

IAMBlichos (Ἰάμβλιχος), Neoplatonist philosopher; born Chalkis (in Coele-Syria) ca.250, died ca.325. Iamblichos supposedly learned about NEOPLATONISM from PORPHYRY in Rome. Later he established his own school at Apameia in Syria, where he expounded a mixture of Neoplatonism, Pythagorean thought, and eastern mysticism to the detriment of the theories of PLOTINOS, further dazzling his students with genuine or stage-managed feats of clairvoyance and levitation. His name became talismanic among the pagan rearguard opposition to Christianity, esp. Emp. JULIAN.

His extant writings comprise a Life of Pythagoras, a *Protreptikos* (or *Exhortation to Philosophy*), and three mathematical treatises; the authorship of *On the Mysteries*, a defense of magic, is disputed but it is probably an authentic work of Iamblichos. A fragment of his treatise on rhetoric survives. Commentaries on Plato, Aristotle, and the Chaldean oracles are mostly lost, as are the essays *On the Soul* (some fragments survive in STOBAIOS) and *On the Gods*. EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS (*Lives of the Sophists* 458 [p.362]) deprecates his uncouth style. Iamblichos influenced the course of Neoplatonism through both his writings and his pupils, eclectically importing all manner of superstitions and eastern beliefs, perverting mysticism into magic, and fitting these new elements into an ever more expanding and abstruse system with a heavy reliance on trinitarian subdivisions.

ED. *De vita pythagorica liber*, ed. L. Deubner (Leipzig 1937; rp. Stuttgart 1975). *Protrepticus*, ed. E. Pistelli (Leipzig 1888; rp. Stuttgart 1967). *Les mystères d'Égypte*, ed. E. des Places (Paris 1966), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. T. Taylor (London 1968). *Theologoumena arithmeticae*², ed. V. de Falco (Leipzig 1975).

LIT. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 294–301. B.D. Larsen, *Jamblique de Chalcis* (Aarhus 1972). J.F. Finamore, *Iamblichus and the Theory of the Vehicle of the Soul* (Chico, Calif., 1985). J. Vanderspoel, "Iamblichus at Daphne," *GRBS* 29 (1988) 83–86. —B.B.

IAMBOL (Διάμπολις), city in eastern Bulgaria on the river Tundža, sometimes identified as late Roman Diospolis. On the route from Adrianople to the passes over the Balkan range, Iambol played

an important role in hostilities between Byz. and Bulgaria as well as in confrontations with invaders from the steppes. Ceded to Bulgaria by Justinian II in 705, it was recaptured in the mid-8th C. by Constantine V and retaken in 812 by KRUM. After John I Tzimiskes captured it in 971, it remained in Byz. hands for two centuries. In 1049 the Byz. general Constantine Arianites was defeated by the Pechenegs at Iambol, and in 1093/4 the city surrendered to the Cumans, who held it briefly. From ca.1190 it was incorporated in the Second Bulgarian Empire. In the late 13th C. Iambol changed hands several times; during the 14th C. it was a Bulgarian frontier city, twice taken and briefly occupied by the Byz. An inscription records the setting up of a column, no doubt to mark the frontier, by IVAN ALEXANDER in 1356/7. In 1373 the Ottoman Turks conquered Iambol.

LIT. V. Gjuzelev, "Iambol v epochata na pŭrvata i vtorata bŭlgarskata dŭržava," in *Istoriĭa na grad Jambol*, ed. Z. Atanasov (Sofia 1976) 43–69. Ph. Malingoudis, *Die mittelalterlichen kyrillischen Inschriften der Hămus-Halbinsel, 1: Die bulgarischen Inschriften* (Thessalonike 1979) 84–86. —R.B.

IASITES (Ἰασίτης), a noble family known from ca.1000. Some were generals, such as Nikephoros, *strategos* of Cherson, and Michael, *archon* of Iberia, who commanded the troops sent in 1047 against Leo TORNİKIOS. Another (Michael?) Iasites married Eudokia, Alexios I's daughter, ca.1110, but soon fell from imperial favor and was expelled from the palace; perhaps his support of JOHN ITALOS caused his dismissal. The Iasitai were also related to the KEROULARIOI. Some of them founded a monastery in Constantinople before 1158. Later Iasitai are known as judges (Constantine, *epi ton deeseon*), fiscal officials (Iasites, *praktor* of Bulgaria before 1108), courtiers (Leo, *komes tou staulou*), members of the clergy (Michael, metropolitan of Nikomedeia, 1285–89), and literati (the monk and hagiographer JOB in the 1270s, Gregory in the 14th C.).

LIT. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 139–41. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 253, 923. *PLP*, nos. 7956–60. —A.K.

IASOS (Ἰάσος), coastal city on a peninsula in CARIA, west of MYLASA. It appears in written sources only as a base of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme and as a suffragan bishopric of APHRODISIAS; it is last mentioned in the 12th C. Its excavated remains, however, provide considerable information about the life of a small Byz. city. During late antiquity, Iasos maintained its civic buildings, added several churches, and expanded to the adjacent mainland where large houses, whose remains indicate much activity in processing agricultural products, were built. Its forum was demolished in the 6th C. After the 7th C., the apparent date of a new fortification wall, some parts of the city were abandoned and others changed as public and private structures were ruined and built over with small houses. The remains of these domestic buildings have provided evidence for manufacture of pottery, glass, and iron products. Iasos had evidently become smaller and poorer by the time of the dated evidence (9th–10th C.). Remains indicate occupation through the 13th C.; the region fell to the Turks before 1269.

LIT. *Annuario della scuola italiana di archeologia di Atene* 39/40 (1961/2) 505–71; 43/4 (1965/6) 401–546; 45/6 (1967/8) 537–90; 47/8 (1969/70) 461–532. C. Laviosa, "Iasos 1984," *AnatSt* 35 (1985) 193f. —C.F.

IATROSOPHISTES (ἰατροσοφιστής), term applied to teachers of medicine and skilled PHYSICIANS. *Iatrosophistai*, who survived as a class through the 7th C., were often suspected of cryptopaganism: Sophronios of Jerusalem, in the *Miracles* of KYROS AND JOHN (ed. Marcos, ch.30.2), tells of Gesios, an Alexandrian *iatrosophistes*, who allegedly was baptized under compulsion and uttered a Homeric couplet while in the font. Only after the saints cured his painful illness (which his own professional skill had been unable to correct) did Gesios convert to Christianity. The cults of healing martyrs such as Kyros and John or ARTEMIOS competed with the *iatrosophistai* for clients by publishing miracle collections that criticized the *iatrosophistai* for arrogance, high fees, and clinical failure. EPIPHANIOS of Salamis in *Panarion* 64.67.5 speaks of "iatrosophistic trickery," associating medical skill with magic. The term is used occasionally in later texts (e.g., Theophilos Protospatharios and the *Souda*), but Theophanes the Con-

fessor prefers a "separated" form, and speaks of a *sophistes* of medical science (Theoph. 382.18).

—F.R.T.

IATRUS (Ἰατρὺς), late Roman stronghold (*phourion* in Prokopios, *polis* in Simokattes) in MOESIA II on the Danube, near the modern Bulgarian village of Krivina, east of NOVAE. It was founded after 293, probably in the early 4th C., as a military station, and is characterized by a uniform building plan (around the *via principalis* leading to the headquarters) and a relative uniformity in the ceramic types found there. Iatrus flourished ca.370–420, the barbarian invasions having no recognizable impact on its prosperity. At this time it acquired the character of a civilian settlement, with more diversified buildings and ceramics (28 amphora types, as opposed to 12 during the previous period). The invasion of the Huns in 422 destroyed Iatrus, and when it recovered at the end of the 5th C., the settlement was smaller and humbler; however, a basilica of the 6th C. has been discovered. Iatrus was probably abandoned by the Byz. soon after 600 and replaced by a village with semisubterranean habitations and local (possibly DACO-GETAN) ceramics. The Slavic infiltration (8th–9th C.) was slow and peaceful, typical Slavic ceramics existing side by side with the late Roman provincial types. The settlement seems to have been destroyed by the Hungarians in 895/6 and again by SVJATOSLAV in 968/9. The discovery of Byz. coins of the 11th C. and of a badly preserved seal of "str[at]ego[s] [D]jemetri[os] [K]ata[kalon?]" (*Iatrus-Krivina* [infra] 1:207) indicates a Byz. presence in the area.

LIT. *Iatrus-Krivina*, 3 vols. (Berlin 1979–86). T. Ivanov, "Schriftquellen und geographische Karten zur Geschichte von Iatrus," *Klio* 47 (1966) 5–10. G. von Bülow, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des spätrömischen Limeskastells Iatrus in Niedermösien," *BS* 41 (1980) 181–87. —A.K.

IBAS (Ἰβᾶς), bishop of Edessa (435–49, 451–57); died Edessa 28 Oct. 457. A professor in the school of Edessa, Ibas is said to have translated works of Aristotle, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Diodoros of Tarsos into Syriac. An adherent of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL and an ardent anti-Monophysite, Ibas was at loggerheads with RABBULA, the bishop of Edessa. In 433 he had to leave

the city, but after Rabbula's death succeeded him as bishop. He was, however, unable to maintain peace in the church: he was accused of Nestorianism, and, although vindicated at hearings conducted in Tyre and Berytus, he was deposed by the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS in 449. The Council of CHALCEDON returned him to his see, where he remained until his death.

Of Ibas's works only a letter to Mari, bishop of Ktesiphon (Seleukeia on the Tigris), has survived—in a Greek translation of the original Syriac text (*ACO*, tom. II, vol. i, pt.3.32–34). Although Ibas reproached Nestorios for rejection of the title Theotokos, all his polemics were directed against CYRIL of Alexandria whom Ibas saw as the successor of APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia. The fathers of Chalcedon approved the theology expressed in his letter, but Ibas's views continued to be controversial long after his death, and he was condemned in 553 during the Affair of the THREE CHAPTERS. After Ibas's death many of his partisans, teachers and students of the school of Edessa, moved to Nisibis.

LIT. A. d'Alès, "La lettre d'Ibas à Marès le Persien," *RechScRel* 22 (1932) 5–25. J.-M. Sauget, *DPAC* 2:1735f.

—T.E.G.

IBERIA (Ἰβηρία), northeasternmost theme of the Byz. Empire, created by Basil II from the inheritance of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO. The precise date of its creation is controversial; the theme was probably organized soon after Basil's campaign of 1001 and considerably earlier than 1022, when it was consolidated by the emperor's Iberian campaign. The territories of the theme first consisted of David's domains, stretching southward along the eastern Byz. frontier and into central Armenia, where it included the city of MANTZIKERT. In 1045, the lands of the BAGRATID kingdom of ŠIRAK became part of the theme and its administrative center shifted to ANI. The Seljuks captured this city in 1064, but in 1064/5 the Bagratid kingdom of KARS entered the theme, which included southern TAYK'/TAO, Basean, and Kars, until it disappeared in the 1070s when the Seljuks advanced into imperial territory.

LIT. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnyh granicah Vizantijskoj imperii (XI v.)* (Erevan 1980) 108–35. Hr. Bartikjan, "O fene 'Iverija,'" *Vestnik obščestvennyh nauk Arm.* AN 12 (1974) 68–79. K.M. Yuzbashian,

"L'administration byzantine en Arménie aux X^e–XI^e siècles," *REArm* n.s. 10 (1973–74) 154–83. —N.G.G.

IBERIANS (Ἰβηροί). The term "Iberia" was used in Greek with various meanings. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 23) notes that it could mean Spain or Georgia in the Caucasus. Georgian Iberia corresponds with K'art'li, the eastern part of the medieval Georgian kingdom (see GEORGIA), and is to be distinguished from the theme of IBERIA, which included part of northern Armenia but not K'art'li. The various peoples of the Caucasus were often confused; thus John TZETZES calls the Iberians, Abchasians, and Alans one people (P. Gautier, *REB* 28 [1970] 208).

"Iberian" was also used for Armenians who belonged to the Chalcedonian rather than the Gregorian Monophysite church (V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnyh granicah Vizantijskoj imperii* [Erevan 1980]), those whom Armenian sources pejoratively call *cayt'* (see TZA-TOI). Hence the *typikon* of Gregory PAKOURIANOS permits only "Iberians" in his monastery. The term "Iberian" could also be applied to inhabitants of the theme of Iberia or, in its narrowest sense, to a monk from the monastery of IVERON.

LIT. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "'Iver' v vizantijskikh istočnikach XI v.," *Banber Matenadaran* 11 (1973) 46–67. —R.T.

IBERON MONASTERY. See IVERON MONASTERY.

IBN AL-ʿADĪM (or Kamāl al-Dīn), Arab historian and Ayyūbid official; born Aleppo 1192, died Cairo 1262. He was a member of a prominent family that discharged various official responsibilities under the successive dynastic regimes in Aleppo (see BERROIA). He himself, after studies in Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Baghdad, and the Hijaz, served in Aleppo as a diplomatic secretary, as a judge, and later as the chief minister of the Ayyūbid regime. In 1260, as the Mongols approached, ibn al-ʿAdīm fled from Aleppo to Egypt. When they withdrew, he revisited his native city, found it destroyed, and returned to Cairo.

Ibn al-ʿAdīm wrote several works, the most important of which are his two major books on Aleppo. *The Ultimate Quest of the History of Aleppo*, of which ten unpublished MS volumes survive, is an alphabetically arranged biographical dictionary of men connected with Aleppo. His second historical book, *The Quintessence of Aleppo's History*, offers a chronological presentation of material gathered for the dictionary. The chronicle ends in the year 1243. It has the great merit of compiling all sources, and of recording various opinions on historical events and presenting the events in chronological order or according to political states. It includes Aleppo's relations with the Byz. during the 10th C. and the Crusader period.

ED. *Ultimate Quest*—partial Fr. tr. C. Barbier de Meynard, RHC *Orient.* 3:695–732. *Quintessence*, partial ed. S. Dahbān, 3 vols. (Damascus 1951–68). Fr. tr. C. Barbier de Meynard, RHC *Orient.* 3:577–732. E. Blochet, "Histoire d'Alep de Kamāl-al-Dīn," *ROL* 3 (1895) 509–65; 4 (1896) 145–225; 5 (1897) 37–107; 6 (1898) 1–49.
LIT. S. Dahan in Lewis-Holt, *Historians*, 111–13. B. Lewis, *ET*² 3:695f. —A.S.E.

IBN AL-ATHĪR, or ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, Arab historian; born Jazīrat ibn ʿUmar (on the Tigris) 13 May 1160, died Mosul June 1233. Born into a prosperous scholarly family well connected with the ZANGIDS, he received an excellent education and became a private scholar enjoying official patronage. He traveled frequently, esp. to Syria, where he witnessed some of the campaigns of SALADIN and eventually settled in Aleppo.

He composed several biographical works and a history of the Zangids but is best known for his *Consummate History*, a vast work (from Creation to 1231) considered the acme of Arabic annalistic historiography. The earlier chapters, though largely based on al-ṬABARĪ, contain valuable accounts (mostly on military campaigns) from other sources now lost. For the 12th–13th C., he writes from personal knowledge and contemporary informants; though unquestionably preoccupied elsewhere, he offers a fragmentary but useful view of Byz. military history for 1164–1228. He describes the maneuvering between the various powers in Asia Minor and the reception of refugee Muslim princes in Constantinople, recounts several disastrous expeditions of the Komnenoi in Asia Minor, and provides details on the Third Crusade, including Byz. efforts to repel Frederick

I Barbarossa and the fall of Cyprus to Richard I Lionheart in 1192. The Latin conquest of Constantinople is described in detail. Later reports, though recounting continuing decline, portray Byz. as a still-formidable power.

ED. *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C.J. Tornberg, 12 vols. (Leiden 1851–76); rp. with corr. and add. as *Al-Kāmil fī'l-tārīkh*, 13 vols. (Beirut 1965–66). Extracts tr. J.T. Reinaud, C.F. Defrémery, RHC *Orient.* 1:187–744, 2:1–180.
LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur* 1:345f, supp. 1:587f. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2:2:129–62. F. Rosenthal, *EI*² 3:723f. D.S. Richards in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D.O. Morgan (London 1982) 76–108. —L.I.C.

IBN AL-QALĀNISĪ, Arab historian of Muslim Syria; born Damascus ca. 1072, died there 17 March 1160. A member of a prominent family of Damascus, he twice served as its chief municipal official (*rāʾis*). He is best known as the author of the chronicle *Continuation of the History of Damascus*, used heavily by several later generations of Muslim historians. It covers a dramatic period of Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian history extending from the mid-10th C. to 1160, overshadowed by the changing fortunes of Byz., Fāṭimid, Crusader, and Zangid protagonists. For anterior historical events, ibn al-Qalānisī relied on Syro-Egyptian archives and minor chronicles, but he based the coverage of contemporary developments on his own observations, eyewitness accounts, and documentary evidence. Although the work of ibn al-Qalānisī mainly deals with politico-social life in Damascus and in central Syria and Palestine, it constitutes a unique chronicle of the first 60 years of the Crusader period written from the Arab vantage point.

ED. *History of Damascus 363–555 a.h.*, ed. H.F. Amedroz (Beirut-Leiden 1908). *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb (London 1932). *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, tr. R. Le Tourneau (Damascus 1952).
LIT. C. Cahen, "Note d'historiographie syrienne, la première partie de l'histoire d'Ibn al-Qalānisī," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi (Cambridge, Mass.–Leiden 1965) 157–67. —A.S.E.

IBN BAṬṬŪṬA, more fully Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh, celebrated Arab traveler; born Tangier 1304, died Morocco ca. 1369 or 1377. A jurist by education, his extensive journeys by land and sea covered all Islamic lands and most other countries of Asia and Africa

and included visits to the Crimea, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. His *Travels* were dictated in 1355 at the request of the sultan of Morocco. Although scholars have minor qualms about his veracity, chronology, and the "editorial" role of his scribe, the *Travels* of ibn Baṭṭūṭa are an invaluable primary source for 14th-C. history. His account of Asia Minor (visited 1331–33) records the rise of the Ottoman principality under ORHAN; it is esp. illuminating on the processes of islamization, turkification, and Byz. decline. His report on the Crimean TATARS records their relations with the Palaiologoi, including the marriage of a Byz. princess to their khan. During a five-week visit to Constantinople (late 1331), having arrived via the Crimea with the caravan of the returning Byz. princess, ibn Baṭṭūṭa met Emp. Andronikos III and toured markets, churches, and monasteries. Valuable because of the uniqueness of his "private" visit, his sympathetic account also enriches our knowledge of the topography of 14th-C. Constantinople and Byz.-Islamic mutual perceptions.

ED. *Voyages*, ed. C. Defrémery, B.R. Sanguinetti, 4 vols. (Paris 1859–1922; rp. 1982), with Fr. tr. *Travels*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1958–71).
LIT. H.A.R. Gibb, "Notes sur les voyages d'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa en Asie Mineure et en Russie," in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, vol. 1 (Paris 1962) 125–33. I. Hrbek, "The Chronology of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Travels," *Archiv Orientalní* 30 (1962) 409–68. A. Miquel, *EI*² 3:735f. R.E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986). —A.Sh.

IBN BĪBĪ, Arab author of a history, written in Persian, of the SELJUKS of Asia Minor (Rūm); fl. 13th C. His father served as secretary at the chancellery of the Seljuk sultan in Konya and went on several diplomatic missions. Ibn Bībī himself made a career at the same court, becoming the head of the chancellery of the secretariat of state.

Ibn Bībī's work, *ʿAlāʾid Commūds* [i.e., of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay-qubādh I] *Concerning ʿAlāʾid Affairs*, completed in 1281/2, draws from his personal experiences at the court and covers events, including Seljuk-Byz. relations, from the end of the 12th C. until 1282. It is the only source of information about his own life. Apart from the main text (Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 2985), there exist an abbreviated Persian version, *Mukhtaṣar*, composed in 1284/5 by an unknown writer while ibn Bībī was still alive, and a Turkish adaptation,

written in the early 15th C. by an Ottoman court historian, Yazıcıoğlu ʿAlī.

ED. *El-Evāmīrū'l-ʿAlāʾiyye fī'l-Umūrū'l-ʿAlāʾiyye*, ed. N. Lugal, A.S. Erzi (Ankara 1957). *Die Selttschukengeschichte*, tr. H.W. Duda (Copenhagen 1959).
LIT. P. Melioranskij, "Sel'džuk-name kak istočnik dlja istorii Vizantii v XII i XIII vekach," *VizVrem* 1 (1894) 613–40. —A.S.E.

IBN HAWQAL, more fully Abū al-Qāsim ibn ʿAlī al-Naṣīb, Arab geographer of the systematic school (see ARAB GEOGRAPHERS); born Nisibis, died after 988. His *Picture of the Earth* is a primary document for the historical geography of the Islamic world, Byz., and other lands. As a merchant-scholar, he traveled widely between 943 and 973, visiting the Caspian Sea region, Fāṭimid Egypt, North Africa, Sicily, Spain, and southern Italy. He knew the Arab-Byz. frontier region well and participated in Arab military expeditions into eastern Anatolia.

His book (first published before 967 and revised twice, ca. 977 and 988), though begun independently, is essentially a recast of the *Routes and Kingdoms* of al-IṢṬAKHRĪ, which the aging author requested him to edit when the two met in Baghdad (951–52). A comparison of the two works, with reference to Byz., the Thughur (see ʿAWĀṢIM AND THUGHŪR), Sicily, and Mediterranean trade, reveals ibn Hawqal's independent judgment and sense of history, as well as his concern for detail. His maps are also more developed and show some Byz. themes and towns. Equally important are his insightful remarks on Islamic Sicily, the policies of the ḤAMDĀNIDS, the military and financial policies of Nikephoros II Phokas, the decline of the Islamic Thughūr, and the impact of the Byz. *reconquista*. Of particular interest is his account of the Banū-Ḥabīb of Nisibis, cousins of the Ḥamdānids who, during the reign of John I Tzimiskes, converted to Christianity and cooperated with the Byz. in their campaigns against the Muslims. Ibn Hawqal reflects subtle FĀṬIMID propaganda and is severely critical of the Ḥamdānids.

ED. *Sūrat al-Ard*, ed. J.H. Kramers (Leiden 1938). *Configuration de la terre*, tr. G. Wiet, revised J.H. Kramers (Paris-Beirut 1964).
LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 198–205. A. Miquel, *EI*² 3:786–88. —A.Sh.

IBN JUBAYR, more fully Abu al-Ḥusayn ibn Jubayr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Arab traveler and man of letters; born Valencia 1145, died

Alexandria 29 Nov. 1217. After working as a government secretary in Arab Granada for a time, he made two major and eventful sea journeys to Mecca and back (1183–85 and 1189–91) and a less eventful one in 1204 (Kračkovskij, *infra*) or 1217 (Pellat, *infra*). Only the first journey is recorded in his extant *Travels*. Ostensibly a pilgrim to Mecca, his main itinerary included Ceuta, Sicily, Alexandria, Cairo, Jedda, Mecca, Madīna, Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Tyre, Acre (the last two were in Crusader hands at the time), again Sicily, Cartagena, and Granada. He traveled on Genoese ships both ways with Christian and Muslim pilgrims and merchants.

His *Travels*, written in a diary form giving the names of Muslim and Christian months, is an important document for political, economic, and social conditions not only in Islamic lands but also in the Mediterranean world. In particular, it notes the conflicts and peaceable contacts between Crusaders and Muslims; Byz.-Genoese relations; and Sicily under WILLIAM II, including the conditions of Muslims. It gives, moreover, a valuable description of the cathedral of Palermo and a unique account of the Norman court. He also alludes to Byz.-Norman relations and records the curious echoes in Sicily of recent Seljuk victories over Byz. Especially interesting is his report on Andronikos I's use of Muslim troops in seizing the throne in Constantinople in 1182 (Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 33).

ED. *Rihlat Ibn Jubayr*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden-London 1907; rp. New York 1973). *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst (London 1952).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 304–07 (Fr. tr. in Canard, *L'expansion*, pt.XIV [1960–61], 64–69). C. Pellat, *EI*² 3:755–A.Sh.

IBN KHURDĀDHBEH, more fully Abu al-Qāsim ʿUbaydallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Khurdādhbeh, author of the earliest surviving Arabic administrative geography, including vital details on Byz.; born Khurāsān ca.825, died Iraq ca.912. Of Persian origin, he grew up in Baghdad, where he studied Arabic philology, literature, history, and music. He was director of posts and intelligence in al-Jibāl (ancient Media) and a boon companion of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtamid (870–92).

Of his ten books, including a world history, only extracts of *On Entertainment and Musical Instruments*, containing references to Byz. music, and an incomplete version of his *Routes and Kingdoms*

(composed ca.846–70, revised ca.885) survive. His fame rests on the latter book, which is a primary source for Islamic administrative and economic history as well as Byz. military administration. His account of Byz. is based mostly on the lost writings of the Arab prisoner al-Jarmī (released 845), but also on official documents. It preserves a curious report of an Arab scientific expedition to the cave of the SEVEN SLEEPERS of Ephesus. More important is his concise information on Constantinople; topography, routes, distances, towns, and fortresses of Asia Minor; official Byz. hierarchy; army strength, revenues, and organization; and the first known Arabic list of Byz. THEMES, with the earliest mention of Cappadocia and Charsianon as military districts. His work also refers to Byz.'s northern neighbors and international trade.

ED. *Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*, ed. M. de Goeje [= BGA 6 (1889)], with Fr. tr. Mukhtār min Kitāb al-Lahw wal-Malāhī (*On Music and Entertainment*), ed. I.A. Khalifé (Beirut 1969).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 147–50. Miquel, *Géographie* 1:xxi, 87–92, 2:396–99. M. Hadj-Sadok, *EI*² 3:839f. Gelzer, *Themen* 81–96, 100–06, 114–26. —A.Sh.

IBN RUSTA. See HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ.

IBN SHADDĀD. See BAḤĀ' AL-DĪN.

ICON FRAMES (sing. *περιφέρριον*, e.g., *Pantel.*, nos. 7.21, 53) are usually slightly raised from the surface of the icon and display figural representations, floral or geometric ornament, and bosses. From the 11th C. onward they are frequently recorded in church INVENTORIES but may have been in use at least a century earlier. The most elaborate examples were made of precious metals, enamels, and stones or glass beads (*Treasury S. Marco* 172) or, more frequently, of repoussé silver (M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos* [Athens 1985] nos. 1–2). Another technique—cloisonné silver without enamel inlay—appears on numerous frames of the late 13th–14th C. (M. Chatzidakis, *JÖB* 21 [1972] 79–81).

The figural decoration of icon frames consists of busts (*laimia*) of saints or whole-figure representations (*stasidia*), sometimes including donor portraits. These form a DEESIS composition complementary to the main subject of the icon. Others display Gospel scenes or events from the life of

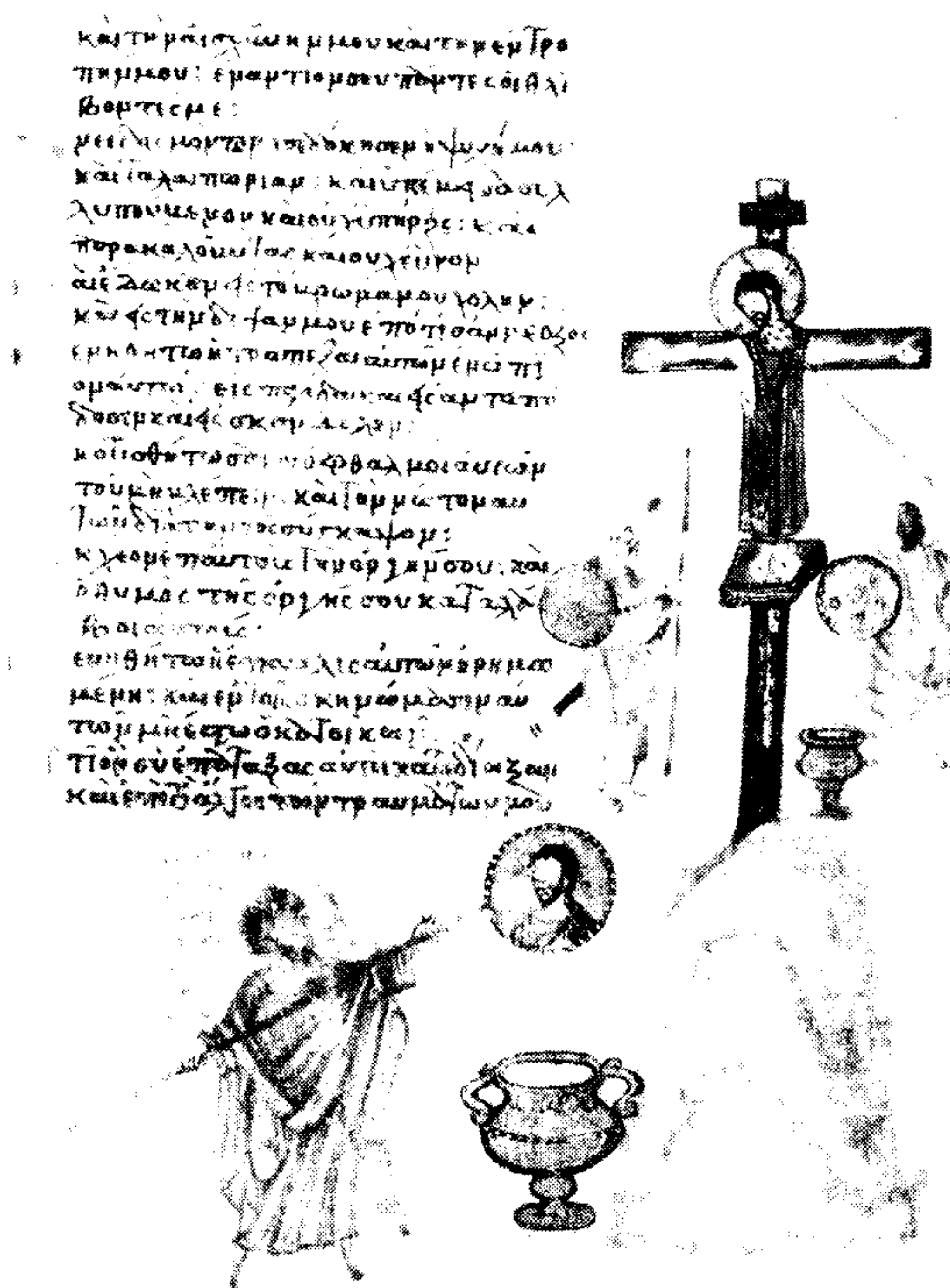
the depicted saint. Most of the elaborate frames surround venerated icons of the Virgin. They were less often employed on icons of Christ or a church's patron saint and only rarely on icons of Gospel and other scenes. Simpler frames are restricted to geometric or floral ornament.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icônes byzantines du moyen âge* (Venice 1975). —L.Ph.B.

ICONIUM. See IKONION.

ICONOCLASM (from *εἰκονοκλάστης*, “image-destroyer”), a religious movement of the 8th and 9th C. that denied the holiness of icons and rejected icon veneration. Clerical opposition to the artistic depiction of sacred personages had its roots in late antiquity (Baynes, *Byz. Studies* 116–43, 226–39). In the 4th C. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, evidently drawing on the christology of ORIGEN, denied the possibility of artistically delineating Christ's image (G. Florovsky, *ChHist* 19 [1950] 77–96). There was also an Iconoclast movement in 7th-C. Armenia (Alexander, *History*, pt.VII [1955], 151–60). In the early 8th C. several bishops in Asia Minor, notably Constantine of Nakoleia and Thomas of Claudiopolis, condemned the veneration of images (G. Ostrogorsky in *Mél. Diehl* 1:235–38), citing traditional biblical prohibitions against idolatry. Their views became a movement when Emp. LEO III began to support their position publicly in 726 (Anastos, “Leo III's Edict” 5–41). His order to remove an icon of Christ from the CHALKE gate caused a riot. In 730 Leo summoned a *silention* that forced Patr. GERMANOS I to resign and issued an edict commanding the destruction of icons of the saints. Persecutions under Leo appear to have been limited to instances of destroying church decorations, portable icons, and altar furnishings; there is no solid evidence of martyrdom.

The usurper ARTABASDOS temporarily restored icon veneration, but CONSTANTINE V broadened the theological base of Iconoclasm by personally writing treatises and organizing *silentia*. Constantine introduced an explicit christological aspect into Iconoclasm by asserting that a material depiction of Christ—who as God is uncircumscribable—threatened either to confuse or separate his two natures. In 754 Constantine summoned a council in HIERIA, which condemned icon vener-



ICONOCLASM. Iconoclasts whitewashing an image of Christ. Marginal miniature in the Khludov Psalter (Moscow gr. 129, fol.67r); 9th C. State Historical Museum, Moscow. The Iconoclast with the wild hair is thought to represent the patriarch John VII Grammatikos.

ation as diabolical idolatry and insisted that the EUCHARIST was the only appropriate, nonanthropomorphic image of Christ. Constantine reportedly rejected worship of RELICS and attacked the cult of EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDON, but the 754 council affirmed the efficacy of the intercession of saints and denied only the propriety of venerating them through material depictions.

