the story of a group of monks who were imprisoned during the reign of Eirene and Constantine VI, when their monastery at Zobe (near Armenian Sebastoupolis) was captured, and executed when they refused to accept Islam. Full of *topoi* and Christian propaganda, like all these martyr stories, but with some historical information.

*Vita S. Methodii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani* in: *PG* 100, 1244–61 (*BHG* 1278). Methodios died in 847; there is disagreement about the date of the *Life*: towards the end of the ninth century, or soon after his death – see Ševčenko,

<sup>28</sup> See also R. Cormack, 'Women and icons, and women in icons', in E. James, ed., *Women, men and eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium* (London 1997) 39–43.

'Hagiography', 116 n. 22; *ODB* 2, 1355; von Dobschütz, 'Methodius und die Studiten', 52f.; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 367–70.

*Miracula Michaelis Archangeli* The collection of miracles associated with St Michael, centred in particular at Chonai and Germia in western Asia Minor, include some accounts relevant to the history of the ninth century. See M. Bonnet, *AB* 8 (1889) 287–307; see *BHG* 1282–1294c (*BHG* 1282–1282c for the earliest material); J.P. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael, Arzt und Feldherr* (Leiden 1977); Beck, *Kirche*, 636 (s.n. Pantoleon, archdeacon, composer of a *laudatio* and miracle-story); *ODB* 2, 1360–1.

*Vita Michaelis syncelli Hierosolymitani* ed. Th.N. Schmitt, 'Karie Dzhami. Istoriiia monastiria Chori. Architektura mecheti. Mozaiki narfikov', in: *IRAIK* 11 (1906) 227–55; M.B. Cunningham, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos* (Belfast 1991) (edn, trans., and extensive introd. and commentary) (*BHG* 1296; see also *BHG* 1297; and *Synax. CP*, 324–6 [*BHG* 1297f]; 329–30 [*BHG* 1297e]). Written before 867, therefore almost contemporary with its protagonist (see Cunningham, *Michael the Synkellos*, 5–7), who had been the *sygkellos* of the patriarch Methodios. See S. Vailhé, 'Saint Michelle le Syncelle et les deux frères graptoi', *ROC* 6 (1901) 313–52, 610–42; Beck, *Kirche*, 512–13; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 116 n. 19. Substantial sections were taken directly from the *Vita Stephani iunioris*: see M.-F. Auzépy, *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin*, 191, 195, 203, who prefers a somewhat later date on the grounds that it also drew on material employed in the *Passio* of the Chalke martyrs.

*Vita Michaelis Chalcedonensis* ed. F. Halkin, 'Saint Michel de Chalcédoine', *REB* 19 (1961) 157–64, text 161–4 (*BHG* 2274) (repr. in F. Halkin, *Recherches et documents d'hagiographie byzantine* [Subsid. Hag. 51. Brussels 1971] 203–10). A late *Life* (probably thirteenth or early fourteenth century) of very limited value.

*Passio Michaelis Sabaitae* ed. P. Peeters, *AB* 48 (1930) 65–98, text 66–77 (Latin trans. of Georgian original: ed. M.C. Kekelidze, in *Monumenta hagiographica georgica*, I [Tiflis 1918] 165–73). A late account (ninth century or later), probably based on oral tradition, of events supposedly taking place in the reign of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685–705), and of little historical value. See Beck, *Kirche*, 559; Garitte, *Calendrier palestino-géorgien*, 340; Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 174–5.

*De Michaeli Synnadensis* ed. Doukakis, in: *Megas Synaxaristês*, Maii, 411–22 (*BHG* 2274x). One of the bishops associated with the circle of monastic leaders around Ioannikios, Hilarion, and others, and a supporter of the patriarch Nikephoros at the time of the renewal of iconoclasm in 815; he was also associated with a certain Sergios confessor, possibly the father of the patriarch Photios, Michael died *ca* 827. See Mango, 'The Liquidation of Iconoclasm', 138–9.

*Vita Nicephori Mediciensis* ed. F. Halkin, 'La vie de S. Nicéphore, fondateur du Médicion en Bithynie (mourut 813)', in: *AB* 78 (1960) 396–430 (repr. as F. Halkin, *Saints moines d'Orient* [London 1973] VI) (*BHG* 2297; see also *BHG* 2298, and F.

Halkin, in *AB* 78 [1960] 425–8; *idem*, ‘Saint Nicéphore de Médikion d’après un synaxaire du Mont Sinai’, *AB* 88 [1970] 13–16 [*BHG* 2299] [= *Saints moines d’Orient*, VII]; and *Synax. CP*, 659–60). See Ševčenko, ‘Hagiography’, 118 and n. 43. The life of the saint (died 813) was written, probably by the same monk Theosteriktos responsible for the *Life* of Niketas of Medikion (see Halkin, ‘La vie’, 413 for the date and connection with Niketas, and below) between 824 and 837; see *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 94.

*Vita Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani* in: *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula Historica*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1880) 139–217 (*BHG* 1335, written by Ignatios of Nicaea; see also the Logos by Thomas presbyteros, *BHG* 1336–7; ed. in Ioannou, *Mnêmeia Hagiologika*, 115–28; and a short *translatio* [*BHG* 1337b] and *Vita* [*BHG* 1337e], ed. Latyshev, in *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saeculi X*, I, 230–3; II, 4–6); von Dobschütz, ‘Methodius und die Studiten’, 53–9; Costa-Louillet, ‘Saints de Constantinople’, i, 245f.; Beck, *Kirche*, 489–91; Efthymiadis, *The Life of the patriarch Tarasios*, 38ff., 46f. Nikephoros died in 829, the *Life* seems to have been written shortly after 842. See Ševčenko, ‘Hagiography’, 123–5; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 349; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 70–1; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 344–5, 352–6. English trans. E. Fisher, in: Talbot, ed., *Byzantine defenders of images*, 25–142.

*Vita Nicephori hegumeni Sebazês* ed. F. Halkin, ‘Une victime inconnue de Léon l’Arménien? Saint Nicéphore de Sébazè’, *B* 23 (1953) 11–39, text 18–30 (*BHG* 2300) (repr. in *Recherches et documents*, 67–86, text 74–86). Founder of a monastery in Bithynia, he died between 813 and 820; the *Life* was written probably towards the end of the tenth century, as the author confesses to a lack of detailed information due to the lapse of time. Little precise information is offered, and it is possible that Nikephoros himself may be a fictional saint. See Ševčenko, ‘Hagiography’, 118 n. 40a.

*Vita Nicetae hegumeni Medicii* in: *AS* April. I, app. xviii–xxvii (*BHG* 1341); Doukakis, *Megas Synaxaristês*, April, 36–51 (*BHG* 1342; see also F. Halkin, ‘Saint Nicéphore de Médikion d’après un synaxaire du Mont Sinai’, *AB* 88 [1970] 13–16 [repr. as Halkin, *Saints moines d’Orient*, VII]). See Beck, *Kirche*, 510; von Dobschütz, ‘Methodius und die Studiten’, 81–3. Niketas died in 824; the *Life* was written by the monk Theosteriktos before 844–45, and drew also on the *Vita Stephani iunioris*. Ševčenko, ‘Hagiography’, 118 n. 42; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 96; Auzépy, *L’hagiographie et l’iconoclasme byzantin*, 197–8.

*Vita Nicetae patricii et monachi* ed: D. Papachryssanthou, ‘Un confesseur du second Iconoclasme. La vie du patrice Nicétas (836)’, *TM* 3 (1968) 309–51, text 328–51 (*BHG* 1342b; for the saint’s *synaxarion*, see *ibid.*, 324–7 [*BHG* 1342e]). Niketas died in 836; the *Life* was written probably in the 860s, although an earlier date is possible. Substantial borrowings from the *Life* of Gregory the Decapolite (see above) written between 842 and 845. See also Ševčenko, ‘Hagiography’, 117 for discussion; and Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 355. For the historical value of the *Life*, see *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 95–6.

*Miracula S. Nicolai Myrensis* in: G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos: der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, 2 vols (Leipzig–Berlin 1913, 1917) (BHG 1347–1364n) (includes the story of Peter of Athos/the *scholarios*, q.v.). Nicholas was bishop of Myra in the first half of the sixth century; the cycle of miracles around his life and his cult was already in existence by the later sixth century, and was added to over the following centuries. The patriarch Methodios wrote a *laudatio* which includes both a *Vita* and a collection of miracles; by the late ninth or early tenth century the collection of miracles had been completed, and some of the tales provide occasionally useful information about the period of the second iconoclasm and immediately afterwards. See Beck, *Kirche*, 408; 560; *ODB* 2, 1469–70; and Ševčenko, ‘The role of a ninth-century hymnographer’, especially 107–12; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 378–9.

*Vita Nicolai Studitae* in: *PG* 105, 863–925 (BHG 1365; cf. *Synax. CP* 443–4). Lived 793–868, the *Life* was written probably shortly thereafter (the earliest MS is of the tenth century). See von Dobschütz, ‘Methodius und die Studiten’, 70–2; Costa-Louillet, ‘Saints de Constantinople’, ii, 794–812; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 573; Beck, *Kirche*, 565; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 354; *ODB* 2, 1471; and Malamut, *Sur la route des saints*, 251–2; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 96–7.

*Vita Nicolai iunioris* in: D. Sophianos, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος ὁ ἐν Βουναίην* (Athens 1972) (BHG 2309). Nicholas died 901/2, and served as an officer under Leo VI in Thessaly. See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 381. Later than the iconoclast period but useful from the point of view of provincial military affairs: see A. Avramea, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Θεσσαλία μέχρι τοῦ 1204* (Athens 1974) 89–95.

*Relatio Nicolai ex milite monachi* in: *Synax. CP*, 341–4 (BHG 2311; cf. *BHG Auct.*, App. IV, 1317h); slightly different version also in *Vita Nicolai Studitae*, q.v., 893B–897C. See L. Clugnet, ‘Histoire de S. Nicolas, soldat et moine’, *ROC* 7 (1902), 319–30 (= *Bibl. Hagiogr. Or.* 3. Paris, 1902) 27–38. Probably ninth-century tale of a soldier who is spared the catastrophe of 811 in Bulgaria due to his piety. Provides some useful information about soldiers’ lives, as well as on attitudes to sin and redemption.

*Vita Pauli Caiumae* ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* IV, 247–51 (BHG 1471; also ed. Latyshev, in *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saeculi X*, II, 23–7. Cf. *BHG* 1471b) (the same saint is celebrated, with slightly different details, as Paul the Younger, in the *Vita Pauli iunioris* [*BHL* 6591]) See Auzépy, *L’hagiographie et l’iconoclasme byzantin*, 192–3. For a *passio* (BHG 1471b), see E. Papaeliopoulou-Photopoulou, in *Diptycha* 1 (1979) 53–82, text 70–82. Largely fictional and written at the earliest in the tenth century, with later interpolations; probably mid-eleventh century, the text draws very heavily on ninth-century *Lives*, in particular the *Vita Stephani iunioris*: see Auzépy, *L’hagiographie et l’iconoclasme byzantin*, 192; Beck, *Kirche*, 560; Ševčenko, ‘Hagiography’, 114 with n. 7; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 97.

*Vita Petri Athonitae* in: K. Lake, *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos* (Oxford 1909) 18–39 (BHG 1505; cf. also *PG* 150, 996–1037 [*BHG* 1506] and

F. Halkin, 'Vie brève de saint Pierre l'Athonite', *AB* 106 [1988] 249–245, text 250–5 [*BHG* 1506e]). While the existence of Peter is not to be doubted – he supposedly died in the middle of the ninth century: see D. Papachryssanthou, *AB* 88 (1970), 34–41 for a canon dedicated to the saint composed by Joseph the Hymnographer – the *Life* is essentially a fiction constructed from a variety of ninth-century stories, filled out with details which would satisfy a tenth-century audience or readership. See G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos: der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, 2 vols (Leipzig–Berlin 1913, 1917) II, 293–6, 403–6; Beck, *Kirche*, 579; St. Binon, 'La vie de S. Pierre l'Athonite', *SBN* 5 (1936) 41–53; D. Papachryssanthou, 'La vie ancienne de S. Pierre l'Athonite. Date, composition et valeur historique', *AB* 92 (1974) 19–61; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 124–5. Part of the *Life* is taken from the collection of miracles of St Nicholas of Myra, some of which, including the story of the soldier Peter included here, had an independent circulation. Cf. *BHG* 1359, for example, and below, *De Petro patricio*.

*Vita Petri Atroae* ed. V. Laurent, *La vie merveilleuse de S. Pierre d'Atroa* (Subsid. Hag. 29, Brussels 1956) (*BHG* 2364). Lived 773–837, the *Life* was written by the monk Sabas ca 847. See also the *Vita retractata*: ed., trans., and comm. V. Laurent, *La vita retractata et les miracles postumes de saint Pierre d'Atroa*, (Subsid. Hag. 31, Brussels 1958) (*BHG* 2365; see also *Synax. CP*, 42). See I. Dujčev, 'A propos de la vie de S. Pierre d'Atroa', *BS* 27 (1966), 92–7 (repr. in: *Medioevo Bizantino-Slavo* [Rome 1968], 533–9); Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 354; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 98. An informative *Life* containing much information about the monastic and political-economic life of the period.

*De S. Petro episcopo Martyre* (Peter of Beit Ras) in: *AS* Oct. II, 1, 494–8; P. Peeters, 'La Passion de S. Pierre de Capitolias', *AB* 57 (1939), 299–333, text 301–16 (a précis of the Georgian version: cf. K. Kekelidze, in *Khristianskii vostok* 4 [1916] 1–71, text 23–70). Discussion and literature: Schick, *Christian communities of Palestine*, 173–5; 260–1. Peter was a monk who slandered Islam, and was arrested, tried, and executed under al-Walīd in 715. The text contains useful information both on the Christian communities of Palestine at that time and on Islamic political and judicial procedures.

*De Petro Galatiae (Thaumaturgo)* in: *Synax. CP*, 125–6 (with 121–4, a twelfth-century version: cf. *AS* Oct. IV, 1044–5). Peter, originally named Leo before adopting the monastic life, had been commander of the *exkoubitores* at court under Theophilos; he was later recalled from his provincial monastery to Constantinople by Basil I. Iconoclasm plays no role in the account, however, which provides some information about the politics and life of the time. See *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 98–9.

*De Petro patricio* in: *Synax. CP*, 791; cf. *AS* Jul. I, 290. Peter was supposedly an officer in the *Scholai* and later commander of the *Hikanatoi*, captured by the Bulgars in 811. The story is very close to the account of the soldier Nikolaos and appears also to be connected with the story of the *scholarios* Peter in the miracles of St Nicholas of Myra: see above, *Relatio Nicolai ex milite monachi*, in: *Synax. CP*, 341–4 (*BHG* 2311); and *Vita Petri Athonitae*. Cf. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, 174–81



(*BHG* 1359). Several later variations on the story were also written: see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 574.

*Vita Philareti* ed. M.-H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, 'La vie de S. Philarète', *B* 9 (1934) 85–170 (*BHG* 1511z; cf. also another version, ed. A.A. Vasiliev, in *IRAIK* 5 [1900] 49–86, text 64–86 [*BHG* 1512]). Philaretos died in 792; the *Life* was written by his grandson, the monk Niketas, in 821–22, and is marked by its neutral stance regarding icons. Two versions of the *Life* exist, one apparently but not certainly a revision of the other.<sup>29</sup> According to the *Life*, he was the grandfather of Maria of Amnia, the first wife of Constantine VI. Many features of the *Life* are debated, in particular its factual historicity – the details of Philaretos's holdings in land and livestock, the relationship between him and his neighbours and the village communities referred to in the account, as well as the question of the bride-show through which Maria was selected as Constantine's wife-to-be, for example, which have frequently been taken more or less at face value, should be treated with considerable caution, although it is certainly possible to draw some conclusions about social history from them. See Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 126–7; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 323–4. Auzépy argues that it shares all the standard characteristics of an iconoclast hagiography with the *Lives* of Leo of Catania, Eudokimos, and George of Amastris: 'L'analyse littéraire', 58, 61ff.; *eadem*, 'De Philarète, de sa famille, et de certains monastères de Constantinople', 117–35; in particular, Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 74–166; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 71–2; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 281–91.

*Laudatio S. Platonis hegumeni* in: *AS* April. I, xlvi–liv; *PG* 99, 804A–849A (*BHG* 1553 [= *Oratio funebris a Theodoro Studita*]). Written for Theodore of Stoudios's uncle Plato, abbot of the monasteries of Symbolon and Sakkoudion, ca 814–15, contains a number of details relevant to the situation in Constantinople under Constantine V. See von Dobschütz, 'Methodius und die Studiten', 60–2; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 356; Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Constantinople', i, 230–40; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 115; A. Sideras, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden. Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung. 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend* (Wiener byzantinistische Studien 29. Wien 1994) 97–9; *ODB* 3, 1684. On Plato, see Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites*, 26ff.

*Vita Procopii Decapolitani* ed. St. Efthymiadis, *AB* 108 (1990) 307–19, text 313–19 (*BHG* 1583); cf. *Synax. CP*, 491–4; *Menologium Basilii*, 329A–B. Probably a fictional saint, based heavily on other *Lives* of saints from the period of the second iconoclasm, especially that of Makarios of Pelekete (q.v.): see Efthymiadis, 309ff.

*Vita Romani* ed. P. Peeters, 'S. Romain, le néomartyr († 1 mai 780) d'après un document Georgien', in: *AB* 30 (1911) 393–427 (Latin trans. 409–27). The *Life* survives in a Georgian version only, and is a near contemporary account which appears for the most part a trustworthy, if markedly iconophile, record of the saint's life and martyrdom. However, the historicity of the saint cannot be corroborated

<sup>29</sup> See L. Rydén, 'The revised version of the "Life of St Philaretos" and the "Life of St Andreas Salos"', *AB* 100 (1982) 485–95.

from any other source. See the editor's discussion for its authenticity, and Beck, *Kirche*, 508; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 114–15; Mango, 'St Anthusa of Mantineon and the Family of Constantine V', 404–5; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 212–13.

*De Sergio (Nicetieta)* in: *Synax. CP*, 775–8 (cf. *AS Jun. V*, 384–5). A high-ranking military officer, related to the empress Theodora, and mentioned in several ninth- and tenth-century sources, for whom some seals also survive. The Synaxarion notice presents some brief but informative information. See H. Grégoire, 'Études sur le IXe siècle', *B 8* (1933), 515–50, at 515–31; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 100.

*Vita Stephani iunioris* in: *PG* 100, 1069–1186; ed. and trans. M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le diacre* (BBOM 3. Aldershot 1997) text 87–177 (*BHG* 1666; cf. also 1666a; and for the metaphrastic version, F. Iadevaia, *Simeone Metafraste, Vita di S. Stefano minore. Introd., testo critico, trad. e note* [Messina 1984] [*BHG* 1667]). For a detailed study of the text, its construction, political and historical importance and ideological significance, see M.-F. Auzépy, *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin. Le cas de la Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* (BBOM 5. Aldershot 1999). One of the most important and most-discussed *Lives*, and chronologically the first iconophile biography, it seems to have been written by Stephen the deacon (of the Great Church in Constantinople) in 809 to commemorate the martyrdom of the saint in 764. It served as the exemplar for many later *Lives* and writings on the first period of iconoclasm, including the *Lives* of Germanos, of the martyrs of Constantinople (in 730), of Paul of Caiuma/Paul the Younger, Michael the *sygkellos*, of Andrew in Crisei, Niketas of Medikion, as well as the chronicle of George the Monk. See Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 115–16; J. Gill, 'The life of Stephen the Younger by Stephen the deacon', *OCP* 6 (1940) 114–39; G. Huxley, 'On the Vita of Stephen the Younger', *GRBS* 18 (1977) 97–108; M.-F. Rouan, 'Une lecture «iconoclaste» de la vie d'Étienne le Jeune', *TM* 8 (1981) 415–36, with previous literature; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 324; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 100–4; and Auzépy, *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune, passim*. The structure, date, and purpose of the *Life* have aroused much controversy.<sup>30</sup> It contains many elements found also in the Acts of the Council of 787 and other texts, including elements in common with one of the versions of the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*. Thus, in contrast to Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, 5–9 (and see also M.-F. Auzépy, 'L'Adversus Constantinum Caballinum et Jean de Jérusalem', *BS* 56 [1995] 323–38 [= ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ. *Studia byzantina ac slavica Vladimíro Vavřínek ad annum sexagesimum quintum dedicata*]; *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme*, 103ff., 122ff.), Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, especially 158, 222–34, 509ff., considers the *Life* to have been interpolated after the date of its composition in ca 809, so that several sections, including those derived from the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* and the story of the martyrs of 730, as well as passages on the nature of figural decoration in the Blachernai church of the Virgin, would have been added at a later date, perhaps after 843. According to Auzépy, on the other hand, the account of the removal of the

<sup>30</sup> See the useful survey and analysis of the style, composition, and later hagiographical use of the *Vita*, in Kazhdan, *Literature*, 183–203.

icon of Christ from the Chalke gate of the palace, and the massacre of those who attempted to prevent imperial officers from carrying out this task provides an example of a somewhat different process, by which the hagiographer himself invented a story, based on probably independent but near-contemporary tales, which was incorporated into the *Life* (PG 100, 85C–D; ed. Auzépy, §10). In this example, the *Life* of Stephen provides the first evidence for this particular tale, which appears to reflect contemporary patriarchal propaganda relating to the role of the patriarch Germanos in opposing Leo III's introduction of iconoclasm. It occurs shortly afterwards in several sources, for example, Theophanes, 405.5–11 and the so-called second letter of Gregory II to the emperor Leo III: cf. J. Gouillard, 'Aux origines de l'iconoclasme: le témoignage de Grégoire II?', *TM* 3 (1968) 243–307 (repr. in J. Gouillard, *La vie religieuse à Byzance* [London 1981] IV) text II. 218–28 [pp. 293–5]). See Auzépy, *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme*, 193–4; 203–4; 298–300, who shows how the same story, but in an emended and elaborated version, was re-employed during the patriarchate of Ignatios in the 860s, again for patriarchal propaganda purposes.<sup>31</sup>

*Vita Stephani episcopi Suroziae* ed. V. Vassilievskii, in: *Russko-Vizantiiskii Isledovaniia i* (St Petersburg 1893) 74–9 (BHG 1671; cf. *Synax. CP*, 263–4). Much later composition than the eighth-century events it purports to describe, illustrated by its confusion of Leo III with Leo V, for example. See Gero, *Leo III*, 14; Beck, *Kirche*, 512–13; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 114 and n. 8. There are two other versions, both longer than the Greek version: see G. Bayan, 'Vie de saint Étienne, archevêque de la métropole Sougda', in *Le synaxaire arménien de Ter Israël*, in *PO* 21 (1930) 865–76 (Armenian) and V. Vassilievskii, in *Trudy V.G. Vassilievskago III* (Petrograd 1915) 72–98 (Slav). See *ODB* 3, 1954; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 73.

*Vita Stephani Sabaitae* in: *AS* Jul. III, 504–84 (BHG 1670); Italian trans. C. Carta, *Leonzio di Damasco, Vita di s. Stefano Sabaita (725–794)* (Jerusalem 1983). A *Life* of the Stephen who wrote the *Passio* of the twenty monks from the monastery of St Saba killed in 797 (see above), written by his pupil Leontios sometime after his death in 794. Important for the situation in Palestine ca 800, the text also reflects a very different context for the writing of the *Life*, in which opinions about such issues as the role of monks, for example, could be expressed more freely than in a Byzantine and imperial context. See Beck, *Kirche*, 508; *ODB* 3, 1954; and especially Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIIIe–IXe siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène', 184–93; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 125–6. Versions exist also in Arabic and Georgian: see G. Garitte, in *AB* 77 (1959), 344–69 (edition) and *idem*, in *Le Muséon* 67 (1954) 71–92 (trans. from Georgian) and B. Pirone, *Leonzio di Damasco: Vita di Santo Stefano Sabaita (725–794). Testo arabo, introd., trad. e note* (Studia Orientalia Christiania, Monogr. 4. Cairo–Jerusalem 1991) (the Arabic version).

<sup>31</sup> See also S. Gero, 'Jannes and Jambres in the *Vita Stephani Iunioris* (BHG 1666)', *AB* 113 (1995) 281–92.

*Vita Tarasii* St. Eftymiadis, *The Life of the patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the deacon* (BHG 1698). Introduction, text, translation and commentary (BBOM 4. Aldershot 1998) text 65–168; older edn J.A. Heikel, ‘Ignatii Diaconi Vita Tarasii Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani’, in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* 17 (1889) 395–423 (printed separatim, Helsingfors 1889, 1–29) (BHG 1698). Tarasios was patriarch from 784–806; the *Life* was written between 842 and ca 845 (Ignatios’s death – see Ševčenko, ‘Hagiography’, 122 n. 63; C. Mango, ‘Observations on the Correspondence of Ignatius, Metropolitan of Nicaea [First Half of the Ninth Century]’, in: *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen: Texte und Untersuchungen CXXV* [Berlin 1981] 403–10 [= *Byzantium and its Image*, XII]). See Eftymiadis’s introduction; Ševčenko, ‘Hagiography’, 125; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 349–50; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 74; Th. Pratsch, ‘Tarasios’, in: *Lilie, Patriarchen*, 57–108. While idealising the patriarch and his deeds, the *Life* presents a different perspective on the events of the period, although the factual information is not always be reliable. See also Kazhdan, *Literature*, 343–5, 352–6.

*De Theocleto* in: *Synax. CP*, 914; cf. Kazhdan and Talbot, ‘Women and iconoclasm’, 393 (no. 7). Lived during the time of the emperor Theophilos; the notice in the *Synaxarion* contains a limited amount of information.

*Vita Theoctistae* (of Lesbos) in: *AS Nov. IV*, 224–33 (BHG 1723–4; see also BHG 1725–6, edn in *AS Nov. IV*, 224–33; older edns in Ioannou, *Mnêmeia Hagiologika*, 1–17; 18–39; cf. *Synax. CP*, 206–8 [BHG 1726c]); probably written by Niketas Magistros, before 946. The text is translated by A.C. Hero, in Talbot, ed., *Holy women of Byzantium*, 95–100. The *Life* is mostly legendary, although includes some historically relevant material, for example, regarding Crete in the mid-ninth century. See Beck, *Kirche*, 561, 563; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 355 for further literature; *ODB* 3, 2055–6; L.G. Westerink, *Nicetas Magistros, Lettres d’un Exilé (928–946)* (Paris 1973), 41–6.

*De Theoctista: S. ... Theodori (Studitae) Catechesis funebris in matrem suam* in: *PG* 99, 883–902; ed. D. Zakythenos, in *Byzantina keimena* (Athens 1957), 76–84 (BHG 2422). See von Dobschütz, ‘Methodius und die Studiten’, 60; Sideras, *Grabreden*, 99–100; Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites*, 7, 26–41. Contains a limited amount of information about contemporary and recent political events as well as about Theodore’s family.

*Vita Theodorae* in: *Synax. CP*, 354–6; a largely legendary account set in the time of Leo III or Constantine V (the two are confused by the writer) aiming chiefly at defaming the two iconoclast rulers, and certainly composed long after the events it purports to describe. See also Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1, 576.

*Vita S. Theodorae imperatricis* ed. W. Regel, in: *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (St Petersburg 1891) 1–19; newer edn A. Markopoulos, in *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 249–85, text 257–71 (BHG 1731; cf. BHG 1732–5, and *Synax. CP*, 456, 458–60); English trans. M. Vinson, in: Talbot, ed., *Byzantine defenders of images*, 353–82. Theodora died 867, an anonymous writer composed the *Life* shortly thereafter, although it

includes a number of more fanciful episodes in addition to material which appears to have a greater degree of historical value. It served as a source for Georgius Monachus *continuatus*. See further Kazhdan and Talbot, 'Women and iconoclasm', 393; Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 115ff., 130–6 with literature and sources, on the 'bride show' in the tale; and *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 75.

*Vita Theodoraе Thessalonicae* ed. and trans. S.A. Paschalides (Thessaloniki 1991), 66–188 (*BHG* 1737; revised version *BHG* 1738), including refs. to older edns; E. Kurtz, 'Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessaloniki nebst der Metaphrase des Joannes Staurakios', in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St Petersburg*, viii sér. 6.1 (1902) 1–36 (*BHG* 1738; see also *BHG* 1739–41 for encomia and other accounts of her life; and *Synax. CP*, 585–8). English trans. A.-M. Talbot, in: Talbot, ed., *Holy women of Byzantium*, 159–63 (*BHG* trans. of 1737); 164–237 (trans. of *BHG* 1738), Theodora lived 812–892; the *Life* was written by a monk, Gregorios, ca 894, and the later version (*BHG* 1738) dates probably to the thirteenth century. See Beck, *Kirche*, 563–4; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 354–5; *ODB* 3, 2038–9; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 126–7. The main historical events concern the protagonist's flight from Arab raids against Crete.

*Vita Theodori Edesseni* ed: J.P. Pomialovskii, *Zhitie izhe vo sv. otcha nasego Theodoro arkhiepiskopa edesskago* (St Petersburg 1892) (*BHG* 1744). Theodore lived ca 793–ca 860; the *Life* was purportedly written by his nephew Basil, bishop of Emesa, but depends heavily on the *Life* of Theodore Abu Qurra (died ca 820), and may be a later tenth-century compilation. See A.A. Vasiliev, 'The Life of St Theodore of Edessa', *B* 16 (1942/3) 165–225; for its late date, see A. Abel, 'La portée apologétique de la "vie" de S. Théodore d'Edesse', *BS* 10 (1949) 229–40; J. Gouillard, 'Supercheries et méprises littéraires: l'oeuvre de S. Théodore d'Edesse', *REB* 5 (1947) 137–57; *ODB* 3, 2043; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 128–9. The value of the *Life* is debated; it appears to be a patchwork of extracts from other saints' lives, and although it presents details for the period sufficient for its original readership/audience, is more of a 'hagiographical romance' than a reliable narrative of the saint's *Life*. See Beck, *Kirche*, 559.

*Vita S. Theodori Grapti* in: *PG* 116, 653–84 (repr. of edn by F. Combefis [Paris 1664]) (*BHG* 1746. See also J.M. Featherstone, ed., 'The praise of Theodore Graptos by Theophanes of Caesarea', *AB* 98 [1980] 93–150, text 104–50 [*BHG* 1745z]; and *Synax. CP*, 352–4). Theodore died ca 841; this *Life* is a metaphrastic reworking of an earlier version. But it contains a number of original, unaltered sections of the letter written in about 836/7 by Theodore, describing his interrogation and punishment before the emperor Theophilus (672B–680A). See Vailhé, 'Saint Michel le syncelle et les deux frères Grapti', *ROC* 6 (1901) 313–52, 610–42, see 618ff.; St. Efthymiadis, 'Notes on the correspondence of Theodore the Studite', *REB* 53 (1995), 141–63, at 142ff.; and *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 104–5 for further literature.

*Vita ... Theodori praepositi Studitarum* [a] in: *PG* 99, 113A–232B (*BHG* 1755). A lightly rewritten version of *Life* [b], probably by Theodore Daphnopates in the tenth

century. See Patlagean, 'Sainteté', 89. *Vita ... Theodori abbatis monasterii Studii a Michaele monacho conscripta*, [b] in: Mai, *NPB* vi, 2, 291–363; *PG* 99, 233A–328B (*BHG* 1754); and Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1, 576–7. Theodore died in 826; his *Life* was written by the monk Michael from the monastery of Stoudios, probably after 868. This is the oldest and most reliable extant *Life* of Theodore: see C. Van De Vorst, in *AB* 32 (1913) 29; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 352–3; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', 116. See also *Vita ... Theodori* etc., [c] ed. V. Latyshev, in: *VV* 21 (1914), 258–304 (*BHG* 1755d); and [d] ed. T. Matantseva, 'Un fragment d'une nouvelle vie de Saint Théodore Stoudite, Vie D', *BF* 23 (1996) 154–5 (*BHG* 1755f). For detailed discussion of Theodore's *Life* with further sources and literature, see Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites*, 1f., 6–16; and *PmbZ*, *Prolegomena*, 76.

*Vita et Miracula Theodori (tironis)* in: H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris 1909) 183–201 (*BHG* 1764). This is an important collection of miracles attributed to the intervention of St Theodore (on whose cult see Beck, *Kirche*, 405), including a number of early accounts which have been dated variously from the later seventh to mid-eighth century. See, for the arguments, F. Trombley, 'The decline of the seventh-century town: the exception of Euchaita', in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. Sp. Vryonis, jr. (Malibu 1985) 65–90; and C. Zuckerman, 'The Reign of Constantine V in the Miracles of St Theodore the Recruit (*BHG* 1764)', *REB* 46 (1988) 191–210.

*De S. Theodosia Constantinopolitana* in: Latyshev, *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, II, 186–8 (*Passio*: *BHG* 1773y); in M. Gedeon, *Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον. Μνήμαι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δ' μέχρι τῶν μέσων τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰῶνος ἑορταζομένων ἀγίων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει* (Constantinople 1899) 13–131 (*Laudatio*: *BHG* 1773z); in *AS* Maii VII, 67–82 (and *PG* 140, 893–936) (*Encomium*: *BHG* 1774. This text, composed by Constantine Akropolites, described miracles of the fourteenth century); cf. *Synax. CP*, 828–30. The *Life* is translated by N. Constatas, in Talbot, ed., *Byzantine defenders of images*, 1–7 (trans. 5–7). Theodosia is one of those purportedly killed by the soldiers of Leo III in 726, although mentioned only in the synaxaria. See Mango, *Brazen House*, 117–18; and the literature cited above: *Passio SS. martyrorum Constantinopolitanum*. The texts offer little concrete historical information, but are relevant to the later mythologizing and 'reconstruction' of the events of the early eighth century by the iconophiles.

*Vita Theophanis (confessoris)* in: Methodii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani *Vita S. Theophanis Confessoris*, ed. V. Latyshev, in: *Zapiski Russ. Akademii Nauk*, viii ser., 13/4 (1918) 1–40 (*BHG* 1787z; and cf. the *Synaxarion* entry, *ibid.*, 41–4 [*BHG* 1792e]); also in: M. I. Gedeon, *Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον*, 290–3 (*BHG* 1788); also ed. C. de Boor, in: *Theoph.* 2, 3–12 [*BHG* 1789; also in *PG* 115, 19–29]; 13–27 [*BHG* 1790; also in *PG* 108, 18–45] for alternative versions). For *encomia* on Theophanes by Theodore of Stoudion (dating to the 820s: *BHG* 1792b), see C. Van de Vorst, 'Un panégyrique de S. Théophane le chronographe par S. Théodore Studite', *AB* 31 (1912), 11–23, text 19–23; St. Efthymiadis, 'Le panégyrique de s Théophane le Confesseur par s. Théodore Stoudite (*BHG* 1792b)', *AB* 111 (1993)

259–90, text. 268–84. Theophanes died in 817; the *Life* was written by the patriarch Methodios, probably before he had written that of Euthymios of Sardis (see above), therefore before 832. See von Dobschütz, ‘Methodius und die Studiten’, 78–81; Gouillard, ‘Une oeuvre inédite’, 45; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 353–4; *ODB* 3, 2063; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 372–4. For further details of the *Lives* and related *Synaxarion* texts, see *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 77–8.

*Vita Theophanis Grapti* ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* iv, 185–223; v, 397–9 (*BHG* 1793; cf. *BHG* 1793–1793e). See *ODB* 3, 1772, 2042; Cunningham, *Michael the Synkellos*, 8. See above: *Vita S. Theodori Grapti*.

*De Theophili imperatoris benefactis* in: *Analekta Byzantino-Russica*, ed. W. Regel (St Petersburg 1891) 40–3 (*BHG* 1735) (and for associated texts see *ibid.*, 19–39 [*BHG* 1732, 1733]; F. Combefis, *Novum auctarium II: Historia haeresis monothelitarum* [Paris 1648], 715–43 [*BHG* 1734]). The first text is based on late Roman models and has little factual value, although it, and the other texts, are important for the ways in which the legend of this emperor’s sense of justice and the reintroduction of images are connected. See *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 78–9, with literature.

*Vita Theophylacti Nicomediensis* ed. A. Vogt, ‘S. Théophylacte de Nicomédie’, in: *AB* 50 (1932) 67–82, text 71–82 (*BHG* 2451); also ed. F. Halkin, in: *Hagiologie byzantine. Textes inédits publiés en grec et traduits en français* (Subsid. Hag. 71. Brussels 1986) 170–84, text 171–81 (*BHG* 2452; and cf. *Synax. CP*, 519–22 [*BHG* 2452c]). Died *ca* 840–45; the *Life* is probably of the late ninth or even tenth century: von Dobschütz, ‘Methodius und die Studiten’, 73–4; Ševčenko, ‘Hagiography’, 118 nn. 37, 38. Theophylact was a member of the circle of the patriarch Tarasios and Theodore of Stoudios; thus the *Life* provides useful information about the social and political situation of the period.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of all the relevant hagiographical texts which provide potentially useful information for the period in question, but it gives a reasonably full idea of the nature of those texts and, more importantly, the complexity of their transmission and the care with which they must be employed.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Thus there are a number of texts relative to saints and holy men or women which offer little or no information other than the names of their chief protagonists and some vague indication of the period in which they lived: see, for example, the *epitaphios* or commemoration sermon for Athanasios of Methone (*BHG* 196) included in the *Life* of Peter of Argos (ed. K.Th. Kyriakopoulos, in: ‘*Άγίου Πέτρου επισκόπου Ἄργους βίος καὶ λόγοι* [Athens 1976] 44–67; older edn Ch. Papaoikonomou, ‘*Ὁ πολιοῦχος τοῦ Ἄργους ἅγιος Πέτρος, ἐπίσκοπος Ἄργους ὁ θαυματουργός* [Athens 1908] 91–106; see Beck, *Kirche*, 551; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 119); the *Narratio de Philotheo*, ed. F. Halkin, *JÖB* 37 (1987) 31–7 (*BHG* 2372), purportedly set in the early eighth century, but written much later and dependent on earlier *Lives*; or the *Life* of the almost certainly fictional Saint Barbaros: *BHG* 220: see *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 120. Similar considerations affect the *Vita Ioannis Eremopolitae*, who lived perhaps in the eighth or early ninth century, about whom little can be said except that his monastery was threatened by Arab raiders: ed. F. Halkin, *AB* 86 (1968) 13–20, text 16–20 (*BHG* 2187h) (repr. in *idem, Saints moines d’Orient*, V). In addition to those saints who lived, or were purported to have lived, during the period of iconoclasm, there are several texts of the

The collections of miracles of St George, St Nicholas, and the Archangel Michael, for example, as noted above, include important material which dates to the ninth century and possibly earlier – although this depends in turn on the sorts of questions one wishes to ask – a late ninth-century *Life* of an eighth-century victim of iconoclast persecution may contain little of value for the eighth century, but a great deal about attitudes, ideas, and everyday life in the time of its composition. By the same token, several much later texts contain material passed down from the eighth or ninth century which, however suspect its content and means of transmission, contain information relevant to the period: the *Narratio de imagine Christi in monasterio Latomi*, for example, is a largely legendary eleventh- or twelfth-century account by a certain Ignatios, abbot of the monastery *tu Akapniou* in Thessaloniki, of the history of the mosaic of the monastery of Latomos in the same city (now *Hosios David*), which makes reference to the concealment of the mosaic during a period of persecution, perhaps an indication of the ways in which images were protected during the iconoclast period.<sup>33</sup>

As well as the Greek *Lives* and those in oriental languages detailed above, there are in addition a number of hagiographies in Latin which have some value for the study of the Byzantine world in the iconoclast era. Apart from the *Lives* of the popes in the *Liber pontificalis*, lives such as the *Vita Willibaldi* (by Hugeburc of Heidenheim) are of considerable importance. For example, Willibald travelled through Nicaea only a short time after the siege of 726, on his way East, where he describes seeing the images of the 318 bishops of the first ecumenical council.

*Vita Willibaldi* ed. O. Holder-Egger, in: *MGH (SS) XV/1* (Berlin 1876) 86–106.

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ninth century celebrating the life and deeds of much earlier martyrs, but which were written to involve a contemporary readership or audience and which contain indirect references to the attitudes and politics of the period of composition: see the discussion in Kazhdan, *Literature*, 302–8, on the *Lives* of Pankratios of Taormina and on the deeds of the apostle Andrew. Several other figures are included in the *Synaxaria*, in particular, but their historical value is either very limited or non-existent: see the brief summary in *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 137–40.

<sup>33</sup> See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (St Petersburg 1909) 102ff.; partial trans. and commentary in Mango, *Art*, 155–6.



## Acts of Ecclesiastical Councils

Acts of ecclesiastical councils provide some of the most important information for the period, not simply in terms of theological questions, but about the loyalties and attitudes of bishops and other clergy, about the territorial extent of the empire in respect of the number of sees and the issue of whether or not they were held in absentia, as well as about imperial policy, aspects of the administration, and related issues. They can also provide information on the extent or distribution of particular ideas and attitudes among the higher clergy and across the empire, since the arguments and debates in each session of the council provide important insights into such matters.<sup>1</sup>

Along with the Acts of the councils a large number of associated documents are generally transmitted in the manuscript tradition, in particular letters written by the patriarchs and leading clergy in Constantinople and elsewhere, and letters from the popes or papal chancery, to and from emperors, and so forth; as well as theological tracts, synodal or imperial decrees to do with the calling of a council or its results and implications, and so forth.<sup>2</sup> The Acts themselves follow a standard format, and reflect the actual procedure for discussion within the council. The actual process of debate was recorded in notes written down by scribes present at each session, which preserve the detailed transcript of the discussion. Brief summaries of these detailed Acts were drawn up from these notes. The conclusions reached at the end of each session were extracted from the detailed Acts and the notes and written up at a later stage, before being appended to the transcript of the Acts. Such protocols consisted of several parts: an opening statement detailing place, date, and session (including the chair and others present); a statement listing each decision taken and agreed; and the full list of those present during the session and agreeing with the decisions reached. The document could then be 'published' as the final decision of the council on a particular issue.

Detailed records of the exact course of each session were always kept when

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<sup>1</sup> For a brief overview of the nature and value of the Acts of the Church Councils, with further literature, see E. Chrysos, 'Konzilsakten', in Winkelmann and Brandes, 149–55; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 116–17; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 204. See also below on the *Notitiae episcopatum*.

<sup>2</sup> The best compendium of such materials for the papacy is to be found in Ph. Jaffé, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, I, 2nd rev. edn by W. Wattenbach, S. Löwenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald (Leipzig 1885/Graz 1956) (= JE); and for the patriarchate at Constantinople, Grumel, *Regestes*. For imperial documents of an official character, see Dölger, *Regesten*.

major issues of dogma and theology had to be debated. In the case of synods or councils dealing with less momentous issues, such as ecclesiastical discipline or the reinforcement or expansion or clarification of canon law, the decisions taken and the form in which they were to be communicated to the clergy in general were the priority, and so careful records of the actual debates by which these decisions were reached were less important, and in consequence have not usually survived. The Acts of important discussions and issues have generally survived because they were copied several times and drawn upon for ongoing theological or ecclesiastical-political debates. They were also excerpted or copied further to form *florilegia*, collections of quotations from texts, with commentaries, dealing with issues, the clarification and elucidation of which formed the basis for the various collections. The conclusions and decisions reached by a council were published by being issued to the ecclesiastical authorities involved, as well as to the other patriarchates, often being collected in dedicated collections of such documents or deposited in a Church archive.

There are a number of methodological problems associated with the exploitation of conciliar Acts as a historical source. A particular difficulty is presented by the fact that Acts of councils were sometimes tampered with at a later date, or drawn up to reflect a particular segment of ecclesiastical opinion, and this is often difficult to elicit from the surviving documentation, even where more than one copy of the Acts in question exists, deposited and preserved in a different archive. The most notorious example is provided by the Acts of the Lateran synod of 649, which have been shown to have been produced almost in their entirety, both Greek and Latin versions, by Maximus Confessor and his small circle of supporters in Rome, and which may thus not reflect the actual course of the discussion during the council.<sup>3</sup>

An associated problem accompanies the use of the lists of signatories and of those present at councils. These can be, and frequently have been, used to establish an idea of which episcopal sees were occupied at a given moment, which bishops were in post, where they were normally resident and so forth – an important source, in other words, for the historical geography of the empire and the Church. The lists can be divided into two categories, the so-called Presence Lists, which precede the summary protocol appended to the account of the acts of each session, and which list all those present at the session itself; and the Subscription Lists, which appear at the end of the whole conciliar record, following the final session and the summary of the conciliar decisions, and represent the signature of each individual bishop. The subscription list is often longer than the presence lists, however, since the decisions of the council were usually circulated afterwards in order to obtain the signature of

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<sup>3</sup> See R. Riedinger, 'Die Lateransynode von 649. Ein Werk der Byzantiner um Maximos Homologetes', *Byzantina* 13 (1985) 519–34; and his introductory discussion in *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, ed. R. Riedinger (ACO 2, 1. Berlin 1984) IX–XXVII. Further literature: F. Winkelmann, 'Die Quellen zur Erforschung des monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streites', *Klio* 69 (1987) 515–59, at 538 (repr. in: W. Brandes and J.F. Haldon, eds, *Friedhelm Winkelmann. Studien zu Konstantin dem Grossen und zur byzantinischen Kirchengeschichte. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* [Birmingham 1993], no. VII). See CPG IV, 9398–415.

bishops who had not been able to attend the council in person. But these records do not represent a simple list of actually occupied sees; nor is their coverage consistent from council to council. The question of absentee bishops must be taken into account, particularly in the period from the seventh to ninth centuries, when hostile military activity discouraged many bishops from staying in their sees. Significant discrepancies in the numbers and origins of bishops who attended the councils of 680 and 692, two major assemblies which took place only twelve years apart, for example, need also to be explained in terms which take both imperial politics and the political and economic situation of the provinces at the time into account.<sup>4</sup> Although technically every city had a bishop, and vice versa, there are enough exceptions to the rule to make any assumption based upon this concept very hazardous; a consideration which applies similarly to the fact that changes in the administrative structure of the provinces often had ecclesiastical-administrative repercussions – but not always.

Although we are dealing here primarily with the eighth and ninth centuries, the Acts of one, and the canons of another earlier council are important, since they provide essential background material for the situation with respect to both the use of images in the empire in the later seventh century and the general situation of society and the clergy.

