made him the model for many Christians, even outside of Egypt, who were drawn to the solitary life. In the *Life*, Antony is depicted as the perfect man who follows moderate ascetic practices, supports the church hierarchy, and performs miracles with divine assistance. According to the *Life*, he visited Alexandria to support Athanasios against the Arians. But there is no independent confirmation of his anti-Arianism; in the sayings and letters, Antony addresses practical and ethical questions only.

Antony was Coptic-speaking, not Greek-speaking, and probably dictated his letters in Coptic, even though it is not impossible that a Greek papyrus contains a fragment of Antony's letter to Am[mon?], his pupil (G. Garitte, *Muséon* 52 [1939] 17, n.23). The letters of Antony are preserved in two collections: seven letters surviving in Latin translation are usually considered genuine since Jerome mentioned a collection of Antony's letters in seven parts—but Bardenhewer (*Literatur* 3:81) questioned their authenticity; a collection of 20 Arabic letters is attributed to Antony. In addition, some Georgian, Syriac, and Coptic letters and fragments are known. The Sahidic vita of PACHOMIOS contains fragments of two of Antony's letters. Some forged texts exist under his name, including monastic rules. Some of his sayings were incorporated into the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM.

ED. PG 40:977–1000. *Lettres de S. Antoine: version géorgienne et fragments coptes*, ed. G. Garitte (Louvain 1955), with Lat. tr. *CPG* 2 (1974) 2330–50.

SOURCES. Athanasios, *Life of Antony*, PG 26:835–978; Eng. tr. R.T. Meyer, *The Life of Saint Antony* (Westminster, Md., 1950) and R.C. Gregg, *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus* (New York 1980) 29–99.

LIT. T.D. Barnes, "Angel of Light or Mystic Initiate? The Problem of the Life of Antony," *JThSt* 37 (1986) 353–68. H. Dörries, *Die Vita Antonii als Geschichtsquelle* [= *NachGött* 14] (Göttingen 1949). R.C. Gregg, D.E. Groh, *Early Arianism: A View of Salvation* (Philadelphia 1981) 131–59.
–J.A.T., A.K.

ANTONY THE YOUNGER, saint; baptismal name John; born Phossaton near Jerusalem 785, died 11 Nov. 865. Born to a noble family, Antony left for Attaleia, enlisted in the navy, and was eventually promoted by Michael II to *ek prosopou* (deputy governor) of the theme of Kibyrrhaiotai. He successfully fought against THOMAS THE SLAV in 822/3, but in 825 abandoned his post to become the disciple of a stylite monk. He took the monastic habit and lived in various monasteries on Bithynian OLYMPOS and in Constantinople. Antony was very close to PETRONAS, whose victory over the Arabs (863) he predicted

His picturesque vita, written by a contemporary and preserved in 10th-C. and later MSS, is rich in information about Byz. medical services, everyday life, law, and the administrative system; for example, the trial of Antony by the *epi ton deeseon* Stephen in 829/30 is described in detail.

SOURCE. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *PPSb* 19.3 (1907) 186–216, corr. P. van den Ven, *BZ* 19 (1910) 307–13. Add. F. Halkin, *AB* 62 (1944) 210–23.

LIT. *BHG* 142–143a. F. Halkin, "Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863," *AB* 62 (1944) 187–225. –A.K.

ANZAS (Ἀνζᾶς, Ἀντζᾶς), a family of civil functionaries. Their origins, which are unclear, are variously described: Zlatarski (*Ist.* 2:554) considered Ivan Anzas (Ančo, his transliteration) a Bulgarian name; S. Rudberg (*Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile* [Lund 1953] 149f) thought it Italian. The first of them, John Anzas, assisted Theodoulos, archbishop of Bulgaria, in building the Church of Hagia Sophia in OHRID in 1056. The family was active in administration in the second half of the 11th C. : Michael, quaestor and *nomophylax* (1077); John, notary (1087); Niketas, judge of the *velum* (1098). Some are known only by their seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:679), which are dated predominantly to the same period: Constantine, judge of the *velum*; Nikephoros, SYMPONOS; Niketas and Nicholas, judges of the Hippodrome. The Anzades served throughout the 12th C. as civil (Nik. Chon. 57.57) and ecclesiastical officials: Leo, bishop of Argos and Nauplia (ca.1143–57) and founder of the AREIA MONASTERY, calls himself nephew of Constantine Anzas; the monk and *orphanotrophos* Basil Anzas was the addressee of Manuel I's ordinance of 1171. The last known Anzas, John, was an official responsible for assigning land to the Genoese in 1202.

LIT. Svoronos, *Études*, pt.VII (1965), 327, n.12. –A.K.

ANZITENE (Ἀνζιτηνή), district of the eastern Byz. frontier, southeast of Armenia, commanding major routes through Armenia and across the Euphrates. Conquered from Persia by Diocletian in 297, Anzitene was important for frontier defense until Justinian I conquered territory farther east. Under the Arabs, who took it in the 640s, Anzitene was a base for attacks against Byz. and for control of Armenia. During this period, much of its Christian population immigrated to the more protected hills to the north. The object of frequent Byz. attacks, Anzitene was reconquered by 950 and assigned to the theme of MESOPOTAMIA. Anzitene, whose centers were at ARSAMOSATA and CHARPETE, is best known from the narrative of the campaign of Sayf al-Dawla in 956 and from the surveys and excavations at Asvan and the Keban region that have revealed many details of local conditions in the Byz. period, which here ended after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071.

LIT. J. Howard-Johnston, "Byzantine Anzitene," in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 239–90. –C.F.

APA ABRAHAM, bishop of Hermonthis in Upper Egypt and *hegoumenos* of the nearby monastery of Phoibammon; born ca.554, died 624. His archive consists of more than one hundred Coptic *ostraka*, primarily letters, and his will, written in Greek but dictated in Coptic. The contents illustrate the power and prestige of the local bishop: supervising the requirements for candidates for ordination; celebrating the Eucharist and administering the provision of the bread and wine; choosing his successor as *hegoumenos* and disposing of his property; imposing ecclesiastical sanctions; being concerned with the morals and behavior of his flock; and protecting the interests of the poor. His encaustic portrait is preserved in Berlin (M. Krause in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 97 [1971] 106–11), and a liturgical book binding (inscribed with his name) and other altar furnishings from his church near LUXOR are in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (M. Krause in *The Future of Coptic Studies*, ed. R. McL. Wilson [Leiden 1978] 10–12).

ED. W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theben* (Vienna 1962) 52 (list of sources). *P.Lond.* I 77. W.E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca* (London 1902) nos. 49–76.

LIT. M. Krause, "Apa Abraham von Hermonthis" (Ph.D. diss., Berlin 1956), summarized by C.D.G. Müller in *ZKirch* 75 (1964) 283–92. Idem, "Die Testamente der Äbte des Phoibammon-Klosters in Theben," *MDAI K* 25 (1969) 58–60. –L.S.B.MacC.

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APAMEIA (Ἀπάμεια) on the Orontes River, now Arab village of Qalʿat al-Muḍīq in modern Syria; capital city and metropolitan bishopric of the province of SYRIA II that was formed between 413 and 417. The Neoplatonic school of IAMBLICHOS flourished there in the 4th C. A synagogue was paved probably in 391 by donors who recorded in inscriptions the size of the area that each had financed. Following earthquakes in 526–28, the tetraconch cathedral was rebuilt (?) in 533 by the archbishop Paul, and what may have been the governor's palace was redecorated in 539, with a hunting pavement. An important relic of the TRUE CROSS was preserved at Apameia until its removal by Justin II (566 or 574). In 540 Apameia was stripped by the Persians of over 10,000 pounds of silver (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.11.2–38), and of yet more silver in 573 when they burned the city (John of Ephesus, *HE* 6.6). Following this event the *cardo*, an "atrium church," numerous large private houses, and other buildings were rebuilt or repaired. Urban life continued at Apameia after the Arab conquest of 639 and came to an end only at some undetermined period thereafter.

In the illuminated *Kynegetika* of the pseudo-OPPIAN (Furlan, *Marciana* 5, fig.37a), Apameia is represented as a walled city, dominated by a huge domed church and flanked by the Orontes between Mt. Diokleos and Mt. Emblonos.

LIT. J.C. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée* (Brussels 1981). *Apamée de Syrie: Bilan des recherches scientifiques 1973–1979*, ed. J. Balty (Brussels 1984). –M.M.M., A.C.

APATHEIA. See EMOTIONS.

APELATAI (sing. ἀπελάτης, lit. "one who drives away"), irregular light soldiers stationed along the frontiers who supplemented their military activities with BRIGANDAGE, first appear under Basil I (*TheophCont* 685.5). Their duties primarily involved raiding (and plundering) enemy territory and acting as border-scouts and guides for Byz. expeditionary forces (DE RE MILITARI, ed. Dennis 292.16–34). *Apelatai* were recruited from Armenian and Bulgarian freebooters and from Byz. soldiers otherwise unable to fulfill obligations for military service (*De cer.* 696.4); their commanders were appointed by Byz. provincial officials (DE VELITATIONE, 41.19–20). *Apelatai* were included in the muster rolls of themes, although it is unclear whether their remuneration comprised simply cash and rations or also STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA. In western portions of the empire, *apelatai* were also termed *chonsarioi* (Bulg. for "thieves"—*Souda*

4:814.10), in the East *trapezetai* or *tasinarioi*. In DIGENES AKRITAS *apelatai* likewise fulfill this dual role as soldiers/brigands and in the latter capacity form the hero's principal adversary.

LIT. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 245–57. N. Oikonomides, "L'épopée de Digènes et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles," *TM* 7 (1979) 385–89. A. Syrkin, *Poema o Digenise Akrite* (Moscow 1964) 153–56.
–A.J.C.

APHRAHAT (Ἀφραάτης), Syrian theologian, often called "the Persian Sage"; died ca.345. Under his name have come down 23 spiritual treatises called *Demonstrations* (Syr. *taḥwyāthā*). He lived in the Adiabene region of Persia, east of Nisibis, and was of clerical status, though apparently not a bishop or monk, but rather one of the celibate "Sons of the Covenant" (Syr. *Benai Qyāmā*) who lived in the world. His *Demonstrations* range in date from 336/7 to 344/5: the last one was written during the persecution of Shāpūr II (M. Higgins, *BZ* 44 [1951] 265–71). The first 22 are numbered by the letters of the Syriac alphabet.

The theology and writings of Aphrahat draw extensively on the Old Testament, reflecting the religious milieu of 4th-C. Mesopotamia in which Christianity was seeking to define its identity as separate from Judaism. He praises Christ as the divine conqueror of death and as the completion and fulfillment of all the types and prophecies of the Old Law. Aphrahat is concerned with how to live as a Christian in this world, with prayer, charity, endurance of persecution, and concern for the poor; *Demonstration* 1 preserves an early credal text. There is an Armenian translation (ascribed to Jacob of Nisibis) of 19 of the *Demonstrations*; separate ones are also known in Ethiopic and Georgian.

ED. I. Parisot in *Patrologia Syriaca*, vol. 1 (Paris 1894) 1–1050; vol. 2 (1907) 1–489. G. Lafontaine, *La version arménienne des oeuvres d'Aphraate le Syrien* [CSCO 382–83, 405–06, 423–24] (Louvain 1977–80).

LIT. A. Vööbus, *RAC* supp. lief. 4 (1986) 497–506. R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom* (Cambridge 1975) 205–38. S. Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (Kalamazoo 1987) 1–28.
–L.S.B.MacC.

APHRODISIAS (Ἀφροδισιάς, now Geyre), city of CARIA, notable for its extensive and well-preserved remains. Aphrodisias was metropolis of the province and had active schools of sculpture and philosophy. It was a seat of pagan teaching through the late 5th C. and had an important Monophysite church—sometimes with its own bishop—in the 5th and 6th C. Aphrodisias assumed the name Stauropolis in the 7th C., but by the 12th was usually known by the name of the province, Caria. It was sacked by Theodore Mankaphas in 1188 and by the Seljuks in 1197; it became Turkish in the late 13th C.

Excavations have revealed much of Byz. Aphrodisias within its mid-4th-C. walls. The city centered on its cathedral church, formerly the temple of Aphrodite (converted in the mid-5th C.). Palaces with audience halls, probably of the bishop and governor, flanked the church. The agora to the south was apparently abandoned after a devastating earthquake in the 4th C. permanently altered the water table; many public buildings were rebuilt at that time. The south part of the city included baths, a basilica where the PRICE EDICT of Diocletian was displayed, and the theater, before which lay a large paved square. This became the main marketplace after the agora was abandoned, and commerce extended into the adjacent bath, whose basilica was converted into shops. The city was destroyed in the early 7th C. and never recovered. Thereafter, the theater became the main fortress and center of habitation. In the 10th/11th C. the cathedral was restored and a triconch church was built over the intersection of two abandoned streets.

LIT. K. Erim, *Aphrodisias* (New York 1986). R. Cormack, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Provincial City: The Evidence of Thessalonike and Aphrodisias," in *Classical Tradition* 103–18. J.W. Nesbitt, "Byzantine Lead Seals from Aphrodisias," *DOP* 37 (1983) 159–64. C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London 1989).
–C.F.

APHRODITE, identified with Roman Venus, goddess of love, beauty, and fertility, was worshiped until the beginning of the 4th C. when, according to Sozomenos, her temples were destroyed in Jerusalem, Aphaka (near Mt. Lebanon), and Heliopolis; in Heliopolis, he says (Sozom., *HE* 5.10.7), Constantine I built a church on the site of the temple and prohibited the "habitual fornication" evidently connected with the cult of Aphrodite. The neighboring Arabs venerated Aphrodite or a goddess identified by Prokopios (*Wars* 2:28.13) with Aphrodite and offered her human sacrifices.

After the victory of Christianity Aphrodite underwent the regular procedure of allegorization, even if, in the decorative arts (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 288, 318), her image appears to have been used without ulterior significance well into the 6th C. Malalas mentions Aphrodite in connection with the story of PARIS who proclaimed her the greatest of goddesses; in discussing the Judgment of Paris (Malal. 92f), he says that Aphrodite means desire from which everything is born—children, wisdom, temperance, skills, and all other material and intellectual things. In later literature Aphrodite appears primarily as a metonymy for sexual desire: TZETZES (*Hist.* 9:16) calls Antony the prisoner of Aphrodite, while Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 139.31–32) describes Andronikos I Komnenos as giving himself completely "to the orgies of Aphrodite." Choniates also reports that during the sack of Constantinople in 1204 the Crusaders destroyed a statue of Paris handing the apple of discord to Aphrodite (648.42–43).

The birth of Aphrodite is depicted in a MS in Paris (B.N. Coisl. gr. 239). In a MS from Athos (Pantel. 6) the goddess is shown bare-breasted and standing on a column.

LIT. Lawson, *Folklore* 117–20. Weitzmann, *Gr.Myth.* 52–54, 90, 146f, figs. 63–66.
–A.K., A.C.

APHRODITE PAPYRI, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic literary and documentary papyri found in 1901 and 1905 at the site of the city of Aphrodite (later spelled Aphrodito, Coptic Jkow; mod. Kom Ishgaw) in northern Upper Egypt, which have provided rich documentation for the life of this community from the 5th to the mid-8th C. The 1905 find comprised mostly 6th-C. material, while that of 1901 yielded documents of the Arab period ca.680–750. Sixth-century Aphrodite is best known for its archive of DIOSKOROS, a hellenized Coptic lawyer who owned literary codices and wrote both encomiastic poetry and many documents. The later material embraces requisitions, orders (*entagia*), correspondence between the Arab governor and the *pagarches*, and long, detailed tax record books. Palaeographically these documents display a preparatory stage of the minuscule. The Aphrodite papyri are dispersed today among many museums and libraries. Many of the Coptic pieces have been difficult to trace and remain less known than the Greek (and Arabic), although the city was bi- and trilingual. Location and edition of the Coptic Aphrodite papyri remains a major desideratum. Thanks to all these documents we can know the institutions and culture of this city in unparalleled detail.

ED. J. Maspero, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, 3 vols. (Cairo 1911–16; rp. Milan 1973). H.I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vols. 4–5 (London 1910–17; rp. Milan 1973). P.J. Sijpesteijn, *The Aphrodite Papyri in the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection* (Zutphen, Holland, 1977). R. Pintaudi, *I papiri vaticani greci di Aphrodito*, 2 vols. (Vatican 1980).

LIT. J.G. Keenan, "The Aphrodite Papyri and Village Life in Byzantine Egypt," *BSAC* 26 (1984) 51–63. J. Gascou, L. MacCoull, "Le cadastre d'Aphroditô," *TM* 10 (1987) 103–58.
–L.S.B.MacC.

APHTHARTODOCETISM (from ἄφθαρτος, "incorruptible," and δοκέω, "to seem"), a form of MONOPHYSITISM; the doctrine was formulated by JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS after his flight to Alexandria. In contrast to SEVEROS of Antioch, Julian denied any distinction between *ousia* and *physis* in Christ and thus saw in him only divine substance. Accordingly, he asserted that Christ's flesh was incorruptible not only after the resurrection but from the moment of conception—like Adam's flesh before the Fall. Christ's suffering was contrary to the nature of his flesh but was the result of a miracle and due to his will. Julian based his soteriology not on the principle of man's similarity to Christ but on the dissimilarity—Christ was incorruptible in order to free others from corruptibility. Thus, he distanced Christ from mankind even further than other Monophysites.

Aphthartodocetism was criticized by the Orthodox (esp. LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM) and by Monophysites (Severos of Antioch). The teaching spread in the East, esp. in Egypt where Julian's friend Gaianos propagated it; he managed temporarily to seize the see of Alexandria in 535; thus his supporters were called Gaianitai. Some went so far as to assert that Christ's body was not created, giving them the sobriquet *aktistetai* (Patr. Timotheos, PG 86:44C). Late in his life Justinian I saw Aphthartodocetism as a means to promote unity among his subjects, and in 565 he issued a now-lost edict supporting its teachings. The patriarch Eutychios refused to sign it and was exiled, but further difficulty was prevented by the emperor's death.

LIT. F. Diekamp, "Zum Aphthartodoketenstreit," *Theologische Revue* 26 (1927) 89–93. M. Jugie, *DTC* 6 (1924) 999–1023. M. Simonetti, *DPAC* 2:1603f.
–T.E.G.

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APHTHONIOS (Ἀφθόνιος), rhetorician from Antioch and pupil of LIBANIOS; fl. late 4th to beginning of 5th C. Of his abundant works only a textbook of exercises (PROGYMNASMATA) and 40 FABLES (*mythoi*) survive. He used the textbook of HERMOGENES and described the same types of exercises, but following the example of Theon (1st C.) reintroduced the *psogos* (INVECTIVE) as a genre side by side with the ENKOMION. Aphthonios was popular with the Byz., who praised his clarity, contrasting it with Hermogenes' complexity; TZETZES (*Hist.* 11.112–48) evaluates Aphthonios at length, emphasizing his use of EXAMPLES. The *progymnasmata* are, however, treated in isolation and not integrated with other aspects of rhetorical theory. Used for the teaching of RHETORIC, Aphthonios's exercises were extensively commented upon by JOHN OF SARDIS, JOHN GEOMETRES, and John DOXOPATRES. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and THOMAS MAGISTROS considered him as a paradigm of ATTICISM.

ED. *Progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1926). Eng. tr. R. Nadeau, "The Progymnasmata of Aphthonius," *Speech Monographs* 19 (1952) 264–85.
LIT. Kustas, *Studies* 22–26. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 59f. P. Schaefer, *De Aphthonio sophista* (Breslau 1854).
–E.M.J., A.K.

APICULTURE (μελισσοκομεία), beekeeping, provided the major source of sugar in the Middle Ages; Byz. was not influenced by the diffusion of sugar cane in the territories of the caliphate (A.M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* [Cambridge 1983] 24–30). Apiculture also supplied Byz. with wax for CANDLES and with the ingredients of medical remedies and alcoholic beverages: the Slavic (?) word for honey as a drink, in the form *medos* (cf. mead), was known to PRISKOS of Panion. Ancient traditions of apiculture were preserved in the GEOPONIKA, which devoted book 15 to the location and construction of beehives, the behavior of bees, and the harvesting of honey. Byz. apiculture stood on a high level. A 12th-C. Jewish writer from northern France, Samuel ben Meyr, wrote that beekeeping in "the Greek realm" was more developed than in his motherland (S. Krauss, *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte* [Vienna 1914] 113).

Beekeeping is mentioned in various sources. The vita of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL reports that he possessed 250 beehives (*boutia*), and *praktika* of the Palaiologan era show that peasants might possess as many as 30 beehives (*melissia*; cf. *Lavra* 2, no.91.III.4). A special tax on beehives, *melissennomion*, was levied, and a special name for beekeeper, *melissourgos*, was in use. The gathering of honey from wild bees is mentioned in the vita of St. LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS and illustrated in the Venice *Kynegetika* of pseudo-OPPIAN (Kádár, *Zoological Illuminations*, pl.183, 1), where a man is shown being attacked by a swarm of wild bees as he raids their nest. Ceramic beehives of the 6th–7th C. have been found at several sites in Greece.

The image of the industrious bee was frequent in Byz. literature; thus Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79:180B) calls the prophets bees and Holy Scripture their beehive.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, "He melissokomia para Byzantinois," *BZ* 44 (1951) 347–57. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 182.
–A.K., A.C., J.W.N.

APION (Ἀπίων), an Egyptian family of large landowners of uncertain origin. Before 328 Aurelius Apion was eparch or prefect of Egypt (*PLRE* 1:82), but there is no evidence that either he or Flavius Strategius, *comes* and *praeses* of the Thebaid in 349 (*PLRE* 1:858–59), was related to the family that came to prominence in the late 5th C. Apion I, *apo hyparchon* in 497 (whose identity with Apio Theodosius, *praeses* of Arkadia in 488, cannot be proved), served under the command of AREOBINDUS in 503. He fell from favor in 510 but returned to court under Justin I and in 518 became praetorian prefect. His son, Flavius Strategius, was *comes sacrarum largitionum* from 535 to 538 and an envoy to the Persians in 531; Flavius's son Apion II was consul in 539, but by 548 or 550 he had returned to Egypt where he was subsequently *doux* of Thebaid, administrator (*pagarches*) of Arsinoë, and chief of the curia in Oxyrhynchus. His descendants (attested until 623) bore high titles (*patrikios*, honorary consul) and maintained a palace near the Hippodrome of Constantinople; in 603 Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT advised Apion III not to become involved in political activity (evidently against Phokas). The basis of the family wealth was their estate (*oikos*) in OXYRHYNCHUS. The Apions were Monophysites until 532 when Apion I solemnly abjured that form of Christianity. Gascou rejects Hardy's hypothesis that in the second half of the 6th C. the Apions reverted to Monophysitism and retired from the capital.

LIT. J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Egypte byzantine," *TM* 9 (1985) 61–75. E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931) 25–37. *PLRE* 2:1325. A.C. Johnson, L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949) 50–55.
–A.K.

APLEKTON (ἄπλεκτον, from Lat. *applicatum*), lit. fortified CAMP; in documents of the 10th–14th C. the term designates the billeting of troops. The privilege granted to Ioannina by Andronikos II in 1319 prohibited the billeting (*aplekeusai*) of a soldier (*stratiotes*) in the house of a citizen "against his desire and will" (MM 5:81.27–28). In some documents the term *aplekton* is paired with MITATON (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.6.23; *Koutloum.* no.10.62), and it is not always possible to understand the distinction between the two. Since a chrysobull of 1086 speaks of "the provisioning and *aplekton* of an army heading for or returning from war" (*Lavra* 1, no.48.44–45), one can hypothesize that *aplekton* was short-term billeting.

LIT. M. Bartusis, "State Demands for the Billeting of Soldiers in Late Byzantium," *ZRVI* 26 (1987) 121f.
–A.K.

APOCALYPSE (Ἀποκάλυψις), revelation, a genre of Hebrew and Christian literature that describes prophetic VISIONS of the future. Several Hebrew books (ENOCH, BARUCH, etc.) belong to this genre, and among the NAG HAMMADI texts are Apocalypses ascribed to Peter, Paul, and James. The Apocalypse included in the New Testament, often called the Book of Revelation, has traditionally been attributed to JOHN the Apostle; Eusebios of Caesarea, however, doubted its authenticity, and Amphilochios of Ikonion confessed that most people considered it spurious.

From the beginning, exegesis of John's Apocalypse was tinged with eschatological expectations of the end of the wicked world. In the West, this radical interpretation was rejected by AUGUSTINE: according to him, the Apocalypse gave only the general outlines of future history, without going into detail; in the East, the eschatological interpretation of the Apocalypse was abandoned already by ORIGEN, and later exegetes (OIKOUMENIOS, ANDREW of Caesarea, ARETHAS OF CAESAREA) avoided the concept of the millennial reign of God on earth before the Second Coming (PAROUSIA). After Arethas, creative interpretation of the Apocalypse came to a standstill.

Among later APOCRYPHAL apocalypses are those ascribed to Elijah, Mary, and the apostles Thomas, John, and Bartholomew. Some apocalyptic prophecies name as their authors nonbiblical personages: they deal primarily with the political future of Byz. and its struggle against the Saracens (pseudo-METHODIOS OF PATARA, LEO OF CONSTANTINOPLE) as well as the vision of sinners punished in Hell (ANASTASIA).

Apocalypse Illustration. Despite the considerable quantity of Byz. apocalyptic literature treating the end of the empire, only one text—the Oracle of LEO VI—was surely illustrated. However, biblical apocalyptic illustration abounded, ranging from private mortality images through the MAJESTAS DOMINI and prophetic VISIONS to the LAST JUDGMENT. Based on Old Testament visions, on Matthew 19 and 24–25, and on EPHREM THE SYRIAN, it almost never reflects the Apocalypse of St. John. Though read, and in three surviving MSS prefaced with an author portrait, John's Revelation was not accepted as canonical until the 14th C. and left no imprint on the Byz. liturgy. Its influence was peripheral, both geographically (Egypt, where Revelation was accepted as canonical, and Cappadocia, home of the two Byz. commentators on Revelation) and in content, as art reflects commentaries and magical texts more often than Revelation itself. In Cappadocia, 9th-C. versions of the Prophetic Vision and Last Judgment include the 24 Elders, the sea of glass, the river of fire, the sea vomiting up its dead, and the angel rolling up the scroll of Heaven. Of these motifs, only the sea of glass is unique to John, and it vanishes by the 10th C. The other elements continue to be used, but all reflect modifications based on non-Johannine sources, such as the Elders who carry the letters of the alphabet associated with them in magical texts; if other elements survive in Last Judgment representations, they are also from texts other than John's.

LIT. *Apokalyptik*, ed. K. Koch, J.M. Schmidt (Darmstadt 1982). J. Schmid, "Die griechischen Apokalypse-Kommentare," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 19 (1931) 228–54. G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie* (Munich 1972) 77–94. P. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985). H. Suermann, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion auf die einfallenden Muslime in der edessenischen Apokalyptik des 7. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main–New York 1985). G. Kretschmar, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Die*

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Geschichte ihrer Auslegung im 1. Jahrtausend (Stuttgart 1985). Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung*. G. Millet, *La Dalmatique du Vatican. Les élus, images et croyances* (Paris 1945). N. Thierry, "L'Apocalypse de Jean et l'iconographie byzantine," in *L'Apocalypse de Jean: Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques, IIIe–XIIIe siècles* (Geneva 1979) 319–39.
–J.I., A.W.C., A.K.

APOCRYPHA (ἀπόκρυφα, lit. "concealed or rejected [books]"), works that in their title, form, and contents resemble books of the Old Testament and New Testaments, but are not accepted in the biblical canon. The discussion of what is canonical and what is apocryphal lasted through the 4th C.; in the early 6th C., a cleric in southern Gaul presented, in the so-called *Decretum Gelasianum,* the first (incomplete) list of apocrypha. The Old Testament apocrypha are mostly translated from Hebrew; among those that underwent substantial Christian revision are the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,* the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Testament of Solomon*, and the SIBYLLINE ORACLES. New Testament apocrypha were more varied. They can be categorized as apocryphal gospels, acts, letters, and apocalypses, following the main New Testament genres. Some of them are as old as the 2nd C. and probably originated in (or were eventually connected by their orthodox opponents with) a Gnostic or Manichaean milieu. Some of them are known from papyri fragments, some from MSS from NAG HAMMADI. Several apocrypha have survived only in Oriental, Latin, and/or Slavic versions.

Among apocryphal gospels one may distinguish, besides earlier (primarily Judaeo-Christian) texts, those dealing with the childhood of Jesus (PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, the Gospel of THOMAS, the story of Joseph the Carpenter—written in Greek ca.400 but known only in Coptic and Arabic versions) and with his trial and execution (the Gospel of NICODEMUS, various texts on Pontius Pilate, the Coptic gospel of Gamaliel). The 2nd-C. Gospel of Peter (known to Eusebios of Caesarea) tends to whitewash Pilate and to impose the guilt for Jesus's execution fully on the Jews and Herod. The apocryphal gospels had to satisfy pious curiosity in the areas where canonical texts were reticent; they stimulated imagery in art (e.g., ANASTASIS, DORMITION), but had a lesser impact on literature.

The case of apocryphal acts was different. Most are associated with the apostles PETER (esp. the so-called pseudo-Clementinae, which describe his travels and preaching), PAUL, ANDREW, JOHN, and THOMAS; the story of the apostle Thaddeus emerges in the legend of the MANDYLION—both in the letter of Abgar and in the DOCTRINE OF ADDAI (written in Edessa ca.400). The apocryphal acts were influenced by Greek erotic ROMANCES, with their journeys to exotic regions, themes of separation and recognition, and mirabilia; hagiographic elements are also very strong—suffering, imprisonment, and martyrdom, together with the resultant mass and individual conversions, constitute their essence. Church leaders judged the apocryphal acts severely: Amphilochios of Ikonion called them "diabolical works" (R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden,* vol. 1 [Braunschweig 1883] 57), while Photios (*Bibl.,* cod. 114) says that the acts of Peter, John, Thomas, Andrew, and Paul, published by a certain Leukios (Lucius?) Charinos, originated in a heretical milieu.

The original apocryphal acts are mostly lost: from the Acts of Peter only fragments survive, including the description of his martyrdom under Nero; Andrew's Acts can be tentatively restored on the basis of later (partially Western) tradition; a substantial part of John's Acts, ending with his death in Ephesus, is known. Significant sections of the Acts of Paul have been discovered in papyri as well as in Latin and Oriental translations; the story of his life served also as material for the vita of THEKLA. The Acts of Thomas were written in Syriac, probably in the first half of the 3rd C. in a Gnostic milieu. They are the only apocryphal acts to survive in full; Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, and Armenian revisions of them are also preserved.

Apocryphal epistles include the so-called Epistle to the Inhabitants of Laodikeia, a 4th-C. compilation from Paul's epistles that is sometimes inserted in Latin Bible MSS; the forged correspondence between Paul and a converted Seneca that was already known to JEROME; a third Epistle to the Corinthians, Paul's refutation of the Gnostic tenets, that was eventually inserted in the Acts of Paul; the Epistle of Titus (Paul's disciple) on the virtue of virginity—probably a Spanish work of the 5th C.; the Epistle of BARNABAS; the Epistle of James on Christ's teaching after his resurrection—a text of Gnostic character (probably of the 2nd C.); the Epistle of apostles reporting their conversations with Jesus after his resurrection—the text, which probably originated in Asia Minor ca.170, survives in full only in an Ethiopic translation. The Epistle to the Alexandrians has disappeared without a trace. The genre was not developed in Byz., even though a number of hagiographic and homiletic works on Barnabas, Titus, and other apostles appeared.

The apocryphal APOCALYPSES were also unpopular in Byz. The genuine Byz. "apocalypses" dealt with the political situation of the empire more than with prophetic vision of the eschatological future of humankind.

The genre of apocrypha was more widely diffused in Slavic, Caucasian, and Oriental literature than in Byz. It was esp. important for the elaboration of Bogomil ideology (see APOCRYPHA, BOGOMIL).

ED. and TR. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* ed. J. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.Y., 1983–85). *New Testament Apocrypha*², ed. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (London 1973–74). *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento,* ed. M. Erbetta, 3 vols. in 4 pts. (Turin 1966–81). *Acta apostolorum apocrypha,* ed. R.A. Lipsius, M. Bonnet, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Leipzig 1891–1903).

LIT. G. Jossa, "Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento," *Augustinianum* 23 (1983) 19–40. K.L. Schmidt, *Kanonische und apocryphe Evangelien und Apostelgeschichten* (Basel 1944). J.B. Bauer, *Die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Düsseldorf 1968). H. Koester, "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels," *HThR* 73 (1980) 105–30. A.F.J. Klijn, "The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," *VigChr* 37 (1983) 193–99. F. Bovon, M. van Esbroeck et al., *Les Actes Apocryphes des apôtres* (Geneva 1981). E. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament* (Leiden 1981).
–J.I.

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APOCRYPHA, BOGOMIL. The BOGOMILS, in an effort to justify and propagate their teachings, made use of the Slavonic versions of several early Greek APOCRYPHA, among them *The Book of Baruch*, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, and *The Vision of Isaiah*. Only one apocryphal work is known to be an authentic Bogomil creation: the *Interrogatio Johannis* (or *Liber Secretus*, i.e., "Secret Book"), brought to Italy ca.1190 by Nazarius, the bishop of a CATHAR community in Lombardy, who had obtained it from a high-ranking Bogomil in Bulgaria. It is a dialogue between John the Evangelist and Christ, who replies to his disciple's questions about the origin of the world, Satan's power over man (whose body Satan created), and the end of all things. Satan's final defeat, after the destruction of this world by fire, shows that the cosmological DUALISM of this text is of the "moderate" variety. The importance of this document lies in

its uniqueness: no other known work stems directly from the Bogomils. It survives in two slightly different Latin versions, one of them going back to a document, now lost, from the archives of the Inquisition in Carcassonne. Whether the original was Greek or Slavonic is uncertain.

ED. J. Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi* (Sofia 1925; rp. 1970). Fr. tr., idem, *Livres et légendes bogomiles* (Paris 1976). *Le livre secret des Cathares. Interrogatio Iohannis,* ed. E. Bozóky (Paris 1980), with Fr. tr.

LIT. E. Turdeanu, "Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles," *RHR* 138 (1950) 176–218.
–D.O.

APODEIPNON (ἀπόδειπνον, lit. "after supper"), compline, the liturgical HOUR that completes the monastic day with prayer for a tranquil night free from sin and evil dreams. First seen in the *Longer Rules* of St. BASIL THE GREAT (PG 31:1016A) and possibly originating with him, *apodeipnon* is a monastic duplication of VESPERS, which had formerly constituted the final hour of the day. Psalm 90, cited by Basil, is always central to the *apodeipnon* ritual. Byz. *apodeipnon* also includes other psalms, the DOXOLOGY, the creed, a *kanon*, the TRISAGION, Our Father, TROPARIA, the *Kyrie eleison* repeated 40 times, prayers, a rite of mutual pardon, and a final LITANY. In the Byz. HOROLOGION, there are two forms of *apodeipnon*: the *mega apodeipnon*, reserved for Lent and certain VIGILS, is a series of three offices, each with its own introductory and concluding prayers, while the *mikron apodeipnon* is an abbreviated version comprising select elements of the *mega apodeipnon*, esp. its final part. *Apodeipnon* was unknown to the cathedral rite of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (see ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA), which had instead an evening service called *pannychis* (see VIGIL); cf. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:285, 311.

LIT. A. Raes, "Les Complies dans les Rites orientaux," *OrChrP* 17 (1951) 133–45.
–R.F.T.

APO EPARCHON (ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων), or *apo hyparchon,* designation of a former prefect as well as an honorific title. To the first category belonged people like the *apo eparchon poleos* Theodore, a participant in the council of Chalcedon (451), and probably another Theodore, a 7th-C. "*apo eparchon* and eparch of Italy" (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2923). Unlike these high-ranking officials, ordinary *apo eparchon*, whose numerous seals are predomi-

nantly of the 7th C., were modest dignitaries often involved in the supervision of state workshops or toll collection; others were notaries, *chartoularioi, droungarioi,* etc. The title was granted to various intellectuals such as Zacharias, physician of Tiberios II; the historians EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS and MENANDER PROTECTOR; and ELIAS, the 6th-C. commentator on Aristotle. The origin of the title is obscure—Justinian I refers to it as an "ancient" one. The last mention is in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, in which *apo eparchon* constituted the lowest grade of dignitaries.

LIT. R. Guilland, "L'apoéparque," *BS* 43 (1982) 30–44. Bury, *Adm. System* 23f. Jones, *LRE* 1:534f. –A.K.

APOGRAPHEUS (ἀπογραφεύς), fiscal official who seems to have replaced the ANAGRAPHEUS in the 12th C. Zonaras (Zon. 3:737f) relates that Alexios I sent to "the fields and villages" *apographeis* who introduced some fiscal innovations. Dölger argues that Zonaras used the term in a nontechnical sense, but in 1175 a certain Andronikos Kantakouzenos functioned as the *doux* and *apographeus* of the theme of Mylasa and Melanoudion. The term remained in use through the 15th C. Sometimes *apographeis* combined their duties with those of the governor (*doux* or KEPHALE). Their signatures are found on various PRAKTIKA; they apportioned the POSOTES of *paroikoi* and land to the monasteries (*Lavra* 2, no.97.1–5) or conducted MERISMOS (*Lavra* 3, no.165.31–32). LAND SURVEY for tax purposes was called *apographe* or more elaborately *apographike exisotes kai apokatastasis* (e.g., *Pantel.*, no.17.9)—it involved the measurement of land and the assessment of taxes. *Apographeis* were usually local functionaries (of Thessalonike, Lemnos, and so on); an act of 1344 employs the term *katholikos apographeus* (*Docheiar.*, no.23.22), even though the individual, John Vatatzes, is known as *apographeus* of Thessalonike (*PLP*, no.2518).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 88–90. D. Angelov, "K voprosu o praviteljach fem v Epirskom despotate i Nikejskoj imperii," *BS* 12 (1951) 70f. Maksimović, *Administration* 186–91. –A.K.

APOKAUKOS ('Απόκαυκος, fem. 'Αποκαύκισσα), family known from the end of the 10th C. Basil Apokaukos was *strategos* of the Peloponnesos ca.990. Two other *strategoi* named Apokaukos are known from seals (Davidson, *Minor Objects*, no.2764; Schlumberger, *Sig.* 363). From the end of the 12th C. Apokaukoi served as metropolitans in the region of Dyrrachion and Naupaktos (see, e.g., APOKAUKOS, JOHN). The position of the family at the end of the 13th C. is far from clear: Gregoras emphatically asserts (Greg. 2:577.20–21, 585.5) that Alexios Apokaukos belonged to an obscure and low-born family (see APOKAUKOS, ALEXIOS), but in 1277 a certain John Apokaukos bore the high title of *sebastopanhypertatos* and served, together with George Akropolites and Theodore Mouzalon, as witness to Michael VIII's treaty with Venice (MM 3:96.24). Alexios Apokaukos's high position served to promote the careers of many of his relatives, who functioned as governors of Thessalonike and Adrianople, *megas droungarios*, etc. The family lost its position after 1345, even though George Apokaukos was an *archon* in Constantinople in 1403. Another Alexios Apokaukos, a painter and friend of Joseph BRYENNIOS, settled in Crete after 1402. Demetrios Kyritzes Apokaukos was in the service of Mehmed II after the fall of Constantinople.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 101. *PLP*, nos. 1178–95. –A.K.

APOKAUKOS, ALEXIOS, *megas doux;* born Bithynia late 13th C., died Constantinople 11/12 July 1345 (for date, see *Kleinchroniken* 2:263). Born to an obscure provincial family, Apokaukos amassed great wealth as a tax collector and (after 1320) as superintendent of salt works. During his early career he was a protégé of JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS. When ANDRONIKOS III rebelled against his grandfather Andronikos II in 1321, Apokaukos, who was also *domestikos* of the West, supported the young emperor and was rewarded with the post of *parakoimomenos*. After Andronikos III won the civil war in 1328, Apokaukos served the new government as MESAZON. When Andronikos died (1341), Apokaukos turned against his former patron Kantakouzenos and supported the regency of ANNA OF SAVOY and Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS. He became *megas doux,* in command of the fleet; as eparch of Constantinople he repaired and strengthened the Theodosian walls. The regime of Apokaukos was backed by merchants and sailors. Thessalonike, as a relatively independent trade center, was an important base of support

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APOKAUKOS, ALEXIOS. Portrait of Apokaukos as donor in a manuscript of the works of Hippokrates (Paris gr. 2144, fol.11r). Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

for him (M. Sjuzjumov, *VizVrem* 28 [1968] 23f), and he backed the ZEALOT revolt there. According to Kantakouzenos, Apokaukos instituted a "reign of terror" in the capital, arresting wealthy citizens and confiscating their property; the family and followers of Kantakouzenos, in particular, were targets of the mob violence and destruction. Apokaukos was murdered by aristocratic political prisoners (*archontes*) as he was inspecting construction of a new prison.

Apokaukos built a fortress on the Bosporos at Epibatai and may have founded or restored a church at Selymbria (S. Eyice, *Byzantion* 34 [1964] 77–104; O. Feld, *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 56–65). He had a lively interest in medicine. He commissioned the deluxe MS of Hippocrates (Paris, B.N. gr. 2144) that includes his fine portrait (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 148–51, figs. 96–97). The *De methodo medendi* of JOHN AKTOUARIOS is dedicated to Apokaukos.

LIT. R. Guilland, "Études de civilisation et de littérature byzantines, I: Alexios Apocaucos," *Revue du Lyonnais* (1921) 523–41. Matschke, *Fortschritt* 133–68. *PLP*, no.1180. –A.M.T.

APOKAUKOS, JOHN, a leading clergyman in the independent principality of Epiros; born ca.1155, died Kozyle near Arta 1233. Apokaukos was a fellow student in Constantinople with Manuel Sarantenos, the future patriarch at Nicaea. As a deacon, he assisted his uncle, Constantine Manasses, metropolitan of Naupaktos. In 1186 Apokaukos is attested as a notary at the patriarchate in Constantinople under Patr. Niketas II Mountanes (1186–89), and again in 1193 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1125). Metropolitan of Naupaktos from 1199/1200 to 1232 (L. Stiernon, *REB* 28 [1970] 305f), he was, like Demetrios CHOMATENOS and George BARDANES, outspoken in support of Theodore Komnenos Doukas and the Epirot church in the schism with Nicaea. Apokaukos's letters and decisions, like those of Chomatenos, are of central importance for the legal and social history of the period (A. Laiou, *FM* 6 [1984] 275–323). His writings, which show him to be less knowledgeable in the law and less exacting in its application than his colleague (M.Th. Fögen in *Cupido Legum* 47–71), are remarkable for their clear and humorous portrayals of daily life and popular culture (P. Magdalino, *BS* 48 [1987] 28–38). He died a monk.

ED. N.A. Bees, "Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropoliten von Naupaktos (in Ætolien)," *BNJbb* 21 (1971–74) 55–160. M.Th. Fögen, "Ein heisses Eisen," *RJ* 2 (1983) 85–96.

LIT. M. Wellnhofer, *Johannes Apokaukos, Metropolit von Naupaktos in Aetolien (c.1155–1233)* (Freising 1913). Macrides, "Killing, Asylum & Law." –R.J.M.

APOKOMBION (ἀποκόμβιον, also κόμβιον), a purse in which the emperor carried coins to distribute on feastdays. The term is derived from the word *kombos,* meaning joint or knot (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa, PG 46:669B), since *apokombia* were small bags tied with a ribbon. Sometimes the purse contained only one nomisma as a symbolic gift to a poor person (Oikonomides, *Listes* 181.9), while *apokombia* given to the patriarch might hold more than 100 *litrai* of gold (*De cer.* 182.8–11). A 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 76.22–23) describes

how the emperor took the *apokombion* from the *praipositos* and placed it on the holy altar. Representations of the *apokombion* are found in the mosaic panels in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, depicting Emp. Constantine IX Monomachos (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 36 [1978] 220) and John II Komnenos.

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 154. –A.K.

APOKRISIARIOS (ἀποκρισιάριος, Lat. *responsalis*), in its ecclesiastical sense, the messenger or representative of a bishop or *hegoumenos* in dealings with higher authorities. The institution existed in the 5th C., but was first systematically established by Justinian I to prevent the heads of churches from neglecting the care and wasting the resources of their flocks in prolonged or frequent absences (*Cod.Just.* I.3; nov.6.2–3; nov.123.25). *Apokrisiarioi* were received by patriarchs and metropolitans from their respective subordinates, but the chief function of *apokrisiarioi* was to represent provincial churches at the imperial court. The most important patriarchal, archiepiscopal, and metropolitan sees maintained resident *apokrisiarioi* in Constantinople. Among famous churchmen who served as *apokrisiarioi* were Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT, who represented the Roman church at the imperial court (ca.578–86), and Demetrios CHOMATENOS, who represented the see of Ohrid at the patriarchate at the end of the 12th C. (For *apokrisiarios* as a term for diplomat, see AMBASSADORS.)

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 103. J. Pargoire, *DACL* 1.2:2537–55. A. Emereau, "Apocrisiaires et apocrisiariat," and "Les apocrisiaires en Orient," *EO* 17 (1914) 289–97, 542–48. –P.M.

APOLLINARIS, or Apollinarios, bishop of Laodikeia (from ca.360), theologian; born Laodikeia ca.310, died ca.390. A friend of ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, Apollinaris polemicized against ARIUS and DIODOROS OF TARSOS and elaborated a Christology stressing the divine element in Christ; he taught that in Christ the human soul was replaced by the LOGOS. Later Apollinaris revised his views and proposed that Christ had a human body and soul, but "heavenly *nous*" (reason). At first accepted as orthodox, Apollinaris played the role of Athanasios's successor, but then became embroiled with BASIL THE GREAT. At the Council of Constantinople in 381 his teachings were condemned; he was eventually proclaimed a precursor of MONOPHYSITISM and a heretic, and his works were destroyed or preserved under wrong names (E. Cattaneo, *Trois homélies pseudo-chrysostomiennes sur la Pâque comme oeuvre d'Apollinaire de Laodicée* [Paris 1981]). JEROME, who attended the lectures of Apollinaris in Antioch (P. Jay, *REAug* 20 [1974] 36–41), knew his exegetic works on the Bible, but found them inadequate. According to Sozomenos (Sozom., *HE* 5.18.3–4) Apollinaris tried to replace Homer with a work in epic verse on the antiquities of the Hebrews in 24 parts, in which he presented biblical history from Creation to the reign of Saul; he imitated Pindar, Euripides, and Menander in writing on themes of the Holy Scriptures. Apollinaris also wrote hymns for church services as well as songs in praise of God to be recited at work and play (Sozom., *HE* 6.25.4–5). According to Sokrates (Sokr., *HE* 3.16) he recast the New Testament in the form of Platonic dialogues, none of which has survived. Attribution to Apollinaris of a hexameter paraphrase of the Psalms (ed. A. Ludwich [Leipzig 1912]) is questionable.

ED. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen 1904). *CPG*, nos. 3645–3700.

LIT. E. Mühlenberg, *Apollinaris von Laodicea* (Göttingen 1969). C.E. Raven, *Apollinarianism* (Cambridge 1923). A. Tuilier, "Le sens de l'Apollinarisme dans les controverses théologiques du IVe siècle," *StP* 13 (1975) 295–305. E. Cattaneo, "Il Cristo 'uomo celeste' secondo Apollinare di Laodicea," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 19 (1983) 415–19. –B.B., A.K.

APOLLO, Greek god of the sun, music, truth, and healing. His embodiment of the divinity of the sun (HELIOS, SOL INVICTUS) caused his veneration to continue into late antiquity, as seen in Constantine I's solar piety (*Panegyrici Latini* 7.177.10, a.321) and the 4th-C. statues identified as Apollo (G. Mansuelli, *FelRav* 127–30 [1984/5] 291–95; the anecdote of the statue of Apollo brought by Constantine from Troy in Malal. 320.10–13). As late as 529, Benedict of Nursia tried to stamp out the worship of Apollo in the vicinity of Montecassino (*Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, ed. A. de Vogüé [Paris 1979] 2:166–69). Since Apollo's oracle at DELPHI was the most famous in antiquity until its suppression by Theodosios I in 392, Byz. legend sought to attribute to it prophecies of the coming of Christ. A 12th-C. historian (Cedr. 1:532.4–10) relates the oracle's sad response to Julian's emissary Oribasios just before his Persian expedition, while the vitae of ARTEMIOS and other texts preserve Apollo's prophecy of Christ's divinity and sufferings (A. von Premerstein in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* [Athens 1935] 185–89; J. Bidez, *BZ* 11 [1902] 392). Three statues of Apollo still standing in the Baths of ZEUXIPPOS in Constantinople were described in epigrams by CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS in the late 5th C. The Delphic tripod is depicted in MS illustrations of the scholia of pseudo-NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS on the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, while Apollo and Daphne appear in an Antioch mosaic and in numerous ivory carvings. The latter myth furnished a subject to Byz. writers from DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO to KINNAMOS. George Gemistos PLETHON included a hymn to Apollo in his *Laws*, hailing him as the lord of justice and *homonoia*, inspirer of love of divine beauty (Alexandre, *Pléthon* 208).

LIT. D. Detschew, *RAC* 1:528f. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 64f. C.M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford 1986) 348–51. –L.S.B.MacC.

