INTERACTION AND ISOLATION IN LATE BYZANTINE CULTURE

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Preface

The Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul (SFII) has repeatedly been a place where Scandinavian scholars have gathered for conferences and courses in Byzantine studies. This is a natural consequence of the fact that the SFII is the only research institute run by a Nordic country in the former Byzantine capital. A colloqium, sponsored by the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences and arranged by the late Lennart Rydén, took place in 1992 and was devoted to Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium. A course in Byzantine Studies for doctorate students funded by The Nordic Academy for Advanced Study (NORFA) and arranged by academic teachers from all four countries took place in 1996. And in 1999 the board of the SFII decided to assume the financial responsibility for the funding of a second Byzantine colloquium. The present volume contains most of the papers presented on that occasion.

The colloquium was devoted to the culture of the Late Byzantine period. Apart from the chronological framework, the uniting theme was the apparent ambivalence existing between, on the one hand, Byzantium's increasing isolation within the city walls of Constantinople and, on the other hand, the growing tendency for the Byzantine state and her people to interact with their neighbours. This aspect seems to be an important factor behind the paradoxical impression often created by the cultural and political landscape of Byzantium in this period. The fact that the impoverished state has lost most of its political authority and ceased to be a power of even local importance is striking. No less striking, however, is the remarkable development of the intellectual and cultural contacts with the world ouside those narrow limits. Especially interesting as a partner of growing importance was Western Europe, which became a source of inspiration in a way never seen before.

Of course, this ambivalence is not surprising, rather the contrary would be true. A power dominating a large territory is apt to be self-sufficient and able to look after its own needs, and even mentally less prepared to accept the idea that foreign influences could be useful for its own improvement. In contrast, a state with restricted resources in land and people will naturally feel the need of inspiration, help and support from

others, in intellectual life as well as in politics and in economy. Such openness in front of political and economic threats is what we see in late Byzantium. Within the tight limits set by the scarcity of resources in this period, the cultural achievements are impressive. It is true that the so-called Palaiologan renaissance was short-lived. Depending mainly on the private wealth of a few magnates and their families, it lacked a sustainable foundation in its Constantinopolitan environment. None the less it created a cultural climate favourable enough to inspire new developments in areas outside Byzantium proper, such as Serbia and Mistra in the Peloponnese. Here also the growing tendency of drawing inspiration from the past, the ever-present Antiquity, must be mentioned. This form of interaction with history is a feature appearing again and again in Byzantine culture. In the late period it is particularly strong. Some aspects of this multifaceted picture are discussed in the following papers.

I thank my colleagues who participated in the colloquium for contributing to this volume, and for their patience in awaiting its publication. I also thank the Swedish Consulate General in Istanbul, headed by Ingmar Karlsson, for defraying the printing costs.

Uppsala, June 2004

Jan Olof Rosenqvist

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List of Abbreviations

ActaIRN	Acta Instituti Romani Norvegiae
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AnalBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*
BBA	Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten
BBOM	Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BollGrott	*Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*
ByzForsch	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CAG	*Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca*, 23 vols. (Berlin, 1882–1909)
CahArch	*Cahiers Archéologiques*
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
CIMAGL	*Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin*
CorsiRav	*Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*
CPhMA	Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi
CSCO (SS)	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Scriptores Syrii)
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*
ΔελτίονΧΑΕ	*Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
ΕΕΒΣ	*Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
EO	*Échos d'Orient*
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖBG	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
JWarb	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtaud Institutes*
Mansi	*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, ed. J.-P. Migne, Series graeca
PLP	*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1976–1994)
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
ST	Studi e testi
SynaxCP	*Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902)
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*

TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VigChr	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VV	*Vizantijskij Vremennik*
WJKg	*Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*

Aesthetic Aspects of Palaiologan Art in Constantinople: Some Problems

BENTE KIILERICH, University of Bergen

THE LATIN CONQUEST of 1204 sent a cultural shock wave through Constantinople.* Then, after 1261, there came an artistic *ananeôsis*, a reawakening of Byzantine art.[1] Suddenly—or perhaps not all that sudden, as stylistic predecessors may be found in Comnenian art from various parts of the empire—figures in pastel-coloured garments are tiptoeing through electric green fields and viewed against elaborate stage-sets.[2] At first sight this artistic idiom, exemplified by the mosaics in the Chora church, may appear mannered and superficial, but as will be argued here, it may equally well be perceived as a highly sophisticated, multifaceted art form (Fig. 1).[3]

* The following abbreviations are used in the legends:
Mango & Ertuğ = C. Mango & A. Ertuğ, *Chora: The Scroll of Heaven* ([Istanbul,] 2000).
Stierlin = H. Stierlin, *Orient byzantin. De Constantinople à l'Arménie et de Syrie en Ethiopie* (Paris, 1988).
Underwood = P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 3 (see note 3).
Weiss = P. Weiss, *Die Mosaiken des Chora-Klosters in Istanbul* (see note 2).

[1] For the cultural background, see S. Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1970); D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261–1453* (London, 1972); I. Ševčenko, "The Paleologan Renaissance," in W. Treadgold (ed.), *Renaissances before the Renaissance: Cultural Revivals of Late Antiquity* (Stanford CA, 1984), 144–72; E. Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261–1360)* (Leiden, 2000).

[2] An outline of Late Byzantine art may be found in D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting: The Last Phase* (London, 1978). For the Chora church (Kariye Camii) the standard publication remains P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vols. 1–3 (London & New York NY, 1966) and P. A. Underwood (ed.), *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4 (London & New York NY, 1975). Among the more recent contributions are P. Weiss, *Die Mosaiken des Chora-Klosters in Istanbul: Theologie in Bildern aus spätbyzantinischer Zeit* (Stuttgart & Zürich, 1997) with excellent colour photos. Other aspects are treated by: R. Ousterhout, "Temporal Structuring in the Chora Parekklesion," *Gesta* 34 (1995), 63–76; idem, "The Virgin of the Chora: An Image and its Contexts," in R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker (eds.), *The Sacred Image East and West* (Urbana Ill., 1995), 98–109; N. Teteriatnikov, "The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Program of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople," *CahArch* 43 (1995), 163–84; A. Karahan, "The Paleologan Iconography of the Chora Church and its Relation to Greek Antiquity," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 66 (1997), 89–95; R. S. Nelson, "Taxation with Representation. Visual Narrative and the Political Field of the Kariye Camii," *Art History* 22 (1999), 56–82; Idem, "Chora and the Great Church: Intervisuality in Fourteenth-Century Constantinople," *BMGS* 23 (1999), 67–101.

[3] Byzantine aesthetics is a neglected field. There are few special studies except for P. A. Michelis, *An Aesthetic Approach to Byzantine Art* (London, 1955), dealing mainly with architecture, and G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London, 1963), where the Comnenian and Palaiologan periods are treated in a few pages, 135–41; D. Pallas, "Αἱ αἰσθητικαὶ ἰδέαι τῶν Βυζαντινῶν πρὸ τῆς Ἁλώσεως (1453)," *EEBS* 34 (1965), 313–31; L. James, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art* (Oxford, 1996); B. Kiilerich and H. Torp, *Bilder og billedbruk i Bysants* (Oslo, 1998), 281–314: "Estetiske aspekter av by-

Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 13 (Stockholm, 2004).

Fig. 1. Joseph leading the Virgin to his house. Inner narthex, Kariye Camii (after Weiss).

The present study is mainly concerned with the arts of Constantinople, as theirs is a characteristic aesthetic, but it should be emphasized that this is only one of many contemporary artistic idioms. In other parts of the Byzantine realm art was created in quite different styles, art which—as at Mistra—is no less interesting and of no less merit than the highlights of the old capital.

Methodological considerations: style and other dirty words

Style is an art historical key concept. For some time, unfortunately, stylistic studies have been discredited: the concept of style according to some being totally outdated. Stylistic analysis is seen as *connoisseurship* and formalism, a far cry from the eulogized so-called "new art history."[4] Today most

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santinsk kunst" (in Norwegian). In general, Medieval aesthetics is seen from a western viewpoint, e.g., E. De Bruyne, *L'esthétique du moyen âge* (Louvain, 1947); U. Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Yale, 1986) (based on id., "Sviluppo dell'estetica medievale," in *Momenti e problemi di storia dell'estetica*, I [Milan, 1959]); R. Assunto, *La critica d'arte nel pensiero medioevale* (Milan, 1961); W. Tatarkiewicz, *History of Aesthetics*, II: *Medieval Aesthetics* (The Hague, 1970).

[4] Cf. H. Maguire, "Byzantine Art History in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century," in A. E. Laiou and H. Maguire (eds.), *Byzantium: A World Civilization* (Washington DC, 1992), 119–55, at 135: "There is no doubt that art history has now entered an *iconoclastic* phase—that means not only the smashing of old approaches and assumptions, but even an avoidance of visual images in

would agree that images—like texts—should be seen in their proper contexts. But the methodological spectrum should also include stylistic and aesthetic approaches. Style is not merely a formal category, as form and content cannot easily be separated, and, in some instances, the style of a work might even hold the key to the meaning of the work. In this new millennium, the time may be ripe for reconsidering aesthetic aspects and some of the problems related to artistic styles.[5]

The question of style, however, is highly problematic. To indicate how difficult it is to find one's way through the jungle of stylistic terms employed to characterize late Byzantine art, it is instructive to cite a few passages from two brilliant scholars: Otto Demus and Hans Belting. In his long chapter on the style of the Chora mosaics—written in 1960, but published fifteen years later—Otto Demus uses stylistic predicates like rococo and baroque, e.g.: "the rococo variety of the high Palaiologan style" (p. 153), "the rococo of the early phases has turned into baroque" (p. 154), but "a few years later the classicizing element seems to have come to the fore again" (p. 155). Demus, even if somewhat hesitantly, presents the term "renaissance in permanence", and speaks of "a series of revivals connected by survivals" (p. 157).[6]

Hans Belting, in his thorough study of the style of St. Mary Pammakaristos, Constantinople, in the years around 1300, sees "the slow decline of the 'heavy' or 'cubist manner' which, in turn, is a late exaggeration of the classical 'volume style' of mid-thirteenth-century art."[7] Belting elaborates on these points in a footnote:

> The "Ohrid manner" corresponds to the "Endphase des 13. Jahrhunderts," the last stage of Demus' chronological system. He [i.e. Demus] calls this manner the "heroic style" and accepts it as a separate phase within the course of Palaiologan art. There is, however, disagreement as to the name as well as the dissemination of this style... Grape speaks of the latter as of the "heavy style" while I [i.e. Belting] have called it the "tektonische Stil der Nachklassik." ... Radojčić distinguishes it from the "monumental style" of the classical phase ... For the sake of convenience, I should like to speak of the "Ohrid manner" or "cubist manner."[8]

The presentation of the Palaiologan styles in the works of Demus, Belting and their earlier colleagues, is so complex and inconsistent that it tends towards the absurd. Accordingly, at some point the pendulum was bound to swing back. A generation later, a different approach to the study of Palaiologan art is found in a recent article by Robert Nelson, who takes as his point of departure the *Taxation* mosaic at the Chora, the decoration of which he places in a socio–economic and political context:

> Like Jameson's notions of textual narrative, they constitute "symbolic message transmitted to us by the coexistence of various sign systems which are themselves traces or anticipations of modes of production." A paradigmatic representation of Byzantium's tributary mode of production, the Enrolment

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themselves."

[5] For concepts of style in general, see, e.g., B. Lang, "Style as Instrument, Style as Person," *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 4, no. 4 (Summer 1978), 715–39; W. Sauerländer, "Stylus: Reflections on the Fate of a Notion," *Art History* 6 (1983), 253–79.

[6] O. Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami," in Underwood (ed.), *The Kariye Djami*, 4, 107–160.

[7] H. Belting, C. Mango, and D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington DC, 1978), 95.

[8] Belting, ibid., 95, note 34.

for Taxation provides what these theorists have described, namely, an imaginary solution to social conflict and contradiction. By means of a visual language that is performative, the mosaics create what Bourdieu calls a "political field" (*champ*), a social space of struggle or engagement between the representative and the represented, so as to change or maintain the distribution of political and economical capital.[9]

This may be the case, but the essential meaning of the mosaics still escapes us. Does the evocation of "modern icons" like Bourdieu, Jameson and, in other paragraphs, Lévi-Strauss and Foucault, really assist in the understanding of Palaiologan art?

It would appear that, as far as late Byzantine art is concerned, "traditional" as well as "new" art history lag somewhat behind. It is difficult to suggest an alternative critical approach except to take the best of both worlds and combine stylistic, contextual, textual and other studies as appropriate. One of many possible subjects for study has been addressed by Nelson in another recent article, namely that of patronage, a subject dealt with earlier by Belting.[10] Based mainly on his studies of manuscript illumination, Nelson suggests that stylistic differences in Palaiologan art in the two major centres may, to some extent, be explained by reference to different commissioners: aristocratic in Constantinople and clerical in Thessalonike.[11]

The Chora mosaics

One problem, apparent in Demus as well as in Belting, consists of finding *les mots justes* to characterize a particular art form, such as that of the Chora mosaics.[12] The adequacy of words such as heavy, cubic, tectonic, monumental, rococo, baroque or classicizing, in relation to the decoration of this church, may be questioned: thus the larger the vocabulary, the further we seem to get from characterizing the defining features of Palaiologan art.[13]

Of the many terms and phrases used to describe Palaiologan art, realism is probably the least appropriate, as far as the Chora mosaics are concerned. Entering the narthex, it is as if one were looking at the stage-sets of a miniature theatre: buildings stand like fragmented stage-props, dividing walls are used to set off or frame figured scenes, to lead the spectator's eye to the main part of the picture, and to suggest not so much where the figures are, as who they are. These figures, the protagonists of

[9] Nelson, "Taxation" (above, note 2), 78.

[10] H. Belting, "Die Auftraggeber der spätbyzantinischen Bildhandschrift," *Art et societé à Byzance sous les Paléologues* [Actes du colloque organisé par l'Association Internationale des Études Byzantines à Venise en septembre 1968] (Venice, 1971), 151–76. To be mentioned also: H. Buchthal and H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy* [Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 16] (Washington DC, 1978).

[11] R. S. Nelson, "Tales of Two Cities: The Patronage of Early Palaeologan Art and Architecture in Constantinople and Thessaloniki," in *Manuel Panselinos and his Age* [The National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research; Byzantium Today, 3] (Athens, 1999), 127–45.

[12] Demus, in *Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, 110 f., points out that the mosaics and frescoes of the Chora "have been labelled 'classicist' or 'academic,' 'baroque' or 'mannerist;' scholars have sometimes stressed their dramatic, sometimes their intimate character; sometimes their realism, sometimes their decorative qualities."

[13] B. Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts. Studies in the So-called Theodosian Renaissance* (Odense, 1993), 190 f., tentatively distinguishes between "surface classicism," "ceremonial classicism," "baroque classicism," "aristocratic classicism" and "nonspecific classicism." Unfortunately, such classification is of very limited avail.

our Palaiologan Biblical narratives, are often found in the very front plane, as in a frieze, or as if performing in front of an audience. Concerning architecture and setting, foreground and background, it is often uncertain whether the narrative takes place indoors or outdoors, in past, present or future.

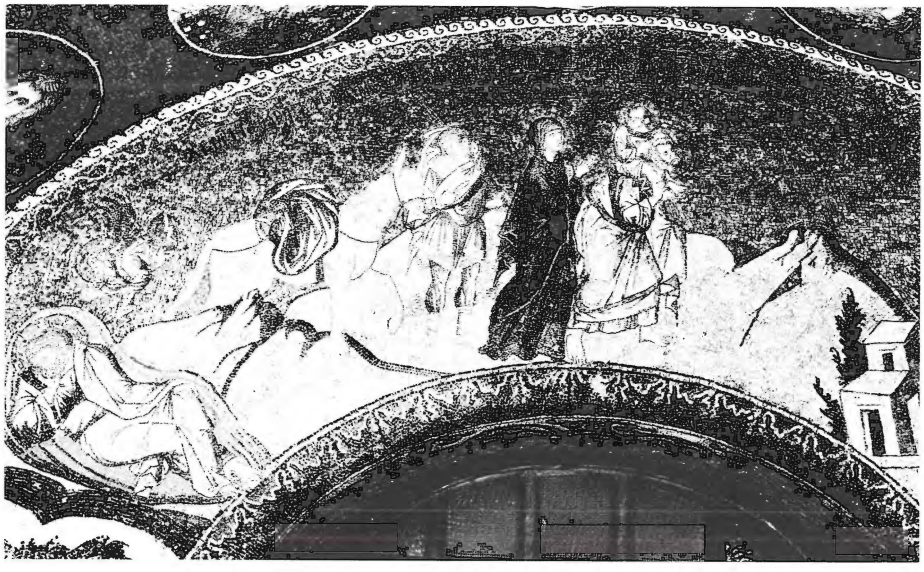

Fig. 2. The return home from Egypt. Outer narthex, Kariye Camii, Istanbul (after Mango & Ertuğ).

Of interest from a spatio–temporal viewpoint, is *The Return home from Egypt* (Fig. 2). The image is placed above a window, in an area of semi-lunar shape. The colouring is muted in delicate hues of grey, yellow and rose. Barren lightgrey hill tops give the impression of a deserted environment. The story is told in the form of a comic strip, one image containing future, present and past aspects of the narrative. And it is all a dream—Joseph's dream—, it is in a way an image of *virtual reality*. In a visualization of the things happening in Joseph's subconscious, the spectator sees the dream describing the journey and the journey's end. The journey takes place as a dream image (*Traumbild*) in Joseph's head, but at the same time the image is a projection of a factual future event, a so-called *prolepsis*.[14] Thus we are unable to tell whether the image presents dream or reality. From the spectator's point of view, the mosaic must represent an event of the past. Yet to the sleeping Joseph, it lies all in the future. In this way temporal and spatial dimensions have been blurred.[15]

The Polish philosopher Stanislav Lem has employed the concept of phantasmatics or phantasmology in connection with science fiction, and in a more general way, as applied to that which is illusory, to a world where one can not tell the real from the unreal.[16] While fictitious characters exist in the imagination and in imagined realities, real people enter a fictive world in the virtual reality of our own time. Palaiologan art, as represented by the Chora mosaics, might in some ways—although we may be straining

[14] For *prolepsis*, see R. Giordani, "Fenomeni di prolepsis disegnativa nei mosaici dell'arco di Santa Maria Maggiore," *Rendiconti Pontificia Accademia* 46 (1973–74), 225–49.
[15] Kiilerich and Torp, *Bilder og billedbruk* (above, note 3), 267–69.
[16] S. Lem, *Phantastik und Futurologie* (Frankfurt, 1977), 182 ff.; cf. T. Maldonado, *Virkelig og virtuell* (Oslo, 1993), 10–14 (first published as *Reale e virtuale*, Milan 1992).

the concept—appear to exist in a virtual reality, where the limits between the "real" world and the imagined, or dream world, are uncertain. One way of glossing over the real world is by aestheticizing, by making unappealing features appealing. In the mosaic showing Christ healing the sick, in spite of the caricatured depictions of huge abscesses and clump foot, the sick and deformed people, be they blind, lame, on crutches or hunchbacked, in no way are lacking in beauty: theirs is a kind of abstract deformation, the mosaicists creating images of, to borrow a phrase from Bernhard of Clairvaux, *formosa deformitas* (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. Christ healing the sick. Inner narthex. Kariye Camii, Istanbul (after Mango & Ertuğ).

Theodore Metochites' retrospective attitude

The man behind the restoration and decoration of the Chora in the period *c.* 1316–1321 is the learned courtier and Prime Minister Theodore Metochites (1270–1328). Metochites was a scholar and a politician. In his extensive writing, a retrospective or even nostalgic attitude is apparent in the thousands of hexameters and numerous works in prose he composed in an intricate archaizing language.[17] From the aesthetic point of view, a short passage is of some interest. There, Metochites discusses how to attain immortality and fame. This, he suggests, may be achieved through creative activities like writing, painting or sculpting. Examples of artists who have thus attained immortal fame are Phidias, Polygnotos, Eulalios, Zeuxippos and Lysippos (*Logos* 10, fol. 211^{v}).[18] To Metochites, apparently it is of little concern whether the artists in question were active in the fifth century BC, as Phidias and Polygnotos, or belonged to around the twelfth century, like Eulalios. This relativistic, a-historical view of art history may to some extent be reflected in the decoration of the Chora: plausibly Metochites held the view that if an aesthetic expression is adequate, it makes no diffe-

[17] I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual trends of His Time," in Underwood (ed.), *Kariye Djami*, 4, 17–91; and K. Hult in the present volume.
[18] Cited after Ševčenko, *Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, 50 f. and note 227.

rence to which chronological and other contexts it belongs. Antique, late antique and Byzantine features co-exist—after all, Byzantine culture was part of the Greek cultural tradition.

Fig. 4. Ornamental detail. Parekklesion. Kariye Camii, Istanbul (after Mango & Ertuğ).

Fig. 5. Ornamental detail. Golden House of Nero, Rome.

Retrospection I: ornaments

Palaiologan art in the Chora displays a conservative attitude, not least in the less conspicuous parts of the decoration, such as in ornaments and framing motifs.[19] The abundance of images in the Chora forces the gaze to wander. Most often the eye is caught by multi-figured narratives. Indeed, there are but few pictorial decorations with such a profusion of single figures and figured scenes: the Chora mosaics and paintings comprise a total of some 250 motifs, either in the form of single figures or whole scenes. The individual scenes are framed by ornaments. The main function of the frame at Chora is that of distinction, not in Bourdieu's sense, but as a physical device for separating the individual narratives. A closer look at these frames discloses wondrous and unexpected motifs, which often seem to come straight out of early Byzantine or even Graeco-Roman art. Why were these ornaments used around 1320?

[19] For the importance of the frame as a vehicle for expression of meaning, see B. Kiilerich, "Ducks, Dolphins and Portrait Medallions: Framing the Achilles Mosaic at Pedrosa de la Vega (Palencia)," *ActaIRN* 15 (2001), 245–267, and eadem, "Frames and Parergonality," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 59 (2001), 320–323.

Fig. 6. Foliate heads. Parekklesion. Kariye Camii, Istanbul (after Underwood).

Some motifs have evolved from middle Byzantine ornaments, while others display more complex, phantastic and "antique" features.[20] The vegetal ornaments showing stylized leaves look like simplified variants of antique foliage, while the scroll growing from an amphora is not unlike scrolls at Ravenna. The painted ornaments of the parekklesion are the more varied ones. Zooming in on a flower with blue and red petals, it looks surprisingly close to some flowers in Nero's Golden House in Rome (Fig. 4 and 5). There are other decorative details, which do not seem typical of Byzantine ecclesiastical art: green men and foliate heads.[21] Heads intertwined with foliage may be traced back to the Hellenistic period where they appear frequently.[22] In the Chora parekklesion, these foliate heads of pagan origin are placed on ribs that radiate from a cupola medallion showing the Virgin Mary (Fig. 6).[23] Small foliate masks appear also in con-temporary religious painting in the West, in the elegant ornaments framing Giotto's biblical scenes in the Arena chapel at Padua, painted but a few years before those at Chora, *c.* 1305–1310, and in the Peruzzi chapel at St. Croce, Florence.[24]

To speculate on the transmission of motifs is not our primary concern, but it seems likely that the artists of the Chora mosaics were familiar with the "green man" from the secular realm: foliate heads are preserved in the mosaics from the Great palace, in use as the official imperial residence until 1204. Such figured pavements may also have decorated the Blachernae palace, the more important residence in the Palaiologan era, and situated close by the Church of the Chora.[25] The original meaning of

[20] R. S. Nelson, "Palaeologan Illuminated Ornament and the Arabesque," *WJKg* 41 (1988), 7–22, argues for Islamic influence in the ornaments of Palaiologan manuscripts.

[21] For Constantinople and Mistra, see C. Lepage. "L'ornementation végétale fantastique et le pseudo-réalisme dans la peinture byzantine," *CahArch* 19 (1969), 191–211. For early Byzantium: C. Dauphine, "Byzantine Pattern Books: A Re-examination of the Problem in the Light of the 'inhabited scroll'", *Art History* 1 (1978), 400–23; eadem, "Symbolic or Decorative? The Inhabited Scroll as a Means of Studying some early Byzantine Mentalities," *Byzantion* 48 (1978), 10–34.

[22] E.g, female head in scroll, tomb *c.* 350–325 BC from Aineía, Archaeological Museum, Thessalonike; J. Vokotopoulou, *Guide de Musée archéologique de Thessalonique* (Athens, 1996), 195–98; P. Moreno, "La pittura ellenistica. Illusione e disincanto," *Archeo*, anno XIII, no. 3 (145), (Marzo 1997), 51–93, at 52 f. Similar heads are found in Hellenistic polychrome pottery; see L. Bernabò Brea and M. Cavalier, *La ceramica policroma liparese di età ellenistica* (Milan, 1986).

[23] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, 3, pl. 411 [211], 419 [219], 420 [220].

[24] E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order* (Oxford, 1984), pl. 66. Bearded heads linked by acanthus swags are often found in the West, for instance in the late twelfth-century paintings in the crypt of Aquiliea cathedral, echoing antique motifs from the area; see most recently, T. E. A. Dale, *Relics, Prayer, and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral* (Princeton NJ, 1997), 80 f., and fig. 159 (Romanesque) and fig. 160 (antique).

[25] Foliate heads have been preserved in Constantinople in figural capitals of sixth-century date (Archaeol. Museum, Istanbul); K. Basford, *The Green Man* (London, 1966), pl. 6–8. These capitals, along with the rest of the Byzantine collections, unfortunately, were not available for study in

the green man may have been as a fertility god, which later came to be used in western and eastern Medieval churches as an apotropaikon.

Fig. 7. Archangel Raphael. Theotokos Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii), Istanbul (photo B. Kiilerich).

Fig. 8. Angel. Rotunda of St. George, Thessalonike (photo: H. Torp).

Retrospection II: typology

Turning to figure style, or rather typology, it is instructive to compare late and early Byzantine art. Take but one example: the angel. The archangel Raphael in the Theotokos Pammakaristos, Constantinople, founded by Michael Glabas's widow around 1310,[26] may be compared with an early Byzantine angel in the Rotunda of St. George, Thessalonike, plausibly from *c.* 380/90, and the work of artists from Constantinople (Fig. 7 and 8).[27] The two figures, then, are taken out of context, and their juxtaposition here serves merely to compare and contrast from the somewhat nar-

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[26] Belting, Mango, Mouriki, *Pammakaristos* (note 7, above). The angel is reproduced in colour in N. Chatzidakis, *Byzantine Mosaics* (Athens, 1994), fig. 168.

[27] H. Torp, *Mosaikkene i St. Georg-rotunden* (Oslo, 1963), pl. following p. 32; B. Kiilerich, "The Sarigüzel Sarcophagus and Triumphal Themes in Theodosian Art," in G. Koch (ed.), *Akten des Symposiums "Frühchristliche Sarkophage" (Marburg, 30.6 – 4.7.1999)* [Sarkophag-Studien, 2] (Mainz, 2002), 137–144.

row viewpoint of typology. The faces are superficially alike; basic features are shared, like the curly hairstyle, the shape of the head, and the beautiful, angelic countenance. Nearly a millennium separates these two images, and although the basic design and the physiognomical structure are much the same, the heads differ in some important respects: The face of the Theodosian angel seems full of spirit and emotion; the *asomatos* is very much a three-dimensional being. The Palaiologan angel remains a handsome Classicistic figure, but its face has frozen into a formula, making it appear slightly cold and distant; it has lost its *pathos*. This is possibly the result of a formula having been repeated over and over again, century upon century.

Retrospective mannerisms are typical of Palaiologan art. One example of an antique *topos* is the billowing veil. This mannerism, used for the nurse in the Infant Virgin's first steps (and for Divine Wisdom in the contemporary paintings at the monastery of Gračanica), had already become a mannerism by the fourth century. The billowing veil of a nymph in the floor at Piazza Armerina echoes the motif as found in earlier Roman art (Fig. 9 and 10).[28] Whether we prefer to explain features like these in terms of revival or "perennial Hellenism" need not concern us here. Retrospection as such seems in keeping with Metochites' literary style and his interest in the Classics.

Fig. 9. Nurse. The Infant Virgin's first steps. Inner narthex. Kariye Camii, Istanbul (after Weiss).

Fig. 10. Nymph. Late Roman villa. Piazza Armerina (photo: B. Kiilerich).

[28] For the billowing veil, see, e.g., the heroized Augustus on a Roman relief at Aphrodisias, P. Rockwell, "Finish and Unfinish in the Carving of the Sebasteion," in *Aphrodisias Papers* [Journal of Roman Archaeology, Suppl. series, 1] (Ann Arbor, 1990), 101–18, fig. 17 and 19. Further examples are given by E. Kitzinger, "The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art," *DOP* 17 (1963), 95–115.

Fig. 11. Apostle. The healing of Peter's mother-in-law. Inner narthex, Kariye Camii, Istanbul (after Weiss).

Retrospection III: hairstyle

In Byzantine art, elderly apostles, priests and prophets often have a hairstyle with a starry lock in the front. In the Chora they are, for instance, Adam in the Anastasis, one of the righteous witnessing the Anastasis, and an apostle witnessing the healing of Peter's mother-in-law (Fig. 11).[29] This hairstyle is also worn by wise old men, for example some of the prophets in the Pammakaristos, and in the Church of the Apostles in Thessalonike. Middle and late Byzantine examples can be found in the Balkans, Cyprus and elsewhere.[30] What these persons share, in addition to coiffure, seems to be the gift of prophesy and the presence of divine inspiration. In the early Byzantine period, "star-crowned locks" were the mark of imperial or mythological figures, thus the court poet Claudian, in a panegyric of 398, refers to the "star-crowned locks" of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius (*4. cons. Hon*, I.209). The heroes on the fifth-century Achilles plate in Paris have stars in the frontlet. Here however, it is difficult to ascertain whether the star forms part of the hair or is an applied star.

[29] O. Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami," in Underwood (ed.), *The Kariye Djami*, 4, 107–60, speaks but little of hairstyles, except for the mentioning of heads topped by very high "toupees," p. 112.

[30] M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Byzantine Wall-Paintings* (Athens, 1994), fig. 25: Panagia Asinou, Cyprus, 1105–06: apostle; fig. 52: Patmos, St. John the Theologian, late 12th century: St. James; fig. 58: Kurbinovo, Ag. Georgios, 1191: Adam; fig. 90: Sopoćani, Ag. Triada, *c.* 1260: Joseph; fig. 104: Mount Athos, Protaton, *c.* 1290: Adam. N. Chatzidakis, *Byzantine Mosaics* (Athens, 1994), fig. 50: Hosios Loukas, 1020–50, shepherd; fig. 51: priest; fig. 63: Adam; fig. 105: Dafni, *c.* 1100: shepherd; fig. 208: Thessalonike, Ag. Apostoli, 1312–15: Adam.

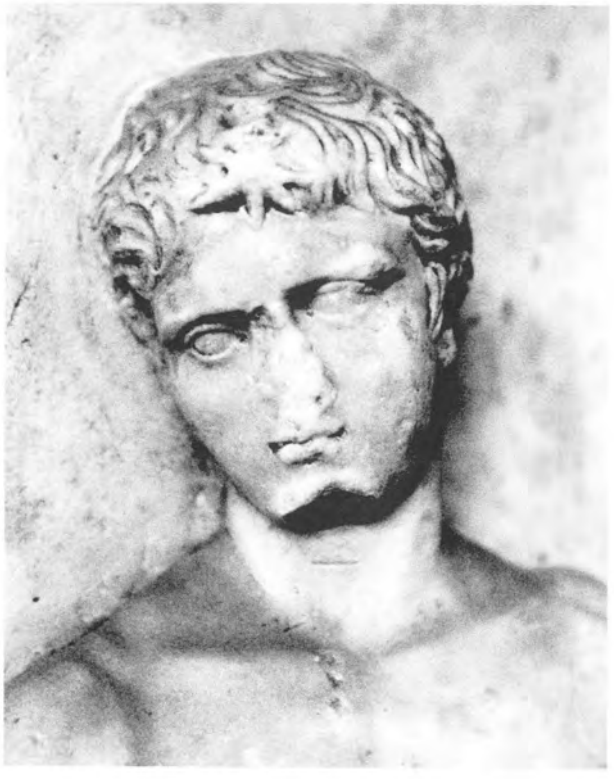

Fig. 12. Julio-Claudian prince. Museo Nazionale, Ravenna (photo: B. Kiilerich).

In Antiquity the star was a symbol of divinity, which in Hellenistic ruler iconography became a symbol of imperial apotheosis.[31] On the Julio-Claudian dynastic relief at Ravenna, a star is placed in the forehead of the young prince (Fig. 12).[32] This star is a reference to the *sidus Iulium*, or *caesaris astrum*, the comet of 44 BC which allegedly was seen when Caesar's soul went up to heaven, a sign that he was *divus* (Plin., *NH* II, 93–94). There once was a statue of Caesar with a star affixed to the forehead, and a number of coins present the head of the deified Caesar with a star or comet on the forehead.[33] The Julian star was a *komêtês*, a *sidus crinitum*, a "long-haired" star. The Latin word *cometes*, comet, is identical to the Greek word *komêtês*, meaning "long-haired". The comet thus signifies both star (comet) and hair (*komê*). This may have resulted in the applied star melting into one with the hair. If this is so, the legendary star of Julius Caesar may have been the ultimate model for the hairstyle of some holy figures in Byzantine art.[34]

Our iconographical *Leitmotif* has developed from a star in the hair into a distinctive hairstyle. The original association of signifier (the star) and signified (*divus Julius*) is transformed into a new signifier (star-shaped fringe) and a new signified (divine inspiration, prophetic gift). In an endless semiosis, by 1320 the original meaning may have been almost forgot-

[31] H. Kyrieleis, "Theoi horatoi. Zur Sternsymbolik hellenistischer Herrscherbildnisse," *Studien zur klassischen Archäologie. Festschrift F. Hiller* [Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und alten Geschichte, 1] (Saarbrücken, 1986), 55–72.

[32] D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (Yale, 1992), 145–47, fig. 121.

[33] S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971); R. A. Gurval, "Caesar's Comet: The Politics and Poetics of an Augustan Myth," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997), 39–71.

[34] The hairstyle is further discussed in B. Kiilerich, "The Byzantine Artist and his Models: The Constantinian Mosaics at Nabeul (Tunisia) and 'perennial Hellenism'," in A. C. Quintavalle (ed.), *Atti "Medioevo: i modelli" (Parma 27–30 sett. 1999)* (Milan, 2002), 211–220.

ten, and the hairstyle—like the "green man"—may no longer have had any particular significance.

The secular world: ekphrastic evidence

Discussions of Byzantine art usually focus on the sacred realm, since secular art is less well documented. The poet Manuel Philes (*c.* 1275 – *c.* 1345), who wrote epigrams on icons and other works of art, describes in 108 verses a painting of a garden in a ceiling of the Blachernae palace, which was situated close to the Chora church.[35] Being an *ekphrasis*, it is uncertain whether such a painting—and such a garden—actually existed, or whether it existed only in the words of Philes. The poet gives a vivid description: the garden has been turned upside-down, suspended and stretched out under the ceiling. The plants are moist, in spite of the fact that the painter "no matter how exactly he imitates nature", is unable to water the plants:

> Do you see the white, the dark green, the hue that grows pale as if from sickness, and the one that is adorned with purple, a purple that does not come from the sea-shell? Be mindful, o spectator, not to touch the lilies; for you are not permitted to use your knife here, lest any plant be stabbed and quickly fade away, and so deprive the birds of their food (16 ff.).

Manuel Philes goes on to describe the ordered planning of the garden, with wild animals fenced in, and hares gathered in a group:

> And if in some parts of the garden you chance to see a bird perched in the hollow of a lily, gathering the sperm of the flower, do not be astonished at the painter: for he provides food for the humble, and he makes the garden a place of strange and soft delight; otherwise one might have thought that the green grass was devoid of moisture and unsuitable for eating (40 ff.).[36]

Manuel Philes paints an image of "strange and soft delight", the greens varying from the palest ὠχριῶν ὡς ἐκ νόσου (verse 17) to the more saturated χλοάζον εἰς μέλαν (verse 16). Lily-white (λευκός) contrasts with purple (πορφύρας), and so on. By so doing, the poet not only visualizes the plants; he appeals to all the senses. In addition to the visual, there is an aural dimension to the poem: noisy birds are banned; the listener/viewer can almost smell the perfume of the lilies evoked by the poet, and taste the fruit growing in the garden; the tactile quality of the poem/ painting is present in the admonition not to touch the flowers.

The garden is a standard topos in Byzantine art, and Philes' garden is laid out in accordance with earlier aesthetics. In Libanios' *Progymnasmata* the poet/artist moves from the rivers flowing down from the mountains and into the garden, to the garden fence, to the trees, and on to the source in the middle of the garden.[37] In a middle Byzantine poem by John Geo-

[35] Manuel Philes, Poem 62, ed. E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae carmina*, vol. II (Paris, 1857), p. 127–30; part of the poem may be found in English translation in C. Mango, *Sources and Documents. The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), 248. For discussions of other poems and epigrams by Philes devoted to art, see, S. Takács, "Manuel Philes' Meditation on an Icon of the Virgin Mary," *ByzForsch* 15 (1990), 277–88; A.-M. Talbot, "Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art," *DOP* 48 (1994) 135–65.

[36] Transl. by Mango, *Sources and Documents* (prec. note), 248.

[37] Libanios, 9.2–5 (ed. Förster, 485.10–486.13). For the early Byzantine garden, see M. Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, NY, 1989), 31; for the Middle Byzantine garden: H. Maguire, "A Description of the Aretai Palace and Its Garden," *Journal of Garden History* 10 (1990), 209–13 (repr. in idem, *Rhetoric, Nature and Magic in Byzantine Art* [Aldershot, 1998], ch. XVI).

metres (second half of the tenth century), a whole range of flowers are presented: rose, lily, violet, chrysanthemum, narcissus, crocus and hyacinth, along with various animals and fresh streams. The garden is a topos intimately connected with the emperor, a symbol of imperial *ananeôsis*, regeneration and imperial *aretê* (one of the several imperial gardens in Constantinople was called *Aretai)*.[38] The poem of Manuel Philes may be seen as a metaphor, an image of imperial world order (*taxis*).

The visual image evoked is emotive; it is as if the spectator is not facing a static representation, but is seeing a live report from the animal kingdom. We pass from the warm air and the hot flowers in the beautiful grove to the faint admonition: a dying lily, and on to the bloodthirsty animals lurking outside the garden fence. Do we, in the poem, sense the precarious balance of power at work, not only in the animal realm, but also in the imperial realm? Manuel Philes' ekphrastic hyberbole is an important aesthetical document of what might be referred to as a multi-aesthetic sensibility or awareness. It is not unlikely that the aesthetical impressions of the poem—and those of many other Byzantine *ekphraseis*—are real impressions, that may have been experienced by spectators living in a period free from present day overexposure to sounds and images.[39] Even though this is a verbal aesthetics, it is a reminder that Palaiologan art—like all Byzantine art—was conceived as and perceived as lifelike and alive.

Conclusion: a Palaiologan "aesthetics of denial"

Each of the mosaic images in the Chora has a certain monumentality and grandeur, but viewed in context the picture changes: Chora presents the largest single pictorial cycle in Palaiologan Constantinople, but most of the individual images are of no impressive scale. The church (like the Pammakaristos) is quite small compared with the impressive dimensions of Hagia Sophia; just as Palaiologan society is small compared with that of the Justinian age. Therefore the artists are bound to create an illusion of the grandiose—a grandeur which is not actually there.

In the Chora mosaics, garments and settings in images depicting well-known Biblical themes appear at the same time as reflections of the world of Metochites. We are confronted with an aulic sphere inhabited by golden-haired, rose-clad and bejewelled ladies, where even servant girls are depicted as ladies of the court, as blonde beauties wearing jewelled collars and pastel silken weave (Fig. 13). In the ecclesiastical, aulic milieu of the Chora, the catchphrase might seem to be "rosy silk". It is as if the mosaicists tried to dress up the world, to leave behind the darker sides of life and create a world of dreams and beauty. Thus the silken pastel aesthetics of the Chora mosaics might be understood as a magic spell: a desperate

[38] H. Maguire, "Imperial Gardens and Rhetoric of Renewal," in P. Magdalino (ed.), *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* (London, 1994), 181–97.
[39] On *ekphraseis* and art, see H. Maguire, "Truth and Conventions in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art," *DOP* 28 (1974), 112–40; L. James and R. Webb, "'To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places': Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium," *Art History* 14 (1991), 1–17.

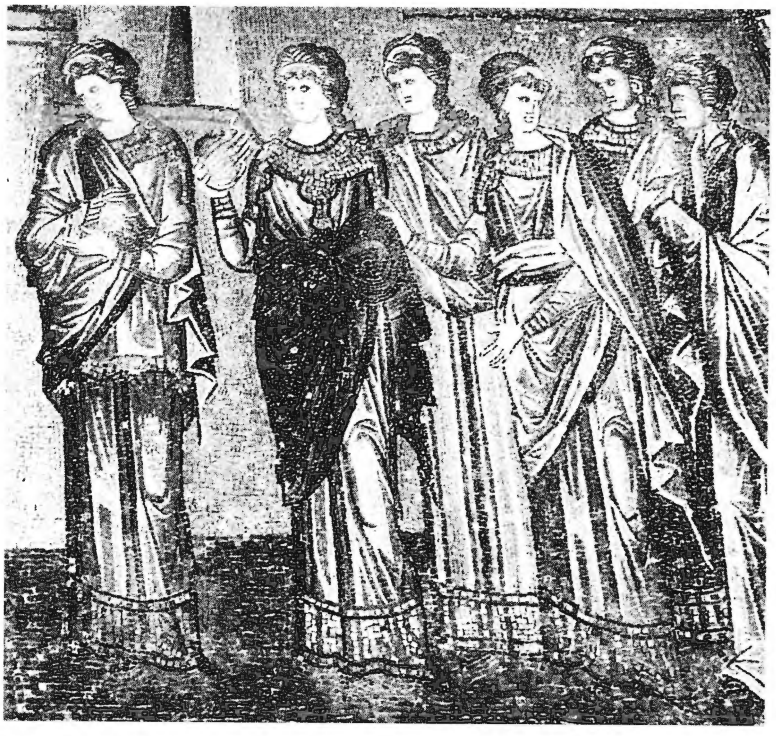

Fig. 13. The Virgins receiving the wool. Inner narthex, Kariye Camii, Istanbul (after Weiss).

try to hold on to what would inevitably be lost, including an elevated social position; a lifestyle made permanent through the visualization of a world seen through rose-coloured glasses. To make a pictorial affirmation denying the realities of political life might be in order, for Metochites *was* troubled. He feared for the state, for the future of his country, and of himself: nothing lasts forever, luck may change, he notes. Rich may become poor, healthy may become sick.[40] Sickness is not to be pictured as painful, thus the sick people are represented in the guise of beauty (cf. Fig. 3). To turn the back on the darker sides of life, evoking a beautiful imaginary counterpart is one way of dealing with the hard realities of human experience.

Historical reality was gloomy: The Turks were literally knocking on the gates, and the Catalan soldiers recruited to fight against these very Turks, had themselves become a menace and a source of trouble. Not to mention the internal affairs and the hostility and rivalry at the court of Andronikos II. Constantinople of 1320 was a society with a small elite who could afford a luxurious lifestyle, but the majority was on the verge of starvation. There is a marked difference, then, between historical reality and the image world. To a certain extent, one might compare Constantinople with Athens during the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians had been hit by a disastrous plague. Looking at the marble reliefs of the Nike parapet, sculpted *c.* 420/410 BC, there is no sign of depression— again we seem to be dealing with a silken aesthetic with draperies wrapped elegantly around the sensuous bodies of healthy looking, vigorous young females, while at the same time the men are dying on the battlefield (Fig. 14).

[40] Ševčenko, in *Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, esp. 49.

In visualizing an alternative reality, the artists of the Chora have manipulated imaginatively: dressed in silk, tiptoeing on tiny feet, male figures turn their head 180 degrees—a typical science-fictional feature (cf. Fig. 1). It is tempting again to use the modern concept of *virtual reality*. One might even speak of inside and outside the wall. As noted, walls play an important part in the staging of the Chora mosaics, as a milieu-indicator, but also as a divider, as a wall between two worlds, two realities: an earthly and a heavenly. Thus the images may also be said to reflect spiritual realities. Metochites' world view at Chora is ultimately heavenly Paradise and salvation, but as a first step, paradise on earth, as exemplified by the Greek *paradeisos* and the imperial garden. In this garden are cooling springs and shading trees, the more noisy birds are silent, and peacocks and the dangerous species are fenced in, as Manuel Philes prescribes. The image makers in the Chora—like Alice in Wonderland—have gone through the looking-glass and entered a different world.

Fig. 14. Nike. Nike temple parapet, Acropolis Museum, Athens.

"Oddities" and "Refinements": Aspects of Architecture, Space and Narrative in the Mosaics of Kariye Camii

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1

KARIYE CAMII, OR THE MONASTERY OF CHORA, is Constantinople's monument of late Byzantine art *par excellence*. We owe the church and its decoration to the writer and scholar Theodore Metochites (1260/61–1332) who held the office of Grand Logothete, one of the most important government posts, under Andronikos II. Around 1315, Metochites initiated a restoration of the monastery which was thereby extensively enlarged; at the completion of the work in 1321 the interior boasted a comprehensive decoration comprising both mosaics and frescoes.[1]

In many respects the decoration of Kariye Camii constitutes a *summa*, a bringing together of the lines of development from the phase in Palaiologan art which covers the period culminating in the death of Andronikos II (*c.* 1290–1328). It does, however, also contain a distinctive refinement which, to the minds of many, is an unabashed decadence, pervaded with mannerisms, and adding new, unexpected features to the fully-developed Palaiologan style. Otto Demus pointed out the "overrefined figure schemes", suggesting that the artists were "fascinated by curious refinements and oddities."[2] Ernst Kitzinger found the style "slightly prettified, mannered, and overcharged with conscious classical reminiscences."[3]

[1] Basic reading: P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 1–3 (London and New York NY, 1966); idem (ed.), *The Kariye Djami*, 4: *Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and its Intellectual Background* (Princeton NJ, 1975); R. G. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*, (Washington DC, 1987). Among more recent literature, mention must be made of the following: N. Teteriatnikov, "The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Program of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople," *CahArch* 43 (1995), 163–84; R. Ousterhout; "The Virgin of the Chora: An Image and Its Contexts," in R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker (eds.), *The Sacred Image East and West* (Urbana and Chicago Ill., 1995), 91–109; P. Weiss, *Die Mosaiken des Chora-Klosters in Istanbul* (Stuttgart and Zürich, 1997); R. S. Nelson, "Taxation with Representation: Visual narrative and the political field of the Kariye Camii," *Art History* 22 (1999), 56–82.

[2] O. Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei," *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), IV, 1, 1–63; idem, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art," in Underwood (ed.), *The Kariye Djami*, 4, 107–60; here at 158.

[3] E. Kitzinger, "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *DOP* 20 (1966), 25–47 (repr. in idem, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies*, ed. by E. Kleinbauer [Bloomington Ind. and London, 1976], No. XIII), here at 32.

Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 13 (Stockholm, 2004).

This applies particularly to the decoration of the narthexes, commencing, in the inner narthex, with scenes from the story of the Life of the Virgin and continuing with an extensive depiction of the story of the Infancy of Christ in the outer narthex. This is concluded with a cycle depicting the Ministry of Christ.

To a great extent it seems that here, all the manifestations and characteristics of the style are brought into play. In Demus' pioneering study of the emergence of Palaiologan painting, with his later in-depth and detailed analysis of the style in Kariye Camii, everything appears to be scrupulously put under the microscope to elucidate the peculiar character and nature of the style: heads, faces, hands and feet, proportions, drapery, modelling, but also, with a somewhat more concise characterization, architecture, landscape, etc.

Particularly striking is the use of architecture in the narrative scenes. By way of introduction this can be briefly characterized thus: especially in the context of spatial compositions there feature architectural set pieces and other architectural elements which are exceptional, even bizarre. There is asymmetry and dissonance which, in many respects, greatly diverge from other Palaiologan art of the period, irrespective of any other similarities and parallels. Supplementing the analysis of Demus, Viktor Lazarev speaks of the "fantastic constructions" and the architecture's rhythmic dynamic.[4] Yet one is reminded that some of the "fantastic constructions" and mannerisms are not entirely devoid of precedents. Late antique floor mosaics may provide certain parallels, as do the mosaics of the Great Mosque in Damascus (early 8th century) with their representations of unrealistic, almost dreamlike architectural constructions. It is now generally agreed that the artists at work were Byzantine and were brought from Constantinople.[5]

In Constantinople itself, Kariye Camii is unique: were one to compare the decoration with other surviving works in the capital there are, curiously enough, no clear parallels. The frescoes in the Church of St. Euphemia immediately adjacent to the Hippodrome can be dated to the 1290s.[6] Here an extensive scheme of decoration has been preserved: a Euphemia cycle, unfortunately now badly damaged, but one where the architectural elements and set pieces are, to a certain extent, incorporated into the composition of the scenes. But in relation to the style in Kariye Camii, there is no instance of immediately comparable elements.

A contemporary work is the mosaics in Kilise Camii with the surviving parts of a cupola decoration representing Old Testament prophets, which today can be convincingly dated to the final years of the thirteenth century or around 1300.[7] The rendering of the figures has parallels in Kariye Camii, but the decoration does not include any representations of architecture.

There is only one other important monument which can be put forward as having any significance for the understanding of the style of Kari-

[4] V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 358.
[5] For a recent study of style and iconography, see F. B. Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus* (Leiden, 2001).
[6] R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin, 1966).
[7] W. Grape, "Zum Stil der Mosaiken in der Kilise Camii in Istanbul," *Pantheon* 32 (1974), 3–13.

ye Camii with its extensive use of architectural elements and its presentation of space. The work in question is the mosaics in Fethiye Camii, the Pammakaristos Church. The rebuilding and renovation of the church in the Palaiologan style was instigated by the wealthy *protostrator* Michael Glabas and his wife Maria Doukaina, but following the death of Glabas, his widow extended the building by the construction of a *parekklesion* in his memory. Individual fragments of frescoes in the church date from the 1290s, i.e., they are contemporary with the Church of St. Euphemia, but the *parekklesion* with the important mosaics is from around 1310. The mosaics are, roughly speaking, contemporary with those in Kariye Camii, but "the restrained classicism of the Fethiye Camii mosaics is notable" when compared to Kariye Camii's decoration.[8] Even if this were a case of the same workshop, or by artists of the same school, the Fethiye Camii mosaics do not share "the polished mannerism of the Kariye Camii."[9]

2

In an extensive study, Tania Velmans has made an important contribution to the definition of the architectural decoration and its role in the presentation of space in Palaiologan painting. By way of introduction she draws attention to the fact that the architectural elements beginning to appear around the middle of the twelfth century are few, small and isolated.[10] When the presentation of space is achieved, for example in Monreale, by the construction of buildings with two wings, it is clear that, generally speaking, they conform to the laws of conventional perspective. Buildings with symmetrical side wings create the illusion of space, a feature which becomes quite general in the Duecento, and which exemplifies this tendency.[11] The representation of block-like objects or walls and façades is seen from the front, in a frontal plane, but when the planes are swung out to the side, distortions and foreshortenings start to appear which seem to reach into the background. In more advanced representations, such as those of buildings, the picture plane appears as reduced and becomes progressively more complex as more viewpoints are incorporated.

The representation of architecture becomes increasingly complicated in the second half of the thirteenth century. There is the emergence of dissonances, or dislocations.[12] Some of the familiar features are amplified and new ones are added. There is a sense of vagueness as far as the loca-

[8] H. Belting, "The Style of the Mosaics," in H. Belting, C. Mango and D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington DC, 1978), 77–111, here at 97. Without going into detailed analysis of the style's development, it might be appropriate at this point to adopt Belting's suggestion of making a distinction between a "first" and "second Palaeologan Style", i.e., between the art of the reign of Michael VIII (1258–82), and the other/second style, that of the reign of Andronikos II (ibid.).

[9] Belting, "The Style of the Mosaics," 98.

[10] T. Velmans, "Le rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues," *CahArch* 14 (1964), 183–216, esp. 183 f.

[11] Examples of this are the various graphic renditions given by J. White in *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, 2nd ed. (London, 1967), 29, fig. 2.

[12] Velmans, "Le rôle du décor," 206 ff.; A. Stojaković, "La conception de l'espace architectural defini par l'architecture peinte dans la peinture murale serbe du XIII[e] siècle," in *L'art byzantin du XIII[e] siècle* (Belgrade, 1967), 169–78, in particular discusses spatial constructions and cites many examples of delimited space supplemented by lines of sight etc. These are however of such a complexity that they do not contribute markedly to greater understanding.

tion represented is concerned: the disposal of furniture and buildings with angles which project towards the observer; the multiplicity of architectural elements in one and the same scene; an internal complication of the elements; and an even higher degree of dissolution of the spatial elements with the resulting complete dislocation of space, the clash of various elements in the decoration. All in all there is a lack of organic cohesion, a quality which Velmans terms a confusion of "intérieur–extérieur."