The Acts of the sixth ecumenical council, held in Constantinople in the year 680/1, are important for their decisions not only with respect to the abandonment and condemnation of monotheletism, but especially in respect of the concerns expressed regarding the dangers of inadequately stressing Christ's human nature which, it was argued, were necessary corollaries of a monothelete theology, and which, of course, had implications for the question of representation.<sup>5</sup>

*Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium*, ed. R. Riedinger (Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum II/2, 1–2. Berlin 1990–92). Older edn in: J.D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio* (Florence–Venice 1759ff./repr. Paris 1901–1927) xi, 190–922.

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<sup>4</sup> For a good introduction to the nature of the problem of the subscription lists in an applied context, see R.-J. Lilie, “Thrakien” und “Thrakesion”. Zur byzantinischen Provinzorganisation am Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts’, *JÖB* 26 (1977) 7–47; and *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 44–5. See also R. Riedinger, *Die Präsenz- und Subskriptionslisten des VI. Ökumenischen Konzils (680/81) und der papyrus Vind. G. 3* (Abh. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse, neue Folge, Heft 85. Munich 1979). Quite apart from these problems is also the issue of miscopyings of names or places: see, for a good illustration, W. Brandes, ‘Apergios von Perge – ein Phantomhäretiker’, *JÖB* 48 (1998) 35–40.

<sup>5</sup> See in general C.J. von Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles* (Paris 1907ff.) iii, 472–538; F.X. Murphy and P. Sherwood, *Constantinople II et III* (Paris 1974) 133–260; Beck, *Kirche*, 46; F. Winkelmann, ‘Die Quellen zur Erforschung des monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streites’; also *idem*, *Die östlichen Kirchen in der Epoche der christologischen Auseinandersetzung (5.–7. Jahrhundert)* (Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/6. Berlin, 1980) 110–12; J. Herrin, *The formation of Christendom* (Princeton 1987) 275–81; *ODB* 1, 512–13 For the list of signatories, see Riedinger, *Die Präsenz- und Subskriptionsliste des VI. Ökumenischen Konzils (680/81)*. Further relevant texts and literature: *CPG*, IV, 9416–42; *CPG, Suppl.*, nos 9416–9442b.

Just as important are the canons of the so-called council *in Trullo*, or Quinisext council, held in the domed hall of the imperial palace in Constantinople in 692. The purpose of the council was to issue and confirm a series of regulations relating to clerical discipline and Church organisation, intended to supplement the Acts of the fifth and sixth ecumenical councils. The canons of this council represent a key element in Byzantine canon law, partly also because they diverge in certain aspects from western practice (the western Church recognized only those which conformed with its own traditions), but several of them also bear directly on the issue of the representation of Christ, and thus represent an important moment in the evolution of a formal theology of images.<sup>6</sup>

J.D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio* (Florence–Venice 1759ff./repr. Paris 1901–1927) xi, 921–1006; also ed. K. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφύμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἁγίων πατέρων*, 6 vols (Athens 1852–59) ii, 295–554; J.B. Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta*, 2 vols (Rome 1864–68) II, 17–72.

The list of signatories to this council is also published separately:

H. Ohme, *Das Concilium Quinisextum und seine Bischofsliste. Studien zum Konstantinopler Konzil von 692* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 56. Berlin–New York 1990).

Undoubtedly the single most important collection of Acts of a Church council for the history of the iconoclast controversy, as well as of Byzantine culture and theology in the eighth and ninth centuries, is represented in the Acts of the seventh ecumenical council, held at Nicaea in 787.<sup>7</sup> There are many problems connected with both the original form and preparation of these Acts, as well as with their transmission, and translation into Latin for the papacy. There can be no doubt, for example, that they are in part interpolated; and that, furthermore, some of the texts read out during the sessions of the council were themselves wrongly attributed or interpolated and misidentified, so that it is often far from easy to separate the different instances where a redactor or interpolator may have been at work. By the same token, the lists of signatories to the different sessions often vary considerably one from another, so that careful examination of the tradition underlying their present form is necessary.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Hefele and Leclercq, iii, 560–74; *ODB* 3, 2126–7; *CPG* IV, 9443f. See G. Nedungatt and M. Featherstone, *The council in Trullo revisited (Kanonika 6)*. Rome 1995).

<sup>7</sup> See Hefele and Leclercq, iv, 741–98; Grumel, *Regestes* nos 356, 357; Beck, *Kirche*, 47 for further edns and literature; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 329–30, with literature; *ODB* 2, 1465; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 46. For their context and wider significance, see M.-F. Auzépy, 'La propagande et l'orthodoxie', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 85–99.

<sup>8</sup> For an attempt to undertake this with respect to just one text, see Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 25–113, for example. Since many of the most important documents relating to the opening stages of the iconoclast controversy are preserved only in these acts, they present a range of problems for the historian. See P. Speck, 'Die Affäre um Konstantin von Nakoleia. Zum Anfang des Ikonoklasmus', *BZ* 88 (1995) 148–54, on the letters of the patriarch Germanos to Constantine of Nakoleia and to John of Synada, preserved in the Acts of 787. For a more detailed discussion and analysis of the internal structure of the Acts, which suggests

The Latin versions of the Acts are particularly important, therefore, in attempts to re-establish the original version and in tracing the process of mistranslation and misunderstanding which so confused the discussion as well as the political relations between Constantinople, Rome and the Carolingian court – both the contemporary, and in parts highly inaccurate, translation, and the later version, based on a Greek copy of the original Greek Acts (but with certain changes to the original already evident), prepared by Anastasius *bibliothecarius* in 873 for pope John VIII.<sup>9</sup>

Mansi xii, 951–1154; xiii, 1–485 (Acts); xiii, 373–9 (*Horos* of the council); 417–39 (canons). The Acts of the sixth session are translated into English in D.J. Sahas, *Icon and logos: sources in eighth-century iconoclasm* (Toronto 1986). The canons are also published separately, in the commentaries to the canons of the Church compiled by the twelfth-century jurists Zonaras and Balsamon, in Rhalles and Potles, *Syntagma*, ii, 555–646; Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum* II, 103–21.

Not only do these Acts provide detailed theological discussion of the issue of images, in the process of which an official theology of images is set out, they include also extracts and fragments from earlier, lost collections of iconoclast decisions, notably the so-called *Horos* from the council of 754, which are thus crucial to the history of iconoclast thinking itself. The iconoclast council was held in the imperial palace at Hiereia (mod. Fenerbahçe) from 10th February until 8th August 754, and the *Horos* is preserved within the text of the patriarch Tarasios's refutation thereof.<sup>10</sup>

Mansi xiii, 205–364; extracts in: H. Hennepf, *Textus Byzantinos ad iconomachiam pertinentes in usum academicum* (Byzantina Neerlandica, ser. A, Textus, fasc. 1. Leiden 1969), 61–78; English trans. and comm. in Gero, *Constantine V*, 68–110; English trans. in: D.J.

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that they were substantially revised and interpolated during the ninth century, see P. Speck, *Die Interpolationen in den Akten des Konzils von 787 und die Libri Carolini* (Poikila Byzantina 16. Bonn 1998); but for a more cautious assessment, with a good introduction and survey of the problem, see E. Lamberz, 'Studien zur Überlieferung der Akten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils: der Brief Hadrians I. an Konstantin VI. und Irene (JE 2448)', in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 53 (1997) 1–43. For the lists of signatories, see J. Darrouzès, 'Listes épiscopales du concile de Nicée (787)', *REB* 33 (1975) 5–76.

<sup>9</sup> See Lamberz, 'Studien', 3–6, with literature. The text of Anastasius's preface is in Mansi xiii, 981–6; modern edn in E. Perels and G. Laehr, eds, *Anastasio Bibliothecarii epistolae sive praefationes*, in *MGH, Epp. VII (Epist. Karolini Aevi V)*. Berlin 1928/repr. Munich 1978) 415–18; for discussion, see W. Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern–Munich 1980) 199–204. For a useful overview of the role played by Anastasius and the issue of translations from Greek into Latin in the ninth century, see C.J. Wickham, 'Ninth-century Byzantium through western eyes', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 245–56.

<sup>10</sup> Hefele and Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, iii, 2, 693–709; Beck, *Kirche*, 55; see M.V. Anastos, 'The argument for iconoclasm as presented to the iconoclastic council of 754', in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A.M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton 1954) 177–88. The relevant texts are analysed in Gero, *Constantine V*, 68–110; G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites* (Breslau 1929, repr. Amsterdam 1964) 16–22. See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 328; and literature at I. Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes. Quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 715–813* (BBA 57. Berlin 1991) 171; *ODB* 2, 929; Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 345. See also Auzépy, *L'Hagiographie et l'iconoclasme*, 257ff. for the depiction of this council in the *Vita Stephani Iunioris*.

Sahas, *Icon and Logos. Sources in eighth-century iconoclasm. An annotated translation of the sixth session of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicaea, 787), containing the Definition of the Council of Constantinople (754) and its Refutation, and the Definition of the Seventh Ecumenical Council* (Toronto–Buffalo–London 1986/88).

The Acts of the iconoclast council of 815 survive, likewise, only in fragmentary form, in the *Refutatio et eversio* of the patriarch Nikephoros:

‘The definition and florilegium of the council of St Sophia (815)’, in *Nicephorus patriarchus Constantinopolitanus, Refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815*, ed. J. Featherstone (CCSG 33. Brepols 1997) 337–8 (*horos*); 338–47 (*florilegium*); also in Ostrogosky, *Bilderstreit*, 18–51; extracts only in Hennepf, 79–82 (*horos*); 82–4 (*florilegium*).<sup>11</sup>

Reconstructed text, ed. D. Serruys, ‘Les actes du concile iconoclaste de l’an 815’, *Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire* 23 [1903] 345–51; see also Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, 48–51; P.J. Alexander, ‘The Iconoclast Council of St Sophia (815) and its Definition (Horos)’, *DOP* 7 (1953) 35–66, at 58–60; *idem*, *The patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical policy and image worship in the Byzantine empire* (Oxford 1958) 137–40 and 242–62.

It is unfortunate that the acts of the ‘council’ of March 843, a more-or-less private affair held in the *kanikleion*, the ‘official residence’ of the minister Theoktistos in Constantinople, at which the veneration and display of holy images was reinstated, have not survived; although some otherwise unassociated texts may originally have belonged to them: a *horos*, or definition, in which the iconoclasts are anathematized and the council of 787 is officially restored, along with the use of images; and a creed or statement of belief. In addition, the synodal decree issued by the patriarch Methodios before the synod survives, but has not yet been edited.<sup>12</sup> The so-called *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy, supposedly read out in an original version on the first Sunday of Lent in either 843 or 844 (and each year thereafter) and expanded at a later date (but before 920), appears to embody the chief elements of the decisions that were taken, and can be employed to a degree to reconstruct the synod. Originally a fairly brief declaration of faith, probably written by the patriarch Methodios himself, in which the chief heretics and heretical writings of iconoclasm were condemned and the leading Orthodox clergy praised, it later came to include ever-longer lists of clergy, so that the final version includes partial lists of the bishops of the patriarchate

<sup>11</sup> See the excellent introductory analysis in Featherstone, *Nicephorus patriarchus Constantinopolitanus, Refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815*, xiii–xxv; also Hefele and Leclercq, iii, 2, 1218–21; Grumel, *Regestes*, nos 408–10; Beck, *Kirche*, 55; M.V. Anastos, ‘The ethical theory of images formulated by the iconoclasts in 754 and 815’, *DOP* 8 (1954) 151–60; P.J. Alexander, ‘The iconoclastic council of St Sophia (815) and its definition (*horos*)’, *DOP* 7 (1953) 35–66 (repr. in *idem*, *Religious and political history and thought in the Byzantine empire* [London 1978], no. VIII); *idem*, ‘Church councils and patristic authority. The iconoclastic councils of Hieria (754) and St Sophia (815)’, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philosophy* 63 (1958) 493–505 (repr. in *Religious and political history and thought in the Byzantine empire*, no. IX); Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 358; *ODB* 1, 513–14.

<sup>12</sup> Hefele and Leclercq, iv, 1, 110–15; Grumel, *Regestes*, nos 416–22, Beck, *Kirche*, 56, 497; see also von Dobschütz, ‘Methodios und die Studiten’; C. Mango, ‘The liquidation of iconoclasm and the patriarch Photios’, in Bryer and Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm*, 133–40; *ODB* 1, 514.

of Constantinople, for example, and provides useful supplementary material to the *Notitiae Episcopatum* (see below).<sup>13</sup> A Georgian version of the *Synodikon* was compiled by 1028 at the latest and transmitted in the work of Euthymios Hagiotheodorites (the Iberian, also known as Mt'ac'mindeli, co-founder of the monastery of Iviron on Athos) who died in that year. It includes several variants on the Greek text, quotations from the acts of councils, as well as references to the iconoclast emperors Leo III and Leo IV, which do not appear in the Greek version. It has been suggested that it is closer to the Greek original, and was probably translated/composed in the 970s or 980s, with some later additions in a second version taking it up to the year 1021.<sup>14</sup>

Creed: Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum* II, 357–61; *horos*: unpubl. Ms Matrit. graec. 4592, fols 157v–159r. *Synodikon*: J. Gouillard, 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie, édition et commentaire', *TM* 2 (1967) 1–316.

Councils held later in the ninth century have an indirect relevance to the period up to the restoration of Orthodoxy, in so far as their textual tradition as well as the discussions or arguments which have been recorded or summarized can cast some light on earlier events. The Acts of the Photian synod of 861, held in the church of the Holy Apostles, which condemned iconoclasm and the patriarch Ignatios, are only partly preserved, since they were destroyed by order of the 'anti-Photian' synod of 869. Seventeen canons concerned with Church discipline were approved, but only the canons and some Latin excerpts survive.<sup>15</sup> The Acts of the synod of 867, in which Photios excommunicated pope Nicholas, have not survived, although their main thrust, both in respect of the papacy and Photios's strongly anti-iconoclast policy, can be extracted from references in surviving anti-Photian literature. But the tendentious nature of many of the relevant sources makes any definite conclusions about the final form taken by the council and its Acts hazardous.<sup>16</sup> In contrast, the

<sup>13</sup> See Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 425; Beck, *Kirche*, 56; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 358–9; J. Gouillard, 'Nouveaux témoins du Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie', *AB* 100 (1982) 459–62; *ODB* 3, 1994.

<sup>14</sup> On Euthymios, see *ODB* 2, 757. Text and discussion with literature: M. van Esbroeck and N. Karadeniz, 'Das Synodikon von 843 in georgischer Übersetzung', *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 19 (1987) 300–13 (Analysis: 300–3; text [German trans.]: 304–13).

<sup>15</sup> For the texts: Mansi xvi, 536–49 [also in Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum* II, 127–41; Rhalles and Potles, *Syntaxma*, ii, 647–704]; V. Wolf von Glanvell, *Die Kanonensammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, I (Paderborn 1905) 603–10. See Grumel, *Regestes*, nos 470–1; Hergenröther, *Photius*, I, 419–38; Hefele and Leclercq, iv, 1, 225–77; D. Stiernon, *Constantinople IV* (Histoire des conciles oecuméniques V, ed. G. Dumeige. Paris 1967) 35–41.

<sup>16</sup> Summaries of the Acts in: Mansi xvi, 5 (Anastasius *bibliothecarius*); *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, II sér. 3. Paris 1884–92) ii, 178–9; also *Vita Ignatii* (PG 105) 537. See Grumel, *Regestes*, nos. 498, 501; F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge 1948) 120–9; Beck, *Kirche*, 56; J.-M. Sansterre, 'Les représentants des patriarchats au concile photien d'août–septembre 867', *B* 43 (1973) 195–228; J. Gouillard, 'Le Photius du Pseudo-Syméon Magistros. Les sous-entendus d'un pamphlet', *RESEE* 9 (1971) 397–404;

Acts of the (anti-Photian) council of 869/70 are preserved in an *epitome* only in Greek, but in full in Latin, in the translation of Anastasius *bibliothecarius*.<sup>17</sup> The Acts of the synod of 879 have survived in a more complete form, although there are a series of problems regarding the reliability of the text and the form in which the letter of the pope was translated. Both are especially important for internal Church and, especially, patriarchal politics, and relations between Constantinople and Rome.<sup>18</sup> Finally there is the *Synodikon vetus*, a late ninth-century historical compilation which consists of an account of previous Church councils up to and including that of 879, ending in the year 886, and which is based largely on the well-known histories of the period, including Theophanes. Although many of the details of local synods supposedly held in Constantinople remain dubious, the text provides a useful account of the internal ecclesiastical politics of the eastern imperial Church at this period, and pays especial attention to the struggle between Photios and Ignatios (the author is hostile to Photios).<sup>19</sup>

As well as the Acts of the councils of the Constantinopolitan Church, those of various western synods are also relevant, especially in connection with the translation and transmission of specific documents and with the problems of misinterpretations and misunderstandings between the different parties involved. The decisions of the synod of Rome held in November 731, which first condemned, albeit at a very general level, the iconoclast policy in the East, survives only in a few fragments.<sup>20</sup> The synod held at Gentilly in 767, the Acts of which have not survived,

and R. Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians. The Trinitarian heresy* (Belmont MA 1975); J.L. Boojamra, 'The Photian synod of 879–880 and the papal commonitorium (879)', *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines* 9 (1982) 1–23; and S. Meijer, *A successful Council of Union: a theological analysis of the Photian synod of 879–880* (Analekta Blatadon 23. Thessaloniki 1975).

<sup>17</sup> Mansi xvi, 308–409 (Greek epitome); 1–208 (acts of Anastasius). See Beck, *Kirche*, 47, with notes; Hefele and Leclercq, ii, 481–546; Stiernon, *Constantinople IV*, 87–165; Grumel, *Regestes*, 531, 532.

<sup>18</sup> Mansi, xvii, 373–526 and Beck, *Kirche*, 48; Hergenröther, *Photius*, II, 379–551, for literature; Grumel, *Regestes*, 551, 552. For general debate on Photios's role in state and ecclesiastical politics at this time, see, for a traditional interpretation, F. Dvornik, 'The patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm', *DOP* 7 (1953) 69–97 (repr. in *idem*, *Photian and Byzantine Ecclesiastical Studies* [London 1974] V) and P. Karlin-Hayter, 'Gregory of Syracuse, Ignatios and Photios', in Bryer and Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm*, 141–5; and, for an alternative view, Mango, 'The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the patriarch Photios', 133–40; and Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 201–38.

<sup>19</sup> Edn: J. Duffy and J. Parker, eds, *The Synodicon vetus. Text, translation and notes* (CFHB, ser. Washington. 15. DOS 5. Washington DC 1979). See also *ODB* 3, 1994.

<sup>20</sup> See *LP* 416. 5–15 (JE 2232–4); fragments also in Hadrian's letter to Charles the Great of 791 (JE 2483; *MGH, Epp.* V (*Epist. Karolini Aevi* III. Berlin 1898/99/repr. Munich 1974) 6–57; also in Mansi xiii, 759–810). See K. Hampe, 'Hadrians I. Verteidigung der zweiten nicänischen Synode gegen die Angriffe Karls des Grossen', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 21 (1896) 83–113; and Stein, *Bilderstreit*, 217 n. 98. For the complexity of the textual tradition relevant to this material and its relationship to the Acts of the council of 787, see Lamberz, 'Studien zur Überlieferung der Akten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils: der Brief Hadrians I. an Konstantin VI. und Irene (JE 2448)', in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 53 (1997) 1–43.



but at which Roman and Byzantine theologians debated the issue of the holy images before the Frankish king and his lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries, resulted in a clear rejection of the imperial position.<sup>21</sup> At the Lateran synod of 769 the council of Hieria was condemned (the first explicit reference to the 'official' nature of imperial iconoclasm in western sources); and under the new pope, Stephen, and his supporters Rome further intensified its ties with the Franks and loosened those with the empire.<sup>22</sup> The records of the proceedings of the synod of Frankfurt, held in 794, have not survived except as reflected in the concluding capitulary, but the decisions taken there reflect also the tension between the papacy, the Carolingian court and the Byzantine court and Church over the issue of images.<sup>23</sup> The Paris synod of 825, however, includes an important version of the *Narratio de synodis et haeresibus*, the origin of which is crucial to an understanding of how the Acts of 787 were transmitted, as well as to the response of the Frankish Church to the policies of Michael II. The background to the synod as well as its results are to be found in the *Libellus synodalis Parisiensis*, and the shorter *Epitome* derived from it, important documents which bear directly on the history of Byzantine iconoclasm as well as the political-ecclesiastical and cultural relations between west and east.<sup>24</sup>

Particularly significant for Byzantine-Frankish relations are the *Libri Carolini*, a collection compiled ca 793 at the behest of Charles the Great primarily on political rather than religious grounds. They represented in the first instance a response to the council of 787, from which the Franks felt excluded, and aimed at discrediting 'Greek' image-worship and illustrating the 'heretical' nature of Byzantine rule. But they are more critical of the council of 787 and its organizers than of that of 754 and the iconoclast emperors. Based on a badly translated version of the Acts of the council of Nicaea, they presented a series of arguments formulated by 792 in the now lost *Capitulare adversus synodum*, which was sent to pope Hadrian for further examination and discussion, and which argued that the Byzantine theory of images

<sup>21</sup> For Gentilly, see *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. F. Kurtze, in *MGH (SGUS) VI* (Hanover 1895/repr. Hanover 1950) a. 767; *Annales Einhardi*, ed. G. Pertz, in *MGH (SS) I* (Hanover 1826/repr. Leipzig 1925) 124–218 (text: 134ff.), a. 767 (German trans.: R. Rau, *Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte I* [Darmstadt 1961] 1–157); *Codex Carolinus* (*MGH, Epp. III [Epist. Merovingici et Karolini Aevi I]* Berlin 1957) 476–653, see no. 37 (549.1–13).

<sup>22</sup> The Lateran synod (cf. JE 1823): *MGH, Leges III, Concilia II, Concilia Aevi Karolini 1*, ed. A. Werminghoff (Hanover 1906) 74–92, at 77 and 79 (cf. Mansi, xii, 713ff. and *LP i*, 473–7); discussion: E. Lanne, 'Rome et les images saintes', *Irenikon* 59 (1986) 163–88. A more detailed account of the synod is found in the letter of Pope Hadrian to Charles of 791 (*JE* 2483): ed. H. Kampe, in: *MGH, Epp. V (Epist. Karol. Aevi III)*. Berlin 1899/repr. Munich 1974) 5–57.

<sup>23</sup> See *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. A. Boretius (Hanover 1883), in *MGH, Leges II, I*, 73–8; and A. Werminghoff, ed., in *MGH, Leges III, Concilia II, Concilia Aevi Karolini 2* (Hanover 1908) 110–71, see 165–71 (the *Capitulare*).

<sup>24</sup> See, especially, Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 307–12. The materials for the Paris synod of 824/5 are in: *MGH, Leges III, II, Concilia Aevi Karolini 2*, 473–551 (the letter of Michael and Theophilos to Louis: 475–80; the *Libellus synodalis Parisiensis*: 480–532), with translated extracts in A. Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*', *Viator* 16 (1985) 65–108, at 101ff. The *Epitome* of the *Libellus*: *MGH, ibid.*, 535–51.

was faulty and founded on a misunderstanding and over-literal interpretation of certain biblical texts.<sup>25</sup>

The *Libri* are generally agreed to represent the most comprehensive and substantial theological tract of the period. Composed by Theodulf of Orleans, they draw on Visigothic Spanish theologians as well as the ideas and arguments of Alcuin and others, and set out to present an account of why the eastern Church has fundamentally misconstrued the major issue, and why the decisions of the council of Nicaea held in 787 were to be opposed and rejected. They directly challenge the decisions of the council of 787, arguing, for example, that all images are made by man, cannot in their essence be sacred, and should not receive adoration or be honoured by the burning of candles and incense – images are simply reminders of what is represented, and writing is to be preferred as a means of communicating understanding of the sacred and of Christian teaching. These ideas, which reflected the discomfort of western thinkers both with the hard-line iconoclast arguments propounded at the council of Hieria of 754 and the iconophile position detailed in 787, are extremely important both in terms of the development of medieval Christian thinking in general, as well as in respect of relations between east and west, and the history of the ideas which arose out of eastern iconoclasm and the Orthodox opposition in the second half of the eighth century. Yet the Frankish position was not shared by pope Hadrian, who supported the decisions of the council of 787 and thus found his relations with Charlemagne and his court – in contrast to the close association which he had enjoyed up to that point – somewhat strained. In the event, the pope offered Charlemagne the opportunity to modify his position in accordance with Hadrian's own explanation and clarification of the Nicaean position, which was taken up at the synod of Frankfurt in 794. But the tension which these differences generated was not to be resolved for some years, for the decisions of the synod of Paris in 825, as encapsulated in the *Libellus synodalis*, tended towards the iconoclast position of the emperor Theophilus rather than that of the popes and the council of Nicaea.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Libri Carolini sive Caroli Magni capitulare de Imaginibus*, in *PL* 98, 999D–1248A (= *MGH, Leges III, Concilia II, suppl.*, ed. H. Bastgen [Hannover–Leipzig 1924]). See also *idem*, 'Das Capitulare Karls d. Gr. über die Bilder oder die sogenannten Libri Carolini (i)', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 36 (1911) 629–66; (ii) *ibid.* 37 (1912) 13–51; 453–533. Further discussion and literature: Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 334; *ODB* 2, 1225; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 202–3. See also F.L. Ganshof, 'Les relations extérieurs de la monarchie franque sous les premiers souverains carolingiens', *Annali die Storia del Diritto* 5–6 (1961–62) 1–53, at 9, n. 21. See also S. Gero, 'The Libri Carolini and the image controversy', *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18 (1973) 7–34; G. Thümmel, 'Die fränkische Reaktion auf das 2. Nicaenum in den *Libri Carolini*', in R. Berndt, *Das frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur* (Mainz 1997) 965–80. For the *Capitulare*, preserved only through the extensive quotations *in extenso* incorporated into pope Hadrian's response (JE 2483), see *MGH, Epp. V* (and note 22 above); and see also Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the fate of the *Libri Carolini*', 81–5. See also the discussion in Speck, *Die Interpolationen in den Akten des Konzils von 787 und die Libri Carolini*; and Lamberz, 'Studien'; and on letters, below.

<sup>26</sup> See the references cited in note 25 above; and on the letters of both Pope Hadrian before and after the council of 787, as well as that of Theophilus to Louis, see below.

## Theological and Polemical Writings: Letters, Treatises, Homiletic Literature, Hymnography

From the point of view of the evolution of Byzantine theology, and not only in respect of the debate on the icons, theological writings form a particularly important source, more especially because they do not all originate within the bounds of the empire. Byzantine literature during the later seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries was dominated by the writings of churchmen and theologians on a vast range of themes, associated with a whole range of issues of dogma and belief, and until the middle and later eighth century mostly not associated with the issue of holy images. This issue begins to become a key issue only from the time of the iconoclast council of Hieria in 754, and dominates really only from the time of the seventh ecumenical council in 787.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, with the exception of John of Damascus and others in his circle, writing outside the empire's political bounds, and of one or two key texts, not always securely dated, and to be discussed below, the issue of holy images was until that time only very poorly reflected in the literature of the period. It was clearly far less important than many other concerns reflected in the various categories of theologically concerned literature. This literature included not only polemical writing against heretics, but also a great number of hymns, sermons or homilies, and related compositions.<sup>2</sup> Together with hagiographies, homilies are transmitted in

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<sup>1</sup> For discussion and analysis of the key elements in the debate, see K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine iconophile thought of the eighth and ninth centuries* (The Medieval Mediterranean 12. Leiden 1996).

<sup>2</sup> For a useful general introduction to this literature and the questions associated with it – of authenticity, for example, as well as interpretation – see Av. Cameron, *Christianity and the rhetoric of empire. The development of christian discourse* (Berkeley 1991); also F. Winkelmann, 'Patristica et Theologica', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 271–83. For homiletic literature, see, especially, M.B. Cunningham, 'Preaching and the community', in R. Morris, ed., *Church and people in Byzantium* (Birmingham 1990) 29–47; and the essays in Cunningham and Allen, eds, *Preacher and audience*, especially 1–20 ('Introduction'); M.B. Cunningham, 'Andrew of Crete: a high-style preacher of the eighth century', *ibid.*, 267–93; and *eadem*, 'Innovation or mimesis in Byzantine sermons?', in A. Littlewood, ed., *Originality in Byzantine literature, art and music: a collection of essays* (Oxford 1995) 67–80. Note also M. Sachot, 'Homilie', in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 16 (1992) 148–75. See in addition the excellent brief introduction to the history of homiletics in T. Antonopoulou, *The homilies of the emperor Leo VI* (The Medieval Mediterranean 14. Leiden 1997) 95–115; and

hundreds of manuscripts to a degree which massively outnumbers those containing works of history, for example, or other forms of secular prose, and which is suggestive of the enormous popularity of these genres.

Homiletic literature has, of course, first and foremost a literary and theological value in the study of Byzantine society and culture; but it also incorporates, implicitly and explicitly, a great deal of information about religious practices, contemporary concerns and attitudes and beliefs within Byzantine society. Homilies provide a window into the ways in which preachers understood their role, how they perceived the concerns or anxieties of their audience, and what they thought was an appropriate response, example or explanation for those concerns. The origins of these homilies, in respect of structure and format, lie in classical rhetoric as much as in Christian belief, and they exemplify the ways in which pre-Christian literary genres were evolved and adapted to suit a new ideological universe.<sup>3</sup> But while format and mode of presentation display a number of constants, subject-matter shifted with the times, and at two different levels. Style varies considerably between preachers, and it is clear that whereas some sermons were composed for delivery to an audience, others were composed solely with the purpose of lauding the virtues associated with the subject of the homily, so that listeners' comprehension was of secondary importance. In respect of particular historical moments, some sermons make mention of specific events: the siege of the City in 717 in a sermon usually ascribed to the patriarch Germanos, or the attack by the Russians in 860 which features in two homilies of Photios, for example. Oblique references to the Bulgars' siege of Constantinople in 719 or an imperial victory over the Arabs can be read into certain homilies of Andrew of Crete.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, major shifts can also be observed in the structure of sermons, their length and the themes they treat, reflecting developments in the liturgy. As the liturgical calendar came to be standardized during the later seventh and first half of the eighth centuries, sermons were no longer read during the liturgy itself. Instead, they were associated with the

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A. Olivar, *La predicación cristiana antigua* (Barcelona 1991) for Latin and Greek homiletics up to the eighth century, with – among other themes – analysis of the preparation and delivery of sermons, and audience reception. For letters, see also Chapter 16 below. On the texts relevant to iconoclasm in particular, and apart from the works of Ostrogorsky, Ladner, Gero, and Speck already cited, see K. Parry, *Depicting the Word*; and H.G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Bd. 139. Berlin 1992); *idem*, *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit. Arbeiten zur Auseinandersetzung über die Ikone und ihre Begründung vornehmlich im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Das östliche Christentum, Neue Folge 40. Würzburg 1991).

<sup>3</sup> See P. Allen and W. Mayer, 'Computer and homily: accessing the everyday life of early Christians', *Vigiliae Christianae* 47 (1993) 260–80; C. Martin, 'Aux sources de l'hagiographie et de l'homilétique byzantines', *B* 12 (1937) 347–62; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 140–3.

<sup>4</sup> For Germanos, see below; for Photios: C. Mango, *The homilies of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge, MA 1958) 74–110; N. Tsironis, 'Historicity and poetry in ninth-century homiletics: the homilies of patriarch Photios and George of Nicomedia', in Cunningham and Allen, eds, *Preacher and audience*, 295–316; and for Andrew: Cunningham, 'Andrew of Crete: a high-style preacher of the eighth century', 269 n. 9.

divine office, and read out during vigils and daily services (according to canon 19 of the Quinisext council of 692 sermons should be preached every day, particularly on Sundays), which were themselves focused around the Psalms in turn employed by many homilists to introduce their theme. By the tenth century liturgical calendars were beginning to specify which homilies were to be read in association with which service or feast.<sup>5</sup>

The content of sermons sometimes reflects the theological context in which homilies were composed. Those of Anastasios of Sinai and Andrew of Crete, for example, raise issues of Chalcedonian Christology as well as dealing with the veneration of the Virgin and the saints, reflecting at a very general level perhaps the political-theological context of the times. Those of Germanos (although here attribution is sometimes problematic) and John of Damascus deal more frequently with topics such as the veneration of saints as well as the Theotokos, and oblique reference to both iconoclastic thinking and opponents of the cult of the Virgin have been detected in the homilies of the former. In both cases, such topics may reflect contemporary discussions associated with concerns expressed in some quarters about the cult of the saints, for example.<sup>6</sup> But it is dangerous to attempt too close a parallelism between the topics of sermons and the broader context: a proposal to date a homily of Andrew of Crete to after 722 (the date of the supposed persecution of the Jews under Leo III) on the grounds that it contains anti-Jewish polemic has rightly been doubted, since this latter was a common theme in much of the literature of the period.<sup>7</sup>

These forms of literature bring with them a number of difficulties, however. In the first place, the attribution of many texts, in particular polemical theological works, remains problematic, so that the date of composition remains unclear, as well as the extent to which a text represents a later elaboration of an originally 'genuine' core. In the second place, the question of interpolation – as with so many of the texts of the eighth and ninth centuries – affects a large number of texts, and all must be scrutinized with great care: even the genuine writings of John of Damascus, for example, have been shown to be interpolated in some places, which renders their value for the nature of the theological debate of the 730s and 740s problematic.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See Martin, 'Aux sources de l'hagiographie et de l'homilétique byzantines'; Cunningham, 'Preaching and the community', 36–87; 43–5; 'Andrew of Crete: a high-style preacher of the eighth century', 273–4, with further literature on development of the liturgy and homiletic (and for canon 19 of the Quinisext: Mansi xi, 952); C. Chevalier, 'Les trilogies homilétiques dans l'élaboration des fêtes mariales, 650–850', *Gregorianum* 18 (1937) 361–78.

<sup>6</sup> G. Dagron, 'L'ombre d'une doute: l'hagiographie en question, VIe–XIe siècles', *DOP* 46 (1992) 59–68; M.-F. Auzépy, 'L'évolution de l'attitude face au miracle à Byzance (VIIe–IXe siècle)', in *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au Moyen Age* (Paris 1995) 31–46. For Anastasios of Sinai, see J. Munitiz, 'Anastasios of Sinai: speaking and writing to the people of God', in Cunningham and Allen, eds, *Preacher and audience*, 227–45; the references in Germanos's homilies: *PG* 98, 312B, 317A (*CPG* III, 8008).

<sup>7</sup> See S. Vailhé, 'Saint André de Crète', *EO* 5 (1902) 378–87, at 185–6; and Cunningham, 'Andrew of Crete: a high-style preacher of the eighth century', 284–6.

<sup>8</sup> See below.

Then again, the difficult issue of texts which have not survived, but of which extracts appear in commentaries, *florilegia*, polemics or the Acts of councils, and the issue of forgeries, has led to serious differences of opinion, not only among modern scholars as to the degree to which the survivals represent genuine extracts from now-lost sources and the extent to which they were themselves interpolated extracts, but among those involved in the debates themselves.<sup>9</sup> As we will see below, this applies, in particular, to the question of the 'anti-Jewish' texts (many of which were later compilations anyway) and the references they contain to topics which became important debating points only during the iconoclast period. All these questions raise methodological issues and challenge assumptions which have traditionally been made about many of the texts in question, and make it apparent that it is no longer possible to take any of this material at face value. Questions of analytical method, in particular, have now become especially important: to what extent, for example, should one be permitted to generalize from single demonstrable examples of, say, interpolation, to all similar examples, without taking each case on its own merits (one of the criticisms levelled, although not always justifiably, against the important work of Speck); and how far can one use stylistic analysis (and what sort of analysis) to detect such interpolations?

In short, none of the material discussed below remains untouched by these questions, and it is important to bear in mind that the context and purpose of composition, even if these can only very occasionally be known precisely, play a crucial role in determining how such sources may be appropriated for the purposes of historical research. As noted in our Introduction, we cannot hope to examine and analyse all the texts catalogued below from this perspective, still less to resolve the problems which arise; but we do hope that the information provided will assist those who wish to pursue the texts and their history further.

### Individual Texts and Authors

#### *The patriarch Germanos*<sup>10</sup>

Among the most important documents for the beginning of the iconoclast controversy are the writings of the patriarch Germanos, chiefly represented in three letters to the metropolitan bishop of Synnada, John,<sup>11</sup> and to the bishops Constantine of Nakoleia<sup>12</sup> and Thomas of Claudioupolis.<sup>13</sup> The date of the letters is debated; but in them Germanos sketches out a fairly complex, but nevertheless initial stage in the argument in favour of icons, revealing in the process the nature of the iconoclast

<sup>9</sup> See Parry, *Depicting the Word*, 145–52.

<sup>10</sup> See, now, D. Stein, 'Germanos I. (715–730)', in Lilie, *Patriarchen*, 5–21, with literature. Further references and literature will be found under the relevant entries in *PmbZ* no. 2298 and *PBE*, s.n. Germanos 8. For his work: *CPG* III, 8000–33; discussion in Kazhdan, *Literature*, 55–73.

<sup>11</sup> Mansi xiii, 100A–105A (*PG* 98. 156B–161C); *CPG* III, 8002.

<sup>12</sup> Mansi xiii, 105B–105E (*PG* 98. 161D–164C); *CPG* III, 8003.

<sup>13</sup> Mansi xiii, 108A–128A (*PG* 98. 164D–188B); *CPG* III, 8004. For Germanos' other works, see Beck, *Kirche*, 473–5.

critique.<sup>14</sup> Germanos composed a number of homilies on the Virgin, in particular one dealing with the successful defence of Constantinople in 717–18, in which victory was ascribed to the Virgin's intervention – Leo III's role is notably passed over in silence.<sup>15</sup> He is also credited with the composition of treatises on the liturgy and on the nature and limits of human life, and although it is also a possibility that the *akathistos* hymn is to be attributed to Germanos, the consensus remains that it was probably an early sixth-century composition which predates the hymnographer Romanos, perhaps with later additions made after the siege of Constantinople in 626.<sup>16</sup> Ascribed traditionally to Germanos also is a *Logos* on the icons, a text which in fact seems to date to the period immediately after his abdication as patriarch in 730, but which nevertheless provides important insights into the way in which anti-iconoclast arguments began to evolve during the opening phases of the dispute.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Narratio de synodis et haeresibus*

This tract, a series of chapters on the origins of the iconoclast debate, has also traditionally been ascribed to Germanos, but has more recently been shown to be by

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<sup>14</sup> For the best analysis of all three letters, see Stein, *Bilderstreit*, 4–82; for the dates, see *ibid.*, 82–8; alternative suggestion for the letter to Thomas of Claudioupolis: Speck, *Artabasdos*, 267–81; and see below. See also H.G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Bd. 139. Berlin, 1992), 155–71.

<sup>15</sup> See V. Grumel, 'Homélie de S. Germain sur la délivrance de Constantinople', *REB* 16 (1958) 188–205; and see P. Speck, 'Klassizismus im achten Jahrhundert? Die Homelie des Patriarchen Germanos über die Rettung Konstantinopels', *REB* 44 (1986) 209–27, who doubts its authenticity, or at least sections thereof. See *CPG* III, 8014; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 59–64.

<sup>16</sup> See Kazhdan, *Literature*, 67–70, and P. Meyendorff, *St Germanus of Constantinople On the divine liturgy*, text with English trans. (New York 1985); and C. Garton and L. Westerink, *Germanos On predestined terms of life* (New York 1979). Only in the Latin *Synaxarion* is it ascribed to Germanos, and Speck has more recently argued that the second Prooimion can be plausibly connected with Germanos. See Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum*, 139 and n. 326, suggesting that no evidence for a clear attribution can be detected; and *Artabasdos*, 169–71, proposing that there is such evidence in the letter of Gregory II to Germanos. See the summary of the issues in Kazhdan, *Literature*, 70–3. For a translation of the *Akathistos*, see C.A. Trypanis, trans., *Fourteen Byzantine Cantica* (Wiener byzantinische Studien, Bd. 5. Vienna 1968). The traditional ascription of the *akathistos* has been either to the patriarch Sergios or a near contemporary, in connection with the siege of 626; or to the sixth-century hymnographer Romanos, on the basis of the information in the Greek *Synaxaria*, see J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (Paris 1977). For a summary of the literature and discussion: *ODB* 1, 44.

<sup>17</sup> Repr. in Stein, *Bilderstreit*, 272–3, with trans. at 274–5. For discussion, *ibid.* 276–82. To Germanos are attributed also a number of other works, in particular homilies, hymns, commentaries on, for example, the six ecumenical synods, and a liturgical commentary on the furnishings and ceremonial of the liturgy: for a summary, with editions and further literature: *Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople, 715–730. On the Divine Liturgy*, trans. P. Meyendorff (Crestwood, NY 1984); *Historia mystagogica*, ed. F.E. Brightman, *JThS* 9 (1908) 248ff. and 387ff.; extracts translated in Mango, *Art*, 141–3. See Beck, *Kirche*, 475–6; *CPG*, *Suppl.*, 8007–35.

another hand.<sup>18</sup> Thus the main body of the tract appears to have been compiled before the Quinisext council of 692,<sup>19</sup> while Chapters 40–2, dealing with iconoclasm, are a later interpolation, probably made after 787, although the iconoclast council of 754 is not referred to.<sup>20</sup> It is probable that some of the letters of Germanos were drawn upon as inspiration for the interpolated section on iconoclasm,<sup>21</sup> but the text in its extant form certainly dates to the later eighth century.

### *John of Damascus*

The three sermons on the icons by John of Damascus represent some of the most important theological material contemporary with the first period of iconoclasm.<sup>22</sup> Their date is disputed, the most recent analysis placing them all in the reign of Constantine V, and between 741 and *ca* 750. They are all closely related and seem to reflect progressive stages in the development of the argument; and while the consensus is that they represent no groundbreaking advance in orthodox theology, they do present a summation of patristic and related arguments justifying and legitimating the use of icons, as well as providing, albeit obliquely, valuable

<sup>18</sup> PG 98. 39–88, originally edited by A. Mai in *Spicilegium Romanum*, 10 vols (Rome 1839–44), VII, 3–73; CPG III, 8020.

<sup>19</sup> The ecumenical synod of 680–81 is mentioned (PG 98. 73, cap. 37); that of 692 is absent; but the council of 712 (during which Philippikos Bardanes reintroduced monotheletism) is mentioned (PG 98.76, cap. 38). Stein, *Bilderstreit*, 262–3, argues reasonably that this is a later interpolation.

<sup>20</sup> PG 98. 77 A1–81 A4. See J. Gouillard, 'L'Hérésie dans l'empire byzantin des origines au XIIIe siècle', *TM* 1 (1965) 299–324 (= *La vie religieuse*, I), see 306 and n. 59. It is also likely that Chapter 39 is similarly an interpolation: elements of it (e.g., PG 98.77 C3–6) are very similar to remarks made by the patriarch Tarasios during the seventh ecumenical council in 787 (Mansi 13, 128.B1–7). Stein argues that the original tract probably read directly from Ch. 37 to the 1st section of Ch. 43 (from PG 98.81 A4), and that the intervening sections represent at least one interpolation. Speck, *Artabasdos*, 272 n. 823, argues, in contrast, that the council of 754 was not mentioned because the interpolator was aware that this would have been too obvious an anachronism, given that the text was specifically attributed to Germanos by this time.

<sup>21</sup> Ch. 41 (PG 98. 77 C5–89 A8), for example, bears a number of similarities to the arguments regarding the icons made by Germanos in his letters to John of Synnada and Thomas of Claudioupolis (a point noted by Stein, *Bilderstreit*, 266), which seem to have provided the inspiration for the interpolator, who emended his archetype as he saw fit (e.g. the remark that iconoclasm would be ended, at PG 98.80 C12–14 which, as Stein, *Bilderstreit* 265, notes may be a *vaticinium ex eventu*). This is plausible if we also note a point made by Mai in his original commentary to the text (PG 98.81, note 78) that the author of the main text had a large library at his disposal, whereas the author of Ch. 43 clearly does not (PG 98.53 A1–5, and cf. 80 D3–81 A1), and note also that Germanos makes a similar, although less outspoken, complaint about lack of relevant texts (Mansi 13, 109 C2–7). See also Speck, *Artabasdos*, 271–2.

<sup>22</sup> *Contra Imaginum calumniatores orationes tres* (CPG III, 8045), in Kotter, *Schriften*; PG 94, 1232–420; English trans.: D. Anderson, *On the Divine Images: Three Apologies against Those Who Attack the Holy Images* (Crestwood, NY 1980). For John's theory of images and its development, see Parry, *Depicting the Word*. Older literature: Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 326; modern discussion: Kazhdan, *Literature*, 75–93, esp. 90–3, with literature.



information about the opening stages of the controversy. The texts are not unproblematic, and there is some debate as to the extent to which later copyists made interpolations. Accompanying the sermons John compiled a *florilegium* of quotations from the Fathers, intended not only to demonstrate that the iconoclasts' use of the Fathers misrepresented or falsified what they had actually said, but also to provide an armoury of such texts in support of the iconophile position.<sup>23</sup> A large number of other texts have been ascribed to the hand of John, many of which are spurious, some composed very much later, some shortly after his death (in about 753).<sup>24</sup> The well-known treatise against Constantine V (*Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*) is likewise by another, anonymous, writer, although attributed to a certain monk, John from Jerusalem (see below).

In contrast, John of Damascus was the author of the *Fount of Knowledge*, a tripartite work drawn from a range of patristic sources, setting out in detail the fundamentals of orthodox belief and dogma, including as its first part the *Philosophical chapters*, a sort of theological glossary; an abridged history of heresies (*De haeresibus*) as the second, and the so-called *Ekthesis akribes*, a detailed treatment of the key elements of Christian dogma. All these texts must be treated with caution, however, since it is clear from the ways in which certain stories about images in particular appear in John's work, and in other texts of the later eighth or ninth centuries, especially in the Acts of the seventh council of 787, that a number of passages were interpolated by iconophile writers, probably after the council had been held.<sup>25</sup> John was also responsible for a number of hagiographies, encomia,

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<sup>23</sup> For the *florilegium*, Kotter, I, 28–64, II, 24–67, III, 43–138. See Speck, *Artabasdos*, 179–243, for the argument for a date in the reign of Constantine V; and for the later date for the associated *florilegium*, see Speck, 'Das Teufelsschloss. Bilderverehrung bei Anastasios Sinaites?', in *Varia V* (Poikila Byzantina 13, Bonn 1994) 295–309, esp. 296–8, and Beck, *Kirche*, 479, on the importance and content of the three anti-iconoclast tracts. For the problem of possible interpolation: P. Speck, 'Eine Interpolation in den Bilderreden des Johannes von Damaskos', *BZ* 82 (1989) 114–17.