APOLLONIA (Ἀπολλωνία). Called Sozousa in late antiquity, Apollonia was one of the five Greek colonies of the Cyrenaican PENTAPOLIS. A bishop from the city is first recorded at the Synod of Seleukeia in Isauria in 359. During the 4th and early 5th C. repairs were made to the city's fortifications in response to raids by the Austuriani (see MAURI). In the late 5th and early 6th C. Apollonia appears to have become the capital of Libya Pentapolis. To the same period belongs the construction of the east church and triconch basilica and the refurbishing of the baths originally built in the 4th C. to replace those perhaps damaged in the earthquake of 365. The first half of the 6th C. saw the construction of the central and west churches and the so-called Palace of the Dux, recently argued by Ellis (*infra*) to be the house of a local *illustris*. The east church was also remodeled and further repairs were made to the fortifications. Apart from later additions to the Palace of the Dux and urban defenses, nothing is known of the city's later history down to the Arab invasion of 642, soon after which urban life at Apollonia ceased.

LIT. R.G. Goodchild, J.G. Pedley, D. White, *Apollonia, the Port of Cyrene, Excavations by the University of Michigan, 1965–1967*, ed. J.H. Humphrey (Tripoli 1976). S. Ellis, "The Palace of the Dux at Apollonia and Related Houses," in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, ed. G. Barker, J. Lloyd, and J. Reynolds (Oxford 1983) 15–25. A. Laronde, "Apollonia de Cyrénaïque et son histoire," *CRAI* (1985) 93–115. –R.B.H.

APOLLONIAS (Ἀπολλωνιάς, anc. Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, mod. Apolyont), city in Bithynia situated on a lake of the same name. Apollonias appears in history in the 8th–9th C. as a strong fortress; it was a refuge for the deposed emperor Tiberios II and a place of exile for Theodore of Stoudios. Apollonias was briefly taken by the Turks in 1093, recaptured by Alexios I, then attacked again in 1113. Apollonias then remained Byz. until the early 14th C., except for a Latin occupation in 1204–05. Apollonias was a suffragan bishopric of NIKOMEDEIA; it derived strength from its protected location and its walls, whose style indicates construction in the 7th/8th C. with rebuilding in the 12th. An adjacent island contains a church, apparently of the 9th C., built on a novel variation of the inscribed cross plan. It was probably the monastery from which ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS was called to the patriarchate in 1254.

LIT. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 68–73. C. Mango, "The Monastery of St. Constantine on Lake Apolyont," *DOP* 33 (1979) 329–33. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 139. –C.F.

APOLLONIOS OF TYANA (in Cappadocia), pagan wonder-worker and Neopythagorean philosopher of the 1st C., whose reputation survived well into the Byz. era. His legendary biography, written by Philostratos after 217, reflects the cosmopolitan worldview of the Roman Empire, making Apollonios travel to Babylon, India, Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Pillars of Herakles. The cult of Apollonios, who was considered a magician and miraculous healer, was promoted esp. in the 3rd C., and he came to be regarded by pagans as a rival to Moses and Christ. Sosianos Hierokles of Nikomedeia (ca.307) argued that Apollonios was a greater worker of miracles than Jesus; Apollonios was also praised by Flavianus Nicomachus and in the HISTORIA AUGUSTA. His image appears on CONTORNIATES. Eusebios of Caesarea (PG 22:795–868) wrote a response ca.312 to the claims of Hierokles, denouncing Apollonios as a charlatan who was perhaps in league with evil spirits. None-

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theless, the Christian world was slow to reject the cult of Apollonios. Until the 12th C. Byz. authors (Malalas, Kedrenos, Tzetzes) mention him in favorable light, remembering his power to tame snakes and scorpions and describing the talismans erected by Apollonios in various cities to ward off fierce animals, noxious insects such as mosquitoes, and natural disasters. Whereas some Christian writers (e.g., the hagiographers of St. THEKLA and ANASTASIOS OF SINAI) denied the ability of Apollonios to work genuine miracles, for others he was a semi-Christian prophet. It is possible that a saint Balinas, known from a Greek prayer, may represent a transformation of Apollonios (Speyer, *infra* 63).

SOURCE. *Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, ed. F.C. Conybeare, 2 vols. (London–New York 1912; vol. 1 rp. 1917, 1927, vol. 2 rp. 1921) with Eng. tr.

LIT. W. Speyer, "Zum Bild des Apollonios von Tyana bei Heiden und Christen," *JbAChr* 17 (1974) 47–63. W. Dulière, "Protection permanente contre des animaux nuisibles assurée par Apollonius de Tyane dans Byzance et Antioche," *BZ* 63 (1970) 247–77. C.P. Jones, "An Epigram on Apollonius of Tyana," *JHS* 100 (1980) 190–94.

–A.K., A.M.T.

APOLLONIOS OF TYRE, hero of a novel disseminated throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. The extant Latin version dates from the 6th C. Whether the original was written in Latin or Greek has been inconclusively debated. Certainly the plot presents many of the characteristics of a Greek ROMANCE of the 2nd or 3rd C.: separations, false deaths, violent storms, a happy ending, etc. Two versions in medieval vernacular Greek exist: one, in 852 unrhymed political verses, based on a Tuscan reworking of the Latin and dated to the 14th C.; and another, in 1,894 rhymed political verses, a free adaptation of the *Istoria d'Apollonio de Tiro* of the Florentine Antonio Pucci (ca.1310–80) and dated to the late 15th C. Despite a veneer of Byz. piety and the Italian intermediaries, the world in both cases remains that of late antiquity.

ED. Lat.—*Historia Apollonii Regis Tyrii*, ed. G.A.A. Kortekaas (Groningen 1984). Greek—(1) *Narratio neograeca Apollonii Tyrii*, ed. A.A.P. Janssen (Nijmegen 1954); (2) Venice 1534; rp. 1805.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 135–38.

–E.M.J., M.J.J.

APOLLONOS ANO PAPYRI, documents discovered by French excavations in a jar at Edfu in 1921–22, comprising the bilingual archives of the Apollinopolite *pagarches* Papas from ca.648 to ca.708. R. Rémondon published 104 Greek documents in 1953, but the Coptic pieces are still being edited. The Greek documents include official letters and orders from the Arab governor, memoranda from the *topoteretes*, requisitions of men and supplies for the *cursus* (expeditions against Constantinople), lawsuits, tax records, contracts, accounts, lists of goods, and private letters. The competence of the Arab emir's Greek-speaking chancery is apparent, as is the problem of fugitives and their tax responsibility in their *origo*. The language of the documents displays the richness of official terminology that lived on in both Greek and Coptic long after attempted arabicization of the chancery. These documents, along with the 8th-C. APHRODITE PAPYRI, furnish a richly detailed picture of local administration in Egypt as it was carried on by Christian officials still in responsible positions after 642.

ED. R. Rémondon, *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônos Anô* (Cairo 1953). L.S.B. MacCoull, "The Coptic Papyri from Apollonos Ano," *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology*, vol. 2 (Athens 1988) 141–60.

LIT. J. Gascou, "Papyrus grecs inédits d'Apollônos Anô," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, vol. 2 (Cairo 1979) 25–34. J. Gascou, K.A. Worp, "Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite," *ZPapEpig* 49 (1982) 83–95.

–L.S.B.MacC.

APOLOGY (ἀπολογία), speech of defense or self-defense such as Plato's *Apology* of Socrates. The term was esp. applied to the speeches of MARTYRS in defense of the Christian faith: thus, Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *HE* 5.21.4) relates that the martyr Apollonios gave "the most rational apology" before the senate. The apology of Justin Martyr (2nd C.) is the first example preserved of this genre. The earliest apologies were directed against the misconceptions of Christianity held by pagans and Jews. As Christianity gathered momentum, the apology acquired the character of POLEMIC rather than defense: ATHANASIOS of Alexandria used this title for the defense of his escape, for his apology addressed to Emp. Constantius II, and for his *Apologetikos* against the Arians. The conventional term "apologists" has been introduced by scholars to designate Christian writers of the 2nd–5th C. who both defended Christianity and refuted pagan or Jewish views. After the final victory of Christianity the term was rarely used: ANASTASIOS OF SINAI wrote a *Tomos apologetikos*. As late as the 15th C., however, Andrew Chrysoberges addressed an apology to Bessarion dedicated to the Palamite question (Beck, *Kirche* 743).

In a secular sense apology referred to a literary genre of self-defense (e.g., ARETHAS OF CAESAREA wrote an apology to explain his political position), a judicial defense (ECLOGA 17.3, ed. Burgmann p.226.777), or—in the field of diplomacy—a rebuttal of importunate claims (*De adm. imp.* 13.21).

–A.K., E.M.J.

APOLYSIS. See DISMISSAL.

APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("Sayings of the Fathers"), the anecdotes and maxims of the Egyptian DESERT FATHERS, preserved in various collections and languages. The core anthology is the alphabetic one (organized by speaker's name) compiled in the 5th or 6th C., perhaps by admirers of a certain Poimen who is disproportionately well represented. This collection is supplemented by a group of 400 anonymous sayings. They are written in simple language and offer practical advice on problems faced by cenobitic monks and hermits. Some sayings inculcate extreme asceticism and reflect an antipathy toward book-learning and women, while others are imbued with a common-sense attitude toward the rigorous life of the anchorite. They may be viewed, in part, as conscious Christian rivals to the many anthologies of maxims of pagan thinkers, while unconsciously providing one of the most fascinating sources of social and intellectual life in the late Roman period. Latin translations survive of four different collections, along with Arabic, Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, and Church Slavonic versions.

On the basis of two miniatures in the SACRA PARALLELA, K. Weitzmann suggested that some MSS of the *Apophthegmata* were richly illustrated (Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela* 250, 262).

ED. Alphabetic collection—PG 65:71–440. Eng. tr. B. Ward, *The Desert Christian. Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (New York 1980). Anonymous—ed. F. Nau, "Histoires des solitaires Égyptiens," *ROC* 12 (1907) 43–69, 171–89, 393–413; 13 (1908) 47–66, 266–97; 14 (1909) 357–79; 17 (1912) 204–11, 294–301; 18 (1913) 137–46. Partial Eng. tr. B. Ward, *The Wisdom of the Desert Fathers: Apophthegmata Patrum from the Anonymous Series* (Oxford 1975).

LIT. J.C. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (Brussels 1962). L. Regnault, *Les pères du désert à travers leurs apophtegmes* (Sablé-sur-Sarthe 1987).

–B.B., A.C.

APOROS (ἄπορος, "without means"), term with several related meanings, all derived from the general meaning "lacking sufficient resources"; the Farmer's Law (par.14) mentions *aporoi* farmers, incapable of working all their land, who contract with another party to cultivate a portion of it. As an economic term, *aporoi* normally designates the destitute, such as a widow left impoverished by her husband's death (*Ecloga* 2:7), and can serve to distinguish them from the working POOR (Zepos, *Jus* 1:216.17). The term also denotes individuals unable to fulfill some legal or social obligation; here it does not refer specifically to poverty, although it still normally encompasses economically marginal elements of the population. An *aporos* thief is one who cannot provide the legally mandated twofold restitution of stolen property (*Ecloga* 17:11), an *aporos* captive is one unable to provide reimbursement for his ransom (*Ecloga* 8:2). The *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* 696.1) contrasts poor soldiers who can still meet their obligations for military service with *exaporoi*, who cannot. In documentary sources, *aporos* is applied to: (1) ruined, uninhabited, or uncultivated land (Trinchera, *Syllabus*, nos. 7, 5.10, 14) or (2) individuals who lack land to cultivate (*Lavra* 2, no.91. I. 55; 3, no.136.166). In this context, *aporos* may also designate those who for some reason are unable to work.

LIT. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 117f, 215. R. Morris, "The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium," *Past and Present* 73 (1976) 3–27.

–A.J.C.

APOSTLES (ἀπόστολοι, lit. "envoys"), term applied primarily to the 12 disciples of Jesus. The synoptic Gospels and Acts of the New Testament list the apostles with slight variations that caused difficulties for theologians: John Chrysostom (PG 57:380f) noticed contradictions between the lists in Mark's and Luke's Gospels. Simon-PETER is always at the head of the Twelve; he is followed by ANDREW, JAMES, or JOHN; then in all lists are PHILIP, BARTHOLOMEW, THOMAS, MATTHEW the tax-collector, and James, son of Alpheus; Thaddeus, Simon the Canaanite, Simon the Zealot, and Jude, brother of James, do not occur in all lists;

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at the end of the list is JUDAS ISCARIOT who, after his treachery, was replaced by Matthias. PAUL is also called an apostle, although usually distinguished from the Twelve. The title was extended to other personages (esp. the Seventy Teachers, the successors of the Twelve), to THEKLA, and to CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT; the term was further applied to priests, bishops, and esp. to the pope, the holder of the "apostolic see."

Tradition stressed the humble origin and lowly professions of the Twelve: Chrysostom calculates that four were fishermen and two, tax collectors, and emphasizes that their leader was illiterate (PG 57:381.7–12). Nevertheless, they were "trumpets of the Spirit" (Tarasios, PG 98:1437B), prophets, and performers of miracles. They were held to be administrators of the church, legislators who created the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, the authors of scriptural writings, and itinerant teachers of Christian truth. The Byz. compiled various brief indices to all apostles (attributed to Epiphanios, Dorotheos, and Hippolytos), but Byz. APOCRYPHAL, hagiographical, and homiletic texts are devoted to individual apostles, rather than the group. Nevertheless, SYMEON METAPHRASTES composed a didactic poem in dodecasyllables on the apostles; NICHOLAS OF METHONE produced a treatise on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the apostles; and PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS wrote an *enkomion* on the Twelve, as did Makarios CHOUMNOS and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS. A number of important churches were dedicated to the Holy Apostles, such as those in Constantinople and Thessalonike.

Representation in Art. Toga-clad, sandaled, and shown at first as beardless youths, the apostles were slowly individualized: Peter and Paul by the 4th C.; Andrew, Philip, John, and Thomas by the mid-6th C.; the others later and less consistently. The apostles initially acclaim Christ or his Cross (Sarigüzel sarcophagus [Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 75]; dome mosaics in RAVENNA) or are the witnesses obligatory in Late Antique images of theophany—observing Christ's miracles or witnessing while participating (TRANSFIGURATION, ASCENSION). As the original community of the faithful, the 12 apostles symbolize the church. Thus APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION are represented with 12, rather than the canonical 11, disciples to indicate each scene's importance in the history of the church; the symbolic composition of the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER) shows the church's foundation in the EUCHARIST; and episodes involving Christ and the apostles as a group—DORMITION, PENTECOST, LAST JUDGMENT—adopt formalized compositions emphasizing their church-historical significance. Scenes from the individual lives of the apostles are rare and, except for the three surviving ACTS cycles, largely apocryphal in origin. There are cycles of their martyrdoms (Hagia Sophia, OHRID) that sometimes include vignettes of their ministry (see HOLY APOSTLES, CHURCH OF THE; SOĞANLI; S. Marco in VENICE); images of their preaching accompany Psalms 19 and 105 in the marginal PSALTERS.

LIT. *BHG* 150–160p. A. Medebielle, *DictBibl*, supp. 1:533–88. Beck, *Kirche* 571, 625, 725. Babić, *Chapelles annexes* 110–17. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1:219–30. G. de Jerphanion, *La Voix des monuments* (Paris 1930) 189–200.
–J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

APOSTOLES, MICHAEL, teacher, writer, and copyist of MSS; born Constantinople? ca.1420, died Crete? after 1474 or 1486. After studying in Constantinople with John ARGYROPOULOS, Apostoles (Ἀποστόλης, Ἀποστόλιος) taught briefly at the Mouseion of the XENON OF THE KRAL, located at the Petra monastery. When Constantinople fell to the Turks, he was taken prisoner; after his release, he went to Crete, where he spent most of his remaining years teaching private pupils. He failed to achieve financial backing to set up his own school in Italy, and complained frequently of his straitened circumstances. He was a Uniate and made frequent visits to humanist circles in Italy. BESSARION commissioned Apostoles to seek out old Greek MSS for his library or, where necessary, to make copies; he is known to have copied (at least in part) about 115 MSS for Bessarion and others (partial list: C.G. Patrineles, *EpMesArch* 8–9 [1958–59] 69f). Apostoles made an important collection of proverbs (ed. Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus* 2:233–744) and maintained an extensive correspondence. His literary oeuvre also includes treatises in defense of PLATO (J.E. Powell, *BZ* 38 [1938] 71–86), an essay on the proper method of teaching Greek to Italians, and rhetorical pieces. His *Oration on Greece and Europe*, written after 1453, asserts the cultural superiority of the Greeks over Westerners; at the same time he recognizes that the Byz. era is at an end, while Italy is at the beginning of a new age (D.J. Geanakoplos, *GRBS* 1 [1958] 157–62).

ED. Letters—E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique* 2 (Paris 1885; rp. 1862) 233–59. *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*, ed. H. Noiret (Paris 1889). For list of works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 69.

LIT. D. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge 1962) 73–110. Beck, *Kirche* 770f. *PLP*, no.1201. A.F. van Gemert, "O Michael Apostoles os daskalos ton ellenikon," *Hellenika* 37 (1986) 141–45. A. Frangedaki, "On fifteenth-century Cryptochristianity: a letter to George Amoiroutzes from Michael Apostolis," *BMGS* 9 (1984/85) 221–24.
–A.M.T.

APOSTOLIC CANONS (Κανόνες τῶν Ἀποστόλων), a collection of 85 ecclesiastical law CANONS, allegedly written by the Apostles; they form an appendix (8.47) to the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS. The regulations, which are generally very short and in no particular sequence, concern mainly the qualifications and duties of clerics and occasionally the conduct of laymen; they contain mostly threats of punishment. In the 85th canon, the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments are enumerated with certain peculiarities, such as the omission of the Apocalypse of John and mention of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The sources of the collection are the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the canons issued in the 4th C., esp. those of the councils of GANGRA, ANTIOCH (341), and Laodikeia of Phrygia. The author, given in the 85th canon as Clement (I of Rome), is not necessarily identical with the compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions* but must have been likewise active in the last quarter of the 4th C. in Antioch. The work was translated early on into Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic; ca.500 it was partially rendered in Latin (only the first 50 canons) by DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS. Its authenticity (disputed by the *Decretum Gelasianum*) was expressly recognized in 691 by the Council in TRULLO (canon 2); from then on, the *Apostolic Canons* stood at the head of all canon collections. In the 12th C. they were the subject of commentaries by Alexios ARISTENOS, John ZONARAS, and Theodore BALSAMON.

ED. P.-P. Joannou, *Discipline générale antique (IVe–IXe s.)* 1.2 (Grottaferrata 1962) 1–53.

LIT. E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 5 (Berlin 1963) 214–26. C.H. Turner, "Notes on the Apostolic Constitutions, II: The Apostolic Canons," *JThSt* 16 (1914–15) 523–38.
–A.S.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS (Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος), a collection of ecclesiastical law and liturgical matters, divided into eight books. Books 1–6 represent an expanded version of the *Didaskalia*, an ecclesiastical rite that originated in Syria in the 3rd C. and was esp. concerned with penitential discipline. The first part of book 7 (chs. 1–32) contains an expanded version of the *Didache*, a work of catechetical and liturgical content composed in the 2nd C. in Syria; the second part (chs. 33–49) is composed of prayer formulas (among them the Great DOXOLOGY) and baptismal instructions. The main source for book 8 (chs. 3–45) is the *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, a 3rd-C. ecclesiastical rite valuable for its exact description of the early liturgy (the so-called "Clement Liturgy"). The APOSTOLIC CANONS are attached to the work as an appendix. The compiler, ostensibly authorized by the Apostles, was possibly an Arian (according to Hagedorn, *infra*, an otherwise unknown Julian) active in Antioch during the last quarter of the 4th C. The Council in TRULLO of 691 (canon 2) condemned the work (with the exception of its appendix) as a heretical forgery. Nevertheless, it was often copied, although rarely in full. Only short excerpts entered the collections of CANON LAW.

ED. M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, 3 vols. (Paris 1985–87). Eng. tr. *The Apostolic Constitutions*, ed. J. Donaldson [Ante-Nicene Christian Library, 17.2] (Edinburgh 1870).

LIT. F.X. Funk, *Die apostolischen Konstitutionen* (Rottenburg 1891; rp. Frankfurt am Main 1970). D. Hagedorn, *Der Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian* (Berlin–New York 1973) xxxvii–lvii.
–A.S.

APOSTOLOS. See PRAXAPOSTOLOS.

APOTHEOSIS (ἀποθέωσις). Deification of a mortal (a hero or ruler) was an idea broadly spread in the Hellenistic world (ALEXANDER THE GREAT was granted apotheosis) and came to be accepted, under the Latin term *consecratio*, by Roman emperors—first as a posthumous ceremony, later during their lifetime. It was accompanied by endowing the emperor with the title *divus* (divine) and developing a system of signs symbolizing his ascent to heaven—EAGLE, pyre, chariot. The concept of deification reached its acme under Diocletian, whose epithet, Jovius, indicated his direct connections with Jupiter; it was retained by Constantine I the Great and his successors, down to Theodosios I, who received the *consecratio* from the pagan senate. Some changes were introduced under Christian influence—the cremation rite was abolished, and the symbol of the regenerating

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PHOENIX disappeared; Constantine's coins minted for his *consecratio* represented only the chariot and the hand stretched from the cloud in expectation of the *divus*. This tradition was alien to Christianity, however, and by ca.400 it fell into disuse, leaving only some remnants in court terminology (Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 155–57).

The term *apotheosis* appears in Nestorian polemics: Nestorios accused his opponents of the concept of the apotheosis of Christ's human nature (F. Loos, *Nestoriana* [Halle 1905] 167.1–2, 274.12–14), whereas he preferred to use the term "conjunction" (*synapheia*). Metaphorically, apotheosis could designate the mystical ascent to God. The image of the risen Christ, borne aloft by angels at his ASCENSION, depends upon Late Antique images of apotheosis.

LIT. L. Koep (A. Hermann), *RAC* 3:276–94. A. Kaniuth, *Die Beisetzung Konstantins des Grossen* (Breslau 1941). –A.K., A.C.

APPANAGE, a conventional term borrowed from the vocabulary of western European FEUDALISM and appearing in Byz. historiography with two meanings.

1. In the narrow sense, appanage designates a nearly independent territory granted by the emperor to a member of the imperial family, usually a younger son, to secure the grantee a source of livelihood or to insure a political and administrative connection between the provincial territory and the capital. The grantee characteristically maintained his own court, army, fiscal and judicial systems, and often conducted an independent foreign policy. His income was derived from the exercise of administrative rights over the territory and from land he held within the territory, though the grant of the appanage itself did not implicitly include the right of hereditary transmission. While the practice of granting substantial estates to imperial relatives was effected as early as the reign of Alexios I, the idea of an actual administrative partitioning of the empire between princes of the ruling dynasty was first entertained during the reign of Michael VIII. The civil wars of the 14th C. spurred the creation of appanages. From the mid-14th C., at one time or another, almost every younger son of an emperor held an appanage and most of the areas remaining in the empire were held as appanages: Thrace, Thessalonike with Macedonia, Thessaly and, most importantly, the Morea.

2. In the broad sense, appanage is conceived as any imperial grant, revocable at the will of the emperor, of an important region or DEMESNE in hereditary title to an individual or institution. Ahrweiler (*Structures*, pt.I [1964], 112–14) contrasts appanages as held by members of the imperial family, by ecclesiastical institutions, and by wealthy laymen with the military PRONOIA.

LIT. Lj. Maksimović, "Geneza i karakter apanaža u Vizantiji," *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973) 103–54. J.W. Barker, "The Problem of Appanages in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period," *Byzantina* 3 (1971) 103–22. –M.B.

APPEAL (ἔκκλητος). The institution of appeal to a higher court existed in Roman civil and criminal procedure and acquired a coherent character through the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine I the Great. If the defendant was not satisfied with the judgment, he could appeal to the emperor or to judges vested with imperial authority; in the late Roman Empire these were governors and PRAETORIAN PREFECTS, the latter's judgment being final. Later, the EPARCH and the DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS served as appellate judges. The notion that their decisions were unappealable was rejected in Byz. (Simon, *Rechtsfindung* 20). The patriarch also had the right to consider appeals against lower courts. Besides a formal appeal, a petition for the emperor's clemency was permitted; it had to be addressed to the office of the EPI TON DEESEON.

LIT. Buckland, *Roman Law* 670. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 356–58. D. Simon, "Byzantinische Provinzialjustiz," *BZ* 79 (1986) 340–42. –A.K.

APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION are variously reported in the Gospels, there being 11 different episodes in all. In pre-Iconoclastic art, only the Doubting of THOMAS (Jn 20:24–29) and the *Chairete* (Christ's meeting with two MYRROPHOROI) were represented. In the former scene, Christ stands centrally, framed by the door and flanked by 12 (not 11) disciples, including Thomas, who touches Christ's side (RAVENNA, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo). The *Chairete* scene corresponds best with Matthew 28:9, though sometimes one of the women is labeled Christ's mother, in accord with hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE that hail the Virgin Mary as the first to see the risen Christ. The art of the 9th–12th C. continued to emphasize these events, the Doubting of Thomas often being added to cycles of the GREAT FEASTS. In addition, a formal composition of Christ's MISSION TO THE APOSTLES was introduced (Tokalı Kilise, GÖREME), the 12 Apostles displacing the canonical 11 disciples (Mk 16:15–18) to indicate the scene's symbolic significance as Christ's mission to his Church. Only extensive cycles (FRIEZE GOSPELS, MONREALE) represent MARY MAGDALENE in the garden (Jn 20:14–17) and the episodes at Emmaus (Lk 24:13–32), Tiberias (Jn 21:1–14), or in the closed room (Jn 20:19–23). Fourteenth-century fresco programs in Serbia regularly include post-Passion cycles, though they vary in the selection of scenes (STARO NAGORIČINO, GRAČANICA).

LIT. Colwell-Willoughby, *Karahissar* 2:415–33. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:371–88. –A.W.C.

APPRENTICE (μαθητής). Apprentices are mentioned in the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* only once—the candlemakers were ordered not to send their slaves or *mathetai* to sell their wares in unauthorized places. M. Sjuzjumov (*VizVrem* 4 [1951] 23) surmised that there was no difference between an apprentice and a MISTHIOS. The 10th-C. vita of Elias of Heliopolis (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *PPSb* 19.3 [1907] 45–48) gives more detail about apprenticeship: Elias was 12 years old when he was apprenticed to a carpenter; he worked in the *ergasterion* but also waited upon his master and was paid a salary (*ekmisthoma*).

Several contracts of apprenticeship, called *didaskalikai*, are preserved in Egyptian papyri. The number of late Roman *didaskalikai* is very limited and their content is vague. I. Fikhman (*Egipet* 80) explains the infrequency of late contracts by the increasing role of the hereditary artisan who was trained at home. Vat. gr. 952 preserves several contracts of apprenticeship for 14th-C. Constantinople. A furrier, a shoemaker, and a smith appear as masters in these contracts; the term of apprenticeship is 5–10 years, and the master usually is obliged to feed and clothe the apprentice and to give him (at the end of the training period?) a sum of 5–10 nomismata (G. Ferrari dalle Spade, *SBN* 4 [1935] 264–66). From these contracts one should distinguish contracts of service, some of which, written in Latin, were concluded between Italian masters and Greek journeymen (e.g., M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer*, vol. 1 [Paris–The Hague 1973] no.741; G. Balbi, S. Raiteri, *Notai genovesi in oltremare* [Genoa 1973] no.68) for the term of 1–10 years.

LIT. J. Herrmann, "Vertragsinhalt und Rechtsnatur der *didaskalikai*," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 11–12 (1957–58) 119–39. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 73f. –A.K.

APRATOS (ἄπρα⟨κ⟩τος, lit. "idle"), term that in the TAKTIKA designated a certain kind of dignitary. In the late Roman Empire there were functionaries who received the *cingulum*, girdle, as the symbol of their duty, but fulfilled no function; they were called *vacantes* (R. Guilland, *EEBS* 37 [1969–70] 136–38). The *vacantes* should be distinguished from the *honorati*, retired dignitaries. The system seems to have been preserved in the 9th C., but it was confused. The first use of the term *apratos* is in a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 375.6) who says that Justinian II ordered the *empraktoi* and *apratoi* to be slaughtered; the meaning of the words here is unclear. The mid-9th-C. *Taktikon* of Uspenskij speaks not only of *apratoi spatharioi*, but also of *tourmarchai* and *topoteretai* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 59.12–14), that is, of officers who had functions but probably no title. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS *apratoi* are listed among the titularies of lower rank, such as STRATORS OF MANDATORS.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:155–61. –A.K.

APRENOS (Ἀπρηνός), a family probably originating from Apros. The Aprenoi are described by Pachymeres as one of the greatest families of the mid-13th C., although nothing is known of their existence in the previous century. They intermarried with the TARCHANEIOTES and DOUKAS families and sometimes bore the name of Aprenos Doukas. Andronikos Aprenos Doukas was *protostrator* ca.1266; the *protovestiarites* Aprenos fell in battle against IVAJLO in 1280. Manuel Aprenos Doukas, *oikeios* of the emperor, is mentioned in a charter of 1293; he was apparently a wealthy landowner in the Smyrna region. The family still existed in the early 15th C. when John Aprenos, a high functionary in Thessalonike, signed a charter confirming the privileges of the ESPHIGMENOU MONASTERY (1409?).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 102f. *PLP*, nos. 1206–11. –A.K.

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APSE (*ἀψίς*, lit. "arch, vault"), a semicylindrical space vaulted with a CONCH, or quarter-sphere (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.1.32); it may terminate the axis of a longitudinal space, normally at its east end. Its entrance is marked by a large arch, commonly referred to as a "triumphal arch." Apses of episcopal churches housed a SYNTHRONON and a CATHEDRA for the seating of clergy and bishop. The exterior may be semicircular, polygonal, or immured in the east wall of the structure, while the interior face is usually semicircular. Such disparities are no less true of subsidiary apses, when present, in the PASTOPHORIA.

LIT. C. Delvoye, "Études d'architecture paléochrétienne et byzantine. II. L'abside," *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 291–310. Idem, *RBK* 1:246–68. –M.J.

APSEUDES, THEODORE, painter who worked at the Enkleistra of NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS on Cyprus. An inscription in the saint's cell provides the artist's name (*Ἀψευδής*) and the date of the decoration, 1182/3. The saint's *typikon* confirms this date for the fresco of the Deesis in Neophytos's cell that includes the saint's likeness. Mango and Hawkins suggested that the saint's protector, Basil Kinnamos, bishop of Paphos, brought Apseudes to Cyprus, where he painted the Anastasis and other frescoes in Neophytos's tombchamber as well as those in the bema of the Enkleistra. Apseudes' attenuated, serpentine figures exhibit the agitated drapery and intense expressions found also at LAGOUDERA. D. Winfield (*Panagia tou Arakous Lagoudera* [Nicosia, n.d.] 16f) suggested that the Theodore named in an inscription there was the same Apseudes.

LIT. C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall Paintings," *DOP* 20 (1966) 183, 193–97, 205f. –A.C.

APULIA (*Ἀπουλία*), southeastern part of Italy from the region of Monte Gargano down to Terra d'Otranto, separated from LUCANIA by the Bradano River. Apulia encompassed such cities as BARI, BRINDISI, OTRANTO, TARANTO, Lecce, Trani, and Gallipoli. The area was plundered during the Gothic wars of Justinian I; subsequently the Lombards conquered almost all of Apulia and annexed it to the Lombard duchy of BENEVENTO. In the 8th C. Apulia was contested among the Lombards, Byz., and Arabs; in the 830s and 840s the Arabs occupied Brindisi, Bari, and Taranto and established several other settlements in the region. In the second half of the 9th C. the Carolingian king LOUIS II was unsuccessful in his war against the Arabs, but the Byz. emperor Basil I managed to reconquer Apulia; Byz. maintained a hold—though never total hegemony—on the region until the beginning of the 11th C.

The relative prosperity of urban communes, the large number of smallholders, and the development of wheat and oil production for the market provided the material resources for the Apulians' struggle for independence (11th-C. revolts of Melo and later of his son ARGYROS). The NORMAN invasion, however, complicated the situation. In 1047 the German emperor Henry III recognized the Normans and granted their leader the title of *dux*, prompting an anti-Norman alliance of the papacy and Constantinople. The allies' defeat at Civitate in 1053 and the conflict between the churches of Rome and Constantinople were followed by a restructuring of forces around Apulia. The reconciliation of Pope Nicholas II (1059–61) with Robert Guiscard expedited the Norman conquest of Apulia, accomplished by 1071.

Byz. had little impact on Apulian society. Town administration was in the hands of the Lombard aristocracy, and Lombard personal names outnumber Greek ones even in coastal cities (Wickham, *Italy* 157). Apulia was an important center of ceramic production in the 13th C.; so-called PROTO-MAIOLICA WARE was produced there and exported widely to Greece and the Levant.

Monuments of Apulia. Significant remains in Apulia include the large (5th-C.?) tetraconch church of S. Leucio outside Canosa, related in design to contemporary Byz. churches and to S. Lorenzo in MILAN, and 5th-C. vault mosaics in S. Maria della Croce at Casaranello, originally a cruciform chapel like the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in RAVENNA. In Barletta is a colossal bronze statue of a 4th- or 5th-C. emperor, said to have been cast up from a shipwreck, presumably while being transported (in a Venetian ship?) from Constantinople (U. Peschlow in *Studien Deichmann* 1:21–33).

Like these early remains, the most important Byz. buildings are in the coastal cities where the ruling class resided. They include S. Pietro at OTRANTO and the architecturally similar S. Maria di Siponto (11th C.?). The 11th-C. cathedral at Canosa (S. Sabino) is a T-shaped building with five domes, possibly inspired by S. Marco in VENICE and ultimately by the HOLY APOSTLES Church in Constantinople. In Bari, medieval sources speak of a *palacium* or *curte* of the KATEPANO; the arguments of Schettini (*infra*) that large parts of this building survive in the Norman church of S. Nicola have been generally rejected.

The most distinctive Byz. monuments of Apulia and Basilicata are the rock-cut churches and settlements usually inhabited by Basilian monks. The caves were mostly used in the 10th–13th C. and, as in Cappadocia, the churches were extensively painted. The oldest dated paintings are in the crypt of SS. Cristina e Marina at CARPIGNANO SALENTINO, while the most completely preserved decoration is in the grotto of S. Biagio at San Vito dei Normanni, west of Brindisi; these paintings contain a Greek inscription of 1196.

LIT. *Storia della Puglia*, ed. G. Musca, vol. 1 (Bari 1979). *La Puglia fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente* (Milan 1980). P. De Leo, *LMA* 1:820–22. M. Cagiano de Azvedo, "Puglia e Adriatico in età tardoantica," *VetChr* 13 (1976) 129–36. F.M. de Robertis, "Prosperità e banditismo nella Puglia e nell'Italia Meridionale durante il Basso Impero," in *Studi di storia pugliese in onore de G. Chiarelli*, vol. 1 (Galatina 1972) 197–231. R. Farioli Campanati in *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. G. Cavallo et al. (Milan 1982) 213–94. H. Belting, "Byzantine Art among Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy," *DOP* 28 (1974) 1–29. –A.K., R.B.H., D.K.

AQUEDUCT (*ὀχετός*, *ὑδραγωγός*), essential element of a large city, bringing water for baths, nymphaea, and public use. Aqueducts often reached far into the countryside and consisted largely of underground pipes or open cuttings, designed so that the water dropped gradually at an angle of less than 1 percent from the source. When valleys or swamps had to be crossed, aqueducts were supported on masonry arches, which are the most visible remains but rarely comprised 10 percent of the total length. Rome was supplied by 19 aqueducts; 32 km out of 428 rested on arches. Fourteen still functioned when cut by the Goths in 537. Constantinople originally drew its main water supply from Halkalı, about 15 km northwest of the city, through an aqueduct built by Hadrian but universally known by the name of its restorer Valens. The arches, which carried it a distance of 970 m between the third and fourth hills, still stand and show much Byz. work. In the late 4th C., a network of aqueducts was constructed over 100 km west of Constantinople to satisfy the needs of the growing population. Their exposed location, however, obliged the city to depend also on vast cisterns (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). Aqueducts were esp. vulnerable to attack: that of Valens, cut by the Avars in 626, was only rebuilt in 758; it was restored on several occasions through the 12th C. Large provincial towns were also supplied by aqueducts (H. Hellenkemper, F. Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* [Vienna 1986] 123–29). Most were destroyed during the troubles of the 7th C., after which cisterns became the main source of water for their reduced populations.

LIT. K. Dalman, *Der Valens-Aquädukt in Konstantinopel* (Bamberg 1933) 1–49. C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople* (Paris 1985) 20, 40–42. A. Abramea, " 'Hydragogos kai architekton ton hydaton.' Apo anekdote Athenaïke epigraphe," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 1093–99. S. Froriep, "Ein Wasserweg in Bithynien," *Antike Welt* 17, 2. Sondernummer (1986) 39–50. –C.F.

AQUILEIA (*Ἀκυλήια*), naval and commercial city; capital of the province of Venetia et Istria in the 4th–5th C. and a center of communications between East and West. It served as a residence of Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantine I; Constantine's sumptuous palace there is described in a panegyric (*Panegyrici latini* 6.6). Aquileia played a major role in the rivalries of 4th-C. emperors (e.g., Theodosios I defeated the usurpers MAXIMUS and EUGENIUS near there). The city had a cosmopolitan population, saw extensive secular and ecclesiastical construction, and was described by Ausonius as the fourth city of Italy (MGH *AuctAnt* 5.2:100.65). A council condemning ARIANISM, presided over by St. Ambrose, was held there in 381; its bishops became increasingly powerful, exercising metropolitan jurisdiction over most of Venetia by 442. The bishops of Aquileia cultivated the tradition that St. Mark had evangelized the area as the basis of their claims to metropolitan jurisdiction in North Italy and to the title of patriarch (ranking with Rome, Alexandria, and other apostolic foundations), which they assumed sometime between the 5th and 7th C. The bishops opposed Justinian's policy in the THREE CHAPTERS affair from ca.553.

As a strategic center close to the frontier of Italy Aquileia was subject to invasion: it was occupied by ALARIC in 401 and 408 and was sacked

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by ATTILA in 452. Its subsequent decline may, however, owe more to other factors, such as hydrographic changes and the breakdown of trade links with the areas north of the Alps than to barbarian attacks. After Aquileia was occupied by the Lombard king ALBOIN in 568, its patriarch, Paulinus I, transferred his see to GRADO.

Monuments of Aquileia. In the 3rd–6th C. Aquileia was an influential center of the craft of FLOOR MOSAIC. Most important are the pavements of the double cathedral, dated by inscriptions of Bp. Theodore (308–19). These include donor portraits, incidental motifs (wildlife, busts of seasons) with possible allegorical significance, and a large marine scene with the story of JONAH. In the 9th? and 11th C. the south hall of the cathedral was rebuilt. Its crypt was painted around 1200 by a master or masters with access to the same cartoons used by mosaic workshops in VENICE and TRIESTE.

LIT. S. Tavano, *Aquileia Cristiana* (Udine 1973). Idem, *Aquileia e Grado* (Trieste 1986). *Aquileia e l'Oriente mediterraneo* (Udine 1977). *Aquileia nel IV secolo* (Udine 1982). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 43–45, 179. G.C. Menis, *I mosaici cristiani di Aquileia* (Udine 1965). D. Gioseffi et al., *Aquileia: Gli affreschi nella cripta della Basilica* (Udine 1976). J. Kugler, "Byzantinisches und Westliches in den Kryptafresken von Aquileia," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1973) 7–31. –T.S.B., D.K.

AQUINAS, THOMAS, master of theology in the Dominican Order; born Roccasecca, Italy, 1224, died Fossanova, Italy, 1274. Aquinas's form of SCHOLASTICISM, later known as Thomism, used the philosophical methods and principles of Aristotelian metaphysics, which he studied in Latin translation. His major theological works, the *Summa contra gentiles* and *Summa theologiae*, became known in Byz. through the many DOMINICANS residing in the East and esp. through the efforts of the Kydones brothers. Demetrios KYDONES translated the *Summa contra gentiles* in 1354, and both he and his brother Prochoros translated parts of the *Summa theologiae* before 1363. Demetrios also wrote a *Defense of Thomas Aquinas* (unpub.; Podskalsky, *infra* 195–204), which supports his authority as a saint and theologian whose syllogisms and methods could be used with validity in Byz. theological discussions. Prochoros used Thomist arguments in his anti-Palamite treatises, for example, *On Essence and Energy* (PG 151:1192–1241).

The theologian Neilos KABASILAS resisted the influence of Aquinas's works and used the translations of the Kydones brothers in composing his anti-Thomist *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*. Matthew Angelos Panaretos and Kallistos Angelikoudes also wrote polemical treatises against Aquinas's theology in the late 14th C. In the 15th C. Thomism found a new supporter in Patr. GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, who translated and commented upon parts of the *Summa theologiae*.

LIT. H.G. Beck, "Der Kampf um den thomistischen Theologiebegriff in Byzanz," *Divus Thomas* 13 (Freiburg 1935) 3–22. F. Kianka, "Demetrius Cydones and Thomas Aquinas," *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 264–86. St. G. Papadopulos, *Hellenikai metaphraseis thomistikon ergon* (Athens 1967). Podskalsky, *Theologie*, esp. 207, 216, 221f, 225. –F.K.

ARAB GEOGRAPHERS. Early Arab geographers were mainly astronomers, administrative officials, or philologists; others were systematic geographer-cartographers, travelers, anthologists, or encyclopedists; many were polymaths. They provide valuable information on Byz.-Arab relations; on the Thughūr (see ʿAWĀṢIM AND THUGHŪR); and occasionally on internal Byz. military, administrative, economic, and cultural affairs. Their most original information concerning the THEMES and other administrative and strategic matters derives from official documents and accounts of returned prisoners and travelers. IBN KHURDĀDBEH, QUDĀMA, and al-MASʿŪDĪ preserve parts of the valuable reports of al-JARMĪ, in addition to other primary documents and oral information. Ibn Rusta preserves the account of HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ, which is to be supplemented by al-MARWAZĪ. The anthologist ibn al-Fakih (late 9th C.) gives isolated details, besides his list of Byz. themes as preserved by YĀQŪT. Al-MAQDISĪ provides descriptions of Byz. naval warfare, routes through Asia Minor, and Byz. treatment of Muslim prisoners of war.

IBN ḤAWQAL, a native of the frontier and a systematic geographer, updates al-IṢṬAKHRĪ and adds much original information. Both these and the great cartographer al-IDRĪSĪ highlight the position of Constantinople and Anatolian towns on their maps. In the 13th and 14th C. the encyclopedist Yāqūt, the systematic geographer ibn Saʿīd of Granada (13th C.), and the travelers al-HARAWĪ, IBN JUBAYR, and IBN BAṬṬŪṬA are valuable sources for contemporary economic conditions and trade relations of Byz., its northern and western neighbors, and, in the case of ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the turkification of Asia Minor. Constantinople, also known in Arabic as Būzanṭiyā, "Queen of Cities," Istānbūlin, and the "City of Caesar" (see Shboul, *Al-Masʿudi* 243f), continued to fascinate Arab geographers and visitors. Al-Harawī and ibn Baṭṭūṭa wrote esp. vivid descriptions of the Byz. capital. Other Arab geographers and cosmographers, for example, ABŪ AL-FIDĀʾ and al-Dimashqī (13th–14th C.), also included Constantinople and Byz. in their surveys. Kračkovskij singled out several groups of Arab geographers: travelers of the 9th C.; authors of the general surveys of the 9th C. (ibn Khurdādbeh); the classical systematic school of the 10th C. (al-Iṣṭakhrī, ibn Ḥawqal, al-Maqdisī) whose descriptions were based on detailed maps of the Islamic world; and the encyclopedists of the 13th–14th C. (Yāqūt ibn ʿAbdallāh, ibn Baṭṭūṭa, et al.).

ED. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:377–437.
LIT. I.Ju. Kračkovskij, *Izbrannye sočinenija* 4 (Moscow-Leningrad 1957). A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris 1975) 381–481. S. Maqbul Ahmad, *EI*² 2:575–87. –A.Sh.

ARABIA, the Arabian peninsula, homeland of the ARABS and the Ḥimyarites (see ḤIMYAR). Southern Arabia was famous for its riches, in spices, minerals, and fruits, although the rest of the peninsula was desolate and sparsely populated. Cities were founded largely on the caravan trade, developing along the western edge of the desert where Christians and Jews settled. Trade through Arabia involved not only items from the south but also from AXUM, INDIA, and CHINA, allowing a rich interplay of ideas and cultures. Early visitors to Arabia from Byz. included the writer NONNOSOS, his father Abraham, and grandfather Euphrasios, who went on diplomatic missions to KINDA in the 6th C. Byz. imperial and ecclesiastical influence penetrated western Arabia but failed to convert Mecca, where MUḤAMMAD appeared ca.610. His mission quickly and fundamentally changed the face of Arabia and its relationship with Byz., and Arabia became the base of operations against Byz. In the titanic struggle after Muḥammad died (632), the Arabs wrested Oriens, Egypt, and the rest of North Africa from Byz. After the original conquests, however, Muslim operations against Byz. were conducted not from Arabia but from Umayyad Damascus in Syria, and thus Arabia practically lost its relevance to Byz.

LIT. N. Pigulevskaia, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin 1969). I.A. Shahid, "Pre-Islamic Arabia," *CHIsl* 1:3–29. J. Beaucamp, C. Robin, "Le christianisme dans le péninsule arabique d'après l'épigraphie et l'archéologie," *TM* 8 (1981) 45–61. –I.A.Sh.

ARABIA, PROVINCE OF. From 105 onward Arabia was the name of a Roman province created in the northwestern region of the former Nabataean kingdom (east of the Jordan) with its capital at BOSTRA. In the 4th C. its southern part (NEGEV) was separated from Arabia and named Palaestina Salutaris (Palaestina III); at the same time some northern regions were attached to the province of Arabia to create a barrier against independent Arab tribes. Arabia accepted the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Antioch, although from the 5th C. onward Jerusalem tried to absorb the region into its sphere of authority, but failed; by 518 only its southern part (the bishopric of Areopolis) had changed its allegiance, but MADABA remained under Bostra. During the ecclesiastical disputes of the 4th–6th C., the province of Arabia served as a place of exile for defeated churchmen, including the partisans of John Chrysostom. After 636 the territory fell to the Arabs, who were newly converted to Islam, but much of the population remained Christian and church construction continued through at least the 7th C. The Armenian Basil of Ialimbana preserved the description by GEORGE OF CYPRUS of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the province.

LIT. R.E. Brünnow, A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, 3 vols. (Strasbourg 1905–09). M. Sartre, *Trois études sur l'Arabie romaine et byzantine* (Brussels 1982). R. Aigrain, *DHGE* 3 (1924) 1169–89. S. Vailhé, "La province ecclésiastique d'Arabie," *EO* 2 (1898–99) 166–79. –A.K.

ARABIC LITERATURE. In its diverse genres, Arabic literature provides information on Arab perceptions of Byz. and occasionally on Byz. internal affairs. Pre-Islamic poetry (6th C.), the QUR'ĀN, and traditions attributed to MUḤAMMAD allude to Byz. as a powerful neighbor.

Chronicles (8th–15th C.) need to be supplemented by other writings, such as anecdotal anthologies, regional histories, and biographical compilations (e.g., IBN AL-ʿADĪM, incorporating early material from the frontier region). Both

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Arab historians (such as al-BALĀDHURĪ and al-ṬABARĪ) and ARAB GEOGRAPHERS are important. Works of jurisprudence (8th C. onward) and sermons from the frontier, such as those by ibn Nubāta (died 984), provide insights into Byz.-Arab relations and reflect realistic attitudes (see Shboul [1981] *infra*).

Works of *adab* (belles-lettres, literary anthologies, and encyclopedias)—for example, by Jāḥiẓ (died ca.869), Tanūkhī (died 994), and Qalqashandī (died 1418)—contain valuable details on Byz.-Arab relations, including documents otherwise unknown. Poets, particularly those from the frontier such as ABŪ FIRĀS and al-MUTANABBĪ, illuminate aspects of the conflict and provide rare historical details.

Popular literature (e.g., proverbs and tales from the *Thousand and One Nights*) echo facets of the historical reality. In certain respects, the Arabic frontier cycles in prose (e.g., *Dhat al-Himma*) provide parallels with the Byz. AKRITIC SONGS and DIGENES AKRITAS.

Muslim polemics against Byz.—more political and cultural than strictly religious—include official epistles sent to Constantinople in the name of Arab rulers (e.g., HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD) and criticism of local Christians with allusions to Byz. (e.g., by the polymath Jāḥiẓ).

At least two semiofficial manuals (now lost) were written on Byz. administration and culture by Arab ex-prisoners of war: al-JARMĪ (9th C.), and Ahwāzī (10th C.), quoted by al-BĪRŪNĪ (died 1048).

Unlike works of philosophy and science, few literary Greek works were translated into Arabic (see *Fihrist* [*infra*] 2:718), while few Arabic books (one on dreams) were rendered into Greek. Hellenistic influences on Arabic literature, directly or through Syriac, may be discerned, for example, in historiography, geography, literary criticism, and romance.

Arabic literature mirrors Arab attitudes toward Byz. as influenced by the vicissitudes of strategic, political, and cultural relations between the two worlds, and according to the different preoccupations of Arabic writers. In addition to the standard narrative histories and geographies, valuable perceptions are contained in biographical literature, works of jurisprudence, and other literary genres, including poetry and popular literature.

