The Oxford Dictionary of
BYZANTIUM

A

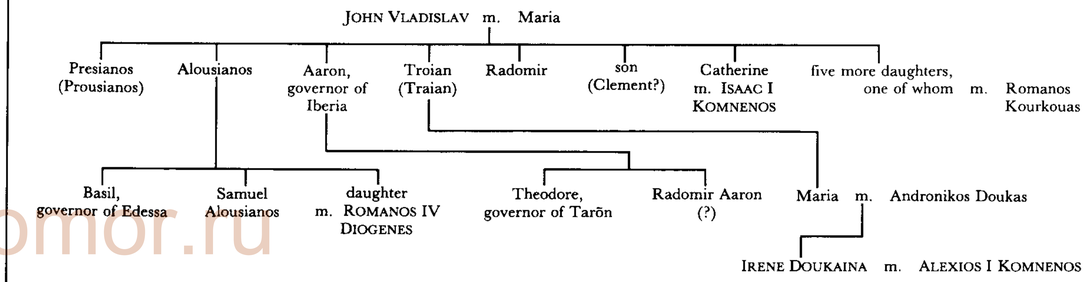
AARON (Ἀαρών), brother of Moses and first high priest of the Israelites, plays a significant supporting role in a number of events in Moses' life, notably those illustrated in the extensive cycle (between Ex 4:14 and Num 20:29) in the Octateuchs. An attempt to show Aaron in the priestly vestments described at length in Exodus 28 is also made in the illustrated MSS of Kosmas Indikopleustes, in the text of which their symbolism is considered (Kosm. Ind. 2:74–81). Usually Aaron is identified merely by the priestly diadem. He occasionally appears among the Prophets in monumental art as a companion to Moses, or as the bearer of the rod, considered one of the prefigurations of the Virgin. In Palaiologan churches more complex Marian connections with Aaron were derived from the liturgy (G. Engberg, *DOP* 21 [1967] 279–83).

LIT. H. Dienst, *LCI* 1:2–4. –J.H.L.

AARONIOS (Ἀαρώνιος, Ἀαρών), Byz. noble family descended from the last Bulgarian tsar, John Vladislav, whose wife Maria was granted the title ZOSTE PATRIKIA soon after 1018 and settled in Constantinople. Her older sons were involved in plots and rebellions: Presianos ca.1029, Alousianos in 1040. The third son, Aaron, who gave the name to the lineage, was governor of Iberia (ca.1047), Mesopotamia (ca.1059), and perhaps of Ani and Edessa; his son Theodore, governor of Tarōn, fell in battle against the Turks in 1055/6. Another Aaron governed Mesopotamia in 1112. Seals of Radomir Aaron, *strategos* and *doux*, are preserved, but his identification remains problematic; he probably belonged to the family, since Radomir was also the name of Maria's fifth son. The Aaronioi were in double affinity with the Komnenoi: Isaac I married Maria's daughter, Catherine, and Alexios I married the granddaughter of Troian, Irene Doukaina. In 1107, however, the Aaronioi were exiled for participation in a plot against Alexios I. Theophylaktos of Ohrid dedicated two epigrams to a certain Aaron whose relationship with the lineage remains unclear. After Alexios I's reign, the family became obscure; Isaac Aaron from Corinth, interpreter at Manuel I's court, apparently did not belong to the aristocracy. In 1393 Alexios Aaron went as ambassador to Russia. The Alousianoi belonged to this lineage. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. M. Lascaris, "Sceau de Radomir Aaron," *BS* 3 (1931) 404–13; rev. I. Dujčev, *IzvIstDr* 11–12 (1931–32) 375–84. I. Dujčev, "Presiam-Persian," *Ezikovedsko-etnografski izsledo-*

GENEALOGY OF THE AARONIOS FAMILY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY



Based on Zlatarskij, *Ist.* 535.

vanija v pamet na akademik Stojan Romanski (Sofia 1960) 479–82. *PLP*, nos. 3–7. –A.K.

ABASGIA. See ABCHASIA.

ʿABBĀSID CALIPHATE (750–1258), ruled by a dynasty whose members were descendants of the uncle of Muḥammad, al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim. His great-grandson Muḥammad and his son Ibrāhīm prepared the revolt in Khurāsān against the UMAYYAD CALIPHATE. Although the Umayyads captured Ibrāhīm, his brothers Abu'l ʿAbbās and Abū Jaʿfar energetically continued the struggle. Proclaimed caliph in 749, Abu'l ʿAbbās became known as al-Saffāḥ, "the Bloody." His brother, Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, made Baghdad his residence. The ʿAbbāsid dynasty counted among its most illustrious caliphs HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. The dynasty weakened after Turkish mercenaries became important in the caliphate of Muʿtaṣim in the 830s, and the Mongols under Hulagu destroyed it at Baghdad in 1258. (See table for a list of ʿAbbāsid caliphs of Baghdad.) A few of the ʿAbbāsid family escaped to Egypt, where one became nominal caliph under the name of al-Mustanṣir. The last ʿAbbāsid caliph was al-Mutawakkil, who surrendered all civil and religious authority to the Ottoman sultan Selim I in 1517 and died in 1538.

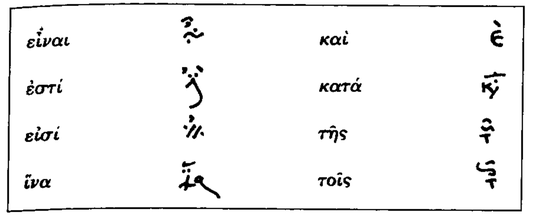
The early ʿAbbāsid caliphs, culminating in Hārūn, showed zeal in fighting the Byz. The last major campaign by an ʿAbbāsid caliph against Byz. occurred under al-Muʿtaṣim in 838. Yet there were important cultural contacts, including embassies in which such scholars as PHOTIOS and JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS participated. These contacts led to exchanges of information and copying of MSS on mathematics, astronomy, astrology (esp. in the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn), literature, and music (and probably musical instruments, such as water organs). This intercourse probably reached its zenith in the 9th-C. Muslim geographers (see ARAB GEOGRAPHERS) who wrote important descriptions of Byz. during the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The deterioration of central authority in Baghdad reduced Byz. diplomatic contact with Baghdad and increased it with the border emirs.

LIT. Kennedy, *Abbasid Caliphate*. J. Lassner, *The Shaping of Abbasid Rule* (Princeton 1980). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1, 2, pts. 1–2. –W.E.K.

ABBREVIATIONS (sometimes called compendia), found in inscriptions, papyri, and MSS, were frequently substituted for words, syllables, or the ending of words or single letters to save time and space. Sometimes the abbreviations include recognizable Greek letters, usually in LIGATURE; more commonly they are composed of a variety of strokes and dots, similar to modern shorthand. The breathings and accents are often included. A particular kind of abbreviation is the *nomina sacra*, first used for Christian sacred names in papyri

ʿAbbāsid Caliphs of Baghdad

Caliph	*Date of Accession (A.D./A.H.)*	*Caliph*	*Date of Accession (A.D./A.H.)*	*Caliph*	*Date of Accession (A.D./A.H.)*
al-Saffāḥ	750/132	al-Muhtadī	869/255	al-Muḳtadī	1075/467
al-Manṣūr	754/136	al-Muʿtamid	870/256	al-Mustaẓhir	1094/487
al-Mahdī	775/158	al-Muʿtaḍid	892/279	al-Mustarshid	1118/512
al-Hādī	785/169	al-Muktafī	902/289	al-Rāshid	1135/529
al-Rashīd	786/170	al-Muḳtadir	908/295	al-Muḳtafī	1136/530
al-Amīn	809/193	al-Kāhir	932/320	al-Mustandjid	1160/555
AL-MAʾMŪN	813/198	al-Rāḍī	934/322	al-Mustaḍiʾ	1170/566
AL-MUʿTAṢIM	833/218	al-Muttaḳī	940/329	al-Nāṣir	1180/575
al-Wāthiḳ	842/227	al-Mustakfī	944/333	al-Ẓāhir	1225/622
al-Mutawakkil	847/232	al-Mutīʿ	946/334	al-Mustanṣir	1226/623
al-Muntaṣir	861/247	al-Tāʾiʿ	974/363	al-Mustaʿṣim	1242/640
al-Mastaʿin	862/248	al-Ḳādir	991/381		
al-Muʿtazz	866/252	al-Ḳāʾim	1031/422		



ABBREVIATIONS. Sample abbreviations.

and UNCIAL MSS, for example, XC for Χριστός. In MINUSCULE MSS from the 9th C. onward, the *nomina sacra* occur in nonbiblical contexts also (e.g., *anthropos*, *pater*), even for compounds like *patriarches* or *philanthropia*. The abbreviations for endings in book script are sometimes identical with elements from TACHYGRAPHY. MONOGRAMS sometimes use an abbreviated form of a name.

LIT. T.W. Allen, *Notes on Abbreviations in Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford 1889; rp. Amsterdam 1967). L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (Munich 1907; rp. Darmstadt 1967). C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London 1979) 26–48. A. Paap, *Nomina sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.* (Leiden 1959). Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 39–43. –E.G., A.M.T.

ABCHASIA (ʾΑβασγία), northern portion of ancient Colchis bordering on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. In the 4th C. Abchasia became part of the kingdom of LAZIKA; it probably developed only in the 6th C., even though Theodoret of Cyrrhus mentioned its existence in 423. Similarly, though the Arabic version of AGATHANGELOS claims that Abchasia was christianized at the order of St. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR, the surviving Armenian version lacks this information, pointing again to a post-6th-C. date.

Byz. became familiar with Abchasia during the Lazic wars of the 6th C. when they built the fortresses of SEBASTOPOLIS and Pitiunt (mod. Pitzunda); a large proportion of Byz. eunuchs were said to have come from this region. The empire maintained some sovereignty over this area from the period of Justinian I to that of Herakleios and of the Arab invasions, when power passed to the native Anchʿabadze *eristavi*, who assumed the title of kings of Abchasia late in the 8th C. They expanded their territories toward western Iberia (Kʿartʿli) until checked by the BAGRATIDS of Tao in the 10th C. In 989 Bagrat III, son of Gurgan, *kouropalates* of Kʿartʿli, inherited Abchasia through his mother Guranduχt Anchʿabadze. Although Basil II prevented his inheriting from his adoptive father DAVID OF TAYKʿ/TAO in 1000/1, Bagrat received the title of *kouropalates* from Byz. His inheritance of Kʿartʿli from his natural father in 1008 joined the crowns of Abchasia and Kʿartʿli to form the first united kingdom of Georgia.

LIT. A. Kollautz, *RB* 1:21–49. C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, D.C., 1963) 203, 256, 269, 497f. W.E.D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London 1932) 80–83. –N.G.G.

ʿABD AL-MALIK, son of Marwan I; Umayyad caliph (685–705); born 646/7, died 9 Oct. 705. Campaigning already at 16 under MUʿĀWIYA, ʿAbd al-Malik was a determined foe of Byz. throughout his reign. He particularly aimed at eliminating Byz. influence in the caliphate: Arabs replaced bureaucrats of Greek descent, Arabic became the official language, and coins were minted without Greek inscriptions or Byz. images. After his accession, internal opposition, the invasion of Armenia by LEONTIOS, and raids by the MARDAITES compelled him to renew the agreement that had been made between Constantine IV and Muʿāwiya. The ten-year treaty, signed most likely in 688, required Justinian II to withdraw the Mardaites from Lebanon and ʿAbd al-Malik to pay a weekly tribute of 1,000 solidi, one horse, and one slave, and stipulated that the revenues from Cyprus, Armenia, and Georgia be shared equally. During this period ʿAbd al-Malik probably received Byz. help in building the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

In the early 690s hostilities flared. Although Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 365.8–21) blames Justinian for attempting to resettle Cyprus and refusing to accept ʿAbd al-Malik's new coinage, the aggressor was likely ʿAbd al-Malik, who eliminated his final domestic rival in 692 and may have resented the appearance of Christ's image on Justinian's own coinage. His brother Muḥammad defeated Justinian in 693 as a result of the desertion from the Byz. ranks of NEBOULOS and his Slavic troops. ʿAbd al-Malik's son, ʿUbayd Allāh, invaded Armenia and captured Theodosioupolis in 700, and in 702 Muḥammad attacked Armenia IV and took Martyropolis. Despite a Byz. invasion of Syria, ʿAbd al-Malik had effectively subdued Armenia by 703. During a lull in the fighting the caliph reportedly allowed Tiberios II

to repatriate Cypriot captives and repopulate Cyprus with them. He also attacked Byz. lands in the West; armies sent from Egypt in 694–98 captured Carthage (see JOHN PATRIKIOS) and ended Byz. control of North Africa.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:19–40, 77–84. P. Grierson, "The Monetary Reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3 (1960) 241–64. –P.A.H.

ʿABDĪSHŌʿ BAR BERĪKĀ, or Ebedjesus, a polymath monk, Nestorian metropolitan of Ṣōbā (Nisibis) and Armenia, and prolific writer in Syriac; died 1318. ʿAbdīshōʿ composed influential works of biblical commentary, theology, and liturgical poetry. For the Byzantinist, his most important writings are the *List of all the Ecclesiastical Writers* and the *Collection of the Synodical Canons*. The former is a bibliography of church books, metrically composed and arranged in four parts: books of the Old Testament, books of the New Testament, books of the Greek fathers, and books of the Syrian fathers. The *Collection of the Synodical Canons*, in the form that goes back to ʿAbdīshōʿ, bears the name *Nomokanon* and is a systematic presentation of the church laws: the first division gives laws affecting lay persons; it is followed by a second part containing laws dealing with church organization and the clergy. Some MSS also include a Syriac version of the Apostolic Canons, and the canons of the synod of the Nestorian *katholikos* Timothy I (780–823).

ED. J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* 3.1 (Rome 1725) 3–362. G.P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. 2 (London 1852) 361–79. Mai, *Script-VetNovaColl* 10:1–331.

LIT. J. Dauvillier, *DDC* 5 (1953) 91–134. Graf, *Literatur* 2:214–16. W. Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1981) 76–78, 223–26. –S.H.G.

ABEL. See CAIN AND ABEL.

ABGAR. See MANDYLION.

ABINNAEUS ARCHIVE, the papyri of Flavius Abinnaeus, Roman *praefectus alae* of Dionysias in the Fayyūm, covering the years 340/1–351. The documents, 80 in Greek and two in Latin, probably came from Philadelphia in the Fayyūm and were acquired in 1893 by the British Museum and the University of Geneva. They include letters, petitions, contracts, accounts, and Abinnaeus's narrative of his appearance before Constantius II and Constans at Constantinople in 337/8. He had accompanied envoys from the BLEMMYES to the capital and later was stationed among them for three years. He served as garrison commander at Dionysias, was dismissed, but sought successfully to be reinstated. He married Aurelia Nonna, an Alexandrian. His papers illustrate the extent to which 4th-C. civilians in Egypt appealed to the military power for justice. His correspondents include Christian clerics and lay people, soldiers, and ordinary inhabitants of his district. His archive forms a small but rich source for provincial administration in the post-Constantinian period.

ED. H.I. Bell et al., *The Abinnaeus Archive* (Oxford 1962), corr. *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, vol. 5 (Leiden 1969) 1–3. –L.S.B.MacC.

ABIOTIKION (*ἀβιωτίκιον*, from *abiotos*, lit. "unlivable"), a charge on the transfer of the property of an individual who died intestate and without children. Andronikos II's novel of May 1306 (*Reg* 4, no.2295) states that in this case the property of the deceased should not be divided solely between the fisc and "those churches or monasteries that held [the person] as *paroikos*" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:534.31–32), but a third part must go to the surviving spouse. It is unclear from the novel whether the ecclesiastical institution was granted its share as the *paroikos*'s lord or for memorial rites (*mnemosyne*). A charter of 1311 shows that the lord could replace the fisc: a certain Doukopoulos confirmed the transfer to the Docheiariou monastery of two-thirds of the property of "his inherited *paroikoi*" (i.e., the *mnemosyne* and the lord's share) and transmitted to the monastery another third part (*meridikon triton*) that he had received from another *paroikos* who had died without children (*Docheiar.*, no.11.1–8). The term *abiotikion* is known from 1259 on (*Lavra* 2, no.71.80) as a tax on the childless recipients of an inheritance: thus an act of 1400 (?) mentions the collectors of *abiotikion* (MM 2:342.28) who demanded that a widow display "the hyperpyra listed in the will." *Abiotikion* is mentioned in several chrysobulls, usually together with the PHONIKON and PARTHENOPHTHORIA. In 1440 the *abiotikion* in Monemvasia was used for the repair of the fortifications (E. Vranoussi, *EtBalk* 14 [1978] no.4:83–85).

The right of the state and the church to inherit the property of a person who died intestate was recognized by Byz. law: Constantine VII enjoined that in such a case two-thirds of the *hypostasis* be given to the relatives or the fisc and one-third to God for the salvation of the soul of the deceased (Zepos, *Jus* 1:237.3–6). The novel of 1306 prescribed that after the death of a child who had only one parent his property was to be divided between the surviving parent, the parents of the deceased parent, and the church. This regulation, dubbed *trimoiria* by modern legal historians, probably originated from local CUSTOMS (N. Matzes, *BNJbb* 21 [1971–74] 177–92). (See also INTESTATE SUCCESSION.)

LIT. P. Lemerle, "Un chrysobulle d'Andronic II Paléologue pour le monastère de Karakala," *BCH* 60 (1936) 440–42. A. Karpozelos, "Abiotikion," *Dodone* 8 (1979) 73–80. M. Tourtoglou, "To 'abiotikion,' " in *Xenion: Festschrift für P.J. Zepos*, vol. 1 (Athens–Freiburg im Breisgau–Cologne 1973) 633–46. –A.K.

ABLABIUS (Ἀβλάβιος), an influential family in the eastern part of the later Roman Empire. The family founder was Flavius Ablabius, a Cretan. A man of humble origin, he served under the governor of Crete, then went to Constantinople where he amassed a fortune. He became a member of the senate under Constantine I and was praetorian prefect from 329 to 337 (*PLRE* 1:3) or after 326 (O. Seeck, *RE* 1 [1894] 103). Constantius II dismissed Ablabius and banished him to his estates in Bithynia; he was eventually executed. In 354 his daughter Olympias married Aršak III, king of Armenia. Flavius's son Seleukos, a pagan, supported Julian, but Seleukos's daughter OLYMPIAS became the staunchest ally of John Chrysostom. The family was still influential at court in 431 when Cyril of Alexandria proposed to bribe Ablabius, *domestikos* of the quaestor.

The Ablabii were an educated and intelligent family: although none of their works survives, it is known that Flavius wrote verses on Constantine; Seleukos reportedly composed a history of Julian's Persian campaign; a certain Ablabius compiled a history of the Goths based on Gothic legends; and the death of a physician Ablabius was lamented by Theosebeia, a poet of the 5th/6th C. (*AnthGr*, bk.7, no.559). The Ablabii are a rare example of a relatively stable aristocratic family in the East.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:2–4, 1132; 2:1–2. M. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972) 66. –A.K.

ABORTION (*ἄμβλωσις*), usually motivated by illegitimate conception, was practiced in Byz. but condemned by both imperial legislation and church canons. Justinian's DIGEST included excerpts of early Roman law that frowned on the practice; both those who concocted abortifacient potions and the women who underwent the abortion were punished. Especially among prostitutes, however, the use of abortifacients persisted; according to the scurrilous account of the young THEODORA by PROKOPIOS (*SH* 17.16), ingredients for these drugs were well known and easily available in the 6th C. Abortion spikes are preserved in collections of Roman SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS; Aetios of Amida records recipes for abortifacient drugs in his 16th *Sermo* (ed. S. Zervos, *Aetios: Peri tou en metra pathous* [Leipzig 1901] 18–22). ZONARAS mentions the use of a weight to compress the abdomen (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:63f). In the 14th C. the price of an abortifacient drug was five hyperpyra, a cloak, and a glass vase (MM 1:548.25–26). Significantly, 6th-C. Byz. medical thought held that abortion was impossible after the fetus had taken on "human form." Aetios writes that abortifacients were to be used only in the third month of pregnancy. Civil and canon law, however, and lay opinion equated abortion with murder, notwithstanding the age of the embryo. (See also CONTRACEPTION.)

LIT. C. Cupane, E. Kislinger, "Bemerkungen zur Abtreibung in Byzanz," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 21–49. S. Troianos, "He amblose sto byzantino dikaio," *Byzantiaka* 4 (1984) 171–89. M.-H. Congourdeau, "Un procès d'avortement au 14e siècle," *REB* 40 (1982) 103–15. –J.S., A.M.T.

ABRAHA (Ἄβραμος), Axumite ruler of ḤIMYAR in South Arabia, from 535–58 (Lundin, *infra* 86). According to Prokopios (*Wars* 1.20.4), Abraha was a Christian, the slave of a Roman trader in ADULIS in Ethiopia. A soldier or officer in the Axumite army occupying Ḥimyar, he led a revolt against Esimphaios (probably Sumayfaʿ Ashwaʿ), the representative of ELESBOAM in South Arabia. He assumed power but acknowledged vassalage to Axum by paying tribute. Abraha consolidated Ḥimyar and in 547 carried out a successful expedition in central Arabia.