<sup>24</sup> For example, the *De haeresibus* (PG 94, 677–780; cf. CPG III, 8044), the last section of which (no. 102) presents a version of the legend on the origins of iconoclasm similar to that in the *narratio* ascribed to John of Jerusalem in the Acts of the council of 787 (see below), and appears to be a later interpolation by an anonymous writer. See Beck, *Kirche*, 478–9 for the list of attributions; CPG III, 8075–127; CPG, *Suppl.*, 8044.

<sup>25</sup> *De fide orthodoxa*: Kotter, *Schriften* II (Berlin 1973); PG 94, 537–1228; English trans.: F.H. Chase, Jr., trans., *St John of Damascus, writings (The Fount of Knowledge, etc.)* (Fathers of the Church 37, New York 1958); see CPG III, 8041, 8044, 8043; also *Dialectica*, in Kotter, *Schriften* I (Berlin 1969), trans. in Chase, *St John of Damascus: writings*. See the comments of Kazhdan, *Literature*, 77–80. On the section dealing with images in the *Fount of Knowledge*, see Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 171–2; and *idem*, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der sogenannten Pege gnoseos des Ioannes von Damaskos', *BS* 42 (1981) 20–30. For a particularly glaring example of interpolations in works by other writers, see the discussion in J.A. Munitiz, J. Chrysostomides, E. Harvalia-Crook and Ch. Dendrinis, *The letter of the three patriarchs to emperor Theophilos and related texts* (Camberley 1997), xxviii–xxxi. Editions and translations in addition to Kotter: R. Le Coz, *Jean Damascène, Écrits sur Islam* (Sources Chrétiennes 383, Paris 1992); G. Richter, *Johannes von Damaskos, Philosophische Kapitel* (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 15, Stuttgart 1982); P. Voulet, *S. Jean Damascène, Homélie sur la Nativité et la Dormition* (Sources Chrétiennes 80, Paris 1961). On the text of

minor sermons and homilies, and ethical writings, including hymns based on the new model evolved by Andrew of Crete, although the authorship of some of these varied compositions still remains debated (for example, the romance of Barlaam and Ioasaph;<sup>26</sup> many of the hymns may have been written by John's contemporaries Kosmas the Elder and Kosmas the Hymnographer – see below). He is also credited with several texts directed at Islam and its adherents.<sup>27</sup> Whether the so-called *Sacra parallela*, a tripartite *florilegium* dealing with God and the Trinity, humanity, and virtue and vice, was actually a work of John remains uncertain, since there is a good deal of evidence to hint at a ninth-century date.<sup>28</sup> Certainly falsely attributed to John is the so-called letter to the emperor Theophilos, a much later compilation, associated with the heavily interpolated 'letter of the three patriarchs' to Theophilos.<sup>29</sup>

### *The Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*

There are two versions extant.<sup>30</sup> The shorter version appears to be earlier, but both share sources with the *Nouthesia gerontos*, the *Life* of Stephen the Younger, and the sermons on images of John of Damascus. An analysis of the two texts has suggested that the history of the tract in question involves an original iconophile text, written in response to an iconoclast treatise probably before 754, which lies at the base of its evolution. There is some internal evidence to suggest that it was written outside the

the *de haeresibus*, see O. Knorr, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des "Liber de haeresibus" des Johannes von Damaskos (um 650–vor 754)', *BZ* 91 (1998) 59–69.

<sup>26</sup> Literature: *CPG, Suppl.*, 8120; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 80–4 on the homilies; 84–7 on *encomia*; and 87–90 on hymns. See, especially, A. Kazhdan, 'Where, when and by whom was the Greek Barlaam and Ioasaph not written?', in *Zu Alexander dem Grossen. Festschrift G. Wirth II* (Amsterdam 1988) 187–209; and *idem*, *Literature*, 95–105.

<sup>27</sup> On all these, see the summary by Beck, *Kirche*, 480–6; *CPG III*, 8040–70; cf. H.L. Weatherby, trans., 'Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord Jesus Christ by Saint John of Damascus', *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 32 (1987) 1–30. For the text of Barlaam and Ioasaph, see *PG* 96. 859–1240; English trans.: G. Woodward and H. Mattingly, *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (Loeb Classical Library. London–New York 1914). See Beck, *Kirche*, 482 and nn. 4, 5; and Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 172f.; *CPG III*, 8120. For his homiletic activity, see A. Louth, 'St John Damascene: preacher and poet', in Cunningham and Allen, eds, *Preacher and audience*, 247–66. Further literature: *CPG III*, 8057–68; *CPG, Suppl.*, 8041–70. On the hymns: *CPG III*, 8070. For the anti-Islamic writings, see R. Gleib and Th. Khoury, eds., *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abu Qurra. Schriften zum Islam. Kommentierte griechisch-deutsche Textausgabe* (Corpus Islamo-Christianum, ser. Graeca 3. Würzburg 1995).

<sup>28</sup> See *CPG III*, 8056; *ODB* 3, 1826. For the illustrated manuscript, its date and provenance, see above, 'Undated Greek manuscripts with decoration'.

<sup>29</sup> See the more detailed discussion, below; and *CPG III*, 8115. For the *dubia*, see *CPG, Suppl.*, 8075–128.

<sup>30</sup> *PG* 95. 309–44: *Oratio adversus Caballinum* (Ioannis Damasceni oratio demonstrativa de sacris et venerandis imaginibus ad Christianos omnes adversusque imperatorem Constantinum Caballinum ac haereticos universos), also written shortly before 787: see J.M. Hoeck, 'Stand und Aufgaben der Damaskenos-Forschung', *OCP* 17 (1951) 5–60, see 26 and n. 2. This is the longer of the two versions; the shorter was edited by Bishop Arsenij in 1893 (for details see Beck, *Kirche*, 498); *CPG III*, 8114.

empire – perhaps in Syria/Palestine, possibly in Rome. The writer may have been called John, but he is not to be identified with the John of Jerusalem who attended the council of 787. This text (dubbed ‘the original Caballinum’) survived in a mutilated form into the ninth century, when it was taken up by an interested reader, who attempted to reconstitute the original, in so far as extracts from other, similar treatises, appear to have been added, as well as the reader’s own comments. This is the shorter version. The longer version was the result of a later stage of expansion and interpolation, taken from texts which were both older (eighth century) as well as nearer the time of the redactor. The date for this stage is certainly after 850. The text includes the first clear references to the supposed Jewish influences on Leo III.<sup>31</sup>

An alternative and equally plausible hypothesis has been proposed, however, according to which the original version was probably in the form of a (now lost) discourse directed against iconoclast arguments, possibly composed by the patriarch John of Jerusalem in the period shortly after Leo III’s *silention* held in 730. In a second version – the so-called short version – the text was reorganized in the form of a dialogue between an iconophile and an iconoclast, identified with Constantine V, possibly prepared for the synod of Rome in 769 at which the council of 754 was denounced. The final, and longer, version, would thus represent a further re-working of this text, considerably extended by the addition of a quasi-historical account of the origins of iconoclasm, and incorporating much of the anti-Isaurian propaganda and mythology which had evolved since the 740s and 750s. According to this interpretation, this version may have been composed in the years 785–87, preceding the council held in 787, and in connection with the preparations for the condemning of iconoclast policy.<sup>32</sup>

#### *The Nouthesia gerontos peri tôn agiôn eikonôn*

Of comparable significance for the earliest discussion between those who opposed icons and those who upheld their use is the so-called *Nouthesia gerontos peri tôn agiôn eikonôn*, purportedly a dispute between George of Cyprus, anathematized at the iconoclast council of 754, and an iconoclast bishop, but probably a composite work compiled partly before 754 and partly thereafter (but before 787). Of the three parts into which the tract can be divided, the second and third parts are generally taken to be earlier, part one a later addition. This first part seems in origin to have been taken from an apocalyptic tract, which was emended to serve as an introduction to the second part. This presents the disputation between George and Kosmas, but

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<sup>31</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 333; and the analysis of Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 321–440, with 139–90. The date for the composition of the original (short) version has generally been taken as the period from 754 to 775 (death of Constantine V): see, for example, K.H. Uthemann, ‘Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Union des Konzils von Lyon (1274). Bemerkungen zum Codex Parisinus gr. 1115 (Med. Reg. 2951)’, *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 13 (1981) 35–6.

<sup>32</sup> See M.-F. Auzépy, ‘L’Adversus Constantinum Caballinum et Jean de Jérusalem’, *BS* 56 (1995) 323–38 (= ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ. *Studia byzantina ac slavica Vladimíro Vavřínek ad annum sexagesimum quintum dedicata*). See also Auzépy, *L’hagiographie et l’iconoclasme*, 121–30.

describes the events of the period from *ca* 746 in semi-legendary fashion, only dimly reflecting historical events. The final section is a patchwork of disparate notices relevant to the second section and the iconoclast issue. The whole compilation may date to the later ninth century or afterwards, although there are equally good reasons for suggesting an earlier date, between 754 and 787.<sup>33</sup> That the George of the text is to be identified with the monk George of Cyprus is possible, but problematic.<sup>34</sup> The original text may thus be representative of a series of discussions that appear to have taken place in the period before 754 between iconoclasts and iconophiles.

### *Leontios of Neapolis*

It may have been in this context that the writings of a number of earlier authors were taken and interpolated, emended or misattributed to support the arguments of one party or the other: in particular the anti-Jewish treatise attributed to Leontios of Neapolis, in Cyprus,<sup>35</sup> which includes an important section justifying the honouring

<sup>33</sup> Edn in B.M. Melioranskii, *Georgii Kiprianin I Ioann Ierusalimlianin. Dva maloizvestnikh borca za pravoslavie v. VIII veke (Zapiski istoriko-filologicheskago fakulteta imperatorskago S. Peterburgskago Universiteta* 59. St Petersburg 1901) v–xxxix. See Beck, *Kirche*, 487; Gero, *Constantine V*, 25–36; Melioranskii, 5 (on interdependencies between parts of this text and the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, in particular pts ii and iii). See, now, the detailed analysis by Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 565–77, arguing the later date, and G. Dagron, 'L'iconoclasme et l'établissement de l'orthodoxie', in G. Dagron, P. Riché and A. Vauchez, *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours*, IV (Paris 1993) 93–165, at 105, 114–16, arguing the earlier date. Older literature: Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 333. Kazhdan, *Literature*, 146–7 remains neutral, but suggests that a date after 754 is most probable.

<sup>34</sup> See Gero, *Constantine V*, 29–30; and more forcibly Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 577: George was a contemporary of John of Damascus, the debate took place somewhere in the Cilician Taurus region, and the *Nouthesia* was composed ostensibly by his pupil Theosebes.

<sup>35</sup> The works of Leontios (fl. *ca* 590–650: see C. Mango, 'Leontios of Neapolis: a Byzantine hagiographer at Work', in I. Hutter, ed., *Byzanz und der Westen* [Vienna 1985] 33; cf. *CPG* III, 7880–95) included a defence of the use of icons against Jewish claims of Christian idolatry, which is taken up in the Acts of the seventh council (Mansi xiii, 44A–53C) as well as by John of Damascus (*Oratio* i, 54 [= *Oratio* ii, 50] 156; i, 56 [= *Oratio* ii, 52], 156–9; *Oratio* iii, 84–9, 178–81); *CPG* III, 7885. For the various versions, see G. Lange, *Bild und Wort* (Würzburg 1969) 65; J. Gouillard, 'Aux origines de l'iconoclasme: le témoignage de Grégoire II?', *TM* 3 (1968) 243–305, at 247; and more recently P. Speck, 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ Η ΓΑΤΦΑΙΣ. Zu dem Fragment des Hypatios von Ephesos über die Bilder, mit einem Anhang: Zu dem Dialog mit einem Juden des Leontios von Neapolis', in *Varia I. Poikila Byzantina* 4 (Bonn 1984) 211–72; and *contra*, V. Déroche, 'L'authenticité de l'"apologie contre les Juifs" de Léontios de Néapolis', *BCH* 110 (1986) 655–69; counter-argument by Speck, in *Varia* II, *Poikila Byzantina* 6 (Bonn 1987) 315–22; further challenged by Déroche, 'La polémique anti-Judaïque au VIe et au VIIe siècle. Un memento inédit, le *Kephalaia*', *TM* 11 (1991) 275–311, see 278 n. 4; response by Speck, 'Das Teufelsschloss. Bilderverehrung bei Anastasios Sinaites?', in *Varia V* (*Poikila Byzantina* 13, Bonn 1994) 295–309. The traditional position is adopted by Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 127–36 (text no. 70). See *CPG*, *Suppl.*, 7882–5. For Leontios' life and works, see D. Krueger, *Symeon the holy fool. Leontius's Life and the late antique city* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1996) especially 1–18; and V. Déroche, *Études sur Léontios de Neapolis* (Uppsala 1996). For further arguments in favour of ninth-century rewriting as well as the misattribution of some texts, see P. Speck, *Beiträge zum Thema byzantinische Feindseligkeit gegen die Juden im frühen siebten Jahrhundert, nebst einer Untersuchung zu Anastasios dem Perser* (*Poikila Byzantina* 15, *Varia* 6. Bonn 1997). For

of the Cross and the use of images by Christians (defending these traditions against Jewish accusations of idolatry), and which may have been used by other seventh-century writers in similar anti-Jewish tracts (see below).<sup>36</sup> Leontios was writing in the 630s and 640s, it has been argued (the *Life* of St John the almsgiver was composed in 641–42); but earlier works were also exploited, including those of Hypatios of Ephesos<sup>37</sup> and Epiphanius of Salamis, although whether the original authors themselves presented the arguments claimed for them remains a subject for further discussion.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, it has been argued that the excerpts from the work of Leontios of Neapolis in the *florilegium* accompanying the three sermons on images of John of Damascus, and in the Acts of the council of 787, were, in fact, in origin separately commented upon by George of Cyprus, writing in the early eighth century. According to this hypothesis, George used Leontios's anti-Jewish polemic as the foundation for a defence of images, and it was extracts from George's work, wrongly attributed to Leontios, which were employed by John of Damascus.<sup>39</sup> It is similarly argued that the important seventh-century anti-Jewish tract *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati* is, in fact, a ninth-century compilation of at least two earlier – seventh-century – texts, composed in the context of the rewriting and copying of many ancient manuscripts and papyri after the end of the iconoclast period in 843. While this theory has not met with wide acceptance, it has highlighted the degree of literary activity and 'recovery' of the past which seems to characterize ninth-century Byzantine learned and religious writing.<sup>40</sup> See below on anti-Jewish and anti-heretical writing.

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useful survey of the discussion, see Av. Cameron, 'Byzantines and Jews: some recent work on early Byzantium', *BMGS* 20 (1996) 249–74.

<sup>36</sup> See Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 136ff., for these texts in particular, including questions in the Pseudo-Athanasian *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem* (PG 28, 556–709); for the relationship between this text and the *Quaestiones et responsiones* of Anastasius of Sinai, see J.F. Haldon, 'The Writings of Anastasius of Sinai: a key source for seventh-century East Mediterranean history', in: Av. Cameron and L. Conrad, eds, *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East, I: Problems in the literary source materials* (SLAEI 1/ I. Princeton 1992) 107–47, at 120–5).

<sup>37</sup> On whom see Beck, *Kirche*, 372–3; for the use of his writings in the iconoclast debates, see P. Speck, 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ Η ΓΑΤΦΑΙΣ', *passim*; Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 103–12 and text no. 58.

<sup>38</sup> See Speck, 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ Η ΓΑΤΦΑΙΣ', 149; and in *Varia II, Poikila Byzantina* 6 (Bonn 1987) 312–15; also 'Schweinefleisch und Bilderkult. Zur Bilderfragen in den sogenannten Judendialogen', in *To Hellenikon. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis Jr.*, I, eds J.S. Langdon, St.W. Reinert, J.S. Allen and C.P. Ioannides (New York 1993) 367–83. On the writings of Epiphanius in the context of iconoclasm, see also Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, 48–51, with earlier literature; Beck, *Kirche*, 297, 491; and H.-G. Thümmel, 'Die bilderfeindlichen Schriften des Epiphanius von Salamis', *BS* 47 (1986) 169–88. The passages are held to be genuine by Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 65–73 and nos 32–8; and B. Hemmerdinger, 'Saint Epiphane, iconoclaste', *Studia Patristica* 10 (Texte und Untersuchungen 107. Berlin 1970) 118–20. The debate about the extent to which these fragments are genuine remains lively. See P. Maraval, 'Épiphane, "docteur des iconoclastes"', in F. Boespflug and N. Lossky, eds, *Nicée II, 787–1987: douzes siècles d'images religieuses* (Paris 1987) 51–62.

<sup>39</sup> See Speck, *Beiträge*, 131–76.

<sup>40</sup> See, *ibid.*, 267–439.

*Anastasios of Sinai*

Similar considerations apply to the works of Anastasios of Sinai, who lived in the period 630–ca 700 and who wrote a number of important theological treatises, including the *Hodegos*, a polemical guide to heresies and in particular those with which he was personally familiar, monophysitism and monotheletism; a series of Questions and Answers (*Erôtapokriseis*); and a number of sermons. Attributed to him also are a number of stories about miraculous cures or similar events associated with individual holy men in Palestine and the Sinai region. His views on the nature of sin, prayer and divine intervention in human affairs are important to the general background of the period before iconoclasm and the evolution of Christian imagery and allegory.<sup>41</sup>

*The emperor Constantine V*

The theological writings of Constantine V are partially preserved in the *peuseis* and in the *horos* of the council of 754, in turn transmitted through the writings of the patriarch Nikephoros and the Acts of the seventh council of 787 (see above).<sup>42</sup> There may originally have been thirteen *peuseis*, although the evidence is indirect and very

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<sup>41</sup> On Anastasios' works in general, see J.F. Haldon, 'The Works of Anastasios of Sinai: a key source for the history of seventh-century East Mediterranean society and belief', in Cameron and Conrad, eds, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I*, 107–47; and the lit. in *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 172. For the *erotapokriseis*: J. Gretser, *Anastasios Sinaites, Interrogationes et Responsiones*, in: *PG* 89, 311–824; with M. Richard, 'Les véritables "Questions et réponses" d'Anastase le Sinaïte', *Bulletin de l'Institut de Recherches et d'Histoire des textes* 15 (1967–68) 39–56 (= M. Richard, *Opera Minora* III, no. 64, and App. iv–v) (*CPG* 7746 with lit.); and for the *narrationes* (*CPG* 7758–69 with editions and older lit.): B. Flusin, 'Démons et Sarrasins. L'auteur et le propos des *Diègèmata stèriktika* d'Anastase le Sinaïte', *TM* 11 (1991) 380–409. The possibility of later additions, interpolations and misunderstandings makes them problematic. See P. Speck, 'Das Teufelsschloß. Bilderverehrung bei Anastasios Sinaites?', in *Varia V* (*Poikila Byzantina* 13, Bonn 1994) 295–309, who argues that stories, or elements of stories, dealing specifically with the devotion accorded to icons, are 'innocent' ninth-century interpolations introduced on the basis of 'common-sense' iconodule assumptions about earlier times, at a time when such texts were being rediscovered and subjected to a widespread process of recopying and re-organising. Flusin, *art. cit.*, rejects this position. The *Hodegos*: see *Viae dux*, ed. K.H. Uthemann (*Corpus Christianorum*, ser. Graeca 8. Turnhout–Louvain 1981) (*CPG* 7745), with the editor's introduction. For the sermons: *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon Opuscula adversus Monotheletas*, ed. K.-H. Uthemann (*Corpus Christianorum*, ser. Graeca 12. Turnhout–Louvain 1985) (*CPG* 7747–49); with *CPG* 7750–55 for other sermons; 7756–57 for treatises against Monotheletes; and *CPG* 7770–81 for the *dubia*.

<sup>42</sup> In *PG* 100, 216B–313A; 329A–340D; 389C–485C (the three *Antirrhetici* of the patriarch Nikephoros, dealing with the first two *peuseis*: *PG* 100, 205–553. See Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 168–70; Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, 8–11 *peuseis* 1 and 2 only); note also Speck's important discussion, in *Artabasdos*, 71–5, 245–66, on Constantine's explanation of the unjust nature of earlier accusations made against him (that he had 'distanced himself from God'), paraphrased in Nikephoros's second *Antirrheticus*. Literature: Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 332–3.

slight.<sup>43</sup> The *peuseis* have been traditionally assumed to represent arguments presented at the council of 754 or in connection with the preparations for such a council, but, as has been shown,<sup>44</sup> have little to do with such an event. They represent rather a set of arguments designed to counter the notion that Constantine's policy of challenging the (idolatrous) devotion shown to icons inevitably meant that he had thereby moved away from Christ. On the contrary, Constantine maintains that it is specifically through these acts that he demonstrates his true devotion to Christ. The *peuseis* may thus represent meetings held with individuals or groups of clergy – bishops – and others, designed to rally support for his policies and to convince others not yet persuaded that he was both orthodox and Christ-loving.

### *Theodore Abu Qurrah*

As important as John of Damascus was the monk Theodore Abu Qurrah, originally from Edessa, and possibly a pupil of John at the monastery of Mar Saba. In about the year 800 he became bishop of Harran (Carrhae) and was commissioned by the patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem in 813 to write on the Monophysite heresy.<sup>45</sup> Among his numerous works, particularly directed against a range of heretical groups (there are 43 in Greek, for example, directed against Jews, Muslims, and various Christian heresies, as well as some 30 – no longer extant – in Syriac and 12 tracts in Arabic, including one on the iconoclast controversy). Although heavily dependent on the writing of John of Damascus, Theodore's writings provide important evidence for the subsequent evolution of the theology of images and the ways in which John's writings were adopted within both the Chalcedonian Church outside the empire and the Byzantine imperial Church.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, 7ff. The text is most easily accessible in Hennepf, nos 141–61 (*peusis* 1) and nos 162–70 (*peusis* 2), although the prologue and concluding sections relevant to the points under discussion here are not included. Hennepf believed that there had existed a third *peusis*, and reproduced fragments of text which he identified as such (nos 171–87), but this has not generally been accepted, and the fragments in question are identified as deriving from an otherwise unknown tract. See S. Gero, 'Notes on Byzantine Iconoclasm in the Eighth Century', *B* 44 (1974) 28 and n. 6; *idem*, *Constantine V*, 37 and n. 1, and 37–68. There is a French version of these fragments in the translation of Nikephoros's *Antirrhetikoi* by M.-J. Mondzain-Baudinet, *De notre bienheureux père et archevêque de Constantinople Nicéphore. Discussion et réfutation des bavardages ignares, athées et tout à fait creux de l'irreligieux Mamon contre l'Incarnation de Dieu le Verbe notre Sauveur. Discours contre les Iconoclastes* (Paris 1989); and a German version in G. Dumeige, *Nizäa II* (Geschichte der ökumenischen Konzilien, 4. Mainz 1985), by H. Bacht.

<sup>44</sup> Speck, *Artabasdos*, 248f.

<sup>45</sup> For his works and further literature, see G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Studi e Testi 118, 133, 146, 147, 172. Vatican 1944–53) II, 7–26; Beck, *Kirche*, 488–9; *ODB* 3, 2041. Writings in Greek ascribed to Theodore are edited in *PG* 97, 1445–1602; some hitherto unpublished Greek texts appear in R. Gleis and A.T. Houry, 'Opuscula Islamica', in *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Ab Qurrah, Schriften zum Islam* (Corpus Islamo-Christianum 3. Würzburg 1995). See S.H. Griffith, *Theodore Abû Qurrah: the intellectual profile of an Arab Christian writer of the first Abbasid century* (Tel Aviv 1992).

<sup>46</sup> See S.H. Griffith, 'Theodore Abu Qurrah's Arabic tract on the Christian practice of venerating images', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985) 53–73; J.P.

*The patriarch Tarasios*<sup>47</sup>

Tarasios, who was entrusted by the empress Eirene with the convocation of the seventh ecumenical council, wrote a number of theological/dogmatic pieces, but the most important is probably the argument rejecting the conclusions of the iconoclast council of 754. This was read out at the seventh council, and from it the conclusions of the council of 754 are known in detail (therefore representing one of the few iconoclast 'documents' to have survived in a more-or-less original form).<sup>48</sup> A number of letters dealing with the same issue also survive.<sup>49</sup>

*The patriarch Nikephoros*

Contemporary with the last years of the first iconoclasm, the period between the two councils of 787 and 815, and the first years of the second iconoclasm are the works of the patriarch Nikephoros. Nikephoros succeeded Tarasios in 806, and remained patriarch until 815.<sup>50</sup> His most important works include the *Apologeticus minor*,<sup>51</sup> the three-book *Antirrhetici*, and the *Apologeticus maior* which belongs with it, and from which the views of Constantine V on icons can be reconstructed,<sup>52</sup> and the *Refutatio et eversio*, directed against the synodal *horos* of 815.<sup>53</sup> But he composed, in

Arendzen, *Theodori Abu Kurra de cultu imaginum libellus e codice arabico* (Bonn 1897) (Arabic text, Latin translation, commentary). For a useful account of Theodore's role and his work in their historical context, with rich bibliography, see S.H. Griffith, 'What has Constantinople to do with Jerusalem? Palestine in the ninth century: Byzantine Orthodoxy in the world of Islam', in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 181–94.

<sup>47</sup> For Tarasios's life and career, see Efthymiadis, *The Life of the patriarch Tarasios*, 6–46; D.E. Afinogenov, 'Κωνσταντινουπόλις ἐπίσκοπον ἔχει. The rise of the patriarchal power in Byzantium from Nicaenum II to Epanagoga, I: from Nicaenum II to the second outbreak of iconoclasm', *Erytheia* 15 (1994) 45–65, see 45–55; *ODB* 3, 2011; and, especially, C. Ludwig and T. Pratsch, 'Tarasios (784–806)', in Lilie, ed., *Patriarchen*, 57–108.

<sup>48</sup> See Mansi xiii, 205–363.

<sup>49</sup> See *ibid.*, xii, 1119–25; xiii, 400–8; 458–68; 471–9; *PG* 97, 1428–68; *PG* 98, 1477–80. For the sermon attributed to him upon his appointment as patriarch in 784, see *PG* 98.1423–7; *Theoph.*, 458.21–460.15.

<sup>50</sup> On Nikephoros's life and works, see Mondzain-Baudinet, *Discours contre les iconoclastes*, 17–34; Beck, *Kirche*, 489–91; A.J. Visser, *Nikephoros und der Bilderstreit* (The Hague 1952) 80–5; Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 54–155; E. Fisher, in *Byzantine defenders of images*, 25ff., introd.; T. Pratsch, 'Nikephoros I. (806–815)', in Lilie, *Patriarchen*, 109–47. See also R. Blake, 'Note sur l'activité littéraire de Nicéphore Ier, patriarche de Constantinople', *B* 14 (1939) 1–15; and the comments in P. O'Connell, *The ecclesiology of St Nicephorus I (758–828) patriarch of Constantinople* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 194. Rome 1972) 53–67. For Nikephoros's theology in its broader context, see Parry, *Depicting the Word*.

<sup>51</sup> *PG* 100, 833–50; see Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 163–4. For the dates of the works in question, see Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 182–8.

<sup>52</sup> *Antirrhetikoi* I–III, in *PG* 100, 205–533 (and see Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 535–56 on the interpolated historical chapters [62–84] in *Antirrhetikos* III); French trans. M.-J. Mondzain-Baudinet, *Discours contre les iconoclastes*. For the *apologeticus*, *PG* 100, 533–832; Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 167–73.

<sup>53</sup> See, now, *Nicephorus patriarchus Constantinopolitanus, Refutatio et eversio*



addition, several other works which dealt with issues connected with the iconoclast controversy, including the so-called 'twelve chapters' against the iconoclasts,<sup>54</sup> the *Adversus Iconomachos*, a brief refutation of key iconoclast arguments;<sup>55</sup> the *Contra Eusebium* and *Adversus Epiphaniidem*, a refutation of arguments taken from patristic writings by the iconoclasts, in particular from Eusebius of Caesarea, Epiphaniides, Epiphanius, archbishop of Cyprus, and several others by Constantine V and his supporters;<sup>56</sup> and what Alexander has dubbed the *De Magnete*, a careful examination of an (anonymous) iconoclast collection of quotations taken, out of context and misused, from the *Apokritikos* of Macarius Magnes, according to Nikephoros.<sup>57</sup> The works of Nikephoros are undoubtedly the most important collective source for iconoclast theology and belief.<sup>58</sup>

### *Theodore of Stoudios*

Theodore, a contemporary of the patriarch Nikephoros, is one of the most prolific figures of the late eighth and early ninth century. His letters (of which over 560 survive) contain both theological/dogmatic material as well as a wealth of other information.<sup>59</sup> Particularly interesting is his tract against the verses of four iconoclasts, whom he claims to cite literally;<sup>60</sup> as well as two treatises aimed at iconoclast thinking.<sup>61</sup> Theologically significant are his tripartite *antirrhethikoi*, which present the theology of the icon in two parts and a syllogistic systematization in the third.<sup>62</sup> As well as a wide range of other writings, including guides to the ascetic life and liturgical verse, as well as a panegyric to Theophanes the

*definitionis synodalis anni 815*, ed. J. Featherstone (CCSG 33. Brepols 1997). Fragments of the text can be found in *PG* 100, 31–5; the whole text is summarized in Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 242–62. See also discussion at *ibid.* 180–2; and in Parry, *Depicting the Word*.

<sup>54</sup> Edn in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 1, 454–60; see V. Grumel, 'Douze chapitres contre les iconomaques', *REB* 17 (1959) 127–35.

<sup>55</sup> Ed. Pitra, *Spicilegium*, IV, 233–91. See Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 178–9.

<sup>56</sup> Ed. Pitra, in *Spicilegium* I, 371–503 (*Contra Eusebium*); and IV, 292–380 (*Adversus Epiphaniidem*). Discussion and summary in Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 173–8. See also Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 277–96, who discusses the ways in which a later redactor interpolated a different version of the story of the origins of iconoclasm into Nikephoros's text (see on the *Narratio* ascribed to John of Jerusalem, below).

<sup>57</sup> Ed. Pitra, *Spicilegium*, I, 302–35; see Alexander's discussion, *Nicephorus*, 165–7.

<sup>58</sup> It is clear that not all of the writings of Nikephoros on the iconoclast issue may have survived intact: see, for example, the comments of Grumel, 'Douze chapitres contre les iconomaques', and Featherstone, *Refutatio et eversio*, xxii–xxv.

<sup>59</sup> See G. Fatouros, ed., *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, 2 vols (*CFHB* 31/1–2. Vienna 1992). Further literature: Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 356; literature and discussion: Kazhdan, *Literature*, 235–57, especially 247–54 on the letters.

<sup>60</sup> *PG* 99, 436–78. See also below on verse and epigrams.

<sup>61</sup> *PG* 99, 477–85 (*προβλήματα ... κατὰ τῶν εἰκονομάχων*); 485–97 ('seven chapters against the iconoclasts'). See C.P. Roth, trans., *St Theodore the Studite, On the holy icons* (Crestwood, NY 1981); and for a discussion of Theodore's theory of images, see Parry, *Depicting the Word*.

<sup>62</sup> *PG* 99, 327–436; English trans. by Roth, *St Theodore the Studite On the holy icons*. A number of other anti-iconoclast and anti-moechian treatises have not survived: see Beck, *Kirche*, 492.

Confessor,<sup>63</sup> Theodore also composed the ‘minor’ and the ‘major’ *katêcheseis*, homiletic compositions making reference not only to the ecclesiastical celebration with which homilies were traditionally associated, but also including summaries of the duties and life of the monk intended to re-affirm the value of the cenobitic life in contrast to the strongly-entrenched tradition of *anachoresis*. Theodore’s homilies are especially important, firstly because they mark a new development of the genre, including references to contemporary events associated with the monastery in which they were composed, and secondly because this information is sometimes of relevance to one or another aspect of the general history of the period.<sup>64</sup>

### *The patriarch Methodios*

One of the most important churchmen of the first half of the ninth century,<sup>65</sup> his work includes the *dekreta* for the establishment of the feast of Orthodoxy and for the synod of March 843<sup>66</sup> and the *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy itself (see above), a decree on the re-admission of heretics to the Church, and a tract directed against the hard-line position of the Stoudite monks,<sup>67</sup> as well as a number of letters dealing with theological issues, including complaints about the stubbornness of former iconoclast clergy. He is also credited with a number of hagiographical compositions, of which the *Lives* of Theophanes the Confessor and Euthymios of Sardis were definitely composed by him, although other attributions are more doubtful; and a *kanôn* on the re-establishment of sacred images.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> For editions and the manuscript tradition, see Beck, *Kirche*, 493; and cf. St. Efthymiadis, ‘Le panégyrique de s. Théophile le Confesseur par s. Théodore Stoudite’, *AB* 111 (1993) 259–90.

<sup>64</sup> Text: *Catechesis magna*: J. Cozza-Luzi, *Sancti Theodori Studitae sermones magnae catecheseos*, in Mai, *NPB* 9/2 (Rome 1888) 1–217 (77 homilies); *idem*, *Sancti patris nostri Theodori Studitae sermones reliqui magnae catecheseos*, in Mai, *NPB* 10/1 (Rome 1905) 7–151; also partly edited in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Τοῦ ὁσίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου μεγάλη κατήχησις* (St Petersburg 1904) (124 homilies, of which 23 appear in the Cozza-Luzi edn). *Catechesis parva*: Cozza-Luzi, in *NPB* 9/1 (Rome 1888) 1–318; E. Auvray, *Sancti patris nostri et confessoris Theodori Studitis praepositi parva catechesis* (Paris 1891); and *Théodore Stoudite: petites catéchèses*, trans. Anne-Marie Mohr, comm. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau (Les Pères dans la foi 52. Paris 1993). See the catalogue, with further literature and editions, in Beck, *Kirche*, 493–5; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 396; *PmbZ*, *Prolegomena*, 148–9; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 241–7.

<sup>65</sup> On whom see *ODB* 2, 1355; D. Afinogenov, ‘The great purge of 843: a re-examination’, in J.O. Rosenqvist, ed., *ΔΕΙΜΩΝ. Studies presented to Lennart Rydén on his sixty-fifth birthday* (Uppsala 1996) 79–91; and, esp., B. Zielke, ‘Methodios I (843–847)’, in Lillie, *Patriarchen*, 183–260, for a good overview of life and works. From the perspective of his literary importance: Kazhdan, *Literature*, 367–79.

<sup>66</sup> The first decree has not survived: see Grumel, *Regestes*, nos 416, 418, and cf. no. 417. The decree for the synod of 843 is unedited:

<sup>67</sup> Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum* II, 362–3 and *PG* 100, 1293ff. respectively.

<sup>68</sup> See Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum* II, 355–7 (letter to the patriarch of Jerusalem about iconoclast clergy); *ibid.* 357–61 (sections of his profession of faith from March 843 [which is closely related to the tract *adversus Constantinum Caballinum*]). See Beck, *Kirche*, 497–8, and *Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, ed. W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg and O. Prinz (Munich, 3rd edn

*The patriarch Photios*

The greatest literary figure of the middle and second half of the ninth century is without any doubt the patriarch Photios.<sup>69</sup> He was also, to paraphrase Beck, one of the most significant exegetes of the Byzantine Church, and wrote on a variety of subjects: the *Amphilochia*, an exegetical collection in the form of a series of Questions and Answers (*Erôtapokriseis*), represents possibly one of his greatest works. Composed in the form of a collection of letters addressed to his friend and colleague, Amphilochios, bishop of Kyzikos, the collection addresses the fundamental issues of Orthodox theology as perceived by Photios.<sup>70</sup> Quite apart from his other great works, the *Bibliotheke* and the *Lexikon*,<sup>71</sup> he was responsible for a wide range of writings, including polemical tracts against the Paulicians<sup>72</sup> and other heretics,<sup>73</sup> dogmatic/polemical treatises dealing with papal-patriarchal relations and the theological issues bound up with them, a treatise on the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the Father (crucially important in the debate over the *filioque* issue),<sup>74</sup> as well as letters dealing with his office, the ecclesiastical and secular politics of the period, and the dogmatic and theological issues with which he was confronted.<sup>75</sup> His homilies and sermons are especially important for, although only eighteen in number, they include much historical information of interest, notably on the Rus' attack on Constantinople in 860 (homilies 3 and 4).<sup>76</sup> Photios was

1982) 524f. for editions and further literature; Grumel, *Regestes*, nos 419ff. On Methodios's polemical writing, see J. Darrouzès, 'Le patriarche Méthode contre les iconoclastes et les Stoudites', *REB* 45 (1987) 15–57 (with text at 31–57).

<sup>69</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 356–7.

<sup>70</sup> For a survey of Photios's works, see Beck, *Kirche*, 520–8; and see *ODB* 3, 1669–70 for a short biographical summary; also Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 201–4. For the *Amphilochia*: B. Laourdas and L.G. Westerink, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 4: *Amphilochia* 1–45; 5: *Amph.* 46–222; 6: *Amph.* 223–329 (Leipzig 1986, 1987).

<sup>71</sup> See below.

<sup>72</sup> See *PG* 102, 16–264, and below. For a falsely attributed tract 'against the Franks', dating probably from the eleventh century, see J. Hergenröther, *Monumenta graeca ad Photium eiusque historiam pertinentia* (Regensburg 1860) 62–71.

<sup>73</sup> Thus he wrote against Armenian monophysitism in letters to various leading secular and ecclesiastical leaders: see Rochow, 'Antihäretische Schriften', 109–10 and notes 100–5 for editions and commentary.

<sup>74</sup> *PG* 102, 263–391; English trans. *Photios, The Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, trans. J.P. Farrell with a theological introduction by Archimandrite Chrysostomos (Brookline, MA 1987). An *Epitome* derived from this text – probably by Photios himself – was widely read: *PG* 102, 392–400. Photios expressed himself on this issue in several other writings, including his encyclical of 867 (reissued in ca 883/4): Ep. I, 13 (*PG* 102, 725–32; ed. Laourdas and Westerink, ep. 2) (Grumel, *Regestes*, 497); and in the letter to the Bishop of Aquileia of 883/4: Ep. I, 24 (*PG* 102, 793–821; ed. Laourdas and Westerink, ep. 291) (Grumel, *Regestes*, 560). See also B. Laourdas, 'The Letter of Photios to the Archbishop of Aquileia. Two Notes on its Text', *Klêronomia* 3 (1971) 66–8.

<sup>75</sup> Edited in B. Laourdas and L. Westerink, *Photii Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 6 vols (Leipzig 1983–88); see below.

<sup>76</sup> English trans. Mango, *The homilies of Photios*; ed. B. Laourdas, 'Ὁμιλῖαι (Thessaloniki 1959).

particularly concerned to present himself as a key figure in the anti-iconoclast propaganda of the period, which he did much to promote: the synod of 861 and the councils of 867 and of 879/80 all dealt with this issue.<sup>77</sup> He wrote letters dealing with the issue of the continued existence of iconoclast views in various parts of the Christian world;<sup>78</sup> he devoted sermons to the subject,<sup>79</sup> and his encyclical to the eastern patriarchs in 867 took up the issue as well.<sup>80</sup> His relations with the western Church and with his rival Ignatios, as well as with his friends, all receive treatment in these writings.

Late in his career, Photios also became involved in communicating his ideas through imagery, but this aspect of his life is outside the remit of our volume.<sup>81</sup>

### Other Individual Writers

Well-known figures such as Nikephoros and Theodore were not the only ones to write on the theology of icons or to oppose iconoclast beliefs and arguments. Many other figures wrote also on these as well as on other issues, composing homilies, for example, on key themes of Orthodox theology, on the behaviour appropriate to the Christian community, on problems of heterodoxy and heresy, and so forth. Niketas, the abbot of the Medikion monastery, argued the case for the respect shown to icons through a selection of patristic citations; a certain Epiphanius (of ?Selymbria) wrote in support of icons;<sup>82</sup> early in the eighth century the metropolitan Andrew of Crete may also have composed a tract on icons, although only a fragment survives and the attribution is uncertain. And apart from contemporaries, large numbers of texts were drawn upon, usually collected together in *florilegia*, to support the arguments of one side or the other, so that both the eighth- and ninth-century versions of these writings

<sup>77</sup> See, especially, Mango, 'The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the patriarch Photios', 133–40.

<sup>78</sup> For example, ed. Laourdas and Westerink, ep. 288, 290 to pope Nicholas I (see Grumel, *Regestes*, 467); ed. Laourdas and Westerink, ep. 287 to tsar Boris-Michael (Grumel, *Regestes*, 481).

<sup>79</sup> Homilies 15, 16, and 17, ed. B. Laourdas, in *Hell.* 12 (1952/53) 139–51; 152–63; 164–72 (trans. Mango, 244–60, 260–78, 286–96). On Photios's homiletic oeuvre, see Tsironis, 'Historicity and poetry in ninth-century homiletics', in Cunningham and Allen, eds, *Preacher and audience*, 295–316.

<sup>80</sup> Ed. Laourdas and Westerink, ep. 2. Cf. Grumel, *Regestes*, 497. Photios may also be the author of a short handbook on the theology of the icon dating from the second half of the ninth century: ed. Hergenröther, *Monumenta*, 53–62. For date and further discussion: H.G. Thümmel, 'Eine wenig bekannte Schrift zur Bilderfrage', in H. Köpstein and F. Winkelmann, eds, *Studien zum 8. und 9. Jahrhundert in Byzanz* (BBA 51. Berlin 1983) 153–7. The tract is important because it emphasizes the Aristotelian premises of the theory of images evolved by theologians such as the patriarch Nikephoros and Theodore the Stoudite, reflected also in the Acts of the council of 787, in strong contrast to the Neoplatonic foundations of the theory of images developed by John of Damascus, a theory which was little known and barely noted in the Byzantine context.

<sup>81</sup> See Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, esp. 201–38, 412–14.

<sup>82</sup> For both these, see Beck, *Kirche*, with further literature, 496. Niketas's work has not been edited.

incorporated into iconophile or iconoclast treatises or in the Acts of the council of 787, for example, as well as in the original form – where this is known – need to be consulted. It is precisely in view of the fact that the great majority of such texts were recopied during the ninth century, and after the re-establishment of images, that the problems of textual transmission and reliability alluded to already arise, along with the disagreements among modern historians of the period.<sup>83</sup>

### *Hymnographers*

There seems to have been a close relationship between homiletic and hymnography, and it has been pointed out that this is particularly clear in the activities of Andrew of Crete, who is best-known for his compositions in both fields.<sup>84</sup> Born *ca* 660 in Damascus, Andrew made his way – via Jerusalem, where he served for a while in the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre – to Constantinople, where he became a deacon, becoming eventually metropolitan bishop of Crete. He adopted monotheletism briefly during the reign of the emperor Philippikos, but returned to Orthodoxy after the fall of the latter in 713, a return reflected in a 128-verse poem. Andrew is probably best-known for his development of the nine-ode canon, which was formerly thought to have expanded and replaced the established *kontakion* of the sixth-century Romanos, and which, in the form represented by his Great Canon, became the standard form of the Byzantine hymn as it was evolved thereafter by other writers, both contemporary and later. In fact, it has been demonstrated that the canon remained a specifically monastic form, for use in the monastic rather than the cathedral rite.<sup>85</sup> But it was, as noted already, John of Damascus who took this form a stage further, following the model of Andrew and also constructing his own particular type of canon, employing a combination of classical iambic trimeters and the strophic *kontakion* of Romanos.<sup>86</sup> Other writers of the middle and later eighth

<sup>83</sup> A most useful survey of this literature, with extensive extracts from the relevant texts up to the period of John of Damascus, is to be found in Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*. On Andrew, see N.B. Thomadakis, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ ὑμνογραφία καὶ ποίησης* (Athens 1965) 192, who doubts the authenticity of the fragment.

<sup>84</sup> See Cunningham, 'Andrew of Crete: a high-style preacher of the eighth century', 289; A. Louth, 'St. John Damascene: preacher and poet', in Cunningham and Allen, eds, *Preacher and Audience*.

<sup>85</sup> See PG 97, 1301–14 for the verses on images. On Andrew, see ODB 1, 93; Beck, *Kirche*, 500–2; Cunningham, 'Preaching and the community', 38–42; *eadem*, 'Andrew of Crete: a high-style preacher of the eighth century', 267–93; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 37–54. The Great Canon: W. Christ and M. Paranikas, *Anthologia graeca Carmina Christianorum* (Leipzig 1871) 97f., 147–61; PG 97, 1306–444; see *The Great Canon: A Poem of Saint Andrew of Crete, Recited During Some of the Lenten Offices of the Eastern Orthodox Church*, trans. D.-J. Chitty (London 1957). For further discussion of this material, see J. Grosdidier de Matons, 'Liturgie et hymnographie: kontakion et kanon', *DOP* 34–5 (1980–81); and on the canon as a specifically monastic form, see A. Lingas, 'The liturgical place of the kontakion in Constantinople', in C.C. Akentiev, ed., *Byzantinorussica I: Liturgy, architecture and art in Byzantine world* (sic). Papers of the XVIII International Byzantine Congress, Moscow 8–15 August 1991 (St Petersburg 1995) 50–7. Texts and literature: CPG III, 8170–228; CPG, *Suppl.*, 8170–229.

<sup>86</sup> Iambic canons: Christ and Paranikas, 117–21, 205–36 (with analysis and differentiation of genuine from doubtful attributions); PG 96, 818–56; A. Nauck, 'Canones

century followed, including a certain Kosmas the Elder, whose work is inextricably confused in the tradition with that of John himself, and Kosmas of Maiumas, also known as Kosmas the Hymnographer, John's step-brother, whose work is equally difficult to disentangle from that of Kosmas the Elder.<sup>87</sup> Many other churchmen and monks composed works of a homiletic, panegyric or martyrological nature, including the important figure, Joseph of Thessaloniki (762–832), brother of Theodore of Stoudios, and (possibly) a mysterious John of Euboea.<sup>88</sup> The much later (ca 760–846) Michael *Syngkellos* composed a short hymn on the restoration of icons, as well as his many other compositions (see above, on hagiography).<sup>89</sup> More important is Theophanes Graptos (ca 775–845), who composed a large number of hymns and canons and whose important contribution to the corpus of Byzantine liturgical poetry and hymnography is recognized alongside that of Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, and Kosmas.<sup>90</sup> Two of the most significant figures in Byzantine hymnography, however, are Clement, and Joseph the Hymnographer. Clement, whose works can be dated only very approximately in the last decades of the eighth and first twenty or so years of the ninth century, and about whom very little is known, is remarkable for the attention he paid to icons, which play a very prominent role in his compositions. Although only comparatively few works survive, they show several important innovations.<sup>91</sup> Joseph was born sometime between 810 and 818 in Sicily. He composed both *kontakia* and canons, producing altogether over 500 hymns, although the tradition and attribution of many remains problematic. His life was adventurous: he and his family fled to the Peloponnese from Saracen raiders, and he eventually arrived in Constantinople, having spent some time in Thessaloniki, in the 840s. Having been captured by pirates on Crete in 841–42, and

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iambici cum commentario et indice verborum', *Zapiski Russ. Akademii Nauk*, 7th ser. 6 (1894) 199–224; H.J.W. Tilyard, 'The canon for Easter, with music from a Byzantine himnologus', *Laudate* (June 1923) 1–11; see also A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Ἰωάννης Δαμασκηνός', *BZ* 14 (1905) 234–6; J. Hussey, 'The six Hymni attributed to St John of Damascus', *JThS* 47 (1946) 200–3; Beck, *Kirche*, 485–6.