A distinction should be made between the official level expressed in documents, the learned level expressed by Arab scholars and men of letters, and the popular attitudes reflected in proverbs and tales, although the three levels cannot be mutually exclusive. The image of Byz. in Arabic literature, like the Arab-Byz. encounter and Arab history itself, must not be seen as static. Briefly, pre-Islamic poetry reflects Byz. as a powerful, wealthy, and civilized Christian neighboring empire, feared and admired by the Arabs. The Qur'ān and prophetic traditions are preoccupied with Byz. as a perpetual adversary. Official Arabic documents, however, such as letters addressed to Byz. emperors (e.g., Hārūn to Constantine V or Ikhshīd to Romanos I), accounts of receptions of Byz. envoys, as well as works of Muslim jurists, generally show a pragmatic understanding of the dictates of politics and trade. The Fāṭimids, who at first reflect an unusually intransigent attitude, later resorted to political expediency.

The early image of Byz. as a civilized Christian neighbor, the existence in Islamic society of many individuals, slaves, and freedmen and women of Byz. background, as well as trade and travel between the two sides, modified hostile Muslim attitudes somewhat and provided real knowledge of Byz. culture. But concern about Byz. as the dangerous enemy remained paramount at all levels. In this context, Arabic literature, particularly at the popular level, partakes of the universal tendency to stereotype the adversary. Thus while Byz. slave girls appear lovely and industrious, the Byz. in general were most unattractive in Arab eyes.

LIT. *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, tr. B. Dodge, 2 vols. (New York 1970). A.F.L. Beeston et al., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge 1983). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2. A. Shboul, "Byzantium and the Arabs: The Image of the Byzantines as Mirrored in Arabic Literature," in E. and M. Jeffreys, A. Moffatt, *Byzantine Papers* (Canberra 1981) 43–68. Idem, "Arab Attitudes Toward Byzantium: Official, Learned, Popular," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey* (Camberley, England, 1988) 111–28. S. El-Attar, "Contemplaciones iniciales sobre el tema bizantino en la cultura árabe," *Bizantion/Nea Hellas* 8 (1985) 209–26. Shboul, *Al-Masūdi* 227–83. –A.Sh.

ARABIC PAPYRI, found in the topmost levels of sites and rubbish dumps in Egypt from after 641. Arabic papyri, both documents and literary texts, have been found since 1824; they are scattered among collections and dealers the world over, and no comprehensive list of them exists.

Their texts include the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, history and theology, official correspondence, tax records, protocols, poetry, proverbs, grammar, and medical and scientific works. Documents of the Arab administration are very numerous and comprise examples of every type, such as land-leases and sales, tax receipts, requisitions of men and supplies (esp. for the Arab fleet's annual expedition against Constantinople), orders, safe-conduct passes (*sigillia*), and financial records. One can trace the beginnings of the use of Arabic by the Christian population in private letters and even marriage contracts. Christian Arabic literary texts on papyrus include a disputation text (in Heidelberg) and a polemical work (in Vienna). Papyri are of great importance for the history of the Arabic language and palaeography, for chronology, law, and economic history, and for every aspect of the institutions and culture of Egypt after removal from Byz. rule. Arabic papyri have also been found at sites outside Egypt (Damascus, Samarra, Israel).

ED. A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, 6 vols. (Cairo 1934–56). C.H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt* (Heidelberg 1906). N. Abbott, *The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago 1938). N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 3 vols. (Chicago 1957–72).
LIT. A. Grohmann, *Arabische Papyruskunde* (Leiden-Cologne 1966). G. Frantz-Murphy, "A Comparison of the Arabic and Earlier Egyptian Contract Formularies," *JNES* 40 (1981) 203–25; 44 (1985) 99–114. –L.S.B.MacC.

ARABISSOS (Ἀραβισσός), modern Afşin, ancient city in Cappadocia, later one of the cities of the Hexapolis in Armenia II, located on the road between Cappadocian Caesarea and Melitene. In late antiquity, Arabissos was a legionary station attested from 381 on as a bishopric (suffragan of Melitene). As it was his birthplace, Arabissos was embellished by Maurice. It suffered from the earthquake of 584/5 and esp. during the wars with the Arabs, when it was the center of a KLEISOURA. In the 11th C. Arabissos was known as an EPISKEPSIS, and in 1108 as a KASTRON. Near Arabissos is a cave where an unnamed martyr was revered; for the Arabs this became a site of the legendary SEVEN SLEEPERS.

In July 629 Herakleios met SHAHRBARĀZ in Arabissos to arrange terms with Persia. Herakleios offered Shahrbarāz and his son the Persian throne. They agreed on the Euphrates as the frontier between the empires and probably negotiated the withdrawal of Persian troops from Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt. Shahrbarāz promised to support Christianity and participated in the construction of the church named Irene ("Peace"). Patr. Nikephoros claims that Shahrbarāz agreed to become Herakleios's subject. Although Shahrbarāz soon fell to an assassin, the terms of the treaty (*Reg* 1, nos. 200–01) at Arabissos continued to provide the basis for Byz.-Persian relations until the Muslim overthrow of the Sasanian Empire.

LIT. *TIB* 2:144f. Mango, "La Perse Sassanide" 110–12. –W.E.K., C.F.

ARABS, called in the Byz. sources *Arabes* and *Sarakenoi* as well as *Ismaelitai* and *Hagarenoi*, meaning the progeny of the biblical Ishmael and Hagar.

Constantine I inherited from Diocletian a stable frontier with Arabia. To ward off invasions from the Peninsula, Byz. developed the system of FOEDERATI, who together with the soldiers of the *limes Diocletianus*, which extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, defended Roman Oriens. In the course of the late Roman period, the empire dealt with a succession of these Arab *foederati*: the TANŪKHIDS of the 4th C., the ṢĀLIḤIDS of the 5th, and the GHASSĀNIDS of the 6th. The last were the most powerful and represented the maturest expression of the federate system. Their kings were integrated into the Roman military and administrative hierarchies: the official title of the federate chief was PHYLARCH with the rank of *clarissimus*, but the supreme one was both *patrikios* and *gloriosissimus*. The system of phylarchs and *foederati* was so successful that the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE is silent on the Arabs. The reign of Maurice witnessed a crisis in imperial-federate relations when the emperor had the Ghassānid ALAMUNDARUS exiled to Sicily. When the Muslim Arabs appeared in the 7th C. it was against a considerably weakened federate shield that they fought and won.

Before his death in 632, Muḥammad had united Arabia. His successors, the three "orthodox" caliphs, conquered the Byz. lands of Oriens and Egypt. The decisive battle was the Arabs' victory at YARMUK in 636. The UMAYYADS continued this career of conquest from DAMASCUS, the new Arab capital: against the Byz. heartland, Anatolia, and

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the capital, Constantinople; against the rest of provincial North Africa and Spain; and in the Mediterranean in order to establish a strong naval presence. The thrust against Anatolia and Constantinople consisted of annual campaigns against the former and three sieges of the latter: in 669, the Seven Years War of 674–80 (against Constantine IV), and the final siege of 717/18 (against Leo III). These military endeavors against Constantinople failed. The war in the Mediterranean was more successful. Muʿāwiya built a fleet that soon became the dominant power in the Mediterranean. The Arabs took Constantia in Cyprus in 649 and began to attack the islands of the Aegean. In 654 they sacked Rhodes and demolished the colossal statue of Helios; Kos was occupied and Crete plundered. The Arabs won a decisive naval victory, the battle of the Masts, in 655 off the Lycian coast. Then followed the conquest of Chios and the region of Kyzikos (670) so that the base for an assault on Constantinople was prepared. Even though an attack on Constantinople from 674 to 678 failed, in 688 a condominium of the two powers was established on Cyprus and its territory was proclaimed neutral and demilitarized; the Arabs were entrenched in Crete by ca.824–827/8. The conquest of the Byz. Occident was also successful; Mūsā ibn-Nuṣayr carried Muslim arms to the shores of the Atlantic, while in 711 Ṭāriḳ crossed the straits that have carried his name ever since, Gibraltar (Jabal Ṭāriḳ), and destroyed the kingdom of the Visigoths.

The *translatio imperii* from Umayyad Damascus to ʿAbbāsid Baghdad in 750 opened a new phase in Arab-Byz. relations. Two energetic ʿAbbāsid caliphs carried the war into the Byz. heartland. Hārūn al-Rashīd reached the Bosporos in 782 and took Herakleia in 806, while al-Muʿtaṣim captured Amorion in 838. These operations, however, enhanced the prestige of the caliph as a *ghazi* (holy warrior) of the "infidels" more than they benefited the Islamic state. The line of frontier fortifications (see ʿAwāṣim and Thughūr) separating Anatolia from the realm of Islam became even more important than in Umayyad times, since unlike the Umayyads, the ʿAbbāsids after the early 9th C. had no serious intention of capturing Constantinople or expanding into Anatolia.

With the decline in the power of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the central authority, the struggle against the Byz. was continued by petty states in the east and in the west—the Aghlabids, the Ḥamdānids, and the Fāṭimids, their military operations conducted from Ḳayrawān, Aleppo, and Cairo, respectively. During the entire 9th C., the Aghlabids of Ifrīḳiya (Tunisia) dominated the middle Mediterranean and succeeded in conquering Sicily. In the east, the struggle was taken up in the 9th C. by the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo. The initial successes of Sayf al-Dawla were brought to naught, however, by Nikephoros II Phokas. The Fāṭimids of Egypt battled the Byz. in the 10th C., but John I Tzimiskes and Basil II contained their thrusts around Antioch and enlarged Byz. gains in northern Syria. The achievements of these three Macedonian emperors marked the turn of the tide against the Arabs. The destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Fāṭimid al-Hakim (996–1021) was one of the contributory causes of the Crusades, which were fought mainly between Latin Westerners and the Turks, while Byz. and the Arabs were spectators. The Turks, a new virile Muslim people, took up the struggle against Byz. where the Arabs left off in the 11th C.

Economic and Cultural Exchanges between Arabs and Byzantines. Within the ʿAbbāsid caliphate there were Christian monasteries and lay communities, in which Greek literature flourished throughout the 8th C. and probably later. In this milieu, or among Palestinian émigrés in Constantinople, the unrealistic dream that the caliph would convert to Christianity was cherished. Scholarly contacts developed and the caliphs tried to invite Byz. scholars, such as Leo the Mathematician, to Baghdad, Greek MSS were collected and translated, and Photios was probably able to work in Baghdad during his embassy to the city. Similarly, Arab influence penetrated Byz. art and architecture, and Theophilos is said to have built his palace on Arab models (see Islamic Influence on Byzantine Art). ʿAbbāsid attempts to support Byz. insurgents—from Thomas the Slav to Andronikos Doukas—presuppose close contacts with certain circles in Byz.

Arabs visited Constantinople as merchants, and one could meet there a Hagarene merchant in a black cloak and brick-colored sandals (PG 111:681B–C). Some Syrian merchants stayed in Constantinople for ten years. They appeared not only in Trebizond or Artze, but probably even in faraway Athens, where archaeological evidence attests an Arab colony of the 10th–11th C. (G.C. Miles, *Hesperia* 25 [1956] 329–44). People of double origin (Arab and Greek) were so typical in the eastern provinces that one of them became the hero of the epic of Digenes Akritas. Arab families, such as the Sarakenopouloi, Syropouloi, Bempetziotai, and Aplespharai, penetrated the ranks of the Byz. aristocracy.

Representation in Byzantine Art and Literature. As major rivals of the Byz. until the 11th C., Arabs occupied an important place in Byz. literary texts and images. Two clichés predominated: either differences of race were ignored (esp. in the presentation of Arab saints such as Gourias, Samonas, and Abibas) or Arab stereotypes were exaggerated, for example, when they were shown as terrifying raiders. Ethnic features were rarely displayed: sometimes the turban distinguishes Arabs, including John of Damascus, sometimes Arab invaders wear the three-piece garment (long tunic, underskirt, and patterned stockings) that appears in some images of the Magi in their Adoration of Christ. When Arabs do appear in works during and after the 12th C. (Ohrid, Peribleptos; Venice, S. Marco), they are usually portrayed among the nations of the Pentecost or as people taught by the apostles. The Madrid Skylitzes (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, figs. 98, 138, 189, 190, 192) presents a dispassionate record of Arab rulers, costume, and architecture. Another miniature in this MS (fig.58) depicts an Arab horseman displaying his skill in the Hippodrome.

LIT. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten*. I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Semitic Orient before the Rise of Islam* (London 1988). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes*. M. Canard, *L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions* (London 1974). V. Christides, "Pre-Islamic Arabs in Byzantine Illuminations," *Muséon* 83 (1970) 167–81. E. Jeffreys, "The Image of the Arabs in Byzantine Literature," 17 *CEB* Major Papers (New Rochelle 1986) 305–23. S. Gero, "Early Contacts between Byzantium and the Arab Empire," in *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām* (Amman 1987).

–I.A.Sh., A.K., A.C.

ARBANTENOS (Ἀρβαντηνός), or Arabantenos, a family known from the second half of the 11th C. The name is probably derived from al-Rāwandān in northern Syria (Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 140, n.7). Arbantenoi are first mentioned in non-Greek sources: Matthew of Edessa relates that Aruantan, the *doux* of Edessa, was captured by Turks in 1066/7 (Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, no. 94); Ordericus Vitalis mentions Ravendinos, Alexios I's *protospatharios*, to whom the inhabitants of Laodikeia surrendered ca.1099, as well as (another?) Ravendinos, "a powerful Greek," a Byz. envoy to Antioch in 1118/19 and later to Jerusalem. The *sebastos* John Arbantenos was extolled by Nicholas Kallikles; he married Anna of the Komnenoi, and the *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople calls him the husband of John II's niece. Thirty years later, in 1165, another *sebastos* John Arbantenos, Manuel I's *gambros* (son-in-law?), was active. Several Arbantenoi are known only by their seals: one of them, Nicholas, was *protonotarios* of Chaldia, probably in the 11th C. (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 290); other seals, dated to the 11th and 12th C., have no information about the Arbantenoi's offices, but some bear effigies of military saints that presumably indicate their military functions. In the 14th C. a few Arabantenoi are attested (*PLP*, nos. 1215–17) but they are known only as land and house owners.

LIT. P. Gautier, "L'obituaire du typicon du Pantocrator," *REB* 27 (1969) 260–62. A. Kazhdan, "Some Notes on the Byzantine Prosopography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 73–75.

–A.K.

ARBOGAST (Ἀρβογάστης), Western *magister militum* and power behind the revolt of Eugenius; died 394. Arbogast was a Frank and subordinate of the *magister militum* Bauto under Gratian and Theodosios I. Upon Bauto's death ca.388, Arbogast used his popularity with the troops to seize the office of *magister militum*. In 388, after Arbogast accomplished the final defeat of the usurper Maximus, Theodosios left him to manage the affairs of the young Valentinian II, who became a virtual prisoner. When Valentinian attempted to dismiss Arbogast, the general tore up the order, implying that he took commands directly from Theodosios. In 392 Valentinian was found dead and some historical sources implicate Arbogast. Arbogast sought to rule the West in his own name, but ultimately elevated Eugenius, although continuing to seek reconciliation with Constantinople. Arbogast was a moderate pagan who supported the revival of paganism under Eugenius. He tried to ambush the forces of Theodosios at the battle of the Frigidus in 394, but was defeated and took his own life.

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LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:207–17. *PLRE* 1:95–97. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* 7–13. B. Croke, "Arbogast and the Death of Valentinian II," *Historia* 25 (1976) 235–44. –T.E.G.

ARCH (*ἀψίς, καμάρα*), a structural element composed of wedge-shaped blocks of stone or bricks (VOUSSOIRS) spanning an opening, usually semicircular in form. Arches enlarge interior space by transferring the heavy loads of superstructures to isolated points of support (PIERS, COLUMNS), which can be more widely separated than those of trabeated construction. Arches can penetrate walls without diminishing their strength, carry BRIDGES over rivers, AQUEDUCTS over valleys, terraces over cisterns, domes over naoi, or clerestory walls over open colonnades. The widest spans achieved by Byz. builders are those of the great arches in Hagia Sophia—about 31 m (about 108 Byz. feet). Immured, they may articulate walls with blind arcades or spare large wall areas for groups of windows. Blind arcades, used to enliven exterior façades, sometimes employ pointed and ogee arches in addition to round-headed ones, as at the CHORA MONASTERY in Constantinople. Trilobe arches are also found in architecture of the 13th and 14th C., usually as window openings. –W.L., N.E.L.

ARCH, MONUMENTAL, a structure consisting of a large single arch resting on piers or a large arch flanked by smaller arches, erected for commemorative purposes. Provided with a columnar façade (freestanding or half-columns supporting an architrave), the arch itself carried an attic on which were displayed honorific inscriptions and sometimes statuary. The only known freestanding Byz. monumental arch is that of Theodosios I erected in the Forum Tauri, Constantinople, ca.390?; though not fully excavated, it has been reconstructed as a triple arch approximately 43 m broad and 23 m wide (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, figs. 294–98). A variant, the tetrapylon, consists of four arches arranged around a square and supporting a groin vault or dome, as at the ARCH OF GALERIUS in Thessalonike. Such arches were often placed at the intersections of major streets. Monumental arches were also adapted for other purposes, such as city GATES. The Milion (see MESE) in Constantinople, built in the form of a domed tetrapylon, was the marker from which distances on the roads leading to the capital were measured. The tetrapylon was also adapted for use in Christian cult buildings, for example, the Tetrapylon of the Forty Martyrs in Constantinople, which stood until ca.1400 (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 231). A tetrapylon could also be structurally integrated into a church, as at Aphrodisias (R. Cormack in *Classical Tradition* 114).

LIT. H. Kähler, *RE* 2.R. 7A (1939) 373–493. –M.J., W.L.

ARCHAEOLOGY. Byz. archaeology is a relatively young field of scholarship. Aspects of the discipline have been separately studied as Christian and underwater archaeology. In addition, the method known as archaeological survey is a notable tradition in Byz. studies. Following an overview of the field, each of these separate disciplines will be discussed in turn.

AN OVERVIEW. Byz. archaeology does not really exist as a discipline of its own, and—although there are significant exceptions (such as the excavations of the GREAT PALACE and several important churches in Constantinople [e.g., St. POLYEUKTOS, KALENDERHANE CAMII] and such late antique centers as NEA ANCHIALOS)—most Byz. sites are explored in connection with the investigation of classical monuments. Because most of these are on the Mediterranean littoral many important Byz. sites in the interior are hardly known; in addition, the Byz. components of many were either summarily treated or completely ignored, with the exception of some standing buildings (primarily churches and city walls). Churches and their decoration (mosaics, frescoes, icons, church furniture, liturgical vessels, etc.) formed the subject of "Christian archaeology" (see below) that in fact coincided with the study of Christian art. Only recently have ordinary Byz. objects (HOUSES, CERAMICS and other UTENSILS, TOOLS, and WEAPONS) found during excavation of ancient sites begun to be described, collected, and studied. Primary attention has been paid to cities (chiefly late Roman cities) such as Carthage, Apameia, Caesarea Maritima, Korykos, Aphrodisias, Pergamon, Sardis, Ephesus, Corinth, Athens, Cherson, and cities on the lower Danube; in some of them "post-Roman" strata of the 7th C. and later have been excavated. The countryside has so far received only limited investigation (mostly in northern Syria, Bulgaria, and the Crimea). Necropolises have been excavated in many places, with esp. fruitful results in the region of barbarian invasions (Pannonia, Bulgaria).

Archaeology is essential for the study of material objects about which there is little information in written sources or visual representations (household utensils, tools, simple ornaments of bone or metal); it can also provide data on regions that were normally ignored by medieval writers (e.g., the provinces and esp. the frontier zone). The history of urban life and of the Germanic and Avaro-Slavic penetration into the empire has been rewritten in the last decades on the basis of archaeological discoveries. Archaeology, however, faces various problems: while some materials (e.g., ceramics, glass) are preserved in excellent condition, others (wood, leather, cloth) disappear entirely or are severely damaged (iron), thus distorting the picture of material culture—in only a few regions (desert or swampy areas) have organic materials been preserved. The excavated artifacts must be identified, dated, and located in a historical milieu (ethnic, religious, social, etc.).

Unlike documents and literary texts, archaeological finds are studied not so much as individual objects, but as part of a series (e.g., ceramic bowls or glass flasks) and of an archaeological complex; their location (position in the excavated room and in an archaeological layer or stratum) is no less significant than their identification as belonging to a certain series (type or subtype). The chronology of an artifact (save for rare specifically dated objects) has to be established either on the basis of typology (position in a dated series) or stratigraphy (position in a dated stratum). For establishing a chronology of archaeological finds, coins have primary importance; since they can be dated, at least within a certain reign but sometimes even to a narrower period, they often supply the scholar with a *terminus post quem* for the whole stratum. After a number of dated finds, some objects (esp. ceramics) can themselves be dated with relative precision and become the yardstick for further ("typological") dating.

Establishing the ethnic, religious, and social background of the objects (or, rather, of their long-dead owners) is very difficult unless we have direct indications; ornamented objects (earrings, necklaces, bronze BELT FITTINGS, FIBULAE) can be helpful, although sometimes problematic—conclusions of this sort are mostly hypothetical. Changes in quality and fashion reflected in objects allow one to study economic, social, and cultural development; archaeology provides us with great numbers of objects and therefore permits tentative analysis of quantitative changes (increase of production, transition from one type of object to another, etc.). Discoveries of Byz. artifacts in remote regions (the Urals, China, Scandinavia) provide evidence for the study of trade routes and cultural influences. Archaeology reveals many aspects of the past on which written sources remain reticent; on the other hand, by dealing with "real" material objects archaeology easily creates an illusion of veracity that it, as a matter of fact, does not have: archaeological observations and conclusions are often extremely hypothetical and should be compared with the independent data of written texts.

LIT. J. Russell, "Transformations in Early Byzantine Urban Life: The Contribution and Limitations of Archaeological Evidence," 17 *CEB, Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 137–54. C. Foss, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia," *AJA* 81 (1977) 469–86. Hendy, *Economy*. G. Astill, "Archaeology, Economics and Early Medieval Europe," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 4 (1985) 215–31. J.H. Rosser, "A Research Strategy for Byzantine Archaeology," *BS/EB* 6 (1979) 152–66. C. Delvoye, "Les progrès de l'archéologie et de l'histoire de l'art de l'Empire byzantin depuis le Congrès d'Oxford," 14 *CEB*, vol. 3 (Bucharest 1976) 251–62. –T.E.G., A.K.

CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. Archaeology as a discipline emerged first to study the remains of classical and biblical antiquity, and it was only later extended to the remains of the postclassical period, including that of Byz. Originally research into this era was restricted almost exclusively to churches and objects of liturgical use, hence it was defined as Christian archaeology; its purpose commonly was to discover objects that shed light on the practices and beliefs of the early church, and a devotional goal frequently prompted (and distorted) investigation. Byz. archaeology originated as a branch of Christian archaeology and this heritage influenced its development—for example, the relatively late emergence of interest in the nonreligious aspects of Byz. society. Christian archaeology as defined today does not restrict itself to religious topics, and meetings such as the International Congress of Christian Archaeology and periodicals like *Cahiers archéologiques* allow for presentation of research from all areas of the Mediterranean in the early Middle Ages.

LIT. F.W. Deichmann, *Einführung in die christliche Archäologie* (Darmstadt 1983). G. Bovini, *Gli studi di archeologia cristiana dalle origini alla metà del secolo XIX* (Bologna 1968). –T.E.G.

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UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY. Over the past 30 years technological innovation and the development of effective means of underwater excavation have made possible the archaeological exploration of the sea bed. This investigation has focused on two kinds of sites: near-shore sites that were once upon land but have sunk beneath the sea, usually because of earthquake, and shipwrecks. An important example of the former is KENCHREAI, the eastern port of Corinth, whose harbor facilities sank in an earthquake in the late 4th C. Excavated Byz. shipwrecks include the 4th- and 7th-C. Yassi Ada wrecks (G.F. Bass, F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *AJA* 75 [1971] 27–37. Eidem, *Yassi Ada* 1 [College Station, Texas, 1982]), the 11th-C. Serçe Liman wreck (carrying a large load of glass: G.F. Bass, F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 7 [1978] 119–32), and the 12th-C. Pelagonnesos wreck (with a cargo of at least 1,490 ceramic vessels: Ch. Kritzas, P. Throckmorton, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 4 [1971] 176–85). A wreck found in 1960 off Marzamemi in southeastern Sicily contained unused church furnishings—ambo, plaques, parapet slabs, monolithic columns, 28 column bases, etc. G. Kapitän (*Archaeology* 22 [1969] 122–33) identified these as Prokonnesian marbles and suggested a date in the reign of Justinian I. Shipwrecks are particularly rich sources of archaeological material since they have not been disturbed by later human activity and their destruction took place at a single time that can often be fixed quite precisely; some materials also are better preserved in water than they are in the soil. Wrecks thus offer fixed points for the dating of archaeological objects and provide important information about trade and the economy. –T.E.G., A.C.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY. A means of gathering information about an area through the utilization of a broad-based archaeological research program, normally without excavation, archaeological survey relies on an investigation of what appears above the surface. Survey allows the study of an area much larger than can be covered by excavation, normally at a fraction of the cost, but it relies on previous stratigraphic excavation for the identification and dating of surface finds. Survey normally involves systematic investigation by teams of people walking across the landscape; aerial reconnaissance, geophysical methods, and architectural study also play important roles.

Byz. studies have a long tradition of observation and recording of archaeological sites and monuments; W. Ramsay, J. Strzygowski, D. Talbot Rice, and others were the pioneers of this archaeological method, and contemporary scholars have continued this tradition. In the past 30 years the theory and method of archaeological survey have developed rapidly and have been used with considerable success in the eastern Mediterranean. Survey can provide information about settlement patterns, economy, land use, and other aspects of life not available from written or traditional archaeological sources. Nevertheless, despite its particular applicability to Byz., where frequently rich documentary materials can provide a check on the archaeological evidence, and despite some notable exceptions (R.M. Harrison, *AnatSt* 31 [1981] 198–200, A.W. Dunn, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 605–14), the results of archaeological survey have rarely been used by Byzantinists. Instead, Byz. material from large survey projects is frequently analyzed by non-Byzantinists who do not always understand the special problems or questions of the period.

Nevertheless, survey projects, mostly in the Aegean area, have led to a certain degree of consensus about the development of the Byz. settlement pattern: remarkable prosperity and widespread settlement in late antiquity (when the number of sites is commonly only slightly less than the peak in the classical period) followed by complete collapse in the late 6th to 10th C., when survey generally fails to recognize any settlement whatever, followed by a slow recovery and another peak in the 12th–13th C., followed again by decline. This broad outline may well be correct, but it is affected by our lack of knowledge about the chronology of many Byz. ceramics and other items.

LIT. T.H. van Andel, C. Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis* (Stanford 1987). –T.E.G.

ARCHAISM, or classicism, was a current in high-style Byz. literature inherited from the SECOND SOPHISTIC, where it originated. It encompassed both language and style (RHETORICAL FIGURES, etc.) and the contents (conscious presentation of contemporary events in the guise of ancient TERMINOLOGY, characters, situations, etc.). Obsolete METERS such as hexameter or anacreontic tetrameter were used. The late antique and early Byz. professors established a canonical list of ancient authors who provided models: Homer was still the Poet, Aristotle the Philosopher, Demosthenes the Orator, Galen the supreme authority on medicine. Archaism was not limited to the literary sphere: the Byz. considered themselves as Romans (RHOMAIOI), their capital as "New Rome" or "New Jerusalem," their Bulgarian or generally Slavic neighbors as Scythians, Roman law as still effective, etc. All values were created in the past: "There is nothing of mine," John of Damascus said of his work. The Byz. had only to follow their predecessors; accordingly, the idea of novelty or INNOVATION bordered on heresy and revolt (P. Wirth, *OrChr* 45 [1961] 127f). Some writers, however, became weary of archaism and lamented, like Theodore Metochites, that their ancestors had accomplished everything, leaving no opportunity for their own creativity (H.G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites* [Munich 1952] 50–75).

Archaism was neither a cultural game, nor a simple IMITATION (*mimesis*). Unlike Italian humanists of the 15th C., the Byz. rarely felt a distance between past and present. Archaism created an illusion of stability and continuity in the shaky and unstable world of the Byz. elite.

LIT. Dölger, *Paraspora* 38–45. Gy. Moravcsik, "Klassizismus in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung," in *Polychronion* 366–77. H. Hunger, "The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: The Importance of Rhetoric," in *Classical Tradition* 35–47. A. Kazhdan, A. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 464–78. A. Dain, "A propos de l'étude des poètes anciens à Byzance," in *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli* (Florence 1956) 195–201. –A.K.

ARCHANGEL (ἀρχάγγελος, "chief angel"). Although MICHAEL and GABRIEL appear in both the Old and New Testaments, the word archangel is not used in the Septuagint and occurs only twice in the New Testament. Nonetheless archangels came to hold an important place in Jewish legend and apocrypha and were revered in Christian tradition. Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite ranked the archangels in the third and lowest triad of his celestial hierarchy, between the "principalities" and ANGELS. Only three archangels were recognized by the Christian church—MICHAEL, GABRIEL, and Raphael, whereas other Jewish archangels (Uriel, Azael, etc.) were rejected by the pope Zacharias in 745. Of these three, Michael was held in the highest regard, whereas Gabriel and Raphael (who appears in the books of Tobit and Enoch) did not receive widespread veneration in Byz. A church was dedicated to Raphael in Alexandria, but the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* does not list a feastday for him. Other archangels appear in some apocrypha (e.g., *Testament of Solomon*) and in art.

Archangels were distinguished from regular angels as early as ca.500 (C. Mango, *DChAE*[4] 12 [1984] 40f) by their court or imperial costume (*chlamys* or *loros*, red shoes) and attributes (such as the orb or SPHAIRA). Michael and Gabriel stand dressed this way as an honor guard alongside Christ and the Virgin; they also head the heavenly host in images of the Synaxis ton Asomaton (see ASOMATOS). Their various appearances in the Old and New Testaments were collected into cycles of illustrations; in these narrative contexts the archangels are clad in the traditional angelic garb of tunic, *himation*, and sandals. Sometimes a large number of archangels, including Raphael and Uriel, is shown surrounding the figure of Christ Pantokrator in the dome, for example, at Palermo (Demus, *Norman Sicily*, pls. 13, 46), but images of archangels other than Michael and Gabriel are rare.

Michael was the *archangelos* par excellence; a church of "the *archangelos*" was assumed to be dedicated to Michael, one of "the *archangeloi*" to Michael and Gabriel. The image of Michael is common on seals, while that of Gabriel is unknown.

LIT. E. Lucchesi-Palli, *LCI* 1:674–81. D. Pallas, *RBK* 3:43f. D.K. Wright, "Justinian and an Archangel," in *Studien Deichmann* 3:75–79. –A.K., N.P.Š.

ARCHBISHOP (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, lit. "chief bishop"), a title initially used to designate certain METROPOLITANS. It was applied to the bishops of the most important sees in the empire: Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. Hence its application by EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion*, ed. Holl, 3:141.11) to designate Peter of Alexandria (300–311). With the rise of Constantinople and Jerusalem to patriarchal status in the 5th C., the epithet was used for the five chief bishops of the empire. The conciliar documents of this period repeatedly employ the term in this sense. Since the title was associated with ecclesiastical independence or autonomy, it was understandably also applied to AUTOCEPHALOUS ecclesiastics, such as the primate of CYPRUS (beginning in 431) and to the most important bishops (Ephesus, Thessalonike, Caesarea in Cappadocia, Athens, etc.). This distinction was not always maintained, however.

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Archbishops not directly dependent on any metropolitan but on a patriarch (the so-called "autocephalous archbishops" without suffragans) were very numerous; they ranked below the metropolitans and were elected by the ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS and the patriarch.

LIT. E. Konidares, *Hai metropoleis kai archiepiskopai tou oikoumenikou patriarcheiou kai he taxis auton* (Athens 1934). Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ho titlos archiepiskopou," *Theologia* 13 (1935) 289–95. E. Chrysos, "Zur Entstehung der Institution der autokephalen Erzbistümer," *BZ* 62 (1969) 263–86. –A.P.

ARCHERY (*τοξεία*). Encounters with the Avars and Hun horse-archers forced the Byz. to emulate or recruit their skills. A 6th-C. treatise on archery (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 128–35) names accuracy, force, and rapidity of shot as the essential skills to be mastered either from a standstill or while in motion. Two draws were known: the Mediterranean release, with two or three fingers pulling back the bowstring and the arrow to the left of the bowstave; and the Mongolian release, using the thumb (sometimes thumb and forefinger) to pull the string with the arrow to the right of the bowstave (S. James, *BAR* Int.Ser. 336 [1987] 77–83). Mounted archers were trained to shoot in both directions to break up a fleeing enemy or to defend themselves when in retreat. Prokopios (*Wars* 1.14–16) attests the versatility and hitting power of contemporary archers, citing instances where Byz. archery proved superior against the Persians (1.18.31–35) and Ostrogoths (5.27.26–29; 8.32.6–10).

Scattered details on archery come from the 10th C. Leo VI criticized the decline of archery (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI 6.5) and called for constant practice with the bow (11.49) as a useful weapon against the Arabs (18.131, 134–35), a point later emphasized in the PRAECEPTA MILITARIA (4.27–34; 17.13–16). Expeditionary forces sought out good archers (*De cer.* 658.1–2) and took along thousands of arrows (*De cer.* 657.12–13, 17–19). The shafts were sometimes furrowed to shatter on impact, thus preventing reuse by the enemy. Although Byz. archery was effective against the Arabs in the 10th C., it was no match for the 11th-C. Turkish mounted archers, whose superior skills the Byz. acknowledged by actively recruiting them in the 11th–12th C. (See also WEAPONRY.)

LIT. O. Schissel von Fleschenberg, "Spätantike Anleitung zum Bogenschiessen," *WS* 59 (1941) 110–24; 60 (1942) 41–70. Bivar, "Cavalry" 281–87. W.E. Kaegi, "The Contribution of Archery to the Turkish Conquest of Anatolia," *Speculum* 39 (1964) 96–108. –E.M.

ARCHIMANDRITE (*ἀρχιμανδρίτης*, fem. *ἀρχιμανδρίτισσα*, lit. "chief of a sheepfold"), monastic term with two principal meanings.

1. First appearing in 4th-C. Syria, in the early period of monasticism (4th–6th C.) the term is a common equivalent of HEGOUMENOS, the superior of a monastery. G. Dagron (*TM* 4 [1970] 268f) argues that the term *archimandrite* was used primarily in Constantinople, esp. for the *hegoumenos* of the monastery of DALMATOU. Under Justinian I, the term *hegoumenos* began to supplant *archimandrite*, although *archimandrite* remained in use until the 10th C. as the designation for *hegoumenoi* of a few major monasteries.

2. From the 6th C. onward, according to Pargoire, *archimandrite* began to be used for the chief of a region or urban federation of monasteries, akin to EXARCH or PROTOS. In this sense *archimandrite* is applied to the *protos* of holy mountains like Athos, Latros, and Olympos, or to the head of a group of monasteries in one city, as in Athens.

LIT. P. de Meester, "L'archimandritat dans les églises de rite byzantin," in *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, vol. 2 (Rome 1949) 115–37. J. Pargoire, *DACL* 1.2:2739–61. –A.M.T.

ARCHIMEDES, ancient Greek mathematician and engineer; born Syracuse ca.287 B.C., died Syracuse 212 B.C. Archimedes profoundly influenced medieval Arabic and Latin science and late medieval and Renaissance MATHEMATICS but had little impact on Byz. after the 6th C. Archimedes is cited directly in the 4th C. by PAPPOS and THEON. In the early 6th C. three of his works were commented on by EUTOKIOS and were probably studied by ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES and ISIDORE OF MILETUS. In the 9th C. Leo the Mathematician evidently possessed a MS of Archimedes' treatises, which perhaps represents the unique transliteration of the main corpus of Archimedes' works from uncial into minuscule (Lemerle, *Humanism* 196). Other MSS also survived, however, as is evident from the Arabic versions and from the 10th-C. Constantinopolitan copy of the *On Floating Bodies* and the *Method of Mechanical Theorems* (J.L. Heiberg, *Hermes* 42 [1907] 235–303). Archimedes is mentioned by Psellos in the 11th C. (Psellos, *Scripta min.* 1:26.24, 369.1) and is cited frequently by TZETZES in the 12th C., for example, in his poem 35 "On Archimedes and some of his Devices" (*Historiae*, 47.106–49.159). Two MSS of the main corpus of Archimedes' works were available to WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE when he made his Latin translation at Viterbo in 1269.

LIT. M. Clagett, *Archimedes in the Middle Ages*, 5 vols. (Madison, Wisc.–Philadelphia 1964–84). Wilson, *Scholars* 45f, 83, 139, 161. –D.P.

ARCHITECT. In the late Roman Empire architects were usually men of high social status and education. Some were trained in geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, physics, building construction, hydraulics, carpentry, metalwork, and painting. They drew plans, elevations, and possibly perspective renderings. Downey (*infra*) distinguishes between the *mechanikos*, the fully trained architect, and the *architekton*, a "master builder." Both terms seem to have disappeared after the 6th C., though the epithet *architekton* continued to be applied to God as creator (e.g., Patr. Germanos I—PG 98:316D-317A); they were replaced by *oikodomos*, builder (a term also found in Roman inscriptions), and, later, *protomaistor*, chief of a team or guild (see MAISTOR).

Architects known by name include:

EUPHRATAS, a legendary figure
ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES
ISIDORE OF MILETUS
ISIDORE THE YOUNGER
Eustathios, a priest from Constantinople, and Zenobios, who together designed the *martyrion*-basilica at the Holy SEPULCHRE, Jerusalem
Rufinus of Antioch, who built the cathedral at GAZA, using a plan sent from Constantinople
Asaph and Addai, architects of the rebuilt cathedral at Edessa (K. McVey, *DOP* 37 [1983] 98)
Stephen of Aila, responsible for the basilica at the monastery of St. CATHERINE on Mt. Sinai
Patrikes, a *patrikios* who built the palace at BRYAS
Petronas KAMATEROS, a *spatharokandidatos*, architect of the fortress at SARKEL
Demitras, Eustathios, and Nikon, mentioned as *oikodomoi* (*Lavra* 1, nos. 1.33, 6.17, App.1.13)
Trdat, an Armenian who restored the western portion of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, after 989
Ioannikios, *oikodomos* at TMUTORAKAN, died 1078 (E. Skržinskaja, *VizVrem* 18 [1961] 74–84)
Nikephoros, who erected the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople
Rouchas, a monk sent by Michael VIII to Constantinople to restore Hagia Sophia
John Peralta, a Catalan from Sicily, and the *megas stratopedarches* Astras (*PLP*, no.1598), who repaired the dome of Hagia Sophia after 1346
George Marmaras, a *protomaistor* named in documents of 1326 and 1327 (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 13 [1958] 307)
Demetrios Theophilos, another *protomaistor* (*Docheiar.*, no.50.22, a.1389).

LIT. G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects," *Byzantion* 18 (1948) 99–118. H.A. Meek, "The Architect and his Profession in Byzantium," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 59 (1951–52) 216–20. A. Petronotis, "Der Architekt in Byzanz," in *Bauplanung und Bautheorie der Antike* (Berlin 1984) 329–43. –M.J., W.L., A.K.

ARCHITECTURE. Byz. architecture constitutes a building tradition generally associated with the history of the late Roman and Byz. empires and, to an extent, with its wider sphere of influence over a period spanning from ca.300–ca.1450. Byz. architecture defies a comprehensive conventional definition on either cultural, geographical, chronological, or stylistic bases. Between the 4th C. and the 15th C. several more-or-less coherent architectural developments and interludes took place that can be roughly grouped into seven chronological periods.

First Period (4th to 5th C.). Architecture during this period represents the perpetuation of tradition within the cultural framework of the Greco-Roman world and the political framework of the Roman Empire. This perpetuation of established architectural practice accounts for the degree of continuity in the regional traditions of planning, structural solutions, building technique, and decoration. Two factors play a decisive role in the architectural development of the period: urban survival and active christianization. Urban centers witnessed a slow but steady shift from pagan to Christian patronage of public buildings. Christian churches—predominantly BASILICAS—derived generically from pagan prototypes, and

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their construction was entrusted to established workshops that had previously been employed on imperial pagan projects. Large-scale building under imperial auspices was one of the major industries in the Roman world, and the movement of manpower and technical personnel (architects, surveyors, etc.) from one completed building project to another was standard practice. This, in fact, constituted the essence of what we refer to as "workshop practice."

Building types such as the MARTYRION, BAPTISTERY, and MAUSOLEUM were also constructed in large numbers. *Martyria* display a considerable variety of plan types, reflecting the particular requirements of preexisting customs and functions accommodated on their sites. Mausoleums, large and small, which initially were freestanding and independent, increasingly become attached to church buildings as christianization proceeded.

Second Period (6th C.). This was the period of greatest architectural productivity in Byz. history. Often identified with the policy of reconquest of Emp. Justinian I, the vast building program was, in fact, begun by his predecessors Anastasios I and Justin I and continued by his successor, Justin II. The success of this grand enterprise was facilitated by the survival of the imperial order within the framework of the fully christianized, urban society. In a comprehensive record of the building accomplishments of Justin I and Justinian I, PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA provides us with a catalog of buildings and relates many details about the realization of the imperial program. This meticulous account, which includes descriptions of whole new towns, forts, churches, palaces, public buildings, markets, cisterns, aqueducts, and so on, is substantially confirmed by preserved buildings and archaeological finds.

Notwithstanding the survival of regional building practices, the period was characterized by the much more pronounced impact of the capital. Certain building types (basilican churches, mausoleums, cisterns) continued to be constructed according to the established norms of a given region. At the same time, architecture was now also "exported" from Constantinople, the center of imperial administration. Whether in the form of new CHURCH PLAN TYPES such as the domed basilica, new structural solutions involving the use of VAULTING, standardized building techniques, or the nature of architectural decoration, there is a strong indication of direct connections of the center with regional affairs. The MARBLE TRADE and the shipping of building components (COLUMNS, CAPITALS, and church furniture), illustrate the degree and the character of the impact of Constantinople. This phenomenon is to be understood in the light of extensive construction in frontier regions, often in newly conquered territories, with the aim of consolidating recently established borders.

Third Period (7th to mid-9th C.). In striking contrast to the preceding building boom this period is characterized by a virtual absence of construction. Beleaguered by foreign wars and internal crises, the empire experienced profound changes. The decline of cities was manifested in the physical decay of their fabric. The very meaning of "construction" during this period was practically reduced to preservation, repair, and patchwork. New building other than fortifications was rare, and large-scale construction exceptional. The few surviving examples in the latter category reveal conservative traits and expedient dependence on SPOLIA.

Fourth Period (mid-9th through 11th C.). By the middle of the 9th C. relative political, religious, and cultural stability within the territorially shrunken Byz. Empire had been restored. Under the auspices of the Macedonian dynasty, building began anew, though under very different circumstances. Given new cultural parameters and an altered social structure, an architecture emerged that showed marked signs of departure from the old tradition. PALACES and palace halls of this period reveal a fresh source of influence—Islamic art and architecture (see ISLAMIC INFLUENCE ON BYZANTINE ART). Aspects of Islamic impact can also be seen in the decorative vocabulary of Byz. architecture, now significantly expanded beyond its traditional, classicizing framework.

Church architecture also reveals other sources of external influence, for example, Armenia. Church types proliferated while undergoing considerable reductions in scale. The latter phenomenon has been viewed as the function of shrunken economic means and the reduced demand for space of a smaller population. Still, some fairly large churches, notably piered basilicas, continued to be built during this period. The frequent appearance of smaller, centralized, and domed churches, on the other hand, involved changes in the shape of the LITURGY and altered symbolic perceptions of the church building. Seen as a miniature version of the COSMOS, the church functioned symbolically regardless of its size. Demands for space in churches during this period were generally solved not by increasing the volume of the NAOS but by adding lateral spaces and PAREKKLESIA. When built simultaneously with the church itself, these *parekklesia*, unlike the earlier mausoleums, were often carefully integrated aspects of a building's overall form. Thus, for example, the multiplication of domes on churches of this period was the direct by-product of multiple chapels planned integrally with the main church.

Fifth Period (12th C.). Notwithstanding the military setbacks and the resulting geopolitical changes that affected the empire during the last third of the 11th C., architectural activity in the Komnenian period displayed remarkable vitality, with Constantinople playing the role of central clearinghouse for ARCHITECTS, ARTISANS, ideas, and materials. Formal characteristics, decorative features, and even structural techniques are shared by a very large number of buildings, many of which were built in the provinces and even beyond the frontiers of the empire. This phenomenon, which parallels a similar trend in Byz. painting, reflects an increasing mobility in the Mediterranean basin. Both can be related to a general increase in East-West cultural interaction.

Sixth Period (13th C.). The period of the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61) saw the disappearance of the capital's hitherto preeminent architectural influence. Instead, architecture flourished in several new centers of the splintered empire (NICAEA, TREBIZOND, ARTA), each displaying distinctive local architectural characteristics. The stylistic coherence of the Komnenian epoch gave way to a new diversity. Thus, the political decentralization of the empire left its lasting imprint on the development of Byz. architecture.

Seventh Period (14th to 15th C.). Following the Byz. recapture of Constantinople in 1261, the city once more became the premier center of architectural activity. In addition to the remodeling and expansion of existing buildings, a fair number of new churches, monastic buildings, and palaces were constructed, particularly during the last decade of the 13th C. and during the first two decades of the 14th C. Church architecture during this period perpetuated the tradition of small-scale construction. The major stylistic change came in the treatment of walls, which lost their tectonic qualities in favor of flat surfaces covered by decorative patterns. The same disregard for spatial-structural articulation also permeated interiors. Here flat wall surfaces carried several tiers of continuous horizontal bands of MONUMENTAL PAINTING broken up into numerous small individual scenes.

The civil wars of the 1320s and 1340s brought architectural activity in the capital to a virtual end. Constantinopolitan architectural style was transplanted elsewhere (e.g., MESEMBRIA, SKOPJE and vicinity, Bursa), presumably by migrant workshops, which found themselves employed by Bulgarian, Serbian, and Ottoman patrons. A few centers, such as THESSALONIKE and MISTRA, kept the local architectural traditions alive beyond the early demise of Byz. architectural production in Constantinople. (See also CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF.)

LIT. R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*[4] (Harmondsworth 1986). C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*[2] (London 1986). A.L. Jakobson, *Zakonomernosti v razvitii srednevekovoj architektury XI–XV vv.* (Leningrad 1987). H. Buchwald, "Der Stilbegriff in der byzantinischen Architektur," *JÖB* 36 (1986) 303–16. –S.Ć.

ARCHITRAVE. See EPISTYLE.

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, the last major monument of ancient Rome, located between the Roman Forum and the Colosseum. It was probably begun in 312, directly after the victory of Constantine I at the MILVIAN BRIDGE, and completed by 315. It was dedicated to Constantine I and presumably paid for by the senate. A triple arch (see ARCH, MONUMENTAL) faced in marble, it has engaged columns resting on bases that depict captives; in the spandrels are figures of Victory, while other personifications include the SEASONS and river gods. Friezes of Constantine's ADLOCUTIO and distribution of LARGESS appear on the north side, his siege of Verona and the battle at the Milvian Bridge on the south. SPOLIA above these friezes and elsewhere on the monument are reliefs of the deeds of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius with their heads recut. Inscriptions on either side of the central passage proclaim the emperor to be the liberator of the city and the source of peace. While this program, like that of

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other Roman arches, celebrates imperial authority and victory, it has been read by Pierce (*infra*) as Constantine's appropriation of the achievements of earlier emperors. No recognizable Christian signs appear on the arch. Rather, Constantine and his victories are associated with the SOL INVICTUS whose image occurs four times. The style and iconography of the Constantinian parts of the monument are almost universally interpreted as harbingers of Byz. art.

LIT. P. Pierce, "The Arch of Constantine: Propaganda and Ideology in Late Roman Art," *Art History* 12 (1989) 387–418. J. Ruysschaert, "Essai d'interprétation synthétique de l'Arc de Constantin," *RendPontAcc* 35 (1962–63) 79–100. B. Berenson, *The Arch of Constantine* (London 1954). –A.C.

ARCH OF GALERIUS. Located in Thessalonike, the Arch of Galerius is not a true monumental arch, but more properly part of a tetrapylon that was expanded into an octopylon through the addition of piers for secondary passageways. It was located between the Rotunda of St. George to the north and the palace of Galerius to the south; only the west side of the structure is partially preserved. The original monumental complex, which was probably domed, spanned an important street running east to west: the central passage of the arch crossed the roadway, while the two smaller side passages continued what were undoubtedly colonnaded walkways. It provided a monumental entrance and a point of transition between the city and the sacred area of the palace. The structure was begun in 299 and construction continued at least to 303. It was made of a core of irregular stone blocks, faced with marble revetment in its lower section and with brick above. Statues of the emperors presumably looked out from the top to east and west. It was of impressive size, with the keystone of the surviving central archway 12.28 m above the modern pavement; its width is 9.70 m.

The piers are covered with reliefs arranged in horizontal zones separated by bands decorated with ribbons or garlands. The sculptures depict and celebrate Galerius's victory over the Persians in 297. Various historical scenes can be identified, such as Galerius and Diocletian sacrificing, Galerius speaking to his troops, and the emperor victorious in battle; these scenes are not arranged in any particular order, however, and are mixed with generic scenes of processions and personifications of victories. The "arch" is a prime example of Tetrarchic art, with figures often outlined rather than carved in relief, little concern for scale, and a desire to fill every part of the surface with decoration.

LIT. H.P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* (Berlin 1975). Spieser, *Thessalonique* 99–104. M. Rothman, "The Thematic Organization of the Panel Reliefs of the Arch of Galerius," *AJA* 81 (1977) 427–54. –T.E.G.