The acts of the 754 council were not strongly enforced until the 760s, when several ICONOPHILES were executed, including STEPHEN THE YOUNGER. Constantine rigorously persecuted Iconophiles in Constantinople, esp. monks; *strategoi* such as Michael LACHANODRAKON extended this antimonastic campaign into the provinces. Yet outside the capital Iconoclasm was irregularly supported and often restricted to redecorating churches with secular art. In the capital, according to the vita of Stephen the Younger, Constantine

replaced pictures in the Church of the Virgin at Blachernai with "mosaics [representing] trees and all kinds of birds and beasts. . . ." Yet images of Christ and the saints remained in the *sekreta* of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, until 768/9, when Patr. Niketas I (766–80) had them removed (Nikeph. 76.21f). Iconoclasm waned after Constantine's death: Leo IV persecuted only a small group of officials in Constantinople in 780, and in 787 Constantine VI, Irene, and Patr. TARASIOS secured an official condemnation of Iconoclasm at the Second Council of NICAIA.

The emperors of the AMORIAN DYNASTY revived Iconoclasm, but it lacked the vigor of the 8th-C. movement. Leo V deposed Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and summoned a synod in 815 that renounced the restoration of icons and rehabilitated the Hieria council (P. Alexander, *DOP* 7 [1953] 35–66; idem, *History*, pt.IX [1958], 493–505). Michael II, although an Iconoclast, did not force the issue. Theophilos, influenced by JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS, prohibited the production of icons and persecuted prominent Iconophiles, including EUTHYMOS OF SARDIS, THEODORE GRAPTOS, and the painter LAZAROS, but in 843, Empress THEODORA and THEOKTISTOS engineered the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY. Although several church councils in the 860s and 870s condemned Iconoclasm again (F. Dvornik, *DOP* 7 [1953] 67–97), it was no longer a major issue.

While Byz. sources blame external factors like Jewish magicians and Caliph YAZĪD II for influencing Leo III and his supporters, modern scholarship offers various explanations for the development of Iconoclasm. Many specialists favor an ideological interpretation: Iconoclasm was the revival of ancient polemics against religious art (Alexander, *Patr. Nicephorus* 6–22), which harbored vestiges of paganism (Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy*); Leo III was attempting to purify religious doctrine and practice because God was punishing the Byz. for idolatry by sending Arab attacks and natural disasters, such as an earthquake on Thera in 726 (C. Mango in *Iconoclasm* 2f). Other scholars emphasize economic motives: the emperors used Iconoclasm to confiscate monastic and ecclesiastical property (M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, *Učenyje zapiski Sverdlovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta* 4 [1948] 48–110). More recently, scholars have stressed the role of imperial power: Iconoclasm was the climax of CAESAR-

OPAPISM (G. Ladner, *MedSt* 2 [1940] 127–49); the reestablishment of the traditional imperial cult (L. Barnard, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 13–29); or the effort of emperors to establish their authority in ecclesiastical matters at a time when they were under pressure to regenerate Byz. society and ward off its external enemies (J.F. Haldon, *BS* 38 [1977] 161–84). Another explanation considers Iconoclasm against the backdrop of the crisis of early Byz. CITIES: for the secular clergy, particularly bishops, the potentially centrifugal nature of the cult of saints—physically localized and emotionally privatized by holy men, icons, relics, and monasteries—threatened their ability to retain a centralized ecclesiastical authority that could define the holy and shore up the weakened structures of Byz. civic life (P. Brown, *EHR* 88 [1973] 31f).

Economic and political factors played important roles in the development of Iconoclasm, but the central issue of the controversy was the doctrine of SALVATION. By the 8th C. the Orthodox victory in the dispute over Christ's human and divine natures had affirmed the possibility of man's ascent to God, but without delimiting the instrumentality of salvation or the position of the holy in Byz. society. Iconoclasts were genuinely concerned that increasing devotion to icons, by effacing the distinction between the material image and its spiritual prototype, was encouraging idolatry (E. Kitzinger, *DOP* 8 [1954] 82–150) and thus blurring the crucial distinction between the sacred and the profane. The Iconoclasts accepted only the Eucharist, the church building, and the sign of the cross as being fully holy, because only those objects had been consecrated by God directly or through a priest and were thus capable of bringing human beings in contact with the divine, whereas icons and relics were illegitimately consecrated from below by popular veneration (Brown, *supra*).

The outcome of Iconoclasm was a partial victory for both sides. The Iconophiles, aided by thinkers such as JOHN OF DAMASCUS, won the theological battle by formulating a theory of images that regarded icons as efficacious vehicles of the holy and having it formally endorsed as Orthodox. Yet the Iconophiles owed their triumph to sympathetic emperors, whose authority over church affairs was thereby strengthened. In particular, imperial jurisdiction over monasteries

was established: strong, centralized monasteries (see STOUDIOS) were undermined and increasingly replaced by smaller, less cenobitic monasteries under state patronage and control. Moreover, religious dissidents (see THEODORE OF STOUDIOS) failed in appeals to Rome to counter imperial efforts to dictate religious policy. The flight of many active monastic Iconophiles to the West permitted conformists like PHOTIOS and EUTHYMOS to hold the patriarchate. Among other consequences, the Iconoclasts' reliance on nonrepresentational religious art contributed to the exaltation of the cult of the CROSS (J. Moorhead, *Byzantion* 55 [1985] 165–79), while in the West imperial support for Iconoclasm provoked denunciations from popes GREGORY II and GREGORY III and pushed the papacy further toward dependence on the Franks (see also LIBRI CAROLINI).

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Der byzantinische Bilderstreit: kritische Analyse der zeitgenössischen Meinungen und das Urteil der Nachwelt bis heute," *SettStu* 34.1 (1988) 319–407. A. Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin: Le dossier archéologique*² (Paris 1984). D. Stein, *Der Beginn des byzantinischen Bilderstreites und seine Entwicklung* (Munich 1980). H. Hennephof, *Textus byzantinos ad iconomachiam pertinentes in usum academicum* (Leiden 1969). —P.A.H., A.C.

ICONODULES. See **ICONOPHILES**.

ICONOGRAPHY, the demonstrative subject matter of Byz. works of ART, imbued above all with Christianity and the cult of the EMPEROR. While HISTORY PAINTING, PORTRAITS, and PERSONIFICATIONS were inherited from antiquity and remained abiding subjects, in other areas of content marked changes are discernible. As early Christian concern with TYPOLOGY declined, Old Testament subjects tended to disappear save where themes such as the ARK OF THE COVENANT were newly interpreted. By the 6th C. a broad range of motifs from the New Testament and Apocrypha was in use, as well as an extensive hagiographical repertory. The 9th–11th C. saw new themes created under the influence of the LITURGY and homiletic sources; developments intensified in the 12th C. when special attention was paid to such motifs as the Melismos (see FRACTION) and pathetic aspects of Christology. A secular repertory drawing on classical mythology was used already in the 10th C., enriched with motifs taken from

both everyday life and the West, esp. in the Komnenian era. The multiplication and extension of monumental cycles, often dependent on HYMNOGRAPHY, and the elaboration of PREFIGURATIONS of the Virgin, are marked characteristics of 13th- and 14th-C. art.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography* (Princeton 1968). G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris 1916). C. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London 1982). S. Dufrenne, "Problèmes iconographiques dans la peinture monumentale du début du XIe siècle," in *Symp. Gračanica* 29–38. —A.C.

ICONOPHILES (*εἰκονοφίλεις*, "lovers of images"), also iconodules (*εἰκονόδουλοι*, "servants of images"), a term apparently coined during the period of ICONOCLASM—it occurs as early as the 8th C. (Lampe, *Lexicon* 410)—to denote those who defended the holiness of icons and the propriety of icon veneration; they called their opponents iconoclasts (*εἰκονοκλάσται*, "image-breakers"). Among the most prominent iconophiles were Patr. GERMANOS I, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, STEPHEN THE YOUNGER, THEODORE GRAPTOS, and EUTHYMOS OF SARDIS. Monks were the most ardent iconophiles and suffered particularly under Constantine V and at the hands of Michael LACHANODRAKON. —P.A.H.

ICONOSTASIS. See **TEMPLON**.

ICONS (sing. *εἰκών*, "image"). In its broadest sense an icon is any representation of a sacred personage, produced in many media and sizes, monumental as well as portable; in its narrowest sense icon most often refers to a painted wooden devotional panel (see "Painted Icons," below).

Icon Veneration and the Theory of Images. The term *eikon* was ambiguous, applied even to ancient statues, while other terms of pagan vocabulary, such as *stele* or *agalma*, could be used for images of Christ. On the other hand, the Byz. tried to contrast *eikon* with *eidolon* (idol), which was an embodiment of pagan cult; sometimes, however, the difference between them disappeared as in the story about a heathen *ektypoma* that turned out to be an image of the Archangel Michael (Malal. 78f).

Christianity inherited a hostile attitude toward

images from the Old Testament prohibition of Exodus 20:4 ("Thou shalt not make . . . any graven image") and from the era of persecutions, when Christians were forced to sacrifice in front of imperial images. Many early church fathers (e.g., EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus) disapproved of icons, esp. those of Christ, since he should be worshiped as an "image (*eikon*) of the invisible God." Nevertheless, Christians decorated their CATACOMBS and eventually their churches with images that were considered to be holy. Church fathers such as BASIL THE GREAT defended the veneration of images as offered not to the picture but to the prototype (PG 32:149C).

The dispute became acute in the 8th and 9th C. during the controversy over ICONOCLASM. The Iconoclasts argued that portrayal of Christ leads either to Nestorian separation of humanity from divinity or Monophysite confusion of humanity and divinity; they considered the eucharistic elements as the only proper "icon" of Christ. ICONOPHILES, the defenders of icon veneration (primarily JOHN OF DAMASCUS, THEODORE OF STODIOS, Patr. NIKEPHOROS I), developed Basil's idea and elaborated the concept of three levels of image: Christ as the natural image of the Father; man as the divine image by adoption and imitation; and the icon as an artistic image of Christ or the saints. Consequently, they also developed a terminology to differentiate the veneration of icons: they distinguished the relative veneration (*timetike/schetike proskynesis*) of the icon and saints from the genuine worship (*latreia*) of the object depicted and stressed that the purpose of veneration was to arouse devotion. Attacking the Iconoclasts, they connected the latter's anti-iconic attitude with Manichaean (Paulician) and Jewish tenets. John of Damascus emphasized the didactic role of icons, esp. for the illiterate, whereas the LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS and saints' vitae describe the wondrous power of icons, which could heal the sick and bring retribution on assailants.

The principles of icon veneration were summarized at the Second Council of NICAËA (787), which, however, laid greater emphasis on the tradition of miracle-working icons (such as the MANDYLION and other ACHEIROPOIETA, likenesses "not made by human hand") than on theological subtleties. Doubts about icon veneration remained alive even after the defeat of Iconoclasm (J. Gouillard, *AnnEPHE*, 5e section, 86 [1977/8] 29–50).

LIT. G.B. Ladner, "The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," *DOP* 7 (1953) 1–34. E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *DOP* 8 (1954) 83–150. Th. Nikolaou, "Die Ikonenverehrung als Beispiel ostkirchlicher Theologie und Frömmigkeit nach Johannes von Damaskos," *OstSt* 25 (1976) 138–65. S. Gero, "Cyril of Alexandria, Image Worship, and the Vita of Rabban Hormizd," *OrChr* 62 (1978) 77–97. I. Barnard, "The Theology of Images," in *Iconoclasm* 7–13. M. Loos, "Einzige strittige Fragen der ikonoklastischen Ideologie," *BBA* 51 (1983) 131–51. P. Henry, "The Formulators of Icon Doctrine," in *Schools of Thought in the Christian Tradition*, ed. P. Henry (Philadelphia 1984) 75–89. —G.P., R.S.

PAINTED ICONS. The painted wooden panel is the most copiously preserved and longest-lived genre of that very distinctive form of Byz. art, the portable devotional icon. Its history can be studied best from the panels at the monastery of St. CATHERINE, Sinai, the only comprehensive collection of Byz. examples that survives. The earliest preserved panel-painted icons—some 27, all at Sinai—belong to the 6th–7th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B.1–B.31). All are on wood and are from 14 to 92 cm high. They use antique media, either encaustic (pigment suspended in wax) or tempera (pigment suspended in egg yolk, the medium found in most post-Iconoclastic panels). Their forms—likewise antique—include single rectangular panels, DIPTYCHS (derived from writing tablets), and TRIPTYCHS (recalling Late Antique devotional triptychs with images of the gods); no round examples survive, but they are depicted in other media and so may have existed. Their portrait compositions echo Late Antique commemorative PORTRAITS and imperial *lavrata*. Thematically varied, with New Testament theophanies, Old Testament scenes promising salvation, and full- and half-length portraits of Christ, the Virgin Mary, prophets, and major saints, they reflect not so much liturgical formulas as private devotions. Chronologically, these panels coincide with extensive evidence in other media and in saints' vitae of images mediating the holy. Thus they seem to reflect a significant stage in the development of the icon, as it moved from private use into more public visibility. The diverse subjects and formats of these earliest panels indicate that most came into the church as private VOTIVE donations, and their use remained extraliturgical, focusing individual devotions.

Panels of the 8th and 9th C.—surviving only at Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B.32–B.41)—



ICONS. Painted icon; late 13th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. St. Peter is depicted holding a scroll and a long-handled cross; his keys hang around his neck. Probably of Macedonian origin.

are exceedingly scant and probably of provincial origin. Examples of the 10th and 11th C. are less rare. They reflect the centralized character of the Byz. world at this time, as art was linked firmly to liturgy and the liturgy itself was regularized. Thematically, art was thoroughly coordinated with liturgy by exhibiting established liturgical feasts: images were attached to particular feasts and their compositions standardized to represent both the event or person commemorated and the feast itself. This set repertoire of liturgically determined representations was adopted in all media, including panel painting, displacing the earlier heterogeneous devotional imagery. Functionally, the painted panel—though never adopted into the actual liturgical ceremony—was similarly coordinated with liturgical practice when the church

TEMPLON emerged as the focus for its public display. Normally stored on hooks in aisles or the sanctuary, panels were moved to the templon—or to a PROSKYNETARION in front of it—on the day of the feast they represented. Shifted in accord with shifting feasts, the panels remained portable, seldom exceeding the height of about one meter accommodated by the templon. In shape, however, they adapted to the rectangular intercolumniations of the templon, and only private panels retained the varied antique forms.

Panels of the mid-11th through 12th C. are characterized more by innovation and proliferation than by standardization. The liturgy, now thoroughly regularized, was enriched emotionally by the incorporation of evocative ceremonies, esp. those of HOLY WEEK. This opened the way for artistic invention within liturgical boundaries, generating new, emotionally charged images based on hymns and prayers: the MAN OF SORROWS, variants of the VIRGIN ELEOUSA, Symeon Glykophilon (see HYPAPANTE), the major bilateral icons (see below). These new themes were suited to, and probably originated as, devotional panels. They coincided with an expanded use of panel-painted icons in both public and private devotion. Richer patterns for the disposition of panels in church and templon emerged, generating new and distinctively Byz. shapes: the long, narrow templon beam displaying a Great DEESIS or GREAT FEASTS cycle; the panels hung in the templon's intercolumniations, usually showing Christ, Mary, John the Baptist, or the church's patron saint; the holy (or "royal") doors in the templon adorned with the ANNUNCIATION; the Crucifixion mounted above the templon; the calendar icons, whose registers display the feast images for entire months; and the hagiographical or "vita" icons, showing a saint surrounded by scenes from his or her life. While such images may often have been made of precious materials in the churches of Constantinople, panel painting was generally adopted, proving preferable in scale, weight, adaptability, and affordability. Many more panel paintings survive from the 12th C. than from any earlier century. Sinai itself was fully refurbished with panel-painted icons then, and panel painting began to take on a local cast in the byzantinizing cultures of Russia and Italy.

The climactic proliferation of panel painting came in Palaiologan art. The 14th is the first

century in which panel paintings dominate works in other media both numerically and artistically. More panels are preserved than icons in other media; for the first time they survive from all parts of the Orthodox world, reflecting numerous local traditions. Their imagery expands, embracing complex allegories and arcane New Testament and hagiographical events. Other media imitate them: MS illumination contracts to frontispieces resembling icons; monumental painting exhibits grids of iconlike rectangular pictures; in the realm of precious materials, the miniature mosaic (see "Mosaic Icons" below), which attempts to imitate the fluid modeling of panel painting, displaces the more abstract media like enamel. The templon develops into the *iconostasis*, the opaque screen of fixed icons, tier upon tier.

Little is known about icon painters. Though some were monks, others were clearly laymen, and many practiced in a variety of media (see ARTISTS).

LIT. Belting, *Bild und Kult* 11–330. M. Chatzidakis, "L'icône byzantine," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 2 (1959) 9–40. W. Felicetti-Liebenfels, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Ikonmalerei* (Olten-Lausanne 1956). Soteriou, *Eikones*. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai," *DChAE* 12 (1984) 63–116. K. Weitzmann et al., *The Icon* (New York 1982). —A.W.C.

BILATERAL ICONS. The term *bilateral* is usually reserved for panel-painted icons of fair size, displaying thematically related compositions on both faces. Some 37 Byz. examples survive; the earliest is of the 11th C. The obverse generally shows the Pantokrator, the Virgin Mary, or a saint and the reverse a Christological or Marian feast, or scenes from the life of the saint. Most widespread is the pairing of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA and CRUCIFIXION. In fact, the Hodegetria icon in Constantinople seems to have originated the whole genre: being the object of special veneration on Good Friday, the Virgin icon was at some unknown point furnished with an image of the Crucifixion on its reverse. From this model, apparently, sprang the idea of pairing a church's patron saint with a GREAT FEAST and esp. the idea of pairing the Virgin prescient of her infant's death with an image of that death itself. The actual use of bilateral icons remains unclear; hung ordinarily on the templon screen, they were surely displayed on special occasions in processions or on stands (PROSKYNETARIA), where their conjunction of im-

ages could be appreciated. Though some icons, such as the great palladia—the Hodegetria and the VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR—may have become bilateral as cult practices developed around them, other icons were bilateral from the start.

LIT. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 89–97, 308–32. —A.W.C.

METAL ICONS. Vulnerable because their material could be reused, few icons in precious metals survive today. They were numerous in the Byz. era, however, in both public and private contexts. In private use, gold, silver, bronze, cloisonné ENAMEL, and CAMEOS were formed into icons for personal adornment on AMULETS, PENDANTS, BELTS, and RINGS. Byz. wills refer to devotional icons of silver and copper. Silver examples do not survive, though several small bronze panels seem to copy more costly silver models, just as the gilded bronze triptych in London reflects models in ivory (K. Weitzmann, *The Icon: Holy Images, Sixth to Fourteenth Century* [New York 1978], fig.E). In the public realm, cloisonné icons adorned not only imperial and ecclesiastical vestments and vessels, but also church furniture. The PALA D'ORO in S. Marco in Venice preserves Byz. enamels both from the church's 12th-C. *antependium* (altar front) and from the templon beam of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople. These represent Christ, apostles, angels, and GREAT FEASTS. Individual metal icons most often show single figures: Christ, the Virgin Mary, an archangel or a major saint (military saints, Nicholas of Myra). The most spectacular surviving examples are the two cloisonné and relief panels of St. MICHAEL in Venice (*Treasury S. Marco*, nos. 12, 19); the paired cloisonné plaques there (nos. 9, 14), now used as bookcovers, may originally have been used as devotional panels in Byz.

LIT. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii (IX–XII vv.)* (Moscow 1978) 64–71. Eadem, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR* (Leningrad-Moscow 1966), pls. 159–63, 180–85. —A.W.C.

MOSAIC ICONS. Some 48 Byz. mosaic icons survive from the 11th through 14th C. Artistic hybrids of outstanding luxury, they unite the portability of panel paintings with the mosaic technique of mural art and the precious materials of metalwork. Wax or resin on wood serves as a setting bed for jewellike tesserae of solid gold and silver, semiprecious stones, ivory, and enamel flux. One



ICONS. Mosaic icon, early 14th C. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Right half of a diptych showing six of the Great Feasts: Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Anastasis, Ascension, Pentecost, Dormition of the Virgin.

group, which includes the earliest examples, contains relatively large panels (23–34 × 62–92 cm) that reproduce greatly venerated single-figure prototypes, esp. of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and reflect the setting techniques of mural mosaic. Many of these originated on templon beams and were not initially portable. By the 12th C., the technique of this group came to be dominated by the diminutive, densely set tesserae and opulent colors developed for a second group. This second group, preeminently of 14th-C. examples, comprises tiny mosaics of 6–10 by 18–26 cm. Showing single saints or GREAT FEASTS and often set like gems in ornate silver frames, these tiny examples were surely made for private devotion, most probably in Constantinople. Of consummate craftsmanship, they use tesserae of 1 sq. mm, set so

densely that they appear seamless and breathtakingly illusionistic. Sometimes their media are mixed, with molded haloes of gilded gesso around mosaic figures or mosaic highlights in painted fields (Florence diptych).

LIT. I. Furlan, *Le icone bizantine a mosaico* (Milan 1979). O. Demus, "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 87–119. A.-A. Krickelberg-Pütz, "Die Mosaikikone des Hl. Nikolaus in Aachen-Burtschied," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 50 (1982) 56–141. —A.W.C.

IC XC NIKA, partly abbreviated form of the Greek Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικά, "Jesus Christ, conquer," or Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ, "Jesus Christ conquers" (DOC 3.1:231). Inspired by Constantine I's vision at the MILVIAN BRIDGE, the slogan was repeated during acclamations in the Hippodrome. The sigla occur on various objects, for example, on a commemorative inscription of 740–41 on the walls of Constantinople and cantoned within the arms of the cross on pages of the Paris Gregory and the Bible of Leo Sakellarios. In this form they served generally as invocatory or apotropaic signs at the entrances to houses and churches, on bread stamps, and on the backs of icons and ivories. On coins, a similar formula ἐν τούτῳ νικᾷ was introduced in 641 (DOC 2.1:101); although it was replaced by IC XC NIKA under Leo III, it reappears in the 11th C.

LIT. A. Frolov, "IC XC NIKA," *BS* 17 (1956) 98–113. —A.C.

IDACIUS. See HYDATIUS.

IDIORRHYTHMIC MONASTICISM, an individualized form of monastic life. The term *idiorrhythmia* (ἰδιορρυθμία), meaning "following one's own devices," is found as early as the 5th C. (Mark the Hermit, PG 65:1037A), but this type of monasticism did not become at all common until the Palaiologan era and has a negative connotation throughout the Byz. period. In general, idiorrhythmic monasticism has been condemned by the Eastern church (as in the *typikon* for the monastery of AREIA, 249.13–14) because of its deviation from the traditional ideals of the KOINOBION, or cenobitism. Nonetheless, by the late 14th C. the idiorrhythmic regime appears to have become established in some monasteries on Mt. ATHOS as

an alternative to the cenobitic or eremitic form of monasticism. Idiorhythmic monks are permitted to acquire personal property; through their labor they earn income to purchase food and clothing. They take their meals separately in their cells rather than in a communal refectory and may eat meat. The organization of an idiorhythmic monastery also differs from its cenobitic counterpart; instead of the absolute rule of a *hegoumenos* elected for life, the affairs of the monastery are administered by an oligarchic council (*synaxis*) of *proistamenoι* who make decisions and two or three *epitropoi* who execute them.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 5, 27–30, 78–81, 291–98. E. Amand de Mendieta, *La presqu'île des caloyers: Le Mont-Athos* (Paris 1955) 45–47, 85–91. Meyer, *Hauptkirchen* 57–64. —A.M.T.

IDOL (εἰδωλον), a generic disdainful term used by Christian apologists to characterize pagan gods and their images, idolatry being synonymous with pagan worship. The Christians emphasized that idols were dead and that their veneration was instigated by *demons*. The term also designated phantoms, ghosts, and hallucinations, but it was applied to statues without derogatory connotation (Av. Cameron, J. Herrin in *Parastaseis* 31). The

multiple meanings of the term became obvious during the dispute over *Iconoclasm* when the *Iconodules* were accused of idolatry and had to elaborate a strict distinction between the dead idol that did not represent anything but itself—wood, stone, or metal—and the *icon* that as the image of God, the Virgin Mary, or saints had to be distinguished from its material in the same way that the parchment, ink, and paint on manuscripts were distinguished from the word of the Lord. —A.K.

IDRĪSĪ, AL-, more fully Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, Arab geographer, cartographer, and botanist; born Ceuta (North Africa) 1100, died Ceuta ca.1165. Educated in Islamic Cordoba, he traveled throughout Spain and other parts of the Mediterranean world. In 1138 he was invited by ROGER II to settle in Palermo, where he led a team of cartographers and researchers that produced a spherical map and a world geography. The resulting *Yearning Man's Journey*, or *Book of Roger* (begun 1139, completed Jan. 1154, under Roger's official patronage), is perhaps the best work of medieval cartography, marking the climax of Arab geography and demonstrating

Norman Sicily's intellectual achievement. Al-Idrīsī wrote a summary of this for William I.

Besides his description of Sicily, Italy, Spain, northern Europe, and Africa, some of his material on Byz. is original, though he freely uses earlier Arab geographers. The assumption that he visited Constantinople or Asia Minor is based on a misreading of his statements. He adds new information on later developments, topography, towns, ports, and economic and commercial activity in Byz., Seljuk Asia Minor, Armenia, Trebizond, and the Balkans. His work on *Materia Medica* seems to distinguish between ancient and Byz. Greek.

ED. *Al-Idrīsī Opus Geographicum*, ed. E. Cerulli et al., 9 fasc. (Naples-Rome 1970–84), esp. fasc. 7 (1977). Fr. tr. P.A. Jaubert, *La géographie d'Edrisi*, vol. 2 (Paris 1840) 122–41, 286–319, 391–99.

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 281–96. B. Nedkov, *Bŭlgarija i susednite i zemi prez XII vek spored "Geografijata" na Idrisi* (Sofia 1960). K. Miller, *Weltkarte des Arabers Idrisi vom Jahre 1154*² (Stuttgart 1981). G. Oman, *ET*² 3:1032–35. —A.Sh.

IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK, writer; fl. 1389–1405. Ignatij (Ignatios) traveled from Moscow to Constantinople in 1389 in the entourage of Metr. Pimen. After Pimen's death (Sept. 1389) and the appointment of KIPRIAN, Ignatij remained in Constantinople at least until 1392 and probably in the Balkans and on Athos until ca.1405. The three works soundly attributed to him—a *Journey to Constantinople* (1389–92), a *Description of Thessalonike and the Holy Mountain*, and parts of an *Abbreviated Chronicle* to 1404—together form a selective diary of Ignatij's observations. The meticulous details and chronologies make Ignatij's works valuable and varied repositories of information. Topics on which he is the sole or main eyewitness source include the Don River route to Constantinople; the struggle for the throne between John VII and Manuel II in 1390–91, as reflected in the life of the capital; and the coronation of Manuel II in 1392. Ignatij also provides a list of churches in Thessalonike and the earliest Eastern Slavic description of Athos. His *Journey* relates his own visits to the sacred sites in chronological order; he neither presents a systematic itinerary nor details legends and stories about the monuments. He does, however, employ some of the formulas and phraseology of the "pilgrim book" genre.

ED. *Choždenie Ignatija Smol'njanina*, ed. N. Prokof'ev, in *Literatura drevnej Rusi*, 2. *Sbornik trudov* (Moscow 1978) 123–50. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 48–113, 388–436, with Eng. tr.

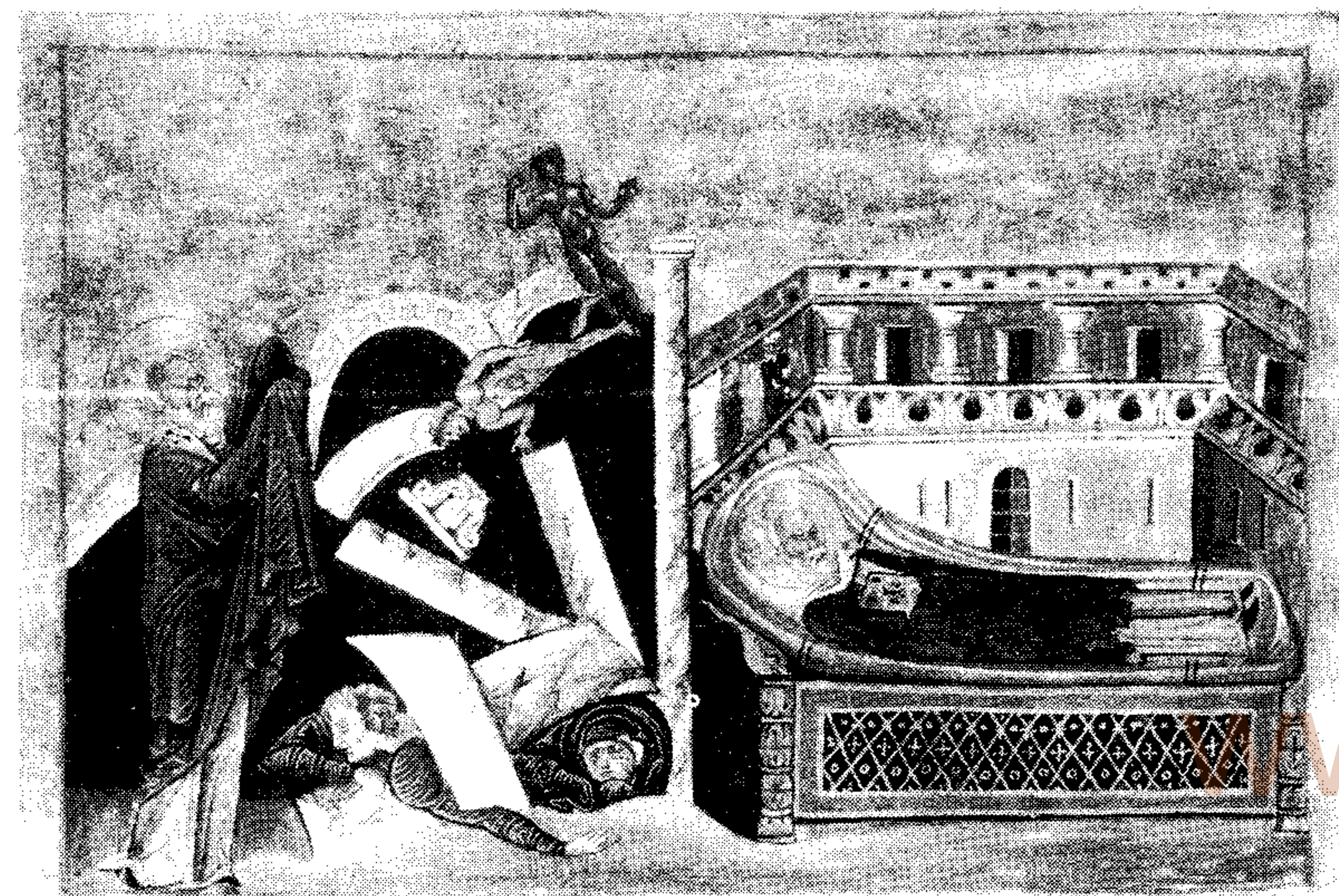
LIT. K. Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung der dem Ignatij von Smolensk zugeschriebenen Werke," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 345–69. M.N. Tichomirov, "Puti iz Rossii v Vizantiju v XIV–XV vv.," *VizOč* (1961) 4–10. —S.C.F.

IGNATIOS, patriarch of Constantinople (4 July 847–23 Oct. 858; 23 Nov. 867–23 Oct. 877) and saint; baptismal name Niketas; born Constantinople ca.797/8, died Constantinople; feastday 23 Oct. He is sometimes called Ignatios the Younger (*ho neos*) to distinguish him from the 1st-C. church father Ignatios Theophoros. After the deposition of his father, Emp. Michael I Rangabe, in 813, Ignatios, together with his brothers, was castrated and forced to take monastic vows. He became *hegoumenos* of three monasteries that he had founded on the Princes' Islands. In the aftermath of the Iconoclast controversy, Empress THEODORA appointed him to succeed METHODIOS I as patriarch without convening an elective synod, since she wanted to avoid stirring up enmity between the Stoudites and the moderates. Ignatios found a *modus vivendi* with the Stoudites but aroused the opposition of the moderates led by Gregory ASBESTAS. The patriarch's position deteriorated when Caesar BARDAS took power and exiled Theodora; deprived of her support, Ignatios was forced to resign.

He was replaced by PHOTIOS, who had to give some guarantees to the former patriarch and his followers, but the guarantees were soon broken; the appointment of Asbestas to the see of Syracuse became the external cause of the clash. Ignatios, who had been temporarily exiled by Bardas to the island of Terebinthos, was allowed to return to his mother's palace in the capital. He remained moderate, but the Ignatians attacked Photios and attempted to draw Pope NICHOLAS I to their side. At first Nicholas was reluctant to support them, stating that Ignatios had been elected noncanonically, but eventually the pope used this conflict as a means to intervene in the affairs of the church of Constantinople.

In 867 Basil I, in his search for a Western alliance, restored Ignatios to the patriarchal throne and banished Photios, but Ignatios refused to yield to the papacy; he managed to draw Bulgaria into the Byz. ecclesiastical orbit and probably sub-

IDOL. St. Cornelius causing the destruction of a pagan temple and its idols. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.125). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. At the right, the death of the saint.



jected the young church in Moravia to Constantinople. This active anti-Western policy of Basil I and Ignatios made senseless their antagonism to Photios; the latter was released from exile, succeeded Ignatios after his death, and contributed to the sanctification of Ignatios. A unique mosaic portrait of Ignatios preserved in Hagia Sophia was probably created shortly after 886. The vita of Ignatios by NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON is permeated by hatred for Photios and contains more derision of Photios than eulogy of Ignatios.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 444–55, 498–507. F. Dvornik, *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 7:351f. R. Janin, *DTC* 7 (1930) 713–22. P. Stephanou, "La violation du compromis entre Photius et les ignatiens," *OrChrP* 21 (1955) 291–307. —A.K.