One elementary example will serve to illustrate the road to the mature Palaiologan style at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. Cavallini's mosaics in Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome are representative of the late thirteenth century. The rendering of *The Annunciation* in an architecture taking the form of a large throne basically conforms to what we know from such artists as Cimabue in Assissi. However, with *The Presentation* one notices some of the crucial displacements, not so much of the ciborium—which is a well-known feature—, but actually of the two architectural building blocks, which are divorced and presented as two separate buildings.[13] Taken individually the buildings are not in themselves exceptional, but they serve to bring the protagonists from a distance into contact with one another by way of gesture and body language; thus a continuity of narrative is suggested. This is a feature which undergoes a more dynamic change in which the handling of both the scenography and the figures is intensified. The result is a development of the architectural motifs which overrides any perspective and symmetry implied.

As one cannot cite any immediate parallels in Constantinople, one must turn, instead, to the contemporary Balkan painting in order to follow the development, both stylistically and in terms of the representation of architecture. One important phase is exemplified by Sopoćani, where the oldest parts of the decoration date from shortly before 1270.[14] Another example is the Peribleptos (St. Clement) of Ohrid, dating from 1295, which makes it contemporary with Cavallini's work in Trastevere. The same is equally true of Bojana, which has a characteristic depiction of the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, a fresco which is a later overpainting of the entire decoration from 1259 made in the early fourteenth century.[15] Doubtless contemporary with Kariye Camii is also the monastic church of Gračanica, from around 1320. It seems clear that the last phases of Palaiologan art which are relevant for the understanding of the use of architecture in Kariye Camii unfolded in the Balkans.

As at Sopoćani and onwards, to, and including, Gračanica, it can be seen that various architectural set pieces can be used partly as backdrops

[13] P. Hetherington, "The Mosaics of Pietro Cavallini in Santa Maria in Trastevere," *JWarb* 33 (1970), 98 ff.; F. Horb, *Cavallinis Haus der Madonna* [Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och vitterhetssamhälles handlingar, 6. följden, ser. A, vol. 3: 1] (Gothenburg, 1945). That Cavallini may have received his training at a workshop within the Byzantine realm is suggested by such writers as P. J. Nordhagen, "Byzantium and the West," in R. Zeitler (ed.), *Les pays du Nord et Byzance (Scandinavie et Byzance). Actes du colloque d'Upsal 20–22 avril 1979* (Uppsala, 1981), 345–51, here at 349 f.; idem, "Byzantium and the *Duecento*: Remarks on a Story With No End," in E. Piltz (ed.), *Kairos: Studies in Art History and Literature in Honour of Professor Gunilla Åkerström-Hougen* (Jonsered, 1998), 66–77, here at 76 f.

[14] See V. J. Djurić, *Sopoćani* (Leipzig, 1967), 22, 46 ff. Examples of characteristic representation of architecture can be found at Koimesis in the naos (colour plate XXVII) and the Evangelists in the naos, as well as on the pendentives.

[15] P. Schweinfurth, *Die Fresken von Bojana. Ein Meisterwerk der Monumentalkunst des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz and Berlin, 1965), 55 ff.

for the figures of prime importance, and partly to bring them together as a group. The architectural setting primarily anticipates the Palaiologan motifs, which are later to be so eye-catching in Kariye Camii: loggias, balconies, etc., which give the impression of considerable volume. They are, however, devoid of the mannerisms which characterize Kariye Camii a half-century later.

We know little of the artists of Kariye Camii, other than—as has been surmised—that it seems as though artists from the same workshop were responsible for the decoration of the Fethiye Camii.[16] Yet another instance of scenes from elsewhere in the Balkans corresponding to those in Kariye Camii is Kalenić. In the monastic church of Kalenić—a characteristic example of the Morava School—, there are scenes whose iconography is, for all practical purposes, identical with the corresponding ones in Kariye Camii; six scenes from The Infancy of Christ are analogous with those of Kariye Camii, while some of the scenes with the same iconography, but divided up over several walls, are to be found in Curtea de Argeş (in Romanian Walachia), which dates from the mid-fourteenth century. Kalenić is, however, much later, from around 1417/18, but the point here is that the cycles in Kalenić of the Infancy of the Virgin and of Christ, together with those in Kariye Camii, are among the most complete of the extant assembled cycles.[17] There is the suggestion, therefore, that pattern books were in circulation in the Balkans, the link being itinerant artists. This would hold true, for instance, for the connections with and the similarities between St. Clement in Ohrid, and Kalenić.

Finally, it must be mentioned that even in the capital, Constantinople, the artists may have played a role in the dissemination of subjects and motifs with the assistance of pattern books.[18] There are connections, both iconographic and stylistic, between Kariye Camii and the Church of the Apostles in Thessalonike, which dates from around 1315. It is, however, difficult to evaluate the extent of the use of architectural elements in the decoration, where the chief point of similarity is the pendentives with the Evangelists. It seems probable that the decoration of the Church of the Apostles is the work of artists from the capital.

The antecedents of Kariye Camii in Balkan painting are generally pervaded by a marked Komnenian classicism, occasionally possessed of a solid, block-like mass which, with some justification, has been labelled a "cubist manner."[19] This is also true of the figures, which are compact, statuesque and non-rhythmic, and often appear in dense groupings. It is even more noteworthy that the figures in Kariye Camii are often given more room, a characteristic which is a natural consequence of the disposition of the composition on the surface.

[16] Cf. Belting, as in note 8.

[17] Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 1, 87, note 1; but see now D. Simić-Lazar, "Observations sur le rapport entre les décors de Kalenić, de Kahrié Djami et de Curtea de Argeş," *CahArch* 34 (1986), 143–60, esp. 157 f.

[18] Demus, "The Style of Kariye Djami," 150; A. Xyngopoulos, *Ἡ ψηφιδωτὴ διακόσμησις τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Θεσσαλονίκης* [Εταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 16] (Thessalonike, 1953), 19. For the general development of style in Greece, see also D. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century," *L'art byzantin au début du XIV^e siècle. Symposium de Gračanica 1973* (Belgrade, 1978), 55–83 (repr. in eadem, *Studies in Late Byzantine Painting* [London, 1995], 1–80).

[19] Belting, "The Style of the Mosaics," 95 and passim.

3

In a more thorough discussion of the distinguishing characteristics of the architectural representation in Kariye Camii's decoration, I have found it appropriate to take examples in particular from the depiction of *The Life of the Virgin* in the inner narthex. The textual basis is primarily the Protevangelium, Pseudo-Matthew and the Gospels, and it is precisely here that the narrative, with many key details, finds particularly strong expression. The choice of examples is not always dictated by chronological considerations, but rather by the fact that they are all examples of characteristic types of architecture and its elements. It will additionally be seen what narrative aspects may be ascribed to them.

In contrast to scenes dealing with The Life of the Virgin and The Infancy of Christ, it is noteworthy that the scenes illustrating The Ministry of Christ tend to play down the use of the architectural repertoire. In terms of composition these scenes are greatly simplified, and the architecture is used more summarily. Scenography is reduced to the minimum necessary to indicate the setting, or act as a frame for the action. This is true of the south bay of the inner narthex with scenes in the lunettes and the pendentives. It is instructive to note that the landscape is given an increased role in such scenes as *The Temptation of Christ* (outer narthex, vault in the second bay), but it is also true that relatively simple buildings can now be seen across an open landscape or a yellow ground, which alone forms the backdrop for The Ministry of Christ. It is now the events of the New Testament which are depicted, while the cycle of The Life of the Virgin, followed by The Infancy of Christ, is completely dominated by the Protevangelia. Here, as already mentioned, the wealth of architecture with its set pieces is of central importance. As far as architectural representations are concerned, there is the incorporation of elements of every kind: ciboria, *scenae-frons*-like elements, columns, porticoes, arcades, exedrae, furniture (particularly thrones, footstools and the like). This is an almost complete inventory of the architectural elements in Kariye Camii.[20]

[20] In addition to what constitutes architectural and spatial compositions, there occur in the traditional and well-known repertoire certain elements of familiar appearance as markers or "space dividers." An example of this is the tree in the scene *The Enrolment for Taxation* which has been interpreted by Underwood as a visualisation of the prophecy of Isaiah (11: 1), "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a Branch shall grow out of his roots" (King James Bible) (Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 1, 83 f; Nelson, "Taxation with Representation," 59). A tree with a similar function is also featured by Cavallini in St. Maria Trastevere; Hetherington, op. cit., 98, suggests that Cavallini took the motif from a Palaiologan source. However in Palaiologan Annunciation scenes there often appears a tree or a branch where the Virgin is compared to a "tree with good fruit" or with "a fertile growth of leaves" in the Akathistos hymn, verse 13; cf. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'illustration de la première partie de l'hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaïques de l'enfance de la Kariye Camii," *Byzantion* 54 (1984), 648–702, esp. 673. Another example is the dead tree stump putting forth fresh new shoots in the scenes *Joseph Taking Leave of the Virgin* and *Joseph Reproaching the Virgin* (Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 1, 83; 2, pl. 148). Not unexpectedly, the tree is a recurring element in the decoration of Kariye. Another well-known and no less frequently appearing element is the drapery which is stretched between columns and trees, or hangs or is draped over architecture.

Fig. 1. The Enrolment for Taxation.

John Willats has analysed a simple scene in detail, namely *The Enrolment for Taxation* (Figs. 1 and 2).[21] The scene is located in the lunette of the first bay in the east wall of the outer narthex. The Virgin, followed by Joseph and his sons, has been admitted to the presence of Cyrenius, Governor of Syria. He is seated on a magnificent throne on the left and flanked by an armed guard. Another guard and a scribe address themselves to the Virgin; behind her is a large tower-like building with high walls and consoles.

At several points the conventional orthogonals are broken in the architectural construction of this scene. The upper half of Cyrenius' throne approximates an isometric projection, while the lower part approximates an oblique projection. Most of the building to the right is constructed so as to approximate an oblique projection, but the base meets the ground plane in a straight line, just as it would in an orthogonal projection. Of the scene as a unity with the various objects, Willats says that the dominating orthogonals run upwards and outwards from the centre of the picture, thus creating an impression of inverted perspective. On the other hand, the orthogonals in the little building furthest to the left, run down towards the centre of the picture. In this, and other scenes which will be discussed below, the use of the inverted perspective is the feature which is the most elementary and the most frequently employed. In Palaiologan art (as in all Byzantine art) it is a fundamental convention.[22]

[21] J. Willats, *Art and Representation: New Principles in the Analysis of Pictures* (Princeton NJ, 1997), 344. Willats has previously discussed the scene in F. Dubery and J. Willats, *Perspective and Other Drawing Systems* (London, 1983), 34 f. This scene is also the subject of Nelson's recent paper, "Taxation with Representation" (as in note 1).

[22] There is now an extensive literature on inverted perspective. K. W. Nyberg has recently presented a comprehensive overview of the problem with discussion in *Omvänt perspektiv i bildkonst och kontrovers: en kritisk begreppshistoria från det gångna seklet* (Inverted perspective in visual art and contro versy: a history of a critical concept from the past century), with summary in English on pp. 271–82 (diss. Uppsala University, 2001); Willats, *Art and Representation*, 65 ff.

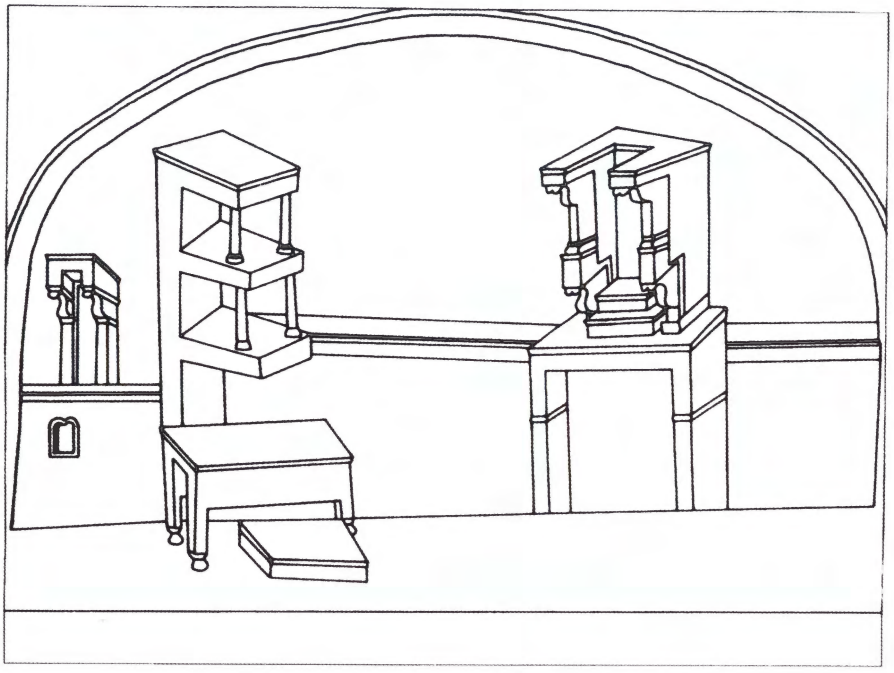

Fig. 2. The Enrolment for Taxation. Analysis by J. Willats.

The scene is instructive in many ways. Both the throne of Cyrenius and the building to the right contribute to the establishment of a spatio-temporal setting for the unfolding of the narrative. With the long horizontal wall as a backdrop and the expanse of grass as a kind of setting for the unfolding event, the throne of Cyrenius also denotes a specific level of significance at the same time as the building to the right indicates a shift in location—the Holy Family have travelled a great distance—, where the Virgin is emphasized and framed within her own significance. She is given prominence by isocephaly, hierarchy, and the inscription with her name, which is brought in right between the buildings and the characteristic tree growing behind her, and the low wall. The scene indicates a diachronic action—the arrival of the Holy Family and their presentation to the authorities—, which is rendered more explicitly elsewhere.

Yet there is more. In addition to the inverted perspective, there often appear objects (furniture or architectural elements) which tilt and which give the impression that they are seen both *di sotto in sù*, and *di sopra*. In comparable cases of spatial construction of like elements, they are often seen as parallel projections. With the overriding of every attempt at creating a convincing illusion of correct perspective constructions of three-dimensional objects or establishing an experience of spatial relationship, there emerge crooked or ostensibly crooked angles, "impossible" viewpoints, where the line of sight is blocked, and where up and down approximate the impossible. They illustrate what E. H. Gombrich has pertinently called a "visual deadlock."[23] Further examples posit a series of ambivalent or "impossible" figures which are familiar from experimental psychology. This is true of the frequently used double walls—overly narrow or com-

[23] E. H. Gombrich, "Illusion and Visual Deadlock," in idem, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse* (London, 1963), 151 ff. See also his *Art and Illusion* (London, 1960), esp. Chapter VIII, "Ambiguities of the Third Dimension," 242–87.

pressed—with circumferent cornices which project towards the observer and which, in their anomaly, immediately strike one as related to that well-known configuration one is tempted to call "the tuning fork." Characteristic examples can be seen in *The Meeting of Joachim and Anne* and *Zacharias Praying Before the Rods of the Suitors.*[24]

Most of the architectural elements described here are regular items in the extensive Palaiologan repertoire: the apsidal, semi-circular exedrae with open columniation, which is a characteristic element in *The Virgin Receiving the Skein of Purple Wool* in the lunette above the door from the exonarthex[25] (St. Clement at Ohrid; Sopoćani; St. Nikita at Čučer in Macedonia),[26] baldachins and ciboria, or the compressed or deep double walls with deep recesses (e.g. Ohrid, St. Clement, Studenica).[27] In such decoration as at Ohrid (1295), the architecture undergoes substantial compression; the narrative increases in density to the point of obscurity and, correspondingly, this is also true of the scene of *Zacharias Praying Before the Rods* at Kariye Camii. Only in extremely rare cases is it possible to distinguish exceptional instances of mannerism of which there is no equivalent in Kariye Camii.[28]

4

As noted by Underwood, it is characteristic that the majority of the lunettes predominantly feature a single event or motif.[29] This is most truly exemplified in the exonarthex with scenes of the occasional graphic descriptions in the Gospels of The Infancy of Christ. In what is tantamount to its simplest exposition, the north lunette with *Joseph's Dream* and *The Journey to Bethlehem* is an elementary example of an ordered sequence, which is to be read conventionally, from left to right. A chronology is established, and with it a continuous, linear narrative. First to appear is the dreaming Joseph, then the Holy Family's journey through a landscape, with the Virgin riding on a donkey, followed by Joseph, while one of Joseph's sons goes before them to lead the way.[30]

Between the sleeping Joseph with the angel and the journey there is however another scene—which in both visual and compositional terms must be regarded as an interpolation—, in which the Virgin is seen in conversation with accompanying women, originally thought to be *The*

[24] Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 2, pl. 96, pl. 35. For impossible objects, see R. L. Gregory, *Eye and Brain: The Psychology of Seeing* (London, 1966), cover, fig. 13.3 and fig. 12.2 ("forbidden figures"); Willats, *Art and Representation*, 27 f., fig. 1.14.

[25] Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 2, pl. 131; Weiss, *Die Mosaiken des Chora-Klosters*, fig. 34.

[26] Underwood (ed.), *The Kariye Djami*, 4, Lafontaine-Dosogne, figs. 15, 23; Demus, fig. 13; Underwood, fig. 20.

[27] Underwood (ed.), *The Kariye Djami*, 4, Demus, fig. 30; Lafontaine-Dosogne, fig. 11.

[28] One example is *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* in the Church of St. Joachim and St. Anne, Studenica, where a rotunda-like building with columniation in a wreath at the top rests on yet another circular building element, i.e. one on top of the other (Underwood, ed., *The Kariye Djami*, 4, Lafontaine-Dosogne, fig. 18).

[29] Underwood, "Palaeologan Narrative Style and an Italianate Fresco of the Fifteenth Century in the *Kariye Djami*," in *Studies in the History of Art, Dedicated to William E. Suida on his Eightieth Birthday* (London, 1959), 1–9, here at 2.

[30] For a recent reassessment of continuous narrative, see L. Andrews, *Story and Space in Renaissance Art: The Rebirth of Continuous Narrative* (Cambridge, 1995).

Visitation.[31] The narrative is broken to permit the insertion of a new location, Nazareth. In The Journey the movement and glance are directed towards the right; only the Virgin herself is half turning as if to assure herself that Joseph has sufficient strength. Correspondingly, in the interpolated scenes, the Virgin turns to one of her companions. With the horizon of the Journey and the rocky landscape as a backdrop, Mary and the women on their way to Nazareth constitute a flashbetween in the continuous narrative.[32]

The continuous narrative entails a number of methodical problems, towards the explanation of which Kurt Weitzmann has made a substantial contribution.[33] In what Weitzmann calls the "monoscenic method," respect is accorded the unity of place and time. This applies to several scenes in Kariye Camii, such as *The Virgin Receiving the Skein of Purple Wool*, or *The Virgin Entrusted to Joseph*. But with the "cyclical method" more scenes can be included and linked, within one and the same composition, as can be seen in such scenes as that showing *The Journey of the Magi* with *The Magi Before Herod*, and that showing *Joseph Dreaming* with *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*. The diachronic sequence of events is compressed.

The architecture is a participant in the continuous narrative: one further example of a highly developed and detailed architecture which works toward emphasizing the human element will suffice. In *The Meeting of Joachim and Anne*, a three-storey building forms the backdrop for the meeting of the two (Fig. 3). The consoles of the second floor are supported by columns in verd-antique with gilded capitals. The narrow sections of wall with circumferent cornices are, by virtue of their compression, close to constituting an "impossible" figure. This is a moment of privacy, though one which is observed—as Joachim is in the scene of *The Birth of the Virgin*—by a third person, possibly Judith, Anne's maidservant, who is following the scene from behind a low wall.[34] It is characteristic that the architectural set-pieces, with their heavily accentuated curvatures, are often "folded inwards"; Kitzinger expresses the concept perfectly with the expression "cave space," "for the figures to breathe and act in."[35]

The individual scenes described above shed light on the way the representation of architecture contributes to the narrative context. In some scenes, where the landscape and architecture play a more complicated role, it will be seen that space and movement, space and time, are given a

[31] Underwood, "Palaeologan Narrative," 2, note 4, but the scene is now understood to represent a recollection or abridged version of the apocryphal story of how Joseph and Mary were summoned to the temple in Nazareth for a trial by water (Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 1, 87).

[32] N. Goodman, "Twisted Tales; or, Story, Study, and Symphony," *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1980), 103–119, esp. 105 ff. For the following, see also S. Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca and London, 1978), and R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca and London, 1984).

[33] K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, 2nd ed. (Princeton NJ, 1970), esp. 12–46; idem, "Narration in Early Christendom," *AJA*, 61 (1957), 83–91; also Andrews, op. cit., Appendix, "Definitions," 120–26.

[34] Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 1, 66; Weiss, *Die Mosaiken des Chora-Klosters*, 57, suggests Ekklesia, though this is less likely.

[35] Kitzinger, "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" (note 3), 363.

more explicit significance. It is again a question, as in narratology, of the account dictating "the time sequence of the plot": all those devices, in fact, which are utilized in film, from condensation and expansion to segmenting.[36] The action can be accelerated, slowed down or brought to a standstill. An obvious example would be the first bay of the inner narthex, where the final scenes form a conclusion to the cycle of the Life of the Virgin. From the west lunette in the second bay, where the Virgin is betrothed to Joseph, one is led to the transverse arch between the first and second bay, where Joseph takes the Virgin to his house, to *The Annunciation to the Virgin at the Well* in the pendentive to the south, then to *Joseph Taking Leave of the Virgin* or *Joseph Reproaching the Virgin*, which combines the two scenes in one in the first bay of the western lunette.[37]

Fig. 3. The Meeting of Joachim and Anne.

In *Joseph Taking the Virgin to His House* (Fig. 4) the columns (again verd-antique with capitals) support a pair of turrets which rest on a base leading into a deeply recessed apsidal. The building represents a temple: in the little lunette over the door with the curtain is an icon, doubtless a representation of the Virgin herself.[38] The scene is an unusual example of how the rendition of an architectural structure is closely adjusted to the space's physical surroundings: the pair of columns occupies exactly the same space as the width of the transverse arch.

In the pendentive with *The Annunciation to the Virgin at the Well* in the first bay of the inner narthex (Fig. 5), two free-standing buildings are linked by a horizontal wall, which forms a backdrop for the Virgin. The

[36] Cf. W. Kemp, "Narrative," in R. S. Nelson and R. Shiff, *Critical Terms for Art History* (Chicago and London, 1996), 67.

[37] Weiss, *Die Mosaiken des Chora-Klosters*, fig. 40, is a brilliant illustration of the connection between architecture and scenes.

Fig. 4. Joseph Taking the Virgin to His House.

building to the left is of three storeys while that to the right is of two floors terminating in an uppermost storey with a tiled roof. The first building is seen *di sotto in sù*, the other building of three storeys combines a range of different projections and is seen from above. The second building seems to fall as a cascade of orthogonals. Again we see the creation of anomalies where the viewpoints alternate. Both buildings in the pendentives can be compared with the constructions in *Joachim's Offerings Rejected*, and with the buildings in *The Enrolment for Taxation*, as analysed by Willats.

Finally there is the lunette with the depiction of *Joseph Taking Leave of the Virgin*, followed by *Joseph Reproaching the Virgin* (Fig. 6). The lunette comprises, as stated, two scenes, yet in relation to the text it stands as an anachronistic interpolation.[39] The scene recapitulates a series of the most

[38] Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 1, 81.

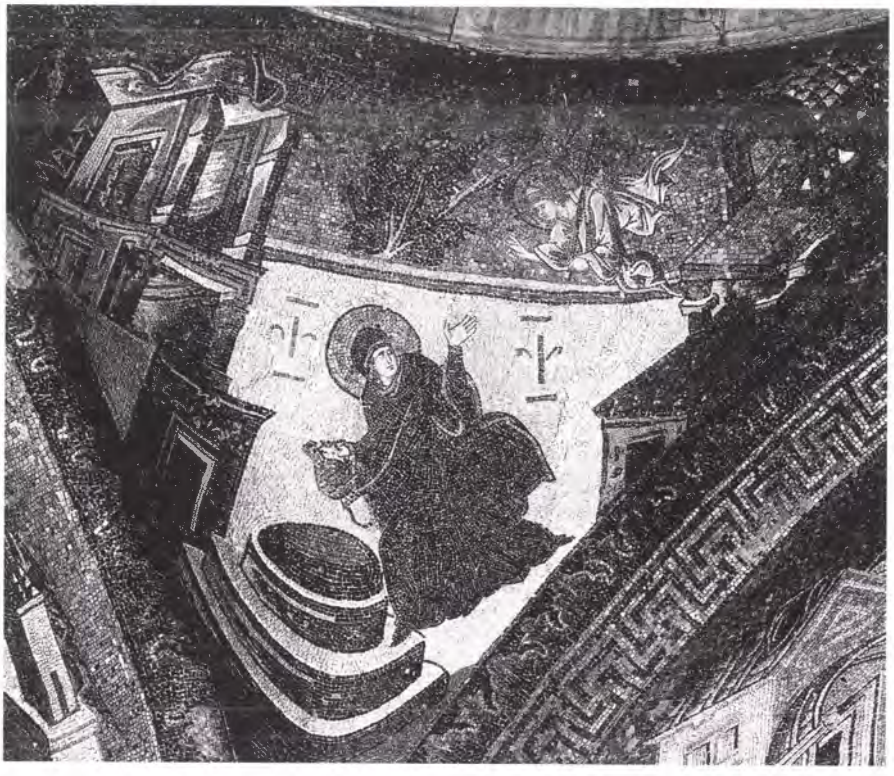

Fig. 5. The Annunciation to the Virgin at the Well.

important and conspicuous architectural elements which have already been described. The building with the pediment and the door with the covered baldachin are nearly identical with Joseph's house in *The Birth of the Virgin*: the two-storey building, with the double wall with consoles and with the baldachin, corresponds to the building behind the Virgin in the scene of *The Enrolment*. Beside these there is an assortment of lesser, incongruous building elements, again seen both from above and below. The scene is set particularly richly here, in that the tree features in three places, and the characteristic drapery is stretched over two of the buildings.[40] The door with the baldachin discreetly indicates the breach between the Virgin and Joseph, and underlines the scene's empathy. The building in the middle, close to the central axis of the entire composition, with the departing son of Joseph, constitutes a flashbetween, while the final (partly destroyed) scene to the right indicates the time element. Taken in its entirety, the scenes convey leave-taking, absence and homecoming.[41]

[39] Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 1, 83.
[40] Cf. note 19.
[41] Goodman, "Twisted Tales" (note 31), 105. Goodman discusses the opportunities for flashback, foreflash and flashbetween.

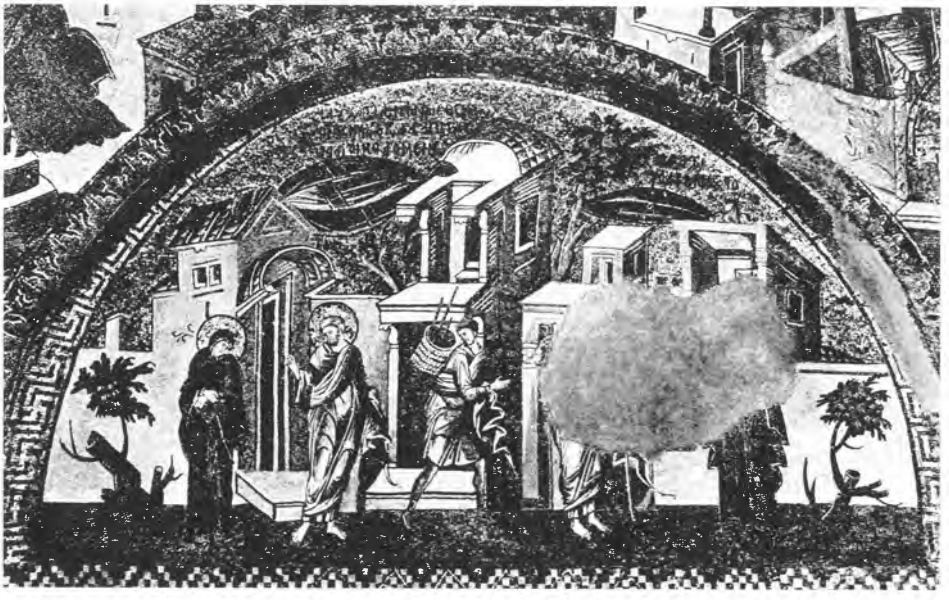

Fig. 6. Joseph Reproaching the Virgin.

As is always the case, the inscriptions on the scenes are characteristically brief as regards details of the events depicted, thus making them easier to commit to memory. In the form of "chapter headings" the observer is given an opportunity to initiate a meditation on the event with its specific topography, which can be recollected as the subject of subsequent contemplation.[42] In certain cases the accompanying inscription is somewhat more detailed, with an explanation which goes into greater depth. This is especially the case with the scene depicting *Joseph Taking Leave of the Virgin* and *Joseph Reproaching the Virgin*, where the text of the Protevangelium constitutes a direct continuation of the scene: *Joseph Taking the Virgin to his House* (Fig. 4), with the accompanying inscription:

> "And Joseph was afraid, and took her to keep her for himself. And Joseph said unto Mary: Lo, I have received thee out of the temple of the Lord, and now do I leave thee in my house, and I go away to build my buildings and I will come again unto thee. The Lord shall watch over thee."

The inscription, "Mary, what is this thy deed?" includes the notion of Joseph's homecoming: "...and behold, Joseph came home from his building, and he entered into his house and found her great with child. And he smote his face, and cast himself down upon the ground on sackcloth and wept bitterly (...) And Joseph arose from off the sackcloth and called Mary and said unto her, O thou that wast cared for by God, why hast thou done this?"[43] The architecture of the scenes with their various elements can be seen here as emphasizing the text's emotive aspect.

It is worth thinking about whether the observer's sympathetic experience of the scene's richly devised architecture can also contribute to the

[42] Cf. O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948), 15: "The faithful who gaze at the cycle of images can make a symbolic pilgrimage to the Holy Land by simply contemplating the images in their local church."

[43] Protevangelium 9: 2; 13: 1–2. Here, as elsewhere in the text, the translation of the Protevangelium is that of M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1975); cf. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 1, 83 ff.

retention of this narrative in his memory. Without doubt the architecture prompts certain associations, but to what extent can it be said that they support the idea or the recollection of a continuous narrative? Can we say, with Hayden White, that here it is possible to translate "knowing into telling"? Or is it rather the case that the picture, the scene's continuous narrative, contributes to "telling into knowing" and thus transforms the observer's understanding of the narrative into a knowledge of it?[44]

The pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, a work with mnemotechnic applications which is based on Greek sources, achieved wide circulation in the West.[45] Places, images (*loci* and *imagines*), it says, are suitable for the stimulation of the memory: images should be distinctive and easy to read. Quintilian reiterated the same viewpoints, while subjecting them to a more subtle analysis: architecture was recommended as an aid to the memory, preferably a building as spacious, varied and richly decorated as possible (with statues and the like). In a way that is particularly relevant in this context. Mary Carruthers has posited the principle of "architectural mnemonic."[46] St. Augustine comes to mind when in his *Confessions* he discusses memory: "The next stage is memory: which is like a great field or a spacious palace, a storehouse for countless images of all kinds which are conveyed to it by the senses" (...) "When I use my memory, I ask it to produce whatever it is that I wish to remember" (10, 8).

The role of the representation of architecture in the observer's meditations on the Holy Places and events must, for the time being, remain a matter for speculation. It is however obvious that architectural elements and set pieces have a significant bearing on the empathy of the protagonists of the Biblical episodes depicted. This is absolutely the case with the scene described above, *The Meeting of Joachim and Anne* (Fig. 3), whose curious architectural construction projects forward as though to enclose them. Here the architecture forms a "cave space," while at the same time it becomes, so to speak, a fellow actor in the narrative which is thus transformational.

Despite the bizarre, oblique and "impossible" quality of many of the architectural elements, it is clear that they do, as a unity, derive from the same sources. The artists must have had denotation systems at their disposal with which they were familiar and which they could use in innumerable combinations. The conventional principle of narrative—at least as we understand it in the West, implying the linear sequence read from left to right—is abandoned in many places in Kariye Camii, one reason for this being that the decoration is co-opted into the spatio-temporal sequence. As already stated, such devices are used in an extremely ingenious and perspicacious manner, obviously enough particularly conspicuous in the pendentives and the cupolas, where the various architectural elements or set pieces fit the span of the vaults and the curvatures so that there is a constant correlation between time and space, between space and action.

[44] H. White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1980), 5–27 (repr. in idem, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* [Baltimore and London, 1990], 1 ff.).
[45] F. A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Harmondsworth, 1969), 20 ff., 65 ff. M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1992), 71 ff.
[46] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 18, 37 ff.; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 71 ff.

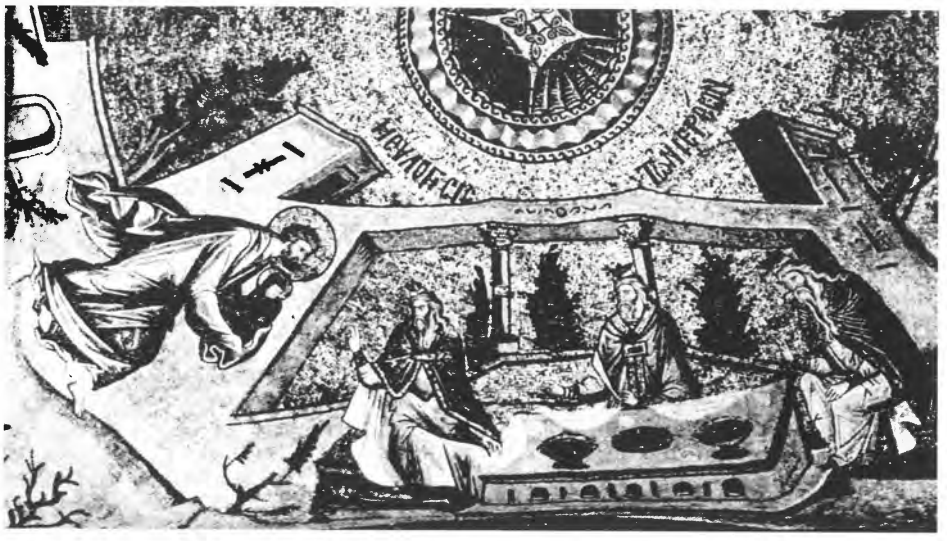

Fig. 7a. Joseph Bringing the Virgin Before the High Priests.

In one particular sense architecture, with its various combinations of architectural features, can be characterized as *expressive architecture*, which dramatizes and contributes to the involvement not only of the observer, but also of the *dramatis personae*, who experience and act emotionally.

Fig. 7b. Joachim and Anne Caressing the Baby Jesus.

This point can be illustrated with a final example: the flat cupola vault in the second bay of the inner narthex, where Joseph is shown bringing the Virgin before the high priests, who bless her, and in a scene where the Virgin's parents are shown caressing her.[47] The architecture is an open construction with two side wings supported by only two columns

[47] Protevangelium 6: 2. There is no mention in the Protevangelium of Joachim and Anne caressing the child. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 1, 69 ff.; Weiss, *Die Mosaiken des Chora-Klosters*, pl. 29; see also A. Grabar, "La décoration des coupoles à Kariye Camii et les peintures italiennes du Dugento," *JÖBG* 6 (1957), 111–24, repr. in idem, *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1968), 1055–65.

(Fig. 7a). The construction spans a large surface, and is both interior and exterior. Were the action to be rotated as on a revolving stage in a theatre, we would encounter the unusual scene in which Joachim and Anne caress the baby (Fig. 7b). The architecture, which in this instance comprises two buildings of a now familiar type which counterbalance the side-wings on the opposite side, frames and encloses the two parents: it is a scene with many human dimensions, and of great beauty.

The architecture's exceptional constructions are neither absurd nor pointless: they are expressive and contribute to the production of empathy and the creation of meaning.

Theodore Metochites as a Literary Critic

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Introduction

IN HIS ESSAY No. 15, with the title "On Josephus", Theodore Metochites describes Josephus' style with the following words:

> His Simplicity is congenital ... he keeps a middle position between Beauty and Dignity ... he is neither Florescent nor Harsh or Vehement ... (15.2.4–6.114–115).[1]

In the 16th essay he describes Philo:

> He is more anxious and concerned to achieve Dignity and Solemnity in his language than the other colours of expression; he is Exalted not only in his thoughts, but also in his vocabulary, rhythm, and composition. But neither does he altogether disregard, or fail to achieve, Grace. In him more than in Josephus Grace and Character are achieved deliberately rather than appearing naturally, and he does not write simply from natural habit, as does Josephus, but composes with care rather than write in an uncontrived style. (16.4.1–2.122)

The Greek terms translated Simplicity, Beauty, Dignity, Florescent, Exalted, Character, Harsh, Grace, and Vehement are all technical terms found in a handbook on rhetoric, Περὶ ἰδεῶν, "On Types of Style," written by Hermogenes of Tarsus in the second century AD.[2]

Hermogenes systematically goes through seven types (Forms, ἰδέαι) of style and thirteen subtypes, arranged in a hierarchic system. Each style may in its turn be applied to the different elements or categories of discourse.[3] Through a combination of different types of style for the different categories every writer achieves his unique style. The highest, consummate style is δεινότης, Force, which is a combination of all the other

[1] References to the essays are given in the form "15.2.4.114", where the first three numbers refer to essay, section and paragraph in my new edition; the last number refers to page in the 1821 edition by Müller and Kiessling. For both editions see below, note 5.

[2] H. Rabe, *Hermogenis opera* (Leipzig, 1913); henceforth quoted by page and line in Rabe. English translation by C. W. Wooten: *Hermogenes' On Types of Style* (Chapel Hill and London, 1987). For a comparison of Hermogenes' system with that of earlier critics, especially Cicero and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, see Appendix 1 in Wooten.

[3] These are ἔννοια, content, μέθοδος, approach, λέξις, diction, σχήματα, figures, κῶλα, clauses, συνθήκη, composition or word order, ἀνάπαυσις, cadence, and ῥυθμός, rhythm.

Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 13 (Stockholm, 2004).

styles. One writer above all others has mastered δεινότης: Demosthenes, the greatest orator of antiquity.

The Περὶ ἰδεῶν is the most exhaustive and sophisticated handbook of stylistics in ancient Greek in antiquity, and it was tremendously influential in late antiquity and in the Byzantine era. It was used for teaching rhetoric and commentaries were written on it, by the Neoplatonic philosopher Syrian, among others.[4] It is thus not surprising that Metochites employs Hermogenes' terminology.

In this paper I shall describe how Metochites uses Hermogenes' concepts and terms when discussing a number of ancient authors in his essays, *Semeioseis gnomikai* (*Miscellanea philosophica et historica*), published *c.* 1326.[5] No attempt will be made here to investigate his other works,[6] or to place his literary criticism in its contemporary and historical context by comparing it to the works of other critics.

Hermogenes' twenty types and subtypes of style are, in alphabetical order: ἀκμή Florescence, ἀλήθεια Sincerity, ἀφέλεια Simplicity, βαρύτης Indignation, γλυκύτης Sweetness, γοργότης Rapidity, δεινότης Force, δριμύτης Subtlety, ἐπιείκεια Modesty, εὐκρίνεια Distinctness, ἦθος Character, καθαρότης Purity, κάλλος Beauty, λαμπρότης Brilliance, μέγεθος Grandeur, περιβολή Abundance, σαφήνεια Clarity, σεμνότης Solemnity, σφοδρότης Vehemence, τραχύτης Asperity. The hierarchy is this (with the subtypes within parentheses):[7]

7. δεινότης
    1. σαφήνεια (καθαρότης, εὐκρίνεια)
    2. μέγεθος (σεμνότης, τραχύτης, σφοδρότης, λαμπρότης, ἀκμή, περιβολή)
    3. κάλλος
    4. γοργότης
    5. ἦθος (ἀφέλεια, γλυκύτης, δριμύτης, ἐπιείκεια)
    6. ἀλήθεια (βαρύτης)

Apart from these basic Forms Metochites uses a number of other Hermogenic concepts, the most frequent of which are ἀξίωμα Dignity

[4] See G. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Thessalonike, 1973), 5–20. See also G. Lindberg, *Studies in Hermogenes and Eustathios. The theory of ideas and its application in the commentaries of Eustathios on the epics of Homer* (Lund, 1977).

[5] *Theodori Metochitae Miscellanea philosophica et historica.* Textum e codice Cizensi descripsit, lectionisque varietatem ex aliquot aliis codicibus enotatam adiecit M. Christianus Godofredus Müller. Editio auctoris morte praeventa cui praefatus est M. Theophilus Kiessling (Leipzig, 1821; repr. Amsterdam, 1966; essays 15–26 are found on pp. 112–76; essay 71 on pp. 463–81). New, critical edition (vol. 1 of 4): K. Hult, *Theodore Metochites on Ancient Authors and Philosophy. Semeioseis gnomikai 1–26 & 71. A Critical Edition with Introduction. Translation, Notes, and Indexes.* With a Contribution by B. Bydén (Göteborg, 2002). For the date see op. cit., xiv; *Theodoros Metochites on Philosophic Irony and Greek History: Miscellanea 8 and 93.* Ed. with introd., trans. and notes by P. A. Agapitos, K. Hult and O. L. Smith (†) (Nicosia and Göteborg, 1996), 22, with note 48. – A brief summary of the essays treated here is found in N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983; rev. ed. 1996), 262–63.

[6] Metochites' *logos* 17 has been investigated by M. Gigante, "Il saggio critico di Teodoro Metochites su Demostene e Aristide," *La Parola del Passato* 20 (1965), 51–92; reprinted as "Teodoro Metochites critico letterario" in *Scritti sulla civiltà letteraria bizantina* [Saggi Bibliopolis, 5] (Naples, 1981), 167–98. Edition: M. Gigante, *Teodoro Metochites, saggio critico su Demostene e Aristide* (Milan and Varese, 1969). For Metochites' quarrel with Nikephoros Choumnos on the question of style, expressed in his *logoi* 13 and 14, see I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* [Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae. Subsidia, 3] (Brussels, 1962), 51–67.

[7] See the diagram in Wooten, p. xii.

(almost always coupled with σεμνότης; see below), εὐγένεια Nobility, εὐκολία Facility, πάθος Emotion, χάρις and ὥρα Charm, Grace.

Let me begin by giving a brief summary of Metochites' descriptions and judgements (see also the table, below).

Metochites' descriptions of literary style

The writers in question are, in chronological order, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Josephus, Philo, Dio of Prusa, Plutarch and Synesius. In one essay, No. 17, Metochites uses a geographical criterion, discussing authors educated in Egypt.

The writers treated of in the *Semeioseis gnomikai* are all from the classical and late antique period. The latest, Synesius, was a Neoplatonic philosopher and bishop of Cyrene in North Africa around AD 400. Later, i.e. Byzantine, authors are ignored by Metochites.

JOSEPHUS is one of the writers most highly praised by Metochites. He is commended above all for his simple and artless style, his ἀφέλεια, which is furthermore, says Metochites, completely natural and congenital to him: it takes no effort for him to achieve it, and he does not need to "secretly use δεινότης (Force)".

To illustrate his view of Josephus' style Metochites uses two similes. First, he compares it to "Plato's wax", which is ὑγρός, moist, soft and pliant, as opposed to uneven, hard and dry.[8] Second, Josephus' language is likened to a river or stream that flows evenly and effortlessly over level ground, with a clear and delicious water—a beautiful image (I do not know if it is Metochites' own). Josephus' style is not, however, too sweet and simple, but achieves a balance between Beauty and Dignity.

Josephus' mind is exactly like his language, exhibiting the same εὐκολία (facility, ease). Conceiving thoughts and ideas demands no more effort of him than does writing.

PHILO is first of all compared to Plato, since there is a saying that "Philo writes like Plato, and Plato like Philo". This is unfair, says Metochites, for although Philo is certainly admirable, he is not on a level with Plato. Metochites goes on to compare Philo with Josephus, both being Jews and distinguished writers in Greek. Actually a large part of the essay on Philo treats of Josephus' life, career, and writings.

Unlike Josephus, Philo was uninterested, and did not take part, in politics; his sole aim in life was intellectual activity and particularly philosophy. The foundation of all his works is the wisdom of his own people, i.e., the holy scriptures of the Jews, and when interpreting them he sometimes uses allegory. Whereas Josephus is a natural talent and able to write a simple and pleasant language with no particular effort, Philo must take great pains with his style.

As befits a philosopher he above all wants to achieve Dignity and Solemnity in his language (philosophy being a dignified and solemn subject). "He is exalted not only in his thoughts, but also in his vocabu-

[8] The reference is to Plato's *Theaetetus*, 191c10 ff., where Socrates illustrates his point by imagining that souls contain "wax tablets." The wax is of varying quality and therefore more or less suitable for receiving impressions.

lary, rhythm, and composition" (16.4.1.122). But since he takes such great pains with his style it sometimes becomes more graceful than demanded by the subject (16.4.3.122). The beauty of his language lies in the clarity of his vocabulary and in his new coinages. Sometimes he is Rapid or compressed, γοργός. On account of its many unusual and newly coined words the language of Philo is characterized as Harsh, τραχύς, but this, says Metochites, is not foreign to the elevation and dignity suitable for philosophy.

Τραχύτης plays an important role in the following essay, No. 17. Metochites is struck by the thought that AUTHORS EDUCATED IN EGYPT—meaning Alexandria—share a specific characteristic of their language: they are "somewhat harsh," especially in their vocabulary. This is true of both pagans and Christians, and both authors from antiquity and those of more recent times (whatever is meant by "recent"—as already mentioned, Metochites never discusses Byzantine authors). The reason lies in the educational tradition.

Metochites goes on to enumerate a number of authors all of whom, in his view, write a harsh language: Philo, the astronomers Ptolemy and Theon, the Christians Origen, Panaetius and Clement.[9] Further, Gregory the Wonderworker—it is true that he was born in Pontus by the Black Sea, but he was educated in Egypt, at Origen's school.[10] Also Eusebius and Cyril, Fathers of the Church, and the philosopher-bishop Synesius, who studied for a few years in Alexandria.

A total contrast is furnished by authors from Syria and Phoenicia, who all write a smooth and easily accessible style, which is in no way irritating and unaccustomed for the ears. All "Asians," and particularly the Ionians, write this smooth and even style; this is true of both philosophers and orators. Examples of this type of style are found e.g. in the works of the philosophers Porphyry and Maximus of Tyre, and also many orators, for instance Lucian and Libanius. In connection with the latter two Metochites touches upon Atticism, the classicizing ideal prevalent during the Second Sophistic. According to Metochites, Lucian and Libanius were both ardent Atticists, but took care not to overdo it. They both avoided that exaggerated Atticism which leads to "abnormal" language (17.3.5.129).

SYNESIUS is one of Metochites' favourite authors and the subject of a long essay, No. 18.[11] He devotes three pages of his essay to Synesius' style, versus two pages to the philosophical content of his writings. The description of Synesius' style is complex and sometimes contradictory.

Metochites begins by emphasizing the wide range of Synesius' achievements in philosophy, his talent and intellectual versatility. All this goes to show, he says, that the man has a most powerful nature.

In spite of being a philosopher Synesius writes in an elegant style. This is unusual, for normally philosophers do not spend much effort on their language. In fact neither does Synesius, but his beautiful language

[9] "Panaetius" is one of several instances in the *Semeioseis* which show that Metochites quotes from memory. He must be thinking of Pantaenus, Origen's teacher.

[10] Metochites is a bit careless here: Origen received his education in Alexandria, but his own school was in Palestine.

[11] That Metochites really did read Synesius is shown by several quotations from the latter's works in the *Semeioseis*, quotations that I have not found in other writers and which thus probably were not part of the common stock.

appears spontaneously—he is a natural talent. "His language is unaffected and at the same time eloquent, with an eloquence that has nothing to do with rhetorical exercises and declamations" (18.3.5.136). In this respect he resembles Josephus, and Metochites applies to Synesius the same simile that he has already[12] used for Josephus: a stream flowing easily with clear and delicious water.[13]

But although Synesius' style is so elegant, relaxed, and flexible it is far from being quiet, smooth or normal. The main reason for this is that it is modern. Thus it is neither the common, simple style of antiquity, nor characterized by δεινότης, which was used in Synesius' time. His eloquence has nothing to do with rhetoric. He is not an Atticist, but prefers the "common."

In his vocabulary on the other hand he is bold and unconventional. Here he exhibits τραχύτης, Harshness or Asperity. His grammar is innovative but not incorrect.

It appears that Metochites has encountered some difficulties when trying to analyze Synesius' style. We are told that Synesius writes both ornately (18.2.2.132; 18.2.7.134) and simply and artlessly (18.4.1.137; 18.3.6. 137); he couches his thoughts in a beautiful language (νοῦς ἐπικαλλύνεται 18.2.2.132; ἡ ἑρμηνεία καλλύνεται 18.2.7.134) but avoids Ἀττικὴ καλλιέπεια (18.4.1.137); he has a natural talent for writing elegantly and does not need much effort (18.2.9.134–135; 18.3.2.135), but at the same time spends a great deal of care on style (18.2.1.131); his style is polished (18.2.2.132) but not smooth or ordinary (18.3.2.135); he is eloquent (18.3.5.136) but harsh (17.2.7.127; 18.4.2.138); he delights in "the common" (18.4.1.137 χαίρει τῷ κοινῷ) but avoids "the customary" (19.2.6.143 φεύγει τὸ ἔθιμον). He certainly does not partake of ἀφέλεια—except sometimes in his subject-matter and vocabulary (19.2.7.144).

Essay No. 19 begins with the remark that Synesius has a great deal to say about DIO, and is much influenced by him. Metochites notes that Synesius borrowed freely from Dio, both subjects, arguments, and phrases.[14] Despite these similarities the two philosophers are very different from each other in their language, says Metochites.

Dio started out as an orator, but later changed his profession and turned to philosophy. During his first career he wrote, as was natural, in a very rhetorical style. In his philosophical works, on the other hand, he takes pains to write as simply and plainly as possible.

Synesius' style is much more intense, "swollen" and elevated than that of Dio; he has the ability to "raise" also a simple subject. Dio, on the contrary, often treats of elevated subjects in a simple and unadorned language. He spends great effort on producing a style that seems completely simple and artless; this is in fact an example of δεινότης, and to this extent

[12] If, that is, the essay on Josephus was written before that on Synesius; see further below.

[13] In the case of Josephus the image is applied to both νοῦς and γλῶττα: "His thought as well as his tongue flow completely unhindered, like rivers…" (15.1.4.113); in the case of Synesius, Metochites seems to be thinking primarily of his talent: "He does not need much exertion or care or endeavour, being possessed of a natural facility and readiness to deal with anything whatsoever, like those subterranean streams that flow for long distances easily and untiring, running with a naturally drinkable and sweet water" (18.2.9.134 f.).

[14] Metochites' claims have been corroborated by J. R. Asmus, "Synesius und Dio Chrysostomus," *BZ* 9 (1900), 85–151.

he "deceives" his readers. Synesius exhibits neither δεινότης nor ἀφέλεια, whereas Dio has both.

A trait typical of Dio is his use of exempla, quotations from ancient authors. His favourite source is Xenophon, who himself writes with a natural Simplicity.

XENOPHON is the protagonist of essay No. 20. He was so appreciated for his language, says Metochites, that people used to call him "the Attic bee" (the reference is probably to honey and sweetness). In fact Xenophon began to think so highly of himself that he did not even hesitate to compare himself to the great Plato and wrote his *Symposium* and his *Memoirs of Socrates* in rivalry of the writings of Plato. He, like Plato, uses the dramatic form and makes Socrates speak in his own person. However, chides Metochites, although Xenophon is an excellent writer and gives a fair and just picture of Socrates (Metochites' view is that both Plato and Xenophon portray Socrates in a way that is on the whole historically correct), he certainly cannot be compared to Plato, either—and particularly—as a philosopher, or in literary ability.

Xenophon's style has Charm and Character (ἦθος); he is slow and Dignified, and more than any other writer he exhibits ἀφέλεια, Simplicity. This simplicity is both natural and achieved by deliberate effort. Like Dio, Xenophon in fact uses δεινότης, Force and skill, to achieve a style that seems naturally simple and artless. He is completely uninterested in Dignity (ἀξίωμα) and Florescence (ἀκμή). Most of what he writes is actually "not unrhetorical", and he uses "dissimulation" (ὑπόκρισις) and "method" to achieve his work. He is a stranger to Rapidity (γοργότης). His style is straightforward and cheerful.

One of the longest essays in the entire collection is devoted to PLUTARCH, Metochites' favourite author. He discusses mostly the contents of Plutarch's writings, but also to some extent the style.

Plutarch's talent, knowledge, and interest concern all branches of philosophy. He is interested in, and knowledgeable about, everything, even if he is more expert in some things than in others. Philosophy is the most important thing in life for him, particularly that part which deals with ethics and morals. He is less interested in natural philosophy and mathematics, although he has mastered those branches, too.

Metochites emphasizes that Plutarch does not follow any particular philosophical school, but is an eclectic. He is pious and respectful of the gods. He is impartial, as is shown by the fact that he is even capable of finding something good in the tenets of the Epicureans, whom he otherwise criticizes implacably. He is a very prolific writer. He uses examples from history—in fact, he is more interested in history than any other philosopher. Owing to his tremendous knowledge he can be used as a historical encyclopedia.

Plutarch's language is simple and artless, as befits a philosopher. He avoids stylistic Grace, Florescence and Dignity; the contents of his writings, however, are characterized by a natural Dignity and Solemnity. The only stylistic embellishment that is used now and then is ἦθος, Character. Plutarch's language is apposite and to the point, and he uses the "clarity" of the words. He is very clever at describing a situation with just a few words.