Abraha maintained an alliance with the Roman Empire, and Justinian I attempted to use him in military operations against Iran; although the emperor sent several embassies to Ḥimyar, he could not persuade Abraha to act. Abraha possibly shifted South Arabia from Monophysitism to Orthodoxy;

he built a pilgrimage church (al-Qalis, from *ekklesia*) at Ṣanʿā' (I. Shahid, *DOP* 33 [1979] 27, 81f).

LIT. A. Lundin, *Južnaja Aravija v VI veke* (Moscow-Leningrad 1961) 61–87. S. Smith, "Events in Arabia in the 6th c.," *BSOAS* 16 (1954) 431–41. –A.K.

ABRAHAM (Ἀβραάμ), Old Testament patriarch (Gen 11–25). In patristic literature Abraham was interpreted as an ideal of asceticism and obedience to God: his departure from Canaan indicated the necessity of purification in order to achieve the Promised Land. He is said to have lived 175 years in *hesychia, praotes,* and justice, and his demise is described in an apocryphal Testament of Abraham.

From the early period, Abraham appears in a number of scenes, such as the PHILOXENIA. The most popular seems to have been the Sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22), found already in the Synagogue at DURA EUROPOS and included in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE. The dramatic nature of this scene was explored, for example, by Gregory of Nyssa, in terms that imply familiarity with an image (PG 46:572CD). This text was cited in support of holy images at the Second Council of Nicaea (Mansi 13:9C–12A). John Chrysostom (PG 54:432.38–433.8) and others emphasized that Christ was both the beloved son (like Isaac) and the sacrificial lamb. These eucharistic connotations were sometimes exploited visually, as at S. Vitale in Ravenna. Narrative cycles of Abraham's life are found, notably at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (432–40), in 5th/6th-C. GENESIS MSS, and in the later KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES and OCTATEUCH MSS, which may derive from earlier sources. Christ's parable of the rich man and of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom (Lk 16:19–31) provided Abraham with a place in New Testament illustration, notably in the iconography of the LAST JUDGMENT. On the basis of his appearance, St. DAVID OF THESSALONIKE was described by his 8th-C. biographer as a new Abraham (vita, ed. Rose, 11.2, 12.28–29).

SOURCE. *Le Testament grec d'Abraham,* ed. F. Schmidt (Tübingen 1986).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:11–22. E. Lucchesi-Palli, *LCI* 1:20–35. F. Cocchini, F. Bisconti, *DPAC* 1:12–16. –J.H.L.

ABRAMIOS, JOHN, astrologer and astronomer; fl. Constantinople and Mytilene, 1370–90. Abramios (Ἀβράμιος) practiced magic and cast HOROSCOPES on behalf of Andronikos IV and his son John VII, in their quarrels with John V and Manuel II. His most important role was as the editor of texts of classical ASTROLOGY, the author of treatises on ASTRONOMY (opposed to the Ptolemaic tradition of Theodore METOCHITES, Nikephoros GREGORAS, and Isaac ARGYROS, Abramios followed the Islamic tradition of Gregory CHIONIADES, George CHRYSOKOKKES, and Theodore MELITENIOTES), and as the founder of a school in which these activities were continued until ca.1410. His successors were Eleutherios Zebelenos, also known as Eleutherios Elias (born 1343), and Dionysios (*PLP,* nos. 6012, 5441).

A number of MSS of astronomical, astrological, medical, magical, and rhetorical content produced by Abramios and his school survive. They produced editions of PTOLEMY, pseudo-Ptolemy, HEPHAISTION OF THEBES, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and RHETORIOS OF EGYPT. These editions are characterized by changes in both the grammar and the order of the presentation of the technical material of the original texts, and by the insertion of extraneous material into them. These MSS also contain some examples of Greek translations of Arabic astrological texts, notably the *Mysteries* of Abū Maʿshar and the *Introduction* of Aḥmad the Persian.

In 1376 Abramios wrote a treatise on the conjunctions and oppositions of the sun and moon based on the *New Tables* of Isaac Argyros, but criticized his source because he followed Ptolemy rather than the *Persian Tables* popularized by Chrysokokkes. This led to the computation by both sets of tables of the dates, and sometimes the details, of 39 lunar and solar ECLIPSES between 1376 and 1408, and an inept attempt to prove that the Islamic value for the rate of precession of the equinoxes is superior to that of Ptolemy.

LIT. Pingree, "Astrological School" 191–215. Idem, "The Horoscope of CP," in *Prismata* 305–15. *PLP,* no.57. –D.P.

ABRITUS (Ἄβριττος), late Roman city at Hisarlŭk near Razgrad in northeastern Bulgaria, where in 251 Decius was defeated and killed. The city continued to exist despite successive invasions until the end of the 6th C., when the Avars destroyed it. In the 7th or 8th C. a Bulgarian settlement was established on the ruins of the Roman city, but it

was abandoned in the late 10th C. as a result of an attack by the Pechenegs or Rus'.

Excavations since 1953 have revealed a city built on the typical Roman grid pattern, with Ionic colonnades along the principal streets. Many statues, reliefs, mosaics, and inscriptions bear witness to the prosperity and culture of Abritus in Roman times, but little is known of the Bulgarian site.

LIT. T. Ivanov, *Abritus: Rimski kastel i rannovizantijski grad v Dolna Mizija,* vol. 1 (Sofia 1980). S. Stojanov, *Zlatno monetno sŭkrovišče ot Abritus V v. na n.e.* (Sofia 1982). Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* 156–65, 259. –R.B.

ABŪ AL-FIDĀ', more fully Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī Abū al-Fidā', Syrian scholar-prince related to the Ayyūbid rulers of Ḥamāh; born Damascus Nov./Dec. 1273, died Ḥamāh (EPIPHANEIA) 27 Oct. 1331. A man of wide-ranging military and political experience, he participated in the campaigns against the Franks and established a political position in Ḥamāh (1299), becoming governor in 1310. Invested as sultan of Ḥamāh in 1320, he retained the title until his death. A generous patron, he was also esteemed for his poetry and learning. He may have known some Greek; he was certainly interested in Byz. affairs and Greek culture, about which he sought information from travelers and pilgrims.

His two extant Arabic works, though largely derivative, remain useful. The *Concise History of Mankind,* a universal history based on IBN AL-ATHĪR, ends with the memoirs of Abū al-Fidā' (1285–1329). Though preoccupied with the Franks and Mongols, he discusses developments in ARMENIA and CAPPADOCIA in the Palaiologan period, provides valuable details on the social relations between Christians and Muslims in Asia Minor, and recounts the fall of RHODES to the Hospitallers in 1308. In his descriptive geography, *Survey of the Countries* (written in 1321), material on SYRIA includes well-informed personal observations. For Byz. lands, he relies on eyewitnesses for the topography and monuments of Constantinople, the cities of Asia Minor, and possibly details on Byz. administrative geography.

ED. *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (Cairo 1907). *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince,* tr. P.M. Holt (Wiesbaden 1983). *Taqwīm al-buldān,* ed. J.T. Reinaud, L.M. de Slane (Paris 1840). *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* tr. J.T. Reinaud, S. Guyard, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Paris 1848–83).

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur* 2:44–46, supp. 2:44. H.A.R. Gibb, *EI*² 1:118f. –L.I.C.

ABU BAKR (Ἀβουβάχαρος, Ἀποπάκρης), first caliph and successor of Muḥammad from 8 June 632; born shortly after 570, died Madīna 22/3 Aug. 634. After crushing rebels in the Riddah Wars following the death of Muḥammad, Abu Bakr's armies scored major early successes against the Byz., including the battles in the ʿArabah (May 633) and at al-Fusṭāṭ or the camp of Areopolis (Ar. Māb, mod. Rabba), and at Dathin and Ajnādayn (July 634), as well as the occupation of much of the land east of the Dead Sea; in his lifetime the Muslims seized Transjordania and southern Palestine from the Byz. Abu Bakr skillfully selected his generals and directed them from Madīna, but did not personally fight against Byz. armies or visit conquered Byz. territories or towns. He possessed great leadership qualities, which contributed significantly to the consolidation and advance of Islam. He also showed a sense for military strategy and operations, although Herakleios and contemporary Byz. commanders probably did not consider him a serious opponent. His motives and calculations concerning Byz. can only be inferred, for no contemporary source details his decision to invade Byz. Syria. The invasion of Iraq also took much of his attention. Most scholars now accept the historicity of his caliphate, which Crone and others had challenged (P. Crone, M. Cook, *Hagarism* [Cambridge 1977] 28, 178, n.72, partly retracted in P. Crone, M. Hinds, *God's Caliph* [Cambridge 1986] 111–13).

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 82–90, 127–34. W.M. Watt, *EI*² 1:109–11. Caetani, *Islam* 2.1:510–719; 3:1–119. –W.E.K.

ABŪ FIRĀS, more fully al-Ḥārith ibn Saʿīd ibn Hamdān al-Taghlibī, Arab prince, warrior, and poet; born Iraq 932, died Syria 4 Apr. 968. His mother was of Byz. origin, and after his father's death in 935 he grew up under her care and the patronage of his Ḥamdānid cousin SAYF AL-DAWLA at Aleppo. He participated in several expeditions against Byz. and in 962 was wounded and captured by Theodosios Phokas. Kept in chains at Charsianon, he later enjoyed princely treatment in Constantinople, was focal in negotiating a general exchange of prisoners, and was finally released in 966. Legend credits him with a spectacular escape from an alleged earlier imprisonment. While governor of Manbij, he was killed during his unsuccessful revolt against Sayf al-Dawla's son.

As poet-warrior Abū Firās reflected the ideal of Arab chivalry and sincerity; spontaneity and verve characterize his poetry. He is most esteemed for his *Byzantine Poems* (*Rūmiyyāt*) composed during his captivity, expressing defiance in adversity, yearning for loved ones, and reproach to Sayf al-Dawla for delay in ransoming him. His poems, often with his own illuminating historical notes, provide important information on expeditions, frontier toponymy, Byz. prosopography (e.g., the PHOKAS and MALEINOS families), conditions of prisoners, and Byz.-Arab mutual perceptions, as in his debate with Nikephoros Phokas on the fighting abilities of Byz. and Arabs.

ED. *Dīwān* [Collected Poems], ed. S. Dahhan (Beirut 1944).

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:349–70. M. Canard, "Quelques noms de personnages byzantins dans une pièce du poète arabe Abu Firas (X^{e} siècle)," in *Byzance et les musulmans* (London 1973), pt.IX (1936), 451–60 (with N. Adontz). Sezgin, *GAS* 2:480–83. H.A.R. Gibb, *EI*^{2} 1:119f. –A.Sh.

ABŪ MĪNĀ, famous Early Christian settlement (the ancient name is unknown) and pilgrimage center in Mareotis, west of ALEXANDRIA, where the underground tomb of St. MENAS was venerated from the late 4th C. onward. The inner core consists of a large square, with XENODOCHEIA on the north and churches on the south. The MARTYRION over the saint's tomb is the most important of the churches. Its earliest foundations date from the late 4th C.; enlarged several times, it was rebuilt under Justinian I as a tetraconch. To the east is a large transept basilica (early 6th C.), to the west a baptistery. At the south rear lies an unusual semicircular structure which probably held INCUBATION rooms for sick pilgrims. There are also two baths within the town, colonnaded streets, and many private houses. Other churches have been found in the environs of Abū Mīnā. A basilica to the north is a very regular building *extra muros*, closely connected with a residential quarter that perhaps served as the residence for non-Chalcedonians. A church to the east, another tetraconch, is surrounded by several houses for anachoretes. All churches and official buildings were built of local limestone. For their decoration extensive use was made of marble *spolia* from destroyed buildings in Alexandria. The famous MENAS FLASKS were produced as pilgrim souvenirs at Abū Mīnā from the early 6th C. onward.

During the Persian invasions of 616–20 Abū Mīnā was almost totally destroyed, and it was rebuilt only modestly afterwards. After the Arab conquest (639–42) the town, which was formerly Chalcedonian, came into the hands of the Coptic Monophysite church, and presumably about the time of the Coptic patriarch Michael I (744–68) the *martyrion* was rebuilt as a five-aisled basilica. The site was finally abandoned after the 10th C.

LIT. C.-M. Kaufmann, *Die Menasstadt* I (Leipzig 1910). P. Grossmann, "Abū Mīna," *MDAI K* 38 (1982) 131–54. Idem, *Abū Mīnā: A Guide to the Ancient Pilgrimage Center* (Cairo 1986). –P.Gr.

ABYDIKOS (ἀβυδικός), an official in control of navigation. The name is evidently derived from ABYDOS and originally designated the inspector of sea traffic through the Hellespont. Ahrweiler suggests that he was a successor to the *archon* or *komes* of the Straits (*ton Stenon*) or of Abydos, known from an edict of Anastasios I, from Prokopios, and other sources. The term later acquired a generic meaning; *abydikoi* of Thessalonike, Amisos, Chrepos, and Euripos are mentioned on seals. His function could be combined with that of KOMMERKIARIOS. A military rank on the staff of the DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU, *abydikos* was equivalent to, and commonly replaced, the rank of KOMES. It remains under discussion whether the *abydikos* was the same official as the PARAPHYLAX of Abydos mentioned frequently on seals. *Abydikoi* are attested until the early 11th C.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures,* pt.II (1961), 239–46. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 179–81. Zacos, *Seals* 1.2:1200f. –A.K., E.M.

ABYDOS (Ἄβυδος), city on the Hellespont, near modern Çanakkale. Abydos and HIERON were the two customs posts where taxes were assessed on shipping to and from Constantinople. Abydos was administered by an *archon* or *komes ton Stenon* who commanded a small fleet, stopped illegal transport of weapons, checked travel documents, and collected taxes. The amounts were fixed by a decree of Anastasios I that forbade excessive charges (J. Durliat, A. Guillou, *BCH* 108 [1984] 581–98). Justinian I replaced this system with a customs house (*demosion teloneion*) under a *komes* with a fixed salary. Abydos long retained its function: its *archon* or *komes* is attested through the

10th C. Taxes collected there were reduced by Empress Irene in 801; the Venetians won a special reduction in 992. This function was so important that the name ABYDIKOS was applied to similar officials throughout the empire. Abydos was a strategic naval base subordinate to the theme of the Aegean Sea; it later became a separate command under its own *strategos* (or *katepano*, mentioned in 1086: *Lavra* 1, no.48.3). Its role and location made Abydos the frequent target of foreign and domestic enemies from the 7th through the 12th C. It was taken by the Venetians in 1204 and remained Latin until its reconquest by John III Vatatzes. By that time it had yielded in importance to KALLIPOLIS; the last period of its history is obscure. Originally a suffragan bishopric of KYZIKOS, Abydos became a metropolis in 1084. No remains have been reported.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, "Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance," *REB* 19 (1960) 239–46. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 179–81. –C.F.

ACADEMY OF ATHENS, a school of higher education, claiming descent from Plato's Academy, which preserved the traditions of NEOPLATONISM. It flourished in the 4th C. and attracted both pagan and Christian students, including Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzos, and Julian the Apostate. STUDENTS formed close groups around their TEACHERS, and fights between different groups were common. By the end of the 4th C. and in the 5th C. the Academy had acquired a predominantly pagan character with such teachers as Ploutarchos, Syrianos, and the philosopher PROKLOS. The teachers emphasized the importance of ancient traditions and the role of the "divine philosopher" as opposed to the "tyrant." After the death of Proklos (485), Alexandria briefly evolved into the leading center of philosophical study, but at the beginning of the 6th C., under DAMASKIOS, the Academy again became the most influential pagan school. Malalas (Malal. 451.16–18) records that in 529 Justinian I forbade the teaching of philosophy and law in Athens, but some teaching continued there. Circa 532 leading philosophers from Athens emigrated to Persia; disappointed in CHOSROES I, who turned out not to be an ideal philosopher-king, they came back to the Byz. Empire. Damaskios, however, returned not to Athens but to Emesa in his native Syria. The Academy continued to function and, despite confiscations, still possessed substantial funds in the 560s. According to the autobiography of ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK, an anonymous "doctor from Athens" was a famous teacher in Constantinople at the beginning of the 7th C. (Lemerle, *Humanism* 92f).

The commentaries on Plato and Aristotle by such teachers as Proklos and Simplikios provide an idea of the range and quality of teaching in Athens. The *Life of Proklos* by Marinos and the *Life of Isidore* by Damaskios give a picture of the activity and attitudes of teachers at the Academy.

LIT. Cameron, *Literature,* pt.XIII (1969), 7–30. F. Schemmel, "Die Hochschule von Athen im IV. und V. Jahrhundert p. Ch. n.," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 22 (1908) 494–513. G. Fernandez, "Justiniano y la clausura de la escuela de Atenas," *Erytheia* 2.2 (1983) 24–30. –A.K., R.B.

ACANTHUS (ἄκανθος), classical Greek term for a perennial plant, common to the Mediterranean, whose leaf form inspired decorative motifs in architectural sculpture, particularly the Corinthian CAPITAL. In the 5th and 6th C., the traditional, naturalistic form of the acanthus was modified by flattening the leaves against a deeply undercut ground and creating a lacy texture of light and dark, solid and void, punctuated by deeply drilled points (Grabar, *Sculptures* I, pls. XIX–XX). The organic Roman form thus became an abstract motif used as an element of overall pattern. "Wind-blown" capitals of the 5th C. preserve the naturalistic treatment of the individual leaves but twist the entire form, denying its mass. The motif was further applied to a wide range of architectural features—IMPOST BLOCKS, capitals, architraves, and archivolts. The acanthus remained an abiding decorative feature in sculpture and other media. Delicate, lacy friezes decorated arcades and marked interior divisions between domes, drums, and bodies of churches. Acanthus motifs were also used on ICON FRAMES, ARCOSOLIA, and templon barriers, as at HOSIOS LOUKAS and the CHORA (Grabar, *Sculptures* II, pls. XVII–XX, CVIf).

LIT. R. Kautsch, *Kapitellstudien* (Berlin-Leipzig 1936) 5–152. –K.M.K.

ACCIAJUOLI (Ατζαϊώλης), name of a Florentine banking family, one branch of which rose to

prominence in 14th-15th-C. Greece; etym. Ital. *acciao* ("steel"). The Acciajuolis first made their fortune in Italy in the 12th C. through the operation of a steel foundry; they then turned to banking. By the 14th C. they had amassed considerable wealth and were closely linked with the Angevins of Naples. In addition to holdings in Italy, Niccolò Acciajuoli (died 8 Nov. 1365) acquired extensive lands in Greece, particularly in Elis, Messenia, and Kephalenia (P. Topping, *Studies on Latin Greece* A.D. *1205–1715* [London 1977] pts. V, VI). In 1358 he was granted the CORINTH region by Robert II, son of Catherine of Valois. He undertook the repair of fortifications at the Isthmus of Corinth.

The family reached its height in Greece during the reign of Nerio I Acciajuoli (died 25 Sept. 1394), lord of Corinth (1371–94), who took ATHENS from the CATALANS on 2 May 1388 and founded a Florentine duchy of Athens (which included THEBES). Nerio I was succeeded as duke of Athens by his illegitimate son Antonio I, who enjoyed a lengthy and relatively peaceful reign (1403–35). The Acciajuoli family maintained its rule over Athens until 4 June 1456, when the city fell to the Turks. Franco Acciajuoli, the last duke of Athens (1455–56), spent his final years as lord of Thebes (1456–60) until he was murdered at the command of MEHMED II. The Greek branch of the family intermarried with the PALAIOLOGOS and Tocco families.

The Acciajuoli property in the Morea, known from acts of donation, included fields, vineyards, meadows, forestland, etc. The documents list the *paroikoi* who were attached to the land, as well as their animals, and enumerate the rental payment owed by each peasant, usually in cash.

LIT. C. Ugurgieri della Berardenga, *Gli Acciaioli di Firenze nella luce dei loro tempi (1160–1834)*, 2 vols. (Florence 1962). Setton, *Catalan Domination* 66–68 and n.5, 174–211. *PLP*, no.1606–15. J. Longnon, P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle* (Paris–The Hague 1969). –A.M.T.

ACCIDIE. See AKEDIA.

ACCLAMATIONS (sing. *εὐφημία*, *πολυχρόνιον*). Cadenced unison shouts, which applauded or criticized magnates and esp. emperors, characterized Byz. public life. Against the silence attending the emperor's appearances or the reading of his words, acclamations manifested public reaction. Thus, acclamations by the army and people formed the key consensual act in an imperial CORONATION. Acclamations at public meetings (e.g., church councils) were increasingly written down, painted, or inscribed in public places in the 4th–5th C. and developed their own iconography. Chants or loyal petitions improvised at the circus offered Byz. crowds a rare channel of communication with their rulers; acclamations concerning provincial officials were forwarded to the prince as evidence of public opinion (*Cod.Theod.* I 16.6).