IGNATIUS OF NICAEA. See **IGNATIUS THE DEACON.**

IGNATIUS OF SMOLENSK. See **IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK.**

IGNATIUS THE DEACON, writer; born ca.770–80, died after 845, if the *kanon* on the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION (ed. V. Vasil'evskij, P. Nikitin, p.80.44) ascribed to "Ignatios" belongs to him and not to one of his numerous namesakes. A pupil and collaborator of Patr. TARASIOS, Ignatios was ordained by him deacon and became *skeuophylax*; after Tarasios's deposition (806) Ignatios sided with the Iconoclasts and was later elected metropolitan of Nicaea. He later regretted this change of heart. At some point he became a monk on Mt. Olympos.

The *Souda* lists his works, including the vitae of Tarasios and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, funeral elegies, letters, and (now lost) iambics against THOMAS THE SLAV. On a stylistic basis Ševčenko attributed to him the vitae of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS and GEORGE OF AMASTRIS (in *Iconoclasm* 121–25). Probably Ignatios also wrote several poetic works, such as verses on Adam (a dialogue between Adam, Eve, and the Serpent), verses on Lazarus and the rich man, moral sentences in alphabetical order; the existence of other Ignatioi prevents certain identification. A member of the generation that followed THEOPHANES and THEODORE OF STOUTDIOS, Ignatios revealed interest in the ancient heritage, esp. in Sophocles and Euripides (R. Brown-

ing, *REGr* 81 [1968] 405–07), and emphasized the rhetorical adornment of his speech. Lipšic (*Očerki* 404–05) hypothesized that Ignatios was represented with Patr. John VII in a caricature in the Khludov PSALTER.

ED. For list of his works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 360–61. LIT. W. Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam Ignatiis," *TM* 4 (1970) 329–60. C. Mango, "Observations on the Correspondence of Ignatius, Metropolitan of Nicaea," *TU* 125 (1981) 403–10. —A.K.

IGNATIUS, PSEUDO-, conventional name for the author of the interpolations made perhaps ca.360–380 in the text of the letters of St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (died ca.107). The interpolations mainly concern the role of the bishop. The interpolator appears to be a follower of ARIANISM, and various candidates have been proposed, for example, Akakios of Caesarea (died 366), EUNOMIOS, Silvanos of Tarsos (O. Perler, *HistJb* 77 [1958] 73–82), and JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS. It is possible that he is to be equated with the author of the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS.

ED. K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1 (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1959) 166–277, with Eng. tr.

LIT. J. Rius-Camps, *The Four Authentic Letters of Ignatius, the Martyr* (Rome 1980). R. Joly, *Le dossier d'Ignace d'Antioche* (Brussels 1979). —B.B.

IGOR, prince of Kiev, successor of OLEG; died 945. In 941 Igor led a fleet of small boats (*monoxyla*) against Constantinople. Byz. ships under command of the *patrikios* THEOPHANES met them at Hieron on 11 June and prevented Igor from attacking the capital. He probably left for Kiev after this failure, but the boats from Rus' remained in the area for two months, plundering the Bithynian coast (from Pontic Herakleia to the border of Paphlagonia, according to the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER). The government of ROMANOS I recalled some troops of John KOURKOUAS from the eastern frontier and dispatched Theophanes with a fleet; he used GREEK FIRE and on 15 Sept. destroyed the boats of the Rus' near the Thracian coast; the remnants of their army headed homeward by land. According to common scholarly opinion, in 943 or 944 Igor again launched his forces against Byz., but Byz. envoys met the army at the estuary of the Danube; after negotiations a new treaty was signed that provided Kievan merchants with less favorable conditions than

those established in the treaty signed by Oleg. Soon thereafter Igor was murdered while collecting tribute from the Drevljane, a neighboring tribe.

LIT. Levčenko, *Rus-VizOtn* 128–71. A.N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija drevnej Rusi* (Moscow 1980) 209–58. N. Ja. Polovoj, "K voprosu o pervom pochode Igorja protiv Vizantii," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 85–104. G. Vernadsky, "The Rus' in the Crimea and the Russo-Byzantine Treaty of 945," *Byz-Metabyz* 1.1 (1946) 249–60. H. Grégoire, P. Orgels, "Les invasions russes dans le Synaxaire de Constantinople," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 141–45. —A.K.

IKONION (Ἰκόνιον, now Konya), city of PISIDIA in the mid-4th C., metropolis of LYKAONIA from ca.370, incorporated into the ANATOLIKON theme in the 7th C. The execution of Isaurian prisoners in 354 at Ikonion provoked the great Isaurian revolt. St. THEKLA was believed to have miraculously saved Ikonion from a later Isaurian attack. Its first metropolitan was St. AMPHILOCHIOS. From the 8th to 10th C., Arabs frequently attacked Ikonion and its neighboring fortress, Kabala. Plundered by the Turks in 1069, Ikonion was the scene of the revolt of ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL. It fell to the Seljuks in 1084 and flourished as their capital. The city was briefly occupied by the Crusaders in 1097, its suburbs were ravaged by Manuel I in 1146. Most of its Byz. monuments, including the 11th-C. Church of St. Amphilochios, have disappeared, but the Byz. fortress of Kabala and the rock-cut churches of Sille, both in the immediate vicinity of the city, survive.

LIT. *TIB* 4:176–78, 182f, 224f. G. Goodwin, *EI*² 5:253–56. —C.F.

ILARION (Hilarion), author of *Discourse on Law and Grace* [*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*] (ca.1049) and a *Confession of Faith* (ca.1051?); metropolitan of Kiev (1051–ca.1054). The *Discourse*, the most sustained and erudite rhetorical work of Kievan Rus' (see Rus', LITERATURE OF), celebrates the conversion of Rus' within the context of sacred history: the Grace of Christianity superseded the Law of Moses, just as Sarah the free woman superseded Hagar the bondmaid, and reached Rus' through the divinely inspired free choice of VLADIMIR I. The homily ends with an *enkomion* to Vladimir and a prayer for the land of Rus'. The *Discourse's* language, typology, style, and structure owe much to Byz. rhetoric and exegeses, leading to conjec-

ture that Ilarion read Greek (F. Thomson, *Slavica Gandensia* 10 [1983] 67–102). Influence from CZECH LITERATURE is also possible (N.N. Rozov, *TODRL* 23 [1968] 71–85). The appointment of Ilarion, the first native metropolitan of Kiev, by Prince Jaroslav of Kiev and the composition of the *Discourse* are sometimes interpreted as anti-Byz. acts. The circumstances of Ilarion's election are unknown, however, and the *Discourse*, proclaiming Vladimir to be a "likeness of Constantine the Great," manifestly presents Byz. as the cultural prototype rather than as a political or ecclesiastical threat.

ED. L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Wiesbaden 1962). *Slovo o zakone i blagodati Ilariona*, ed. A.M. Moldovan (Kiev 1984). Eng. tr. N. Ickler, *Comitatus* 9 (1978) 19–54.

LIT. L. Müller, *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion* (Munich 1971). Fennell-Stokes, *Russ. Lit.* 41–60. E. Hurwitz, "Metropolitan Ilarion's Sermon on Law and Grace," *Russian History* 7 (1980) 322–33. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 84–87.

—S.C.F., P.A.H.

ILIAD. See **HOMER**; **TROY TALE.**

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN (νόθοι), also called *spourioi*, were, according to the *Codex Justinianus*, children born to a concubine (see CONCUBINAGE), an unmarried woman, or a prostitute (see PROSTITUTION); progeny from the union of a free woman and slave were also considered illegitimate. Illegitimate children were legally deprived of the right to inherit from their father, but had the same relationship with their mother as legitimate children. The classical jurists did not give serious attention to this discrepancy; it was Justinian I who corrected the situation by making the father liable for supporting his children by a concubine. In novel 89 he considered ways of legitimizing *nothoi*: the most recommended method was to ascribe them to the *curia*, another valid method was to assign a "charter of dowry" to the mother of a *nothos*, whether she was freeborn or a freedwoman, or the testamentary statement of a man who had fathered only illegitimate children that they were his heirs. High-born mothers were prohibited by both civil and canon law from making gifts of any sort to their natural children; legitimate offspring were thus protected from any form of disinheritance (J. Beaucamp, *CahCM* 20 [1977] 158).

Later Byz. law essentially retained the rules established by Justinian. In the 13th C. illegitimate progeny still had no right to inherit if there were legitimate descendants, even if they were collateral descendants (A. Laiou, *FM* 6 [1984] 295f). Patr. Nikephoros I considered the case of a father's refusal to recognize his natural son (PG 100:468B); the tribunal had to determine whether they had a physical resemblance; if not, the child was proclaimed *ekphylos*, "without family."

Despite such disadvantages, some *nothoi* (usually the children of emperors and courtiers) reached high positions, like the *parakoimomenos* BASIL THE NOTHOS (son of Romanos I), and children of Manuel I and Andronikos I. Illegitimate sons might serve as important hostages, and several illegitimate daughters of emperors were married to foreign rulers as diplomatic pawns.

LIT. P.A. Yannopoulos, *La société profane dans l'Empire byzantin* (Louvain 1975) 232–36. H.J. Wolff, "The Background of the Postclassical Legislation on Illegitimacy," *Seminar* 3 (1945) 21–45. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Quelques notes sur l'enfant de la moyenne époque byzantine," *Annales DH* (1973) 80f. —A.K., J.H.

ILLOS (Ἰλλος), rebellious general of ZENO; died fort of Papyrios (Paperon), Isauria, 488. An Isaurian by birth, Illos together with his brothers Aspalios and Trokoundos supported Zeno's rise to the throne. In 474 he fought successfully against the barbarians in Thrace; the same year, however, he switched his allegiance to BASILISKOS, who sent him to besiege Zeno in Sbide, an Isaurian stronghold; there he again changed sides (Theophanes explains this saying that Basiliskos failed to fulfill "promises") and helped Zeno recover his throne. He became *patrikios* and *magister militum* and, according to Malalas, administered the empire. Zeno's wife ARIADNE and mother-in-law VERINA conspired against Illos unsuccessfully in 477 and 478; as a result, Verina was banished. In 479 Illos suppressed the revolt of Verina's son-in-law Marcian. In the winter of 481/2 Ariadne organized a third plot against the general. During the assault on him, Illos lost an ear. In 482–84, while in Antioch, Illos prepared a revolt against Zeno; at this time he gained the support of Verina, who crowned his ally LEONTIOS. They were defeated by Zeno's *magister militum* John the Scythian in 484 and took refuge in the fort of Papyrios (J. Gottwald, *BZ* 36 [1936] 88f). Illos and Leontios

held out for four years. They were eventually betrayed and executed. With regard to religious policy Illos appealed to the Orthodox against Zeno's Monophysite tendencies, but he was also sympathetic toward paganism. The soothsayer PAMPREPIOS was his adviser during the rebellion. A district in Constantinople was known as *ta Illou*, and his house there became a church of St. John.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:390–99. *PLRE* 2:586–90. P. Lemerle, "Fl. Appalius Illus Trocundus," *Syria* 40 (1963) 315–22. H. Hunger, "Die Bauinschrift am Aquädukt von Elaiussa-Sebaste," *Tyche* 1 (1986) 132–37. —T.E.G.

ILLUMINATORS of Byz. MSS are rarely documented in COLOPHONS or otherwise. The common term for an illuminator was *zographos*, "painter" (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 16 [1962] 245, n.6), but probably around the 9th C. another term, *chrysographos*, "one who writes in gold," appeared—first mentioned in an obscure author, MELETIOS THE MONK, from the theme of Opsikion (PG 64:1309B). A few illuminators are known by name: PANTOLEON and his team; Theodore of Caesarea, who wrote and illuminated the THEODORE PSALTER in 1066; Michael Koresis, who "wrote in gold" a Georgian Gospel book in the late 12th/early 13th C. (E. Takaichvili, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 659f). In verses accompanying a dedicatory miniature, the monk THEOPHANES claimed to be the donor, scribe, and illuminator of the Melbourne Gospels, but donors often took credit for making the object of their generosity. Finally, in the late 14th C. THEOPHANES "THE GREEK," described as an illuminator of books and a painter of churches, was asked to paint a leaf to be inserted in a MS. The practice had long been used by Byz. illuminators, but became increasingly frequent in the Palaiologan era. Generally the SCRIBE wrote the text of the MS, leaving space for the illuminator, who made a preliminary underdrawing, applied the gold ground, and then began to paint, concluding with the faces. (See also ARTISTS.)

LIT. Belting, *Illum. Buch* 3–17. —R.S.N.

ILLUSTRIS (ἰλλούστριος), the highest title of SENATORS in the late Roman Empire. The term was used as a vague epithet much earlier, but acquired a specific technical meaning in the last quarter of the 4th C. First it was bestowed on major officials such as PRAETORIAN PREFECT, UR-

BAN PREFECT, MAGISTER MILITUM, CONSULS, and PATRIKIOI, and eventually on all senators. In the 6th C. the most important *illustres* were called GLORIOSI. Not being a hereditary title (Guiland, *Institutiones* 1:66f), it provided certain privileges, both fiscal (immunity from certain obligations) and ceremonial. The term remained in use in the 7th C. MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR (PG 91:644D) addressed a correspondent as "magnificent *illustris*," and the Miracles of St. DEMETRIOS (ed. Lemerle 1:161.7) speak of the "so-called *illoustrioi*." The term *illustris* does not appear in the TAKTIKA, although both legal and hagiographic texts (until the 11th C.) equate the title PROTOSPATHARIOS with it (e.g., A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 12 [1936] 355.12–13).

LIT. A. Berger, *RE* 9 (1914) 1070–85. Jones, *LRE* 1:528–36. —A.K.

ILLYRICUM (Ἰλλυρικόν), a Roman province in the northwestern part of the Balkans. In the 4th C. attempts were made to create a prefecture of Illyricum, encompassing PANNONIA, MACEDONIA, and DACIA. After 395 this vast territory was divided into *Illyricum occidentale* and *Illyricum orientale* with capitals at Sirmium (?) and Thessalonike, respectively. Latin was the lingua franca in western Illyricum. Beginning in the 2nd C. Christianity spread through western Illyricum, the two metropolitan sees, SALONA and Sirmium, being of principal importance.

In the 5th to 7th C. Illyricum underwent various invasions by Ostrogoths, Huns, Lombards, and Avars; Sklavenoi (second half of the 6th C.); Serbs and Croats (7th C.); and, after 680, Bulgars, who began to play a decisive role in Illyricum. The ancient cities declined and assumed a rural character (V. Popović in *Palast und Hütte* [Mainz 1982] 545–66). Those townships that survived were forced to come to terms with new masters (by paying tribute). During the reign of Justinian I, western Illyricum was under the rule of Constantinople, with the center of Illyricum as a whole at JUSTINIANA PRIMA and, for a time, probably at Sirmium. According to the vita of DAVID OF THESSALONIKE the capital was transferred from Sirmium to Thessalonike; whether it was in fact from Sirmium (Lemerle, *Miracles* 2:50) or from Justiniana Prima (A. Vasiliev, *Traditio* 4 [1946] 115–47) is difficult to determine. It is

unclear how long Illyricum continued to exist, but by the 9th C. it had been replaced by the theme of Thessalonike; the name *Illyricum* lost its precise meaning and was used as a descriptive designation for the region of DYRRACHION (as in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene), including Serbo-Croatian territory.

Ecclesiastically, the former *Illyricum occidentale* remained under the direct authority of the pope. In the 8th C., however, the Iconoclast emperors tried to subordinate it to Constantinople—according to M. Anastos (*StB* 9 [1957] 14–31) in 732/3, according to V. Grumel (*RechScRel* 40 [1952] 191–200) two decades later. The papacy never recognized this act. By the end of the 9th C. the Byz. founded the theme of Dalmatia, but they had to abandon the region by 1069; they briefly held it again from 1165 to 1180 (Ferluga, *Byzantium* 141–49).

LIT. R. Rogošić, *Veliki Ilirik (284–395) i njegova konačna dioba (396–437)* (Zagreb 1962). *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome 1984). J.-R. Palanque, "La préfecture du prétoire d'Illyricum au IV^e siècle," *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 5–14. Lj. Maksimović, "L'administration de l'Illyricum septentrional à l'époque de Justinien," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 143–57. —O.P.

IMĀD AL-DĪN, more fully Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, Arab writer, poet, diplomat, and chronicler; born Iṣfahān 1125, died Damascus 1201. In 1175, following a colorful career in the service of the ʿABBĀSIDS and of NŪR AL-DĪN, ʿImād al-Dīn joined SALADIN to become his ardent friend, counselor, chief diplomatic secretary, and chronicler. After Saladin's death, ʿImād al-Dīn returned to private life and devoted himself to literary work. His tomb adjoins that of Saladin.

ʿImād al-Dīn's books, *Qussian Eloquence on the Conquest of Jerusalem* and *The Syrian Lightning*, constitute firsthand sources on Saladin's wars and politics, with frequent references to his relations with the Byz. Although only the third and fifth parts of *The Syrian Lightning* have survived, its first (?) part is preserved in al-Bundārī's abridgment, *The Splendor of the Syrian Lightning*. Equally important is ʿImād al-Dīn's *The Assistance of the Weak*, the first history of the Great SELJUKS. It is based on the lost Persian memoirs of Anūshirvān ibn Khālid (died 1137), which ʿImād al-Dīn rendered into Arabic. Its precious information on

the Seljuk penetration and conquest of Asia Minor includes a lengthy account of the battle of MANTZIKERT. In addition to the full version, extant in a unique MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, al-Bundārī's abridgment (1226) survives. 'Imād al-Dīn also produced a voluminous anthology of 12th-C. Arab poets. As a rule, a virtually untranslatable, overly flowery style characterized 'Imād al-Dīn's work. Al-Bundārī's abridgments strip away the stylistic redundancies but retain all the facts.

ED. *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Iraq par al-Bundārī, d'après Imād ad-dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden 1889). *Al-Fath al-Qussī: Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Salāh ad-dīn*, ed. C. de Landberg, vol. 1 (Leiden 1888). Fr. tr., H. Massé, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Salāh ad-dīn* (Paris 1972). Al-Bundārī, *Sanā al-Barq al-shāmī*, ed. R. Şeşen, pt. 1 (Beirut 1980).

LIT. H. Massé, *EI*² 3:1157f.

—A.S.E.

IMAGO PIETATIS. See MAN OF SORROWS.

IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA (Ἰμπερίος καὶ Μαργαρώνα), a romance of chivalry in just under 900 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, composed probably in the late 14th C. Surviving in five MSS that, despite barely reconcilable variants, derive from a single archetype, the romance continued to circulate widely in the post-Byz. period in a printed rhymed version. A free adaptation of the French prose tale, *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne* (widely known throughout Europe from the late 13th C. and serving as a foundation legend for the monastery of Maguelonne, France), *Imberios and Margarona* came in popular tradition to be used as a foundation legend for the monastery of DAPHNĪ. Attempts to provide a secure historical setting for *Imberios and Margarona* in 13th- and 14th-C. events in the Morea have failed to convince (see, e.g., M. Pichard, *REB* 10 [1952] 84–92 and R.-J. Loenertz, *Thesaurismata* 13 [1976] 40–46). With its accounts of the hero's precocious youth, his prowess in tournaments, and the hazards endured with his beloved, *Imberios and Margarona* has much in common with the ACHILLEIS as well as with PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA. Its assumptions and descriptions reflect the mixed Frankish-Greek society of the Palaiologan Peloponnese.

ED. Kriaras, *Mythistoremata* 199–249.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 143–47. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature*, pt. I (1971), 122–60.

—E.M.J., M.J.J.

IMBROS (Ἰμβρος, mod. Imroz), island in the northeastern Aegean Sea that, along with TENEDOS, controls the entrance to the HELLESPONT. In late antiquity Imbros was part of the province of ACHAIA (Hierokl. 649.2), and by the 9th C. it almost certainly was part of the theme of the Aegean Sea. Although not specifically mentioned in *De thematibus*, Imbros provided a primary line of defense for Constantinople against the Arabs. Assigned to the Latin Empire after 1204, it was effectively controlled by Venice; after 1354 it was in the hands of the Genoese descendants of Francesco GATTILUSIO. By the time CYRIACUS OF ANCONA visited Imbros in 1444, the island was again Byz. and his guide was the Imbriot Michael KRIBOULOS. The latter asked Mehmed II to grant the island independence after 1453, but it was assigned to the Gattilusi of Lesbos. In 1460 Imbros was part of the appanage given to Demetrios Palaiologos, former *despotes* of the Morea. A bishop of Imbros, not mentioned previously, was raised to archiepiscopal status by Manuel II (*Notitiae CP* 18.157); he was a metropolitan (21.75) after 1453.

LIT. C. Fredrich, "Imbros," *MDAI AA* 33 (1908) 81–112. M. Karas, *He nesos Imbros: Symbole eis ten ekklesiastiken historian tes* (Thessalonike 1987) 35–41, 80–87.

—T.E.G.

IMITATION (μίμησις) was considered by the ancient theoreticians as an important element of intellectual activity. The imitation of Attic culture was recommended both in late antiquity and in Byz. The Byz. rejected INNOVATION, and even great minds, such as JOHN OF DAMASCUS, emphasized the imitativeness of their works. Mimesis could have different aspects: direct imitation, such as the CHRISTOS PASCHON, which is a pastiche of existing verses by ancient poets; writing in the style of a predecessor, like dialogues imitating LUCIAN. Rhetorical exercises on ancient or biblical topics and borrowing of the stock elements of ancient literature or patristics or using overt or concealed citations were also practiced. Materials that were borrowed or imitated included not only writings of the remote past but works of more recent Byz. authors as well. Sermons, saints' vitae, and historical works teem with such stock elements and citations. The ideological underpinning of mimesis can be found in the declarations of ecumenical councils, such as that in Trullo, which embraced adherence to "the ancient types" (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:493.3).

The purposes of imitation were diverse: the author could, by engaging in imitation, demonstrate how well versed he was in literature; he could also, by referring to the knowledge of his audience, stimulate reminiscences and create allusions. He could, by making parallels with biblical or Roman history, stress the eternity of certain phenomena or contrast present times with the glorious (or infamous) past. Truly skillful imitation consisted in employing the same general pattern to emphasize certain details or distinctions or to produce, from the available "bricks," a completely new idea and image. Imitation could also have the force of PARODY. Byz. literature produced an enormous amount of purely imitative, plagiaristic material, but in talented hands mimesis could become a powerful vehicle of expression. Imitation, then, was not purely servile but an intrinsic part of Byz. CULTURE.

Even while it must be distinguished from customary observance of canonical forms, imitation in the visual arts was more central than in literature to the working methods of craftsmen and more pragmatic in purpose. Using established CHURCH PLAN TYPES, builders replicated venerable models, sometimes with the intention of evoking associations with *loca sancta* and pilgrimage sites. Painters such as Kallierges could copy entire compositions, yet adaptation and the "quotation" of elements, rather than wholesale appropriation, were more characteristic practices. When an ancient treasure like the PARIS PSALTER was tapped some 250 years after its creation, its miniatures were not merely copied but made the basis for the invention of new images.

LIT. Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt. XV (1969–70), 17–38. Mango, *Byz. Image*, pt. II (1975), 3–18. H.-G. Beck, "Antike Beredsamkeit und byzantinische Kallilogia," *AntAb* 15 (1969) 91–101. A. Kazhdan, "Looking Back to Antiquity: Three Notes," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 375–77.

—A.K., A.C.

IMMUNITY, a concept borrowed from the terminology of western European FEUDALISM to denote a privilege granted by the emperor that forbade state officials from entering the beneficiary's domains and performing certain fiscal, judicial, and administrative functions there. Ostrogorsky, among others, viewed EXKOUSSEIA as synonymous with immunity. On the basis of the EXEMPTION formulas found in documents, he concluded that, during the 10th–12th C., immunity implied fiscal rights, that is, freedom from taxa-

tion, and that only in the 14th–15th C. did judicial immunity develop, that is, the right for privileged landlords, lay and religious, to judge their PAROTKOR; Ostrogorsky limited this right, however, to low justice. While fiscal immunity did exist in Byz., though to an extent perhaps not as widespread as in the West, there is some question as to whether judicial immunity existed at all. Some scholars in fact consider the application of the Western medieval concept of immunity to Byz. as inappropriate and misleading and prefer the more limited concept of exemption.

LIT. P.A. Jakovenko, *K istorii immuniteta v Vizantii* (Juriev [Tartu] 1908). G. Ostrogorsky, "Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance," *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 165–254. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 433–36.

—M.B.

IMPERIAL CULT. Worship of the divinity of the EMPEROR, which had begun as a means for Greek cities to assimilate their relationship with the Roman Empire (S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power* [Cambridge 1984]), culminated in the adoption of Hellenistic divine kingship by the TETRARCHY. Constantine I's conversion excluded outright sacrifice to imperial divinity, although ambiguities persisted (e.g., the temple to his family erected at Hispellum [*ILS*, no. 705]). On the local level, priests of the imperial cult probably shed religious functions but continued their political role in city and provincial assemblies well into the 5th and 6th C., esp. in Africa (F.M. Clover in *Romanitas-Christianitas* [Berlin 1982] 661–74). In the capital, the emperor's status as God's representative on earth maintained and even expanded aspects of the imperial cult, esp. the sacredness of imperial persons and institutions concretized by ceremony and by divinizing epithets. Although Constantine avoided *divus* for his person, his successors revived the custom, whence arose the Byz. usage of *theios* for the imperial person and institutions and *sakra* for documents. PROSKYNESIS of the emperor and his haloed image, the image's privilege of asylum and placement on church altars, the custom of receiving objects from the emperor with covered hands, silence, incense, and lighted candles in his presence stemmed ultimately from the imperial cult and characterized Byz. rulership. The church itself transformed and fostered the imperial cult, as posthumous *consecratio* gave way to elaborate Christian funerals (S. Price in Canadine-Price, *Rituals* 56–105), imperial obits were commemorated in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*,

and the emperor obtained unique liturgical prerogatives reflecting his sacral status.

LIT. L. Bréhier, P. Batiffol, *Les survivances du culte impérial romain* (Paris 1920) 35–73. A. Chastagnol, N. Duval, “Les survivances du culte impérial dans l’Afrique du Nord à l’époque vandale,” in *Mélanges d’histoire ancienne offerts à William Seston* (Paris 1974) 87–118. A. Wlosok, *Römischer Kaiserkult* (Darmstadt 1978). P. Schreiner, “Das Herrscherbild in der byzantinischen Literatur des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts,” *Saeculum* 35 (1984) 132–51. —M.McC.

IMPOST BLOCK, a stone block shaped like an inverted, truncated pyramid, placed on the capitals of COLUMNS destined to carry an arcade. The impost block probably evolved from the Roman practice of projecting short ENTABLATURE spurs over capitals of columns placed in front of walls, as at the Porta Aurea of the Palace of Diocletian at Split. The capitals of the paired columns of S. Costanza, Rome, support a short entablature block that functions as an impost block. According to Deichmann, the mature form had its origin in the 5th-C. Greek East, but fully developed impost blocks appeared by ca.400 in Italy at S. Giorgio Maggiore in Naples and in the Basilica Ursiana in Ravenna. Impost blocks, often SPOLIA, were used in Byz. architecture as late as the 14th C. They were placed directly on column shafts in the cisterns of Constantinople and, on a smaller scale, appear directly on columns or posts dividing windows, e.g., at Daphni, Hosios Loukas, and on the exterior of the Holy Apostles, Thessalonike. The impost block is frequently decorated with elaborate patterns of ACANTHUS leaves and Christian symbols. In the 5th C., the impost block and capital merged to form the IMPOST CAPITAL.

LIT. F. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert nach Christus* (Baden-Baden 1956) 41–45. C. Strube, *Polyeuktoskirche und Hagia Sophia* (Munich 1984) 20f, figs. 7, 12, 39. R. Olivieri Farioli, *La scultura architettonica* (Rome 1969) 77–91. —M.J., W.L.

IMPOST CAPITAL, a uniquely Byz. CAPITAL created possibly in Constantinople by merging the function of the IMPOST BLOCK with the mid-5th-C. forms of the Corinthian capital. The merger was facilitated by the development of the Corinthian capital into cup- and kettle-shaped forms, covered with abstract floral ornament incised and drilled, rather than carved, into the block; in both

shape and decoration this late Corinthian capital approached the form of the more geometrically conceived impost block. Some impost capitals show a much diminished impost block on top; some exhibit small volutes at the base or at the top, faint reminders of the Ionic capital. The stages in this development from the mid-5th C. to its climax in Justinian I’s Hagia Sophia have been traced by Strube (*infra*). The creation of the impost capital marks the end of the classic capital and the appearance of a new form that carries the eye more fluently from column shaft to the arches above.

LIT. C. Strube, *Polyeuktoskirche und Hagia Sophia* (Munich 1984) 102–10, figs. 62–65, 80–88, 95–98. M. van Lohuizen-Mulder, “Early Christian Lotus-panel Capitals and other so-called Impost Capitals,” *BABesch* 62 (1987) 131–52. —W.L.

IMRU’ AL-QAYS. See QAYS.

INCANTATION (ἐπωδή), a magic song recited over a person or a charm to effect a cure, fend off evil, transfer evil to another, or evoke an erotic response in a member of the opposite sex. Incantations were similar in format, whether of Christian, pagan, or syncretistic provenance. The reciter of the incantation invariably summoned an angel or *daimon*, without which the charm was believed ineffective. Byz. writers often mention incantations in connection with MAGIC, but seldom quote the actual words used. Canon 36 of the Council of Laodikeia (4th C.) forbade Christian clerics to invent or recite incantations. In the 12th C. Balsamon and Zonaras commented on the practice. Many examples of incantations survive on magical papyri, metal sheets, and small objects. An illiterate but dramatic 7th-C. incantation on an amulet calls upon Beliar, the inventor of the EVIL EYE, to flee in the name of Christ from the limbs of the owner (who was perhaps paralyzed?) (CIG 4, no.9065). Syncretistic incantations often used the names of apocryphal angels of Jewish tradition and “barbaric words.” Pagan incantations are reported in Anatolia and Sicily as late as the 7th–8th C.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:239–49. H. Hunger, “Eine frühbyzantinische Wachstafel der Wiener Papyrussammlung,” *Serta Turyniana* (Urbana 1974) 489–94. T. Schermann, *Spätgriechische Zauber- und Volksgebete* (Munich 1919). *Papyri graecae magicae*², ed. K. Preisendanz, 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–74). —F.R.T.

INCARNATION (σάρκωσις or ἐνσάρκωσις) refers to the appearance of the Logos in the history of salvation (*oikonomia*), distinguished from his generation within the Godhead. It is the classical formula of those Christologies oriented toward John 1:14, “And the Word became flesh.” It is distinguished from a Christology that lays emphasis on the Preexistent One “becoming man” (*enanthroposis*—cf. Gal 4:4). The Logos-sarx model, which distinguishes theologians in the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, competed with the Logos-anthropos model of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL. When the two-natures formula of the Council of CHALCEDON was accepted by the imperial church, the difference lost meaning since flesh in this Christology no longer implied a theological devaluation of the soul and human freedom of CHRIST. It meant, rather, the full reality of human existence as it was assumed by the Logos without sin (Heb 4:15: cf. FREE WILL). *Sarx* refers not to the sinful, fleshly existence of fallen humanity (in the Pauline sense), but to human nature as such: to the *logos*, not the *tropos tes hyparxeos*. In some texts one encounters the view that this *sarx* is not an individual reality, but MANKIND as a whole. SOTERIOLOGY finds its basis in the incarnation, or assumption of the flesh, by the Logos. —K.-H.U.

Iconoclastic Views on Incarnation. Debate over the relevance of the Incarnation to the depiction of Christ on icons was a key feature of the polemic on ICONOCLASM. The Council at Hieria (754) declared that the “illicit” craft of the painter violated the doctrine of the Incarnation, attributing to artists the notion that they painted the image of the flesh alone (Mansi 13:256A), which, in truth, cannot be separated from the Logos. —A.C.

INCENSE (θυμίαμα), resins, esp. frankincense from the gum resin of the *boswellia* tree, that produce fragrant smoke when burned; also the smoke thereof. Incense, imported primarily from southern Arabia, held an important place in Roman medicine and in the imperial cult; it became therefore for Christians a symbol of pagan worship, and church fathers (Tertullian, Eusebios, Augustine) rejected its use (W. Müller, *RE* supp. 15 [1978] 761–64). A change in the Christian attitude toward incense began by the end of the 4th C. Ephrem the Syrian refers to it; John Chrysostom mentions its use in processions to martyrs’

shrines and even in church; and Christian CENSERS of the 4th C. have been found. In the liturgy, incense is burned over charcoal in fixed burners or, more usually, in portable censers.