He does not write "as it chances," but deliberately, although in a way that befits a philosopher—freeborn, raised above every kind of flattery, deceit and ostentation. Thus Plutarch does not care about the rules of rhetoric, but this, Metochites is anxious to stress, is not because he has not mastered them—on the contrary—and sometimes he chooses to write in a more ornate style. Moreover, he sometimes makes judgements on the style of other authors which are entirely according to the rules of rhetoric and thus reveal Plutarch's own ability—what people are capable of judging, says Metochites, they are also capable of producing by themselves.

One of Plutarch's best works is his book on Homer, which, says Metochites, shows not only Homer's contribution to human culture, but also Plutarch's great knowledge and good judgement (in Metochites' day it was not known that the Περὶ Ὁμήρου is spurious).

Metochites has a great deal to say about PLATO and ARISTOTLE, but his remarks mostly concern the philosophical content of their writings, and their relations to each other and to their predecessors. He does not describe their style in such detail as he does for the other writers, or apply the Hermogenic terms to them. However, he does declare that Plato ranks above Xenophon not only as a philosopher but also as a writer, which must be considered great praise, seeing that he values Xenophon very highly. Plato is hardly ever mentioned without the epithet θαυμάσιος, "admirable."[15]

In the 24th essay Metochites maintains that Plato deliberately chose always to write in dialogue form because he was opposed to rhetoric and rhetors. Although he actually possessed a very great rhetorical ability he preferred not to use it in revealing his doctrines in a continuous discourse, but rather to present them in a cut-up manner, through questions and answers. Metochites also remarks that Plato in his dialogues often openly repudiates rhetoric. Plato chooses to do this, says Metochites, because he values philosophy above everything else, and there is an opposition between philosophy and rhetoric.

In the following essay, No. 25, Metochites claims that Aristotle, in his turn, chose to study rhetoric as a way of revolting against Plato (Metochites is fond of ascribing all too human motives to Aristotle). "And the amusing thing is that Plato writes against rhetoric in well-formulated language, whereas Aristotle always writes on its behalf in an unrhetorical language, untrained in the art of speaking," he sneers (25.1.6.171). Aristotle writes a completely unpolished and inelegant style, partly by nature, partly as a protest against the elegance and refinement of Plato's dialogues.[16]

Aristotle's well-known ἀσάφεια, obscurity, is deliberate, says Metochites. So do other commentators, but their explanation is that Aristotle did not want just anybody but only the most serious-minded of his students to understand all of his doctrines. Metochites ascribes a considerably more shoddy motive to Aristotle: he does not want his readers to realize that when it comes to the most important questions he has nothing to say.

[15] However, Börje Bydén has pointed out to me that θαυμάσιος is in fact a degradation from θεῖος, the usual epithet of Plato during pagan late antiquity (in those days it was Aristotle who was θαυμάσιος). I suppose it was impossible for Metochites to designate Plato as θεῖος.

[16] 25.1.9.172. In 25.1.7.171 Metochites suggests that Aristotle is actually incapable of writing an elegant style (in which case it seems rather pointless to say that he *deliberately* chose to write inelegantly).

By enveloping his style in the darkness of obscurity he ensures that they feel stupid and blame themselves rather than the true culprit, Aristotle himself.

Similar accusations are levelled against the little treatise Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος, "On how to write a forceful style," ascribed to Hermogenes.[17] It would have been better for its author if this book had not been written at all, and the same is true of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Both works fail conspicuously to live up to the readers' expectations, says Metochites with something which sounds like genuine disappointment.

Apart from the Forms included in the table, Josephus' style is also characterized by εὐκρίνεια and καθαρότης. He does not partake of σφοδρότης. The verb ἐπαληθεύω, which is used of Josephus and Synesius, implies ἀλήθεια.

Hermogenic Forms not mentioned in the *Semeioseis* are βαρύτης, ἐπιείκεια, λαμπρότης, μέγεθος, περιβολή, and σαφήνεια.

Sequence of composition

We do not know when the different essays in the *Semeioseis* were written, or for how long Metochites worked with the collection. But in some cases it seems probable that one essay was written immediately after another, in the same order in which they now stand in the collection. Several of the essays discussed here are examples of this.

The discussion of Josephus and his language begun in No. 15 is continued in No. 16 on Philo. The last thing that Metochites says about Philo in essay 16 is that his language, or vocabulary, is τραχύς, harsh; earlier he pointed out that Philo lived his whole life in Alexandria. This suggests that essay No. 17, "That all who were educated in Egypt write in a rather harsh style," was written shortly, or directly, after No. 16. One of the Egypt-educated writers with a harsh language mentioned in No. 17 is Synesius, who is the subject of Essay 18. No. 18 forms a diptych with No 19. on Dio, where the discussion is about Synesius as much as about Dio. The essay ends with the observation that Dio likes to quote from Xenophon; No. 20 treats of Xenophon.

Thus it is not unlikely that essays 15–20 were written consecutively, in one sweep. Between essays 20 (on Xenophon) and 21 (on Hermogenes and Aristotle) there is no such obvious connection. In fact, with essay 21 begins a series of less "literary" (or at least less "Hermogenic") and more purely "philosophical" essays, culminating in No. 26, on the language of philosophy.

[17] It may be spurious (see Rabe's Introduction, ix–xii, and Wooten, xi).

	Josephus	*Philo*	*Synesius*	*Dio*	*Xenophon*	*Plutarch*	*authors from Egypt*	*philosophy*
ἀκμή Florescence	No				No	No		
ἀλήθεια Sincerity	Yes							
ἀξίωμα Dignity	No	Yes	Yes (language and content)	Yes (content)	No			
ἀφέλεια Simplicity	Yes		No (except sometimes regarding content)	Yes (language)	Yes			
γλυκύτης Sweetness	Yes		No (except sometimes)					
γοργότης Rapidity		Yes			No	No		
δεινότης Force	No		No	Yes	Yes			
εὐκρίνεια Distinctness	Yes							
ἦθος Character	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No (except sometimes)		
καθαρότης Purity	Yes							
κάλλος Beauty	No		Yes (κάλλη)			Yes (καλλιέπεια sometimes)		No
μεστότης Fullness				No				
σεμνότης Solemnity	Yes (content)	Yes	Yes (language and content)			No (style); Yes (content)		Yes (content)
σφοδρότης Vehemence	No							
τραχύτης Asperity	No	Yes	Yes (vocabulary)				Yes (vocabulary)	

Table: Metochites' characterization of some ancient writers

Essay 71 on Plutarch seems oddly placed in the collection. Thematically it belongs with the series 15–20 (which is why I have included it in the first volume of my new edition of the *Semeioseis*). Perhaps the explanation is simply that it was in fact written at another (later?) point in time.[18]

Choice of authors

As mentioned above Metochites only discusses ancient and late antique writers. He ignores the existence of Byzantine literature (and Byzantine

[18] In the beginning of this essay Metochites alludes to the preceding one, No. 70.

literary critics, e.g. Photios, whose opinions of literary style he might have referred to).

The writers that Metochites *does* discuss are all preserved, so anyone who wishes can assess his judgements on them and their various styles.[19]

The most important thing that these writers have in common is that they are all (or are all considered by Metochites to be) philosophers—philosophy is a subject most dear to his heart. As philosophers he obviously counts also Xenophon and Josephus (16.2.1–2.119). Xenophon is compared to Plato; they were both disciples of Socrates, and Xenophon wrote his *Memorabilia*, "Memoirs of Socrates," in competition with Plato. One may perhaps wonder why Josephus is included. Like Xenophon, he is not known mainly as a philosopher, even if his *Contra Apionem* may perhaps be considered a philosophical work. But I can find three good reasons why Josephus has been included.

(1) The most obvious reason is Metochites' great admiration of Josephus and especially his style; in fact, one gets the impression that Josephus is the writer whose style Metochites prizes above all else. It is admirable because of its ἀφέλεια, Simplicity, which is moreover completely unstudied, artless and natural. Metochites' praise of Josephus' style is psychologically interesting since, as described by him, this style is the total opposite of his own (not that Metochites himself points this out, but a modern reader like myself can hardly avoid making the observation).

(2) He is mentioned because of Philo. They are both Jews; they are roughly contemporary; they are both productive writers "in a noble Greek," says Metochites. If one mentions Philo it is natural also to mention Josephus, and *vice versa*.[20]

(3) A third possible reason—if more is needed—could be that Josephus reminds Metochites of himself. He relates how Josephus first took part in the Jewish revolt against the Romans, but later entered into the service of the emperors and finally reached a high position thanks to his literary ability. Once he had attained this high position, however, he did not have much time for his literary activities.

This sounds almost like a description of Metochites' own career. It is true that he himself never revolted against the Byzantine emperor, but his father, George Metochites, came to be regarded as a traitor because of his commitment to the Unionist cause.[21] Thanks to his great erudition and literary ability the young Metochites managed to obtain a position in the imperial administration despite his suspicious background, and rise through the ranks all the way to the highest office—and once there, he did not find much time for his writing.[22]

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[18] In the beginning of this essay Metochites alludes to the preceding one, No. 70.

[19] As has Asmus (above, note 13).

[20] Of course, this argument falls flat if the essay on Josephus was written before that on Philo, as is argued below. On the other hand, Metochites may have intended to write on Philo even then.

[21] For Metochites *père*, see E. de Vries–van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite. Une réévaluation* (Amsterdam, 1987), 31–51.

[22] Cf. the often-quoted description of Metochites by his pupil Nikephoros Gregoras: he managed the empire's administration and the affairs of the state by day and wrote by night (Nik. Greg., *Hist.* 7.11.3).

The meaning of the terms

The greatest problem is to understand what Metochites means by his terms. He never explains, or gives examples. On the other hand these terms were well established since the time of Hermogenes (or even before that), and we have no reason to believe that Metochites uses them in a deviant or idiosyncratic way. Some definitions can be inferred from Metochites' own discussion.

For instance, he clearly makes a distinction between Atticism, which he describes as "beautiful" and artificial, and the simple old-fashioned way of writing (18.3.2.135; 18.4.1.137) In 15.3.1.114 Ἀττικὴ ἀστειότης καὶ καλλιέπεια is contrasted with simplicity and artlessness.

Σεμνότης and ἀξίωμα are often mentioned together; they seem to form one concept in Metochites.[23] From 15.2.5.114 it appears that he considers ἀξίωμα to be the opposite of κάλλος: "By means of his natural ease of expression he therefore keeps a middle position between Beauty and Dignity."

In 16.4.4.123 we find something that looks like a definition of γοργότης, Rapidity: Philo tries to squeeze in as much meaning as possible into few words. In 20.3.4.154 γοργότης is closely linked to ἐντρέχεια: "And being very sparing in Rapidity he is also a stranger to Swiftness."[24]

18.4.2.138 may be interpreted to imply that τραχύτης is to use new and unusual words (cf. 16.4.6.123).[25] Τραχύτης, says Metochites, is not totally incompatible with σεμνότης and ἀξίωμα (16.4.6.123).

In 19.2.7.144 γλυκύτης (Sweetness) is coupled with ἀφέλεια.[26]

We must also consider the possible influence of *variatio*. It is unproblematic to interpret expressions like τὸ παθητικόν and τὸ ἀξιωματικόν as variants of πάθος and ἀξίωμα. Also, words like καλλωπισμός and καλλιέπεια, and the verbs καλλύνομαι and ἐπικαλλύνομαι, must be related to κάλλος. The verb ἐπαληθεύω, used of Josephus and Synesius, probably implies that they partake of ἀλήθεια, Sincerity. But how should we regard terms with similar meaning but from different roots? For example, is τὸ εὔσημον (16.4.4.123) related to Hermogenes' εὐκρίνεια? And what is the relation between κάλλος, χάρις, and ὥρα?[27]

Metochites' stylistic preferences

It is clear that Metochites especially admires authors with a natural talent for writing. Words and expressions such as "by nature," "unstudied," "artless," "natural," "congenital" etc. are strongly laudatory as used by him. One of the reasons for his great admiration of Josephus is the latter's natural facility of thought and language, which is mentioned time and again.[28] Obviously Metochites considers himself able to determine whether someone writes in a certain manner through natural ability or

[23] 16.4.1.122; 16.4.6.123; 18.3.6.137; 71.9.4.475; 71.9.6.475. In Hermogenes ἀξίωμα is most often coupled with μέγεθος and ὄγκος (e.g. *Id.* 226.21 Rabe), but also with σεμνότης (e.g. *Id.* 250.16).
[24] Cf. the definition in Hesychius, E 3397 ἐντρεχέστερον · γοργότερον.
[25] Hermogenes says that neologisms are typical of σφοδρότης Vehemence, rather than of τραχύτης (*Id.* 262).
[26] As often in Hermogenes, e.g. *Id.* 264.14, 328.23 f., 344.11 f.
[27] Ὥρα is coupled with γλυκύτης in Hermogenes *Id.* 329.20.
[28] 15.1.3.113; 15.2.1.113; 15.2.2.114; 15.2.4.114; 15.2.5.114; 15.2.6.115; 15.3.2.115; 15.3.3.115.

(only) with the help of conscious effort. Josephus, Synesius, Xenophon, and Plutarch are examples of the former type; Philo and Dio of the latter.[29]

Metochites is particularly fond of stylistic ἀφέλεια, Simplicity. Once again, Josephus is the foremost representative. A writer who avoids simplicity is Synesius (19.4.3.146);

> Dio, on the other hand, is very careful to achieve Simplicity in his writing (in truth it is his nature to enjoy doing this), but he also takes great pains with it and considers it worth much exertion to deliberately form his style to be Simple, unadorned and artless. And as other people have other aims, his is lack of adornment, and—an admirable thing—his Force lies in his studied Simplicity; although this simplicity seems to be natural, it is much more a result of dissimulation (πολὺ μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ὑποκρίσεως ἔργον), and its persuasiveness is rather effected by its apparent artlessness and its seeming ease and spontaneity (19.4.4–5.147).[30]

This passage brings us to Metochites' view of δεινότης, Force. As was mentioned in the introduction, to Hermogenes δεινότης is the highest style; Metochites appears to be more ambivalent. Dio, it seems, is right to use δεινότης to achieve ἀφέλεια, but Josephus is even more admirable:

> Thus his style is naturally simple but not base, nor does he deliberately embrace Simplicity while actually, in secret, using Force, acting with inner dishonesty and deceit, creating a false appearance of artlessness (15.2.2. 113–114).[31]

The juxtaposition of δεινότης with words such as ὑπόκρισις "dissimulation," δόλος "deceit", "concealment," κακουργέω "be dishonest," κλέπτω "beguile," certainly implies some criticism. Metochites says about Synesius that he did not apply the δεινότης which was cultivated in his days, and which used every means to captivate the hearers (18.3.4.136). Thus δεινότης is linked to rhetoric and appears to be the opposite of "naturalness" (15.2.2.114; 15.4.1.116). It is something an author resorts to when he is unable to write a certain style spontaneously.

I believe that the explanation of Metochites' (seeming) disapproval of δεινότης is his love of philosophy. Since philosophy is his favourite genre of literature, he is also most appreciative of the style which he considers to be typical of this genre.

In 18.2.2.132 Metochites remarks on the elegance and refinement of Synesius' language.[32]

> This is something that is very difficult indeed [to achieve], and very rarely met with; there are not many examples of it, nor [has it been found] in many people through the whole of history, namely, that these two things are combined: a content that is dignified on account of philosophy, solemn, and naturally free from overelaboration, presented and couched in an elegant language (18.2.3.132).

[29] The only types of style that Josephus achieves by means of τέχνη are Character, Sweetness, and Emotion (πάθος); the latter, however, is also natural (15.3.3.115 παθητικὸς οἴκοθέν τε καὶ κατ' ἄσκησιν).

[30] Another writer who uses δεινότης to achieve ἀφέλεια is Xenophon (20.3.3.153).

[31] We may remember that in Hermogenes ἀφέλεια is a subtype of ἦθος, which is a subtype of δεινότης.

[32] Interestingly, he is anxious to stress that Synesius (whom he greatly admires) certainly does not use δεινότης: 18.3.4.136; 19.4.2.146.

Although Metochites usually expresses admiration of Synesius, and does not criticize him here either, it seems that on this point Synesius is not his ideal.

The whole of essay 26 is devoted to an idea that Metochites has already touched upon several times in the preceding essays, and which underlies his stylistic judgements of the authors discussed there: a simple and unadorned language is most suitable for philosophy, which is an elevated and dignified subject. The important thing for a philosopher is to express the content of his philosophy, the fruits of his cogitations. If it were possible to communicate directly, soul to soul, that is what philosophers would do, says Metochites. However, as long as we "live together" with the body we must use the body, i.e., the voice (i.e., language), to communicate. On the other hand it is completely unnecessary for a philosopher to waste time and energy on beautifying his language. One should concentrate on the message and use a style as simple and natural as possible, something like when one walks: simply put one foot in front of the other, without unnecessary complications in the form of gestures or strange movements. And then Metochites uses an interesting simile: if, he says, someone were to attempt to embellish the noble and elevated dogmas of philosophy with a "beautiful" language, it would be as unnecessary and misguided as "painting gold with colours."[33]

Conclusion

Metochites uses Hermogenes' terminology to describe style. He takes for granted that his readers know the meaning of these terms.

His choice of authors is subjective: he writes about those that he himself likes, all of them philosophers (widely defined). His particular favourites are Josephus (especially on account of style), Synesius (both style and contents), and Plutarch (especially the contents).

These essays give the impression that Metochites' favourite type of style is Hermogenes' ἀφέλεια, Simplicity. I suggest that he prefers ἀφέλεια to the other types of style because he prefers philosophy to other genres of literature. Ἀφέλεια is the style that is most suited to philosophy; therefore he prefers it to other styles. This does not exclude the possibility that he might approve of other types of style for other genres.[34]

[33] 26.2.8.176. I do not know if the simile is Metochites' own.

[34] Cf. Gigante, "Demostene e Aristide," (above, note 6). For the importance of δεινότης in Metochites' polemic with Choumnos, see Ševčenko, *Études* (above, note 6), according to whom Metochites extols δεινότης in defence of his own obscurity (op. cit., 55 and note 10).

Mount Athos During the Last Centuries of Byzantium

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ON THE HOLY MOUNTAIN of Athos, many monasteries experienced their greatest Renaissance so far during the last centuries of Byzantium (1261–1453), a period that otherwise meant the gradual disintegration and inevitable dissolution of the Empire ending with the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Although the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258–82) liberated the City from Latin rule in 1261, the Palaiologan dynasty was doomed to reign over a dwindling territory. This resulted in rivalry for the remaining land, especially with the Kantakouzenos family in the fourteenth century. In order to confound the Turkish policy of perpetual aggrandizement, the Palaiologans married Serbian rulers to strengthen their position. The Athonites played a significant role in this struggle for power both as well-timed recognizers of their new masters and well-versed advocates of the spiritual revival known as Hesychasm, a movement which is still vital on Mount Athos today.

How Mount Athos became multinational and pan-Orthodox

It happened this way. When the iconoclasts had lost their fight against the use and veneration of icons, St Photios the Great (*c.* 820 – *c.* 895), Patriarch of Constantinople in the years 858–67 and 877–86,[1] turned his energy to the conversion of the pagan Slavs in the north and the north-west; Christianity was on the move to embrace the Moravians, Bulgarians, Serbs and Russians. This missionary task was given to two Greek brothers from Thessalonike in 863; Constantine (826–69), known as Cyril after he became a monk, and Methodios (?815–85). From childhood, the two "Apostles of the Slavs" were familiar with the dialect of the Macedonian Slavs around Thessalonike. Before they set out they translated the Holy Liturgy of St

[1] G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1968), 199; Fr. Dvorník, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948), 432.

Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 13 (Stockholm, 2004).

John Chrysostom, the Psalms and the New Testament to what was later to be called Church Slavonic. This has remained the liturgical language of the Russian and some other Slavonic Orthodox Churches to the present day.[2]

The missionary work in Moravia, roughly the area of the modern Czech Republic and Slovakia, failed.[3] However, Bulgaria, Serbia and Russia, where the liturgy was celebrated in the dialect of the Slavic population, became Orthodox.[4]

Boris I, Khan of Bulgaria, first wavered between east and west, but decided, in 865, to convert to Christianity in its eastern form, forcing the entire top echelon in the country to follow his example. At the end of the century the state expanded towards the town of Ohrid, which became the seat of the independent Bulgarian Patriarchate created in 926 during the reign of Boris's son, Tsar Symeon the Great (reigned 893–927). This was the first national Church of the Slavs.

Extensive literary activities were initiated in the newly-founded monasteries, notably in Pliska and Preslav, where schools for educating priests, copyists and translators of Orthodox literature were established. Apart from these cenobitic monasteries, there were famous ascetics in the hills above Sofia, notably St John of Rila (876–946), the founder of the Rila monastery in 930.[5]

Serbia followed the example of Bulgaria. Rastko, the youngest son of the Grand Župan Stefan I Nemanja (reigned 1170–96), secretly left the castle in 1193 to visit the newly-established monastery of Panteleimon on the Holy Mountain of Athos. He then visited the monastery of Vatopedi on the eastern side of the peninsula, took his vows and became a monk, and was later known as St Sava (1175–1235), the first national saint of Serbia.[6]

Sava persuaded his father to follow his example, so the latter abdicated in 1196 in favour of his eldest son Stefan II the "first-crowned." Sava's father took the vows in a Slavic monastery and was given the name of Symeon. He moved to Mount Athos in November 1197 and lived there together with his son.[7]

The Emperor Alexios III Komnenos (1195–1203) gave the former Serbian ruler and his son the deserted Greek monastery of Khelantariou, which then lay in ruins after an attack by pirates. From these ruins grew the present-day Serbian monastery of Chilandar two years later (1198). St Sava was appointed archbishop of Serbia in 1209, a Serbian Patriarchate was established in 1346, and it was acknowledged by the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1375. Stefan Dušan (1331–55), who was crowned Tsar

[2] On the missionary work of Cyril and Methodios, see Fr. Dvorník, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, 1970), 107–11; I. Duichev, "A Nationality-Building Factor: The Role of the Slavic Script for the Bulgarians," in I. Duichev (ed.), *Kiril and Methodius: Founders of Slavonic Writing* [Boulder East European Monographs, 172] (New York, 1985), 37–47; G. Soulis, "The Legacy of Cyril and Methodios to the Southern Slavs," *DOP* 19 (1965), 19–43. On the bulk of the literary activity, see I. Ševčenko, "Byzantium and the Slavs," in Id., *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture* [Renovatio, 1] (Cambridge, Mass. and Naples, 1991), 3–15, esp. 8–11.

[3] D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London, 1971), 137–42.

[4] D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 8–33.

[5] Duichev, "A Nationality-Building Factor," 45–47.

[6] Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, 121–26.

[7] Obolensky, op. cit., 126 f.

in 1346, conquered large territories in Greece, but in 1371, when the Nemanja dynasty died out with Tsar Uroš V, Serbia had already been dissolved into principalities, which were oppressed by the Turks.[8]

When Russia was christianized in 988, the Monastery of the Caves at Kiev in particular maintained close contacts with Mount Athos. The founder of the monastery, St Antony (930–1073), had been a hermit on the Holy Mountain. St Theodosios († 1074), who became hegoumenos after St Antony, introduced the cenobitic mode of life as practiced in the monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople.[9]

The Kievan period, when the Russian church belonged to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, lasted until 1237. The monasteries in Kiev and Novgorod served as centres of the Christianization of Ukraine. Kiev was the administrative centre for contacts with Constantinople, the Holy Mountain of Athos and the laity in the surroundings of Kiev. Novgorod became a centre for icon painting.

With the invasion of the Mongols, the administrative centre of the Russian Church moved to Moscow. St Sergij of Radonež (1314–92) founded the Monastery of the Trinity in the surrounding area. Later, his pupils founded more than fifty monasteries in the forests outside Moscow, which in the course of time developed into villages that gradually began to take over the wilderness. The Patriarchate of Moscow was established in 1589.[10]

The settlement of the Holy Mountain of Athos coincided with the spread of Orthodox Christianity to the north-west following the fall of Palestine and Sinai into Arab hands. The hermits and monks flew westwards and some came by ship to the isolated Mount Athos at the beginning of the ninth century. They colonized the next-to-inaccessible steep mountain slopes at the tip of the peninsula.

In 963, St Athanasios founded the first monastery on Mount Athos, the Megiste Lavra, on the model of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople. The Emperor John Tzimiskes confirmed the rights of the monastery in 971, and shortly after more monasteries were founded along the coast of the peninsula, eventually resulting in twenty so-called ruling monasteries with numerous dependencies. The out-of-the-way geographical position of the Athonite peninsula, far from all ruling centres, together with the dangerous waters around its tip, guaranteed the monks natural isolation.

The difficult centuries before the fall of the Empire were characterized by numerous wars and power struggles. The Byzantines waged war with the Venetians and the Genoese ships in the Mediterranean, with the Serbian and Bulgarian rulers intruding from the North and, of course, with their archenemies, the Turks. Under these dire circumstances, Mount Athos became a haven for refugees, exiled and banished bishops and

[8] G. C. Soulis, "Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos," in H. G. Lunt (ed.), *Essays dedicated to Francis Dvornik* [Harvard Slavic Studies, 2] (Cambridge Mass., 1954), 125–39; D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge, 1972), 285; Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, 127–30.

[9] I. Ševčenko, "Byzantine Elements in Early Ukrainian Culture," in idem, *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture* (above, note 2), 163–72, esp. 164–69.

[10] D. Obolensky, *Byzantium and the Slavs: collected studies* [Variorum Reprints] (London, 1971), VI, 23–77.

patriarchs, abdicated rulers, and other dignitaries, but also for pilgrims and soldiers on the run.

The Athonites also visited the court of Sultan Orhan (1326–62) in the middle of the fourteenth century, and managed to persuade him to offer his protection to the Holy Mountain and to respect its position as an autonomous monastic republic. This well-timed recognition of the Sultan's power and influence proved successful and of lasting value during the Tourkokratia, when the Athonites could appeal to the Ottoman rulers' sense of justice and their obligation to continue the tradition established by their grand predecessors.[11]

With the disintegration of the leading monasteries in Constantinople and the transformation of the Patriarchate to an administrative centre only, Mount Athos with its untroubled way of life soon became a recognized spiritual centre in the Orthodox world and its spreading network of monasteries in the north and north-west. This out-of-the-way barren mountain, the towers of its self-sufficient, impregnable fortress-like monasteries enclosing the church in the middle of the courtyard and protecting its inhabitants from the attacks of pirates and other intruders, became the haven *par excellence* for refugees in Late Medieval times. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Holy Mountain remained the last outpost of Byzantium, a position it has, in many respects, maintained until today when it is experiencing a new renaissance as a *protégé* of the European Union.

When this story of how Mount Athos became multinational and pan-Orthodox, a centre for all churches and monasteries in the Orthodox world, is outlined on a map (see Fig. 1), the spread of monasticism and the network of monasteries is clearly visible as an Orthodox "corridor" from Egypt to Finland, between Western Europe and Central Asia. The geographical position and the mountainous landscape of Athos proved to be an ideal resort and place of refuge as well as of spiritual revitalization in an age of power struggles and robbery.

Nikolaos Oikonomides has called the patronage of the Holy Mountain the "Switzerland syndrome," referring to the policy of emperors and rulers of guaranteeing themselves a safe haven and immortality by making donations to Athonite monasteries during the last centuries of Byzantium.[12] Avoiding the negative connotation of the word "syndrome," I would prefer to speak about a kind of "squirrel philosophy." Like the squirrel that collects and stores food in the summer for the winter, the Byzantine emperors and the Serbian rulers were also relying in times of need on relationships built up during times of plenty. Consequently, Mount Athos became a multinational body with an octopus-like structure, its numerous donated monasteries and *metochia* being its feeding and supporting tentacles stretching all over the Balkans and the southern shores of the Black Sea. This was the historical background of the economic Renais-

[11] G. Smyrnaki, *Τὸ ἅγιον ὄρος* (Karyes, 1903; repr. 1988), 109 f.; P. Wittek, "Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden (VI)," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 58 (1962), 165–97, here at 197; E. A. Zachariadou, "Early Ottoman Documents of the Prodromos Monastery (Serres)," *Südost-Forschungen* 28 (1969), 1–12, here at 10 f.; eadem, "'A safe and holy mountain': early Ottoman Athos," in A. Bryer and M. Cunningham (eds.), *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism* [Publications for the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, 4] (Aldershot, 1996), 127–32.

[12] N. Oikonomides, "Patronage in Palaiologan Mt Athos," in Bryer and Cunningham (eds.), *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, 99–111.

sance on Mount Athos during a period when the Empire was gradually but steadily moving towards disintegration.

FOUNDERS OF MONASTERIES AND TRANSMITTERS OF CULTURE

E. Karelia–Lapland
17. Theodore of Kola (†1571)
16. Triphon of Petsamo (†1583)
15. Alexander of Syväri (†1533)
14. Sava of Solovetsky (15th c.)
13. Arsenios of Konevitsa (†1447)
12. Sergios of Valamo (?1100 or 1300)

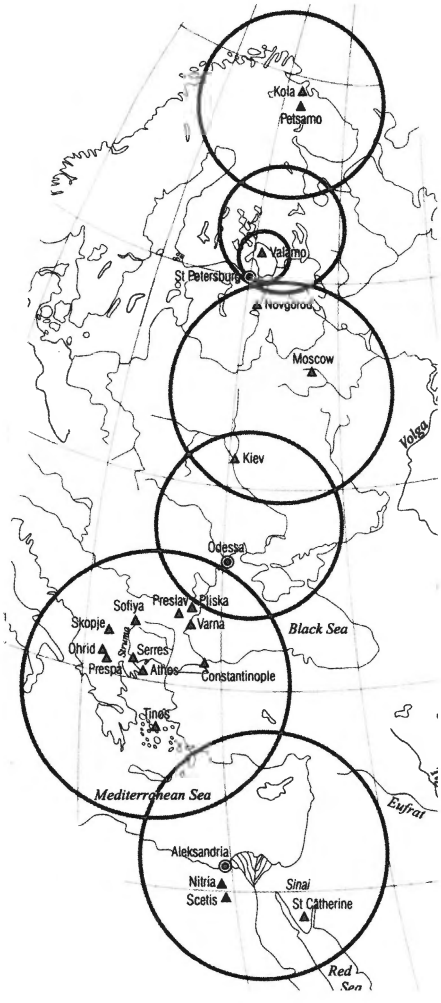
D. Novgorod–Russia
11. Patriarch Nikon (1605–81)
10. Maximos the Greek (?1470–1556)
9. Nilos of Sora (Nil Sorsky) (?1433–1508)
8. Sergios of Radonezh (?1314–92)

C. Kiev
7. Antony of the Caves (?983–1073)
Feodosy (c.1036–74)

B. Byzantium
6. Athanasios of Athos (c.920–c.1004)
5. Theodore of Stoudios (759–826)

A. Sinai–Egypt
3. Emperor Justinian (6th c.)
2. Makarios of Egypt (4th c.)
1. Ammon of Egypt (4th c.)

THE STATIONS OF BYZANTINE CULTURE



FOUNDATION DATES OF THE MONASTERIES

18. Monasteries of Old Believers (1600–)
17. Kola (1540)
16. Petsamo (1530)
15. Syväri (late 15th c.)

14. Solovetsky (1420)

13. Konevitsa (1393)
12. Valamo (?1100 or 1300)

9. Sketae at Sora River (1473–)
8. Holy Trinity–St Sergios (1341/42)

7. Petchersky Lavra (1051)

6. Mt Athos (962/63)
5. Stoudios (8th c.)
4. Patmos (4th c.; 1088)
19. Tenos (11th c.; 1971)

3. St Catherine
2. Sketis
1. Nitria

Fig. 1. The "Orthodox corridor."

Hesychasm

During the last centuries of Byzantium, Mount Athos was not only a place of refuge, of an *otium cum dignitate*, but, above all, the Garden of the Mother of God devoted to spiritual striving and revitalization. In the fourteenth century it also became a haven for the spiritual movement known as hesychasm. St Gregory Palamas (1296–1359), who donned the habit on Mount Athos in 1316, became involved early on with the theological dispute about a method of prayer which, at the moment of stillness, *hesychia*, gave

the one dedicated to prayer an awareness of the divine light. Palamas stood up for the small group of monks known as the hesychasts, who argued that by ceaseless prayer—the recitation of "Lord, Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me, a sinner"—it was possible to bridge the divine and the human, the spiritual and the physical or bodily, and become imbued with a sense of the divine "energy," the divine or uncreated light. His theological distinction between God's "energies" and "essence," and his argument that humans can experience the "energies" but not God's inner "essence," was eventually accepted at the two councils in Thessalonike in the middle of the fourteenth century. The stir created by the half-century-long theological dispute put Mount Athos at the very centre of the Orthodox world, and made it influential not only in religious and doctrinal, but also in political matters.[13]

Mount Athos as a haven in reserve

Seven of the twenty ruling monasteries on Mount Athos were founded or refurbished during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: Simonospetra, Gregoriou, Dionysiou, St Paul's, Koutloumousiou, Kastamonitou and Pantokrator. What was common to the first six monasteries was that they were established or re-established to improve the standing and prestige of the patron in the eyes of the competing Orthodox rulers, and to guarantee the patron and his subjects a safe haven in case of need in the future. The Athonite peninsula was a refuge recognized by Byzantine emperors and rulers to the extent that even the Turks accepted its privileges during the Tourkokratia, when the Athonites appealed to them on the grounds of their "immemorial special status."[14] This, then, is the story of the first six ruling monasteries.

Dionysiou was founded in the years 1356–62 by a Greek from Kastoria. His brother was then metropolitan of Trebizond, the small independent Empire on the southern shore of the Black Sea founded by one Alexios Komnenos in 1204 shortly after the fall of Constantinople into Latins hands. The metropolitan was on good terms with the Emperor Alexios III Grand Komnenos (1349–90), who sponsored the renovation of the monastery in 1374, hoping that it would be called after him "*tou Megalou Komnenou*," but nothing came out of this. All Trapezuntines were, however, guaranteed hospitality in the monastery whether visitors, pilgrims or would-be monks. Monks were admitted, provided they conformed to the cenobitic way of life.[15]

The Athonites were and still are masters of persuasive rhetoric and arguments. Reading between the lines of the chrysobull that regulates Alexios III's donation to Dionysiou, we can detect the Athonites' appeal to the Emperor's vainglory and prestige. His reason for supporting the monastery of Dionysiou was that

[13] J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: historical, theological and social problems* [Variorum Reprints] (London, 1974), II, 12–14; III, 7–14; VI, 911–13; XIII, 94–97; A. Lingas, "Hesychasm and psalmody," in Bryer and Cunningham (eds.), *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, 155–168; Nicol, *The Last Centuries* (above, note 8), 210–14.

[14] R. Gothóni, *Paradise within Reach. Monasticism and Pilgrimage on Mount Athos* (Helsinki, 1993), 29.

[15] N. Oikonomidès (ed.), *Actes de Dionysiou. Texte* [Archives de l'Athos, 4] (Paris, 1968), 10–13, 55 f.; idem, "Patronage in Palaiologan Mt Athos," 101.

> "all emperors, kings or rulers (βασιλικῶς, ῥηγικῶς, ἀρχικῶς) of some fame have built monasteries on Mount Athos for their eternal memory; since the Emperor of Trebizond surpasses many of them, he should also add a new foundation in order to survive eternally in the memory of the people and to enjoy unending pleasures of the soul."[16]

It is noteworthy that the sovereigns are listed in decreasing order of importance to emphasize the fact that the Emperor of Trebizond was of the highest rank. Therefore, in order to be regarded as a proper emperor, it was his duty to conform to the traditional practice of patronage.

Simonospetra was established as early as in the middle of the fourteenth century. According to a document preserved in Dionysiou, it was refurbished in 1365–68 by the Serbian despot of Serres, John Uglješa (1365–71), who was also a pious man with close links to Mount Athos.[17] Like so many other rulers before and after him, one of the main purposes of his patronage and pilgrimage to the Holy Mountain was to ask the Athonites' blessing on his struggle against the Turks, with particular reference to the battle of the Maritza, where he was in fact killed.[18]

Gregoriou appears for the first time in Deacon Zosima's account from 1420, in which a certain Gregory from Syria is said to have maintained close relations with Serbia.[19] According to one of the documents there, Gregoriou was a Serbian monastery in 1489.

St Paul's, one of the oldest monasteries on Mount Athos, was deserted and left in ruins for years until two Serbian nobles from Kastoria, Gerasim Radonja and Antonije–Arsenije Bagaš, bought it in the 1380s. They were successful in getting donations from both Byzantines and Serbs, and in refurbishing it using revenue from the silver and gold mines in Serbia to make it a major new Serbian monastery.[20]

Koutloumousiou was poverty-stricken, too, until the hegoumenos Chariton managed to renovate it with the support of the *voevoda* of Walachia, Alexander Basarab (1352–64), and his successor John Vladislav (1364–74). In return, the monastery promised to receive Romanian monks into its brotherhood. When the Romanian monks complained that the cenobitic mode of life was too harsh, hegoumenos Chariton switched to the idiorrhythmic rule and the monastery was soon filled by Romanians. In his attempts to persuade John Vladislav to continue his predecessor's benevolence, Chariton appealed both to the hierarchy of rulers and to the right to refuge in accordance with the arguments in the Athonite tradition that

> "he [Vladislav] should act in the same fashion as many other rulers have acted before him, the Serbs and Bulgarians, Russians and Georgians, who got the right to be commemorated and honoured in this admirable Holy Mountain, the eye of the Universe one might say, and who acquired the right to rest body and soul for their people."[21]

[16] *Actes de Dionysiou*, 55.
[17] Ibid., 6 f.
[18] P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou (eds.), *Actes de Lavra*, IV [Archives de l'Athos, 11] (Paris, 1982), 43.
[19] B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires Russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), 208.
[20] Z. Gavrilović, "The Gospels of Jakov of Serres (London, B.L., Add. MS 39626), the family Branković and the Monastery of St Paul, Mount Athos," in R. Cormack and E. Jeffreys (eds.), *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium Through British Eyes* (Aldershot, 2000), 135–44, here at 141.
[21] P. Lemerle (ed.), *Actes de Kutlumus* [Archives de l'Athos, 2] (Paris, 1946), 9.

Kastamonitou, founded in the eleventh century, also lay deserted in the early fifteenth century. The hegoumenos Neophytos managed to persuade the wealthy Serbian noble, the Grand Čelnik Radić, who possessed some silver mines at Novo Brdo, to contribute to the restoration of the monastery. Radić eventually became a monk in Kastamonitou in 1433, ending his days there, whereby the monastery became Serbian.[22]

The history of Pantokrator is more complex. The civil war between John V Palaiologos and Matthew and John VI Kantakouzenos flared up again in 1352. The Serbs supported John Palaiologos, while John Kantakouzenos relied upon the Ottomans. During these turbulent years a gang of Bithynian adventurers from Asia Minor, led by a certain Alexios and his brother John, joined forces with John Palaiologos and successfully attacked some fortified cities held by the Turks or Serbs. They took hold of some strategic points on the eastern Macedonian coast and established a small state of their own.

After the victory of John Palaiologos in 1354, his supporters received various largesses in gratitude. The two brothers, who seem to have fought as much for themselves as for John, increased their holdings in eastern Macedonia and proved to be very determined to retain their conquered possessions.

Impressed by the brothers' success, John Palaiologos testified in a chrysobull dated 9 March 1357 that he would grant them their conquered fortified cities of Chrysoupolis (at the mouth of the River Strymon), Anaktoropolis and Thasos, as well as the whole island of Thasos, with the right to transmit these holdings to their children and to other legal successors.[23] In addition, the *prôtos* of Mount Athos gave the two brothers an Athonite *kellion—kellion tou Rabdouchou—*, which was confirmed by both the Emperor John V Palaiologos and the Patriarch Kallistos. This monastic cottage was attached to the monastery of Pantokrator, which was already under construction and gradually grew to become a ruling monastery.

In the decade that followed, the brothers became very influential, were promoted to imperial ranks, signed a privilege for the monastery of Lavra with these titles, and continued to conquer territories to the north at the expense of the Serbs. They made large donations to the monastery of Pantokrator, giving the monks half of the property and reserving for themselves half of the revenue, an arrangement designed to prevent the Ottomans from reconquering their holdings.[24]

Of the Slavic nations, Serbia was the one that maintained the closest contacts with the Athonites during the Palaiologan era. Their contribution to the refurbishment and the renaissance of Athonite monasticism was decisive. Their significance becomes clear when the ruling monasteries are depicted in relation to the national descent of their monks in the fourteenth century (see Fig. 2).[25]

[22] N. Oikonomidès (ed.), *Actes de Kastamonitou. Texte et Planches* [Archives de l'Athos, 9] (Paris, 1978), 5–8; Zachariadou, "A Safe and Holy Mountain" (above, note 11), 129 f.
[23] Oikonomides, "Patronage in Palaiologan Mt Athos" (above, note 12), 103 f.; Lemerle et al., *Actes de Lavra*, IV, 43.
[24] Oikonomides, art. cit., 105–09.
[25] R. Gothóni, "Pilgrimages to the Holy Mountain of Athos Past and Present," in P. Boutry and D. Julia (eds.), *Pèlerins et pèlerinages dans l'Europe moderne* [Collection de l'École française de Rome, 262] (Rome, 2000), 483–99.

Monastery in order of precedence	*Date of foundation*	*National descent 14th century*
1 Megiste Lavra	963	Greek
2 Vatopedi	972–980	Greek
3 Iviron	*c.* 980	Iberian
4 Chilandari	1198	Serbian
5 **Dionysiou**	1356–62; 1374	Greek
6 **Koutloumousiou**	988; 1250	Romanian
7 **Pantokratoros**	1350–1400	Serbian
8 Xeropotamou	10th c.	Greek
9 Zographou	10th c.	Greek
10 Docheiariou	10th c.	Greek
11 Karakallou	1071	Greek
12 Philotheou	992–1078	Greek
13 **Simonospetra**	1365–1368	Serbian
14 **St Paul's**	10th c.	Serbian
15 Stavronikita	10th c.; 1540	Greek
16 Xenophontos	1083	Greek
17 **Gregoriou**	14th c.	Serbian
18 Esphigmenou	10th c.	Greek
19 St Panteleimon	13th c.	Russian
20 **Kastamonitou**	10th c.	Serbian

Fig. 2. The ruling monasteries.

Tsar Stefan Dušan's sympathies with the Athonites

The Serbs had already conquered large areas in Macedonia during the reign of the Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja (1170–96), confiscating the Athonite properties in the area and withdrawing the privileges of the monasteries. The Athonites had no option but to submit to the powerful conqueror and to try to secure the autonomy of the Holy Mountain. By immediately entering into an alliance with the Serbian ruler, they managed to maintain their privileges and properties, a policy which would also work in the future with the Ottomans.[26]

Tsar Stefan Dušan's sympathies with the Athonites were based partly on the well-established practice of the dynasty, and partly on his personal aim to build a Byzantino–Serbian Empire. He hoped to replace the Greek *basileus* himself. For this he needed the support of the Greek nobility, and especially of the Greek clergy in the conquered areas.

Shortly after the conquest of Serres in September 1345, Stefan Dušan sent his logothete Chrysos, to Mount Athos to ask the monks to pray to God for the Serbian ruler and to have his name mentioned in the prayers of the monasteries throughout the peninsula and the area of Hierissos.

[26] Soulis, "Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos" (above, note 8), 127.

When the Athonites agreed to this plea of recognition, Dušan issued a chrysobull in November 1345 addressed to all ruling monasteries on Mount Athos, in which he acceded to the following requests of the Athonites:[27]

> (1) The name of the Greek Emperor should be commemorated in their prayers before the name of the Serbian ruler.
> (2) Mount Athos should be governed according to the existing rules and customs of the monastic community.
> (3) All monastic possessions of the Athonites in Kalamaria near the river Strymon and in other places should be returned to the monasteries; the Serbian ruler undertook not to alienate these properties in the future.
> (4) All these possessions were to be exempted from all taxes and corvées.
> (5) The city of Hierissos was to be governed not by a *kephale*, but jointly by its bishop and Mount Athos.
> (6) Athonite boats were to have the right to fish in the river Strymon without paying any duties.
> (7) No governmental cadaster would be drawn up concerning Mount Athos or Hierissos.

This "General Chrysobull" clearly reflects the agreements the Athonites made with Dušan in recognizing him as a ruler in order to retain the privileges they had been granted, the independence and the wealth of the monastic communities. The Athonites then recognized the newly-established Serbian Patriarchate, and an Athonite delegation headed by the *prôtos* took part in the official proclamation and coronation of the Serbian Tsar on 14 April 1346. This was a significant event in the history of both medieval Serbia and Mount Athos, because Dušan promulgated chrysobulls for the ruling monasteries on Mount Athos, confirming their acquired privileges, granting new ones, and re-establishing the autonomy of the Holy Mountain.[28] These chrysobulls became models for all later chrysobulls and agreements which the Athonites managed to make during the Tourkokratia.

Jelena on Mount Athos

The new tsar made a pilgrimage to Mount Athos, together with Empress Jelena and his son Uroš, in 1347. The purpose was both to cement his friendship with the Athonites and to see the Holy Mountain where his ancestor, Stefan I Nemanja, the celebrated St Symeon of Serbia, had spent the last years of his life. It has been suggested that the main reason for Dušan's prolonged visit to Athos was to seek refuge from the Black Death which was ravaging the Balkans at that time.[29] This would also explain why he travelled with his family, and why the old rule of ἄβατον,

[27] Soulis, op. cit. 127 f.
[28] Lemerle et al., *Actes de Lavra*, IV, 41 f.
[29] M. Živojinović, "De nouveau sur le séjour de l'empereur Dušan à l'Athos," *ZRVI* 21 (1982), 119–26.

banning women from the Holy Mountain, was overlooked and Dušan was allowed onto Athos with his wife, the Empress Jelena.[30]

Dušan and his family visited all the ruling monasteries and many monastic cottages or *kellia*, bringing them precious gifts and becoming aware of the economic requirements of monastic life. After touring the peninsula, the family sojourned in the Serbian monastery of Chilandar. Dušan resolved a conflict over land holdings between the monasteries of Chilandar and the Bulgarian monastery of Zographou, in favour of Chilandar giving Zographou two villages in the area of the Strymon river, Kruševo and Sotir, and being granted fiscal immunity in exchange. During the reign of Dušan the ruling monasteries on Mount Athos managed to procure for themselves a considerable number of landed holdings in the Balkans. The relationship between the Serbs and the Athonites became so close that a Serbian monk named Antony was elected *prôtos* in 1348.[31]

Women selling property to the Athonites

Although women were not allowed on the Holy Mountain—the Empress Jelena being the exception that proved the rule—and the Athonites in principle lived in isolation on the peninsula that became an autonomous monastic republic, living conditions dictated interaction not only with the immediate surrounding societies, but also with the Byzantine Empire as a whole and with the Balkans. Monks frequently travelled to Thessalonike, Ainos and Constantinople to sell wood, surplus produce and wine, and to purchase necessary provisions. Moreover, they left the peninsula for medical treatment, pilgrimage, to attend synods, or to visit godchildren. One common reason for the Athonites' business trips was to enter into negotiations about the purchase or donation of property and the ownership of land. The Athonites were major landowners of vast estates both within and outside the peninsula.[32]

Documents from the monastery of Chilandar, for example, show how widely its hegoumenos, Gervasios, travelled in the 1320s to purchase land or conduct other financial affairs. He was in Kaisaropolis in February 1320, he visited Thessalonike in November 1322, he was in Serres in September 1323, in Thessalonike in September 1324 and January 1326, two months later he was in Serres, and he revisited Thessalonike in January 1327 and July 1328.[33]

From the Athos documents we can learn that women played a significant part in the transactions regarding acts of sale or donation. Most of

[30] Lemerle et al., *Actes de Lavra*, IV, 42. The first known violation of ἄβατον took place at the end of the 11th century, when some three hundred Vlach families from the Danube came down to Athos and settled within the borders of the peninsula. The Vlachs were nomadic herders seeking good pasture for their sheep and goats, but also in need of a ready market for their dairy products and fleeces, which they found at some Athonite monasteries. When the violaton was discovered, the Patriarch Nicholas III interfered in the affairs of the Athonites for the first time, urged the expulsion of the shepherds and excommunicated all the monks involved. See Gothóni, *Paradise within Reach* (above, note 14), 25 f.; A.-M. Talbot, "Women and Mt Athos," in Bryer and Cunningham (eds.), *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism* (above, note 8), 70.

[31] Soulis, "Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos" (above, note 8), 137 f.

[32] D. Papachryssanthou (ed.), *Actes du Prôtaton* [Archives de l'Athos, 7] (Paris, 1975), no. 8, 53–77, 99–101, 102–06. I have relied on Talbot, "Women and Mount Athos," 72 ff., for information on women in the Acts of Mount Athos.

[33] B. Korablev (ed.), *Actes de Chilandar*, II [Actes de l'Athos, 5 = *VV* 19 (1912; pr. 1915)] (repr. Amsterdam, 1975), no. 53, 84, 93, 99, 106 f., 112, 117. Cf. Talbot, "Women," 73.

the acts of sale were uncomplicated. A widow with or without children, or a woman and her husband, or sometimes two sisters, would sell a field, an orchard, a vineyard or some cottages to wealthy Athonite monasteries such as Chilandar, Iviron and Lavra. The payment was usually in cash, but Irene Panagiotou and her daughter Maria were given a cow and calf in exchange for a field.[34]

The land sold to the Athonites is frequently mentioned as being near or adjacent to monastic properties purchased earlier. A document in the Chilandar library tells us how Anna, the wife of Tobrainos, and her daughter Maria sold the monastery, a garden and fruit trees, together with a field, "close to and in the middle of your other fields." Stamatike tou Papaioannou and her husband sold Chilandar an ancestral house at Serres which was in the midst of houses "previously purchased by the same monastery."[35] These acts of sale were straightforward, though there are reasons to believe that some women sold their properties under social pressure. The nun Marina, for example, sold her property at Kaisaropolis to the monastery of Chilandar because she felt she had to sell it to the Serbian monks, since "they were neighbours [owned adjacent land] and had the right of preemption over it."[36]

Apart from simple acts of sale, donations were also made, some of which were donations of exchange for an *adelphaton*, or "fellowship," and others in exchange for prayers or commemoration. Fellowship in a monastery was an agreement according to which the monastery granted the donor the provision of foodstuff for life. The previously-mentioned nun Marina, for example, made an agreement with the monastery to receive an annual allotment of 24 measures of wheat, as well as wine and oil, for the rest of her life. This kind of exchange was rare, however, and was agreed upon only in cases where the property received produced large surpluses.[37]

The donors usually expected spiritual benefits such as the monks' prayers for the salvation of their souls and for some act of commemoration. One woman and her husband, for example, donated land to the monastery of Iviron in exchange for daily commemoration in religious services, as well as for annual commemoration on the anniversary of their deaths.[38]

Apart from these two types of exchange there was a third variant, which was a combination of a sale and a donation. In these cases the donor charged the Athonites only half the price, and the other half was to be regarded as a donation in exchange for either *adelphaton* or commemoration.[39] This happened in the case of the two brothers from Asia Minor who, as was mentioned before, made a similar agreement with the monastery of Pantokrator.

[34] P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou (eds.), *Actes de Lavra*, II [Archives de l'Athos, 8] (Paris, 1977), no. 88, 10 f. Cf. Talbot, "Women," 74.
[35] *Actes de Chilandar*, no. 108, 11 f.; no. 99, 14; no. 142. Cf. Talbot, "Women," 75.
[36] *Actes de Chilandar*, no. 69, 37 f. Cf. Talbot, "Women," 75.
[37] Talbot, "Women," 75 f.
[38] Talbot, "Women," 76.
[39] Talbot, "Women," 77 f.

Summa summarum

The aim of this paper has been to show how the Holy Mountain of Athos experienced a great Renaissance during the last centuries of Byzantium. This happened partly because of its out-of-the-way geographical location, and partly because of its recognized multinational and pan-Orthodox position in the Orthodox world. The Orthodox "corridor" between Western Europe and Central Asia, together with the widening network of monasteries in the Balkans, provided the Athonites with the support they needed to rebuild monasteries in ruin, and to revive the spiritual life which, in the form of hesychasm, found fertile soil on the Holy Mountain. The appropriate balance between isolation from the world and interaction with the supporting society guaranteed a period of revitalization, which the Athonites are experiencing again today, six centuries later.

A Consideration of the Wall-Paintings of the Metropolis at Mistra

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Prologue

MISTRA, THE MEDIEVAL HEIR to ancient Sparta, grew forth in the shelter of a mighty fortress at the top of a cone-shaped hill cut off from the vast Taygetos-mountains, the sky-scraping backbone of the southern Peloponnese (Fig. 1).* On the eastern side, towards the fertile plains, the mountainside with the town rises like a steep triangle (*c.* 700 m wide and 400 m high). To the west—where the Spartans used to set out their unwanted female offspring—ravines and gorges make the place inaccessible. The fortress was built in 1248 by William II of Villehardouin, a scion of Geoffrey of Villehardouin. Geoffrey was one of the leaders of the disastrous fourth crusade and he is the author of the best known narrative of the treacherous conquest and plundering of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 (*Conquête de Constantinople*, written about 1209). According to the *Chronicle of the Morea*, William, "After searching through these parts, he found a strange hill, ... about a mile away, above Lacedaemonia. Wishing to fortify this hill, he ordered a castle to be built on its summit. And he named it Myzethra, for that was how they called it.[1] And he made it a splendid castle, with fine fortifications..."[2]

Greek resistance against the Franks rapidly grew and, having been taken prisoner with all his barons in the battle at Pelagonia in Macedonia (1259), in 1262 William was obliged, the *Chronicle* relates, "To give to the Emperor [Michael VIII Palaiologos] in exchange for their liberty, the castles of Monemvasia and the Mani and, last of all, the most beautiful, that of Myzethra itself." However, on the Peloponnese fights between the Franks and the Greeks continued. For reasons of safety, the inhabitants of

* The following abbreviations are used in the legends:
Acheimastou-Potamianou = M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Byzantine Wall-Paintings* (see note 34).
Dufrenne = S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (see note 3).
Millet = G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (see note 14).