Acclamations grew more complex and formalized as the FACTIONS orchestrated their performance. The 9th- and 10th-C. acclamations of *De ceremoniis* show uniformly obsequious texts performed at every ceremony by imperial employees under the *praipositos* (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 223–25). This elaborateness and professional performance pushed acclamations toward political poetry and culminated, for example, in Theodore PRODROMOS. The army and public continued to voice shorter, more formulaic shouts, like those appearing on coins (e.g., *DOC* 3.1:177), as responses to the factions' acclamations and esp. to demonstrate loyalty in crises. Usurpers supposedly extorted them by force (John MAUROPOUS, no.186.25, ed. Lagarde, p.183) and their potential insincerity fooled no one (THEMISTIOS, *Orationes* 8, 1:156.1–3). At 9th- and 10th-C. state banquets and AUDIENCES, organs gave the cue for all to stand and join the factions in acclaiming the emperor (Oikonomides, *Listes* 203.31–34).

In all periods LEGITIMACY, divine support, orthodoxy, victory, and long life were favorite themes. Acclamations often observed a responsorial pattern, whereby persons were acclaimed, starting with God or the emperor and proceeding in order of precedence, followed by specific praises or requests. Acclamations' content thereby illuminates the ceremonies they accompanied. Late Roman acclamations mixed Greek and Latin, but gave way to overwhelmingly Greek texts by the 10th C.; a few fossilized Latin acclamations continued to be performed on special occasions. Rough isosyllaby and rhythm of stress accent determined the metrical structure of acclamations (P. Maas, *BZ* 21 [1912] 28–51; Cameron, *Circus Factions* 329–33) and anticipated developments of Byz. prosody like POLITICAL VERSE.

LIT. T. Klauser, *RAC* 1:216–33. C. Roueché, "Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 74 (1984) 181–99. –M.McC.

ACCLAMATIONS, APOTROPAIC, words or phrases expressing religious conviction in brief, exclamatory form, often found on AMULETS. At first simple utterances of shared religious feeling, such acclamations lent themselves naturally—because of the frequency with which they invoke the power of the deity—to eventual apotropaic use; for instance, praise of God invokes his aid against demons. Some (e.g., *Hygieia*, "health") are little more than banal expressions of good luck, while others (e.g., *Heis Theos ho nikon ta kaka*, "One God conquering evil!") are more specifically directed against evil spirits. The roots of Christian apotropaic acclamations lie in the ceremonial protocol of the Hellenistic and Roman imperial courts, for example, the TRISAGION (*Hagios, Hagios, Hagios*), which appears frequently on amulets of the 5th through 7th C.

LIT. E. Peterson, *Heis Theos* (Göttingen 1926). –G.V.

ACHAIA ('Αχαία). The toponym Achaia has several meanings in the Byz. period.

1. It was a late Roman province embracing the PELOPONNESOS and central GREECE south of Thermopylai, identified by HIEROKLES with HELLAS and credited with 79 cities. The capital was CORINTH. Under Diocletian, Achaia was part of the diocese of Moesia, but it was later transferred to Macedonia under the praetorian prefect of ILLYRICUM. Most of the province (with the exception of its western parts) was eventually included in the theme of Hellas. The ecclesiastical province of Achaia survived, but presumably designated only the Peloponnesos; PATRAS is listed as its metropolitan see from the 8th or 9th C.

2. In a general geographic sense, the term refers to the northwestern Peloponnesos, whose main city was Patras. Aside from a narrow coastal strip along the Gulf of Corinth, Achaia is mountainous and sparsely populated. Among the churches of the region is the Panagia at Mentzaina, a timber-roofed basilica, dated to the mid-10th C. (A.G. Moutzale, *Archaiologika Analekta Athenon* 17 [1984] 21–42).

3. Achaia was also the name of a Frankish principality founded in southern Greece after the Fourth Crusade (see ACHAIA, PRINCIPALITY OF). –T.E.G.

ACHAIA, PRINCIPALITY OF, sometimes called principality of Morea (to be distinguished from the Byz.-controlled despotate of the MOREA), the Frankish territory in the Peloponnesos ruled by the princes of Achaia from 1205 to 1430. In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, two Frankish Crusaders, WILLIAM (I) OF CHAMPLITTE and GEOFFREY (I) VILLEHARDOUIN, seized control of virtually the entire Byz. Peloponnesos and became the first two princes of Achaia. The Frankish principality reached the peak of its power under WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN, who constructed fortresses at MISTRA, MAINA, and MONEMVASIA. After William II was captured by the Byz. at the battle of PELAGONIA (1259), however, and forced to cede the castles to Emp. Michael VIII Palaiologos, the Byz. regained a foothold in the Morea. During their remaining 170 years of empire, the Byz. gradually reconquered the Peloponnesos, until finally bringing an end to the principality only 30 years before the despotate of Morea fell, in turn, to the Ottomans. Both the Western and Greek versions of the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA are important sources for the first century of the principality.

The French conquerors imposed a feudal system upon their Greek territory. The prince of Achaia was nominally a vassal of the Latin emperor of Constantinople; in reality, however, he controlled more territory than his suzerain and was supported by a larger army. His chief residence was ANDRAVIDA. The prince had the right to mint coins, which were produced at the active port of Clarenza (see CHLEMOUTSI). The prince's authority was limited by the power of his barons, who were considered his peers; they had private armies and built (or restored) castles throughout the principality at such sites as Old Navarino, Kyparissia, and Karytaina. After Achaia became a dependency of the kingdom of Sicily in 1267 and after the death of William II in 1278, many princes of Achaia held the title only nominally and rarely, if ever, visited the Peloponnesos. The French settlers were always outnumbered by their Greek subjects, who sometimes preferred the tolerant French rule to Byz. administration, but were

Princes of Achaia

Ruler	*Reign Dates*
William I of Champlitte	1205-1209
Geoffrey I Villehardouin	1209-1226/31
Geoffrey II Villehardouin	1226/31-1246
William II Villehardouin	1246-1278
Charles I of Anjou	1278-1285
Charles II of Anjou	1285-1289
Florent of Hainaut	1289-1297
Isabeau de Villehardouin	1297-1301
Philip of Savoy	1301-1307
Philip I of Taranto	1307-1313
Louis of Burgundy	1313-1316
Mahaut de Hainaut	1316-1321
John of Gravina	1322-1333
Robert of Taranto	1333-1364
Philip II of Taranto in rivalry with Marie de Bourbon	1364-1370
Philip II of Taranto	1370-1373
Jeanne of Naples	1373-1381
Jacques de Baux	1381-1383
Period of competition between Marie de Bretagne, Hospitallers, Louis II of Clermont, Pope Urban VI, Amadeo of Savoy, and Mahiot de Coquerel	1383-1396
Pierre de Saint-Superan (Navarrese Company)	1396-1402
Marie Zaccaria	1402-1404
Centurione II Zaccaria	1404-1430

Source: Based on Bon, *Morée franque* 696.

reluctant to relinquish their Orthodoxy. A Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy was established with the principal archbishop at Patras, subordinate to the Latin patriarch of Constantinople; Greek priests came under the jurisdiction of Latin bishops. (See table for a list of the princes of Achaia.)

LIT. A. Bon, *La Morée franque*, 2 vols. (Paris 1969). Longnon, *Empire latin* 187–355. Idem, *HC* 2:235–74. P. Topping, *HC* 3:104–66. D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale* (Paris 1971). G. Dmitriev, "K voprosu o položenii krest'jan v latinskoj Grecii," *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973) 55–64. K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea* (Athens 1953; rp. Amsterdam 1978). –A.M.T.

ACHEIROPOIETA (ἀχειροποίητα, lit. [objects] "not made by hands"). First used by the Apostle Paul (2 Cor 5:1) to describe metaphorically the resurrected body of Christ, the term *acheiropoieta* was applied to images of sacred persons that came into existence miraculously, usually at the will of that person. The most famous *acheiropoieta* not only appeared miraculously, they could also replicate themselves miraculously. *Acheiropoieta* are cited first and most often in the period between Justinian I and Iconoclasm, the most important of them emerging in the context of the Persian Wars: the Mandylion, the Keramion, and the images of the Kamoulianai Christ, which Herakleios carried into battle like a new labarum. The same period yields reports of other *acheiropoieta*: the imprint of Christ's face on a cloth in Memphis, his imprint on the column of his flagellation in Jerusalem, and an *acheiropoieton* of the Virgin Mary at Lydda (Diospolis). Several of these are described in the Letter of the Three Patriarchs, but only the Mandylion and Keramion continued to be represented after Iconoclasm. Few other *acheiropoieta* are known. With rare exceptions they represent either Christ or Mary. It is no longer possible to associate the shroud described by Nicholas Mesarites in 12th-C. Constantinople with that most enigmatic of *acheiropoieta*, the imprinted linen cloth known as the Shroud of Turin.

LIT. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (Leipzig 1899). Grabar, *Iconoclasme* 37–59. G. Vikan, "Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium," *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989) 47–59. Av. Cameron, *The Sceptic and the Shroud* (London 1980). –A.W.C.

ACHEIROPOIETOS CHURCH. The Church of the Acheiropoietos (Ἀχειροποίητος, lit. "not-made-by-hands") in Thessalonike is so named because it housed a miraculous icon (see Acheiropoieta) of the Virgin Hodegetria (A. Xyngopoulos, *Hellenika* 13 [1954] 256–62). Dedicated to the Virgin, the Acheiropoietos was a wooden-roofed, three-aisled basilica, approximately 28 m wide and 36.5 m long (nave alone). The aisles are screened from the nave by high stylobates, there are galleries above the two side aisles, and the outer narthex was flanked by towers. Perhaps the earliest of the churches still standing in the city, it was probably built between 450 and 470; bricks from the fabric of the building have been dated to ca.450 (M. Vickers, *BSA* 68 [1973] 285–94) and the mosaics of birds, chalices, and crosses in the soffits of the nave arcade in the church are assigned to the period 450–60 (Ch. Bakirtzes in *Aphieroma ste mneme St. Pelekanide* [Thessalonike 1983] 310–29). The present marble pavement dates from the time of the church, but floor mosaics from two earlier buildings, probably of secular character, lie under it. Fine (but damaged) frescoes of the 13th C. (figures of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia) adorn the south aisle (A. Xyngopoulos, *ArchEph* [1957] 6–30).

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 99–102. S. Pelekanides, *Palaiochristianika mnemeia Thessalonikes. Acheiropoietos. Mone Latomou*[2] (Thessalonike 1973) 11–41. D. De Bernardi Ferrero, "La Panagia Acheiropoietos di Salonicco," *CorsiRav* 22 (1975) 157–69. A. Xyngopoulos, "Peri ten Acheiropoieton Thessalonikes," *Makedonika* 2 (1941–52) 472–87. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

ACHELOUS (Ἀχελῷον), a river (or, according to Skyl. 203.95, a fortress) near Anchialos where Symeon of Bulgaria won a decisive victory over the Byz. on 20 Aug. 917 (in Skyl., 6 Aug.). The Byz. army, commanded by Leo Phokas, *domestikos ton scholon*, was accompanied by the fleet under Romanos (I) Lekapenos. Romanos headed for the mouth of the Danube, where he expected to find Pecheneg auxiliaries; the Serbian prince Peter was also expected to join the Byz. Symeon launched his attack before these forces could unite. Skylitzes (Skyl. 203.94–204.37) provides two explanations of the defeat. According to the first version, Leo Phokas's horse bolted and returned riderless to camp, causing the soldiers to think that Leo had fallen in battle. The second version recounts that Leo was pursuing the Bulgarians when he heard a rumor that Romanos Lekapenos had diverted to Constantinople in order to seize the imperial power; immediately Leo headed for camp to learn the truth. Whatever the cause, the Byz. were routed, many commanders were killed (including Constantine Lips), and Leo barely escaped to Mesembria.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:380–91. Runciman, *Romanus* 55f. –A.K.

ACHILLEIS (Ἀχιλλῆϊς), an anonymous late Byz. romance of chivalry, written in unrhymed political verse and surviving in three versions (N [Naples]: 1,820 lines; L [London, British Museum]: 1,363, but with lacunas; O [Oxford]: 761); all apparently derive from a single, lost archetype. The romance describes the birth of Achilles late in his parents' marriage, his precocious childhood (cf. Digenes Akritas and Imberios and Margarona), his experience of the power of Eros, courtship, marriage, and intense grief at his wife's death. Although the hero is named Achilles, his companion Patroklos and his people the Myrmidons, the romance has no other connection with the world of antiquity (Naples version, vv. 1759–1820 on Achilles' role in the Trojan War, based on Constantine Manasses, are a later addition). Rather, the world which the *Achilleis* reflects, with its tournaments and jousting, is the mixed Frankish-Greek society of the 14th C., which is also part of the background of Belthandros and Chrysantza and Libistros and Rhodamne. The language, like that of the other verse romances of chivalry, is mixed, but closer to the popular speech of the day than the learned.

ED. L and N—*L'Achilléide byzantine*, ed. D.C. Hesseling (Amsterdam 1919). O—S. Lampros, ed., *NE* 15 (1921) 367–408. Ital. tr. P. Stomeo, "Achilleide, poema bizantino anonimo," *Studi Salentini* 7 (1959) 155–97.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 129–32. R. Keydell, "Achilleis. Zur Problematik und Geschichte eines griechischen Romans," *ByzF* 6 (1979) 83–99. A.F. van Gemert, W.F. Bakker, "He Achelleida kai he Historia tou Belisariou," *Hellenika* 33 (1981) 82–97. O.L. Smith, "Versions and Manuscripts of the *Achilleid*," *Neograeca Medii Aevi: Texte und Ausgabe*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne 1986) 315–24. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

ACHILLES, the principal Greek hero of the *Iliad*. Achilles retained his popularity well beyond late antiquity. This popularity can be explained by the search for the ideal warrior, still as apparent in the 11th-C. *Kynegetika* (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.*, fig. 103) as in the 5th-C. illustrated *Iliad* in Milan (Ambros. F 205 inf.). The education (paideia) of Achilles by the centaur Cheiron was contrasted with Christian principles of upbringing (M. Hengel, *Achilleus in Jerusalem* [Heidelberg 1982] 45–47), but still literally depicted on bone caskets and in MSS of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 165–68). Later, Christian rhetoricians (e.g., Prokopios of Gaza) tried to adapt the theme of the *paideia* of Achilles to their own moralistic ideas; it appears as an exemplary education in many Byz. writers.

The Byz. gradually divested Achilles of his military prowess: in similes of Niketas Choniates, in the *Histories* of Tzetzes, even in the commentary of Eustathios of Thessalonike on the *Iliad*, Achilles is primarily a physician, a musician, a sober man. In his commentary on the *Odyssey* (*Eust. Comm. Od.* 1696.65, vol. 1:431), Eustathios critically notes that Homer was *pany philachilleus*, "too pro-Achil-

lean." Already in Homer, Achilles had some features of a semibarbarian prince; Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 150.4–20) developed the idea that Achilles was "Tauroscythian," endowed with the typical cruelty of the Rus'.

LIT. D. Kemp-Lindemann, *Darstellungen des Achilleus in griechischer und römischer Kunst* (Bern 1975) 248–51. C. Delvoye, "Eléments classiques et innovations dans l'illustration de la légende d'Achille au Bas-Empire," *AntCl* 53 (1984) 184–99. –A.C., A.K.

ACHILLES TATIUS (Ἀχιλλεὺς Τάτιος), author of the novel *Leukippe and Kleitophon* and, according to the SOUDA, other works of varied scope; born Alexandria, fl. end of 2nd C. The *Souda* also states, almost certainly incorrectly, that he became a Christian and a bishop. The ROMANCE, in carefully wrought prose with many EKPHRASEIS, is narrated throughout in the first person; it relates the lurid adventures and dramatic separations (by pirates, shipwrecks, false deaths, and so on) of the hero and heroine before they can be reunited and married. A papyrus roll of the 3rd to 4th C. containing the romance is being edited at the university libraries of Duke and Cologne (W.H. Willis in *XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* [Naples 1984] 1:163-66). Despite reservations about the romance's moral qualities (see, e.g., Photios, *Bibl.*, cod.87; Psellos, *De Chariclea et Leucippe iudicium*), the novel seems to have maintained an intermittent readership, perhaps because of its potential for allegorical interpretation in terms of the salvation of a Christian soul as well as its Atticist prose style. When in the 12th C. novels began to be written once more, that of Achilles was taken as a model by Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, used by Theodore PRODROMOS, and quoted in the Grottaferrata version of DIGENES AKRITAS.

ED. *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, ed. E. Vilborg, 2 vols. (Stockholm 1955, 1962). Eng. tr., S. Gaselee, *Achilles Tatius* (Cambridge-London 1969).

LIT. T. Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Oxford 1983) 41-54. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:121-25. S.V. Poljakova, "Evmatij i Achill Tatij," *Antičnost' i sovremennost'* (Moscow 1972) 380–86. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

ACHMET BEN SIRIN (Ἀχμὲτ ὁ υἱὸς Σηρείμ), author of the longest and most important Byz. tract on DREAMS. Achmet is the pseudonym of a Christian Greek who used in his ONEIROKRITIKON widely divergent sources: Arabic (N. Bland, *JRAS* 16 [1856] 118–71; M. Steinschneider, *ZDMG* 17 [1863] 227–44), Byz. (dream books of ASTRAMPSYCHOS and the prophet DANIEL), late Roman (Artemidoros, 2nd C.), and his own dream material. The pagan material, particularly in the first 14 chapters, has been reworked to conform to Christian orthodoxy. The treatise is dedicated to "the *protosymboulos* Ma'mūn," the caliph of "Babylon," whose dream interpreter Achmet purports to be, and contains the interpretations of hundreds of dream symbols attributed to Persian, Egyptian, and Indian seers. These attributions, patently false, are a scheme to project cosmopolitan erudition. The date of composition lies somewhere between 813 (the year of ascent of Caliph Ma'mūn) and the early 11th C., when the dream book appears in the marginalia and text of two MSS (D. Gigli, *Prometheus* 4 [1978] 65–86, 173–88; S.M. Oberhelman, *BZ* 74 [1981] 326f). The name Achmet also appears as the author of an astrological treatise, datable to the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th C. (E. Riess, *RE* 1 [1894] 248).

ED. *Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexl (Leipzig 1925). *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, tr. S.M. Oberhelman (Binghamton 1989).

LIT. F. Drexl, *Achmets Traumbuch* (Freising 1909). Idem, "Studien zum Text des Achmet," *BZ* 33 (1933) 13–31, 271–92. –S.M.O.

ACHYRAOUS (Ἀχυράους, Lat. Esseron), fortress of Mysia overlooking the Makestos River in northwestern Anatolia, near modern Balıkesir. First mentioned in 812 as a village by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Achyraous became important only in 1139, when John II Komnenos made it a powerful and strategic fortified city to assure control of the region and its roads. Achyraous was then made a bishopric, under KYZIKOS, and, in the late 12th C., an ecclesiastical metropolis. At that time, it apparently became the center of a separate civil province. After Latin occupation in 1204–20, Achyraous was a major Laskarid fortress. Although strengthened by Michael VIII in 1282, it barely survived a Turkish attack in 1302, was temporarily rescued by the Catalans in 1304, but fell to the Turks of KARASI soon after. The well-preserved fortress is built in a distinctive masonry with much brick decoration. Mt. Kyminas in the immediate vicinity contained important monastic settlements in the 9th–10th C.

LIT. C. Foss, "The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 161–66. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 93f. –C.F.

ACOLYTE (ἀκόλουθος), the "follower" in a FUNERAL cortege. Justinian's novel 59, regulating the payment of funeral expenses out of the endowments of the GREAT CHURCH, mentions *akolouthoi* among the various corporations that specialized in the performance of the necessary obsequies. There were to be three *akolouthoi* per cortege (*asketrion*). The acolytes who constituted the lowest clerical order in the Roman church (H. Leclercq in *DACL* 1:348–56) apparently did not have a counterpart in Byz. –P.M.

ACQUISITION. The most common legal means of obtaining property were transfer (Lat. *traditio*; Gr. *paradosis*), possession by prescriptive right (LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO), *occupatio*, and acquisition *ex lege*. Property was obtained, for example, in fulfillment of a sale-, gift-, or dowry-CONTRACT through a physical transfer; from the time of Justinian I this transfer could take place informally, in contrast to the earlier formal act, the *mancipatio*. In case of a purchase (SALE), payment had to accompany the transfer in order for the acquisition of the property to be complete. *Occupatio*, appropriation with the intent to keep the object as property, was the legal basis for the acquisition of an object which had no owner. Acquisition *ex lege* (i.e., an acquisition where the acquirer does not participate in the transaction), involved primarily the acquisition of an inheritance by the lawful heir of the testator. The acquisition of possession was based on the effective tenure of an object and by the wish to have it: *corpore et animo* (Gr. *somati kai psyche*, lit. "in body and soul"). –M.Th.F.

ACRE, KINGDOM OF. After the Third Crusade recovered Acre from Saladin (12 July 1191) but failed to regain Jerusalem, Acre became the capital of the kings of Jerusalem and a major center for the production of CRUSADER ART. John of Brienne was king there (1210–25) before becoming Latin emperor in Constantinople. Restricted to a coastal strip, the kingdom of Acre was dominated by Italian merchant communities in the cities. A conflict between Venetians and Genoese over a house belonging to the Church of St. Sabas in Acre (1256–70) drove Genoa to ally itself with MICHAEL VIII, thereby facilitating his seizure of Constantinople. The Venetian-Genoese struggles, however, spread into Byz. waters, where much harm was done to Byz. Acre fell to the Mamlūks on 18 May 1291.

LIT. Prawer, *Royaume latin*. –C.M.B.

ACROCORINTH. See CORINTH.