Christian use of incense is (1) fumigatory, as perfume, as at funerals; (2) honorific, when objects (such as icons, gifts, or the altar), or persons are censured in veneration; (3) exorcistic, chasing away evil spirits, as when the church is incensed at the beginning of a service; and (4) oblationary, when burnt in offering, as a sign of prayer or propitiation, a notion found esp. in the Syrian and Coptic traditions. In Byz. usage only ministers in major orders (deacon, priest, bishop) cense at services. In Constantinople incense was carried in processions at the EUCHARIST or a LITE, etc. At VESPERS incense is burned (in conjunction with Ps 140:2) as a sign of penance and prayer. At the SUNDAY resurrection vigil of festive *orthros* (Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours* 280f, 288f) it symbolizes the service of the MYRROPHORI.

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* 149–62. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 67–71. E. Fehrenbach, *DACL* 5.1:2–21. —R.F.T., A.K.

INCEST (αἱμομιξία, lit. “mixing of blood,” a term unknown in ancient Greek; Lat. *incestus*) was treated in different manners in Roman and in Oriental law, the latter condoning matrimonial relations between close relatives. In the 3rd C. Roman jurists, yielding to the Oriental system, distinguished between marriages with lineal relatives that were considered illicit and collateral marriages that were permissible although not recommended (*Digest* 23:2.68). The attack on incestuous marriages began with Diocletian’s law of 295 (F. Klingmüller, *RE* 9 [1916] 1248) who proclaimed them “barbarian monstrosities” and threatened execution as punishment. Diocletian’s attitude toward incest was supported by the church fathers (for instance, BASIL THE GREAT, ep.160, ed. Y. Courtonne 2 [Paris 1961] 88–92, more closely defined by canon 54 of the Council in Trullo) and civil legislators; special attention was paid to consecutive marriages of a man to two sisters and a woman to two brothers as well as marriage to a niece. Though the threat of the death penalty appears in some laws (e.g., Constantius II in 342—*Cod.Theod.* III 12.1), other legislators lessened the punishment.

The extension of the concept of incest de-

pended on changes in the definition of consanguinity (see RELATIONSHIP, DEGREES OF): the church endeavored to extend this notion whereas the aristocracy tended to reduce it. Spiritual paternity was considered as a MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENT, and therefore sexual relations between a godfather and the widowed mother of his spiritual child were viewed as incestuous (canon 53 of the Council in Trullo). In real life people frequently neglected prohibitions of incest: the marriage of Herakleios to his niece MARTINA was viewed as scandalous but valid, and in the 12th C. both Manuel I and Andronikos I had nieces as mistresses. Even ecclesiastics were accused, rightly or wrongly, of incest, esp. with spiritual daughters.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 215–53. E. Mangenot, *DTC* 7 (1930) 1545–47. A.D. Lee, “Close Kin Marriage in Late Antique Mesopotamia,” *GRBS* 29 (1988) 403–13.
—J.H., A.K.

INCISED WARE. See SGRAFFITO WARE.

INCUBATION. The practice of spending the night at a sacred precinct, pagan or Christian, until the god or saint of the shrine appears to the suppliant in a dream and cures him of disease, injury, or insanity, has continued from antiquity to the present day. Pagan temples often had dormitories, but Christian churches usually allocated an aisle of the basilica to those seeking cures. Pagan incubation endured throughout the 5th C. Constantine I suppressed the shrine of ASKLEPIOS at Aegae in Cilicia but other sites continued to function, among them the temple precincts at Epidaurus in Greece (at least until 354) and the temple of Isis at Menouthis on the Nile Delta (until the 5th C.). The temple, dormitory, and sacred spring of the Asklepieion in Athens probably housed a Christian healing cult from the second half of the 5th C., and the inscription “Saint Andrew” (J.S. Creaghan, A.E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 16 [1947] 29) permits the hypothesis that the basilica was dedicated to the apostle Andrew. Incubation became popular in Christian churches in the 6th C., as the Acts of Sts. KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS attest. Incubations at rural *martyria* developed as a social protest against the incompetence of, and high fees charged by, physicians. Among places where incubation was practiced in the 7th C. were the basilica of St. Isidore on Chios

and the *martyrion* of St. ARTEMIOS in Constantinople. Miraculous HEALING by incubation is attested throughout the Byz. period; in the 14th C., for example, a man was exorcised of a demon by sleeping next to the coffin of the patriarch of Constantinople, Athanasios I (A.M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* [Brookline, Mass., 1983] 18f, 78–80).

LIT. T. Gregory, “The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece,” *AJPh* 107 (1986) 229–42. Lawson, *Folklore* 45–63. N.F. Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio: Contribución al estudio de la Incubación Cristiana* (Madrid 1975).
—F.R.T.

INDIA (Ἰνδία) maintained both economic and political relations with the late Roman Empire. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA relates that Constantine I received ambassadors from India, allegedly as an acknowledgment that his sovereignty extended to the ocean; according to Philostorgios, Constantine dispatched a certain Theophilos to India, where he found some Christian followers of the apostle Bartholomew. The Indians also sent embassies to Emp. Julian—probably in connection with his preparations for war against Persia—and Malalas mentions an Indian ambassador to Constantinople ca.530. Late Roman coins, esp. those of Arkadios and Honorius, have been discovered in India.

Trade with India, testified to by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, took four routes: via the Euphrates and Persian Gulf to Taprobana (CEYLON); via the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean; by overland caravan routes via Persia; and by caravan travel north of the Caspian Sea and across Central Asia. The primary exports from India were spices, incense, and probably precious stones: “the wealth of India,” according to the *Vita Basilii*, decorated the chapel of St. Clement in the Great Palace.

Kosmas provides some factual information about India, but from antiquity onward many legends were created about this distant land; India was portrayed as the home of pious and wise gymnosophists (a reflection of the Brahmins). NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS wrote an epic poem on the god DIONYSOS’s expedition against India and his victory over the Indian king Deriades, achieved with the help of a fleet summoned from Arabia.

After the Arab conquest of the Near East in the 7th C., Byz. contacts with India were severed. Knowledge of India’s location grew vaguer and it was often confused with ETHIOPIA (“the inner

India” of earlier sources). Byz. legends (BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, ALEXANDER ROMANCE, vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME) dwelt on the miraculous features and extreme piety of India, a country located somewhere near Paradise. JOHN OF KARPATOS wrote a tract addressed to Indian monks, but for him India was a nebulous notion. Photios expressed an antiquarian interest in India by including in his BIBLIOTHECA (cod.72) the description of the country by the 5th-C. B.C. author Ktesias—full of legendary data such as the *mantichora*, a beast with a human face, and people with dogs’ heads. Psellos (*Scripta min.* 2:10.2–5) ridiculed a man who allegedly traveled to Egypt, Ethiopia, and India. Some Indian influences reached Byz. via Persian, Syriac, or Arabic sources: thus Symeon SETH produced a Greek version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and PLANODES a tract entitled *Calculation According to the Indians*.

Personifications of India or representations of its inhabitants have been recognized in floor mosaics and the BARBERINI IVORY. These are usually identified by their double-horned fillets; more certain attributes are the tigers that accompany the women on a silver plate in Istanbul (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.43).

LIT. J. Irmscher, “Vizantijska i Indija,” *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 66–71. J.W. McGrindle, *Ancient India* (Westminster 1901) 156–216. E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*² (London–New York 1974) 139f. N. Pigulevskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin 1969). C. Datema, “New Evidence for the Encounter between Constantinople and ‘India,’” in *After Chalcedon* (Leuven 1985) 57–65.
—A.K., A.C.

INDICTION (ἰνδικτίων or ἐπινέμησις), initially an extraordinary tax in produce imposed by the emperor in order to meet specific needs. It was regularized on a yearly basis by Diocletian (five-year cycle) and finally under Constantine I became a 15-year cycle (starting in Sept. 312) during which the amount of the indiction was to remain unchanged. In spite of this, extra indictions (*extraordinariae*, *superindictiones*) were occasionally imposed. Because the fiscal and calendar years coincided (1 Sept.–31 Aug.), the word indiction acquired a chronological meaning that it kept after losing its fiscal one: it indicated one year within the 15-year cycle, without specifying which cycle. According to K.A. Worp (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 33 [1987] 91–96), indiction-dating in the papyri was not a result of the edict of 472 but

became mandatory after Justinian I’s novel 47 of 537. In spite of its lack of absolute chronological precision, the Byz. used indictional dating in everyday life and in administration. In order to calculate the indiction corresponding to a given year of the Christian era, add 3 to the year, then divide the total by 15; the remainder is the indiction (if the remainder is zero, the indiction is 15).

LIT. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 138–41. Jones, *LRE* 451–56. Grumel, *Chronologie* 192–206. R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen 1978) 2–35.
—N.O.

INFAMY (ἀτιμία), the deprivation of honor, appears in Justinianic law as a PENALTY for wrong or unseemly conduct, such as not obeying trade regulations, disgraceful behavior in the army, misconduct in family relations, and certain criminal offenses. Infamy brought with it the restriction of certain rights or privileges, for example, the right to act as WITNESS. The *Ecloga* (2:8.1) considers as *atimos* the widow who enters a second marriage before completing the 12-month term of mourning—she would lose any right to her former husband’s property. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH (e.g., 18:5) punishes infringement of trade relations with flogging, cutting off the hair, a parade of infamy (*thriambos*), and exile. The public disgrace of infamy was used in political and religious struggles (e.g., to humiliate monks during Iconoclastic persecutions): the victims, sometimes made to ride backward on an ass or mangy camel, were preceded by a herald announcing their crime; their faces might be blackened, and they were ridiculed, beaten, or pelted with stones by the crowd. The parade could be followed by exile (e.g., Patr. Euthymios) or even execution (Emp. Andronikos I).

LIT. A.H.J. Greenidge, *Infamia: Its Place in Roman Public and Private Law* (Oxford 1894). Ph. Koukoules, “He diapompeusis kata tous byzantinous chronous,” *Byzantion* 1.2 (1949) 75–101. E. Patlagean, “Byzance et le blason pénal du corps,” *Du châtement dans la cité* (Rome 1984) 416f. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 135, n.12, 142f, 182, n.206.
—A.K.

INFANCY OF CHRIST, specifically the period from the ANNUNCIATION through the FLIGHT INTO EGYPT (Mt 1:18–25, 2:1–23; Lk 1:26–55, 2:1–52; PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, chs. 11–21). Christ’s infancy was illustrated esp. extensively during the centuries of the Christological contro-

versies (4th–7th C.): cf. S. Maria Maggiore in ROME (5th C.); Cathedra of MAXIMIAN and St. Sergius, GAZA (6th C.); Monza and Bobbio AMPULLAE. These cycles include numerous apocryphal scenes from the Protoevangelion that enhance their miraculous, theophanic content. With the exception of churches in GÖREME and the huge, byzantinizing churches in KIEV, Norman SICILY, and VENICE with their vast wall spaces, the Infancy cycle was reduced in 10th- through 12th-C. monumental painting to its major liturgical feasts: Annunciation, NATIVITY, Presentation of Christ (HYPAPANTE). Likewise liturgically inspired is the 11th-C. Sinai icon conflating the many events celebrated on 25 Dec. (Nativity, story of the Magi), 26 Dec. (Flight into Egypt), and 29 Dec. (Massacre of the Innocents) (K. Weitzmann, *Icons from South Eastern Europe and Sinai* [London 1968] 23). Only certain densely illuminated Gospel and Lectionary MSS of the 10th–12th C. retained lengthy narrative cycles (FRIEZE GOSPELS; Athos, Dion. 587, 11th C.—*Treasures* I, figs. 247–52, 260). Palaiologan art saw a rich resumption of Infancy imagery in both monumental painting (CHORA) and the MSS illustrating the AKATHISTOS HYMN (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 671–702).

LIT. Grabar, *Martyrium*, see index, 2:380. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:197–241. —A.W.C.

INFANTRY (πεζικόον). Modestly equipped and slow to move, Byz. infantry nevertheless fulfilled an important defensive role in support of CAVALRY. It secured routes, guarded fortresses and encampments, and provided a mobile base for cavalry on campaign. Infantry was also indispensable for sieges and in terrain unsuited to cavalry. Foot soldiers were usually deployed in a square formation that they maintained in battle, on the march, and in CAMP. To judge from the totals given in the STRATEGIKA, infantry made up the bulk of the the army, outnumbering the cavalry by a ratio of 2:1 or 3:1. Three types of infantrymen are distinguished: heavy infantry armed with spears and swords, protected by corselets, caps, and shields; archers; and light infantry, armed with javelins and slings. A fourth type, *menaulatos*, armed with a heavy pike (see WEAPONRY), was created in the 10th C. for use against armored cavalry (E. McGeer, *Diptycha* 4 [1986–87] 53–57). Byz. and Armenians were preferred as heavy in-

fantry, while foreign MERCENARIES (such as the Rus') served as light infantry. The 10th-C. Escorial TAKTIKON mentions the *hoplitarches* or commander of the infantry force in expeditionary armies and his subalterns, the TAXIARCHAI (also *chiliarchai*), who commanded units of 1,000 men (Oikonomidès, *Listes* 335f).

The sources offer scant details about the economic status of infantrymen. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:506.3–8) lists them below CAVALRY and above SAILORS in levels of military service (STRATEIA); it seems likely that they were drawn from the poorer STRATIOTAI who could at least afford the simple equipment used by infantry (W.T. Treadgold in *Okeanos* 624f).

LIT. E. McGeer, "Infantry versus Cavalry: The Byzantine Response," *REB* 46 (1988) 135–45. —E.M.

INFERTILITY (στεῖρωσις) was considered by the Byz. as a terrible misfortune; there are abundant stories of barren couples who sought the help of physicians, holy men, shrines, or magic in order to overcome this condition. A passage in DIGENES AKRITAS (Grottaferrata version VII 180–88, ed. E. Trapp, p.342) evoked the grief of the childless Digenes and his wife Eudokia as they prayed daily for a baby. The vita of ANTONY THE YOUNGER indicates the enormous sums paid to doctors to cure barrenness. AMULETS were a popular means of increasing fertility. Men's sterility could also be remedied by a saint as evidenced by John Moschos's tale (PG 87:2977D–2980A) about a precocious baby who at the age of three weeks was able to point out his father, who was previously thought to be sterile. The biblical prototype of the barren Sarah rewarded with fertility only at a venerable age was often used in hagiographical texts.

—J.H., A.K.

INGOTS (μάζαι, μαζία, *massae*), fixed weights of metal cast into bars or related shapes for convenient transportation and distribution. Gold, silver, and copper COINS and bullion collected as taxes at provincial treasuries were melted and formed into ingots. These were weighed and stamped by officers of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM before being sent to MINTS for the striking of coins. As the SOLIDUS was struck 72 to the pound, it is supposed that mints were issued with gold bars of this weight. Numerous gold and silver ingots

survive from the late 4th C., particularly from the Western Empire; they often bear one or more stamps, similar to the SILVER STAMPS applied to objects. Occasionally found together with imperial anniversary dishes, these ingots may (like LARGITIO DISHES) have been used to pay military and other government personnel.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 1:436. Hendy, *Economy* 380–94. R. Delmaire, "Les largesses impériales et l'émission d'argenterie du IXe au XIe siècle," in *Arg. rom. et byz.* 113–22.

—M.M.M.

INHERITANCE. See HEIR; SUCCESSION.

INITIALS, ORNAMENTAL. Compared with Latin scribes, Greek copyists, always more faithful to ancient traditions, were slower to enlarge and decorate initial letters. In the 6th C., small initials were filled with miscellaneous designs or outlined with dots. In contrast, the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY contains large jeweled and floriated initials, accompanied by birds and snakes, and an *epsilon* with a blessing hand, later a common motif. Small figural initials also appear in the period, but the apogee of the decorated letter was in the 11th and 12th C. The 11th C. saw inventive combinations of animals, but it was the influential painters of the 12th-C. MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS who established long-lasting conventions for zoomorphic initials. Figural initials began to depict narrative scenes as well as single figures of the text's author or narrator. Particularly in lectionaries, the person represented may belong to a larger group displayed about the page, thus pictorially uniting the entire surface. Figural initials are less common in the MSS of the DECORATIVE STYLE and all but disappear in the Palaiologan period, but zoomorphic initials continue to be used for centuries.

LIT. C. Franc-Sgourdeou, "Les initiales historiées dans les manuscrits byzantins aux XIe–XIIe s.," *BS* 28 (1967) 336–54. C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Zierbuchstaben* (Stockholm 1970). Anderson, "Sinai. Gr. 339," 171–76.

—R.S.N.

INK (μέλαν, μελάνιον) in antiquity was made of soot; this durable black ink is still very well preserved on papyri. In Byz. MSS various kinds of inks with metallic components are to be discerned, a brown gallnut ink being one of the most wide-

spread. For writing on purple codices, silver or gold ink was used. Sometimes other colors such as light blue or greenish also occur in MSS. Red ink serves to emphasize a heading (LEMMA), initials, or other prominent words, letters, or text passages. PURPLE ink has a particular function in imperial documents: the emperor signed with purple ink, and the head of the imperial chancery, the KANIKLEIOS, wrote *logos* in a designated spot, also using purple ink. This official therefore wore an ink bottle attached to his garment, as is sometimes seen in miniatures. Some antique ink bottles and a few Byz. ones have been preserved, among them a silver bottle with metrical inscription in the treasury of the cathedral at Padua.

LIT. Gardthausen, *Palaeographie* 1:202–17. H. Hunger, *RBK* 2:477–79. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 28–31, 34–36. Hutter, *CBM* 3:1392. M. de Pas, "Recherches sur les encres noires manuscrites," in *PGEB* 55–60. M. Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, *Les encres noires au moyen âge* (Paris 1983) 305–08. —W.H.

INN. Privately owned inns (*pandocheia*, lit. "accepting everything") in both town and countryside provided accommodations for all kinds of travelers and their animals. John Chrysostom (PG 56:111.50–53) states that *pandocheia* were established everywhere along the roads so that travelers and beasts of burden could stop and rest. Nicholas Mesarites in the 12th C. vividly described an inn in the small *kastellion* of Kyr George near Nicaea (A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* [London 1973] 2.2 [1923] 40f): his companion awoke in the morning, kindled a fire in the hearth from the previous day's ashes, put an earthenware pot on an iron tripod, and began his breakfast, holding the meat in his left hand and cutting it into pieces with a knife, washing down the meat and bread with wine, while poor Mesarites suffered from the smoke that filled the room. Inns were not only places to sleep, eat, and drink, but also to find sexual pleasures: the mother of THEODORE OF SYKEON worked as a prostitute in a country inn (*Vita*, ed. Festugière, vol. 1, ch.3.6–14) and, according to legend, Helena, the future mother of Constantine I, was a whore in an inn owned by her father (AB 77 [1959] par.2.3). The vita of Andrew the Fool refers to brothels as "inns of fornication" (PG 111:652C).

The remains of a late Roman inn survive today,

17 km southwest of Urfa: there are three rock-cut caves, two of which were animal stables, and a cistern; the rooms for travelers were in a separate structure, now destroyed. An inscription, probably of the 3rd C., identifies the site as “an inn [*pandokeion*], well, and caves” built by Aurelius Dasius, governor of Osrhoene “so that travelers may enjoy refreshment and repose” (C. Mango, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5 [1986] 223–31).

Distinguished from *pandocheia*, which were profit-making establishments, were *XENODOCHEIA*, guest-houses founded in a spirit of *PHILANTHROPY* to offer Christian hospitality. The *MITATON* for Syrian merchants in Constantinople was a type of inn as well. The world as a temporary abode was compared to an inn by Didymos the Blind (PG 39:780D) and other authors. —A.K., A.M.T.

INNOCENT II (Gregory Papareschi), pope (14 Feb. 1130–24 Sept. 1143). He was the scion of a noble Roman family, whose election to the papacy led to a schism within the curia; his adversaries elected antipope Anacletus II from a rival family of the Pierleone, who was supported by ROGER II of Sicily. Innocent sought German assistance, but CONRAD III was slow to act; the papal expedition against Roger ended in Innocent’s defeat and capture and the treaty of Mignano (27 July 1139), in which the pope recognized Roger as king.

Innocent disapproved of the claims of Emp. John II Komnenos on Antioch; in a letter of 28 Mar. 1138 he excommunicated the emperor and prohibited Latins from serving in the Byz. army. Several months later, however, the pope changed his position and opened negotiations with John in an effort to establish friendly relations with Byz. No positive results were achieved.

LIT. J.G. Rowe, “The Papacy and the Greeks (1122–1153),” *ChHist* 28 (1959) 115–22, 126–30. —A.K.

INNOCENT III (Lothar of Segni), pope (from 8 Jan. 1198); born Anagni 1160/1, died 16 July 1216. The collapse of German power after the death of HENRY VI in 1197 allowed Innocent to accomplish the moral and administrative restructuring of the Roman church and to acquire great influence throughout the Western world. He also tried to expand papal jurisdiction over Armenia and Bulgaria. He worked toward union with the

Greek church on condition that Byz. recognize papal *PRIMACY*, but in the beginning, at least, he was willing to discuss differences in rite.

The organization of the Fourth Crusade put the problem in a new light: at first Innocent apparently hoped to use the Crusader army against the Saracens in Sicily (E. Kennan, *Traditio* 27 [1971] 246–48). Even though the pope supported the German king Otto IV (1198–1218), the rival of PHILIP OF SWABIA, he accepted Philip’s appointee BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT as leader of the expedition. The Crusaders’ capture of ZARA created a new political and moral dilemma. The pontiff disapproved of the attack on a Christian city but recommended continued collaboration with the Venetians, whose resources were necessary to execute the plan (A. Andrea, I. Motsiff, *BS* 33 [1972] 6–25). M. Zaborov (*VizVrem* 5 [1952] 152–77) argued that diversion of the Crusade toward Constantinople was Innocent’s own scheme; this may be an exaggeration, but the Latin seizure of Constantinople in 1204 seemed to be a political success for the reformed papacy.

Innocent’s predecessors usually denied Constantinople’s claim to the status of patriarchate. Now, with Constantinople in Western hands, Innocent endorsed the Greek concept of five patriarchates and associated Constantinople with the activity of the apostle John. However, he had to accede, although reluctantly, to the election of the Venetian THOMAS MOROSINI as Latin patriarch of Constantinople. The pope sent legates (PETER CAPUANO, Benedict) to Constantinople, where they had debates with the Greek clergy: although their words were conciliatory, they in fact demanded that the Greeks conform to Latin doctrine and rite. The Greek hierarchy was restructured and put under the jurisdiction of the Latin church, and Latin monastic orders expanded in the empire. These measures failed to achieve church union, however, and Innocent soon began to treat the Byz. as heretics and schismatics. In 1213 Innocent received letters from certain Greek monks who complained about the Cistercians. The latter had acquired the CHORTAITES MONASTERY, near Thessalonike, from Boniface of Montferrat; later, HENRY OF HAINAULT, the Latin emperor of Constantinople, installed Greek monks there, but in 1212 the Cistercians, armed with Innocent’s mandate, expelled them. Although the pope ordered

Cardinal PELAGIUS OF ALBANO to investigate the situation, the Chortaites monastery remained in Cistercian hands, and by 1223 its owners had even been granted the monastery of the Holy Archangel in Negroponte (E. Brown, *Traditio* 14 [1958] 78–81).

LIT. A. Luchaire, *Innocent III*, 6 vols. (Paris 1906–08). J. Gill, “Innocent III and the Greeks: Aggressor or Apostle?” *Relations Between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker (Edinburgh 1973) 95–108. G. Hagedorn, “Papst Innozenz III. und Byzanz am Vorabend des Vierten Kreuzzugs (1198–1203),” *OstSt* 23 (1974) 3–20, 105–36. W. de Vries, “Innozenz III. (1198–1216) und der christliche Osten,” *ArchHistPont* 3 (1965) 87–126. R.L. Wolff, “The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261,” *Traditio* 6 (1948) 33–60. —A.K.

INNOCENT IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi), pope (from 25 June 1243); born Genoa ca. 1200, died Naples 7 Dec. 1254. Innocent carried the war against FREDERICK II to its climax. In the summer of 1244 the pope fled to Lyons to organize a coalition against Frederick. In 1245 he convened the First Council of Lyons. His aim was to sever Sicily from the German kingdom, and in 1252 he tried to offer Sicily to Richard of Cornwall (son of King John of England) and to CHARLES I OF ANJOU. His Eastern policy was determined primarily by two factors: the need to protect the remnants of the Latin state in Palestine, esp. after the Crusaders’ defeat at Gaza in 1239, and to secure assistance against Frederick. In March or April of 1245 Innocent sent Andrew of Longjumeau to negotiate with the Egyptian emir Fakhr al-Dīn; in a letter of 15 Aug. 1246, Fakhr al-Dīn claimed that atrocities in Jerusalem had been committed without the knowledge of the Ayyūbid sultan and promised to repair demolished buildings and to support pilgrimages, which were lucrative for the AYYŪBIDS (K.-E. Lupprian in *Das heilige Land im Mittelalter* [Neustadt an der Aisch 1982] 77–82).

Innocent also sought alliance with the Mongols (K.E. Lupprian, *ST* 291 [1981] 48–56). He worked for a union with “schismatics” and “heretics” under papal jurisdiction: in a letter of 22 Mar. 1253 he blamed the Catholics on the island of Melos for going too far in rapprochement with the Greeks, but he was ready to recognize some differences in rite if the Eastern church would accept papal *PRIMACY*. The Nicene emperor John III Vatatzes was eager to reach an agreement and to receive the pope’s assistance against the Latin

empire of Constantinople (P. Žavoronkov, *VizVrem* 36 [1974] 113–16), but the negotiations were interrupted by the deaths of John and Innocent in 1254.

LIT. W. de Vries, “Innozenz IV. (1243–1254) und der christliche Osten,” *OstSt* 12 (1963) 113–31. J.M. Powell, “Frederick II and the Church: A Revisionist View,” *Catholic Historical Review* 48 (1963) 487–97. H. Marc-Bonnet, “Le Saint-Siège et Charles d’Anjou sous Innocent IV et Alexandre IV (1245–1261),” *RH* 200 (1948) 49–62. A. Franchi, *La svolta politica-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bisanzio (1244–54)* (Rome 1981). —A.K.

INNOVATION (*καινοτομία*), in the narrow sense, as used by theologians, primarily of the 6th–7th C., described the new doctrine of the miracle of Incarnation. *Kainotomia* is defined by Maximos the Confessor (PG 91:1313C) as Christ’s assumption of “our flesh without semen” and the Virgin’s giving birth without defloration. More often the word was used in a broader sense of novelty and breach of tradition and applied predominantly to heretical doctrines or even rebellions. According to Psellos (*Chron.* 1:103, par.27.14), many of his colleagues called the revolt against Michael V “a senseless *kainotomia*,” while in Kekaumenos *kainotomia* designates illicit actions or illegal gain (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 36 [1974] 156) rather than unexpected damage (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 36 [1974] 170). Accordingly, the expression *kainos theologos*, “new theologian,” had a pejorative connotation (P. Wirth, *OrChr* 45 [1961] 127f), and Niketas Stethatos spoke ironically about new teachers or a new prophet (*neos prophetes*) (A. Kazhdan, *BS* 28 [1967] 4, n.8). The customary title “the New Theologian” given to the mystic Symeon is a misinterpretation—he was Symeon the Younger, the theologian (H.-G. Beck, *BZ* 46 [1953] 57–62).

Thus, the Byz. did not appreciate innovation and claimed to have stuck to tradition. IMITATION or repetition of the standard authorities was praiseworthy. The idea of plagiarism did not exist. Reforms were usually couched in terms of the restoration of the past rather than of innovation: Psellos, while criticizing Isaac I Komnenos for drastic changes, referred to God who did not create the world instantaneously but took an entire week (*Chron.* 2:121, par.62.9–12). In the same vein Gregoras (Greg. 2:796.2–12) censored the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike for their rule that had no precedents, aristocratic or democratic, and was

not even a “new species” derived from existing forms but emerged spontaneously as a “strange ochlocracy.” This negative attitude toward innovation does not mean that Byz. culture totally lacked originality. For example, there were remarkable novelties of both content and style, esp. in MONUMENTAL PAINTING, in and after the 9th C.

LIT. Mango, *Byz. Image*, pt.III (1981), 48–57.

—A.K., A.C.

INSANITY, a DISEASE that was viewed by the Byz. in a contradictory manner: some people with abnormal behavior were proclaimed holy FOOLS, but insanity and esp. the epilepsy confused with it were interpreted as caused by DEMONS. Accordingly, the Byz. lost the classical definition of epilepsy as “holy disease,” or *hiera nosos*, a term transferred to LEPROSY (A. Philipsborn, *Byzantion* 33 [1963] 223f).

Byz. theoreticians generally hearkened back to the notions of GALEN that madness was the result of too much black bile, causing the diseased imbalance of humors called melancholy (cf. Alex.Trall. 1:590–617). A second Galenic concept was the idea of the three *pneumata* (Vital, Psychic, and Natural) that also caused madness when balance among the three was disturbed; one meets continual reference to “passions” (esp. those of lust) as particularly engendering insanity. Galen’s *Passions and Errors of the Soul* (ed. W. de Boer [Leipzig-Berlin 1937]) provided a model of sorts, from which many Byz. physicians derived their basic concepts of madness, although numerous cases of pure insanity had clear records of cure through religious miracles, not medical or pharmaceutical treatment. As treatment of insanity, saints used EXORCISM and INCUBATION in special churches.

LIT. M. Dols, “Insanity in Byzantine and Islamic Medicine,” *DOP* 38 (1984) 135–48. H. Flashar, *Melancholie und Melancholiker in den medizinischen Theorien der Antike* (Berlin 1966) 118–33. W. Creutz, *Die Neurologie des 1.-7. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig 1934) 50–81.

—J.S.

INSCRIPTIO. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

INSCRIPTIONS, LAPIDARY, are incised or carved in relief on stone or marble, the letters sometimes heightened in color. They may be divided into two periods: the first from the 4th to

the 7th C., the second from the 7th to the 15th. In the first period EPIGRAPHY continues to play the same role, closely tied to city life, that it had played under the pagan empire; in the second period its scope becomes more restricted. We may divide stone inscriptions (sing. *τίλος*, *τίλον*) into the following principal categories:

1. **Funerary inscriptions** are very numerous in the first period and are found on stelae, sarcophagi, loculi, and other forms of burial. Persons of high status are often commemorated in hexameter. There is a wide spread of lower-class epitaphs (artisans, shopkeepers, soldiers, minor clergy, etc.) recording the name of the deceased and his/her father; place of origin (often providing evidence of migration); occupation; length of life; date of death (day of the week, month, indiction), seldom in absolute terms (i.e., by consulship, regnal year, or local era in the Eastern provinces). Sometimes curses are added against anyone making unauthorized use of the tomb; the price paid for it may also be mentioned. There is a particularly full series of epitaphs from KORYKOS, another from TYRE. Constantinople with its environs, Corinth, and other places have also yielded a fair number.

In the second period epitaphs become much rarer and those of ordinary persons almost nonexistent, which suggests that they were buried in unmarked graves. This development may account for funerary graffiti, such as those scratched on the columns of the Parthenon in Athens, separated from the place of burial. As for persons of rank, there is a tendency toward longer and longer verse epitaphs, inscribed on the sarcophagus or on slabs attached to an *arcosolium*.

2. **Honorific inscriptions** on statue bases or accompanying the portrait of a prominent person (emperor, official, charioteer), usually in verse, were still fairly common in the first period (many preserved in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY), but absent in the second.

3. **Building inscriptions** appear on public monuments and works of fortifications, seldom on private houses. This category continued into the second period, while undergoing considerable contraction.

4. **Inscriptions recording edicts and tariffs** were practically absent in the second period, the latest known example perhaps being the grant of a salt pan to the Church of St. Demetrios at Thessalo-

nike by Justinian II (688/9). The conciliar “edict” of Manuel I of 1166 (C. Mango, *DOP* 17 [1963] 315–30) is essentially a religious text.

5. **Acclamations** addressed to emperors and circus factions are usually introduced by the formula *Nika he tyche*. They are absent in the second period.

6. **Boundary stones** are practically absent in the second period, except for those delimiting the Byz.-Bulgarian frontier (Beševliev, *Inscripfen*, no.46). MILESTONES along public roads appear to cease in the 5th C.

7. **Inscriptions regarding rights of ownership** or the place (*topos*, *thesis*) occupied by persons in a theater, a market, or even a church form another category. They are absent in the second period.

8. **Religious texts, invocations, and curses** are also the subject of inscriptions.

LIT. *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, 4 (Berlin 1877).

—C.M.

INSIGNIA (*σημεῖα*), characteristic emblems used to express symbolically the social and political position of an individual or an institution. Byz. only embryonically developed the heraldry of hereditary familial COATS OF ARMS so typical of Western feudalism, but it did establish systems of personal, institutional, and imperial insignia. The word *semeion* was also used to designate both a standard or banner (e.g., a Persian *semeion* placed on a tower—*Chron. Pasch.* 554.8–9) and a theological symbol, such as the sign of the cross, baptism, or a miracle.

Personal insignia are known primarily from SEALS that depict images of Christ, the Virgin, the cross, and various saints, the most popular of which were military saints (George, Demetrios, and Theodore), the Archangel Michael, and St. Nicholas; more developed scenes (e.g., the Annunciation) appear rarely. The saint is considered a patron (often the owner of the seal was named after him), but it is not yet clear to what extent the owner consistently used the image of his patron saint and accordingly whether the *semeion* should be considered a genuine emblem. Some patterns of usage are evident: thus, generals frequently adopted military saints as patrons, whereas civil functionaries preferred Michael and Nicholas. Seals reveal a certain consistency and continuity of *semeia* for local churches; thus, the met-

ropolitans of Ephesus had as their patrons either the apostle John or the Virgin.