ARCHON (ἄρχων), a word used in antiquity primarily to denote a magistrate. In Byz. *archontes* were synonymous with *megistanes* and *dynatoi*; the term signified any officials who possessed power. In the words of Symeon the Theologian, *archontes* were those who had honor (*time*) and power (*arche*); he further defined the *strategoi* and *archontes* as the emperor's servants and friends who—unlike the common people—had personal contact with the monarch. Some subordinates of high-ranking officials (e.g., *strategoi*) were also called *archontes*.

In a technical sense, *archon* designated first of all a governor. The 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij lists *archontes* of Crete, Dalmatia, Cyprus (a 9th-C. seal of an *archon* of Cyprus—Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.852), and so on, whereas seals of the 10th–12th C. mention *archontes* of certain towns, such as Krateia and Klaudioupolis, Chrysopolis, Athens, Panion, etc.; accordingly the term *archontia* was employed to describe the district administered by an *archon*. The term could be applied also to independent princes, such as the *archon* of Rhosia (A.V. Soloviev, *Byzantion* 31 [1961] 237–44).

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 72. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 131–39. Ja. Ferluga, "Archon," in *Tradition als historische Kraft* (Berlin–New York 1982) 254–66. –A.K.

ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION (ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐργοδοσίων), directors of state *ergasteria* (see FACTORIES, IMPERIAL) that produced primarily silk, jewelry, and weapons. Seals of many *archontes* of silk workshops (*tou blattiou*) are dated to the 7th and 8th C. *Archontes ton ergodosion* were sometimes called *ergasteriarchai* and combined their functions with those of the KOMMERKIARIOI. According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, *archontes*, along with the *meizoteroi* ("foremen") of workshops, belonged to the staff of the EIDIKON. On seals from the 9th C. onward they are often called KOURATORES. A certain Thomas, *eskeptor ton blattion*, recorded on a 7th-C. seal, was probably not director of a single workshop, but of a group of textile manufacturers. The office of the *archon* of the *chrysochoeion* (gold workshop) is also known; his relationship to the *archon* of the CHARAGE is unclear.

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:323–43, 708f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 338–42. –A.K.

ARCHONTOPOULOS (ἀρχοντόπουλος), according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:108.20), a term invented by Alexios I, meaning "a son of an *archon*." The *tagma* of *archontopouloi* was created in 1090/1 and consisted of about 2,000 young men, the sons of soldiers who had fallen in battle. The *tagma* is not attested in sources after the reign of Alexios (Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 52). The term *archontopoulos* (also, neut. pl. *archontopoula;* in an act of 1478, fem. *archontopoulai*—MM 3:260.2) was a generic designation of the nobility of second rank: thus Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, in a chrysobull of 1346, speaks of his *archontes* and *archontopouloi* who served as his administrators (*Zogr.*, no.37.49). *Archontes* and *archontopouloi* are known also in Venetian Crete (Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.I [1976], 23f). In 1261 a group of *archontopouloi* were to receive *exaleimmata* and other properties in the Maeander valley with an "appropriate monetary *posotes*" for the sake of their *oikonomia*; thus, evidently in the form of a *pronoia* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.66.3–4). Before 1348, *archontopouloi* in Serres seized a monastic *metochion* with its *proskathemenoi* (*Koutloum.*, no.21.3). *Archontopouloi* are also attested in the Morea, Trebizond, and Epiros.

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 177. N. Oikonomides, "A propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnes de soldats," *TM* 8 (1981) 355. –M.B.

ARCOSOLIUM (term found only in Christian Lat. inscriptions, lit. an arch over a throne or urn), an arched niche, usually for a TOMB, carved out of or built in front of a wall. Such recesses are known as early as the 3rd C.; in 4th-C. CATACOMBS the tympanum beneath the arch often received painted decoration. Carved *arcosolia* were esp. favored in Palaiologan Constantinople (South Church of LIPS MONASTERY); the most lavish examples are the hoods over the tombs in the CHORA MONASTERY.

LIT. J. Kollwitz, *RAC* 1:643–45. –A.C.

ARCRUNI, or Artsruni, an Armenian princely lineage, some of whose members settled in Byz. territory in the early 11th C. A 12th-C. continuator of the Armenian chronicle by Thomas Arcruni (ca.900), the *History of the House of the Arcruni*, relates that the resettlement was smooth and peaceful: the Arcruni received lands, towns, and high titles (*Thomas Artsruni: History of the House of the Artsrunik'*, tr. R. Thomson [Detroit 1985] 370f). They retained the Gregorian creed. Senekerim (Σεναχηρείμ) Arcruni, last king of VASPURAKAN, became *strategos* of Cappadocia in 1021 or 1022 and lord (?) of Sebasteia and other towns and estates (Skyl. 354f). His son David helped suppress the rebellion of Nikephoros PHOKAS (1022) and was rewarded with Caesarea, Tzamandos, and other lands (H. Berberian, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 553); he inherited Sebasteia after his father's death in 1025. David's successor, his brother Atom (Ašot), ruled Sebasteia from 1035; in 1079/80 Atom sided with Gagik of Kars in a feud against the local Greek lords of the Mandales family in a futile attempt to rescue Gagik of Ani.

Other Armenian nobles who moved to Byz. simultaneously with Senekerim Arcruni include his nephew (?) Derenik and another relative, Abelgharib Arcruni. The latter received Sis, Adana, and several other towns. Circa 1080 his residence was Tarsos, and he apparently adopted the Chalcedonian creed. Probably some Arcrunis entered the Byz. ruling elite and took the family name of Senacherim: THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid (ep. 77.22–23) complained of Senacherim "the Assyrian" who originated from Mesopotamia; Alexios I entrusted Theodore Senacherim with distributing lands among monasteries (*Xénoph.*, no.1.92–93). It is unclear whether Senacherim, an early 13th-C. general, and (another?) Senacherim, governor of Nikopolis (Epiros) in 1204, were related to this family.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 33–36. –A.K.

ARCULF. See ADOMNAN.

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ARDABOURIOS (Ἀρδαβούριος), consul (447); *magister militum* of the East and *patrikios* under Marcian; died Constantinople 471. Oldest son of ASPAR the Alan, he commanded troops in both East and West and reportedly helped his father secure the elevation of Leo I. In 459 he sent a detachment of Gothic soldiers to guard the corpse of St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder. In 466/7, when Leo accused Ardabourios of entering into treasonable correspondence with the Persians, he was deprived of his rank (vita of DANIEL THE STYLITE, 55). After he instigated open revolt in Thrace in 469/70, he and his father were executed; his brothers Patrikios and Ermanaric survived. His grandson was AREOBINDUS, consul in 506.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:316–20. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* 223–26. *PLRE* 2:135–37. A. Demandt, "Der Kelch von Ardabur und Anthusa," *DOP* 40 (1986) 113–17. –T.E.G.

AREIA, MONASTERY OF, called Hagia Mone or Nea Mone, was founded near NAUPLIA shortly before 1143 by Leo, bishop of Argos and Nauplia (ca.1143–ca.1157), who was a nephew of Constantine Antzas (see ANZAS). Leo originally established the monastery, dedicated to the Virgin, at Areia (Ἄρεια) as a convent for 36 nuns. Circa 1143, however, he was forced by the threat of pirate raids to move the nuns farther inland to a new convent that he built at Bouze. He then installed 36 monks at Areia. In Oct. 1143, Leo composed a memorandum (*hypomnema*) in which he guaranteed the monastery's independent status. He also prepared a *typikon*, based on that of STOUDIOS, but more lenient in some of its provisions; for example, he urged the monks to bathe weekly and permitted two meals daily during the fast days preceding the feast of the Holy Apostles, "because the days are longer." In 1212 the region of Nauplia was occupied by the Franks, and in 1389 it came under Venetian control, but the monastery remained in the hands of Orthodox monks. It retained its independence until 1679, when it became a *metochion* of the Holy Sepulchre.

The cross-in-square monastic church, dedicated to the Zoödochos Pege (Life-giving Source), was completed by 1149, the date of a dedicatory plaque that names Leo as *ktetor*. Built of brick on a high foundation, it is decorated on the exterior with marble crosses and maeander friezes, like Merbaka and other churches in ARGOLIS. Of its interior ornament little remains save for the elaborate composite capitals of the four columns beneath the dome.

LIT. G.A. Choras, *He "Hagia Mone" Areias* (Athens 1975). A. Struck, "Vier byzantinischen Kirchen der Argolis," *MDAI AA* 34 (1909) 210–34. –A.M.T., A.C.

ARENGA. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

AREOBINDUS (Ἀρεόβινδος), more fully Flavius Areobindus Dagalaiphus Areobindus; died after 512. He was the grandson of ARDABOURIOS and the son of Dagalaiphus and Godisthea, and thus an Alan; in 478/9 he married ANICIA JULIANA, daughter of the Western emperor Olybrius. Despite the fall of his family in 471, Areobindus had a distinguished military career, serving as *magister militum* of the East in 503–04, along with HYPATIOS and KELER. At this time he withstood a Persian invasion and devastated Persian Armenia. He served as consul in 506. In 512 the opposition to Anastasios I sought to make Areobindus emperor, but he had already gone into hiding. Five examples of his consular diptychs are preserved.

LIT. *PLRE* 2:143f. –T.E.G.

ARETHAS, Arab martyred ca.520 in NAJRĀN; saint; feastday 24 Oct. When the judaizing Ḥimyarite king, Yūsuf, came to power ca.520, he wanted—according to the sources—to stamp out Christianity in South Arabia, esp. at Najrān. Arethas, the chief of Najrān, resisted the overtures of Yūsuf to surrender the city, but was finally overruled by his counselors. Yūsuf violated the terms of the capitulation and asked the Christians to apostasize. Those who refused were martyred, among them Arethas, who was decapitated. A hagiographical version of his speech before death is preserved. The martyrdom of Arethas and his companions had far-reaching consequences. It convulsed the Christian Orient and occasioned a successful Byz.-Ethiopian expedition (see AXUM) against South Arabia to avenge the martyrs. The Ethiopian king made Arethas's son chief of Najrān and built three churches there, one of which was dedicated to the "Holy Martyrs and the Glorious Arethas." Arethas and his companions were moderate Monophysites close to the views of SEVEROS of Antioch. A possible echo of the martyrdoms of Najrān may be detected in chapter 85 of the Qur'ān.

Representation in Art. Illustrations of ten episodes of this story accompany an 11th-C. MS with the *passio* of Arethas by SYMEON METAPHRASTES (Athos, Esphig. 14, fols. 136r–136v; *Treasures* 2, pl.212f): the city of Najrān besieged, the Christians outside its walls taken into slavery, and the city opening its gates to Yūsuf, etc. There are occasional representations of just the beheading of the elderly bearded nobleman and his companions (e.g., MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.135), but Arethas is otherwise rarely represented.

LIT. I. Shahid, "Byzantium in South Arabia," *DOP* 33 (1979) 23–94. Idem, *The Martyrs of Najran. New Documents* (Brussels 1971). G.L. Huxley, "On the Greek Martyrium of the Negranites," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 8 (1980) 41–55. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 5:242f. –I.A.Sh., N.P.Š.

ARETHAS (al-Ḥārith), king of the GHASSĀNIDS (529–69), son of JABALA; not to be confused with Arethas, the king of KINDA. Around 529 Justinian I put him in command of almost all the Arab FOEDERATI in Oriens and thus centralized federate power. As supreme PHYLARCH Arethas fought for Byz. in all its eastern wars. He participated regularly in the two Persian Wars of Justinian's reign, distinguishing himself at the battle of KALLINIKOS and in the campaign of 541 in "Assyria." He fought his LAKHMID adversaries on various occasions and finally defeated ALAMUNDARUS of Ḥīra at a battle near Chalkis in 554. He also conducted punitive expeditions in the Arabian peninsula. A staunch Monophysite, Arethas contributed substantially to the revival of the Monophysite church in Oriens. He was instrumental in the consecration of JACOB BARADAEUS and Theodore as bishop ca.540. He also defended Monophysitism against teachings such as the alleged TRITHEISM of Eugenios and Konon. In recognition of his services to the empire, Arethas was made *gloriosissimus*; he was also *patrikios*.

LIT. I. Kawar, "The Patriciate of Arethas," *BZ* 52 (1959) 321–43. –I.A.Sh.

ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, scholar and politician, archbishop of Caesarea (from 902); born in Patras mid-9th C., died after 932 (according to Beck [*Kirche* 591], not before 944). During the struggle over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, Arethas first supported NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, then sided with the emperor. As theologian Arethas produced a commentary on the Apocalypse (based primarily on that of ANDREW of Caesarea) and other exegetical works. Deeply interested in antiquity, Arethas acquired a large library, commissioning some MSS, adding SCHOLIA to others. Some scholia form a polemical dialogue with the author, some allude to contemporary affairs: criticism of the luxury at Basil I's court, ridicule of Stylianos ZAOUTZES, references to the war with Bulgaria, or the dispute over the tetragamy. Some of Arethas's letters expressed his views on Leo's marriage (Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.VII [1956], 293–372). In others he discussed the books he had read (Č. Milovanović, *ZbFilozFak* 14.1 [Belgrade 1979] 59–67). He also wrote homilies and pamphlets. One, esp. vitriolic, accused Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES of pagan beliefs. The attribution of some of his writings still remains disputable; Jenkins (*Studies*, pt.XI [1963], 168) rejected and P. Karlin-Hayter (*Byzantion* 35 [1965] 455–81) defended Arethas's authorship of the letter to a Saracen emir; J. Koder (*JÖB* 25 [1976] 75–80) saw in Arethas the author of the CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA.

Arethas has been severely judged by modern scholars as "a narrow-minded, bad-hearted man" (R. Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries* [London 1966] 219) and his style criticized as turgid; in fact Arethas rejected the ideal of plain speech, and consciously ornamented his vocabulary "with proverbs, quotations, allusions, and poetic lines, like multi-colored mosaic cubes" (Westerink, *infra* 1:189.26–31), thus paving the way for the revival of Byz. rhetoric.

ED. *Scripta minora*, ed. L. Westerink, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1968–72). PG 106:500–785. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 75.

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 237–80. S.B. Kougeas, *Ho Kaisareias Arethas kai to ergon autou* (Athens 1913). Karlin-Hayter, *Studies*, pts.VII–IX (1964–65). A. Meschini, *Il Codice vallicelliano di Areta* (Padua 1972). –A.K.

ARGOLID (Ἀργολίς), area of the northeastern PELOPONNESOS divided into two distinct regions: a rich central plain and a mountainous perimeter. The main city was Argos, but in late antiquity Epidauros, Methana, Troizen, and Hermione also had civic status. Remains of that date, both ecclesiastical and secular, are attested from these sites (on Epidauros, see Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 118,

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fig.72); the Argolid may have had its own school of mosaicists. After devastation by invasions in the late 6th and 7th C. the Argolid was partially settled by Slavs (Yannopoulos, *infra*), but the Byz. regained control of the area by the 9th C.

The first attested bishop of Argos participated in the "Robber" Council of Ephesus in 449; by the 10th C. Argos was combined with NAUPLIA as a bishopric. In 1188/9 Isaac II promoted the see of Nauplia-Argos to the status of metropolis. Another important ecclesiastical center was Troizen, mentioned still in 787; by the time of Leo VI the see was renamed Damalas and its bishop considered the *protothronos* of the metropolitan of Corinth (i.e., above Nauplia-Argos); Damalas is found in the episcopal lists to the end of the empire.

In the 12th C. the Argolid was particularly wealthy, if the number of surviving churches is any measure. They are found not only in the plain, at Argos, Chonika, Merbaka, AREIA, and elsewhere, but also in the mountainous east at Ligourio (Ch. Bouras, *DChAE*[4] 7 [1973–74] 1–30) and Damalas. Most of these churches display a similarity of style that suggests a local school of architecture. In the late 12th C. powerful landowners came to the fore, the most important of whom was Leo SGOUROS. After 1205 the Argolid fell under the control of the duke of Athens, and Frankish forts were built (or rebuilt) at the Larissa of Argos, Nauplia, and in the pass at Agionori. The Venetians came to dominate the east coast and, after a brief restoration of Byz. power, the Argolid fell finally to the Ottomans in 1458.

LIT. H. Megaw, "The Chronology of Some Middle Byzantine Churches," *BSA* 32 (1931–32) 90–130. B. Konte, "Symbole sten historike geographia tou nomou Argolidos," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 169–202. P.A. Yannopoulos, "La pénétration slave en Argolide," in *Études argiennes* (Paris 1980) 323–71. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:424–30. –T.E.G.

ARGOS. See ARGOLID.

ARGYROKASTRON (Ἀργυρόκαστρον, mod. Gjirokastra in Albania), on the left bank of the River Drino, strongly fortified city, known only from the 14th to 15th C. In 1338–39 Argyrokastron supported Andronikos III but later it was in Albanian hands; in 1418 it fell to the Turks under Hamza Beg and served as a Turkish stronghold against Albanian resistance. The surviving fortifications, much rebuilt in early modern times, are Byz., and pottery of the 12th–13th C. has been found.

LIT. *TIB* 3:11f. –T.E.G.

ARGYROPOULOS, JOHN, writer and teacher in Constantinople and Italy; born Constantinople? ca.1393/4 (Canivet-Oikonomides) or ca.1415? (Cammelli), died Rome 26 June 1487. Argyropoulos (Ἀργυρόπουλος) is first attested as a member of the Byz. delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438/9. From 1441 to 1443 he studied at the University of Padua, learning fluent Latin and earning a degree in letters and medicine; at the same time he gave private Greek lessons. He returned to Constantinople, and by 1448 was teaching at the Mouseion of the XENON OF THE KRAL; a pro-Unionist, he had converted to Catholicism by this time as well. After the fall of Constantinople, he emigrated in 1456 to Florence, where for 15 years he taught Greek philosophy, primarily Aristotle and to a lesser extent Plato. His students included Lorenzo de' Medici. He is credited with shifting the interests of Florentine humanists from rhetoric to the metaphysical philosophy of Plato. In 1471 he moved to Rome, where he joined the curia of Pope Sixtus IV, then under the leadership of BESSARION. With the exception of a four-year residence in Florence (1477–81), he spent the rest of his life in Rome as teacher and translator.

Argyropoulos made Latin translations of Aristotle (the *Nicomachean Ethics*), Porphyry, and Basil the Great. His own writings, in both Latin and Greek, were varied: his rhetorical works include a monody for Emp. John VIII (Lampros, *Pal. kai Pel.* 3:313–19), three orations to Constantine XI, and an introduction to the *Progymnasmata* of APHTHONIOS. In theology, he composed treatises on the Holy Spirit and the Council of Florence (PG 158:991–1008), and 12 short *erotapokriseis*. P. Canivet and N. Oikonomides (*Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 5–97) have proposed that Argyropoulos is the author of an invective against a certain Katablattas.

ED. S.P. Lampros, *Argyropouleia* (Athens 1910). For complete list of ed. and tr., see Cammelli, *infra* 183–87.

LIT. D. Geanakoplos, "The Italian Renaissance and Byzantium: The Career of the Greek Humanist-Professor John Argyropoulos in Florence and Rome (1415–1487)," *Conspectus of History* 1.1 (1974) 12–28. G. Cammelli, *Giovanni Argiropulo* (Florence 1941). V. Brown, "Giovanni Argiropulo on the Agent Intellect," in *Essays in Honour of A.Ch. Pegis* (Toronto 1974) 160–75. *PLP*, no.1267. –A.M.T.

ARGYROPRATES (ἀργυροπράτης, lit. "seller of silver," Lat. *argentarius*), term that in the 6th C. primarily designated a moneylender. *Argyropratai* were known in Alexandria and other large cities, but the *argyropratai* of Constantinople were esp. rich and influential. Their private activities (lending money at 8 percent INTEREST, mediating in the sale of precious objects, guaranteeing payment of DEBTS) were combined with various state functions that enabled some of them to acquire significant wealth and exercise political influence. Several seals of *argyropratai* (some of them collective, belonging to two men) dated to the 7th–8th C. imply that their official activity continued long after Justinian I, who devoted three special laws to *argyropratai*. Some *argyropratai*, like JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS," were wealthy enough to build churches. The function of the *argyroprates* as a moneylender is still found in the 9th-C. *Basilika*.

The term *argyroprates* also designated a vendor of gold and silver. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.2) describes the guild of the *argyropratai* as primarily concerned with the sale of gold and silver objects, of bullion, and of precious stones. It is unclear, however, to what extent these 10th-C. *argyropratai* functioned as craftsmen (see JEWELERS). Although there is one reference in the *Book of the Eparch* to the *argyroprates* serving as a money changer (ch.2.3), most of their financial operations seem to have been shifted to the *trapezitai* or BANKERS, who formed a separate guild. The term *argyroprates* virtually disappears after the 10th C.

LIT. *Bk. of Eparch* 127–40. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 20–23. A. Čekalova, "Konstantinopol'skie argiropraty v epochu Justiniana," *VizVrem* 34 (1973) 15–21. S. Barnish, "The Wealth of Iulianus Argentarius," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 5–38. –A.K., A.C.

ARGYROS ('Αργυρός, fem. 'Αργυρή, "silver"), or Argyropoulos ('Αργυρόπουλος), a noble lineage flourishing from the mid-9th to the mid-11th C. The family founder, Leo Argyros, came from the theme of Charsianon, where the Argyroi possessed lands (*TheophCont* 374.6–12). They functioned predominantly as *strategoi* (of Anatolikon, Sebasteia, Vaspurakan, Italy, etc.); the *patrikios* Marianos was *domestikos ton scholon* under Nikephoros II Phokas, and the *patrikios* Pothos was *domestikos ton exkoubiton* ca.958. ROMANOS III ARGYROS, the only known Argyros in civil service (eparch and *megas oikonomos*), became emperor in 1028. The sons of Romanos's brother Basil participated in the revolt of Isaac I Komnenos of 1057. Alexios (I) Komnenos planned a marriage with a daughter of a certain very wealthy Argyros (Bryen. 221.12–17), but the fiancée died. In the 12th C. the Argyroi lost their high position, but the family is attested through the 15th C. The Argyropouloi were active in Thessalonike in the 15th C.: they leased a tenement from IVERON and improved the land (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.102). The family produced several intellectuals: the astronomer Isaac Argyros, the humanist John Argyropoulos, the musician Manuel Argyropoulos (see ARGYROS, ISAAC and ARGYROPOULOS, JOHN). The relation of the Byz. Argyroi with the Argyroi of Bari (i.e., ARGYROS, son of Melo) is unclear.

LIT. J.F. Vannier, *Familles byzantines; Les Argyroi (IXe–XIIe siècles)* (Paris 1975) and critical notes W. Seibt, *JÖB* 26 (1977) 323–26, and A. Kazhdan *ByzF* 12 (1987) 69f. J. Ferluga, "Počeci jedne vizantijske aristokratske porodice—Argiri," *ZbFilozFak* 12.1 (1974) 153–67. *PLP*, nos. 1249–92. –A.K.

ARGYROS, son of Melo of Bari; *magistros, vestes,* and *doux* of Italy, Calabria, Sicily, and Paphlagonia (1051–58); born ca.1000, died after 1058, possibly Bari 1068. During Melo's first revolt, Argyros and his mother were sent to Constantinople. Returning to Italy in 1029, Argyros repeatedly rebelled against the Byz., in 1042 with Norman assistance. When his opponent, the *katepano* George MANIAKES, tried to usurp the Byz. throne, Argyros went over to the emperor (Sept. 1042). Summoned to Constantinople in 1045, he assisted in defeating Leo TORNIKIOS, but quarreled with Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. In 1051 he returned to Bari, as its first Lombard governor. To halt the Normans, he sought an alliance with Pope LEO IX. The alliance materialized, but in 1053 Argyros and Leo were separately defeated and the pope taken prisoner. From captivity, Leo sent Cardinal HUMBERT to Keroularios. Humbert's embassy (1054) visited Bari, and eventually Keroularios claimed Argyros had forged offensive papal letters and had Argyros's son and son-

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in-law arrested. Argyros vainly strove to renew the papal-Byz. alliance until relieved of office (mid-1058). The praenomen "Argyros" seems unconnected with the Byz. family of Argyros.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 59–62, 97f. J.-F. Vannier, *Familles byzantines: Les Argyroi (IXe–XIIe siècles)* (Paris 1975) 57f. –C.M.B.

ARGYROS, ISAAC, mathematician, astronomer, and theologian; born Thrace? between 1300 and 1310, died ca.1375. A student of Nikephoros GREGORAS, the monk Argyros was the leading Byz. champion of Ptolemaic ASTRONOMY in the 1360s and 1370s. He wrote a *Construction of New Tables* and a *Construction of New Tables of Conjunctions and Oppositions* (of the sun and moon), for both of which the epoch is 1 Sept. 1367. In them he recomputes for the Roman calendar and the longitude of Constantinople the mean motions of the sun, moon, and planets, and the syzygies that PTOLEMY had tabulated in the *Almagest* according to the Egyptian calendar and the longitude of Alexandria. These tables were soon plagiarized and criticized by John ABRAMIOS (Pingree, "Astrological School" 196f). In 1367/8 Argyros wrote a treatise on the ASTROLABE (ed. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:236–53), closely based on the similar treatise of Gregoras. In late 1372 he dedicated a work on the COMPUTUS (PG 19:1279–1316) to Andronikos Oinaiotes (A. Mentz, *Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung bei den Byzantinern* [Königsberg 1906] 27–29); in this work he indicates that he was at Ainos in Thrace in 1318 (Mercati, *Notizie* 233–36). He also wrote scholia on THEON, but did not write, as has been alleged, the anonymous *Instructions for the Persian Tables*.

Argyros's mathematical works include one on the square roots of nonsquare numbers (A. Allard, *Centaurus* 22 [1978] 1–43); a treatise based on Heron's *Geometrics* concerning the reduction of nonright to right triangles and other geometrical problems, composed in 1367/8; and a *Method of Geodesy*, also based on Heron (J.L. Heiberg, *Heronis Alexandrini Opera*, vol. 5 [Leipzig 1914] xcviii–cii). He also wrote scholia to Ptolemy's *Geography* and edited with scholia his *Harmonics* (I. Düring, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios* [Göteborg 1930] xxxiii, lxvi).

Like Gregoras, Argyros supported BARLAAM OF CALABRIA in the Palamite controversy. He wrote three anti-Palamite treatises, including an attack on Theodore Dexios's concept of the light on Mt. Tabor (M. Candal, *OrChrP* 23 [1957] 80–113).

ED. Scholia on Theon—ed. N. Halma, *Tables manuelles astronomiques*, pt.3 (Paris 1825) 59–74; pt.4 (Paris 1825) 67–117.

LIT. Mercati, *Notizie* 229–46, 270–82. *PLP*, no.1285. –D.P.

ARIADNE (Ἀριάδνη), in Greek mythology daughter of Minos and spouse of THESEUS; after Theseus had deserted her, she married DIONYSOS. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, in the 47th book of his *Dionysiaka*, concentrates on the sudden transformation of the abandoned and lamenting Ariadne into the happy bride of her "heavenly wooer" and describes her triumphal wedding; when in the battle against Perseus Ariadne was turned into stone (*petrodes nymphe*), Nonnos notes that she was happy in her death "because she found one so great to slay her" and because she was taken up to the heavens. The idea of happiness through death was important for the world view of the 5th C. MALALAS emphasized another aspect of the myth of Ariadne: he eliminates the theme of Ariadne's romantic attraction to Theseus, made her the wife promised him by the Cretans if he destroyed the Minotaur, and finally claimed that she retired to "the temple of Zeus" (instead of marrying Dionysos).

The name Ariadne was popular in the late Roman period. Leo I's daughter ARIADNE became an empress, and a legend tells of a saint Ariadne, a young bond-maid in Phrygia who fled from persecutions and found a happy death disappearing into a rock (*petra*).

LIT. Reinert, *Myth* 552–55. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "La leggenda di S. Ariadne," *ST* 6 (1901) 91–113. –A.K.

ARIADNE, more fully Aelia Ariadne, augusta; born before 457, died Constantinople end of 515. The elder daughter of Emp. Leo I and VERINA, Ariadne married Zeno in 466/7 and Anastasios I on 20 May 491. Since Leo had no sons, Ariadne's marriages served to perpetuate the dynasty. Her union with Zeno also signified Leo's alliance with the Isaurians against ASPAR and marked an important point in the growth of anti-Germanic sentiment in Constantinople. Upon the death of Leo (474), her son Leo II became emperor but soon died, leaving power in Zeno's hands. Ariadne may have been involved in the revolt of BASILISKOS and sought to soften Zeno's anger against her mother in the aftermath. When Zeno died in 491 Ariadne dominated the court and chose Anastasios I to succeed him.

An unusually large number of portraits of Ariadne survive in marble and ivory, a fact to be explained perhaps by her dominance over her consorts and repeated status as sole heir to the imperial office (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 24–25).

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:390–95, 429–32. W. Hahn, "Die Münzprägung für Aelia Ariadne," in *Byzantios* 101–06. D. Stutzinger, "Das Bronzebildnis einer spätantiken Kaiserin aus Balajnac im Museum von Niš," *JbAChr* 29 (1986) 146–65. –T.E.G., A.C.

ARIANISM, subordinationist heresy that denied the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son; it was named for its main proponent ARIUS. Arianism involved a dispute about the relationship of members of the TRINITY: it taught that the Son was not coeternal with the Father but was created by him from nothing. This preserved the monarchy of the Father and a strict monotheism but raised problems concerning SALVATION since the sacrifice of a Christ who was less than fully God might prevent the genuine deification (THEOSIS) of mankind. Arianism arose in Alexandria, where it was condemned by the bishop Alexander; it gained many adherents, however, throughout the East, including EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA. At the Council of NICAEA in 325 the Orthodox party, led by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, was successful in securing the acceptance of a declaration that Christ was HOMOOUSIOS with the Father, which resulted in the condemnation of Arianism. Emp. Constantine I, who at first supported the decisions of Nicaea, soon began to waver; the exiled Arians were recalled in 328 and many Orthodox bishops, including Athanasios, were banished.

Constantius II openly supported Arianism and persecuted the Orthodox; several councils in the East attempted to heal the rift through a variety of compromises. As a result several forms of Arianism developed. Most extreme were the Anomoians, who emphasized the difference between the Father and the Son, but the Homoians, the HOMOIOUSIANS, and the PNEUMATOMACHOI represented other variations; prominent Arian spokesmen included AETIOS and EUNOMIOS. The struggle between Arians and Orthodox also reflected rivalry among various bishops, esp. those of Constantinople and Alexandria; Arianism may have been a particularly important urban phenomenon in the East, esp. in Constantinople, and the social orientation of Arian monks may help explain the movement's initial success.

After the death of Constantius II Orthodoxy gained ascendancy in the West, although in the East the emperor Valens was an Arian. The final victory of Orthodoxy came under Theodosios I at the Council of Constantinople in 381 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), and the sect slowly disappeared from the East. In the West, Arianism remained a pressing problem since many Germanic tribes had been converted by Arian missionaries and this religious difference long remained the line between Romania and Germania.

Later legends often dwell on the heinous behavior of the Arians. An unknown chronicler Ankyrianos (sometimes but groundlessly identified as NEILOS OF ANKYRA) was quoted as stating that the Arians burned portraits of the 4th-C. bishops of Constantinople displayed at the Milion (see MESE) together with an image of the Virgin and Child (*Parastaseis* 68.13–70.2); later MS illustrations show them burning Orthodox churches (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.LII). John of Damascus (*Imag.* 3:90.33–43, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 3:183), reports, referring to THEODORE LECTOR (*HE* 131f), that an emperor (the name, Anastasios, may be an insertion of John) commissioned a painting showing the death of the Arian Olympios who had insulted the Trinity. As late as the THEODORE PSALTER (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration II*, fig.176), the Arians are depicted as opponents of Orthodox beliefs.

SOURCE. H.G. Opitz, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites* (Berlin 1934).

LIT. E. Boularand, *L'Hérésie d'Arius et la 'Foi' de Nicée*, 2 vols. (Paris 1972–73). H.M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*[2] (Cambridge 1900). R. Gregg. D. Groh. *Early Arianism: A View of Salvation* (London 1981). M. Simonetti, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo* (Rome 1975). H.A. Wolfson, "Philosophical Implications of Arianism and Apollinarianism," *DOP* 12 (1958) 3–28. G. Telepneff, J. Thornton, "Arian Transcendence and the Notion of *Theosis* in Saint Athanasios," *GOrThR* 32 (1987) 271–77. –T.E.G., A.C.

ʿARĪB IBN SAʿD AL-QURṬUBĪ, Arab historian from Cordoba; died 980? He held several positions under the Spanish Umayyads, serving as governor of Osuna in 943 and as secretary to one

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ruler, perhaps al-Ḥakam II (961–76). A practicing physician, he wrote on various medical subjects. He was deemed a competent philologist, and his astronomical, meteorological, and agricultural calendar was incorporated into the so-called *Calendar of Cordoba*.

His best-known work was a history epitomizing the annals of al-Ṭabarī and continuing the narrative into the 960s. Most of this work is apparently lost, but the MS Gotha 261 has been identified as the section for the years 903–32. This text focuses on Iraq, Spain, and North Africa, but includes no less than 12 accounts of conflicts with Byz. along the Thughūr (see ʿAwāṣim and Thughūr) as well as a brief report on a maritime expedition organized from al-Fusṭāṭ in 931. It also discusses diplomatic negotiations and Byz. embassies to Baghdad in 907 and 917.

ED. *Ṣila ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. M.A.F. Ibrāhīm in his *Dhuyūl ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī* (Cairo 1969) 9–184.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:48–63. C. Pellat, *EI*² 1:628. Sezgin, *GAS* 1:327. –L.I.C.

ARILJE, a monastery in the western Serbian town of the same name, the seat of the Serbian bishops of Moravica. The main church, dedicated to St. Achilleios of Larissa, was founded by the Nemanjid ruler Stefan Dragutin, the elder son of Stefan Uroš I, before 1296. Its essentially Byz. church plan has a single nave with short cross arms for the choir, a dome on pendentives, a tripartite sanctuary, and a narthex. Its façade is decorated with a row of shallow arcades under the roof. According to a fragmentary inscription preserved in the drum of the dome, the frescoes were painted in 1296. To the traditional elements of a Byz. church program were added depictions of the Tree of Jesse, church councils, the Sacrifice of Abraham, the life of St. Nicholas (Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 40, 236–40), and the figure of a winged John the Baptist as well as portraits of Serbian bishops and archbishops (G. Babić in *Sava Nemanjić* 322–24) and members of the Nemanjid dynasty. The style shows many features typical of Palaiologan art (see Monumental Painting), although certain mistakes in anatomy, the very strong contours that delineate both the figures and the painted architecture, and the relatively dark colors distinguish these frescoes from the best Constantinopolitan achievements of the time. The painters of Arilje were probably Greeks from Thessalonike: an inscription on a window soffit reads "MARPOU," a Thessalonikan political slogan referring to Michael VIII (cf. Djurić, *infra*, and Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:48 n.2, 49.4). The painters' evident preference for figural relief over the color harmonies favored by the previous generation (the Constantinopolitan artists working at Sopoćani) also suggests a Thessalonikan origin for these frescoes.

LIT. M. Čanak-Medić, *Arilje* (Belgrade 1985). Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* 61f. –G.B.

ARISTAINETOS (Ἀριστaίνετος), fictitious author of two books of letters, probably written ca.520 (O. Mazal, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 1–5). The subject is sexual passion, treated in a variety of ways—as miniature romance, dialogue, description, etc. The style is rhetorical and full of quotations from earlier writers (Alkiphron, Menander, Plato, Lucian, etc., none later than about the 3rd C.). These are apparently known extensively and at first hand, a valuable indication of the literary works current in the early 6th C. and of the tastes of the time.

ED. *Epistularum libri II*, ed. O. Mazal (Stuttgart 1971). Russ. tr., S. Poljakova, *Vizantijskaja ljubovnaja proza* (Moscow-Leningrad 1965) 7–45.

LIT. W.G. Arnott, "Pastiche, Pleasantry, Prudish Eroticism: the Letters of 'Aristaenetus,'" *YCS* 27 (1982) 291–320. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

ARISTAKES LASTIVERTCʿI, 11th-C. Armenian historian. Aristakes came from Lastivert, near Erzurum; of his life nothing is known. His *History of Armenia*, describing the period 1000–72, is of particular value for Byz. expansion into Armenia, the collapse of the Bagratid dynasty, the invasions of the Seljuk Turks, and the eventual loss of eastern Anatolia. His attitude to Byz. is ambivalent: he often laments the misfortunes brought upon Armenia by foreign nations, but he blames the Armenians' own sins rather than Byz. malice. For the collapse of Armenian unity in the face of Byz. and Turkish invasions he blames the heresy of the Tondrakites, a group also attacked by Gregory Magistros.

ED. *Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ*, ed. K. Juzbašjan (Erevan 1963). Tr. with comm. M. Canard, H. Berbérian, *Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne* (Brussels 1973).

LIT. K. Juzbašjan, "'Varjagi' i 'pronija' v sočinenii Aristakesa Lastivertci," *VizVrem* 16 (1959) 14–28. Idem, "Dejlemity v 'Povestvovanii' Aristakesa Lastivertci," *PSb* 7 (1962) 146–51. –R.T.

ARISTEIDES, AILIOS, rhetorician of the Second Sophistic; born 117 or 129, died ca.189. In the discussion of the relative values of philosophy and rhetoric, Aristeides took a clear stand against Plato and asserted the primacy of rhetoric. This probably was one of the causes of his popularity in Byz., where his works were copied (one of the best MSS was commissioned by Arethas of Caesarea) and provided with scholia. The Neoplatonist Olympiodoros of Alexandria polemicized against Aristeides, not only in defending Plato but also, in a political context, while attacking the idea of democracy (F. Lenz, *Opuscula selecta* [Amsterdam 1972] 129–34). Aristeides was esp. often used by late Byz. authors such as Planoudes, Thomas Magistros, and Chortasmenos; Theodora Raoulaina copied a MS of his *Orations*. Metochites wrote a comparison of Demosthenes and Aristeides, arguing that the latter rivaled the more ancient orator in his mastery of eloquence and was superior to Demosthenes with regard to his moral and political attitude.

LIT. F. Lenz, *Aristeidesstudien* (Berlin 1964). M. Gigante, "Il saggio critico di Teodoro Metochites su Demostene e Aristide," *ParPass* 20 (1965) 51–92. A. Milazzo, "Una declamazione perduta di Elio Aristide negli scoliasti Ermogeniani del V secolo," *Sileno* 9 (1983) 55–73. –A.K.

ARISTENOS (Ἀριστηνός), a family of civil functionaries, mostly judicial. In the 12th C. Nikephoros Basilakes considered them a well-known lineage (A. Garzya, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 100.147–49); George Tornikios stated that they were famous not for their worldly brilliance but for piety (Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 176f). The Aristenoi are known from the mid-11th C. when at least two of them corresponded with Psellos. Gregory Aristenos, a judge at the trial of John Italos, is probably to be identified with his homonym, the *proedros* of 1094 (Gautier, "Blachernes" 258). Alexios Aristenos was an ecclesiastical official and canonist (see Aristenos, Alexios). Basil served as judge in 1196 (MM 4:305.12–13). Several Aristenoi are known only by their seals: an eparch (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.1036); a judge (no.901); Michael, the *logothetes tou dromou* (no.439); Basil, the *parathalassites* (no.1132). The family did not survive the fall of Constantinople in 1204. –A.K.

ARISTENOS, ALEXIOS, mid-12th-C. canonist. Under Emp. John II Komnenos, Aristenos wrote a commentary on the Nomokanon (A. Pavlov, *ŽMNP* 303 [Jan. 1896] 172f) that probably antedated that of Zonaras. He fulfilled both ecclesiastical (*protekdikos, skeuophylax, megas oikonomos*) and secular (*nomophylax, dikaiodotes, orphanotrophos*) functions. Since this combination was considered an infraction of canon law, the Council at Constantinople in 1157 required Aristenos to relinquish the position of *dikaiodotes* (see under Constantinople, Councils of). He was still alive at the time of Nikephoros, patriarch of Jerusalem (ca.1166–71). Nikephoros Basilakes wrote a panegyric of Aristenos. He was also close to Prodromos.

ED. Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2–4, or PG 137–38 (together with Zonaras and Balsamon).

LIT. Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 53–57. M. Krasnožen, "Kommentarij Alekseja Aristina na kanoničeskij Sinopsis," *VizVrem* 20 (1913) 189–207. –A.K.

ARISTOCRACY, a fluid concept in modern scholarship, usually denoting the ruling class, but equally applicable to those exerting moral and cultural as well as political leadership. The Byz. tended to avoid the words *aristoi* and *aristokratia* in favor of *eugenes*, literally "well-born," emphasizing the concepts of honorable ancestry and high-minded spiritual and moral qualities. The Byz. were ambivalent about what it meant to be "well-born." Scholarly debate has reflected this uncertainty. At one extreme, P. Bezobrazov (*Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury* [Petrograd 1919] 12) argued that Byz. had neither an aristocracy of noble origin nor a recognized nobility with strict privileges; at the other extreme, R. Guilland (*BS* 9 [1948] 15) claimed that Byz. always made a clear distinction between the old hereditary nobility and the nobility of rank and title.

It seems that the aristocracy of the late Roman era, an old landowning gentry with large estates worked by coloni, disappeared in the East with the crises of the 7th C. During the 7th–9th C. almost nothing survived that could be called a hereditary nobility but, then, from the mid-9th C. we see the rise of aristocratic families made up of landlords and military magnates, deriving their power from the theme organization, particularly in the frontier zones of Asia Minor or the northern Balkans. These became the dynatoi of 10th-

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C. sources. The rise of important families seems to be indicated by the introduction of patronymic NAMES, starting in the 9th C. and accelerating after ca.1000. The growing importance of LINEAGE is reflected in a passage from the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (ch.2.2–3), which states that *strategoi* should be appointed on the basis of their achievements, not their ancestry, and adds that *strategoi* from non-noble families fulfilled their duties better because their deeds had to compensate for their humble birth. After Basil II crushed rebellions (987–89) of the provincial military aristocracy, represented by the families of PHOKAS and SKLEROS, the *dynatoi* began to cooperate with the imperial government and slowly gravitated toward Constantinople, where they eventually developed an economic base founded on rents from land, salaries, and imperial donations, plus some trade (G. Litavrin in *VizOč* [Moscow 1971] 164–68).

The death of Basil II heralded a struggle between the military aristocracy based on birth (Skleros, ARGYROS, DOUKAS) and the civil aristocracy based on merit. The accession of Alexios I was a victory for the military aristocracy. During the early 12th C. three aristocracies existed: (1) the KOMNENOI themselves and their "clan," a military aristocracy that monopolized military commands and provincial governorships; (2) the old families who took refuge in the BUREAUCRACY and tended to make it a hereditary civil service; and (3) provincial families who dominated the countryside. With the death of Manuel I a new struggle began among families that ultimately led to the structure of the aristocracy in the Palaiologan period. In Constantinople, the PALAIOLOGOS family, along with a dozen or so other families (including the KANTAKOUZENOS, RAOUL, PETRALIPHAS, BRANAS, TORNIKIOS, and SYNADENOS families), held the chief positions in the imperial government, benefiting from imperial grants, including PRONOIAI and APPANAGES, primarily in Macedonia and Thrace, while provincial aristocratic families maintained local power bases in towns. Yet, even in this period, the Byz. aristocracy did not become a closed caste.

LIT. *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII c.*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford 1984). A. Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav gospodstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow 1974), with Fr. résumé by I. Sorlin, *TM* 6 (1976) 367–80. G. Ostrogorsky, "Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium," *DOP* 25 (1971) 1–32. A. Laiou, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period," *Viator* 4 (1973) 131–51. –M.B.

ARISTON AND DEIPNON, ancient terms designating midday and evening meals, respectively. The clear distinction between the two was lost in Byz., and Psellos reports that he taught his students the meaning of the word *ariston* (ἄριστον). Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his *Commentary on Homer*, sometimes identifies *deipnon* (δεῖπνον) as the evening, sometimes as the morning meal; *ariston*, he says, had the general meaning of meal. Nikephoros Bryennios (Bryen. 191.23–24) used *ariston* and *deipnon* interchangeably, as synonyms. Other sources, including monastic *typika*, are more specific and distinguish *ariston* as the earlier and *deipnon* as the later meal. Monks ate their *ariston* after the ORTHROS; sometimes it was their only meal. Laymen did not eat their first meal until midday: John II Komnenos is said to have had the *ariston* after hunting, and Niketas Choniates ridicules the emperors who were served an early *deipnon*. Nicholas Mesarites describes *ariston* as a noontime meal that included bread, wine, fish, meat, and vegetables (A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* [London 1973] pt.II, 3, pp. 41.35–42.2). The austere Kekaumenos (Kek. 224.21–22) recommended a large *ariston* and no *deipnon*. The anonymous author of *On Food* advises eating a full meal at noon and only bread and wine for *deipnon* (*PhysMedGr* 2:194.1–195.9).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:136–41. A. Kazhdan, "Skol'ko eli vizantijcy?" *Voprosy istorii* (1970) no.9, 217. –Ap.K., A.K.

ARISTOPHANES (Ἀριστοφάνης), Greek comic poet; born Athens ca.445 B.C., died Athens ca.388. The oldest MS to transmit Aristophanes' 11 extant plays is of the late 10th C. At the same period, his life was recorded in the *Souda* along with some 5,000 entries from his text and scholia. Systematic study of Aristophanes began in the 12th C. with the extensive commentaries of John TZETZES and continued in the 14th C. with the annotated editions by THOMAS MAGISTROS and Demetrios TRIKLINIOS. MS evidence shows that the plays selectively studied were *Wealth*, *The Clouds*, and *The Frogs*, with *Wealth* dominant because of its edifying message.

Known as "the Comic" (*ho komikos*), Aristophanes was considered the foremost standard for the Attic dialect (Gregory PARDOS, ed. Schäfer, 6f). The wide range of his language and style as well as the historical information in his plays undoubtedly caused his popularity with Byz. scholars and teachers who, it must be noted, made no attempt to expurgate his text. Tzetzes' judgment is particularly interesting: he criticizes Aristophanes' unfair treatment of Socrates but (Massa Positano et al., *infra* 2:377.1–10) admires Aristophanes' opposition to war and approves wholeheartedly of his obscenity when it serves to promote the noble cause of peace.

ED. *Jo. Tzetzae commentarii in Aristophanem*, ed. L. Massa Positano, D. Holwerda, W.J.W. Koster, 4 vols. (Groningen-Amsterdam 1960–64). *Scholia in Aristophanem Pars I, II*, ed. W.J.W. Koster, 7 vols. (Groningen-Amsterdam 1969–82).
LIT. W.J.W. Koster, "Aristophane dans la tradition byzantine," *REGr* 76 (1963) 381–96. Idem, *Autour d'un manuscrit d'Aristophane écrit par Démétrius Triclinius* (Groningen 1957). Wilson, *Scholars* 122, 137, 146, 181, 238, 248, 251f. –A.C.H.

ARISTOTLE, ancient Greek philosopher; born 384 B.C., died 322. Byz. higher education always centered on the study of Aristotle. His works have been transmitted in over 1,000 MSS dated between the 9th and 16th C., making him by far the most widely copied ancient Greek author; he is also the most commented on. In the early period, interest in Aristotle was particularly strong at the school of Alexandria, where AMMONIOS and OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA managed to present PHILOSOPHY in a way that avoided trouble with the church. ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA and DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, who succeeded Olympiodoros as head of the Alexandrian school, were also commentators on Aristotle, as was John PHILOPONOS. Compared to PLATO, Aristotle was safer and of greater use to the Orthodox because parts of his system could be put directly to the service of theological discussion. After the 7th C., attention was concentrated on the logical treatises, which became the basis of philosophical studies. From then on the average educated Byz.'s direct contact with Aristotle consisted of learning the main concepts of the *Organon*, beginning with the *Categories* and ending with *Sophistical Refutations*. At the same time, interest in the nonlogical works of Aristotle was never fully lost, and in the chain of commentators, which stretches unbroken from PHOTIOS in the 9th C. to John CHORTASMENOS in the 15th, several, through exegesis or paraphrase, made themselves and their students familiar with other parts of the *Corpus*. Striking examples are PSELLOS, who composed a commentary on the *Physics*, MICHAEL OF EPHESUS, who commented on most parts of the *Corpus* including the zoological treatises, and Theodore METOCHITES, whose contributions to philosophical studies included paraphrases of the *Parva naturalia*. (See also JOHN ITALOS and EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA.)

Aristotle and the Church Fathers. While the Alexandrian school made a serious study of Aristotle in the 4th–6th C., church fathers, esp. those of the Latin West, were cautious in their approach to Peripatetic philosophy; Jerome emphasized that it was heretics who cited Aristotle. In the East, Eusebios of Caesarea refuted various points of Aristotelian teaching, but some theologians (esp. NEMESIOS) drew upon Aristotle; Aristotelian logic became an important vehicle of argumentation in the Cappadocian fathers, and John of Damascus used Aristotle to build his system of Christian doctrine. The major points of Peripatetic philosophy that Byz. theologians found unacceptable were Aristotle's rejection of divine Providence as a decisive factor directing the universe; the concept that the god is physically represented in the fifth element, the ether, so that the god was reduced to the "soul of the world" that moves material things; the idea that visible things are coeternal with the god; and the doctrine of the mortality of the human soul, while only the *nous* (mind, intelligence) remained immortal.