ACROSTIC (ἀκροστιχίς), a composition in prose or verse in which the initial letters of each section form a word, phrase, or alphabetic sequence. Acrostics are regularly found in hymns, both KONTAKIA and KANONES, where the first letters of each OIKOS, or verse, are linked to form the author's name (e.g., Τοῦ Ρωμανοῦ), an indication of the subject matter (e.g., Εἰς τὸν Ἰωσὴφ Ρωμανοῦ ἔπος), or to make an alphabet (as in the AKATHISTOS HYMN); letters can be doubled to allow the text to expand (e.g., Εἰς τὸν Χρρυυσσοοσσττομον) and some phonetic spelling is permissible (e.g., ταπινοῦ). Alphabetic acrostics link chapters and entries in the gnomologia (see GNOME) and MIRRORS OF PRINCES, hortatory works to which are related a series of shorter penitential alphabets in prose and verse and in the vernacular as well as the learned languages (Krumbacher, *GBL* 717–20). Acrostics are found in secular *enkomia*, spelling the name of the recipient (e.g., in the works of DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO). Alphabetic acrostics are also used for love songs, as in the EROTOPAIGNIA.

LIT. K. Krumbacher, "Die Akrostichis in der griechischen Kirchenpoesie," *SBAW* (1903) 551–691. W. Weyh, "Die Akrostichis in der byzantinischen Kanonesdichtung," *BZ* 17 (1908) 1–69. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:165. –E.M.J.

ACTA ARCHELAI, anti-Manichaean document in the form of a disputation involving, on the Christian side, Archelaos, bishop of Kaschara in Mesopotamia (ca.270), and for the Manichaeans Turbo and MANI himself. Although the dispute is certainly not historical, the text contains authentic documents and genuine tradition concerning MANICHAEANISM. The *Acta* were written before 350 by an otherwise unknown Hegemonios and were cited by authors such as EPIPHANIOS of Salamis and SOKRATES. Only a few fragments of the original Greek version survive, but the full text exists in a defective Latin translation.

ED. PG 10:1405–1528. *Hegemonius: Acta Archelai*, ed. C.H. Beeson (Leipzig 1906).

LIT. G. Hansen, "Zu den Evangelienzitaten in den 'Acta Archelai,'" *StP* 7 (1966) 473–85. A.L. Kac, "Manichejstvo

v Rimskoj imperii po dannym Acta Archelai," *VDI*, no.3 (1955) 168–79. –T.E.G.

ACTIONS (*ἀγωγαί*). Under the classical formulary procedure of Rome, actions were written statements of grievance (*formulae*) that were allotted to the parties by the PRAETOR on the basis of their descriptions of the conflict, so that they could bring their lawsuit before the judge. The substantive claims set forth in this formal statement were closely connected with the relevant OBLIGATION; as a rule every *obligatio* had its own *actio* and, inversely, where there was no *obligatio* (see PACTA) there was no *actio*. With the elimination of the formulary system in 342 (*Cod. Just.* II 57.1), the procedural aspect of the action became irrelevant. Action became the name for the substantive claim (*obligatio*) that a plaintiff brought against a defendant. The name of the action had to be mentioned in the first sentence of the plaintiff's writ (*editio actionis*). Consequently, lists were compiled of the names of actions; of these, only the work DE ACTIONIBUS from the 6th C. has been edited.

Actions in the Post-Justinianic Period. The Byz. developed a detailed system of classification of actions (e.g., *Synopsis Basilicorum* A. 24.1). In charters, however, the term (which is common) has a vague meaning of "claim," with the connotation of an illegal procedure. It is used primarily in formulas assuring legal protection for a buyer or grantee against the seller (grantor) or a third person who was thus prohibited from initiating any claims concerning the transferred object (e.g., *Ivir.* 1, no.3.19–20; *Xénoph.*, no.9.45, etc.). A document of 1377 (*Lavra* 3, no.148) describes a *nomimos agoge* (with no further definition) brought against the monastery; the plaintiffs eventually dropped the claim, refusing to turn to "any Christian *agoge*" that could assist them, and they subsequently guaranteed the property of the Lavra. There is a difference between the elaborate categorization of actions in legal texts and the simple interpretation of the *agoge* in documents as a claim in general. –A.K.

ACTOR. In Roman law actors (Lat. *histriones*) and MIMES were considered as belonging to an infamous profession and were classified with those whom the emperor expelled from the army for shameful behavior (*Digest* 3:2.1). Despite the defense of actors by some intellectuals (LIBANIOS, CHORIKIOS OF GAZA), this negative attitude toward actors prevailed in Byz.: clerics were forbidden not only to participate in performances, but even to see a show. Various decrees, secular and ecclesiastical alike (esp. the rules of the Council in TRULLO), restricted theatrical performances. As late as the 15th C. Manuel II characterized the theatrical show as typical of the Ottoman court and found it reprehensible. The principal accusation against actors was the sexual promiscuity allegedly characteristic of their way of life: musicians, dancers, and actors are frequently mentioned in the same context as prostitutes. Nevertheless, in the late Roman Empire actors were to be found everywhere; a law of 409 prevented local urban authorities from transferring actors, charioteers, and wild animals from their cities and thus lessening the appeal of popular festivities (*Cod.Just.* XI 41.5). With the decline of the THEATER, actors assumed the role of clowns and jesters.

LIT. F. Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 321–43. W. Puchner, "Byzantinischer Mimos, Pantomimos und Mummenschanz im Spiegel der griechischen Patristik und ekklesiastischer Synodalverordnungen," *Maske und Kothurn* 29 (1983) 311–17. –Ap.K., A.K.

ACTS (*Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*), the historical portion of the NEW TESTAMENT that describes events after Christ's Crucifixion. The Byz. unanimously considered LUKE to be the author of the Acts, but MS tradition links it more closely to the Epistles than to the Gospels: among almost 3,000 uncial and minuscule MSS of the New Testament listed by K. Aland (*Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* [Berlin 1963]), approximately 335 contain the Acts together with the Epistles, but without the Gospels, while only ten contain the Gospels and Acts without the Epistles. The major Byz. commentary on Acts is that of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. A full exegesis of Acts was falsely attributed to the 10th-C. Thessalian bishop Oikoumenios—Beck (*Kirche* 418) dates it to the end of the 8th C. Another complete commentary, by THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, draws upon that of Chrysostom. Other commentaries are known in fragments from CATENAE.

Chrysostom highly appreciated the book of Acts:

it is no less beneficial for us, he says (PG 60:13f), than the Gospels, since it demonstrates the realization (*ergon*) of what was prophesied by Christ and presented in the Gospels. The book, he continues (col.15.15–16), related the acts of PAUL, who labored more than any other; Chrysostom completes his work with a panegyric of Paul. Chrysostom's interpretation of Acts is permeated by his ethical ideals of poverty over wealth and pious ignorance over pseudophilosophy; he uses his material for attacks on theatrical performances. The commentary of DIDYMOS THE BLIND, on the other hand, emphasizes Christological problems. Referring to Chrysostom, Didymos (PG 39:1672AB) discusses the contradiction between Acts and Paul in the story of the miracle on the road to Damascus. The contradiction is resolved by pointing out that in one case the text states that his companions heard Paul's voice, while in the other they saw only the light and did not hear the voice of the Lord. Lections from Acts (together with the Epistles) formed the liturgical book called the PRAXAPOSTOLOS. Various APOCRYPHAL acts described the exploits of individual apostles.

Acts Illustration. Illustration of Acts is rare in Byz. art. In monumental painting, only the 21-scene cycle in the narthex at Dečani (14th c.) in Serbia illustrates Acts itself, rather than episodes from hagiographical cycles, such as the scenes of PETER and Paul at MONREALE. Only two MSS of Acts—both 12th C.—contain anything more than a prefatory portrait of its author, Luke: Paris, B.N. gr. 102, fol. 7v (see Kessler, *infra*), has a grid of four scenes—Peter and JOHN at the Beautiful Gate, the martyrdom of JAMES, Peter liberated from prison, and the stoning of Stephen—and Chicago, Univ. Lib. 965, preserves 13 of its original 19 framed illustrations. The earlier SACRA PARALLELA contains 17 vignettes illustrating episodes from Acts. These four monuments, though chronologically diverse, reveal consistencies in the selection and interpretation of subject matter that occur also in byzantinizing cycles from Italy and indicate that a coherent Byz. tradition of Acts illustration did exist. It was extensive, settling on particular passages and illustrating them densely: ASCENSION, PENTECOST, activities of Peter, Paul, PHILIP, and Stephen. In contrast to the illustration of hagiographical cycles, Acts illustration was strictly canonical.

LIT. A.W. Carr, "Chicago 2400 and the Byzantine Acts Cycle," *BS/EB* 3.2 (1976) 1–29. L. Eleen, "Acts Illustration in Italy and Byzantium," *DOP* 31 (1977) 253–78. H. Kessler, "Paris. gr. 102: A Rare Illustrated Acts of the Apostles," *DOP* 27 (1973) 209–16. –J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

ACTS, DOCUMENTARY, documents of a formal nature, preserved in original or in COPY, and varying according to their author and the nature and importance of the question they concern.

Physical Characteristics. Normally acts were written on PAPYRUS, PARCHMENT, or PAPER in black or brown INK; emperors (and later *despotai*) used purple ink for their signatures (and for some other words, esp. in CHRYSOBULLS); the SEBASTOKRATORS and CAESARS used blue ink, the PROTOVESTIARIOS green ink. Purple parchment, use of gold or silver ink, and documents with miniatures (12th, 14th C.) or with decorated initials (12th C.) are rare. The script varies. In the 10th–12th C. a notarial script is typical of official chanceries. Normally acts were written in Greek; the language varies from moderately educated (chanceries) to popular (some private deeds). Letters of foreign relations were written in other languages (above all in Latin) or were accompanied by translations (few mentions of cryptographic or coded letters survive). The contents of the document were guaranteed by the author's autograph signature at the bottom, or by his *protaxis*, i.e., writing his name at the top of the document; if the author was illiterate, *protaxis* and subscription could be replaced by a *signon*, i.e., an autograph cross in the quarters of which the notary wrote the author's name and titles. Some public documents and most private ones bear also the signatures (autograph, if possible) of witnesses and, if one took part, of the *tabellion* or *taboullarios* (see NOTARY) who signed as a privileged witness. In some cases, the transaction was further confirmed by the signature of a bishop or an official, obviously with the hope that thus the document would receive public *fides*. The authenticity of the document was also guaranteed by a SEAL, hanging from a string of variable value and color at the bottom of an open document or securing a folded one: the seals were made of gold (only the emperor), of silver (rare; some *despotai*), lead and wax (general use, including emperors and *despotai*). Several annotations also survive; their interpretation is not always sure: recognition that the contents of

the act reflect what was intended to be said; registration; or MONOCONDYLES on the place where two different sheets were glued together. Major chanceries had secret signs guaranteeing the authenticity of their acts, such as having the final word (*kratos*) of the CHRYSOBULLS written at the beginning of a line; other secrets of the patriarchal chancery (place of seal, way of folding, etc.) are described in the EKTHESIS NEA.

Composition. Most acts contain some (if not all) of the following parts. At the very beginning (protocol) and at the very end (eschatocol) of the document are formulas and pieces of information identifying author, addressee, and date. At the beginning is an *invocatio*, usually to the Holy Trinity; the *intitulatio*, with the name and titles of the author (emperors, patriarchs, certain officials) or the *protaxis* or *signon* (in private deeds); eventually indication of the addressees (*inscriptio*). The date is part of the protocol in certain documents, such as excerpts from decisions of the synod, some acts of public officials (until the 11th C.), as well as some private deeds of the late Roman period and, in southern Italy, of the 10th–14th C. Justinian I required a ready-made protocol with the date on which it was drafted. The eschatocol contains the date on which the document was written (*egraphe*) or issued (*datum*, Gr. *apelythe*) and the subscription(s). The date is expressed according to one of several CHRONOLOGIES: by consular years (until the 8th C.), regnal years (introduced in 537 and still used in the 11th C. in Italy), *anno mundi* (year of the creation), and INDICTION. The body of the act is composed of the PROOIMION (*arenga*), a rhetorical introduction with philosophical and/or political considerations; the exposition of the affair (*narratio*); the decision or arrangement or order (*dispositio*); eventual spiritual or temporal sanctions for recalcitrants; and special clauses.

Probatory Value. The value of an act as evidence was limited, since its authenticity and validity could be contested at any time. An act of a state authority (*instrumentum publicum*) could be contested by the state itself (e.g., the privileges granted by an authentic imperial chrysobull would not be recognized by the authorities unless the chrysobull had been registered in time at the appropriate government services). An individual, however, could contest only its formal authenticity and bore the onus of proof. In the absence of notarial RECORDS (minutes) with probatory value, the diplomatic authenticity as well as the contents of private deeds could be contested in court. In such cases proof had to be brought in order to support them: testimony of the parties themselves, witnesses (including, first of all, the *taboullarios* who drafted the deeds), judicial oaths, and graphological examination of the signatures (for the deceased).

Types of Acts. All chanceries and public or ecclesiastical authorities issued simple letters (*grammata pittakia*; see PITTAKIA), which, when sealed, were called SIGILLIA. The imperial chancery also issued chrysobulls, EDICTS, NOVELS (*novellae*), *pragmaticae sanctiones*, *sacrae* (*sakrai*), PROSTAGMATA, *prostaxeis*, HORISMOI, RESCRIPTA, *lyseis*, etc. *Horismoi* and *parakeleuseis* were also issued by *despotai* and other state or church dignitaries (caesars, patriarchs); *entalmata*, SEMEIOMATA, and HYPOMNEMATA were documents typical of the patriarchal chancery and of that of public servants, who also issued fiscal acts, such as *apographika grammata*, PRAKTIKA, *periorismoi*, *isokodika* (see KODIX), etc. All kinds of private documents survive: WILLS, deeds confirming SALES, exchanges, and DONATIONS as well as documents that offer guarantees, make special agreements, etc.

LIT. Dölger, *Schatz*. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 23–56. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 174–89. Svoronos, "Actes des fonctionnaires" 423–27. Falkenhausen-Amelotti, "Notariato & documento" 40–62. A. Guillou et al., "Table ronde," in *PGEB* 532f. –N.O.

ADAM AND EVE, the original ancestors of humankind, occupied an important place in Byz. theological doctrine. Adam ('Αδάμ), whose name was interpreted as "man" or "earth," was created perfect, but committed grave sin (ORIGINAL SIN) by his own free will; his sin was considered more serious than that of Eve (Εὔα). Adam's sin led to the loss of grace and to death, but Christ came to redeem his fall. Thus Christ was proclaimed a Second Adam, and Adam the prefiguration (*typos*) of Christ—either through similarity (created without human father) or in contrast (obedience versus disobedience, damnation versus salvation). Exegetes ascribed double prefigurative significance to Eve: as the *typos* of the church, since she was created from Adam's rib and the church emerged from the open wound of Christ on the Cross, and as an antithesis to the VIRGIN MARY.

Representation in Art. Adam and Eve are depicted already at the Christian building at DURA EUROPOS and play a significant role in art of the pre-Justinianic period, culminating in extensive cycles in the illustrated Cotton and Vienna GENESIS MSS. Later they continue to occur in cycles which presumably reflect early models, such as the illustrated OCTATEUCHS, the nave mosaics of the Cappella Palatina at Palermo and the cathedral at Monreale, and the narthex mosaics at S. Marco in Venice. Brief cycles, closely related iconographically, also appear on ivory CASKETS (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, e.g., nos. 67–69, 84), where their function is unclear. From the 9th C., the ANASTASIS provided an important new context for Adam and Eve with the youthful Adam of Genesis now a white-bearded patriarch; from the 12th C. the idealized features of Eve become lined and wrinkled.

LIT. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986). K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:40–54. S.E. Robinson, *The Testament of Adam: An Examination of the Syriac and Greek Traditions* (Chico, Calif., 1982). H. Maguire, "Adam and the Animals: Allegory and Literal Sense in Early Christian Art," *DOP* 41 (1987) 363–73. –A.K., J.H.L.

ADDAI, DOCTRINE OF. See DOCTRINE OF ADDAI.

ADDRESS, FORMS OF, various modes of exclamation, appeal, harangue, and greeting, preserved primarily in letters (both papyri and collections) as well as in documents and speeches; on rare occasions narrative texts preserve traces of formulas of oral address while recreating dialogues. Zilliacus (*infra*) suggests that in the 4th–6th C. a radical change of the form of addressing people took place, because of the bureaucratization of society, on the one hand, and its christianization, on the other. "Classicizing" authors, such as Libanios and Julian, retain the traditional literary forms of address: *agathe*, *anthrope*, *kale*, etc. In the papyri of the 5th–6th C., however, ancient forms of address practically disappear, being replaced by pious epithets (*theotimetos*, *theophylaktos*) or complicated adjectives with prefixes *pan-* and *hyper-*. The usage of the *pluralis reverentiae* ("plural of reverence"), unknown in the Christian milieu before the 4th C., was established thereafter, and from the 5th C. onward it became the rule in addressing the emperor. Some ancient epithets (*philos*, *philtatos*, etc.) continued to be used throughout the Byz. period, while at the same time formulaic addresses were established: the emperor was "your majesty" (*basileia sou*), the bishop, "the most holy lord" (*hagiotate despota*). Terms of family relationship, father, brother, nephew, were also common, strictly distinguishing the type of connection between the correspondents. Platonizing forms of address (ὦ λῷστε) continue in works of high style until the end of the empire.

LIT. H. Zilliacus, "Anredeformen," *RAC*, Supp.-Lieferung 4 (1986) 481–97. –A.K.

ADELPHATON (ἀδελφᾶτον), a "fellowship" in a monastery, which provided the holder (*adelphatarios*) with a living allowance (*siteresion*) for life. An *adelphaton* was normally granted in return for a gift of immovables or money (100 nomismata was the going rate in the 14th C.—N. Oikonomides in *Dionys.* 59) and guaranteed in a contract between the monastery and the beneficiary. *Adelphata* might also, however, be in the gift of the monastery's patron, as with the *adelphaton* at the MANGANA, which Manuel I gave to Manganeios PRODROMOS. There were two categories of *adelphatarioi*: *esomonitai*, who joined the monastic community in some capacity, and *exomonitai*, who continued to live outside it. The institution is first attested in the 11th C. It always aroused some disapproval because it was seen to involve and encourage SIMONY and lack of commitment to the monastic life; hence periodic attempts to restrict it to *esomonitai*, to keep it nonheritable, and even, in some monastic *typika*, to prohibit it altogether (e.g., *Typikon* of Charsianeites, *EEBS* 45 [1981–82] 491f, 497, 510).

LIT. E. Herman, "Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern," *OrChrP* 7 (1941) 444–49. M. Živojinović, "Adelfati u Vizantiji i srednovekovnoj Srbiji," *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 241–70. I. Konidaris, *Nomike theorese ton monasteriakon typikon* (Athens 1984) 223–30. A.-M.M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 276f. –P.M.

ADELPHOPOIIA (ἀδελφοποιΐα), the adoption of a brother or sister. Like ADOPTION and baptismal sponsorship (see GODPARENTS), with which it is always mentioned in treatises on prohibited degrees of marriage, *adelphopoiia* was considered a SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP between two people, cre-

ated by the prayers of a ritual (Goar, *Euchologion* 706–08). Unlike these other spiritual relationships, however, *adelphopoiia* was not recognized by civil or canon law and was therefore inconsequential with regard to rights of inheritance and MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS (Demetrios CHOMATENOS, ed. Pitra, cols. 31–32, 725–26; John PEDIASIMOS, ed. A. Schminck, *FM* 1 [1976] 156.375–81). A statement in the *Peira* (49.11), however, indicates that *adelphopoiia* could be acknowledged as creating a marriage impediment between the two people who had contracted the tie. Repeated prohibitions against *adelphopoiia*, including those in monastic TYPIKA, show that the practice was widespread. *Adelphopoiia* was contracted by members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (e.g., the patriarch Thomas I of Constantinople [607–10] and Theodore of Sykeon: *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, ed. Festugière, 106.1–6). It could confirm a friendship, as in the case of Romanos IV Diogenes and Nikephoros Bryennios (An.Komn. 2:196.10–16) and carried with it an obligation of mutual help and support (e.g., DANELIS's son John and Basil I: *TheophCont* 228.6–7).

LIT. G. Michailides-Nouaros, "Peri tes adelphopoiias en te archaia Helladi kai en to Byzantio," *Tomos Konstantinou Harmenopoulou* (Thessalonike 1952) 284–90. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XII (1978), 625–36. –R.J.M.

ADLOCUTIO (lit. "address"), public address of the emperor to his soldiers or the civilian populace, usually at the conclusion of a campaign. Two depictions of *adlocutio* survive from the period of the TETRARCHY. On the ARCH OF GALERIUS in Thessalonike the emperor stands frontally on a platform in the center of the composition and addresses his army, represented by cavalry and footsoldiers assembled on both sides of him. On a relief on the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome the emperor proclaims to the Roman citizens the new era to follow his victory over Maxentius (312). He stands on the Rostra in the Forum Romanum and is flanked by senators on either side. In both reliefs the viewer, because of the symmetry of the composition and the frontality of the emperor, becomes the direct recipient of the imperial message. These are the latest extant examples in monumental art; the last-known numismatic representation of *adlocutio* is on a silver medallion of Constantine I dated to 315. Thereafter the subject disappears from the repertoire of Late Antique art.