[1] Perhaps from the shape of the hill, which is said to resemble that of a popular cheese of this name.
[2] Cited after N. V. Georgiades, *Mistra* (Athens, 1979), 12.

Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 13 (Stockholm, 2004).

Fig. 1. Mistra. View from north-west, with (from left) the monastery of the Brontochion, the palace, and the castle (photo: B. Kiilerich).

Sparta therefore settled on the mountainside west of the old town, sheltered by the impregnable stronghold. In a few years, the new town became the administrative seat of the Byzantine province of the Morea. Until the middle of the fourteenth century, the Morea was administered by a Byzantine governmental representative (κεφαλί) invested with civil as well as military authority. The *kephali* at first served for one year only, but later (perhaps either from 1286 or 1308)[3] resided at Mistra for unlimited periods of office, so that a local magistrature and court could be developed. Subsequently, in 1348, the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–1355) established a Greek Despot at Mistra, handing over the rule of the province to his son Manuel. From then on, during the last century of its Byzantine history, Mistra customarily served as the place of residence of the "crown prince" to the imperial throne. The last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos, had been crowned Despot of the Morea a decade before he fell, during the ultimate and hopeless defence of Constantinople in 1453. In 1460, finally, the Despot Demetrios, preferring the Turks to the Franks, without struggle surrendered Mistra to Mehmet II the Conqueror. The town, which at its zenith may have had a population of about 40,000, was still prosperous. But in 1825, during the War of Independence, it was burnt and plundered. The remaining inhabitants moved back to Sparta, which was re-founded in 1834 by Otho I, the first king of free Greece.

The introduction of wall-painting at Mistra: the case of the Metropolitan Church

In the castle crowning the hillside, and in the earliest buildings of the Despots' residential complex—situated on a wide, natural terrace between the upper and the lower town—, there are structures dating back probably to the time of William II. However, no paintings are known that may be

[3] Cf. S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris, 1970), 8 f. with note 39bis (hereafter cited as Dufrenne, *Programmes*).

associated with the short Frankish period.[4] On the summit of the hill, some scanty fragments that remain of the decoration of the chapel in the castle may date from not long after 1262.[5] Yet in order to study the introduction of the art of wall-painting at Mistra, one has to turn to the metropolitan church, St. Demetrius, situated in the lower town, a short way to the north-west of today's main entrance to the site (Fig. 2).

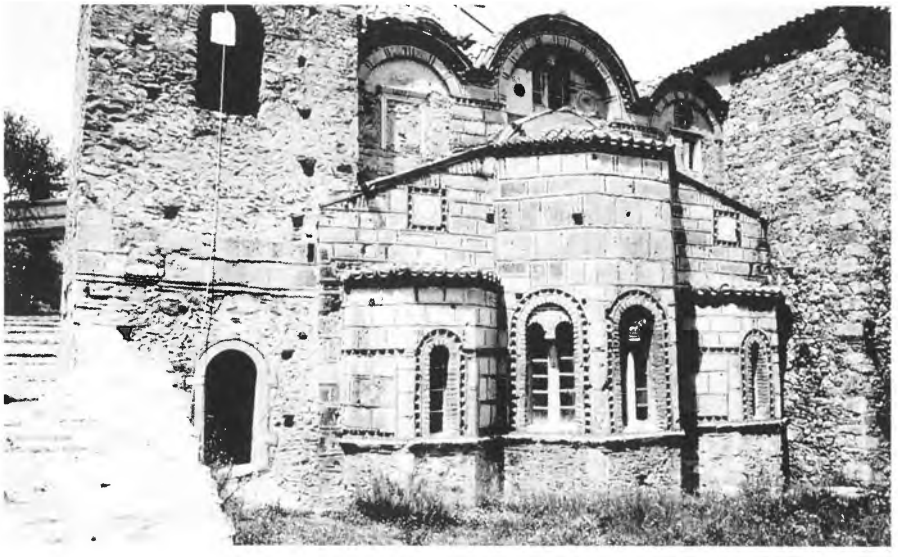

Fig. 2. Mistra. Metropolis (St. Demetrius), east facade. The level of the original roof is clearly indicated by the arch immediately above the main apse and the corresponding, oblique lines of roof tiles above the lateral apses (photo: H. Torp).

It is uncertain exactly when Mistra became the seat of the bishop acting as πρόεδρος[6] or Metropolitan Bishop of Lacedaemonia, but it was probably not many years after the town, in 1262, had been given over to the Greeks.[7] According to a long inscription,[8] engraved on a slab of marble built into the south wall of the narthex, "the humble *proedros* Nikephoros, from Crete, having as collaborator his brother Aaron" built (καινουργεῖ) the present metropolitan church in the year 1291/1292, during the reign of Andronikos Palaiologos and his son Michael.[9] As far as I can tell, there are no features or elements incorporated into the present Metropolis which may be assigned to an earlier church on the site, even though the present Metropolis is likely to have had a predecessor.[10] Following local,

[4] A. K. Orlandos, *Παλάτια καὶ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ* (Athens, 1937), 11–52; 28 and fig. 20 f., fresco fragments dating probably from the time of the first Despot, Manuel Kantakouzenos.

[5] N. B. Drandakes, "Τοιχογραφίαι ναίσκων τοῦ Μυστρᾶ," in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνοῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Θεσσαλονίκη, 12–19 Ἀπριλίου 1953)*, I (Athens, 1955), 154–78; 156–66, fig. 2, pl. 14, 15a, 16; cf. below, note 54.

[6] On the *proedros* as an ecclesiastical title, see S. Salaville, "Le titre ecclésiastique de 'proedros' dans les documents byzantins," *EO* 29 (1930), 416–36.

[7] D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée.* II, *Vie et institutions* (Athens, 1953; new ed., London, 1975), 281–86; the earliest metropolitan in Zakythinos's list is a certain Theodosios, mentioned in a document of 1272.

[8] G. Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra (1er partie: textes)," *BCH* 23 (1899), 121 f., no. XI (hereafter quoted as Millet, "Inscriptions").

[9] M. I. Manoussakas, "Ἡ χρονολογία τῆς κτητορικῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου τοῦ Μυστρᾶ," *ΔελτίονΧΑΕ.*, ser. IV, 1 (1959), 72–79; cf. Dufrenne, *Programmes*, 5 f. I doubt that this Nikephoros is identical with the better known Nikephoros Moschopoulos, as is often asserted.

[10] Cf. above, note 7.

regional architectural tradition, the present, late thirteenth-century structure in its original form was a three-aisled, barrel-vaulted basilica with, to the east, the usual tripartite sanctuary terminating in three apses projected on the exterior and, to the west, a barrel-vaulted narthex.[11] At some point in time, perhaps in the early fifteenth century, the Metropolis was radically remodelled by the otherwise unknown metropolitan Matthew.[12] In the nave, the barrel-vault and the upper zone of the walls were cut off like the top of an egg and the rest of the original structure prepared to support the upper portions of a standard Byzantine cross-in-square church: the cross-arms covered with barrel-vaults, a dome rising above the central square and a gallery running over the aisles as well as the narthex. As a result of this modification, large sections of the original painted decorations were destroyed. However, enough remains to give an idea of the planning and execution of the oldest preserved programme of church decoration at Mistra.[13]

The decoration contains a set of narrative cycles complemented by numerous individual figures—in total more than 150 angels, prophets, apostles, and other categories of saints.[14] There is no point in discussing each and every part of this large material. To throw some light on the introduction of mural painting in the new town, it suffices briefly to consider the disposition and artistic characteristics of the cycles and sections of cycles. These consist of scenes from the lives of the Virgin, of Christ, the two pairs of martyrs Nestor and Demetrius, and Cosmas and Damian, of paintings relating to the Last Judgement and, finally, of representations of the seven Oecumenical Councils. The choice and grouping of these pictorial sequences are not random or improvised but made according to an established iconographical practise based on theological and liturgical considerations going back at least to the eighth century.[15]

[11] Cf. M. Chatzidakis, *Μυστρᾶς. Ἱστορία–Μνημεῖα–Τέχνη* (Athens, 1948 [1956]), 34–40. In a later, revised and translated edition of his guide book (cf. below, note 13), 25–28, Chatzidakis conjectures that only the narthex is from the time of Nikephoros, the church for the main part being the work of one of his predecessors (supposedly the otherwise unknown Eugenios, maybe represented with halo on the north wall of the diakonikon, next to St. Panteleimon); I have been unable to find visible evidence in support of this belief.

[12] Millet, "Inscriptions," 127, no. XVII; cf. 127 f., nos. XVIII f.; Zakythinos, op. cit., 286. On the architecture of the metropolitan church, see G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916). For the model of Matthew's rebuilding of the Metropolis, the nearby katholikon of the Brontochion monastery, see below, note 56.

[13] The best general survey of the various "periods," "schools" and "tendencies" in the paintings at Mistra and in the Metropolis in particular are M. Chatzidakis, "Ἡ ζωγραφικὴ στὸ Μυστρᾶ," in *Ἀγγλοελληνικὴ Ἐπιθεώρησις*, 6,1 (1953), 49–61; idem, "Νεώτερα ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία καὶ τὴν τέχνη τῆς Μητρόπολης τοῦ Μυστρᾶ," *ΔελτΧΑΕ* 9 (1977–79), 143–75; idem, *Mistra. La cité médiévale et la forteresse* (Athens, 1987). In view of its very limited aims, it falls without the scope of the present article to discuss in detail Chatzidakis' (somewhat varying) ideas of the paintings at the Metropolis, cf. however below, note 40.

[14] Dufrenne, *Programmes*, 6–8; Dufrenne's indispensable study is based on the fundamental works by G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), and *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles, d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont-Athos* (Paris, 1916 [1960]).

[15] Millet, *Évangile*, 15 ff.; on p. 29 f., Millet writes, "le liturgiste [the eleventh-century theologian Theodore of Andida] nous montre que les peintres comprenaient comme lui le sens de l'Évangile, qu'ils représentaient précisément ce que la liturgie et, par suite, l'église étaient censées figurer"; on p. 31, "... au temps des Iconoclastes les miracles s'étaient détachés du cycle évangélique: ils venaient après la Passion et la Résurrection, au second rang, avec 'les luttes des martyrs' ou 'les miracles de la Mère de Dieu'. ... On remarquera même qu'à Mistra [*sc.* in the Metropolis] les miracles partagent les bas-côtés avec la légende de la Vierge et deux histoires de martyrs (saint Démetrius, saints Côme et Damien), exactement suivant la hiérarchie définie par Damascène." For an explication of the liturgy more or less contemporary with the paintings of the Metropolis, see Nicholas Kabasi-

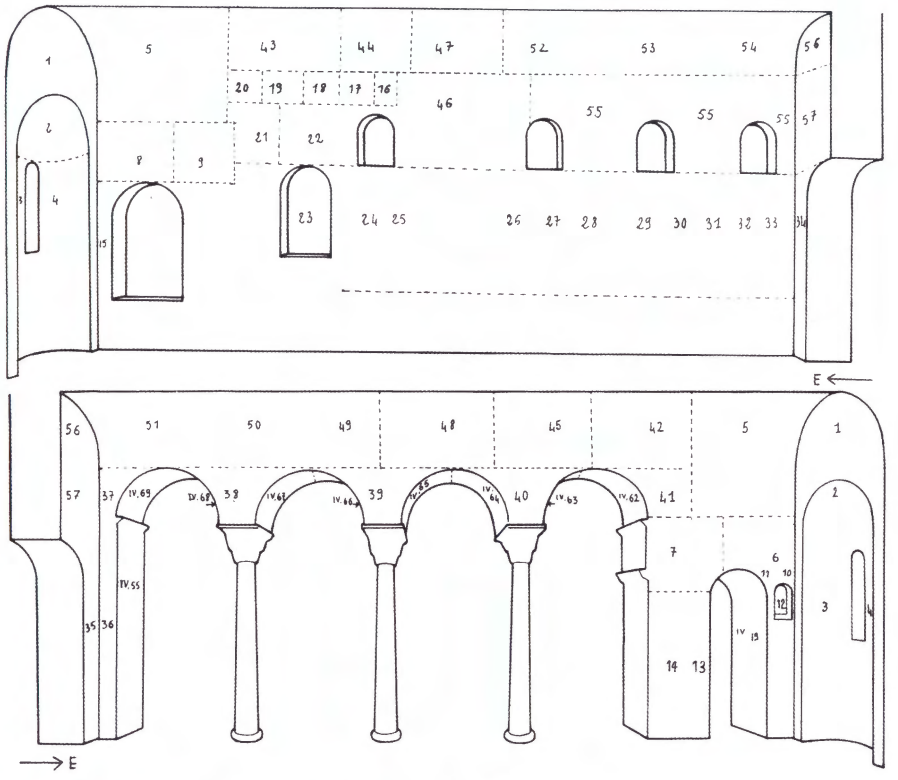

Fig. 3a, b. Mistra. Metropolis, south aisle. Scheme of iconographic programme (after Dufrenne).

Above the arcades, the nave was decorated with the Evangelical cycle, comprising the major Christological feasts and a number of additional events from the Passion and the Resurrection.[16] On account of the rebuilding and later ravage, this significant part of the original decoration of the basilica is only fragmentarily preserved.

In accordance with an exegetical tradition, dating back to Iconoclasm, the iconographers of the Metropolis have placed the miracles of Christ apart, as a separate cycle, and divided them into two groups, distinguishing between the two major periods of Christ's evangelical Ministry: the early miracles of Galilee and the later ones performed in Judaea and Jerusalem.[17] In the *south* aisle, a continuous frieze of images depicting ten or eleven miracles illustrates Jesus' Ministry in Galilee (Fig. 3a, b).[18] It is worth noting that this series of miracles starts with two scenes—Jesus as a twelve-year-old boy in the temple and his first miracle at Cana (Fig. 5)[19]—that formally are included in and terminate an abbreviated Mary

Kabasilas's *A commentary on the Divine Liturgy* (transl. by J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty, and with an introduction by R. M. French, London, 1966).

[16] Millet, *Évangile*, 16 ff., 31 ff.; Dufrenne, *Programmes*, pl. 5 f., *schéma* IV, nos. 39–54 (on Dufrenne's plates, the numbers are accompanied with references to the plates in Millet's album of 1910).

[17] Millet, *Évangile*, 16, 31, 47, 55, 57 ff., 62 ff., "Ces deux groupes ont une signification bien différent. Par les miracles de Galilée, Jésus s'efforce d'amener le peuple à la foi. Les exégètes byzantins montrent les progrès de son action. ... Le peintre de Mistra a merveilleusement compris son texte, en s'efforçant de donner l'impression de la foule." Cf. Dufrenne, *Programmes*, 29. For the significance of the five scenes illustrating Christ's later miracles, cf. below, note 22.

[18] Dufrenne, *Programmes*, pl. 7, *schémas* Va, b, nos. 49–57 (here Fig. 3a, b).

[19] Ibid., nos. 47, 48.

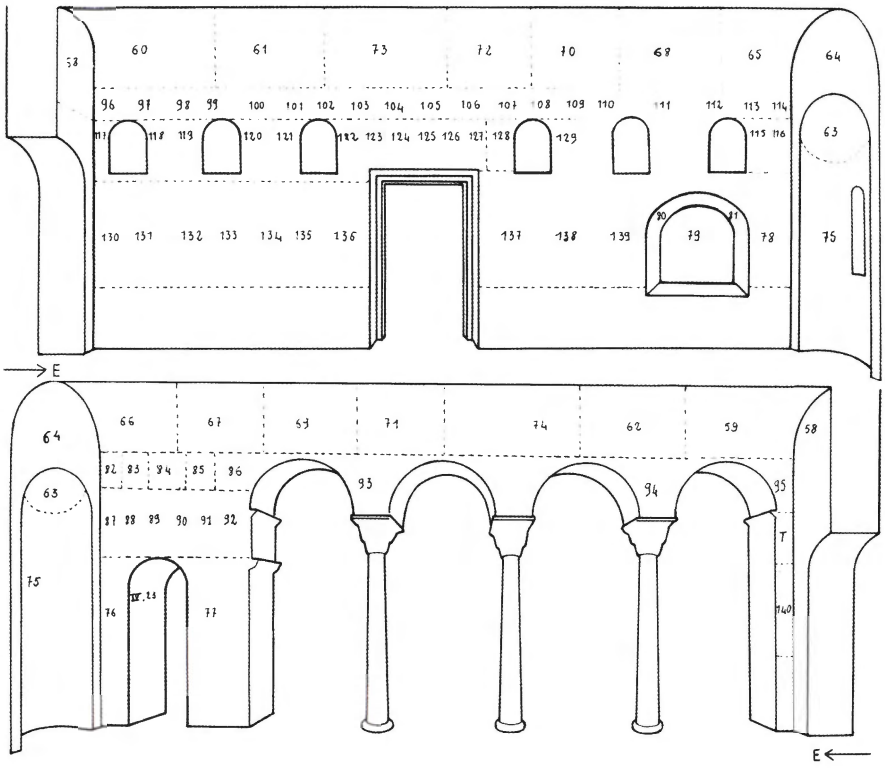

Fig. 4a, b. Mistra. Metropolis, north aisle. Scheme of iconographic programme (after Dufrenne).

sequence of five scenes (Fig. 6).[20] This sequence is interpolated between the frieze of the Galilean miracles and four selected miracles of Cosmas and Damian, painted on the south and north walls of the diakonikon (Fig. 7).[21]

The images of Christ's Ministry continue with the later miracles, five scenes painted in the western section of the *north* aisle (Fig. 4a, b; 8).[22] To the east, this mini cycle borders on an extensive cycle of eleven scenes from the lives of the Thessalonian martyrs Nestor and Demetrius, starting in the prothesis (Fig. 4a, b; 9).[23] It is worth noticing that the Christological scenes in the north aisle (the late miracles of Judaea and Jerusalem which prepare the Passion[24]) have their logical continuation in the scenes of the Passion and the Resurrection painted on the adjacent *north* wall of the nave.

[20] Ibid., nos. 42–46.
[21] Ibid., nos. 6–9.
[22] Dufrenne, *Programmes*, pl. 8, *schémas* Va, c, nos. 58–62 (here Fig. 4a, b). Terminating on the west wall (like the frieze in the south aisle), the cycle includes and starts with the soteriologically important scene of the Samaritan woman at Jacob's fountain (no. 62).
[23] Ibid., nos. 64–74. The cycle has its origin in the bust of St. Demetrius in the apse of the prothesis (no. 63). The church of the Metropolis is said to have been dedicated to St. Demetrius; I am unaware as to whether there exists documentary evidence of this dedication, or it has simply been deduced from the saint's prominent position in the decoration of prothesis and northern aisle.
[24] Millet, *Évangile*, 65, "En fait, une idée commune unit les cinque images de la nef septentrionale, à la Métropole: le conflit avec le Judaïsme, prélude de la Passion, annonce de la religion universelle."

Fig. 5. Mistra. Metropolis, south aisle. Middle section of vault; four scenes from the life of the Virgin and beginning of frieze with Christ's Galilean miracles (cf. fig. 3a, b; n^{os} 44-45, 47-48; 49, 52; photo: H. Torp).

Fig. 6. Mistra. Metropolis, south aisle. Benediction of the Virgin, detail (cf. fig. 3b, n° 45; photo: H. Torp).

As noted and emphasised already by Gabriel Millet and substantiated by Suzy Dufrenne, in the Metropolis, the grouping of the Christological, Mariological and hagiographical cycles is done in accordance with an established tradition for the decoration of medieval basilicas.[25] To place ima-

[25] Millet, *Évangile*, 31, 65 f.; Dufrenne, *Programmes*, 29 ff., 38.

Fig. 7. Mistra. Metropolis, diakonikon. Cure of Palladia, detail with St. Damian (cf. fig. 3a, n° 8; photo Papahadjidakis).

Fig. 8. Mistra. Metropolis, north aisle. West section of vault, with miracle scenes and end of hagiographical cycle of Sts. Demetrius and Nestor (cf. fig. 4a, b; n^{os} 58-62; 73-74; photo H. Torp).

ges of the Last Judgement and the Councils in the narthex conforms to Palaiologan practice.[26]

[26] Dufrenne, *Programmes*, 39–41; pl. 9, *schémas* VIa, b.

Fig. 9. Mistra. Metropolis, north aisle. Martyrdom of St. Demetrius (cf. fig. 4a, n° 72; after Acheimastou-Potamianou).

Notwithstanding the segmentation of the iconographical programme, the complex decoration is quite rationally adjusted to the vaults and walls of the basilica. Furthermore, in spite of the apparent lack of balance between the lengths of the series of Christological and hagiographical images painted in the south and north aisles, the many cycles unfolding in the nave, aisles, and narthex of the Metropolis supplement one another. Fitted together like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, they make up a unified iconographic programme adapted to the design of the basilica. Against this view, it may be objected that the motif of the Hetoimasia is depicted in the diakonikon (Fig. 10) as well as in the narthex (Fig. 11).[27] It is, however, not the question of a simple duplication of the motif; in the two spaces, it forms part of two different doctrinal contexts. Rather than being a reduction of the "great ensemble" of the Last Judgement, painted in the narthex, the Prepared Throne of the diakonikon appears in a pictorial whole that, as suggested by Suzy Dufrenne, represents a development of an ancient theme originally elaborated for the main apse of the churches.[28] In the lunette above the apse of the diakonikon, beneath the image of the seated Christ, are represented the prophets Ezekiel and Joel (Fig. 12; cf. Fig. 3, no. 1). Between the two is painted a large inscription paraphrasing Daniel, VII 9: "I beheld until the thrones were set, and the Ancient of Days sat...".[29] As asserted by Gabriel Millet, "dans la Métropole de Mistra, sous les traits de l'Homme-Dieu, nous sommes invités à reconnaître l'An-

[27] Ibid., pl. 7, *schémas* Va, b, no. 5 (here Fig. 3a, b); pl. 9, *schéma* VIb, no. 8.
[28] Dufrenne, *Programmes*, 32, 54. In the diakonikon, the motif may have retained a eucharistic aspect, cf. G. Millet, *La dalmatique du Vatican. Les élus. Images et croyances* (Paris, 1945), 37 ff.
[29] Dufrenne, *Programmes*, pl. 7, *schémas* Va, b, no. 1.

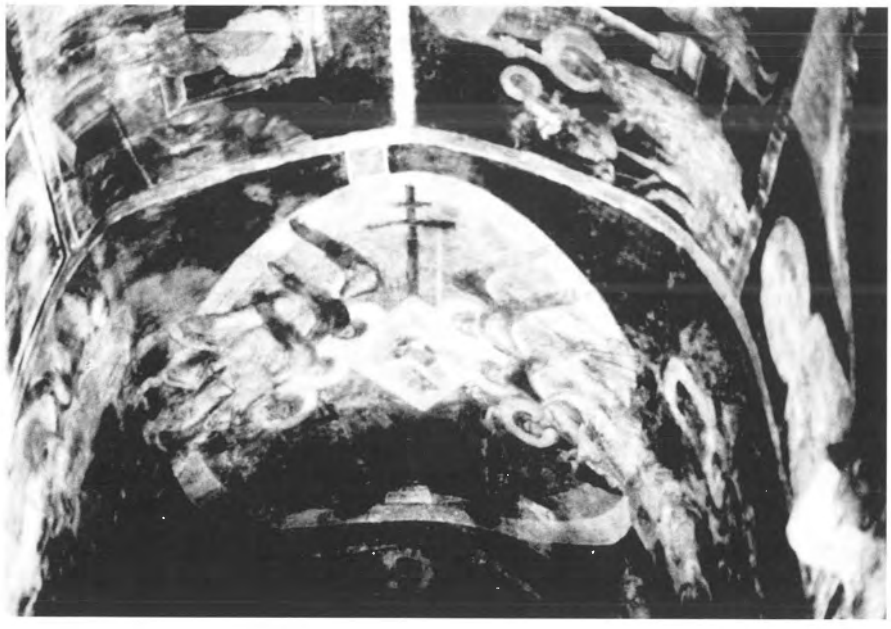

Fig. 10. Mistra. Metropolis, diakonikon. Hetoimasia (cf. fig. 3a b; no. 5; photo H. Torp).

cien des Jours."[30] Far from repeating the theme of the Last Judgement unfolding on the vault and walls of the narthex, the decoration of the diakonikon complements and heralds it, culminating in the Prepared Throne immediately in front of the "Ancient of Days." The iconographic insistence on the Judge and the Judgement, finally, appears to reflect Nikephoros's exhortation in the concluding three verses of his inscription of 1291/1292: "May those who pass here pray that they be forgiven their many sombre sins and be found with the flock placed on the right [σύν τε προβάτοις δεξιοῖς στῆναι] at the time when the judge shall judge the whole creation [ὅτε κρινεῖ σύμπασαν ὁ κριτὴς κτίσιν]."[31]

At this point, the conclusion appears evident: a decoration so carefully and logically structured could hardly have resulted from a piecemeal planning—as it may at first sight appear, and as has occasionally been thought to be the case. All speaks in favour of a decoration based on an initial programme, including the paintings in the narthex. In all likelihood, this overall, comprehensive programme was devised under the guidance of the very same persons who, in 1291/1292, "renewed" the metropolitan basilica, namely the "humble Cretan *proedros*" Nikephoros and his brother Aaron.[32]

[30] Millet, *Dalmatique*, 42; cf. ibid., 43: "Ainsi, aux yeux des iconographes, l'Ancien des Jours passera pour un des aspects de Jésus, comptera parmi ses épithètes. Ils metteront à la même place, trône du Souvereigne Juge ou du Père Éternel, tantôt le vieillard, tantôt l'homme fait, les cheveux blancs avec le nimbe crucigère, ou les cheveux bruns près du nom biblique." See also Chatzidakis, "Νεώτερα," (above, note 13), where the iconography of the diakonikon is interpreted with reference to the theological climate in Constantinople at the times of the patriarch Athanasios I (1289–93, 1302–09).

[31] Cf. Georgiades, *Mistra* (above, note 2), 26, "... And found beside the flock on the right hand of Christ/When He appears at the Last Judgement."

[32] A more or less contemporary pocket edition of the composite iconographical programme of the Metropolis, comprising long series of saints in medallions characteristic of the aisles, exists in the single-naved, barrel-vaulted church of St. John Chrysostom at nearby Geraki, N. K. Moutsopoulos and G. Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι. Οἱ ἐκκλησίες τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ* (Thessalonike, 1981), 3–45; 11 (schematic

Fig. 11. Mistra. Metropolis, narthex. Hetoimasia in middle west section of vault (after Millet).

The immediate impression of being pieced together over time, conveyed by is due perhaps not so much to the composite nature of its iconographic programme, as to the fact that the programme of the decoration of the Metropolis was manifestly realized by a number of craftsmen and workshops. These worked in widely differing manners, ranging from what may be labelled "archaic" to "advanced" *modi*.[33] The distribution of hands or workshops roughly corresponds to the grouping of the iconographic cycles and sections of cycles. One example: artistically, there is a striking contrast between the two complementary miracle cycles painted in the aisles. While the earlier, Galilean miracle scenes are painted in an "advanced"or "modern" style or manner, Christ's later miracles in the north aisle are the product of some of the most "archaic" craftsmen active in the Metropolis. These "antiquated" painters probably belonged to a large workshop responsible also for the two hagiographical cycles and the brief series of scenes from the life of the Virgin. This series, we have seen, comprises the two scenes from the life of Christ (Jesus as a twelve-year-old boy in the temple and the miracle in Cana) that introduce the frieze-like representation of the Galilean miracles, painted by the "advanced" hands.

It is generally held that two, or perhaps as much as three to four decades separate the "archaic" sections of the decoration (e.g. the hagiographical scenes in the aisles) from the most "advanced" paintings (the Last Judgement in the narthex and, primarily, the Galilean miracles in the south aisle).[34] I doubt that this is so, not only because I believe the pictorial programme to be arranged according to an initial overall plan. In addi

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sketch of the programme), 45 (date).

[33] The many hands working in the Metropolis are separated into three major "schools" by M. Chatzidakis; see above, notes 11 and 13.

[34] Cf. preceding note; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Byzantine Wall-Paintings* (Athens, 1994), 28, 234 f.

tion it appears unlikely, for example, that the west section of the south aisle (with the Galilean miracles) should have been left unpainted for decades, after the completion of the east section of this same aisle and the entire north aisle.

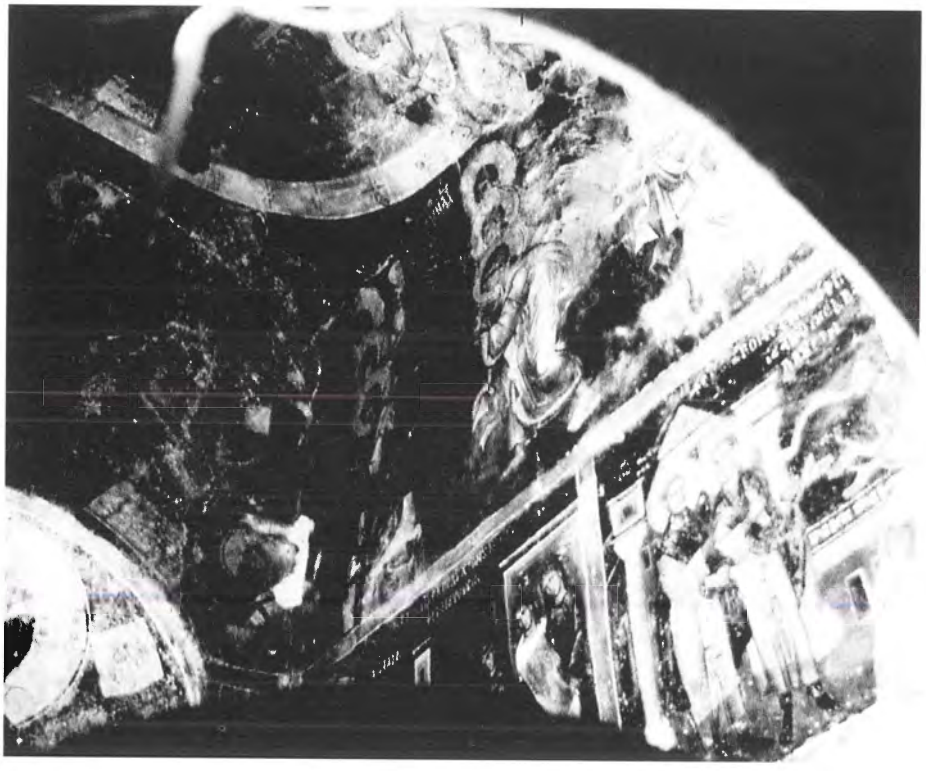

Fig. 12. Mistra. Metropolis, diakonikon. East and south walls with portions of paintings (cf. fig. 3a, b; nos. 1, 2, 5, 8–9; photo H. Torp).

In the diakonikon, in the lunette above the apse, the image of the Supreme Judge is adored by the Heavenly Hierarchies represented by two groups of three by three angels. These are painted on either side of the vault in front of the lunette (Fig. 12, 13). Above the Hierarchies, in the summit of the vault, there is the large, splendid Hetoimasia, likewise adored, this time by two groups, each of which has three archangels (Fig. 10). The whole splendid composition is inscribed in a heavenly medallion framed by eight-rayed stars. On either side of the vault, between the Hetoimasia and the Heavenly Hierarchies, there is a horizontal, uneven overlap or seam in the paint and in the coat of plaster on which the paint is applied.[35] These parallel seams, which on either side of the Hetoimasia cut through the legs and feet of the Archangels, surely are not an indication of a chronological gap between these latter and the Hierarchies. They must be the result of the plastering and the painting of the diakoni-

[35] Without a technical analysis it is impossible to tell if the overlaps are confined to the finishing coat, the *intonaco*, or are to be found also in the possible undercoat(s).

kon having been carried out in zones (*pontate*), starting from the top of the vault.

Fig. 13. Mistra. Metropolis, diakonikon. Heavenly Hierarchies on upper section of south wall (cf. fig. 3a, n° 5; after Acheimastou-Potamianou).

The Supreme Judge accompanied by the Hetoimasia, the adoring Hierarchies and Archangels, constitutes one unified composition, enclosed by red frames with white rims (Fig. 10, 12). These frames separate the large composition from the adjacent four scenes of the lives of saints Cosmas and Damian, painted on the lower walls of the diakonikon.[36] There is, however, no technical indication that these latter should have been executed later than the Hetoimasia and the Hierarchies. Moreover, it has been pointed out that the paintings in the diakonikon, comprising the hagiographical pictures, form a unified "iconographic tapestry" in the fabric of which "manifold symbols of a sagacious theological intellect are interwoven."[37]

In spite of the contemporaneousness of the various paintings in the diakonikon, there is no corresponding unity of style. Thus, the style of the scenes from the lives of Cosmas and Damian appears more "archaic" than that of the contemporary Hierarchies and unquestionably is due to different masters. On the other hand, as far as I can judge, there is no significant stylistic dissimilarity between the angels of the Hierarchies (Fig. 13) and the two angels reading from the Book of Life, who form part of

[36] In the vault, the same frame separates the Hetoimasia and the Hierarchies from the cycle of the Virgin, cf. Fig. 10.

[37] Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Byzantine Wall-Paintings*, 234 f., citing Chatzidakis, "Νεώτερα" (above, note 13), 158 ff.

Fig. 14. Mistra. Metropolis, narthex. Angel reading from the Book of Life, detail of Last Judgemen on west wall (after Millet).

the Last Judgement in the narthex (Fig. 14).[38] The most imposing part of this Last Judgment is the Hetoimasia venerated by the Hierarchies. Further, there is but little artistic difference between this large fresco and the frieze of the Galilean miracles in the western section of the south aisle. While the pictures illustrating the legend of the Virgin and, in particular, those showing scenes from the lives of Cosmas and Damian, belong to the more "archaic" paintings in the Metropolis, the Galilean miracles and the Last Judgment represent the more "advanced" or "modern" manner.

If it is correct that, in spite of the formal inconsistency, the various parts of the decoration of the diakonikon were executed in one phase of work and, further, that the more "advanced" part of this decoration (Hierarchies) from an artistic point of view is related to the angels reading from the Book of Life in the narthex, then the difference between "archaic" and "advanced" manners or styles does not necessarily imply a difference of date.[39] In fact, I am tempted to advance the hypothesis that the painted decoration of the Metropolis not only was executed in harmony with an initial and unified iconographical programme, but that in its entirety it was also completed in a short time span following the "renewal" of the Metropolis by Nikephoros and his brother in 1291/1292.

Just as the church, from an architectural and technical point of view, is rooted in the local, Lacedaemonian tradition, in my opinion, the paintings were executed by artists from the same region. This is quite evident in the "archaic" sectors, such as the hagiographical cycles and the related Mariological and Christological cycles of the aisles.[40] As to the more "ad-

[38] Dufrenne, *Programmes*, pl. 9, *schéma* VIb, nos. 18, 19.

[39] V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 380 f., pl. 544–47, divides the paintings of the Metropolis into two groups, one "più arcaico," the other "più moderno," but appears to date both to around 1312 (an inscription of Nikephoros, engraved on the first column to the west of the right arcade, contains the date 1311/12 (Millet, "Inscriptions," 122 f., no. XIII). Cf. below, note 47.

[40] M. Chatzidakis, *Μυστρᾶς* (1948), 44 f., and "Aspects de la peinture murale du XIII[e] siècle en Grèce," *L'art byzantin du XIII[e] siècle. Symposium de Sopoćani* (Belgrade, 1965), 72 f., thinks that the hagiographical scenes are the work probably of local artists, whereas the other "schools" active in the

vanced" wall-paintings, influences from both Macedonia (Thessalonike) and Constantinople have been proposed; the decoration of Kariye Camii has been referred to in connection especially with the frieze of the Galilean miracles.[41] Irrespective of how late one would prefer to date these paintings, from a stylistic viewpoint Kariye Camii is entirely out of the question: in the paintings of the Metropolis, there is not one single characteristic proper to the refined mannerisms at the Chora. In general, it would appear unnecessary to assume any direct connection with the leading schools associated with the two great cities of the North and North-East.[42] In the Metropolis, the "progressive" characteristics are discernable especially in the rendering of drapery folds and airy architectural structures accompanied by garland-like hangings. A very rich material of wall-paintings, dating from the last decades of the thirteenth century, is preserved in the Peloponnese[43] (the Inner Mani included[44]). This material suggests that in order to explain the light breath of "progressive" art manifested by some of the painters or workshops active in the Metropolis, there is little reason to go beyond a regional provenance of the craftsmen.[45] Moreover, with regard to these painters, who by modern art histo-

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Metropolis show relations with the Capital or may have been executed by painters summoned from Thessalonike. Later, in *Mistra* (1987), 39, Chatzidakis holds that "le conservatisme de cette 'École' ne semble pas avoir eu d'origine provinciale comme le prouvent les peintures murales de Sainte-Euphémie à Constantinople, qui sont contemporaines (1280)." D. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century," *L'art byzantin au début du XIV^e siècle. Symposium de Gračanica 1973* (Belgrade, 1978), 55–83 (repr. in eadem, *Studies in Late Byzantine Painting* [London, 1995], 1–80), here at 70 f., and eadem, "Palaeologan Mistra and the West," *Byzantium and Europe. First International Byzantine Conference, Delphi 1985* (Athens, 1987), 209–46 (repr. in eadem, *Studies in Late Byzantine Painting*, 473–510), here at 239, notes Western influence in certain minor iconographic elements in the cycle of St. Demetrius, an influence which "is not surprising... especially in areas that had been exposed to contacts with the West." Cf. D. I. Pallas, "Εὐρώπη καὶ Βυζάντιο," ibid., 9–61, here at 31, 39 (in agreement with Chatzidakis, Pallas dates the Demetrius cycle to the period 1270–85).

[41] In his *Mistra* (1987), 43, Chatzidakis is inclined to relate all the three "schools" (cf. above, note 33) active in the Metropolis to Constantinople and Thessalonike, "ce qui donne à ces fresques un surcroît d'importance"; cf. S. Kalopissi-Verti, "Τάσεις της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής περί το 1300 στον ελλαδικό και νησιωτικό χώρο (εκτός από τη Μακεδονία," *Manuel Panselinos and His Age* [The National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research; Byzantium Today, 3] (Athens, 1999), 69 f.

[42] On the local characteristics of the styles of Constantinople and Thessalonike/Macedonia, see A. Xyngopoulos, *Ἡ ψηφιδωτὴ διακόσμησις τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Θεσσαλονίκης*, (Thessalonike, 1953), 58–62, 65 f.; idem, *Thessalonique et la peinture macédonienne* (Athens, 1955), 1–8; idem, *Manuel Panselinos* (Athens, 1956), 17–20; R. S. Nelson, "Tales of Two Cities: The Patronage of Early Palaeologan Art and Architecture in Constantinople and Thessaloniki," *Manuel Panselinos and His Age*, 127–45.

[43] See, for instance, Moutsopoulos and Demetrokalles, Γεράκι, (above, note 32).

[44] N. B. Drandakes, "Παρατηρήσεις στὶς τοιχογραφίες τοῦ 13ου αἰώνα ποὺ σώζονται στὴ Μάνη," *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers* (New Rochelle NY, 1986), 683–713; idem, Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μέσα Μάνης (Athens, 1995). – For thirteenth-century wall-painting in Greece in general, see Chatzidakis, "Aspects" (above, note 40), 59–73; S. Kalopissi-Verti, "Tendenze stilistiche della pittura monumentale in Grecia durante il XIII secolo," *CorsiRav* 31 (1984), 221–53; eadem, "Τάσεις," 63–100; 65, note 7 (bibliography). On the early progress of Palaiologan painting, se also R. S. Nelson, "Paris gr. 117 and the Beginnings of Palaeologan Illumination," *WJKg* 37 (1984), 1–21, fig. 22.

[45] Tall, slender-columned architectural elements appear, for instance, in the wall-paintings of the already mentioned church of St. John Chrysostom, Moutsopoulos and Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι*, 36, fig. 62; 227, pl. 16. Hangings, of course, are a time-honoured element, ibid., 242, pl. 69 (church of St. Athanasios, before 1204?). With regard to drapery folds, the freely hanging end of the chlamys of a splendid guardian archangel in the church of St. Nicholas, ibid., fig. 94 f. (on page 63 f.) and pl. 42 (on page 234) compares well with the flying ends of the pallia of the angels reading from the Book of Life and, even better, of the angels of the Hierarchies, in the Metropolis. The late-thirteenth-century paintings at Geraki and in Lacedaemonia in general appear to indicate the existence of "an important, if not brilliant, local school" (ibid., 73), a school that had assimilated only

rians are perceived as of particular excellence, it is worth observing that Nikephoros, the *ktêtor* of the Metropolis, had them work in one of the aisles and in the narthex, the liturgically and religiously less important parts of the sacred building.[46] Not only in the prothesis and diakonikon, but as far as one is able to judge from the badly preserved frescoes, also in the very bema, "archaizing" masters of unquestionable local connection were allowed to express themselves.

In conclusion, it may be held that the painted decorations in the metropolitan church of Mistra, executed by provincial craftsmen, embody a fairly representative section of the styles and manners which were practised throughout the Greek lands and neighbouring countries in the later decades of the thirteenth century.[47] These styles and manners were the basis of the regional developments of the multifaceted Palaiologan art of the 1290s, an art represented for instance by the wall-paintings by Manuel Panselinos in the Protaton at Mt. Athos,[48] by those of the Virgin Peribleptos (St. Clement) in Ohrid, signed by Michael Astrapas and Eutychios and by an inscription dated to 1294–1295,[49] and, probably, by the fragmentarily preserved frescoes of the south facade of St. Mary Pammakaristos in Istanbul.[50]

Epilogue

The next chapter in the fascinating story of wall-painting at Mistra is best studied in the monastery of the Brontochion, which occupies the north-western corner of the lower town, only a short distance from the Metropolis. The Brontochion was the largest and richest monastery at Mistra, endowed with vast and prosperous estates. It was a vigorous, intellectual centre with an important library. The earlier of its two churches, dedicated to the Hagioi Theodoroi, is held to be the last cross-in-square church with the dome carried on squinches to be built in Greece. It was begun by the hegumen Daniel about 1290 and finished by his successor Pachomios pro-

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few iconographical and stylistic impulses from abroad. The frescoes of St. Nicholas are thought to represent this school "in the very moment it espouses the naturalism of the Palaiologan renewal, without missing however either archaic iconographic elements or 'classical' formulas (ἐκφράσεις) of the Komnenian period" (my transl.). These characteristics fit well with the "advanced" workshops active in the Metropolis.

[46] On patronage and its role in the period under discussion, H. Buchthal and H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople. An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy* (Washington DC, 1978); M. L. Rautmann, "Patrons and Buildings in Late Byzantine Thessaloniki," *JÖB* 39 (1989), 295–315; idem, "Aspects of Monastic Patronage in Palaeologan Macedonia," *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire*, ed. by S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (Princeton NJ, 1991), 53–74.

[47] Cf. Georgiades, *Mistra* (above, note 2), 31.

[48] For a bibliography, see N. Teteriatnikov, "New Artistic and Spiritual Trends in the Proskynetaria Fresco Icons of Manuel Panselinos, the Protaton," *Manuel Panselinos and His Age* (Athens, 1999), 101–25, here at 101, note 1; on the name attributed to the author of these paintings, see M. Vasilaki, "Υπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" ibid., 39–54; on the proportions of his figures, H. Torp, *The Integrating System of Proportion in Byzantine Art. An Essay on the Method of the Painters of Holy Images* [ActaIRN, Ser. 2, 4] (Rome, 1984).

[49] O. Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei," *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress, München 1958* (Munich, 1958), 30 f., note 130 f.; Kalopissi-Verti, "Tendenze," (above, note 44), 234, note 34.

[50] C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–1963," *DOP* 18 (1964), 319–40, here at 323 f., 330; fig. 10–14, 17–18); H. Belting, in H. Belting *et al.*, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington DC, 1978), 107–11; 108, "about the 1290's".

bably before 1296.[51] The same, fairly secure *terminus ante quem* undoubtedly applies also to the badly preserved parts that remain of the initial decoration of the church.[52] These paintings, it would seem, are the work of some of the Lacedaemonian craftsmen who, in the same years, were active in the nearby Metropolis.[53] Except for the fragments left in the Hagioi Theodoroi, Nikephoros' enterprise in the Metropolis does not appear to have borne fruits locally; the *proedros'* efforts as a patron of art hardly gave birth to anything like an indigenous school of wall-painters.[54]

The second church in the monastery is the large katholikon, dedicated to the Virgin *Hodegetria* but commonly known by its later epithet *Aphendiko*. It was founded before 1311[55] by the mighty and influential Pachomios, who held a high rank within the ecclesiastical hierarchy (great *protosynkellos* of the Peloponnese). The katholikon is a rather strange structure, a three-aisled basilica crowned by a domed, cross-in-square church; in the fifteenth century it served as the model of the katholikon of the Pantanassa consecrated in 1428 and of bishop Matthew's rebuilding of the Metropolis (mentioned above, p. 73).[56] The name Aphendiko (ἀφεντικὸς ναός, αὐθεντικός, 'rulerlike', 'noble', 'aristocratic') is taken to indicate that this monastic church, the most important cult building at Mistra, had, from the time of its construction, a special function in relation to the local court of the *kephali* and later of the Despot. This circumstance may explain the continuous galleries in the south, west and north.[57] On the walls of the south-west chapel of the narthex were painted large, accurate transcriptions of a series of chrysobulls which list the estates and special privileges of the monastery. (It was placed directly under the jurisdiction of the patriarch in Constantinople.)[58] In 1407, the Despot Theodore I Palaiologos was buried in the north chapel of the narthex. The founder who is depicted above another tomb in the same chapel may be the archimandrite Pachomios himself.

In addition to being the largest and most important church at Mistra, Aphendiko was undoubtedly also the most splendid. In addition to architectural sculpture and wall-paintings, the decoration consists of marble in many colours, used as revetment of the walls, as friezes and as frames around splendid, full-figure portraits of holy bishops who circle the choir in two registers (Fig. 15).

[51] A. K. Orlandos, "Δανιήλ, ὁ πρῶτος κτήτωρ τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων," *ΕΕΒΣ* 12 (1936), 443–48; Dufrenne, *Programmes*, 3, with notes 3–5.

[52] Dufrenne, *Programmes*, 3–5.

[53] Cf. Chatzidakis, *Mistra* (1987), 50 f.

[54] The fragmentary remains of wall-paintings in the chapel of the castle may possibly be the work of regional craftsmen active also in the Metropolis.

[55] See Dufrenne, *Programmes*, 8, with note 37.

[56] The complex design of the Aphendiko (which seems to be the result of a *pentimento* during the construction of the church) ultimately goes back to earlier Byzantine architecture, as represented for instance by the Constantinopolitan church of St. Irene, see H. Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Genesis und Typologie des 'Mistratypus'," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 18 (1969), 105–18, pl. 1–4.

[57] C. Delvoye, "Considérations sur l'emploi des tribunes dans l'église de la Vierge Hodigitria de Mistra," *Actes du XII^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, III (Belgrade, 1964), 42–47; even if the appointment of a permanent *kephali* (cf. above, p. 71 and note 3) may have been introduced already in 1286, and not only in 1308 as assumed by Delvoye, the galleries of the Aphendiko may well have served some function connected with the court.

[58] Millet, "Inscriptions," 99–118, nos. I–VI; Chatzidakis, *Mistra* (1987), 66 f.; the latest chrysobull dates from 1322.

Fig. 15. Mistra. Aphendiko, apse. Holy bishops, work of the "head master" (photo P. Omtvedt).

Due to the design of the church, the programme of its wall-paintings is complex.[59] However, more than the segmented programme of the Metropolis and its heterogenous artistic quality, the impressive decoration of the katholikon gives welcome insight into the planning and execution of the decoration of a church as a "total enterprise". The paintings presumably are the work of three masters (each with assistants) working simultaneously. The master who painted the apse and choir (Fig. 15) seems to have taken part in most of the decoration; he plausibly was the most esteemed of the three and may have been the head master of the project. The art of the second master can be studied in the impressive series of the "70 disciples" (Luke 10. 1), portrayed in pairs in full figure on the walls of the galleries (Fig. 16). Works of the third master, finally, are left mainly in the narthex where he painted an extrordinary series of miracle scenes (Fig. 17).

When Pachomios set about to realize the comprehensive task of decorating his new katholikon, the result clearly indicates that he had painters summoned from regions of the Byzantine world far beyond the frontiers of Lacedaemonia. In fact, in order to place the frescoes of the Aphendiko in a wider art-historical context, it is indispensable to orient oneself in a wider horizon and, it would appear, bring Thessalonike (Fig. 18, 19), and perhaps even Constantinople, into the discussion.[60] The question naturally arises whether, in contrast to the decoration ordered about twenty years earlier by the *proedros* Nikephoros, the exquisite wall-paintings commissioned by Pachomios could have met conditions favourable to engendering a local school of wall-painting. The question may provide material for a new note on the art of Mistra—this one is ended.

[59] Dufrenne, *Programmes*, 8 ff.; pl. 10–19, *schémas* VII–XIII.
[60] Chatzidakis, "Η ζωγραφικὴ στὸ Μυστρᾶ" (above, note 13), 54–58.

Fig. 16. Mistra. Aphendiko, south gallery. Pair of the 70 disciples, by the "second master" (photo P. Omtvedt).

Fig. 17. Mistra. Aphendiko, narthex. Healing of Peter's mother-in-law, by the "third master" (photo P. Omtvedt).

The Petropigi Fortress: A Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman *Statio* on the Via Egnatia

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IN EASTERN MACEDONIA, 20 km east of Kavala and almost midway between Kavala and the Nestos River, which marks the border between Macedonia and Thrace, lies a small fortress in the midst of cultivated fields. They belong to farmers from the neighbouring village of Petropigi (Fig. 1), and we have named the monument the Petropigi fortress after the village. It has always been visible (its southern and western walls are fairly well preserved), so when the Norwegian Institute at Athens was offered the fortress for excavation in 1992, we could easily see what type of monument we had to deal with. The excavation started in 1993, and lasted five summers. The last two seasons, in 1998 and 1999, were dedicated to the measuring and conservation of the fortress.

The Petropigi fortress is situated on the southern side of the main road between Kavala and Xanthi, 9.23 m above sea level, on a plain stretching down to the sea. North of the road the terrain starts to rise towards the Rhodope mountains, which form a splendid backdrop when one sees the fortress from the south. Originally the shoreline must have been much closer to the fortress, and the distance to the Petropigi village was longer as the old village was located higher up on the mountain slope. With the draining of the marshland near the coast new land for cultivation became available, and a new village was constructed closer to the main road. Only traces of the old Petropigi can be seen today.

The fortress is oriented north-east – south-west, and lies exactly parallel to the modern road. Because of the parallelism it is likely that the modern road at this point follows the course of the ancient Via Egnatia. The remains of the latter may either be buried under the tarmac, or possibly further south, where a dirt road now runs, separated from the fortress by a cultivated field. It would have been desirable to lay out a trench northwards from the fortress to see if the old road surface could be found. However, only the plot on which the Petropigi fortress stands is owned by the Greek state. The surrounding fields belong to local farmers who, like all farmers, are reluctant to have archaeological excavations conducted on their soil.

Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 13 (Stockholm, 2004).

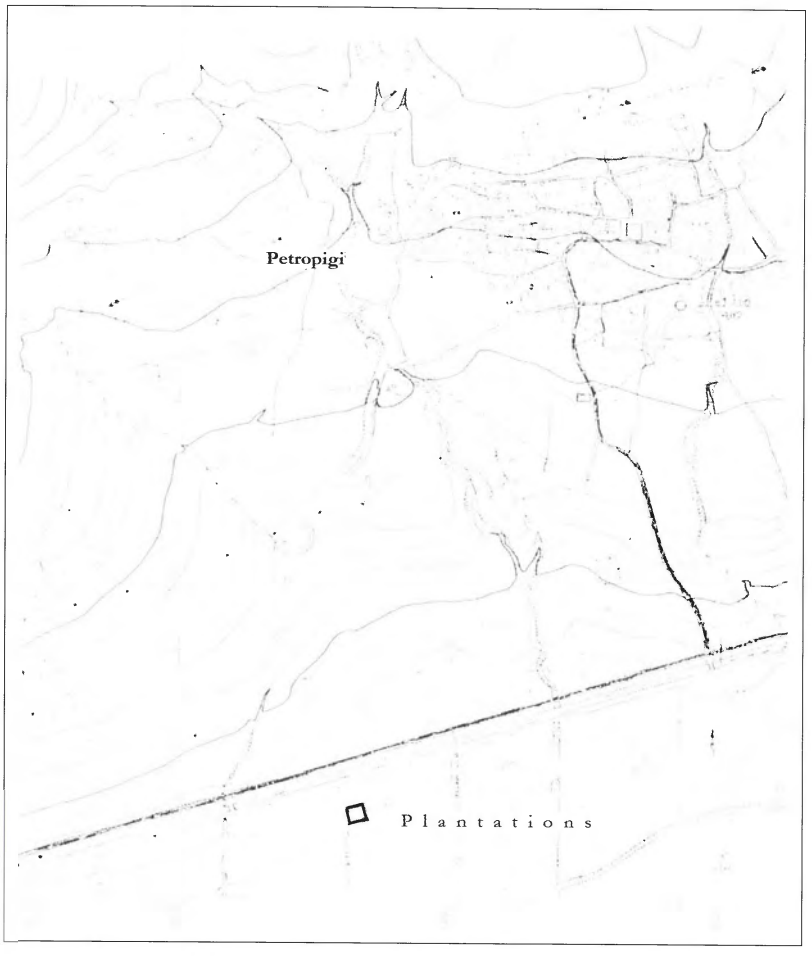

Fig. 1. Petropigi area (fortress indicated as open square near bottom of map).