The emblems of officials are better known. The NOTITIA DIGNITATUM represents the insignia of important office holders ca.400; thus, the emblems of the praetorian prefect of Illyricum were the *codicillus* (diploma of appointment) with imperial portrait, the so-called *theca* (i.e., pen case and ink pot), and a horse-drawn state coach reserved for the use of the prefect (P.C. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* [New York–London 1981] 25–37). Later insignia are listed in such texts as *De ceremoniis* of Constantine VII or in pseudo-Kodinos.

Insignia can be divided into symbolic emblems (as represented in the *Notitia dignitatum* or on coins) and real objects. The latter encompassed COSTUME including footgear, the CROWN, weaponry and horse trappings, the THRONE, and symbols of authority or piety, such as the SCEPTER, SPHAIRA (orb), and AKAKIA. The form and color of these garments and objects differed, reflecting the hierarchical ladder. Thus, in pseudo-Kodinos, the *despotes* was granted the privilege of wearing the SKIADION covered with pearls, with a veil bearing the name of the owner embroidered in gold; the *sebastokrator* had a gold and red *skiadion* with gold embroidery (*symmateinon*), but no pearls are mentioned; the *megas domestikos* wore a *klapoton* (not *symmateinon*) *skiadion*, that is, one decorated with small golden squares in the shape of a nail-head; the *megas doux* wore a *klapoton skiadion*, but without a veil, and so on.

In the late 9th C. the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos divided all functionaries into two major categories: those who were invested with some form of insignia (*brabeion*), and those who were appointed by the word of the emperor. Among official insignia Philotheos mentioned the *charte* (codicil); a golden staff; the *fiblatorion*, a cloak secured with a FIBULA; a golden chain; a golden whip decorated with precious stones; and a sword ornamented with gold and ivory plaques.

Imperial regalia, partly developed from the insignia of Roman magistrates (e.g., consuls), partly derived from the East, partly created anew, were above all characterized by the exclusive right to use the color PURPLE (while green and blue were the colors of certain high-ranking officials). A special costume decorated with gold, pearls, and precious stones distinguished the emperor from

his entourage. The order in which the different elements of imperial costume (DIVETESION, CHLAMYS, SKARAMANGION, etc.) were put on was prescribed by court ceremonial, and the usage of a particular garment was usually linked with carrying particular objects (scepter, etc.). The ceremonial also prescribed a change in the imperial regalia at certain stages of processions and receptions. The different elements of the regalia varied in importance: the crown and *chlamys* always held pride of place, whereas the scepter and shoes (TZANGIA) probably assumed significance only by the 10th C. Different crowns and garments were employed for different festivities.

The Byz. saw a symbolic meaning in various insignia: the *sphaira* designated the universal power of the emperor, the *akakia* his mortality and subjection to Christ. A poem of CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (no.30.12–26) gives an example of the symbolic interpretation of the insignia that belonged to the eparch of Constantinople: his *simikinthion* ("apron," probably the *loros*) symbolized the uninterrupted series of his good works; the tawny orange boots his divine paths; the white horse his shining virtue; and the brazen bosses of his horse trappings, which were alloyed with gold, symbolized his generosity, since he distributed gold and bronze among the needy.

LIT. K. Wessel, E. Piltz, C. Nicolescu, *RBK* 3:369–468. *DOC* 2.1:80–88; 3.1:127–142. P.E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, vols. 1–4 (Stuttgart-Munich 1954–78). A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *MDAI RA* 50 (1935) 1–171. G. Galavaris, "The Symbolism of the Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins," *MN* 8 (1958) 99–112. A. Pertusi, "Symbolisme des insignes byzantines du pouvoir," *EtBalk* 14 (1978) no.2, 44–50. —A.K.

INSPIRATION commonly designates the workings of a (divine) spirit. In Christianity it refers particularly to the HOLY SPIRIT who acts on the authors of the BIBLE. Their works, according to 2 Timothy 3:16, are "inspired by God" (*theopneustos*, a Hellenistic term to indicate the phenomenon of "divine rapture," "divine emotion," and ecstasy) and an operation of divine *empneusis*. The books of the Bible are not the work of man, but prophecy (2 Pet 1:20–21): this is the term preferred by the church fathers to describe the Bible as the work of God. Therewith, inspiration also means the influence of God on the prophets,

and then the Apostles (to be distinguished from the possession of the Spirit in Christ: Nicholas of Methone, ed. A. Demetrakopulos, *Ekklesiastike Bibliothheke*, vol. 1 [Leipzig 1866; rp. Hildesheim 1965] 199–218), and the saints; finally it includes all "charismas," inspirations of God, and esp. enthusiastic experiences. Certain writers, esp. hagiographers, emphasize that they are or are said to be humble sinners who function only as the tool of the Holy Spirit. The notion of inspiration serves primarily and largely to maintain authority, and so in Byz. one speaks of the inspiration of the councils, the church fathers, or the ecclesiastical canons. Finally, in the political sphere, there is inspiration of the emperor, who, crowned by the Holy Spirit, rules through the Holy Spirit's inspiration. (See also SOPHIA.)

LIT. H. Bacht, "Religionsgeschichtliches zum Inspirationsproblem," *Scholastik* 17 (1942) 50–69. J. Leipoldt, "Die Frühgeschichte der Lehre von der göttlichen Eingebung," *ZNTW* 44 (1952–53) 118–45. K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* (Leipzig 1898). G. Bardy, "L'inspiration des Pères de l'Église," *RechScRel* 40 (1951–52) 7–26. —K.-H.U.

INSTITUTES. Promulgated by Justinian I through the constitution "Imperatoriam" of 21 Nov. 533 and compiled at his order by the law professors THEOPHILOS and DOROTHEOS, under the direction of TRIBONIAN, the *Institutes* are at once a textbook in four books and law. As a textbook they are closely modeled, in the arrangement of the material, on the *Institutes* of the jurist Gaius (2nd C.), from which many of their texts are derived. The writings of the classical Roman jurists—mostly in their form as preserved in the *DIGEST*—and Justinian I's own constitutions also served as sources. Justinian explicitly endowed the *Institutes* with the force of law in the introductory constitution "Imperatoriam" (ch.7). A Greek paraphrase of the *Institutes* that resulted from the law course of Theophilos served as a "quarry" for later Byz. legal textbooks (PSELLOS, *Synopsis legum*) and legal *lexika* (*adet*), because of its pedagogical arrangement of the most important legal topics (*personae*, *res*, *actiones*) on the one hand, and its numerous explanations of Latin legal terms on the other. Various fragments from Greek revisions of the text of the *Institutes*—which are more or less similar to

the Theophilos text—are found in legal MSS and can even be detected in the *Hexabiblos* of HARMENOPOULOS.

ED. P. Birks, G. McLeod (London 1987), with Eng. tr. LIT. Wenger, *Quellen* 600–11, 682–86. P. Pieler in Hunger, *Lit.* 2:417–21. O.F. Robinson, "Public Law and Justinian's Institutes," in *Studies in Justinian's Institutes in Memory of J.A.C. Thomas* (London 1983) 125–33. L. Burgmann, "Das Lexikon adet—Ein Theophilosglossar," *FM* 6 (Frankfurt 1984) 19–61. —M.Th.F.

INTAGLIO, conventional term denoting a subcategory of glyptics (carved hardstones), on which, in contrast to *CAMEO*, the design is incised. Preferred stones were jasper, carnelian, haematite, and rock crystal, for any of which glass might occasionally be substituted. The technique is most characteristic of ring bezels and cone *SEALS*, where it was essential to their sealing function, and of pendant *AMULETS*, where it was apparently valued for its beauty and, perhaps, for its similarity to Greco-Egyptian gem amulets (Bonner, *Studies*, nos. 294–97, 334–39). Intaglios were far less popular among the Byz. than among the Romans or Sasanians, and their technical quality relatively inferior. Monograms were preferred for sealing intaglios, while various biblical scenes, icons, or magical creatures or symbols might appear on the amulets. Relatively common during the 5th–7th C., gemstone intaglios are rare thereafter, although the occasional appearance of fine figural specimens from succeeding centuries attests to preservation of the tradition, probably among craftsmen who regularly incised metal, whether for ring bezels, cone seals, coin dies, or *boulloteria* (see *SEALING IMPLEMENTS*).

LIT. H. Wentzel, "Die Kamee der Kaiserin Anna," in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1968) 1–11. —G.V.

INTELLECT (*νοῦς*), the human mind, was conceived in accordance with ancient Greek metaphysics as the immaterial or spiritual cognitive faculty, referring to unity and transcending the differences of rational discourse, "reconciling all oppositions" (BASIL THE GREAT, ep.8.9, ed. Courtonne 1:33.11–13). Although the *nous* functioned in a different way from sensorial perception (Maximos the Confessor in scholia on pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE), ANASTASIOS OF SINAI

(ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux* 2.5.66–67) defined it as the "contemplative perception" (*aisthesis theoretike*) that brings forth the *LOGOS* in the unity of language and thought. Differentiated from the *SOUL*, *nous* is a divine spark in the soul possessing the capacity of knowing God. It is the instrument of contemplation that prepares the human way to perfection, but needs constant purification, since it can be obscured and coarsened by sin. *Nous* was metaphorically represented as light, eye, and charioteer.

Pseudo-Dionysios speaks of angelic intelligences or powers as *noes* (pl. of *nous*). The Byz. also employed the terminology of *PLOTINOS* who considered the divine Intellect as the first emanation of the One. The epithet *nous* was applied both to the Father whose Son was "the Logos of the *Nous*" and to the Son.

For the Origenists of the 6th C., Christ was the "self-alienating *Nous*" who is to come, at the end of time, for the salvation of fallen spirits "in various bodies and under various names." All intelligent beings or *noes*, before the aversion or disgust that is caused by their vision of God and leads them to apostasy, were but "one substance, one force, one energy," and they will acquire such status again at the end of time owing to their unity with God the Logos and the loss of any individuality. Only one *nous* had preserved his union with God the Logos in the vision of God, namely one that at the end of time will be revealed as Christ in multiple forms in order to initiate the *apokatastasis*, that is, the restoration of the original unity. In this teaching on the beginning and the end of time, the metaphysics of the intellect becomes a cosmological myth and drama; this teaching overlaps with Gnostic speculations that resolve the entire cosmos and all its species in a single undifferentiated unity; in other words, alienates them. A contrasting view is represented by the hierarchical world view of pseudo-Dionysios. In the tenets of Byz. mystics and in the doctrine of the Trinity one can see the merging of these two tendencies. —K.-H.U.

INTELLECTUALS in the late Roman period were connected primarily with the urban environment: they received their training in universities and occupied positions as teachers, lawyers, rhetori-

cians, physicians; they were members of the local aristocracy or belonged to its milieu. Alongside them two new groups of intellectuals developed, theologians and officials. The crisis of the late antique polis was accompanied by the disappearance of the urban "intelligentsia"—cultural activity ca.800 was concentrated around monasteries, not the curia as it was in antiquity. The ENCYCLOPEDIA of the 9th–10th C. contributed to the development of a secular intelligentsia, but through the 11th C. intellectuals were primarily state and church bureaucrats, closely connected with Constantinople and its administrative machinery. Professional intellectuals came to the fore in the 12th C., but even in this period their careers were often crowned by appointment to a bishopric. Nevertheless, intellectuals of the 12th C. argued that they held a specific social position and had a right to remunerations granted by the state, church, or private patrons. The increasing social importance of the medical profession (A. Kazhdan, *DOP* 38 [1984] 43–51) also reflects this shift. Ševčenko's analysis of the status of late Byz. literati (*infra*) demonstrated that the court of Constantinople continued to be the center of intellectual life, even though more than half of the writers can be assigned to the ecclesiastical sphere; only a few were of humble origin.

LIT. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.I (1974), 69–92, rev. A. Kazhdan, *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 89–97. H.G. Beck, *Das literarische Schaffen der Byzantiner* (Vienna 1974) 11f. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 101f. —A.K.

INTELLIGENCE, MILITARY AND POLITICAL. Surrounded by hostile powers and peoples, the Byz. state constantly required political and military intelligence to defend itself and to expand its influence beyond its borders. The *DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO* (10th C.) outlines the interests served by political intelligence, such as desirable alliances, trade routes, and diplomatic strategy, and by counterintelligence, used to awe foreign ambassadors with Byz. power and to withhold state secrets from them. Information was channelled to the *LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU* from many sources, including merchants, travelers, former prisoners of war, embassies, and Christian communities outside the empire.

Military men paid close attention to the equipment, skills, tactics, and character of various enemies; their observations were recorded in the

STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE (bk.11) and the *TAKTIKA OF LEO VI* (bk.18) with suggestions on how best to adapt to each one. The *DE VELITATIONE* (10th C.) describes the surveillance of the frontiers by local units, which monitored enemy invaders to ascertain their strength and intentions; the necessity of reconnaissance while on campaign is repeatedly emphasized in the *STRATEGIKA*. In preparation for offensive expeditions, merchants were sent into enemy lands to collect information (*De cer.* 657.3–12), and grudging tribute to their effectiveness comes from *IBN HAWQAL*, who criticized the Arab authorities' inattention to them (*Configuration de la terre*, tr. J.H. Kramers, G. Wiet, vol. 1 [Paris 1964] 193).

LIT. F. Dvornik, *Origins of Intelligence Services* (New Brunswick 1974) 121–87, 235–58. J. Wiita, "The Ethnika in Byzantine Military Treatises" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Minn., 1977). G. Dagron, "Ceux d'en face: Les peuples étrangers dans les traités militaires byzantins," *TM* 10 (1987) 207–28. —E.M.

INTEREST (*τόκος*, lit. "child"). According to the law of Justinian I, there were two sorts of interest: based on a contract (agreement, stipulation); automatically owed by law in some kinds of transactions, such as interest on debts to minors or to the fisc or owed by an official of a society if he used the society's funds for his own purposes. The 8th-C. *Ecloga* does not mention *tokos*; in the early 9th C. Emp. Nikephoros I abolished all forms of interest (Theoph. 488.11) with the exception of interest due to *naukleroi* (probably on account of their occupational risk). Basil I also prohibited interest as contravening Christian ethical values. Leo VI, however, revoked this prohibition in novel 83, since "the average man is unable to attain such heights of morality and must abide by human, not divine laws."

Maximum interest was defined by *Basil.* 23.3.74 in accordance with Justinianic law: the normal rate of interest was set at 6 percent, but the *illustrioi* could not ask more than 4 percent, whereas merchants were allowed 8 percent, increased to 12 percent if they were involved in maritime operations. In novel 83 Leo VI allowed only a standard 4 percent rate of interest. *Peira* 19.1 gives a higher rate: regular interest was 6 nomismata per pound (*litra*) of gold, while *argyropatai* could charge 8 nomismata; *protospatharioi* were limited to charging 4 nomismata. Since in

the 11th C. there were 72 nomismata to the pound, the rates were 8.3, 11.1, and 5.6 percent, respectively. Circa 1400 much higher rates of 15 and 26.6 percent are found in the decisions of Patr. Matthew I. (See also *USURY*.)

LIT. G. Cassimatis, *Les intérêts dans la législation de Justinien et dans le droit byzantin* (Paris 1931). N. Matzes, "Hō tokos en te nomologia tou patriarcheiou Konstantinoupolos kata tous ID' kai IE' aionas," *EEBS* 38 (1971) 71–83. —A.K.

INTERIOR SPACE, the depiction of an enclosed area, was generally of little concern to artists in Byz. and was left to the spectator's understanding of a scene to supply. Thus in the *ROSSANO GOSPELS* no physical distinction is made between the room in which Judas returns the silver and the yard in which he hangs himself. Painters normally declined to define the area in which an event took place, even one specified in a text as occurring indoors. Scenes calling for an interior setting, such as the Last Supper or the *DORMITION* of the Virgin, were furnished with a summary architectural backdrop, occasionally supplemented with a swag, signifying an interior space, thrown over a wall or slung between piers. Other symbolic devices of this sort include open doors, thrones, altars, and tables. Even in the 14th C., when there is some evidence for the reuse of Late Antique motifs and of loans from the West, ancient Roman and new Italian *PERSPECTIVE* schemes were ignored; interior spaces became ever more elaborate and ever less rational.

LIT. T. Velmans, "Le rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues," *CahArch* 14 (1964) 183–216. Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 88–90. —A.C.

INTERLACE, a regular pattern formed of two or more interwoven or plaited bands, usually as a filler or border *ORNAMENT*. In contrast with the technical precision achieved through the use of compass and ruler in many Latin examples, Byz. versions of interlace, particularly in MSS, seem to have been composed freehand. Again unlike Latin interlace, Byz. examples are usually symmetrically constructed along an axis. In this they also differ from the arabesque, an overall decorative pattern based on stylized leaf- and scrollwork developed by the Arabs that appears in Byz. by the 10th C. As a twisted rope pattern or in the form of large

and usually regular medallions alternating with smaller circles, a simple interlace formed of two strands was ubiquitous throughout the Byz. period; multiple band interlace also appears, particularly in works produced in or influenced by Italy. Interlace was esp. popular in MSS, textiles, and metalwork.

Simple, two-strand interlace is often referred to by scholars as *guilloche*. It appears on capitals and moldings, as at the *NEA MONE* on Chios, as well as in MSS from the 6th C. (*Vienna Dioskorides*) to the end of the Byz. period, as it was particularly popular as a text divider.

LIT. Frantz, "Byz. Illuminated Ornament" 50–54. Åberg, *Occident and Orient* 2:32–36. H. Bober, "On the Illumination of the Glazier Codex," in *Homage to a Bookman: Essays on Manuscripts, Books and Printing written for H.P. Kraus* (Berlin 1967) 31–49. —L.Br.

INTERPOLATIONES. When charging the compilers to assemble the *DIGEST*, Justinian I authorized them to make alterations, where necessary, to the texts of the classical jurists (*Cod. Just.* I 17.1.7). He also allowed "editorial" interventions of this sort in the compilation of the *CODEx JUSTINIANUS* ("Constitutio Haec," ch.2 = *CIC* 2, p.1). These interpolations into the original texts, though intentional, are discreet; they have promoted considerable research aimed at reconstructing the original versions of the texts. The writings of the *ANTECESSORES* occasionally aid in the detection of the interpolations both because they were sometimes based on older stages of the text (*THALELAIOS*) and because they were composed with knowledge of the pre-Justinianic legal situation. Conscious interpolations, which actually change the content of a text, are rarely encountered in Byz. legal literature after Justinian. In the *BASILIKA* the texts of the *CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS* were incorporated usually without any intentional alterations. In some cases, however, interpolations of the original texts of Justinian can be observed in the *Basilika*. These interpolations correspond to several innovations in law that Leo VI decreed in his novels (M.Th. Fögen, *SubGr* 3 [1989] 23–35).

LIT. *Index interpolationum, quae in Iustiniani Digestis inesse dicuntur*, eds. L. Mitteis, E. Levy, E. Rabel, 3 vols. (plus supp. to vol. 1) (Weimar 1929–35). *Index interpolationum, quae in Iustiniani Codice inesse dicuntur*, ed. G. Broggini (Cologne-Vienna 1969). S. Riccobono, "Tracce di diritto romano classico nelle collezioni giuridiche bizantine," *Bul-*

lettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano 18 (1906) 197–222. Idem, “Il valore delle collezioni giuridiche bizantine per lo studio critico del ‘Corpus Iuris Civilis,’” in *Mélanges Fitting*, vol. 2 (Montpellier 1908; rp. Aalen-Frankfurt 1969) 465–97.

—M.Th.F.

INTERPRETER (ἐρμηνευτής or διερμηνευτής), official on the staff of the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU; in the Palaiologan period they were under the command of the *megas diermeneutes* and the *praitor tou demou*. Bury (*Adm. System* 93) identified them with the *interpretes diversarum gentium* in the *officium* of the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM. Some interpreters, such as the *protospatharios* Krinites in the mid-10th C., performed diplomatic duties. The corps of professional interpreters existed through the whole history of Byz., even though the sources rarely mention their participation in later embassies (I. Medvedev, *VizVrem* 33 [1972] 132, n.18). The *gambros* and *diermeneutes* Loukas Notaras took part in negotiations with the Venetians in 1448 (*Reg* 5, no.3516; MM 3:224.16). Besides participating in embassies, interpreters served as translators for negotiations in Constantinople and compiled documents in foreign languages. The epithet *megas* was applied to the term in the 12th C. (first mention ca.1160) to designate the chief interpreter. On seals one finds the titles of the interpreters of the Romans, Bulgarians, Varangians, and English (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 469–71; Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.706).

LIT. D.A. Miller, “The Logothete of the Drome in the Middle Byzantine Period,” *Byzantion* 36 (1966–67) 449–58. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.XX (1968), 17–26. Oikonomides, “Chancellerie” 172f.

—A.K.

INTESTATE SUCCESSION (ἡ κληρονομία ἐξ ἀδιαθέτου) occurs when a deceased person has left no WILL. If the problems that necessarily arise in this case—the appointment of an HEIR and division of the inheritance—are resolved by the norms of inheritance law, then intestate succession is equivalent to legal inheritance. This was the situation in Byz., where, with the exception of a few small changes (as, e.g., the *trimoiria*), the late antique regulations on legal succession established in final form by Justinian I remained binding. These regulations provided that a deceased person be succeeded in the first place by his children, who took his place collectively and in equal shares. If there were grandchildren, they were

excluded from the inheritance as long as their parents were living. If some or all of the children of the deceased had died, leaving children, the latter divided up the portion of the inheritance allotted to their parents. If the deceased had no descendants, then his parents and his siblings inherited equal portions. Grandparents of the deceased succeeded to the inheritance only if no siblings or parents survived. If there were no such (living) relatives left, the estate was divided among the stepsiblings of the deceased (who had only one parent in common with the deceased), followed by all collateral relations. Before the year 548 (*Nov. Just.* 127), spouses could inherit from their deceased partner only when there were no relatives at all. Thereafter, providing they had children and did not remarry, they were given equal ranking with the children, that is, they could inherit, together with the children, an *in capita* portion. Adopted children were treated like legitimate children. Illegitimate children inherited from their mother and, together with her, one-sixth of their father's estate, provided that the deceased did not leave a wife or descendants from a legitimate marriage. If there were no eligible heirs at hand, the inheritance fell to the state.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:497–512 (§287).

—D.S.

INTITULATIO. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

INVECTIVE (ψόγος), with ENKOMION, constituted the genre of EPIDEICTIC oratory, according to the authors of rhetorical textbooks (e.g., Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 58.15). Even though LIBANIOS produced several PROGYMNASMATA of invective, only APHTHONIOS (*Progymnasmata*, pp. 27–31) included a separate paragraph on the *psogos*. Later commentaries on both Aphthonios and HERMOGENES (e.g., Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 75.4–5) likened the pairing of *enkomion*-invective to judicial speeches of accusation and defense (APOLOGY). The term *psogos*, having a pejorative sense (blame or censure), was not employed for titles of invectives; thus, Libanios entitled his invective (or.46) simply “Against (*kata*) Florentios.” The genre of invective was popular in Byz. society, the major subject of blame being inclination toward paganism (see also POLEMIC, RELIGIOUS), as in the pamphlet on Choi-

rosphaktes by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA (1:200–12). The style of invective was sometimes very crude, consisting of accumulated curses, as in CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, who ardently formed very long composites, such as “Helleno-worshiper-Christ-blasphemer.” Elements of invective could penetrate even hagiography; thus NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON transformed his vita of Patr. Ignatios into an invective against Photios. Twelfth-century invective (ANACHARSIS, the “biography” of a certain Bagoas by BASILAKES) had a moral rather than religious emphasis, and later invectives form a parallel to Italian humanist invectives of the 15th C. (P. Canivet, N. Oikonomides, *Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 21–25).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:104–06. S. Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Meisenheim am Glan 1980).

—A.K.

INVENTORY. Inventories, variously termed BREBION, *apographe* (*Pantel.* no.7.4), *katastichon* (*Lavra* 3, no.146.42), etc., often accompanied wills and lists of donations. They contain important information on relics, icons, textiles, manuscripts, bookbindings, and a great variety of liturgical vessels. Among the most important inventories are the following:

Inventory (5th–6th C.) of a church at Ibion, Egypt (H. Leclercq, *DACL* 7.1:1408–25)

List of regalia and relics in the Church of the Pharos and other chapels in the Great Palace at Constantinople (*De cer.* 640.1–641.5)

List of donations to the Great Lavra and to Karyes on Mt. Athos in a Georgian *Life* of Sts. John and Euthymios (late 10th C.): Lat. tr., P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 (1917–19) 25–27

Will of Eustathios BOILAS (1059)

Diataxis of Michael ATTALEIATES (1077)

Inventory of the monastery of PETRITZOS in the *typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos

Inventory of the monastery of S. Pietro in Spina, Calabria (after 1135), ed. Montfaucon, *Pal. Graeca* 403–07

Inventory of the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY, ca.1120–30

Inventory of the Xylourgou monastery on Mt. Athos (1142), in *Pantel.*, no.7

Two inventories (May 1192, 13 Oct. 1202) of the so-called Palace of BOTANEIATES near Kalybia, ed. MM 3:x–xv, 55–57

Inventory of the monastery of St. John, PATMOS (1200), ed. C. Astruc, *TM* 8 (1981) 15–30

Inventory of the possessions of the monastery of the Virgin at SKOTEINE in 1247

Will (1330/1) listing bequests of Neilos, founder of the monastery of the Prodromos on Mt. Athos, *Docheiar.*, no.17

List of icons, Gospel books, and textiles in the monastery of the Virgin Gabaliotissa at Voden, given to the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos in May 1375 (*Lavra* 3, no.147)

Patriarchal inventory of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (1397), MM 2:566–70

Inventory of the Eleousa monastery at VELJUSA (1449), ed. L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 (1900) 114–53

LIT. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 20–29, 36f, 88–91. K.A. Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika-diatheke* (Athens 1970) 113–23. J. Bompaire, “Les catalogues de livres-manuscrits d’époque byzantine (XIe–XVe siècles),” in *Mél.Dujčev* 59–81.

—A.C.

INVOCATIO. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

INVOCATION. See EPICLESIS.

IOANNIKIOS (Ἰωάννικιος), saint; born in the village of Marykaton, near Lake Apollonias, Bithynia, perhaps between 752 and 754, died in the monastery of Antidion, 3 Nov. 846 (J. Pargoire, *EO* 4 [1900–01] 75–80); feastday 3 or 4 Nov. He was probably of Slavic origin (Ph. Malingoudis, *Hellenika* 31 [1979] 494–96). As a peasant boy Ioannikios herded swine; at 19 he joined the army and later fought courageously in the battle of MARKELLAI (summer 792) against the Bulgarians. After the Byz. defeat, he withdrew to Bithynian Mt. Olympos, wandered across Asia Minor, lived in solitude, and finally took the monastic habit. An ardent Iconodule, Ioannikios was compelled by Leo V's persecutions to flee to Mt. Alsos. Later, Ioannikios supported METHODIOS I and helped him attain the patriarchate.

Ioannikios's vita is preserved in two versions and in a reworking by SYMEON METAPHRASTES. One hagiographer, Sabas (perhaps author of the *Life* of Peter of ATROA), claims to have known Ioannikios (AASS Nov. 2.1:370f) and inserts a number of chronological indications, not always sound (e.g., it is questionable that Ioannikios was already 40 at Markellai). Peter, the second ha-

geographer, is indebted for his information to Eustratios, who was the companion of Ioannikios for 50 years. Both stories have much in common, differing sometimes in the sequence of events. Unlike Sabas, however, Peter severely criticizes the monks of STROUDIOS for their opposition to Ioannikios (*Ibid.*, 405B, 422A). Both Lives are concerned with the upper class of society, mentioning Ioannikios's connections with emperors, *magistroi*, *patrikioi*, *koubikoularioi*, *hypatikoï*, and *spatharioi*.

Representation in Art. The saint is depicted as a monk, and in miniature paintings he is sometimes associated with the image of a mountain; in two MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, this mountain is accompanied by the female personification of Mt. OLYMPOS.

SOURCES. AASS Nov. 2.1:332-435. PG 116:35-92.

LIT. BHG 935-37. C. Mango, "The Two Lives of St. Ioannikios and the Bulgarians," in *Okeanos* 393-404. S. Vryonis, "St. Ioannicius the Great (754-846) and the 'Slavs' of Bithynia," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 245-48. -A.K., N.P.Š.

IOANNINA (Ἰωάννινα), city of northern EPIROS, situated on a peninsula on Lake Ioannina; the unnamed "well-fortified polis" built by Justinian I for the citizens of ancient Euroia (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.1.39-42) can probably be identified as Ioannina. The name *Ioannina*, however, appears only in the 9th C. as a suffragan bishopric of Naupaktos (*Notitiae CP* 7:580). Anna Komnene mentions Ioannina three times without any comment. In 1082 it was temporarily taken by the Normans. After 1204 Venice claimed the city, but control fell to the despotate of Epiros, and the theme of Ioannina was created in 1225. Besieged by Nicaean troops after the battle of PELAGONIA in 1259, Ioannina remained in Epirot hands until 1318, when it was taken by the Byz. and raised to metropolitan status (E. Chrysos, *Dodone* 5 [1976] 337-48). In Feb. 1319 Andronikos II issued a chrysobull (*Reg* 4, no.2412) listing the privileges of the citizens of the *asty* Ioannina: elements of local administration, exemption from trade duties and military obligations outside the city, confirmation of city customs and of its possessions. This chrysobull is a unique document describing city IMMUNITY.

Ioannina fell to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan ca.1348 and passed to SYMEON UROŠ after 1355. THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ ruled in Ioannina from 1366/7 on-

ward; his tyrannical reign is described in the CHRONICLE OF IOANNINA. In his struggle against the Albanians Preljubović called upon the Ottomans in 1380. Frightened by Albanian attacks, the citizens acknowledged Carlo Tocco as ruler, and he transferred his summer residence there. In 1430, however, soon after his death, Ioannina was ceded to the Turks.

Little is left of the Byz. monuments of Ioannina. According to K. Tsoures (*EpChron* 25 [1983] 132-57), the walls on the so-called acropolis of the Demotikon Mouseion and the city walls were built in the 10th C.; the acropolis of İç Kale in 1082; in 1204-15 the city walls and acropolis of the Demotikon Mouseion were reconstructed; in 1367-84 additional fortifications were erected, including a tower with the inscription of Thomas (evidently Preljubović).

LIT. TIB 3:165-67, with add. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *BalkSt* 24 (1983) 142f. L. Branouses, *Historika kai topographika tou mesaionikou kastrou ton Ioanninon* (Athens 1968). Ph.G. Oikonomos, *He en Ioanninois ekklesia apo tes hidryseos tes mechri ton kath'hemas chronon* (Athens 1966). O. Kresten, "Marginalien zur Geschichte von Ioannina unter Kaiser Andronikos III Palaiologos," *EpChron* 25 (1983) 113-32. -T.E.G.

IOASAF OF VIDIN, Bulgarian bishop and writer; fl. ca.1375-1400. Ioasaf was a monk in a monastery at or near Vidin. At the request of Prince Ivan Sracimir of Vidin, he was ordained metropolitan of VIDIN in Sept. 1392 in Constantinople by Patr. Antony IV. He was sent on a diplomatic mission to Turnovo shortly after the city fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1393 and returned to Vidin with the relics of Sts. Philothea and Petka (Paraskeve). His panegyric on St. Philothea is preserved in the Rila Panegyrikon, copied in 1479 by Vladislav Gramatik. It follows the stylistic model of the panegyrics of EVTIMIY OF TURNOVO. Although the work contains many hagiographical clichés, it also provides much information on the condition of Bulgaria at the beginning of Turkish rule.

ED. E. Kałużniacki, *Aus der panegyrischen Litteratur der Südslaven* (Vienna 1901; rp. London 1971) 89-128.

LIT. N.S. Kiselkov, *Mitropolit Ioasaf Bdiniski i slovoto mu za sv. Filotea* (Sofia 1931). G. Dančev, *Vladislav Gramatik: Knizovnik i pisatel* (Sofia 1969) 73. -R.B.

IOEL. See JOEL.

IONIAN SEA (Ἰόνιον [Ἰώνιον] πέλαγος), the closed waterway between Greece and Italy, separated from the ADRIATIC SEA on the north by the straits of Otranto. The Ionian Sea provided the major communication link between Byz. and the West: ships generally sailed up the coast of Greece, before either crossing west to Italy or continuing up the Adriatic to DYRRACHION, RAVENNA, and VENICE. In Italy the Ionian Sea bordered on Calabria and Apulia. The seven larger islands of the Ionian Sea, the so-called Heptanesos, were KERKYRA, Paxos, Antipaxos, Leukas, Ithaca, KEPHALENIA, and ZAKYNTHOS. In late antiquity Kerkyra and Leukas belonged to the administrative sphere of Epiros, Kephallenia and Zakynthos to the province of Achaia; accordingly, the northern islands were in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Nikopolis, the southern islands under Corinth. It is probable that the theme of Kephallenia, established before 809 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 352, n.364), combined the islands of the Ionian Sea. The islands changed hands in the 13th-14th C. (despotate of Epiros, Manfred of Hohenstaufen, Charles I of Anjou) but from the end of the 14th C. the northern group was under Venice, while the southern group belonged to the house of the Tocco.