LIT. R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven 1963) 165–73. H.P. L'Orange, A. von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens* (Berlin 1939) 80–89. H.P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* (Berlin 1975) 47f, 99f, 127–30. –I.K.

ADMIRAL. See AMERALIOS.

ADMONITION (*παραίνεσις, νουθεσία, νουθέτησις*), a genre of didactic literature. To designate its products, Gregory of Nazianzos and John Chrysostom used the term *parainetikos* (other church fathers considered parts of the Bible "paraenetic"), while KEKAUMENOS used the title *logos nouthetikos* for a section of his work, going back to Xenophon and to the theoretician of rhetoric, Demetrios (both 4th C. B.C.). Byz. "paraenetic" speech differed from late Roman deliberative oratory (Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 19–23) in that it was ethically rather than politically oriented and was presented in written form. The BASILIKOS LOGOS, a kind of *enkomion*, in fact contained substantial elements of admonition. So did the MIRRORS OF PRINCES, as indicated by the title *kephalaia parainetika* of the *Mirror* attributed to Emp. Basil I. In the 11th and 12th C. admonitions were produced addressing various sectors of society (e.g., the so-called *Strategikon* by Kekaumenos, SPANEAS): biblical and ancient precepts were mixed with contemporary anecdotes, and the language was plain and even close to the VERNACULAR. The paraenetic genre flourished in the monastic milieu from the 4th C. onward and usually affected the standard language: CHAPTERS (*kephalaia*) of sentences (GNOMAI) inculcated rules of ascetic conduct, SERMONS had a didactic purpose, and HAGIOGRAPHY also aimed at ethical indoctrination.

LIT. I. Rosenthal-Kamarinea, "Die byzantinische Mahnrede im 12. Jahrhundert," *FoliaN* 4 (1982) 182–89. –A.K., I.Š.

ADNOUMIASTES (*ἀδνουμιαστής*), always used with the epithet *megas*, described by a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 250.13–20) as a subaltern of the MEGAS DOMESTIKOS; his function was to issue horses and weapons to soldiers. In documents from 1290 onward the *megas adnoumiastes* appears as an administrator of land donations. There could be at least two *adnoumiastai* at one time, as shown in a synodal decision (of 1337/8?) involving two *megaloi adnoumiastai*, Alexios Hyaleas and George Kokalas. The last known *megas adnoumiastes* is not George Katzaras in 1351 (*Docheiar.*, no.27.1–2), as stated by Guilland, but John Marachas in 1402 (*PLP*, no.16829).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:594–96. Raybaud, *Gouvernement* 240. Maksimović, *Administration* 191f. –A.K.

ADNOUMION (*ἀδνούμιον*, from Lat. *ad nomen*), an annual census and mobilization to enumerate and inspect soldiers of the provincial armies (*themata*). The Life of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, referring to a campaign against the Arabs in the later 8th C., describes an *adnoumion* at which soldiers were expected to present themselves with their horse and weapons (ed. M.-H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, *Byzantion* 9 [1934] 125.34–127.26). The 10th-C. DE RE MILITARI (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 320.3–322.41) recommends general *adnoumia* before and after campaigns to maintain accurate records of available manpower and equipment. The muster-lists recording these totals were kept at the bureau of the LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU. The *megas adnoumiastes*, marshaller, was in the 14th C. responsible for horses and equipment; he assisted the *megas domestikos* during the display of troops (pseudo-Kod. 250.13–20); the sign of his office was a silver staff with a dove on its haft.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.VIII (1960), 8f. –E.M.

ADOMNAN or Adamnan of Hy, Irish churchman and writer; abbot on the island of Iona, the Inner Hebrides (from 679); born ca.624, died 23 Sept. 704. His works, in Latin, include a treatise *On the Holy Places* (*De locis sanctis*), written before 686 or 688. It relies chiefly on eyewitness testimony dictated by Arculf, bishop of an unidentified see in Gaul, whose ship was blown off course and landed on Britain's west coast. Arculf visited the Holy Land in or before 683 or 684, traveled to Alexandria and from there, via Crete, to Constantinople, where he stayed for some eight months. He then sailed to Rome, probably via Sicily (whence his information on travel conditions, e.g., 211.8–10, 221.20–21, 222.8–10). Book 1, on the churches (Arculf sketched plans preserved in later MSS) and relics (E. Nestle, *BZ* 4 [1895] 338–42) of Jerusalem and its environs, is based almost exclusively on Arculf's nine-month stay there, while book 2's description of other sites depends more on written sources: e.g., the bustling shipping at Alexandria (223.55–60) is borrowed from "Hegesippus." Book 3 relates information Arculf collected in Constantinople on the city's legendary foundation (227.2–36), on Iconoclastic incidents involving an icon of St. George and its cult among the army at Diospolis, and on an icon of the Virgin (229.1–231.58, 233.1–31). It also describes Arculf's impression of Hagia Sophia (J. Strzygowski, *BZ* 10 [1901] 704f) and the ceremony of the veneration of the relic of the cross by the emperor and his court (228.21–38).

ED. L. Bieler, *Itineraria et alia geographica* [= CChr, ser. lat. 175] (Turnhout 1965) 175–234. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 93–116, 192–97.

LIT. F. Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Munich 1975) 173–78. –M.McC.

ADOPTIANISM, Christologies that depict Christ as a man whom God assumes or adopts as his Son, either at his baptism or resurrection. The adoption may be likened to the Servant of God in Deutero-Isaiah, or to the bestowal of the spirit on the Old Testament prophets. Or, it may conform to certain Hellenistic concepts (e.g., apotheosis) often associated with docetic or Gnostic views (see GNOSTICISM). All of these forms share a strictly monotheistic conception of God, and for that reason they have been viewed in connection with MONARCHIANISM. Adoptianism, in contrast to MODALISM, retains the transcendence of God the Father while the Son is solely a reality within history, and the Spirit, in the history of salvation, is the unique gift of God, but not God himself.

To the extent that the Christology of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL emphasized the full reality of Jesus' humanity, it could easily tend toward Adoptianism, as confirmed in Paul of Samosata (condemned in 268: H. de Riedmatten, *Les actes du procès de Paul de Samosate* [Fribourg 1952]). Later Antiochenes (Diodoros of Tarsos, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorios), however, established their notions on the basis of the consubstantiality (see HOMOOUSIOS) of the Father and the Son/Logos. Nevertheless, in their Christology they preferred

the image of "indwelling" (*enoikesis*), which lends itself to an Adoptianist interpretation.

LIT. G. Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*[2] (Louvain 1929). A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition, From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)*[2] (Atlanta 1975). –K.-H.U.

ADOPTION (*υἱοθεσία*). In Byz. legal practice adoption did not establish PATRIA POTESTAS; the adopted child/adult could inherit from an adoptive parent only if the latter died intestate (*Epanagoge aucta* 15.9) or expressly designated the adopted child as heir (Sathas, *MB* 6:628–31). Leo VI extended the right to adopt to eunuchs and unmarried women (novs. 26, 27) and stipulated that an ecclesiastical blessing, not any civil procedure, was to be the essential constitutive act of adoption (nov.24; Balsamon in commentary on canon 53 of Trullo—Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:429–31). Adoption thus became a SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP "above those of the flesh," like baptismal sponsorship (see GODPARENT) with which it shared a common terminology and similar MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS. From notarial contract formulas and case histories it emerges that children were given up for adoption by widows/widowers who could not afford to raise their offspring, while children were adopted by childless couples in order to obtain descendants and heirs. Michael PSELLOS's adoption of a daughter is the best documented case (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 39 [1969] 284–317). Couples with children of their own might also adopt (D. Simon, S. Troianos, *FM* 2 [1977] 276–83; G. Ferrari, *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico italiano* 33 [1913] 65, 81f). A series of (proposed) adoptions by childless imperial couples in the 11th C. indicates a desire to provide an heir to the throne (Zoe's adoption of MICHAEL [V] KALAPHATES, nephew of her husband Michael IV), but also an attempt to forestall coups by their prospective adopted sons (Michael VI's adoption of Isaac Komnenos; Nikephoros Botaneiates' adoption of Nikephoros Bryennios).

In painting, the legitimization of paternity was expressed by the act of holding an adopted child upon the "father's" knees. Probably derived from images of Abraham and Lazarus, as in the PARIS GREGORY (Omont, *Miniatures,* pl.XXXIV), by the 11th C. this pose was used for the "Ancient of Days" (see CHRIST) and, from the 12th C., in images of the TRINITY. A political extension of the motif occurs in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES (Papadopoulos, *infra,* figs. 1, 2) where both foreign princes adopted by the emperor and Byz. adopted by foreign rulers are shown on the knees of their "parents."

LIT. A.P. Christophilopoulos, *Scheseis goneon kai teknon kata to Byzantinon dikaion* (Athens 1946) 75–84. S.A. Papadopoulos, "Essai d'interprétation du thème iconographique de la paternité dans l'art byzantin," *CahArch* 18 (1968) 121–136. –R.J.M., A.C.

ADOPTIVE BROTHERS. See ADELPHOPOIIA.

ADORATION OF THE MAGI. According to Matthew 2:1–12, the Magi (Μάγοι) led by a star arrived at Jerusalem in search of the child who was born to become the Messiah or the king of the Jews; they were directed to Bethlehem, found Mary and Jesus, paid homage to him, and gave him three gifts: gold, frankincense, and myrrh. Matthew says only that they came from the Orient; some church fathers (e.g., Epiphanios) considered them as coming from Arabia, others (Diodoros of Tarsos, Cyril of Alexandria) from Persia, and others (e.g., the 5th-C. theologian Theodotos of Ankyra—PG 77:1364C) from Chaldaea. The number of the Magi was usually stated as three (primarily on the basis of the number of gifts), but the Syrian and Armenian tradition counts a dozen Magi. Later exegetes invented various names for the Magi; thus the 12th-C. writer Zacharias of Chrysopolis (Besançon in France) writes that their Greek names were Apellius, Amerus, and Damascus, meaning faithful, humble, and merciful, respectively (PL 186:83D).

Identified as kings already in the 3rd C., the Magi were interpreted as symbols of the conversion of the Gentiles, and so figured prominently in Early Christian art. As in Matthew, they were at first depicted as approaching the enthroned Virgin and Child, independent of the scene of the NATIVITY. Frequent pairings of the Adoration and Nativity on sarcophagus lids, ivories, and ampullae proclaim their common theme (the theophany of the Incarnation), not their narrative unity. The Adoration appears independently of the Nativity still in certain 11th–12th-C. monuments (churches in GÖREME; DAPHNI) and, more frequently, in Palaiologan imagery influenced by the AKATHISTOS HYMN. Usually, however, post-Iconoclastic art integrates the Adoration and even the journey and departure of the Magi with the Nativity, because the Magi were commemorated on Christmas. Their original Persian costume is later assimilated to that of Old Testament priests; they mount horses, acquire names (Melchior, Balthasar, Kaspar) representing three races descending from Noah, and are extensively depicted in the FRIEZE GOSPELS. A homily by JOHN OF EUBOEA in Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. Taphou 14 (11th C.) and Athos, Esphig. 14 (12th C.) (*Treasures* II figs. 342–392), is illustrated with 17 images of the Magi, many of them otherwise unparalleled.

LIT. Millet, *Recherches* 136–51. G. Vezin, *L'Adoration et le cycle des Mages dans l'art chrétien primitif* (Paris 1950). H. Lesètre, *Dict Bibl* 4.1:543–52. –A.W.C., A.K.

ADRAMYTTION. See ATRAMYTTION.

ADRIANOPLE ('Αδριανούπολις, also Orestias, mod. Edirne), city in Thrace on the middle HEBROS River (navigable from Adrianople to the sea) and on the major military road Belgrade-Sofia-Constantinople. It was an important stronghold protecting Constantinople from invasions from the north, but is rarely mentioned as an administrative center: the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial* lists the *doux* of Adrianople immediately after that of Thessalonike; in the 1040s the *magistros* Constantine Arianites held that position (Skyl. 458.48–49). As a bishopric Adrianople is known from the end of the 4th C., but its place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy declined from 27th in the 7th C. to 40th in the 10th C., despite its growing number of suffragans—from 5 to 11 (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:544). A center of the Macedonian nobility, esp. in the 11th and 12th C., Adrianople produced at least three usurpers: Leo TORNIKIOS, Nikephoros BRYENNIOS, and Alexios BRANAS; on the other hand, Macedonian troops supported Constantinople against eastern generals during the revolts of Nikephoros Phokas and Isaac Komnenos. In the 14th C. the *demos* of Adrianople became active, and in 1341 its revolt preceded the outbreak of the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike.

Located at the intersection of important strategic routes, Adrianople was often the center of military activity: on 3 July 324 Constantine I defeated Licinius near Adrianople, on 9 August 378 Valens was routed here by the Goths (see ADRIANOPLE, BATTLE OF), in 586 the Avars besieged Adrianople in vain. In the 9th–10th C. Adrianople was a strong point in wars against the Bulgarians: Emp. Nikephoros I reportedly appointed an Arab experienced in "mechanics" to help defend the city, but to no avail (Theoph. 498.7–11); both Krum and Symeon managed to seize Adrianople temporarily. In the 11th C. resistance to the Pechenegs was based at Adrianople. Frederick I Barbarossa occupied the city and in 1190 signed there a treaty with Constantinople. Kalojan defeated Baldwin I of Constantinople at Adrianople on 14 Apr. 1205. In the 13th C. the city changed hands several times, being captured by the armies of Nicaea, Epiros, and Bulgaria. John III Vatatzes established Nicaean rule over Adrianople in 1242–46. In 1307 the Catalan Grand Company besieged it. Turkish *begs* seized it probably ca.1369, but the Ottoman sultan Murad I did not enter Adrianople before the winter of 1376–77 (I. Steinherr-Beldiceanu, *TM* 1 [1965] 439–61). It served as the Ottoman capital until their capture of Constantinople in 1453.

Hagia Sophia, an important domed quatrefoil church of the 5th–6th C., with ambulatories and galleries, was photographed in the 19th C., but no longer exists (N. Mavrodinov, 6 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Paris 1951] 286–90).

LIT. P. Axiotes, *He Adrianoupolis apo ton archaiotaton chronon mechri tou 1922* (Thessalonike 1922). Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 137–48. E.A. Zachariadou, "The Conquest of Adrianople by the Turks," *StVen* 12 (1970) 211–17. *Kleinchroniken* 2:297–99. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

ADRIANOPLE, BATTLE OF, the scene of a major defeat of the Roman army by the GOTHS on 9 Aug. 378. In 376 the Goths, under pressure from the HUNS, crossed the Danube, probably in the area of DOROSTOLON, and were allowed to settle as FOEDERATI on Roman territory. Harsh treatment by Roman officials led the Goths to rebel, and some common people from Adrianople joined them. In 377 Valens left Antioch for Constantinople and sought assistance from Gratian, the emperor in the West. Valens led his troops to Adrianople, while Gratian's army was marching from Gallia to Sirmium. Relying on false reconnaissance information that the Gothic force was only 10,000 strong, Valens decided to launch an attack before the arrival of the Western army. Fritigern, the Gothic commander, sent envoys

proposing an eternal peace treaty, but his overtures were rejected. The Roman cavalry, which at first attacked successfully, was soon exhausted, and the counterattack of Ostrogothic and Alan mounted warriors destroyed the Roman infantry. Valens stood firm for a while, with his select infantry, but then had to retreat.

The defeat was overwhelming; probably only a third of the Roman army was able to escape, and Valens was killed. According to one version, he was killed by an arrow, his body was stripped on the spot and later could not be recognized; another version relates that he was wounded, brought to a hut, and burned with the hut by his pursuers. Even though Fritigern was unable to take Adrianople, the Goths rampaged all over Thrace and reached the walls of Constantinople; only lavish gifts diverted them from the siege of the city. At news of the defeat, Gratian recalled his troops to the upper Rhine. Orthodox tradition connects Valens' defeat with his Arian persuasion.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2118–26. J. Irmscher, H. Paratore, M. Rambaud, *De pugna apud Hadrianopolim quibusque de causis Romani imperii opes laborare coeperint* (Rome 1979). –A.K.

ADRIATIC SEA (Ἀδριατικὸν πέλαγος), the narrow waterway extending north of the IONIAN SEA from the Straits of Otranto; it lies between Italy on the west and Dalmatia on the east. Along the Italian coast there are few harbors between BARI and RAVENNA, and steep mountains rise along the eastern shore, but there are many islands and harbors on this side, with major entrepôts at ZARA, DUBROVNIK, and DYRRACHION. At the northern end of the Adriatic Sea are AQUILEIA and VENICE. Byz. maintained control of most of the cities along the east coast until the late 11th C., despite Slavic settlement and Arab raids as far north as Dubrovnik. The developing maritime power of Venice, from the 11th C. onward, made the Adriatic Sea a virtual Venetian lake.

LIT. A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge* (Thessalonike 1981). A. Carile, "La presenza bizantina nell'Alto Adriatico fra VII e IX secolo," in *Studi Jesolani* (Udine 1985) 107–29. A. Guillou, "La presenza bizantina nell'arco Adriatico," in *Aquileia nella "Venetia et Histria"* (Udine 1986) 407–21. –T.E.G.

ADSCRIPTICII (ἐναπόγραφοι, "registered"), landless cultivators recorded in census registers under the name of the owner on whose estate they lived and who was responsible for their tax liabilities; the term first appears in 451 (*ACO*, tom.II, vol. 1, pt.2:353.9). Tenant *adscripticii* formed one type of COLONI, but adscript status also encompassed some agricultural slaves and day laborers. Children of *adscripticii* normally inherited this status, while free proprietors could become *adscripticii* by alienating all their land or possibly through PATROCINIUM VICORUM. According to 5th- and 6th-C. legal texts, the condition of *adscripticii* approximated that of SLAVERY (*Cod.Just.* XI 48.21): they could not possess personal property nor in most cases sue their masters (*Cod.Just.* XI 48.19; XI 50.1–2), they could not leave the land nor could an estate be sold without the *adscripticii* attached to it, and they could marry or receive ordination only with their master's consent (*Cod.Just.* I 3.36). In reality, their condition might differ substantially from such legal prescriptions; some 6th-C. Egyptian *adscripticii* not only owned personal property, but even entered into contractual agreements with their landlord (*P.Oxy.* 1896). The *adscripticii* disappeared during the 7th C., although the term occurs anachronistically in later law codes (e.g., *Ecloga ad Procheiron mutata* 10.15).

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 19–24. A. Segré, "The Byzantine Colonate," *Traditio* 5 (1947) 103–33. W. Schmitz, "Appendix I der Justinianischen Novellen—eine Wende der Politik Justinians gegenüber Adscripticii und Coloni?" *Historia* 35 (1986) 381–86. I.F. Fichman, "Byli li objazany barščinoj egipetskie kolony-adscripticii?" *Klio* 63 (1981) 605–08. –A.J.C.

ADULIS (Ἄδουλις), an Axumite trading city and episcopal see, located at the foot of the bay southeast of Massawa on the Red Sea coast of Abyssinia. It was visited by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, who transmits (2:49–50, 54–65) the Greek text of a victory inscription of Ptolemy III Euergetes from a monument there, a copy of which was requested by ELESBOAM from the ruler of Adulis. The bishop of Adulis attended the Council of Chalcedon. Archaeological excavation has unearthed Axumite coins and the remains of a church with a semicircular apse. The city appears to have been destroyed by the Arab navy in the early 8th C.

LIT. R. Paribeni, *Ricerche nel luogo dell'antica Adulis* (Rome 1908). F. Anfray, "Deux villes axoumites: Adoulis et Matara," in *IV Congresso Internationale di Studi Etiopici*, vol. 1 (Rome 1974) 745–72. –L.S.B.MacC.

ADULTERY (μοιχεία), or marital infidelity, was contrasted with fornication or illicit sexual intercourse; Gregory of Nyssa (PG 45:228C) defined *porneia* as the satisfaction of desire without offending another person, whereas *moicheia* is "a plot (*epiboule*) and injury (*adikia*)." On the ladder of sins described in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, the toll houses for *moicheia* and *porneia* were positioned separately (ed. Veselovskij 1:31.28, 33.16). Some authors, however, equated fornication and adultery, since the only permissible union was in marriage. Canon law condemned adultery; both *porneia* and *moicheia* were considered as grounds for DIVORCE, whereafter REMARRIAGE of the aggrieved partner was permissible.

Late Roman civil law introduced severe measures against adultery. In his law of 326 Constantine I (*Cod.Just.* IX 9,29.4) established the death penalty for adultery for both the guilty parties. Justinian I (nov.134.10) retained the principle of Constantine's legislation but emphasized the possibility of reconciliation of the married couple: within a two-year period the marriage could be restored, but if the husband died before the end of this period, the adulterous wife was to be confined in a monastery for life. The *Ecloga* (17.27) introduced MUTILATION (cutting-off of noses) as the punishment for both men and women who committed adultery, and the *Procheiron*—in overt contradiction of Christian morality—allowed the husband to murder his wife's lover if they were caught *in flagrante delicto* (Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XI [1967], 311). It is difficult to judge to what extent these strict laws were applied in practice: many conflicts of this kind were probably resolved within the family, as described in the vita of MARY THE YOUNGER, who was beaten by her husband on suspicion of infidelity. Cuckolds were mocked and deer antlers used as a symbol of their disgrace (Nik.Chon. 322.55–59). Adultery by men seems to have been rarely punished in actuality.