The Petropigi fortress lies isolated in the middle of the plain. Intensive cultivation of the surrounding fields has not brought to light a single shard of pottery (we observed none during the seven summers we worked on the site), so there appears to have been no settlement in the immediate vicinity. Already before the excavation of the fortress started, Charalambos Bakirtzis, then ephoros of the Byzantine antiquities of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, suggested that it was a *statio*, that is, a fortified posting station. Our investigations so far have only corroborated this theory.

The inner measurements of the fortress, 29.6 × 29.3 m, correspond to 100 × 100 Roman feet (Fig. 2). Its walls are constructed of mortar, stones and bricks, a technique used from the Early Byzantine period onwards (Fig. 3). One band of bricks runs continuously through all four walls at a height of 12.3 m above sea level, whereas the bricks are otherwise distributed more unevenly. There are some slight differences in the size of the bricks, which can be attributed to different building stages.

These can also be seen in the structure of the walls. Originally the fortress had two gates, one in the south-east and one in the north-west, and two towers, one in the south-west and one in the north-east. The projecting walls of the gates were probably vaulted. At a later stage the

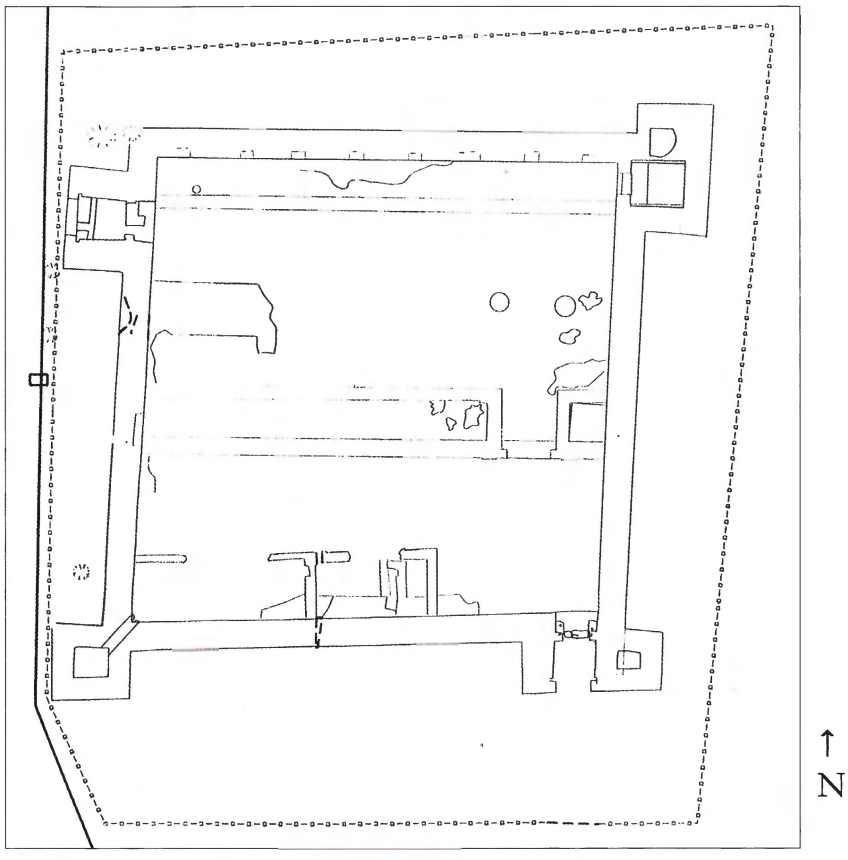

Fig. 2. Plan of Petropigi Fortress.

walls were extended and fitted with a portcullis, the slots of which are still visible. Contemporarily a tower was added to the south-eastern corner. The north-eastern tower was enlarged, and a room inside it added on an upper level (Fig. 2). There is a vertical "seam" in the wall of the south-western tower suggesting that this, too, may have been strengthened.

These alterations seem to have taken place not long after the fortress was constructed. Its walls were built around a wooden scaffolding. The ends of the beams were cut when the work was completed, and the wood left to decay in the mortar. In the south-western tower we found a small piece of wood from the scaffolding still embedded in the mortar. It was subjected to a C-14 analysis at Uppsala in Sweden, and the results indicated a date between AD 1275 and 1350. For historical reasons it is probable that the fortress was built in the latter half of the thirteenth century, when there was a certain building activity following the recapture of Constantinople from the Latin occupation in 1260. In the following century, which was characterized by Byzantine civil wars and incursions of other powers such as the Serbs, the Catalani Company and finally the Ottomans, whose conquest of Thrace and eastern Macedonia started in the 1360s, it must have been deemed necessary to strengthen the fortress. This probably happened in the first half of the fourteenth century, when the Byzantines still exercised some control, but it is of course possible that one of the temporary masters of that particular stretch of the road decided to strengthen the fortress some time during the second half of the century.[1] The

[1] For the condition of the Via Egnatia in the 14th century see N. Oikonomides, "The Medieval Via Egnatia," in E. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule (1380–1699)* (Rhetymnon,

Fig. 3. Petropigi fortress, NW corner (photo: K. E. Fønstelien).

fortress could not have withstood an army with siege equipment, but it could probably repel attacks from groups of brigands, of whom there were many in this turbulent period. The typology of the fortress is, in fact, extremely conservative, and differs little from its Early Byzantine prototypes.[2]

Inside the fortress several structures came to light during our excavation. The most important one is the lower part of a long building which practically divides the courtyard in two (Figs. 2, 4). It is oriented according to the points of the compass contrary to the fortress walls, which, as remarked above, deviate slightly in accordance with the course of the Via Egnatia. The differences in orientation are only perceptible when measured. The building is divided into one longer and one shorter unit with an aperture between them, which gives access to the northern part of the courtyard (Fig. 2). The shorter unit is in line with the south-eastern gate. Apart from having a slightly different orientation from the fortress itself, the two units are constructed in a different technique, the so-called *cloisonné*, where the stones are framed by horizontal and vertical bricks (Fig. 4). The floor of the long building was stuccoed. No door was found, neither in the longer nor in the shorter unit. This suggests that the lower part of the building was used as a basement, and that there was a second storey with access from outer staircases which probably led to a walkway or gallery, all in wood.

1996), 14–16.

[2] Compare Fig. 2 with the plan of the Upper Zohar fortlet in Palestina Tertia from the Justinianic period (Harper et al. 1995, pl. 2).

Fig. 4. Masonry with *cloisonné* technique.

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The *cloisonné* technique was also used in a structure running along the inside of the northern fortress wall in its full length. Since it was demolished more thoroughly than the building in the middle of the courtyard, very little of it remains. Though it stretches from one end of the fortress to the other, there is no trace of a bond higher up on the walls. This may mean that the structure was no building, but simply a low platform.

The northern fortress wall is marked by eight recesses placed at about equal distance from each other. When the excavation started, the two westernmost recesses remained, but the one to the east was in such a bad condition that it collapsed during the winter of 1998. Both it and the remaining recess were fireplaces with chimneys (Fig. 5), and it is therefore likely that all the recesses were fireplaces. They seem to be secondary in relation to the fortress wall, and were probably inserted into it when the platform along it was built.

Fig. 5. Petropigi fortress. Fireplace with chimney in northern wall.

These fireplaces are the reason why the northern wall is so badly preserved. Though the fortress appears to have functioned as a *statio* only till about 1600 (see below, pp. 96, 98), it was used for other purposes up till the present time by farmers and herdsmen, who lightened fires in the old fireplaces. The rapid changes in temperature weakened the wall and caused it to crumble gradually, a process which probably went on for centuries.

Close to the remaining (north-western) chimney, we found traces of a blacksmith's forge. He was a necessary figure in *stationes*, as the horses of the travellers often needed to be shod. We also found a number of horseshoes along the northern fortress wall. As the finds have not yet been studied other than superficially when they were catalogued, we have not attempted to date them. However, the majority seem fairly recent and were found in the upper layers. This is not surprising, since there is evidence for agricultural activities such as threshing inside the fortress until at least the nineteenth century and perhaps later (see below, p. 99).

When the platform and the chimneys were constructed, both the north-western gate and the north-eastern tower were closed. The gate was closed twice, both on the outside and towards the courtyard, while it sufficed to block up the door between the tower and the courtyard. The

two rooms thus obtained seem to have been unused, unless one had access to the tower by means of a ladder or a wooden staircase. Before the tower was closed, it seems to have been used as a storage room, as testified by many small amphora fragments and the bones of mice.

Between the platform and the middle building, adjacent to the western fortress wall, we unearthed the stucco floor of a rather small structure which is impossible to date because every stone and brick from its walls have been removed. At the other end of the courtyard the bottom of two thick stucco pillars (diam. 1 m) turned up in 1996. The year before we had found the imprint of a third pillar to the south of the western one, and there were in all probability four of them originally, forming a square. They must have carried a structure which may have been connected with the two parts of the long building in the middle of the courtyard.

The remains of structures in the southern half of the courtyard are more flimsy and less well preserved, only the foundations remain. Two buildings are placed against the southern fortress wall (Fig. 2) on both sides of a channel which passes through the wall. Perhaps one or both of these buildings were stables. One would then have been able to slush the dung through the channel and out of the fortress.

As for water supply, we found no subterranean cistern, but the south-western tower may have been used as a rainwater cistern since a horizontal channel runs between its north-eastern corner and the courtyard. The towers and the top of the fortress walls must have been reached by wooden stairs, and a wooden walkway may have run along the walls.

Just below the foundations of the eastern of the two buildings along the southern fortress wall we found traces of another building with a slightly different orientation. This is the only structure which may be older than the rest of the fortress, but at present its age is difficult to assess.

Apart from this building the rest of the fortress and the structures within it can be attributed to three distinct phases. The first one is the fortress itself and the foundations of the two buildings along its southern wall. Phase two is characterized by a strengthening of the gates and towers. To the third phase belong the closing of the north-western gate and the north-eastern tower, the platform along the northern fortress wall, the long building in the middle, and probably also the stucco floor and pillars in the northern half of the courtyard.

While phase one and two seem to be Late Byzantine, the *cloisonné* work in the structures of phase three finds its closest parallels among Early Ottoman buildings in Western Thrace, such as the *han* in Traianoupolis[3] and the *imaret* in Komotini.[4] The idea that phase three is Ottoman, is corroborated by a number of finds. Inside the long building in the middle of the courtyard we found ashes and charcoal evidently not from fireplaces, but from a fire which affected the woodwork in the building. A C-14 test of the charcoal gave a date *c.* 1410–25. Also the earliest coins which we found, seem to date from the early fifteentth century.

[3] M. Kiel, "The oldest monuments of Ottoman-Turkish architecture in the Balkans," *Sanat Tarihi yilligi* 12 (1982), 117–44, here 133–38, Figs. 4–6 (this article is reprinted in M. Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Archirecture of the Balkans* [Variorum Reprints] [Aldershot, 1990], 338–62); Ch. Bakirtzis and D. Triantaphyllos, *Thrace* (Athens, 1990), 64, Plan 19.

[4] Kiel, op. cit., 127–33, Figs. 2 and 3; Bakirtzis and Triantaphyllos, op. cit., 40; Ch. Bakirtzis and P. Xylos, in S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitruphonos, *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans 1300–1500 and its Preservation* (Thessalonike, 1997), 294 f.

We found no Byzantine coins, a fact that comes as no surprise, since coins are extremely rare in this area in the Late Byzantine period.[5] The Ottoman coins that we found are for the most part small and badly preserved copper coins. One silver coin from the reign of Süleiman the Magnificent is well preserved and bears the date 958 AH (AD 1550). The latest coins have a characteristic star pattern on their reverse which may be associated with the coinage of Sultan Murat III (1574–95).[6] This suggests that the fortress was in use as a public structure at least till the end of the sixteenth century.

The other finds consisted mainly of pottery shards, of which the majority was cheap "kitchen ware". Very little glazed ware came to light. In fact, the paucity of finds is striking compared to settlements. This seems to be typical of *stationes* and *kervansarays*. A French traveller, who visited the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century and undertook a journey with a caravan, was advised by an Armenian friend in Istanbul to bring with him everything he might need, even down to the shoes of his mount.[7] Other reports from travellers who spent their nights in Ottoman *hans* also describe these buildings as completely empty.[8] What pottery we found would then be the fragments of such pieces as were accidentally smashed by the travellers and left behind.

There is a total lack of female presence in the Petropigi fortress. No spinning wheels, loom weights or other evidence of female occupation came to light. There were, indeed, few signs of occupation whatsoever; apart from the blacksmith's forge we only found a fly-wheel in terracotta (used for drilling) which denotes any sort of work being performed while the fortress was in use as a *statio*. This picture may, however, be modified when we go through the finds.

At present we can pierce the story of the Petropigi fortress together as follows: It was probably constructed in the period following the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople in 1260. The Late Byzantine period, which is generally presented as one of decline, was, in fact, characterized by a surprising amount of building activity in the Balkans,[9] of which our fortress is a testimony. Somewhat later, in the difficult fourteenth century, the gates and towers were strengthened. The fortress appears to have been in use as a *statio* until the conquest of the area by the Ottomans in the second half of the century. At the beginning of the fifteenth century they turned it into a *kervansaray*, or one should rather say *han*, as the term *kervansaray* was used only for the grander constructions of this type. There is evidence for the Ottomans installing *hans* in Byzantine complexes such as monasteries, but in the Petropigi fortress they found a ready-made construction for the purpose, to which they only had to make some modifications.

To these belongs the closing of the north-eastern tower and the north-western gate. In the gate the same type of *cloisonné* technique as in

[5] Lack of coins from certain periods is also attested in other *stationes*, such as the two built at the Great St. Bernhard pass; cf. C. Gallo, "Transiti e culti al Gran San Bernardo," *Archeologia Viva* no. 79 (Jan./Feb. 2000), 72–76, here at 76.

[6] M. Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and their Values: The World of Islam* (London, 1977), 207.

[7] R. Mantran, *La vie quotidienne à Constantinople au temps de Soleiman le Magnifique et ses successeurs (XVI^e et XVII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1965), 223.

[8] Mantran, op. cit., 172.

[9] Ćurčić and Hadjitruphonos, *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans.*

the buildings in the courtyard was used. The reason for the closing of the gate was probably that Turkish *hans* and *kervansarays* normally have one gate only. If the Via Egnatia ran along the north side of the fortress, it may seem odd that the northern gate was closed, but access from the sea as well as from the road could have been more important in the early fifteenth century than it would seem today. Another reason why the southern gate was retained, was perhaps that the stables were placed in the southern half of the courtyard, the northern half being used as living and sleeping quarters.

In contrast to the platform along the northern fortress wall, the long building in the middle lacks traces of fireplaces, and its walls are too thin to allow for them higher up. Probably this building was used in the warm season only. Between the longer and the shorter parts of the building there is a passage giving access to the northern part of the courtyard, and on the side facing the gate this access is embellished in a modest way by the presence of pilasters.

On the other side of the passage one finds the mysterious pillars in stucco. They must have carried a structure which I would tentatively identify as a *mescid*, a small prayer room, which may have been connected with the upper levels of the central building. These raised prayer houses were normal in Selcuk *kervansarays*,[10] their elevation being necessitated by the fact that in such places it was difficult to pray without running the risk of being bumped into by an arriving caravan or somebody's straying mount or pack animal. With regard to the stucco floor opposite the pillars, we have not yet formed an opinion of its function.

The southern half of the courtyard was, as mentioned above, taken up by more modest, utilitarian structures, which in lay-out, at any rate, would seem to go back to the Byzantine period. If the fragmentary structure below the eastern one of the possible stables is also Byzantine (which seems likely, since the Late Byzantine foundations above lie directly on top of it), we cannot say. It is a puzzling fact that the finds which are not Late or Post-Byzantine, seem to be considerably older, from the Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period.

The finds dating from this early phase are few and consist of fragments of black-glazed pottery and one coin bearing a human head seen in profile. It has not yet been studied, but resembles coins from Thracian cities of the fourth–third century BC. The pre-Byzantine finds are too modest to suggest anything like a settlement, but they give evidence of earlier activity in the area (unless they came with the sand used by the builders of the fortress).

Whatever activity there was in Late Classical and Hellenistic times may have been concentrated a little further to the west in the Roman period. Just outside the village of Pontolivado, which is situated about one km from the Petropigi fortress, substantial traces of Roman walls have come to light, and it has been suggested that they belonged to a *statio*. Since no excavation has been conducted, it is impossible to determine whether this suggestion is correct, and how long the *statio* may have functioned. It seems that the *stationes* disappear in the Middle Byzantine period to return in Late Byzantine times.

[10] J. D. Hoag, *Architettura islamica* (Milan, 1978), 118, Figs. 211 and 212; H. Stierlin, *Turkey. From the Selcuks to the Ottomans* (Cologne, 1998), 65.

Comparable patterns may be observed in the Turkish system of *hans* and *kervansarays,* which also seem to have been used periodically, at least as far as those outside the settlements are concerned. They disappear in the seventeenth century. As related at the beginning of this article, the Petropigi fortress is situated 20 km from Kavala. This is a rather short distance according to mediaeval standards. If one moves 5 km eastwards from Petropigi, one arrives at the town Chrysoupolis, through which the Via Egnatia passed, it was, in fact, an ancient *statio.* The distance between Chrysoupolis and Xanthi constitutes another stage of about 25 km, and it is therefore probable that at a certain point, at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Petropigi fortress was abandoned in favour of Chrysoupolis as an official staging post.

In the centuries following the Ottoman conquest, life was difficult in Thrace and Eastern Macedonia. Large segments of the original population were transferred to other parts of the Ottoman Empire, and towns and villages were depopulated and in a sorry state. The decline probably started already in the Late Byzantine period, otherwise the Petropigi fortress would not have been built.[11] Its construction suggests that Chryssoupolis was not safe enough as a *statio*, a state of affairs which continued well into the Ottoman period. With the seventeenth century the conditions of the Christian population ameliorated, and repopulation of sparsely populated areas was encouraged. With towns and villages more populous and with increased peace and prosperity, it would have been easier for travellers to find accommodation in inhabited areas, and the isolated *hans* and *kervansarays* went out of use.

It is evident that the structures inside the Petropigi fortress were dismantled by public decree and under public control, presumably to get hold of the bricks, which could be reused elsewhere. The buildings were taken down to the same level in one operation and the materials carried off, something which would not have happened if they had been left to dilapidate and had been gradually diminished by the local population's need for building materials. The fire inside the building in the middle of the courtyard probably dates from the time of the destruction. To facilitate the dismantling of a building it was common to set fire to the woodwork of its roof after having removed the tiles (these were apparently sought after, as we found only smaller fragments of them).

Having ceased to function as a *han*, the Petropigi fortress continued to be used by the local farmers. In the south-western tower we found a piece of a Turkish nineteenth-century pipe together with several bones from sheep and goats, evidence that the tower was used as a lair by elements of the local population, probably herdsmen. A fragment of another Turkish pipe came to light in one of the upper layers of the courtyard. The upper layers also contained a number of Post-Byzantine pottery shards.

[11] Cf. Oikonomides, "The Medieval Via Egnatia," 14–16. With regard to Thrace, M. Kiel has pointed out that it was in all probability devastated and depopulated already before the Ottoman conquest, but that Greek and Bulgarian historians have, for nationalist reasons, put the blame on the Ottomans (Kiel, "The oldest monuments of Ottoman-Turkish architecture in the Balkans," 117, note 1). With regard to the easternmost part of Macedonia, it is less well documented than Thrace, but everything suggests that conditions there were similar to those on the other side of the Nestos river.

There we also found small, rectangular flints. In all likelihood they belonged to a sort of sledge used for threshing, a so-called *tribulum* (Greek: *tykane*, Turkish: *dügen*).[12] Specimens can still be studied in local museums in Greece and Turkey. It is easy to see that when the ruins inside it had become covered by earth, the courtyard of the Petropigi fortress would have been ideal for threshing. The *dügen* was used for threshing in Anatolia and parts of Greece well into the twentieth century.

One of the fascinating features of the Petropigi investigation is that it necessitates knowledge about different historical periods and civilizations, from Late Classical/Early Hellenistic pottery to the life of farmers under the Late Ottoman Empire. To acquire the necessary knowledge (or some of it, at any rate), is our aim now that the field work has ended. One must study both Byzantine and Ottoman history to see if some light can be thrown on the identity of the fortress.

Charalambos Bakirtzis, who was the first to identify the Petropigi fortress as a Byzantine *statio*, suggested that it is identical with a place, mentioned in historical sources, where members of the Catalan Company came together in 1307 in connection with the disbanding of the Company.[13] The old name of the village of Petropigi, Ducalion (from *duca* or *doux*), suggests that the area was at one time connected with Western European nobility. The Turks called the village Taspinar, a literal translation of Petropigi ("stony source"). If the *han* reconstructed by them had a specific name, it is unknown to us, but perhaps the study of old Ottoman maps might yield some information.

The Petropigi *statio* or *han* is a good example of acculturation, showing, among other things, how the Ottoman invaders simply took over the Byzantine infrastructures and adapted them to their own use. Since Byzantine (let alone Ottoman) archaeology is still in its infancy, much work remains to be done, especially since secular buildings have often been neglected. The student of books on Byzantine and Ottoman architecture may easily get the idea that these peoples spent their lives praying in churches and mosques, with occasional visits to the bath house or *hamam*. The book on Late Byzantine architecture in the Balkans referred to in note 8 shows, however, that an interest in secular architecture is now growing. It is our hope that the fortress of Petropigi as a case study will increase our knowledge about this architecture, and also about the transition from Byzantine to Ottoman administration in the Balkans.

[12] A. Paribeni, "Raffigurazioni di strumenti agricoli in un manoscritto di Esiodo nella Biblioteca Ariostea di Ferrara," in *Arte profana e arte sacra a Bizanzio* [Milion, 3] (Rome, 1995), 418, Figs. 20–25.
[13] Bakirtzis and Triantaphyllos, *Thrace*, 36 f., Plan 11.

The Holy Face of Edessa on the Frame of the *Volto Santo* of Genoa: the Literary and Pictorial Sources

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Introduction

AN ICON OF CHRIST known as *Volto Santo* (Fig. 1) is kept in the Armenian church San Bartolomeo in Genoa. It is a tempera painting on linen with a background of golden foil, attached to a wooden panneau.[1] The painting is set in a thick frame of gilded silver, decorated with filigree and ten plates worked in relief, enhanced by chiselling and the *niello* technique,[2] which depict the story of the miraculous image called Mandylion,[3] its copies and the letter of Jesus to Abgar, king of Edessa.

In 1384 Lionardo Montaldo, an officer of the Genoese colony on the Bosporus, bequeathed the picture to San Bartolomeo. He had received it, or, as some scholars believe, stolen it from John V Palaiologos.[4] The icon had the reputation of being the Mandylion, that is a true image of Christ, not made by human hand (*acheiropoietos*). From the time of that donation, the painting is often mentioned in written sources and its history from the fourteenth century is well documented.[5] But many problems still remain regarding its origin and provenance.[6]

[1] Measuring 17,5 × 28 cm.

[2] The icon is preserved in a silver box with engravings on the back. The front is adorned by a golden frame ornately decorated with precious stones, C. Dufour Bozzo, *Il 'Sacro Volto' di Genova* (Rome, 1974), pl. I–VIII, XXII.

[3] *Mandylion/mandilion* (from Arabic *mandil* = kerchief) seems to be used in liturgical contexts. Otherwise the image is called *theia eikon, apeikonisma, ektypoma, ekmageion, cheiromaktron.*

[4] Dufour Bozzo, *Il 'Sacro Volto'* (note 2), 13–17.

[5] Op. cit., 63–70.

[6] C. Dufour Bozzo presented the results of her many years of research about the icon in two monographs and numerous papers which were published between 1967 and 1996, cf. note 2 and C. Dufour Bozzo, *La cornice del "Αγιον μανδήλιον di Genova* (Genoa, 1967); eadem, "La Cornice del Volto Santo di Genova," *CahArch* 19 (1969), 223–30; eadem, "Sur une étoffe placée derrière la 'sainte face' de Gênes," *Bulletin de liaison du Centre international d'études des textiles anciens* 30 (1969), 35–38; eadem, "Documenti di un incerto tessuto figurativo," in *La pittura a Genova e in Liguria*, I, *Dagli inizi al Cinquecento* (Genoa, 1970), 23–25; eadem, "Un' ipotesi sulla tavoletta del 'Sacro Volto' di Genova," in *Atti del III Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana* [Antichità altoadriatiche, 6] (Trieste, 1974), 567–573; eadem, "Il 'Sacro Volto' di Genova. Problemi e aggiornamenti," in H. L. Kessler & G. Wolf (eds.), *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence* [Villa Spelman Colloquia, 6] (Bologna, 1998), 55–67 (henceforth *Paradox*). The icon is often mentioned in the very extensive literature concerning the illustration of the legends of King Abgar and the Mandylion, Ch. Walter, "The Abgar cycle at Mateič," in B. Borkopp, B. Schellewald, L. Theis (eds.), *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte. Festschrift für H. Hallensleben* (Amsterdam, 1995), 221–31, where earlier literature is listed. I

Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 13 (Stockholm, 2004).

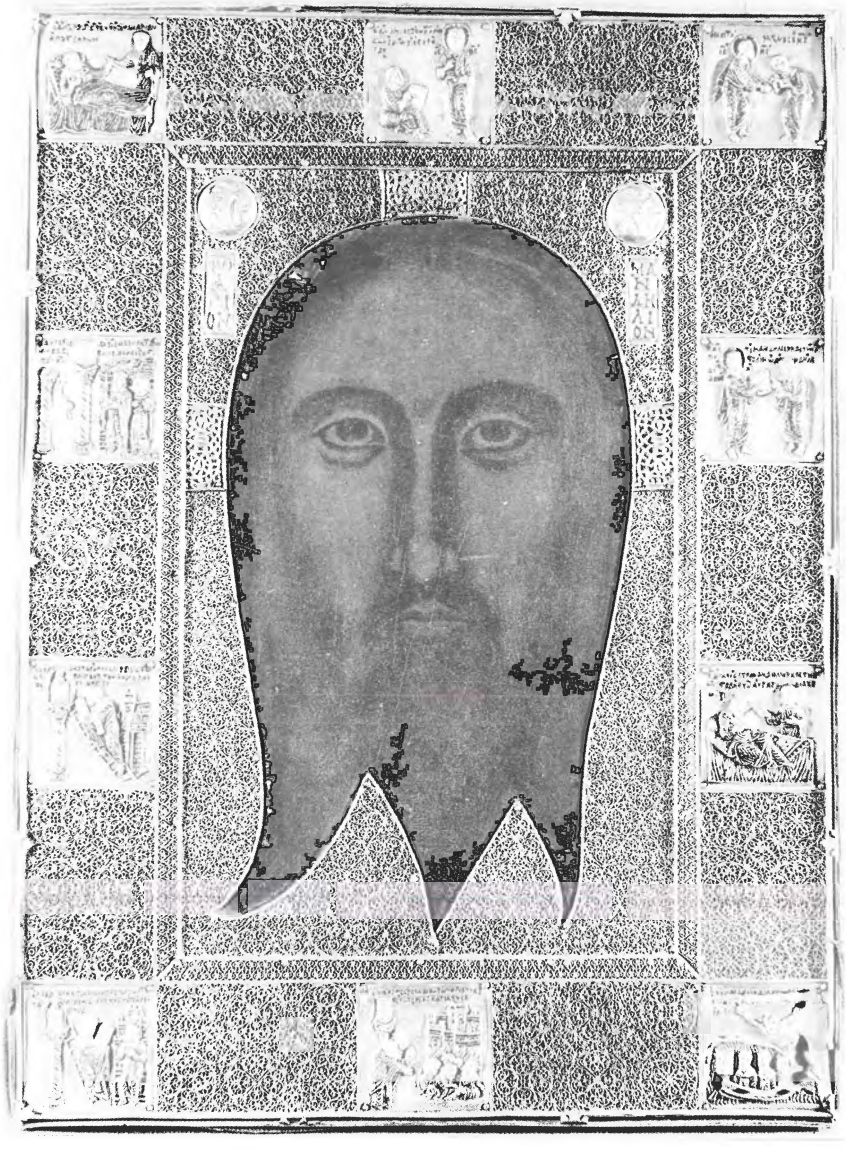

Fig. 1. The *Volto santo* of Genoa.

Unlike other icons which are considered to be miraculous and therefore have been inaccessible for research, the Genoese Mandylion has been examined in detail.[7] It shows the face of Christ frontally, wearing a tri-partite beard, which fuses with his flowing, simply dressed hair. The painter used reddish-brown pigments exclusively, with the result that the facial features became indistinct.[8] An unnatural calm, timelessness and sense of

was not able to consult the monograph by G. Ricci, *Il mandilion di Edessa e il Santo Volto di Genova* (Rome, 1998).

[7] Stylistic and radiographic analysis show that the image was repainted at least three times, the first time in the 11th century. However the changes were not considerable and the present painting seems to be very close to the original version, Dufour Bozzo, *Il 'Sacro Volto'*, 40–43.

[8] For a reproduction in colour see *Chiese di Genova*, text by C. Ceschi (Genoa, 1967), pl. 157.

distance emanating from the visage represent an absolute ideal of beauty created in accordance with early Christian aesthetic canons.[9]

The relief-decorated frame is dated on stylistic and palaeographic grounds to the Palaiologan epoch. Comparative studies of its filigree and *niello* technique allow us to suppose that the frame was produced in Constantinople in one of the workshops connected to the imperial court.[10] Such a conclusion seems to be confirmed by a palaeographical analysis of the inscriptions which accompany each scene, and by surveying the semantic field of the word *mandylion*.[11] The word appears together with the monogram of Christ inside the frame and is consequently used in the inscriptions on the reliefs (Fig. 9a–j).

On the back of the panel there is a fragment of fabric with a purple woven motif representing a winged animal within a medallion surrounded by small quadrupeds.[12] Its origin, dating and iconographical affiliation with the legend of the Mandylion is still a matter for discussion.[13]

It is not surprising that in the case of such a complex artefact as the *Volto Santo* of Genoa there are still many problems which should be further investigated. Among these are the textual and pictorial sources of the story represented on the frame of the painting.[14]

The legend

The legend of the Mandylion, known in many versions and preserved in many languages, is a very complex narrative. It grew gradually over several centuries, having different traditions, which included both historical and literary sources, as background. Three main topics are linked in the legend: the miraculous image of the Holy Face, its copies (the most famous being the Keramion, imprinted on clay), and the letter of Jesus to the king of Edessa. It seems that the legend did not develop after the eleventh century when this precious icon became a part of the large collection housed in the imperial Chapel of the Pharos church in Constantinople.[15]

[9] H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: a History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago & London, 1994), 210–214. It was discovered that the painting by its size and iconography matches two 10th-century panels from Sinai which contain pictures relating to the legend of Abgar, and that all three may be parts of the same triptych. However the same features are present in the portrait of Christ which is kept in the Roman church of S. Silvestro in Capite, op. cit., 210, figs 125, 15. In 1996, in connection with the symposium on the Mandylion held in Rome, a closer examination of the latter was made possible. It was established that the icon from Genoa is older. A definitive solution to the problem of the affinity of all four pieces will require a detailed dendrological and pigment analysis.

[10] A. Lipinsky, "Oreficerie bizantine dimenticate in Italia," in *Atti del I Congresso Nazionale di Studi Bizantini (archeologia, arte), Ravenna 23–25 maggio 1965* (Ravenna, 1966), 107–37; A. Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icones byzantines du Moyen Âge* (Venice, 1975), 12–14, 63–64.

[11] H. Drijvers, "The Image of Edessa in the Syriac Tradition," in *Paradox* (note 6), 13–31, esp. A. Cameron, "The Mandylion and Byzantine Iconoclasm," ibid., 37.

[12] Technical report on the fragment by G. Vial, in *Il 'Sacro Volto'* (note 2), 140 f., fig. XXIII.

[13] It seems to be either Sassanian or Byzantine using Sassanian patterns and was produced between the 8th and 10th centuries, Dufour Bozzo, *Il 'Sacro Volto'* (note 2), 33–40; Dufour Bozzo, "Sur une étoffe" (note 4); Dufour Bozzo, "Documenti" (note 6). The problem was also discussed by D. Taverna, "Il cavallo alato. Elementi per uno studio iconologico di un tessuto orientale della teca del Santo Volto di Genova," *Mesopotamia* 28 (1993), 195–223, who dates the fragment to the 8th–9th centuries and connects its production with an Armenian workshop in Edessa. See also Dufour Bozzo, *Il 'Sacro Volto'*, 60 f.

[14] C. Dufour Bozzo, "La cornice" (note 6), 230, note 18; Dufour Bozzo, *Il 'Sacro Volto'* (note 2), 59.

[15] Cf. infra, note 27.

Since the pictorial programme decorating the frame represents an intricate version of the legend in which all three relics are involved, it seems worthwhile to outline the narrative.

King Abgar of Edessa in Syria, who was seriously ill, learned from his messengers about Jesus and his miracles. He wrote a letter to Jesus in which he invited him to Edessa, saying that he was ready to share his kingdom with the honoured guest. The letter was delivered by an artist who was ordered to paint a portrait of Jesus. In his response Jesus declined the invitation for himself but assured the king that he would send one of his disciples to Edessa. He blessed the city and promised that no enemy would ever prevail over it.[16] Abgar also received a portrait of Jesus which, according to some versions of the legend, was a picture painted by the king's artist or, according to others, a print of the face of Jesus on a piece of linen. The image had healing power, which had already manifested itself during its journey to Edessa: a paralytic who touched it was miraculously cured. King Abgar experienced the same miracle. After physical contact with the image his health was restored and all the sick people of Edessa were cured.

The portrait had another remarkable feature: it was able to replicate itself. That was revealed for the first time when Abgar's messenger went through the city of Mabbugh (Hierapolis) carrying the relic. Afraid that it might be stolen, he buried it in a pile of bricks. When a column of fire revealed the hiding place the people found that a print of the face of Jesus had appeared on the brick which lay closest to the image.

Abgar was schooled in Christian doctrine and baptised by Addai, one of the seventy disciples of Jesus. The portrait, greatly venerated in Edessa, was first kept in the royal palace and later displayed in a niche over the main city gate. Together with the letter of Jesus, it was considered to be Edessa's *palladium* which gave the city constant protection. Already during Abgar's time the letter saved the city by making it invisible to attacking enemies.

When one of Abgar's successors who had abandoned the Christian faith planned to destroy the icon it was walled up in a secret place by a bishop of Edessa. Hundreds of years later the Persian army attacked Edessa, but the picture, miraculously discovered, saved the city. The Holy Face's fame grew throughout the whole Christian world. Even the Persians held it in high esteem after one of its copies healed the daughter of their king.

When the Byzantine emperor Romanos Lekapenos used the threat of military force to claim the relic it was delivered unwillingly and only after much debate. The inhabitants of Edessa protested and were themselves ready to use force to stop the departure of their icon. However the picture showed by unusual signs that it was willing to be given away. During its journey to Constantinople many miracles took place. One of them attracted special attention because of its clearly political context. A demented man who watched the entry of the portrait into the Theotokos monastery

[16] The belief that the city of Edessa enjoyed the special protection of Christ has some historical foundation. In the middle of the 2nd c., during Sapor I's war in Mesopotamia and Syria the whole territory was laid waste and all big fortified cities were besieged, except Edessa. The same situation was repeated during the invasion of Chosroes, see infra, p. 110. Prokopios, who himself doubts the authenticity of the promise, relates that the Persian kings attempted to capture the city in order to disprove the validity of this reputed protection, Prokopios, *History of the Wars*, II,12, 26, ed. & trans. by H. B. Dewing (London & New York, 1914 [1992]), 369–371.

in Bithynia "declared" that Constantine Porphyrogennetos would accede to the throne. He was cured immediately after this prophetic utterance.

The entry of the icon into Constantinople was celebrated with great pomp. A paralytic watching the painting being carried in procession along the streets was healed. When, after all the ceremonies, the relic was deposited in the chapel of the Pharos and then at the Blachernae Palace, it revealed again that Constantine had been chosen by God to ascend to the throne: while looking at the image, he saw the face of Christ clearly but the sons of Romanos Lekapenos, the emperor's legitimate successors, discerned only a blurred smudge.

The final legendary tale about the icon concerns the hermit Paul of Latros, the only person considered worthy to contemplate the Holy Face. He got a copy of the image when it was miraculously replicated on a piece of linen applied to the icon. The new picture was visible exclusively to the pious monk.

The relics

THE ICON AND ITS COPIES. It is quite possible that an old icon of Christ, which gave rise to the Legend of the Mandylion, was once preserved in Edessa.[17] The presence in the region of pictures of this type were recorded in written sources. Eusebios in his *Church History* mentions painted portraits of Christ, and a Syrian *Church History* reports that at the beginning of the sixth century "an icon of the Lord Jesus, depicted in the likeness of the Galilean," was kept in the treasury of a church in Amida.[18]

The image in Edessa did not have the status of *acheiropoietos* from the outset. This ranking was a later development and opinions differ as to when and under what circumstances it happened. Some scholars suggest that an old icon was displayed for the Edessenes during Chosroes I's siege of the city in 544 in order to bolster the courage of the besieged citizens. Soon thereafter, in order to make manifest the protection of Christ through the picture, a story which raised its prestige was invented.[19] Other historians who question the dating of the relevant texts put the phenomenon in the eighth century.[20]

More references to the Edessene picture are to be found in sources from the seventh–eighth centuries, the period when Edessa was the scene of religious controversy between Monophysites and Chalcedonians. It seems that the latter owned an icon which they kept in their church and promoted as being a miraculous portrait of Christ. Throughout the prolonged conflict between these two religious parties the icon was the object

[17] The reliability of the reference to the Edessene painting in the unpublished *Vita* of St. Daniel of Glosh († 439), written at the beginning of the 6th c. by Jacob of Serugh, is still discussed by scholars, cf. Drijvers, "The Image of Edessa" (note 11), 17 f.

[18] Eusebios, *The History of the Church*, VII,18, 4, trans. by G. A. Williamson (Harmondsworth, 1981), 302; *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*, trans. by F. J. Hamilton & E. W. Brooks (London, 1899), 158. The same chronicle refers to a portrait of Christ in Kamouliana in Caesarea of Cappadocia, op. cit., 320 f.

[19] The icon is not mentioned by Prokopios who describes the same siege in *Bellum Persicum*, nor in the *Chronicle of Edessa*. It appears for the first time in Evagrios, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, 27, trans. by A.-J. Festugière, *Byzantion* 45 (1975), 386–88. See also S. Runciman, "Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3 (1929–30), 243; Cameron, "The Mandylion" (note 11), 39.

[20] Drijvers, "The Image of Edessa" (note 11), 18–19; J. Chrysostomides, "An Investigation Concerning the Authenticity of the Letter of the Three Patriarchs," in J. Munitiz & J. Chrysostomides (eds.), *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to the Emperor Theophilus and Related Texts* (Camberley, 1997), XXVIII, XXXV, XXXVIII.

of negotiations and ownership often changed hands. The quarrel ended at the beginning of the eighth century when a Monophysite merchant was able to make a copy of the icon. The duplicate, deliberately made to look antique, was so similar to the original that the Monophysites were able to pretend to the Chalcedonians that they were returning the genuine picture.[21] Since nobody was willing to acknowledge the forgery Edessa now owned two portraits of Jesus, both of equal value. In addition a couple of other copies appeared in the city, one in a Nestorian and the other in an Orthodox church. The latter was associated with the story about the healing of the daughter of King Chosroes.[22]

It seems that the Greek historians and writers knew nothing of those events. The *Chronicle* of George the Synkellos († about 810) mentions only that the whole city of Edessa still venerated the image of the Holy Face.[23] The *Vita* of St. Euthymios of Sardis, written in 831 by patriarch Methodios, recounts that the holy bishop saw it and venerated it, together with a multitude of people.[24]

However it appears that, some hundred years later, the rumour about the copies of the famous picture reached the Byzantines. In 943 John Kourkouas, the general of Emperor Romanos Lekapenos who laid siege to Edessa, spared the city in exchange for the miraculous image of the Holy Face.[25] Some liturgical texts which mention the event say that the Byzantines, wishing to be sure that they got the real treasure, confiscated all the famous Edessene relics: the letter from Jesus, his portrait and all its copies. One of the latter was later sent back.

The relic or relics were taken to Constantinople in a ceremonial journey and its arrival in the capital on August 16, 944, was declared to be a feast day. The magnificent reception organised as an imperial triumph was commemorated in several texts.[26] The most detailed account about the

[21] The story is related in the *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche Jacobite (1166–1199)*, ed. & trans. B. Chabot, 2 (Paris, 1901), 475–477; in *Acta Sancti Maris*, ed. J.-B. Abbelos (Brussels, 1885), 19; and in an unpublished text of a Syriac dialogue, Drijvers, "The Image of Edessa" (note 11), 27. See also J. B. Segal, *Edessa, the Blessed City* (Oxford, 1970), 214.

[22] Runciman, "Some Remarks" (note 19), 248 f.; S. H. Griffith, "Theodore Abu Qurrah's Arabic Tractate on the Christian Practice of Venerating Images," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985), 53–73; Drijvers, "The Image of Edessa" (note 11), 28.

[23] George the Synkellos, *Ecloga Chronographica*, ed. A. Mosshammer (Leipzig, 1984), 399,21–400,3.

[24] J. Gouillard, "La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes," *TM* 10 (1987), 34–35.

[25] The event, extensively described in Greek texts (cf. infra, note 26), was also noted in Syriac sources, cf. for instance the chronicle of Eliash bar Shinaya from Nisibis: "The year 331 [A.H. = A.D. 942/943]: In this (year) the king of the Romans wrote a letter to the king of the Arabs, in which he asked him to send him the Mandylion [Syr. *mandīlā*] which Christ had sent to Abgar, the king of Edessa, on which there was the image of Christ, so that he would release all the Arab captives who were in the realm of the Romans. And King Muttaqi gave orders to the governor of Edessa to give the Mandylion to the king of the Romans"; [Elias BarShenaya] Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni, *Opus chronologicum*, pars prior, ed. & interpr. E. W. Brooks [CSCO (62*), SS 3:7 (= 21), textus] (Paris, 1910), 211, 13–22; [CSCO (63*), SS 3:7 (= 23), versio] (Rome, 1910), 101, or *The Chronography of Gregory of Abû'l-Faraj 1225–1285 … known as Bar Hebraeus*, trans. E. A. W. Budge (London, 1932, repr. Amsterdam, 1976), 162–163; and in Arabic sources: Ibn al-Atīr, *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, VIII (Leiden, 1862), 302; Al-Masūʿdī, *Les prairies d'or*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, II (Paris, 1863), 331.

[26] Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia* [= the Logothete Chronicle], ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842), 326; Ps.-Symeon Magistros, in Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 432–33; B. Flusin, "Didascalie de Constantin Stilbès sur le Mandylion et la Sainte Tuile (*BHG* 796m)," *REB* 55 (1997), 53–79; A.-M. Dubarle, "L'Homélie de Grégoire le Référendaire pour la réception de l'image d'Édesse," *REB* 55 (1997), 5–51. See also É. Patlagean, "L'entrée de la Sainte Face d'Édesse à Constantinople en 944," in A. Vauchez (ed.), *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (chrétienté et islam)* (Rome, 1995), 21–35; Cameron, "The Mandylion" (note 11), 33–34. Almost all sources state that the icon was met at the bank of the river Sagar by an imperial official *parakoimomenos* who accompanied it to Blachernae where the Emperor was waiting. The next day

festivities is related in a work known as *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, and ascribed to Constantine Porphyrogennetos.[27] It is not clear where precisely the relics were placed immediately after the celebrations. Some sources, the *Narratio* included, mention the Pharos chapel. However the credibility of these accounts may be questioned. It is not impossible that the relics or at least the Holy Face were enshrined above the Chalke Gate, in a chapel dedicated to Christ the Saviour that was erected by Romanos Lekapenos.[28] This place was certainly the most appropriate place for the icon which, according to tradition, had been installed over the main gate of Edessa in order to protect the city.[29] Later, probably at the end of the eleventh century, the relic was moved to the Pharos chapel where it was seen by Western pilgrims.[30]

However, when the famous icon was placed near other renowned Christian relics it lost some of its prestige. It seems that it was not properly displayed but kept, possibly rolled, in a golden case[31] suspended from the ceiling of the Pharos chapel[32] and only occasionally left this place.[33]

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the procession was attended by the Emperor's two sons Stephen and Constantine and his son-in-law Constantine Porphyrogennetos, the patriarch Theophylaktos and the members of the senate. All accompanied the icon on foot as it was carried from the Golden Gate to Hagia Sophia. After a solemn mass the relic was taken to the palace but the exact location is not mentioned.

[27] *Narratio de Imagine Edessena*, ed. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* [TU 18] (Leipzig, 1899), "Beilagen," 39**–85** (PG 113, 423–54); trans. by B. Slate & al., in I. Wilson, *The Shroud of Turin. The Burial Cloth of Jesus Christ?* (London, 1978), appendix C, 315–329. The text recounts that when the Holy Face and the letter of Jesus arrived in Constantinople 15 August, enclosed in a box (called in the text *kisôtos*, "ark"), they were placed in the upper oratory of the Virgin Mary church at the Blachernae, the place traditionally attended by the emperors on that particular day to celebrate the Dormition. Still enclosed in the box they were venerated by the emperor and his court and then carried on board the imperial ship. It sailed to the Boukoleon palace where the relics were placed in the Pharos chapel. The next day they were worshipped again and taken back to the imperial ship but this time accompanied only by the sons of the emperor and Constantine Porphyrogennetos. They sailed to the western point of the city walls encircling Constantinople, obviously an apotropaic action probably recalling King Abgar's procession with the letter of Jesus around Edessa (cf. infra, p. 110). After disembarking, the relics were carried into the city through the Golden Gate and along the enlightened *Mese*, until the Augousteion and beyond, for solemn services in the sanctuary of Hagia Sophia. Later on, they were displayed on the throne in the Golden *Triclinium* while the celebrants recited the *ektene* prayer, perhaps also in reminiscence of a ritual once performed in Edessa.

[28] S. G. Engberg, "Romanos Lekapenos and the Mandilion of Edessa," expected to appear in the volume *Les reliques de la Passion*, ed. B. Flusin.

[29] The persistence of this tradition is confirmed by the custom of painting the Mandylion above or near to the entrances of a church or a sanctuary; for an example, see A. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon. Le mandylion dans l'art orthodoxe* [Zografika 3] (Prague, 1931).

[30] Cf. infra, note 32, and A. Cameron, "The History of the Image of Edessa: the Telling of a Story," in *Okeanos: Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko = Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983), 92–93 and note 58; S. Engberg, "'In His own hand' (οἰκείᾳ χειρί)," in J. Luis-Jensen & R. Mosesdottir (eds.), *Gracenotes played for Michael Chesnutt on the occasion of his 60th birthday* (Copenhagen, 2002).

[31] Designated in the texts as *kistos*, *capsula* or *vasa*.

[32] P. E. D. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II (Geneva, 1878), 211 ff., 231; K. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55," *REB* 53 (1995), 117–140, esp. 120; eadem, "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pelèrin anglais," *REB* 34 (1976), 254; Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. A. Pauphilet (Paris, 1952), 73 ff.; Nikolaos Mesarites, "Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos," in F. Grabler (trans.), *Die Kreuzfahrer erobern Konstantinopel* [Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 9] (Graz, 1958), 287.

[33] Such an occasion took place in 1036 when the icon together with the letter of Jesus and His swaddling-clothes were carried from the palace chapel to Blachernae in order to break a drought which had lasted for six months, cf. John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn [CFHB 5] (Berlin & New York, 1973), 400,39 ff.; Michael Glykas, *Annales*, PG 158, 588B–C. The event is represented in the manuscript of Skylitzes in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, vitr. 26-2, fol. 210^{v}, where the relics are carried in three rectangular boxes, cf. V. Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid* (Leiden, 2002), fig. 497.

The icon disappeared from Constantinople when the Crusaders sacked the city in 1204. Despite the fact that the object called "*sanctam Toellam tabulae insertam*" is on the list of relics ceded by Baldwin II to Saint Louis of France written in 1247,[34] two churches claimed and indeed still claim to possess the icon: San Silvestro in Capite in Rome[35] and San Bartolomeo in Genoa.

It has not been possible to find any reliable information in the written sources about the physical features of the Holy Face. Evagrios, who first mentions it, refers to the image as being "not made by human hand," but nothing is said about what it looked like or the circumstances of its production.[36] Later on it is described either as a painting, usually old and indistinct,[37] or as a miraculous imprint, impossible to comprehend or define.[38] The most informative source is the *Homily* of the Archdeacon Gregory who describes the Holy Face as it would be a painting.[39] Although his description follows the aesthetic criteria of the epoch influenced by the spiritual view of icons, Gregory also adds some "technical" details, for instance the method of drawing the facial features of Christ and the use of colours.[40]

Uncertainty about the characteristics of the Holy Face is most probably due to the fact that the icon was rarely, if ever, displayed publicly. We learn from the *Narratio* that Emperor Romanos venerated it in an unlocked box. The accounts of the Western pilgrims also refer to the inaccessibility of the relics for close inspection. Finally the miniature in the Madrid Skylitzes shows the priests carrying in procession the Mandylion, the Keramion and the swaddling-bands of Jesus in three closed cases.[41] The only text which vaguely suggests that the Mandylion might have been displayed to the faithful is the *Vita* of Paul the Younger in Mount Latros. It tells that the monk travelled to Constantinople to see the Holy Face in order to confirm that the person appearing to him in visions was really Christ.[42]

THE KERAMION. The Keramion, that is the Mandylion's miraculous impression on a tile, also existed in many copies. There are at least two sto-

[34] *Le trésor de la Sainte Chapelle* [Catalogue de l'exposition, Musée du Louvre, 31 mai – 27 août 2001] (Paris, 2001), 70–71; Riant, *Exuviae*, I (note 32), CCIX, n. 3. In Byzantine art the Keramion is depicted side by side with the Mandylion. One of the oldest representations is to be found in the manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimax, dated to the 12th c. (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, cod. Rossianus 251, fol. 12^{v}), cf. Th. Raff, "Das 'heilige Kerámion' und 'Christos der Antiphonetés'," in H. Gerndt et al. (eds.), *Dona Ethnologica Monacensia. Leopold Kretzenbacher zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1983), fig. on p. 105.

[35] On this picture, I. Ragusa, "Mandylion–Sudarium: The 'Translation' of a Byzantine Relic to Rome," *Arte Medievale* 2:5 (1991), 97–106, where the older literature is quoted.

[36] Evagrios, *Historia ecclesiastica* (note 19).

[37] Cf. the story related by Ps.-Symeon Magistros (note 26), 433, about Constantine Porphyrogennetos who, unlike the sons of Romanos Lekapenos, had been able to discern the facial features of the Mandylion, or the Life of the hermit Paul (*BHG* 1474) who owned an indistinct imprint of the Holy Face; "Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in Monte Latro," ed. H. Delehaye, *AnalBoll* 11 (1892), § 37, 150,18–151,6.

[38] Cf. infra, p. 111.

[39] von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (note 27), 212*–213*, and Dubarle, "L'Homélie" (note 26), §§ 3, 16.

[40] Dubarle,"L'Homélie" (note 26), §§ 10,11, 25. The problem is discussed by G. Dagron, "Holy Images and Likeness," *DOP* 45 (1991), 23–33; G. Wolf, "From Mandylion to Veronica: Picturing the 'Disembodied' Face and Disseminating the True Image of Christ in the Latin West," in *Paradox* (note 6), 153–179.

[41] Cf. supra, note 33.

[42] *Vita S. Pauli* (note 37), 150,18.

ries concerning its origin; one connects the relic with the replica of the image in Mabbugh-Hierapolis, another with the episode of the walled Edessene icon.[43] Moreover a version of the story relates that two holy Keramia were created in Mabbugh, because the portrait of Jesus was hidden between two tiles. One of them remained in Mabbugh, the other followed the Holy Face to Edessa.[44]

According to one tradition the Keramion, which was brought to Constantinople during the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas (966) or that of John I Tzimiskes (974), originated from Mabbugh. It was first kept in the Blachernae in a golden box ornamented with precious stones and later on deposited in the Church of All Saints.[45] Finally, by the late eleventh century it joined the Holy Face in the Pharos chapel where it was displayed in a similar way, in a golden *capsula* suspended from the ceiling on silver chains.[46] The copy that was taken from Edessa to Constantinople by Lekapenos' messengers was believed to have been returned, together with the copies of the Holy Face.[47] The Constantinopolitan relic was lost during the capture of the city in 1204.[48]

THE LETTER OF JESUS. The relic believed to be the original letter written by Jesus to king Abgar was kept in Edessa's archives. It had distinctive apotropaic connotations because its text contained the famous blessing of the city. From very early times the blessing was written on the walls of the towns and houses to afford them protection.[49] With the same purpose, and probably also very early on, it found its way into magic scrolls,[50] where it was often followed by a sign called the Seal of Christ and by his signature.[51] It seems that in time the letter was moved from the royal archives to the cathedral of Edessa and placed under the altar, inside a golden cylinder.[52]

The authenticity of the letter was questioned very early due to a tradition stating that Jesus had dictated his answer to Abgar, not written it personally. As early as 494 the text appears in the *Decretum Gelasianum* among

[43] Raff, "Das 'heilige Kerámion'" (note 34), 145–49; Flusin, "Didascalie" (note 26), 60–65; D. Spanke, *Das Mandylion. Ikonographie, Legenden und Bildtheorie der 'Nicht-von-Menschenhand-gemachten Christusbilder'* (Recklinghausen, 2000), 28.