ED. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca,* 23 vols. (Berlin 1882–1909).
LIT. *Aristoteles, Werk und Wirkung: Paul Moraux gewidmet,* vol. 2, ed. J. Wiesner (Berlin–New York 1987). D. Harlfinger, "Einige Grundzüge der Aristoteles-Überlieferung," in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 447–83. K. Oehler, "Aristotle in Byzantium," *GRBS* 5 (1964) 133–46. H.G. Thümmel, "Zur Tradition des aristotelischen Weltbildes in christlicher Zeit," *BBA* 52 (1985) 73–80. T.S. Lee, *Die griechische Tradition der aristotelischen Syllogistik in der Spätantike* (Göttingen 1984). S. Lilla, *DPAC* 1:349–63. A.J. Festugière, *L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile*[2] (Paris 1932) 221–63. –J.D., A.K.

ARITHMOS (ἀριθμός, lit. "number"), or *poson,* in documents from the mid-10th to mid-12th C. a fiscal term referring to the specific number of PAROIKOS (or DOULOPAROIKOS) families granted by the emperor to an individual or an ecclesiastical corporation. This number served as a means of quantifying a grant and could not be reduced or increased without imperial approval. In a chry-

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sobull of 1148, Manuel I emphatically prohibited *aposos* grants of *paroikoi*, that is, without indication of "number" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:377.26–27). Nikephoros III, in a chrysobull of 1079, emphasized that the specific *arithmos* could be increased or maintained only from the children and grandchildren of the *douloparoikoi* of the monastery that received the grant (*Lavra* 1, no.38.24–26); a similar formula is found in a charter of Manuel I of 1156—the *poson* of 12 *paroikoi* was to be preserved, after the death of one of them, by drawing from their children (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 [1900] 32.19–21). This meant that one and only one son (or grandson) of a peasant who was included in an *arithmos* would replace his father in that role; the state could deprive the landowner of peasants above the *arithmos*.

The fiscal and economic character of grants of an *arithmos* as well as the status and obligations of *paroikoi* within an *arithmos* are poorly understood. Although Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:63.14–15) uses *arithmos* once to refer to the sizes of PRONOIA grants, the concept of *arithmos* was superseded after the 12th C. by that of POSOTES, in which the object quantified was not the number of persons but the sum of endowed tax (Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 245). In a charter of 1385 the monastery of St. Paul was granted not an *arithmos* of peasants but all the "natural (*physikoi*) *paroikoi*" of a certain area (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 2 [1949] 321). (For *arithmos* as the term for a military unit, see VIGLA.)

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 102f. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 27–31. –M.B.

ARIUS (Ἄρειος), theologian, founder of ARIANISM; born Libya? ca.250, died Constantinople 336. A student of LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH, after ordination as a priest he became a popular preacher in Alexandria, and ca.318 his teachings began to excite controversy. Because he said that Christ was not coeternal with the Father, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, condemned him and he fled to Nikomedeia. The controversy soon spread throughout the East, and Arius won the support of many influential churchmen such as EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA. Constantine I became involved in the controversy and summoned the Council of NICAEA in 325; Arius was condemned and exiled to Illyria. In 328 Constantine recalled Arius, who soon managed to convince the emperor of the correctness of his views. ATHANASIOS of Alexandria opposed Arius's teaching, but the latter allied with supporters of the first MELETIAN SCHISM; Athanasios was exiled, and the council of Tyre and Jerusalem rehabilitated Arius in 335.

"A man of the big city" (Kannengiesser, *infra* 208), Arius was an ascetic and a spiritual leader to numerous holy women and other disciples, a passionate preacher, and commentator on the Bible. Of his writings only fragments are left: a letter to Eusebios of Nikomedeia and another to Alexander of Alexandria as well as the *Thalia* (Banquet), written at least partly in metric form (M.L. West, *JThSt* 33 [1982] 98–105) before 320 (C. Kannengiesser in *Kyriakon* 1 [Münster 1970] 346–51) and presenting his doctrine. Athanasios berates "the dissolute tone" and "effeminate tune" of the *Thalia*. According to Philostorgios (*HE* 2.2, p.13.6–8), Arius wrote songs for travelers on sea and land and for workers in the mills.

Athanasios relates that Arius died an ignominious death in a latrine. This tale, suspiciously resembling the fate of Judas, was developed in later legends (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 37 [1967–68] 126–33; 38 [1968] 105–11).

LIT. Quasten, *Patrology* 3:7–13. C. Kannengiesser, "Athanasius of Alexandria vs. Arius," in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 204–15. G.C. Stead, "The *Thalia* of Arius and the Testimony of Athanasius," *JThSt* n.s. 29 (1978) 20–52. –T.E.G., A.K.

ARKADIA (Ἀρκαδία), mountainous central region of the Peloponnesos. The name *Arkadia* appears infrequently until the 15th C. (e.g., in pseudo-Sphrantzes). During the period of the Roman Empire, the area underwent an economic decline exacerbated by invasions of the Goths (end of the 4th C.) and Slavs (7th C.); the latter left substantial traces in local toponymy. Old cities (Orchomenos [at modern Kalpaki], Mantineia, Megalopolis) disappeared; the name *Arkadia* was applied to the city of Kyparissia on the west coast of the Peloponnesos, suggesting a population movement; in Tegea-Nikli archaeological excavations reveal a gap between levels of the 6th C. and those of the 10th–12th C. Byz. authority in the region was restored after the expedition of STAURAKIOS in 783 and that of Skleros under Nikephoros I. The oldest church in Arkadia after the Byz. reconquest is probably St. Christopher in Pallantio of the 10th C. (A. Abramea in *Geographica byzantina* [Paris 1981] 33–36). Arkadia was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of LAKEDAIMON; in 1082/3 Lakedaimon was transformed into a metropolis that included the bishoprics of Nikli, Pisse, and Ezerai. The area was conquered by the Crusaders by 1209 and divided into four baronies. Various monuments of this period survive, in Mouchli (see NIKLI) and Leontarion, near ancient Megalopolis (P. Velissariou, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 625–31).

LIT. B. Konte, "Symbole sten historike geographia tes Arkadias," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 91–124. A. Orlandos, "Palaiochristianika kai byzantina mnemeia Tegeas-Nikliou," *ABME* 12 (1973) 3–176. G. Petropoulos-Sagias, *Mesaionika toponymia potamon Arkadias* (Athens 1978). –A.K.

ARKADIOPOLIS (Ἀρκαδιούπολις), name of two cities, in Asia Minor and in Thrace.

ARKADIOPOLIS IN IONIA (mod. Arakcilar in Turkey), suffragan bishopric of the metropolis of Asia (*Notitiae CP* 1.102). Its bishop attended the Council of Ephesus in 431; his successors are attested up to the 13th C. (E. Kurtz, *VizVrem* 12 [1906] 103.8; J. Nicole, *REGr* 7 [1894] 80.26). Laurent (*Corpus* 5.1, nos. 292–93) ascribes to this see two seals of bishops of the 10th–11th C., arguing that the hierarch of Thracian Arkadiopolis at that time would have been an archbishop.

LIT. R. Janin, *DHGE* 3:1483f. –A.K.

ARKADIOPOLIS IN THRACE (mod. Luleburgaz, in European Turkey), city on the route from ADRIANOPLE to Constantinople, built on the site of ancient Bergoule. This ancient name was retained by late Roman geographers (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, Cosmographer of Ravenna, Hierokles, etc.) but in notitiae it appears already as Arkadiopolis—the see of the autocephalous archbishopric of Europe (*Notitiae CP* 1.49) and by the late 12th C. a metropolis. Most historians, from Theophanes to Kantakouzenos, make Emp. Arkadios the founder of the city; Kedrenos (Cedr. 1:568.5–7), however, relates that it was Theodosios I who built the *polis* on the site of ancient "Bergoulion" and named it in honor of his son (i.e., Arkadios).

As one of the strongholds (*kastron*—Beševliev, *Inschriften*, no.26) protecting Constantinople from northern invasions, Arkadiopolis was often subject to hostile attack. Attila seized the city in 441 and Theodoric besieged it in 473; Thomas the Slav retreated to Arkadiopolis after his assault on Constantinople had failed; in 970 the Rus' army reached Arkadiopolis but was defeated at its walls by Bardas Skleros. The stronghold was an important station on the route of the Third Crusade: the HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI describes the attack of German soldiers on *Archadinopolim* where they found much wine and other stored goods. Near the "*polisma* built by Arkadios," writes Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 446.67), the general Alexios Gidos was routed by rebellious Bulgarians and Vlachs in 1194. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the *civitas Archadiopoli* (A. Carile, *StVen* 7 [1965] 218.27) was given to Venice, but the rights to it were disputed, and the city changed hands several times; according to Choniates, it suffered serious destruction, and Villehardouin relates that its inhabitants left the city and sought refuge in Adrianople. According to Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 1:541.17–21), by his time Arkadiopolis was an ancient city in ruins; he mentions that in 1340 Andronikos III planned to rebuild it.

LIT. V. Velkov, *Gradŭt v Trakija i Dakija prez kŭsnata antičnost* (Sofia 1959) 99f. C. Asdracha, "La Thrace orientale et la Mer Noire," *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 7 (1988) 231–33. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:206f. –A.K.

ARKADIOS (Ἀρκάδιος), emperor in the East (395–408); born Constantinople 377/8, died Constantinople 1 May 408. The son of THEODOSIOS I and Aelia Flaccilla, he became augustus in 383. Left as regent in Constantinople in 394 when his father departed to fight the usurper EUGENIUS, he shared power with his brother HONORIUS after the death of Theodosios the following year. Apparently weak-willed and averse to action (Zosim. 5.12.1; Philostorg., *HE* 11.3), Arkadios was dominated by others, first by RUFINUS (395–96), then EUTROPIOS (396–400), his wife EUDOXIA (400–04), and finally the praetorian prefect ANTHEMIOS (404–08). During Arkadios's reign ALARIC ravaged the Balkans, while the Huns broke through the Caspian Gates and the ISAURIANS disturbed eastern Asia Minor. Although Arkadios may not have dominated policy, important developments marked his reign: the growing movement toward the proscription of paganism, the defeat of GAINAS and the Germanic threat to Constantinople, and the deposition of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. The court of Arkadios encouraged the development of a new concept of imperial victory based not on the

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military prowess of the emperor but on his piety, reflected in new symbols of victory set up in the HIPPODROME and in the Column of Arkadios erected in 400.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:106–58. Demougeot, *Unité* 93–410. A. Güldenpenning, *Geschichte des oströmischen Reiches unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius II* (Halle 1885; rp. Amsterdam 1965). Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 1:157–226. –T.E.G.

ARKARIOS (ἀρκάριος, Lat. *arcarius*), in the late Roman Empire the name of various subordinate officials of treasuries—imperial, provincial, military, even private—who were often slaves or freedmen (P. Habel, *RE* 2 [1896] 429–31). In Byz. practice the term retained a very restricted meaning. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the *arkarios* is a subaltern official of the ORPHANOTROPHOS. The *spatharokandidatos* Leo, in the first half of the 11th C., held the offices of *chartoularios*, *arkarios*, and imperial "measurer" (*metretes*) (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.837), thus suggesting that the *arkarios* was probably involved in fiscal or economic operations. The NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 1:175.7–11) repeats Justinian I's law of 530 (*Cod.Just.* I 2,24.16) that ordered the OIKONOMOI of Constantinople to give an accounting to the *arkarioi* (of the Great Church—omitted in the *Nomokanon*) every one or two months. It is unclear whether this rule reflects reality or only tradition. In Rome of the 6th–8th C., the *arcarius*, as keeper of the papal treasury, was, along with the *sacellarius*, the most important fiscal official.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 100. Bury, *Adm. System* 105. S. Keller, *Die sieben römischen Pfalzrichter im byzantinischen Zeitalter* (Stuttgart 1904) 108–12. –A.K.

ARKLA (ἄρκλα, "box"), a kind of treasury, probably provincial. The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos mentions the CHARTOULARIOI of the *arklai* in the department of the GENIKON as well as their notaries; the *De ceremoniis* identifies these *chartoularioi* as "external," that is, acting outside of Constantinople (*De cer.* 694.19). A seal of the 11th or 12th C. belonged to a certain Demetrios, *chartoularios* of the *arkla* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.383). An 11th-C. fiscal document (*Ivir.* 1, no.30.34) is signed by Gregory Chalkoutzes, *chartoularios* of the *arkla* of the West, a department of the *genikon*.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 87. Dölger, *Beiträge* 69. –A.K.

ARK OF THE COVENANT (κιβωτός [Ex 25:22] or σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου [Ex 37:5]). Usually found in narrative contexts such as the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS and illustrations to Joshua (chs. 3–4, 6) (e.g., in the JOSHUA ROLL, the OCTATEUCHS), it occurs rarely and symbolically elsewhere: a fresco in the CHORA treats the recovery of the Ark from the Philistines as a prefiguration of the Virgin (see also NOAH'S ARK), while KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES discusses the Ark's cosmological significance. As a vessel threatened but divinely protected, the Ark symbolized the church for NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON (*Encomium*, p.36) and other commentators. Gregory of Nyssa's Life of MOSES (2.179) glosses the tabernacle as Christ and the Ark as his powers.

LIT. P. Bloch, *LCI* 1:341–43. L. Brubaker, "The Tabernacle Miniatures of the Byzantine Octateuchs," 15 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Athens 1976) 85–90. –J.H.L., A.C., C.B.T.

ARMAMENTON (ἀρμαμέντον, from Lat. *armamentum*), arms depot or arsenal in Constantinople. According to a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 274.22–24), Emp. Maurice built an *armamenton* near MAGNAURA in 596 and set up his statue there; later sources ascribe both to Emp. Phokas. Guilland (*Topographie* 1:42) surmises that there were two different *armamenta*. There are some data concerning other arsenals. An enigmatic inscription mentions a great *arsenales* of Theophilos (Guilland, *Topographie* 2:107), and it is unclear whether this evidence can be connected with the mansion of Armamentarea (the wife of the chief of the arsenal?) allegedly built by Theophilos (Janin, *CP byz.* 455) or transformed by Empress Theodora into the monastery of St. Panteleemon (Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt.IX [1964], 195). Some anti-Iconoclast texts accused Leo III or Constantine V of transforming the Church of St. Euphemia into an arms depot. Arsenals in the Blachernai region and on the Propontis are known in the 14th C.

The administration of *armamenta* presents some problems as well. Both the TAKTIKON of Uspenskij and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS mention the *archon* of the *armamenton*; Theophanes (297.17) speaks of *ho epano* of the *armamenton* in the reign of Phokas; Oikonomides (*Listes* 317) denies the existence of the *katepano* of the *armamenton*, whereas Ahrweiler (*Mer* 424, n.4) doubts his thesis. Seals mention the *archon*, *strategos*, and *chartoularios* of the imperial *armamenton*. Questionable, however, is the figure of the *kourator* of Arsanas or Artzanas whom Laurent considered a member of the staff of the *armamenton*—it would be more reasonable to interpret Arsanas as a local name, not as an arsenal. *Armamenta* possessed pack animals—a bronze tablet of the 6th C. indicates that they were exempt from ANGAREIAI (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.187; cf. N. Oikonomides, *Diptycha* 4 [1986–87] 49–52).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 118. Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt. IX (1964), 193–96. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:343–46. –A.K.

ARMBAND (usually in plural form ψελ⟨λ⟩ία, Lat. *armillae*). The term usually refers to a military ornament, worn by Germanic soldiers on the upper arm. Elsewhere, it is described as *armilla gallica*, a BRACELET inset with gem stones, worn on the lower arm. In the Romano-Byz. world the term *armillae* normally refers to military insignia in the form of armbands, made of silver and worn in pairs, one, or sometimes two, on each arm. Examples of *armillae*, as part of the emperor's largesse, may be seen in the exergues of 4th–7th-C. medallions (e.g., *DOCat* 2, no.2), where they are shown as complete rings. Elsewhere, as in illustrations in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, they are shown as incomplete hoops, with the open ends forming knobs. The two spectacular enameled bracelets found in Thessalonike in 1958 (*Splendeur de Byz.* 190) have also been called *armillae*.

LIT. R. MacMullen, "The Emperor's Largesses," *Latomus* 21 (1962) 159–66. R. Elze, "*Baugen-armillae*: Zur Geschichte der königlichen Armspangen," MGH *Schriften* 13.2 (1955) 538–53. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:388f. –S.D.C.

ARMBANDS, AMULETIC, were manufactured in Egypt and Syria in the 6th–8th C. Most often silver, such JEWELRY is distinguished by recurrent inscriptions and images, and by a ribbonlike design with incised figural medallions. Typically these armbands show at least part of the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE as well as the beginning of the apotropaic 90th Psalm. More elaborate examples add RING SIGNS, apotropaic ACCLAMATIONS, the HOLY RIDER, and some form of CHNOUBIS. Because these armbands are closely related to Medusa AMULETS, which in addition to the above words and images bear various uterine incantations, they too were probably made specifically for women and control of the uterus.

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine & Magic" 75–77. M. Piccirillo, "Un braccialetto cristiano della regione di Betlem," *Lib.ann.* 29 (1979) 244–52. –G.V.

ARMENIA (Ἀρμενία), kingdom and province on the northeast frontier of Byz. Much of medieval Armenian history remains obscure and problematic because of the lack of native sources before the Armenian alphabet was created (5th C.) and the limited point of view of subsequent ecclesiastical historians. They were hostile to Iranian and Muslim cultures and Byz. Orthodoxy, which they rejected as nestorianizing after the Council of CHALCEDON. They focused primarily on northern Armenia and often supported the interests of a particular noble family. The christianization of the country at the beginning of the 4th C. drew it toward the Romans and away from its Iranian past. Nevertheless, throughout the Middle Ages, Armenia remained a buffer zone oscillating between the classical world and the East. Consequently, its own history was conditioned by the balance of power beyond its borders, even though the native language, culture, and customs were stubbornly maintained. Internally, the sharp geographical divisions of the Armenian plateau fostered the centrifugal tendencies of the magnates, jealous of their prerogatives and inclined to view the ruler merely as *primus inter pares*.

Between 387 and 390 the earlier tripartite "Armenia" (the imperial province of Armenia Minor west of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Greater Armenia east of the river, and the southern SATRAPIES) was transformed by the division of the ARSACID realm of Greater Armenia into a smaller imperial portion and a much larger Persarmenia (comprising some four-fifths of the former kingdom) along a north-south line from Karin (THEODOSIOUPOLIS) on the upper Euphrates to DARA in Mesopotamia. The Arsacid dynasty disappeared in both portions in the early 5th C. Thereafter, Persarmenia was governed by a *marzpan*, often a native magnate, residing at DUIN, while the imperial portion, Armenia Interior, was first administered by a *comes Armeniae* until Justinian I (nov.31 in 536) fused it with Armenia Minor, the Satrapies, and parts of PONTOS to form regular imperial provinces known as Armenia I–IV. This pattern survived almost three centuries when Emp. Maurice, by the peace of 591, greatly increased the imperial portion by extending the Byz. frontier eastward almost to Duin and the northwest

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corner of Lake Van. Armeno-Byz. relations grew increasingly strained during this period as Byz. attempts to force Armenia back into communion with Constantinople and to impose imperial institutions and customs fueled the hostility of the powerful native clergy and of the local magnates whose prerogatives were threatened. As a result, the Arab invasions of the mid-7th C. met comparatively little opposition.

At first, the Muslim occupation of Armenia was relatively mild and taxes remained low because the caliphate relied on the Armenian cavalry to repel the KHAZARS raiding through the Caucasian passes. Administratively, Armenia was now joined with Iberia and Caucasian ALBANIA to form the province of Armīniya governed by an *ostikan* residing first at Duin and subsequently at Partaw/Bardha'a in Azerbaijan. Much of the western portion of Armenia, however, was incorporated into a military zone turned against Byz. Conditions in Armenia began to change in the 8th C. when the Arabs, profiting from the crises distracting Constantinople, tightened their hold. The turbulence of the Armenian nobles stirred up Muslim fanaticism and led to punitive expeditions, massacres, and deportations; much of the Armenian nobility was annihilated, and numerous Muslim emirates were established in the country.

From the 9th C. onward, Byz. eastward expansion and the simultaneous decline of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate permitted a native revival. The Bagratid dynasty established itself in the north while the Arcruni controlled most of VASPURAKAN in the south. Armenian autonomy was recreated with the coronation of AŠOT I THE GREAT Bagratuni in 884 and that of Gagik Arcruni in 908, and the external balance of power was reestablished. This second period of independence, though politically fragile and increasingly fragmented, lasted almost two centuries; the native culture may have reached its zenith during this period (see ARMENIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE; ARMENIAN LITERATURE). Armenia likewise prospered through extensive international trade until Byz. expansion destroyed the external equilibrium once again.

Byz. expansion into Armenia began in the second half of the 10th C., and TARŌN became an imperial province in 966/7, but in 974 Emp. John I Tzimiskes was still collaborating with King AŠOT III. Byz. annexation of Armenia accelerated in the next century. In successive campaigns, Basil II gained much of western Armenia, which became the theme of IBERIA early in the 11th C. The cession of Vaspurakan threatened by the first Turkish invasions of the empire led to the creation of the Katepanate of Basprakania (VASPURAKAN) in 1021/2. Byz. imperial pressure finally caused GAGIK II to abdicate and surrender ANI to Byz. in 1045, after repeated attacks against the capital had failed. Imperial armies also failed to take Duin from the Muslims, but by the mid-11th C. most of Armenia had been converted into imperial themes—Tarōn, Iberia, Basprakania, and MESOPOTAMIA—while the native nobility migrated to CAPPADOCIA, GEORGIA, or CILICIA.

As the Seljuks overran the country, the Byz. annexation of Armenia proved short-lived and ended with the Byz. defeat at MANTZIKERT in 1071. Thereafter, Muslim dynasties controlled Armenia except for a brief revival under the ZAKʿARIDS, who ruled the northern portion of the country for two generations in the early 13th C. This Indian summer ended with the Mongol invasions of the 1230s; thereafter Armenia, dominated by various Muslim dynasties from the 14th C. onward, passed for centuries out of the orbit of the Mediterranean world.

The equivocal nature of Armeno-Byz. relations in every period is amply attested. Some collaboration unquestionably occurred because imperial support was indispensable if Armenia was to repel Eastern aggressions, and Byz. relied to a large extent on its Armenian military contingents. Armenian nobles repeatedly served the empire and settled and prospered in Asia Minor and Constantinople (see ARMENIANS). Recurring religious dissensions marred these contacts, however, and Armenia's traditional social structure (dominated by haughty magnates holding hereditary offices and domains) was fundamentally irreconcilable with the centralized and bureaucratic pattern characteristic of Byz., and with its fiscal policies. Despite Armenia's rejection of Byz. language and religion, cultural and artistic ties were maintained; the Armenian architect Trdat was even summoned to Constantinople in 989 to restore the damaged dome of Hagia Sophia. Similarly, Armenia profited from the transit trade crossing the country—which led to the designation of ARTAŠAT as the only northern imperial customs post in the 5th–6th C. (*Cod.Just.* IV 63.4) and to the later prosperity of Ani—while Constantinople depended on the same exchange for Eastern luxury goods and some Armenian products such as metals (silver, copper, lead, etc.) and the region's red-dyed and embroidered leathers and textiles. Nevertheless, Armenia's almost total deurbanization from 364 to late Bagratid times ran directly counter to the characteristic focus of the Mediterranean world on the city and hindered the development of Armenia's internal trade; lacking a native currency entirely, Armenia had to rely on Byz. or Arab coinage for all commercial transactions. The basic incompatibilities between Armenia and Byz. won out over their mutual reliance and prevented the integration of Armenia into the empire until both were overwhelmed by the Ottomans in the 15th C.

LIT. C. Toumanoff, *CMH* 4:593–637. M. Canard, *EI*² 1:634–50. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (Lisbon 1970). Manandyan, *Trade and Cities*. N.G. Garsoïan, "The Early-Mediaeval Armenian City—An Alien Element," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 16–17 (1984–85 [1988]) 67–83. Eadem, *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians* (London 1985) iii—xii. —N.G.G.

ARMENIAKON (Ἀρμενιακόν), one of the first THEMES of Asia Minor, originated in the command of the *magister militum* for Armenia instituted by Justinian I. Although 9th-C. sources (Theophanes the Confessor and al-Balādhuri) suggest that the theme may have existed as early as 629, its *strategos* is first unambiguously attested in 667. The theme encompassed eastern Anatolia from Cappadocia to the Black Sea and the Euphrates. In the 9th C. the *strategos* of Armeniakon commanded 9,000 troops and drew a salary of 40 pounds of gold; his domain included 17 fortresses. The army frequently played a role in politics, supporting the revolts of Leo III in 715 and Artabasdos (their former commander) in 742. They revolted against Irene in 790, but supported Michael II against Thomas the Slav. The importance of Armeniakon derived from its size and strategic location. The original area was divided early in the 9th C. into Armeniakon, CHARSIANON, and CAPPADOCIA, and in the 10th C. CHALDIA became separate, leaving Armeniakon to comprise the western Pontic coast as well as the mountains and valleys to the south. Its capital was AMASEIA.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 117–20. W. Kaegi, "Al-Baladhuri and the Armeniak Theme," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 273–77. —C.F.

ARMENIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE. The medieval art of Armenia falls into three main periods: that between the establishment of Christianity and the Arab invasions (ca.305–750); that of the independent Armenian kingdoms (ca.862–1021); and that of the pockets of Armenian power that survived under Seljuk, Georgian, and Mongol rule (ca.1150–1500).

In architecture, many elements remain constant: churches are almost always made of a rubble conglomerate faced with large, finely joined tufa blocks. They are vaulted, and, after the 6th C., carry masonry domes. The exteriors of most Armenian churches barely hint at the spaces within. Domes are encased in cones or pyramids, and vaults are gabled. Apses are often embedded in straight walls. Steep niches indicate the position of aisles and apses.

First Period (ca.305–750). Prior to the 6th C. Armenian churches were single-naved or simple basilicas (F. Gandolfo, *Le basiliche armene IV–VII secolo* [Rome 1982]). With the notable exception of Ereruk (ca.500), they are also small and dark.

In the 7th C. the ties of Armenia with GEORGIA, Syria, and Palestine were strong, and this period produced a remarkable variety of centralized domed plans. Attempts to find examples, that surely predate the Justinianic taste for centralized churches have not been convincing.

Among the most popular domed CHURCH PLAN TYPES is the cross-domed basilica (e.g., St. Gayanē at VAŁARŠAPAT), in which transverse vaults raised to the height of the nave interrupt barrel-vaulted aisles. At the crossing, freestanding piers support a dome on squinches (a plan very similar to the Byz. cross-in-square). In the domed hall church (e.g., at Ptłni, ca.630) these piers abut the walls so that three deep niches replace each aisle. Here the dome is on pendentives. Small cruciform buildings with domes on squinches were also popular, as was the domed quatrefoil superimposed on a cube (e.g., St. John at Mastara, 7th C.).

External sculptural decoration is generally restricted to cornices over windows and doors and at the gable-line; internal decoration is limited to capitals. Occasional figural elements appear: Old and New Testament scenes, or donor portraits. Memorial stelae illustrate the same subjects. A large relief of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA survives, now built into the wall of the cathedral of Ojun.

Vrtʿanes Kʿertʿołʿs 7th-C. treatise in defense of

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images indicates that some church interiors in this period contained images of saints and New Testament scenes. A few fragments of fresco still survive: a theophanic vision in St. Stephen at Lmbat, and Christ addressing the Apostles, at T'alis.

K'ert'oł also described MSS illuminated in the Greek style and bound in ivory. The 10th-C. Ejmiacin Gospels (Erevan, Mat. 2374) have 6th-C. Byz. ivory covers and include two illuminated pages taken from an earlier Gospel. The four full-page miniatures on these folia allow a fuller appreciation of the style preserved in the frescoes; all ha' strong ties with 7th-C. Byz. painting such as the apse mosaic at KITI and the icon of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos at Kiev (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, pl.12, no.B.9).

Second Period (ca.862–1021). Armenian kings of the 9th and 10th C. supported a very retrospective architecture. Seventh-century church types served as the basis for new dynastic monuments at ANI and AŁT'AMAR, and the same phenomenon occurs in smaller principalities (the Holy Apostles at KARS [937] copies St. John at Mastara) and in monasteries. The new versions are often steeper in elevation than their models. Sculptural articulation, though often based on 7th-C. forms, developed in new directions, from the elegant, attenuated arcading at Ani to the exuberant figural reliefs at Ałt'amar. Large-scale donor portraits, some carved nearly in the round, appear at Ani, Ałt'amar, Sanahin, and Hałbat. Islamic influence in this period is evident in the use of *muqarnas* (stalactite squinches), polychrome stonework, and large expanses of flat, leafy interlace, esp. in forechurches and secular buildings.

The *xač'k'ar* ("stone-cross"), a stone slab carved with a cross and a variety of other motifs, was used from the 9th C. onward. Serving a number of commemorative purposes, *xač'k'ars* are usually freestanding, but were sometimes incorporated into the walls of churches and other buildings. Especially after the late 13th C., donor portraits and Old and New Testament scenes appear on *xač'k'ars*.

Extensive fresco cycles survive at Tat'ev (ca.930)—where Stephen Orbelian (died 1304) says the painters were "Frankish"—and at Ałt'amar.

In some MS illumination, Byz. is the predominant influence, for example, in the painting style, ornament, and imagery (but not the placement of the scenes) of the Trebizond Gospels (Venice, San Lazzaro 1400, 11th C.) and in the narrative scenes in the Gospels of Gagik of Kars (Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. 2556, 11th C.). Several Gospels like that copied in Melitene in 1057 (Erevan, Mat. 3784) include Byz. compositions (e.g., the Entombment of Christ) developed only after Iconoclasm. The illustrations, however, are placed at right angles to the side margins; the erratically drawn figures in bright, wash-like colors on bare parchment are not Byz. in character. Other MSS preserve pre-Iconoclastic imagery, some in a style reminiscent of the RABBULA GOSPELS or Ejmiacin Gospels (the Mlk'e Gospels, Venice, San Lazzaro 1144, dated 862), others in a flattened, linear transformation (Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. 2555, 11th C.). The influence of Islamic court art is clear in the miniature of Gagik now bound into his Gospels, showing him with his family, dressed in oriental robes, seated cross-legged on rich carpets.

Third Period (ca.1150–1500). After the Seljuk invasions, smaller Armenian principalities fostered their own, often highly individual, art (e.g., the MS painting of Armenian CILICIA). Although some activity continued in cities (e.g., the patronage of Tigran Honenc'), it was the monasteries that became the most important focus for princely patronage.

Although patrons still turned to 7th-C. church types, they developed new plans for other buildings. Among the ZAK'ARID additions at Hałbat is the forechurch of the Church of the Holy Sign (1208–10), its roof supported by four intersecting arches, with a three-story bell tower (1245) with chapels on each floor.

The sculpture of the Prošian funerary church at Gełard and its forechurch (1285) is typically exuberant. Fleshy vegetal motifs and *muqarnas* ornament the dome of the rock-cut church, while animals and New Testament figures share the surfaces of the forechurch with crosses and interlace.

In the 14th C., the Orbelian family had tympana carved at Amału with a variety of new subjects, for example, the Ancient of Days (see CHRIST: Types of Christ) with the Crucifixion and Adam. This inventiveness also emerges in MS illumination of the period. At Glajor, under Orbelian protection, T'oros of Tarōn and other artists developed Old and New Testament imagery reflecting the anti-Chalcedonian theology of their abbot, Esayi Nč'ec'i, including, at the same time, Western images, for example, the crowned *Virgo lactans*.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (London 1978). *Documenti di architettura armena*, ed. A. Manoukian (Milan 1968–). T. Mathews, "The Early Armenian Iconographic Program of the Ejmiacin Gospel," in *East of Byzantium* 199–215. T. Mathews, A.K. Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography* (Washington, D.C., 1990). –A.T.

ARMENIAN CHURCH. Considering itself autocephalous, this church traces its origin from the preaching of St. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR at the beginning of the 4th C. and also claims to be an apostolic foundation through St. Thaddeus. This double tradition stems from two evangelizing waves: the earlier came from Syria-Palestine and reached southern Armenia before the end of the 2nd C., the other represented the hellenizing tradition of Cappadocian CAESAREA introduced by Gregory into Armenia and continued by his descendants. This second wave, which predominated in the northern part of the country, ultimately prevailed over the Syrian one, whose existence was all but expunged from the sources.

The Armenian church still recognizes only the first three ecumenical COUNCILS. It rejects the Council of CHALCEDON as NESTORIAN, while simultaneously condemning MONOPHYSITISM, and holds to the Christological definition of CYRIL of Alexandria: "One is the nature of the Incarnate Logos." Armenian primates ceased to be consecrated at Caesarea after the death of St. NERSĒS I THE GREAT in the 4th C., but a break with Constantinople came only considerably later, at a date that is still debated.

Despite this breach, adherents of Chalcedon remained numerous, esp. in the western provinces of Armenia, as evidenced by the pro-Chalcedonian NARRATIO DE REBUS ARMENIAE (8th C.). The Armenian patriarch or KATHOLIKOS resided from the 5th to the 9th C. at DUIN on Persian territory and was thus free to defy Byz. ecclesiastical authority, but western Armenian bishops disregarded his injunctions and continued to attend Byz. church councils. After the new partition of Armenia in 591, the Emp. Maurice even succeeded in installing a rival *katholikos* at Awan near Erevan, thus creating a schism that lasted some 20 years. Herakleios and his successors continued efforts to bring the Armenian church back into communion with Constantinople, but all compromise formulas failed, and in 725/6 the Council of MANTZIKERT proclaimed the union of the Armenian and Syrian churches, while maintaining their rejection of extreme Monophysitism. Some attempts at negotiation continued in BAGRATID times. Armenian patriarchs corresponded with PHOTIOS and NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, but the Council of Ani in 969 again condemned Chalcedonianism and its adherents in Armenia. Relations worsened in the 11th C. with polemics and forced rebaptisms occurring on both sides. Armenian historians denounced Armenian Chalcedonians in the service of Byz.—such as Philaretos BRACHAMIOS—as traitors and "Iberians," that is, no longer Armenian. During the sojourn of the *katholikoi* in CILICIA (1051–1444), a final attempt at union under the *katholikos* St. Nersēs the Gracious (1166–73) failed after Emp. Manuel I died (1180); negotiations then focused, ultimately without success, on the Latin church, although relations between Armenia and Byz. were not entirely severed.

Byz. influence can be traced in Armenian ecclesiastical practices: Armenian liturgy follows the Greek LITURGY attributed to St. Basil and the custom of distinguishing between the black (celibate, monastic) and white (married, secular) clergy follows Byz. usage. Other customs, however, differed from those of Byz.: the use of AZYMES and unmixed wine for the Eucharist, for example, as well as the early traditions involving hereditary patriarchs and clan bishops are purely indigenous.

LIT. M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia* (London 1912). K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London 1965). V. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjanechalkidonity na vostočnych granicach Vizantijskoj imperii (XI v.)* (Erevan 1980). Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pt.IX (1984), 220–50. –N.G.G.

ARMENIAN LITERATURE. Until the year 400 the Armenians used Greek or Aramaic for their inscriptions, coinage, and correspondence. Syriac also was known in ecclesiastical circles. Only after MESROP MAŠTOC' invented the native script did a vernacular literature develop.

The pupils of Maštoc' traveled to centers of Christian learning, esp. EDESSA, the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and Constantinople, to study Syriac and Greek and to make translations. A corpus of translated literature rapidly developed. At first the emphasis was on liturgical, biblical, and gen-

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eral theological writings, but succeeding generations of Armenians translated and adapted many of the standard texts of late antiquity dealing with secular scholarly themes.

Some of the first translators themselves composed original works, the earliest being the *Life of Maštocʿ* by his pupil Koriun, and the treatise on evil and free will by the latter's colleague Eznik. Though the authors of the earliest major histories are unknown, the genre of historical writing devoted to Armenian themes quickly took root: AGATHANGELOS described the conversion of Armenia in hagiographical style; pseudo-PʿAWSTOS BUZAND dealt with the conflict of Christian and traditional values in the 4th C.; EŁIŠE described the struggle of Christian Armenians against Sasanian domination in the mid-5th C.; the later MOSES XORENACʿI gave the first account of the beginnings of the Armenian nation and of Armenia's historical role between the Roman Empire and Iran down to the time of Maštocʿ.

Characteristically, historians wrote about a specific house or province rather than the country as a whole. Pseudo-Pʿawstos focused on the MAMIKONEAN family, and ŁAZAR OF PʿARPI composed a history of 5th-C. Armenia extolling the virtues of the same family for his patron, Vahan Mamikonean, governor of Armenia (485–505). The work of Moses Xorenacʿi was primarily concerned with the fortunes of the BAGRATID family, and Thomas ARCRUNI glorifies the merits of the Arcruni princes of southern Armenia in his *History*.

Interest in Hellenistic and early Christian literature is demonstrated by translations of many Greek and Syrian church fathers and of Greek texts used in the schools of the eastern Mediterranean. Among theological works of especial importance translated from Syriac are the writings of APHRAHAT and EPHREM THE SYRIAN, the Lives of 4th-C. martyrs in Persia, and the *Ecclesiastical History* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (his *Chronicle* was translated from the original Greek). From Greek were also translated works by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, BASIL THE GREAT, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. The *Refutation* by TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS influenced later polemical CATENAE composed by Armenians. In the secular field the translation and adaptation for the Armenian language of the *Art of Grammar* by DIONYSIOS THRAX led to extensive later commentaries on grammar. Works by the 6th-C. Alexandrians, DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER and ELIAS, led to an interest in logic. Rhetoric was studied through the *Progymnasmata* of THEON and of APHTHONIOS. An Armenian *Book of Chreiai*, attributed to Moses Xorenacʿi, introduces Christian examples to illustrate traditional Greek themes. PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA was used as a source for a unique work on geography, also attributed to Moses. Numerous works by PHILO were very influential, and the *Jewish War* by JOSEPHUS was used, at least by Moses. The popular ALEXANDER ROMANCE was reedited with a Christian interpretation of its meaning in the 13th C. Also in the 13th C. the Syriac *Chronicle* by Patr. MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN was translated and adapted to Armenian interests.

The first translations were made in Edessa and Constantinople, where Armenians went to study. After the 5th C. Jerusalem became a significant center for Armenian (and Georgian) scholarly activity. Armenians joined Greek, Georgian, Syrian, and Western Catholic monks on the Wondrous Mountain near Antioch at the time of the Crusades, but being non-Chalcedonian Armenians had no monasteries on Mt. ATHOS. Numerous works, lost in Greek and Syriac, survive in Armenian versions: e.g., Irenaeus, Eusebios's *Chronicle*, some commentaries of John Chrysostom, Timotheos Ailouros's *Refutation*, Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (of which the original was discovered only in 1957). Translations from Armenian into Greek were rare, though Armenian was known by many Byz., e.g., the teacher of ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK. In addition, when Stephen of Siwnikʿ worked in Constantinople ca.715, he was assisted by a court official. Greek versions exist of two recensions of AGATHANGELOS and one of the NARRATIO DE REBUS ARMENIAE.

Many Greek letters sent to Armenian bishops (5th–12th C.) are preserved with the Armenian responses in the *Book of Letters*, an official compilation of correspondence between Armenians, Greeks, Georgians, and Syrians. (Tendentious alterations to these documents are not uncommon). The compilation of CANON LAW begun by John of Ojun (*katholikos*, 717–28) includes the canons of many Greek councils.

Armenian writers evince little interest in later Byz. literature, though patristic works continued to be popular. Thus in 696/7 the *Ecclesiastical History* of SOKRATES was translated; Stephen of Siwnikʿ translated the corpus attributed to pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (ca.715 in Constantinople), as well as GREGORY OF NYSSA, *On the Making of Man*, and NEMESIOS, *On the Nature of Man*. The translation of the 7th-C. *Hexaemeron* of GEORGE OF PISIDIA is, however, an unusual foray into later Greek literature.

Armenian attitudes to Byz. were ambivalent: interest in, and respect for, Greek learning remained strong, but they were tempered by fear of cultural and esp. religious domination. Not all Armenians were staunchly anti-Chalcedonian, but a defensive tone permeates much Armenian theological writing. Notably pro-Greek were the famous religious poet Gregory of Narek (ca.950–1010); NERSĒS ŠNORHALI, who worked toward a reunion of the churches; and GREGORY MAGISTROS. Notably, the last's 88 letters reflect Byz. attitudes towards learning and scholarship rather than a traditional Armenian outlook.

The historians generally pay little attention to Byz. save insofar as Armenian interests are directly involved. Thus the *History of Herakleios* of SEBEOS is of prime importance for the Byzantinist because it describes Byz.-Persian rivalry, whereas the histories of ŁEWOND and JOHN V KATHOLIKOS are less directly useful because they describe Muslim control of Armenia. Since Armenian historians concentrate on events in Armenia, they become valuable witnesses after the eastward expansion of Byz. power. In the late 10th and 11th C. Stephen of Tarōn (known as ASOŁIK) describes events up to the year 1000, while ARISTAKES LASTIVERTCʿI details the collapse of Armenian independence. MATTHEW OF EDESSA is a witness to the coming of the Turks, the collapse of Byz. control in Armenia and eastern Anatolia, and the arrival of the Crusaders.

Although they attempt both narrative and explanation, the writers just named lack the sophistication of the first historians (e.g., Ełiše or Moses Xorenacʿi). By the 11th C. more creative minds had turned to poetry and theology. The *Chronicle* of SAMUEL OF ANI merely notes events year by year, and this style became increasingly popular. Histories on a grander scale were also produced, however, the more important of these dealing with eastern Armenia, Georgia, and the Mongols. The last comprehensive history dealing at times with Byz. is that of VARDAN VARDAPET, but it is a secondhand source, since Vardan's career was spent primarily in Greater Armenia and he had few direct contacts with Greeks and none with Constantinople.

Loss of Armenian political independence in the 11th C. did not disrupt cultural life or literary production. Especially after the Armenians took control of Cilicia, they were receptive to ideas and influences from new quarters. Scholars traveled even more than in the past, though not so frequently to Constantinople. LATIN and Arabic as well as Greek were increasingly known. Gregory Vkayaser (who abandoned his see as *katholikos* in 1067 after one year in office) and NERSĒS OF LAMBRON sought out numerous texts in Greek and Latin not yet available in Armenian; at this time the Black Mountain with its many monastic centers of different nationalities became an important source for texts not yet translated into Armenian. Medicine, primarily based on Arabic sources, was studied. For the first time a secular law code was compiled, by Mxitʿar Goš (died 1213). SMBAT THE CONSTABLE revised this in light of Cilician interaction with the Crusader principality of Antioch, but Mxitʿar's work remained standard in the Armenian diaspora in succeeding centuries.

Byz. as a source of inspiration was irrelevant to Armenian writers after the 12th C. Nonetheless, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 did spark a literary reaction, and several laments (THRENOI) were written. This genre had a long history in Armenian, e.g., Nersēs Šnorhali on the fall of Edessa and GREGORY TŁAY on the fall of Jerusalem.

LIT. H.S. Anasyan, *Haykakan Matenagitutʿyun*, 2 vols. (Erevan 1959, 1976). V. Inglisian, *Armenische und Kaukasische Sprachen* (Leiden 1963). K. Sarkissian, *A Brief Introduction to Armenian Christian Literature* (London 1960). R.W. Thomson, "The Formation of the Armenian Literary Tradition," in *East of Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 1982) 135–50. Hr.M. Bartikjan, *To Byzantion eis tas Armeniakas pegas* (Thessalonike 1981). –R.T.

ARMENIANS formed an important and influential minority in the Byz. Empire. Before the Arab invasion they were settled primarily in the eastern provinces of the empire (Armenia I–IV) and had lively economic and cultural connections with the Syro-Palestinian world; certain Armenians (e.g., NARSES in the 6th C., VALENTINOS ARSAKUNI in the mid-7th) held important military and court positions in Constantinople. One might expect that subsequent developments would have severed relations between Armenia and the em-

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pire. On the one hand, the decline of the city in Armenia and Byz. alike decreased trade and cultural exchange. On the other hand, the Armenian church rejected the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon; the radical anti-Orthodox movements of the TONDRAKITES and PAULICIANS attracted broad segments of the Armenian population. In reality, however, the role of Armenians in the empire kept growing, and many Armenians emigrated to Byzantium. The Armenian historian ŁEWOND relates several cases of mass flight from the Arabs, for example, that 12,000 Armenian nobles with their wives, children, and retinues found a home in Byz. ca.790. Some Armenian emigrés settled in Armeniakon and Chaldia, while others moved (or were removed by the state) westward, to the northern Balkans (Philippopolis became one of the most important Armenian centers) and even to southern Italy.

Through the 10th C. Armenians played an important role in the Byz. army, producing many generals and several emperors: Leo V, Theodora (Theophilos's wife), Basil I, Romanos I Lekapenos, and John I Tzimiskes. Armenian commanders, such as MELIAS or KOURKOUAS, were instrumental in expanding Byz. territories toward the Euphrates. These Armenians were predominantly Chalcedonian, some of them even holding high ecclesiastical positions in the Orthodox church; culturally they were hellenized and contributed much to the development of education and knowledge in Byz. Nevertheless, the Byz. attitude toward Armenians was often negative, and the stereotype of "the cunning and treacherous Armenian" became firmly implanted in Greek literature.

The number of Armenians in the empire increased drastically in the 11th C. as several Armenian states were annexed, and their population resettled in Cappadocia and neighboring lands. These newcomers probably retained their language, religion, and culture, including habits and costume. The clashes between semi-independent noble Armenians and local Orthodox landowners and bishops were sometimes acute; GAGIK II perished in one such conflict. Chalcedonian Armenian and Armeno-Georgian families (e.g., PAKOURIANOI, TORNIKIOI) continued to hold high positions (esp. as governors of frontier themes) and probably 10–15 percent of the Byz. aristocracy was of Armenian stock, but there was no Armenian emperor in this period, and few Armenians were affiliated with the Komnenian dynasty. From the end of the 11th C. the Armenian nobility tended to create independent states in CILICIA and nearby; from that time Armenians who served in the Byz. army were predominantly allies and not subjects of the emperor.

Frequent attempts to reach a reconciliation with the Armenian church produced vast polemical literature but no practical results. Enmity toward Armenians grew, and Patr. ATHANASIOS I, among others, considered contacts with Jews and Armenians defiling (ep.36.6); Patr. Joseph I Galesiotes called the Armenians "a morbid and rebellious people" (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1400). In the last centuries of Byz. history, Armenians lived in Constantinople as merchants but did not play any substantial role in the administration of the empire.

LIT. P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon, n.d.). E. Bauer, *Die Armenier im byzantinischen Reich und ihr Einfluss auf Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur* (Erevan 1978). A. Kazhdan, "The Armenians in the Byzantine Ruling Class Predominantly in the Ninth through Twelfth Centuries," *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1983) 439–51. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjanɔ-chalkidonity na vostočnych granicach Vizantijskoj imperii (XI v.)* (Erevan 1980).
–A.K.

ARMOR. The 6th- and 10th-C. STRATEGIKA and other literary sources identify several types of body protection worn by Byz. soldiers. Body armor (*thorax*) for cavalrymen was made of chain mail or lamellar, small plates of horn or iron laced together or to a leather backing. These protective coats, called *zabai, lorikia*, or *klibania*, varied in length, reaching the ankles, knees, or waist. To guard against concussive as well as penetrative blows, heavy cavalrymen or KATAPHRAKTOI wore padded, waist-length surcoats (*epilorikia, epanoklibania*) made of wool, felt, or cotton over their mail or lamellar armor. They also wore apronlike coverings (*pteryges, kremasmata*) to protect the midsection. Armor for horses was made of hide, felt, lamellar, or mail, and covered the animal's face and chest; according to a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 318.25–28), the horse of Herakleios survived a battle in 627 by wearing padded armor. Felt coverings hung from belts of light cavalrymen to protect their legs and part of their horses.

Infantrymen wore simple body armor such as knee-length quilted coats (*kabadia*) of felt or linen, and other homemade types of armor are noted; a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 386.1–7) describes a soldier's linen corslet, stiffened by soakings in wine and salt, which was strong enough to resist arrows. Gauntlets (*manikia*) and padded wool or cotton arm guards (*manikelia*), sometimes overlaid with mail, and wooden or iron greaves are prescribed for both infantrymen and cavalrymen in the *strategika*. The sources attest helmets (*kranea, kassidia*) made of iron, either segmented or cast whole, sometimes with flaps of chain mail or felt to protect the face and neck; felt caps (*kamellaukia*), however, were more commonly used by infantrymen in the 10th C. Many illustrations show soldiers wearing caps or helmets with a cloth hung over the back of the neck, presumably to protect against exposure to the sun.

Shields of many types and sizes—oval, rectangular, and kite-shaped—were made of wood and often sheathed in leather or iron, and were secured over the soldier's neck or shoulder by straps to leave both hands free to handle weapons. The average infantryman's shield was fairly large, about 1.4 m long and 80 cm across, but light infantry- and cavalrymen carried smaller shields. After the 12th C., Western triangular shields appear in illustrations.

A warm climate and open, mobile warfare kept Byz. armor relatively limited in comparison with that of Western knights, but, in spite of the comments of Liutprand of Cremona that the Byz. were lightly armed, they were still better protected than their enemies in the later 10th C. The Arabs were amazed by the sight of the heavily armored Byz. *kataphraktoi*, and Skylitzes records that few Byz. were killed in a 970 engagement against the Rus', though many were wounded (Skyl. 291.95–99); he later cites the effects of heat on the "fully armored" Byz. soldiers during a long battle against the same enemy (306.44–46). Byz. soldiers were obliged to carry their weapons and shields on the march and could be severely punished for discarding their equipment along the way (Leo Diac. 57.4–58.10). For sake of comfort they did not wear armor while marching; instead it was carried nearby on pack animals, to be donned quickly in case of attack (*Taktika* of Nikephoros OURANOS, *TM* 5 [1973] 292f).