Adultery could lead to property problems. According to novel 32 of Leo VI the husband of an adulterous wife was to receive her DOWRY as a "consolation" for his dishonor; her remaining property was to be divided between her children and the convent to which she retired.

The history of imperial adultery suggests certain changes in Byz. attitudes toward marital infidelity: Constantine VI's open adultery provoked the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY, and Leo VI's infidelity with Zoe, daughter of Stylianos Zaoutzes, initially had to be concealed; in the 11th C., however, Constantine IX overtly kept his mistress SKLERAINA in the palace. In the 12th C. Manuel I and Andronikos I officially promoted their ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 578–600. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 71–75. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 156–58. –J.H., A.K.

ADVENTUS (ἀπάντησις), ceremonial arrival rooted in ancient society and religion. Although Byz. *adventus* ceremonies were held to greet bishops, officials, and saints' relics, the most spectacular *adventus* welcomed the emperor into a city. The two main ritual elements of *adventus* were the *occursus* (*synantesis*, *hypantesis*, etc.) of a delegation out of a city to welcome the arriving party and its escort (*propompe*) into the city. The point of encounter was carefully defined (e.g., *De cer.* 495.1–13), since distance from the city and the delegation's composition symbolized the participants' relationship. ACCLAMATIONS or *eisiterioi* poems (e.g., on AGNES OF FRANCE), panegyrics, incense, lights, and crown offerings were traditional components of Byz. imperial *adventus* ceremonies. The route of the PROCESSION was decorated, included a visit to a shrine, and might have concluded with a banquet. Because the *adventus* expressed the bonds between the welcoming community and arriving emperor, it took on a deeper meaning as a demonstration of loyalty and consensus, particularly at an emperor's first entry, for example, Nikephoros II Phokas (*De cer.* 437.20–440.11). This made *adventus* important in imperial propaganda and explains its role in art and on coins. The *adventus* of an imperial fiancée lent unusual prominence to aristocratic women, for example, Irene, the bride of Leo IV (Theoph. 444.15–19; cf. pseudo-Kod. 286f). The ceremony was also adapted to other circumstances such as triumphs or conditional surrenders. –M.McC.

Representation in Art. Depictions of the *adventus* ceremonies in Byz. art are very few. The monumental ARCH OF GALERIUS in Thessalonike and the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome show the standard Roman iconography: the emperor arriving in a chariot accompanied by cavalry and foot soldiers. On the silver LARGITIO DISH of Constantius II and on several commemorative medallions,

one as late as Justinian I, the scene is abbreviated, showing the emperor on horseback, led by a NIKE figure and followed by a soldier. A fresco in the Church of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike, probably depicting the *adventus* of Emp. Justinian II into that city, is the last surviving representation commemorating a contemporary event. The two examples from the 11th C. usually interpreted as depictions of *adventus* deviate from the earlier examples. On a silk wall hanging in Bamberg a mounted emperor is flanked by two TYCHE figures who present him with a crown and a helmet. More problematical is a scene on the ivory casket in Troyes, since the two emperors shown may be riding away in opposite directions from a fortified city placed in the center; it may depict a departure ceremony (PROFECTIO). Of a different nature are the miniatures of triumphal entries in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES, since they illustrate a historical narrative and thus are not commemorative. Usually these show the emperors mounted and accompanied by horsemen approaching a city. The miniature depicting the triumphal arrival of John I Tzimiskes in Constantinople (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.443) shows an icon of the Virgin and Child on a wagon leading the procession.

LIT. E.H. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *ArtB* 26 (1944) 207–31. S.G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1981) 17–89, pls. 9–11, 13, 16, 22–23. Grabar, *L'empereur* 48, 50–54, pls. VI, X. –I.K.

AEDICULA (Lat., lit. "small building"), the architectural frame of an opening (door, window, or niche), consisting of two columns or pilasters supporting a pediment; more specifically a shrine framed by two or four columns supporting an entablature, a pediment, an arch, or a roof. The motif, commonly used in Roman architecture and popular in 5th- and 6th-C. Syria (e.g., the "Praetorium" at PHAINA) and Egypt (e.g., the White Monastery, or Deir-el-Abiad at SOHAG), was modified in Byz. From the 10th C. onward, the aedicula played a major role in the articulation of the TEMPLON screen, where it was often used for framing icons of Christ, the Virgin, and saints. These usually appeared in pairs, referred to as PROSKYNETARIA, that flanked the main section of the templon, as in the Theotokos Church at HOSIOS LOUKAS, at NEREZI, and at the CHORA. The aedicula continued to be used in a more general decorative role, albeit less frequently, during the last centuries of Byz. architecture, for example, in the squinches under the main dome of the Paregoretissa at ARTA.

LIT. N. Okunev, "Altarnaja pregrada XII veka v Nereze," *SemKond* 3 (1929) 5–23. A.K. Orlandos, *He Paregoritissa tes Artes* (Athens 1963), figs. 64, 76. L. Bouras, *Ho glyptos diakosmos tou naou tes Panagias sto monasteri tou Hosiou Louka* (Athens 1980) 105–09. Ø. Hjort, "The Sculpture of Kariye Camii," *DOP* 33 (1979) 224–37. –S.Ć.

AEGEAN SEA (Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος), the Byz. *mare internum* between Asia Minor, Greece, and Crete, characterized by a rugged coastline and many islands that differ widely in size, physical condition, and economy. The larger islands seem to have been more densely populated than the smaller ones, at least in the later period (J. Koder, *ByzF* 5 [1977] 232f). Some islands (Crete, Lesbos, Lemnos) were rich in agricultural products, and in the later period the northern islands supplied Mt. Athos with grain; at the beginning of the 12th C. the pilgrim DANIIL IGUMEN from Rus' was surprised by the amount of livestock on the Aegean islands.

The natural protection of the islands made them into places of refuge during the Slavo-Avar invasion (S. Hood, *BSA* 65 [1970] 37–45), even though some Slav boats penetrated to individual islands. The Arab onslaught changed the situation, esp. when in the 820s they seized Crete—some islands (like Paros) were deserted and only occasional hermits inhabited them. From the 10th C. onward the Byz. constructed numerous fortresses to guard the islands: they were built on high rocks protected by nature and fortified with massive walls (H. Eberhard, *JÖB* 36 [1986] 188). Malamut (*infra*) suggested that in the 11th–12th C. the islands prospered economically, whereas Wirth (*infra*) noted that from the late 11th C. onward they were virtually dependent on Venice.

In late antiquity the islands were divided between the provinces of Achaia and Insulae (Islands); by the late 7th C. some were put under the command of the *strategos* of the KARABISIANOI and later included in the theme of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI. The 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij (53.18–19) mentions the *droungarioi* of the Aegean Sea and of the Kolpos; according to Ahrweiler (*Mer* 77–81), the territory was divided into two administrative units—the Aegean Sea in the north, and Kolpos, centered around Samos and including most of the Cyclades. The vita of DAVID, SYMEON, AND GEORGE OF MYTILENE mentions the *strategos* of the island [of Lesbos], but the extent of his power is unknown. In the late 11th C. the theme of Kyklades was administered by a *krites*; it included Chios, Kos, Karpathos, and Ikaria. In the 12th C. Rhodes, Chios, and Kos were separated from the theme, and each governed by a *doux*. In 1198 a province called "Dodecanese" is known, with its center probably in Naxos.

After 1204 most of the southern Aegean Sea fell under Venetian control, while the islands along the coast of Asia Minor were retained by the Latin Empire. The campaign of LICARIO against Euboea in 1275–76 restored much of the Aegean to Byz. control, although the duchy of Naxos maintained Latin power on that island and Andros. By the end of the 13th C., however, the Byz. navy had collapsed and the islands were lost to the Venetians, Genoese, the Hospitallers, and Turkish pirates.

LIT. E. Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin: VIIIe–XIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris 1988). P. Wirth, "Die mittelalterliche griechische Inselwelt im Lichte der byzantinischen Kaiserdiplome," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 415–31. –T.E.G.

AELIA CAPITOLINA. See JERUSALEM.

AELIANUS, CLAUDIUS, Roman rhetorician who wrote in Greek; born Praeneste ca.170, died ca.235. His *On the Characteristics of Animals*, an unsystematic collection of largely paradoxical animal stories, was a major source of Byz. zoological lore used by writers in many genres and esp. by TIMOTHEOS OF GAZA (the 12th-C. paraphrase of whose work contains 32 parallels), Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES, John TZETZES, Michael GLYKAS, Manuel PHILES (J.F. Kindstrand, *StItalFCl* 4 [1986] 119–39), and various anonymous zoological excerptors. A new Byz. edition, represented by the 15th-C. MS Florence, Laur. 86.8, rearranged the stories thematically. The surviving MSS of Aelianus's *Miscellaneous Stories* (*Varia Historia*), a similar collection of mainly human anecdotes, transmit a Byz. epitome of a fuller text that was known to STOBAIOS, the SOUDA, PSELLOS, and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. Aelianus's 20 surviving *Letters* of imaginary peasants were uninfluential but are contained in two independent MSS of the 10th and 15th C. *On Providence* and *On Divine Truths*, attributed to Aelianus by the *Souda*, are probably alternative titles of a single stoicizing treatise now lost. Aelianus is almost certainly to be distinguished from the author of the *Tactics*, a work seldom used in Byz. scholarship.

LIT. E.L. De Stefani, "Gli excerpta della 'Historia animalium' di Eliano," *StItalFCl* 12 (1904) 145–80. M.R. Dilts, "The Testimonia of Aelian's *Varia historia*," *Manuscripta* 15 (1971) 3–12. –A.R.L.

AELIUS ARISTIDES. See ARISTEIDES, AILIOS.

AER (ἀήρ). The largest of three liturgical veils, the *aer* was carried in the GREAT ENTRANCE procession and placed over the eucharistic elements after their deposition on the altar. Liturgical commentaries interpret the *aer* as the shroud of Christ as well as the stone that sealed the Holy Sepulchre; later commentaries even refer to *aeres* as EPITAPHIOI (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:288A). Initially, *aeres* were made of plain linen or silk (e.g., a white *aer* in *De cer.* 15.20; a silk *aer* in the Patmos INVENTORY [ed. Astruc 21.32–33]), but in the late 12th C. they began to be embroidered with images, esp. the AMNOS (H. Belting, *DOP* 34–35 [1980–81] 12–15).

All surviving *aeres* date from the late Byz. period. They are made of silk, gold-embroidered with images of the Dead Christ, angels, symbols of the evangelists and, by the end of the 14th C., the Lamentation (*threnos*), as well as with liturgical and dedicatory texts. The eucharistic phrases together with the specific designation of the cloths as *aeres* in the dedicatory inscriptions help to differentiate the *aeres* from *epitaphioi*, which are often similar in appearance. Important examples include the (lost) *aer* of Andronikos II Palaiologos, and that of Stefan Uroš II Milutin (Belgrade, Museum for Ecclesiastical Art), both from the early 14th C. The fine mid-14th-C. Thessalonike *aer* (Athens, Byz. Museum) is embroidered with a three-part composition: a central AMNOS panel flanked by two smaller side panels showing the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER).

LIT. Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" 607–10. Millet, *Broderies* 86–109, pls. 176–216. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 25f, pls. 93–96. Taft, *Great Entrance* 216–19. –A.G.

AERIKON (ἀερικόν, also *aer*), a supplementary fiscal levy first mentioned by Prokopios (*SH* 21.1–2) as imposed by the praetorian prefect of Constantinople during Justinian I's reign. F. Dölger (*BZ* 30 [1929–30] 450–57) hypothesizes that the name originated from a fine for violating laws mandating sufficient distance (*aer*, "air") between buildings in cities (e.g., *Cod.Theod.* IV 24, *Cod.Just.* VIII 10, 12.5c). The TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (ch.20.71) indicates that the *stratiotai* were obliged to pay state taxes (*phoroi*) and *aerikon*. In the 11th C., *aerikon* appears either as a fine for felony (*ptaisma*) (novel of 1086—Zepos, *Jus* 1:312.15–24) collected by a bishop and/or a *praktor* or as a supplementary tax imposed on a village in the amount of 4–20 nomismata (Skyl. 404.56–58).

In 13th- and 14th-C. documents, the *aer* (*aerikon* in Trebizond) is frequently encountered as a supplementary charge alongside the ENNOMION of bees (*Docheiar.*, no.53.23), ANGAREIAI, and MITATON (*Koutloum.*, no.10.61–62), etc. The *aer* appears as a fixed sum, and the fine for murder and PARTHENOPHTHORIA as well as the tax for the TREASURE TROVE were considered its parts (e.g., *Chil.*, no.92.146–48). This suggests that for Byz. the distinction between "fine" and "tax" was far from absolute. *Aer* could be granted by the emperor to privileged monasteries. Ostrogorsky (*Féodalité* 362–64) hypothesizes, although without any source evidence, that the state grant of a monetized *aerikon* (*aer*) to a landowner also implied the transfer of the rights of [low] justice over the *paroikoi* held by the recipient.

LIT. B. Pančenko, "O Tajnoj istorii Prokopija," *VizVrem* 3 (1896) 507–11. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 383–85. I. Tornarites, "To ainigma tou byzantinou aerikou," in *Archeion Byzantinou Dikaiou*, vol. 1 (1930) 3–212; vol. 2 (1931) 307–66 and *Pararterna*, no.1 (1933) 140–58. M.A. Tourtoglou, *To phonikon kai he apozemiosis tou pathontos* (Athens 1960). –M.B.

AESCHYLUS (Αἰσχύλος), Greek tragic poet; born Eleusis 525/24 B.C., died Sicily 456. The Attic tragedian least known in the Byz. period, Aeschylus was listed as an Athenian king in the chronicle of Malalas (Malal. 72.9) and was even ignored by the learned compiler of the *Souda*. The earliest MS of Aeschylus's seven extant plays dates from the 10th or early 11th C. Subsequent evidence of revived interest in Aeschylus is found in PSELLOS—who commends Aeschylus for his profundity and gravity but finds him generally hard to understand (cf. A.R. Dyck, *The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia* [Vienna 1986] 44.58–64)—and in two dramatic works, CHRISTOS PASCHON, which contains some 20 quotations from Aeschylus, and the *Katomyomachia* of Theodore PRODROMOS, which shows some verbal borrowings. Annotated editions of Aeschylus's most widely studied plays, the triad of *The Persians*, *Prometheus*, and *Seven against Thebes*, were produced in the 14th C. by THOMAS MAGISTROS and Demetrios TRIKLINIOS. The latter also edited the *Eumenides* and *Agamemnon*. Triklinios's autograph MS (Naples, Bibl. Naz. 2 F 31) is the primary authority for most of the *Agamemnon*. The number of surviving MSS and of quotations in Byz. authors indicates that Aeschylus stood third in popularity after EURIPIDES and SOPHOCLES.

ED. *Demetrii Triclinii in Aeschyli Persas scholia*[2], ed. L. Massa Positano (Naples 1963). *Scholia graeca in Aeschylum quae extant omnia*, ed. O.L. Smith, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1976–82).

LIT. R.D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1964). O.L. Smith, *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus I: The Recensions of Demetrius Triclinius* (Leiden 1975). K. Treu, "Zur Papyrusüberlieferung des Aischylos," in *Aischylos und Pindar: Werk und Nachwirkung*, ed. E.G. Schmidt (Berlin 1981) 166–69. –A.C.H.

AESOP (Αἴσωπος), a Phrygian slave who lived in Samos in the 6th C. B.C. and was renowned as the author of metaphorical animal FABLES, in prose, with a moral point. Originally traditional tales, but then a recognized literary device that was classed as a PROGYMNASMA, all such fables came to be attributed to Aesop, the fables of APHTHONIOS being an exception. The first collection, now lost but possibly known to ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, was made in the 4th C. B.C. Aesop's fables are known in three major revisions: (1) the Augustana, probably first compiled in the 2nd or 3rd C.; (2) the Vindobonensis, of uncertain date; and (3) the Accursiana, in which Maximos PLANOUDES had a hand. The fables of SYNTIPAS are Greek versions of a Syriac translation of Aesop. Similar moralizing anecdotes with animal characters exist in the PHYSIOLOGOS and the ANIMAL EPICS, while a scattering of late Byz. non-Aesopic fables attest to the enduring attraction of the genre. Also attributed to Aesop are a collection of PROVERBS and GNOMAI. The *Life of Aesop*, written originally in Egypt in the 2nd C., turns the legendary information on Aesop's career into a diverting narrative, whose popularity continued into late Byz. and beyond; linguistically it provides useful evidence for the development of spoken Greek.

A MS in New York (Morgan Lib. 397), a significant witness for the text of the Aesopic corpus, includes an important series of miniatures (M. Avery, *ArtB* 23 [1941] 103–16). Accompanied by brief texts, incidents from at least three of Aesop's fables are depicted in a rock-cut chamber above the narthex at ESKI GÜMÜŞ (M. Gough, *AnatSt* 15 [1965] 162–64).

ED. *Corpus fabularum Aesopicarum*, ed. A. Hausrath, H. Hunger, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1959–70). B.E. Perry, *Aesopica*, vol. 1 (Urbana, Ill., 1952).

LIT. B.E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1965) xi–xlvi. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 28–31. –E.M.J., A.C.

AESTHETICS. The aesthetic principles of the Byz. were revealed both in works of literature (esp. EKPHRASIS, EPIGRAM, and literary portrait) and objects of visual art. The *ekphraseis* retained the ancient principle that an art object was to imitate nature, and even hagiography stressed the resemblance of the icon to the original (the stereotype of recognition of a saint by means of an icon). However, the concept of corporeal BEAUTY as a reflection of absolute (divine) beauty contradicted this naturalistic approach. The main goal of art was to represent the eternal, not the ephemeral; therefore, it focused on humans (placed in a conventional LANDSCAPE), on the spiritual elements of the human body (the face, esp. the eyes), on stability (movement and disorderly gestures were signs of barbaric character), on FRONTALITY (a rear or profile view was reserved for the devil or the enemy). In his ceremonial pose man was an "imitation of a statue," rather than the statue being a copy of a live human being. In literary portraits the person described was usually perceived not as an entity, but as a construction, consisting of certain parts (forehead, eyes, nose, etc., down to the soles of the feet), each element being characterized separately.

The idea of uniqueness was alien; even the drama of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection was miraculously repeated in liturgy and church decoration. Each event belonged not only to its historical place and time, but simultaneously to the ever-repeating cycle of the divine plan, and the transfer from concrete historicity to eternal mystery was performed by symbolic interpretation, direct references to the Bible or classical texts, stylistic parallels, and use of stereotyped imagery and vocabulary. Since all events were symbolically or metaphorically interconnected, the world was an enormous enigma or RIDDLE, and both the author and the reader could reach a solution only through a thicket of obscurity. Because art was a demonstration of the divine plan, each phenomenon registered had its profound meaning, and each personage had his place on the moral scale. Art was didactic and interpretive, and seemingly distant events and images (including those of pagan gods) explained the fundamentals of contemporary politics and ideology.

Despite this black-and-white didactic approach, the Byz. recognized the artistic pleasure that could be conveyed by rhetorical skill, richness of vocabulary, nuanced imagery, descriptions of curiosities and miracles, conflict of opposites, and unexpected turns of the plot. General aesthetic principles underwent alterations due to historical changes in taste, individual STYLE, or particularities of genres.

LIT. P.A. Michelis, *An Aesthetic Approach to Byzantine Art* (London 1955). G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London 1963). H. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton 1981). S. Averincev, *Poetika rannevizantijskoj literatury* (Moscow 1977). V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika: teoretičeskie problemy* (Moscow 1977). A.F. Losev, *Istorija antičnoj estetiki: Poslednie veka*, 2 vols. (Moscow 1988). –A.K.

AETHERIA. See EGERIA.

AETHICUS ISTER, conventional name for the author of a Latin cosmography allegedly translated from Greek by the priest Hieronymus, sometimes identified with JEROME. The book was known by the 9th C., but neither the date of compilation nor the identity of the author and translator can be established. References to Constantinople and Augustine (as well as to some other 4th-C. theologians) suggest a *terminus post quem* of 400. It is plausible that the author originated from the area of the lower Danube (he calls himself "Scythian by nation") and emigrated to the West. The book describes the cosmos (including paradise, the Devil, and angels) and pays special attention to peoples not mentioned in Scripture and to marvelous countries and islands

at the edge of the earth; Alexander the Great's expedition is related in detail. Greece, Macedonia, Cyprus, and other islands of the "Great Sea" are presented in much greater depth than other regions of the Mediterranean, Asia Minor being only briefly described and Italy hardly mentioned. The author is interested in seafaring and characterizes various types of ships. His sobriquet "philosophus" has no relation to philosophy, but is reminiscent of the "wise philosophers" who serve as informants in the COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA and in the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI.

ED. A. D'Avezac-Macaya, *Éthicus et les ouvrages cosmographiques intitulés de ce nom* (Paris 1852). For other ed. see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 14f.