<sup>87</sup> Kosmas: Beck, *Kirche*, 515–16, with literature. Texts: Christ and Paranikas, 161–204 (and discussion of genuine and dubious attributions); *PG* 98, 459–524. See above, *Vita Cosmae et Ioannis Damasceni*; and, especially, Kazhdan and Gero, 'Kosmas of Jerusalem'; and the detailed account in Kazhdan, *Literature*, 107–24.

<sup>88</sup> Joseph's works are well-known, and he is generally taken as one of the most important composers of the iconoclast period. See Beck, *Kirche*, 505–6; St. Eustratiades, 'Ἰωσήφ ὁ Στουδίτης, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης', *Μακεδονικά* 2 (1941–52) 25–88; and see Kazhdan, *Literature*, 270. Works also survive attributed to a certain Kosmas Vestitor: see Kazhdan, *Literature*, 94, 150–2; *CPG* III, 8142–63. John of Euboea (= ?Euaria) can only be dated very approximately in the eighth century. See Beck, *Kirche*, 502–3; *ODB* 2, 1065, 1153; *CPG* III 8135–8; *CPG, Suppl.*, 8145–54. For other hymnographers of the eighth–ninth centuries, see Beck, *Kirche*, 515–19.

<sup>89</sup> See Th. Nissen, *Die byzantinischen Anakreonten*, in *Sitzungsber. der Bayerischen Akad. der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* (Munich 1940) 3, 48–52. For Michael's oeuvre, see Beck, *Kirche*, 503–5; and Cunningham, *Michael the Synkellos* (including edn, trans. and extensive introd. and commentary).

<sup>90</sup> See Christ and Paranikas, 236–42; J. Pitra, *Hymnographie de l'église grecque* (Rome 1867) cxiii–cxvii, cxxx–cxxxvii; Beck, *Kirche*, 516–17; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 271–2.

<sup>91</sup> See the survey and discussion in Kazhdan, *Literature*, 261–9.

after spending the years 858–67 in political exile in Cherson, he eventually became *skeuophylax* of Hagia Sophia, and died in 886.<sup>92</sup>

### *Other Tracts and Homilies*

There were many other theologians and churchmen who wrote during this period, some of whose work has survived in whole or in part, and who dealt with other issues as well as those associated with the debate over holy images.<sup>93</sup> Several of these wrote homilies and sermons, encomia and liturgical verse – names such as George of Nicomedeia, *chartophylax* of the Great Church in Constantinople, and Theognostos the Archimandrite, both of them close supporters of Photios, or Metrophanes, metropolitan of Smyrna, and a supporter of Ignatios, for example, are closely associated with the theological and liturgical literature of the second half of the ninth century.<sup>94</sup> Niketas of Byzantium (also called Niketas the Philosopher and Teacher – *philosophos kai didaskalos*), for example, composed an interesting polemical tract in three sections against Islam, partly commissioned by the emperor Michael III.<sup>95</sup> Shortly after, the monk Bartholomaios of Edessa similarly wrote an anti-Islamic tract,<sup>96</sup> while the archbishop Stylianos of Neocaesarea wrote a pamphlet on the Trinity, as well as letters dealing with related issues to the pope (Stephen VI).<sup>97</sup> The archbishop John of Nike, who was sent as the representative of Photios to the Armenian synod of Sirakavan in 862,<sup>98</sup> also composed a tract in connection with his

<sup>92</sup> See Beck, *Kirche*, 601–2 for literature and editions of texts; Kazhdan, *Literature*, 270–1.

<sup>93</sup> For example, an anonymous poem dating probably to the time of the patriarch Methodios, which survives in the so-called Pantokrator Psalter, celebrates the triumph of the patriarch Nikephoros over his enemies: see I. Ševčenko, 'The anti-iconoclastic poem in the Pantocrator Psalter', *Cahiers archéologiques* 15 (1965) 39–60; and above, 43–4. For a survey of hymnography and liturgical poetry, with sources and further literature, see Beck, *Kirche*, 516–19; 601–4. Note also the short discussions on eighth- and ninth-century hymnography in Kazhdan, *Literature*, 124–6, 270–9, and other genres, *ibid.*, 384–95.

<sup>94</sup> See Beck, *Kirche*, 542–6, including other figures such as Nikephoros the *skeuophylax*, Theodore the presbyter, Prokopios the *chartophylax*, Arsenios, metropolitan of Kerkyra, and Theodore the presbyter and *sygkellos*. The 'apostle of the Slavs', Cyril, composed a number of works in Greek which were later, in part, translated by his brother Methodios into Slavic, although unfortunately nothing survives in Greek. For detailed literature, see Beck, *Kirche*, 529–30; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 348–9. On George of Nikomedeia, see Tsironis, 'Historicity and poetry in ninth-century homiletics', 295–316, with further literature.

<sup>95</sup> See *PG* 105, 669–841 (and see A.-Th. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam* [Louvain–Paris, 2nd edn 1969] 110–62). He also wrote against the Armenian (monophysite) Church: *PG* 105, 588–665, and against the Latins (dealing especially, and following on from the polemic of Photios on the same theme, with the Filioque issue): Hergenröther, *Monumenta*, 84–138. See Beck, *Kirche*, 530–1.

<sup>96</sup> See *PG* 104, 1384–448. An anonymous tract 'against Muhammad', edited along with the treatise of Bartholomaios, is probably not by him, although contemporary with him: *PG* 104, 1448–57.

<sup>97</sup> Mansi xvi, 425–41 for the letters. On the tract, see F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge 1948); Beck, *Kirche*, 530.

<sup>98</sup> See V. Grumel, 'L'envoyé de Photius au Catholicos Zacharie: Jean de Niké', *REB* 14 (1965) 169–73.

visit on the appropriate date of the celebration of the birth of Christ for the Armenian katholikos Zacharias.<sup>99</sup> Not only churchmen were involved: even the emperor Michael III wrote against iconoclast theology and practice in his invitation to pope Nicholas I to attend the synod of 861.<sup>100</sup>

### Anonymous Works

As well as works clearly attributable to an individual writer, there are in addition a number of works, or their reflections in later writings, for which no named author is or can be known. Thus various versions of an eighth-century story or legend about the origins of iconoclasm, which dealt originally with the reign of Constantine V in particular, but which by the later eighth century had been expanded and revised to include accounts of the origins of Leo III and, in some versions, the question of Jewish and Islamic influence on Leo and Constantine, occur in a wide range of texts, each with different emphases, and interpolated or directly incorporated into the works of other writers.<sup>101</sup>

It occurs also in the so-called *narratio* of John of Jerusalem, which presents an account of the early period of iconoclasm in Syria. This exists in various versions: as part of an iconophile *florilegium* composed in the year 774/5; in virtually the same form, in the Acts of the council of 787; and it was also incorporated, in a somewhat variant form, into the *libellus* of the synod of Paris, held in 825.<sup>102</sup> The version found

<sup>99</sup> On John, see Beck, *Kirche*, 533 and 598, with further literature; his tract: *PG* 96, 1436–49.

<sup>100</sup> The text of the letter, which is lost, can be partially reconstructed from the pope's reply (as can that of his second letter to Nicholas): see Nicolas I, ep. 82, ed. E. Perels (*MGH, Epp.* VI [*Epist. Karolini Aevi* IV. Berlin 1925/repr. Munich 1978]) 433–9 (JE 2682); ep. 88, 454–87 (cf. JE 2796). See Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, 75. For Michael's anti-iconoclast acts (such as the exhumation of the corpse of Constantine V), see Karlin-Hayter, 'Gregory of Syracuse, Ignatios and Photios', 145, with sources (George cont., Pseudo-Symeon).

<sup>101</sup> The legend occurs in several versions: (i) as the *Narratio* of John of Jerusalem and the texts which derived from it; (ii) at the end of the third *Antirrhetikos* of the patriarch Nikephoros (*PG* 100, 528C–533A) (Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 263–75 and 535–56); (iii) in the third chapter of Nikephoros's *Contra Eusebium et Epiphanidem* (ed. J.B. Pitra, *Spicilegium I* [Paris 1852] 371–503; IV [Paris 1858] 292–380, at I, 375–7) (see Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 173–8; Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 277–96); (iv) in the longer, second redaction of the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* (*PG* 95, 309–44), as Chs 18–25 (see 250–1 above, and Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 139–90); (v) in the later redaction of the so-called *Epistola ad Theophilum* (see below, 279–80; Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 191–253), *PG* 95, 345–85, at 356–70; (vi) and in Theophanes, 401f. (Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 115–38).

<sup>102</sup> John was the *sygkellos* of the patriarch Theodore of Antioch. On his identity and work, see Melioranskii, *Georgii Kiprianin i Ioann Ierusalimlianin*, 99ff. (as in note 33 above); and, especially, M.-F. Auzépy, 'L'Adversus Constantinum Caballinum et Jean de Jérusalem', *BS* 56 (1995) 323–38, at 327–8. For the *narratio* in the Acts of the council of 787, see Mansi xiii, 197A–200B; the version in the iconophile *florilegium*, copied into the thirteenth-century manuscript Paris. gr. 1115 (ed. Combefis in 1685) was appended by Bekker in the Bonn Corpus edition of Theophanes *continuatus* at 481–4; repr. in *PG* 109, 517A–520C. The version in the *libellus* of the synod of Paris: *MGH, Leges* III, *Concilia* II, *Concilia Aevi Karolini* 2, ed. A. Werminghoff (Hanover 1908) 519.38–520.13.



in the *florilegium* has been shown to be earlier than the somewhat longer and more elaborate version incorporated into the Acts of the seventh council, and while it has also been suggested that the version in the Acts of 787 and in the *libellus* of the synod of Paris are based on an unaltered version of this 'original' collection of texts, rather than vice versa (i.e. with the Acts of 787 having primacy in the tradition), this view has not met with wide acceptance.<sup>103</sup> An *Opusculum adversus Iconoclastas*, attributed incorrectly in the manuscript tradition to either John of Damascus or John of Jerusalem,<sup>104</sup> seems, like the *Adversus Caballinum* and the *Nouthesia gerontos*, to have at its core an earlier (pre-770) anti-iconoclast tract, possibly employed in the debates preceding the council of 754 (and containing useful material on the earliest iconoclast arguments), and written either in Rome, or in Syria/Palestine, but with numerous later accretions added during the ninth century.<sup>105</sup> Another document read out at the 787 council, the *dialexis* between a Jew and a Christian, reflects also an independently circulating tract, in origin probably a mid-eighth-century iconophile treatise, which underwent a series of redactions before attaining its final form as an attack on iconoclast arguments.<sup>106</sup>

A number of *florilegia* have also survived, collections of texts or extracts from texts arranged around a particular theme or themes, aimed at supporting a specific point of view or theological argument. That referred to already, composed probably in 774/5 in Rome, is preserved in part in the Acts of the council of 787, and includes extracts from over 130 different works, although not all relate directly to the issue of iconoclasm. It is also preserved independently in what is possibly its original form – although this remains contested – in the ms. Paris. gr. 1115. Three earlier *florilegia*

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<sup>103</sup> See, especially, A. Alexakis, 'Some remarks on the colophon of the codex *Parisinus Graecus* 1115', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 22 (1992) 131–43, esp., 137–40. Alexakis presents similar arguments about the dependence of the Acts of 787 on earlier collections of texts, and, in particular, on those included in the *florilegium* in Paris gr. 1115: see, for example, *idem*, 'Stephen of Bostra: Fragmenta contra Iudaeos', *JÖB* 43 (1993) 45–60; and *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and its archetype*, (DOS 34. Washington DC 1996). Against these arguments, see the review by P. Speck, in *JÖB* 48 (1998) 345–8; H.G. Thümmel, 'Stephanos von Bostra und die Florilegien-Tradition', *JÖB* 46 (1996) 63–79; also Lamberz, 'Studien zur Überlieferung der Akten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils: der Brief Hadrians I. an Konstantin VI. und Irene (JE 2448)', esp. 9–10 and n. 18, with further literature.

<sup>104</sup> See Hoeck, 'Stand und Aufgaben der Damskenos-Forschung', 27 n. 1; *CPG* III, 8121.

<sup>105</sup> The text is edited in *PG* 96. 1347–62, attributed to John of Damascus; it recurs also in the iconophile *florilegium* in Paris. gr. 1115, edited by Combefis in 1685 and appended to his edition of Theophanes *continuatus*, repr. in *PG* 109. 501A–516C. Speck's analysis (*Ich bin's nicht*, 579–635) suggests that the earliest sections are the opening and closing sections (1–3 and 16); sections 4–13 seem to be drawn from a pre-iconoclast confession of faith; while the rest of section 13 with sections 14–15 dealing with the prayers to be offered before particular holy images are a clearly much later addition. The text of the Paris ms. offers a clear date of 770 for the composition of the *Adversus iconoclastas*. See Alexakis, 'Some remarks on the colophon of the codex *Parisinus Graecus* 1115', at 133, 139–40 for a Roman provenance; Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 579–635 for Palestine.

<sup>106</sup> The text is at Mansi xiii, 165E–168C. Detailed analysis by Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 313–19.

were appended to the anti-iconoclast orations of John of Damascus, thus dating probably to the 740s; and a short collection of eighteen extracts forms another such collection, appended to the last section of the late seventh-century compilation, the *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione verbi*.<sup>107</sup>

From the iconoclast side very little has survived, apart from that already mentioned, contained in the works of Theodore of Stoudios and the patriarch Nikephoros, for example, or the Acts of the council of 787 (as well as in those hagiographical writings thought to be of iconoclast origin, although an iconoclast theological content is not discernible – see above). From the iconophile reworkings of many of the texts mentioned already it has been possible to reconstruct some of the earliest iconoclast ideas, as well as to postulate the existence of some iconoclast or at least non-iconophile texts – such as *Lives* of both Leo III and Constantine V, tracts detailing the iconoclast arguments in the period immediately before the council of 754, and so on.<sup>108</sup> The extensive writings of the patriarch John Grammatikos were destroyed by the iconophile victors, although it is clear that he remained active for some years.<sup>109</sup> Like their opponents, however, the iconoclasts – including the patriarch John Grammatikos – also compiled *florilegia* as part of their arsenal, although none have survived independently of iconophile commentaries. Indeed, it is likely that iconoclastic *florilegia* were compiled before the iconophiles had begun to organize their arguments. In his first sermon on the icons (to be dated to the late 740s or early 750s), for example, John of Damascus expresses some reservations about the genuineness of (unspecified) texts cited in an iconoclastic *florilegium*, which suggest that already by the middle of the eighth century the iconoclasts had begun to assemble collections of texts with which to argue and illustrate their position.<sup>110</sup> An iconoclast *florilegium* accompanied the Acts of the council of 754, and is known in part from the fifth session of the Acts of the council of 787, at which the texts selected by the iconoclasts to support their case were compared with the originals, placed in their context, and further elaborated in an iconophile sense; and another, drawn largely from the first collection, was appended

<sup>107</sup> For the *florilegia* associated with the anti-iconoclast orations of John of Damascus, see *Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, in Kotter, *Schriften* I, 28–64; II, 24–67; III, 43–138; and for that appended to the *Doctrina patrum*: F. Diekamp, in *Analecta patristica* (Rome 1938) 223–9; see Beck, *Kirche*, 446–7 (for the text, see F. Diekamp, ed., *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi. Ein griechisches Florilegium aus der Wende des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts* [Münster 1907; 2nd rev. edn B. Phanourgakis and E. Chrysos, Münster 1981]). For the collection in Paris. gr. 1115, see the discussion and literature in Alexakis, ‘Some remarks on the colophon of the codex *Parisinus Graecus* 1115’. On *florilegia* in the iconoclast period and immediately beforehand, see Parry, *Depicting the Word*, 145–55.

<sup>108</sup> See, in particular, Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 441–8 and further discussion.

<sup>109</sup> See V. Grumel, ‘Jean Grammaticos et saint Théodore Studite’, *EO* 36 (1937) 181–9. Together with Anthony, bishop of Syllaion, he composed a *Thesaurus* of quotations and passages from the Old and New Testaments and patristic writings, mentioned in the *Scriptor incertus*, 350, and in Theophanes *continuatus*, 32, commissioned by Leo V. Another iconoclast writer was a certain Gerontios, active in Crete. See Beck, *Kirche*, 499. See also *Th. cont.* 157.15–158.2; *Genesisius*, 58.28–59.39.

<sup>110</sup> Kotter, *Schriften*, III, 116f. (I, 25.1–9).

to the *horos* or definition of the council of 815, but is known only from the *Refutatio et eversio* of the patriarch Nicephorus.<sup>111</sup>

The question of whether the iconoclasm within the Byzantine empire from the 720s had any precursors in neighbouring regions has been raised in connection with some evidence, in the tenth-century Armenian historiographical tradition and an Armenian theological tract dating to the later seventh century, which mention Christian communities or groups in Asia Minor during the seventh century who professed iconoclastic views.<sup>112</sup> There are two sources: a treatise, originally ascribed to the early seventh-century monk Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh, refers to a monastic community of some influence which rejected images and the depiction of holy figures, which worshipped the Cross, and whose members 'gave themselves the name of saint'. In fact, the tract was probably not by Vrt'anes, and dates to the last third of the seventh century.<sup>113</sup> The second is the summary of a letter from an Armenian theologian, John Mayragomec'i, in response to an enquiry from a bishop, which was incorporated into the tenth-century Armenian *History of the Albanians*, written by Moses of Kaghankatuik (Moses Dasxuranc'i).<sup>114</sup> The letter describes the location and brief history of a small group of ascetics who had separated themselves from the main Armenian Church in the early years of the seventh century and established themselves eventually in Caucasian Albania.

They appear to have been restricted to this region, and the beliefs outlined in the letter of John Mayragomec'i reflect a hard-line anti-Chalcedonian and, especially, anti-Roman perspective which, it has been argued, produced ultimately a rejection of images simply because they were part of Roman – Chalcedonian – practice. Given that both texts are derived in their extant form from later sources, there must remain the possibility that they are, in fact, also 'interpreted' in such a way as to deprive

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<sup>111</sup> For the *florilegium* of 754: Mansi xiii, 157–201, extracts in Hennephof, 59–61 (commentary also in H.G. Thümmel, *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit*, 84–6); that of 815: Featherstone, *Refutatio et eversio*, 338–47; extracts in Hennephof, 82–4; also Alexander, 'The iconoclastic council of 815', 56–66 and 37–57; and Thümmel, 'Epiphanius von Salamis', 181–7.

<sup>112</sup> See, especially, S. Der Nersessian, 'Une apologie des images du septième siècle', *B* 17 (1944–45), 58–87 (repr. in *eadem*, *Études Byzantines et Arméniennes I* [Louvain 1973] 379–403); P.J. Alexander, 'An ascetic sect of iconoclasts in seventh-century Armenia', in *Studies in Honor of A.M. Friend* (Princeton, 1955), 151–60; and the summaries in Kitzinger, 'The cult of images before iconoclasm', 129ff.; N.H. Baynes, 'The icons before iconoclasm', *Harvard Theol. Review* 44 (1951) 122ff.

<sup>113</sup> The text of the treatise is summarized in Alexander, *art.cit.*, 151–2; the full translation is in Der Nersessian, 'Une apologie', 58–69. The two manuscripts differ in minor respects – see Der Nersessian's discussion; and Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 150–4. See also A.B. Schmidt, 'Gab es einen armenischen Ikonoklasmus? Rekonstruktion eines Dokuments der kaukasisch-albanischen Theologiegeschichte', in R. Berndt, SJ, *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur* (Mainz 1997) II, 947–64, with the latest literature and editions of the text.

<sup>114</sup> See Der Nersessian, 'Une apologie', 389–90; Alexander, *art.cit.*, 153–4 for the relevant extract; repr. in Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 328–9 (and see 115f.); and Dowsett, trans., *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movses Dasxuranc'i*, 171–3.

them of any validity for the period from which they purport to come. There is no evidence which would connect them with the mainstream of Chalcedonian theology either in the seventh or early eighth centuries.

Finally, an important product from the western margins of the Byzantine world, the so-called *Donation of Constantine*.<sup>115</sup> This was produced in the papal chancery probably in the period 752–67 and was an account based on the legend of St Silvester, written in the fifth century. Purporting to show that the emperor Constantine I had granted authority over Rome, Italy, and the West to the pope, it reflects the papal politics of eighth-century Rome and its attitudes both to the imperial power and to the position and claims of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. In fact, recent studies have suggested that the document probably played a more important role in intra-Roman politics, in particular the rivalries between the Lateran and St Peter's.<sup>116</sup>

### Anti-Jewish and Anti-Heretical Writings

Most of the authors dealt with above composed tracts which dealt directly or indirectly with the major heresies of the recent past and their own time, so that in some respects most of the theological literature of the period could be described as 'anti-heretical'. Anti-Jewish polemic for the eighth and ninth centuries is rooted in the flourishing literature of the same genre which becomes particularly marked during the seventh century, and, indeed, texts produced in the seventh century were reproduced and received commentaries or further elaboration during the following centuries – texts such as the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum* of pseudo-Athanasios, for example, or the *Dialogue* attributed to Stephen of Bostra.<sup>117</sup> Much of this literature

<sup>115</sup> H. Fuhrmann, 'Konstantinische Schenkung', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5 (1991) 1385–7 for a good summary of the literature and dating; and, especially, W. Levison, *Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvester-Legende* (Studi e Testi 38. Città del Vaticano 1924) (repr. in *idem, Aus rhenischer und fränkischer Frühzeit. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* [Düsseldorf 1948] 390–465).

<sup>116</sup> The *Donation of Constantine: Constitutum Constantini*, ed. H. Fuhrmann, *MGH, Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui* 10 (Hannover 1968) (English trans. in B. Pullan, *Sources for the History of Medieval Europe* [Oxford 1966] 9–14). See further *ODB* 1, 649 for a brief summary of recent discussion and further literature; and on the legend of the emperor Constantine, see Kazhdan, *Literature*, 127–35, with a selection of the literature on this topic, which is vast. For further work, and extensive bibliography, see the essays collected in P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines. The rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th centuries* (Aldershot 1994); and see also T.C. Lounghis, 'La revision du *Constitutum Constantini* en tant que réhabilitation du pape Adrien II', *EEBS* 48 (1990–91) 37–44.

<sup>117</sup> See H. Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Iudaeos Texte und ihr literarisches Umfeld*, 2 vols (Frankfurt a. M.–Bern 1982, 1988); Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 345ff.; C. Laga, 'Judaism and Jews in Maximus Confessor's Works. Theoretical Controversy and Practical Attitude', *Byzantinoslavica* 51 (1990) 177–88; G. Dagron, 'Introduction historique: entre histoire et apocalypse', *TM* 11 (1991), at 26ff. (in G. Dagron and V. Déroche, 'Juifs et Chrétiens dans l'Orient du VIIe siècle', *TM* 11 [1991] 17–273). See, in particular, the useful survey in Cameron, 'Byzantines and Jews' 249–74, especially 258–62 for the anti-Jewish polemical compositions, and 265–70 for caricature and anti-Jewish sentiment in other genres.

played a multi-faceted role: on the one hand, Jewish challenges to Christianity, and especially Jewish accusations of Christian idolatry in respect of the Cross and, later, images, had to be countered. This was especially the case in the period from 614 until after the end of the Persian war of Heraclius, when both Christian accusations of Jewish treachery in the context of the Persian capture and sack of Jerusalem in 614, followed by the carrying off of the True Cross to Ctesiphon, as well as Jewish counter-polemic against Christians flourished.<sup>118</sup> On the other hand, the Jews were, in Christian eyes, not all that different, at least according to initial perceptions, from the Muslims in the fundamentals of their beliefs, so that attacks from Judaism against Christianity could also be seen as threats from Islam, while Christian polemic against Judaism could serve as a form of defence against Islam.<sup>119</sup> Thus the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum* of pseudo-Athanasios, which seem to have been composed towards the end of the seventh century at the earliest, perhaps somewhat later, drew both on the 'Questions and Answers' of Anastasios of Sinai as well as earlier collections, but included questions which imply the existence of Islam as an established fact.<sup>120</sup> Other important seventh-century tracts which were relevant both to the iconophile case against the iconoclasts and the Christian defence against Islam included the *Dialexis* against the Jews, attributed to Anastasios of Sinai (which survives only in a later and reworked version); the *Tropaia* of Damascus against the Jews; and the anti-Jewish treatises of Stephen of Bostra and Hieronymus of Jerusalem.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>118</sup> See, for example, the summary of the Christian material in Dagron, 'Introduction historique', 22–8. A number of Jewish texts, such as the 'Apocalypse of Zerubabel' and the 'Signs of the Messiah' provide a response to the Christian accusations or set out a Jewish perspective on the events of the period. See B.M. Wheeler, 'Imagining the Sassanian capture of Jerusalem', *OCP* 57 (1991) 69–85. For the text, see I. Lévi, 'l'apocalypse de Zorobabel et le roi de Perse Siroès', *Revue des Études Juives* 68 (1914) 129–60 (cont. in *REJ* 69 [1919] 108–21; 71 [1920] 57–65); and for the date, M. Himmelfarb, 'Sefer Zerubbabel', in D. Stern and M. Mirsky, eds, *Rabbinic fantasies* (Philadelphia–New York 1990) 67–90 (but see the remarks by P. Speck, 'The Apocalypse of Zerubbabel and Christian icons', *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 4/2 [1997] 183–90, suggesting a later seventh-century date and suggesting an over-interpretation of some passages by Déroche, 'L'Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis', at 95 n. 95). For the importance of the anti-Jewish polemic in the iconoclastic debates, see Déroche, 'La polémique anti-Judaïque au VIe et au VIIe siècle. Un memento inédit, le *Kephalaiá*', *TM* 11 (1991) 275–311, at 281.

<sup>119</sup> See the excellent survey and discussion in V. Déroche, 'Polémique anti-judaïque et émergence de l'islam (7e–8e siècles)', *REB* 57 (1999) 141–61.

<sup>120</sup> *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, in *PG* 28, 556–708 (*CPG* III, 2257). See M. Richard, 'Les véritables *Questions et Réponses* d'Anastase le Sinaïte', *Bulletin de l'Institut de recherches et d'histoire des textes* 15 (1967–68) 39–56 (repr. in *idem*, *Opera Minora* III [Turnhout 1977] no. 64), see, especially, Qu. 38, *PG* 28, col. 620–1 (and Déroche, 'Polémique anti-judaïque et émergence de l'islam', 156). For questions concerned specifically with the cross and images, see Qu. 39, 41, 64 (*PG* 28, 621, 624), and the discussion in Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 136–8; 354–5.

<sup>121</sup> The *Dialexis* (*CPG* III, 7772): *PG* 89, 1204–81 (and for the closely related 'Dialogue of Papius and Philon' [*CPG* III, 7796]: A.C. McGiffert, *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew* [Marburg 1889] 51–2, 75–8), and Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 136ff., 256–7, 356–60; Cameron, 'Byzantines and Jews', 258–62. There is a useful discussion of the

Some polemical writings against heretics and Jews ascribed to John of Damascus may belong to him, but lack of firm evidence prevents any definite attribution, while some are clearly of very much later date, although in his tract 'On the orthodox faith', John certainly addressed the issue of Jewish religious observances and the possibility of their conversion to Christianity.<sup>122</sup> Accusations of 'Jewish thinking' were directed at both Leo III and Constantine V by later iconophile writers, reflecting the taken-for-granted anti-Judaism of Byzantine orthodoxy, and iconoclasm was itself similarly ascribed to the evil effects of Jewish influence: many of the texts dealt with the issue of the cross as a symbol of the Christian faith, and Jewish accusations of idolatry.<sup>123</sup> In the later eighth century an anti-Jewish tract directed specifically at an iconophile readership was composed, in which various iconoclastic arguments were refuted in the guise of a series of four questions put by 'Hebrews'. The text, whose title is preserved as 'Objection of the Hebrews' (Ἀντίθεσις Ἑβραίων) has been analysed and shown to have been composed shortly before the council of Nicaea in 787. It drew on a number of recent and older texts, including the Sylvester Legend incorporated into the *Donation of Constantine*, and provides a clear example of the ways in which the anti-Jewish polemical armoury was turned against other enemies of orthodoxy, in this case, the iconoclasts.<sup>124</sup> Those texts which contain references to holy images in addition may either be later, or – as Speck has suggested

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date and content of the *dialexis* in W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests* (Cambridge 1992) 221–7, 231–5. For the *Tropaia* (CPG III, 7797): G. Bardy, ed., 'Les Trophées de Damas – controverse judéo-chrétienne du VIIe siècle', in *PO* 15 (Paris 1927) 169–292; and Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 142–4, 362–3; and for the text ascribed to Stephen of Bostra (CPG III, 7790): *PG* 94, 1376B–D; and cf. Déroche, 'L'authenticité de l'"apologie contre les Juifs" de Léontios de Néapolis', 663; Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 145–8; 364–7. See also Haldon, *Byzantium in the seventh century*, 345–7 for literature; for arguments for a seventh-century date for the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* and the *Dialexis* against the Jews of Anastasius of Sinai, Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 146–68. A small fragment of a possibly eighth-century treatise, the *Dialogue on the Trinity*, between a Jew and a Christian, is ascribed to Hieronymos (Jerome) of Jerusalem, and survives in fragmentary form (CPG III, 7815): *PG* 40, 847–60, 865; see also *PG* 94, 1409. See Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 144–5, 364.

<sup>122</sup> A text entitled 'Replies to the Jews' is preserved in an Armenian version, but remains unedited: see P.N. Akinian, 'Simeon von Plinjahank' und seine Übersetzungen aus dem Georgischen ins Armenische, II: Johannes von Damaskus in der armenischen Literatur', *Handes Amsorya* 61 (1947) 216ff.; Beck, *Kirche*, 479, 486. For John of Damascus, see Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Iudaeos Texte*, 473.

<sup>123</sup> For a more detailed discussion, with sources and literature, see Gero, *Leo III*, 60–9; also L.W. Barnard, 'The Jews and the Byzantine iconoclastic controversy', *Eastern Churches Review* 5 (1973) 125–35. CPG III, 8047, 8048, 8053, 8054, 8075, 8087, 8088, 8092, 8227. The best analysis of the ways in which the Jews were implicated by later Byzantine (iconophile) writers in the opening phases of iconoclasm is now Speck, *Ich bin's nicht, passim*; but see also K. Corrigan, *Visual polemics in the ninth-century Byzantine psalters* (Cambridge 1992).

<sup>124</sup> See P. Eleuteri and A. Rigo, *Eretici, Dissidenti, Musulmani ed Ebrei a Bisanzio – Una raccolta eresiologicala del XII secolo* (Ricerche Collana della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Venezia. Venice 1993) 109–23 for the edn. For detailed analysis and discussion: P. Andrist, 'Les *Objections des Hébreux*: un document du premier iconoclasme?', *REB* 57 (1999) 99–140.

– represent interpolations into seventh-century texts.<sup>125</sup> But the amount of polemical writing against the Jews seems to be less during the eighth and ninth centuries than during the sixth and seventh.<sup>126</sup> Interestingly enough, anti-Jewish imagery flourished in the ninth century, and although this may in fact have been due in part to the rhetorical association of iconoclasts and Jews made by iconophile authors, there is no doubt that the continued production of anti-Jewish literature was not simply a mask for anti-Islamic or anti-iconoclastic rhetoric.<sup>127</sup> In texts, however, new pre-occupations, both Islam and iconoclasm, and later the Athiggani and Paulicians, as well as older concerns (monophysitism, for example) came to the fore.<sup>128</sup>

The Athiggani first appear in the *Narratio de synodis et haeresibus* (usually, but wrongly, ascribed to the patriarch Germanos), although they are also listed in an interpolation of the early seventh-century *De haeresibus* of Timothy Presbyter.<sup>129</sup> Further treatments of this ‘heresy’, the history of which remains obscure, are not to be found until the later tenth and eleventh centuries. In fact, it is doubtful that they were ‘heretics’ at all, representing more probably the initial migration of *Atsinganoi*, Roma or Gypsies, from India via Iran, who may have adopted a form of Christianity upon approaching Byzantine lands.<sup>130</sup> The Paulicians received much more detailed treatment by Byzantine writers of the ninth century and after, although

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<sup>125</sup> See the references under Leontios of Neapolis, above; and the selection of such texts in which images figure, quoted by Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 340–64. For a detailed deconstruction of the major seventh-century anti-Jewish texts, see Speck, *Byzantinische Feindseligkeit*, with the counter-arguments presented in the works of Déroche.

<sup>126</sup> See the references above for anti-Jewish writing incorporated into wider polemical tracts, and for arguments justifying the use of images and, especially, the honouring of the cross incorporated into seventh- and eighth-century anti-Jewish tracts.

<sup>127</sup> See, especially, Corrigan, *Visual polemic*, 43–61; E. Revel-Neher, *The image of the Jew in Byzantine art* (Oxford 1993); and H. Kessler, ‘Through the Temple veil: the holy image in Judaism and Christianity’, *Kairos* 32/33 (1993) 53–77; the comments of Cameron, ‘Byzantines and Jews’, 269–70; and S.H. Griffith, ‘Jews and Muslims in Christian Syriac and Arabic texts of the ninth century’, *Jewish History* 3 (1988).

<sup>128</sup> Thus tracts against the Nestorians, Manichaeans, monothelites, as well as against Islam, have all been attributed to John, although the probability of false attributions and later interpolations remains open in many cases: see *PG* 95, 188–224 (against Nestorians); *PG* 95, 112, 126; *PG* 94, 1436–502 (against the monophysites in Syria); *PG* 95, 128–86 (against monothelites); *PG* 94, 1505–84; *PG* 96, 1320–36 (against Manichaeans); *PG* 96, 1336–48 (against Islam – Greek version; Latin version in *PG* 94, 1585–96). See Beck, *Kirche*, 478–9 for further texts. For the beginnings of anti-Islamic polemic, see G.J. Reinink, ‘The beginnings of Syriac apologetic literature in Greek’, *Oriens Christianus* 77 (1993) 165–87, and S.H. Griffith, ‘Images, Islam and Christian icons. A moment in the Christian/Muslim encounter in early Islamic times’, in P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, eds, *La Syrie de Byzance à l’Islam* (Damascus 1992) 121–38.

<sup>129</sup> See *PG* 98, 85B and J. Gouillard, ‘L’hérésie dans l’empire byzantin des origines au XIIe siècle’, *TM* 1 (1965) 299–324, see 307–312 (repr. in *idem*, *La vie religieuse à Byzance* [London 1981] I)

<sup>130</sup> For detailed discussion, see I. Rochow, ‘Die Häresie der Athhinganer im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert und die Frage ihres Fortlebens’, in *Studien zum 8. und 9. Jahrhundert in Byzanz*, ed. H. Köpstein and F. Winkelmann (BBA 51. Berlin 1983) 163–78; P. Speck, ‘Die vermeintliche Häresie der Athinganoi’, *JÖB* 47 (1997) 37–50; for a brief overview: *ODB* 1, 223.

the heresy appears to go back at least to the middle of the seventh century and possibly earlier.<sup>131</sup> Peter of Sicily wrote most extensively on this movement,<sup>132</sup> but the patriarch Photios was also active in this respect.<sup>133</sup> In addition, a number of anonymous tracts or compilations of anti-Manichaean texts have survived,<sup>134</sup> as well as a series of formula to be applied when Paulicians converted to Orthodoxy.<sup>135</sup>

### Apocalyptic Writing

An important genre concerned with religious themes was that of the Apocalypse, the 'Revelation', which purports to narrate the events leading up to the revelation of the second coming, the end of the world and the Day of Judgement, generally presented through a vision or visions of the future experienced either by well-known Biblical characters (such as Elijah, Daniel or, from the New Testament, the apostles Thomas and John) or attributed (pseudonymously) to real or fictional authors nearer to the time of composition. The so-called *Book of Revelation*, ascribed to the apostle John, is the most important New Testament apocalypse, although its authenticity was already in doubt in the fourth century.<sup>136</sup> While such writings rarely relate to specific historical events, the extent to which different apocalyptic texts were copied at different periods can provide insights into popular attitudes and perceptions at the

<sup>131</sup> See, especially, I. Rochow, 'Zu einigen oppositionellen religiösen Strömungen', in *Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert*, 225–88, see 282ff.; *eadem*, 'Antihäretische Schriften byzantinischer Autoren aus der Zeit zwischen 843 und 1025. Ein Überblick', in H. Köpstein, ed., *Besonderheiten der byzantinischen Feudalentwicklung* (BBA 50. Berlin 1983) 96–118, especially 102–7.

<sup>132</sup> See above, Chapter 12.

<sup>133</sup> He composed (1) a tract on the 'newly-arisen' heresy of the Manichaeans: ed. W. Wolska-Conus and J. Paramelle, in *TM* 4 (1970) 99–183 (on which see Lemerle, in *TM* 5, 31–42); (2) some 'Homilies against the Manichaeans' in *PG* 102, 85–177 (see Paramelle, in *TM* 4, 110–12, 175–9; Lemerle, in *TM* 5, 42–44); (3) a tract known as the *Retractatio*, derived from the *Homilies*, and addressed to a certain monk Arsenios: *PG* 102, 177–264 (the accompanying letter to Arsenios: ed. W. Wolska-Conus and J. Paramelle, *TM* 4, 179–83). See Lemerle, *TM* 5, 45–6. Photios also wrote a number of letters on the matter: see Laourdas and Westerink, esp. 33–39, 57, 80, 134; and see Lemerle, *TM* 5, 96–103: the addressee of the letters is a certain Chrysocheres *spatharios*, but he is probably not to be identified with Chrysocheir, the Paulician leader.

<sup>134</sup> See Rochow, 'Antihäretische Schriften', 106 and sources.

<sup>135</sup> Dating probably from the ninth century: ed. J. Gouillard, in *TM* 4, 198–203. See Rochow, 'Antihäretische Schriften', 107 n. 87, for later texts.

<sup>136</sup> See for some general discussion of the genre: *ODB* 1, 131–2; J. Wortley, 'The literature of catastrophe', *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 4 (1977) 1–17; B. McGinn, *Visions of the End. Apocalyptic traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York 1979); P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine apocalyptic tradition*, ed. and intro. D. de F. Abrahamse (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1985); *idem*, 'The legend of the last Roman emperor and its Messianic origins', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978) 1–15; *idem*, 'Medieval Apocalypses as historical sources', *American Historical Review* 73 (1968) 997–1018 (repr. in *idem*, *Religious and political history and thought in the Byzantine empire* [London 1978] XIII); W. Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 305–22; and *idem*, 'Endzeitvorstellungen und Lebenstrost in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (7.–9. Jahrhundert)', in *Varia III* (Poikila Byzantina 11. Bonn 1991) 9–62.



time. In addition, apocalyptic notions and motifs occur in chronicles and histories of the period (examples have been noted from Procopius, Agathias, and Theophylact Simocatta in the sixth/seventh century, for example, and in Theophanes and Nikephoros in the eighth/ninth century, in Leo the deacon in the tenth century, and so on),<sup>137</sup> as well as in hagiographical, and secular literary contexts, so that they are of the greatest value and importance to the study and understanding of Byzantine beliefs and explanations of the world.<sup>138</sup>

Often produced during times of social, political or economic change and upheaval, they followed a common model based on early Christian and Jewish tradition, present in both Old and New Testaments, and were set out usually in the guise of predictions about what was to come, occasionally very specific, and how the fate of the current world was foreordained and foreseen in the Bible. An important observation is that apocalyptic writings present an alternative historiographical model for understanding the patterns in past history and their relation to future events, so that the apocalyptic writing of the seventh century, in particular, becomes especially significant in any attempt to understand how people responded to the changes in their world.<sup>139</sup> Occasionally, as with the so-called *pseudo-Methodios Apocalypse*, first composed in Syriac in the later years of the seventh century, a clear historical context can be read from the text: cap. xiii.7 speaks of an attack on Constantinople, for example, which has been connected with the events of 717/18.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> See P.J. Alexander, 'Historiens byzantins et croyances eschatologiques', in *Actes du XIIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines* (Belgrade 1964), 2, 1–8a (repr. in *idem*, *Religious and political history and thought in the Byzantine empire*, XV), with literature; and W. Brandes, 'Apokalyptisches in Pergamon', *BS* 48 (1987) 1–11, who shows that the story in Theophanes and Nikephoros about the sacrifice of an unborn baby during the Arab siege of Pergamon in 716 is almost certainly drawn from the apocalyptic tradition: Theoph., *Chronographia*, 390.26ff. (Mango–Scott, 541); Niceph., §53.

<sup>138</sup> For hagiography, see D. de F. Abrahamse, 'Magic and sorcery in the hagiography of the middle Byzantine period', *BF* 8 (1982) 3–17; for a somewhat different context, see G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des Patria* (Paris 1984) 324ff. Note also the discussion of W. Brandes, 'Das "Meer" als Motiv in der byzantinischen apokalyptischen Literatur', in E. Chrysos, D. Letsios, H.A. Richter and R. Stupperich, eds, *Griechenland und das Meer* (Mannheim/Möhnesee 1999) 119–31.

<sup>139</sup> See, especially, G. Reinink, 'Ps.-Methodius: a concept of history in response to the rise of Islam', in Cameron and Conrad, *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East*, I: *Problems in the literary source materials*, 149–87; and Kazhdan, *Literature*, 21–2.

<sup>140</sup> Although the events of the sieges of 674–78 might equally be meant. The original Syriac version of the text is translated with an excellent commentary by G.J. Reinink, *Die syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius* (CSCO 541, *Scriptores Syri* 221. Louvain 1993); for the older editions of the Greek version, see A. Lolos, ed., *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 83. Meisenheim am Glan 1976); also *idem*, *Die dritte und vierte Redaktion des Ps.-Methodios* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 94, Meisenheim am Glan 1978); and for the Latin version, E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Untersuchungen* (Halle 1898) 59–96. Modern edn: W.J. Aerts and G.A.A. Kortekaas, *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodios. Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen*, 2 vols (CSCO 569/570, *Subsidia* 97/98. Louvain 1998). For the text itself and its place in the apocalyptic tradition, see G.J. Reinink, 'Ismael der Wildesel in der Wüste. Zur Typologie der Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodios', *BZ* 75 (1982) 336–44; W.

The same seems to be true of a slightly earlier apocalyptic composition, the *De consummatione mundi* attributed to pseudo-Hippolytos, which refers to an invasion of the Roman lands from the southern deserts.<sup>141</sup> The so-called Daniel *Diegesis* (one of a vast number of apocalyptic texts connected with the prophet Daniel<sup>142</sup>) similarly contains some historically valuable material and can be fixed with some reason to a particular year in respect of its composition.<sup>143</sup> A somewhat later apocalyptic text is found attached to the *vita* of Andreas Salos, dating perhaps to the reign of Nikephoros I.<sup>144</sup>

The Apocalypse of Leo of Constantinople might similarly date from the time of the emperor Nikephoros I (although the twelfth century has also been proposed). Importantly, this is the only such text to contain clear references to the iconoclast debate, references which also hint at both the nature of the author of the text and the institutional and political context in which the work was produced, since monks

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Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur', 310–15, with parallel sources and literature; 'Endzeitvorstellungen', 16–27. Extracts from the original Syriac version can be found in *The seventh century in the West-Syrian chronicles*, introd., trans. and annotated by A. Palmer, at 222–42, as well as of an Edessene apocalypse of the same period, *ibid.*, 243–50, trans. and annotated by Sebastian Brock. For translations see also: 'The Syriac Apocalypse', trans. P.J. Alexander, in *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. D. de F. Abrahamse (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1985) 36–51; and *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, ed. and trans. F.J. Martinez, in *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the early Muslim period* (Ann Arbor 1985) 58–205. The text of the pseudo-Methodios is interpolated in several places. In xiii, 7, for example, the Byzantine marching camp of Malagina is referred to, but this has been shown to be a much later interpolation (late eighth or early ninth century), so that the early date traditionally taken for this reference, for example by C. Foss, 'Byzantine Malagina and the lower Sangarios', *Anatolian Studies* 40, 161–83, 1990 (repr. in *Cities, fortresses and villages of Byzantine Asia Minor* [Aldershot 1996] no. VII); S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)* II, 3 (Bonn 1987) 22f., and 150) must be abandoned: see W.J. Aerts, 'Zu einer neuen Ausgabe der "Revelationes" des Pseudo-Methodios (syrisch-griechisch-lateinisch)', in W. Diem and A. Falaturi, eds, *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag: ausgewählte Vorträge* (Stuttgart 1990), 123–30, especially 129–30.

<sup>141</sup> A. Whealey, 'De consummatione mundi of pseudo-Hippolytus: another Byzantine apocalypse from the early Islamic period', *B* 66 (1996) 461–9.

<sup>142</sup> See Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur', 315–16.

<sup>143</sup> Ed. K. Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegesis. Eine altkirchliche Apokalypse* (Leiden 1976). It has been dated by C. Mango, 'A Daniel Apocalypse of 716/717', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (1982) 297–313, at 310–13 to the period immediately before the siege of 717/18, probably in the reign of Theodosios III (who is named in one ms. tradition). The 'Last Vision of the Prophet Daniel' is less historically specific, but appears to be dateable to the same period, and refers to the armies which besieged Constantinople (this is, in itself, a relatively ancient *topos* of the apocalyptic tradition); but – as Brandes notes in his discussion, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur' – it takes on a contemporary aspect in this context; ed. H. Schmoldt, *Die Schrift "Vom jungen Daniel" und "Daniels letzte Vision"* (theol. Diss., Hamburg 1972) 122ff. (commentary 146ff.). Suggested dates for the composition vary from the reign of Leo III to the period of the First Crusade: see Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur', 318 n. 4; 'Endzeitvorstellungen', 28–34.