LIT. Koder, *Lebensraum* 21f. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *RBK* 4:1-63. TIB 3:43-46. A. Sabbides, *Ta Byzantina Heptanesa, 110s-arches 130u aionos* (Athens 1986). G. Schirò, "Contributo alla storia delle isole ioniche all'epoca dei Tocco," in *Praktika G' Panioniou synedriou*, vol. 2 (Athens 1969) 235-44. -T.E.G.

IPHIGENEIA, ancient Greek goddess of fertility, later a heroine, the daughter of King Agamemnon. According to pseudo-Nonnos (PG 36:989D-992A), Iphigeneia had to be sacrificed by the Greeks in Aulis in order for them to obtain favorable winds for their voyage to Troy; she was miraculously replaced, however, by a doe (*elaphos*; see DEER) and transferred to the Tauroi in Scythia where she ruled as the priestess of ARTEMIS, sacrificing all foreigners to the goddess. The same myth is told by NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS and by Malalas, Nonnos (*Dionysiaka* 13:186) mentioning also "the empty barrow of Iphigeneia" near Athens.

The theme of Taurian inhospitality was popular in Byz. literature, the Tauroi/Tauroscythians usually being identified as the Rus'. The myth of Iphigeneia herself attracted some Christian lite-

rati; thus Gregory of Nazianzos, in his funeral panegyric of Basil the Great (PG 36:504B), after listing some legendary hunters (Artemis, Orion, Actaeon), mentions "the virgin replaced by a doe," a story that he is ready to accept as not completely fabulous. It is not clear why he used in this case such Christian terms as *parthenos* and *elaphos* (sometimes perceived as a symbol of Christ himself) and whether or not he had in mind the Old Testament legend of the sacrifice of Jacob. On the other hand, the phrase in his speech against Julian (PG 35:592A), "the sacrifice in Troy of the royal girl," has no Christian allusions and probably does not refer to Iphigeneia, who was sacrificed in Aulis.

An ivory panel of the 10th-C. Veroli casket (London, Victoria and Albert Museum) depicts the sacrifice of Iphigeneia at Aulis (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.214). The iconography is probably derived from an illustrated MS of the plays of Euripides.

LIT. K. Weitzmann, "Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art," *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 199-209. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 18f, 169-74. -A.K., A.M.T.

IRAN, or Persia, a state that occupied territory from the frontier of the Roman Empire to the borders of India. Called the Parthian Empire under the Arsacid dynasty, it preserved a shaky balance of relations with the Roman Empire in the 1st-3rd C., the frontier being largely defined by the Euphrates. In 226 the dynasty of the SASSANIANS terminated the rule of the Parthian Arsacids and shaped a powerful empire that rivaled Rome and Constantinople until the 630s. Even though warfare dominated the relations between the two empires, there was also lively cultural exchange, active trade (see SILK ROUTE), and exchange of envoys. Christianity (notably NESTORIANISM) was entrenched in Iran, Persian cults (esp. MITHRAISM) and ideological movements (MANICHAEANISM) penetrated into the Roman Empire, and certain features of the Roman fiscal system and court ceremonial can be attributed to the influence of the Persian administrative system.

After the Arab conquest of Iran (ca.633-50) the country was incorporated into the caliphate; subsequently, when the 'Abbāsids established their capital in Baghdad (750), Iran became its core territory. The caliphate preserved the Sasanian

fiscal system and the old type of officialdom, but changed the language of bureaucracy to Arabic. By the end of the 10th C. Islam replaced ZOROASTRIANISM as the religion of the majority of Persians. The political decline of the caliphate permitted the formation of independent Persian dynasties—the Tāhirids (810–73) in Khurāsān, the Šaffārids (867–900) in Seistan and Khurāsān, the SĀMĀNIDS in Bukhāra, and finally the Būyids (Buwayhids) in western Iran (935–1055) and Ghaznavids (977/8–1187) in the east. During the first half of the 11th C. most of these princedoms fell into the hands of the Great SELJUKS of Baghdad. In the 13th C. the MONGOLS conquered the territory of the former Sasanian realm, and in 1258 Hülāgu seized Baghdad, ending the rule of the ‘Abbāsids there and founding the state of the Īlkhāns, which paid nominal homage to the Great Khan in China. In 1335, with the death of the last Īlkhān, Abu Sa‘īd, the Mongol dynasty of Persia came to an end and the country was divided between several minor dynasties. TIMUR again united it, but only temporarily; soon after his death, the Persian part of his enormous empire was occupied by the TURKOMANS before being conquered by the OTTOMANS.

The Palaiologan emperors of Constantinople and the emperors of Trebizond engaged in trade and diplomatic relations with various rulers of the former Persian territory, Īlkhāns, Timurids, and Turkomans, and Byz. scholars of the 13th–14th C., like Gregory CHIONIADIS, had contacts with their Persian colleagues. (For the literature of medieval Iran, see PERSIAN LITERATURE.)

LIT. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater et al., vols. 3–6 (Cambridge 1968–86). B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1952). Idem, *Die Mongolen in Iran*² (Berlin 1955). W. Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran* (Princeton 1984). V. Minorsky, *Medieval Iran and its Neighbours* (London 1982). —A.K.

IRENE (Εἰρήνη), feminine personal name (meaning “peace”). Irene, a daughter of ZEUS, was the personification of peace in antiquity; the word was used, at least in Ptolemaic Egypt, as a personal name. In late Roman society the name was rare and had a mythological tinge: Justinian I dedicated to Irene (Peace) and SOPHIA (Wisdom) the greatest churches in Constantinople. There are many martyrs of this name, but it is difficult to determine when the accounts of their passions

were produced; in the tale of Licinius’s daughter Irene, who was baptized by Timotheos (St. Paul’s pupil), it is clearly stressed that her given name was Penelope and she was christened Irene by an angel. Only one Irene is mentioned by Sozomenos (Sozom., *HE* 1:11.4–5), and that in a legendary context: her father, St. Spyridon, made her talk after her death and burial. No Irene is listed in *PLRE* 1–2 and Prokopios knows only the Church of Irene. The first Irene mentioned by Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 410.1) is the Khazar princess, who married Constantine V and was given the name Irene. Thereafter, the name became more frequent: Skylitzes names four Irenes, Niketas Choniates seven. In the late acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), 36 Irenes appear, and the name holds fourth place among women. As in the case of the wife of Constantine V, a number of foreign-born empresses took the name Irene upon their marriage to a Byz. emperor, perhaps to symbolize peaceful relations between the two nations (cf. BERTHA OF SULZBACH; IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT; Adelaide of Brunswick, married to Andronikos III). —A.K.

IRENE, empress (797–802); born Athens ca. 752, died Lesbos 9 Aug. 803. In 768 Constantine V brought Irene to Constantinople, where she was crowned and married to Leo (IV). In 771 she gave birth to their only child, Constantine (VI). Irene was a devoted ICONOPHILE: a rumor circulated that Leo discovered two icons in her possession and thereafter refused to sleep with her (Cedr. 2:19.17–20.3). After Leo’s death in 780 Irene ruled as regent for Constantine for ten years. During this period Irene was cured of a hemorrhage by the waters of PEGE; she presented rich gifts to the Church of the Virgin there and set up mosaic portraits of herself and her son (AASS Nov. 3:880BC). In 790, when the army refused Irene’s demand for precedence over him, Constantine deposed her, and she resided in the suburban palace of Eleutherios until recalled in 792. In 797 she dethroned and blinded Constantine, thus becoming the first female Byz. autocrat, but was herself toppled by Nikephoros I in 802 and exiled to Lesbos.

During her regency and rule Irene relied on advisers like the eunuchs STAUAKIOS and AETIOS and weakened the empire militarily by removing

capable Iconoclastic *strategoi* (e.g., Michael LACHANODRAKON) who had been appointed by Constantine V. She faced significant opposition from supporters of Constantine VI and Caesar NIKEPHOROS, and from ELPIDIOS. Most notably, she restored icons by securing the election of Patr. TARASIOS in 784 and convening the Second Council of NICAIA in 787. She established good relations with Pope HADRIAN I, but, despite diplomatic exchanges with CHARLEMAGNE and a Byz. invasion of Italy in 788, the Franks advanced in southern Italy and took control of ISTRIA and BENEVENTO. Irene did little against constant Arab attacks and in 782 (see TATZATES) and 798 was forced to accept treaties with HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. The Bulgars continued to exert pressure, but Irene achieved some success against the Slavs in Greece by Staurakios’s campaign in 782. The theme of MACEDONIA was probably created during her reign (Oikonomides, *Listes* 349). She engaged in philanthropy, building hospices, XENODOCHEIA, and a cemetery for the poor. Her financial measures, including a repeal of the municipal tax in Constantinople and lowered commercial tariffs at Abydos and HIERON, were popular but fiscally harmful. In the 9th C. her remains were transferred to the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople. A 12th-C. vita is based almost entirely on Theophanes (W. Treadgold, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 237–51).

LIT. L. Burgmann, “Die Novellen der Kaiserin Eirene,” *FM* 4 (1981) 1–36. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 60–126. J. Arvites, “The Defense of Byzantine Anatolia during the Reign of Irene (780–802),” in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 219–37. —P.A.H., A.C.

IRENE, CHURCH OF SAINT. According to tradition, this church of Constantinople was already a Christian church before Constantine I enlarged it and gave it the name of Eirene (Peace). Before the inauguration of HAGIA SOPHIA in 360 it served as the cathedral of Constantinople. By the 5th C. the two churches were contained within the same precinct, served by the same clergy, and regarded as forming the complex of the patriarchate. Burned down in 532, St. Irene was rebuilt by Justinian I. Destroyed by the earthquake of 740, it was reconstructed, probably by Constantine V. The church was never turned into a mosque, but became an arsenal after the Turkish conquest. The second

largest standing church of Constantinople, it has the form of a domed basilica with a flat, second dome covering the west bay. The lower part of the building is Justinianic, whereas most of the upper part dates from after the earthquake of 740. The Turks altered the colonnades. The apse contains a mosaic cross of the Iconoclastic period; further remnants of mosaic remain in the narthex and nonfigural painting is extant in the south aisle.

LIT. W.S. George, *The Church of St. Eirene at Constantinople* (London 1913). U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul* (Tübingen 1977). —C.M.

IRENE DOUKAINA, wife of ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, empress (1081–1118); born Constantinople ca. 1066, died 19 Feb. 1123 (W. Hörandner, ed., *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* [Vienna 1974] 188 and n.23) or 1133 (Skoulatos). Daughter of Andronikos (son of the caesar John DOUKAS) and Maria of Bulgaria, Irene married Alexios ca. 1078. Between 1083 and 1098 she bore him Anna, Maria, JOHN II, Andronikos, Isaac, Eudokia, Theodora, Manuel, and Zoe (*Kleinchroniken* 1:55f). Although the marriage sealed the alliance of the Doukas and Komnenos families, at his accession Alexios (urged by his mother Anna DALASSENE, and perhaps attracted to MARIA OF “ALANIA”) hesitated to crown Irene. After a week, demands by John Doukas and Patr. Kosmas I forced her coronation, but she remained overshadowed by Anna Dalassene until the latter’s retirement. Although Anna KOMNENE draws an admiring picture of her parents’ relationship, the fact that from 1105 Alexios frequently insisted that Irene accompany him on campaign shows that he hesitated to leave her to intrigue in Constantinople. When Alexios was on his deathbed, Irene pressed him to name Anna’s husband Nikephoros BRYENNIOS as heir. After John II’s accession, although she had not joined the conspiracy of Anna and Bryennios, Irene was forced to retire to her convent of KECHARITOMENE. Noted for her charity and intellectual accomplishments, she probably inspired Bryennios’s history and patronized or corresponded with literary figures such as Manuel STRABOROMANOS, THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, MICHAEL ITALIKOS, and Theodore PRODROMOS. Her portrait appears on the PALA D’ORO.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 70–74. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 119–24. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 96f. —C.M.B., A.C.

IRENE OF CHRYSOBALANTON, 10th-C. abbess; saint; feastday 28 July. According to her anonymous hagiographer, she was born in Capadocia ca.845 and died in Constantinople ca.940. The account of her life as presented in her vita is as follows: born to a rich and influential family (related to the Gouber family of Constantinople), she was sent as a girl to the capital to participate in a BRIDE SHOW designed to find a wife for Michael III. After arriving too late, she entered the convent of Chrysobalanton; within three years she became the *hegoumene*, despite her youth. She is depicted as an ideal ascetic, an efficient administrator of her convent, and as a preacher who attracted crowds, esp. women of the senatorial class. On one occasion she intervened with the emperor to save the life of a kinsman who was accused of a conspiracy against the throne. She reportedly died at age 97 without showing any signs of advanced age.

The vita of Irene (BHG 952) was probably produced in the late 10th C. during the reign of Basil II; Rosenqvist (*infra*), who points out inconsistencies in the chronology of events, concludes that the biography should be treated as a work of fiction and terms it a "hagiographic novel." The vita is an important source for Byz. magical practices and attitudes toward sexuality, since Irene had to deal with the frustrated passion of one of her nuns, who had abandoned her fiancé, as well as with a lovesick vinedresser. The Life depicts the triumph of image worship; churches were decorated with icons on their walls and on panels of bronze, silver, and gold. When Irene appeared to Emp. Basil I in a vision, he sent a *protovestiaros* to her convent with an artist to paint the abbess's portrait, so that the emperor could confirm that the woman in his vision was really the *hegoumene* of Chrysobalanton.

SOURCE and LIT. *The Life of St. Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton*, ed. J.O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala 1986), with Eng. tr. —A.K., A.M.T.

IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT, second wife of ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS; born 1273 or 1274, died Drama 1317. Daughter of William VII of Montferrat, an anti-Angevin, and granddaughter of Alfonso X of Castile, Yolanda was married in 1284 or 1285 at age 11 to the widowed Byz. emperor and took the Greek name Irene.

The match was particularly desirable for Andronikos because his bride brought as her dowry the title to the kingdom of Thessalonike. Irene produced three sons, John, Theodore, and Demetrios, and one daughter, SIMONIS. She was crowned empress after the birth of her first son in 1288/9.

According to Gregoras (Greg. 1:234f), Irene was ambitious for her children. Retaining Western feudal ideas, she tried to persuade Andronikos to divide the empire into appanages for her sons. When this tactic failed, she endeavored to secure their futures through marriage alliances, but most of her efforts were unsuccessful. Her greatest triumph was the marriage of Simonis in 1299 to STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN of Serbia. In 1306, Theodore married the Genoese Argentina Spinola and inherited the marquisate of Montferrat (A. Laiou, *Byzantion* 38 [1968] 386–410). In the early 14th C. Irene became estranged from the emperor and from 1310 until her death made her residence in Thessalonike, where she conducted independent diplomatic negotiations, esp. with her son-in-law Milutin.

LIT. H. Constantinidi-Bibikou, "Yolande de Montferrat, impératrice de Byzance," *Hellénisme contemporain* 4 (1950) 425–42. C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*, 2e sér. (Paris 1938) 226–45. Papadopoulos, *Genealogie* 35. —A.M.T.

IRON (σίδηρος), the commonest metal. M. Lombard (*Les métaux dans l'ancien monde du Ve au XIe siècle* [Paris–The Hague 1974] 125, 149f) notes that the eastern part of the Roman Empire had two major centers of iron working: the region of Trebizond and Sinope and the area around Bostra, Damascus, and Tyre. After the latter region was lost in the 7th C., Byz. needed constantly to import iron. Another productive area was Noricum. Iron was a strategic metal that could not be exported (J.-P. Sodini, *Ktema* 4 [1979] 85). Unlike precious metals, however, small amounts of ore were available in many places. When Edessa was besieged in 502/3 each household was obliged to deliver 10 pounds of iron. In the 9th C. the *proasteion* of Tzampouros (in the Trebizond region) sent iron annually to the nearby monastery of St. Phokas (A.I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem* 12 [1906] 140.10–12). Stefan Uroš IV Dušan's chrysobull of 1347 imposes a yearly payment of 600 INGOTS (*mazia*) of iron on local smithies or *siderokausia* (Lavra 3, no.128.33). As precious objects iron ingots are mentioned sometimes

in lists of monastic properties (five *siderou maza*—*Pantel.*, no.7.28) or in wills (four *syderon komatia*—*Xerop.*, no.9A.15).

Iron could be worked with comparative simplicity. Traces of primitive iron METALLURGY have been found even in rural areas of the Crimea of the 8th–9th C. (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovye sel'skie poselenija Jugo-Zapadnoj Tavriki* [Leningrad 1970] 164–68). It is unclear whether SMITHS knowingly hardened iron into steel by the addition of carbon; the tempering of iron by plunging it into water is mentioned in both classical and Byz. sources.

The most important use of iron was in the production of WEAPONS. Iron TOOLS, such as hammer, tongs, and anvil, were primarily used to work metal (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:218f); other tools were used for wood (borer, plane, etc.) and stone. Each household normally had wooden, bronze, and iron utensils (Lavra 1, no.59.49), and an inventory of 1142 lists various iron AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS belonging to the monastery of Xylourgou: hoes, plows, sickles, axes (*Pantel.*, no.7.27). Iron tie rods were employed to strengthen buildings (A.H.S. Megaw, *DOP* 18 [1964] 296). Doors and gates were made of iron, as well as anchors, chains, candlesticks, coin dies, SEALING IMPLEMENTS, and so on. Some minor iron objects have been found in excavations, for example, at St. POLYEUKTOS in Constantinople and in Corinth: locks and keys, nails, dowels, clamps, etc. (Davidson, *Minor Objects* 137–40, 199–203).

LIT. W. Gaitzsch, *Eiserne römische Werkzeuge* (Oxford 1980). —M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

IRRIGATION (ἄρδευμα). A hot climate and frequent droughts led to a constant concern in Byz. about water. A developed irrigation technique, which made use of various water-lifting devices (water screw, suction pump, compartmented wheel, bucket chain, etc.), existed in the Roman Empire, primarily in Egypt and, paradoxically, in the Western provinces (Oleson, *infra* 285–91); data referring to Syria, Palestine, or Greece are scanty—for instance, a water-driven wheel with compartmented rim on a mosaic of 469 from Apameia. The PRICE EDICT of Diocletian several times mentions water MILLS, but not water-lifting machines. Asia Minor and Greece relied more upon collecting water in cisterns than irrigating lands by ca-

nals and water-lifting gears, even though such terms as "conduit" (*amara*) and "water pipe" (*oche-tos*) are common in Greek texts. Eusebios of Caesarea (PG 20:1345B), when speaking of *ardeuma*, means "the winter downpours." The *typikon* of the Kosmosoteira monastery in BERA describes a complex construction for collecting water that went from the spring via a conduit to a receptacle protected from the sun and dirt. In other cases, as described in KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE, a cistern might be filled by special water bearers. Water was used for irrigation (*ardeia*) of VINEYARDS and GARDENS (e.g., *Chil.*, no.54.30–31) or OLIVE groves, as well as for water mills; a case on Crete around 1118 describes a conflict between a mill owner and farmers tilling the "irrigated *choraphia*" (MM 6:96.14–22) who were deprived of water by construction of the mill.

The Byz. did not build great canal networks. Justinian dreamed of a canal project between the Melas, a tributary of the Sangarios, and the harbor of Nikomedeia, but the idea was abandoned (F.G. Moore, *AJA* 54 [1950] 108–10).

LIT. J.P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices* (Toronto 1984). T. Schiøler, *Roman and Islamic Water-Lifting Wheels* (Odense 1973). Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni" 192f. —A.K., J.W.N.

ISAAC I KOMNENOS, emperor (1057–59); born ca.1007, died ca.1060 or 1061. After his elevation by fellow generals rebelling against MICHAEL VI, Isaac was crowned on 1 Sept. 1057. He rewarded his supporters. The populace obtained the desired officials for their organizations, and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS gained more authority. Isaac's purpose was to refill the treasury and so revive the army and the empire. A HISTAMENON (Grierson, *Byz. Coins*, no.919), representing him standing with unsheathed sword, gave great offense because it violated the tradition of the emperor as a man of God. Isaac regularized tax collections; he pitilessly pursued debtors to the state. Monastic landholding was restricted, and donations by previous emperors to individuals were annulled. He pruned the bureaucracy's excrescences. PSELLOS criticizes his haste and harshness. Salaries of officials, esp. senators, were reduced, yet Psellos asserts that Isaac had to rely on himself and other civil bureaucrats. Keroularios's challenge forced Isaac to remove him (8 Nov.

1058). He appointed as patriarch CONSTANTINE III LEICHOUDÉS, a leader of the bureaucrats who opposed the emperor. Militarily, Isaac's threats overawed the SELJUKS and Egyptians; he made peace with the Hungarians after an incursion (1059). A simultaneous PECHENEG attack was repelled. In Nov. 1059, while hunting, he became seriously ill. Feeling isolated by hostile bureaucrats and Keroularios's surviving supporters, Isaac accepted Psellos's suggestion that he abdicate (21/2 Nov. 1059—*Kleinchroniken* 1:160, 170). Passing over his relatives, he named CONSTANTINE X DOUKAS emperor. Isaac became a monk at STODIOS; his wife Aikatherine (daughter of JOHN VLADISLAV) and daughter Maria likewise entered religious life.

LIT. E. Stănescu, "Les réformes d'Isaac Comnène," *RESEE* 4 (1966) 35–69. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:41–47. J. Shepard, "Isaac Comnenus' Coronation Day," *BS* 38 (1977) 22–30. —C.M.B., A.C.

ISAAC II ANGELOS, emperor (1185–95, 1203–04); born ca.1156, died Constantinople 28/9 Jan. 1204. He had a bookish education (Nik.Chon. 365.72–74) but no deep intellectual interests. After he resisted the order of arrest issued by ANDRONIKOS I, he was acclaimed emperor by the people of Constantinople on 12 Sept. 1185. Despite his noble birth, Isaac relied on bureaucrats (notably Theodore KASTAMONITES, Constantine MESOPOTAMITES, and Demetrios TORNIKIOS) to support him against aristocratic rebels such as Alexios BRANAS. He sold governorships and other offices but also chose some officials on merit. His attempts to make his favorite monk, Dositheos, patriarch of Constantinople proved unsuccessful. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 442.33–443.82) expatiates on Isaac's "mad passion for erecting huge buildings." The emperor added baths and apartments to the Great Palace and Blachernai and created artificial islands in the Sea of Marmara, but he also razed the GENIKON and the monastery of MANGANA and looted the NEA EKKLESIA.

Isaac preferred a life of ease at court, yet willingly campaigned in person when necessary. After defeating the invasion of WILLIAM II of Sicily, he arranged to take Margaret, daughter of BÉLA III, as his second wife (his first is unknown). The tax levied for the wedding raised discontent among the VLACHS and Bulgarians, which PETER OF BUL-

GARIA and ASEN I exploited. From ca.1186, Isaac was involved in continual warfare with them; he was repeatedly defeated. The section of the Third Crusade led by FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA did much damage as it passed through Byz.; only by timely concession did Isaac avoid an attack on Constantinople. He succeeded in making peace with Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. Around 8 Apr. 1195, near Kypsella, noble conspirators led by ALEXIOS III overthrew and blinded Isaac. After Alexios fled in 1203, the courtiers brought Isaac to rule jointly with his son ALEXIOS IV. He soon became senile or demented, and, conveniently for ALEXIOS V, died of natural causes.

LIT. Th. Vlachos, "Aufstände und Verschwörungen während der Kaiserzeit Isaakios' II. Angelos (1185–1195)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 155–67. Brand, *Byzantium* 69–116, 241–51. Ph. Malingoudis, "Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates über die Entstehung des zweiten bulgarischen Staates," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 73–134. —C.M.B., A.C.

ISAAC KOMNENOS, *basileus* of CYPRUS (1184–91); born ca.1155, died Ikonion 1195/6. Grandson of Isaac, brother of MANUEL I, he was sent (ca.1174/5) as governor to CILICIA, where the Armenians captured and imprisoned him. About 1182, he was passed to Bohemund III of Antioch. ANDRONIKOS I, influenced by his mistress Theodora, Isaac's aunt, ransomed him with the Templars' help. About 1183 or 1184, Isaac falsified imperial letters appointing him governor and went to Cyprus. Once accepted, he proclaimed himself *basileus*; his coinage shows him wearing imperial garb (Hendy, *Coinage* 136–42). The uniformly hostile sources charge him with tyrannical acts rivaling those of Andronikos I: murders, maimings, abuse of wives and virgins, confiscations of property, harsh taxation. About 1186 or 1187, ISAAC II ANGELOS dispatched a fleet to regain Cyprus, but Isaac Komnenos defeated the troops on land while his ally, the admiral Margaritone of Sicily, overcame the Byz. fleet. Cyprus's conquest by RICHARD I LIONHEART ended Isaac's tyranny. Released ca.1194 after imprisonment in Acre and Margat, Isaac went to IKONION; from that base he sought to arouse Turkish and Byz. opposition to ALEXIOS III. He was allegedly killed by poisoning.

LIT. G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge 1940) 1:312–21. W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, "L'empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155–1207)," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 123–79. Th.

Vlachos, "Ho tyrannos tes Kyprou Isaakios Komnenos (1184–1191)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 169–77. —C.M.B.

ISAAC OF ANTIOCH, 5th-C. Syriac writer. His writings, of Monophysite cast, are often confused with those of Isaac of Amida, who was Orthodox and lived in the first half of the 5th C. (died before 461). More than 200 poetical works are attributed to the two Isaacs, but it is still unclear exactly which works are to be attributed to which Isaac. Isaac of Amida wrote works on the capture of Rome in 410, on the city of Constantinople (ca.441), and on the earthquake in Antioch in 459. Isaac of Antioch is particularly noted for a lengthy poem on the parrot who chanted the TRISAGION with the addition "Who was crucified for us"; he also wrote exhortations to monks on repentance and the perfect life.

ED. S. Isaaci Antiocheni, *doctoris Syrorum, Opera omnia*, ed. G. Bickell, 2 vols. (Giessen 1873–77). *Homiliae S. Isaaci Syri Antiocheni*, ed. P. Bedjan (Paris-Leipzig 1903).

LIT. F. Graffin, *DictSpir* 7 (1971) 2010f. I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*² (Rome 1965) 100–02. M. van Esbroeck, *DPAC* 2:1828. —A.M.T.

ISAAC OF NINEVEH, Syrian mystical theologian; fl. ca.680. Born in the region of Qatar on the Persian Gulf, Isaac became a Nestorian monk and eventually bishop of Nineveh (i.e., Mosul); five months later, however, he abdicated and went to live in solitude in the mountains of Huzistan in southwestern Iran. He reportedly lost his sight during his studies. Isaac composed (in Syriac) treatises, dialogues, and letters on ascetical and mystical topics. Probably in the 9th C. some of his works were translated into Greek by the monks Patrikios and Abramios, of the Lavra of St. SABAS in Palestine. The translators tried to make Isaac more acceptable to Orthodox readers by eliminating some of his references to suspect authors, such as EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, and replacing them with references to more official church fathers. Isaac presented the way of salvation as consisting of three stages: repentance, purification, and perfection. The fear of Hell serves as a strong stimulus in the search for righteousness. Isaac rarely thinks in terms of deification but speaks of seeing God as if in a mirror, an ancient image in Syriac religious writing. Prayer plays the major part in Isaac's ideal behavior. His works were used by some Byz. writers (e.g., Peter DAMASKENOS, SY-

MEON THE THEOLOGIAN, GREGORY SINAITES); later, some of them were included in the PHILOKALIA.

ED. *De perfectione religiosa*, ed. P. Bedjan (Paris-Leipzig 1909). Gr. ed.—*Tou hosiou patros hemon Isaak episkopou Ninevi tou Syrou ta heurethenta Asketika*, ed. Nikephoros Theotokes (Leipzig 1770; new ed. Athens 1895). *Mystic Treatises*, tr. A.J. Wensinck (Amsterdam 1923). *Oeuvres spirituelles*, tr. J. Touraille (Paris 1981).

LIT. J.B. Chabot, *De S. Isaaci Ninivite vita, scriptis et doctrina* (Paris 1892). I. Popović, "He gnosiologia tou hagiou Isaak tou Syrou," *Theologia* 38 (1967) 206–23, 386–407. E. Khalifé-Hachem, *DictSpir* 7.2 (1971) 2041–54. S. Brock, "St. Isaac of Nineveh and Syriac Spirituality," *Sobornost* 2 (1975) 79–89. Baumstark, *Literatur* 223–25. G. Bunge, "Mar Isaak von Ninive und sein 'Buch der Gnade,'" *OstSt* 34 (1985) 3–22. —S.H.G., A.K.

ISAIAH (Ἰσαΐας), one of the four major (i.e., longer) PROPHETS. Much read and interpreted by the Byz., there are surviving commentaries on the Book of Isaiah attributed to, among others, Eusebios of Caesarea, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. The major significance of Isaiah was seen in his prophecy, interpreted as foreseeing Christ's advent. "Isaiah is the most divine of all prophets," says Theodoret (PG 81:216A), "... since he clearly predicted everything—the benediction coming from Abraham and David, the birth of the Savior by the Virgin, various miracles and healing, the envy and rage of the Jews, the passion and the death, the resurrection from the dead, the ascent to heaven, the choice of the apostles, and the salvation of all nations." In contrast, Chrysostom mentions "Isaiah's prophecy about Christ" only in passing, but strongly emphasizes "the ready tongue and sublime character" of the prophet and his great concern for ordinary people with whom he sympathized and whose sufferings he shared (PG 56:11.12–25). The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (9 May) included Isaiah as a martyr whose relics were allegedly brought to Constantinople and placed in the Church of St. Lawrence near Blachernai; here Isaiah worked miracles, esp., according to legend, for ordinary people—a laborer in a vineyard, a fisherman, a silversmith, etc. (H. Delehaye, *AB* 42 [1924] 257–65).

Representation in Art. Images of Isaiah among the Old Testament prophets are frequent in monumental art, where he is usually depicted as an old man, with long gray hair and beard. His principal appearances in a narrative context are

connected with the biblical ODES. In the PARIS PSALTER, for example, these are illustrated individually: the first (Is 26:9–20) literally, with Isaiah flanked by personifications of Night and Dawn; the second (Is 38:10–20) in a straightforward narrative supplemented by a personification of Prayer. Isaiah's martyrdom, based on an apocryphal legend, is represented in the PARIS GREGORY (Omout, *Miniatures*, pl.49) and his prophetic vision (Is 6), in which a seraph places a hot coal upon his mouth, in MSS of Kosmas Indikopleustes.

LIT. M. Simonetti, "Uno sguardo d'insieme sull'esegesi patristica di Isaia fra IV e V secolo," *Annali di storia esegetica* 1 (1984) 9–44. H. Holländer, *LCI* 2:354–59. Lowden, *Prophet Books*.
—J.I., A.K., J.H.L.

ISAURA (Ἰσαυρα, mod. Zengibar Kalesi near Bozkır), ancient capital of ISAURIA, flourished until the 4th C. when it lost its status as city and bishopric because it was a center of Isaurian unrest. Zeno restored both and assigned it a new name, Leontopolis. A mint was established at Isaura in 617/18 during the campaigns of Herakleios against the Persians. Thereafter Isaura disappears from history, but the bishopric still existed in the 11th C. The site contains Hellenistic fortifications that show Byz. repairs; four churches, including a large basilica with a tower and an octagonal church; and numerous inscriptions. Isaura is sometimes confused with Isauropolis on the north side of the Taurus.

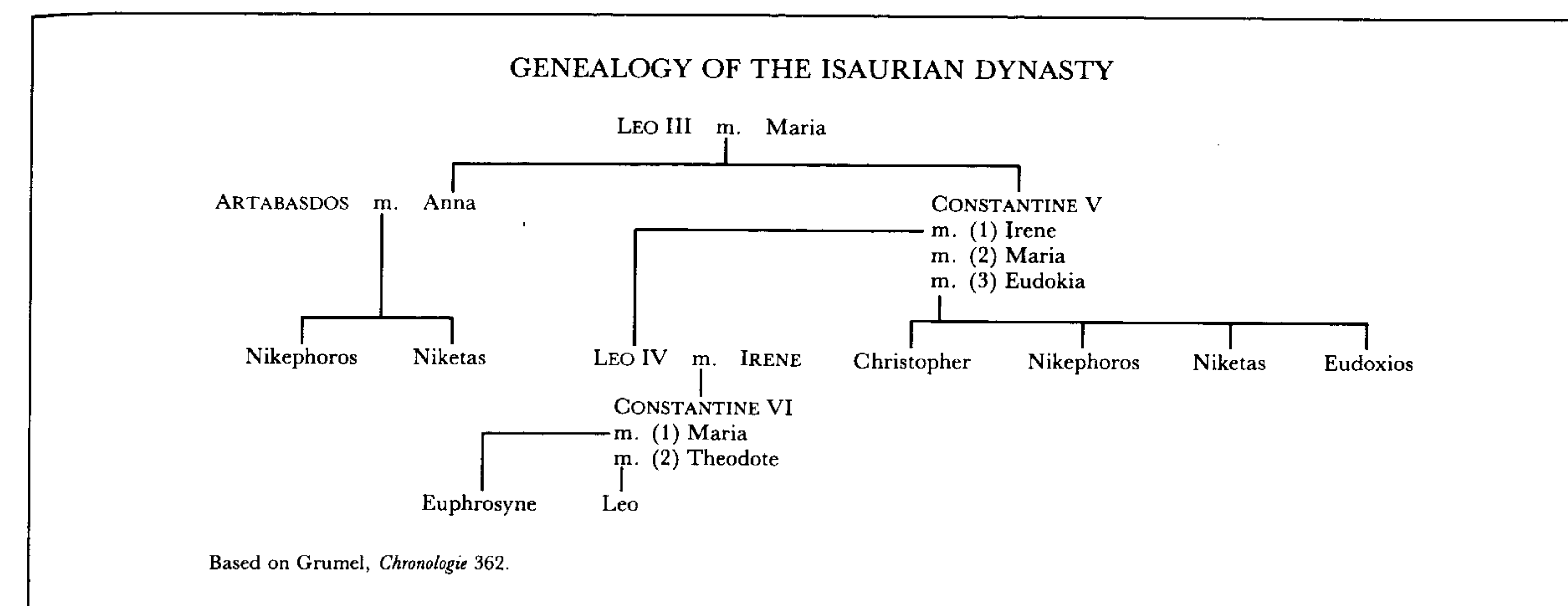
LIT. *TIB* 4:180f, 198–200. H. Swoboda et al., *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien* (Vienna 1935) 62–93, 119–43.
—C.F.