Practically no archaeological material exists to support the evidence of literary sources for Byz. armor, but details and changes in armor are recorded in art. The lamellar corslet is worn by numerous military saints and emperors depicted on ivories and in illustrated MSS of the 10th and 11th C. This garment is supplemented by leather straps suspended from the shoulders and waist, but Roman "fighting skirts" still appear. By the 12th C. knee-length coats of mail are shown (Kalavrezou, *Steatite*, no.21). The greaves depicted in the images of the 10th and 11th C. were probably archaisms by that time, but innovations such as the kite-shaped shield, replacing oval and circular types, can be traced in representations of David and Goliath in PSALTER illustrations.

LIT. T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna 1988) 37–131. P. Schreiner, "Zur Ausrüstung des Kriegers in Byzanz," in *Les pays du nord et Byzance* (Uppsala 1981) 215–36. P.L. Theocharides, "Hysteroromaïka kai protobyzantina krane," in *Praktika tou A' Diethnous Symposiou. He Kathemerine Zoe sto Byzantio* (Athens 1989) 477–506.
–E.M., A.C.

ARMOURES, SONG OF, a poem or TRAGOUDI preserved in 15th- and 16th-C. MSS. It describes the exploits of young Armoures-Armouropoulos (the son of Armoures) who crossed the Euphrates with the help of an angel and annihilated a Saracen army. Despite the late date of the MSS, H. Grégoire hypothesized that the poem was a 9th-C. work (*REGr* 46 [1933] 29–69). On the sole basis of the resemblance of the name of Armoures to the name of the city of Amorion, he affirmed that the poem dealt with the Byz. retribution for the Arab capture of Amorion in 838 and that Armoures was Michael III. Even bolder was G. Veloudis's hypothesis that Armoures should be identified with the emir of Melitene, ʿUmar al-Aqtaʿ (*BZ* 58 [1965] 313–19).

ED. H.G. Beck, *Byzantinische Volksepik* (Munich 1963) 7–13. Fr. tr. by H. Grégoire in *Prace Polskiego towarzystwa dla badań Europy wschodniej i Bliskiego Wschodu* 4 (Krakow 1933/4) 150–61. It. tr. S. Impellizzeri. *Il Digenis Akritas* (Florence 1940) 33–36.
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 53–57.
– A.K.

ARMY (*στρατός, στρατόπεδον, φοσσᾶτον*). The history of the army in the late Roman and Byz. period begins with the military reforms of the early 4th C. The legions once massed along the frontiers were reorganized into local frontier militias (LIMITANEI) and mobile field armies (COMITATENSES) garrisoned within the empire. By the 5th C. five such armies under the command of

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MAGISTRI MILITUM defended the empire in the East. Two armies (*praesentales*) were stationed with the emperor at Constantinople, two (*per Illyricum*, *per Thracias*) along the Danube frontier, and one (*per Orientem*) along the Euphrates; a *magister militum per Armeniam* was created in the 6th C. The forces consisted of native Roman enlisted men equipped by the state, and the FOEDERATI of many nationalities who were under Roman command. Foreign mercenaries (*symmachoi*) were sometimes hired as separate units under their own commanders (J.L. Teall, *Speculum* 40 [1965] 294–322).

The STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE illustrates the transition during the 5th and 6th C. from Roman to Byz. methods of warfare, which increasingly relied on CAVALRY and ARCHERY in imitation of Persian and Avar practices (Bivar, "Cavalry" 271–91). The army's total manpower in the 4th and 5th C. is estimated to have been as high as 650,000, of which only a minority were well-trained, mobile fighting men (R. MacMullen, *Klio* 62 [1980] 451–60). By the 6th C., the period of the great campaigns of Generals BELISARIOS and NARSES, Justinian I's army had decreased to 150,000 men. The continuing decline in the empire's manpower and resources was so acute that an army sent to fight the Persians in 578 numbered fewer than 6,400 men (H. Turtledove, *BS/EB* 10 [1983] 216–22). Internal rebellions and defeats by the Avars and Persians made the late 6th and 7th C. a time of crisis for the Byz. Although by 628 Herakleios was able to reorganize the shattered imperial forces into an army capable of defeating Persia, new, more aggressive enemies—the Arabs, Bulgars, and Lombards—inflicted serious defeats on the imperial armies and overran much of Byz. territory during the 7th and 8th C.

Two fundamental reactions to the 7th-C. military crisis shaped the Byz. army from the late 7th to the 11th C. The first step was the stationing of army groups (*themata*) in military districts (THEMES); four such armies are mentioned in 687 (R.-J. Lilie, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 7–47). The second step was the reimposition of hereditary military service (STRATEIA) in exchange for land (Hendy, *Economy* 619f). The thematic armies, recruited and maintained locally, were sometimes effective against invaders (as at AKROINON in 740) but were slow to mobilize and coordinate for campaigns. They often lacked discipline and military skill and were prone to rebellion (Kaegi, *Unrest*). This tendency led Constantine V to dissolve the OPSIKION army, which had represented the imperial field force, and create new imperial units, known as the TAGMATA, which were based in or around Constantinople. The tagmatic units were better equipped and paid than the provincial armies and formed the crack regiments of the Byz. army; after the early 9th C. tagmatic and thematic troops commonly joined forces for expeditions. The army was mostly composed of native recruits through the 7th to 10th C., although foreigners were hired (e.g., THEOPHOBOS) or foreign peoples were resettled within Byz. territory to provide manpower (Theoph. 364.11–18).

The army's greatest period was in the 10th and early 11th C., when the Byz. recaptured much of the territory lost to the Arabs and Bulgars. As shown by contemporary STRATEGIKA, the army's increased effectiveness was rooted in the efforts of such soldier-emperors as Nikephoros II Phokas and Basil II to employ more heavily armed men (e.g., KATAPHRAKTOI) and to perfect combined infantry and cavalry tactics in battle or on campaign. At the same time, however, the army's composition and structure began to change; command was centralized at Constantinople (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 141–47), and the growing presence of MERCENARIES (RUS', NORMANS), already well attested in the 10th C., became even more pronounced during the 11th and 12th C. The old tagmatic and thematic units were replaced by new contingents—mainly foreign troops—billeted in the provinces (J.-C. Cheynet, *TM* 9 [1985] 181–94). Especially under Manuel I Komnenos, the Byz. eagerly attempted to adopt the Western panoply and tactics, but this had mixed results (R.P. Lindner, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 207–13). They also accepted such Western traditions as tournaments and the glorification of military prowess in literature and art. The size and multinational character of 12th-C. Byz. armies astonished their neighbors, but this and the centralization of command made the army unwieldy; the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1203–04 demonstrated the superiority of Western feudal armies over the imperial forces.

The emperors of Nicaea developed the traditions adopted by Manuel I and learned from their Western rivals; their armies were small but effective. They were composed of Western, Cuman, and Turkish mercenaries, supported by provincial levies; Theodore II Laskaris later attempted to convert them into a national army to control the number and cost of foreign soldiers. The restoration of the empire in 1261 precipitated attack from various claimants and created a burden that Byz. was incapable of bearing. On the one hand, acting in the interests of great landowners, the emperors abolished the last troops of peasant soldiers who guarded the frontiers; on the other hand, they were unable to maintain the NAVY and substantial land forces. They tried to transfer the obligation of military service to local landowners at a time when Byz. faced the growing centralized armies of the Ottomans, which were primarily composed of professional warriors (JANISSARIES), and the swift fleets and skillful mariners of the Italian republics. The *Chronicle of the Tocco* reveals the relative strength of the forces in the Balkans in the first half of the 15th C. when it calculates the military detachments of local lords at between 20 and 100 men, and those of the emperor at 500 horsemen, whereas the Turks could afford to send 30,000 soldiers to Epiros (A. Kazhdan in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* [Milan 1982] 173). Nor could the Byz. compete with the Turks in military TECHNOLOGY, lacking, for instance, cannons such as those that the Turks used during sieges in the 15th C. (see FIREARMS).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 607–86. J. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians* (Bonn 1984). Ahrweiler, "Administration" 1–109. Angold, *Byz. Government* 182–201. N. Oikonomides, "A propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies de soldats," *TM* 8 (1981) 353–71. –E.M., A.K.

ÁRPÁDS (Ἀρπαδῆς in *De adm. imp.* 40.48), a dynasty of princes (876–1000) and then kings (1000–1301) of HUNGARY. Constantine VII preserves a legend (contrary to Arabic sources) that Árpád, founder of the dynasty, received his power from the *khagan* of Khazaria and of the "Turks" (Hungarians). Circa 894, at the invitation of Emp. Leo VI, Árpád attacked SYMEON OF BULGARIA and thus began the occupation of PANNONIA and neighboring lands by the Hungarians. From the 11th C. onward, the Árpáds were in close contact with Byz.: according to a 13th-C. legend, Prince Imre (Henry), son of István (Stephen) I, married ca.1020 the daughter of a Greek emperor, whom de Vajay (*infra*) arbitrarily identifies as Romanos III; ca.1075 Synadene, a relation of Emp. Nikephoros III, was given in marriage either to an Árpád (Géza I [r. 1074–77] or László I [Ladislas]) or to a Hungarian lord (acc. to A. Kazhdan, *ActaAntHung* 10 [1962] 163–66, but contrary to Gy. Moravcsik, *BZ* 55 [1962] 381); Álmos, the blinded brother of King Kálmán (Coloman, r.1095–1116), fled to Byz., where he was renamed Constantine and granted the town of Constantinia in Macedonia (E. Szentpétery, A. Domanovszky, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 1 [Budapest 1937] 442f); Piroska (Irene), László's daughter, married Emp. John II in 1104/5; István, a brother of King Géza II (r. 1141–62), fled ca.1155 to Byz., where he married Manuel I's niece, Maria in 1161; László, another brother of Géza, followed István to Constantinople. BÉLA III was, for a while, heir to the Byz. throne; his daughter Margaret-Maria married Isaac II. An enigmatic *kralaina*, Arete Doukaina, who possessed lands in Byz. ca.1157/8, was possibly the spouse of BORIS KALAMANOVIĆ (V. Laurent, *BZ* 65 [1972] 35–39). Circa 1222 Béla IV married Maria, daughter of Theodore I; Agnes-Anna of Hungary was the first wife of Andronikos II and mother of Michael IX.

LIT. G. Györffy, *LMA* 1:1022–24. Gy. Moravcsik in *De adm. imp.*, vol. 2 (1962) 146. R. Kerbl, *Byzantinische Prinzessinnen in Ungarn zwischen 1050–1200 und ihr Einfluss auf das Arpadenkönigreich* (Vienna 1979), with rev. Sz. de Vajay in *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 10 (1979) 15–28. –A.K., J.B.

ARRHA SPONSALICIA (ἀρραβών, "engagement gift"), a payment in money or in kind that served as the guarantee of the BETROTHAL promise. It fell to the bride if the groom broke off the betrothal without good cause; in the reverse situation, the bride had to return the *arrha sponsalicia* to the groom and also pay him an equivalent sum. *Arrha sponsalicia* is first mentioned in Byz. law in the 4th C. (*Cod. Just.* V 2.1, a.380). Leo I regulated it in greater detail (*ibid.* V 1.5, a.472) and stipulated that no PROSTIMON be arranged in addition to the *arrha*. If the *arrha* was, until Justinian I, an optional payment, in the *Ecloga* (1.1–2) it appears as an essential act for the betrothal—as an alternative to the written contract with *prostimon*. The *Epanagoge* (title 15) and the *Procheiron* (title 2) return, as does the *Basilika* (28.1–2), to the Justinianic legal situation, which considers the consent of the engaged couple sufficient for valid betrothal, without payment of an *arrha*. Even so, the

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securing of a betrothal through *arrha* or *prostimon* remained common. Leo VI stipulates (nov.18)—contrary to Leo I—that this securing should ensue through the "more important" *prostimon* (in contrast to *arrha sponsalicia*), as this was already taking place in custom.

In the wake of the extensive equalization of marriage and betrothal, the *arrha sponsalicia* survives as a payment, bound together with the blessing of the betrothal (*Reg.* 2, no.1116). *Arrabon* or *arrabonismos* become synonymous with betrothal. *Prostima*, on the other hand, are prohibited for "genuine" betrothals, since they should be as little dissoluble in exchange for a money payment as the marriage (*Reg.* 2, no.1167). According to the *Peira* (17.5, 17.14, 49.2) the betrothal was, on the contrary, still dissoluble through payment of the *prostimon*.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 647–53. P. Koschaker, "Zur Geschichte der arrha sponsalicia," *ZSavRom* 33 (1912) 383–416. E. Volterra, "Studio sull' 'arrha sponsalicia,' " *Rivista italiana per le scienze giuridiche* n.s. 2 (1927) 581–670; 4 (1929) 3–33; 5 (1930) 155–245. –M.Th.F.

ARSABER (Ἀρσαβήρ, Arm. Aršawir), early 9th-C. usurper. An Armenian of noble background (C. Toumanoff, *Traditio* 27 [1971] 150), he served the Byz. emperor as quaestor and *patrikios*. In Feb. 808 a group of lay and clerical officials opposed to Emp. NIKEPHOROS I, including the *synkellos, sakellarios,* and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia, proclaimed the "pious and most eloquent" Arsaber as emperor (Theoph. 483.25–26). When Nikephoros discovered the plot, Arsaber was beaten, tonsured, and exiled to Bithynia, while his supporters were beaten, stripped of their property, and exiled. Arsaber had a daughter, Theodosia, who married Leo V (Genes. 16.82–83).

LIT. Guilland, *Titres,* pt. IX (1970), 337. Bury, *ERE* 14. –P.A.H.

ARSACIDS (Ἀρσάκιδαι, Arm. Aršakuni), junior branch of the Parthian royal house ruling in ARMENIA until the beginning of the 5th C. The precise date of their establishment in Armenia is uncertain, and even in the 4th C. their chronology remains confused and highly controversial. Reestablished on the throne by the Romans after the peace of Nisibis of 298, the Arsacids generally followed a pro-imperial policy. This orientation, deriving from their hostility to the Sasanian usurpers of their family's kingdom in Persia, was reinforced by their conversion to Christianity in 314. Their arianizing policy under Constantius II alienated the native clergy as well as the magnates, and Armenian sources disagree with the allegiance to the Romans claimed by classical sources. Jovian's abandonment of Armenia to the Sasanians in 363 led to the Persian occupation of the country and to the ultimate downfall of the Arsacid house. After the partition of Armenia between Rome and Persia in ca.387, the Arsacid branch on imperial territory died out within a decade, while the Iranian branch ended in 428. Descendants of the Arsacids maintained an important, if primarily military, role at the Byz. court: in the 7th C. an Arsacid named VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI made a bid for the Byz. throne; in the 9th C. an apocryphal pedigree made Emp. Basil I one of their descendants.

LIT. C. Toumanoff, "The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids: A Chronological and Genealogical Commentary," *REArm* n.s. 6 (1969) 233–81. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 160–377. Garsoïan, *Epic Histories* 354f. –N.G.G.

ARŠAK II/III (Lat. Arsaces), ARSACID king of Armenia (338/50–363/68); his birth and death dates are uncertain. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (25.7.12–13), Aršak was a "constant and faithful friend" of the Romans, who rewarded him in 358 with a tax exemption and an imperial bride. Probably because of his attempts at centralization and his adherence to Constantius II's arianizing policy, however, Armenian aristocratic and ecclesiastical sources are hostile to Aršak, portraying him as cruel and vacillating in his allegiance. Aršak seems to have supported the campaign of Julian the Apostate against the Persians in 363 (Julian's threatening *Letter* to Aršak is usually deemed spurious). Abandoned to the Sasanians by Jovian's peace of the same year, Aršak was captured by Shāpūr (Lat. Sapor) II and deported to Persia, where he died in the "Castle of Oblivion" a few years later.

LIT. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 282–300. Garsoïan, *Armenia,* pt.IV (1967), 297–320; pt.V (1969), 148–64. Eadem, *Epic Histories* 352f. –N.G.G.

ARSAMOSATA (Ar. Shimshāṭ, called Ἀσμόσατον [Asmosaton] in the 10th C.; often confused with Samosata in Commagene; now Haraba), a fortress on the Murad Su (Arsanias River) about 50 km east of Harput. Arsamosata was annexed to the empire by Diocletian in 297. After the Arabs captured it in the 640s it became one of their major frontier fortresses. Stormed by Theophilos in 837 and Michael III in 856, it was finally taken by Romanos I Lekapenos in 939 and became the center of a theme of the same name (Asmosaton) and a metropolitan bishopric. It remained Byz. until the battle of MANTZIKERT in 1071. Remains of a substantial fortress survive, with undated medieval walls representing the contraction of a sprawling ancient city.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 75–78. J. Howard-Johnston, "Byzantine Anzitene," in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia,* ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 247f. –C.F.

ARSENAL. See ARMAMENTON.

ARSENIOS, metropolitan of Kerkyra (9th-10th C.). According to his *akolouthia,* Arsenios was born in Bethany (Palestine) during the reign of Basil I and became a monk at age 12. After being educated in Seleukeia (on the Orontes?), he went to Constantinople where, under Patr. Tryphon (928–31), he was entrusted with "the care of churches" (the post of OIKONOMOS?). He was then elected bishop of Kerkyra (ca.933–56), where he survived an invasion of "Scythians." On the other hand, an inscription of 1669 states that Arsenios's relics were transferred to the Cathedral of St. James, Kerkyra, in 869 (Athenagoras in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* [Athens 1935] 436).

Several *enkomia* are attributed to Arsenios's pen: on the apostle ANDREW (*BHG* 105), the martyr BARBARA (*BHG* 218), and the martyr Therinos who died in Epiros (*BHG* 1799). J. Mateos (*OrChrP* 22 [1956] 368–74) ascribes to Arsenios the authorship of the *kanon* on St. Timothy of Prousa. Arsenios probably wrote the *kanon* of *euchelaion,* the sacrament of extreme unction for the sick (M. Jugie, *EO* 26 [1927] 416–19), and several other liturgical verses, including an Anacreontic on Easter Sunday (Matranga, *AnecGr* 2:670–75), in which he not only underscored the cosmic festivity but also employed pagan mythological images to portray the joy of spring. Arsenios's identification with his homonym, a contemporary of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS and a friend of PHOTIOS, is questionable.

LIT. *BHG* 2044–45. S. Pétridès, C. Emereau, "Saint Arsène de Corfou," *EO* 20 (1921) 431–46. –A.K.

ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS, patriarch of Constantinople (Nov. 1254–Feb./March 1260; May/June? 1261–spring 1265 [cf. V. Laurent, *REB* 27 (1969) 139f, 142; A. Failler, *REB* 38 (1980) 59–65, 39 (1981) 155–64]); baptismal name George; born Constantinople ca.1200, died Prokonnesos 30 Sept. 1273. Born to Theodore (or Alexios) AUTOREIANOS and Irene Kamatera, Arsenios began his career as the monk Gennadios at the monastery on Oxeia (Princes' Islands). He resided in several monasteries in Asia Minor until 1254, when he became patriarch at Nicaea. Although after Theodore II's death, Arsenios, together with George MOUZALON, served as protector of JOHN IV LASKARIS, he crowned the usurper MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS in 1258 or 1259. By 1260 Arsenios realized Michael's ambition for sole rule and, in protest, refused for over a year to serve as patriarch. In 1261, however, he was persuaded to resume his duties and performed a second coronation of Michael in Hagia Sophia in Aug. 1261. Shortly thereafter, angered by the blinding of John IV, Arsenios excommunicated Michael. Antagonism between emperor and patriarch continued until 1265, when a synod deposed Arsenios and banished him to Prokonnesos. Arsenios's deposition led to the rise of the ARSENITES; in 1284, as a concession to this faction, Andronikos II permitted the translation of Arsenios's remains to Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Perhaps at this time his sanctity was recognized; his cult continued into the 15th C.

SOURCES. Testament of Arsenios—PG 140:947–58. P.G. Nikolopoulos, "Akolouthia anekdotos eis Arsenion Patriarchen Konstantinoupoleos," *EEBS* 43 (1977–78) 365–83. Idem, "Anekdotos logos eis Arsenion Autoreianon Patriarchen Konstantinoupoleos," *EEBS* 45 (1981–82) 406–61.

LIT. *RegPatr,* fasc. 4, nos. 1329–1347, 1353–1374. I.E. Troickij, *Arsenij, patriarch Nikejskij i Konstantinopol'skij, i Arsenity* (St. Petersburg 1873; rp. London 1973). R. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," in *Byz. Saint* 67–87. *PLP.* no.1694. Angold. *Byz. Government* 82–93. –A.M.T.

ARSENIOS THE GREAT, saint; born Rome 354, died Troia near Memphis in Egypt 445; feastday 8 May. According to an *enkomion* by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Arsenios, who was born to a noble and rich family, was invited by Theodosios I to Constantinople to educate the emperor's sons. Two sources (vita, ed. Phirippides, *EkklPhar* 34 [1935] 196.19; *enkomion,* ed. Nissen, *BNJbb* 1 [1920] 257.19) call him *pater basileon,* while the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 666.7) applies to him

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the anachronistic title of *basilopator* (see BASILEOPATOR). A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:231.17–18) states that he was a deacon of the Roman church. After forty years in the palace, Arsenios fled to Egypt, obeying a voice from heaven, and became a hermit in Sketis, then in Troia, then on an island near Alexandria, and again in Troia. Theodore of Stoudios describes Arsenios as a hermit who worked with his hands, weaving and sewing, and educated his pupils and visitors with shrewd conversations. His short stories are reminiscent of the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM, and indeed several stories in the *Apophthegmata* are ascribed to a certain Arsenios (PG 65:87–108). Theodore also describes Arsenios's physical appearance: a tall, lean man, bent with age, his beard reaching to his belly, his eyelashes worn away by excessive weeping. SYMEON METAPHRASTES included Arsenios's vita in his collection. The 14th-C. Nikephoros Kallistos XANTHOPOULOS was the first to mention Arsenios's literary activity, so it is questionable whether two short pieces preserved under the name of a monk Arsenios (PG 66:1617–26) should be attributed to him.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Arsenios echo Theodore's description of the venerable desert father: he is gaunt, with an extremely long white beard (sometimes four- or five-pointed), and wears monastic robes. One *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 9, fol.1r) ignores his ascetic achievements and illustrates only his arrival on horseback from Rome and his instruction of the two young princes in Constantinople. His burial is included in another *menologion* (Paris, B.N. gr. 1528, fol.21r) and possibly on a fragmentary icon on Mt. Sinai (M. Chatzidakis, *Venezia e il levante,* vol. 2 [1974] 97, fig.67).

SOURCES. T. Nissen, "Das Enkomion des Theodoros Studites auf den heiligen Arsenios," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 241–62, corr. E. Kurtz, *BNJbb* 2 (1921) 293–95. *Žitie iže vo svjatych otca našego Arsenija Velikogo,* ed. G. Cereteli (St. Petersburg 1899). "Bios kai politeia tou hosiou patros hemon Arseniou tou Megalou," ed. N.S. Phirippides, *EkklPhar* 34 (1935) 37–55, 189–201.

LIT. *BHG* 167y–169c. Mouriki, *Nea Mone* 159f.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

ARSENITES, followers of ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS, who were in schism with the patriarchate of Constantinople from 1265. The rift began with Arsenios's deposition from the patriarchal throne by MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS. The Arsenites refused to recognize Arsenios's successor, JOSEPH I, and all subsequent patriarchs until NIPHON. Following several attempts by Andronikos II to reconcile the Arsenites, Niphon succeeded in negotiating a compromise; the schism officially ended on 14 Sept. 1310 in a dramatic ceremony at Hagia Sophia.

The Arsenite schism has generally been viewed not only as an ecclesiastical controversy but as part of the political opposition to the upstart Palaiologan dynasty by Laskarid supporters. The Arsenites, who had a strong following among monks and the populace of western Anatolia (the territory of the former Laskarid Empire of NICAEA), supported the revolt of Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS in 1295 and the conspiracy of John Drimys in 1305/6.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Les grandes crises religieuses à Byzance: La fin du schisme arsénite," *BSHAcRoum* 26 (1945) 225–313. I. Sykoutres, "Peri to schisma ton Arseniaton," *Hellenika* 2 (1929) 267–332; 3 (1930) 15–44.

–A.M.T.

ARSINOE. See FAYYŪM.

ART (τέχνη). The Greek term *techne* had a broad range of meanings, including mental dexterity, linguistic ability, and trickery as well as the skills of rulers and physicians. It therefore implied something closer to craft and denied a privileged role to the work of art and to its creator. Art was understood not as completing nature, as in Aristotle, nor as possessing value independent of nature, as in the modern view, but as nature: art reproduced reality, including those aspects of it that were normally invisible (John of Damascus, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 3:126.2–3). Despite centuries of theorizing about the relationship of the image to its prototype, not until the 15th C. (Manuel CHRYSOLORAS) was a practical distinction drawn between the image and that which it represented. Equally, written accounts of works of art rarely distinguish the material of which they were made: differentiations between the principal genres and materials are usually to be found only in INVENTORIES where they served quite other purposes than aesthetic appreciation or even evaluation as stimuli to religious faith. But descriptions of MOSAIC and wall painting (see MONUMENTAL PAINTING), the two main types of monumental decoration in Byz., largely ignore the contribution of the medium to the work's final effect, emphasizing instead the lifelike quality of the image and its impact upon the beholder. Where the medium can be discerned at all, reports on ICONS, ecclesiastical SILVER, ENAMELS, and TEXTILES—some of the most frequently noted categories of portable works—stress function rather than form, message rather than materials.

Literature provides our primary means of access to the Byz. response to that which we call art and confirms the view that the purposes of representational art took precedence over its nature and materials. The effects of art—the magnificence of a building and its decoration, the glittering splendor of a piece of metalwork—all but efface other considerations. The purpose of ARCHITECTURE is to magnify the builder and often, as described in the VITA BASILII, to show that he has recovered the glory of the past. Such an approach links imperial founders, KTETORS of lesser rank, and church builders. The significant aspect of a structure lies in what it says about its PATRON: it shows that an emperor has restored (often "from the ground up") what had crumbled, be it the fabric of a building, the reputation of a city, or the strength of right belief.

On the one hand, what was ancient, when it survived, was prized for its own sake; on the other, its restoration was a Christian's duty and a credit to him. Since an icon was understood to function by virtue of perfect correspondence to its subject, panels were frequently "made anew" (Skyl. 384.21–24) and portraits in mosaics and MSS often remade. Lacking autonomous value as art, frescoes were overpainted with subjects sometimes quite different from the originals. Nonetheless, both the means by which pictures were produced and their ICONOGRAPHY demonstrate the respect for authority and tradition (Mansi 13:252C) and the emphasis on orthodoxy of thought and behavior, apparent in other aspects of Byz. culture. Many works can be shown to have a more or less close dependence upon earlier examples, due in some cases to direct derivation but more often to the employment of a conventional and ubiquitous visual vocabulary. This lexicon included individual figures and poses, GESTURES and BACKGROUNDS preserved either in model-books (see MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS) or, more likely, in the MEMORY of craftsmen. Such elements were used or modified, and their syntactical relationships adjusted, according to context.

Thoroughly pragmatic, ARTISTS borrowed established forms, much as builders used SPOLIA, and usually invented only when an exemplar was not at hand. How faithfully older forms were transmitted depended upon opportunities for access to models and the purpose, training, and native ability of the artist. This approach to artistic production was reinforced by socially sanctioned notions of decorum, of what was appropriate to a particular type of commission. Although there were variations in the size of a *ktetor*'s investment, CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION conformed to highly developed ideas of what was fitting. Works in other favored media, above all textiles, BOOK ILLUSTRATION, and METALWORK, display similar homogeneity. While the same genres characterized Islamic art, the latter exhibited neither the Byz. emphasis on sacred decoration nor the resultant body of canonical subject matter. The overriding Byz. concern with an established and limited iconographical corpus likewise distinguishes it from the medieval West: most of the "profane" subjects—the virtues and vices, the liberal arts, the representation of trades and crafts—are largely missing from Byz. art.

The exploitation of older models was a phenomenon common to the visual arts and LITERATURE. Just as the 10th-C. historian Leo the Deacon was content to use descriptions of battles taken from Agathias writing four centuries earlier, so the 14th-C. mosaics of the CHORA MONASTERY, for example, quote details from the 10th-C. JOSHUA ROLL. Such "antiques" were valued both for their age and their potential as models. As descriptions were interchangeable in texts, so were details of physiognomy, clothing, and setting in art: identity often depended as much on INSCRIPTIONS as on formal variation. The benign and constant cannibalism of earlier work largely undercuts the notion of successive RENAISSANCES that have been imposed on particular periods. The supposition that painters of the 6th, 10th, and early 14th C. were more interested in ANTIQUITY than those of other times attributes to them an unusual motivation when, in fact, the use of ancient types was a form of economy on their part. The more frequent appearance of "classicizing" elements in certain eras is merely because of the fact that these were periods of cultural revival producing more works of high quality.

While particular instances of copying may reflect an act of choice on the part of a patron, this attitude was culturally determined. Overt ex-

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amples of the political supervision of artistic production are few, but social control was compelling and depended on the various functions assigned to the work of art. Basil the Great (PG 32:229A) regarded images, like the lives of saints, as inspirations to virtue. More concretely, for Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46:737D) they had the value of "silent writing." This didactic role was expanded in the 8th and 9th C. For the patriarch Nikephoros I the educative power of icons exceeded that of words, while Photios saw representations of martyrdom as more vivid than writing (L. Brubaker, *Word and Image* 5 [1989] 23f). Independent of such theoretical statements, art provided a vehicle for the expression of supplications and gratitude to God (Sophronios, PG 87.3:3388C). Icons were a means of access to the divine and responsible, Psellos's mother believed (An.Komn. 2:34.8–10), for human success. As materially rich creations, works of art were considered proper gifts at holy sites (PIACENZA PILGRIM) and, as the will of Eustathios BOILAS and the *diataxis* of Michael ATTALEIATES make clear, to churches and monasteries.

Other types of document, notably the EKPHRASIS, emphasize the presence of Christ, his mother, and his saints, in their images. This sort of "realism" differs from that which allowed actuality to obtrude into representations of agriculture, navigation, and the like, and to invest biblical and hagiographical events with details that the artist's contemporaries could recognize. Since all attention was paid to the immediate significance of a scene, no attempt was made to present the past as such (see HISTORY PAINTING). Constantine I, for instance, was sometimes given the features of the reigning monarch, and incidents of the OLD TESTAMENT were employed for their value as PREFIGURATIONS of current events.

Despite such constants, developments in both STYLE and subject matter are evident over the centuries, particularly in monumental painting, which, to a much greater extent than in the West, was the dominant visual medium. Such changes are in part to be explained by church doctrine: the Second Council of NICAEA had defined the manner of representation as the domain of the artist. Before this time, art displayed the iconographical and formal diversity characteristic of late antiquity and its far-flung cities. Lively scenes drawing on the everyday world distinguish both imperial imagery (BARBERINI IVORY) and Christian themes (ROSSANO GOSPELS). A more rigorous definition of acceptable subject matter and its modes of presentation emerged from the search for authoritative, ancient statements concerning the validity of images both before and during ICONOCLASM. To a degree this debate was responsible for the evolution of an attitude, akin to ENCYCLOPEDISM, toward the artistic heritage that was at once selective and prescriptive. In the service of dogmatic clarity, art of the 10th and early 11th C. exhibits a formal austerity based on the principles of FRONTALITY and SYMMETRY.

These features have been seen as reducing the MONUMENTALITY attributed to the painting of the "Macedonian Renaissance" but they are symptoms not causes. Rather, the late 11th- and 12th-C. desire to express more complex Christological ideas and more affective expressions of EMOTION widened the range of art, in the creation of which the number of identifiable and named artists increased greatly. But territorial losses and the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204 brought to a close four centuries in which the artistic hegemony of the capital had been recognized and emulated beyond the confines of the empire. Already in the 12th C. both Latin and Turkic elements can be found in Byz. art; this trickle became a spate in and after the late 13th C. Even before the Civil War of 1341–47 cut short a brief Palaiologan revival, the sponsorship of works of art had passed into the hands of local magnates, both lay and ecclesiastical; the final 150 years display a range of representational quality and manners at odds with the splendor and uniformity that had characterized 9th–12th-C. production and on which the reputation of Byz. art has long been based. Only very recently has the appropriateness of modern standards such as aesthetic autonomy and independence of its ideological well-springs been questioned (R. Nelson, *Art History* 12 [1989] 144–57). The recovery of and sympathy for the context in which this body of production came into being is now seen as a more direct route to the understanding of Byz. art.

LIT. V.N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin 1966). A. Grabar, *Byzantium from the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam* (London 1966). R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (London 1985). A. Cutler, J.W. Nesbitt, *L'arte bizantina e il suo pubblico* (Turin 1986). C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972; rp. Toronto 1986). W.F. Volbach, J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten* (Berlin 1968). —A.C.

ARTA (Ἄρτα), located at the site of ancient Ambrakia, on the river Arachthos, about 13 km north of the Gulf of Arta; capital of the state of EPIROS from 1205 onward. There is no certain information on Arta before the end of the 11th C. In the 12th C., however, Arta was an important trade center frequented by Venetians and an archbishopric (its archbishop is attested in 1157); an *episkepsis* of Arta probably existed within the theme of Nikopolis. The city flourished in the 13th C.: it was fortified evidently after 1227 (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 2 [1936] 156f), and excavated artifacts suggest local ceramic production (A. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, *DChAE*[4] 12 [1984] 453–72). The CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO describes Arta as the center of a fertile agricultural region with many water buffaloes, cows, and horses; merchants from Venice and Dubrovnik competed for the market of Arta, which supplied dried meat, lard, ham, furs, and indigo.

Arta was attacked by the empire of Nicaea and fell briefly in 1259 to Nicaean troops. The restored empire continued these assaults: Andronikos II attacked Arta unsuccessfully, but in 1338 Andronikos III took it. After a rebellion led by Nikephoros BASILAKES the city surrendered to John Kantakouzenos. Afterwards Arta changed hands many times: it was conquered by Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, then passed to the Albanians, and in 1416 to Carlo I Tocco. It fell to the Ottomans in 1449.

The bishopric of Arta does not appear regularly in the notitiae and may have been combined with that of nearby Rogoi. In an act of 1367 Arta is named the "bishopric of Akarnania" (MM 1:494.13).

Monuments of Arta. The fortifications of the acropolis have been attributed to Michael I Komnenos Doukas, but in their present state they are largely post-Byz.; the palace has vanished completely.

There are churches in and around Arta that date, in part at least, from the 9th to 10th C.: simple wooden-roofed basilicas, sometimes topped by domes with high cylindrical drums (St. Demetrios tou Katsoure), or of a free-standing cross plan (St. Basil tes Gephyras, early 9th C.?). But the main building activity in Arta took place in the time of the despotate of Epiros, when many of these early churches were also renovated. Because of the strength of this local tradition, the penetration of Constantinopolitan and Western influences into the region produced in Arta architectural forms of considerable originality that are beholden to neither. The 13th-C. structures, often still basilical in plan, have lively bands of brick and multicolored ceramic decoration, the latter even including figural plaques, as in the Church of St. Basil (S. Xenopoulos, *EEBS* 6 [1929] 387–97), while stone figural sculpture adorns column capitals and tombs as well as church façades.

The most important monument in Arta is the large metropolitan Church of the Virgin Paregoretissa, founded by the *despotes* NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, his wife, and his son, ca. 1290. It has a square, blocklike exterior rising three stories like a palace; on its horizontal roofline appear five domes and a lantern. The interior is spacious, being a form of domed octagon like NEA MONE on Chios, though the eight piers here are divided into three tiers, with reused columns serving both as consoles and as vertical supports. The walls of the church had marble revetment up to the level of the surrounding galleries, and the dome itself has a Byz. program in mosaic: a huge figure of Christ Pantokrator surrounded by seraphim and cherubim, and 12 prophets between the windows of the drum. The mosaicists were presumably brought in from a Byz. center outside Epiros, though it is not known which. Western elements are also evident in the carved Romanesque monsters and reliefs with biblical themes that adorn the interior.

The Church of the Kato Panagia, built ca. 1250–70 by the father of Nikephoros I, the *despotes* MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, has a barrel-vaulted nave, but a transverse vault rises high over the crossing to produce the effect of a dome. The plan, very similar to that of the Porta Panagia in Thessaly, has affinities also with Peloponnesian monuments of the 13th C. The monastery of Theodora (previously St. George) has a three-aisled basilica of the mid-12th C. The domed narthex added by St. THEODORA OF ARTA (ca. 1270) housed her tomb; a marble slab from her sarcophagus bears her portrait in relief, dressed as an empress, and that of a male figure, probably her son Nikephoros I.

Frescoes in the despotate churches of Arta are generally Byz. in inspiration (e.g., St. Nicholas tes Rhodias), most painted in the style of the early decades of the 13th C. The church of the Bla-

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cherna convent preserves a fragmentary fresco showing a procession of the icon of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA through the streets of Constantinople (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *DChAE*[4] 13 [1985–86] 301–06). The church itself (part of which may belong to the early 10th C.) is a three-aisled basilica with a dome over each aisle; fragments of its marble templon with figures of archangels flanking the Virgin have also been preserved, as has its marble mosaic floor, and some inscribed tomb reliefs that identify the deceased as members of the royal family.

LIT. *TIB* 3:113–15. A. Ducellier, "Aux frontières de la Romanie: Arta et Sainte-Maure à la fin du moyen âge," *TM* 8 (1981) 113–24. A. Orlandos, "Byzantina mnemeia tes Artes," *ABME* 2 (1936) 3–216. D. Pallas, "Epiros," *RBK* 2 (1968) 258–89. Idem, *He Paregoretissa tes Artas* (Athens 1963). P. Bokotopoulos, *He ekklesiastike architektonike eis ten dytiken sterean Hellada kai ten Epeiron* (Thessalonike 1975) 20–28, 45–50, 56–69. Grabar, *Sculptures II* 144–46. P. Vokotopoulos, "Arta," in *Alte Kirchen und Klöster Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas (Schauberg 1972) 135–61.

–T.E.G., N.P.Š.

ARTABASDOS (Ἀρταύασδος, Ἀρτάβαζος), usurper (742–43). An Armenian (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 135), Artabasdos was appointed *strategos* of the Armeniakon by Anastasios II (713–15). He supported the revolt of Leo III against Theodosios III and subsequently received Leo's daughter Anna in marriage, the title *kouropalates* (Guilland, *Titres*, pt.III [1970], 198f), and the position of *komes* of the Opsikion. The report of Eutychios of Alexandria that Artabasdos came from Germanikeia, Leo's birthplace, may explain their strong ties. After Leo's death Artabasdos revolted against Constantine V in June of either 741 or 742, defeated him, and entered Constantinople, perhaps exploiting a reaction against ICONOCLASM. He ruled with his eldest son Nikephoros as co-emperor and received recognition from Pope ZACHARIAS. Artabasdos may also have crowned Anna and his youngest son Niketas (*Synopsis chronike*, ed. Sathas, *MB* 7:124.2–3). His most notable achievement was the restoration of icons (denied by Speck, *infra*, but reaffirmed by W. Treadgold, *AHR* 88 [1983] 94f). He sent Niketas as *monostrategos* to the Armeniakon, but Constantine defeated him in the summer of 743 and entered Constantinople on 2 Nov. of that year. Artabasdos and his sons were blinded in the Hippodrome.

LIT. I. Rochow, "Bemerkungen zur Revolte des Artabasdos aufgrund bisher nicht beachteter Quellen," *Klio* 68 (1986) 191–97. P. Speck, *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren* (Bonn 1981).

–P.A.H.

ARTABASDOS, NICHOLAS RHABDAS. See RHABDAS, NICHOLAS ARTABASDOS.

ART AND THE WEST. While the dedication of CONSTANTINOPLE as the new Rome symbolized imperial and artistic unity and Constantinople was patterned after old ROME in its topography and monuments, their shared traditions contained the seeds of future separation. After the division of the empire and the decline of the Western part in the 5th C., it was the art of the Eastern part that upheld the classical standards of old Rome while developing new Christian form and content. When Rome gradually lost its position as artistic capital after ca.450, Constantinople assumed this role; by the 540s its impact on Italian soil was evident in the architecture and decoration of the Church of S. Vitale in RAVENNA.

The new Byz. art followed in the path of Justinian I's generals and, where political hegemony was maintained, this art flourished. As the attempt to reestablish the empire in the West failed in the face of barbarian invasions, however, manifestations of Byz. art in Italy became less the product of state patronage and, as at S. Maria Antiqua in ROME, more the result of individual traveling artists or workshops commissioned by Italians. Byz. rule continued in parts of Italy until the 11th C., so Greek artists were readily available, and possibly so even in areas not under Byz. control (e.g., S. Maria di CASTELSEPRIO). ICONOCLASM may also have stimulated the flow of artists to the outlying provinces and beyond. North of the Alps, however, the impact of Byz. art was less pronounced. Major works such as Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen and the early 9th-C. Lorsch ivory bookcover were sponsored by the Western emperor and other knowledgeable political patrons who sought to follow imperial Byz. models. An itinerant Greek painter may have worked on the Schatzkammer Gospels (Vienna) ca.800. Farther afield the strength and frequency of Byz. influence were much less. Discrete elements of the Lindisfarne Gospels show that the artist had indirect contact with Byz. art in the late 7th C.

Similarly the full-page Virgin and Child in the Book of Kells, ca.800, reflects a THEOTOKOS at some distance, probably filtered through intermediate works.

In the 10th–11th C., direct Byz. influence on artists working for the Western emperor intensified with the marriage of Otto II and THEOPHANO: an ivory (Paris, Cluny Museum) made for their coronation depends upon a Greek prototype. Byz. ivories also transmitted to Ottonian book-painters iconographic types such as the DORMITION of the Virgin, and a Greek artist probably worked on the face and hands of Christ and the Virgin in the *Codex Aureus* of Henry III (Escorial Vit. 17, 1043–46). By contrast, in the British Isles much more selective iconographic borrowings continue to be found, for example, at Winchester in the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold of 963–84 (London, B.L. Add. 59598). Farther south direct Byz. artistic intervention did occur at MONTECASSINO, however, to which Emp. Constantine IX made large donations and where Abbot Desiderius employed Greek artists. The impact of this project is visible in some of the frescoes of SANT'ANGELO IN FORMIS and in numerous 11th–12th-C. bronze DOORS on churches throughout Italy.

At the time of the CRUSADES, Byz. artistic influence in the West increased. This new and substantial phase is represented by and emanated from the monuments of the Norman kings of Sicily at CEFALÙ, PALERMO, and MONREALE; at S. Marco in VENICE; and nearby at TORCELLO. Transmitted from Italy, with Venice as an esp. important intermediary, awareness of Byz. art spread widely through Europe at various levels of impact and understanding (A. Cutler, *Mediaevalia* 7 [1981] 41–77): in Spain in the now-destroyed chapter house at Sigena; in England in a major series of MSS, including the St. Albans Psalter and a series of giant Bibles, and frescoes at Canterbury; in France in MS illumination at Cluny and the frescoes of the chapel at Berzé-la-Ville nearby; and in Austria, Germany, and the Meuse valley in the work of goldsmiths such as Nicholas of Verdun.

The nature of the artistic relationship changed greatly in the 13th C. as a result of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the Frankish presence in Greece during the Latin Empire (1204–61), and the strengthened contacts between Byz. and the merchant cities of Venice, GENOA, and PISA. The two cultures interacted in a way that affected both Byz. art in the 13th and 14th C. and the development of the *maniera greca* in Duecento Italian panel painting. This *maniera*, expressed early in the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas (Washington, D.C., National Gallery), evolved into the individual styles of Cimabue and Duccio; the prolongation of Byz.-influenced painting in Germany; the spread of panel painting to northern Europe; and even the provision of certain components of the developing Gothic style in France, seen, for example, in the Ingeborg Psalter (Chantilly, Musée Condé 1695, ca.1200).

The impact of Byz. art on the West in the 14th–15th C. is less clear, but one major change is apparent. Whereas until the 13th C. Byz. art had influenced the West without—except in the 4th–5th C.—the reverse being true, instances of Western artistic influence on Byz. became marked. Examples range from Italian-influenced sculpture in the Church of the Virgin Paregoritissa at ARTA, through Western elements in the iconography of frescoes at BOJANA, to the dedication pages of two 14th-C. Hippokrates MSS (Vat. Palat. gr. 199; Paris, B.N. gr. 2144), and a MS of the ALEXANDER ROMANCE (Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 42f, 52f). A very late example is the fresco (ca.1450) decorating Tomb G in the CHORA, "the first painting found in Constantinople in which clear-cut and precise evidence of direct Renaissance influence can be observed" (Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:292–95).

Although the interrelationship of Byz. art and medieval art in western Europe is clearly a complex phenomenon, the asymmetry of artistic flow, mainly westward from Constantinople and its empire, can be explained by a variety of factors. These include the strength and stability of the Byz. artistic tradition, the authority of imperial patronage, the high artistic quality maintained at Constantinople and consequent renown of Byz. art, the direct or indirect dissemination of objects, and the growing familiarity of Westerners with Byz. art and artists through travel and specific commissions. Only after the Crusades and expanded exploitation of the Mediterranean trade routes brought the West into direct contact with Byz. could the former begin to affect the art of Byz. Ironically, the very catastrophe that definitively sundered the Greek and Latin cultures, the

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sack of Constantinople in 1204, provided the decisive turning point when western Europe saw a major infusion of Byz. works. This and the implantation of Franks on Greek soil sowed the seeds of artistic interpenetration. The role of the Latins in Frankish Greece and the Holy Land, and the resultant CRUSADER ART AND ARCHITECTURE, remain to be fully studied; similarly, the means of artistic transmission and interchange must be further clarified. Clearly the importance of the Crusaders' intermediary role is one of the most significant new contributions to the understanding of artistic relations between Byz. and the West.

LIT. O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York 1970). E. Kitzinger, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (Bloomington-London 1976). H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1981). K. Weitzmann, *Art in the Medieval West and Its Contacts with Byzantium* (London 1982). *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, ed. H. Belting [Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte 2] (Bologna 1982). –J.F.

ARTAŠAT (Ἀρτάξατα), early Armenian capital on the north bank of the mid-Araxes River, founded by Artašēs (Artaxias) in the 2nd C. B.C. It was also the capital of the later Armenian ARSACIDS. Recent excavations reveal that it was a major urban center, but rulers rarely resided there and it never recovered from its sack by the Persians in 363. Nearby DUIN replaced it, probably in the second half of the 5th C. The main importance of Artašat apparently lay in its position on the commercial transit route through Armenia; it was officially designated one of the three customs posts between Byz. and the Sasanians in the 5th C. (*Cod.Just.* IV 63.4), a position apparently reconfirmed at the Peace of 562, even though the clause did not specifically mention Artašat (MENANDER PROTECTOR, fr.6, ed. Blockley 70.323–26). The city slowly declined to the level of a village, but was still known to 9th-C. Arab sources as a center for the production of red dye (*kirmiz*).

LIT. Manandyan, *Trade and Cities* 44–46, 80–92, 101, 106f, 110f, 114f, 153. S. Der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (London 1969) 25, 28f, 64, 67. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 126f, 138. –N.G.G.

ARTEMIOS (Ἀρτέμιος), saint; died Antioch ca.362; feastday 20 Oct. Born to a noble family, Artemios was governor of Egypt in 360. An Arian supporter of Constantius II, Artemios persecuted both pagans and Orthodox Christians (*PLRE* 1:112). After Emp. Julian had him executed for his Christian beliefs, the deaconess Ariste brought his body to Constantinople, where it was later deposited in the Church of John Prodromos in Oxeia. The healing power of his relics became famous: a series of miracles is described in an anonymous collection of legends compiled in 660–68. Artemios mainly cured diseased testicles by means of INCUBATION inside the church. The legend emphasizes the miraculous nature of Artemios's cures: for instance, a certain George had a vision in which Artemios appeared as a butcher and performed an operation with a butcher's implements. Artemios's miracles attracted patients from Amastris, Phrygia, Chios, Rhodes, Alexandria, and Africa. It is questionable whether the Church of Prodromos was renamed in honor of Artemios.

PHILOSTORGIOS eulogized Artemios's martyrdom, and on this basis a *passio* was produced: Bidez (*infra*, xliv–lxviii) ascribes it to John of Rhodes (otherwise unknown); Beck (*Kirche* 482f) attributes it to JOHN OF DAMASCUS, although this is unlikely, since the *passio* is referred to in the 7th-C. *Miracles*. SYMEON METAPHRASTES included it in his collection of saints' Lives.

Representation in Art. The somewhat confused historical tradition is reflected in art. In miniatures of the *menologion* of Metaphrastes, and in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.75r), Artemios appears as a noble martyr with a short dark beard like that of Christ. In wall-painting, however, his military role is emphasized: he is dressed in armor and paired with other MILITARY SAINTS, esp. MERKOURIOS and Niketas the Goth. Scenes of his martyrdom apparently once adorned the templon of his shrine in Constantinople. His beheading is depicted in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.126), and there is a Passion cycle of eight episodes in an 11th-C. MS on Mt. Athos (Esphig. 14, fols. 90r-v, *Treasures* 2:210f).

SOURCES. Miracles—A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg 1909) 1–79. Passions—*Philostorgius, Kirchengeschichte*[3], ed. J. Bidez, F. Winkelmann (Berlin 1981), 166–76, with corr. John of Damascus, *Schriften*, ed. Kotter, 5 (1988) 183–245.