[44] Related in the group of texts belonging to the so-called *Epistola Abgari*, cf. for instance an Arabic version, R. J. H. Gottheil, "An Arabic version of the Abgar Legend," *Hebraica* 7 (1890–91), 276–277.

[45] Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* (note 33), 271,60–61; F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d'Ohrida, Candie et Moscou* [Subsidia hagiographica 38] (Brussels, 1963), 259–260. It is represented side by side with the Mandylion in the miniature of the manuscript of John Klimax in the Biblioteca Vaticana, cod. Rossianus 251, fol. 12^{v}, cf. note 34.

[46] Anonymus Mercati, in Ciggaar, "Une description ... par un pelèrin anglais" (note 32), 245; Riant, *Exuviae*, II (note 32), 231; Mesarites "Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos" (note 32), 287.

[47] However Antony of Novgorod, ed. Riant, *Exuviae*, II (note 32), 223, mentions two *keramia*.

[48] Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. van Dieten [CFHB 11/1] (Berlin & New York, 1975), 347.

[49] F. Nau, "Une inscription grecque d'Edesse," *ROC* 21 (1918–19), 217 f.; H. Youtie, "Gothenburg Papyrus 21 and the Coptic Version of the Letter to Abgar," *HThR* 24 (1931), 61.

[50] von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (note 27), 124, 179; H. Youtie, "A Gothenburg Papyrus and the Letter to Abgar," *HThR* 23 (1930), 302; E. Drioton, "Un apocryphe anti-arien: la version copte de la correspondance d'Abgar, roi d'Édesse avec Notre Seigneur," *ROC* 10 (1915–17), 307–326, 337–373, esp. 308 f., 368–73. See also R. A. Lipsius, *Die edessenische Abgar-Sage* (Braunschweig, 1880), 21, note 1; H. Leclercq, "La légende d'Abgar," *DACL*, I (1907), col. 97.

[51] The seal itself was considered to be a very powerful holy prophylactic against all manner of illnesses, E. Testa, *Il simbolismo dei giudeo–cristiani* (Jerusalem, 1962), 362 ff.; F. Feydit, *Amulettes de l'Arménie chrétienne* (Venice, 1986), 153; Getatchew Haile, "The Legend of Abgar in Ethiopic Tradition," *OCP* 55 (1989), 386 f.; L. Melikset-Bek, "Semipečatije i ego tolkovanije," *Khristianskij Vostok* 3 (1915), 44–50, 203–205.

[52] Leo the Rhetor, in Mansi, XIII (1767), col. 191 f.

the apocryphal writings.[53] This probably detracted from the status of the relic and the portrait of Jesus gradually overshadowed it in importance. According to a tradition, which is echoed in the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*,[54] only a copy of the letter was taken to Constantinople together with the Mandylion and later sent back to Edessa. The relic, which was considered to be the original letter, first reached the capital in 1032 by the efforts of Emperor Romanos III and was preserved in the Pharos chapel, in a golden *capsula* suspended from the ceiling.[55] It seems that by that time its fame and importance was re-established because in the pilgrim accounts it is always mentioned side by side with the miraculous icon.[56] Moreover some of them refer exclusively to the letter.[57] It remained in the Pharos chapel until 1185 when it disappeared during the riots.[58]

The history of the relics shows how their importance changed over the centuries, depending on political and religious circumstances. These changes were reflected in the texts about them, which were manipulated according to contemporary topical concerns, and in the longer term in the pictorial versions of the story. Sometimes the relics were presented side by side, sometimes only one of them attracted attention. One can form an opinion about this complex process by looking more closely at the development of the legend, first in the written, then in the pictorial tradition.

Literary traditions

The Abgar legend appears for the first time at the beginning of the fourth century in Eusebios's *Church History*, but the author mentions only the correspondence between the king and Jesus. He quotes both letters (Abgar's to Jesus and that of Jesus to Abgar), referring to the documents kept in the archives of Edessa, which were his sources of information. Eusebios does not tell whether Jesus answered personally or an envoy of the king wrote down his message. The historian noted the circumstances which led to Abgar's and Edessa's conversion to Christianity but does not mention the portrait of Jesus.[59]

The pilgrim Egeria, who visited Edessa about 380 and described in detail the monuments of the city, does not mention it either. Instead she recounts a story which confirms that the legend about the special protection afforded to the city by the letter of Jesus was already well-rooted. During a Persian attack the city is said to have disappeared from the sight of the enemy, being surrounded by darkness, when the letter was carried by Abgar around the city and finally displayed outside the main gate. The

[53] E. von Dobschütz (ed.), *Das Dekretum Gelasianum* [TU 38:4] (Leipzig, 1912), 8,1–2.
[54] *SynaxCP*, 901; Macaire de Simonos-Petras (trans.), *Le Synaxaire. Vie des saints de l'Église orthodoxe* (Thessalonike, 1996), 428.
[55] Nicolaus Thingeyrensis, ed. Riant, *Exuviae*, II (note 32), 213–216; *Diegesis*, K. Ciggaar, "Une description anonyme de Constantinople du XII[e] siècle," *REB* 31 (1973), 341; Anonymus Mercati, eadem,"Une description ... par un pelèrin anglais" (note 32), 245.
[56] Riant, *Exuviae*, II (note 32), 217.
[57] Nicolaus Thingeyrensis, ed. Riant, *Exuviae*, II (note 32), 213; *Diegesis*, Ciggaar, "Une description ... du XII[e] siècle" (note 55), 341.
[58] Ephraim Ainios, *Historia Chronica*, ed. Od. Lampsides [CFHB 27] (Athens, 1990), 3001–3003; Niketas Choniates, *Historia* (note 43), 347,54–56.
[59] *Historia ecclesiastica*, I:13 (note 18), 65–69.

same famous relic caused a spring to spout up in the middle of the town when Persian troops blocked Edessa's water supply.[60]

A Syriac text called the *Teaching of Addai* seems to use the same sources as Eusebios. In a version finished between 412 and 436,[61] the portrait is mentioned, as well as the letter of Abgar and the oral reply from Jesus written down by the king's *tabularius* Hannan. The portrait is described as being the work of the same servant.[62] But its importance is not emphasised. No miracles are attributed to the image whereas the baptism of king Abgar and the Christianisation of his kingdom is ascribed to the apostle Addai.[63] Early Armenian sources, both the translation of the *Teaching of Addai* attributed to Labubna and the *History of the Armenians* by Moses of Chorene, give almost the same account but include some more details.[64]

A new element is added to the story in the Greek version of the *Acts of the Apostle Addai* (*Thaddeus*). Abgar's messenger, called Ananias (Hannan), is not able to fulfil the king's wish, that is to immortalize the appearance of Jesus, and receives from him a kerchief with an imprint of his wet face.[65] The letter of Jesus is not mentioned. It is difficult to establish the time of this important change in the legend,[66] as opinions about the final redaction of the *Acts* differ, placing it between the middle of the sixth century and the beginning of the eighth century.[67]

However, from about the eighth century the unnatural circumstances of the creation of the portrait of Jesus were used as the standard explanation of the origin of the painting. An account similar to the *Acts* is found in the anti-Iconoclastic work *Antirrhetikos*, written before 820 by the patriarch Nikephoros, which is considered to be the first unequivocal Byzantine testimony of the Edessene image.[68] The same concerns the longest version of the Abgar legend preserved in the anonymous Syriac *Chronicle to the year 1234*.[69]

When Evagrios mentions the siege of Edessa by Chosroes I in his *Church History* written in 594, he associates the military success of the Ed-

[60] Égérie, *Journal de voyage*, ed. P. Maraval [SC 296] (Paris, 1982), 17–19; P. Devos, "Égérie à Édesse. S. Thomas l'Apôtre. Le Roi Abgar," *AnalBoll* 85 (1967), 392–400.

[61] J. W. Drijvers, "The Protonike Legend, the Doctrina Addai and Bishop Rabbula of Edessa," *VigChr* 51 (1997), 288–315.

[62] Some scholars suppose that this fragment has been interpolated since it is not present in the oldest versions of the legend, R. Peppermüller, "Griechische Papyrusfragmente der Doctrina Addai," *VigChr* 25 (1971), 289–301.

[63] G. Howard, *The Teaching of Addai* (Chicago, 1981), 9–11; Cameron, "The History of the Image" (note 30), 81 f.; Drijvers, "The Image of Edessa" (note 11), 15–17.

[64] Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, ed. R. W. Thomson (London, 1978), 167–171; M. A. Carrière, "La légende d'Abgar dans l'*Histoire d'Arménie* de Moïse de Khoren," in *Centenaire de l'École des langues orientales vivantes 1795–1895: recueil de mémoires publié par les professeurs de l'École* (Paris, 1895), 357–414. About the visit to Edessa of St. Rhipsime and her companions and their contact with the portrait of Jesus, see B. Outtier & M. Thierry, "Histoires des saintes hripsimiennes," *Syria* 67 (1990), 697, 709.

[65] *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. R. A. Lipsius & L. M. Bonnet (Leipzig, 1891; repr. Hildesheim, 1972), I, 273–278, and B. Flusin, "Christianisme byzantin," *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études. Section des sciences religieuses* 106 (1997–98), 389–395 (Résumé des conférences et travaux).

[66] The discussion concerning the time and circumstances which changed the painting into a *acheiropoietos* carried on for a long time, cf. Runciman, "Some Remarks" (note 19), 244 ff.; E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images before Iconoclasm," *DOP* 8 (1954), 103 f.; recently Cameron, "The Mandylion" (note 11), 39 ff.; Drijvers, "The Image of Edessa" (note 11), 18 ff.

[67] von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (note 27), 212; Cameron, "The History of the Image" (note 30), 91; Drijvers, "The Image of Edessa" (note 11), 23–25; Flusin, "Christianisme" (note 65), 391.

[68] Nikephoros, *Antirrhetici adversus Constantinum Copronymum*, PG 100, 461 A–B.

[69] Here the letter is mentioned and Abgar wants the portrait to be painted on wood; *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. J.-B. Chabot [CSCO 81–82] (Louvain, 1916–20); trans. by idem [CSCO 109] (Louvain, 1937), and A. Abouna [CSCO 354] (Louvain, 1974), 96 f.

essenes with the presence of the miraculous picture among the defenders.[70] It helped to kindle the fire that destroyed the earthworks raised by the Persians around the city in preparation for the final assault. In Evagrios' text, which is rather short and not totally clear, the picture is called an icon *not made by (human) hands*, but there is no description of its appearance. Evagrios' account was, and still is, used as an important reference point in discussions about the introduction of the *acheiropoietos* story into the literary tradition, even though a closer examination of the text shows that the important passage is an interpolation, most probably introduced during the iconoclastic controversy.[71]

Although scholars are unsure when exactly the miraculous portrait entered the Christian tradition they do agree that it happened quite a long time before the first iconoclastic period. During that controversial epoch the idea was already so deep-rooted in the consciousness of the people that it could be used as an argument against iconoclastic theology.

Among many texts from the iconoclastic period that provide an account of the origin of the Holy Face the earliest are two works of John of Damascus, the treatise *De fide* and the *florilegium* appended to the text *De imaginibus*.[72] In both, the stories of Abgar and the portrait—an imprint on cloth—are briefly recounted. The writer only develops the motif that the image came directly from Jesus and that it was created with his full consent. In *De fide* we even find an explanation why the painter did not attempt the task: the face of Jesus, we learn, shone so brightly with supernatural light that he was unable to see it. However this passage, which became important in the later development of the legend, is presently regarded as a later interpolation.[73]

In the text known as the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*,[74] written in defence of the icons in the ninth–mid-tenth centuries, the Holy Face of Edessa occupies an important place. It opens the list of the twelve most famous miraculous objects that were presented as arguments justifying the veneration of icons. The story of the portrait contains new elements as compared with earlier versions: the face of Jesus was sweaty, not wet, when he printed it on a towel and his supernatural force made the piece like a colour painting and as precise as a reflected image.[75] It was also Christ himself who first sent the imprinted towel to Abgar. Finally, the report of the miracle which rescued Edessa from Chosroes's army[76] recounts that the wind turned the flames on the Persian army, not that the flames were quenched. This text is the only one to name Eulalios, the bi-

[70] Evagrios, *Historia ecclesiastica* (note 19).

[71] Cf. the arguments in Drijvers, "The Image of Edessa" (note 11), 19 and 30; Chrysostomides, "Investigation" (note 20), XXV–XXX.

[72] PG 94, col. 1173, 1261B; *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, ed. B. Kotter (Berlin, 1973), II, 206–208; III, 145–146,

[73] Chrysostomides, "Investigation" (note 20), XXVII–XXXI.

[74] *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* (note 20). The question of the authenticity of this enigmatic text has not been completely clarified. New material that asks for revision of the conclusion in the English edition of the text was brought to light recently by D. Afinogenov, "The New Edition of 'The Letter of the Three Patriarchs': Problems and Achievements," due to appear in *Σύμμεικτα* 16 (2004).

[75] In the oldest version of the document presented by Afinogenov (note 74), these two latter features of the image are not mentioned.

[76] In the Slavonic version Chosroes besieges not Edessa but Jerusalem and the Holy Face is brought there by the visiting Metropolitan of Edessa, see J. Porfiriev, "Apokrifičeskije skazanija o novozavetnikh licakh i sobitijakh po rukopisam Solovetskoj Biblioteki," *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*, t. 54:4 (1893), 239–244, 250–252.

shop of Edessa, who discovered the holy image and carried it around the walls.[77]

The next and most important step towards a more comprehensive redaction of the legend is the so-called *Narratio de imagine Edessena*,[78] composed at the court of Constantine Porphyrogennetos in connection with the translation of the Mandylion to Constantinople. The text is skilfully compiled even in the sections about the miracles and supernatural phenomena. In an attempt to be objective the author included different versions of the same events, and left it to the reader to decide their reliability. There is, for instance, "another story" about the origin of the picture, which is connected to the agony of Jesus in Gethsemane. In some cases the author even mentions his sources: Evagrios and the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* are among them.[79]

A slightly reworked version of the *Narratio* was incorporated into the menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes while the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*[80] contains a shortened version, enriched with some additions which seem to derive from the *Acts of Thaddeus*.

The homily for the *translatio* written by Gregory, a referendarios in Hagia Sophia, probably contemporary to the event, adds the episode of the Mandylion's crowning with a wreath and describes the procession in Old Testament terms, recalling Aaron and the people of Israel rejoicing after crossing the Red Sea or David dancing in front of the Ark.[81]

When the letter of Jesus, considered to be the original, arrived in Constantinople in 1032, the text called *Epistola Abgari* was composed. It is believed that the story was the work of a Christian Arabic writer who used an old version of the Abgar legend. He begins with a quotation of the letter, points to its apotropaic features and encourages the reader to use it as an amulet. The seal of Jesus is also mentioned and its hidden mysteries explained. The story of the portrait is briefly recounted: the holy image was not brought to Edessa together with the letter but was acquired during the second visit of Abgar's envoy to Jesus. The narrative contains the miracle of the Keramion, the healing of a lame man, and ends with the baptism of Abgar.[82]

The *Synopsis historiôn* compiled by George Kedrenos in the twelfth century belongs among the later texts which recapitulated the whole legend and therefore may be regarded as a source of inspiration for the artists during the Palaiologan epoch.[83] It seems that his primary sources were the *Epistola* and the *Narratio* from which he excerpted the main versions of the episodes.

The legend of the Edessene image was also well known in other parts of the Christian Orient, as the versions in Coptic, Arabic, Georgian, Ar-

[77] An almost identical text is to be found in Ps.-Damaskenos's *Letter to Theophilos*, PG 95, 349 C–D, see also J. A. Munitiz, "Wonder-working ikons and the Letters to Theophilos," *ByzForsch* 21 (1997), 115–123.

[78] *Narratio* (note 27), 424–53.

[79] The investigation of the work is not yet finished, and not all of its sources are identified, but it is clear that beside the Greek version of the *Acts of Thaddeus*, the Oriental, in the first place Syriac, texts must be taken into consideration, Flusin, "Christianisme" (note 65), 389–395.

[80] *SynaxCP*, 899–901; *Le Synaxaire* (note 54), 426–429. This version omits the passage describing the journey of the Mandylion on a boat around Constantinople and shortens the account of Romanos's participation in the festivities.

[81] Dubarle, "L'Homélie" (note 26), § 16, 18.

[82] *Epistula Abgari*, in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, I (note 65), 279–283.

[83] Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), I, 308–315.

menian, and Ethiopic testify. Brief accounts are found in the synaxaria in these languages but there are also more extended versions which circulated independently. Usually they contain episodes linking them with local traditions which are absent from the Greek texts. Almost all the oriental versions emphasize the apotropaic character of the relic and its power of healing.[84]

Pictorial traditions

Contrary to the written sources, which are both numerous and rich in variants, the pictorial material preserved is somewhat sparse. If we exclude the panels from Sinai, which cannot be regarded as narrative representations of the legend,[85] the earliest cycle is to be found in two Metaphrastic menologia, both dated to the second half of the eleventh century.[86]

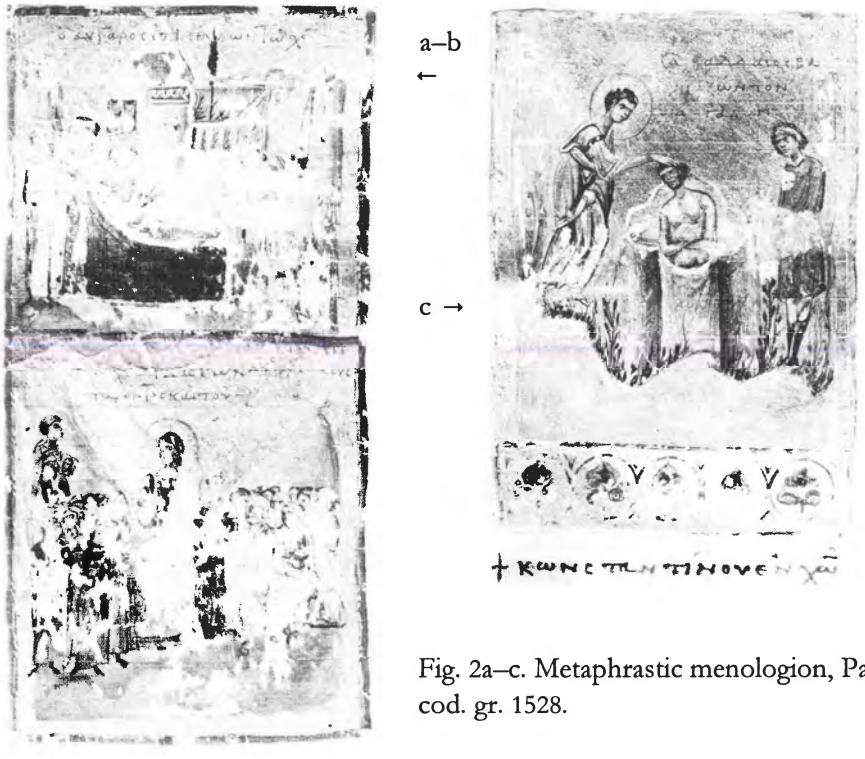

Fig. 2a–c. Metaphrastic menologion, Paris, cod. gr. 1528.

In a menologion in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale, cod. gr. 1528) three miniatures (Fig. 2a–c) accompany the text. They are found on the *verso* and the *recto* of two successive folios and create a visual entity. In the first, Abgar, lying in bed, hands his letter to an envoy, who, according to the story,

[84] For instance, a Syriac text recounts that immediately after a thief dropped the portrait in a spring its water started to show healing powers, especially efficient against gout, *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, II (note 69), 135; see also Segal, *Edessa* (note 21), 250. In one of the Ethiopic versions the special qualities of the portrait and the letter are described by Jesus himself who invited the faithful to use them as amulets, cf. S. Grébaut, "Les relations entre Abgar et Jésus," *ROC* 21 (1918–19), 73–87, 190–203, esp. 200–203.

[85] Cf. note 9.

[86] H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II (Paris, 1888), 80; S. Der Nersessian, "La légende d'Abgar d'après un rouleau illustré de la Bibliothèque Pierpont Morgan à New York," in eadem, *Études Byzantines et Arméniennes*, I (Louvain, 1973), 180; K. Weitzmann, "The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogennetos," *CahArch* 11 (1960), 171; N. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago & London, 1990), 142, and microcard B3–B4.

found Jesus in the open air, preaching to the people. He sat down aside on a rock and started to paint him.[87] The second scene depicts this moment. The painter of the miniature cleverly sidestepped the complicated issues surrounding the creation of the portrait of Jesus and depicted the painting as being already finished.[88] The baptism of Abgar by the apostle Thaddeus completes the cycle. The choice of episodes makes a good summary of the Abgar legend, as both the letter and the portrait are important parts of the story.

The illustration in the second menologion (Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 382) is composed of four pictures, all gathered on one page (Fig. 3a–d).[89] The first scene is the same as in the Paris menologion. In the second, Christ sits writing his answer in the presence of Abgar's messenger who is holding the letter from the king. Here the painter follows in detail the illustrated text which recounts that Jesus did not need to read the letter because he already knew what it contained.[90] In the third scene, Christ

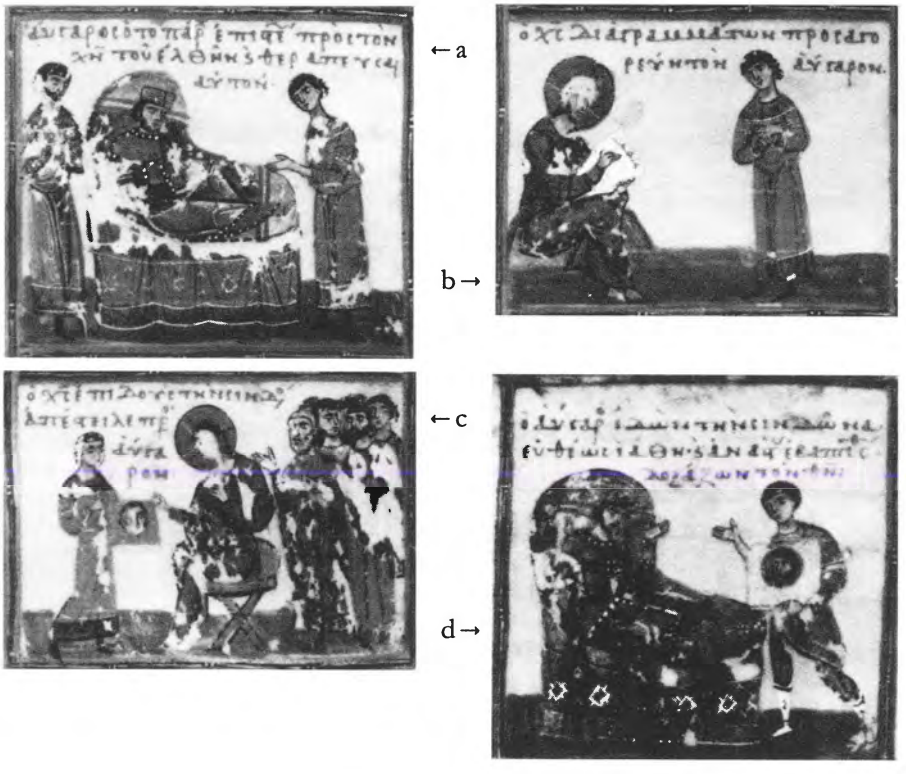

Fig. 3a–d. Metaphrastic menologion, Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 382.

hands the veil bearing his image to the messenger, and in the fourth, Abgar, who seems to rise from his bed, stretches out his hands to receive the portrait. Here also the legend is skilfully summarised and the importance of both letter and image is stressed. However, the higher status of the portrait is emphasised by the concluding scene which alludes to the healing power of the image.

[87] Cf. for instance *Narratio* (note 27), 429A.

[88] Der Nersessian, "La légende" (note 86), 180, interprets the scene differently. According to her the messenger was able to paint the portrait, consequently the miniature depicts the Syrian version of the event.

[89] V. N. Lazarev, *Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*, I (Moscow, [2]1986), 109, 313.

[90] *Narratio* (note 27), 429B. The idea is present already in the Syriac text of the *Acts of Mari* dated to the 7th century, *Acta Sancti Maris* (note 21), 12 ff.

Two other examples of the legend are known from Georgia, where the cult of the Mandylion was very popular. According to local tradition, the Keramion was brought to Georgia in the middle of the sixth century by the thirteen "Syrian fathers" who were regarded as the founders of Georgian monasticism.[91] An icon representing the face of Christ, which was considered to be the true image from Edessa, was kept in the cathedral of Anči.[92] The two oldest pictures of the Mandylion also came from Georgia: one, dated to the seventh century, was kept in the cathedral of Cromi and the second, dated to the eighth–ninth centuries, in the church of Telovan.[93]

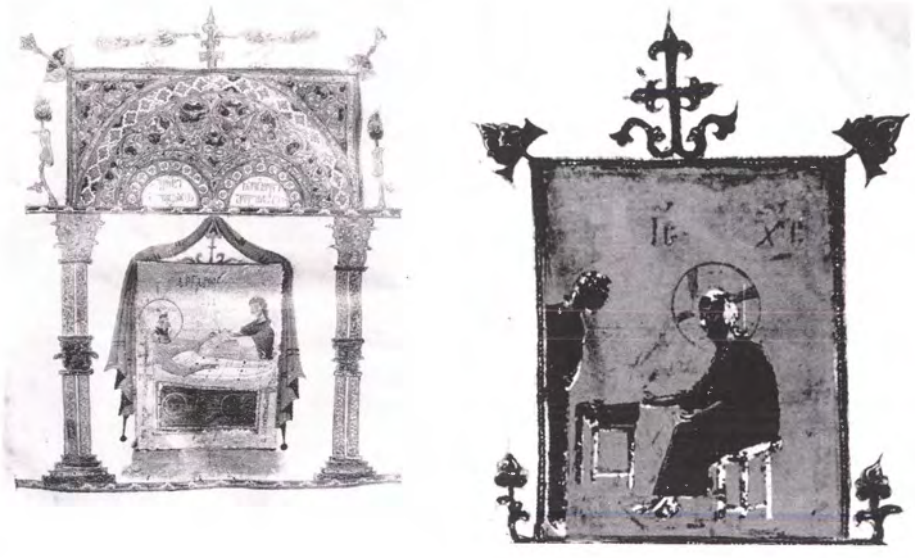

Fig. 4a–b. Alaverdi Gospel Book, Tbilisi, cod. A. 484.

The older of these two, composed of four miniatures, decorates the so-called Alaverdi Gospel Book (Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, cod. A. 484), dated 1054.[94] It follows the Georgian short version of the legend, which was composed by St. Euthymios of Athos at the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh century. The text[95] is based on a Greek version which seems to develop the oriental traditions, mostly the Syriac *Teaching of Addai.*

[91] A. Murayev, *Gruziya i Armeniya*, I (St. Petersburg, 1848), 1–9; Z. Skhirtladze, "Canonizing the Apocrypha: the Abgar Cycle in the Alaverdi and Gelati Gospels," in *Paradox* (note 6), 70 f.

[92] V. Putsko, "Les images clipeatae chrétiennes primitives et l'icone du Saveur d'Anči," *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 2 (1986), 202 f.

[93] Š. Arminašvili, *Istorija gruzinskoj monumentalnoj živopisi* (Sekhelgami, 1957), 23–30; T. Velmans, "Valeurs sémantiques du mandylion selon son emplacement ou son association avec d'autres images," in *Festschrift für H. Hallensleben* (note 6), 173–184.

[94] Written in the Georgian monastery on the Black Mountain near Antioch.

[95] It is known only from the Alaverdi manuscript, N. Čkhikvadze, "Avgarozis apokripis kartuli redakciebi (= Georgian versions of Abgar's apokryphon)," *Proceedings of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, Series on Linguistics and Literature* 4 (1992), 65–82. Text with a translation into Russian by A. Khakhanašvili in "Ekspeditsija na Kavkaz 1892, 1893, 1895," in A. Chachanov (ed.), *Materialy po arkheologii Kavkaza* 7 (1898), 11–17.

Fig. 4c. Alaverdi Gospel Book, Tbilisi, cod. A. 484.

The introductory scene is the same as in the Metaphrastic menologia: a messenger is sent with the letter of Abgar (Fig. 4a). In the second scene, Jesus dictates his answer to Abgar's envoy (Fig. 4b).[96] The next picture, which represents a city gate marked with a cross, is to be associated with Christ's promise about the inviolability of Edessa, an important moment which is accentuated in the Syrian tradition (Fig. 4c). The closing scene, as in the Paris menologion, depicts the baptism of Abgar. On the whole, this manuscript and its pictorial suite confirm the hypothesis of Kurt Weitzmann, developed without knowledge of the Georgian examples, that the oldest Syriac version of the legend had been illustrated.[97]

Fig. 5a. Gelati Gospel Book, Tbilisi, cod. Q. 908.

The second Georgian cycle decorates the so-called Gelati Gospel Book (Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, cod. Q. 908) dated to the twelfth century, which contains a long version of the legend. The text was composed in the eleventh century by St. George of Athos,[98] and is similar to the *Epistola Abgari*.[99] Ten miniatures decorate the text[100] but some are divided into more than one episode, making the cycle much longer. The first scene depicts the king lying in bed while a servant hands his letter to a messenger (Fig. 5a). The artist appears thus to depict the king's serious illness since he was unable to instruct the envoy himself. The next two episodes show the exchange of the letters: a messenger gives Abgar's letter to Christ and receives his answer, written on a scroll (Fig. 5b).[101]

[96] The scene was wrongly identified by scholars as representing Jesus writing the letter to Abgar, A. Khakhanašvili, *Očerki po istorii gruzinskoj slovesnosti*, I (Moscow, 1895), 16; I. Myslivec, "Skazanie o perepiske Khrista s Avgarom na russkoj ikone XVII veka," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932), 188; Skchirtladze, "Canonising" (note 91), 80. It is clear however that Jesus is not depicted writing the letter. A piece of paper in his left hand represents the letter from Abgar; he gives his answer verbally and the messenger leans towards him, in order to hear better.

[97] Weitzmann, "The Mandylion" (note 86), 170.

[98] Cf. Čkhikvadze, "Avgarozis" (note 95), 71–79.

[99] O. Podbedova, "Programma dekora Gelatskogo Evangelija kak otraženije idejnykh dviženii vtoroj poloviny XII veka," in *2nd International Symposium on Georgian Art* (Tbilisi, 1977), 10 ff.

[100] N. Pokrovski, "Opisanie miniatjur Gelatskogo evangelija," *Zapiski Otdelenija Russkoj i Slavjanskoj Arkheologii Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologičeskogo Obščestva* 4 (1887), 307–311.

[101] Since the illustrated text is close to the *Epistula Abgari* where the letter of Jesus is followed by an explanation of the seven seals, the Georgian painter dedicated a separate miniature to them (fol. 289r).

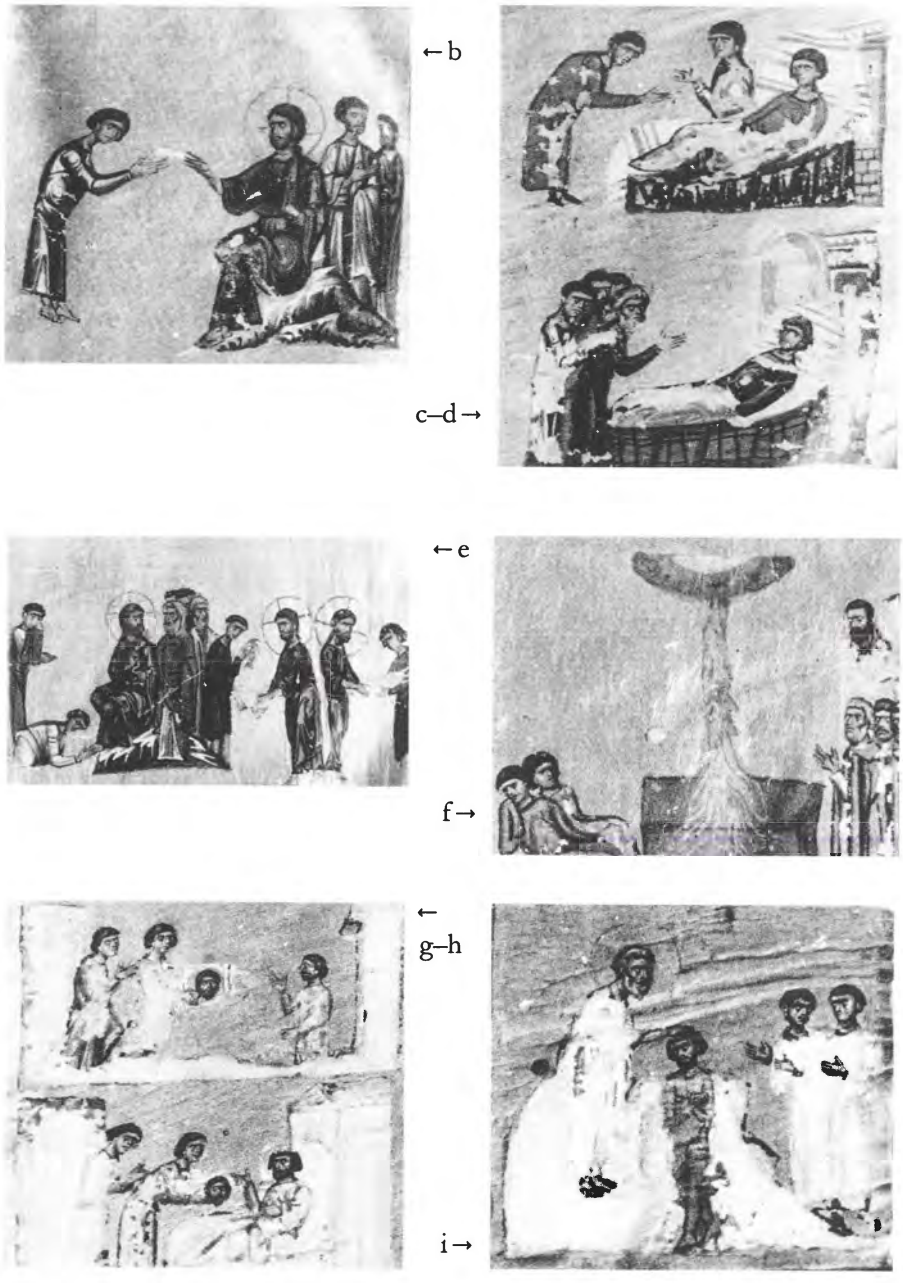

Fig. 5b–i. Gelati Gospel Book, Tbilisi, cod. Q. 908.

The next miniature, following the text of the *Epistola*, tells the story of the portrait and shows the king accompanied first by two, then by a group of people (Fig. 5c–d). The conventional composition makes it difficult to determine which episodes of the story are depicted here. The first probably shows the departure of the painter. As for the second, we may surmise that it refers to the linen used for the portrait which, as some texts suggest, was taken from Edessa to Jerusalem by the painter.[102] The first meeting between Jesus and the messenger and his unsuccessful effort

[102] On this topic see infra p. 119.

to produce the portrait is omitted from this version of the story,[103] but later it closely follows the text (Fig. 5e). Jesus sees the painter's problem and asks for the piece of linen, which the artist, bowing ceremoniously, then hands to him. Jesus uses it to dry himself but his printed face is not visible when he hands the linen back to the painter. The imprint is not depicted in the next scene either, which shows the episode in Mabbugh (Fig. 5f). It appears for the first time in two subsequent scenes, which represent a cripple being healed by touching the picture (Fig. 5g), and Abgar being restored to health by the mere sight of the portrait (Fig. 5h). The baptism of the king closes the suite (Fig. 5i).

Fig. 6a. St. Mary in Mateič.

Fig. 6b. St. Mary in Mateič.

An unusual version of the legend is represented in the unique example of a wall-painting, dated to the middle of the fourteenth century, in

[103] An Arabic version gives a more down-to-earth explanation of the messenger's difficulties with the portrait: he was a sculptor, not a painter; Gottheil, "An Arabic Version" (note 44), 276.

the Serbian church of St. Mary in Mateič (Fig. 6a–c).[104] Two of the three scenes tell the story of the linen brought from Edessa by Abgar's messenger. In the first scene, Jesus, accompanied by a group of disciples, is clearly gesticulating towards Abgar's messenger, whose hands are raised in admiration. A large piece of linen hangs over his shoulder which is explained by the inscription: "Here you have the linen (*sondon*) from Abgar."[105] The second scene takes the account to its next stage: the linen, now in the messenger's hands, is handed over to Jesus. The story is not continued, as the final scene shows Abgar respectfully bowing in front of the Mandylion held by the messenger.

Fig. 6c. St. Mary in Mateič.

It is clear that a large pictorial cycle with each episode divided into several consecutive phases was the model for the Mateič paintings. This would have greatly facilitated the understanding of the intricate story. What is not clear is why the linen episode was chosen to decorate the church. Christopher Walter pointed out that both the paintings and the *Epistola Abgari* contain the story and both use the word *sondon* in their description.[106] There is, however, a difference between the text and the pictures in the staging of the event. According to the *Epistola*, Jesus and Abgar's messenger met in a synagogue, whereas the wall painting shows them in an open landscape.[107] Moreover, in the *Epistola* the episode is brief whereas the two scenes in the paintings suggest that they are derived from a longer text. There is in fact an Armenian version of the *Teaching of Addai* where the linen sent by Abgar is the subject of a lengthy narrative.[108]

[104] N. Okunev, "Gradja za istoriju srpske umetnosti. 2. Crkva Svete Bogorodice Mateič," *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* 7–8 (1930), 89–119; V. Petkovič, "Abgarova legenda u freskama Matejiča," *Prilozi z Literatury* 12 (1932), 11–19; Walter, "The Abgar Cycle" (note 6).

[105] Jesus and one of the apostles are holding a scroll. It may be the letter of Jesus, even though this part of the story is not represented here.

[106] Walter, "The Abgar Cycle" (note 6), 222, 229.

[107] Cf. the Paris menologion and the Gelati Gospels (figs. 2b, 5b).

[108] B. Outtier, "Une forme enrichie de la Légende d'Abgar en arménien," in V. Calzolari Bouvier et al. (eds.), *Apocryphes arméniens: transmission – traduction – création – iconographie. Actes du colloque interna-*

Fig 7a–f. Scroll, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, cod. 449.

That the *Epistola Abgari* itself was also illustrated is proved by the existence of a scroll decorated with thirteen miniatures and dated to the fifteenth or sixteenth century (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, cod. 449).[109] On this, the depiction of the *Epistola* text is interrupted twice by scenes from the life of the apostle Thaddeus.[110] The Abgar suite begins in the usual way (Fig. 7a–b) with two pictures representing the exchange of letters between the king's messenger and Jesus, and another depicting the delivery of the letter to Abgar. The next miniature takes up the story of the portrait: Abgar sends a painter carrying a linen cloth and Jesus returns it, now bearing the offprint of his face (Fig. 7c). The depictions of the miracle with the Keramion (Fig. 7d) and the healing of a cripple who runs to Abgar announcing the arrival of the Mandylion (Fig. 7e) are both divided into two miniatures. In the closing scene Abgar receives the holy image (Fig. 7f).

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tional sur la littérature apocryphe en langue arménienne, Genève, 18–20 septembre 1997 (Lausanne, 1999), 129–145, esp. 133, 139. A similar topic appears in a Greek version, cf. Yassā ʿAbd Al-Masīḥ, "An unedited Bohairic Letter of Abgar," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 54 (1954), 28–31.

[109] Der Nersessian, "La légende" (note 86); G. Vikan (ed.), *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An exhibition in honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1973), 194 f.

[110] Der Nersessian, "La légende" (note 86), 176 f.

Summing up, at least three important points should be stressed about the pictorial material:

— the cycles described above differ from each other, even when they illustrate the same literary unit. Generally the relationship between the illustrated texts and the pictures is not very close but some manuscripts render the story more exactly than others.

— all the pictorial cycles are limited to the *Legend of Abgar*, even in the *Epistola* scroll, although the story is continued in that text.

— the secondary episodes in the Gelati Gospel Book and the subdivision of one episode into a couple of consecutive phases in the Mateič murals suggest that an extensive cycle once illustrated the legend of the origin of the Edessene relics.

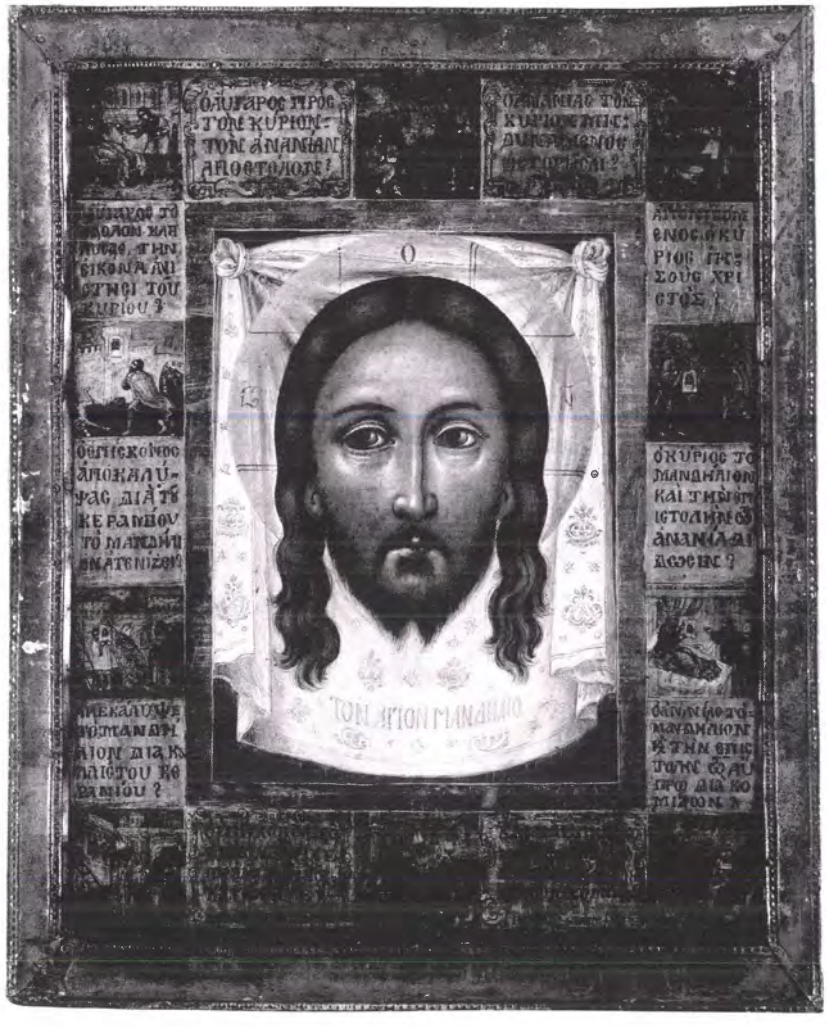

Fig. 8. Cretan copy of the *Volto Santo*, 18th c.; Buckingham Palace, London.

The cycle of the Genoese *Volto Santo*

The scenes on the frame of the *Volto Santo* are arranged in the following way (Fig. 1). The narrative starts in the upper left corner and develops clockwise through five scenes. The remaining five scenes go clockwise,

starting from the upper left panel.[111] The explanatory inscriptions which accompany each relief are not easy to decipher. Fortunately we can consult a very close Cretan copy of the Genoese icon dated to the eighteenth century (London, Buckingham Palace, the Royal Collection)[112] where the legends are noted in a calligraphic script (Fig. 8).[113]

In the first relief (Fig. 9a), introduced by the inscription Ὁ Αὔγαρος πρὸς τὸν Χ(ριστὸ)ν Ἀνανίαν ἀποστέλλων ("*Abgar sending Ananias to Christ*"),[114] the king gives his letter to a messenger. This episode introduces most of the texts and most of the pictorial cycles. The relief portrays Abgar lying in bed under a quilt, without royal attributes. This differs from the versions shown in the miniatures of the menologia and that of the *Epistola* rotulus, where Abgar, dressed in the regalia of a Byzantine emperor, is sitting rather than lying. However the two Georgian miniatures seem to stress his bad health. In the Alaverdi manuscript he lies outstretched under a quilt, in the Gelati Gospel Book he seems so weak that a servant has to hand the letter to an envoy.

Fig. 9a and 9b. *Volto Santo*, first and second relief.

In the *Teaching of Addai* and some other old sources, the king's illness is only mentioned, often without details concerning its nature.[115] Some of the later texts follow this tradition, but in others, mainly oriental, the nature of the illness is specified and its symptoms are exaggerated.[116] We find this in the *Narratio*, which often used oriental sources,[117] in the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum* and in Kedrenos. Since in the relief the king is represented lying in bed as a mere mortal, which expresses the seriousness of his illness, we can surmise that the artist was trying to illustrate one of the texts which emphasised the king's disorder.

[111] Dufour Bozzo, *La cornice* (note 6), 15, enumerates the artefacts where a similar disposition of the scenes is applied.

[112] Inv. no. 1567 403934; cf. G. Morello & G. Wolf (eds.), *Il Volto di Cristo* [Catalogue of an exhibition held in Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni] (Milan, 2000), III.9.

[113] I wish to thank Professor J. O. Rosenqvist for help with reading and translating the inscriptions.

[114] The Cretan painting has τὸν κύριον, "the Lord", for τὸν Χ(ριστόν), "Christ."

[115] *The Teaching of Addai* (note 63), 9, describes it as "a certain illness." Eusebios reports that it was incurable, *Historia ecclesiastica* (note 19), 65.

[116] Leclercq, "La légende d'Abgar" (note 50), col. 93. Abgar is most often mentioned as suffering from leprosy or podagra.

[117] The king suffered from leprosy and arthritis. He was confined to bed and disfigured to such a degree that he never appeared in public and even refused to meet his friends, *Narratio* (note 27), 427A.

In the second relief (Fig. 9b) Jesus, holding a *rotulus*, is standing in front of the seated Ananias, who is holding a tablet. He is not drawing but looks at Jesus with wide-open eyes and gestures in allocution. Only the upper part of the head of Jesus is visible on his tablet. These details suggest the painter's lack of success with his portrait, not being able to capture the face of Jesus. The inscription expresses the same idea: Ὁ Ἀνανίας τὸν Χ(ριστὸ)ν μὴ δυνάμενος ἱστορῆσαι ("*Ananias being unable to portray Christ*").[118]

The episode, which explains why the portrait of Jesus was created by a miracle, is based on the old belief that a human being cannot look at the Godhead or comprehend its real appearance. In the old Christian writings there are many examples of such thoughts.[119]

The scene where Jesus presses the linen to his face is not included in other Mandylion pictorial cycles, even though the event is known from many written sources. It is first implied in the *Acts of Thaddeus*, then developed in John of Damascus's version of the story.[120] Later, it is mentioned by the historians George the Monk (9th c.) and Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (14th c.). According to these authors, the light which emanated from the face of Jesus was so intense that it dazzled the painter.[121] Another version suggests that the painter's difficulties were due to constant changes in the features of Jesus.[122] In the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum* an attempt was made to combine both versions, stating that the face of Jesus changed constantly because incomprehensible grace emanated from it.[123] An explanation, similar but worded very solemnly, is to be found in Constantine Stilbes's *Didaskalia* on the Mandylion.[124] In the *Narratio* the event is not mentioned at all. According to one of the Ethiopian versions, the painter was able to complete his task, but by the next day the face of Jesus had changed and the portrait was no longer a good likeness.[125] The topic returns in the later development of the legend. One story tells that God's favourite, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and the less lucky sons of Lekapenos perceived the portrait differently.[126] There are, however, no pictorial versions of this account.

The third relief (Fig. 9c) accompanied by the inscription Νιπτόμενος ὁ Χ(ριστό)ς ("*Christ washing himself*")[127] represents the first part of the episode, which recounts the miraculous origin of the Mandylion: a servant is pouring water from a pitcher on to the hands of Jesus. This episode,

[118] The Cretan painting again has τὸν κύριον, "the Lord", for τὸν Χ(ριστόν), "Christ."

[119] For instance the apocryphal *Acts of John* describe how the apostle saw Christ once change himself into a young man and once into an old man. G. Stroumsa, "Polymorphisme divine et transformation d'un mythologème: l' 'Apocryphon de Jean' et ses sources," *VigChr* 35 (1992), 412–434. In the Syriac apocryphon *On the revelation of the Magi*, known from the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, Jesus shows himself to the Magi in different forms, *Incerti auctoris chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, tr. J.-B. Chabot [CSCO 121, SS, Versio] (Louvain, 1929), 45–70, esp. 47, 66–67. The problem of Christ's polymorphism is the subject of research carried on by H. Garcia, cf. Flusin, "Christianisme" (note 65), 393.

[120] *De fide orthodoxa* (note 72), 1173.

[121] Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1904, repr. Stuttgart, 1978), I, 321; II, 740, 785; Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 2:7 (PG 145, 771). Light is also a factor which enabled the creation of copies of the Mandylion.

[122] Kedrenos (note 83), 309: διὰ τὸ ἑτέρᾳ καὶ ἑτέρᾳ ὄψει φαίνεσθαι.

[123] *SynaxCP*, 896; *Le Synaxaire* (note 54), 426.

[124] Flusin, "Didascalie" (note 26), 73–75.

[125] Getachew Haile, "The legend of Abgar" (note 51), 401.

[126] Cf. note 37.

[127] The Cretan painting: Ἀπονιπτόμενος ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ("*The Lord Jesus Christ washing himself*").

which is mentioned for the first time in the *Acts of Thomas*, is illustrated only in the Gelati Gospel Book, even though it is mentioned in many written sources. In the miniature the scene is included in a suite of episodes connected to the event.[128] It differs from the relief because the servant has a basin as well as a pitcher, a detail mentioned only in the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum.*

Fig. 9c and 9d. *Volto Santo*, third and fourth relief.

The next phase of the episode is represented on the fourth relief (Fig. 9d). Jesus, who has already dried his face, hands the Mandylion to Ananias. It is clear that the Mandylion was a piece of linen because the artist has carefully marked its fringed edge. There is one more detail which deserves attention. The imprinted face of Jesus on the linen, with shoulder-long hair and a pointed beard, differs from the face of the relief figure. It is the face of the central icon of the *Volto Santo*, i.e. the archetypal image of Christ.[129]

The presentation of the imprint is portrayed in the menologion of Moscow and in the *Epistola* rotulus, but somewhat differently from the relief. In both cases the Mandylion is already in the messenger's hands and Jesus is sitting on a throne. The picture in the menologion has a more clearly narrative character. Lively gesturing people gathered behind Jesus should be connected with the *Epistola Abgari* version. According to the text a group of spectators witnessed the miracle and loudly expressed their admiration and reverence. The miniature of the *Epistola* rotulus, with a composition limited to two figures and with the archetypal face of Christ, has much more in common with the relief.

One more detail must be noted in connection with this particular relief. The inscription Ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς τὸ μανδήλιον καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Ἀνανίᾳ διδούς ("*Christ giving the Mandylion and the letter to Ananias*")[130] does not correspond to the representation because only the portrait is depicted. Jesus is portrayed on relief number 2, holding a letter, whether Abgar's or his own is unclear. It seems that the artist is illustrating the story of the image specifically, since the topic of the letter is apparently of less importance to him.

[128] See supra p. 118 and Fig. 5e.

[129] This feature is repeated in all representations of the Mandylion depicted on the frame. Sometimes the cross-nimbus is visible behind the head but this detail does not seem to be significant.

[130] The Cretan painting: Ὁ κύριος τὸ μανδήλιον καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Ἀνανίᾳ δίδωσιν ("*The Lord gives the Mandylion and the letter to Abgar*").

Fig. 9e. *Volto Santo*, fifth relief.

The fifth relief (Fig. 9e), described by the inscription as Ὁ Ἀνανίας τὸ μανδήλιον καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Αὐγάρῳ διακομίζων ("*Ananias bringing the Mandylion and the letter to Abgar*")[131] shows the accomplishment of the messenger's mission. He stands close to the king's bed, holding a scroll. Abgar already has the portrait in his hands. He embraces it and presses his face against the picture of Jesus. It is not a gesture of reverence, as some scholars suppose, but depicts his desire to be cured by direct contact with the relics.[132] As most versions of the story reveal, Abgar was healed by the holy picture. The relief represents the very moment when the king, relieved of his suffering, lowers his legs towards the floor, ready to rise up from the bed.

Such an "explicit" illustration of the healing episode seems to be unique. The Moscow menologion, the Gelati Gospel Book, the *Epistola* rotulus and the wall painting in Mateič all depict what happened in different ways. In all four, the Mandylion is shown to Abgar by the messenger, but each renders the reaction of the king differently. In the *Epistola* rotulus, the healing of Abgar is not even suggested: he lies in bed in the same position as in the introductory scene. The menologion and the Gelati Gospel Book show the king stretching his hands towards the picture. In some ways, this corresponds to the text of the *Epistola Abgari* which recounts that Abgar recovered immediately after he took the Mandylion into his hands. According to Kedrenos, the king had been healed whilst venerating the picture, a version which seems to correspond most closely with the Mateič wall painting. The Synaxarium speaks about Abgar in *proskynesis*, but none of the known representations follows this.