LIT. N. Vornicescu, *Aethicus Histricus. Un filosof străromân de la Histria Dobrogeană* (Craiova 1986). –A.K.

AETIOS ('Αέτιος), "Neo-Arian" (Anomoian) theologian; born Antioch? ca.300 or ca.313 (Kopeck, *infra*), died Chalcedon 366/7. Born to the family of a low official, he embarked on a career as a goldsmith or physician. He then became interested in "logical studies" (as Philostorgios puts it) and traveled throughout Cilicia (Anazarbos, Tarsos), making contacts with the Arian clergy and participating in theological discussions. In the 330s and 340s he taught in Antioch and Alexandria, inciting the enmity of the leaders of the Nicene party, esp. BASIL OF ANKYRA. As a friend of the caesar GALLUS he came under the suspicion of Constantius II and was exiled in 360; Julian, however, recalled Aetios from exile, appointed him bishop, and granted him an estate on Lesbos. He probably supported the rebellion of PROKOPIOS and was consequently forbidden to enter Constantinople in 366.

Aetios was reputed to be a talented debater with a gift for sarcasm; he held a radical position condemning any attempt to seek reconciliation with the Orthodox. He supported the doctrine of *anomoion* (unlikeness) in opposition to the theory of the HOMOOUSION: the Ingenerate God (the Father) had no common essence with the created deity of the Logos. Aetios further asserted that the Son had one nature, will, and energy, being different from the Father (V. Grumel, *EO* 28 [1929] 159–66). Little survives from Aetios's literary works: his manifesto of 359 or 360 (the *Syntagmation*) is preserved (in a revised form?) in EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion*, bk. 76, ch.11); in addition a letter to a certain "Mazon *tribunus*" is known as are several fragments cited by later theologians.

ED. and LIT. L.R. Wickham, "The *Syntagmation* of Aetius the Anomoean," *JThSt* n.s. 19 (1968) 532–69, with Eng. tr. Idem, "Aetius and the Doctrine of Divine Ingeneracy," *StP* 11.2 (1972) 259–63. G. Bardy, "L'héritage littéraire d'Aétius," *RHE* 24 (1928) 809–27. T.A. Kopeck, *A History of Neo-Arianism* (Philadelphia 1979) 1:61–297; 2:413–29. –T.E.G., A.K.

AETIOS, eunuch and *patrikios*; died 26 July 811 (?). Aetios was *protospatharios* and trusted adviser of Empress Irene in 790, when Constantine VI exiled him. He regained influence after Irene's return in 792 and in 797 cleverly obtained the surrender of Caesar NIKEPHOROS and his brothers. After Irene deposed Constantine in 797 Aetios vied with STAURAKIOS to place relatives in power. In May 799 Aetios allied with Niketas, the *domestikos ton scholon,* against Staurakios; he became Irene's chief adviser, and, after the death of Staurakios in 800, probably *logothetes tou dromou* (D. Miller, *Byzantion* 36 [1966] 469). In 801 Aetios took command of the Opsikion and Anatolikon armies and appointed his brother Leo as *monostrategos* of the Macedonian and Thracian themes in hopes of making him emperor. Aetios is credited (Theoph. 475.30–32) with blocking the proposed marriage between Irene and CHARLEMAGNE. He likely lost power after Nikephoros I deposed Irene, but may have been the *patrikios* Aetios who perished with Nikephoros in battle against KRUM.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt. IX (1970), 326. –P.A.H.

AETIOS OF AMIDA, physician; born Amida, fl. ca.530–60 in Alexandria and Constantinople. Aetios compiled a 16-book encyclopedia of medicine, traditionally called the *Tetrabiblon* from its division into four sections. His encyclopedia is rich in quotations from many authors of Greek and Roman antiquity; it begins with a summary of pharmaceutical theory, simplifying the often obscure thinking of GALEN and ORIBASIOS on the topic (J. Scarborough, *DOP* 38 [1984] 224–26), followed by compactions of pharmacy, dietetics, general therapeutics, hygiene, bloodletting, cathartic drugs, prognostics, general pathology, fever and urine lore, diseases of the head, ophthalmology, and cosmetics and dental matters (bks. 1–8). The account of ophthalmology is the finest before the European Enlightenment (cf. E. Savage-Smith, *DOP* 38 [1984] 178–80). The remaining books of the *Tetrabiblon*—which await modern editors—contain significant summaries of toxicology and poisonous creatures (bk.13) and gynecology and obstetrics (bk.16). Compared with ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, PAUL OF AEGINA, and Oribasios, Aetios is arid in style and more interested in medical theory than in practice, but his *Tetrabiblon* is fundamentally important in its careful selections of ancient authorities and in its shrewd amalgamations of traditional and contemporary medical theory.

ED. *Libri medicinales*, ed. A. Oliveri, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1935; Berlin 1950). J.V. Ricci, tr., *Aetios of Amida: The Gynaecology and Obstetrics of the VIth Century, A.D.* (Philadelphia-Toronto 1950).

LIT. I. Bloch, *HGM* 1:529–35. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:294–96. R. Romano, "Per l'edizione dei libri medicinali di Aezio Amideno, III," *Koinomia* 8 (1984) 93–100. –J.S.

AETIUS ('Αέτιος), *magister militum*; born Durostorum (Dorostolon) ca.390, died Rome 21/2 Sept. 454. The son of an important military officer from Lower Moesia and an Italian noblewoman, Aetius in his youth was hostage to the Visigoths and Huns. After service under the usurper Ioannes he secured a military post from Valentinian III (ca.425) and was responsible for the defense of Gaul. In 432 he retired in temporary disgrace, but in 433 became *magister militum* of the West, a post he held continuously until his death. For years he was the most powerful figure in the Western provinces, dealing successfully with Visigoths, Burgundians, Alans, Franks, and others while supporting the throne of Valentinian III. His policy was to use various barbarian peoples (esp. Huns) against his enemies, both domestic and foreign. Aetius may have persuaded Valentinian not to give his sister Honoria in marriage to Attila. The Byz. sources allege that Attila's purpose in attacking the West was to remove Aetius. In 451 Aetius allied with Theodoric the Visigoth and defeated Attila at the battle of the CATALAUNIAN FIELDS, but he could not keep the Huns out of Italy. With the death of Attila, however, Aetius's fortunes collapsed. In 454 he was assassinated by order of Valentinian, the emperor he had served so faithfully. Aetius made a great impression on contemporaries and was remembered by Prokopios (*Wars* 3.3.15) as one of the last of the Romans.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:241–44, 249–53, 292–99. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* 74–87. J.R. Moss, "The Effects of the Policies of Aetius on the History of Western Europe," *Historia* 22 (1973) 711–31. S.I. Oost, "Aëtius and Majorian," *ClPhil* 59 (1964) 23–29. –T.E.G.

AFRICA, CONTINENT OF. Byz. knowledge of the configuration of Africa ('Αφρική) did not go beyond that of PTOLEMY. The northern coast was thought to be straight. The west coast was known as far as Cape Bojador, the east coast as far as Zanzibar. The interior, except for EGYPT, NUBIA, and AXUM, was inaccessible or unexplored. The general name for the continent west of Egypt was Libya, although OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES (ed. Blockley, fr.40) calls it Africa while Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 9.8.3) uses both terms interchangeably. EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS (ed. Wright 440) says that "Africa" is the Latin equivalent of "Libya." Byz. geographical descriptions are limited to east Africa. Prokopios of Caesarea and Kosmas Indikopleustes describe the Red Sea coast as far as Axum. PRISKOS of Panion (fr.21) traveled to the Egyptian-Nubian frontier; Olympiodoros (fr.35) penetrated five days' journey into Nubia and visited the El Kharga (or Dakhla) Oasis (fr.32). Lives of saints, histories, and nonliterary documents provide many details about Egypt. After the Muslim conquest, esp. under the Fāṭimids, Ayyūbids, and early Mamlūks (11th–13th C.), Byz. trade with Africa, focused at Alexandria, continued. IVORY was the most important trade commodity. Byz. itineraries written by EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES and John ABRAMIOS included Alexandria, and those by Andrew LIBADENOS and AGATHANGELOS included the Thebaid (P. Schreiner, *XXII. Deutscher Orientalistentag* [= *ZDMG*, supp. 6] [1985] 141–49). (See also CORIPPUS.)

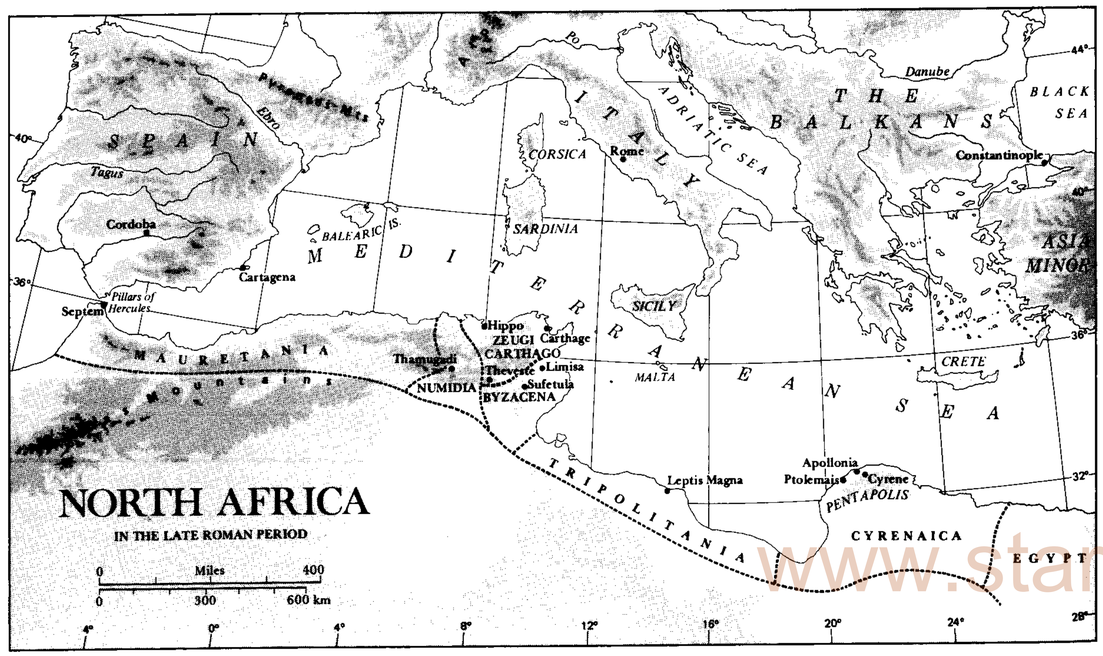
LIT. C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris 1896). P. Salama, "The Roman and Post-Roman Period in North Africa, Part II: From Rome to Islam," *UNESCO General History of Africa*, vol. 2 (Berkeley 1981) 459–510. P. Heine, "Transsaharahandelswege in antiker und frühislamischer Zeit," *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 2.1 (1983) 92–

98. W.H.C. Frend, "The Christian Period in Mediterranean Africa," in *CHAfr* 2:410–89. –D.W.J.

AFRICA, PREFECTURE OF. The diocese of Africa was first raised to the level of a prefecture for a short period, between ca.332 and 337, perhaps in response to unrest sparked by the Donatist controversy. This action, attaching the prefecture to someone outside the imperial family, was unusual, for other prefectures were attached to the emperor Constantine I or his sons. A precedent was perhaps the earlier expedition (309) of Maxentius's praetorian prefect Caius Ceionius Rufius Volusianus to Africa to suppress Domitius Alexander. Apart from a brief revival in 412, the African prefecture was not again reconstituted as a separate entity until April 534, following the Byz. victory over the VANDALS and recovery of its territory. The revived prefecture included the provinces of AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, BYZACENA, TRIPOLITANIA, NUMIDIA, the two MAURITANIAS, and SARDINIA.

The primary function of the prefect of Africa was apparently to support the defense and administration of the African provinces through revenues raised within the prefecture. This was not easily achieved in the early years after the reconquest, as the Vandals had destroyed Roman tax records. By 549, however, the revenues were evidently stable enough for SOLOMON, in his capacity as prefect, to undertake the construction of a number of fortifications. At the end of the 6th C. the prefecture of Africa was replaced by the EXARCHATE of Carthage. The exarch (first mentioned in a letter of Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT) was a military commander (probably replacing the *magister militum*) who was placed over the praetorian prefect and gradually assumed the latter's civil functions. By this time Tripolitania was transferred to the diocese of Egypt.

Archaeological evidence from Italy, Gaul, and Spain in the 6th and early 7th C. reveals continued imports of oil, wine, fish sauce, and pottery from Africa, suggesting that the prefecture was reasonably prosperous. From letters of Pope Gregory I the Great addressed to African prefects and the works of MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR in the mid-7th C., one can deduce that prefects were



expected to maintain civil order, protect against corruption, and defend orthodoxy. The Arab invasions of the late 7th C. drained the exarchate financially, forcing Byz. abandonment of Africa by ca.687 except for Carthage (which fell to the Arabs in 698) and SEPTEM (which surrendered in 711).

LIT. Diehl, *L'Afrique* 97–107, 489–92. D. Pringle, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa* (Oxford 1981). J. Durliat, *Les dédicaces d'ouvrages de défense dans l'Afrique byzantine* (Rome-Paris 1981). T.D. Barnes, "Regional Prefectures," *Bonner Historia-Augusta Colloquium* (1985) 13–23. –R.B.H.

AFRICANUS, SEXTUS JULIUS, Roman author; born Jerusalem ca.160, died ca.240. Circa 221 Africanus wrote his *Chronographies* in Greek, which is preserved now only in fragments; it was either a world history or tables of synchronies and genealogies designed to integrate the Old Testament with Greek and Oriental secular history. He espoused the belief that the world would last 6,000 years from the Creation; the birth of Christ was placed in 5500. Although rejecting its millenarianism, EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA made much use of the work, both as model and source; an intermediary source may have been the similar *Chronika* of Hippolytus (ca.235), like Africanus an acquaintance of ORIGEN at Alexandria. Other late Roman and Byz. users and preservers of fragments include SOZOMENOS, the CHRONICON PASCHALE, and GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS. Fragmented also is Africanus's *Kestoi* (Amulets), an encyclopedia full of remarkable information. Byz. military writers used it for such things as cavalry techniques (F. Lammert, *BZ* 44 [1951] 362–69), while its sections on chemistry and explosives figured in the development of the so-called GREEK FIRE. Numerous extracts from its agricultural lore are preserved in the GEOPONIKA, while literary and magical items attracted the attention of PSELLOS.

ED. *Chronographies*—PG 10:63–94. *Les Cestes*, ed. J.-R. Vieillefond (Florence-Paris 1970), with Fr. tr. *Die Briefe*, ed. W. Reichardt (Leipzig 1909).

LIT. A.A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Cranbury, N.J., 1979) 139–43, 146–57. B. Croke, "Origins of the Christian World Chronicle," in Croke-Emmett, *Historians* 116–31. H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* (Leipzig 1880–98). F.C.R. Thee, *Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic* (Tübingen 1984). –B.B.

AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, PROVINCE OF. Under Diocletian the proconsular province of Africa was reduced in size; the boundary with Numidia was modified and the new provinces of BYZACENA and TRIPOLITANIA were formed out of the old proconsular province. The VERONA LIST makes reference to Zeugitana, the old name of the region around Carthage. This has generally been construed as an additional or alternative name for the proconsular province. The 4th C. saw an increase in urban building activity after a period of stagnation in the 3rd C. The ANNONA continued to provide the underpinning for trade in African exports, making the proconsular province among the richest in the empire. The arrival of the VANDALS in 439 terminated the strong social and economic links between the province and Rome, but increased trade with Gaul, Spain, and the East may have offset to some degree the loss of the *annona*. Vandal confiscations of the estates of African nobles may have undermined the prosperity of the province; the cities were clearly in decline during the 5th C.

The Byz. reconquest of the African provinces (533) led to the fortification of a number of towns in response to the razzias of the MAURI, which began under the Vandals. Although there is evidence of continued commercial activity between Constantinople, the East, and Africa in the 6th and 7th C. (largely in kind, it would seem), it is still to Gaul and Spain, and once again Italy, that the bulk of African goods seemed to be directed. The economy of the province appears, however, to have been in slow decline, if we are to believe some recent archaeological evidence that suggests a drop in rural settlement in the 6th C. Africa Proconsularis remained under Byz. control until Carthage was seized by the Arabs in 698.

LIT. Lepelley, *Cités* 1:29–46. C. Wickham, "Marx, Sherlock Holmes, and Late Roman Commerce," *JRS* 78 (1988) 183–93. –R.B.H.

AGALLIANOS, THEODORE (also known as Theophanes of Medeia), patriarchal official and writer; born Constantinople ca.1400, died before Oct. 1474. A student of Mark EUGENIKOS, Agallianos (Ἀγαλλιανός) became a deacon in 1425 and was *hieromnemon* from 1437 to 1440 and again from 1443 to 1454. A staunch anti-Unionist, he

was temporarily suspended from office from 1440 to 1443. Taken captive by the Turks at the fall of Constantinople, he was released in 1454 and returned to the patriarchate. A friend of GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, he was promoted to the office of *megas chartophylax* (1454) and in 1466 to *megas oikonomos;* twice, however, he was forced into retirement by a faction bitterly opposed to Gennadios's policy of OIKONOMIA. Circa 1468 he became bishop of Medeia and changed his name to Theophanes (Patrineles, *infra* 14–25).

The writings of Agallianos include treatises attacking Latins and Jews, a work titled *On Providence,* and 17 letters, four of which are addressed to George AMIROUTZES. Most significant are his two apologetic *Logoi* of 1463, which defend his policies at the patriarchate and provide important autobiographical data as well as information on the patriarchs in the turbulent decade following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. Agallianos was also a copyist of MSS who transcribed some of his own works and, for CYRIACUS OF ANCONA, the text of Strabo.

ED. Ch.G. Patrineles, ed., *Ho Theodoros Agallianos kai hoi anekdotoi logoi autou* (Athens 1966). For complete list of works, see Patrineles, 43–60.

LIT. C.J.G. Turner, "Notes on the Works of Theodore Agallianos Contained in the Codex Bodleianus Canonicus Graecus 49," *BZ* 61 (1968) 27–35. *PLP*, no.94. –A.M.T.

AGAPETOS (Ἀγαπητός), a 6th-C. deacon (probably of Hagia Sophia), and author of the *Ekthesis*, 72 chapters of advice to Justinian I on how to rule. The small work was written between 527 and 548, probably closer to the earlier date. The central message is that the emperor is God's representative on earth, unamenable to human pressure, but himself a mere man, who shapes his kingdom into an imitation of heaven by his own philosophy, purity, piety, and exercise of PHILANTHROPY. The *Ekthesis* combines classical notions of the philosopher king (culled, probably indirectly, from pseudo-Isocrates and Plato), and traditional methods of discreetly advising a ruler through panegyric and patristic tags and echoes of Eusebios's conceptions of kingship. The result is a very early example of the MIRROR OF PRINCES, a genre emulated at least a dozen times throughout the history of Byz. Agapetos influenced some Byz. Mirrors of Princes, particularly that by MANUEL II, but his greatest impact was upon the political ideology of Orthodox Slavs, esp. Muscovy (I. Ševčenko, *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 [1954] 141–79). He was the first secular author ever to be translated into a Slavic language (Bulgarian translation of ca.900). In western and eastern Europe, Agapetos was the most widely read and published Byz. author after the church fathers.

ED. PG 86.1:1163–85. Partial Eng. tr. E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford 1957) 54–63. Germ. tr. W. Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel* (Stuttgart 1981) 59–80.

LIT. R. Frohne, *Agapetus Diaconus* (St. Gallen 1985). P. Henry, "A Mirror for Justinian: the *Ekthesis* of Agapetus Diaconus," *GRBS* 8 (1967) 281–308. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.3 (1978), 3–44. D.G. Letsios, "E 'Ekthesis Kephalaion Parainetikon' tou diakonou Agapetou," *Dodone* 14 (1985) 175–210. –B.B., I.Š.

AGAPETUS I, pope (from 8 or 13 May 535); died Constantinople 22 Apr. 536; Roman feastday formerly 20 Sept. (the day of his interment in Rome), now 22 Apr.; Byz. feastday 17 Apr. Born to an aristocratic Roman family, Agapetus belonged to the circle of CASSIODORUS and planned with the latter to found a Christian university in Rome. He worked to expand the authority of the Roman see; for example, he intervened in ecclesiastical controversies in Byz. Africa where, after Justinian I's reconquest, the situation of the Arian church (which had been supported by the Vandals) became threatened; Agapetus insisted on a hardline attitude toward former Arians converted to Orthodoxy (e.g., preventing them from holding clerical offices). He also took measures against the bishop of Larissa in Illyricum. His policy is reflected in a story told by John MOSCHOS and another author (probably GREGORY I THE GREAT) who resented the pope's intervention in the sphere of influence of an Italian bishop or abbot (A. de Vogüé, *AB* 100 [1982] 319–25). After the Byz. invasion of Ostrogothic Dalmatia and Sicily, the Ostrogothic king THEODAHAD sent Agapetus as his envoy to Justinian in an effort to end the war. In this the pope failed (if, indeed, he had ever tried to succeed), but he capitalized on the precarious situation to intervene in the disputes of the Byz. church. Using the canonical argument that the pro-Monophysite patriarch Anthimos had formerly been bishop of Trebizond, he forced his resignation and consecrated MENAS in his place. The death of Agapetus and the Byz. reconquest of Italy checked the growth of the Roman see's influence over the church of Constantinople.