<sup>144</sup> Ed. L. Rydén, 'The Andreas Salos Apocalypse', *DOP* 28 (1974) 199–261; and further discussion in C. Mango, 'The Life of St Andrew the Fool reconsidered', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (1982) 297–313; Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur', 318; 'Endzeitvorstellungen', 40–6.

appear as central players in the affair and occupy, indeed, the leading role as opponents of the iconoclast emperors. Unfortunately, while the text contains much detail on the period, and even names the empress Eirene (although she appears in a negative light), this may be due to the fact that both the *Chronographia* of Theophanes and the *Life* of Stephen the Younger were drawn upon. While the manuscript tradition suggests a much later date for the composition of the final version (perhaps in the middle of the twelfth century), there appears to be a substratum hinting at an earlier, iconoclast text upon which later redactors and compilers have worked.<sup>145</sup> A number of other apocalyptic compositions can be dated to the period of the seventh–ninth century; but they bear little reference to concrete events, apart from the mention of certain emperors, and while reflecting some contemporary concerns, offer little that is new outside the wider literary tradition and the genre to which they belong.

Greek and Syriac were not the only languages of apocalyptic writings, and texts in Arabic and Armenian, as well as Hebrew, are equally relevant both to the history of the genre and the cultural contexts which generated it. Particularly interesting is the Apocalypse of rabbi Simon bar Yohai, dated by its editor to the middle of the eighth century, which makes reference to a number of recent or contemporary events, notably the Abbasid revolution and the siege of Constantinople in 717–18.<sup>146</sup>

Such texts can only very occasionally provide information relating directly to the time during which they were compiled, but their popularity, and the particular motifs which occur in them, can throw a little light on the history of beliefs and attitudes in the period. More importantly, perhaps, they can illustrate the process through which particular motifs were taken up and transmitted from one text to another, and to a degree throw light also on the intercultural relationships between the different religious traditions in which Old Testament exegesis and interpretation played a role.

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<sup>145</sup> Ed. R. Maisano, *L'apocalisse apocrifa di Leone di Costantinopoli* (Naples 1975). For literature and discussion on the date, Auzépy, *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin*, 199–200; Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur', 319–20; 'Endzeitvorstellungen', 34–5. An astrological text attributed to Stephen of Alexandria (early seventh century), but compiled probably in the later eighth century, also contains apocalyptic material, including information of some historical value on the Caliphate: ed. H. Usener, *De Stephano Alexandrino* (in *idem*, *Kleine Schriften* II [Leipzig–Berlin 1914]) 266–87. Discussion and context: Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur', 320; 'Endzeitvortstellungen', 34–5.

<sup>146</sup> See B. Lewis, 'An apocalyptic vision of Islamic history', *Bulletin of SOAS* 13 (1950) 308–38; *idem*, 'On that day. A Jewish apocalyptic poem on the Arab conquests', in *Mélanges de l'Islamologie dédiés à la mémoire d'Armand Abel* (Leyden 1974) 197–200, both repr. in *idem*, *Studies in classical and Ottoman Islam (7th–16th centuries)* [London 1976]); see also J. Issaverdens, *The uncanonical writings of the Old Testament* (Venice 1934) 249–65, at 309–23 (English trans.) and O. Meinardus, 'A commentary on the XIVth Vision of Daniel according to the Coptic version', *OCP* 32 (1966) 394–449, at 399–400; Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur', 322 and n. 3. There is a brief but useful survey of some of this non-Greek material, and the relationship between the Jewish and Christian traditions in particular, in Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur', 316–17, 321–2; and 'Endzeitvorstellungen', 44–62.

## Letters

Letters form one of the most important bodies of evidence for the historian of this period. Many single letters survive from a range of individuals – patriarchs, emperors, churchmen, monks; while several much larger collections, such as those of Theodore of Stoudios, or Photios, provide valuable information about secular and ecclesiastical politics, administration, social life, as well as theological and dogmatic business. Many throw light on the personal politics, changes of mind, or doubts of their authors – one of the best examples is provided by the letters of Ignatios the deacon, of Nicaea, whose shifting allegiances from iconophile to iconoclast and back to iconophile are evidence of the difficulties faced by many ordinary churchmen (and, no doubt, laypersons too) in this period.<sup>1</sup> Letters deal with a wide range of subjects, and in some respects our grouping of letters together under a single heading is somewhat artificial, in so far as there exist many different sub-categories. Some letters are, in effect, theological tracts addressing major issues of practice and belief (the letters of Germanos, for example); others deal with purely personal, private matters relating to an individual's career and friendships (Ignatios of Nicaea); others again have a more official form and represent ecclesiastical or imperial policy, as with the letter of Michael II to the Frankish emperor Louis; while some 'letters' are presented in that form only by later compilers or redactors, who had their own reasons for adopting this format (for example, the 'letter' of the three eastern patriarchs).

All these different forms of the letter vary in their internal structure, the level of literacy they display, the relationship between information and display of knowledge for its own sake, all depending in part on the nature of the contents, although there are clear common elements as well. Nevertheless, we have retained the category 'Letters' as a convenient way of bringing together a number of somewhat disparate and miscellaneous texts which would otherwise be difficult to accommodate under a different rubric.<sup>2</sup> Where appropriate, we have cross-referenced items to the other genres to which they might also belong.

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<sup>1</sup> On Byzantine epistolography see *ODB* 1, 718–20; M. Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid. Reading the letters of a Byzantine archbishop* (BBOM 2, Aldershot 1997) 1–43 with literature; *eadem*, 'The classical tradition in the Byzantine letter', in M. Mullett and R. Scott, eds, *Byzantium and the classical tradition* (Birmingham 1981) 75–93. For editions of collections and individual letters, see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 199–239.

<sup>2</sup> See the useful considerations in M. Mullett, 'Writing in early medieval Byzantium', in R. McKitterick, ed., *The uses of literacy in early medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1990) 156–85, especially 172ff.

In chronological order the main letters or collections of letters are as follows:<sup>3</sup>

*Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople* five letters, ed. Mansi xiii, 100A–128A. The three letters to each of John of Synnada, Constantine of Nakoleia, and Thomas of Claudioupolis are also in *PG* 98, 156B–188B (Grumel, *Regestes*, nos 328, 329, 330); a speech on the legitimacy of sacred images which may originally have been in the form of a letter, was addressed to Leo III, and is preserved in the *Life* of Stephen the Younger: ed. Auzépy, §9, 99.7–100.4 (trans. 191–2; older edn *PG* 100, 1084–5) (Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 331); and one letter, the Latin version of a lost Greek original to the Armenian patriarch concerning a union between the Byzantine and the Armenian Monophysite Church, is also in *PG* 98, 135–46 (Grumel, *Regestes*, 326). The Armenian version is also extant. In addition, the text of a lost letter to pope Gregory II can be partially reconstructed from the pope's response (heavily interpolated) (Grumel, *Regestes*, 327).<sup>4</sup>

*Gregory II, pope* (1) a letter to the patriarch Germanos: Mansi xiii, 92–100 (*PG* 98, 148–56). The authenticity and authorship of this letter is still undecided. It was accepted as genuine by Caspar,<sup>5</sup> then ascribed to Germanos by Gouillard,<sup>6</sup> then to pope Zacharias (written to the patriarch Anastasios, in 743), by Stein, but has again been ascribed to Gregory II by Speck.<sup>7</sup> (2) two letters, ascribed to pope Gregory II (715–31) and addressed to the emperor Leo III, but in their extant form composed probably in the ninth century: J. Gouillard, 'Aux origines de l'iconoclasme': text at 277–97, 299–305 (*BHG* 1387d) (older edn Mansi xii, 959–74, 975–82; *PL* 89, 495–530). According to Gouillard, an early ninth-century compilation. But it has been argued, in contrast, that there is internal evidence for suggesting that at the heart of the two letters were originally polemical writings directed against Constantine V, probably composed in a non-Greek language, possibly Syriac, and from a similar theological context as John of Damascus. At some point after their translation into Greek they were subject to the work of copyists and redactors, one of whom assumed them to be letters of Gregory II to Leo (since Gregory certainly wrote to Leo in connection with the issue of the Italian taxes, whereas Gregory III wrote in connection with Germanos's abdication in 730). Speck argues that this redactional stage was probably much later than *ca* 800, the period proposed by Gouillard for their composition.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> As well as the extant letters, many patriarchal letters are known from references or brief summaries in other texts, or the letters of their correspondants. For a catalogue, see Grumel, *Regestes*, under the appropriate patriarchal reigns; and JE (Ph. Jaffé, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, I, 2nd rev. edn by W. Wattenbach, S. Löwenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald [Leipzig 1885/Graz 1956]) for the papal correspondence.

<sup>4</sup> Detailed analysis in Stein, *Bilderstreit*, 4–88; see the detailed discussion with literature by Darrouzès, in Grumel, *Regestes*, at no. 327; and Ch. 15, above.

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte des Papsttums* (Tübingen 1933) 2, 649.

<sup>6</sup> 'Aux origines de l'iconoclasme', 243–305.

<sup>7</sup> *Bilderstreit*, 89–137; Speck, *Artabasdos*, 155–78.

<sup>8</sup> See JE 2175, 2180, 2181, 2182 (and 2235, 2241, 2242 for letters of Gregory III); Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 637–95. See also Stein, *Bilderstreit*, 89–113; Gouillard, *art. cit.*,

*Tarasios, patriarch of Constantinople* six letters, dealing with matters of ecclesiastical politics and discipline, including one addressed to the emperors Constantine and Eirene, one to the eastern patriarchs, and one addressed to pope Hadrian (the text of a second letter to the pope is no longer extant). Ed. Mansi xii, 1119–27; xiii, 400–8; 458–79; Mai, *NPB*, V, ii, 143–4 (*PG* 98, 1428–80).<sup>9</sup>

*Theodore of Stoudios* 564 letters, ed. G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, 2 vols (*CFHB* 31/1–2. Vienna 1992). One of the most important and extensive collections of Byzantine letters, and one of the two largest collections for this period (along with that of the patriarch Photios). The letters cover the period from 797 until 826, and provide invaluable information on the ecclesiastical and monastic politics, circle of friends and contacts, and cultural history of the period.<sup>10</sup>

*Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople* synodal letter to pope Leo III, delivered in 811 by an embassy led by Michael of Synnada (which includes a reference to the iconoclasts condemned at the council of 787): Mansi xiv, 29–56 (*PG* 100, 169–200). The texts of a number of other letters known to have been sent by Nikephoros are no longer extant.<sup>11</sup>

*Ignatios of Nicaea* sixty-four letters, ed. C. Mango, *The correspondence of Ignatios the Deacon. Text, translation and commentary* (with collaboration of St. Efthymiadis) (*CFHB*, ser. Washington. 39. Washington DC 1997) (older edn *Epistolai*, ed. M. Gedeon, in *Νέα Βιβλιοθήκη Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Ἐγγραφῶν* I, 1 [Constantinople 1903] 1–64). The collection includes just over sixty letters written in the 820s, 830s, and 840s, providing important material for the period between those covered by the much more extensive collections of Theodore of Stoudios and Photios, including information about taxation and Church administration as well as the ecclesiastical politics of the time and Ignatios's own circle of friends and connections. Two main phases of letter-writing can be detected in the collection, namely those written from his position as metropolitan bishop of Nicaea, and those written after 843, when Ignatios, who had failed to object to the iconoclasm of the emperors before Michael III, fell on hard times.<sup>12</sup>

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243–77; H. Grotz, 'Zwei Briefe Papst Gregors II', *Archivium Historiae Pontificae* 18 (1980) 9–40; and Auzépy, *L'Hagiographie et l'iconoclasme*, 262–8 for detailed discussion.

<sup>9</sup> Grumel, *Regestes*, nos 352, 358, 359, 363, 364, 365. The original text of nos 366, 371, 372 and 373 is lost: for details, see *Regestes*, commentary; and Speck, *Die Interpolationen in den Akten des Konzils von 787*, 139ff. See Ch. 15, above.

<sup>10</sup> See Ch. 15, above; and Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 356; Fatouros (as above), 39ff., with detailed history of the texts, previous literature, and translations of individual letters. The Fatouros edition includes a complete summary of the contents of each letter. On the style and structure of the letters in their broader literary/cultural context, see the observations of Kazhdan, *Literature*, 247–54; and see also St. Efthymiadis, 'Notes on the correspondence of Theodore the Studite', *REB* 53 (1995) 141–63.

<sup>11</sup> See Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 163; Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 382. Lost letters: *ibid.*, nos 386, 395, 396, 397, 401. See Ch. 15, above.

<sup>12</sup> See C. Mango, 'Observations on the Correspondence of Ignatius, Metropolitan of Nicaea (First Half of the Ninth Century)', in: *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen: Texte und Untersuchungen CXXV* (Berlin 1981) 403–10 (= *Byzantium and its Image*, XII);

*Michael II and Theophilos, emperors* letter to Louis the Pious (824): Mansi xiv, 417–22; also in *MGH, Leges III, Concilia II, Concilia Karolini Aevi 2*, 475–80. The letter provides important information about the ‘official’ iconoclast position under Michael II, as well as on the revolt of Thomas the Slav. It survives only in the Latin version.<sup>13</sup>

*Methodios, patriarch of Constantinople* the texts of only two letters survive, and a third in fragmentary form. A number of letters are lost, but can be partially reconstructed from references in contemporary texts. See for the editions, A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e vaticanis codicibus edita I–X* (Rome 1828ff.) III, 1, 255 (*PG* 140, 793); Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum II*, 355–7 (Mai, *NPB V*, ii, 144; *PG* 100, 1292–3).<sup>14</sup>

*The three patriarchs* letter to the emperor Theophilos: *Epistula synodica ad Theophilum imperatorem* (*BHG* 1386) (and the derivative *Epistula ad Theophilum* of pseudo-John of Damascus). New edition: J.A. Munitiz, J. Chrysostomides, E. Harvalia-Crook, Ch. Dendrinis, *The letter of the three patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos and related texts* (Camberley 1997), text: 3–79, English trans. 2–78; alternative ending 1, text: 83–5, English trans. 82–4; 2, text: 89–131, English trans. 88–130; letter of pseudo-John of Damascus: text, 143–205, English trans. 142–204. This has traditionally been held to be from the three eastern patriarchs Christopher of Alexandria, Job of Antioch, Basil of Jerusalem; but doubts have been expressed.<sup>15</sup> In fact, it seems to represent a late ninth- or tenth-century compilation based on an original document actually addressed to the emperor, together with a range of other texts. Speck has argued that these two different versions, the *Epistula synodica* of the three eastern patriarchs, and the *Epistula ad Theophilum*, represent neither a letter of

A.P. Kazhdan, ‘Letters of Ignatios the Deacon once more. Some doubts about authorship’, *JÖB* 44 (1994) 233–44; and W. Wolska-Conus, ‘De quibusdam Ignatiis’, *TM* 4 (1970) 329–60. For a list of Ignatios’s works, see Mango, *The correspondance of Ignatios the deacon*, 3–22; and see also Makris, *Ignatios Diakonos und die Vita des hl. Gregorios Dekapolites*, 11–22. For a general discussion of Ignatios’ *oeuvre* in its cultural and political context: Kazhdan, *Literature*, 343–66.

<sup>13</sup> Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 408; P. Lemerle, ‘La révolte de Thomas le Slav’, *TM* 1 (1965) 255–97, at 255–9; T.C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu’aux Croisades (407–1096)* (Athens 1980) 164–5.

<sup>14</sup> Grumel, *Regestes*, nos 431, 434; with nos 420, 421, 426–427a, for the lost and fragmentary letters. See also Ch. 15, above.

<sup>15</sup> S. Ioannis Damasceni (attrib.) *Epistula ad Theophilum imperatorem*, in *PG* 95, 345–85 (the second and longer version); ed. L. Duchesne, *Roma e l’Oriente* 5 [1912–13] 222–39, 273–85, 349–66 (the first, shorter version, traditionally held to be genuinely by the three patriarchs in question). See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 359–60; and for some doubts on its genuineness: A. Vasiliev, ‘The Life of St Theodore of Edessa’, *B* 16 (1942/3) 165–225; J. Gouillard, ‘Deux figures mal connues du second Iconoclasme’, *B* 31 (1961) 371–401, see 396ff. See, now, H. Gauer, *Texte zum byzantinischen Bilderstreit. Der Synodalbrief der drei Patriarchen des Ostens von 836 und seine Verwandlung in sieben Jahrhunderten* (Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik I. Frankfurt 1994); and Munitiz, Chrysostomides, Harvalia-Crook and Dendrinis, *The letter of the three patriarchs*, especially the discussion on the authenticity of the letter, xvii–xxxviii.

three patriarchs nor any treatise addressed to the emperor Theophilos; in contrast, recent analyses have argued that the archetype of the *Epistula synodica* was indeed a letter of 836, and was the product of a document prepared at the monastery of St Sabas for the synod of that year held in Jerusalem; that this document was used by George the Monk in his chronicle; and that it was expanded, after 843, by the interpolation of several sections, including an extensive account of miracles involving holy images and a strongly propagandistic, anti-iconoclast section.<sup>16</sup>

*Photios, patriarch of Constantinople* B. Laourdas and L.G. Westerink, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 1: Epistulae 1–144; 2: Ep. 145–283; 3: Ep. 284–99 (Leipzig 1983, 1984, 1985). Older editions of some 287 of the letters: (1) 260 letters, ed. J.N. Balettas (London 1864); (2) twenty-one letters, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St Petersburg 1896); (3) one letter, ed. B. Laourdas, in *Orthodoxia* 25 (1950) 472–4; and (4) a further five letters, ed. B. Laourdas in *Theologia* 25 (1954) 177–99, and with J. Darrouzès, in *REB* 12 (1954). For some translations: D.S. White, *Patriarch Photios of Constantinople: his Life, scholarly contributions, and correspondence together with a translation of fifty-two of his letters* (The Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources, 5. Brookline, MA 1981); D.S. White, ‘Photios’ letter to his brother Tarasios on the death of his daughter’, *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18 (1973) 47–58; D.S. White and J.R. Berrigan, Jr., *The patriarch and the prince: the letter of patriarch Photios of Constantinople to khan Boris of Bulgaria* (The Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources, 6. Brookline, MA 1982). While the letters cover the period from about 859 until 886, they provide useful material for the study of the preceding decades, and especially the ways in which iconoclasts were perceived. They furnish important insights into Photios’s own Church politics, his relationships with large numbers of members of the imperial and ecclesiastical administration at the highest levels, the development and details of Church and imperial foreign policy, especially with regard to Rome and the papacy, and to Photios’s circle of friends and acquaintances.<sup>17</sup> The *Amphilochia*, although written in the form of letters addressed to his colleague bishop Amphilochos of Kyzikos, consist, in fact, of theological discourses, and has been dealt with in Chapter 15 above.

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<sup>16</sup> *Ich bin’s nicht*, 449–534. Speck’s critical deconstruction of the text suggests a very complex history, in which there remains the possibility that fragmentary elements of an original letter addressed to Theophilos may have been incorporated to form the basis of the first section. But the greater part of the letter, in both versions, represents at least two redactional stages and the addition of much ninth-century material. For the historical-cultural context, see also J. Munitiz, ‘Wonder-working ikons and the letters to Theophilos’, in L. Garland, ed., *Conformity and non-conformity in Byzantium* (Armidale, 1997 = *BF* 24) 115–23.

<sup>17</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 356–7. For further (older) editions, see Laourdas and Westerink, 1, xxiii–xxiv; 2, vi; Grumel, *Regestes*, nos 459ff., 538ff. See also Ch. 15, above.



One or two individual letters survive in other collections or sources; these will be referred to as they become relevant. Papal correspondence will be referred to below. In addition to extant letters, there are numerous references in other sources to letters sent by the emperors to foreign rulers, the pope, and eastern patriarchs, for example, where the contents are sometimes known from direct quotation or oblique reference. These are collated, with some exceptions, in Dölger's *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, alongside the evidence for other imperial Acts, including *iussiones/keleuseis*, *prostagmata*, and legislative documents, with full references to the sources, together with a brief summary of the contents, where they are known. For the period *ca* 700–843 these can be listed as follows (we include only letters or embassies), but it should be emphasized that most exchanges between the emperor and a third party, whether within or without the empire, involved written instruments of some sort. The structure and formulaic composition of such documents remains unclear, primarily because so few texts from the period before the later eleventh and twelfth centuries survive; and most work has been carried out in consequence on imperial and chancellery letters of the last three centuries of Byzantine history. But this later material reflects established tradition and forms, and needs to be taken into account in any discussion of earlier imperial documents of this type.<sup>18</sup> Letters associated with ecclesiastical councils, particularly those inviting participation or explaining the need for a council, are generally preserved in the Acts of the councils in question, for which see Chapter 14 above.

*Leo III* Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 278 (a. 716, embassy to the general Maslama), 279 (a. 716–25, to pope Gregory II), 281 (a. 717–20, to the caliph 'Umar), 283 (a. 718, embassy to the khan of the Bulgars, Tervel), 285 (a. 720, to the khan of the Bulgars), 291 (a. 726, to pope Gregory II), 292 (a. 726, to the caliph), 295/6 (a. 729, embassy to the khagan of the Chazars), 297 (a. 730, to the Arab general Maslama), 298 (a. 730/1, to pope Gregory II).

*Constantine V* Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 308 (a. 741, to Artabasdos, *strategos* of the Armeniakon *thema*), 309 (a. 742, embassy to the caliph al-Walid), 315 (a. 754, to pope Stephen II), 316 (a. 754, to Pippin of Francia), 318 (a. 756, embassy to Pippin), 320 (a. 757, embassy to Pippin), 321/3 (a. 762/4, embassy and letter to the khan of the Bulgars), 322 (a. 763/4, to Pippin), 325 and 326 (*ca* 765, letters and 766, embassy to Pippin), 328 (a. 768/9, embassy to the chieftains of the Slavs), 329 (a. 768–75, to

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<sup>18</sup> See in particular the important analyses and discussion in O. Kresten and A.E. Müller, 'Die Auslandsschreiben der byzantinischen Kaiser des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts: Specimen einer kritischen Ausgabe', *BZ* 86/87 (1993/4) 402–29; and the older but still useful introduction in F. Dölger and J. Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinischer Urkundenlehre, I: die Kaiserurkunden* (Munich 1968). See also O. Kresten, 'Der Geleitbrief – ein wenig beachteter Typus der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunde. Mit einem Exkurs: zur Verwendung des Terminus Sigillion in der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 38 (1996) 41–83; and (for the methodological content) *idem*, 'Diplomatische und historische Beobachtungen zu den in den Kanzleiregistern Papst Innocenz' III. überlieferten Auslandsschreiben byzantinischer Kaiser', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 37 (1995) 41–79.

Charlemagne), 331 (a. 771, to the *strategoi* of the Anatolikon, Boukellarion, and Armeniakon *themata*), 332 (to Michael Lachanodrakon, *strategos* of the Thrakesion *thema*), 334 (a. 771/2, embassy to the caliph al-Mansur), 336 (a. 774, to Telerig, khan of the Bulgars).

*Constantine VI* Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 339 (a. 781, embassy to Charlemagne), 340 (a. 781, embassy to Hârûn ar-Rashîd), 343 (a. 784/5, to pope Hadrian I), 345 (a. 787, embassy to Charlemagne), 347 (a. 787, to the patriarch Tarasios), 348 (embassy to Arichis of Beneventum).

*Eirene* Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 350 (a. 797, to Charlemagne), 351 (a. 798, embassy to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik), 353 (a. 798, to Charlemagne); 354 (a. 799, embassy to Charlemagne), 357 (a. 802, embassy to Charlemagne).

*Nikephoros I* Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 360 (a. 802/3, to Hârûn ar-Rashîd), 361 (a. 803, embassy to Charlemagne), 362 (a. 803, letter to the rebel Bardanios), 364 (a. 805, to Hârûn ar-Rashîd), 366 (a. 806, embassy to Hârûn ar-Rashîd), 367 (a. 806, to Theodore of Stoudios), 368 (a. 806, letter to Hârûn ar-Rashîd), 371 (a. 810, to Charlemagne).

*Michael I* Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 385 (a. 811/2, embassy to Charlemagne).

*Leo V* Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 387 (a. 813, to former emperor Michael I), 388 and 389 (a. 813, embassy and letters to Bulgar khan Krum), 395 (a. 815, to the patriarch Nikephoros), 397 and 398 (a. 816, 817, embassies to Louis the Pious).

*Michael II* Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 403 (a. 821/2, to Bulgar khan Omurtag), 405 and 406 (a. 823, to the towns of Panion and Herakleia), 408 (a. 824, to Louis the Pious, an important source for the official, 'imperial' view of the revolt of Thomas the Slav), 409 (a. 824, to pope Paschal I), 410 (a. 825/6, embassy to al-Ma'mûn), 413 (a. 827, embassy to Louis the Pious).

*Theophilos* Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 421 (a. 829, embassy to al-Ma'mûn), 423 (a. 831, to al-Ma'mûn), 425 and 426 (a. 832/3, to al-Ma'mûn), 428 (a. 832/3, to al-Ma'mûn), 429 (a. 833, to Louis the Pious), 430 (a. 833, to al-Ma'mûn), 433 (a. 837/8, to Alexios Mousele in Sicily), 434–6 (a. 838, embassy and two letters to Mu'tasim), 437 (a. 838, embassy to the *dux* of Venice), 438 (a. 838, to Louis the Pious), 439 (a. 839, to Umayyad caliph 'Abd ar-Rahman II, in Spain), 441 (a. 840/1, embassy to Mu'tasim), 443 (a. 842, embassy to Frankish emperor Lothar). No. 390, dated tentatively by Dölger to a. 813–17, has since been shown to be a fragment of an imperial letter from the chancery of Theophilos, addressed to the emperor Lothar in 843, concerning a proposal for joint military action against the Saracens. The fragment is important palaeographically and from the point of view of the study of the imperial chancery, since it is the oldest surviving piece of imperial archival material, as well as evidence for important diplomatic developments during this period of the reign of Theophilos.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See, especially, W. Ohnsorge, 'Das Kaiserbündnis von 842–844 gegen die

Letters from persons outside the empire are an especially valuable source, casting much light both on western rulers' attitudes to Byzantium in general, as well as to individual issues. The majority of these are Latin, from the papal chancery in particular, or from the Frankish court. Such letters provide insights into the values of a different Christian culture and offer some inferences both about western prejudices about Byzantium as well as Byzantine assumptions about the West. Where they survive, or where their contents are reported (in, for example, the *Liber pontificalis*), they also provide important evidence for the response of the popes to Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical politics and the issue of imperial iconoclasm although, as noted already, the texts of the most important letters are, in part at least, later fabrications and elaborations on the originals. Papal correspondence in general represents a key source of information on east-west relations, and in particular, in respect of the iconoclasm issue and – especially after 800 – relations between Byzantine and western emperors.<sup>20</sup> The letters of pope Hadrian I, especially, are crucial to the history of the Acts of the council of 787 and the various later documents based upon or drawing on them.<sup>21</sup> The letters of later popes, especially Nicholas I, Hadrian II, and John VIII throw valuable light on both western views of Byzantium in the middle and later ninth century and on the ways in which Byzantine rulers and churchmen viewed the papacy and the West at a time when western medieval culture was becoming increasingly self-aware and willing to challenge older beliefs about the relationship between the Roman empire in the East and the lands of western Europe.<sup>22</sup>

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Sarazenen. Datum, Inhalt und politische Bedeutung des "Kaiserbriefes aus St Denis", in *idem, Abendland und Byzanz. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-abendländischen Beziehungen und des Kaisertums* (Darmstadt 1979) 131–83, text at 135–6 (orig. publ. in *Archiv für Diplomatik* 1 [1955] 88–131), with details of earlier edns and later literature.

<sup>20</sup> Thus the letters, or mentions of such letters, of the popes to the emperors and patriarchs of the eighth and ninth centuries occupy an important place (for Gregory II and Gregory III see above). See JE for a catalogue, although the genuineness of several is suspect, and they may represent later references interpolated into the *Liber pontificalis*, for example.

<sup>21</sup> See, in particular, Hadrian's letter, or *synodica*, to Constantine VI and Eirene (JE 2448), written in 785 in response to the *sacra* of the two emperors: Mansi xii, 984–6 (Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 341). It was read out, along with the *sacra*, during the council (in the second session) and is preserved in the Acts: Mansi xii, 1055–71. See L. Wallach, 'The Greek and Latin versions of II Nicaea and the Synodica of Hadrian I (JE 2448)', *Traditio* 22 (1966) 103–25; and, especially, the discussion in E. Lamberz, 'Studien zur Überlieferung der Akten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils: der Brief Hadrians I. an Konstantin VI. und Irene (JE 2448)', in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 53 (1997) 1–43, with extensive literature. See also the analysis in P. Speck, *Die Interpolationen in den Akten des Konzils von 787 und die Libri Carolini* (Poikila Byzantina 16. Bonn 1998) 160–230. For Hadrian's letter to Tarasios (JE 2449): Mansi xii 1078–83; and to Charles the Great in 791 (JE 2483) (in response to the *Capitulare adversus synodum*): ed. H. Kampe, in *MGH, Epp. V (Epist. Karol. aevi III*. Berlin 1899/repr. Munich 1974) 5–57.

<sup>22</sup> Pope Nicholas I (858–67), ed. H. Perels, in *MGH, Epp. VI, II.1 (Epist. Meroving. et Karol. aevi IV*, 1. Berlin 1925/repr. Munich 1978) 257–690, especially nos 82–102; Hadrian II (867–72), ed. E. Perels, in *MGH, Epp. VI, II.2 (Epist. Meroving. et Karol. aevi IV*, 2) 691–765, especially nos 37–42; John VIII, ed. E. Caspar, in *MGH, Epp. VII, I (Epist.*

Letters between the Frankish kings and the papacy are particularly important. Many are preserved in the *Codex Carolinus*, a collection made at the order of Charles in 791, and which covers much of the correspondence for the years 739–91, originally including also letters from Byzantine rulers to the Frankish court, which have not survived; some earlier and later letters between Byzantine rulers and western potentates have also survived (see above).<sup>23</sup>

From the oriental side there are fewer such sources, but the small number of letters of the eastern patriarchs or their representatives to the papacy, the patriarchate in Constantinople or the imperial court, provide important information. Such is the *synodikon* or declaration of orthodoxy carried to the council of 787 by the purported delegates of the three eastern patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, for example. In fact, this declaration was written in 767 by the patriarch Theodore of Jerusalem and directed to the pope Paul I, although it was received by his successor pope Constantine upon its arrival at Rome in August 767. It was employed by Tarasios, in a carefully edited form, to suggest that the eastern churches were united in their support of the patriarch's orthodoxy and re-establishment of sacred images, and it was similarly employed at a later date, in the 790s, by pope Hadrian I in his correspondence with Charlemagne, to support papal claims to ecumenical authority. It thus provides important insights into the way in which the patriarch Tarasios organized the council of 787 and the results which were attained.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, the Arabic sources provide some epistolographical evidence, as well as the geographies and histories which we have already noted. The cultural exchanges which took place on a more or less constant basis at various levels between the courts of Constantinople and Baghdad can be observed through a variety of sources: the occasional letters between Byzantine and Muslim rulers which have survived,<sup>25</sup> for

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*Meroving. et Karol. aevi* V. Berlin 1928/repr. Munich 1978) 1–333, especially nos 47 (on Arab threat to Rome) 66–7 (to Bulgar Tsar), and 207–10 (reinstatement of Photios). Other letters are presented in the same series: *MGH Epp.* III–VI (*Epist. Meroving. et Karol. aevi* I–V). See *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 194–6, and JE for catalogue.

<sup>23</sup> Catalogue in JE; cf. *Codex Carolinus*, ed. W. Grudlach, in: *MGH, Epp.* III (*Epist. Meroving. et Karol. aevi* I. Berlin 1957) 469–653, text: 476ff.; see D.H. Miller, 'Byzantine-papal relations during the pontificate of Paul I: confirmation and completion of the Roman revolution of the eighth century', *BZ* 68 (1975) 47–62. See *ODB* 1, 473. Other correspondence can be found in the accompanying volumes: *MGH, Epp.* IV (*Epist. Karol. aevi* II. Berlin 1895/repr. Munich 1974); *Epp.* V (*Epist. Karolini aevi* III. Berlin 1899/repr. Munich 1974). See, for example, the letters to Leo III of pope Gregory II, in: *PL* 89, 495–530 (Mansi xii, 959–974, 975–982; new ed. see Gouillard, 'Aux origines de l'iconoclasme', text at 277–297, 299–305); Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 329, and see above.

<sup>24</sup> See Mansi xii, 1127C–1135B for the letter of accreditation read out to the council (the two 'delegates' were, in fact, Palestinian monks in the service of Tarasios); and xii, 1135B–1146C for the *synodikon*. For discussion, analysis of the texts and of the previous literature on this subject, see Speck, *Die Interpolationen in den Akten des Konzils von 787*, 231–56; Auzépy, *L'Hagiographie et l'iconoclasme*, 212–18 (letter), 218–20 (*synodikon*).

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, D.M. Dunlop, 'A letter of Harûn ar-Rashîd to the Emperor Constantine VI', in M. Black and G. Fohrer, *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* (Berlin 1968) 106–15; G. Levi Della Vida, 'La corrispondenza di Berta di Toscana col califfo Muktafi', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 66 (1954) 21–38.

example, or the collections of letters made for the didactic purpose of literary emulation, such as that of the caliphal secretary 'Abd al-Hamîd in the period *ca* 725–50.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See the study, with literature and edns, of Wadâd al-Qâdî, 'Early Islamic state letters: the question of authenticity', in Av. Cameron and L. Conrad, eds, *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East, I: Problems in the literary source materials* (SLAEI 1/I. Princeton 1992) 215–75, esp. 224ff.

## Legal Texts and Literature

This is an important, if very limited, body of material. East Roman imperial legislation virtually ceases after Heraclius, who himself produced only a minute fraction of the legislation of Justinian.<sup>1</sup> It increases again only during the later ninth and tenth centuries. In the intervening period, there is very little, but what there is has, perhaps inevitably, taken on an importance far outweighing the quantity of material which survives. For this reason a number of texts compiled during the later ninth and early tenth centuries are included, since their value for the development of both legal literature and imperial legislation as well as the administration of the empire in the preceding period cannot be ignored. The material can be grouped under three heads: state legislation; official codifications; and related but 'unofficial' or 'private' collections of legislative norms and practice, including legal handbooks or reference works. Of the day-to-day administrative legislation, issued in the form of imperial ordinances, commands, and rescripts, very few of the original texts have survived, but many are referred to and quoted or summarized, not always accurately, in the histories and chronicles of the period, or in letters.<sup>2</sup>

State legislation is, as noted, very limited. At the beginning of the period, there is the *Eklogê* or *Ecloga* of Leo III and Constantine V, issued probably in 741, as well as an associated legal decision concerning the division of property upon the termination of an agreement made between the head of a household and an outsider, usually associated in the manuscript tradition with the *Ecloga* itself. Its purpose, as is made clear in the Prooimion, was to present a selection from a range of key areas of

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<sup>1</sup> For a survey of the legislative activity of the emperors of the sixth and seventh centuries, see Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 254–80. In general, for further discussion and literature, see L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (Vienna 1953), especially 'Das Justinianische Recht in Byzanz' (679–726) for a survey of Byzantine law and legal literature; see also P.J. Zepos, 'Die byzantinische Jurisprudenz zwischen Justinian und den Basiliken', *Berichte zum XI. Internat. Byzantinisten-Kongress* V, 1 (Munich 1958) 1–27; and Karayannopoulos and Weiss, especially I, 91–134; H.J. Scheltema, 'Byzantine law', in *Cambridge Medieval History* vol. iv, 1 and 2, rev. edn J.M. Hussey (Cambridge 1966) 2, 55–77; and P.E. Pieler, 'Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur', in Hunger, *Literatur*, II, 343–480.

<sup>2</sup> For some general remarks, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 124–31 (juristic literature and secular law); 131–4 (canon law); and for a catalogue of imperial legislation (although with some emendations necessary as regards the dates of certain promulgations, and some supplementary items) see: Dölger, *Regesten* nos 264–445 (from Justinian II [second reign, 705–11] to the end of the reign of Theophilos [842]).

Roman jurisprudence and imperial legislation, both ancient (Justinianic and pre-Justinianic) and more recent material, with the aim of making it both more accessible and more comprehensible to state officials responsible for the administration of justice, as well as to the subjects of the emperor. As the most recent editor, Ludwig Burgmann notes, it also represents something qualitatively quite different from both the codification of Justinian and the later ones of Basil I and Leo VI.<sup>3</sup>

Text and German translation: *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstaninos' V.*, ed L. Burgmann (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte X. Frankfurt a. M., 1983) (selected sections in English trans: E.H. Freshfield, *A Manual of Roman Law: the Ecloga* [Cambridge 1926]). For the associated text, see D. Simon, 'Byzantinische Hausgemeinschaftsverträge', *Beiträge zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte und zum geltenden Zivilrecht. Festgabe für J. Sontis* (Munich, 1977), 91–128 (a decision, attributed to Leo III and Constantine V, appended in its older form to manuscripts of the *Ecloga* as article 19 of that codification).

Thereafter we possess two novels of Eirene<sup>4</sup> and one of Leo V and Constantine (dated 819–20), all concerned with aspects of ecclesiastical and matrimonial law or notarial practice.<sup>5</sup> The next legislative acts preserved in the form of the novel are those of Leo VI, at the end of the ninth century, collected by Leo's order into a corpus of 113 texts, apart from four which remained separate.<sup>6</sup> Leo's collection of novels represents a further stage in the process of renewal and clarification of the Justinianic codification and the post-Justinianic legislation, begun under Basil I. In the early 880s the patriarch Photios appears to have encouraged the promulgation of a brief and selective codification, generally referred to as the *Epanagôgê*, originally called

<sup>3</sup> See L. Burgmann, in *Rechtshistorisches Journal* 1 (1982) 14; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 304; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 327.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. L. Burgmann, 'Die Novellen der Kaiserin Eirene', *Fontes Minores* 4 (Frankfurt a. Main 1981) 1–36 (= *Jus Graecoromanum*, eds I. and P. Zepos, 8 vols [Athens 1931/Aalen 1962] i, 45–50); see Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 358, 359.

<sup>5</sup> *JGR* i, 40–5. The novel was dated by Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 338, to the reign of Leo IV (776–80); but was re-edited by D. Simon, 'Zur Ehegesetzgebung der Isaurier', *Fontes Minores* 1 (Frankfurt a. Main 1976) 16–43, and dated to 726/7, in other words to the reign of Leo III and Constantine; more recently, O. Kresten, 'Datierungsprobleme "isaurischer" Eherechtsnovellen. I Coll. I 26', *Fontes Minores* 4 (Frankfurt a. Main 1981) 37–106, has shown that the text dates to 819–20 and was issued by Leo V. For further fragments of imperial legislation on marriage law, see Kresten, *art. cit.*, 30.

<sup>6</sup> The 113 novels: P. Noailles and A. Dain, *Les Nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage* (Paris 1944); Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 524; the 4 separate novels: *JGR* i, 186–90 (Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 553, 557–9). Leo's other legislation: Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 552–69. The traditional view that Leo's novels were primarily a repetition and emendation of Justinianic law has been corrected by M.Th. Fögen, 'Legislation und Kodifikation des Kaisers Leon VI.', *Subseciva Groningana* 3 (Groningen 1989) 23–35, who demonstrates the close relationship between the novels of Leo and the equivalent sections of the *Basilika*, and suggests that the former were closely connected with the establishment of the latter. For further literature and discussion, see Pieler, 'Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur', 449f.; H. Köpstein, 'Profane Gesetzgebung und Rechtssetzung', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 142–3; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 394. For the connection between the novels of Leo, and texts such as the *Epanagôgê* and *Procheiros Nomos*, see A. Schminck, *Studien zu mittelbyzantinischen Rechtsbüchern* (Frankfurt a. Main 1986).

the *Eisagôgê*; and this may have incorporated some legislation issued by Basil himself during his reign.<sup>7</sup> It includes a formal derogation of the laws of the Isaurian emperors, which it claims the new codification, founded in orthodoxy and right belief, now replaces in their entirety.<sup>8</sup> The traditional view was that the *Procheiros Nomos*, thought to have been issued under either Basil I or Leo VI, pre-dated the *Epanagôgê* (= *Eisagôgê*), and that the latter represented merely a re-working of the first attempt to codify and re-establish a legal framework to replace the *Ecloga*.<sup>9</sup> But it has now been suggested, on the basis of a careful examination and comparison of both the prefaces and the contents of the two codifications, that, in fact, it is the *Eisagôgê* which was commissioned first. This includes the first clear reference – as noted already – to the abrogation of the Isaurian code, and was inspired chiefly by the political programme of the patriarch Photios.<sup>10</sup> The *Procheiros Nomos* followed (in 907, according to this interpretation), its formal promulgation closely connected with the incorporation within it of a text explicitly forbidding fourth marriages; the fact that in its title the emperors Basil, Constantine, and Leo are once again (as in the title of the *Eisagôgê*) mentioned shows – following Schminck – that the code was intended as a revision, dependent upon the authority of the deceased emperor.<sup>11</sup> Both texts, in spite of the sometimes substantial differences between them in respect of the selection and interpretation of Justinianic law, mark a significant attempt to return to a ‘classicizing’ juristic past and the reassertion of pre-Isaurian legal ‘norms’.

The compilation and issue of the *Basilika* represented the summation of this movement, and consisted of a collection of 60 books derived from the Justinianic *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, arranged by subject, each presented in order of their appearance in the *Digesta*, *Codex* and *Novellae*. But the term *Basilika* seems only to have been

<sup>7</sup> See *JGR* ii, 116.8; and Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 500. For detailed discussion, see Schminck, *Studien zu mittelbyzantinischen Rechtsbüchern*, especially 1–15, 55–107; literature in Karyannopoulos and Weiss, 362–3. Text: *Epanagoge Basilii, Leonis et Alexandri*, in: *JGR* ii, 229–368.

<sup>8</sup> See *Eisagôgê*, Prooimion 33–6; ed. Schminck, *Studien zu mittelbyzantinischen Rechtsbüchern*, 4–10.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, quite recently, Pieler, ‘Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur’, 446; literature in Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 359. Text: *Procheiros Nomos. Imperatorum Basilii, Constantini et Leonis Prochiron*, ed. C.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal (Heidelberg 1837); partly repr. in *JGR* ii, 107–228. For an English translation: *The Procheiros Nomos. A manual of Eastern Roman law*, trans. E.H. Freshfield (Cambridge 1928); and see the related text: E.H. Freshfield, trans., *A provincial manual of later Roman law. The Calabrian Procheiron* (Cambridge 1931).

<sup>10</sup> Schminck, *Studien zu mittelbyzantinischen Rechtsbüchern*, 14, 69–70. For some problems with Schminck’s dating, see Th.E. Van Bochove, *To date and not to date. On the date and status of Byzantine law books* (Groningen 1996).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 98–107; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 499; and see also N. Oikonomides, ‘Leo VI’s legislation of 907 forbidding fourth marriages. An interpolation in the Procheiros Nomos (IV, 25–7)’, *DOP* 30 (1976) 173–93. For the relationship between Photios’ secular legislative activity and his revisions to the sixth-century collection of canon law (the *Nomocanon XIV titulorum*), see B. Stolte, ‘A note on the un-Photian revision of the *Nomocanon XIV Titulorum*’, in S. Troianos, ed., *Analecta Atheniensia ad ius Byzantinum spectantia* (Forschungen zur byz. Rechtsgeschichte, Athener Reihe 1. Athens 1997) 115–30.



employed from the eleventh century, when a number of extracts and commentaries were made. The work was begun under Basil I and completed during the first years of Leo VI, probably by 888.<sup>12</sup> Although presented as the official code of Roman law of its time, jurists continued to consult and use, and sometimes to claim precedence for, the Justinianic codifications from which it was drawn; and the *Basilika* includes a vast amount of obsolete material, especially in respect of the state's administrative arrangements. As with all legal compilations as well as commentaries, it should be employed by historians with the greatest circumspection.<sup>13</sup>

Much imperial legislative activity is reported casually in secular history writing, although not preserved in formal collections. Examples include the legislation on taxation promulgated and applied by Eirene in 801, known only from the chronographer Theophanes and a letter of Theodore of Stoudios;<sup>14</sup> or the legislation of Nikephoros I on a whole range of fiscal administrative issues, again known only from Theophanes.<sup>15</sup> But whether these were issued in the form of *novellae* (*nearai*) or as imperial 'orders' (*prostagmata*) is unclear. Whether or not the dearth of such material reflects its loss or destruction over time, and thus a deficiency in the textual tradition or, in contrast, the use by emperors of different means of making their will on specific issues known, remains to be resolved.<sup>16</sup>

Closely associated with the *Ecloga* there was produced, probably shortly after 741, a privately commissioned collection known under the title *Appendix Eclogae*, widely employed – to judge from the rich manuscript tradition – throughout the following centuries as a reference work and companion to the *Ecloga* itself.<sup>17</sup> Similarly taken to be related is the *Nomos Mosaikos*, or Mosaic Law, a selection of some seventy extracts from the translation of the Pentateuch, arranged in fifty

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<sup>12</sup> Text: *Basilicorum libri LX*, ser. A, ed. H.J. Scheltema and N. Van Der Wal, 8 vols (Groningen 1955ff.); *Basilicorum libri LX*, ser. B: Scholia, ed. H.J. Scheltema and D. Holwerda, 8 vols (Groningen 1953ff.). Literature: Pieler, 'Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur', 455–7; F.H. Lawson, 'The Basilica', *The Law Quarterly Review* 46 (1930) 486–501; H.J. Scheltema, 'Über die Natur der Basiliken', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 23 (1955) 287–310; Schminck, *Rechtsbücher*, 17–54; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 363.

<sup>13</sup> For important insights into how Byzantine legal texts were employed and how 'law' was made and applied, see D. Simon, *Rechtsfindung am byzantinischen Reichsgericht* (Frankfurt a. Main 1973); *idem*, 'Provinzialrecht und Volksrecht', in *Fontes Minores* 1 (Frankfurt a. Main 1976) 102–16. See also the comments in Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 1, 129–30; Köpstein, 'Profane Gesetzgebung und Rechtssetzung', 146–8; and below. For the transmission of texts from the Justinianic to the middle Byzantine era, see Pieler, 'Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur'; and N. van der Wal and J.H.A. Lokin, *Historiae iuris graecoromani delineatio. Les sources du droit byzantin de 300 à 1453* (Groningen 1985).

<sup>14</sup> See Theoph., *Chronographia*, 475 (Mango–Scott, 653 with commentary); *Theod. Stud. Ep.* (Fatouros), 7.61–63. See also Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 356.