In the *Narratio*, Abgar's recovery is attributed to the healing powers of the Mandylion, but it takes place when the apostle Thaddeus arrives in Edessa with the image. Apart from this detail, the description evokes close associations with the scene in the relief.[133] When Thaddeus, accompanied by the people, moved towards the palace, the apostle bound the portrait to his forehead.[134] The light which emanated from the portrait was so bright that Abgar was able to see the approaching procession from afar. At first he was petrified by fear, but then he jumped from his bed and ran towards Thaddeus, his legs no longer being paralysed. He took the Mandylion in his hands and reverently put it on his head, then touched the picture with his lips and other parts of his body. He immediately realised that his illnesses were leaving him.

[131] The inscription of the Cretan painting is identical.
[132] The text of the *Epistola* contains the instruction that the letter from Jesus should be placed upon the head in order to drive away evil spirits.
[133] *Narratio* (note 27), 434.
[134] *Narratio* (note 27), 434–45. A long comment, which explains the unusual behaviour of the apostle, is to be found in the homily composed by Gregory Referendarios, Dubarle "L'Homélie" (note 26), 20.

Fig. 9f. *Volto Santo*, sixth relief.

The sixth relief (Fig. 9f) with the inscription Ὁ Αὔγαρος τὸ εἴδολον καταλύσας τὴν εἰκόνα ἵστησι τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ (“*Abgar, having overthrown the idol, raises the image of Christ*”)[135] depicts the results of Edessa’s conversion. The king, wearing a purple cloak and a crown, stands surrounded by his officials outside the walls of the city. Two columns are visible in front of him: an idol is falling from one of them, on the other the portrait of Christ is exhibited.

The Syriac *Teaching of Addai* mentions only that the portrait was kept in the royal palace. It says nothing about the fall of old gods but does mention a huge pagan temple in the middle of the city and a church which was built by the orders of Abgar.[136] From a later Syriac source it appears that the holy image, enclosed in a gold cylinder together with two *keramia* and the letter of Jesus, was kept in this church under the altar until 1029.[137] Leo the Rhetor, who wrote about 787, tells that the image, usually hidden in a box, was displayed during the first week of Lent and venerated by an especially composed *officium*. Covered with a white hanging, it was carried in procession around the church and finally placed on a throne.[138]

Moses of Chorene does not say where the picture was preserved but assures us that during his time it was still in Edessa. From him we also learn that the pagan temples in the city were closed and statues of idols on columns were covered.[139] According to the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*, the Holy Face was kept in a niche above the city gate where it replaced the statue of an idol. By order of Abgar, the relic was accompanied by the inscription: *Christ and God. Who believes him will never meet a misfortune.*[140] The *Narratio* and Kedrenos add that the picture was fastened to a panneau and decorated with gold. It is possible that the latter two authors might have had in mind a frame of some kind.[141]

The scene represented in the relief seems to have no direct pictorial parallels. The other illustrated stories about Abgar are completed either by the king receiving the image, or by his baptism. The closing miniature of the Alaverdi Gospel Book depicting Edessa is almost analogous. It shows the wall of the city and a niche in the gate, but with a cross inside (Fig. 4c).[142]

The next three scenes illustrate events during the siege of Edessa by Chosroes in the year 544 and the circumstances leading up to it. From the story which is described in detail in the *Narratio* we learn that Abgar’s

[135] The Cretan painting: Ὁ Αὔγαρος τὸ εἴδολον καταλύσας τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνίστησι τοῦ κυρίου (“*Abgar, having overthrown the idol, raises the image of the Lord*”).
[136] Howard, *The Teaching of Addai* (note 63), 53, 65, 69.
[137] G. Khuri-Sarkis, “Le Livre du guide de Yahya ibn Jarir,” *L’Orient Syrien* 12 (1967), 307. A Syriac manuscript dated 723, British Library, Or. 8606, mentions the church called the “House of the Image,” but without any further details.
[138] Leo the Rhetor (cf. note 52).
[139] Carrière, “La légende” (note 64), 397, 399.
[140] *SynaxCP*, 897; *Le Synaxaire* (note 54), 427–428.
[141] *Narratio* (note 27), 435 and 438; Kedrenos (note 83), 311.
[142] This iconographic formula corresponds with the illustrated text which recounts only the exchange of letters and does not mention the Mandylion, cf. supra p. 116.

grandson, who had reverted to paganism, decided to treat the portrait just as his grandfather had treated the statues of the old gods, that is to destroy it. The bishop of Edessa thwarted his plans. He hid the portrait in a wall niche, lighted a lamp in front of the icon and covered the place with bricks. Many hundreds of years later, the troops of Chosroes besieged Edessa and began to climb the walls of the city with the help of sophisticated war machines. They also dug a tunnel under the city wall in order to penetrate the city at a crucial moment in the battle. When there seemed to be no hope for the Edessenes, a woman appeared in a dream to bishop Eulalios. She advised him to find the Mandylion because the promise given by Jesus to Abgar was still valid and the portrait would save the city. The bishop found the relic, which was lighted by the continuously burning lamp, as well as two imprints which the portrait had left on the bricks. The holy image was carried to the tunnel by the Edessenes who intended to repel their enemies under ground. The oil from the lamp which burned in front of the image set fire to the explosives collected in the passage and a huge fire killed the Persians working there. According to another version, also reported in the *Narratio*,[143] the Persian war machines were sprinkled with water that had been in contact with the holy picture. The water, miraculously changed into oil, lit the fire, which consumed the Persian construction. The final victory was also the miraculous work of the Mandylion. When the Persians encircled the city with fire, the bishop Eulalios, carrying the holy image, went in procession around the walls. A heavy wind blew up and turned the flames back onto the enemy, destroying the whole army.

Fig. 9g and 9h. *Volto Santo*, seventh and eighth relief.

The scenes seem to follow the text of *Narratio*. The first shows a cleric climbing up a ladder which leans against the column surmounted by the image (Fig. 9g). The holy picture is hidden in a niche and lighted by a hanging lamp. The cleric holds its replica, reverently covered by a textile, in his hands. A partly illegible inscription describes the scene: Ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἀποκαλύψει (read ἀποκαλύψας?) διὰ τοῦ κεραμιδίου τὸ μανδίλιον ἐπὶ(?) τει...ει ("*The bishop will uncover* [*after having uncovered?*] *the Mandylion with the little* keramion...").

[143] The *Narratio* seems here to follow the *Letter of the three Patriarchs*, cf. note 23.

The second relief (Fig. 9h) shows more or less the same setting except that a cleric, now in the presence of another person, is climbing down the ladder holding a replica of the Mandylion. The inscription reads: Ἀποκαλύψει (read ἀπεκάλυψε?) τὸ μανδήλιον διὰ καλλίστου κεραμιδίου ἔχοντος τὴν εἰκόνα ("*He will uncover* [*He uncovered?*] *the Mandylion with a beautiful little* keramion *which has a picture*").

It is not easy to determine what is represented here. Since the first picture shows both the portrait of Christ and the imprint, the scene may depict bishop Eulalios finding the Mandylion and the Keramion. The inscription seems to confirm such an interpretation. If this is the case, however, the second relief would be a repetition. On the other hand, it is probable that the inscription mistakenly reads "will uncover" instead of "will cover", although the picture does suggest that the icon is being bricked up, because the ecclesiastic is climbing up a ladder. Taking that into consideration, we may surmise that the first relief was intended to depict the saving of the Holy Face, when paganism made its comeback during the reign of Abgar's grandson, and the second, the continuation of the story when the Mandylion and its copy were discovered hundreds of years later.

If our explanation is correct, one more detail in the first relief remains obscure. The *Mandylion* is depicted twice: first in the hands of the bishop and then inside a niche, waiting to be bricked up. A closer examination of the face of Christ engraved on the object held by the bishop shows that it differs from all other representations of the Holy Face on the frames. It cannot be excluded that this detail may be an addition by somebody who realised the inconsistency between the inscription and the picture and decided to "correct" the latter.[144]

Unfortunately the Cretan copy of the Genoese icon does not help to clarify the problems which arise in connection with the first relief (Fig. 8). Although this painter did not make a mistake (a bishop's attendant, holding the Mandylion, approaches a ladder leaning against a wall which contains an empty niche), the accompanying inscription remains unclear: Ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἀποκαλύψας διὰ τοῦ κεραμείου τὸ μανδήλιον ἀτενίζει ("*When the bishop has uncovered the Mandylion by means of* [*taking away*] *the keramion he contemplates it*"). Moreover the inscription on the second scene, showing a bishop displaying the Mandylion to the people gathered around a wall containing an empty niche is also misleading: Ἀπεκάλυψε τὸ μανδήλιον διὰ καλλίστου κεραμίου ("*He uncovered the Mandylion by means of* [*taking away/removing*] *a beautiful keramion*"). It is obvious that the uncertainty about the meaning of the events continued throughout the centuries.

Much easier to interpret is the third scene of this intricate story, accompanied in the Genoese icon by the following text: Ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τὸ ἔλαιον τῷ πυρὶ ἐπιχέων τοὺς Πέρσας κατέκαυσε ("*The bishop poured oil on the fire and burned the Persians*") (Fig. 9i).[145] The bishop Eulalios, with the help of an oil lamp sanctified by close contact with the Mandylion, sets fire to Edessa's enemies. Since the Persians are sitting surrounded by flames, huddled in a pit below the city walls, we can surmise that the artist wished to depict the enemies as being killed in the tunnel.

[144] I wish to thank Johan Heldt for his valuable reflections on the problems signalised above.

[145] The Cretan painting: Ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τὸ ἔλαιον ἐπιχέων τοὺς Πέρσας κατέκαυσε ("*The bishop poured oil and burned the Persians*").

A detail of the relief proves once again that he was not really acquainted with the story. The Mandylion is still depicted outside the city even though most texts state that it was its presence inside the wall of Edessa that caused the downfall of the Persians.[146]

Fig. 9i and 9j. *Volto Santo*, ninth and tenth relief.

The relief which closes the cycle renders the journey of the portrait from Edessa to Constantinople as first reported in the *Narratio* (Fig. 9j). It depicts a ship with three persons on board and the portrait of Christ standing in the stern. The inscription, partly damaged, may be reconstructed as follows with reference to the Cretan icon: Τοῦ μανδιλίου διακομ<ιζομένου εἰς> Κωνσταντινού<πολιν δαιμονιζόμενος> ἰάθη ("*When the Mandylion was being brought to Constantinople a man possessed by a demon was healed*").[147]

It seems that the artist has summarised a long fragment of the story by juxtaposing two separate episodes in one relief. They are not easy to recognise because lack of space forced him to drastically abbreviate the pictorial formulae. The beginning of the episode, not mentioned in the inscription, concerns the miracle, which occurred on the riverbank at Edessa when the Mandylion, followed by two bishops and a Muslim representative, was carried on board. The indignant citizens of the city decided to stop the procession but were prevented by strong currents. Meantime the boat, carrying the bishops and the portrait, cast off from the shore, even though no one had touched the oars. In the relief, a large circle surrounding the group probably represents a surging wave of water, and an oar visible lying on one side suggests that the boat is moving by its own power. There is however, one detail in which it differs from the story. The *Narratio* reports that during the journey the Mandylion was locked up in a box,[148] while on the relief the portrait is fully visible. Since the text strongly emphasises that the transfer of the Mandylion was accomplished in accordance with God's wish, it cannot be excluded that the display of the image symbolises that its divine power is directing the journey.

The figure floating over the boat belongs to the other episode. Its frenzied movement and the inscription allude to the story of a mentally ill

[146] According to them, both the Mandylion and the Keramion carried in procession around the city caused the destruction of the Persian troops, *SynaxCP*, 900; *Le Synaxaire* (note 54), 428.
[147] The Cretan painting: Τοῦ μανδηλίου κομιζομένου εἰς Κωσταντινόπολη δαιμονιζόμενος [σ]ιάθη.
[148] The rectangular objects in the hands of two persons in the boat could be either books or boxes with two other relics, the letter and the Keramion.

person who prophesied before the Mandylion about the accession to power of Constantine Porphyrogennetos and then was immediately healed. The story is included in all the texts which describe the journey of the Edessene image to Constantinople but its clearly political message suggests that it could have arisen in circles connected to Constantine.

To summarise the observations on the frame of the Genoese icon: unlike all other depictions of the Mandylion legend, the frame contains a cycle which recounts the whole story of the holy image and the related relics, i.e. the letter from Jesus and the Keramion. The cycle is composed of ten pictures but in fact represents at least seventeen episodes. The choice of episodes for the cycle and the iconography of the particular scenes allow us suppose that the whole legend had once been extensively illustrated, not just the account of Abgar, as it appeared from the analysis of other pictorial suites. We may further assume that the comprehensive and skilfully formulated *Narratio de imagine Edessena* was the most likely text to have inspired the creation of such a cycle.

It is known that the largest pictorial narratives were developed for the manuscripts, since ability to consult the text freely promoted the development of continuous illustration. If a richly illustrated manuscript of the *Narratio* was ever created, it would have been a very exclusive book produced in a very limited number of copies. It was easy for such a rare object to disappear or be lost, much easier than for more common liturgical books. Consequently it should not be surprising that not one example of the illustrated *Narratio* is presently known to exist while the menologia, evangelaria and the apotropaic *Epistola* scroll containing the Mandylion legend have survived, sometimes in more than one copy.

However, it cannot be excluded that a glimpse of the extensive pictorial suite of the *Narratio* may be preserved on the frame of the Genoese *Volto Santo*. A comparative analysis of the scenes with relevant pictorial and textual material proves that the cycle of the frame was not an original creation but the result of a redaction, which abbreviated a larger pictorial model. The abbreviations are not very skilfully made and the suite of scenes does not identify the focal points of the story. Their choice and composition are devoid of clarity and importance. Some episodes occupy more than one relief while others, equally important, are missing or crowded onto one panel. The same lack of skill is shown in the formulation of the inscriptions. Some of them do not follow the narration properly, others do not correspond with the linked representations. Also the iconographical errors made by the artist show that he was not very familiar with the legend of the Mandylion.

Finally, it is difficult to agree with the opinion of André Grabar that the relief presents a remarkable quality of design, careful modelling of the clothing of the figures and admirable aptness in displaying the nuanced expressions on their faces.[149] In fact, the design is by no means skilful. The figures are stocky, the folds of draperies are linear and the faces, predominantly rendered in three-quarter profile, are schematic and bereft of

[149] Grabar, *Les revêtements* (note 10), 63.

expression. On the whole, one has the impression that we are dealing here with a copy, quickly made and not very well conceived.

One may ask what kind of model our artist used. Analysis of the scenes shows that an illuminated manuscript with the Mandylion legend would be least likely. The iconographical and compositional errors noted on the frame would hardly have occurred, had the artist been able to consult an illustrated text. His model could have been a wall painting, since the church in Mateič proves that the legend found its way on to the walls of the churches. However, if we look closer at the iconography of the scenes where a very limited number of figures and details are depicted, that possibility must also be dismissed. The most plausible answer seems to be a small-sized artefact. It could have been metalwork or an icon similar to the *Volto Santo* but painted.

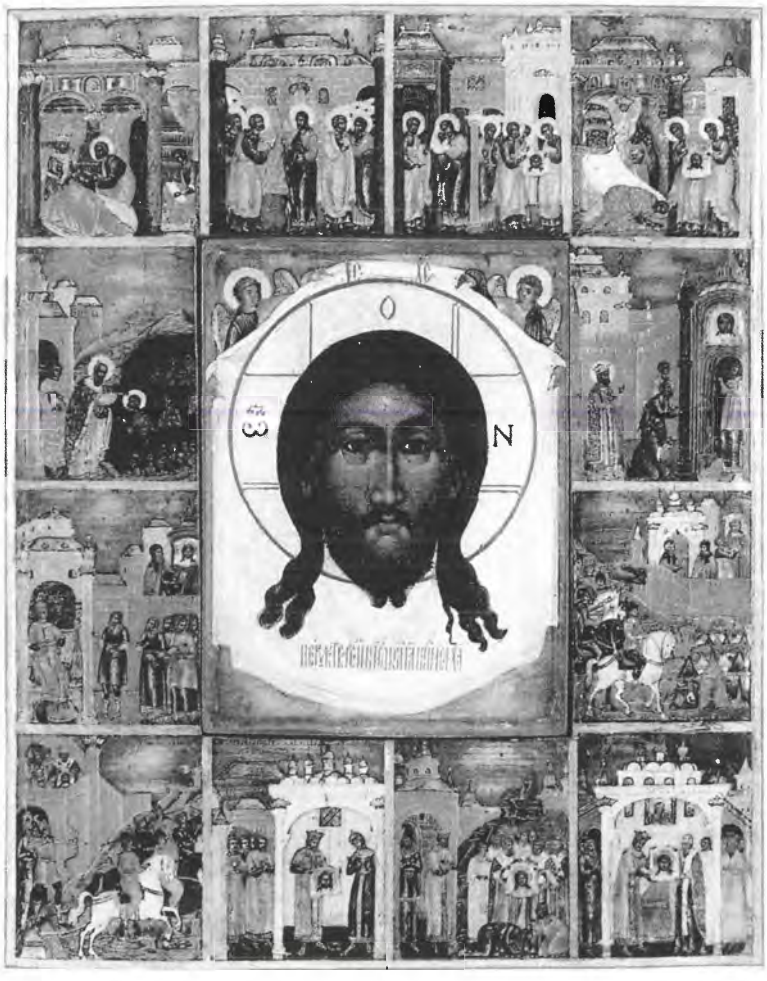

Fig. 10. The Mandylion. Russian icon (18th c.), Recklinghausen, Ikonenmuseum.

The icons which presented the main subject, surrounded with narrative scenes, are so-called "biographical" or "reading" icons, which became popular from the twelfth century.[150] In some of them the pictorial *diegesis* of the events became very stretched, represented either separately, one by one, or in short sequences.[151] Unlike metalworking, where the number of

[150] Belting, *Likeness and Presence* (note 9), 249–260.
[151] Cf. the examples in K. Manaphes (ed.), *Σινᾶ. Οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς Ἱ. Μονῆς Ἁγ. Αἰκατερίνης* (Athens, 1990), figs. 46, 51–53.

details which keep the picture story moving is necessarily limited, painting could easily multiply them for the sake of the narrative. These small details which are important for the coherent and free-flowing development of the story are difficult to discern and errors could easily appear when a cycle is abbreviated, especially by a person with a superficial knowledge of the text.

Not a single old icon representing the Mandylion legend seems to have been preserved but some idea of such a work could be had by looking at a Russian painting dated to the eighteenth century (Fig. 10).[152] Here the story is divided into twelve scenes, which depict seventeen episodes, but the cycle belongs to a pictorial tradition different from that of the Genoese *Volto Santo* and the painted copy from the British Royal collection. For instance, the journey of the Mandylion to Constantinople and the accompanying events are omitted. Instead the reception of the Holy Face in the capital is expanded into four episodes which have a historical rather than legendary character.[153]

Having taken all this into consideration, we may conclude that the question about the direct model for the frame of the Genoese icon remains without a definite answer because of limited and disparate comparative material. For the same reasons it is uncertain whether the compositional and iconographic errors were those of the artist himself, were transferred from his model, or were a combination of both factors.

[152] Recklinghausen, Ikonenmuseum, coll. Gleser, Inv. no. L.720. The central movable part is dated to the first part of the 18th c., the painted frame to the second part of the same century, cf. *Il Volto di Cristo* (note 112), no. III.10. Another example is an icon painted by Fjodor Zubov, preserved in the church Spas Nerukotvornyj, Moscow; cf. V. Brjusova, *Fjodor Zubov* (Moscow, 1985), fig. 74 (painted frame dated to the 19th c.).
[153] Op. cit., 96.1841

Additional note: The scroll illustrated in Fig. 7 (p. 129) above and its second fragment (presently at the University of Chicago Library, cod. 125) were recently shown at the exposition of Byzantine art in the Metropolitan Museum, New York City, March 12 – July 4 2004; cf. the catalogue, H. C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (New York, 2004), 438–439, no.265AB.

Unfortunately, the article by P.Hetherington, "The frame of the *Sacro Volto* Icon in S. Bartolomeo degli Armeni, Genoa: the Reliefs and the Artist," *CahArch* 50 (2002), 175–184, appeared too late to be considered here.

"Strangle Them with These Meshes of Syllogisms!": Latin Philosophy in Greek Translations of the Thirteenth Century

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FROM *C.* 1125, ARISTOTLE,* and to some extent other philosophical and scientific authors, were again translated directly from Greek into Latin, after an interruption of about six centuries. This is today common knowledge among Byzantinists as well as non-Byzantinists. So, of course, is the fact that the Latinization of ancient philosophy and science played an important part in the tremendous widening of the horizons of medieval thought that took place in Western Europe in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. As far as Aristotle is concerned, we may say that this Latinization process was completed in the 1260s and -70s, when William of Moerbeke produced a nearly fully revised and extended version of Aristoteles Latinus.[1]

It is perhaps not equally common knowledge that about the time when Moerbeke was active, i.e. the first decades after the reconquest of Constantinople from its last "Latin" ruler by Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1261, philosophical and scientific texts were also, though on a much lesser scale, translated from Latin into Greek.[2] Among the many translations

* My sincere thanks are due to those who have read and commented on drafts of this paper: the Greek Seminar at Göteborg University in the autumn of 1999; Monika Asztalos; Sten Ebbesen; Jon van Leuven.

[1] There is a useful survey of translations and translators in B. G. Dod, "Aristoteles Latinus," in N. Kretzmann (ed.), *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1982), 45–79. A short updated summary will be found in J. Marenbon, "Bonaventure, the German Dominicans, and the New Translations," *Routledge History of Philosophy*, vol. 3, *Medieval Philosophy*, ed. by J. Marenbon (London, 1998), 225–240, esp. 226 f.

[2] As early as 1252 a Greek textbook on "Indian" numbers and algorithms, probably based primarily on Leonardo Fibonacci's then half-century-old *Liber abaci*, was composed; ed. A. Allard, "Le premier traité byzantin de calcul indien: Classement des manuscrits et édition critique du texte," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 7 (1977), 57–107. Two of the chapters seem to presuppose an Arabic original: idem, "Ouverture et résistance au calcul indien," in *Colloques d'histoire des sciences I (1972) et II (1973), org. par le Centre d'histoire des sciences et des techniques de l'Univ. cathol. de Louvain* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1976), 87–100; and, with somewhat greater caution as to the dependence on Fibonacci, idem (ed.,

Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 13 (Stockholm, 2004).

that were executed by Maximos Planoudes in this period we find such works as Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and Macrobius' commentary on it, Augustine's *De Trinitate*, and Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*. All these translations by Planoudes have appeared in critical editions during the last decade.[3]

Two other works by Boethius were translated in the 1260s by Manuel Holobolos: the *De topicis differentiis* and *De hypotheticis syllogismis*. These are works on logic that were very influential in the Western schools. (I shall return to Holobolos and his translations later; they, too, are available in modern editions).[4] It has been suggested lately that Holobolos may also have been behind the Greek version of the pseudo-Aristotelian *De plantis*.[5] This work has a truly remarkable history of transmission, of which its Greek translation forms a vital part. It was composed in the first century BC by Nicholas of Damascus, using material from (partly lost) works of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Nicholas' Greek original has been lost, but was translated into Syriac, and the Syriac version was done into Arabic. At the end of the twelfth century the Arabic version was done into Latin by Alfred of Sareshel. Alfred's Latin translation was then translated back into Greek, and this Greek version eventually made its way into the early printed editions of Aristotle. It retained its position in Bekker's standard edition of 1831. I do think there are good reasons for accepting the attribution of the medieval Greek *De plantis* to Holobolos, but I shall have to defer that discussion to another occasion. Apart from the *De plantis* all the works that I have mentioned here, as well as all the others translated by Planoudes, may be said to be culled from the literary canon of the Late Middle Ages.[6] It has been pointed out, too, that with the emergence of Greek versions of the two logical works by Boethius "all the core *auctores* used in Western faculties of arts [were] available" to Byzantine students.[7]

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trans.), *Maxime Planude: Le grand calcule selon les Indiens* [Trav. de la Faculté de philos. et lettres de l'Univ. cathol. de Louvain, 27; Centre d'histoire des sciences et des techniques. Sources et travaux, 1] (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1981), 3–5.

[3] Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*: A. Pavano (ed.), *Maximus Planudes, M. Tullii Ciceronis Somnium Scipionis in Graecum translatum* (Rome, 1992); Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis*: A. C. Megas (ed.), *Μαξίμου Πλανούδη (1255–1305) τοῦ ὑπομνήματος εἰς τὸ "ὄνειρον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος" τοῦ Μακροβίου μετάφραση* (Thessalonike, 1995); Augustine, *De trinitate*: M. Papathomopoulos, I. Tsavari, G. Rigotti (eds.), *Αὐγουστίνου Περὶ Τριάδος βιβλία πεντεκαίδεκα, ἅπερ ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετήνεγκε Μάξιμος ὁ Πλανούδης*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1995); Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*: M. Papathomopoulos (ed.), *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii De Consolatione Philosophiae: Traduction grecque de Maxime Planude* [CPhMA: Philosophi Byzantini, 9] (Athens – Paris – Brussels, 1999).

[4] D. Z. Nikitas (ed.), *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung von Boethius' "De hypotheticis syllogismis"* [Hypomnemata, 69] (Göttingen, 1982); idem (ed.), *Boethius, De topicis differentiis καὶ οἱ μεταφράσεις τῶν Μανουὴλ Ὁλοβώλου καὶ Προχόρου Κυδώνη* [CPhMA: Philosophi Byzantini, 5] (Athens – Paris – Brussels, 1990).

[5] H. J. Drossaart Lulofs and E. L. J. Poortman (eds.), *Nicolaus Damascenus, De Plantis: Five Translations* (Amsterdam – Oxford – New York, 1989), 567.

[6] So W. O. Schmitt, "Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz. Die Übersetzungen des Maximos Planudes und die moderne Forschung," *JÖBG* 17 (1968), 127–47, here 135 f. The other known translations by Planoudes are *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*; *Disticha Catonis*; Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides* as well as a choice of his amatory poems. On the first of these, see W. O. Schmitt, "Pseudo-Cyprians 'De duodecim abusivis saeculi' in der Übersetzung des Maximos Planudes," in J. Irmscher and P. Nagel (eds.), *Studia Byzantina*, II [BBA, 44] (Berlin, 1973), 13–36. Translations wrongly ascribed to Planoudes (esp. the *Ianua* or Ps.-Donatus) are discussed in Schmitt, "Lateinische Literatur," 140–46. It is doubtful whether a complete translation of Juvenal by Planoudes ever existed: the only evidence is Planoudes' own statement to that effect in a scholion on his translation of the *De consolatione philosophiae*: S. Kugéas, "Maximos Planudes und Juvenal," *Philologus* 73 (1914– 1916), 318 f.; cf. N. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), 230, note 2.

[7] S. Ebbesen, "Greek and Latin Medieval Logic," *CIMAGL* 66, 67–95, here at 80.

Byzantine-Latin contacts in the thirteenth century

It is probably no coincidence that the first known Greek translations of literary texts from Latin since Pope Zachary's days appear in the early Palaiologan period.[8] The capture of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204 certainly must have dealt a hard blow to the institutions of learned culture (not least the libraries) in the city. The recovery took time and began not in Constantinople but in the rather more provincial atmosphere around the Laskarid court at Nicaea. Still we should perhaps be wary of exaggerating the immediate negative consequences of the Latin Empire for the study of philosophy and science in Byzantium. This study had been slowly declining for decades. Nor should the positive effects of the presence of the crusaders be underestimated. Wolfgang Schmitt suggested in a paper on Planoudes' translations that the Latin Empire forced upon Byzantium "das Ende der politischen und kulturellen Isolierung von den lateinsprachigen Staaten des Westens."[9] It is true that Schmitt probably went much too far in speaking of cultural isolation with regard to twelfth-century Byzantium, but it can hardly be denied that for the Greek East the year 1204 ushered in a period of highly intensified contact with Western culture, and, admittedly, unculture.

This contact may have had a stimulating effect on Byzantine intellectual life generally. Thus, for example, the incipient debate over theological issues with well-educated Catholic missionaries may have fanned the growing interest in logical studies in the thirteenth century.[10] In initiating and maintaining such a dialogue the rapidly expanding activity of the Mendicant Orders played a crucial role.[11] Nikephoros Blemmydes was impelled to make a somewhat questionable vindication of the Orthodox dogma of the procession of the Holy Ghost after an awkward exchange between the Byzantine "consul of the philosophers" and members of the papal embassy to Nicaea in 1234 (Blemmydes, *Autob.* 2.25–41). A similar performance on Blemmydes' part was necessitated at Nymphaion in 1250 (Blemmydes, *Autob.* 2.50–60). The hypothesis that there was a connection between these experiences and the rather un-Byzantine declaration, in Blemmydes' preface to his *Epitome logica*, that knowledge of logic is useful for theological studies, does not seem implausible.[12] At both the above-mentioned occasions it was left to Friars Preachers and Minors to plead the Catholic cause.[13]

[8] Thus excepting translations of the Mass made for the benefit of Greek-speaking Catholics in southern Italy: see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330–1600)* (New Haven – London, 1976), 99 f.

[9] "Lateinische Literatur," 127.

[10] So Ebbesen, "Greek and Latin Medieval Logic," 78–80.

[11] On the activity of the Dominicans in the East see, most recently, C. Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains et la Chrétienté grecque aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Rome, 1997), as well as the classic study by R.-J. Loenertz, *La Société des Frères Pérégrinants: Études sur l'Orient Dominicain*, 1 [Inst. hist. FF. Praedicatorum Romae: Diss. hist., fasc. 7] (Rome, 1937).

[12] Ebbesen, op. cit., 79.

[13] Blemmydes' opponents in 1234 were the Franciscans Haimo of Faversham and Brother Rudolf, and the Dominicans Peter of Sézanne and Brother Hugo. Rudolf, and probably also Hugo, knew Greek: B. Altaner, "Die Kenntnis des Griechischen in den Missionsorden während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Humanismus," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 53 (1934), 436–93, esp. 450–53. For accounts of the debate, which is related in both Greek and Latin sources, see J. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy 1198–1400* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1979), 66 f., and J. A. Munitiz (trans.), *Nikephoros Blemmydes, A Partial Account* [Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 48] (Leuven, 1988), 8–10. Accounts of philosophical debates with Greek and Latin participants especially in the letters of Theodore Doukas Laskaris are discussed in F. Tinnefeld, "Das Niveau

At the Second Council of Lyons presided over by Gregory X in the summer of 1274 this dialogue between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholics reached its peak. The greatest intellectual personality of the time, the Dominican Thomas Aquinas, died on his way to the Council. But the Franciscan Bonaventure had the opportunity to engage in fruitful conversations with the Byzantine envoys until he, too, departed this life before the sessions closed. The Aristotelian translator, William of Moerbeke, was in the papal legation. Also present was the Greek Franciscan, John Parastron, for years a tireless intermediary between the curia and the Constantinopolitan court. The two last mentioned seem to have been, together with an unknown number of bishops from southern Italy, the only participants conversant in both languages. Among the representatives of Michael VIII we may note the Grand Logothete, George Akropolites, and the ex-patriarch, Germanos III Markoutzas.[14] The Union of the Churches was promulgated on 6 July, 1274. It lasted only so long as Michael VIII was alive.

One of the most interesting documents concerning the Byzantine–Latin rapprochement at this time is (the second part of) a memorandum (*Opus tripartitum*) written by the former Dominican general Humbert of Romans as part of the preparations for the Council of Lyons.[15] Humbert discusses, with undeniable historical and psychological sensitivity, why the schism started and why it continues, and makes proposals as to how it could be settled. It may in the present context be of particular interest to note that Humbert reckons as one of the causes of the continuance of the schism the decline of learning and science among the Byzantines; according to him this has led to stubborn traditionalism and unwillingness on the latters' part to enter into any kind of constructive dialogue on theological questions.[16] Suggested steps to take to ameliorate the situation include, among many other things, that more Catholics should learn Greek, and study and translate not only Greek philosophy but also theology; moreover, Latin works should be translated into Greek.

We know that Humbert had the pope's ear.[17] But there is no evidence that Gregory or any of his close successors took initiatives to have contemporary Latin literature, whether theological or not, translated into Greek. Of course, the Dominican and Franciscan Rules in time appeared in Greek versions.[18] A contemporary secondary source states that works by Aquinas were translated by Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac, the founder of the Dominican convent at Pera *c.* 1305, but these will scarcely have

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der abendländischen Wissenschaft aus der Sicht gebildeter Byzantiner im 13. und 14. Jh.," *ByzForsch* 6 (1979), 241–80, esp. 254–61.

[14] On the participants of the Council and their activities in relation to it see especially D. J. Geanakoplos, "Bonaventura, the Two Mendicant Orders, and the Greeks at the Council of Lyons (1274)," in D. Baker (ed.), *The Orthodox Churches and the West* [Studies in Church History, 13] (Oxford, 1976), 183–211.

[15] German summary with notes in B. Roberg, *Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon (1274)* (Bonn, 1964), 85–95; Latin summary (according to Roberg, op. cit., 86, note 2, "fehlerhaft") in Mansi 24:120–29.

[16] In ch. 9, according to Roberg's summary, *Die Union*, 89 f. The corresponding passage in Mansi (24:125) only says: "Tertia [sc. causa durationis schismatis] est inscitia seu ignorantia eorum, qua nec res responsis intelligunt."

[17] Roberg, *Die Union*, 86.

[18] See G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz: Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14./15. Jh.), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung* [Byzantinisches Archiv, 15] (Munich, 1977), 178, note 790.

been known outside the ranks of the Friars Preachers.[19] The great wave of translations of Latin theological works did not come until the brothers Demetrios and Prochoros Kydones began their activity in 1354.

Manuel Holobolos

We know the names of two translators of philosophical texts from Latin into Greek active at the end of the thirteenth century. One was Maximos Planoudes, monk, philologist, and teacher, in the Akataleptos monastery, and probably also in the monastery of Chora. Planoudes is a well-known personality: more than eleven pages are devoted to him in Nigel Wilson's *Scholars of Byzantium*, so we shall not linger further on Planoudes and his work here. The other known translator from the period has only been given eleven lines by Wilson (p. 224 f.), and there, on top of it, his translatorship is unnecessarily called into question. His name was Manuel Holobolos.

Holobolos was on the staff of secretaries at Michael VIII's court after the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. On Christmas Day the same year Michael had the legitimate successor, the eleven-year-old John IV Laskaris, blinded. To this Holobolos reacted so vehemently, George Pachymeres tells us in his *History* (1:3.11), that Michael saw fit to cut off his lips and nose. He was confined to the Prodromos monastery at Petra in Constantinople, but in 1265 the newly elected patriarch, Germanos III Markoutzas, persuaded the emperor to call Holobolos back to the world, and appointed the young monk "rhetor of the rhetors" and teacher at one of the institutions for higher education in the capital. This is not the proper place for a discussion of the educational organization at large at the time; let me just say that on what seems to me the most plausible interpretation of Pachymeres, *Hist.* 1:4.14, the chair to which Holobolos was assigned in 1265 (1) was under patriarchal authority;[20] (2) coexisted with the chair held by the Grand Logothete, George Akropolites; and (3) was intended primarily for the education of the clergy.[21] Whether this school was housed in the church of St. Paul in the Old Orphanage, or in St. Sophia, or elsewhere, is of no import to our present discussion. It seems convenient to call it the "Patriarchal School."[22] Holobolos was

[19] So G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota* [ST, 56] (Vatican City, 1931), 11; cf. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 733, note 2. The information is given by the Dominican chronicler Bernard Gui (quoted in Altaner, "Die Kenntnis des Griechischen," 474). There are also translated excerpts of Aquinas' *Contra Graecos* in letters from the Dominican Brother Jacob to Andronikos II dated *c.* 1320 (Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, 261 f.). It should be stressed that there is no evidence that a Dominican convent was founded at Pera in 1299, as is sometimes asserted (e.g. Delacroix-Besnier, op. cit., 10).

[20] Apart from the fact that Pachymeres (1:4.14, 371.4 Failler) states clearly that Germanos III appoints Holobolos as rhetor, note also that the latter in the pinax of Vat. gr. 207, fol. 3^{v} is denominated both ἀξιολογώτατος ἐν πατριαρχικοῖς ἄρχουσι and ἀξιολογώτατος ῥήτωρ. Cf. R. Macrides, "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople — 1261?," *BMGS* 6 (1980), 13–41, esp. 26 f. with notes 66 and 75.

[21] That is to say that I endorse the interpretation of F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* [Byzantinisches Archiv, 8] (Leipzig – Berlin, 1926), 57 f. and note 7, except on the question of Germanos' motive for the appointment of Holobolos (see below, note 56). Note also the two corrections of Fuchs' account in V. Laurent, "Le Quadrivium et la formation intellectuelle sous les Paléologues. Georges Pachymère et le haut enseignement," in P. Tannery, *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère.* Texte rév. et établi par E. Stéphanou [ST, 94] (Vatican City, 1940), xvii f., esp. xxvi, note 2.

[22] The interpretation of the account in Pachymeres 1:4.14 by C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204 – ca. 1310)* [Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, 11] (Nicosia, 1982), 52–56, needs to be corrected on a number of points. (So

active in it until 1273, when he fell from grace again, for having taken a stand against Michael VIII's ecclesiastical politics during preparations for the Council of Lyons.

In an encomium for Michael, probably delivered at Christmas 1267, Holobolos describes, in accordance with a well-known rhetorical convention, the regeneration brought about by the emperor in all fields of education. Thanks to the zeal of the Palaiologos, he says, grammatical, poetical, and rhetorical studies are pursued; the philosophy students are well at home with Aristotelian logic including dialectic, and they divide their interest between all the philosophical branches: natural philosophy, metaphysics, ethics, and politics, as well as arithmetic, geometry, and harmonics.[23] Conventional as the passage may be, it looks like a concession to reality that Holobolos fails to mention astronomy in the context, which was indeed a neglected field of study until about the turn of the thirteenth century. It seems likely that Holobolos was himself teaching at least some of the subjects enumerated by him. We know that he taught logic from the superscription of a poem composed in 1273 by one of his students.[24] We also know from a letter written by Constantine Akropolites in his elderly days that one and the same student could first attend Holobolos'

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does the translation of the same passage in D. J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes.* [Chicago – London, 1984], 407 f.)

(1) Pachymeres probably does not mean to say that Germanos "proposed Holobolos as a teacher of *logic*" (Constantinides, op. cit., 53; my italics): παίδευσις λογική (369.21 Failler) is probably to be understood in the general sense of "theoretical education," which is the normal one for the period; cf. e.g. Joseph Rhakendytes, *Synopsis* 37.4. (Thus Laurent translates "formation scientifique.")

(2a) Pachymeres probably does not mean that Germanos suggested that Akropolites should be *replaced* by Holobolos (as is assumed by Constantinides, op. cit., 32), but rather that he should be relieved of the extra onus of having to cater for the need of educated people in the Church. The only construction of the Patriarch's statement, ... ὁ Ἀκροπολίτης ... παραδιδοὺς τὰ μαθήματα ἤδη καὶ ἀποκεκαμήκει, καὶ χρεία ἐστὶν ἄλλους ἀνάγεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐχ ἧττον τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ... (369.14–17 Failler, slightly modified punctuation), that seems to me to make sense in the context is, approximately, "Akropolites has a hard time teaching the sciences even as things are, and there are other people who need to receive education, not least the people of the Church...".

(2b) Even though the general assumption seems to be that Pachymeres represents Germanos as being interested in having clerics in *teaching* positions (see e.g. Macrides, "The New Constantine," 25), the natural interpretation of the relevant passages seems to me to be that he represents him as being interested in giving clerics access to *education.*

(3) Thus according to Pachymeres Michael did not *partly* (Constantinides, op. cit., 53; 54) but *fully* (εὐθὺς καταναεῦσαι ... καὶ τῇ ἀξιώσει καθυποκλῖναι, 369.22 f. Failler) concede Germanos' request by allowing Holobolos to return from his exile.

(4) According to Pachymeres it was not *Michael* (Constantinides, ibid.) but *Germanos* who appointed Holobolos as rhetor and "made the school of the sciences accessible [ἐξηνοίγνυ] to everyone" (371.3–5 Failler: κἀκεῖνος δεξάμενος ..., cf. 369.20 f. Failler: δέχομαι τοῦτον καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς τιμῆσαι καὶ εἰς διδάσκαλον καταστῆσαι).

(5) It is not true that Pachymeres "categorically states that the Patriarchal School opened under Holobolos" (Constantinides, op. cit., 55); nor does he say, as Constantinides implies (p. 54), that it was opened in the church of St. Paul in the Old Orphanage (which can hardly by the way have been identified by Pachymeres with the "famous church of the Apostles" mentioned by him at 369.25 f. Failler). What Pachymeres does say in this connection are really two separate things: (a) Germanos "made the school of the sciences accessible to everyone" with Holobolos as a teacher (371.3–5 Failler), and (b) Michael had organised an elementary school in the church of St. Paul, granting scholarships to teachers and students alike (369.27–30 Failler). Pachymeres no more affirms than denies that these two institutions were one and the same. The implication seems to be, however, that they were not.

[23] M. Treu (ed.), *Manuelis Holoboli orationes*, II. Progr. des K. Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam, Ostern 1907. 2. Wiss. Teil (Potsdam, 1907), 95.34–97.7. The dates of Holobolos' three orations to Michael are discussed in detail in Macrides, "The New Constantine," esp. 18 f. This speech is the third in order.

[24] The name of the student was Thomas Goriates. The poem was printed in K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1897), 773.

classes and then proceed to the more advanced courses of George Akropolites.[25] Possibly then, Holobolos' appointment was to teach the trivium.

It was probably during his first few years in the Patriarchal School that Holobolos produced his surviving translations, first of the three dialectical books, save the exordium, of Boethius' *De topicis differentiis*, and then also of an abridged version of the *De hypotheticis syllogismis*.[26] He also supplied notes to his translations. Both these works were on the core curriculum in the early history of logical education in the West, and they were often associated both in theory and in the manuscript tradition. "Hypothetical" syllogisms are deductive arguments, where at least one of the premisses is a "hypothetical" proposition. A "hypothetical" proposition is a complex or compound of simple propositions connected in such a way that neither of them is affirmed or denied (i.e. by any of the three logical connectives "if... then..."; "... or ..." and "not both... and..."). The *De hypotheticis syllogismis* deals with this kind of argument in three books, based on unknown sources, but obviously combining elements from both the Peripatetic and the Stoic tradition.[27]

The *De topicis differentiis* is a work in four books, in which Boethius, using works by Themistius and Cicero as his starting-point, makes a systematic division of what he calls the *maximae propositiones*, i.e. the most general, and unprovable, propositions, which are used for constructing arguments to dialectical conclusions and validating conclusions from dialectical premisses. Each of the maxims in the division is linked to a *differentia*, which lends its name to the dialectical "place" or *locus* (hence "*topicae differentiae*"). The theoretical association between the two works, which I mentioned, is to do with the fact that three of the maxims in the Ciceronian division are at the same time rules of inference for hypothetical syllogisms.[28]

As one may expect the textual tradition of each of these works is substantial (numbering over two hundred manuscripts each).[29] So, too, is the commentary tradition: from the period *c.* 1100 (or slightly earlier) – *c.* 1300 there are twenty-four wholly or partly extant commentaries on *Top. diff.* 1–3 (the dialectical books: book 4 treats of rhetorical commonplaces). From the latter part of the thirteenth century onwards the Boethian text increasingly often cedes its place on the syllabus to compendia (so-called *summulae*) based on it.[30]

Both of Holobolos' translations are, according to the editor, Nikitas, based on Latin texts closely related to the rather peculiar redactions of the Boethian works in the so-called *Heptateuchon* by Thierry of Chartres, dating

[25] *Letter* 121, printed in M. Treu (ed.), *Eustathii Macrembolitae quae feruntur aenigmata.* Progr. des K. Friedrichs-Gymnasiums zu Breslau, 2. Wiss. Abh. (Breslau, 1893), 30 f.

[26] Nikitas, *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung*, 47–54; for the relative chronology see the scholion printed ibid., 176.

[27] On the sources of the *Hyp. syll.*, see L. Obertello (ed., trans.), *A. M. Severino Boezio, De hypotheticis syllogismis* (Brescia, 1969), 137–54; J. Barnes, "Boethius and the Study of Logic," in M. Gibson (ed.), *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence* (Oxford, 1981), 73–89, here at 81–84.

[28] Namely: *posito antecedente comitari quod subsequitur* = *modus ponendo ponens*
($p \rightarrow q.\ p.\ \therefore q$); *perempto consequente perimi quod antecedit* = *modus tollendo tollens*
($p \rightarrow q.\ \neg q.\ \therefore \neg p$); *repugnantia sibi convenire non posse* = *modus ponendo tollens*
($\neg(p \wedge q).\ p.\ \therefore \neg q$). See N. J. Green-Pedersen, *The Tradition of the Topics in the Middle Ages: The Commentaries on Aristotle's and Boethius' 'Topics'* (Munich – Vienna, 1984), 139–46.

[29] Obertello, op. cit., 164; Nikitas, *Boethius, De top.*, 1.

[30] Green-Pedersen, *The Tradition of the Topics*, 123–29.

from the mid-twelfth century.[31] The discussion of whether these translations should rather be ascribed to Maximos Planoudes is now probably finished. It was summarized by Nikitas in the light of a new dating of the oldest manuscript, Vat. gr. 207, in the interval 1265–1269.[32] Both translations are attributed to Holobolos in the Vatican manuscript.[33]

The *Diaeresis*

In an appendix to his edition of the *De topicis differentiis* plus Greek translations, Nikitas published a short work (hereafter *Diaeresis*) transmitted mostly in manuscripts of the Aristotelian compendium of George Pachymeres, the *Philosophia.* In the older manuscripts the *Diaeresis* is anonymous, but Nikitas accepted as true the attribution to Pachymeres in a manuscript dated in 1570 (E). He regarded the text as a "Weiterbearbeitung" of Holobolos' translation, and his view seems to have met with approval in some quarters.[34] It is however quite clear, as Sten Ebbesen has pointed out, that little weight can be attached to the testimony of E, since the *Diaeresis* is also given an erroneous title in it.[35] Incidentally, the text of E is, according to Nikitas (pp. cxlii f.), not of very good quality. It should be noted, too, that E postdates by ten years the printed edition of Bechius' Latin translation of the *Philosophia* in which also the *Diaeresis* is included (Basle, 1560). In the table of contents of the Basle volume the *Diaeresis* is entered as "Locorum Dialecticorum exquisita ipsius Pachymerii divisio et explicatio." According to Littig, Bechius used two manuscripts which had been brought from Italy; Nikitas was unable to identify them.[36] As far as external evidence is concerned, then, the only argument in favour of the authorship of Pachymeres is the fact that the work has been transmitted together with the *Philosophia.* This fact in turn explains why the work was later, rightly or wrongly, attributed to Pachymeres. I shall return to the question of the common transmission of the *Diaeresis* and the *Philosophia* towards the end of this paper.

The *Diaeresis* consists of, on the one hand, a schematic overview of the division of dialectical *loci* made by Boethius in the *De topicis differentiis* (this schema is preceded by a few introductory remarks), and, on the other hand, a so-called *dubitatio* concerning the corresponding division in Aristotle's *Topics.* In the *dubitatio* the Aristotelian division is first questioned by means of certain arguments, and then these arguments are refuted. Besides this, the work includes a short passage that was relegated by Nikitas

[31] Nikitas, *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung*, 166–74; idem, *Boethius, De top.*, xcv–xcvii; Obertello, op. cit., 175 f.

[32] Nikitas, *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung*, 9–13; 38–47; he gives 1267 as *post quem*, but this is based on erroneous information regarding Holobolos' appointment as rhetor of the rhetors (cf. Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 52 f.).

[33] The only detailed discussion arriving at the conclusion that the translator is to be identified with Planoudes is S. Kugéas, "Analekta Planudea," *BZ* 18 (1909), 106–46, esp. 120–26, and it is far too impressionistic to bear any weight. Nevertheless, the information that Planoudes translated one or both of the Boethian logical treatises is given in several textbooks still widely in use, e.g. B. Tatakis, "La philosophie byzantine," in É. Bréhier (ed.), *Histoire de la philosophie*, fasc. suppl., 2 (Paris, 1949; repr. 1959), 240; Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, 738; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 1 (Munich, 1978), 37; Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 224 f.

[34] E.g. C. Terezis, "George Pachymeres's Commentary on Boethius's De Differentiis Topicis," *CIMAGL* 66 (1996), 156–68; *PLP* 21047; 22186.

[35] S. Ebbesen, "George Pachymeres and the Topics," *CIMAGL* 66 (1996), 169–85, here at 169.

[36] F. Littig, *Die φιλοσοφία des Georgios Pachymeres.* Progr. Maximilians-Gymnasiums München (Munich, 1891), 90; Nikitas, *Boethius, De top.*, cxliii,

to the critical apparatus as being an interpolated scholion on the word ἐπιχειρήματα ("arguments") in the introduction to the schema of *loci*. This note bears obvious traces of careless handling at some point in the transmission.[37]

The oldest manuscript of the *Diaeresis* is Mt. Athos, Iviron 191 (A). It was dated by Lampros in the thirteenth century.[38] It also contains the *Philosophia* by the same scribe.[39] The full title of the *Diaeresis* in this manuscript is Ἡ διαίρεσις τῶν τόπων τῶν διαλεκτικῶν, καθὼς διεῖλειν αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἰταλῶν τις καλούμενος Βοήτιος, οἳ δὴ καὶ μετηνέχθησαν πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διάλεκτον (literally, "the division of the dialectical places, as an Italian called Boethius divided them, which have also been translated into the Greek language"). The main phrase here, "the division of the dialectical places," nearly coincides with the title given to the Boethian work in Vat. gr. 207, whereas a corresponding title seems to be lacking from the Latin tradition. Usually the last relative clause has been construed as if it were referring to the *De topicis differentiis* by Boethius.[40] The person who made up the title would on this interpretation have known that Boethius' work was available in a Greek translation; judging from the antecedent in the main phrase, this would probably be the one ascribed to Holobolos in Vat. gr. 207. It seems however more reasonable to assume that the relative clause is intended to provide some information about the work of which it is part of the title. The "division" below, it says, is a translation.

In fact, Ebbesen has argued that the *Diaeresis* is not a "Weiterbearbeitung" of Holobolos' version of the *De topicis differentiis*, but a translation (perhaps slightly edited) of some Latin thirteenth-century material that could have been found in a manuscript of some *summulae logicales* or in the interval between the *Posterior Analytics* and the *Topics* in a Latin *Organon*. The main premisses in Ebbesen's argumentation are (1) that the terminology of the *Diaeresis* differs on a number of points from that in Holobolos' translation (and from traditional Greek logic terminology), while conforming to the Western scholastic standard;[41] (2) that the schema of divisions departs in a number of points from that in Holobolos' translation (and in the Boethian original), while coinciding largely with that in Peter of Spain and other summulists;[42] and (3) that the concluding *dubitatio* is an example of a kind of commentary which is quite frequent in Western scholasticism but alien to a Byzantine context.[43] In addition, (4) some peculiarities in the Greek schema (and choice of expressions) may be explained as the results of misunderstandings of a similar Latin schema.[44] It might be added that the dependence on a Latin original would leave more room for the extensive corruption suffered by the errant scholion mentioned above, which is otherwise hard to explain in a manuscript which

[37] Ebbesen, op. cit., 174, notes 8–10, three times signals a nonsensical text in a total of four lines.
[38] S. P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 (Cambridge, 1900), 54.
[39] Nikitas, op. cit., cxl f. The Athos MS is not the oldest witness to the *Philosophia*: there are two autographs (Berol. Ham. 512 and Par. gr. 1930). The compendium beginning on fol. 279^{r} of Iviron 191 is not (*pace* Lampros, *Catalogue*, 2, 54) the *Quadrivium* of Pachymeres, preserved in the autograph Angel. 38 (C 3 7), but (excerpts from?) the so-called Anonymus Heiberg. *Explicit* of the text in the Athos MS, according to Lampros (ibid.): ἐκ φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας ἀποτελ...αι ἐκβάσεις δύνασθαί τι τὸν ἐπιστ...; cf. Anonymus, 120.11 f.
[40] E.g. Nikitas, *Boethius, De top.*, cxliv–cl.
[41] Ebbesen, "George Pachymeres and the Topics," 170; cf. 179 f.; 183.
[42] Op. cit., 179–82.
[43] Op. cit., 182–84.
[44] Op. cit., 180–82.

according to the editor of the work "kurz nach der Verfassung der *Diairesis* ... kopiert wurde" and which otherwise "fast keine Fehler [aufweist]" (p. cxli).

It seems to me that Ebbesen is right. The *Diaeresis* is a translation of Latin thirteenth-century material found in some logic manuscript.[45] This means that it is a unique example. No other Greek translations of contemporary Latin logic, or indeed of any contemporary philosophy (generously counting anything within a span of 500 years as "contemporary"), are known before those by George (Gennadios) Scholarios in the 1430s. I now except those translations of Latin theological works that were produced from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, some of which naturally touch upon philosophical subjects. It should be said in this context that we have no information that George Pachymeres knew Latin.