LIT. Caspar, *Papsttum* 2:199–228. W. Ensslin, "Papst Agapet I. und Kaiser Justinian I.," *HistJb* 77 (1958) 459–66. H.-I. Marrou, "Autour de la bibliothèque du pape Agapit," *MEFR* 48 (1931) 124–69. –A.K., M.McC.

AGAPIOS OF HIERAPOLIS, or Maḥbūb ibn Qusṭanṭīn, Melkite bishop of HIERAPOLIS in Osrhoene; died after 941. Agapios composed a universal history in Arabic, from Creation to his own time, entitled the *Book of the Title*. "It is," he explained, "the sort of book that is named 'Chronicle' in Greek." Although the work originally ended in 941, in its surviving form it extends only to 776. The history of Agapios preserves fragments of otherwise lost works, such as the Greek *Chronicle* of THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA (died 785). In turn, the work of Agapios was a source for the *Chronicle* of MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN.

ED. "Kitab al-ʿUnvan," ed. A. Vasiliev, PO 5 (1910) 557–692; 7 (1911) 457–591; 8 (1912) 397–550.

LIT. Graf, *Literatur* 2:39–41. Gero, *Leo III* 199–205. –S.H.G.

AGATHANGELOS, pseudonym for the author of the standard Armenian account of the life of St. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR and of the conversion of King TRDAT THE GREAT at the beginning of the 4th C. Although Agathangelos claims to have been an eyewitness, the work cannot have been composed before the 5th C.

The extant Armenian text is not the original. From an early, now lost, text Agathangelos was translated into Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. From a revised Armenian text—the standard "received" version—further Greek and Arabic translations were made. No other Armenian text ever circulated so widely outside Armenia.

The extant Armenian text covers the period from 224 to the death of St. Gregory after 325. It describes the early careers of Gregory and Trdat, the tortures and imprisonment of Gregory by the yet unconverted king, the martyrdom at VAʿARŠAPAT of nuns (Hṙip'simē and her companions) who had fled from DIOCLETIAN, the release of Gregory and ensuing conversion of Trdat and the court, and the destruction of pagan temples. It also gives an account of Gregory's consecration in Cappadocian Caesarea, the founding of an organized Armenian church, the visit of Trdat and Gregory to Constantine I, and of the succession of Gregory's son to the patriarchate. The text in its present form includes a long theological document, the "Teaching of St. Gregory," which dates probably to the mid-6th C. (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 102 [1984] 321–28).

Of particular interest are the information on pagan temple sites, the emphasis on the dependence of the early Armenian Church on Caesarea, and the identification of Vałaršapat with the main episcopal see. Syrian influence in early Christian Armenia is ignored, as is the fact that the original 4th-C. see was at Aštišat, west of Lake Van. Agathangelos thus represents a reworking of the Armenian ecclesiastical history to which pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND bears earlier witness.

ED. *Agat'angełay Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. G. Ter-Mkrtc'ean, St. Kanayeanc' (Tbilisi 1909; rp. Erevan 1983); rp. with introd. R.W. Thomson (Delmar, N.Y., 1980). G. Lafontaine, *La version grecque ancienne du livre arménien d'Agathange* (Louvain 1973).

TR. R.W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians* (Albany, N.Y., 1976). Idem, *The Teaching of St. Gregory: An Early Armenian Catechism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

LIT. G. Garitte, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (Vatican 1946). G. Winkler, "Our Present Knowledge of the History of Agat'angelos and its Oriental Versions," *REArm* n.s. 14 (1980) 125–41. –R.T.

AGATHIAS (Ἀγαθίας), writer; born Myrina, Asia Minor, ca.532, died ca.580. Early in his career Agathias was apparently *curator civitatis* (concerned with public buildings) at Smyrna. He later became a successful lawyer (*scholastikos*) at Constantinople. His early *Daphniaka*, short hexameter pieces on erotic and other themes, are lost; so are other unspecified prose and verse works. In the 560s Agathias collected contemporary epigrams (including 100 or so of his own) by various friends, often fellow lawyers, notably PAUL SILENTIARIOS, who may have been his father-in-law. This collection of hellenizing epigrams on classical and contemporary themes, called the *Cycle*, is incorporated in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY along with its preface addressed by Agathias to an emperor, either Justinian I or Justin II (Al. & Av. Cameron, *JHS* 86 [1966] 6–25).

Agathias's *History*, written in formal continuation of PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA, stops after five books covering the years 552–59, apparently because he died. Eastern and western campaigns are described, with the general NARSES in Italy a major theme; Justinian gets a sensibly mixed press. Social and intellectual history also receives due attention, though church matters are played down or omitted. This, however, is stylistic affectation rather than paganism; despite some contrary opinions, Agathias was certainly a Christian.

ED. *Historiarum Libri Quinque*, ed. R. Keydell (Berlin 1967). Eng. tr. J.D. Frendo, *The Histories* (Berlin 1975). *Epigrammi*, ed. G. Viansino (Milan 1967), with It. tr.; Eng. tr. in Paton, *Greek Anth.*

LIT. A.M. Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford 1970). R.C. McCail, "The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 205–67. –B.B.

AGE (ἡλικία). The ancient Greeks and Romans often considered the life of man as consisting of seven periods that corresponded to the system of seven planets; MACROBIUS developed the idea of the hebdomadic (seven-year) rhythm in the life cycle, according to which 49 was the perfect age and 70 represented the complete life span. In contrast, AUGUSTINE rejected the mystical meaning of the hebdomadic rhythm and of the astral connections of the human ages and established the concept of six ages of man that correlated with the six ages of the world; Augustine's ages were infancy, childhood, adolescence, the periods of one's prime and of decline, and old age; senectitude, however, was to be followed by the new morning, the age of the future life that shall have no evening. The six-age theory was widely accepted in the West, by Isidore of Seville among others.

The Byz. knew the ancient seven-age theory but did not develop either it or Augustine's view. In their practical definitions the Byz. distinguished several ages of man: infancy, CHILDHOOD, puberty or marriageable age (marked by separation of the sexes), and old age. They did not precisely define the different stages, and the attitude toward them varied: the young Niketas Choniates, for instance, ridiculed old age, but later expressed indignation with impertinent and silly youth (A. Kazhdan, *Kniga i pisatel' v Vizantii* [Moscow 1973] 87f).

For the most part, society respected old age, partially because the average Byz. had a relatively short LIFE EXPECTANCY. The elderly also commanded respect because they had accumulated wisdom and experience (*polypeira*) and understanding (*episteme*) that could be transmitted orally (*Sacra parallela*, PG 95:1305D–1308D). Village elders (*gerontes, protogeroi*) with a good recollection of local traditions often resolved disputes over boundaries and land ownership. Many elderly Byz. complained, however, of the infirmities of old age; NIKETAS MAGISTROS, for example, regretted the effects of age on his literary creativity (ep.22.2–4). The *Greek Anthology* (*AnthGr*, bk.5, no.76) includes an earlier poet Rufinus, who described the physical decline of the elderly—gray hair, wrinkles, colorless cheeks, and sagging breasts—as "a coffin-like galley about to sink," although Agathias noted cases where "time cannot subdue nature" (*AnthGr*, bk.5, no.282).

Elderly parents expected children to care for them; according to Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79:600C–601A), two children were sufficient for the needs of old age. Parents might disinherit children who failed to provide for them, as, for example, in the case of a spiritual son who had promised in writing to look after his aged mother (A. Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathe* [Vatican 1972] no.30.12–18). WIDOWS frequently lived with their children and might even act as heads of households. Some monasteries provided hospices for the elderly (GEROKOMEIA); as an alternative, many widows and widowers took monastic vows and received care in a monastery in exchange for a donation of cash or property (see ADELPHATON).

LIT. E. Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton 1986) 39–69. A.-M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 267–78. C. Gnilka, "Kalogeros: Die Idee 'guten Alters' bei den Christen," *JbAChr* 23 (1980) 5–21. R. Häusler, "Neues zum spätrömischen Lebensaltervergleich," *Actes du VIIe Congrès de la Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques*, vol. 2 (Budapest 1984) 183–91. E. Patlagean, "L'entrée dans l'âge adulte à Byzance aux XIIIe–XIVe siècles," in *Historicité de l'enfance et de la jeunesse* (1986) 263–70. –J.H., A.K.

AGENTES IN REBUS (ἀγγελιαφόροι, "messengers," or μαγιστριανοί, "*magister*'s men"), a corps (*schola*) under the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM created, probably by Diocletian, to replace the former *frumentarii*. First mentioned in 319, their primary function was to carry imperial messages, which gave them the right to the *cursus publicus* (see DROMOS); they also had the duty to inspect this service. Their broader responsibilities included supervision of the activity of any state functionary and reports to the emperor on subversion and administrative malpractice. Some *agentes in rebus*, called *curiosi*, were sent to the provinces as a kind of secret police. In addition to these functions, *agentes* acted as state prosecutors, inspectors of customs offices, state construction, and the billeting of soldiers; they also led diplomatic embassies. Their activity was closely interwoven with that of the *schola* of notaries (W. Sinnigen, *AJPh* 80 [1959] 238–54). The corps of *agentes* had a tendency to increase in size. While Julian tried to restrict their number, by Leo I's reign it had reached 1,248 (*Cod.Just.* XII 20.3). The enrollment of the relatives of *agentes* was welcomed, but Jews and Samaritans were expelled (Jones, *LRE* 2:948). *Agentes in rebus* were exempt from the jurisdiction of provincial governors and could be dismissed, originally, by the *magister officiorum*, but after 415 (in the East) only by the emperor. The *agentes in rebus* disappeared by the 7th C.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 1 (1894) 776–79. Stein, *Op. minora* 71–115. G. Purpura, "I curiosi e la scuola agentium in rebus," *Annali del Seminario giuridicio di Palermo* 34 (1973) 165–275. P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Another Curiosus," *ZPapEpig* 68 (1987) 149f. –A.K.

AGHT'AMAR. See ALT'AMAR.

AGNELLUS, also called Andreas; 9th-C. priest and abbot of S. Maria ad Blachernas and St. Bartholomew's in RAVENNA. He came from a leading family; his ancestor Ioannicius served in the central administration of JUSTINIAN II. Between 830/1 and the late 840s Agnellus composed the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* (Pontifical Book of the Church of Ravenna) in imitation of the Roman LIBER PONTIFICALIS. His biographies of the archbishops of Ravenna up to his own time champion Ravenna's pretensions vis-à-vis Rome. They also shed light on late antique Ravenna, the EXARCHATE, Justinian II, the adaptation of Eastern hagiographical legends to a Western context (F. Lanzoni, *FelRav* 8 [1912] 318–26; 17 [1915] 763f; 18 [1915] 795–97)—the issue of ICON veneration is alive in his account—and life in a Byz. provincial town, as remembered two or three generations after the imperial authorities' departure. His sources included the lost chronicle of Archbp. Maximian (546–66), hagiography, occasional archival documents (including Byz. imperial privileges—K. Brandi, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 9 [1924–26] 11–13), oral tradition—particularly with respect to his own family—and a remarkably intensive, if uneven, use of the images and inscriptions of his city, many of which are now lost. The surviving text is corrupt and a few biographies are missing altogether (J.O. Tjäder, *ItMedUm* 2 [1959] 431–39).

ED. (partial) *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. A. Testi Rasponi [= RIS 2.3] (Bologna 1924). Ed. O. Holder-Egger in MGH *SRL* 265–391.

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 428–31. C. Nauerth, *Agnellus von Ravenna* (Munich 1974). –M.McC.

AGNES OF FRANCE, Byz. empress (1180–85); born ca.1171/72, died after 1204; daughter of LOUIS VII and Adèle of Champagne. In 1179, as the result of an embassy of MANUEL I, she arrived in Constantinople; early in 1180, renamed "Anna," she was splendidly wedded to Manuel's heir, ALEXIOS II. After Alexios was killed, ANDRONIKOS I married her. When in 1185 his downfall seemed imminent, Andronikos attempted flight with Agnes and a favorite concubine, but they were apprehended. From 1185 to 1203, Agnes apparently lived in Constantinople, where she entered a relationship with Theodore BRANAS; they could not marry, lest she lose her dowry. Sought out in 1203 by members of the Fourth Crusade, she bitterly rejected them and spoke through an interpreter who claimed that she had forgotten French. During the sack of Constantinople she took refuge in the Great Palace. Subsequently she married Branas, who entered the service of the Latin emperors.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 22f, 72f, 259. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:457–60. –C.M.B.

AGONY IN THE GARDEN. Christ's prayer in the garden of Gethsemane before his arrest is first found depicted on the 4th-C. Brescia Casket (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl.89). Christ's standing posture and the scene's place at the beginning of the PASSION cycle imply inspiration from John 17:1–13, which opens the HOLY WEEK liturgy. The ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol.8v, and Corpus Christi Gospels (F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels*

of St. Augustine [Cambridge 1954] pl.I) show Christ twice, in PROSKYNESIS and upbraiding the sleeping disciples, reflecting Matthew 26:36–46 and Mark 14:32–42. All three Christ figures, the sleeping disciples, and the angel of Luke 22:39–46 appear in the superb 11th-C. miniature opening the Holy Week lections in Athos, Dion. 587 (*Treasures* I, fig.226). This conflation of the synoptic Gospels and John yielded the components that characterize the scene's subsequent iconography. An esp. exhaustive version appears in S. Marco, VENICE (ca.1220).

LIT. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 2.1:6–21. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:783–91. –A.W.C.

AGORA (ἀγορά, "marketplace"; Lat. *forum*), the center of public life in many Byz. CITIES and large towns. The agora was generally laid out on a rectangular plan, though forms such as the oval (at GERASA and the Forum of Constantine in Constantinople) and the circle (JUSTINIANA PRIMA) are known. Lined with porticoes, or STOAS, and dominated by important religious, civic, and commercial buildings, an agora was often embellished with imperial statues, honorific COLUMNS, monumental ARCHES, and NYMPHAEA. Besides the seven major examples in the capital (see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF) agoras also remained part of the urban scene at PHILIPPI and THESSALONIKE beyond the 5th C. Construction of buildings within forums was prohibited by a decree of 383 (*Cod.Theod.* XV 1.22), but it was not long before the agoras in most cities were encroached upon by new construction, a process that accelerated thereafter. The term, however, remained in usage.

LIT. D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1969) 63–68. –M.J.

AGRARIAN RELATIONS, the fiscal, economic, political, and social interrelations between the owner of land and its cultivator as reflected factually in the form of RENT and COERCION and juridically in OWNERSHIP and POSSESSION. Byz. was an agricultural society, the basis of the economy being the soil. Like Rome, Byz. attached extreme importance to the status of land and the persons who cultivated or owned land. Consequently, to understand Byz. agrarian relations is to understand both the Byz. economic system and state structure. Scholarship has tended to focus on issues such as the condition of the PEASANT, the emergence of the PAROIKOS, the origin and survival of the VILLAGE COMMUNITY, the conflict between the powerful (DYNATOS) and the POOR in the countryside, the reemergence of large-scale landholdings by laymen and by the church, particularly monasteries, and the connection between military service and land tenure. Study of these issues involves investigation of the types of real property (STASIS, PROASTEION), the types of land tenure, and state and private obligations burdening property and their owners. The most controversial problems of Byz. agrarian relations are the existence of STATE PROPERTY, the validity of the concept of Byz. FEUDALISM, and the nature of the village community.

LIT. P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Galway 1979). Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 7–109. –M.B.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS. Besides the PLOW, Byz. farmers employed two similar TOOLS for tilling and weeding, the *makele* (mattock) and *dikella* (two-pronged drag-hoe). The former is depicted in an illustration from Hesiod's *Works and Days* (Venice, Marc. gr. 464, fol.34r) as a long-handled implement outfitted with a triangular blade set at an angle to the haft. In this instance it appears to resemble extant examples of the Italian *ligo* (see K.D. White, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World* [Cambridge 1967] 39, fig.19). An illustration of the *dikella* is found in a 5th- or 6th-C. mosaic in Constantinople (*Great Palace, 2nd Report*, pl.47); here a farmer, grasping the handle of the implement, pulls the bifurcated blade, attached at right angles to the haft, slowly toward him, its two curving teeth digging lightly into the soil. For turning larger clumps of soil the *lisgarion* (spade-fork) was employed. This implement (as illustrated in Paris, B.N. gr. 2774, fol.36v) was shaped like the Greek letter π; the tool was manipulated by a handle attached in the center of the horizontal cover-bar.

At harvest time grain was reaped with a sickle (*drepanon*) rather than a scythe and threshed not with flails but with a threshing-sled (*doukane*); it was separated from the chaff with a winnowing-fork (*likmeterion*) and/or winnowing-shovel (*ptyon*). The vinedresser's essential tool was the *klaudeuterion* or pruning knife, which (as illustrated in Venice, Marc. gr. 464, fol.34r, and Paris, B.N. gr. 2786, fol.140r) might have two blades—one in the shape of a half-moon and the other like a quarter-moon. This instrument could be used for hacking, cutting, or pulling back.

Except for MILLS and wine and OLIVE PRESSES, more complex devices were rare. The 4th-C. agriculturalist Rutilius Palladius (*Opus agriculturae*, ed. R.H. Rodgers [Leipzig 1975] bk.7.2.2–4) describes the reaper on two wheels pulled by an ox that was common in 4th-C. Gaul, but this *vehiculum* was not used in the East. A device for preparing dough operated by animal power was invented in the Great Lavra of Athanasios on Athos.

LIT. *Les outils dans les Balkans du Moyen âge à nos jours*, ed. A. Guillou, vol. 1 (Paris 1986). A. Bryer, "Byzantine Agricultural Implements: The Evidence of Medieval Illustrations of Hesiod's *Works and Days*," *BSA* 81 (1986) 45–80. L. Cheetham, "Threshing and Winnowing—An Ethnographic Study," *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 127–30. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie," *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 218–22. J. Čangova, "Srednovekovni orŭdija na truda v Bŭlgarija," *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskata Akademija na Naukite* 25 (1962) 19–55. – J.W.N., A.K., A.C.

AGRICULTURE (γεωπονία). Byz. had a diversified soil and climate even after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and North Africa in the 7th C. Its lands ranged from the hot littoral of the Mediterranean, where olive trees and even cotton could grow, to the fertile valleys of Thrace producing barley and grapes, to the arid pastures of Cappadocia sustaining numerous flocks. The most general features were the predominance of rocky soil, scarcity of water supply, and warm summers. This resulted in the relatively small size of fields, in the development of HORTICULTURE and viticulture (which to some extent was detrimental to grain production), and in stock breeding characterized by TRANSHUMANCE.

Byz. agriculture was polycultural. The primary types of cultivated land were the CHORAPHION producing grain, the VINEYARD, and the GARDEN in which FRUIT and vegetables were planted; in addition, flax, cotton, and sesame were grown, and in Sicily and the Peloponnesos the silkworm was cultivated. OLIVE groves were typical of areas near the sea. There was no IRRIGATION on a large scale (after the loss of Egypt), but gardens, vineyards, and sometimes olive trees were supplied with water by small conduits from natural sources or cisterns.

Agricultural TECHNOLOGY was predominantly a continuation of ancient and Mediterranean traditions, for instance, the sole-ard PLOW, supplemented on particularly stony soils and in gardens by hand cultivation with hoes and mattocks. AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS included the sickle (not scythe), which left high stalks in the fields as cattle fodder and as fertilizer. For the THRESHING of wheat, the grain was trampled by oxen or crushed by a threshing-sled, rather than flailed. Complex mechanical devices were limited to wine presses, OLIVE PRESSES, and MILLS, both animal- and water-driven; there is no mention of water-lifting devices or reapers in Asia Minor or Greece. The land was cultivated in both winter and summer, and in the warmest regions two crops were produced annually. For nurturing the land Byz. farmers employed a two-field rotation system. The degree to which lands were manured is problematic.

Some innovations took place after the end of the Roman Empire. The quality of grain improved: hard wheat spread in Asia Minor and rye was introduced in the Balkans. These types of GRAIN were more stable and easier to store. The system of harness changed around the 10th C., permitting the HORSE to be used for plowing. Windmills appeared, probably in the 13th C. The role of LIVESTOCK increased, and dairy products (esp. CHEESE) assumed greater importance in the Byz. DIET. By the 14th C. cattle and flocks of SHEEP and GOATS seem to have been a more significant indication of wealth than land.

Figures of agricultural yield are difficult to establish. A 12th-C. writer (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 155.69–71) asserted that on a small field he was able to harvest grain 20:1, but such high yield is atypical. In the estates of the ACCIAJUOLI in Greece in 1380 the yield ranged from 1.6:1 to 5:1 (Schilbach, *Metrologie* 57, n.6). In any case Western observers stressed the plentiful supply of agrarian products in Byz., and from the 12th C. onward Byz. exported grain, wine, and other agricultural products to Italy and Dubrovnik. The political situation in the 14th and 15th C. caused a drastic change in rural conditions—the abandonment of