<sup>15</sup> Theoph., *Chronographia*, 486–7 (Mango–Scott, 667–9 with notes); Dölger, *Regesten*, nos 372–81.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, J. Konidaris, 'Die Novellen des Kaisers Herakleios', *Fontes Minores* 5 (Frankfurt a. Main 1982) 33–106, at 33f., who favours the former hypothesis; and contrast with Haldon, *Byzantium in the seventh century*, who argues in favour of the latter.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. L. Burgmann and Sp. Troianos, 'Appendix Eclogae', *Fontes Minores* 3 (Frankfurt a. Main 1979) 24–125, see 90–3; also Burgmann, in *Ecloga*, 22.

chapters, again supposed to have been produced in the first half of the eighth century.<sup>18</sup> It has been surmised that the *Ecloga* and the *Appendix Eclogae*, together with the *Nomos Mosaikos*, the *Farmers' Law* (*Nóμος γεωργικός*), the *Rhodian Sea Law* (*Nóμος Ῥοδίων Ναυτικός*) and the *Military Code* (*Nóμος στρατιωτικός*) represented the basic 'corpus' of secular law throughout the period from the early eighth century to the period of codification inaugurated by the Macedonian emperors; although the extent to which these handbooks were employed either in Constantinople or in the provinces is virtually impossible to gauge at this period.<sup>19</sup> Recently, however, several objections have been raised to this dating for the majority of these associated *nomoi*.

The so-called *Farmer's Law* has been dated to the later seventh or early eighth century.<sup>20</sup> It represents a series of extracts, organized in eighty-five chapters, derived primarily from Justinianic or pre-Justinianic legislation,<sup>21</sup> but with a scattering of contemporary references, echoes of local legal tradition, and brought up-to-date in respect of certain items of technical vocabulary and usage. It deals chiefly with the relations between landowning or landholding producers in a village community context, regulating the punishments for a variety of offences to do with trespass, damage to property, crops, livestock, and so forth, and has been seen as particularly important in terms of the agrarian relations of the empire during the later seventh and early eighth centuries. Equally, however, it has been subject to much over-interpretation and must be used very carefully. Its origins have been placed variously in central Asia Minor and southern Italy, and remain under discussion.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ed. L. Burgmann and Sp. Troianos, 'Nomos Mosaikos', *Fontes Minores* 3 (Frankfurt a. Main 1979) 126–67.

<sup>19</sup> See the discussion of Burgmann, *Ecloga*, 22.

<sup>20</sup> For the edition, see W. Ashburner, ed., 'The Farmers Law', *JHS* 30 (1910) 85–108 (= *JGR* ii, 63ff.); and *JHS* 32 (1912) 68–95; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 305. A more recent edition of the Old Slavonic version together with a re-edition of the oldest Greek text (by I.P. Medvedev) emends slightly, but does not substantially affect the basic content, of the *Farmers Law*: E.E. Lipshich, I.P. Medvedev and E.K. Piotrovskaja, *Vizantiiskii Zemledel'cheskii Zakon* (Leningrad 1984). The literature on the compilation is considerable. See, most recently, Köpstein, 'Profane Gesetzgebung und Rechtssetzung', 144–5; Pieler, 'Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur', 440–1; and the discussion in Lipshich, Medvedev and Piotrovskaja, *op. cit.*, 9–25, for sources and bibliography. Useful discussion of the value of the text, with interpretations for agrarian social history, in H. Köpstein, 'Zu den Agrarverhältnissen', in H. Köpstein, F. Winkelmann, H. Ditten and I. Rochow, *Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert*, 1–72; literature: Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 331–2.

<sup>21</sup> Although its origins remain debated: see N. Svoronos, 'Note sur l'origine et la date du code rurale', *TM* 8 (1981) 487–500; and against this (predominantly pre-Justinianic origin) L. Burgmann, 'Ist der Nomos Georgikos vorjustinianisch?', *Rechtshistorisches Journal* 1 (1982) 36–9; also P. Medvedev, 'Predvaritel'nie zametki o rukopisnoi traditsii Zemledel'cheskogo zakona', *VV* 41 (1980) 194–209; 42 (1981) 49–70, see 41 (1980) 208–9. The latter has also suggested a possible south Italian origin, given the large number of manuscripts from that region of the tenth–twelfth centuries: *Vizantiiskii Zemledel'cheskii Zakon*, 24–5 and further literature.

<sup>22</sup> For a good analysis of its contents in this respect, see Köpstein, 'Zu den Agrarverhältnissen', especially 40–60. For recent discussion on date and context of compilation, in the context of the other 'Laws' supposed to belong in this period, see

The *Rhodian Sea Law* consisted in its original form of a catalogue or series of questions, organized under some eighty-five headings, dealing with maritime travel and the rights of the various parties engaged in shipping. Based on Justinianic law, it takes account also of traditional maritime practice and custom, and is, in style and presentation, close to the *Ecloga* and the *Farmers Law*.<sup>23</sup> The text is transmitted in three versions: the oldest attributed by the editor to the period 600–800 (generally accepted, although no concrete arguments other than those of style can be adduced<sup>24</sup>); a second dating to slightly later; and a third to the twelfth century.<sup>25</sup> While difficult to fix chronologically, the large number of manuscripts and the breadth of their distribution and translation is illustrative of the extent to which the *Rhodian Sea Law* was invoked or referred to (whether it was ‘applied’ is a different matter) during the period in question, and it can be helpful in any discussion of Byzantine trade and mercantile practice of the time.

The so-called *Nomos stratiôtikos*, referred to also as the military code or ‘mutiny act’, dates, likewise, to the period from the later seventh to the tenth century: the lack of any internal dating evidence is generally admitted. The code survives in two versions, an earlier – ascribed to the seventh or eighth century – and a later – possibly from the tenth century. It is based on prescriptions from the *Digest* and the *Codex Iustinianus*, as well as being inspired by the *Stratêgikon* of Maurice. The second version is clearly also connected with writings such as the *Taktika* of Leo VI and the *Basilika*. Its use as more than a very general guide to the theory of military discipline for the period is limited, in view of the problem of dating.<sup>26</sup>

Some significant objections have been made against the later seventh- or early eighth-century date ascribed traditionally to these collections, as well as against the assumption of their association with the *Ecloga* of Leo III and Constantine V. In the first place, it has been pointed out that the Justinianic content of these ‘laws’ finds little basis in reality – rather, there are considerable, and important divergences, not only in legal terms, but also in respect of the philosophy or ethic underlying

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A. Schminck, ‘Probleme des sog. “Νόμος Ῥοδίων Ναυτικός”’, in E. Chrysos, D. Letsios, H.A. Richter and R. Stupperich, eds, *Griechenland und das Meer* (Mannheim/Möhnesee 1999) 171–8.

<sup>23</sup> Edition: *Νόμος Ῥοδίων Ναυτικός. The Rhodian Sea-Law*, ed. from the manuscripts by W. Ashburner (Oxford 1909/repr. Aalen 1976); Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 307.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, H.J. Scheltema, ‘Byzantine Law’, in *CMH* IV/2, 55–77, at 64 (‘older than the tenth century’), contrasted with H. Ahrweiler, ‘La navigazione mediterranea nell’alto medioevo’, in *Settimane di studio* 25 (Spoleto 1978) 278 and 294–5 (not later than the seventh century, and on the basis of internal evidence earlier than the *Farmers Law* and the *Ecloga*). Literature: Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 331.

<sup>25</sup> See Ashburner’s introductory comments, lxxff.

<sup>26</sup> *Leges militares*: ed. W. Ashburner, ‘The Byzantine Mutiny Act’, *JHS* 46 (1926) 80–109 (repr. in *JGR* ii, 75–9); and (for the second and, probably, later version): ed. E. Korzensky, ‘Leges poenales militares e codice Laurentiano LXXV’, *Egyptememes Philologiae Közlöny* (Budapest 1930) 155–63, 215–18 (repr. in *JGR* ii, 80–9). Summary of literature: Köpstein, ‘Profane Gesetzgebung und Rechtssetzung’, 145; V.V. Kuchma, ‘Νόμος στρατιωτικός (K voprosu o sviazi trekh pamiatnikov Vizantiiskogo Voennogo prava)’, *VV* 32 (1971) 276–84; also Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 395–6; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 306.

their prescriptions. In the second place, similarities in style and language, as well as moral tone have been noted between some elements in these texts and the juristic texts inspired or commissioned by the patriarch Photios. The conclusion is that the *Farmer's Law* is, in fact, in part at least the responsibility of Photios; that the *Rhodian Sea Law* was compiled as part of the *Basilika*, and, indeed, that part of it was compiled by Leo VI himself; and that the *Military Code* was compiled or at least commissioned by Leo VI.<sup>27</sup> The argument from style and content is convincing, although the material in the 'military code' which echoes that in the *Stratêgikon* of Maurice (thus of the late sixth or early seventh century), raises the possibility that at least one of these compilations was in effect a revision and reformulation of an older collection. If this can be shown to be true of one, the possibility must remain open that it is also true of the others. Further work on this problem may clarify the issue.

The complexity of the Roman legal tradition, the vast number of texts and commentaries at the disposal of jurists, meant that jurists also compiled a number of *lexica* and reference works to assist those involved in law-making and legislation, many of which have survived in manuscripts containing collections of legal texts. Although their use is replete with technical difficulties of both interpretation and methodology, they nevertheless provide an important aid in the understanding of Byzantine legal texts and their application.<sup>28</sup>

This material brings with it a series of difficulties for the non-legal historian. The manuscript tradition is extremely complex, the reconstruction of an original or archetype for a particular piece of legislation or collection difficult, the dating associated with the various texts which have survived problematic. Some texts, which have regularly been employed to cast light on key features of middle Byzantine society – the *Nomos geôrgikos* is the best example – are still largely undateable on the basis of internal evidence, and are not referred to in other texts in a way which helps to resolve this. Imperial legislation gives some idea of what emperors intended to achieve by issuing a law, and some idea of what they perceived to be the problem and how they thought it could be dealt with. But the historian must tread very carefully in this respect, and not be misled into thinking that legal texts necessarily describe either a social or an administrative reality. The extent to which laws and imperial legislation of all kinds was actually applied is again problematic, and only very occasionally – as in the various pieces of imperial legislation issued during the second half of the tenth century in response to a specific problem, or as in the eleventh-century collection known as the *Peira*, a series of accounts of actual

<sup>27</sup> See A. Schminck, 'Probleme des sog. "Νόμος Ῥοδίων Ναυτικός"'.  
<sup>28</sup> See, for example, the collection of juristic *lexica* edited in L. Burgmann, M.-T. Fögen, R. Meijering and B.H. Stolte, 'Lexica Iuridica Byzantina', *Fontes Minores* 8 (Frankfurt a. Main 1990) 1–460.

cases heard by judges in Constantinople<sup>29</sup> – do we have any notion of how legal cases were argued and how legislation was drawn upon, interpreted and applied.

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<sup>29</sup> *Peira* sive *Practica ex Actis Eustathii Romani*, in *JGR* iv, 1–260. See also A. Schminck, in *Fontes Minores* 3 (Frankfurt a. Main 1979) 221–43, and A. Dain, ‘Eustathe Romain “De hypobolo”’, *REB* 11 (1953) 47–9 for editions and discussion of selected cases. Further discussion: Sp. Vryonis, ‘The *Peira* as a source for the history of Byzantine aristocratic society in the first half of the eleventh century’, in *Studies in Honor of G.C. Miles* (Beirut 1974) 279–84; G. Weiss, ‘Hohe Richter in Konstantinopel’, *JÖB* 22 (1973) 117–43; Simon, *Rechtsfindung*. The tenth-century legislation needs to be taken together with the imperial and provincial administrative decisions taken in respect of land and fiscal arrangements as reflected in the archival documents for the period. Texts, (a) legislation: N. Svoronos, *Les Nouvelles des empereurs macédoniens concernant la terre et les stratiotes. Introduction, édition, commentaires*, ed. P. Gounaridis (Athens 1994) (older edn in Zepos, *JGR* i; (b) archival material, edited, especially, in the series *Archives de l’Athos* (Paris 1964ff), but also elsewhere, e.g., *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου I. Αὐτοκρατορικά*, ed. E. Vranousi (Athens 1980); *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου II. Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν διπλωματικὴ ἔκδοσις*, ed. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens 1980). See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 549–50 (no. 3), 551 (no. 6), 553 (no. 12), 554 (no. 13), 555–6 (no. 16), 559–60 (no. 26) with edns and further literature. For discussion, see P. Lemerle, *The agrarian history of Byzantium from the origins to the twelfth century. The sources and the problems*, rev. English edn, trans. G. MacNiocaill (Galway 1979); and English translation and commentary: E. McGeer, *The land legislation of the Macedonian emperors* (Medieval Sources in Translation 38. Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. Toronto 2000).

## Records, Official and Unofficial Documents, Works of Reference

Under this heading is treated a somewhat amorphous group of texts (excluding state letters), which have in common the fact that they were conceived and produced by or for members of the imperial administration, the imperial household, or the Church, as either official or semi-official documents with some practical function – descriptive, prescriptive, educative or illustrative. Included in this category are also texts – complete or fragmentary – drawn from larger ‘dossiers’, which deal with aspects of the state or imperial household and their administration, organization, and financing. The heading thus includes the *taktika* or lists of precedence, as well as documents concerned with fiscal administration, military organization, thematic and provincial structures, and the army and associated matters.<sup>1</sup>

### State Documents

The two most important documents from the point of view of the administrative bureaucracy and imperial hierarchy are the so-called *Taktikon Uspenskij* and the *Klêtorologion of Philotheos*.<sup>2</sup> Both are official lists of titles and offices, concerned with the order of precedence within the imperial system, particularly with respect to the relative ranking of the chief officers of the empire and members of the imperial household. They provide a great deal of information crucial to an understanding of the administrative structure of the Byzantine state, although they must also be used with care: they do not, as has sometimes been assumed, necessarily represent any fixed and permanent order, the more so because they were themselves an evolving form. This is especially true of the earlier of the two, the *Taktikon Uspenskij*, dated to 842/3, which has been shown to represent a much less rigid and hierarchical structure of state offices than has been thought. Although the *Klêtorologion* is

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<sup>1</sup> For a useful discussion of the nature, forms, and limitations of such materials, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 120ff.; but see also the discussion, with critical remarks on Karayannopoulos and Weiss, by F. Winkelmann, ‘Rang- und Ämterverzeichnisse’, in Brandes and Winkelmann, 336–47, especially 338ff.

<sup>2</sup> Both edited in N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe–Xe siècles* (Paris 1972): *Taktikon Uspenskij*: 47–63 (dated to 842/3); *Klêtorologion of Philotheos*: 81–235 (dated 899). The *Taktikon Benešević* (*ibid.* 243–53), dated to the years 934–44, is also relevant to the earlier period. See also Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 361, 391.

technically outside the period dealt with here, its importance for the preceding decades makes reference to it essential.<sup>3</sup>

Just as important are the numerous fragments from ninth-century, or earlier, documents incorporated into the *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII.<sup>4</sup> As is now well known, although much of the preparatory research was commissioned by Constantine VII during his own reign, the final compilation in the form in which it has been transmitted to us was the work of Basil the *parakoimomenos* during the reign of the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas. The *De Caerimoniis* includes material from sixth-century ceremonies and imperial occasions, from later eighth- and ninth-century contexts, and from the tenth century. While much of this material has been reworked by Constantine's editors, it is possible in many cases to discern its earlier roots and, sometimes, its original form.<sup>5</sup> Thus the material incorporated in the three short 'military' treatises which preface the main body of the *Book of Ceremonies* in the manuscript (published by Reiske as the Appendix to Book I of his edition) relies heavily on ninth-century material drawn from the reign of Basil I and before, including triumphal entries into Constantinople of the emperor Theophilos.<sup>6</sup> There are numerous similar examples.<sup>7</sup>

By the same token, the tenth-century compilations *De Administrando imperio* and *De Thematibus*, also commissioned during the reign of Constantine VII, contain a considerable body of material directly relevant to the political, administrative, and military history of the empire from the seventh century onwards. Although the material is sometimes difficult to evaluate, it is based on tenth-century assessments and understanding of earlier archival and official documents, as well as of historical and chronographical materials, and is fundamental to the history of the state and its administrative structure.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For a detailed analysis of the two treatises, with a useful critique of previous approaches, see F. Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (BBA 53. Berlin 1985) especially 19–28.

<sup>4</sup> For an analysis of the contents of the *De Caerimoniis*, see J.B. Bury, 'The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenitus', *EHR* 22 (1907) 209–27, 417–39; and the literature and discussion in Const. Porph., *Three treatises* 35–68. Summary of literature and problems: *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 155–7. Text: *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De caerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo*, ed. J.J. Reiske (CSHB, Bonn 1829) I, II (French trans. and ed. of Bk. I by A. Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogennète, Le livre des cérémonies* [Paris 1935, 1939 [text and trans.]; 1935, 1940 [commentary]; French/English trans. and ed. of selected sections of Bk. II, with commentary, by G. Dagron and J.F. Haldon, in *TM* 13 [2000] 1–352; English trans. A. Moffatt *et al.*, *Constantine VII, Book of ceremonies* [Byzantina Australiensia. Sydney 2001]).

<sup>5</sup> See, especially, the detailed analysis in Bury, 'Ceremonial Book', and G. Ostrogorsky and E. Stein, 'Die Krönungsordnungen des Zeremonienbuches: chronologische und verfassungsgeschichtliche Bemerkungen', *B* 7 (1932) 185–233 (with the review of F. Dölger, in *BZ* 36 [1936] 149–57).

<sup>6</sup> Const. Porph., *Three treatises*.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, the discussion of the description of certain coronation ceremonies which originated in the eighth century: G. Ostrogorsky and E. Stein, 'Die Krönungsordnungen des Zeremonienbuches: chronologische und verfassungsgeschichtliche Bemerkungen', *B* 7 (1932) 185–233. Further literature: Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 392–3.

<sup>8</sup> See *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio* I: Greek text ed.

Fragments of diplomatic activity can be found in various forms: excerpts or summaries in the histories and chronicles of the period, for example, but occasionally also in the epigraphic record. Unfortunately, the record for imperial diplomatic documents and exchanges, letters and treaties, is virtually non-existent for this period, and can only adequately be studied for the period, with one or two important exceptions, from the eleventh century on.<sup>9</sup> The earliest so-called proto-Bulgarian inscriptions reflect (among other matters) the treaties and similar arrangements agreed between the imperial government and the Bulgars from the late seventh century until the middle of the ninth century and beyond: thus fragments of one inscription in Greek, found near Pliska and dated to the year 816/17, concerns the peace agreement between the empire and the Bulgar khan Omurtag, and refers to important details of the arrangement mentioned in the historical record (in Theophanes *continuatus*, for example).<sup>10</sup>

### Military Treatises

Military treatises can be dealt with under the same heading, and although all the texts noted here were compiled long after the reign of Theophilos, they are important in terms of the light they can shed on the earlier situation. Especially important is the so-called *Taktika* of Leo VI, compiled in the last years of the ninth or first years of the tenth century.<sup>11</sup> Organized in twenty books, it deals chiefly with military matters, but has sections also on naval warfare. It is based on the *Strategikon* of Maurice, a late sixth-century handbook, and on certain Hellenistic and Roman military writers

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Gy. Moravcsik, English trans. R.J.H. Jenkins. New rev. edn (CFHB 1 = DOT 1, Washington DC 1967); II: Commentary, ed. R.J.H. Jenkins (London 1962); *Costantino Porfirogenito, De Thematibus*, ed. A. Pertusi (Studi e Testi 160. Città del Vaticano 1952). For earlier literature and analyses, see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur* I, 532–3; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 154–5. Most recent discussion with literature: C. Sode, ‘Untersuchungen zu *De administrando imperio* Kaiser Konstantins VII. Porphyrogennetos’, in *Varia V* (Poikila Byzantina 13, Bonn 1994) 147–260; T. Pratsch, ‘Untersuchungen zu *De thematibus* Kaiser Konstantins VII. Porphyrogennetos’, in *Varia V* (Poikila Byzantina 13, Bonn 1994) 13–145.

<sup>9</sup> A catalogue can be found under the reigns of the various rulers in Dölger, *Regesten*. For relevant studies of diplomatic letters, see the literature cited in Chapter 16 (n. 18) above. On imperial titulature, see H. Hunger, *Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (Wiener byzantinistische Studien 1. Vienna 1964); O. Kresten, ‘Iustinianos I., der “Christusliebende” Kaiser. Zum epitheton φιλόχριστος in den Intitulationes byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden’, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 21 (1979) 83–109; and O. Kresten and A. Müller, *Samtherrschaft. Legitimationsprinzip und kaiserlicher Urkundentitel in Byzanz in der ersten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Sitzungsber. d. österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse 630. Vienna 1995)

<sup>10</sup> See V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften* (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 23, Berlin 1963) no. 41 (and see Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 393, dated 814).

<sup>11</sup> *Leonis imperatoris tactica*, in *PG* 107, 672–1120; also ed. R. Vári, *Leonis imperatoris tactica* I (proem., const. i–xi); II (const. xii–xiii, xiv, 1–38) (*Sylloge Tacticorum Graecorum* III, Budapest 1917–22). For a brief introductory survey to the genre and its methodological problems, see V.V. Kuchma, ‘Militärische Traktate’, in Brandes and Winkelmann, 327–35; the article ‘Kriegswissenschaft’, in Hunger, *Literatur*, II, 323–40; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 393–4.



(such as Onosander). While archaizing in many respects, it attempts to bring its information up to date and to incorporate contemporary details derived from both written and oral sources.<sup>12</sup> Just as important, although written more than half a century later, the so-called *De Velitatione Bellica*, a treatise on skirmishing or guerilla warfare, written during the reign of Nikephoros II (963–69), deals with the traditional strategy employed on the eastern frontier during the period before the great reconquests of the second half of the tenth century – i.e. during the period *ca* 850–950. It is thus directly relevant, as an account compiled by someone personally familiar with the area and the warfare, to the military and social history of the empire at the end of the iconoclast period.<sup>13</sup> Compiled under Leo VI in its original form, later revised and expanded during the reign of Constantine VII, a shorter treatise on imperial campaigning was based in many respects on information from the reign of Basil I and before, and is thus important for the retrospective light it throws on the military and related structures of the earlier ninth century.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For modern discussion and analysis, see G. Dagron, 'Byzance et le modèle islamique au Xe siècle. A propos des *Constitutions tactiques de l'empereur Léon VI*, *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris 1983) 219–43; V.V. Kuchma, "'Taktika L'va" kak istoricheskii istochnik', *VV* 33 (1972) 75–87; further discussion and literature in Hunger, *Literatur*, II, 331–4; and, especially, the detailed analysis and description of the complex manuscript tradition in A. Dain, 'Les stratégestes byzantins', *TM* 2 (1967) 317–92. Leo also commissioned or compiled a list of questions, the *Problemata*, a sort of military *erotapokriseis*, based on the *Strategikon* of Maurice: ed. A. Dain, *Leonis VI. Sapientis Problemata* (Paris 1935).

<sup>13</sup> See 'Skirmishing', ed. G.T. Dennis, in *Three Byzantine military treatises*. Text, trans. and notes (CFHB 25 = DOT 9, Washington DC 1985) 137–239 (text 144–238); also ed. G. Dagron and H. Mihăescu, in *Le traité sur la Guérilla (De velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963–969)*. Text edited by G. Dagron and H. Mihăescu, trans. and comm. by G. Dagron (Paris 1986) (text 28–135). The Dagron and Mihăescu edition is accompanied by an extensive and important commentary and discussion. Also Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 396.

<sup>14</sup> See Const. Porph., *Three treatises*, esp. 66–8. Other relevant texts from the tenth century are: (a) the mid-tenth-century treatise known as the *Sylloge taktikôn*, ed. A. Dain, *Sylloge Tacticorum, quae olim 'inedita Leonis Tactica' dicebatur* (Paris 1938); (b) an anonymous treatise on campaign organization, dating probably from the reign of John Tzimiskes or Basil II: *Incerti scriptoris Byzantini saec. X. Liber De Re Militari*, ed. R. Vári (Leipzig 1901); English trans. and ed.: *Campaign organisation and tactics*, ed. and trans. Dennis, in *Three Byzantine military treatises*, 241–335 (text 246–326); (c) the so-called *Praecepta militaria* ascribed to Nikephoros II: E. McGeer, *Sowing the dragon's teeth. Byzantine warfare in the tenth century* (DOS XXXIII. Washington DC 1995) 3–59 (text), 61–78 (notes); older edn I. Kulakovskiy, *Nicephori Praecepta militaria e codice Mosquensi*, in *Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk*, viii ser. 7 (1908) no. 9; (d) the *Tactica* of the general Nikephoros Ouranos: Chs 56–65 of this treatise are now edited in McGeer, *op. cit.*, 88–163 (text), 165–7 (notes); Chs 63–74 are edited by J.-A. de Foucault, 'Douze chapitres inédits de la *Tactique* de Nicéphore Ouranos', *TM* 5 (1973) 281–312. Further discussion of some aspects of this tradition: C. Zuckerman, 'Chapitres peu connus de l'*apparatus bellicus*', *TM* 12 (1994) 359–89. There are also treatises dealing with siege warfare or artillery: see (e) the treatise on artillery ascribed to Hero of Byzantium (mid-tenth century), ed. C. Wescher, in *Poliorcétique des grecs. Traités théoriques – récits historiques* (Paris 1867) 197–279; also ed. R. Schneider, *Griechische Poliotketiker* II. Abh. d. königl. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist.

### *Notitiae Episcopatum*

Particularly important for the historical geography of the Byzantine world, as well as the history of state and Church administration, and – when used carefully – the pattern of urban settlement, are the various descriptive accounts of routes across the empire, of provinces, and the *Notitiae Episcopatum* drawn up at various times from the late sixth to the tenth century. The best known of the first group pre-dates our period considerably, but is the foundation for later descriptions of the same type: the so-called *Synekdemos* of Hierokles, written during the reign of Justinian I (527–65). It names sixty-three provinces and 923 cities in the ‘eastern’ empire, including Illyricum.<sup>15</sup> An early seventh-century re-working of this description attributed to a certain George of Cyprus brings the information in the *Synekdemos* partially up to date,<sup>16</sup> and sometime in the ninth century a certain Basil of Ialimbana re-worked the text and combined it with an ecclesiastical *Notitia Episcopatum*, focusing on the archiepiscopate of Constantinople.<sup>17</sup>

The first important such document of relevance here is the so-called *Notitia* of pseudo-Epiphanius, dating probably from the early or middle years of the seventh century, and which, although listing the bishoprics of all five patriarchates, concentrates on that of Constantinople.<sup>18</sup> In spite of the fact that it had by that time become out of date, the *Notitia* was reproduced in the *De Caerimoniis*.<sup>19</sup>

Kl., neue Folge, x (Berlin 1908) no. 1; new edn: D.F. Sullivan, *Siegecraft. Two tenth-century instructional manuals by ‘Heron of Byzantium’* (DOS XXXVI. Washington DC 1995); and (f) on siege warfare H. van den Berg, ed., *Anonymus de obsidione toleranda* (Leiden 1947). For naval warfare (including the section on naval warfare in the *Tactica* of Leo, a treatise dedicated to Basil the *parakoimômenos*, and the naval sections of the *Tactica* of Nikephoros Ouranos), see A. Dain, *Naumachica* (Paris 1943). The technical language and interpretation of the naval warfare treatises, which often demonstrates considerable confusion and misunderstanding of ancient treatises, suggests that the copyists and redactors had little real grasp of the subject. See E. Jeffreys and J. Pryor, *The dromon* (DOS, Washington DC forthcoming).

<sup>15</sup> For a general introduction to the genre, see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 508–42, especially 515ff.; also Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 122–3. The text which has been transmitted to us is probably a reduced version of an originally more extensive description, and seems to have been partly based on an earlier *Notitia Episcopatum*: see E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdomos d’Hiérokles et l’opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (Brussels 1939) 12–48; Hunger, I, 531; II, 399, 428; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 298.

<sup>16</sup> See Honigmann, *Le Synekdomos*, 49–70; H. Gelzer, *Georgii Cyprii descriptio orbis romani* (Leipzig 1880). See Beck, *Kirche*, 151; Hunger, I, 531–2; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 316; older literature in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 463–5. The text as it is edited has a number of later additions, however, dating from at least the later seventh century, and in some cases possibly later. In contrast to that of Hierokles, George’s description includes Italy and Africa, with interesting implications for the relationship between Roman and non-Roman (e.g., Lombard) territorial divisions.

<sup>17</sup> Hunger, *Literatur* I, 531–2; Beck, *Kirche*, 150–1. For the text, see below.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. H. Gelzer, *Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae episcopatum*, in *Abhdl. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 21 (Munich 1901) 529–42; ed. J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae Constantinopolitane* (Paris 1981) no. 1, 203–13. Discussion and further literature: Beck, *Kirche*, 149; Darrouzès, *passim*; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 313.

<sup>19</sup> See *De Cer.*, 791–8.

The so-called 'Iconoclastic *Notitia*', originally thought to be of the time of Leo III, has been shown to date after the council of 787 from a variety of sources, and is, for the most part, quite unreliable as a guide to the bishoprics of the empire for its own time.<sup>20</sup> More useful is the semi-official *Recapitulatio thronorum*, of ca 800, which includes the western provinces annexed by Leo III;<sup>21</sup> and associated with this list are several others, of a similar private or semi-official character, of the middle to later eighth/early ninth century, which bring the material up to date in respect of the situation under the patriarch Nikephoros I.<sup>22</sup> Chronologically, the list of Basil of Ialimbana, mentioned above, follows next;<sup>23</sup> and the last such document relevant here is the so-called *Diatyposis* of Leo VI (or patriarch Nikolaos I). An official document, it relates just to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and deals only with metropolitanates and autocephalous archbishoprics; although numerous later redactions included also the suffragan sees. But it presents an updated list, no longer dependent upon the reproduction of information which is either out of date or purely theoretical, and thus represents an important stage in the evolution of such documents.<sup>24</sup> The episcopal and archiepiscopal *notitiae* are best employed in conjunction with the lists of signatories from the various acts of the Church councils (see above), since the latter can frequently serve as a good control on the value of the *notitiae* as a reflection of actual circumstances.<sup>25</sup>

### Itineraries and 'Geographical' Literature<sup>26</sup>

As well as *Notitiae Episcopatum* and lists of conciliar signatories, and the vast amount of information contained in the works ascribed to Constantine VII (especially the *De administrando imperio* and the *De thematibus*), a separate genre of *itineraria* provides useful information about roads and routes, as well as place-

<sup>20</sup> See Beck, *Kirche*, 150, and H. Ditten, 'Historische Geographie und Ortsnamenkunde', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 348–62, at 352; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 328; E. Popescu, 'Contributions à la géographie historique de la péninsule balkanique aux Ve–VIIIe siècles de notre ère', *Dacia* n.s. 13 (1969) 408ff. Text: ed. Darrouzès, no. 3, 229–45.

<sup>21</sup> Darrouzès, no. 2, 215–27; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 330.

<sup>22</sup> See G. Parthey, *Hieroclis synecdemus et notitiae graecae episcopatum* (Berlin 1866), nos vi (145–9), viii (162–80), ix (181–97).

<sup>23</sup> Darrouzès, no. 4, 247–61. The dates proposed vary: Gelzer argued for a date before 838; Honigmann preferred 886 (as per the manuscript); and Laurent for the period 845–69. See V. Laurent, 'La "notitia" de Basile l'Arménien', *EO* 34 (1935) 439–72; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 362.

<sup>24</sup> Dated to 901/2. Ed. Darrouzès, no. 7, 269–88. See Beck, *Kirche*, 151; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 391.

<sup>25</sup> For good examples, see E. Popescu, 'Contributions à la géographie historique de la péninsule balkanique aux Ve–VIIIe siècles de notre ère', *Dacia*, n.s. 13 (1969); and R.-J. Lilie, "'Thrakien" und "Thrakesion". Zur byzantinischen Provinzorganisation am Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts', *JÖB* 26 (1977) 7–47. See also G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis*, I: *Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus*; II: *Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus* (Padua 1988).

<sup>26</sup> See also Ch. 11, above: 'Historical Geography'.

names, the character – urban, fortified or not – of settlements through which the traveller purports to have passed.<sup>27</sup> For the most part, these are Latin, compiled by western pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land, some including descriptions of monuments and buildings, or their impressions of cities such as Constantinople;<sup>28</sup> although the Greek itinerary of a certain Epiphanius Hagiopolites, who travelled from Cyprus to the Holy Land, then on to Egypt and back to Palestine in the later eighth or ninth century, is important.<sup>29</sup> Of some value for the eighth and ninth centuries are the earlier itineraries and lists, including the sixth-century *Synekdemos* of Hierokles, the late sixth- or early seventh-century geography of George of Cyprus, and two anonymous treatises on distances and ports, which certainly circulated in the tenth century (date of the earliest manuscript), but were probably compiled much earlier.<sup>30</sup> Some time between the eighth and tenth century an anonymous author compiled a short treatise on the *klimata*, the regions beyond the civilized world,<sup>31</sup> while information about foreign peoples can occasionally be found included as marginalia in Byzantine manuscripts, some written as early as the eighth century, as well as in the late ninth-century *Taktika* of the emperor Leo VI (although derived from a similar chapter in the late sixth-century *Strategikon* of Maurice) or the *De Administrando imperio* of Constantine VII.<sup>32</sup> The next list of

<sup>27</sup> For a good general survey of Byzantine cartographic literature as well as geographical texts, see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 507–39.

<sup>28</sup> For example, that transmitted to the churchman and writer Adamnan by Arculf, *Relatio de Locis Sanctis*, in T. Tobler, ed., *Itinera et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* I (Geneva 1877) 195ff. of the second half of the seventh century. Further accounts of the Palestinian shrines and holy places are to be found in T. Tobler and A. Molinier, *Itinera hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, I, 2 (Geneva 1880); T. Tobler, *descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saec. VIII, IX, XII et XV* (Leipzig 1874); P. Geyer, *Itinera hierosolymitana saec. IV–VIII* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 39. Vienna 1898); and the *Pravoslavonii Palestinskii Sbornik* (St Petersburg 1881–1917). For new editions of Adamnan's account and of other itineraries, see, now, L. Bieler, ed., *Itineraria et alia geographica* (Corpus Christianorum 175. Turnhout 1965) 175–234; and see J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims: before the Crusades* (Warminster 1977). See also K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt* (Stuttgart 1916/Rome 1964). Many of the texts in question were translated into English in the thirteen volumes of the *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (London 1897).

<sup>29</sup> Ed. H. Donner, 'Palästina-Beschreibung des Epiphanius Hagiopolita', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 87 (1971) 42–91. For the later eighth-century date, see A.M. Schneider, 'Das Itinerarium des Epiphanius Hagiopolita', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 63 (1940) 143–54. For the earlier tradition and its later evolution, see Hunger, *Literatur* I, 516ff.; also *ODB* 1, 714.

<sup>30</sup> For the sixth-century material, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 297ff. For Hierokles and George of Cyprus, see above. For the undated anonymi: Hunger, 1, 525–6. Texts in: *Historici Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller 1 (Paris 1882) 424–6; and 427–514.

<sup>31</sup> See E. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata und die πόλεις ἐπίσημοι* (Heidelberg 1929); and Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 224.

<sup>32</sup> See the list with editions in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I, 466–7. For Leo VI, see the references in note 11 above. Chapter xviii of the *Tactica* deals with foreign peoples, following Chapter xi of the *Strategikon* of Maurice: *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, ed. G.T. Dennis, trans. E. Gamillscheg (CFHB 17. Vienna 1981). See Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I,

distances and places is of a somewhat different nature, and of a later date (although still useful for the study of the eighth and ninth centuries), being the so-called *stadiodromikon*, which describes the stopping places for the imperial fleet during the failed Cretan expedition of 949, incorporated into the *De Caerimoniis*.<sup>33</sup>

The interesting *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, or 'short chronicle notices' presents a sort of guide-book to some of the monuments of Constantinople, with accompanying stories and legends about their origins and various aspects of Constantinopolitan history. It survives in a single manuscript and two later copies. The material is presented in the form of some ninety-two separate sections which recount the origins of a series of Constantinopolitan buildings and monuments, based largely on accounts from unknown or possibly fictional authors. Its date is debated: Cameron and Herrin suggest that, while it may have been written later in the eighth century, much of the material it includes derives from the first half of the century; others have suggested a slightly later origin, but the general view is that, while some of the material dates from the middle years of the eighth century, it was written in the later eighth or early ninth century – either during the reign of Leo IV (775–80), or by 843.<sup>34</sup> The *Parastaseis* served as a source for the later, tenth-century compilation known as the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, a greatly extended and internally much more coherent guide to the buildings and monuments of the city, although equally full of mythical and legendary explanations and tales associated with the monuments in question. The information is often associated with fictional etymologies or characters, famous emperors, and personalities of the past, and the dates offered are usually suspect. Nevertheless, some of the texts incorporated into this collection are based on earlier material, although it is often impossible to determine the date. Such, for example, is the legendary account of the construction of the church of Hagia Sophia, which may be of the eighth or ninth century.<sup>35</sup>

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402–9; see *ODB* 2, 734 ('Ethnology'). For Constantine's works, see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, 360–7; 532–3; Pratsch, 'Untersuchungen zu De thematibus Kaiser Konstanins VII. Porphyrogennetos', and Sode, 'Untersuchungen zu De administrando imperio Kaiser Konstanins VII. Porphyrogennetos' (see note 8 above).

<sup>33</sup> *De Cer.*, 678.11–22. See on the Byzantine portulan tradition, H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer: la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIIe–XVe siècles* (Paris 1966) 451; G. Huxley, 'A Porphyrogenitan Portulan', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 17 (1976) 295–300. Less detailed, but useful also is the list of *aplékta* which preceded the *De Caerimoniis* in the manuscript: see Const. Porph., *Three treatises*, text (A). See *ibid.*, 62–5 for further discussion and literature.

<sup>34</sup> *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικάί*, in: *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, 2 vols (Leipzig 1901, 1907/New York 1975/Leipzig 1989) I, 19–73; English trans. and comm. in Av. Cameron and J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the eighth century* (Leiden 1984). See *ODB* 3, 1586; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 321–2; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 166. On the date and structure of the text, see also G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des Patria* (Paris 1984), especially 29–48; O. Kresten, 'Leon III. und die Landmauern von Konstantinopel. Zur Datierung von c. 3 der *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικάί*', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 36 (1994) 21–52, especially 33ff. (including earlier literature and history of the text). General discussion of the text and how it fits into the literary culture of the eighth and ninth centuries: Kazhdan, *Literature*, 308–13.

<sup>35</sup> See, especially, Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*; A. Berger, *Untersuchungen*

Geography was an important literary and scientific genre in Islamic culture, and also plays a significant role as a source for the Byzantine world, for a number of Arab or Persian geographers, grounding their reports on eyewitness accounts or their own travels, provide useful insights into Byzantine provincial and imperial administration, the army, the nature of Byzantine fortified sites and the surrounding countryside, and the extent of the empire.<sup>36</sup> In particular, the later ninth-century account of Ibn Khurradâdhbih, based partly on information derived from Muslim prisoners of war released by the Byzantines, and the tenth-century accounts, partly based on earlier material, of Kudâma and ibn al-Fakih, are interesting and informative.<sup>37</sup> Equally interesting is an earlier account by a certain Abû Yûsuf Ya'qûb, who compiled a Book of Taxation which treats the period of the conquest and afterwards in Syria, and illustrates the degree of institutional continuity which existed from late Roman practices into Islamic times.<sup>38</sup> A certain Harûn ibn Yahya visited Constantinople as a prisoner-of-war at the beginning of the tenth century, and left a useful account of what he saw; later descriptions of Byzantine lands are also valuable, providing important information about military and fiscal administration, roads and routes through the empire's territory, about its neighbours, and about landscape and culture.<sup>39</sup>

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zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos (Poikila Byzantina 8. Bonn 1988); ODB 3, 1598; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 398–9; *PmbZ, Prolegomena*, 165–6. Text: *Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, in *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, 2 vols (Leipzig 1901, 1907/New York 1975/Leipzig 1989), II. For Hagia Sophia, see the *Narratio de S. Sophia*, in Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, I, 74ff. Extract translated in Mango, *Art*, 96–102.

<sup>36</sup> See also chapter 11: 'Historical Geography', above.

<sup>37</sup> The standard edition for these texts is the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Araborum*, ed. M.-J. De Goeje (Leiden 1870ff.); nunc continuata consultantibus R. Blachère (etc.) (Leiden 1938ff.); See *Abû'l-Kâsim 'Ubayd Allâh b. 'Abd Allâh b. Khurradadhbih, Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik*, in *BGA VI*, 76–85; *Abû'l-Faraj al-Kâtib al-Bagdâdî Kudâma ibn Ja'far, Kitâb al-Harâj*, in *BGA VI*, 196–9; *Ibn al-Fakih al-Hamadânî, Description of the Land of the Byzantines*, tr. E.W. Brooks, in 'Arabic Lists of Byzantine Themes', *JHS* 21 (1901) 67–77, see 72–7. For discussion, see especially A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulmane jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, i: *Géographie et géographie humaine dans la littérature arabe des origines à 1050* (Paris 1967); ii: *Géographie arabe et représentation du monde: la terre et l'étranger* (Paris 1975); and I.J. Kratchkovskii, *Arabskaia geograficheskaia literatura* (Moscow/Leningrad 1957).

<sup>38</sup> Extracts in A. ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, vol. 3 (Leiden 1969); ed. and trans. E. Fagnan, *Abou Yousouf Ya'koub. Le livre de l'impôt foncier (Kitâb el-Kharâdj)* (Paris 1911).

<sup>39</sup> Harûn b. Yahya, incorporated into: Ibn Rosteh, in: Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* II, 2, 382–94; in *BGA VII*, 119–27; French trans. and commentary: M. Izzedin, 'Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance au IXe siècle: Haroun-ibn-Yahya', *Revue des Études Islamiques* (1941/46) 41–62; see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 361–2. Later geographical catalogues or descriptions: the later tenth-century Persian *Hudûd al-'Alâm, The Regions of the World*, trans. V. Minorsky (Oxford 1937, rev. edn C. Bosworth, London 1970); *Ibn Hawqal Abu'l-Qasim, Kitâb Surat al-Ard, Configuration de la terre*, trad. J.H. Kramers and G. Wiet, 2 vols (Beirut-Paris 1964); Mas'ûdî, trans. as *Kitâb al-Tanbih w'al-Ishraf. Maçoudî, Le livre*

### Lexicographical and Bibliographical Literature<sup>40</sup>

Three works only are important for this period from the Byzantine side, two of the ninth and one of the tenth century. The *Bibliothēke* and the *Lexikon* compiled by the patriarch Photios represent two of the most important works of middle Byzantine scholarship, and provide invaluable information both on the literary tradition of the period and the availability of texts of both the classical and the nearer Byzantine past, thus contributing to the cultural history of the period. The *Lexikon* is a rather disorderly catalogue of words and phrases collected by Photios in the course of his reading. The intention, outlined in the introduction, was to provide a guide to the use and interpretation of the most frequently employed and most important words in Attic texts, and some 8,000 entries – often extremely short, offering simply a few synonyms for the word in question – were completed. The longer entries include, however, quotations from a number of ancient authors, of whom some are found only in this source. Since Photios drew upon a wide range of ancient and Hellenistic/Roman *lexika* and similar works, in particular the so-called *Synagoge lexicon chresimon* whose origins lie in the fifth century, the text provides an important source for the literary cultural history of the ninth century.<sup>41</sup> In contrast, the better organized *Bibliothēke*, also known as the *Myriobiblon*, is in effect a survey of Photios's own reading, with sometimes extensive quotations from the texts with which he was familiar. Addressed to his brother Tarasios, and entitled in the oldest manuscript 'List and description of books we have read', it covers both ancient pagan and Roman and Christian literature (although well over 50 per cent of the material included is Christian), with a marked emphasis upon works of historical and lexicographical interest. It is made up of some 280 chapters or sections, describing over 380 books. Part of its importance lies in the fact that it includes many works no longer extant, and references to authors about whom nothing is otherwise known, and includes biographical information, summaries of the contents and tendency of many works, as well as his own opinion as to their literary, historical or other worth, thus providing also important insights into contemporary learned attitudes.<sup>42</sup>

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*de l'avertissement et de la revision*, trad. B. Carra de Vaux (Paris 1897); Ya'kubî: *Kitâb al-Buldân*, *Le livre des pays*, trad. G. Wiet (Cairo 1937); text in: *BGA* vii; and the much later, twelfth-century geographical lexicon of Yâqût al-Rûmî (1179–1229): ed. H.F. Wüstenfeld, *Jaqu't's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, 6 vols (Leipzig 1866–73).

<sup>40</sup> For a good introduction and survey of the material: Hunger, *Literatur*, II, 33–50.

<sup>41</sup> The *Lexikon*: text, ed. C. Theodoridis, *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon* I (A-) (Berlin 1982); see *ODB* 3, 1669; and the detailed discussion in Hunger, *Literatur*, II, 39–41, with earlier editions and modern literature; also K. Tsantsanoglou, *Tò Lexikò tou Φωτίου. Χρονολόγηση – χειρόγραφη παράδοση* (= *Hell.*, Beiheft 17. Thessaloniki 1967).

<sup>42</sup> Edition with French trans.: R. Henry, *Photius, Bibliothèque* 8 vols (Paris 1959–77); literature: W.T. Treadgold, *The nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius* (Washington DC 1980); J. Schamp, *Photios historien des lettres: la Bibliothèque et ses notices biographiques* (Paris–Liège 1987); *ODB* 1, 288. See also the English trans. of J.H. Freese, *The Library of Photius* (Transactions of Christian Literature, Series I, Greek Texts. London–New York 1920); and N.G. Wilson, *Photius, the Bibliotheca. A selection translated with notes* (London 1994). For the date of its composition: A. Markopoulos, 'Νέα στοιχεία για την χρονολόγηση της "Βιβλιοθήκη" του Φωτίου', *Symmeikta* 7 (1987)165–81.