ISAURIA (Ἰσαυρία), mountainous district of southern Asia Minor, inhabited by tribes who lived in small towns, long resisted central control, and frequently descended to ravage the adjacent plains. Although the Constantinopolitan government considered these tribes barbarian and brigands, they formed the core of the imperial army in the 5th C. Isaurians were famed as builders who sent their teams as far away as Constantinople and Syria, and probably as gardeners, their most popular saint being Konon the Gardener. Diocletian joined CILICIA Tracheia to the Isaurian homeland to form the province of Isauria, whose capital was SELEUKEIA; the western part was de-

tached in 370 and assigned to LYKAONIA. Because of constant danger from the tribesmen, Isauria was frequently governed by a military commander (*comes*); this situation became permanent after 535. The region was severely afflicted by revolts and military conflicts in the late 4th C., and in 403–06, after the Isaurian victory over Germanic mercenaries, the Isaurians spread throughout Asia Minor. Calm prevailed when an Isaurian chief, ZENO, was emperor (474–81) and Isauria saw much construction. Troubles resumed in the late 5th C., continuing until Anastasios I finally crushed the tribes in 497. These wars were the impetus for widespread fortification. The coast of Isauria was always important for trade, which was still active in the late 7th C., the date of seals of KOMMERKIARIOI of Isauria (one of them—Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.158—combined this office with the military position of *stratelates*). Thereafter, the coast suffered greatly from Arab raids. Isauria was absorbed in ANATOLIKON, then became a separate KLEISOURA called Seleukeia under Theophilos, as part of his efforts to strengthen the frontier. Romanos I promoted it to a THEME ca.930. Divided into coastal and interior regions, it had a garrison of 5,000. The ecclesiastical province of Isauria long survived, though called Pamphylia after the early 10th C.; the cult of the local saints THEKLA and Konon attracted pilgrims. According to legend, Leo III was an Isaurian, Konon by name.

LIT. F. Hild, *RBK* 4:182–88, 227–73. J. Rouge, "L'Histoire Auguste et l'Isaurie au IV^e siècle," *REA* 68 (1966) 282–315. C. Mango, "Isaurian Builders," in *Polychronion* 358–65.
—C.F.

ISAURIAN DYNASTY, family that ruled from 717 to 802 and included Leo III, Constantine V, Leo IV, Constantine VI, and Irene; it was so called because a probable interpolation in Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 391.6) says that its founder, Leo III, came from ISAURIA, although he was actually born in Syrian Germanikeia (K. Schenk, *BZ* 5 [1896] 296–98). The 19th-C. notion that the Isaurian dynasty was able to revive the empire as a result of its military and administrative reforms was questioned by Ostrogorsky (*infra*). The dynasty is most closely associated with imperial support for ICONOCLASM, which Leo III introduced, Constantine V enforced, and Irene suspended. Despite the siege of Constantinople by MASLAMA in 717 and the campaigns of HĀRŪN



AL-RASHĪD, the Isaurian dynasty resisted the Arabs and stabilized the border with the caliphate in eastern Asia Minor. In Italy, however, RAVENNA was lost to the Lombards, and the Franks successfully challenged waning Byz. authority.

LIT. F. Masai, "La politique des Isauriens et la naissance de l'Europe," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 191–221. G. Ostrogorsky, "Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurier," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 394–400. Ostrogorsky, *History* 147–82. Vasiliev, *History* 234–71.
—P.A.H.

ISIDORE (Ἰσιδωρος), jurist, ANTECESSOR, one of the eight addressees of the *Constitutio Omnem* of Justinian I from the year 533. He composed a Greek paraphrase of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, several fragments of which (esp. those of book 8, titles 53–56) have been preserved among the scholia to the BASILIKA. Also transmitted there under his name are fragments of a paraphrase of the DIGEST (concerning book 22, titles 3–5).

ED. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:61f, 64–69.

LIT. Scheltema, *L'enseignement* 29f, 40–42.

—A.S.

ISIDORE I BOUCHEIRAS (Βούχειρας or Βούχειρας; cf. Tinnefeld, *infra* 160, n.1), Palamite patriarch of Constantinople (17 May 1347–Feb./Mar. 1350); born Thessalonike between ca.1300 and 1310, died Constantinople. Eldest of ten children, Isidore was educated in Thessalonike and then went to Athos to study with GREGORY SINAITES. Around 1325 Turkish attacks forced his return to Thessalonike, where for ten years he led a hesychastic circle. Circa 1335 he was ton-

sured by Gregory PALAMAS on Athos; he accompanied Palamas to the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). He was elected metropolitan of Monemvasia the same year but was never consecrated. In 1344 he was deposed and excommunicated by JOHN XIV KALEKAS because of his Palamite views.

With the victory of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS in 1347, Isidore was restored to favor: he was elected patriarch, performed the second coronation of John VI and the marriage of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS. He also appointed Palamas as metropolitan of Thessalonike. His brief patriarchate was uneventful; he was taken ill in Jan. 1350, composed a final testament, and died soon thereafter. Isidore was noted as a hymnographer, but none of his poetry has survived.

ED. MM 1:256–94. Germ tr. by W. Helfer, "Das Testament des Patriarchen Isidoros," *JÖB* 17 (1968) 76–83.

SOURCE. *Vita* by Philotheos Kokkinos—ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ZapiskiFilFakSPetUniv* 76 (1905) 52–149.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2271–2310. *PLP*, no.3140. R. Guiland, "Moines de l'Athos, patriarches de Constantinople," *EEBS* 32 (1963) 50–59. F. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones: Briefe* (Stuttgart 1981) 158–63.
—A.M.T.

ISIDORE OF KIEV, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia (1436–39); born Monemvasia ca.1385, died Rome 23 (J. Gill, *LThK* 5 [1960] 788) or 27 April 1463 (Gill, *infra* 76). Educated in Constantinople, Isidore became a monk in the Peloponnesos. In 1417 he returned to the capital, where he was subsequently made *hegoumenos* of St. De-

metrios monastery. He served as ambassador for JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS to the Council of Basel in 1434. After his elevation to the metropolitan see of Kiev, Isidore attended the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE and signed the decree of union. Shortly thereafter he was appointed cardinal and sent to Moscow as a papal legate. On his return to Moscow in 1440 (Krajcar, *infra* 387), however, Grand Duke Basil II (1425–62) imprisoned him for his Unionist sympathies. He managed to escape to the West, where he devoted his remaining years to various papal missions on behalf of the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. One such embassy brought him to Constantinople, where he proclaimed the union (12 Dec. 1452). When the city fell several months later, he was imprisoned but again escaped. In 1459 Pope Pius II (1458–64) appointed him Latin patriarch of Constantinople. His literary output, in contrast with his rather active ecclesiastical and diplomatic career, was small. Some of his correspondence and speeches (at Basel and Florence) have been published.

ED. *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno*, ed. G. Mercati (Rome 1926). A.W. Ziegler, "Vier bisher nicht veröffentlichte griechische Briefe Isidors von Kijev," *BZ* 44 (1951) 570–77. Idem, "Die restlichen vier unveröffentlichten Briefe Isidors von Kijev," *OrChrP* 18 (1952) 135–42. G. Hofmann, "Quellen zu Isidor von Kiew als Kardinal und Patriarch," *OrChrP* 18 (1952) 143–57.

SOURCE. M.A. Kazakova, ed. "Pervonačal'naja redakcija Choždenija na Florentijskij sobor," *TODRL* 25 (1970) 60–72. Germ. tr. G. Stöckl in *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen* (Graz 1954) 149–89.

LIT. A.W. Ziegler, "Isidore de Kiev, apôtre de l'Union florentine," *Irénikon* 13 (1936) 393–410. Gill, *Personalities* 65–78. J. Krajcar, "Metropolitan Isidore's Journey to the Council of Florence. Some Remarks," *OrChrP* 38 (1972) 367–87. —A.P.

ISIDORE OF MILETUS, architect associated with ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES in the design and construction of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople; died before 558. He issued a revised edition of the works of ARCHIMEDES, wrote a commentary on Heron of Alexandria's treatise *On Vaulting* of the late 1st C., and invented a compass with which to construct parabolas. One of his students, EUTOKIOS of Askalon, commented on Archimedes, while another added book 15 to the *Elements* of EUCLID. Isidore consulted with Anthemios and Justinian I on the problem of flooding at DARA.

LIT. M. Restle, *RBK* 3:505–08. G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects," *Byzantion* 18 (1946–48) 112f. J. Warren, *Greek Mathematics and Architects to Justinian* (London 1976). —M.J., W.L.

ISIDORE OF PELOUSION, ascetic and writer; saint; born Alexandria between 360 and 370, died after 433; feastday 4 Feb. Isidore lived as presbyter and monk in a monastery near Pelousion on the Nile. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (PG 146:1249–53) calls him a pupil of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, which perhaps should not be taken literally. The *Souda* dubs him philosopher and rhetorician, while his Orthodoxy, erudition, and style are commended by SEVEROS of Antioch and PHOTIOS (ep.207.18–19, ed. Laourdas-Westerink, 2:107). Much of this praise is merited by his 2,000 or so surviving letters, originally collected at the AKOIMETOI monastery in Constantinople—according to U. Riedinger (*ZNTW* 51 [1960] 157), a pseudonymous work by some Akoimetoï monks. The prime interest of the letters is theological, revealing Isidore as a careful, rather than hysterical, opponent of heresy, rebutting Arianism and Manichaeism in elegant Greek, while addressing CYRIL of Alexandria on the hypostatic union and also warning against contemporary tendencies toward MONOPHYSITISM. Isidore is equally level-headed on biblical exegesis (resisting extreme allegorism) and on ascetic and moral principles. A lost work, *Against the Hellenes*, may have shown him in a less temperate mood. Some of his letters were translated into Church Slavonic (I. Dujčev, *BS* 23 [1962] 327f).

ED. PG 78:9–1674. Partial Latin tr.—*Quarante-neuf lettres de saint Isidore de Péluse*, ed. R. Aigrain (Paris 1911).

LIT. P. Evieux, "Isidore de Péluse, État des recherches," *RechScRel* 64 (1976) 321–40. C. Fouskas, *St. Isidore of Pelusium, His Life and His Works* (Athens 1970). A. Schmid, *Die Christologie Isidors von Pelusium* (Fribourg 1948). M. Kertsch, "Isidor von Pelusion als Nachahmer Gregors von Nazianz," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 113–22. —B.B.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, bishop of Seville (from ca.600); prolific author and churchman in Visigothic Spain; born in Byz. Spain? ca.570, died 636. His attitudes toward the VISIGOTHS and Byz. appear to have been complex. In Constantinople, Leander, his brother and predecessor at Seville, had negotiated an alliance between Byz. and the Visigothic usurper Hermenegild (579–84) and become friends with the papal *apocrisiarius* Gregory (the future GREGORY I THE GREAT) as well as a correspondent of Patr. JOHN IV NESTEUTES. How far Isidore's *Etymologies*, or *Origines* (ed. W.M. Lindsay [Oxford 1911])—the basic encyclopedia of the medieval West—reflects contemporary

reality is controversial, but it certainly records the Visigothic destruction of Byz. CARTAGENA (15,1,67; cf. H.J. Diesner, *Philologus* 119 [1975] 92–97) and mentions the Byz. ship type *durcon* (*dorkon*, 19,1,10; cf. D. Claude, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters* [Göttingen 1985] 47). Both recensions of the aggressively pro-Gothic *The History of Goths, Vandals, and Suevi* narrate the Goths' confrontations with the Byz.—sometimes called simply *milites*—from the 4th to 7th C., particularly the contest for southern Spain. Events in the *History* are dated by the provincial era and the regnal year of Byz. emperors. Isidore cites the burden of Byz. TAXATION as a cause of loyalty to the barbarians (ch.15). His chronicle draws largely on VICTOR TONNENSIS but implicitly develops an anti-Byz. theme (M. Reydellet, *MEFR* 82 [1970] 363–400); its final section notes Byz. events from Justin II to Herakleios, including AVAR attacks, strife between FACTIONS, and the loss of "Greece" to the Slavs (P. Charanis, *BZ* 64 [1971] 22–25). The literary biographies of *Famous Men* treat Latin authors of Byz. Spain, Justinian I, JOHN OF BICLAR, Victor Tonnensis, and Patr. John IV of Constantinople.

ED. *Las historias de los godos, vándalos y suevos*, ed. C. Rodríguez Alonso (Leon 1975), with Sp. tr. T. Mommsen, *MGH AuctAnt* 11:267–303, 424–81. *Famous Men*—ed. C. Codoñer Merino (Salamanca 1964).

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 86–88. J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, vol. 2 (Paris 1959) 846–61, vol. 3 (1983) 1174–80. —M.McC.

ISIDORE OF THESSALONIKE. See GLABAS, ISIDORE.

ISIDORE THE YOUNGER, architect; fl. mid-6th C. He was the nephew of ISIDORE OF MILETUS and chief architect (*mechanopoios*) of the commission responsible for rebuilding the dome of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, after its first collapse in 557 (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.8.25; Agath. 5.9). Of his work there remain *in situ* 12 ribs in the north and south sectors of the present dome (the west sector exhibits the restoration of Trdat, 986–94; the east sector, the restoration of 1347–54). The younger Isidore's dome is about 6 m higher than the original; his work shows greater care and precision than was exercised in later restorations. Isidore the Younger collaborated with John of Constantinople in building new fortifications at

ZENOBIAS on the Euphrates, and he may be the Isidore named in an inscription of 550 from Chalkis ad Belum (*IGLSyr* 2 [1939] nos. 348–49).

LIT. M. Restle, *RBK* 3:508–10. W. Emerson, R.L. Van Nice, "Hagia Sophia, Istanbul," *AJA* 47 (1943) 404, 423–36. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia* 89–91. —W.L., M.J.

ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST. Attacks on Islam were written by both Christians living within the caliphate and those in Byz. territory. The polemic produced in Arab-controlled lands was predominantly apologetic and decreased after the 11th C. Byz. polemic, on the other hand, continued until the end of the empire, and its goal was refutation rather than apology. The amazing success of the Muslims in the 15th C., however, diverted the focus of the discussion; the defeat of the Christians was certainly to be explained not by the superiority of Islam but by the sins of the Greeks.

Vestiges of early polemic are attributed to the 8th C., but their MS tradition is questionable. The letter of Leo III to the caliph 'Umar II (717–20) survives only in translation (the Armenian version is preserved in LEWOND), and among works on the subject by JOHN OF DAMASCUS only a chapter in his book *On Heresies* seems to be authentic, albeit interpolated. THEODORE ABU-QURRA tried to defend Christianity in a pragmatic form accessible to his Muslim audience. NIKETAS BYZANTIOS launched an attack on Islam; he was followed by the monk Bartholomew of Edessa. The most important polemicists of the later period were John VI Kantakouzenos, who composed a treatise against Islam, and Manuel II, who wrote a *Dialogue with a Persian*.

Earlier Byz. polemic relied primarily on hearsay information about Islam, and John of Damascus was content to ridicule outlandish legends. Niketas Byzantios, on the other hand, studied the QUR'AN, probably in a Greek translation. The discussion concentrated on theological, moral, and political problems. The central theological problem was the consistent monotheism of Islam that could not be reconciled with the Christian concept of the TRINITY and the incarnation of the Logos. The Christian apologists responded that such an approach deprives God of his reason (Logos) and spirit, and implicitly severs the link between mankind and the Godhead; Niketas called the God of Islam *holosphairos*, "all-spherical," or *holosphynos*, "solid," emphasizing matter as his essence. In the

field of morality, Christian apologists stressed the superiority of the Christian monogamous family over Islamic polygamy and sodomy; they also criticized the hedonistic tendencies of Islam as reflected in its image of Paradise. Another Christian argument was the defense of the thesis of free will against the belief in predestination that contributed so much to the idea of the Islamic holy war.

Politically, each side tried to demonstrate the lack of unity in its adversary: the Muslims criticized the Christians for being split into 72 races, while the letter of Leo III asserts that Islam is torn apart by schisms more serious than those that used to rage in the Christian world. While defending the truth of their religion, Christian apologists affirmed that MUHAMMAD was a false prophet and a licentious man and that the Qur'an was a false book. The Byz. church required Muslim converts to anathematize the God of Muhammad, the prophet himself, the caliphs, and some tenets of Muslim dogma. Manuel I, who settled many Turks in Byz. territory, encountered strong resistance from the clergy when he tried to have the anathema of the "solid" (*holosphyros*) God of Muhammad deleted from the catechetical books. With difficulty he prevailed and an anathema against Muhammad and all his teachings was substituted (Nik.Chon. 213.51–219.70).

LIT. A.T. Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam* (Leiden 1972). J. Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," *DOP* 18 (1964) 113–32. S. Vryonis, "Byzantine Attitudes toward Islam during the Late Middle Ages," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 263–86. O. Mazal, "Zur geistigen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Christentum und Islam in spätbyzantinischer Zeit," *Miscellanea mediaevalia* 17 (1985) 1–19. R. Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes* (Paris 1985). —A.K.

ISLAMIC INFLUENCE ON BYZANTINE ART.

Islam as a religion and political entity had an impact on Byz. as early as the mid-7th C., but it hardly affected the arts during the Umayyad Caliphate, which adopted Byz. forms rather than transmitting its own. Although scholarly opinion is divided on these issues, early Islam may also have had some effect on the changes in coinage introduced by Justinian II and on Iconoclasm. No significant impact of a new Islamic art was in fact possible before the appearance of techniques, styles, and subjects that were consciously and formally new and different from Byz. ones or before

the growth of centers of taste, production, and consumption that could compete with Constantinople and the other major cities of the empire.

The usually accepted time for the appearance of a coherent new Islamic art is the end of the 8th C. when BAGHDAD, the recently founded 'Abbāsid capital, began to outstrip Constantinople in wealth and resources. Later, CORDOBA, Cairo (al-FUṢṬĀṬ), and many other North African, Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Iranian cities developed as centers of artistic production competing with both Baghdad and Byz. The preponderant impact, however, would always be from the East, as the Islamic world inherited from Sasanian Iran the partly real and partly mythic function of representing to the Mediterranean world the exotic East and because more consistent—friendly or hostile—Byz. relationships existed with Eastern rather than Western Muslim societies. The most important post-'Abbāsid Islamic dynasties and periods for which significant official or commercial contacts with Byz. can be assumed or shown to have had artistic components are the FĀTIMIDS, the SELJUKS, and, from the 13th C. onward, the Turkish *beyliks* of Anatolia, among whom the OTOMANS became the most prominent.

A chronology or typology of the impact of Islamic art on Byz. is difficult to establish, but some specific examples outline its probable pattern.

One of the earliest examples is the palace of Emp. Theophilos in Constantinople with its wild animals, AUTOMATA in the shape of birds or lions, and garden of artificial trees made of precious metals. According to textual descriptions, this palace was similar to 'Abbāsid palaces in Baghdad. Ruins of a palace on the Asian side of the Bosphoros (possibly BRYAS) with a domed audience hall can also be related to a sequence of partly earlier Islamic palaces (S. Eyice, *CahArch* 10 [1959] 245–50). Possibly, however, these Byz. or Muslim examples and the stories around them simply derive from the same antique sources.

More complete series of objects with Islamic motifs appear during the Macedonian and Komnenian periods, and in fact down to the Latin conquest of 1204. Textiles, esp. SILKS, use roundels with animals or hunting scenes typical of Islamic and earlier Iranian designs, just as clothing, esp. official or expensive COSTUME, tends to adopt "oriental" cuts and motifs. CERAMIC vessels and TILES used for the decoration of buildings

pick up several techniques (SGRAFFITO, splash, luster imitation) developed in the Muslim world and at times even some of their motifs. ENAMELS used on the crown of Constantine IX and on the PALA D'ORO show dancers and hunters typical of Islamic objects, even though the technique itself is not Islamic. A rather remarkable series of silver objects with courtly and other scenes found in Central Russia has been interpreted as Byz. but contains many Islamic features (Darkevič, *Svetское iskusstvo* 232).

The imitation of Arabic writing, esp. its angular style known as Kufic, becomes a common decorative motif in Greek churches; this type of ornament has been called "pseudo-Kufic." By 1200, according to Nicholas MESARITES, a palace known as the Mouchroutas (probably some misunderstanding of the Ar. *mahrūtah*, "cone") or "Persian house" stood to the west of the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS; it was covered by a stalactite dome with paintings. A curious glass cup looted by the Venetians in 1204, now in the Treasury of S. Marco in Venice, contains, next to beautifully copied antique motifs, the imitation of an Arabic inscription so well done that it seems legible (*Le trésor de Saint-Marc de Venise* [Paris 1984] 180–83). The underwater excavations at Serçe Liman off the coast of southern Turkey (G. Bass, *JGS* 26 [1984] 64–69) uncovered a Byz. ship, probably of the 11th C., carrying thousands of objects in GLASS and other techniques originating from the Byz. Empire as well as Iran, Syria, Egypt, and perhaps even China. As early as the 11th C., a donor in a Cappadocian church is represented wearing a turban (Thierry, *Nouvelles Églises*, pl.94).

Such examples could easily be multiplied and from the 9th C. onward traces of Islamic influences are found in Byz. Nevertheless, in comparison with the art of other Christian groups in western Asia (Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, Copts), who were under Islamic political domination, Byz. art was less consistently affected. Islamic influences hardly ever occur in religious art and never affect style and expression, the formal means by which Byz. art differentiates itself from other medieval traditions. In other words, Islamic forms played almost no role in the Byz. visual expression of Christianity.

Islamic themes are most apparent in the secular art of emperors and in many aspects of material culture. There are several explanations for this

phenomenon. One is that, in the 8th–12th C., Islamic artisans and a Muslim patronage developed, originated, and sponsored a large number of technical inventions in ceramic, textiles, glass-making, and METALWORK; these were, for the most part, easily transmissible and improved the quality of objects used in daily life. The ship of Serçe Liman was one example of a widespread trade in practical objects and, wherever these objects were made, they share the very Islamic objective of enhancing the potential of everyday activities. Both Byz. and Islam used the same Late Antique sources, and resemblances are therefore sometimes misleading. What Muslim princes introduced into the language of imperial art is an emphasis on representations of pleasure (dancing, singing, music, hunting) as an expression of power and wealth. Thus, the Islamic impact was first thematic, then functional or technical, and more rarely formal.

In a phenomenon somewhat similar to the impact of classical art, Islamic elements appear as significant components of Byz. art in the 9th–12th C., when the Byz. felt strong enough to incorporate such exotic themes as seemed interesting. Islamic influence is less immediately apparent in later times. When Byz. was weaker, its material culture more consistently shared with neighboring Turkish or turkified establishments; the maintenance of an unadulterated Christian art was an unwritten necessity for self-identity and survival.

LIT. Grabar, *Fin Ant.* 1:265–90. G.C. Miles, "Byzantium and the Arabs: Relations in Crete and the Aegean Area," *DOP* 18 (1964) 1–32. E. Coche de la Ferté, "Décors en céramique byzantine au Musée du Louvre," *CahArch* 9 (1957) 187–217. N.P. Ševčenko, "Some Thirteenth-Century Pottery at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP* 28 (1974) 353–60.

—O.G.

ISOCHRISTOI. See ORIGEN.

ISRAEL (Ἰσραήλ), the chosen people of the Bible. The etymology of the name was explained by the church fathers as either "seeing" ("the mind seeing God" in MAKARIOS THE GREAT, PG 34:800B) or "conquering" (Justin Martyr, PG 6:765D). The church fathers distinguished the old Israel, whose rejection of Christ caused their subsequent sufferings, from the new chosen people, the Christians; Israel became a designation of the church and also of the Byzantines. In Byz. rhetoric of the

12th C. the image of Israel often appears in a context of expectations: after present miseries "the new Israel" will be elevated by the "wise architect," just as the old Israel was liberated by Moses (e.g., Nikephoros BASILAKES, ed. Garzya 61.34–62.3). Niketas Choniates, while describing the defeat at Myriokephalon (Nik.Chon. 188.19–26), recalls "a seed left for Israel," so that God's inheritance should not utterly disappear.

In OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION the chosen people were often seen as allusions to Byz. ideology and current events. Triumphs and epiphanies experienced by leaders such as David, Moses, and Joshua frequently include assemblages of men, women, and children; elaborations upon their respective biblical accounts, these suggest the fortunes of the Byz. themselves. The CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, depicted in MSS such as the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, was interpreted as the living Christian's entry into the Promised Land through the grace of baptism. The ode (Ex 15:1) sung by the Israelites on this occasion is prescribed in *De cer.* (610.3–5) as appropriate to the celebration of triumphs over the Arabs and received special attention in aristocratic Psalter illustration. The theme is translated from a particular historical setting to a transcendental plane in the liturgy. Most developed among such biblical metaphors is the JOSHUA ROLL, which has been interpreted as an epic of Holy Land conquest by Nikephoros II Phokas or John I Tzimiskes (M. Schapiro, *GBA* 35 [1949] 161–76), even though neither of these emperors ever reached Palestine. –J.I., A.K., A.C.

IṢṬAKHRĪ, AL-, more fully Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣṭakhrī, geographer and cartographer of Persian origin who wrote in Arabic; born Iṣṭakhr (near ancient Persepolis) late 9th C., died Baghdad after 952. His *Routes and Kingdoms* (written 933–50) is the earliest surviving work of the systematic school of Islamic geography (see ARAB GEOGRAPHERS). It is based partly on the now lost *Maps of the Regions* by al-Balkhī (died after 920), on written and oral reports as well as al-Iṣṭakhrī's own observations as a traveler throughout the Islamic East. Beginning with a map of the world, it then concentrates on Islamic territory, dividing it into 20 regions with maps, and includes a map and brief description of the Mediterranean. It is unclear whether he traveled in the Mediterranean

regions. His first maps of Egypt and North Africa were criticized and updated by his junior continuator, ibn Hawqal. Several later cartographers redrew al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps. His work was extensively used by later Arab and, more particularly, by Persian and Turkish geographers.

His information on Byz., the frontier regions (prior to the Byz. capture of Melitene, 934), and the Mediterranean is less detailed than that of ibn Hawqal, the latter often entirely superseding it in this respect. It is, however, still valuable for Byz.'s northern neighbors, particularly the Khazars, Rus', Slavs, and Bulgarians.

ED. *Al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*, ed. M. al-Hīnī (Cairo 1961).
LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 196–98. A. Miquel, *EI*² 4:222f. –A.Sh.

ISTANBUL. See CONSTANTINOPLE.

ISTHMOS. See CORINTH; HEXAMILION.

ISTRIA (Ἰστρία), peninsula extending into the northeastern Adriatic Sea, part of the Roman *provincia Venetiarum et Histriae*, which bordered on DALMATIA to the south. The TABULA PEUTINGERIANA presents Istria as an area of numerous cities. The region lay south of the mainstream of barbarian raids and retained its Roman character until the end of the 6th C. Ostrogothic domination (493–539) did not leave substantial traces in the material culture, and excavations on the peninsula have uncovered both Byz. coins of the 6th C. and traditional Roman houses (G. Bordenache in *Rendiconti. Accademia d'Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti, Napoli* 34 [1959] 177–96). The restoration of Byz. rule in Istria in the mid-6th C. was of short duration: the LOMBARDS invaded it in 568 and gradually reduced Byz. territory to the littoral. In 680 the Lombards took Friuli and established the border between themselves and the empire; the remaining Byz. section formed a part of the exarchate of RAVENNA until the fall of the latter to the Lombards in 751. Thereafter Istria constituted an independent administrative unit under the authority of a local *tribunus* but was not a theme (Ferluga, *Byzantium* 68–70).

Archaeological excavation has revealed the precarious situation in Istria during the Lombard, Avar, and Slav invasions: on the one hand, tombs

of soldiers, for example, a cavalryman from Brežac of ca.600; on the other hand, strongholds with rural population, some of them episcopal centers (Pola, Parentium, Tergeste, etc.). In Parentium (POREČ), Bp. Eufrasius completed a complex of ecclesiastical buildings in the 6th C. The slavization of Istria began at the end of the century; there were two streams of Slavs—Slovenians (in the north) and Croats. The Roman population maintained its position primarily in the region of Pola; while cemeteries of the 7th–8th C. are predominantly pagan, several churches were built during this period (e.g., St. Sophia in Dvograd dated by a lost inscription to 770).

In 788 CHARLEMAGNE took Istria and, in the treaty of Aachen (812), made Byz. formally renounce this territory. Eventually Istria became a base for Venetian penetration of the Balkans.

LIT. E. Klebel, *Über die Städte Istriens* (Lindau-Konstanz 1958). L. Bosio, *L'Istria nella descrizione della Tabula Peutingeriana* (Trieste 1974). B. Marušić, *Istrien im Frühmittelalter* (Pula 1960). M. Kos, *O starejši slovenski kolonizaciji v Istri* (Ljubljana 1950). L. Margetić, *Histrica et Adriatica* (Trieste 1983). G. Cuscito, *Cristianesimo antico ad Aquileia e in Istria* (Trieste 1977). S. Mlakar, *Istra u antici* (Pula 1962).

–I.Dj.

ISTROS. See DANUBE.

ISTVÁN II (Stephen), king of Hungary (1116–31); born ca.1100/1, died 1 Mar. 1131. Son of Kálmán (Coloman, r.1095–1116), István was a rival of his uncle Álmos, who (with his infant son Béla) had been blinded by Coloman. At the start of István's reign, Álmos fled to Constantinople, where Alexios I and John II supported him. Around 1127, because of a trade dispute or because John refused to yield Álmos, the Hungarian king raided Byz. territory, destroying Belgrade, and plundering Niš (NAISSUS) and Serdica. Around 1128 John responded with an expedition that took Chramon (Kama) and the land between the Sava and the Danube and defeated the Hungarians north of the Danube. Once he had withdrawn, the Hungarians retook Chramon and destroyed BRANIČEVO. John returned (ca.1129) and rebuilt Braničevo. Although István's plans were betrayed, John was forced to withdraw. Around 1129 or 1130 peace was concluded between István and John.

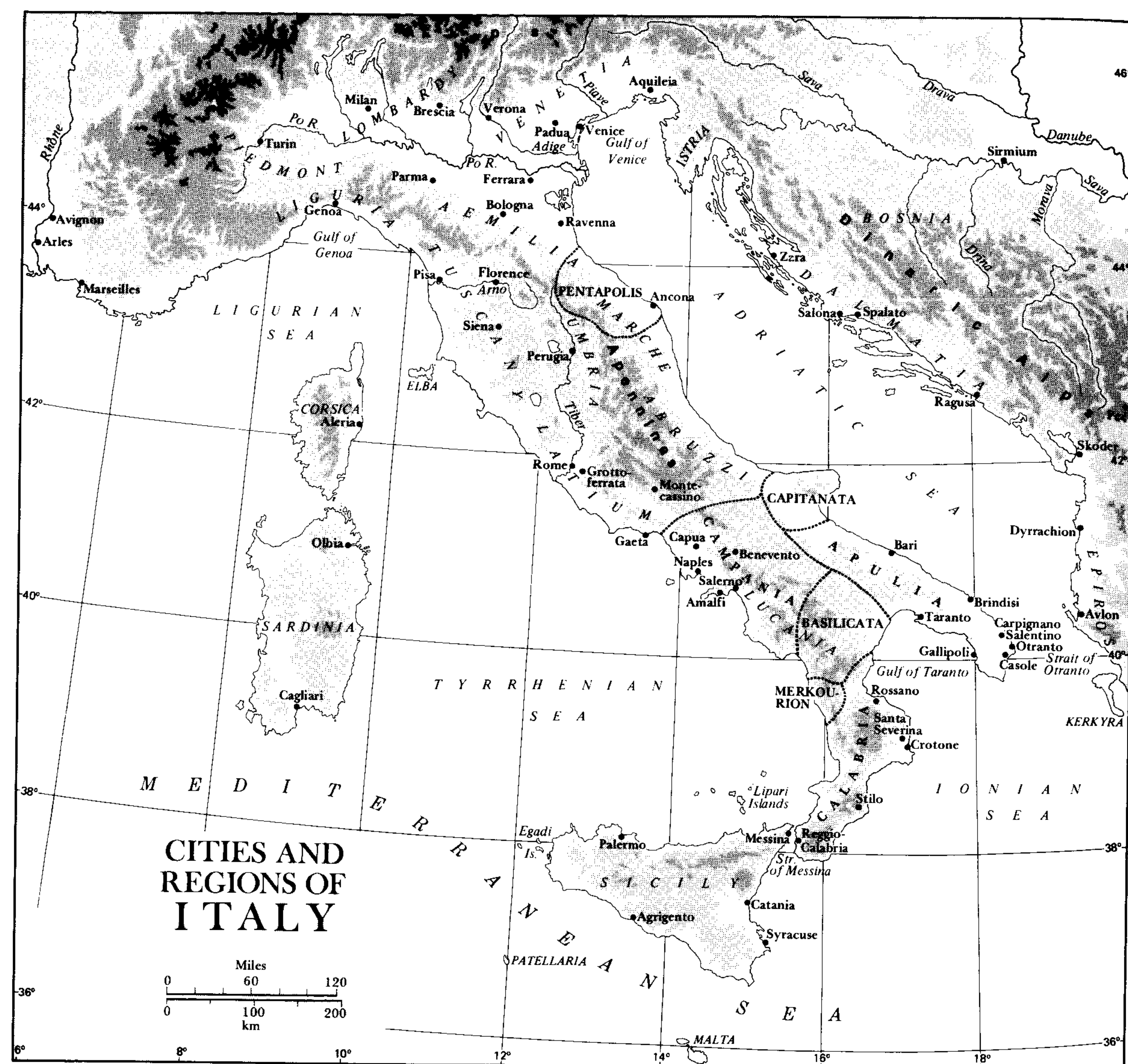
LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* 2:56–63. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam 1970) 78f. –C.M.B.