LIT. *BHG* 169y-174e. S. Žebelev, "Čudesa sv. Artemija," in *Sbornik statej posvjaščennych počitateljami V.I. Lamanskomu*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg 1907) 451–73. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 200–05. P. Maas, "Artemioskult in Konstantinopel," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 377–80. C. Mango, "On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10 (1979) 40–43. K. Lehmann, "Ein Reliefbild des heiligen Artemios in Konstantinopel," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 381–84. –A.K., N.P.Š.

ARTEMIS, female deity of pre-Hellenic origin, whose cult survived in the late Roman Empire until the 5th–6th C. Artemis Ephesia, a variant who was popular in Asia Minor, was venerated as a helper of women in childbirth, as fertility goddess, and as city-protector. Her statues represent her with a dozen or more breasts exposed beneath a wide brooch and the mural crown. Sixth-C. poets also refer to Artemis as protector of women in childbirth. Her temple at Ephesus was closed only at the beginning of the 5th C. An inscription, probably of the 5th C. (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 4 [Rome 1978] 400f), records a certain Demeas who "tore down the beguiling image of the *daimon* Artemis" and substituted a cross. At Sardis her temple was abandoned by the mid-4th C., and a small church was built at the eastern end.

The vita of St. HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI records in the 5th C. a festival in the Bithynian uplands called the "Basket" (*kalathos*) of Artemis, which the rural population celebrated annually. Hypatios allegedly saw her appear in the form of a giantess swineherd. In the 6th C. THEODORE OF SYKEON heard a rumor about a place in Galatia, possibly a sacred grove, where it was popularly believed that Artemis resided with many demons and killed people. In the Byz. polemic against paganism Artemis was represented as extremely cruel; although she was a chaste virgin, she enjoyed bloody sacrifices and killed strangers and thus did not fit the ideal of Christian morality.

Radically transformed from her Antique image of athletic huntress, Artemis, represented as a kindly, hooded woman, presides with OPPIAN over the introductory miniature of the 11th-C. Venice *Kynegetika*.

LIT. H. Thiersch, *Artemis Ephesia: Eine archäologische Untersuchung* (Berlin 1935). C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979) 32, 34, 86f. Trombley, "Paganism" 328, 334–36. –F.R.T., A.C.

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ARTILLERY AND SIEGE MACHINERY. The Byz. employed catapults (*petrobola*) and other stone- or arrow-shooting devices (*cheiroballistra*, *cheiromangana*) in siege operations. Although torsion catapults had been developed in antiquity, the Byz. normally used the less complicated and more easily maintained rope-pulled trebuchets favored by the Arabs, Avars, and steppe peoples (D.R. Hill, *Viator* 4 [1973] 99–116). A beam was fixed unevenly over a crossbar and a stone placed in a sling at the end of the longer arm; several men then pulled down the rope(s) attached to the shorter arm, flinging the longer arm upward and propelling the stone. The *Miracles of St. Demetrios* provide an excellent description of rope-pulled catapults (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:154.9–22).

The *cheiroballistron* resembled a crossbow (see WEAPONRY). An arrow or stone was laid in a channel along the stock, while the string, fastened to the ends of the two arms, was wound back, locked, and released to fire the projectile. These weapons, usually mounted on stands, were used by defenders and attackers; Prokopios (*Wars* 5.21.14–18) describes Belisarios's men operating this weapon from a siege tower.

Remains of late 4th-C. catapults were discovered on the sites of some Dacian strongholds (N. Gudea, D. Baatz, *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 31 [1974] 50–72). P. Brennan (*Chiron* 10 [1980] 553–67) suggests that in the Danubian provinces of Scythia, Pannonia I and II, composite detachments of *ballistarii* were formed from both legions of each province; they operated catapults and other missile-wielding weaponry at permanent bridgeheads to assist expeditionary armies.

Siege machinery included wooden towers (*helepoleis*) built or rolled next to the wall. They often had a platform from which to shoot GREEK FIRE (as depicted in the 11th-C. Vat. gr. 1605, fol.185) and were covered with soaked hides to guard against similar incendiary weapons. Soldiers also used battering rams (*krioi*) to break down gates; rams were also suspended from a frame to be swung back and forth against the target. Nikephoros OURANOS recommended tunneling above all other methods to collapse the wall (ed. J.-A. de Foucault, *TM* 5 [1973] 295–303). The soldiers made hutlike shelters (*laisai*) from branches and vines to protect themselves while undermining the base of the wall. Most artillery and siege machinery was built *in situ* during sieges instead of being transported. Engineers (*technitai*) accompanied the besiegers to construct the necessary equipment (Leo Diac. 16.11–21).

LIT. E.W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1969–71). M.F.A. Brok, "Bombast oder Kunstfertigkeit? Ammians Beschreibung der ballista (23.4.163)," *RhM* 120 (1977) 331–45. –E.M.

ARTISAN. There was no special Byz. term for the artisan and, contrary to B. Malich (*BBA* 51 [1983] 47–59), there was no clear distinction between the artisan and the MERCHANT. Of course, there were professional traders not involved in production as well as craftsmen who worked for an employer (or a prearranged customer) rather than for the market; but both Egyptian papyri and the *Book of the Eparch* note various artisans (e.g., candlemakers, soapmakers, silk weavers) who sold their own goods. The major branches of Byz. craftsmanship were metallurgy; production of weapons; manufacture of jewelry, pottery, and glass; production of textiles and clothing; the leather industry; carpentry and masonry; the building industry; baking of bread; and production of vegetable oil and other victuals. Late Roman texts present a diversified pattern of artisan professions (H. von Petrikovits, *ZPapEpig* 43 [1981] 285–306) that presupposes a very consistent division of labor, although the list of names is longer than the number of actual professions because various terms are used to refer to the same profession. The terminology of the *Book of the Eparch* seems to be less varied, and probably only silk production and the leather industry reflect any significant division of labor.

Craftsmanship was divided into several categories: state *fabricae* or *ergasteria basilika* (see FACTORIES, IMPERIAL), GUILDS, and craftsmen outside state or guild organizations. Artisans were concentrated in towns; according to M.Ja. Sjuzjumov (*VizVrem* 11 [1956] 66f), they worked primarily in suburban areas—a thesis that is not supported by archaeological data. Monasteries (for example, the Stoudios) had their own workshops and monk-artisans. In *praktika*, the most frequently named rural artisans are smiths, tailors, and shoemakers.

Artisans appear more commonly in Late Antique than in Byz. art. An ivory fragment at Princeton (*Age of Spirit.*, no.254) shows a carpenter planing a board; masons lay up a wall in a fresco in the Via Latina catacomb, Rome (ibid., no.253). In Byz. their role is as peripheral figures in compositions honoring a KTETOR, as in the Vienna DIOSKORIDES (fol.6v; Weitzmann, *Late Antique Ill.*, pl.15), or as illustrations to biblical scenes such as the construction of NOAH'S ARK or the tower of Babel (see GENESIS).

LIT. J.-P. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain à l'époque paléochrétienne," *Ktema* 4 (1979) 71–119. Fikhman, *Egipet* 11–34. B. Malich, "Handwerk und Handwerksvereinigungen im Byzanz im Übergang zum Feudalismus," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 4 (1977) 173–81. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 190–249. E. Kislinger, "Gewerbe im späten Byzanz," in *Handwerk und Sachkultur im Spätmittelalter* (Vienna 1988) 103–26. P. Schreiner, "Die Organisation byzantinischer Kaufleute und Handwerker," in *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa* (Göttingen 1989) 44–61. –A.K., A.C.

ARTISTS. No precise equivalent existed in Byz. Greek for this generic modern term: practitioners of the arts and crafts are variously referred to in texts and inscriptions as *zographos* or *historiographos* (painter), MAISTOR, and *ktistes* used in the sense of an executant of a commissioned work (cf. KTETOR). No clearly defined social or economic boundary separated ARTISANS from artists, some of whom achieved eminence. LAZAROS was a member of two diplomatic missions to Rome, and PANTOLEON was on equal terms with a *hegoumenos* of the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Panagiou. Some artists were rich enough to act as *ktetores* themselves. A 10th-C. goldsmith named Gregory paid for the construction of a church at Trani; Michael Proeleusis (see list below), an early 14th-C. painter, rebuilt and restored a monastery on land that he had rented near Halmyros.

Unlike in ancient Rome, the practice of art in Byz. was not considered demeaning. Artists might be as lowly as the "poor widow woman" in mid-6th-C. Syria "who had been taught the art of drawing and used to . . . labor at it for her necessities" (John of Ephesus—PO 17.1:15); at the other end of the social scale its most celebrated exponent was CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS. Icon-painting was by definition an acceptable enterprise for a Christian, on the model of St. LUKE who was supposed to have plied this trade. Painters are frequently described in hagiographic texts as "inspired" or "skilled," and many painters are credited with privileged, supernatural aid that enabled them to finish their commissions. A great master like EULALIOS was celebrated by numerous writers of his time. Amateurs, lay and monastic and often of high rank, aspired to such talents (N. Oikonomides in *AAPA* 1:45–51).

Artists were not narrowly specialized, which helps to explain consistencies in both style and subject matter across different media. While legal documents such as the CODEX THEODOSIANUS (*Cod. Theod.* XIII 4.2) and the BOOK OF THE EPARCH distinguish, for administrative purposes, craftsmen by their trades, panel painters like Pantoleon also illustrated books, and muralists produced icons. At sites such as the Chora in Constantinople, mosaicists were probably also responsible for the frescoed decoration.

Of the training of artists almost nothing is known. The above-mentioned Syrian woman used to teach pupils for a fee; there is no later evidence for such instruction or for art schools in the narrow sense of the term. As is made clear in the will of the Cretan painter Angelos Akotantos (see list below), both skills and equipment, including drawings (*skiasmata*), were transmitted from father to son. The transmission of technical skills from one generation to another is already implied in Constantine I's legislation of 334 (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 4.2, repeated in the CODEX JUSTINIANUS—*Cod.Just.* X 66.1). Parents also placed their children as apprentices. One must suppose some sort of on-the-job training like that of ALIMPIJ, "given by his parents to study icon-painting" and employed as an assistant to the Byz. mosaicists at work in the monastery of the Caves at Kiev. Training would have been particularly necessary in MOSAIC, a craft demanding both individual expertise and a quasi-industrial organization.

Painters on a smaller scale and other craftsmen worked at home or, at least in the 4th–6th C., in small ateliers. A law of the emperor Valentinian of the year 374 (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 4.4) mentions painters' studios (*pergulae*) and workshops in public places. One such may be the room equipped with an easel used by a portrait-painter depicted in the Vienna DIOSKORIDES. Although it is often supposed that monasteries maintained painters' workshops in addition to their SCRIPTORIA, there is no documentary proof for such a notion. Most tasks would have been farmed out, by monks and laymen alike, to professionals.

In the 5th C. there is unequivocal evidence that painters worked directly from life (THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet, A. Leroy-Molinghen [Paris 1979] 2.248.11–16). A legend in the Life of NIKON HO "METANOEITE" has it that an artist could not paint the saint's likeness because he had no MODEL. Artists probably knew the majority of the themes they were called upon to paint and used techniques that enabled them to work quickly. D.C. Winfield ("Painting Methods" 132f) estimated that FRESCO painters covered 6–7 sq. m daily. The team working with THEOPHANES "THE GREEK" finished painting the Annunciation Church in the Moscow Kremlin in one season. Yet, while employing well-established formulas and perhaps model-books, they were not externally controlled. There is no reason to suppose them regulated in aesthetic matters and almost as great a variety obtains in details of iconography as in the areas of style and composition. Conventional models and schemes of decoration were modified to suit the dimensions and layout of a building and, presumably, the financial size of a commission. Such factors, equally affecting portable artifacts, determined the mode of production.

The exercise of an artist's taste is not an identifiable characteristic of Byz. ART. While artists were not limited to biblical subjects—both monumental painters (as in the patriarchal apartments at HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople) and illuminators (as in marginal PSALTER illustration) "commented" on current and recent events—interventions of this sort seem to have lain in the domain of the PATRON rather than with those hired to execute his wishes. Nonetheless, major painters could exercise considerable freedom in their choice of models: Pantoleon is known to have reproduced a picture he had just painted while, in the second half of the 14th C., Gastreas (see list below) traveled in Arkadia seeking "ancient icons" to copy.

With the exception of the team that decorated the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, artists' "signatures" do not appear in any numbers before the 12th C. The rare self-portrait of the scribe and/or painter THEOPHANES in a MS of ca.1100 coincides with other individualistic trends in monumental painting of the period. By the 14th C., artists such as KALLIERGES were legends in their own time; others, like PANSELINOS, may be no more than legends. Artists' inscriptions are usually laconic; where longer, they constitute proof of literacy.

Proud boasts claiming the presence of Byz. artists abound in Latin and Slavic literature. While

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Byz. artists had long been active abroad—a diaspora to Rome during Iconoclasm is often asserted, but DAMASCUS, MONTECASSINO, and DUBROVNIK offer better-documented examples—named individuals are not found before the 13th C. Rather than venturing overseas alone, artists seem to have gone abroad in clusters. A succession of Greeks painted churches in Macedonia and Serbia after the fall of Constantinople in 1204; in the early 14th C. Byz. wall-painters were active in Venice, Sicily, Genoa, and Russia. A second spate returned or was summoned to Russia and Georgia in the 1370s. Preserved monuments show that they adapted themselves quickly to the local concerns and requirements of their new hosts.

Wall-painters and mosaicists such as Eulalios are more widely celebrated in chronicles than ILLUMINATORS and other craftsmen, a fame reflecting quite literally the size of their achievement; hagiography more often yields the names of icon-painters. Generally, artists appear in literature for achievements other than their artistry. This fact, the absence of documentation regarding patrons' wishes, and the impersonal nature of much Byz. craftsmanship make it hard to define artistic personality. Yet the notion that art was always an anonymous activity is contradicted by the following selection of documented names. Many craftsmen, esp. painters, gem-cutters, and goldsmiths of the 4th–7th C., are known only by their names on funerary and other inscriptions. They have been collected by Mentzou (*infra*) and are not included here.

[A]etios, monk, signed a wall-painting in the Church of the Forty Martyrs at Suveş (Cappadocia) in 1216/17 (Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 2.1:156–74).

Akotantos, Angelos, icon-painter and *protopsaltes* in Chandax 1407–13. His will (M. Manoussakas, *DChAE*[4] 2 [1960–61] 146–48) was drawn up in 1436 before he sailed for Constantinople. Recently, several icons, signed by or attributed to Akotantos, have come to light (M. Vasilake-Maurakake, *Thesaurismata* 18 [1981] 290–98; *PLP*, no.13318; cf. 13319, 13320).

[Ana]stasios, priest and painter of the Church of St. George at Apodoulos, Crete, 14th/15th C. (Kalokyris, *Crete* 33; *PLP*, no.90088).

Andrea[s], sculptor named in an inscription on the upper cornice of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (unpublished; notice courtesy of L.E. Butler).

Apokaukos, Alexios, painter on Crete, fl. 1402–1421, executor of the will of Joseph BRYENNIOS (*PLP*, no.1194).

APSEUDES, THEODORE.

Argyros, John, painted a series of miniatures of the labors of the MONTHS in the *typikon* of the monastery of St. Eugenios, Trebizond (a.1346) (A. Bryer, *ArchPont* 35 [1978] 392f).

Arsenios, monk and painter who, together with his son Theophylaktos, decorated a chapel of St. Michael in the Hasan Dağ in the reign of Constantine VIII (?) (N. Thierry, *JSav* [1968] 45–61).

ASBESTAS, GREGORY.

Atzemos, Basil, also called Berges, 11th-C. (?) painter who signed a supplication to Symeon the Stylite beside the saint's image in a Chicago MS, Univ. Lib. 947, fol.151v (Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no.319).

Bardas, Ioannitzes, painter, second founder of the "white church" at Selas in Chalkidike, and in 1285, hieromonk of the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos (*PLP*, no.2205).

Barlaam, early 14th-C. wall-painter whose name appears, together with the date 6827 (=1319/20), over the door of a room in the western part of the church at GRAČANICA (P. Mijović, *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia europensia*, vol. 1 [Sofia 1989] 1949–54).

BASILIUS PICTOR.

Byzagios, Andronikos, wall-painter who worked in the chapel of St. George in the Athonite monastery of St. Paul, 1423 (*PLP*, no.3266).

Chartoularis and Chenaros, painters otherwise unknown, associated with EULALIOS by Theodore Prodromos (A. Maiuri, *BZ* 23 [1920] 399).

Constantine and his son, John, named in inscriptions at Hagia Sophia, Ohrid, ca.1350 (G. Subotić, *Zograf* 5 [1974] 44–47; *PLP*, nos. 8593, 14166).

Daniel, painter of the cave church of S. Biagio at S. Vito dei Normanni (Apulia), named in an inscription of 1197 (Medea, *Cripte* 1:95).

Demetrios of Monemvasia, painter named in an inscription of 1095 or 1100 in the Church of St. Demetrios near Pourko on Kythera (Skawran, *Development* 162, no.28).

Elpidios, 5th-C. mosaicist known from an inscription in the basilica of the Virgin at Palaiopolis on Kerkyra (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* 4 [Rome 1978] 348f).

EPHRAIM.

EULALIOS.

EUGENIKOS, MANUEL.

Eustathios, wall-painter named in an inscription of March 1020 in the Chapel of Sts. Marina e Cristina at Carpignano, Apulia (Medea, *Cripte* 1:114).

Euticius (Eutychios) of Naissos, mid-4th-C. silversmith. His name appears on a silver plate found at Augst (*Kaiseraugst*, no.60).

Flavius Nicanus, early 4th-C. silversmith whose name is inscribed on ingots found at Šabac, south of Sirmium, and on two plates from Červenbreg (Bulgaria) prepared for the *decennalia* of Licinius (F. Baratte, *JSav* [1975] 198).

Gabriel, monk and painter in 1322, addressed in a letter by Michael Gabras for whom he painted an icon of the Virgin (*PLP*, no.3408).

Gastreas, icon-painter ca.1329–60 (R.-J. Loenertz, *EEBS* 26 [1956] 162; *PLP*, no.3575).

George *mastora*, stone-carver (*marmaras*) named in an inscription of 1395 in the Church of the Phaneromene in the Mani (N.B. Drandakes, *ArchEph* [1967] 139–41).

George, painter and monk who witnessed the *typikon* of John I Tzimiskes (972); founder of the ZOGRAPHOU MONASTERY (*Docheiar.* 99, n.1; *Prot.*, no.7.167).

"Georgius Grecus," painter mentioned in the archives of Dubrovnik between 6 Aug. 1377 and 2 Apr. 1386 (Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, nos. 326, 373, 384).

Gerontios, wood-carver of the second quarter of the 5th C., recommended to the sophist Isokasios by THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (ep.38, ed. Y. Azéma, 1:102.22–103.2).

"Hemanuel Grecus," painter who became a citizen of Dubrovnik on 28 June 1367 (Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no.268).

Isaias, monk and painter, fl. 1295/6, acquaintance of Melchizedek Akropolites and Manuel Planoudes (D. Pallas, *Hellenika* 12 [1952] 94–96).

Isaias "the Greek," wall-painter commissioned on 4 May 1338 to paint the Church of the Entry into Jerusalem in Novgorod (*Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis'*, ed. A.N. Nasonov [Moscow-Leningrad 1950] 348).

Iveropoulos, John, identified in a Greek inscription in the crypt at PETRITZOS (Bačkovo) as the painter of the upper and lower stories of the church (E. Bakalova, *Bačkovskata kostnica* [Sofia 1977] 133).

John, a monk and disciple of St. Symeon the Stylite the Younger who, according to the latter's vita (ed. van den Ven, 88f), even though untrained, carved the columns and capitals of a church at Sykeon.

John, deacon and founder in 1266 of the Monastery of St. George at Struga, near Ohrid, to which he gave an icon of the saint which he had painted. John supervised the decoration of the Church of St. Nicholas at Manastir in Macedonia in 1270/1 (Djurić, *Byz. Fresken* 20–22).

John, wall-painter who signed his name in Greek in the apse of the Church of St. Demetrios at PEĆ (V.R. Petković in *Mél. Diehl* 2:133–36; *PLP*, no.8591).

John of Athens, wall-painter named in an inscription of 1244 in the Church of the Trinity at Kranidi, Argolis, and, a year later, in the Church of St. John Kalybites at Psachra, Euboea (S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada bei Kranidi in der Argolis (1244)* [Munich 1975] 2, 4).

Karkinelos, 8th-C. (?) silversmith mentioned in a fanciful tale in the *Patria of Constantinople* (*Parastaseis* 100.5–6).

LAZAROS.

Leontios, deacon and painter on Cyprus, 1333. Leontios worked at ASINOU and LAGOUDERA (D.C. Winfield, C. Mango, *DOP* 23–24 [1969–70] 378f; *PLP*, no.14708).

Leontios, *marmorarios* from Antioch, said in the vita of St. THEKLA (ed. Dagron, 334–37) to have decorated the saint's church with both murals and an *opus sectile* pavement.

Libanios and Prokopios, mosaicists named in a pavement in a 5th-C. church at Heit, Syria (P. Mouterde, *Syria* 6 [1925] 360f, no.41).

Makarios, early 14th-C. painter, named by Manuel Philes (*Carmina*, ed. Miller, 1:131) as creator of an icon of Christ (*PLP*, no.16249).

Manasses, Constantine, wall-painter, decorated the Church of the Monastery of Paliopanagia, near Sparta, 1304/5 (*PLP*, no.16599).

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Maria, 14th–15th-C. painter, working in Georgia, who made an image of the Virgin (*PLP*, no.16894).

Marianos, mosaicist who, with his son Aninas, worked at the synagogue of Beth-Alpha (C. Balmelle, J.-P. Darmon in *AAPA* 1:244).

Mark ("ego magister Marchus Grecus pintor qui fui de Constantinopoli") named in a Genoese notarial document of 9 Feb. 1313.

Markos, 7th-C. (?) silversmith, who prepared a cross for the *doux* Neanias (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 5:5f).

Maximus, early 4th-C. *vascularius* whose name appears on two silver ingots found near Philippopolis. F. Baratte (*JSav* [1975] 198) suggested that Maximus's workshop was possibly responsible for six silver plates inscribed for the *decennalia* of Licinius and found at the same site.

Methodios, monk and painter said by Theophanes Continuatus (*TheophCont* 164.3) to have painted a Last Judgment that caused the conversion of Boris I.

Michael (Astrapas) and Eutychios.

Modestos, painter in the Monastery of Magoulion in Constantinople, 1265/6 (*PLP*, no. 19202).

Morphopoulos, Theodore, painter, *hegoumenos* of the monastery of St. Lawrence in Thessalonike in 1405/6 (*PLP*, no.19333).

Moses, a monk and painter on Mt. Athos in 1344. A Bogomil, he was anathematized by a synod at Karyes and expelled (*PLP*, no.19926).

Myron, 11th-C. painter addressed as a contemporary in a poem by Christopher of Mytilene (ed. Kurtz, no.112), possibly responsible for a portrait of the emperor Michael IV.

Naouma, Kyriakos, and Thomas, mosaicists whose names are recorded in a 6th-C. pavement at Mt. Nebo (C. Balmelle, J.-P. Darmon in *AAPA* 1:238, n.20).

Nicholas, *anagnostes* and painter in 1290/1 of the Church of St. George at Sklavopoula, near Selinos in western Crete (Kalokyris, *Crete* 31; *PLP*, no.20482).

Nicholas, a painter and *paroikos* of the Great Lavra ca.1300 (*Lavra* 2, no.91.122).

Nicholas the *droungarios* who, with his brothers, according to an inscription of 1074/5 in St. Merkourios on Kerkyra, built and decorated the church (P.L. Vocotopoulos, *CahArch* 21 [1971] 152f).

Nicholas, who signed the collar of St. Stephen's *sticharion* and, together with a certain John, painted the frescoes of the Monastery of the Holy Apostles at Neromana in Aitolia in 1372/3 (S.K. Kissas, *EESM* 3 [1971–72] 48, 52).

Nicholas and his spiritual son Daniel, who in 941 decorated a MS of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Patm. gr. 33) in Reggio di Calabria (D. Mouriki, N.P. Ševčenko in *Patmos, Treasures of the Monastery* [Athens 1988] 280).

Nikephoros, mid-10th-C. (?) painter named in an inscription at Tokalı Kilise, Göreme (A.W. Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise* [Washington, D.C., 1986] 33f, but cf. N. Thierry in *Proceedings of the Second International Byzantine Conference* [Athens 1989] 229).

Niketas, stone-carver (*marmaras*) named in an inscription of 1075 in the Church of St. Theodore at Balaka and three other churches in the Mani (N.B. Drandakes, *Dodone* 1 [1972] 21–24).

Nikodemos, painter and hieromonk known by an inscription of 1310/11 at the Monastery of St. George at Karditsa in Boeotia (*PLP*, no.20353).

Pagomenos, John, wall-painter named in inscriptions of 1313–47 in eight churches in the districts of Apokoronos and Selinos, Crete (Kalokyris, *Crete* 31f; cf. *PLP*, no.8363).

Panselinos.

Pantoleon.

Paul, painter of the second half of the 12th C. who, according to Antony of Novgorod (ed. Loparev, *PPSb* 51 [1899] 17.3–11) was responsible for the fresco of the Baptism of Christ in the baptistery of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople.

Paul of Otranto, painter named in an epigram of the first third of the 13th C. by Nektarios, *hegoumenos* of St. Nicholas at Casole, Apulia (*Poeti bizantini di terra d'Otranto nel secolo XIII*, ed. M. Gigante [Galatina 1985] no.10).

Pausylypos of Thessalonike, silversmith, who signed the Achilles plate (*Kaiseraugst*, no.63) buried at Augst before 353.

Peter, early 13th-C. painter whose name appears on two icons at Mt. Sinai and to whom D. Mouriki (in *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. V. Korać [Belgrade 1988] 329–47) attributes two other panels.

Petrovič "the Greek," who painted the interior of the Church of "the Holy Mother of God at the Gate," Novgorod, in 1196/7 (*Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis'*, ed. A.N. Nasonov [Moscow-Leningrad 1950] 42).

Phokas, Manuel and John, fl. 1436–ca.1453, wall-painters who decorated three churches in eastern Crete (Th. Gouma-Peterson, *Gesta* 22 [1983] 159–70).

Phrangopoulos, Kyriakos, wall painter, fl. ca.1300. His name appears in a dedicatory inscription in the apse of the Church of St. Nicholas at Agoriane, Lakonia (M. Emmanouel, *DChAE*[4] 14 [1987–88] 110). His connection, if any, with the Phrangopoulos family is unknown.

Proeleusis, Michael, painter mentioned in a deed of 1304 (*Chil.*, no.21.8; G. Babić, *Zograf* 12 [1981] 59–61).

Riz⟨z⟩o (Ritzos), family of 15th-C. Cretan painters. Francesco Rizzo is first mentioned in a notarial document of 13 Feb. 1420, Nicholas Rizzo in the same year, and Andreas Rizzo in 1450 (M. Cattapan, *Thesaurismata* 10 [1973] 238–82).

Romulus, Flavius, early-5th-C. engraver whose name appears on a sardonyx in Leningrad carved with a scene of imperial investiture (Delbrück, *Spätant. Kaiserport.* 211–14).

Sava, painter, signed in Slavonic and dated (Dec. 1209) frescoes in the drum of the Church of the Virgin at Studenica, Serbia (D. Tasić in M. Kašanin et al., *Studenica* [Belgrade 1968] 71f).

Sclopulus, Muscolcus, goldsmith of Chandax mentioned in deeds of 1366 and 1377 (Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, nos. 256, 266).

Soelos, Kaioumos, and Elias, identified as mosaicists in an inscription of 531 at Mt. Nebo (M. Piccirillo, *Lib.ann.* 26 [1976] 314f).

Staurakios of Esbous, and his colleague Euremios, floor mosaicists named in a pavement in the Church of St. Stephen at Um er-Rasas (Jordan) in an inscription of March 756 (M. Piccirillo, *Lib.ann.* 37 [1987] 180–82).

Stephen, icon-painter of the late 12th C., who signed two large icons at the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai (Soteriou, *Eikones*, nos. 74–75).

Stephen, son (?) of Therianos, painted an early 14th-C. icon of St. Mark in the Church of al-Muʿallaqa in Cairo (L.-A. Hunt, *Varia* 2 [1987] 41).

Theodore, mid-6th C., formerly a *kastrensis* (see Kastresios) who gave up his position to be a carpenter, builder, and carver (John of Ephesus, tr. and ed. E.W. Brooks in PO 19:200f).

Theodore, mid-11th-C. painter whose house is mentioned among the possessions of a monastery at Neokastron near Reggio-Calabria (A. Guillou, *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Règion* [Vatican 1974] 201.535).

Theodore, painter of the 11th–12th C., named in an inscription on the Deesis in the cave chapel of Hagia Sophia on Kythera (Skawran, *Development* 163, no.30).

Theoktistos, 13th-C. painter who made a miniature of John Chrysostom and wrote the accompanying verses (*PLP*, no.7491).

Theophanes "the Greek."

Theophylaktos, wall-painter, who signed an image of Christ in the Chapel of Sts. Marina and Cristina at Carpignano, Apulia (Medea, *Cripte* 1:115).

Theorianos, John, fresco- and possibly icon-painter, fl. 1346–50. His Greek signature appears on the sword of the Archangel Michael in the exonarthex of St. Sophia at Ohrid (Djurić, *Byz. Fresken* 98f).

Thomas, 7th or 8th C., monk and painter of Damascus known from an entry in the psalter, Leningrad, Pub. Lib. gr. 216, fol.349v (*Iskusstvo Vizantij* 2, no.479). A. Frolow (*BEO* 11 [1945–46] 121–30) hypothesized that Thomas was a mosaicist who had worked in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

Tzykandeles, Manuel, mid-14th C. scribe, illuminator (and fresco painter?), who decorated a commentary on Job, Paris, B.N. gr. 135 (*Byzance et la France médiévale* [Paris 1958] no.87).

Veneris, Daniel, who, with his nephew Michael, painted the Church of Christ at Meskla (Kydonia), Crete, in 1303. In 1318 Michael painted the Church of the Virgin in the province of Rethymnon (Kalokyris, *Crete* 32f; M. Cattapan, *Thesaurismata* 9 [1972] 203; cf. *PLP*, nos. 2601, 5151, 91999).

Lit. T. Velmans, "Aspects du conditionnement de l'artiste byzantin: les commanditaires, les modèles, les doctrines," in *AAPA* 2:79–97. V. Djurić, A. Tsitouridou, *Namentragende Inschriften auf Fresken und Mosaiken auf der Balkanhalbinsel vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 1986). Ph. Piompinos, *Hellenes hagiographoi mechri to 1821* (Athens 1984). Mentzou, *Symbolai*. –A.C.

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ARTSRUNI. See ARCRUNI.

ARTUKIDS, Turkoman dynasty, 11th–15th C. Artuk (Ἀρτούχ) (died ca.1091) appears in 1074/5, aiding MICHAEL VII against ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL, whom Artuk captured and subsequently released for ransom. In 1086 Artuk became governor of JERUSALEM; his descendants succeeded him there until expelled by the FĀṬIMIDS in 1098. Thereafter, the family secured possession of Amida, Mardin, Martyropolis, and even, briefly, Aleppo. Artuk's son Sukmān fought the First Crusade at ANTIOCH; his brother Īlghāzī was temporarily allied (1115) with Roger, prince of Antioch, but subsequently defeated and killed him (1119). In 1120 Īlghāzī's cousin Balak aided GHĀZĪ against Constantine GABRAS of Trebizond. Initially rivals of ZANGĪ, the Artukids became followers of NŪR AL-DĪN and joined his display of force against MANUEL I in 1159. The dynasty continued to serve successive rulers of northern Syria. Artukid copper coins imitated early Byz. coinage.

LIT. C. Cahen, *EI*² 1:662–67. –C.M.B.

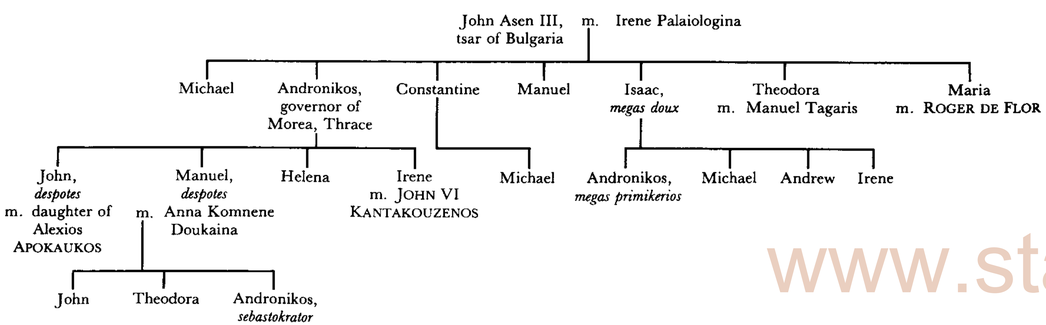
ARTZE (Ἄρτζε), trade settlement (*komopolis*) near THEODOSIOUPOLIS. According to an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 451.28–30) it was rich and densely populated, attracting many local, Syrian, Armenian, and other merchants. In 1049 the Seljuks captured and burned the town. Skylitzes' statement that 150,000 inhabitants were killed by the flames and arrows is evidently an exaggeration. The name survived in the Turkish toponym for Theodosioupolis, Erze-rum (Erzurum). –A.K.

ASAN (Ἀσάνης, fem. Ἀσανίνα), or Asen, Bulgarian royal dynasty founded by ASEN I in 1186. The evidence about the Asans' ethnic origin is vague; theories have been advanced of the family's Vlach, Cuman, or even Rus' origin, none of which has proved valid. The family produced several Bulgarian tsars (up to John III, r.1279–80; died as *despotes* before 1302); IVAN ALEXANDER may have been related to the Asans. Some princesses of the house were married to Byz. emperors (Helene to Theodore II, Keratsa to Andronikos IV) or other rulers of the region (Maria to Henry of Hainault, emperor of Constantinople). The descendants of John III and Irene Palaiologina were active at the Byz. court and as generals and governors in the 14th C., but less in the 15th C.; these included, for example, Paul Asan, governor of Constantinople (1438–40), and Demetrios Asan, governor of Corinth (1444) and Nauplion (1448–53). (See genealogical table.)

LIT. I. Božilov, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186–1460)* (Sofia 1985) and Fr. résumé *BHR* 9 (1981) nos. 1–2, 135–56. E. Trapp, "Beiträge zur Genealogie der Asanen in Byzanz," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 163–77. B. Krekić, "Contribution à l'étude des Asanès à Byzance," *TM* 5 (1973) 347–55. *PLP*, nos. 1472–1535. –A.K.

ASBESTAS, GREGORY, archbishop of Syracuse. An ally of Patr. METHODIOS I, Asbestas (Ἀσβεστᾶς) was deposed in 853 by IGNATIOS.

GENEALOGY OF THE ASAN FAMILY IN BYZANTIUM IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES



Based on E. Trapp, "Beiträge zur Genealogie der Asanen in Byzanz," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 177.

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His appeal to Pope Leo IV (847–55) gave the latter a pretext to intervene in the internal struggle of the Byz. church. In 858 Ignatios was deposed and Asbestas consecrated Photios as patriarch; the Council of 861 formally rehabilitated Asbestas and his supporters while condemning Ignatios. Asbestas's political leanings shaped his literary and artistic activity: he wrote a vita of his patron Methodios (J. Gouillard, *Byzantion* 31 [1961] 374–80) and created (or ordered?) a series of CARICATURES ridiculing Ignatios; both are lost. Asbestas's miniatures are described by NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON as depicting Ignatios scourged, chained, banished, and perhaps executed, while captions identified the patriarch as the Devil, the Antichrist, and Simon Magus (PG 105:540D–541A). In disgrace during Ignatios's second patriarchate, Photios wrote to Asbestas, urging him to continue to erect churches with figural decoration (ep.112, ed. Westerink, 1:150f).

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter in *Iconoclasm* 141–45. –A.C., A.K.

ASCENSION (ἀνάληψις), feast of Jesus' ascent into heaven (Lk 24:50–53, Acts 1:9–12), celebrated on the Thursday that comes 40 days after Easter. Originally celebrated together with PENTECOST, the Ascension was first assigned its own feastday in the 4th C., a usage begun in the environs of Antioch ca.380. The evidence for Jerusalem provided by EGERIA remains problematic (P. Devos, *AB* 86 [1968] 87–108), though the 5th-C. Armenian LECTIONARY of Jerusalem already puts Ascension on the 40th day (A. Renoux, PO 35:72f).

The Ascension was one of the dominical GREAT FEASTS; it had a week-long afterfeast, but no forefeast. A series of 13 receptions took place in Constantinople on this day, during which the emperor was honored by the factions; he celebrated the feast in the Church of the Virgin at PEGE, where he took communion and dined (Philotheos, *Kletor.* 213.1–10; *De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 8, 18).

Representation in Art. Initially shown in a form derived from imperial APOTHEOSIS scenes, with Christ striding upward grasping the HAND OF GOD (Milan ivory: Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl.93), the Ascension assumed in the 6th C. the form that characterized it thereafter (Monza and Bobbio AMPULLAE): Christ, bearded and enthroned in a MANDORLA surrounded by angels, rises over the 12 APOSTLES with Mary at their center. The presence of Mary, the inclusion of PAUL, and the use of 12 apostles rather than the 11 disciples of Scripture are references to the Church, showing the Ascension as a major event in its history. In the RABBULA GOSPELS (fol.13v) elements from Ezekiel's prophetic Vision are added to underline the scene's eschatological connotations (cf. Lk 1:11). In the 9th C., the Ascension was represented in the domes of the NEA EKKLESIA (Constantinople) and HAGIA SOPHIA (Thessalonike), a situation so apt in form and in significance that it was repeated in all periods. By the 11th C. (St. Sophia, OHRID), the Ascension was also standard in bema vaults, reflecting its eucharistic significance as the apotheosis of Christ's sacrificed flesh. The Ascension appears on icons, in mural cycles, in *evangelia* and Gospel books at Mark 16:19, and occasionally before Acts (CODEX EBNERIANUS, fol.231v).

LIT. J. Daniélou, "Grégoire de Nysse et l'origine de la fête de l'Ascension," in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, vol. 2 (Münster 1970) 663–66. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 66–70. Grabar, *Martyrium*, 2:185, 197, 221, 233, 293. E.T. Dewald, "The Iconography of the Ascension," *AJA* 19 (1915) 277–319. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

ASCETICISM (ἄσκησις, "exercise, training"), the practice of austerity and self-discipline; an ideal for all Christians, but esp. associated with monks and hermits. *Askesis* was sometimes used as a synonym for monastic life; *asketerion* for a monastery or hermitage; and *asketes* for a monk, nun (*asketria*), or solitary. Asceticism was a characteristic of monasticism from the earliest hermits in the Egyptian desert (e.g., ANTONY THE GREAT) to the hesychasts and *kelliotai* of the last centuries of Byz. All monks were expected to follow an ascetic regime, but the degree of severity varied. It was practiced in a most extreme form by HERMITS, ENKLEISTOI, STYLITES, and holy FOOLS, but a number of celebrated ascetics lived in cenobitic monasteries. Although there were some noted female ascetics in the earlier centuries, rigorous mortification of the body was not expected of the aristocratic nuns of the late Byz. period (V. Laurent, *REB* 8 [1950] 78f). The chief forms of this discipline were celibacy, fasting, standing vigils, and sleeping on the floor; ascetics went barefoot, wore only a single tunic, even in bitter cold, mortified the flesh with hair shirts or chains and fetters, prayed continuously, and often lived in isolation. Basil the Great urged moderation so that monks

would not become arrogant on account of their ascetic achievements. He stressed, rather, obedience to the *hegoumenos*, requiring that a monk receive permission from his superior before embarking on an extraordinary fast.

An ascetic monk sought to gain control over his body and attain *apatheia* or impassibility. Through such rigor a monk might be granted miraculous or prophetic powers; an ascetic way of life became a prerequisite for sanctity, replacing the martyrdom of the early Christian period. In the 12th C. some intellectuals criticized or even ridiculed excessive asceticism; Eustathios of Thessalonike suggested that one etymology for asceticism was *askos*, "wineskin," and the vita of CYRIL PHILEOTES by Nicholas Kataskepenos rejected the immoderate practice of asceticism (A. Kazhdan, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 482–86).

LIT. M. Viller, K. Rahner, *Aszese und Mystik in der Väterzeit* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1939). K.S. Frank, *Askese und Mönchtum in der alten Kirche* (Darmstadt 1975). J. Hirschberger, *Seele und Leib in der Spätantike* (Wiesbaden 1969). P.R.L. Brown, *The Body and Society* (New York 1989). –A.M.T.

ASEKRETIS (ἀσηκρῆτις, an invariable form, from Lat. *a secretis*), in full "*asekretis* of the court," imperial secretary. The term seems to have appeared in the 6th C.; Prokopios found it necessary to explain its meaning (*SH* 14.4; *Wars* 2.7.15). Many scholars believe that the term originated in the 4th C., since Beronikianos, an AGENS IN REBUS, is called *asekretis* in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon; this term only appears, however, in the 6th-C. translation of Vigilius (A. Kraus, *RQ* 55 [1960] 45). The *asekretis* replaced the REFERENDARII and formed the upper echelon of imperial secretaries positioned higher than imperial NOTARIES. Some *asekretis* were officials of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. The seals of *asekretis* are known from the 6th/7th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 9–13). The offices of the *asekretis* were located in the KATHISMA of the Hippodrome (Guilland, *Topographie* 1:185). At the Third Council of Constantinople (680–81), a functionary called *asekretis* held the title of GLORIOSUS, suggesting that he was probably head of the college of *asekretis*—the office later known as PROTASEKRETIS. *Asekretis* disappear from the sources after the 12th C., the term being replaced by GRAMMATIKOS.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 59–65. –A.K.

ASEN I (Ἀσάν), otherwise called Belgun (S. Mladenov, *Spisanie na BAN* 45 [1933] 49–66), cofounder (with his older brother PETER OF BULGARIA) of the Second Bulgarian Empire; died Tŭrnovo 1196. Both his names are Turkic; his ethnic affiliation has been much discussed. Byz. and Crusader sources call the brothers Vlachs, but Bulgarian, Cuman, and Rus' origins have been suggested (N.S. Tanaşoca, *Revista de istorie* 34 [1981] 1297–1312). As G. Litavrin (*VizVrem* 41 [1980] 102) declares, the brothers were closely connected with local elements in Paristrion. When, ca.1185–86, according to Niketas Choniates, Peter and Asen requested entry into Byz. military service and a village as reward, they were refused. Exploiting discontent over taxation, they raised a rebellion. Isaac II (ca.1187) drove them beyond the Danube, where Asen recruited Cumans. With their aid, the brothers reoccupied Bulgaria and ravaged Thessaly; in 1190 they severely defeated Isaac. When (ca.1192/3) Peter allied himself with the Byz., Asen became the leader of the new state. He conquered Sofia, Melnik, and other strongholds. After a victory at Serres in 1196, Asen was murdered by IVANKO.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 2:410–83, 3:59–108. Ph. Malingoudis, "Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates über die Entstehung der zweiten bulgarischen Staates," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 73–88. Wolff, *Latin Empire*, pt.III (1949), 180–84. I. Božilov, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186–1460): Genealogija i prosopografija* (Sofia 1985). –C.M.B., A.K.

ASHLAR, cut stone masonry. Used throughout the Byz. period, ashlar was esp. characteristic of the architecture of Syria-Palestine, much of Asia Minor, Armenia, and Georgia. In Constantinople, this type of masonry was used particularly for foundations and piers that carried heavy loads, such as those supporting the dome of Hagia Sophia. Bands of ashlar alternate with bands of BRICK in the city walls of Constantinople, a technique found occasionally in later buildings such as the *parekklesion* of the CHORA MONASTERY. In cloisonné technique (see BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS), individual ashlar blocks are framed with bricks on all four sides.

LIT. J.B. Ward-Perkins in *Great Palace, 2nd Report* 52–104. E. Reusche, "Polychromes Sichtmauerwerk byzantinischer und von Byzanz beeinflusster Bauten Südosteuropas" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Cologne, 1971) 7–64. –M.J.

ASHMUNEIN. See HERMOPOLIS MAGNA.

ASHOT. See AŠOT.

ASIA MINOR, or Anatolia, the peninsula that forms the westernmost extension of Asia. It stretches from the Aegean to the Euphrates River and Antitaurus Mountains, a maximum distance of about 1,200 km, and from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, about 600 km. Its topography is determined by its mountain ranges. In the east they rise in sheer peaks. In the center they occupy the north and south regions of the peninsula, surrounding the relatively arid central plateau, and in the west break up into parallel chains separated by the broad and fertile plains of the Aegean region. The configuration of mountains and plains has influenced patterns of settlement and communication. Wealth and population have historically been concentrated in the western coastal plains, which support extensive agriculture of the Mediterranean type and are well connected by natural LAND ROUTES that also lead into the interior; the region has many good harbors.

The broken country between the Aegean and the plateau contained many sites strategically located on roads, while habitation on the plateau was scattered along the routes that followed the edges of the central steppe. The adjacent parts of CAPPADOCIA contained several populous valleys, but settlement diminished in the mountainous country to the east, where arable land is confined to narrow and often isolated valleys. The relatively unpopulated mountainous regions, which occupy much of the country, were valuable for their pastures and mineral deposits, as well as for defense of the routes that passed through them.

Asia Minor prospered in late antiquity, when it was divided into two dioceses and 24 provinces. Urban life flourished in the coastal regions and along the roads leading to the frontier; villages enjoyed the benefits of a long period of peace. The population was largely Christian by the 4th C. and thoroughly hellenized by the 6th C. Asia Minor was, however, the home of numerous HERESIES. Peace was rarely interrupted: the revolts of PROKOPIOS and TRIBIGILD in the 4th C., like the irruptions of the Huns in the 5th–6th C., passed rapidly; the revolts of ISAURIANS in the 5th C. were a more persistent source of trouble. The reign of Justinian I brought extensive construction of buildings and roads, but the financial demands of his wars drained local resources. Large areas, from PISIDIA to PONTOS, were afflicted by endemic brigandage and revolt, provoking administrative reforms whose failure was usually due to corruption. The PLAGUE of 542 reduced the population, but some cities and the southern coastal region continued to prosper.

The 7th C. brought fundamental change aggravated by Persian attacks that devastated the country, provoking the ruin of the network of cities upon which social and economic life had been based (C.Foss, *EHR* 90 [1975] 721–47). The Persians were immediately followed by the Arabs, who failed to achieve any permanent conquest of the peninsula but, through their incessant attacks over two centuries, precluded any possibility of recovery. The loss of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt to the Arabs meant that Asia Minor became the heartland of the medieval empire and its main bulwark against threats from the east. In order to survive, therefore, it received an extensive network of FORTIFICATIONS and its administration was militarized in the system of THEMES. Arab raids nevertheless struck through the country, culminating in the sieges of Constantinople from 674 to 678 and 716/17 and the capture of AMORION in 838.

During the 8th C., Asia Minor was a center of Iconoclasm and became ethnically diverse as Slavs were brought in to settle regions devastated by the Arabs or recurrence of the plague. At this time, the army dominated the country; in the 9th C., the themes of Asia Minor had a total force of about 70,000. *Strategoi* and their subordinates ruled provinces and cities; cities were often under the joint administration of a *strategos* and a bishop. Most large ancient cities had disappeared, replaced by smaller fortified towns and castles; eventually, new cities rose to prominence on account of their strategic locations. Most of the population lived in villages, with a fortress for refuge nearby. Some commerce still continued, esp. to serve the need of capital and army; regional FAIRS, often celebrated on the feast day of a saint, provided local stimulus.