The so-called Suda Lexikon (Σοῦδα – ‘defensive work’)<sup>43</sup> was compiled by several writers, probably towards the end of the tenth century. As with the *Lexikon* of Photios, it represents a survey of useful or difficult words, and draws on a range of older *lexika*, including that of Photios, and is indeed arranged in a similar way to the latter, partly as a result of this dependency. But it is much more extensive, containing some 30,000 entries. Most of the literary biographical data in the *Souda* seem to have been drawn from an *Epitome*, compiled ca 829–58, of the so-called *Onomatology* of the sixth-century compiler Hesychios of Miletos, but the authors drew also on the vast range of works commissioned by or during the reign of Constantine VII, including excerpts from classical and later Roman writers and historians. Although compiled some time after the period with which we are concerned, the *Souda* lexicon nevertheless includes a good deal of useful historical and biographical information for the period, quite apart from its lexicographical value in respect of the development of the language.<sup>44</sup>

Material in Arabic can also provide useful insights into Byzantine society, politics, and culture. Later Arabic accounts, in compendia of scientific literature, of contacts between Byzantium and Islam reveal a number of interesting aspects: for example, that Hârûn ar-Rashîd gave a Syrian doctor a number of Greek manuscripts, looted from Amorion and Ankara, and other places, to translate;<sup>45</sup> or that Byzantine traders who had purchased fake gold bars from a Muslim alchemist in the ninth century later demanded their money back.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> The metaphor in the title was not unusual – similar texts bear titles such as *Panoplia* or *Hoplotheke*. The title *Suidas*, by which the collection has traditionally been known, derives from the twelfth-century writer Eustathios: see Hunger, *Literatur*, II, 40–1 and n. 44 with literature.

<sup>44</sup> Text: A. Adler, *Suidae Lexicon* I–IV (Leipzig 1928–38). Literature/discussion: Hunger, *Literatur*, II, 40–2; *ODB* 3, 1930–31; Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 400–1; and the lexicographical analysis by A. Steiner, in E. Trapp *et al.*, eds, *Studien zur byzantinischen Lexikographie* (Vienna 1988) 149–81. Older literature: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 512–15.

<sup>45</sup> See F. Sayyid, ed. and trans., *Ibn Juljul, Kitâb tabaqât al-atibbâ’ wa-l-hukamâ’* (The Book of types of doctors and philosophers) (Cairo 1955) 65. Ibn Juljul was a late tenth-century compiler. For other contacts – for example, iconoclast ideas brought back to Baghdad by the Arab visitor and doctor Hunain ibn Ishâq in the 830s – see G. Strohmaier, ‘Homer in Bagdad’, *BS* 41 (1980) 196–200 and ‘Hunain ibn Ishâq und die Bilder’, *Klio* 43–4 (1965) 525–33. See P. Magdalino, ‘The road to Baghdad in the thought-world of ninth-century Byzantium’, in Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century*, 195–213.

<sup>46</sup> See A. Müller, ed., *Ibn abî Usaibi’a, Kitâb ‘uyûn al-anbâ’ fî tabaqât al-atibbâ’* (The Book of Sources of Information about the Categories of Doctors) 3 vols (Cairo–Königsberg 1882–84) I, 313. The compiler lived in the thirteenth century, but employed a vast range of earlier material. A similar collection of material is to be found in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadîm, a bibliographical survey of works in several fields of Arab-Islamic scholarship from the first/seventh to the fourth/tenth century: see the edition of Ridâ Tajaddud (Tehran 1391/1971) and the edn with English translation of B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadîm: a tenth-century survey of Muslim culture* (New York 1970).



# Non-Liturgical Verse and Epigrammatic Literature

While they contain only limited information for the historian of political events, the products of these literary genres are of immeasurable importance for an understanding of the world view and pattern of belief and perception of the literate element of Byzantine society.<sup>1</sup> Liturgical poetry and hymnography have been discussed above, and although in terms of their subject-matter it is often somewhat artificial to distinguish 'secular' from 'religious' in the Byzantine context, we summarize very briefly in this last section the main other collections and writers for this period. It is significant that there does appear to have been a real revival of interest in traditional forms of secular verse during the last years of the eighth and first decades of the ninth century. Much of the material known from the ninth century and earlier survives only in the so-called Palatine Anthology, a collection assembled by an anonymous compiler during the tenth century, partly based on earlier collections. It consists of some 3,700 epigrams organised in 15 books.<sup>2</sup>

Theodore the Stoudite composed a number of verses 'On various objects' which reflect very closely the monastic environment and its priorities, providing in this respect a valuable source for an important aspect of Byzantine social and cultural life at the time. Certain verses are also crucial to the question of the decoration of the Chalke gate in Constantinople in the later eighth and early ninth century.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 86–90.

<sup>2</sup> W.R. Paton, *The Greek anthology*, 5 vols (London–New York 1925–27) (Greek text, English trans.); H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca*, 4 vols (2nd edn, Munich 1965) (Greek text, German trans.); P. Waltz *et al.*, *Anthologie grecque*, 13 vols (Paris 1928–80). Other translations or extracts: *Poems from the Greek anthology in English paraphrase*, by D. Fitts (New York 1956); A. Sinclair, *Selections from the Greek anthology* (New York 1967) See Hunger, *Literatur*, II, 56–7; *ODB* 2, 872–3. Selected epigrams dealing with images are printed, accompanied by a German translation, and discussed in Thümmel, *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit*, 153–67. For the growth in interest in these forms, see P. Speck, 'Ideologische Ansprüche – historische Realität. Zum Problem des Selbstverständnisses der Byzantiner', in A. Hohlweg, ed., *Byzanz und seine Nachbarn* (Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch 26. Munich 1996) 19–45, esp. 35ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ed., trans., and comm. P. Speck, *Theodoros Studites, Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände* (Berlin 1968); text and translations also in Thümmel, *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit*, 170–9. See Hunger, *Literatur*, II, 167–8; see also *idem*, 'Parerga zu den Epigrammen des Theodoros Studites', *Ellenika* 18 (1964) 11–43, 270f. For further discussion,

Theodore's iconoclast opponents John, Ignatios, Sergios, and Stephanos also wrote epigrams of a political-religious character;<sup>4</sup> while an iconophile poem of the early ninth century celebrated the iconophile victory.<sup>5</sup> Later verses were composed which celebrated the struggle of the two brothers Theophanes and Theodoros *graptoi* as well as the role of the patriarch Methodios.<sup>6</sup> The poetess Kassia, product of a wealthy Constantinopolitan family, supporter of the iconophile cause, and founder and first abbess of a monastery (shortly after 830), was the author of a number of sharply critical verses directed against iconoclasts as well as, among others, Armenians and those of limited spiritual character.<sup>7</sup> The patriarchs Methodios and Ignatios similarly composed verse and epigrams, valuable in so far as they reflect the cultural and political concerns of their authors, but containing only a little factual information.<sup>8</sup> While anacreontic verse reappears, some examples of encomiastic verse have also survived from the eighth and ninth centuries, although it should be emphasised that verse composition never seems to have ceased absolutely: a certain Theodosios *grammatikos* composed a short poem about the siege of 717–18;<sup>9</sup> while an anonymous writer composed a – now fragmentary – poem in praise of the emperor Basil I.<sup>10</sup> But in the early ninth century Theodore of Stoudios wrote in this form about the persecutions of iconophile monks; while Ignatios the deacon (possibly in explicit rivalry with Theodore) composed a laudatory poem about the defeat of the rebel Thomas the Slav at the hands of the legitimate emperor Michael II. Indeed, the verse epigramme seems to have recovered its relevance as a means of communicating political and theological hostility and criticism, a step which marks

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see P. Speck, 'TA THAE BATTAPIΣΜΑΤΑ ΠΛΑΝΑ Überlegungen zur Aussendekoration der Chalke im achten Jahrhundert', in: *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte. Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag* (Amsterdam 1995) 211–20; and esp. Kazhdan, *Literature*, 254–7.

<sup>4</sup> See PG 99, 436f., and P. Speck, 'Die ikonoklastischen Jamben an der Chalke', *Hellenika* 27 (1974) 376–80.

<sup>5</sup> See I. Ševčenko, 'The anti-iconoclastic poem in the Pantocrator Psalter', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 15 (1965) 39–60; and note 3 above.

<sup>6</sup> Thümmel, *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit*, 168–9.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. K. Krumbacher, *Kassia*, in *SBB*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1897, no. 3, 357–68. See, esp., also I. Rochow, *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia* (BBA 38. Berlin 1967); Hunger, II, 168. Further discussion, and analysis of the literary significance of Kassia in the context of ninth-century Byzantium, with bibliography: Kazhdan, *Literature*, 315–26.

<sup>8</sup> See L. Sternbach, ed. 'Methodii patriarchae et Ignatii patriarchae carmina inedita', *Eos* 4 (1897) 150–63. For compositions of Ignatios, see Hunger, II, 143–4; J. Irmscher, 'Poetische Literatur', in Brandes and Winkelmann, 260–70, at 268–9; Mango, *The correspondence of Ignatios the deacon*, 3–22; G. Makris, *Ignatios Diakonos und die Vita des hl. Gregorios Dekapolites*, 11–22.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Sp. Lampros, *Ἱστορικὰ Μελετήματα* (Athens 1884) 129–41. For anacreontic composition, see Th. Nissen, *Die byzantinischen Anacreonten* (SBB, phil.-hist. Klasse 1949, no. 3. Munich 1949).

<sup>10</sup> See Gy. Moravcsik, 'Ἀνώνυμον ἀφιερωτικὸν ποίημα περὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Βασιλείου α΄', in *Eis mnēmyn K. Amánton* (Athens 1960) 1–10.

a significant moment in the process of 'recovering' the literary and cultural heritage of the late Roman world.<sup>11</sup>

Greek was not the only language of poetry, of course, and the descriptions by Muslim court poets of Muslim-Byzantine relations, both in war and in peace, are often very useful sources of information.<sup>12</sup> The work of court poets is of similar value. Perhaps the best-known commentator on Byzantine-Arab warfare and diplomatic relations is the poet of the emir Saif ad-Daula, Mutannabî (915–65), whose work is too late to be of value for the iconoclast era;<sup>13</sup> but the earlier Ibn Taifûr (819–93), closely associated with the court of al-Ma'mûn, provides important evidence for Byzantine-Arab political and diplomatic relations in the period 819–33.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> For Theodore: P. Speck, 'Parerga zu den Epigrammen des Theodoros Studites', *Hellenika* 18 (1964) 11–43, see 31–2; for Ignatios: *Suda*, 1 84 (ed. A. Adler, *Suidae Lexicon* I–IV [Leipzig 1928–38]); and see the discussion in St. Efthymiadis, *The Life of the patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the deacon (BHG 1698)* (BBOM 4. Aldershot 1998) 39, 41 with further literature; see also A. Cameron, *The Greek anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford 1993); and *Tusculum-Lexikon* 360. For the possibility that Theodore and Ignatios harboured a personal rivalry, see P. Speck, 'Die Ursprünge der makedonischen Renaissance', in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major papers* (New Rochelle, NY 1986) 555–76 at 570–1.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, the account of the poet al-Ghazzâl in E. Lévi-Provençal. 'Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IXe siècle', *B* 12 (1937) 1–14; and the catalogue and survey in M. Canard, 'Les allusions à la guerre byzantine chez les poètes Abu-Tammam et Buhturi', in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes*, i, 397–408.

<sup>13</sup> See M. Canard, 'Mutanabbi et la guerre byzantino-arabe. Intérêt historique de ses poésies', in *idem*, *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient* (London 1973) VI. For Mutanabbi and related poets of the period, see Karayannopoulos and Weiss, 387–8.

<sup>14</sup> See above; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les arabes* I, 390–4 (and discussion at 98–103) for French trans. of extracts; also H. Keller, *Sechster Band des Kitâb Bagdâd von Ahmad Ibn Abî Tâhir Taifûr* (Leipzig 1908) for a German translation.



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Modern authors have been omitted from the Index, as have references in the footnotes. Specific references to first and second iconoclasm have been included, but not the terms iconoclasm or icons.

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# ILLUSTRATIONS





Fig. 1 Istanbul, Hagia Eirene, interior looking east

Fig. 3 Nicaea, Koimesis church, plan

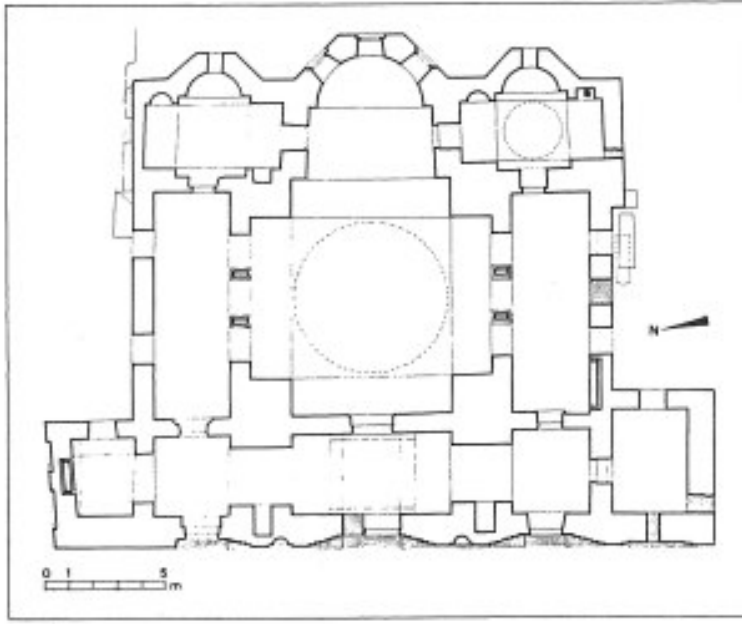


Fig. 4 Istanbul, Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, plan

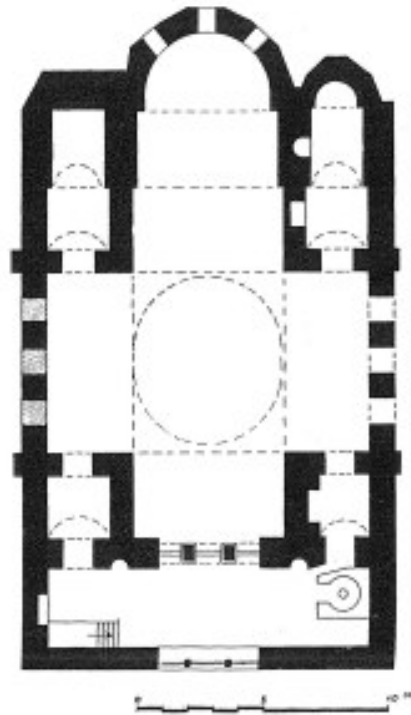
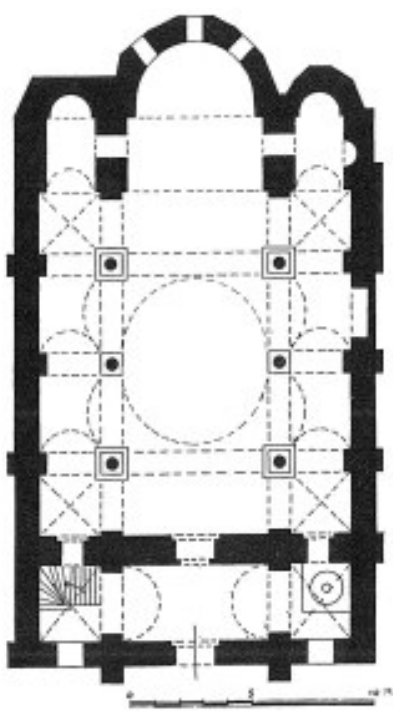
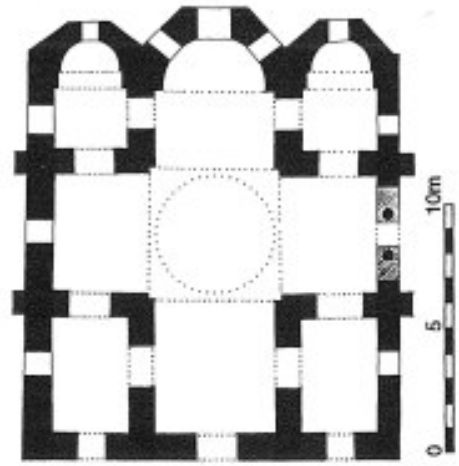


Fig. 2 Vize, Hagia Sophia, plan, ground and gallery levels





Fig. 7 Trilye, Fatih Camii, view of north facade showing arcade

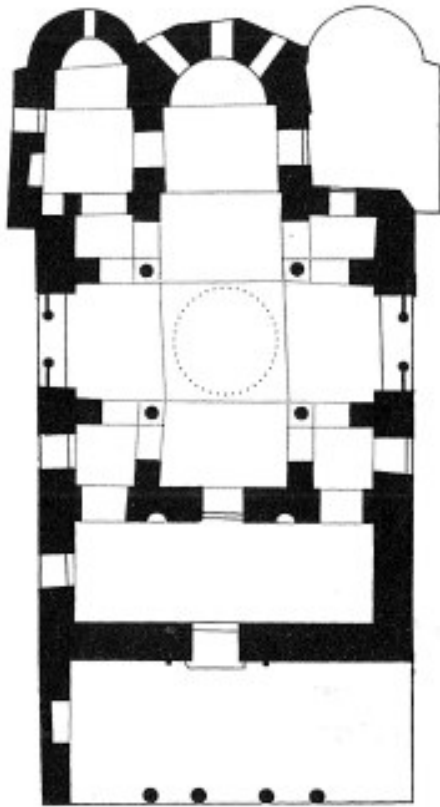


Fig. 5 Trilye, Fatih Camii, plan

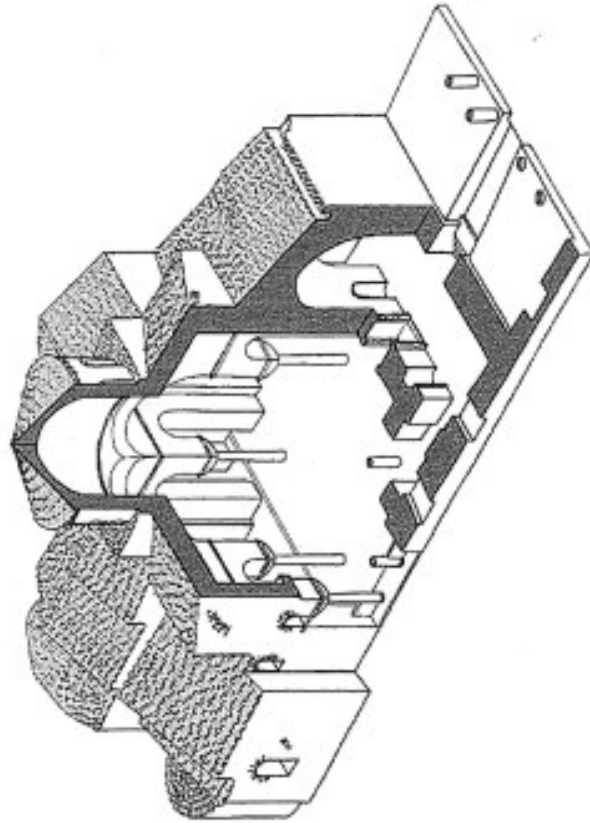


Fig. 6 Trilye, Fatih Camii, cutaway view

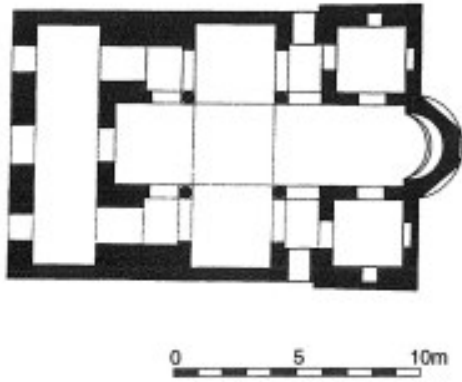


Fig. 8 Side, Church H, plan

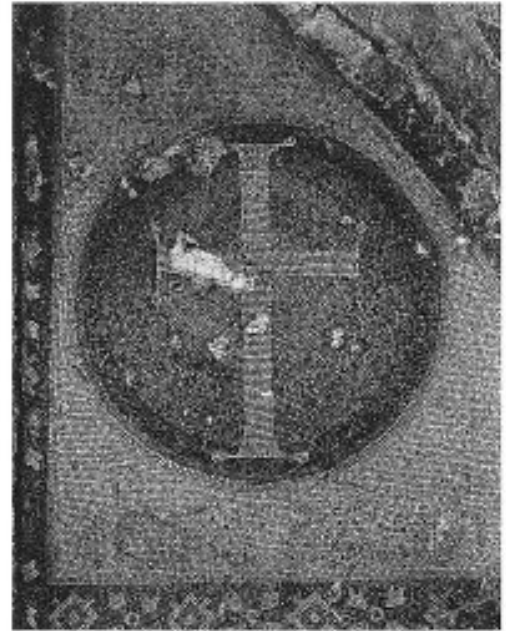


Fig. 10 Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, room over the southwest ramp, south tympanum: cross



Fig. 9 Istanbul, sea wall tower, inscription of Theophilos



Fig. 11 Nicaea, Koimesis church, apse mosaic (after T. Schmit)