ITACISM, incorrect representation in writing of the high front vowel *i*, and in a wider sense incorrect representation of vowels, in Medieval Greek. Greek orthography became fixed in the classical period and was not modified to take account of the radical phonological changes, particularly in the vowel system, which took place between Hellenistic and Byz. times. Papyrus documents show frequent confusion of *ει* and *ι* by the 2nd C. B.C. and of *η* and *ι* a little later. Confusion of *οι* and *υ* appears from the 1st C. A.D. Confusion of both of these with *ι* is infrequent before the 9th C. The outcome is that from the 9th C. *ι*, *ει*, *η*, *ηι*, *οι*, *υ*, and *υι* represented the same sound and were frequently substituted for one another in writing. In the same way *ο* and *ω*, *αι* and *ε* were confused. Manuals of ORTHOGRAPHY laid down rules for correct spelling of words containing these phonemes. The ordinary man, however, cared less about accuracy than the schoolmasters, and incorrect substitution was common in documents, MSS, and even in inscriptions and on the seals of high officials throughout the Middle Ages and later. The reason is that most copyists carried their text from exemplar to copy in the form of an auditory image, which they then wrongly translated into visual symbols in the act of writing. Although these errors rarely gave rise to misunderstanding, occasionally they caused serious corruption, often worsened by the attempts of subsequent copyists to make sense of the text they found in their exemplars. Thus *σύν οἴστισιν* becomes *συνίστησιν*, *τί οὐ τῶν* becomes *τοιούτων*, and *δαῖτα* becomes *δὲ τά*.

LIT. F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, I: Phonology* (Milan 1976) 183–294. F.W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford 1913) 184. N.A. Macharadse, "Zur Lautung der griechischen Sprache der byzantinischen Zeit," *JÖB* 29 (1980) 144–58. –R.B.

ITALOS, JOHN. See JOHN ITALOS.

ITALY (Ἰταλία). In the 4th–5th C. the *dioecesis Italiciensis* consisted of two vicariates: the *regio annonaria* (with its capital at Milan), encompassing the provinces of Venetia-Istria, Emilia-Liguria, Alpes Cottiae, and RAETIA, and the *regiones suburbicariae* (capital at Rome), composed of Tuscany-Umbria, Picenum-Flaminia, CAMPANIA, Samnium, CALABRIA-APULIA, LUCANIA-Bruttium, SICILY,



SARDINIA, and Corsica. The traditional assumption that Italy went through an economic crisis in the 4th–5th C. has been questioned; ancient *municipia* survived in Italy at least through the 6th C., and agricultural production remained stable in the Annonarian vicariate in northern Italy (L. Ruggini, *Economia e società nell' "Italia annonaria"* [Milan 1961]); K. Hannestad (12 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Belgrade 1964] 155–58) assumes that after the crisis of the 4th C. Italian agriculture flourished under Ostrogothic rule.

In the 4th and 5th C. ROME (and later MILAN)

served as the residence of the Western Roman emperors. The Western emperor was at first the colleague and often the younger brother of the (senior) Eastern augustus (Maximian Herculus under Diocletian, Constans I under Constantius II, Valentinian I and Gratian under Valens, Honorius under Arkadios) but subsequently became an independently elected ruler. The authority of the Western Roman emperors in Italy ended in 476 with the overthrow of ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS by the Herulian ODOACER. Soon thereafter, in 488, the OSTROGOTHS invaded Italy;

by 493 they took RAVENNA and established their kingdom. Under THEODORIC THE GREAT the Ostrogoths enjoyed *de facto* independence of Constantinople but still acknowledged its suzerainty. The economic and social changes of the Gothic period (493–555) are as yet inadequately understood. Archaeological evidence in conjunction with the works of CASSIODORUS, however, indicates a general separation of Italy from the unified Mediterranean economy and the emergence of regional economies throughout the peninsula. Justinian I expended great effort to restore Byz. rule over Italy; his lengthy war against the Ostrogoths caused much hardship for the local population. After the Byz. reconquest, Justinian's measures, esp. the SANCTIO PRAGMATICA, were aimed at restoring the prewar situation and *latifundia* of Roman landowners, which had been partially seized and divided by the Goths and their Italian allies. Byz. rule in Italy was soon challenged; in 568 the LOMBARDS invaded Italy and quickly occupied its northern part. The Byz. retained Ravenna and VENICE in the north and Apulia, Calabria, Lucania, and Campania in the south. Sicily was able to repel the Lombard attacks and also stayed in Byz. hands. The remaining Byz. possessions formed an administrative unit—the EXARCHATE of Ravenna. Gradually, a third factor emerged on the scene—the PAPACY, which expanded its jurisdiction in Sicily and elsewhere.

The political makeup of Italy changed again during the 8th C. Byz. lost Ravenna to the Lombards in 751, but strengthened its position in southern Italy and esp. Sicily, transferring their ecclesiastical jurisdiction to Constantinople and confiscating the papal estates; the territory was substantially hellenized and firmly incorporated into the Byz. administrative system based on THEMES. The Lombard kingdom became decentralized, resulting in the establishment of several independent duchies (BENEVENTO, SALERNO, and later CAPUA); in the mid-8th C. its northern part was conquered by the FRANKS, who became a new factor in the struggle for hegemony in Italy. Relying on Frankish support, the papacy rejected Byz. suzerainty and gradually formed an independent state (by 800).

Arab raids, which began (in Sicily) as early as the mid-7th C., increased in the 8th and 9th C. and forced the Byz., popes, Franks, Lombard rulers, and semi-independent cities (NAPLES,

AMALFI, GAETA, Venice) into an anti-Muslim alliance (although in some cases Italian cities and principalities preferred the support—or peace terms—granted by the Arabs). The alliance was not effective, however, and by the beginning of the 10th C. Sicily was essentially lost to the Arabs. In the 10th-C. political struggles, two major powers predominated in Italy: Byz., which retained firm control in southern Italy, and the Ottonians, who inherited Frankish claims and interests in Italy. Before 969 the Byz. KATEPANATE of Italy was created, later (ca. 1040) replaced by the *doukaton* of Italy. The administrative term *Italia*, which was used in Greek sources synonymously with LONGOBARDIA, did not include Calabria and Sicily: thus ARGYROS, son of Melo, was titled “*doux* of Italy, Calabria, Sicily, and Paphlagonia” (Falkenhansen, *Dominazione* 48–63). At the same time the term could be applied to the whole peninsula (without Sicily) and to the Frankish kingdom of Italy.

Abundant Greek and Latin private documents reveal much about the southern Italian villages of the 9th–11th C. They did not employ the open field system; the peasantry paid rent predominantly in kind; free and semifree peasants were numerous; and villages often concluded contracts with the lords that fixed payment amounts and defined the rights of peasants (M.L. Abramson, *VizVrem* 7 [1953] 161–93).

In the 10th C. neither Germany nor Byz. was sufficiently successful at subjugating Italy; the early 11th C. saw a peaceful but unstable situation interrupted by the short-lived campaign of George MANIAKES. In the same century appeared a new power that replaced both the Byz. and the Arabs—the Normans, who established their state in southern Italy and Sicily. At the same time another new factor emerged, namely, the commercial cities of northern Italy (Venice, GENOA, PISA, etc.), which eventually came to dominate trade in the eastern Mediterranean. In the 12th C., Byz., for the last time, attempted to recover its possessions in southern Italy. The empire often had the support of Italian cities (ANCONA, Milan, Venice), but the Norman resistance, the lack of mutual understanding with the papacy, and esp. the powerful interference of the German emperors made the Byz. efforts fruitless.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 deprived Byz. of its status as a

world power, making any further intervention in Italy impossible. In contrast, Italian republics began to penetrate the territory of "Romania"; they had been granted commercial privileges and tax exemptions since the late 10th C., but during the 12th C. Byz. maintained control over the Italian colonies and skillfully played off their rivalries. The defeat of 1204 opened up the Levant to the Venetians, who together with the Genoese exercised domination over both Constantinople and the Byz. provinces. Sicily, esp. under CHARLES I OF ANJOU, served as a base for hostile operations against Byz. Both Italian trade domination and the transformation of Byz. into a source of food supply for Italy contributed to the empire's growing poverty, although individual Greek merchants and artisans maintained their activity and operated with substantial capital. Cultural contacts between Byz. and Italy developed in the 14th and 15th C., with Greek books and scholars penetrating the Italian intellectual milieu. The Ottoman threat fostered discussion of a political and religious alliance, but Italian military assistance remained insignificant and could not prevent the fall of the empire to the Turks.

LIT. A. Chastagnol, "L'administration du diocèse Italien au Bas-Empire," *Historia* 12 (1963) 348-79. T.S. Brown, "The Background of Byzantine Relations with Italy in the 9th C.," *ByzF* 13 (1988) 27-45. I. Bizantini in Italia, ed. G. Cavallo et al. (Milan 1982). R. Hiestand, *Byzanz und das regnum italicum im 10. Jahrhundert* (Zurich 1964). G.A. Loud, "Byzantine Italy and the Normans," *ByzF* 13 (1988) 215-33. Lamma, *Comneni*. M. Balard et al., *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Rome 1957). —A.K.

ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM (Account of the Pilgrims' Journey), a Latin history of the Third Crusade probably written by an English Templar in the Holy Land (at Tyre?) between 1 Aug. 1191 and 2 Sept. 1192, and certainly before 1194 (H. Möhring, *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 5 [1982] 149-67). In addition to firsthand experience and oral sources, the author used a lost account of the Crusade of FREDERICK I. The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* describes Frederick's crossing of the Byz. Empire and his difficulties with Isaac II's Pechenegs and Bulgars (291.20-296.7), insisting on Greek inferiority and their hatred of innocent Latins (292.12-293.9). It also treats the conflict with the Seljuk sultanate (296.11-300.6) and GREEK FIRE (323.20-324.18). Between 1216 and 1222, Richard, canon and later prior of Holy Trinity, London, revised the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* and

combined it with a Latin translation of the *Estoire de la guerre sainte* (History of the Holy War), material from ROGER OF HOVEDEN, and a lost English account of the Crusade to produce a new version (ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, vol. 1 [London 1864; rp. 1964]).

ED. *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. H.E. Mayer (Stuttgart 1962) 245-357.

LIT. H.E. Mayer, "Zur Verfasserfrage des *Itinerarium peregrinorum*," *ClMed* 26 (1965) 279-92. A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974) 239f. —M.McC.

IVAJLO, Bulgarian tsar (1278-79). Known to the Byz. as Lachanas ("cabbage"), he was a swineherd who believed that he had a mission from God to save Bulgaria from the TATARS. A series of victories brought him broad popular support. He overthrew CONSTANTINE TICH in 1277, but Tŭrnovo held out under Tich's wife Maria (Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 19-20, no.15). She preferred to marry Ivajlo and bring him to the throne, rather than allow her uncle MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS to impose his own nominee. She was overthrown while Ivajlo was away fighting the Tatars. He inflicted a series of defeats on the Byz. armies sent to support John Asen III (1279-80), but was forced to turn to the Tatars for help. Khan Nogay had him murdered at a banquet.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:543-75. D. Angelov, *Ivajlo* (Sofia 1954). P. Petrov, *Vŭstanieto na Ivajlo* (Sofia 1956).

—M.J.A.

IVAN III, grand duke of Moscow and Vladimir (co-ruler from 1450, prince from 1462); born 22 Jan. 1440, died Moscow 27 Oct. 1505. Son of Basil II, Ivan substantially expanded Muscovite territory during his reign, annexing both Great Novgorod (1478) and the principality of Tver' (1485). In 1472 Ivan took as his second wife SOPHIA PALAIOLOGINA, niece of Emp. Constantine XI. Thereafter he occasionally called himself "tsar" and began to use the emblem of the two-headed EAGLE on his seals. In 1492 Metr. Zosima referred to Ivan as a "new Constantine" and called Moscow a "new city of Constantine." In the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, Ivan assumed the role of defender of Orthodox Christianity and declared (in 1470) that the patriarch of Constantinople had no jurisdiction over the church of Moscow. Current scholarship (Obolensky, *Commonwealth* 364-67; Meyendorff, *Russia*

274), however, rejects earlier theories that Ivan claimed to be the heir to the Byz. Empire.

LIT. G. Vernadsky, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn., 1959) 13-133. K.V. Bazilevič, *Vneš-njaja politika Russkogo centralizovannogo gosudarstva. Vtoraja polovina XV veka* (Moscow 1952). —A.M.T.

IVAN ALEXANDER, Bulgarian tsar (1331-71). Descended from the Asen dynasty on his mother's side, Ivan Alexander reached the throne as a result of a coup d'état supported by a faction among the boyars. Throughout his reign he strove to prevent formation of an anti-Bulgarian coalition in the Balkans. Allied from 1332 with STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, Ivan inflicted a severe defeat on the Byz. in that year and regained some territory south of the Balkan range. During the Byz. CIVIL WAR OF 1341-47 he supported John V Palaiologos against John VI Kantakouzenos and as a result added to his dominion a number of towns north of the Rhodope mountains, including PHILIPPOPOLIS. Later his hostility to Byz. led him to ally himself with the Ottoman Turks and with their help to recover several fortresses on the Black Sea coast. In 1365, however, he was defeated by AMADEO VI OF SAVOY and the Hungarians, both of whom supported papal plans for church union. He maintained good relations with Dubrovnik and Venice. His policy of giving parts of his kingdom as appanages to his sons contributed to the fragmentation of the Second Bulgarian Empire and to its inability to resist Turkish pressure. A notable patron of literature and art, Ivan made Tŭrnovo the seat of a flourishing Slavic literary culture, which later influenced the development of Russian culture. Several MSS written and illuminated for him survive. He was married twice, to Theodora, daughter of the Rumanian prince Ivanco Basarab, and later to Sarah-Theodora, a converted Jew.

LIT. P. Mutačiev, *Istorija na bŭlgarskija narod*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1943) 241-87. Kosev et al., *Bŭlgarija* 1:218-41. I. Božilov, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186-1460)* (Sofia 1985) 149-78, 435-51. K. Mečev, "Car Ivan Aleksandŭr kato dŭržaven i kulturn stroitel," in *Veličieto na Tŭrnograd*, ed. A. Popov (Sofia 1985) 122-43. J. Andreev, "Ivan Alexandŭr et ses fils sur la dernière miniature de la Chronique de Manassès," *EtBalk* 21.4 (1985) 39-47. —R.B.

IVANKO (Ἰβανκός), nephew of ASEN I (Akrop. 1:21.1f) and founder of an independent Bulgarian principality; died after 1200. In 1196 Ivanko assassinated Asen. Niketas CHONIATES attributes

this murder to Ivanko's involvement in a love affair with the sister of Asen's wife. He also suggests (Nik.Chon. 471.86) that Ivanko was possibly incited by the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos. Ivanko's attempt to establish his power in Tŭrnovo failed: Asen's brother, PETER OF BULGARIA, besieged the city, and, lacking assistance from Byz., Ivanko had to flee to Constantinople. There he was betrothed to the emperor's granddaughter Theodora and received the name Alexios. Alexios III appointed him governor of Philippopolis. Around 1198 or 1199 Ivanko proclaimed his territory independent, allied himself with KALOJAN, and assisted a Cuman raid into Macedonia. After some unsuccessful expeditions against Ivanko (during which the *protostrator* Manuel KAMYTZES was taken captive), Alexios III lured him into a trap (1200). Deceived by a false oath, Ivanko entered the imperial camp, where he was immediately seized. His brother Mitos (Mitja?) fled, and Ivanko's ephemeral principality in Rhodope was annexed by Byz.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:89-120, 132-34. Brand, *Byzantium* 125-31. —A.K., C.M.B.

IVERON MONASTERY, Iberian (Georgian) establishment on the northeast coast of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS, approximately 4 km from Karyes. Until between 1010 and 1020 Iveron (Ἰβήρων) was called the "monastery of the Iberian" or "of Euthymios"; thereafter it was called the "lavra of the Iberians." The first Georgians to come to Athos were John the Iberian and his son EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN, who entered the Great Lavra of Athanasios in the 960s before moving to nearby *kellia*. In 979/80 the ascetic/general John TORNİKIOS, after winning a battle over the rebel Bardas SKLEROS and amassing vast amounts of booty, returned to Athos to found a new lavra for Iberians at the site of the monastery "tou Klementos." At this time Tornikios received the KOLOBOU MONASTERY from Emp. Basil II. Under the first *hegoumenoi*—John the Iberian (980-1005), Euthymios (1005-1019), and Euthymios's cousin George (1019-29)—a scriptorium was established for the translation of Greek religious texts into Georgian and the copying of Greek and Georgian MSS. Thereafter Iveron continued to be an important center of Byz.-Georgian cultural interaction and the dissemination of texts in Georgian. In the mid-11th C. the translator and hagiogra-

pher GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI served as *hegoumenos*. The number of monks at the monastery reportedly grew to 300, and Iveron initially owned more land than Lavra. In addition to extensive properties on Athos, Iveron had possessions in Chalkidike, the Strymon valley, and Thessalonike.

Throughout the Byz. period there was rivalry at Iveron between the community of Greek monks, who were in the majority, and the Georgians; the two groups celebrated the liturgy separately. The Georgians were in authority in the early period, and held their services in the *katholikon*, even though they were outnumbered. In the 14th C., however, the Greeks gained dominance at Iveron; an act of 1356 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2396), noting that the Greek monks were "more numerous and capable," stated that the *hegoumenos* was to be Greek and that the Greeks were entitled to hold their services in the principal church. Although it appears no *typikon* was ever written, chapters 34–70 of the vita of John and Euthymios, which describe the organization of Iveron, resemble a monastic rule.

The archives contain over 150 documents of Byz. date; those published to date (the earliest is of 927) deal primarily with sales and donations of property; they provide valuable information on the topography and prosopography of Macedonia. The will of Kale Pakouriane (of 1090) contains a long list of liturgical vessels and textiles given to the monastery. Iveron's library preserves a major collection of 337 Byz. MSS, in addition to 86 Georgian MSS, including unique hagiographical codices. The most important Byz. books are cod. 463, a lavishly illustrated 12th-C. copy of BARLAAM AND IOASAPH (*Treasures* 2:60–91, 306–23), and the 13th-C. Gospel book cod. 5 (*ibid.* 34–53, 296–303).

The *katholikon*, which has undergone numerous restorations and modifications, was originally built in 980–83 and is one of the oldest surviving Christian structures on Athos. Dedicated to the Virgin, it is a cross-in-square church, with side chapels added later. Its pavement probably dates to the mid-11th C.

SOURCES. J. Lefort et al., *Actes d'Iviron, I. Des origines au milieu du XIe siècle* (Paris 1985). Dölger, *Sechs Praktika*. Dölger, *Schatz*. 35–38, 43–47, 69–71, 153–170, 180–84, 193–209, 230–32, 234–50, 255–61, 263–79, 292–308. (For ed. of vita of John and Euthymios, see EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN.)

LIT. *BK* 41 (1983)—entire issue devoted to 1,000th anniversary of foundation of Iveron. Lampros, *Athos* 2:1–

279. R. Blake, "Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la bibliothèque de la laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos," *ROC* 8 (28) (1931–32) 289–361; 9 (29) (1933–34) 114–59, 225–71. —A.M.T., A.C.

IVEROPOULOS, JOHN. See PETRITZOS MONASTERY.

IVORY (ἐλέφας), made from ELEPHANT tusks, the principal organic material used in the creation of ceremonial and useful objects, icons, and appliques for furniture and doors. Dependent on commerce with Africa and India, the availability of ivory varied greatly, although the appeal of its exotic origin and lustrous nature never waned. Its reputation in late antiquity as an imperial material is indicated by the barbarian offering of a giant tusk on the BARBERINI IVORY. In fact, from the beginning of the 4th C. until at least the mid-6th, ivory was relatively cheap: in Diocletian's PRICE EDICT, its cost per pound is one-fortieth that of an equivalent weight in silver.

Abundant statuettes, CASKETS AND BOXES for medications and other items, and decorative plaques were carved in Egypt and exported, as were the 8 stools and 14 chairs sent by Cyril of Alexandria to the court of Theodosios II. Egypt as a source of worked ivory (as against BONE CARVING), which is attested by both papyri and excavations, had been contested but is now confirmed by finds at Abū Mīnā (J. Engemann, *JbAChr* 30 [1987] 172–186). By the 4th C. ivory was also carved in Constantinople. An edict of 337 (*Cod. Theod.* XIII 4.2) includes ivory workers in a list of artisans who were exempted from civil obligations so that they might improve their craft and teach it to their children—a clause that suggests the means by which techniques were transmitted. The widespread manufacture of ivory DIPTYCHS is apparent from an edict of 384 (*ibid.* XV 9.1) forbidding all but ordinary consuls to issue them. While many consular diptychs can be ascribed with certainty to Constantinople, the place of origin of the cathedra of MAXIMIAN and the so-called five-part diptychs remains disputed, as does that of the scores of surviving pyxides (see PYXIS) decorated with pagan or Christian subjects. While the consular diptychs can be precisely dated, other pre-Justinianic ivories cannot.

It is probable that Constantinople's access to ivory was disrupted in the late 6th and 7th C. There is no evidence for ivory carving in the

ensuing "Dark Age," although such activity has been claimed for Christian workshops in Syria-Palestine. When the ivory trade resumed—possibly no earlier than the reign of Leo VI—East Africa was in Arab hands. Thereafter, ivory was a coveted substance, used in the fabrication of far fewer types of objects than before the 7th C. and generally reserved for sacro-political emblems and ecclesiastical artifacts. The aulic connections of the material are epitomized in a relief in Moscow (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no. 35), apparently made in direct response to the beginning of Constantine VII's sole rule in 945. The dates of other pieces with imperial images and/or inscriptions are disputed, but their function is perhaps indicated by three relatively large TRIPTYCHS. Few in number compared to the more than 200 smaller icons that survive, they are much more elaborately carved and may have been revered in private chapels of the imperial court and the urban elite. The only ivory *staurolitheke* (*ibid.*, II, no.77) has a later inscription that says it was used by an emperor Nikephoros (Botaneiates?) to put the barbarians to flight.

Many ivories were sent to the West, where they were applied to the covers of books, the contents of which provide *termini ante quem* for these plaques. Such exports continued until ample Western access to raw ivory, occurring in and after the 11th C., put an end to this commerce. No Byz. pieces have been shown to belong to the 12th C., a period when emperors and other dignitaries commissioned their portraits in other expensive materials. This absence suggests that supplies of ivory were diverted at their source to the West. Substitutes were then prized: John Tzetzes records his gratitude for a "Russian-carved" inkwell (or inkstand?) made of walrus (or narwhal) tusk that he received from Leo, metropolitan of Dorostolon (J. Shepard, *ByzF* 6 [1979] 215–21). Only one object with imperial likenesses, a tiny circular box at Dumbarton Oaks that depicts members of the family of John VIII, can be attributed with confidence to Palaiologan craftsmen.

No ivories are listed in preserved wills and very few in monastic INVENTORIES and TYPIKA. Nothing is known of modes of production. Since the corpus of Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, pieces dated to the 10th and 11th C. have been divided into five groups, supposed to be the products of different ateliers, but there is no basis on which to assume the existence of workshops in this medium

other than the fact that craft practices were transmitted to successive generations. That ivory workers also carved bone and STEATITE is a more plausible hypothesis, given the technical, iconographical, and formal resemblance between products in these three media. A late reference to ivory is made by Anna Komnene (*An.Komn.* 1:112.21f) who compares the grace of her mother's hands to ivory carved by some artificer. For this workman she uses the generic term *technites*, whereas in late antiquity this craft had been practiced by specialists known as *elephantourgai*.

LIT. W.F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*³ (Mainz 1976). A. Goldschmidt, K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1930–34; rp. 1979). A. Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory* (Washington, D.C., 1985). J.-P. Caillet, "L'origine des derniers ivoires antiques," *Revue de l'Art* 72 (1986) 7–15. —A.C.

IZBORNIKI (lit. "Selections") of 1073 and 1076, the two earliest extant dated nonliturgical MSS from Rus'; also known as the *Izborniki of Svjatoslav* (i.e., Jaroslavič of Kiev, 1073–76) from the eulogy in the 1073 MS and the colophon in the 1076 MS. The 1073 *Izbornik* (Moscow, Hist. Mus. Sinod. Sobr. 1043) contains a translation of a Greek FLORILEGIUM close to that of Vat. gr. 423 and Paris, B.N. Coisl. gr. 120. The 1073 MS is one of more than 20 MSS of this translation. The core of the work is a version of the *Erotapokrisis* ascribed to ANASTASIOS OF SINAI. This is flanked by briefer theological, rhetorical, and chronological articles by, for example, Michael Synkellos, Theodore of Raithou, George Chiroboskos, and Patr. Nikephoros I. Its prototype was Bulgarian: the *enkomion* to Svjatoslav was originally addressed to Tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA (but cf. L.P. Žukovskaja, ed., *Drevnerusskij literaturnyj jazyk v ego otnošenii k staroslavjanskomu* [Moscow 1987] 45–62).

The 1076 *Izbornik* (Leningrad, Publ. Lib., Soobranie Ermitažnoe 20) is the only complete MS of its type and does not reflect an equivalent Byz. *florilegium*. Rather it contains extracts from previous Slavonic translations, at least in part via previous Slavonic compilations (including passages from the *florilegium* represented in the 1073 *Izbornik*). In character it is gnomic and hortatory, with substantial segments of, for example, *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Centuria* ascribed to Patr. Gennadios I, the *Sententiae* ascribed to HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM, JOHN KLIMAX, AGAPETOS, and APO-

PHTHEGMATA PATRUM. Some of its sources are unidentified, and its provenance—Kievan or Bulgarian—is disputed.

ED. *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 goda. Faksimil'noe izdanie* (Moscow 1983). *Izbornik 1076 goda*, ed. S.I. Kotkov (Moscow 1965).

LIT. *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 g.*, ed. B.A. Rybakov (Moscow 1977). H.G. Lunt, "On the *Izbornik* of 1073," in *Okeanos* 359–76. W.R. Veder, "The *Izbornik* of John the Sinner," in *Polata künigopis'naja* 8 (June 1983) 15–37.

—S.C.F.

IZMARAGD (from Gr. *σμάραγδος*, "emerald"), a compendium of ethical instruction compiled in Rus', probably in the early 14th C., initially in 88 chapters. The precepts in *Izmaragd*, aimed mainly at laymen and priests, concern the life of a Christian in society: marriage, work, relations with authority, charity, and the blessings derived from reading. The sources of *Izmaragd* overlap with those of other Slavonic compilations (the IZBOR-

NIKI of 1073 and 1076, ZLATOSTRUJ, *Zlatoust*) and include translated extracts from pseudo-Chrysostom, the *Centuria* ascribed to Patr. Genadios I, the *Pandektes* of ANTIOCHOS and of NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, EPHREM THE SYRIAN, ANASTASIOS OF SINAI, pseudo-Athanasios, *Ecclesiasticus*, the *vita* of Niphon of Constantia, and BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. *Izmaragd* also contains works ascribed to KIRILL of TUROV, FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA, and SERAPION OF VLADIMIR. A second version in 165 chapters probably dates from the late 15th C. It draws on a similar range of sources (though only 50 chapters are borrowed directly from the first version), with additional material from PALLADIOS, John MOSCHOS, and the *Dialogues* of GREGORY I THE GREAT.

LIT. V.A. Jakovlev, *K literaturnoj istorii drevnerusskich sbornikov. Opyt izsledovanija "Izmaragda"* (Odessa 1893; rp. Leipzig 1974). V.P. Adrianova-Perec, "K voprosu o krugu čtenija drevnerusskogo pisatelja," *TODRL* 28 (1974) 3–29. O.V. Tvorogov, "Izmaragd," *TODRL* 39 (1985) 249–53. Fedotov, *Mind* 2:36–112.

—S.C.F.

JABALA, the first attested GHASSĀNID chief in the service of Byz.; died ca.528. Around 500 he appeared as a warrior in occupation of the island of Iotabe, which had been captured in the reign of Leo I by AMORKESOS. After hard-fought battles, Romanos, the energetic *doux* of Palestine, was able to force Jabala out of Iotabe and restore Byz. rule. In the general settlement with the Arab tribes who attacked the frontier, Anastasios I concluded a peace with the Ghassānids in 502 that made them the dominant federate group in Oriens. Jabala remained the principal figure in Byz.-Arab relations for another quarter of a century. The Ghassānids became staunch Monophysites, a fact reflected in the appearance of the Monophysite firebrand Simeon of Beth-Arsham at Jabala's camp in Jābiya ca.520, invoking the extension of aid to the Christians of NAJRĀN and South Arabia. Jabala probably died at the battle of Thanuris (528) while fighting in the Byz. army against the Persians.

LIT. I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran* (Brussels 1971) 272–76.

—I.A.Sh.

JACOB BARADAEUS (*Baradaïos*, Syr. Burde'ana, "man in ragged clothes"), Monophysite bishop of Edessa (from 542/3); born Tella, Osrhoene, ca.500, died Kasion, near the Syro-Egyptian frontier, 30 July 578. He was the organizer of the Monophysite church, called JACOBITE after him. In 527/8 the monk Jacob went to Constantinople, where he became a favorite of the empress Theodora and also gained the support of the Arab chieftain Hārith ibn-Jabala (ARETHAS). When Ephraim of Antioch (527–45) launched a severe attack against the Monophysites, Theodora urged Theodosios, Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, to consecrate two bishops in Syria to counterbalance Ephraim's activities—Theodore in Bostra and Jacob in Edessa (542/3).

According to John of Ephesus (PO 19:154), Jacob's diocese extended over most of the East, where the Monophysite cause had been severely weakened by Justinian's persecution. Jacob was

tireless in his missionary activity, appointing Monophysite bishops in many cities, including Chios, Ephesus, and Antioch. Although much of his work was in Asia Minor and along the coasts of the Mediterranean, most of the bishops were drawn from Syrian monasteries, giving the Monophysite hierarchy a distinctly Syrian character. Justinian attempted to arrest Jacob, but he was frequently in disguise (hence his sobriquet) and was never caught. Some of Jacob's letters, written originally in Greek, have survived in Syriac.

ED. See CPG, vol. 3, nos. 7170–99.

LIT. H.G. Kley, *Jacobus Baradaeus de stichter der syrische monophysitische kerk* (Leiden 1882). D.D. Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus. The State of Research," *Muséon* 91 (1978) 45–86. E. Honigmann, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle* (Louvain 1951) 157–245. A. van Riez in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 2:339–60.

—T.E.G.

JACOBITES, SYRIAN MONOPHYSITES, followers of JACOB BARADAEUS. Although Monophysitism had individual followers from the time of the Council of CHALCEDON, the movement was not given firm institutional form until the missionary activity of Jacob Baradaeus beginning ca.542. The Jacobite church traced its roots to Patr. Theodosios of Alexandria (535–66), who consecrated Jacob. Although many Jacobite churches were established in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands, the hierarchy of the church was made up largely of Syrian monks who brought with them their language and spiritual ideals. Jacobite missionaries spread their teachings as far as Persia, but their real centers were the villages and monasteries of Syria, and many bishops lived in desert monasteries rather than cities. The Jacobite church survived the Persian and Islamic conquests, although with decreased numbers, into modern times.

LIT. Frend, *Monophysite Movement* 285–87, 318–20, 326. S.P. Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance* (Berlin 1955).

—T.E.G.

JACOB OF SARUG (or Serugh), Syriac poet and theologian; born Curtam, near Sarug on the Euphrates, ca.451, died Batnan 29? Nov. 521. Edu-