Byz. moved on the offensive in the mid-9th C., gradually pushing back the frontier and establishing a peace and security that prevailed to the mid-11th C. Expansion eastward brought significant ethnic and economic change as immigrants from Syria and Armenia settled previously desolate re-

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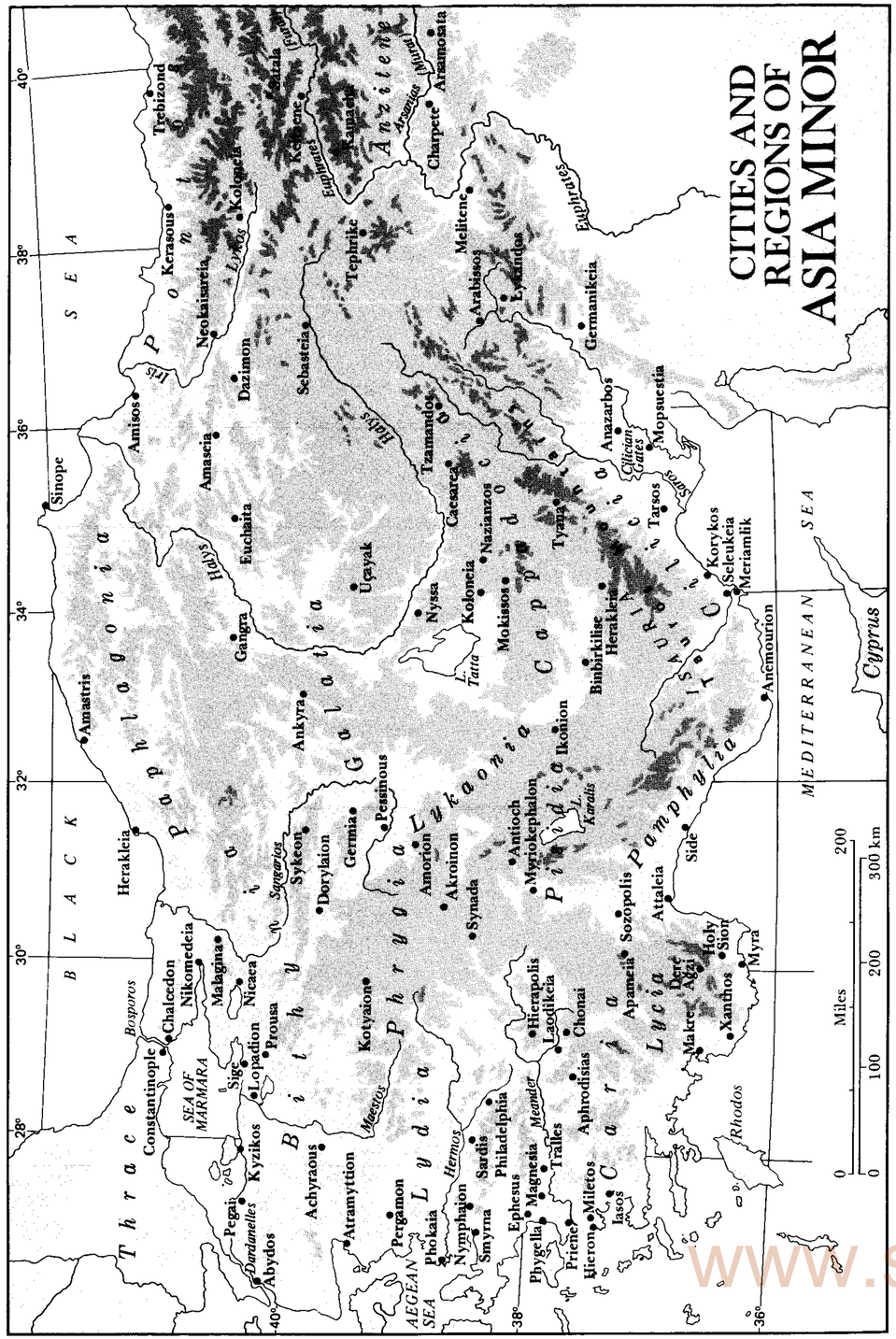

gions and as magnates, whose families played an ever-increasing role in politics, took over extensive tracts of land. Civil wars precipitated by their rivalries caused widespread disturbance in the late 10th C.

The Turks, whose raids began striking into Anatolia in the mid-11th C., brought the next fundamental change, in which the region, previously united, was divided between two or more powers. After the battle of MANTZIKERT in 1071, the Byz. permanently lost control of the east and center; thereafter they were precariously confined to the coastal region, where their position was seriously threatened by the SELJUK Turks. Although the First Crusade pushed the Turks back onto the plateau and allowed Alexios I to mark further gains, no part of the country was free from attack during his reign. John II frequently fought in Asia Minor, consolidating Byz. control by building strategic fortresses and establishing a foothold on the edge of the plateau. Under Manuel I, who restored security to many regions, the frontier was threatened by the immigration of TURKOMAN nomads. In an effort to solve the problem by striking directly at the Seljuks, Manuel met disaster at MYRIOKEPHALON in 1176. In the 1180s and 90s, major frontier forts fell and the Turks advanced westward, helped by the troubles attendant upon the Fourth Crusade.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1204 the Laskarids of the empire of NICAEA established an equilibrium with the Seljuks and secured their territories (the Aegean region and Bithynia) by extensive fortification. The prosperity they brought is reflected in their restoration of towns and foundation of monasteries. The Byz. recapture of Constantinople in 1261 was a disaster for Asia Minor: imperial attention shifted to the west and frontier defenses were neglected just as the weakening of the Seljuk state before Mongol attack left the Turkomans free to move westward. The Byz. position in Asia Minor crumbled rapidly; the southwestern coastal region was lost by 1270, the Meander valley by 1284, and most of the interior by the end of the century. In 1300 Byz. controlled only the northwestern coasts and a few fortresses that were islands surrounded by the Turkomans, who by now were establishing their own independent principalities of AYDIN, MENTESHE, SARUHAN, and KARASI. Despite major campaigns, the Aegean region was lost by 1315, and Bithynia fell to the OTTOMANS by 1337. Subsequently, Byz. maintained only a few ports until 1360, and afterward only the virtually independent enclave of PHILADELPHIA, whose fall in 1390 marked the end of Byz. Asia Minor.

LIT. Vryonis, *Decline* 1–68. Hendy, *Economy* 21–154. Foss, "Twenty Cities." –C.F.

ASIDENOS, SABAS, sometimes Sabbas, local ruler in Anatolia (fl. 1204–14). Of unknown origin, Asidenos (Ἀσιδηνός) assumed power at Sampson (ancient Priene) and the lower Meander River valley when the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople. Possibly as early as 1205 his territory was added to the Nicene state by THEODORE I LASKARIS. He remained locally powerful, and in 1214 Theodore addressed him as *sympentheros* (relative-in-law) and SEBASTOKRATOR (N. Wilson, J. Darrouzès, *REB* 26 [1968] 14f).

LIT. P. Orgels, "Sabas Asidénos dynaste de Sampsôn," *Byzantion* 10 (1935) 67–80. Savvides, *Byz. in the Near East* 60. –C.M.B.

ASINOU, located in the foothills of the Troodos mountains, Cyprus, site of the Church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, founded 1105/6, according to dedicatory inscriptions by Nikephoros the *magistros* (died 1115). This small, single-naved church of three barrel-vaulted bays is built of mortared rubble. The plastered exterior was incised in imitation of ashlar and painted with red zigzags. The laterally apsed narthex, partly of ashlar, was added later in the 12th C. Scenes from the Passion in the west end of the nave are well preserved; Christ's Infancy cycle and the donor's portrait in the central bay were repainted in the post-Byz. period. The votive images in the narthex date from the end of the 12th C. and later. The style of the paintings of the first phase of decoration is related to the more refined frescoes of the *parekklesion* of Hagios Chrysostomos near Koutsovendis, donated by Eumathios PHILOKALES. Paintings by the Asinou workshop are also found in Panagia Theotokos at Trikomo, Sts. Ioakeim and Anna at Kaliana, and the Panagia Amasgou at Monagri. Also associated stylistically with the frescoes at Asinou are several icons at the monastery of St. CATHERINE at Sinai (K. Weitzmann in *Studies in Memory of D.T. Rice* [Edinburgh 1975] 47–63).

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LIT. A.Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106, et sa contribution à l'iconographie* (Brussels 1966). D. Winfield, E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Church of Our Lady at Asinou, Cyprus," *DOP* 21 (1967) 261–66. D. Winfield, "Hagios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou: Byzantine Painters at Work," *Praktika tou protou diethnous Kyprologikou synedriou, Leukosia, 1969* (Nicosia 1972) 285–91. –A.J.W.

AŞIQPAŞAZADE, great-grandson of the poet Aşiq Pasha (died 1333), dervish, *ghazi* warrior, and author of a *Tevarih-i al-i Osman*, a history of the OTTOMAN dynasty from its origins to 1485; born in Elvan Çelebi (near Amasya) 1400, died Istanbul? after 1484. Aşiqpaşazade's *Tevarih* is a fundamental source for early Ottoman history. For events prior to 1420, Aşiqpaşazade depended chiefly on a collection of stories and legends about the Osmanoğulları (now lost, but used in the earliest anonymous TEVARIH-I AL-I OSMAN, and Uruc Beg), and materials derived from Yahşi Fakih. The subsequent account embodies more of Aşiqpaşazade's experiences and research among contemporaries. Intending his work for a wide audience, Aşiqpaşazade wrote in simple and lively Turkish. In form his *Tevarih* varies from straightforward narrative to poetry to extended dialogue.

Throughout his work Aşiqpaşazade treats Byz. themes as an aspect of the wider Ottoman struggle with the unbelievers. His information about Constantinople, and even major Byz. figures and events, tends to be generalized.

ED. *Die Altosmanische Chronik des Āšikpašazāde*, ed. F. Giese (Leipzig 1929). *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte*, partial Germ. tr. R.F. Kreutel (Graz 1959).

LIT. Bombaci, *Lett. turca* 347–51. V. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in Lewis-Holt, *Historians* 174f. H. İnalcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in ibid. 152–59. –S.W.R.

ASKALON (Ἀσκάλων), on the southern coast of Palestine, was one of the most significant cities of the region, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 14.8.11). The MADABA MOSAIC MAP shows the city plan, but no religious buildings; the remains of a 7th/8th-C. church, fragments of a synagogue, and the city wall are known, however, as well as a late 6th-C. mosaic. Pilgrims were attracted to Askalon by remarkable wells allegedly dug by Abraham and by the tomb of KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS. One of the last Palestinian cities to fall to the Arabs (in 640), Askalon remained in the hands of the Fāṭimids after the Seljuk occupation of Palestine. In 1099 the Crusaders won a battle over the Egyptians at Askalon but were unable to take the city until 22 Aug. 1153. Although Saladin took Askalon briefly in 1187, the Crusaders regained control from 1191 to 1247.

LIT. R. Hartmann, B. Lewis, *EI*[2] 1:710f. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 150. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 21f. *EAEHL* 1:121–24, 129. –G.V., A.K., Z.U.M.

ASKIDAS, THEODORE, theologian; died Constantinople, Jan. 588. Askidas (Ἀσκιδᾶς) was *hegoumenos* of the New Lavra in Palestine and from 537 onward metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia. A supporter of the tenets of ORIGEN, Askidas belonged to the sect of so-called *Isochristoi* who taught that in the final *apokatastasis* (restoration) the faithful will attain a complete union with Christ. He was also suspected of supporting Monophysitism. In 543, however, he was forced to sign a condemnation of Origen; he also signed a condemnation of the THREE CHAPTERS. Pope VIGILIUS anathematized him in 551, but in the following year Askidas made peace with the pope. Of his works only a fragment is preserved (in EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 384. G. Ladosci, *DPAC* 2:3376. –A.K.

ASKLEPIOS, regarded as the son of APOLLO; the major god of healing in ancient Greece. His cult was widespread in the Greek-speaking world; of his numerous healing shrines the most famous were Epidaurus and Cos in Hellenistic times and Pergamon under the Roman Empire. Christianity adopted a belligerent stance toward Asklepios and deliberately promoted the figure of Christ the Physician in opposition to Asklepios the Savior; some temples of Asklepios (e.g., at Epidaurus and Athens) were converted to Christian use. In the 4th C. Julian the Apostate strongly supported the cult of Asklepios and attempted to place it at the center of paganism. Well into the 5th C. the god was actively worshiped by individual Neoplatonists such as PROKLOS, who believed that as a young man he had been healed by Asklepios (Marinos, *Vita Procli* in *I Manuali*, tr. C. Faraggiana di Sarzana [Milan 1985] 314f). Thereafter, when the name of Asklepios had practically been forgotten, the influence of his cult lived on in those Christian shrines where INCUBATION was practiced. Miracle accounts such as those of Sts. KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, KYROS AND JOHN, and ARTEMIOS all give evidence of elements that could be called "Asclepian." The name *asklepiadai* continued to be applied to Byz. physicians.

LIT. E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 110–16. P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism* (Oxford 1981) 166–68. T. Gregory, "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece," *AJPh* 107 (1986) 229–42. –J.D.

ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA (ἀκολουθία ᾀσματική, lit. "sung office"), the cathedral HOURS of the rite of Constantinople, found in fully developed and unadulterated form in 8th–12th-C. MSS of the EUCHOLOGION (Arranz, "Asmatikos Hesperinos" 109–16). The rite was at first distinct from, but gradually mingled with and was ultimately replaced by, that of the monasteries of Constantinople (see SABAITIC TYPIKA). In Thessalonike, the *asmatike akolouthia* was still in use as late as the 15th C. (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:553D, 624D–625B).

According to the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, which contains the rules for the *asmatike akolouthia*, the office comprised only the hours of ORTHROS and VESPERS, with the occasional addition of a *pannychis* or a *paramone* (see VIGIL), and a combined terce-sext in Lent. But MSS of the *euchologion* include the Little Hours as well.

The *asmatike akolouthia* had no separate book of hours—the HOROLOGION being originally a Palestinian monastic book—but was celebrated from the *euchologion* (for prayers and DIAKONIKA), the *antiphonarion* or Constantinople psalter (for PSALMODY and refrains), and the PROPHETOLOGION (for Old Testament lections). Despite its name, this office had very little hymnody.

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 358–70. –R.F.T.

ASMATIKON (ᾀσματικόν), a music book containing the special CHANTS and refrains for the liturgy and the HOURS, sung by the small group of *psaltai* (SINGERS) at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Its repertory is set in a moderately ornate style. Eleven Greek and three Slavic *Asmatika* survive; each varies and none dates from before the 12th C., but there are substantial reasons for supposing that the *Asmatikon* was first compiled at Constantinople during the 11th C. or perhaps earlier. Nine of the MSS belonged to southern Italian religious houses of the Greek rite; the musical tradition they have adopted dates from 1225 at the latest. The remaining two Byz. MSS represent different, though not wholly dissimilar, melodic traditions. (For the solo items, see PSALTIKON.)

LIT. K. Levy, "A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963) 131–54. Conomos, *Communion* 52–66. –D.E.C.

ASOŁIK ("singer") or Stephen (Step'anos) of Tarōn, Armenian historian. Nothing is known of the life of Stephen, save that he came from the province of TARŌN and was appointed by the *katholikos* Sargis (992–1019) to supervise monasteries and churches. Sargis also commissioned Asołik to write a *Universal History* at the beginning of the 11th C. Although book 1 contains lists of biblical kings and rulers of ancient empires, and book 2 names Sasanian, Muslim, and Byz. rulers (down to Basil I), Asołik's interest is primarily Armenia, esp. religious matters and Byz.-Armenian relations. Book 3 is thus a valuable source for the 10th-C. Byz. eastward expansion (from the establishment of the BAGRATID dynasty in 885 until 1003).

ED. *Patmut'iwn tiezerakan*, ed. S. Malxasean (St. Petersburg 1885). Fr. tr.—books 1–2, E. Dulaurier, *Etienne Açogh'ig de Daron* (Paris 1883); book 3, F. Macler, *Etienne Asołik de Taron* (Paris 1917).

LIT. M. de Durand, "Citations patristiques chez Etienne de Taron," in *Armeniaca: Mélanges d'études arméniennes* (Venice 1969) 116–24. –R.T.

ASOMATOS (ἀσώματος), incorporeal, term characterizing the intelligible world as opposed to the sensible one. In the strict sense the word could be applied only to God: according to John of Damascus (*Exp.fid.* 26.5, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:75), "only the godhead (*theion*) is really incorporeal and immaterial." John, however, distinguished two types of incorporeality: that of substance or nature, possessed by God only, and that of grace, possessed by ANGELS, DEMONS, and SOULS (ibid. 26.53–57, ed. Kotter, 2:77). In contrast, Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:1165B) classified angels among incorporeal beings: "All rational creatures are divided into incorporeal and corporeal; the angelic [category] is *asomatos*, the other category is mankind."

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The Synaxis ton Asomaton, the feast honoring the incorporeal beings, was celebrated 8 Nov. and illustrated from the 11th C. onward (S. Gabelić, *Zograf* 7 [1977] 58–64). The homilies and liturgical poetry accompanying this feast were important sources for illustrated cycles of the angels and ARCHANGELS. –A.K., N.P.Š.

AŠOT I THE GREAT (Ἀσώτιος), founder of the BAGRATID kingdom of Armenia; died 890. Succeeding his father as commander-in-chief (*sparapet*) of Armenia after the devastating Muslim punitive expeditions of the mid-9th C., Ašot consolidated the position of his house by expanding his domains at the expense of other feudal families and by dynastic marriages with the principalities of Siwnik' and VASPURAKAN. In 858, his continuation of the generally pro-Arab policy of the earlier Bagratid house earned him the title of Prince of Princes (*batrīq al-batārīqa*) and the suzerainty of the Arab emirates in Armenia. To maintain equilibrium on Armenia's borders, Ašot assured Byz. of his continuing loyalty and encouraged the Armenian *katholikos* Zacharias to correspond with PHOTIOS, although the Council of Širakawan (ca.862) failed to achieve a reunion with the Byz. church. By 884 (rather than 886 as formerly believed), Ašot felt powerful enough to have himself crowned king with a crown sent by the Arab governor in Azerbaijan; recognition by Byz. followed, endowing him with the title of *archon ton archonton*. Although Ašot was the master and arbiter of Armenia and Georgia, where he had his kinsman Adernarse crowned in 888, he continued to pay tribute to the Arabs. His authority over the Armenian magnates derived more from the power of his personality than from any formal base.

LIT. V. Hakobian, "La date de l'avènement d'Ašot, premier roi bagratide," *REArm* n.s. 2 (1965) 273–82. H. Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände von Armenien unter Ašot I* (Berlin-Halle 1904). A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 53–60. –N.G.G.

AŠOT II ERKAT (Iron King), grandson of AŠOT I THE GREAT; third BAGRATID king of Armenia (914/15–928/9). Ašot reestablished Bagratid control over northern Armenia after the defeat and martyrdom of his father, Smbat I. His early success resulted in part from his recognition of Constantinople, where he was invited in 914 (not 921) and granted the customary title of *archon ton archonton* as well as military support. Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS initiated at this time a correspondence with the Armenian *katholikos*, John the Historian. These friendly relations were later compromised by Ašot's increasingly autonomous policy, esp. after the Muslims recognized him as *Šahanšah* ("King of Kings"). As a result, Byz. directed a campaign commanded by John KOURKOUAS against Armenia in 922 and apparently transferred the title of *archon ton archonton* to the rival southern Armenian kingdom of VASPURAKAN, but was not able to check Bagratid consolidation at this time.

LIT. Adontz, *Etudes* 265–83. –N.G.G.

AŠOT III OŁORMAC' (Merciful), son of Abas I; last BAGRATID king of Armenia to rule over a united kingdom (953–77). His generally prosperous reign was marked by the complete exemption of Armenia from the payment of tribute to the caliphate, by the transfer of the capital to ANI, by close collaboration with the Armenian church (which he supported against Chalcedonian sympathizers and local separatists), and by the assertion of royal authority over the magnates. Ašot was successful in his war against the Caucasian mountaineers and the ḤAMDĀNID emirs. Moreover, supported by his vassals, he checked the advance of Emp. John I Tzimiskes at the Armenian border (974), whereupon the emperor declared him his ally and spiritual son (MATTHEW OF EDESSA, ed. Dulaurier 16–24). Ašot's reign saw a great expansion of monasticism with the establishment of the future intellectual centers of Sanahin (966) and Hałbat (976); his extensive philanthropic foundations earned him the epithet "Merciful." Nevertheless, his grant of KARS (Vanand) to his brother Mušel and of Loři (Tašir, Joraget) to his son Gurgēn divided the realm and ultimately weakened Bagratid control of Armenia.

LIT. Grousset, *Arménie* 478–88, 494–500. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 93, 95–100, 105f, 130, 136, 142f. –N.G.G.

ASPAR (Ἄσπαρ), more fully Flavius Ardaburius Aspar, an Alan; consul (434), *patrikios*, and *magister militum*; died Constantinople 471. Together with his father Ardabourios, Aspar suppressed the rebel Ioannes in 425 and secured the throne for Valentinian III. Aspar led a fleet against the Vandals in 431, fought against the Huns in 441, constructed a large cistern in Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF) in 459, and led the inhabitants of the capital in combatting a fire in 465. Representing the power of the Germanic soldiery, he dominated the Eastern court and, after the death of MARCIAN, secured the elevation of LEO I in 457; as an Arian, however, he could not hope to gain the throne for himself. Aspar had his son Patrikios crowned as caesar in 469/70, but his influence was undercut by Leo's alliance with ZENO and the Isaurians. Aspar supported the campaign of BASILISKOS against the Vandals, perhaps hoping to see it fail, and by 469 there was open rupture between Aspar and Zeno (A. Kozlov, *ADSV* 20 [1983] 30f). Aspar may have sought the support of RICIMER, but he and his son ARDABOURIOS were captured and executed. Together with other members of Aspar's family, they are represented on a missorium in Florence (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.35).

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:222–25, 314–20. O. Seeck, *RE* 2 (1896) 607–10. G. Vernadsky, "Flavius Ardabur Aspar," *SüdostF* 6 (1941) 38–73. L. Scott, "Aspar and the Burden of Barbarian Heritage," *BS/EB* 3.2 (1976) 59–69. –T.E.G., A.C.

ASPARUCH (Ἀσπαρούχ), Bulgar khan (ca.650–ca.700); third son of KUVRAT. Around 660 Asparuch led a BULGAR horde westward, crossing the Dnieper and Dniester before ultimately establishing a fortified camp in the northern part of the Danube delta; its precise location is much disputed (N. Bănescu, *Byzantion* 28 [1958] 433–40). From here the Bulgars raided Byz. territory across the Danube, perhaps exploiting Byz. preoccupation with Arab attacks in the 670s. Constantine IV responded by campaigning personally in 680/1, with disastrous results: the army was routed and the Bulgars crossed the Danube in pursuit, reaching Varna. Renewed attacks on Byz. towns compelled Constantine to recognize the Bulgars' occupation of Byz. land (apparently SCYTHIA MINOR and MOESIA Inferior) and to pay them annual tribute (PAKTON), an agreement likely concluded in 681 but broken in 687/8 by Justinian II. Asparuch also subjected the local Slavic tribes to tribute payments and even resettlements, probably using them as bulwarks against the AVARS to the west and the Byz. to the south. Nothing else is known of Asparuch's rule. A dubious tradition credits him with founding PLISKA. An 11th-C. Bulgarian source records a legend of his death in battle with the Khazars (I. Dujčev, *BZ* 53 [1960] 207).

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:123–62. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:99–113. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 173–82. V. Gjuzelev, *Forschungen zur Geschichte Bulgariens im Mittelalter* (Vienna 1986) 3–24. –P.A.H.

ASPER (ἄσπρον) was a Latin word meaning basically "rough" but by extension "fresh" and (of silver) "white," a sense it had already acquired in early Roman imperial times. It first came into common use for a coin in the 12th C., mainly as a qualification of the billon TRACHY (*τὸ νόμισμα τραχὺ ἄσπρον* "the rough, white nomisma"), which to us is a dirty gray in color but was no doubt issued in a blanched state. It was sometimes also applied to the electrum trachy. In the 14th–15th C. the term was used of various nonconcave silver coins, mainly the small ones also known as DOUKATOPOULOI and their Turkish counterparts (*akçes*, also from a word meaning "white") but occasionally, as at Trebizond, for large silver coins also. There are many contemporary Western parallels to the use of such a name for coins: *blanc*, *witten*, *albus*, etc.

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 18, 20f, 31. –Ph.G.

ASPIETES (Ἀσπιέτης, fem. Ἀσπιετίνα, Ἀσπιέτισσα), an Armenian lineage in Byz. service from at least the late 11th C. (etym. Arm. *aspet*, "rider, knight"). Prokopios (*Wars* 2.3.12) mentions the "great and numerous lineage of the so-called Aspetianoi," but no evidence connects the Byz. Aspietai and 6th-C. Aspetianoi. The first known Aspietes, Alexios I's general, boasted of his royal origin from the Arsacids (An.Komn. 3:58.28–29); he served as governor of Tarsos ca.1107/8 and *stratopedarches* of the Orient. There is no reason to identify Aspietes with Ošin, son of Chetum, prince of Lambron (see correctly J. Laurent in *Mélanges offerts à m. Gustave Schlumberger*, vol. 1 [Paris 1924] 164f). Several Aspietianoi (Michael, Constantine, etc.) were military commanders under Manuel I; (another?) Constantine Aspietes commanded a troop in 1190; Alexios Aspietes, commander in Serres shortly after 1195, was captured by the Bulgarians and proclaimed emperor in Philippopolis after 1204 but was soon seized

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and executed by KALOJAN. The chronicle of Magnus Presbyter (MGH *SS* 17:512), under the year 1189, mentions a Byz. embassy to Saladin, whose members were "Sovestat, Aspion, and old Constantine, a translator from Arabic"; the envoy may have been the *sebastos* Aspietes. The cultural role of the Aspietai is unknown: a monk John Aspiotes corresponded with Michael GLYKAS. Aspietai of the 14th and 15th C. were landowners intermarried with sundry noble families, including Palaiologoi (*PLP*, nos. 1567–79), but did not occupy high positions; Maria Choumnaina Aspietissa was the wife of a *megas papias* in 1324.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 43–46. –A.K.

ASPROKASTRON (Ἀσπρόκαστρον, or Maurokastron; Ital. Moncastro; Turk. Akkerman; Rum. Cetatea Albă; Russ. Belgorod Dnestrovskij—four of its names mean "White Fort"; Maurokastron and the corrupted form Moncastro mean "Black Fort"), city and port situated at the mouth of the Dniester, close to the site of ancient Tyras. It was probably a late Roman or early Byz. fortress but passed out of imperial control in the 7th–9th C. The information on "Maurokastron" in the 10th C. given by the TOPARCHA GOTHICUS is entirely fictitious. In the 13th C. Asprokastron belonged to the Polovzian khanate (see CUMANS). From ca. 1290 Asprokastron was frequented by Genoese ships that loaded grain and wax. For some years in the early 14th C. it was in Bulgarian hands, but by midcentury it had become a Genoese colony. From 1410 Asprokastron was subject to the princes of Moldavia, and in 1437 Venice opened commercial relations with the city. In the 15th C. it was a regular point of embarkation for travelers between Constantinople and central Europe, including Emp. JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS. After 1453 MEHMED II brought colonists from Asprokastron to settle in Constantinople. For a time after 1457 Stephen the Great, Prince of Moldavia, resided there, but in 1485 Sultan Bayezid II captured Asprokastron and CHILIA.

LIT. N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei şi Cetăţii-Albe* (Bucharest 1899) 1–137. G.I. Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă* (Bucharest 1935) 99–126. Balard, *Romanie génoise* 1:143–50. N. Bănescu, "Maurocastrum—Moncastro—Cetatea-Albă," *BSHAcRoum* 21 (1939) 20–31. –R.B.

ASSARION (ἀσσάριον, from early Lat. *assarius*), used in the New Testament for the smallest coin in circulation (Mt 10:29: "Are not two sparrows sold for an assarion?"). It is used by Nicholas RHABDAS (in P. Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques* 4 [Toulouse-Paris 1920] 158) in formulating a mathematical problem that has a contemporary setting—the author was writing in 1341—and it had apparently been revived as the name of the flat copper coin of approximately 2 g introduced under Andronikos II (1282–1328). Assaria were struck in great quantities during the first half of the 14th C.

LIT. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 278. –Ph.G.

ASSEMBLIES. In addition to the SENATE, Byz. was familiar with other forms of assemblies with claims to political power. The most organized were the church COUNCILS (H. Gelzer, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* [Leipzig 1907] 142–55). Provincial assemblies of the late Roman Empire consisted of *honorati* (former imperial officials) and CURIALES; in contrast to the members of ancient assemblies, these were not elected and there was no representation in proportion to population (J. Larsen, *ClPhil* 29 [1934] 209–20). Despite Leo VI's abolition of municipal *boulai*, they continued to exist in provincial towns from the 11th to the 15th C., although they tended to be assemblages of local nobles rather than regular representations of constituencies.

Throughout the centuries Constantinople witnessed two kinds of assemblies: those convoked by usurpers or demagogues in protest against unpopular measures (which had no legal basis or regular organization) and those convened by the state in cases of emergency (for confiscation of church property in 1094, to raise funds to meet the demands of Henry VI in 1197, to discuss the imperial response to the Bulgarian tsar in 1341, etc.). Assemblies were esp. active during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 (Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 74–76). The assemblies were called *ekklesiai, syllogoi,* or *syneleuseis*; even though they were not representative of the electorate, they could include people outside the bureaucratic and ecclesiastical nobility. The assemblies or parliaments that functioned in the Crusader states (J. Colson, *REB* 12 [1954] 114–27) may have influenced Byz. assemblies.

LIT. C.N. Tsirpanlis, "Byzantine Parliaments and Representative Assemblies from 1081 to 1351," *Byzantion* 43 (1973–74) 432–81. C.P. Kyrris, "Representative Assemblies and Taxation in the Byzantine Empire between 1204 and 1341," *XIIe Congrès International des sciences historiques* 31 (Paris 1966) 43–54. –A.K.

ASSES. See BEASTS OF BURDEN.

ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA, Cappadocian churchman and writer, overshadowed by his more famous contemporaries, the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS; born between 330 and 335, died between 420 and 425 (according to Datema, *infra* [1970] xxiv). Asterios (Ἀστέριος) was perhaps a lawyer before his appointment to the see of Amaseia in Pontos, sometime between 380 and 390. Of his oeuvre 16 homilies survive, and Photios (*Bibl.*, cod. 271) lists four more. Some of these speeches have survived in Latin, Georgian, and Church Slavonic translations. Two homilies are of particular interest to modern scholars, the fourth (delivered 1 Jan. 400), which systematically refutes LIBANIOS's defense of the pagan New Year feast, and the eleventh, which contains an *ekphrasis* of a painting of some scenes from the vita of St. EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDON (W. Speyer, *JbAChr* 14 [1971] 39–47). The latter oration is a landmark of Byz. art criticism and is also informative about Asterios's tastes in classical literature, notably for the writings of Demosthenes. The eleventh homily was translated into Latin by ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS and was cited *in toto* during the Second Council of Nicaea, 787, to justify the veneration of icons.

ED. *Homilies I–XIV*, ed. C. Datema (Leiden 1970). C. Datema, "Les homélies XV et XVI d'Astérius d'Amasée," *Sacris erudiri* 23 (1978–79) 63–93. Eng. tr. of *Hom.* 11—Mango, *Art* 37–39.

LIT. M. Bauer, *Asterios, Bischof von Amaseia: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Würzburg 1911). W. Speyer, *RAC* supp. 4 (1986) 626–39. V. Vasey, "The Social Ideas of Asterius of Amasea," *Augustinianum* 26 (1986) 413–36. –B.B.

ASTERIOS SOPHISTES, rhetorician; died after 341. He was a pupil of LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH and a supporter of Arianism. Photios (*Quaest. Amph.* 312, ed. L. Westerink, 6.1 [1987] 112f) distinguishes him from the Orthodox ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA. He wrote the *Syntagmatarion* (ed. Bardy, *infra*), an exposé of Arian views (preserved in fragmentary quotations in ATHANASIOS of Alexandria), and homilies on Psalms and on Easter that have survived in CATENAE often under the names of Asterios of Amaseia or John Chrysostom. Asterios was probably a Jew who had converted to Christianity, and his works show some knowledge of Rabbinic teaching. His homilies are important as a source for the study of Jewish-Christian relations in the early 4th C.: Asterios views the Jews as an incarnation of evil and warns Christians against Jewish penetration into the church.

ED. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (Paris 1936) 341–57. M. Richard, *Asterii Sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt* (Oslo 1956).

LIT. E. Skard, *Index Asterianus* (Oslo 1962). H. Auf der Maur, *Die Osterhomilien des Asterios Sophistes* (Trier 1967). G. Gelsi, *Kirche, Synagoge und Taufe in den Psalmenhomilien des Asterios Sophistes* (Vienna 1978). –A.K.

ASTERISKOS. See PATEN AND ASTERISKOS.

ASTRAMPSYCHOS, a Persian magus of the 4th C. B.C. (Diogenes Laertius, 1.2). Various works of the Byz. era were ascribed to him, the most important being a dream book written in accentual trimeters, datable between the 6th and 9th C. (S.M. Oberhelman, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 489). This treatise formed the basis for later dream books falsely ascribed to Patr. Nikephoros I, Patr. Germanos I or II (the attribution is unclear), Gregory of Nazianzos, and Athanasios of Alexandria (the last two are replicas of the Nikephorean dream book). Other works assigned to Astrampsychos deal with oracles (A.J. Hoogendijk, W. Clarysse, *Kleio* 11 [1981] 54–97; G.M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi* [Meisenheim am Glan 1974]); geomancy (P. Tannery, *REGr* 11 [1898] 96–105); love charms (P. Lond. I 122); healing of asses (SOUDA, s.v. Astrampsychos); and astronomy (E. Riess, *RE* 2 [1896] 1796f).

ED. *Sortes Astrampsychi*, vol. 1, ed. G.M. Browne (Leipzig 1983).

LIT. G.M. Browne, "The Origin and Date of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*," *ICS* 1 (1976) 53–58. –S.M.O.

ASTRAPAS, JOHN. See MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS.

ASTROLABE (ἀστρολάβος), an astronomical instrument used to measure altitudes of the stars and to tell time. PTOLEMY described the principles of the astrolabe in his *Projection of the Surface of a*

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Sphere, a work known in Constantinople only in the early Byz. period. Other Greek treatises on the astrolabe include works by THEON and John PHILOPONOS, and the description by SYNESIOS of his gift of a pseudo-astrolabe to Paionios. In the 12th C. John KAMATEROS described its uses in ASTROLOGY (*Introduction* 2153–2281). In the Palaiologan period there was particular interest in the astrolabe, as evidenced by the translation by Gregory CHIONIADES of a Persian treatise, two works by Nikephoros GREGORAS, and finally a section (1.11–21) of the *Three Books* of Theodore MELITENIOTES. There exist as well several anonymous treatises on the construction and/or use of astrolabes, one of which may be by BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. At an unknown date Leontios the Mechanic wrote a treatise on constructing a celestial globe.

The only surviving Byz. astrolabe is one made in 1062 for the *protospatharios* and *hypatos* Sergios, "of the race of the Persians" (*Splendeur de Byz.* 176), whose 14 stars are all found among the 19 in a list of stars for the rete of an astrolabe whose right ascensions are computed for 908 (Florence, Laur. 38, 34, fols. 143v-144r). The large number of treatises on the construction and use of astrolabes written in the Palaiologan period and the several references to observations made with them indicate that many more Byz. astrolabes must once have existed. (See also ASTRONOMY.)

LIT. D.J. Price in *A History of Technology*, ed. C. Singer et al., vol. 3 (Oxford 1957) 582–619. O.M. Dalton, "The Byzantine Astrolabe at Brescia," *ProcBrAc* 12 (1926) 133–46. —D.P.

ASTROLOGY, a "science" of making predictions concerning the future or interpretation of the past based on the positions of the planets relative to each other, to the signs of the zodiac and their subdivisions, and to the 12 astrological places, and on the positions of the zodiacal signs relative to those places. The basic forms of astrology are: (1) genethlialogy, in which the positions at the moment of a person's birth or of his computed conception are the determining factors, dependent on which are various forms of continuous horoscopy including transits, prorogations, and anniversary HOROSCOPES (these permit updatings of the predictions made from the base horoscope); (2) catarchic astrology, in which the most favorable moment for commencing an enterprise is chosen in accordance with astrological rules, the main subordinate parts of which are iatromathematics (the application of astrology to medicine) and military astrology; (3) interrogational astrology, in which the horoscope of the moment at which a query is put to the astrologer is interpreted to provide its answer; and (4) political astrology, in which predictions of the future events within a nation or among several, or reconstructions of their histories, are based on various cycles as well as on horoscopes cast for significant times.

In antiquity only the first three types appear in texts; political astrology was developed in Sasanian Iran and early Islam and transmitted to Byz. between 800 and 1000 with other Arabic works. Byz. astrological literature, then, falls into three periods: summaries and compendia of classical astrology in the 4th–7th C., the translations from the Arabic in the 10th–11th C. (some translations were made later), and the compilation of vast compendia and the editing of earlier texts in the 11th–14th C.

The earliest known Byz. astrological authors were Pancharios, whose iatromathematical *Epitome Concerning Bed-Illnesses* was probably composed in the early 4th C., and Maximos, who wrote a poem on catarchic astrology, *On Beginnings*, in the 4th or 5th C. The second edition of the *Introduction* of PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA was apparently issued in 378. It is a work on genethlialogy in the tradition of Antiochos of Athens (fl. before 300) and PORPHYRY. Part of a work by Paul's contemporary, the so-called "Anonymous of 379," is preserved in the late 14th-C. compendium ascribed falsely to a certain Palchos (al-Balkhī).

In ca.415 HEPHAISTION OF THEBES wrote an *Astrological Effects* based on PTOLEMY and Dorotheos of Sidon (1st/2nd C.) for its genethlialogy and primarily on Dorotheos for its catarchic astrology. Also in the 5th C. the *Anthologies* of Vettius Valens (2nd C.), another text on genethlialogy, was edited and expanded, while probably in the same century was written the *Treatment* of Ptolemy's *Astrological Effects* attributed to Proklos. Circa 500 Julian of Laodikeia wrote a work on catarchic (including military) astrology, of which several chapters are preserved in RHETORIOS OF EGYPT, who also includes in his collection a large number of 5th- and early 6th-C. horoscopes. Both the *On Omens* and *On the Months* of JOHN LYDOS contain some astrological material. The only other extant 6th-C. work on astrology is the commentary of OLYMPIODOROS on Paul of Alexandria, based on a course of lectures given at Alexandria in 564.

In the early 7th C. Rhetorios of Egypt compiled the richest surviving collection of classical and early Byz. astrological texts. It is primarily devoted to genethlialogy but contains some material on catarchic astrology. After Rhetorios there was a gap in the astrological tradition in Byz. until the end of the 8th C., although in Arab-controlled Syria THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA wrote in Greek on genethlialogy, catarchic and interrogational astrology, and astrological history; he used not only such sources as Petosiris, Ptolemy, Hephaistion, and Rhetorios, but also Islamic and Indian material. In 775 an astrologer pretending to be STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA wrote a "prediction" of the course of history of the caliphs based on the horoscope of the beginning of the year (1 Sept. 621) of the Hijra. The author is probably Stephen the Philosopher, who studied in Persia and wrote a defense of astrology, *On the Mathematical Art*, in the late 8th or early 9th C.

In the 9th C. LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN wrote a few trivial pieces on genethlialogy, and from the 10th C. survive a number of horoscopes cast by astrologers such as Demophilos. These astrologers, and probably others, were responsible for the first minuscule MSS of the older astrological literature, of which the surviving examples are the 9th-C. Florence, Laur. 28, 27, and the 10th-C. Laur. 28, 34 and Vat. gr. 1453. Demophilos was also the editor and compiler of astrological collections; he evidently made substantial revisions in the texts of Porphyry's *Introduction* and of Rhetorios.

Shortly before the year 1000 began the extensive Greek translations of Arabic astrological works by such authors as Abū Maʿshar and his pupil Shādhān; the *Kitāb al-Thamara* (*Karpos* or *Fruit*) ascribed to Ptolemy with its commentary by Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf; and an enormous compendium ascribed to Aḥmad the Persian and entitled *Introduction to and Foundation of Astrology*. Excerpts from most of these translations begin to appear in 11th- and 12th-C. compendia preserved in MSS such as Paris, B.N. gr. 2506; Vat. gr. 1056; and Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 115. Some translations served as the basis of translations into Latin in the 13th C.

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The Byz. church took a firm stance against astrology. The astrological concept that human fate is determined by the position of stars at man's birth contradicts the idea of FREE WILL and introduces necessity—*ananke* or *heimarmene*—in place of Providence. The decisive role of stars in human life and in the forecast of political events appeared to the church fathers (including JOHN OF DAMASCUS) as a reminder of the pagan identification of gods with celestial bodies. The church fathers, however, had to face an exegetic problem, since Holy Scripture itself dealt with celestial phenomena in their capacity to influence or predict earthly events of great importance, e.g., the appearance of a star (interpreted sometimes as a comet) to the Magi. Astrology seems to have been rejected by the patristic authorities, but in the 12th C. the discussion was revived and often acquired a political significance.

Manuel I was a promoter of astrological interests, and it was in the court milieu of the 12th C. that the astrological poetry of John KAMATEROS and Theodore PRODROMOS originated. In the 1180s Byz. astrologers were involved in active correspondence with their Arab and Western colleagues predicting disaster on the basis of the impending conjunction of planets on 16 Sept. 1186. Niketas CHONIATES ridiculed the extraordinary efforts designed to preserve the palace during the expected calamity. Manuel's pro-astrological position prompted both disguised and overt criticism: while earlier in the century Anna Komnene restricted herself to a general disapproval of astrological views, Michael GLYKAS directly attacked Manuel and was subsequently thrown into prison and blinded.

During the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61) little of an astrological nature seems to have been composed in Greek, except for the translation made by Alexios of Constantinople in 1245 of an Arabic version of the *Apocalypse* of Daniel, a work on celestial omens. In the Palaiologan period, however, the study of astrology revived with vigor. A dialogue entitled *Hermippos*, which offers a Christian defense of astrology, was composed in the early 14th C., probably by John Katrones (*PLP*, no.11551). But the most important Palaiologan astrologers were John ABRAMIOS and his pupil Eleutherios Zebelenos, also called Elias. Between 1370 and 1400 they revised many of the major classical and early Byz. astrological

treatises—Ptolemy, Hephaistion, Olympiodoros, and the beginning of Rhetorios—and the Greek translations of Shādhān and of Aḥmad the Persian. Eleutherios was apparently responsible for the vast compilation of Greek and Arabic astrology which he falsely attributed to Palchos. The labors of these scholars have served to obscure and pervert the true history of ancient and Byz. astrology, although they did preserve many fragments that would have otherwise been lost. Their work was to some extent carried on in the 15th C. by men like John CHORTASMENOS and ISIDORE OF KIEV.

ED. *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, 12 vols. in 20 pts. (Brussels 1898–1936).

LIT. D. Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1978) 421–45. U. Riedinger, *Die Heilige Schrift im Kampf der griechischen Kirche gegen die Astrologie* (Innsbruck 1956). H.G. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937) 65–84. –D.P., A.K.

ASTRONOMY in Byz. began with commentaries on PTOLEMY. In the 11th C. this activity was supplemented by an infusion of short texts based on Arabic astronomy. Finally, in the Palaiologan period, two contrasting schools developed, one based on the Ptolemaic tradition and the other on Islamic astronomy presented in translations either from Persian and Arabic or from Latin.

From the 4th to the early 7th C. were produced the commentaries on the *Almagest* by PAPPOS and THEON, the summary of that work in the *Outline* of PROKLOS, and the introduction to it by EUTOKIOS; the two commentaries of the *Handy Tables* by Theon and that by STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA; and a large number of scholia connected with both of these works of Ptolemy. There was also collected together, perhaps already in the 4th C., a group of early treatises on spherics by Autolykos, EUCLID, and Theodosios, which formed a sort of corpus throughout the Byz. period. Other signs of astronomical activity in this period include the observations made by Heliodoros and Ammonios between 475 and 510; perhaps the planetary tables based on Babylonian goal-year periods that al-Zarqālī in the late 11th C. associated with Ammonios's name; and some papyrus fragments of *ephemerides* (tables of true longitudes of the sun, moon, and planets) based on the *Handy Tables*. In this early period elementary astronomical knowledge was necessary for the church—both for its practical needs such as establishing the CALENDAR, esp. the date of EASTER, and for outlining the image and the history of the cosmos. GEORGE OF PISIDIA in his *Hexaemeron* was able to draw upon a good astronomical textbook (G. Bianchi, *Aevum* 40 [1966] 35–42).

The study of astronomy lapsed in Byz. after Stephen's commentary on the *Handy Tables* of ca.620 but continued to flourish outside the empire in Egypt, Syria, and Armenia. Its restoration in Constantinople in the 9th C. is attested to by the brief discussion of Greek and Islamic tables given by Stephen the Philosopher, probably in ca.800, and by the career of LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN. Further witness to the revival of interest in astronomy is the production of a number of deluxe MSS with astronomical contents during the 8th–9th C.; Vat. gr. 1291, which has a suntable accurate only for 826–35, was dated by I. Spatharakis (*BZ* 71 [1978] 41–47) to the reign of Theophilos, but redated by D. Wright (*BZ* 78 [1985] 355–62) to ca.753, on a palaeographical basis. It was brought up to date until 866 and was in use possibly as late as the 12th C. A primitive text on computing the longitudes of the planets based on Vettius Valens (I 18) was written in 906 and was still being studied in the Palaiologan period (*Vettii Valentis Antiocheni Anthologiarum libri novem*, ed. D. Pingree [Leipzig 1986] 398–406). In addition an elementary *Quadrivium* with instructions and examples for using the *Handy Tables* was produced in 1007/8.

In the 11th C. Islamic astronomy began to be familiar to the Byz., as can be seen from some translations of Arabic star catalogs; from the writings of Symeon SETH (which may include the scholium of 1032 to the *Prolegomena to the Almagest*); and from an anonymous astronomical treatise written between 1072 and 1088 (A. Jones, *An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy* [Amsterdam 1987]). From the 12th C., however, nothing survives. From the 13th C. survive mainly uninspired texts by Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, George AKROPOLITES, George PACHYMERES, and John PEDIASIMOS.

In the early Palaiologan period, however, a knowledge of Ptolemaic astronomy was restored by Manuel BRYENNIOS, Theodore METOCHITES, and Nikephoros GREGORAS and was continued into the later 14th C. by Nicholas KABASILAS and Isaac ARGYROS, and into the 15th by John CHORTASMENOS and BESSARION. The interpenetration of theology, celestial mechanics, geography, and harmony is clear in the early 14th-C. miniatures inserted into Venice, Bib. Marc. gr. 516. Furlan (*Marciana* 4:40–48) related many of these diagrams to the thought of Manuel Bryennios and Pachymeres. Followers of the so-called Islamic school included Gregory CHIONIADES, who by 1300 had translated into Greek a number of Persian and Arabic astronomical tables; this tradition was followed by George CHRYSOKOKKES and several anonymous treatises of the later 14th C. One work that encompasses both Ptolemaic and Islamic astronomy is the *Three Books* written by Theodore MELITENIOTES in ca.1361; also drawing upon both traditions were the pupils of John ABRAMIOS. Other Byz. discussions of Persian astronomy were composed on Cyprus in ca.1347 and on Rhodes in ca.1393.

The Latin texts translated into Greek include the *Toledan Tables* prepared on Cyprus in the 1330s, perhaps by George LAPITHES, and again by Demetrios CHRYSOLORAS with an epoch of 1377; and the tables of Jacob ben David Yom-tob by Mark EUGENIKOS in 1444. Immanuel ben Jacob Bonfils's *Seven Wings* was translated from Hebrew by Michael Chrysokokkes in 1435.

Classical Greek astronomical texts mention a number of observational instruments: meridional and equinoctial armillaries, a plinth, an armillary sphere, a parallactic instrument, and a diopter are all described in the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. The Byz. also knew about the construction of these instruments through commentaries on the *Almagest* by Pappos and Theon, and through the summary of it in Proklos's *Outline*. Ptolemy also described the principles of the two main time-keeping devices, the ASTROLABE and the SUNDIAL, in other treatises.

ED. *Corpus des astronomes byzantins*, ed. A. Tihon (Amsterdam 1983–).

LIT. A. Tihon, "L'astronomie byzantine (du Ve au XVe siècle)," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 603–24. –D.P., A.C.

ASYLUM (ἀσυλία), the refuge given by the church to all Orthodox Christians seeking protection from the threat of imprisonment or physical harm. Sources refer to asylum as the "privilege" of the church; it was evidently established by custom. The earliest mention, in canon 7 of Serdica (a.342/3) (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:248–52), takes it for granted, and there are no ecclesiastical laws establishing it, only civil legislation from the late 4th C. onward, acknowledging and regulating it. In 431 (*Cod.Theod.* IX 45.4) the boundaries of ecclesiastical sanctuary were extended from the nave and ALTAR to include the entire precinct of the church building and severe sanctions were introduced against the transgressors of the rights of refugees (J. Herrmann in *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte, Gedächtnisschrift für Hermann Conrad* [Paderborn 1979] 271–82). In many cases, nevertheless, fugitives (e.g., political) were forcefully dragged from the church. The church punished such violations by the imposition of EPITIMIA and even EXCOMMUNICATION (cf. vita of TARASIOS, ed. Heikel, 407.11–37, 408.1–18).

Although Justinian I excluded from asylum the perpetrators of the crimes of RAPE, ROBBERY, ADULTERY, and MURDER (novs. 17.7 and 37), a significant change occurred in the 10th C. with the novel of CONSTANTINE VII, which allowed murderers the protection of asylum. By the 12th C. HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople had become famous as a place of asylum, esp. for killers (Nik.Chon. 342.9–15). It had a tribunal for such cases, headed by the PROTEKDIKOS, and certain parts of the church were known as the "Refuge" (R.J. Macrides, *Speculum* 63 [1988] 509–38). The right of asylum for murderers was again abolished by Manuel I (R.J. Macrides, "Justice" 190–204). In 1343 John V prescribed that those who sought protection in Hagia Sophia should head for a special room without disturbing the divine service (*Reg* 5, no.2886). Although there is less evidence for it, Hagia Sophia appears also to have offered protection to insolvent debtors (MM 2:448f, a.1400).

LIT. E. Herman, "Zum Asylrecht im byzantinischen Reich," *OrChrP* 1 (1935) 204–38. P.T.D. de Martin, *Le droit d'asile* (Paris 1939). G. Crifó, *Libertà e ugualienza in Roma antica* (Rome 1984) 71–89. –A.P., R.J.M.

ATALANTA. See MELEAGER.

ATHANASIOS, archbishop of Alexandria, theologian, philosopher, and saint; born Alexandria 295, died Alexandria 2 May 373; feastdays 18 Jan., 2 May. After a fierce struggle (L. Barnard, *OrChrP* 41 [1975] 344–52), Athanasios was elected archbishop of Alexandria on 8 June 328. He

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