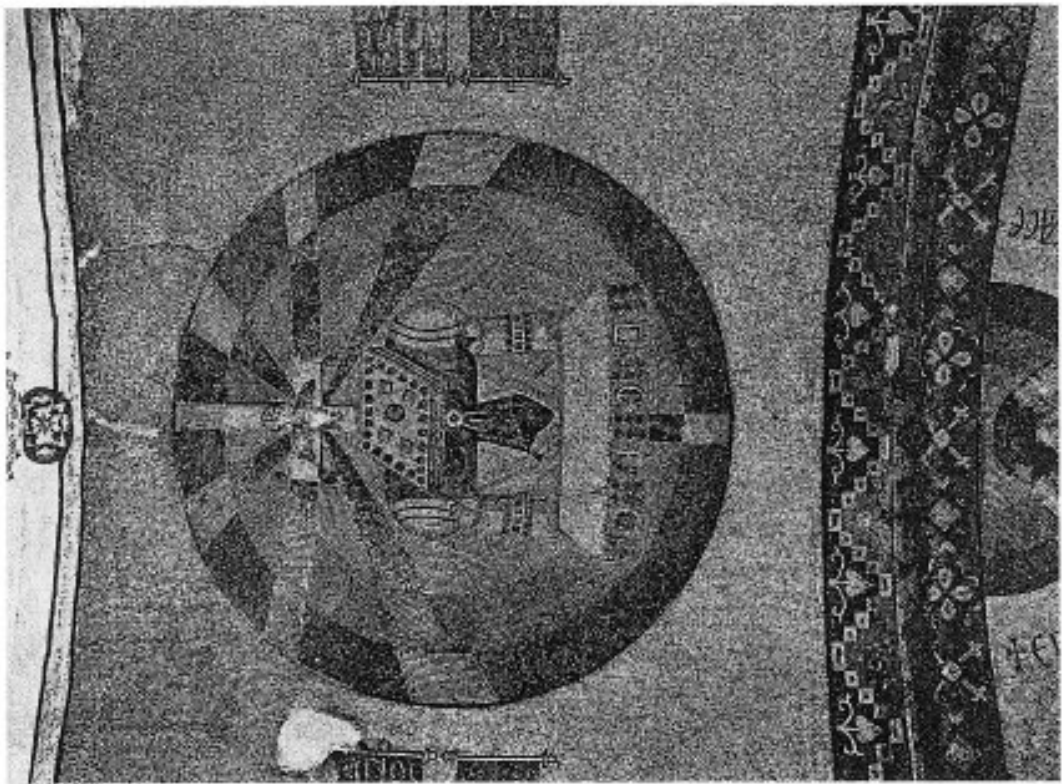


Fig. 12 Nicaea, Koimesis church, bema vault, apex:  
hetimasia

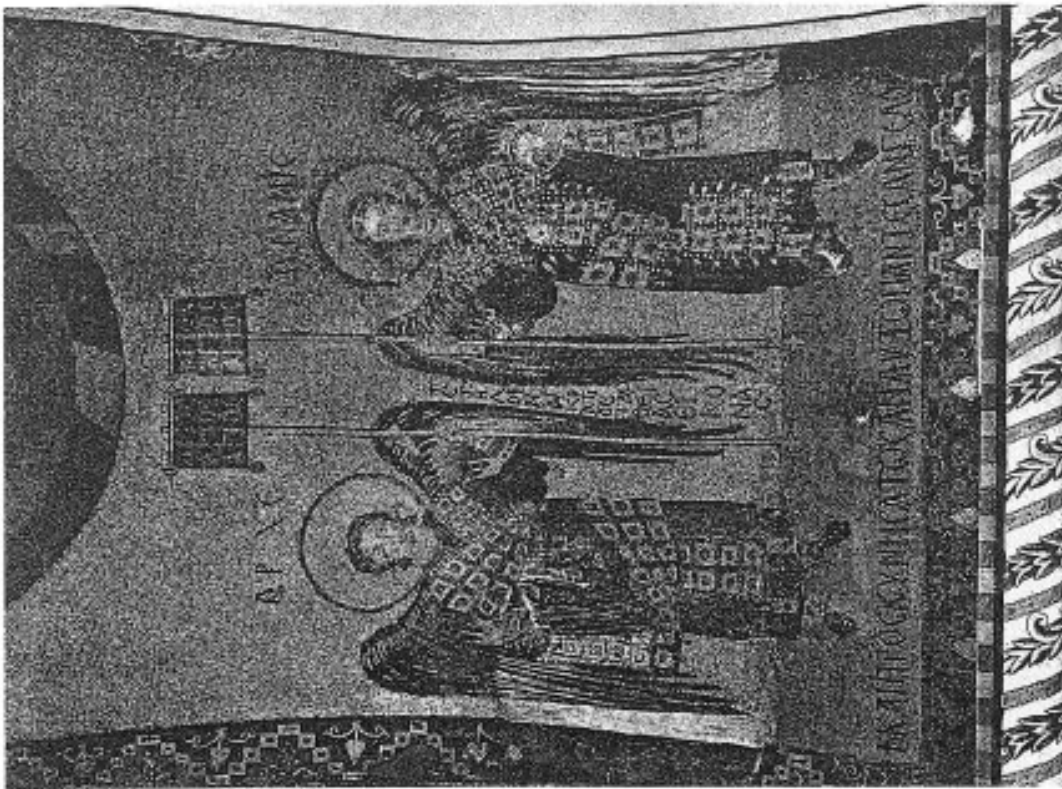


Fig. 13 Nicaea, Koimesis church, bema, archangels

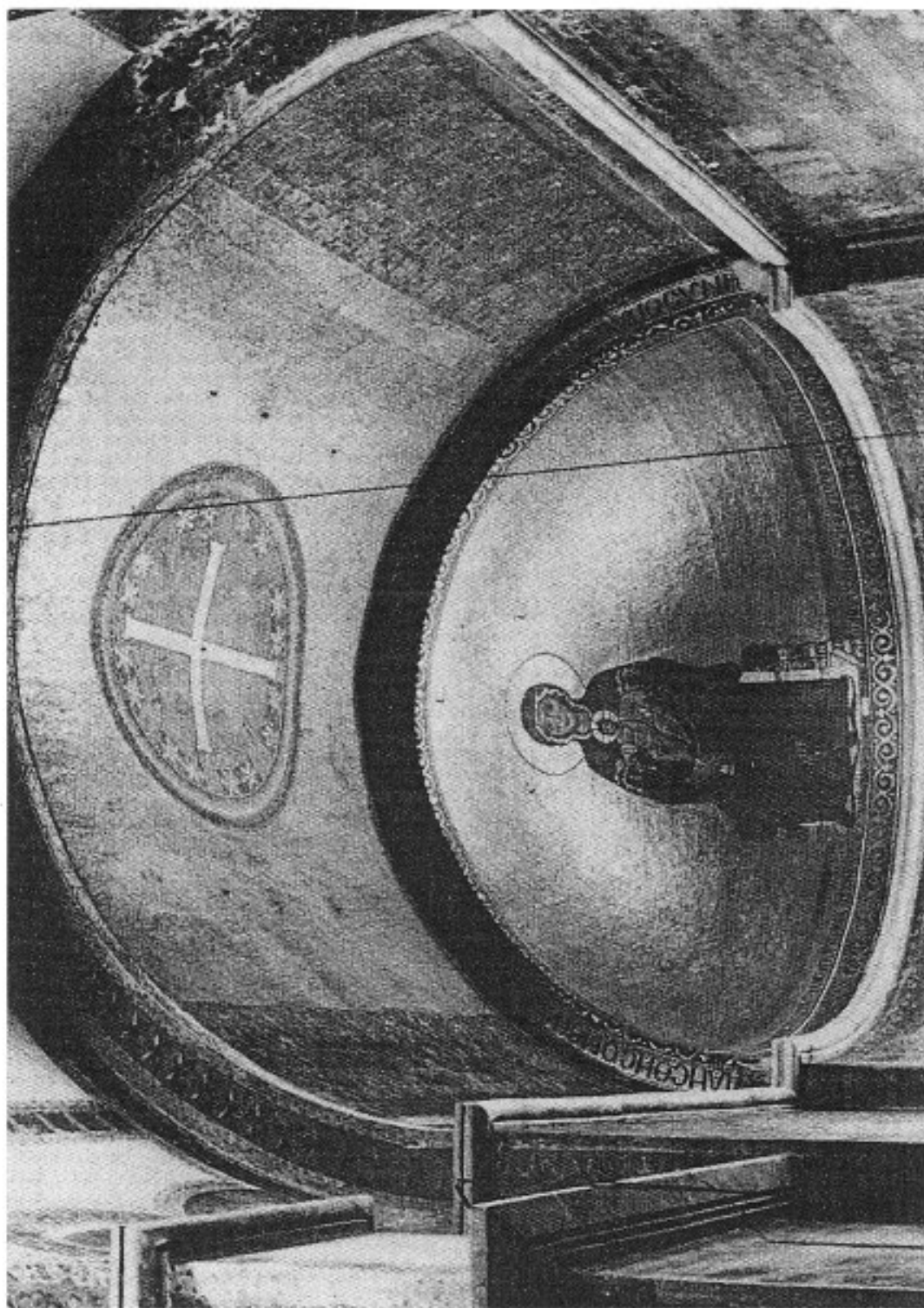


Fig. 14 Thessaloniki, Hagia Sophia, view to east

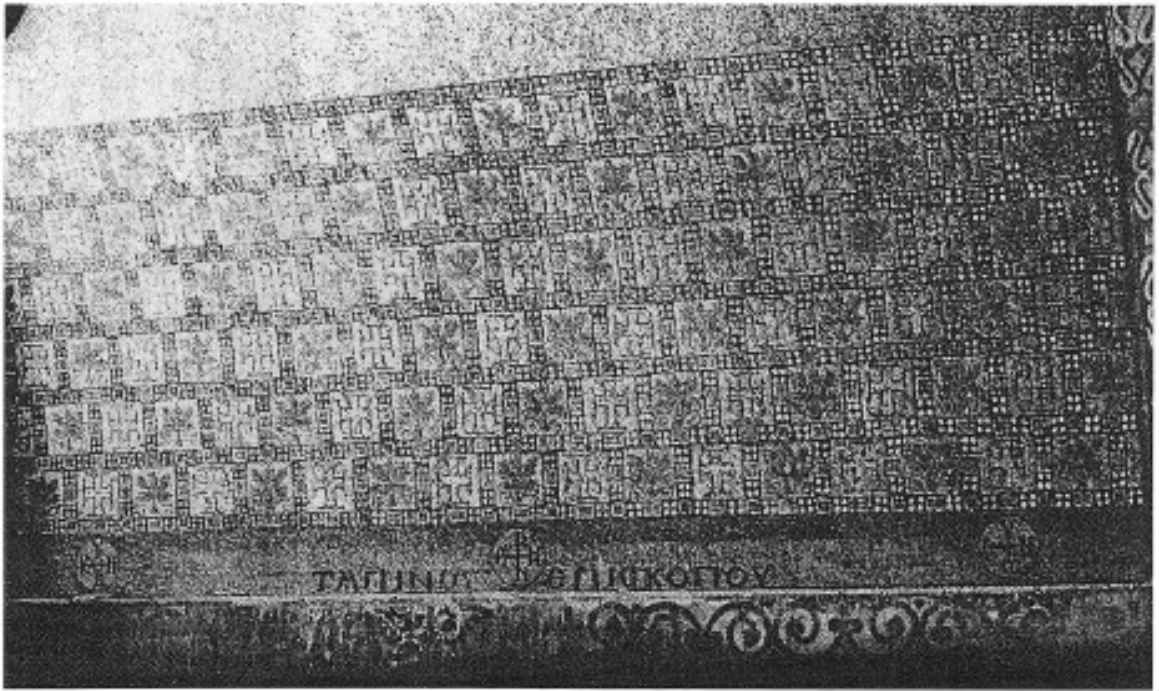


Fig. 15 Thessaloniki, Hagia Sophia, bema vault

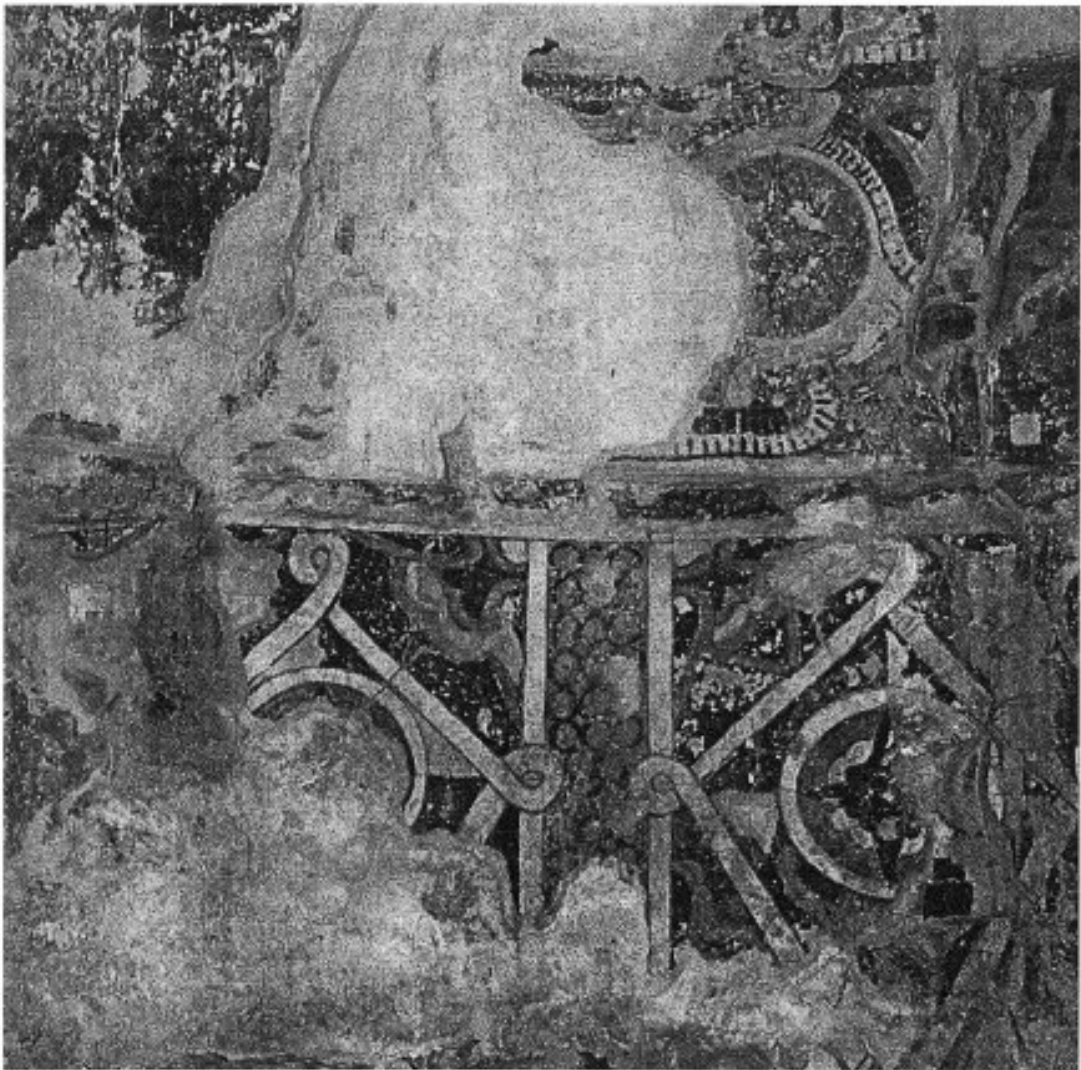


Fig. 16 Naxos, Hagios Ioannes Theologos, fresco detail

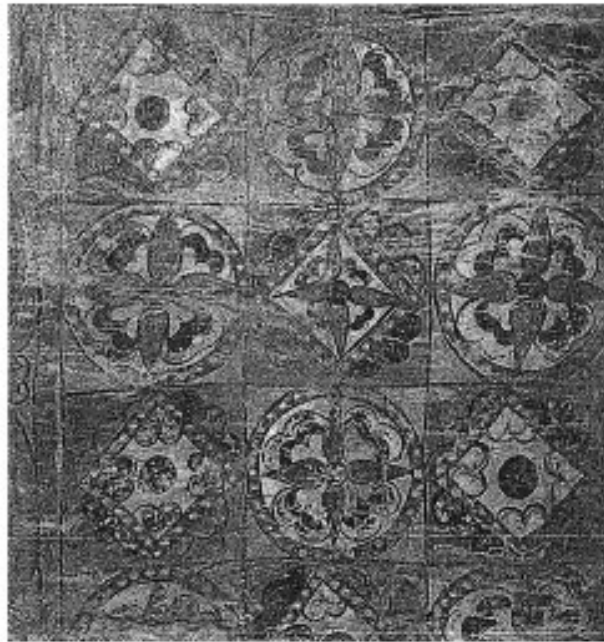


Fig. 17 Naxos, Hagios Artemios, fresco detail



Fig. 18 Naxos, Protothronos, fresco detail

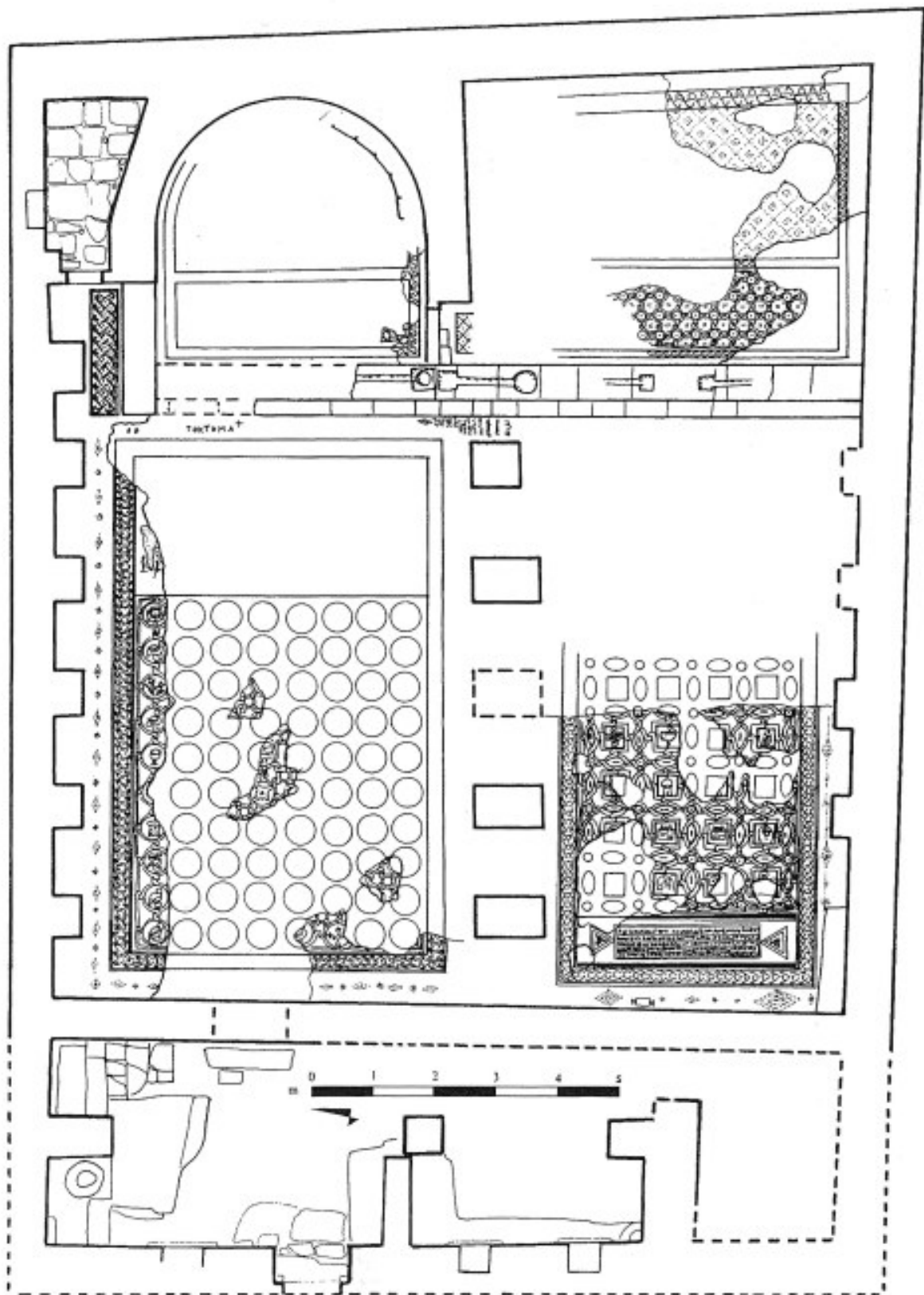


Fig. 19 al-Quwaysmah, lower church, mosaic pavement



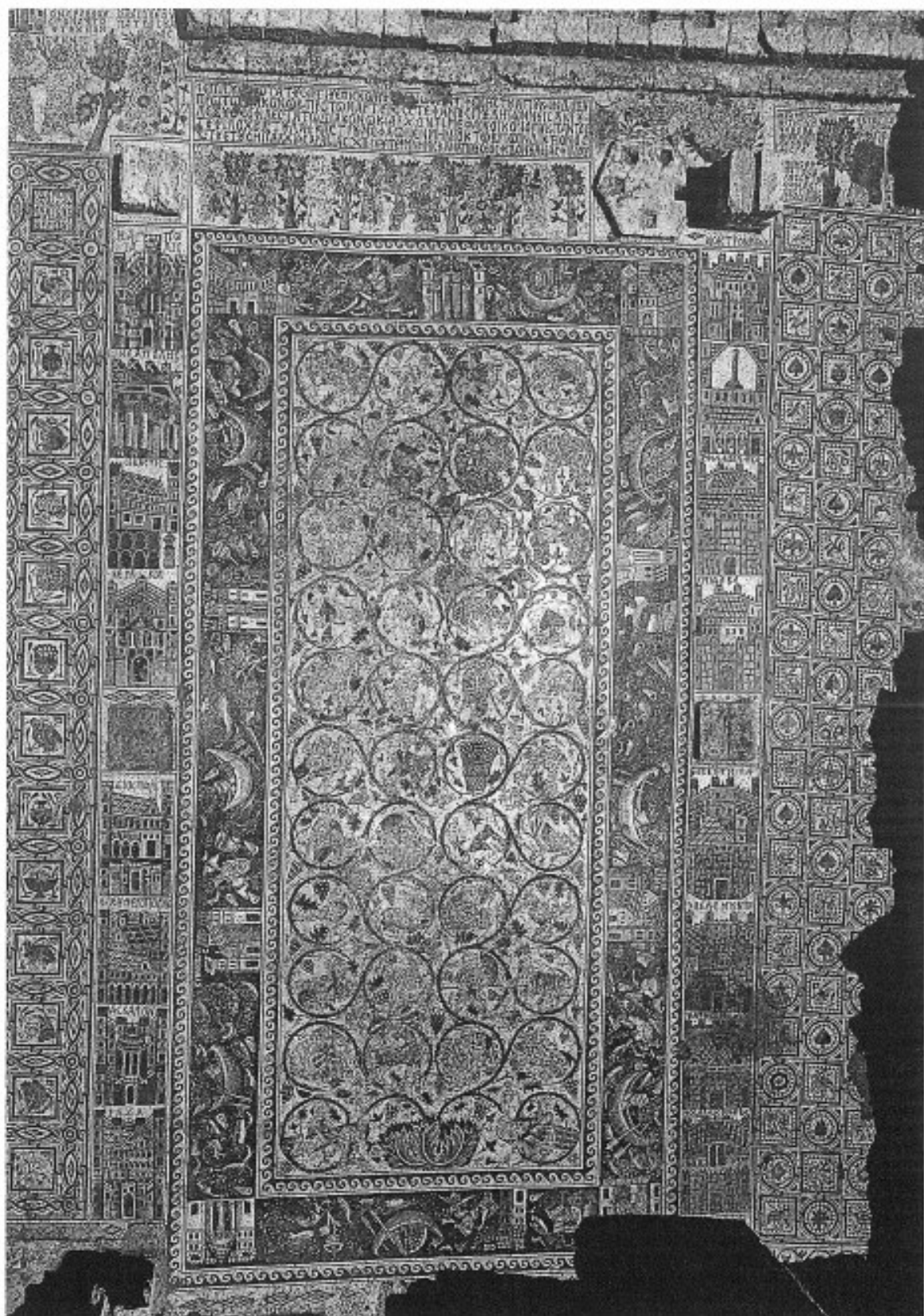


Fig. 20 Umm al-Rasas, St Stephen's church, mosaic pavement

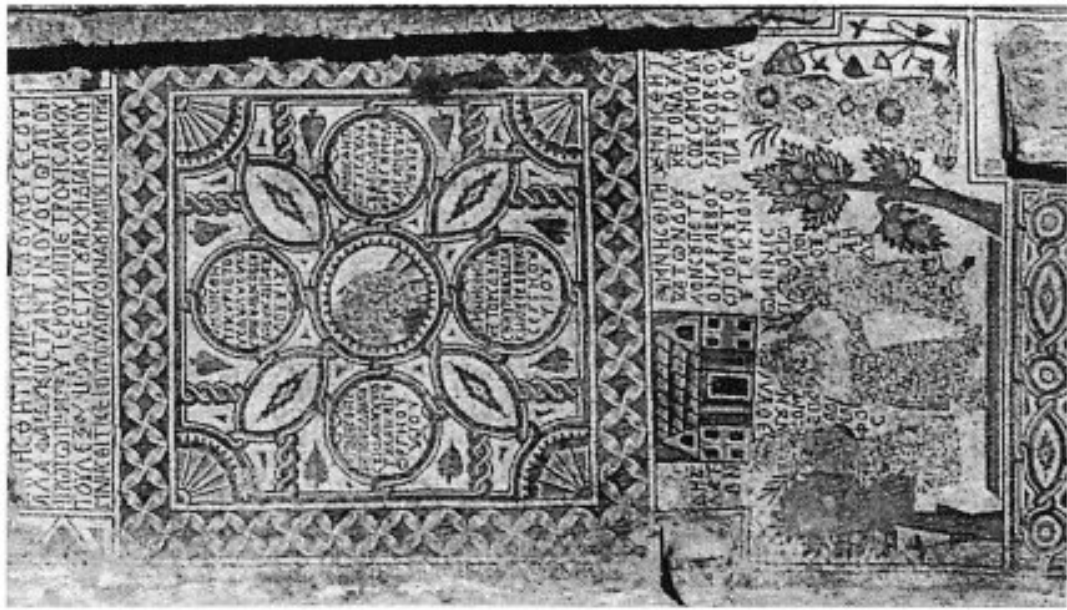


Fig. 21 Umm al-Rasas, St Stephen's church, mosaic pavement

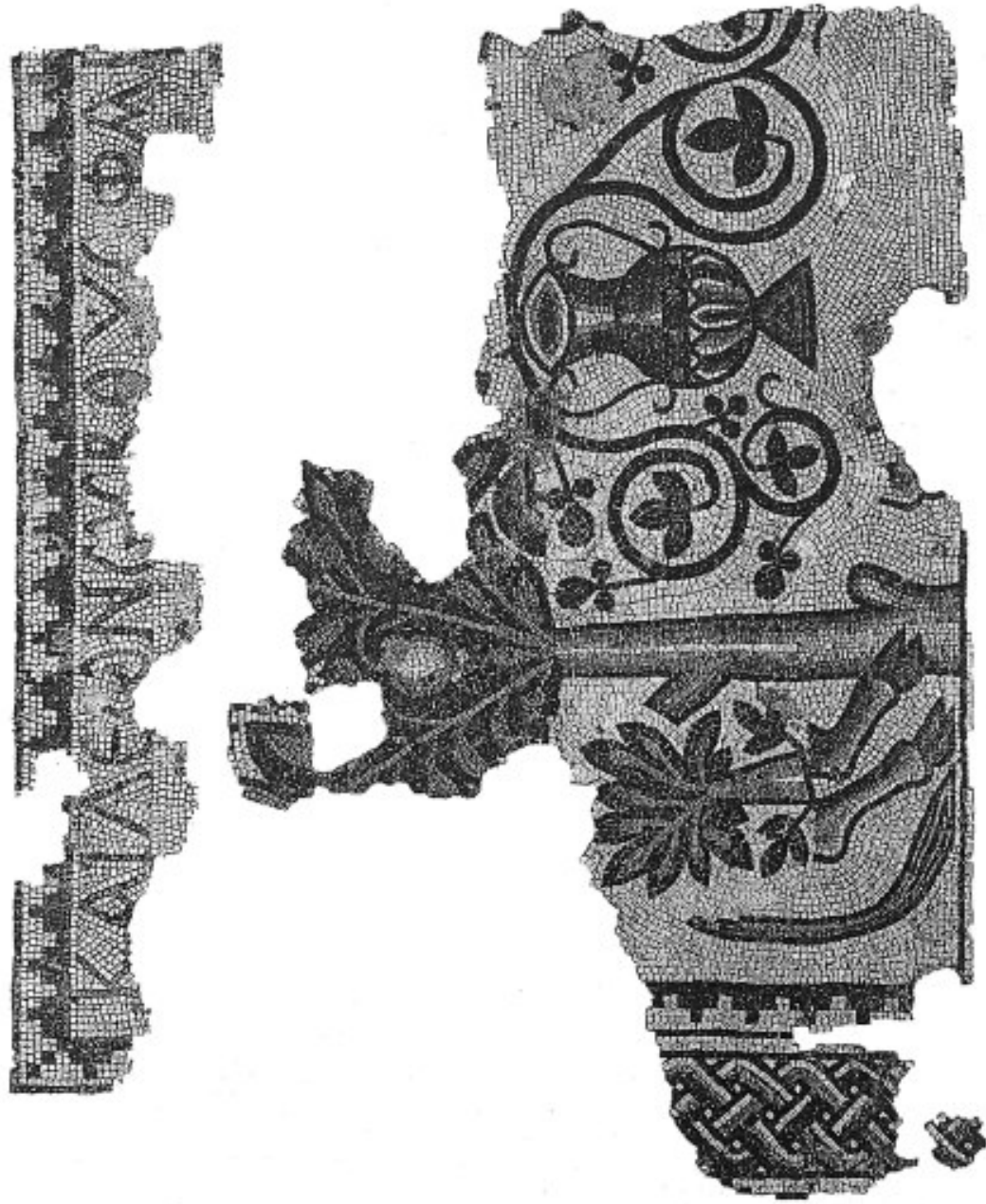


Fig. 22 Ma'in, church on the acropolis, mosaic pavement

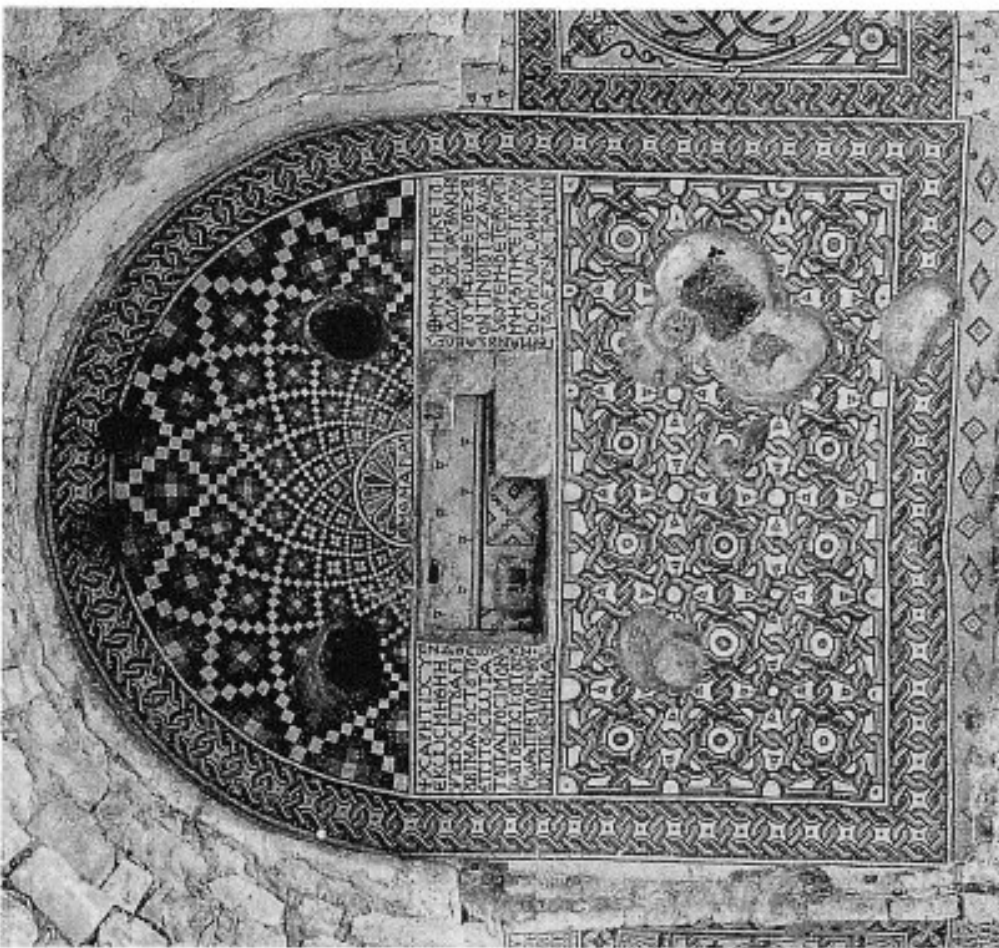


Fig. 23 Umm al-Rasas, St Stephen's church, mosaic pavement

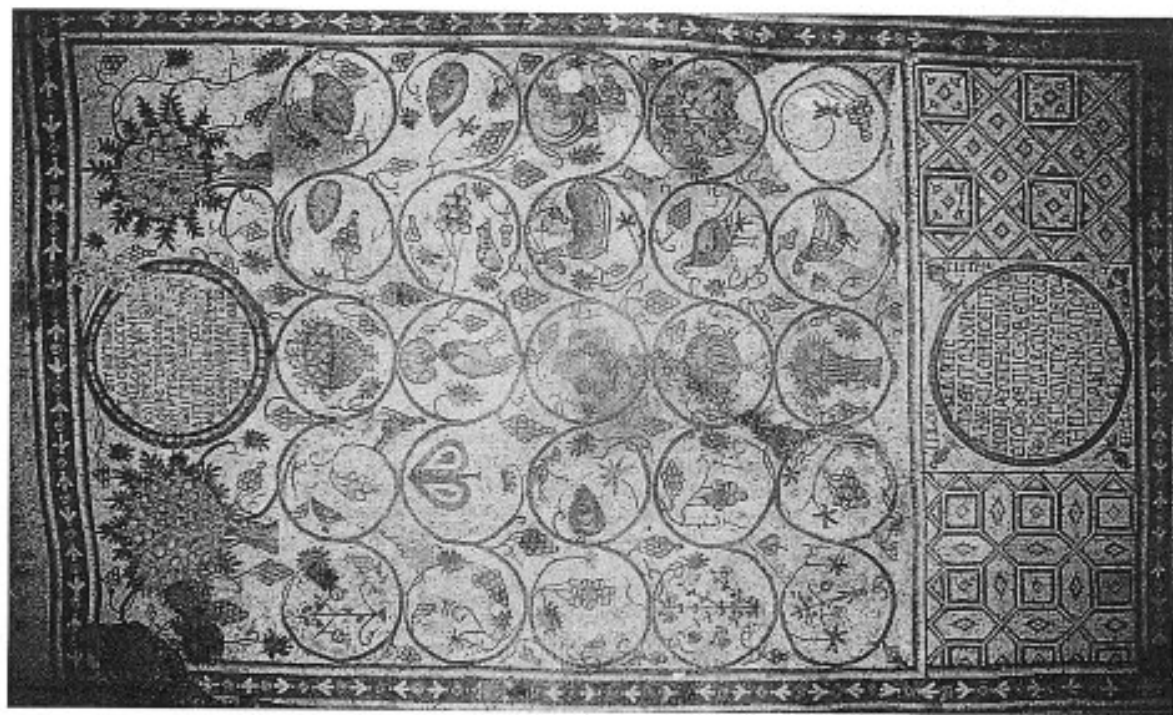


Fig. 24 'Ayn al-Kanisa, chapel of the Theotokos, mosaic pavement



Fig. 25 Madaba, church of the Virgin, mosaic pavement

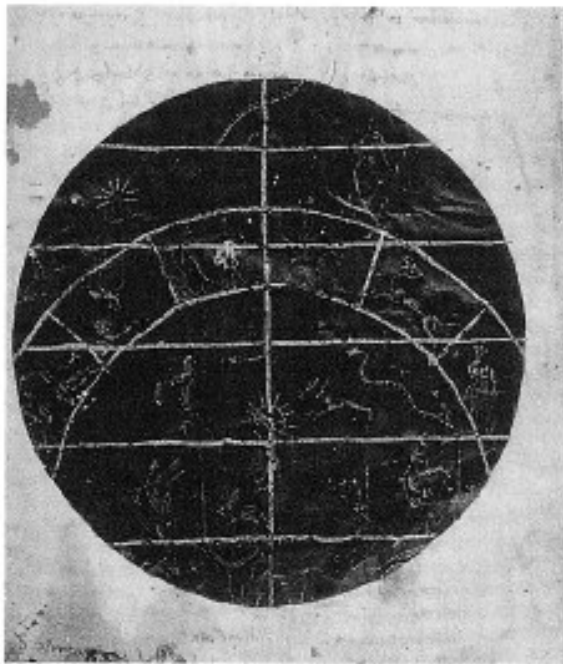


Fig. 26 Vat. gr. 1291, f. 2v, constellations of the north hemisphere

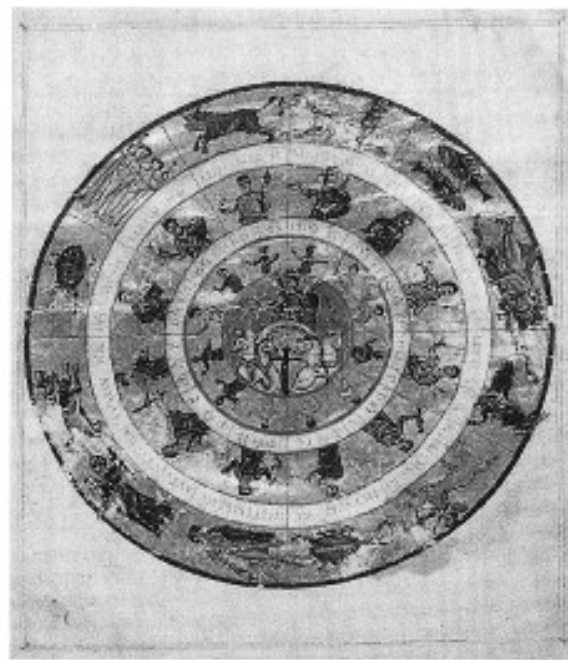


Fig. 27 Vat. gr. 1291, f. 9r, Helios surrounded by personifications of the hours, months, and signs of the zodiac

αριθμοί των μηνών εν τω ουρανό

ΜΗΝ	ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ	ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ	ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ	ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ	ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ
1	1	2	3	4	5
2	6	7	8	9	10
3	11	12	13	14	15
4	16	17	18	19	20
5	21	22	23	24	25
6	26	27	28	29	30
7	31	32	33	34	35
8	36	37	38	39	40
9	41	42	43	44	45
10	46	47	48	49	50
11	51	52	53	54	55
12	56	57	58	59	60
13	61	62	63	64	65
14	66	67	68	69	70
15	71	72	73	74	75
16	76	77	78	79	80
17	81	82	83	84	85
18	86	87	88	89	90
19	91	92	93	94	95
20	96	97	98	99	100
21	101	102	103	104	105
22	106	107	108	109	110
23	111	112	113	114	115
24	116	117	118	119	120
25	121	122	123	124	125
26	126	127	128	129	130
27	131	132	133	134	135
28	136	137	138	139	140
29	141	142	143	144	145
30	146	147	148	149	150
31	151	152	153	154	155
32	156	157	158	159	160
33	161	162	163	164	165
34	166	167	168	169	170
35	171	172	173	174	175
36	176	177	178	179	180
37	181	182	183	184	185
38	186	187	188	189	190
39	191	192	193	194	195
40	196	197	198	199	200
41	201	202	203	204	205
42	206	207	208	209	210
43	211	212	213	214	215
44	216	217	218	219	220
45	221	222	223	224	225
46	226	227	228	229	230
47	231	232	233	234	235
48	236	237	238	239	240
49	241	242	243	244	245
50	246	247	248	249	250
51	251	252	253	254	255
52	256	257	258	259	260
53	261	262	263	264	265
54	266	267	268	269	270
55	271	272	273	274	275
56	276	277	278	279	280
57	281	282	283	284	285
58	286	287	288	289	290
59	291	292	293	294	295
60	296	297	298	299	300

Fig. 28 Vat. gr. 1291, f. 23r, astronomical tables with Cancer, Leo, Virgo

αριθμοί των μηνών εν τω ουρανό

ΜΗΝ	ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ	ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ	ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ	ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ	ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ
1	1	2	3	4	5
2	6	7	8	9	10
3	11	12	13	14	15
4	16	17	18	19	20
5	21	22	23	24	25
6	26	27	28	29	30
7	31	32	33	34	35
8	36	37	38	39	40
9	41	42	43	44	45
10	46	47	48	49	50
11	51	52	53	54	55
12	56	57	58	59	60
13	61	62	63	64	65
14	66	67	68	69	70
15	71	72	73	74	75
16	76	77	78	79	80
17	81	82	83	84	85
18	86	87	88	89	90
19	91	92	93	94	95
20	96	97	98	99	100
21	101	102	103	104	105
22	106	107	108	109	110
23	111	112	113	114	115
24	116	117	118	119	120
25	121	122	123	124	125
26	126	127	128	129	130
27	131	132	133	134	135
28	136	137	138	139	140
29	141	142	143	144	145
30	146	147	148	149	150
31	151	152	153	154	155
32	156	157	158	159	160
33	161	162	163	164	165
34	166	167	168	169	170
35	171	172	173	174	175
36	176	177	178	179	180
37	181	182	183	184	185
38	186	187	188	189	190
39	191	192	193	194	195
40	196	197	198	199	200
41	201	202	203	204	205
42	206	207	208	209	210
43	211	212	213	214	215
44	216	217	218	219	220
45	221	222	223	224	225
46	226	227	228	229	230
47	231	232	233	234	235
48	236	237	238	239	240
49	241	242	243	244	245
50	246	247	248	249	250
51	251	252	253	254	255
52	256	257	258	259	260
53	261	262	263	264	265
54	266	267	268	269	270
55	271	272	273	274	275
56	276	277	278	279	280
57	281	282	283	284	285
58	286	287	288	289	290
59	291	292	293	294	295
60	296	297	298	299	300

Fig. 29 Vat. gr. 1291, f. 28v, astronomical tables with Cancer, Leo, Virgo

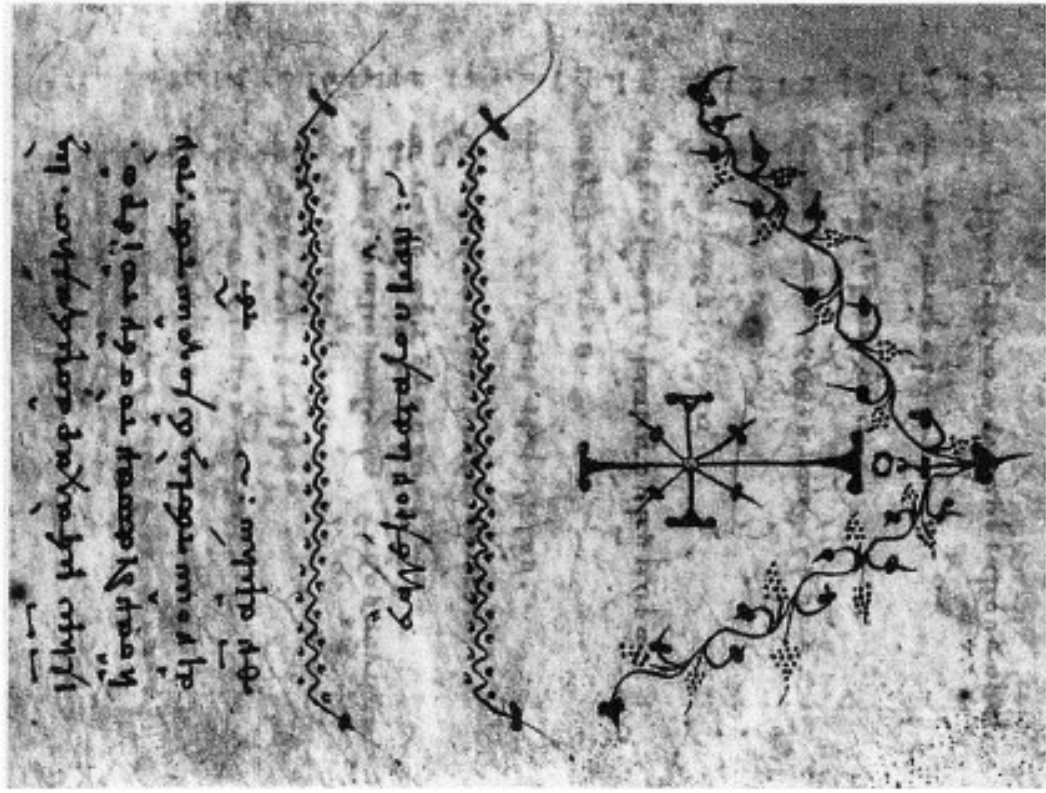


Fig. 30 St Petersburg, GPB gr. 219, f. 263r



Fig. 31 Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 129, f. 67r, Crucifixion



Fig. 32 Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 129, f. 51v, Peter and Simon Magus, Nikephoros and John the Grammarian



Fig. 33 Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 129, f. 23v, Nikephoros rejects the Council of 815



Fig. 34 Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61, f. 16r, Nikephoros rejects the Council of 815



Fig. 35 Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61, f. 165r, David argues with John the Grammarian over the proper interpretation of Psalm 113



Fig. 36 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, menaion





Fig. 37 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icon B. 36, Crucifixion



Fig. 38 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icon B. 32, Crucifixion

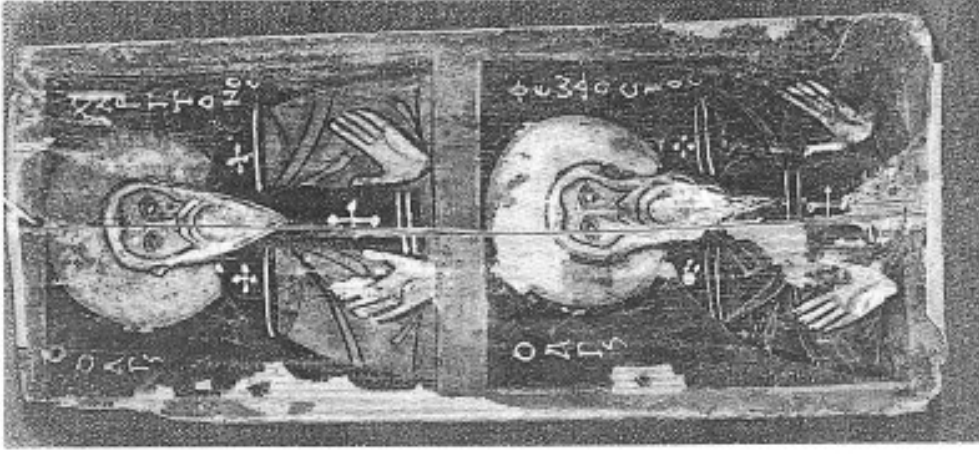


Fig. 39 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icon B. 37, Sts Chariton and Theodosios



Fig. 40 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icon B. 33, Sts Paul, Peter, Nicholas and John Chrysostom



Fig. 42 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icon B. 39, St Eirene with donor

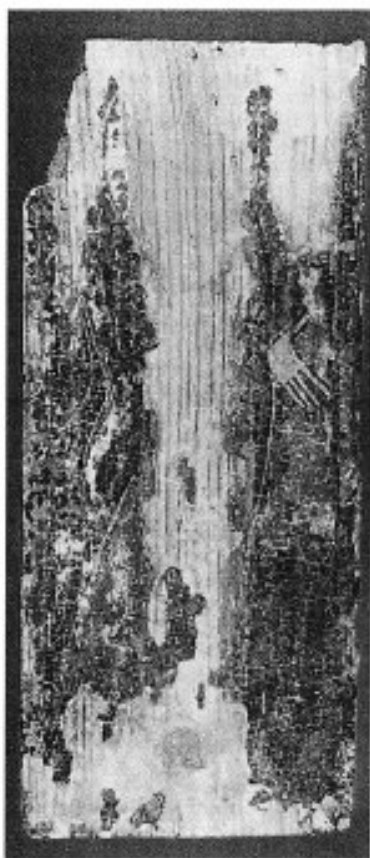


Fig. 41 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icons B. 34 and 35 (front and back), St John, an unidentified female saint, and a cross



Fig. 43 Paris, Louvre, icon E. 236, St Menas and Christ



Fig. 44 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icon B. 41, Nativity



Fig. 45 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icon B. 47, St Kosmas



Fig. 46 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icon B. 49, St Merkourios



Fig. 47 New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 612, f. 1v, Virgin and child with angels



Fig. 48 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icon B. 50, Crucifixion



Fig. 49 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icon B. 48, Virgin and Christ child



Fig. 50 Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, icon B. 40, Virgin and Christ child



Fig. 51 Milan, Museo del Castello Sforzesco, St Mark baptises Anianos



Fig. 52 Milan, Museo del Castello Sforzesco, St Mark preaches

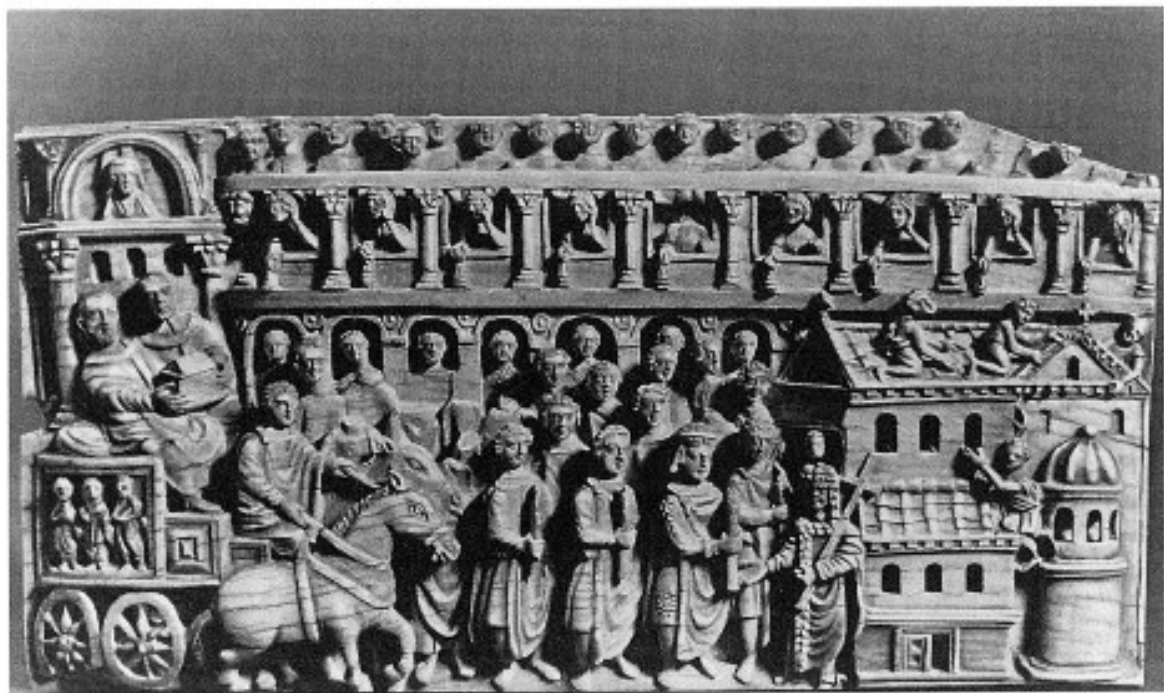


Fig. 53 Trier, Cathedral Treasure, ivory panel of a translation of relics

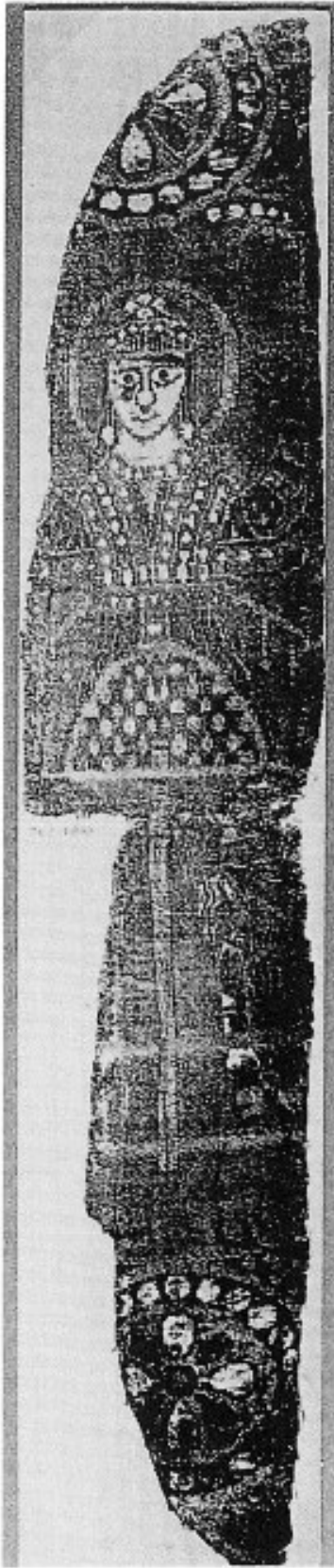


Fig. 54 London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. T.762-1892, charioteer



Fig. 55 Vatican, Museo Sacra, Annunciation



Fig. 56 Vatican, Museo Sacra, Nativity



Fig. 57 Meaux, Musée Bossuet,  
Amazon hunters



Fig. 58 Paris, Musée Cluny, inv. 13289,  
charioteer

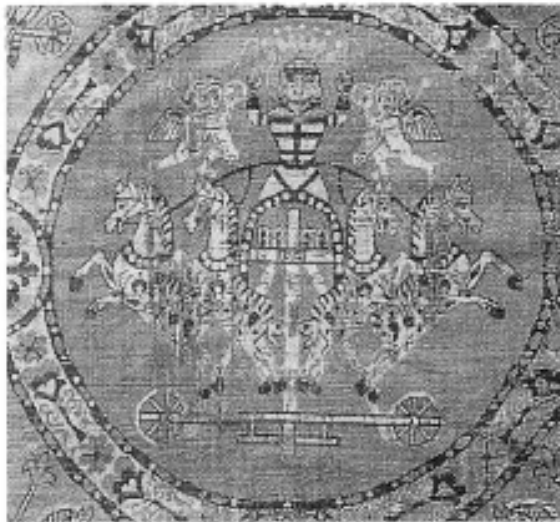


Fig. 59 Brussels, Musées royaux, inv. t.x.  
731, charioteer



Fig. 60 Maastricht, St Servatius, inv. 24  
and 37-6, dioskouroi

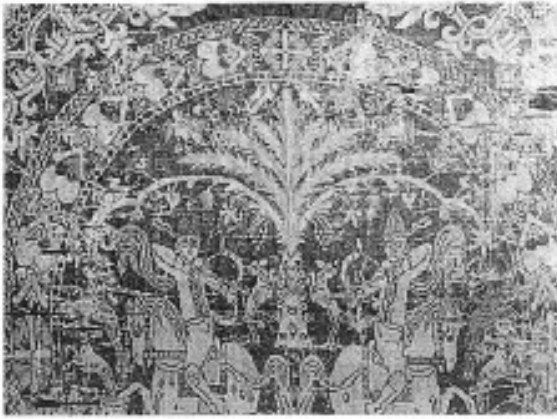


Fig. 61 St Calais, church treasury,  
Sasanian hunters



Fig. 62 Lyon, Musée historique des Tissus,  
inv. 904. III. 3, imperial hunters



Fig. 63 Maastricht, St Servatius, inv. 1,  
lion hunters



Fig. 64 London, Keir Collection,  
archers and tigers



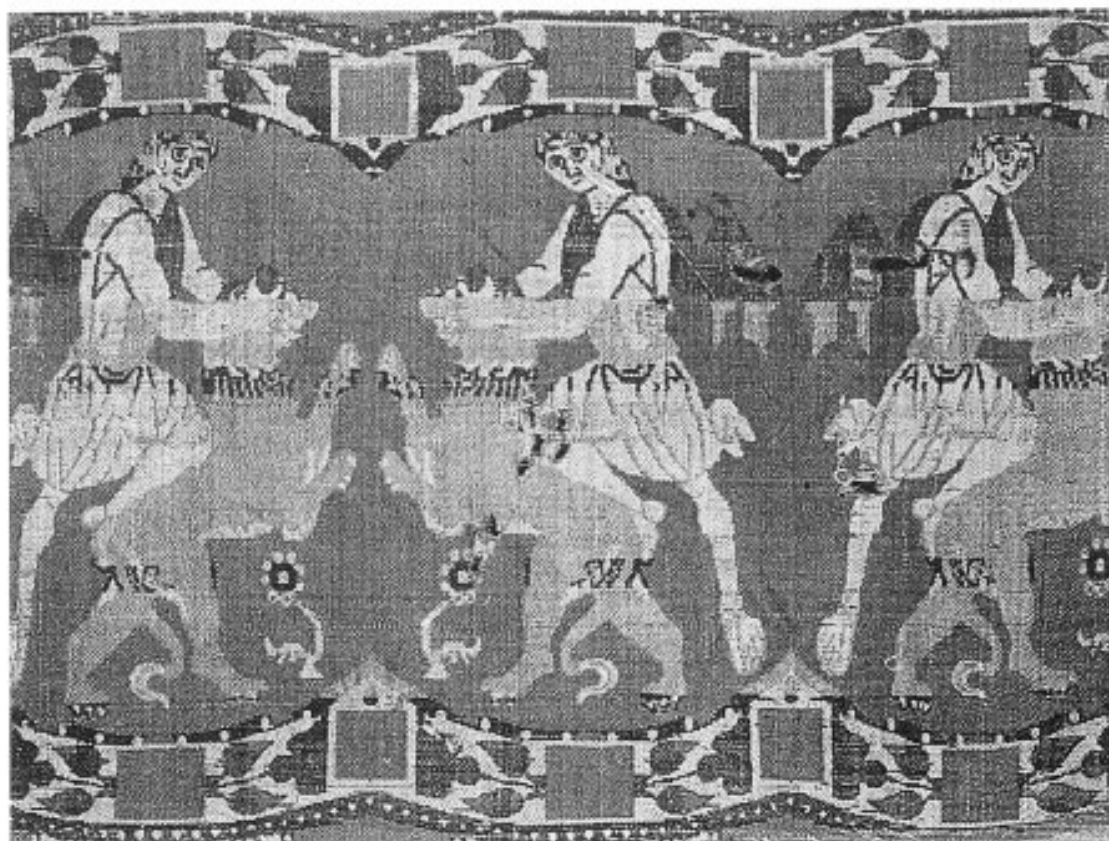


Fig. 65 London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. 7036-1860, Samson and the lion

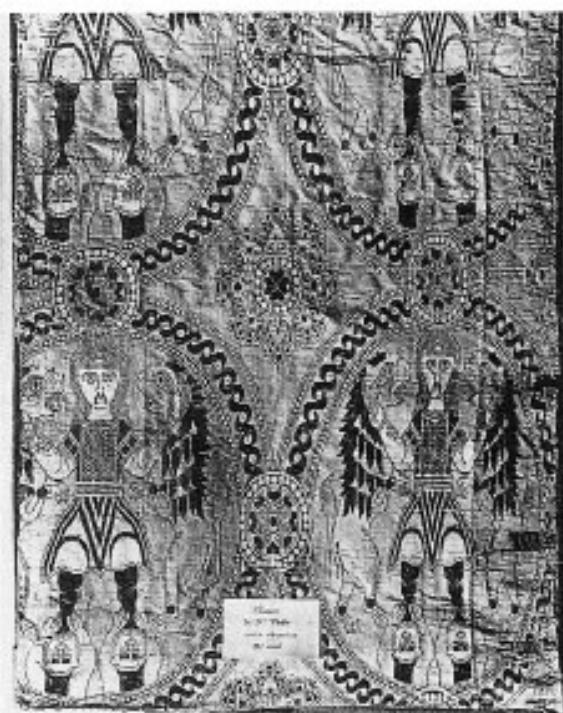


Fig. 66 Sens, cathedral treasury, lion-strangler



Fig. 67 Durham, cathedral chapter, nature goddess (drawing)



Fig. 68 Sens, cathedral treasury, inv. B. 140, portrait bust in a medallion

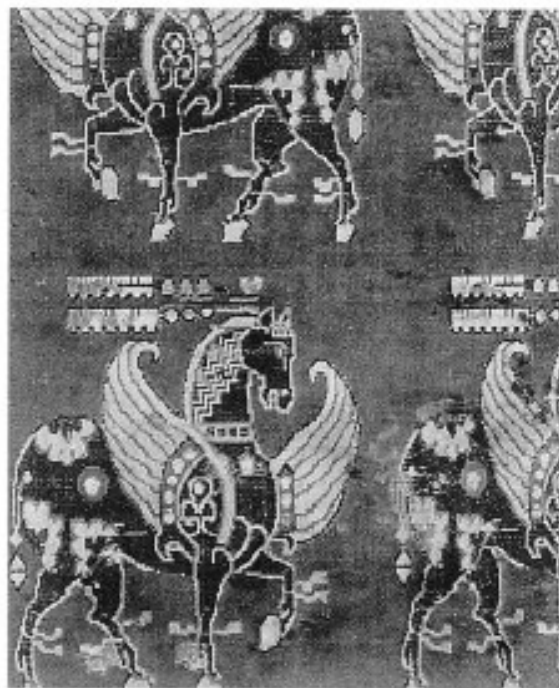


Fig. 70 Vatican, Museo Sacra, Pegasus

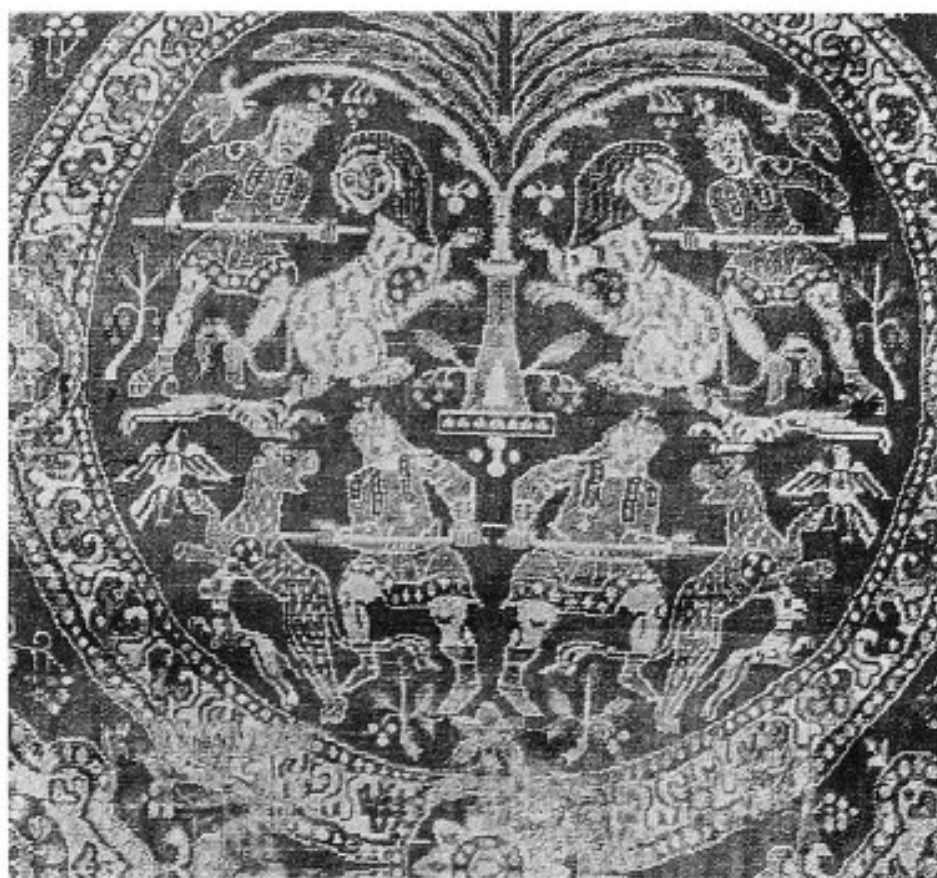


Fig. 69 Vatican, Museo Sacra, hunters

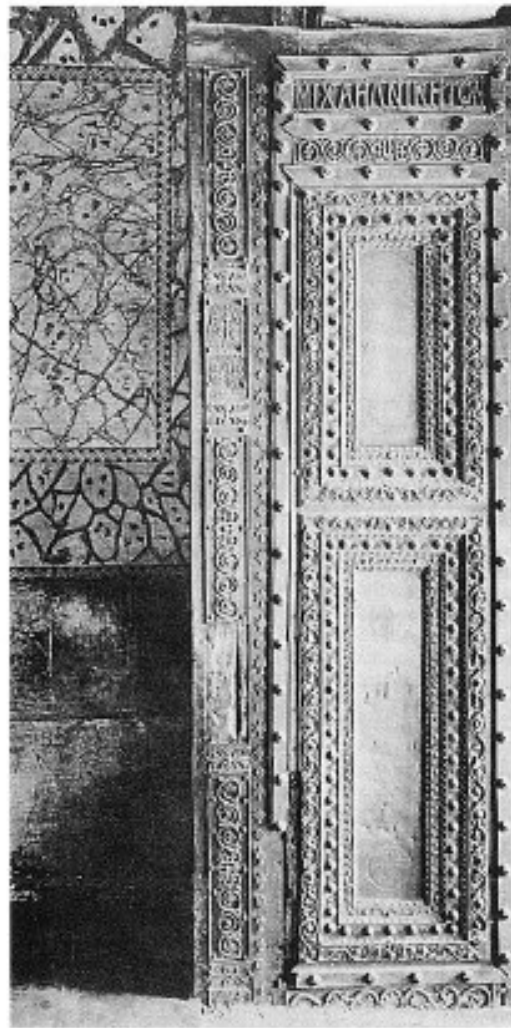


Fig. 71 Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, bronze door

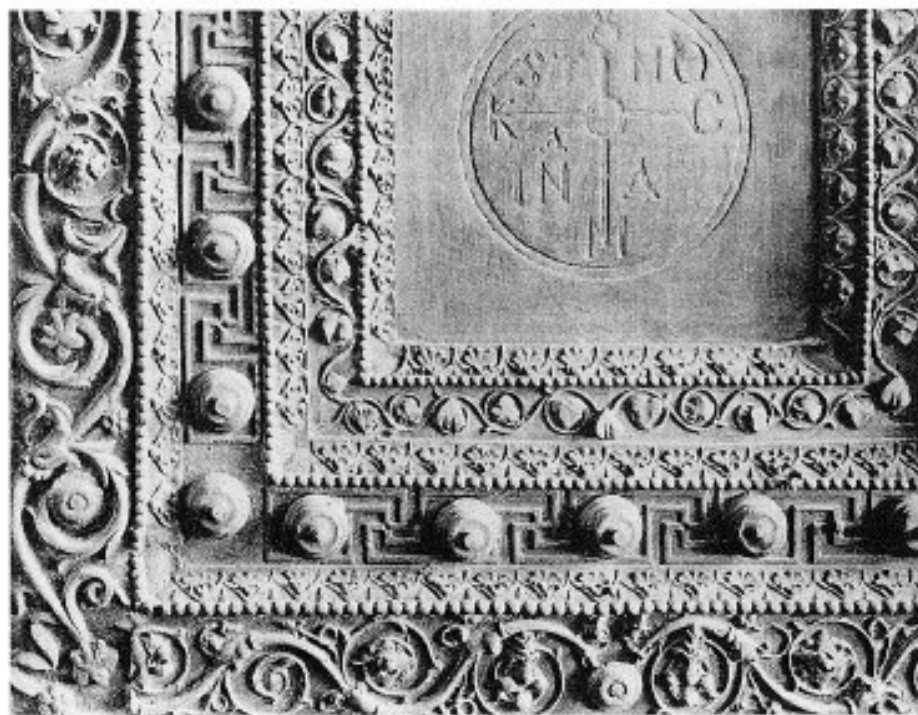


Fig. 72 Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, bronze door, detail



Fig. 73 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fieschi-Morgan *staurotheke*, exterior

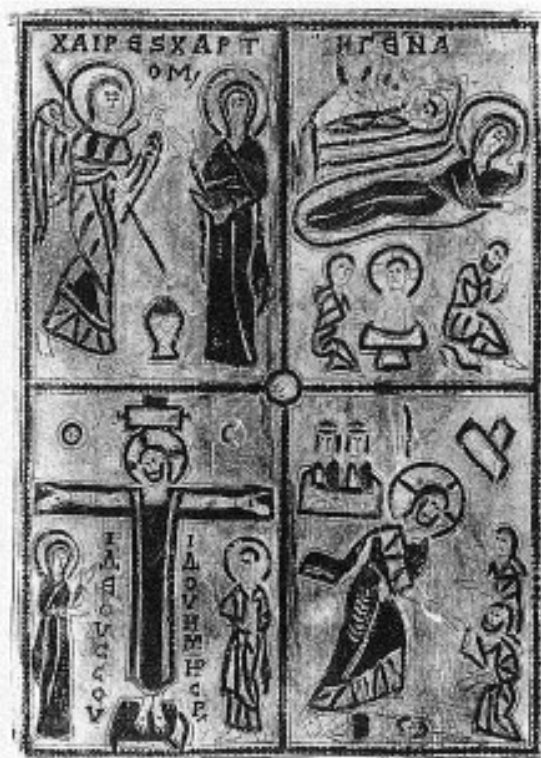


Fig. 74 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fieschi-Morgan *staurotheke*, interior of lid



Fig. 75 Constantinople Mint, B4518, miliaresion of Leo III (720–741), inscription (obverse) and cross (reverse)



Fig. 76 Constantinople Mint, B4555, follis of Constantine V (751–769), class 3, Constantine V and Leo IV (obverse) and Leo III (reverse)



Fig. 77 Constantinople Mint, B4583, nomisma of Leo VI (776–778), class 1, Leo IV and Constantine VI (obverse) and Leo III and Constantine V (reverse)



Fig. 78 Constantinople Mint, B4609, nomisma of Eirene (797–802), Eirene (obverse and reverse)

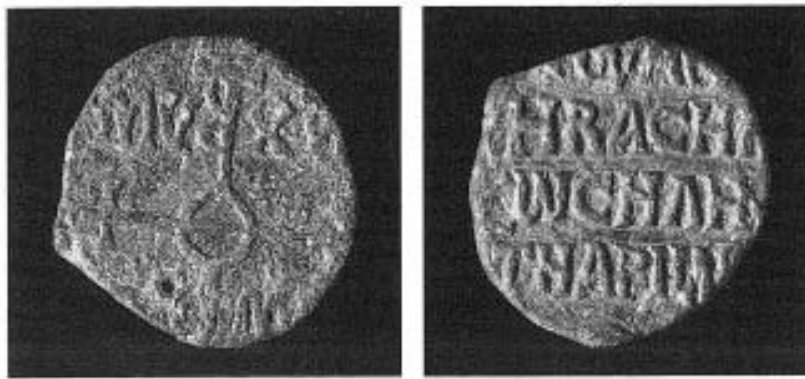


Fig. 79 Provenance unknown, B7, seal 8th/9th century, inscribed cruciform invocative monogram (obverse) and Ioannes, imperial silentiarios (reverse)



Fig. 80 Trebizond, B12, seal 9th century, inscribed cruciform invocative monogram (obverse) and Konstantinos, spatharokandidatos (reverse)



Fig. 81 Trebizond, B71, seal 8th century, personification of Hagia Sophia (obverse) and cruciform monogram of Elpidios (reverse)



Fig. 82 Provenance unknown, B87, seal 8th century, cruciform invocative monogram with eagle (obverse) and Basaktos between cypresses (reverse)