Holobolos' translations and the patriarchal school

Holobolos' translation of the *De topicis differentiis* was circulated on a fairly limited scale in the following century. Nikitas' edition is based on 16 manuscripts, two of which are dated in the thirteenth century (Vat. gr. 207 and Mon. gr. 487) and three in the fourteenth century. Sometime around 1360 Prochoros Kydones made a new translation of the work, presumably not being aware that there existed one already.[46] The Greek *De hypotheticis syllogismis* met with an even humbler lot: it survives in two manuscripts only, Vat. gr. 207, and Vat. gr. 243, an *Organon* manuscript (13th–14th c.). According to Nikitas these are apographs of the same exemplar.[47]

No other translations than these two are attributed to Holobolos. In some manuscripts the translation of the *De topicis differentiis* is prefaced by a letter. In Vat. gr. 207 it follows after the title of the work, so it should be regarded as belonging to the work. In this letter Holobolos speaks of planned translations both of the *De hypotheticis syllogismis* and of a third logical work by Boethius, the *De divisione* (sec. 8 Papathomopoulos). But if the latter was ever executed it has not come down to us. It is not improbable that a manuscript containing all three works was available to Holobolos. The prefatory letter is ascribed to Maximos Planoudes in a fifteenth-century manuscript (Riccard. gr. 50), and it played a part in the earlier discussion of the author of the translations; but, as I said above, it is now beyond doubt that the letter as well as the translation prefaced by it really are by Holobolos.[48]

[45] One may, however, have one's doubts about the *dubitatio*. The Greek is idiomatic and in some cases apparently not so easy to reconstruct a Latin text from (cf. several of Ebbesen's notes, op. cit., 175–78, esp. 176, note 2). On the other hand, the anomalies considered by Ebbesen to be signs of translation from Latin are mainly such that they might as well bear witness simply to a certain familiarity with scholastic expressions; this may of course also be said of the *dubitatio's* general structure. In that case we would apparently have to do with an author reasonably well at home in both traditions; according to Ebbesen, op. cit., 184, however, "[t]he translator was not very well acquainted with scholastic logic."

[46] Cf. Nikitas, *Boethius, De top.*, xcvii–civ. Also, Planoudes seems to have known of the *De topicis differentiis* only by hearsay when he wrote the *Life* of Boethius serving as an introduction to his translation of the *De consolatione philosophiae* (ed. Papathomopoulos, lxxvi, ll. 5 f.).

[47] *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung*, 24.

[48] Cf. Nikitas, op. cit., 40–47. The letter was edited from Riccard. gr. 50 in M. Treu, "Manuel Holobolos," *BZ* 5 (1896), 538–99, here at 554–57; there is a critical ed. based on Vat. gr. 207 in Papathomopoulos, *Boethii De cons.*, 127–32. The ascription to Planoudes should probably be explained by the fact that it comments on Boethius' *De cons. philos.*, which precedes the letter in Riccard. gr. 50 and its exemplar. Treu, op. cit., 554–59, already argued in favour of the authorship of Holobolos without knowledge of any other witnesses than the Florence MS.

In this letter Holobolos explains that in accordance with his love of learning and his high appreciation of his true friends he has performed a task set him by the latter. This consisted in translating into Greek a work on dialectical "places," much studied by the "Italians,"[49] by a Latin author called Boethius. The translation is motivated not by any need for support for Byzantine dialectic from that quarter (nor has the sun any need for a lamp), but by the use it may have for the Byzantines, over and above the quite satisfactory knowledge they already possess in the field, to be acquainted with what the "Italians" say (secc. 4–6 Papathomopoulos). After this follow some data on Boethius' life and works, where special attention is given to the prosopopy of Philosophy in the *De consolatione philosophiae*.

Who are the "true friends" and devotees of learning (sec. 2 Papathomopoulos) who according to the letter have asked Holobolos to do the translation? The question may be of some significance, since it concerns the functional context in which the translations of the *De topicis differentiis* and the *De hypotheticis syllogismis* were produced. Treu considered that the addressees of the letter must be Holobolos' students,[50] and I think there is much to be said in favour of this view. Holobolos took up his chair in 1265. He had then spent nearly four years under house arrest in the Petra monastery. The translation of the *De topicis differentiis* will consequently have been made either before Christmas 1261, when his confinement at Petra began, or between the end of 1265 and the middle of 1269, in which period it was copied in Vat. gr. 207. But Holobolos was only a boy when he fell from grace in 1261, and together with the accompanying scholia the translation of the *De topicis differentiis* testifies to a knowledge of logic (and of Latin)[51] which is on a very high level for the period. Therefore, it is highly probable that it was made after Holobolos had been assigned to his chair in 1265. The same must then apply to the translation of the *De hypotheticis syllogismis*. Since we also know that Holobolos during his time in the Patriarchal School did teach logic, it is reasonable to assume that the Boethius translations were connected with his activity in the school and that he directs himself in the letter to his students, and perhaps also colleagues, there.

As it seems, this assumption involves a couple of problems. As a closer inspection shows, however, this is only as it seems. In Riccard. gr. 50 the letter carries the unexpected superscription Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυροῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη πρὸς τοὺς ὁμήλικας ("Letter from the most wise Mr Maximos Planoudes to his age peers"). Even if Holobolos was indeed very young for the official teaching position that he held, "age peers" was hardly the conventional form of address in a letter to one's students. Kugéas, who argued for the attribution of both the letter and the translations to Planoudes, wished to emend to ὁμιλητάς ("students").[52] The corruption involved would not, however, be easy to explain (seeing that ὁμήλικας is so much more *lectio difficilior*). Unfortunately, it is not easy to take an independent view of the textual tradition at this point with the help of the relevant editions. Nikitas did not include the letter in his

[49] The extension of this ethnic term no doubt varies. In the preface to the Greek translation of the *De plantis* (814a20–b11), it is clearly not intended to include all Western Europeans.
[50] Treu, "Manuel Holobolos," 558.
[51] P.-D. Huet, *De interpretatione libri duo. 2. De claris interpretibus* (Paris, 1661), 133, found it to be "inter optimas, et singularum, cum sententiis, vocum retinentissimas merito suo a nobis commemoranda."
[52] "Analekta Planudea," 124.

edition of the *De topicis differentiis*, in spite of the fact that a new edition really was a desideratum. In our present situation we may find it even more deplorable that Nikitas does not state in his manuscript descriptions whether or not the letter is included. Holobolos' letter was, however, recently edited by Papathomopoulos as an appendix to his edition of Planoudes' translation of the *De consolatione philosophiae*. From this edition it is clear that the letter has only been preserved in two more manuscripts apart from those already mentioned. These are Par. gr. 2094 and an apograph of it. Now, Par. gr. 2094 is also the exemplar of Riccard. gr. 50 (although Papathomopoulos draws another, invalid and apparently false, conclusion).[53] Not even in Papathomopoulos' edition, however, is it possible to ascertain if the letter in the Paris manuscript has the same title as in the Florence manuscript.[54] Notwithstanding these blind spots in our perception of the textual tradition of Holobolos' letter, it is clear that evidence is lacking for the title Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμήλικας before Par. gr. 2094 (14th c.) and probably even before Riccard. gr. 50. This means that there is no better reason to take that seriously than the attribution to Planoudes. One may even toy with the hypothesis that the word ὁμήλικας chosen by an editor or copyist in the fifteenth century, simply is intended to mean "contemporaries," although I do not know of any parallel to this usage.[55] There seems, at any rate, to be nothing to prevent the "true friends" and devotees of learning who asked for a Greek Boethius from having been Holobolos' students.

The students at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople a few years after the reconquest in 1261 demanded to have one of the core texts of Western trivial education translated into Greek. Why? The most obvious place to look for an answer is in the political ethos of the time. Not being a political or ecclesiastical historian, I shall content myself on this point with making a few very tentative suggestions. Germanos III and Michael VIII pursued a grandiose enterprise: reunion with the Roman church.[56] They had to grapple with a very recalcitrant domestic opinion. We have no reason to doubt that Humbert of Romans relied on solid information when he pointed, in his *Opus tripartitum*, to the lack of education and the ensuing suspicion of rational argument among the Byzantines as a con-

[53] The relationship between the MSS was correctly judged by Nikitas, *Boethius, De top.*, lxxxviii. According to Papathomopoulos, *Boethii De cons.*, 129, Par. gr. 2094 (P_2) and Riccard. gr. 50 (F_R) are dependent on the same hyparchetype (which is an apograph of Vat. gr. 207: V). But the readings which according to Papathomopoulos (128: "Fautes conjonctives des manuscrits P_2 P_5") are shared by F_R and V against P_2 are not sufficient to allow this conclusion. The simple fact that P_2, which is damaged, leaves off at precisely the point where the fragment of Holobolos' translation ends in F_R (Nikitas, op. cit., lxxxviii), should have been enough to consider revision of the stemma. The fact of the matter is obviously that F_R is an apograph of P_2, and the hyparchetype x is strictly superfluous, even if the large number of errors in P_2 does make it likely that, assuming that P_2 derives from V, as stated by Papathomopoulos, op. cit., 127, there are intermediate links. Note that P_2 gives the same title of the work as the entire rest of the tradition of the Greek *De top. diff.* save V (and a couple of other MSS which omit it altogether; Nikitas, op. cit., lxxxviii).

[54] Papathomopoulos' statement "Titulum om. P_2 P_5" (op. cit., 128) probably refers to the title of the whole work (at least he does not print any other title in his text, apart from his own addition, προοίμιον; nor does the letter carry any subheading in Vat. gr. 207). If so, it is however contradicted by Nikitas, op. cit., lxxxviii, according to whom the title in both Par. gr. 2094 and Riccard. gr. 50 is Βοετίου φιλοσόφου περὶ τέχνης διαλεκτικῆς.

[55] The example given in Lampe s.v., viz. Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 115.5.4, seems to be a red herring. The sense here seems in fact to be the normal one.

[56] I do not know where Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen*, 57 f., got the idea (passed on by Nikitas, *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung*, 41; 49) that Germanos was an anti-unionist and that this was why he recommended Holobolos, "als ausgesprochener Lateinerfeind" (ibid., 58).

tributory cause why the schism continued. A similar evaluation may well have been made by the Byzantine unionists. To my mind, the rather ambitious development of higher education in Constantinople after 1261 is hardly intelligible unless we regard it as part of a conscious strategy for getting in phase with the Latin-speaking world, whether the strategists aimed at rendering the Greek-speaking world more competitive or at promoting mutual understanding between the two worlds. Or why not both? It may be true that Michael's ecclesiastical politics were ultimately dictated by the very real necessity to prevent a repetition of the events of 1204. But for him and those supporting his cause, obviously no conflict existed between this goal, which also had the advantage of being comprehensible to domestic opinion, and the rather loftier ecclesiological and theological hopes that were expressed in their negotiations with Rome.[57]

During Germanos III's patriarchate the work towards a reunion gained new momentum after a brief lapse occasioned by the death of Pope Urban IV in October 1264. In a letter dispatched in the summer of 1266, Michael, hard pressed by the achievements of Charles of Anjou on the battlefields of Italy, tried to induce the pope to prevent a Latin attack on Constantinople and make preparations for summoning a Church Council on Byzantine territory for discussion of the union issue.[58] The imperial letter has been lost, but a draft is preserved. The editor assumed on plausible grounds that the author was the newly rehabilitated Manuel Holobolos.[59] His assumption receives further corroboration from the fact that the draft must have been made by someone with the rare qualification of having a knowledge of Latin.[60]

Against this background it does not seem too far-fetched to suppose, even if the sources are silent on this point, that one of the chief merits which in Germanos' view made Holobolos an attractive teacher for the junior clergy was his proficiency in Latin. His translations were, according to the interpretation of Holobolos' own statements adopted above, carried out on the demand of his students. This opportunity for the Constantinopolitan clergy to make themselves familiar with Western school texts was not, then, created on patriarchal or imperial instruction. No matter from which quarter the initiative came, we may be pretty sure that the project was duly sanctioned by the highest authorities. In fact it would fit in rather well with a general educational project somewhat in the spirit of

[57] For the correspondence between Michael VIII and Urban IV, see Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 106–13.

[58] See J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), 223 f. for these events.

[59] N. Festa, "Lettera inedita dell'imperatore Michele VIII Paleologo al pontefice Clemente IV," *Bessarione* 6 (1899), 42–57, here 43 f. The letter was reconstructed partly from the draft by W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903), 449. It must have been dispatched either before the resignation of Germanos III in September 1266 or after the accession of Joseph I at the end of December the same year. According to Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 280, note 62, the former alternative is more likely. Clement IV's answer is dated 4 March, 1267.

[60] Note especially the puns on names of Latin Fathers in lines 120–26. In the cases of Leo, Ambrose, Hilary and Gregory, these would come naturally to any Greek speaker; not so, however, in the cases of Κελεστῖνος ὁ φερωνύμως νοῦς and ὁ λαμπρὸς Φουλγέντιος. These witticisms may be compared to Holobolos' second oration to Michael VIII (69.34 f. Treu), in which reference is made to ὁ ἐκ Παρθενουπόλεως ... ποιητὴς Βιργίλιος ... (*Aen.* 4.173–96). The fact that the Pauline simile of the wild olive branch (*Romans* 11:24) is used both in this draft (ll. 29–31) and in the prefatory letter to the *De top. diff.* (sec. 5 Papathomopoulos) does not necessarily indicate common authorship, since the simile was apparently a popular one: cf. e.g. Theodore Doukas Laskaris, *Ep.* 132.31 f. Still, Holobolos does seem to have had a very particular partiality for it: Treu, "Manuel Holobolos," 559, cites four examples from his works besides the two mentioned.

Humbert of Romans. The relevant Boethian works were not theological texts, but part of every contemporary Latin theologian's frame of reference. Holobolos' proud declaration that the translation was not motivated by any need on the part of the Byzantines for the knowledge that the work itself might convey should however probably be taken with a pinch of salt. There is no counterpart to Boethius' *Topics* in the Greek tradition, and considering its relatively great practical usefulness, as well as the Palaiologan taste for the compendious, it would be surprising if it was not greeted with a certain curiosity by its new Byzantine audience. That at least part of the purpose of translating it was that it should be put to use is indicated not least by Holobolos' rather ambitious commentary. That part of the purpose of using it was learning to master the argumentative techniques of the Latins with the same ease with which the latter mastered the techniques of the Greeks is suggested by the two dodecasyllabic verses appended to the translation in the manuscripts:

> τῶν συλλογισμῶν ταῖσδε πλεκτάναις, φίλε,
> τραχηλιῶντας Ἰταλοὺς κρατῶν πνίγε
> (ed. Nikitas, 145.26–27 = *Anth. gr. app., Epigr exh. & suppl.* 123) ("With these meshes of syllogisms, my friend, capture and strangle the arrogant Italians").

These verses seem to point ominously towards Holobolos' *volte face* in 1273. They may be compared to the expressions of anti-Latin sentiment in Holobolos' speeches for Michael VIII listed by Nikitas.[61] The Palaiologos may indeed have had difficulties handling the fiery monk from the very start.[62]

Vat. gr. 1144 and the Greek mnemonic words for syllogisms

No other logical writings by Holobolos have survived. According to Treu,[63] Vat. gr. 1144 contains scholia by Holobolos on Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*. There is as yet no proper description of this manuscript, and the date is uncertain. Most recently, J. Whittaker ascribed it to the fourteenth century.[64] Nikitas examined and described the relevant pages (fols. 178^{r}–185^{r}).[65] This description needs to be corrected and supplemented on a number of points.

[61] *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung*, 42, note 5. Add to the list *Logos* 2, Treu 1907, 67.37.

[62] Cf. Michael's complaints in 1273 as reported in Pachymeres, *Hist.* 1:5.20, 503.7–10 Failler: "[Holobolos] has always been disaffected and fickle in his thoughts…"

[63] "Manuel Holobolos," 552. Treu owed the information to C. A. Brandis, *Die aristotelischen Handschriften der vaticanischen Bibliothek*. Abh. d. hist.–philol. Kl. der K. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. (Berlin, 1831), 59.

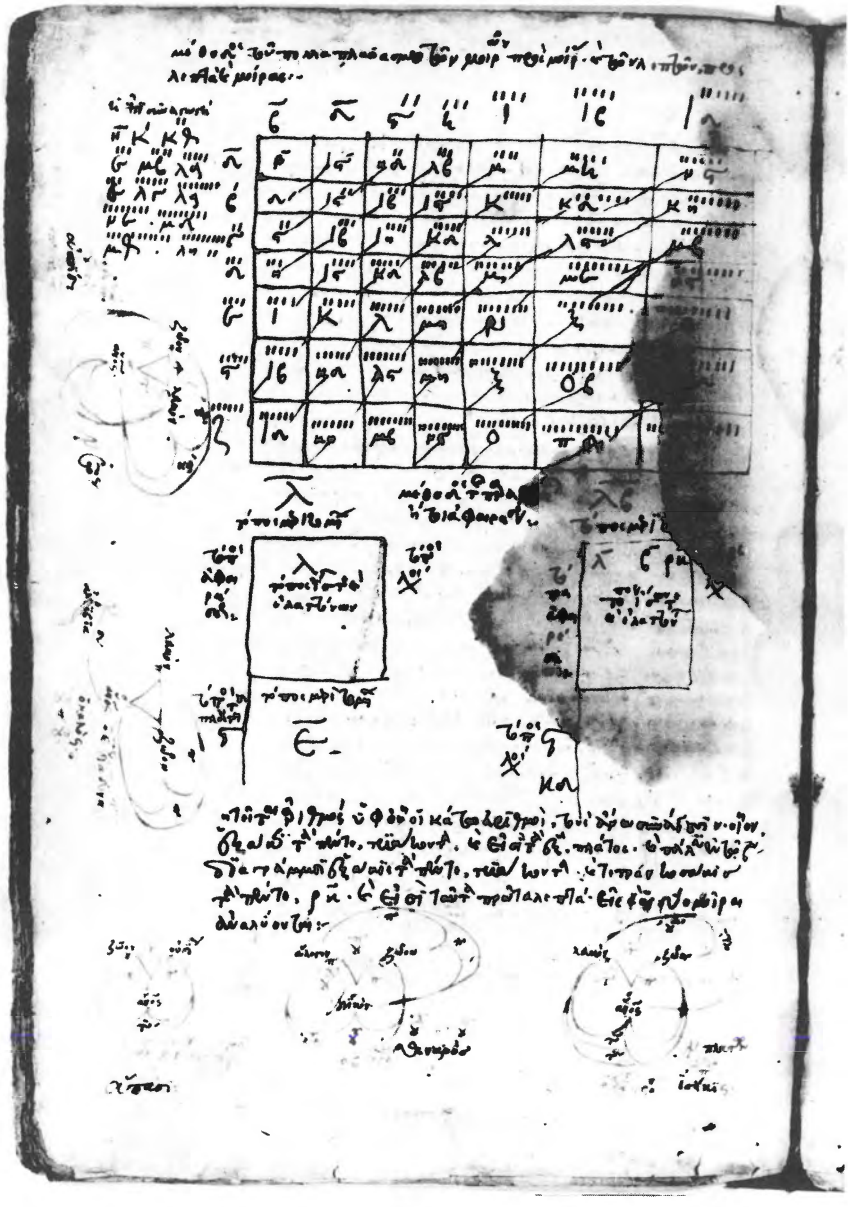
[64] J. Whittaker and P. Louis (ed., trans.), *Alcinoos, Enseignement des doctrines de Platon* (Paris, 1990), xxxii. Hense dated it in the 15th c. (Stobaeus, *Anthologia*, 5:vi). So, too, C.-A. Leemans, "Michel Psellos et les Δόξαι περὶ ψυχῆς," *Antiquité classique* 1 (1932), 203–11, here 208. According to J. Duffy (ed.), *Michael Psellus, Philosophica minora*, 1 (Stuttgart – Leipzig, 1992), xxxv, the pseudo-Psellan work ending on fol. 178^{r} is copied from the same exemplar as in Par. suppl. gr. 655, a miscellany of the 14th c.

[65] *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung*, 51 and note 117.

Cod. Vaticanus Graecus 1144, fol. 178^{r}.

At fol. 178^{r}, l. 12 ends a pseudo-Psellan paraphrase of Aristotle's *De interpretatione* (*opusc.* 52.245–509 Duffy). Following this the same scribe has inserted a rough outline of the philosophical curriculum, deriving from a work edited by M. Treu.[66] Treu argued that this work was a composition of the latter half of the eleventh century. In the few lines copied on fol. 178^{r}, ll. 12–27, of Vat. gr. 1144, mention is made of the five predicables and the ten categories, as well as the titles of the works included in the *Organon*. "After the *Organon*," the text goes on (l. 19), "one should read the *Physics*" and a number of other Aristotelian writings, and study the four

[66] M. Treu, "Ein byzantinisches Schulgespräch," *BZ* 2 (1893), 96–105, here at 97–99, ll. 60–81. I am grateful to Dr. Tryggve Göransson for this reference.



Cod. Vaticanus Graecus 1144, fol. 178^{v}.

mathematical branches, and "after that Plato's work together with his commentators Proclus and Iamblichus. Aristotelian commentators are first Alexander; Ammonius, Porphyry, Philoponus, and many others" (ll. 24–27).

After this (l. 27) follows a period mark like that closing the pseudo-Psellan paraphrase at l. 12; then a space of about four letters' length; then, in bright red ink, the masculine definite article and the name Holobolos in the genitive case (spelt τοῦ Ὀλοβόλου, with the *spiritus lenis* and an omicron instead of the omega in the penult); then the words εἰς τὰ τρία σχήματα; after this follow Greek versions of the medieval mnemonic words for all the valid moods recognized by Aristotle in the three figures of syllogism (the equivalent of *Datisi* in the third figure [ἀσπίδι] is missing in Nikitas' description but added in the manuscript *sub linea*). Beneath these are syllogistic diagrams relevant to the moods of the first and second figures, with the mnemonic words attached. The third figure moods are found in

the margin of fol. 178^{v}. On fol. 178^{v} begins a series of methods for arithmetical and geometrical operations which continues till fol. 185^{r}. Nikitas drew the conclusion that "das betroffene Werk des Holobolos in dieser Hs. nur dem Namen nach erwähnt, leider aber nicht überliefert wird."[67]

It is, however, clear enough that Holobolos' name is not meant to be part of the list of Aristotelian commentators, and that the words εἰς τὰ τρία σχήματα should not be understood in the conventional sense of "[commentary] on the [first book of the] *Prior Analytics*" but in the literal sense of "regarding the three figures." What "regards" the three figures are the subsequent mnemonics, and it is these that are given the attribute τοῦ Ὀλοβόλου. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the mnemonic words for each of the figures are preceded by the words εἰς τὸ πρῶτον, εἰς τὸ δεύτερον and εἰς τὸ τρίτον, respectively, between the lines, in pale red ink. In the *PLP* there are five Holobolos. Three of them can be excluded on chronological (and to some extent other) grounds. Andrew Holobolos was a patriarchal notary in 1277–1285, but apart from that we know next to nothing about him. I venture to conclude that the man credited in Vat. gr. 1144 with the Greek version of the medieval mnemonics for the direct moods of the three figures of syllogism is Manuel Holobolos.

The Greek version of the mnemonics occurs also in four manuscripts of the mid-fourteenth century, executed by Neophytos Prodromenos, where it is attributed to Psellos (*opusc.* 53 Duffy). It may not be coincidental that the mnemonics appear in the works of a scribe and author who had access to the well-endowed library of the Prodromos monastery at Petra, where Holobolos, as we know, spent much time some eighty or ninety years earlier. With the notable exception of the famous Vienna Dioscurides, however, the collection of this library was mainly theological.[68]

The question is what we should think about the attribution of the Greek mnemonics to Psellos. More than sixty years have passed since the last nail was hammered into the coffin of Carl Prantl's old thesis that there had been a decisive Byzantine impact on the development of logic in the West in the thirteenth century. It was then conclusively shown that the Greek compendium with the same contents as the first six books of Peter of Spain's *Summulae logicales*, attributed to Psellos in a manuscript of the late fifteenth century (Mon. gr. 548), is in reality a translation made by George Gennadios Scholarios sometime in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[69] Peter's *Summulae* contributed more than any other text to disseminating the Latin mnemonic verses for valid syllogisms:

> *Barbara Celarent Darii Ferio (Baralipton*
> *Celantes Dabitis Fapesmo Frisesomorum);*
> *Cesare Cambestres Festino Barocho; Darapti*
> *Felapto Disamis Datisi Bocardo Ferison.*[70]

[67] *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung*, 51, note 117.

[68] E. D. Kakoulidi, "Η βιβλιοθήκη τῆς μονῆς Προδρόμου-Πέτρας στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη," *Hellenika* 21 (1968), 3–39; cf. however J. Duffy, "Michael Psellos, Neophytos Prodromenos, and Memory Words for Logic," in J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (eds.), *Gonimos: Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75.* (Buffalo, NY, 1988), 207–16, here 214, note 22.

[69] M. Jugie, in L. Petit, X. A. Sideridès, M. Jugie (eds.), *Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, 8 (Paris, 1936), vi–viii.

[70] L. M. De Rijk (ed.), *Peter of Spain, Tractatus Called Afterwards Summule Logicales* (Assen, 1972), 4:13, p. 52.1–4. Brackets and punctuation are mine. The words in brackets represent the indirect moods of the first figure, which are not treated by Aristotle. – In the indirect moods the major term is the

In the translation by Scholarios the Greek version is the same as in the Neophytos manuscripts and in Vat. gr. 1144 (except that the latter all lack the indirect moods of the first figure):

> Γράμματα Ἔγραψε Γραψίδι Τεχνικός
> (Γράμμασιν Ἔταξε Χάρισι Παρθένος Ἱερόν)
> Ἔγραψε Κάτεχε Μέτριον Ἄχολον
> Ἅπασι Σθεναρός Ἰσάκις Ἀσπίδι Ὁμαλός Φέριστος[71]

The principle that the vowels indicate the quantity (universal/particular) and quality (affirmative/negative) of the constituent statement-types is the same in the Greek as in the Latin mnemonics. Indeed, the same vowels are given the same values: a (α) universal affirmative; e (ε) universal negative; i (ι) particular affirmative; o (ο) particular negative.

Duffy has pointed out that the rejection of the attribution of the Greek *Summulae logicales* to Psellos has no implication for the mnemonics, since these were attributed to Psellos already in Neophytos' manuscripts, which were copied about eighty years before Scholarios made his translation.[72] Thus, Duffy cautiously argued that "the idea [sc. of constructing words with four symbolic vowels in the mnemonics] is likely to have crossed from the Greeks to the Latins."[73] In a postscript he admitted that a marginal note in one of these manuscripts indicates that the attribution of the mnemonics to Psellos is the conjecture of Neophytos himself (ἐπιγραφὴ Νεοφύτου). None the less, in the preface to his Teubner edition of Psellos' *Philosophica minora* (p. xxxvii), Duffy was still open to the possibility that Psellos might have been the inventor of the Greek mnemonics.

As Duffy has also pointed out,[74] however, many minor works on philosophical themes have been wrongly attributed to Psellos in the manuscript tradition. In Vat. gr. 1144 the Greek mnemonics appear after such a work (see above). Maybe Neophytos copied them from an exemplar where he also found the pseudo-Psellan paraphrase (or some other genuine or spurious Psellan work), and made a rash inference about common authorship from a premiss about a common textual tradition. Or he may just have guessed. There are other examples of Psellan dubia for which our only testimony is that of Neophytos in one of these four manuscripts.[75] At any rate I think it *is* out of the question that Psellos invented

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subject and the minor term the predicate of the conclusion. By transposing the terms in each of the premisses and also transposing the statement-types of the premisses we obtain syllogisms with normal conclusions, the so-called fourth figure (*Bramantip Camenes Dimaris Fesapo Fresison*). See M. and W. Kneale, *The Development of Logic* (Oxford, 1962), 100 f.

[71] *Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, 8, 313.4–316.21. This is an abridgement: the mnemonic words are not presented in immediate sequence by Scholarios. The Vat. gr. 1144 gives ἅπασι σθεναρὸς ἀσπίδι (sub l.) φέριστος ἰσάκις ὁμαλός for the last line.

[72] Duffy, "Michael Psellos, Neophytos Prodromenos," 214.

[73] Op. cit., 216.

[74] Op. cit., 214.

[75] One example is a short work on hypothetical syllogisms preserved in Vat. gr. 209 and Vat. gr. 243; see K. Ierodiakonou, "The Hypothetical Syllogisms in the Greek and Latin Medieval Traditions," *CIMAGL* 66 (1996), 96–116, esp. 104 f. In Vat. gr. 243 (on which see in general I. Mercati and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, 1 [Rome, 1923], 311–13) the work appears anonymously among anonymous scholia on *An. pr.* 1 (ff. 158^{v}–159^{r}); this MS also contains (anonymously) Holobolos' translation of *De hypoth. syll.* (ff. 331^{r}–337^{r}): see Nikitas, *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung*, 14–16. In Vat. gr. 209 (on which see Mercati and Franchi de' Cavalieri, op. cit., 258–61), where the work is attributed to Psellos, it likewise appears among scholia on *An. pr.* 1 (ff. 120^{v}–121^{r}), which are in this case ascribed to different authors, among whom is Neophytos himself (cf. Wallies in *CAG* 13, 2:ix, note 1). A comparison of the contents of these two collections of scholia might yield interesting results: it is a reasonable hypothesis that Neophytos used Vat. gr. 243 for his own compilation in Vat. gr. 209.

the Greek mnemonics.

In their classic versified form the Latin mnemonics appear in William of Sherwood's *Introductiones in logicam* (3.9) (*c.* 1250?), and, as already mentioned, in Peter of Spain's *Summulae logicales* (4.13, 52.1–4) (before 1240[76]). Apart from being versified, the Latin mnemonics are also richer in information than the Greek ones: the consonants indicate rules for reduction of the so-called imperfect moods to the four perfect moods of the first figure. Earlier versions of the Latin mnemonic words, e.g. in the *Ars Emmerana* and the *Ars Burana* (*c.* 1150–1175[77]), like the Greek ones provide information only about the quality and quantity of the constituent statement-types. There are two qualities: affirmative and negative, and two quantities: universal and particular. In order to designate every possible combination of these (i.e. every statement-type in the "square of opposition"), a series of four letters is needed. Each mood makes up a sequence of three statement-types. In the *Ars Burana* the mnemonic words are formed by choosing each of the three letters representing the constituent statement-types from either of two parallel series of four in such a way that they combine into a pronounceable (and thus more easily memorated) sequence. In a somewhat later addition to the *Ars Emmerana* we find that one of these parallel series is constituted by the consonants {l, m, n, r}, whereas the other one is made up of precisely the first four vowels of the alphabet {a, e, i, o}, which are allotted the same values that they later have in the versified mnemonics: thus *Barbara* = "ala"; *Celarent* = "mae"; *Darii* = "lin" etc.[78]

If the Greek mnemonics correspond to an even earlier version of the Latin ones (no matter which is the direction of influence), it will be necessary to assume that this hypothetical earlier Latin version was first abandoned in favour of the twelfth-century manual versions, in spite of being both simpler (one-to-one correlation of statement-types and letters) and at least potentially richer in information than them (the consonants being free), and then reintroduced in its classic form in the thirteenth-century manuals. It seems to me much more likely that the versified mnemonics, *Barbara, Celarent* ... etc., represent the last stage in a development from more primitive to more sophisticated forms with more and better functions. The transition from two series of four letters to one must have coincided with the introduction of supplementary letters: the recognition that the supplementary letters can fill an additional function may well have been the very incentive of the transition.

A further point is that the four vowels {α, ε, ι ο} do not make up a complete series: they are not the first four vowels of the Greek alphabet. The fact that ι and η have not both been used is of course sufficiently accounted for by the itacism, which would carry the complication that the students would have to be certain of the spelling of the mnemonic words. But the fact that η has not been chosen instead of ι cannot be thus explained.

In sum: the Greek mnemonic words are in all probability an adaptation of the classic Latin verses. The date of their invention must fall between *c.* 1240, when the Latin verses became generally known by the

[76] De Rijk, *Peter of Spain, Tractatus*, lv–lxi.
[77] L. M. De Rijk, *Logica Modernorum: A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, 2 (Assen, 1967), 400.
[78] See De Rijk, op. cit., 402 f.

agency of Peter of Spain, and *c.* 1350, when Neophytos Prodromenos copied them in four manuscripts. Probably the *ante quem* should even be set one or two generations before Neophytos, since he is ignorant of the circumstances of their invention. Let us say 1240–1320. We know the names of two translators from Latin into Greek active during this period: Maximos Planoudes and Manuel Holobolos. Only one of them translated logical works, namely Holobolos, who also taught logic at the Patriarchal School. In a manuscript of the fourteenth century or perhaps a little later (Vat. gr. 1144), we find the information that the Greek mnemonic words were the invention of Holobolos. This information is not contested by any known evidence and hence should be accepted until the contrary is proved.

I stated above that the translation of the *Diaeresis* is unique insofar as it is the only known example of contemporary logical material having been translated from Latin into Greek in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We see now that the mnemonic words of Holobolos are another instance of interest in and knowledge of contemporary logic. Besides the Boethian works, some contemporary introductory text must have been available to Holobolos, maybe Peter of Spain. If it seems probable that Holobolos' translations of Boethius are related to his activity as a teacher, this is all the more true of the mnemonics. The rather dubious *raison d'être* given by Holobolos for his translations—roughly, "to see how the other half lives"—is hardly possible to invoke regarding such a highly instrumental phenomenon as mnemonic words. They have been adapted for a Greek audience in order to be fit for use by it. They consequently testify that at the time they were adapted some Greeks were prepared to pick up and make use of Latin innovations, albeit of a strictly pedagogical nature and on a very modest scale.

Who translated the *Diaeresis*?

Ebbesen suggested that the Latin original of the *Diaeresis* was found either in some *summulae logicales*, e.g. Peter of Spain, or in an *Organon* manuscript.[79] It escapes me why a Greek student of logic would be interested in Latin translations of the Aristotle he already knew, so perhaps that alternative should after all be judged less probable. On the hypothesis, then, that it was found in a manuscript containing a work like Peter's *Summulae*, it is quite conceivable that the *Diaeresis* and the Greek mnemonics in fact originate from the same Latin manuscript. If so, we may reasonably pose the question whether the translation of the *Diaeresis* and the adaptation of the mnemonics are in some way connected.

It is however doubtful whether the *Diaeresis* can have been translated by Holobolos. As Ebbesen says, the schema of *loci* "contains a number of errors and infelicities some of which could hardly have been committed by anybody who was working with the *Tractatus de locis* at his elbow."[80] *A fortiori*, then, it could not have been composed by someone who had at his disposal a copy of Boethius' *De topicis differentiis* and knew how to use it. For a detailed comparison of the *Diaeresis* with the other relevant texts in Greek and in Latin I refer to Ebbesen.[81] I shall only add a comment on

[79] "George Pachymeres and the Topics," 184.
[80] Op. cit., 180.
[81] Op. cit., 178–84.

the expression [πόθεν] ὁρμᾶται [τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἕκαστον] in the errant scholion mentioned earlier (text in Nikitas' apparatus to 234.7). Ebbesen suggests that ὁρμᾶται renders Latin *trahitur*, and this seems plausible enough.[82] In Holobolos' translation of the *De topicis differentiis*, *trahi* used of arguments in the sense "to be drawn from a dialectical *locus*" is rendered by ἕλκεσθαι. Thus, when Boethius has: *Locus … unde ad propositam quaestionem conveniens trahitur argumentum* (*Top. diff.* 1.2.8), Holobolos has: Τόπος δὲ … ὅθεν εἰς τὸ προκείμενον πρόβλημα σύμφωνον ἕλκεται ἐπιχείρημα. See also *Top. diff.* 2.9.5, Boethius: *trahi*; Holobolos: ἕλκεσθαι; also in the active voice (Greek middle) in *Top. diff.* 2.9.23, Boethius: *ex ipsis in quaestione propositis videbitur argumenta traxisse*; Holobolos: ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ προβλήματι προκειμένων φαίνεται τὰ ἐπιχειρήματα ἐφελκύσασθαι.[83] Considering, then, (1) that the expression [πόθεν] ὁρμᾶται [τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἕκαστον] is missing from Holobolos' Boethian translations; (2) that it departs from traditional Greek dialectical usage;[84] and (3) that Holobolos in his Boethian translations has a general tendency to conform to this usage, it does not seem very likely that Holobolos would have used the expression in another translation of related material. This of course applies whether the Latin original of the errant scholion in the *Diairesis* had *trahitur* or some synonymous expression.

Ebbesen observes that a couple of those formulations for dialectical *loci* in the *Diaeresis* which depart from Boethius and all the known Latin works have parallels in Nikephoros Blemmydes' *Epitome logica*.[85] These *loci* are all subsumed in the class *a divisione*. First there is *divisio vocis*. According to Boethius (2:9.8) a division is either a division of a genus into its species, or of a whole into its parts, or of a word into its proper significations, or of accidents into subjects, or of subjects into accidents, or of accidents into accidents. According to Blemmydes (*EL* 2.1, *PG* 142:701A) everything is divided either *per se* or *per accidens*; if it is divided *per se* it is so either as a thing or as an expression; if it is divided as a thing the division proceeds either from genus to species, from species to individual, from whole to part, or paronymously (ἀφ' ἑνὸς πρὸς ἕν); if it is divided as a word the divi-

[82] Op. cit., 174, note 7 (in 1560, Bechius translated *ducatur*).

[83] It may be noted here that just like ὁρμᾶται this group of words too has ancient precedents in the context: ἐφέλκεται (middle voice) occurs at Alexander, *In Top.* 373.5 in exactly the same sense as ἐφελκύσασθαι in Holobolos, *Top. diff.* 2.9.23.

[84] *Pace* Ebbesen, op. cit., 174, notes 6 and 179. According to Ebbesen ὁρμᾶται is a term which had been traditional in this context since antiquity" (174, note 7). This is true, but in Alexander's commentary on the *Topics* as well as the twelfth-century commentaries on the *Rhetoric* and *Sophistici Elenchi*, ὁρμᾶται in this context always describes the action of the person carrying out the argument, most frequently in the form of a (conditional) participle qualifying an expression of possibility (e.g. "*using this or that* locus *as a starting-point* a dialectician will be able to argue this or that type of proposition"): Alexander, *In Top.* 5.19; 5.26; 126.20, 22; 127.7, 9–10; ?Michael of Ephesus (for the attribution see T. M. Conley, "Notes on the Byzantine Reception of the Peripatetic Tradition in Rhetoric," in W. Fortenbaugh and D. C. Mirhady (eds.), *Peripatetic Rhetoric after Aristotle* [Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities, 6] (New Brunswick – London, 1994), 217–42, esp. 238 and note 29), *In Rhet.* 88.32 f.; Michael of Ephesus, *In SE* 77.11; somewhat differently (i.e. either not participle or participle not qualifying an expression of possibility), but still with the person arguing as subject in Alexander, *In Top.* 409.9; 517.16; ?Michael, *In Rhet.* 46.18; 56.9 f.; 83.9; a special case is ?Michael, *In Rhet.* 83.1, 11, where we find the impersonal verbal adjective ὁρμητέον, to be supplemented with ἡμῖν. The only parallel I have found for the use with ἐπιχείρημα or a synonymous expression as subject ("arguments for this or that type of proposition *are derived* from this or that *locus*"), as in the *Diaeresis* note, is in Themistius' *Pentaeterikos logos* (106a8). It is perhaps significant that this is not a philosophical text, but one likely to have been studied in rhetoric classes. χορηγεῖν as used in the *Diaeresis* (233.10: "[the… *locus* does not] afford [arguments for every predicate]") is anticipated by Alexander, *In Top.* 373.28.

[85] Ebbesen, op. cit., 181 f.; cf. Nikitas, *Boethius, De top.*, clii.

sion proceeds "from a homonymous word to its different significations." As just mentioned, the *Diaeresis* here parallels Blemmydes, while Holobolos in his translation duly follows Boethius, writing "of a word in its proper significations."

In the case of *divisio per accidens*, on the other hand, the deviant formulation in the *Diaeresis* fairly well corresponds not only with Blemmydes, *EL* 2.1 (PG 142: 701A–B), but also with Holobolos' translation: instead of *accidentis in* subiecta *vel* subiecti *in accidentia* (as in Boethius, *Top. diff.* 2.9.8) we find συμβεβηκότος εἰς *οὐσίαν* ἢ *οὐσίας* εἰς συμβεβηκότα (or the equivalent) in all three Greek texts. Granted that the *Diaeresis* and the *De topicis differentiis* were not translated by the same person, it might seem natural to suspect with Ebbesen that both translators consulted Blemmydes' *Epitome logica*, either especially for the translation or during their earlier studies.[86] It should be remembered in this connection that the revised and collected edition of Blemmydes' *Epitomae* was published sometime between 1258 and 1264, even if the *Epitome logica* was available in an early version shortly after 1237.[87]

So early a dependence on Blemmydes could arguably point in the direction of Pachymeres as the translator of the *Diaeresis*: according to F. Littig Pachymeres used Blemmydes for his *Philosophia*, and W. Lackner later stressed the fact that this work continues the Blemmydean tradition in its general approach.[88] According to *PLP* 22186, Pachymeres was even "Freund d. [Blemmydes], auf dessen Anregung er ein Kompendium d. Philosophie d. Aristoteles verfaßte," but unfortunately the editors fail to state what authorities they have for their assertion. It is clear from Pachymeres' *History* 1:5.2 that he admired Blemmydes greatly, but the emphasis is on the moral and spiritual stature of the man rather than his knowledge and intellectual acuity. On the other hand, the Grand Logothete and High School Teacher George Akropolites was himself an old student of Blemmydes', and by this route the latter rapidly gained a major influence on philosophical studies in Constantinople after the reconquest. More than a hundred manuscripts of his *Epitome logica* are known,[89] and even if roughly ¾ of these are later than AD 1400,[90] it seems a reasonable assumption (not least on account of the indirect tradition) that the *Epitome logica* was in common use as a textbook already in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

On closer scrutiny, however, it turns out that the evidence for the dependence of these translators on Blemmydes is only apparent. To begin with, I see no good reason for postulating a knowledge of Latin logical texts on Blemmydes' part (Ebbesen hints that this might be the case).[91] Practically all of his material is taken from known Greek introductions,

[86] Op. cit., 182.

[87] See, for the dates of these works, W. Lackner, "Die erste Auflage des Physiklehrbuches des Nikephoros Blemmydes," in F. Paschke (ed.), *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* [TU, 125] (Berlin, 1981), 351–64, esp. 351–53.

[88] *Die φιλοσοφία des Georgios Pachymeres*, 96; W. Lackner, "Zum Lehrbuch der Physik des Nikephoros Blemmydes," *ByzForsch* 4 (1972), 157–69, here at 168.

[89] W. Lackner apud K.-H. Uthemann, "Zur Sprachtheorie des Nikephoros Blemmydes: Bemerkungen zu einem byzantinischen Beitrag zur Geschichte der Logik," *JÖB* 34 (1984), 123–53, esp. 128.

[90] The estimate is based on the (incomplete) list of MSS in A. Wartelle, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs. Contribution à l'histoire du texte d'Aristote* (Paris, 1963) and analogy with the MS tradition of the *Epitome physica* (for which see Lackner, "Zum Lehrbuch," 160 f.).

[91] Op. cit., 182.

compendia and commentaries. On the whole it is also organized in a traditional way. Indeed, the formulations in Blemmydes' chapter on division, which differ from the Latin tradition but agree with the Greek thirteenth-century translations, are found exactly as they stand in these works in ch. 21 of David, *Prolegomena philosophiae* (65.16–21). So there is after all no conclusive evidence that either of the two translators was especially familiar with Blemmydes' *Epitome logica*: the only thing their agreement with the latter against the Latin originals proves is that they were firmly enough rooted in a Greek educational tradition to be able to make tacit emendations of the Latin text when they felt that it jarred with this tradition. This is not to say that there is no probability that it really was the Blemmydean work which served as a corrective for our translators. On the contrary: the *Epitome logica* was probably more widely spread than David's *Prolegomena* even in 1265 (the oldest complete sources used for Busse's edition of the latter work are four fourteenth-century manuscripts). But we have to admit that these correspondences with the *Epitome logica* are doubly insufficient to attribute the *Diaeresis* to Pachymeres. They do not necessarily indicate dependence on Blemmydes; and the possible dependence on Blemmydes does not necessarily indicate the authorship of Pachymeres.

We saw earlier that the attribution to Pachymeres dates only from the sixteenth century, and there is no evidence that he knew Latin. In sum, there is not much to be said in favour of his translatorship. Still, the *Diaeresis* must have been translated by *somebody*. And there is arguably less to be said against Pachymeres' translatorship than against that of anybody else. Pachymeres may have studied with George Akropolites from 1261.[92] In 1265 he participated, as a notary (Pachymeres, *Hist.* 1:4.6, 347.28 f. Failler), in the delegation whose mission it was to notify the former patriarch, Arsenios Autoreianos, of his banishment by the synod and the new patriarch, Germanos III Markoutzas (Pachymeres, *Hist.* 1:4.16). In 1273, during the preparations for the Council of Lyons, he co-wrote a letter of protest against Michael's union politics together with Iob Iasites, among others (Pachymeres, *Hist.* 1:5.14). Iasites was later the same year publicly punished together with Manuel Holobolos and other opponents of the union and led in triumph through the city up to St. Sophia as a warning to its clergy, as Pachymeres himself recounts in the *History* (1:5.20, 503.20–505.7 Failler). Our historian seems to have taken the warning seriously, for in 1277 he signed, in the capacity of Teacher of the Apostle (and thus on the teaching staff of the Patriarchal School), a document condemning those who refused to recognize papal primacy.[93] The lines on Pachymeres as a teacher of rhetoric and philosophy in Manuel Philes' funeral poem (ed. E. Miller, vol. 2 [Paris, 1857], 400–405, ll. 33–38) may refer simply to the written rhetorical and philosophical output of the Teacher of the Apostle. The sheer bulk of this output makes it likely anyway that he also lectured on these subjects. In other words, it seems quite probable that Pachymeres did belong to the same circle connected with the Patriarchal School as did Holobolos, and so perhaps he was in fact one of those "true

[92] I have found this assertion in a number of scholarly works (e.g. *PLP* 22186) but never a reference to the source. It is a probable assumption anyway in view of the educational situation at the time.

[93] V. Laurent and J. Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'union de Lyon (1273–1277)* [Archives de l'orient chrétien, 16] (Paris, 1976), 471,15.

friends" and devotees of learning apostrophized by Holobolos in the prefatory letter to his first translation. Thus, to the extent that the translator of the *Diaeresis* is to be sought in this milieu, there is nothing to prevent Pachymeres from being our man.

Any quest for Boethian influences in the part of Pachymeres' *Philosophia* devoted to dialectic is likely to be in vain. At least mine was. The only clear connection between the *Diaeresis* and the *Philosophia* is the common transmission. The question is, then: how could these works end up in the same manuscripts within a few years of the publication of the *Philosophia* and well within the life-time of its author? The autograph Berol. Ham. 512 exhibits interlinear corrigenda and addenda which have been integrated with the text in the likewise (partly) autograph Par. gr. 1930. The former "ist mit Hilfe seiner vielen Wasserzeichen in die allerletzten Jahre des 13. Jhs. zu datieren."[94] And Pachymeres was certainly alive in 1307, where his *History* ends. The oldest manuscript in which the *Diaeresis* and the *Philosophia* appear together, Iviron 191 (A), was dated by Lampros to the thirteenth century. Nikitas narrows this down to "kurz nach der Verfassung der *Diairesis* (vor 1282...);" Ebbesen sees no reason to call the date in "the late thirteenth century" into question.[95]

According to Nikitas (p. cxl–cxliv), the *Diaeresis* is transmitted together with the *Philosophia* in four other manuscripts besides A (plus one which contains of the latter work only the part on logic). None of these four can derive from A (at least not solely), whose *Diaeresis* text leaves off nineteen printed lines from the end, at the bottom of a recto (Nikitas, p. cxl).[96] Notable among the other manuscripts containing both works is M (Laur. plut. 86, 22: 14th c.).[97] In M too, the *Diaeresis* and the *Philosophia* have been copied by the same scribe (Nikitas, p. cxli). It is clear from Nikitas' apparatus criticus that M has certainly the right text against A in one important passage: 238.6 f., πρὸς ... ὡρισμένους (ὡρισμένους "non legitur A" [Nikitas ad loc.]; most of the others have ὡρισμένον) ἑώρα τόπους (τούτους A et cett.), and probably the right text against A in three other places (237.15, 238.1, 238.12), apart from the nineteen lines missing from A.[98]

If this is correct, it is hard to believe Ebbesen's assertion concerning A that "our text and the *Philosophia* were copied from different sources and only joined when the gathering containing our text was bound with the bigger work."[99] We must surely have to do with a more complicated situation where the *Diaeresis* and the *Philosophia* were both in the archetype. It is difficult to judge the significance of the corruption in 238.6 f. without knowing the cause of the first word's being illegible in A, but if we grant the premiss that the manuscripts having the complete text are indepen-

[94] D. Harlfinger, *Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift Περὶ ἀτόμων γραμμῶν. Ein kodikologisch-kulturgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Klärung der überlieferungsverhältnisse im Corpus Aristotelicum* (Amsterdam, 1971), 357–60.

[95] Lampros, *Catalogue*, 2, 54; Nikitas, *Boethius, De top.*, cxl f.; Ebbesen, "George Pachymeres and the Topics," 184.

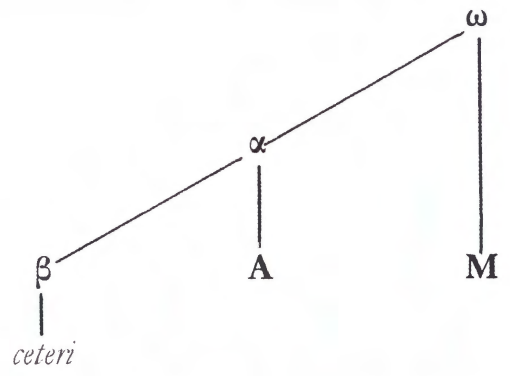
[96] Neither did Bechius' exemplar(s), which also contained both works, but seem(s) to be lost, derive from A.

[97] After *c.* 1310, assuming that the part at the end of the MS containing Manuel Philes' funeral poem on Pachymeres is contemporary with the early parts.

[98] It may also be noted that the form of the author's name in A (Βοήτιος) deviates from that universally prevailing in the tradition of Holobolos' translations (Βοέτιος, *pace* Papathomopoulos, *Boethii De cons.*, xlvii; see Nikitas, op. cit., xxxvii) while agreeing with that in the *Life* of Boethius in MSS of Planoudes' translation of the *De cons. philos.* as well as with Planoudes' letter 5. M, in contrast, has Βοέτιος (235.4).

[99] Ebbesen, "George Pachymeres and the Topics," 170.

dent of A, the consequence will be that there is at least one intermediate link between the archetype and A:



β was copied before the damage on α, A after. There may of course be several links between the archetype and M.

It is possible that Iviron 191 should be postdated. The way the manuscript tradition looks, however, still makes it very probable that the *Diaeresis* was indeed translated in the thirteenth century, and in that case it also seems reasonable to assume with Nikitas (pp. cxlvi f.) that it was translated before 1283, when Andronikos II abrogated the union and pro-Latin activity was again equated with anti-Byzantine activity and subject to prosecution. It is easy to see how the *Diaeresis* could have filled a practical purpose in connection with Holobolos' classes on the dialectic of Boethius. The translation shares this kind of practical usefulness with the Holobolean mnemonics for the moods of syllogism. A probable hypothesis in both cases is that the original was found in a Latin *summulae* manuscript or the like; possibly both works were found in one and the same manuscript. The text of the *Diaeresis* exhibits significant differences from Holobolos' translation of the *De topicis differentiis*, but the title almost coincides in the two cases, whereas a similar title seems to be unknown in the Latin tradition. On balance then, (1) it seems very probable that the *Diaeresis* was produced in the milieu around Manuel Holobolos at the Patriarchal School of Constantinople in 1265–1273; (2) it seems very probable that George Pachymeres belonged to this milieu; (3) it seems very probable that the *Diaeresis* and Pachymeres' *Philosophia* have been transmitted jointly since a very early stage. This adds up to give reasonable support to the hypothesis that the *Diaeresis* was translated by Pachymeres himself (or possibly some other person in his close environment) during this period. Pending further evidence, then, we may count the historian and polymath Pachymeres among the few Byzantine authors who had in fact a smattering of Latin.

Tradition and Transformation in Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Chant

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THE RELIGIOUS MUSIC is ususally considered to be a very stable element in the Byzantine culture. However, is it clear that the Late and Post-Byzantine chant in certain respects differs from the high medieval or "classical" Byzantine chant tradition.[1] In the musical manuscripts, these differences concern developments in both repertory and style, and they become especially clear in the sources of the Palaiologan period. In this paper I shall focus on some of these developments, although with special emphasis on a discussion of the dynamics behind them, both internally, within the Byzantine chant tradition itself, and in the context of possible interaction with the surrounding musical cultures.

Composers becoming visible

The emergence of ascriptions to "composers" in the musical manuscripts is one of the most important changes that can be observed, and it signals a shift in the status of a given chant from being considered a part of the received tradition to becoming a piece of art. Before AD 1300, roughly speaking, references to the early authorities in Byzantine hymnography are occasionally found, for example to famous melodes such as John of Damascus, Andrew of Crete, Kosmas of Maiouma, and Sophronios of Jerusalem. From a later period, melodes such as Kassia, Leo VI, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and a few others are occasionally mentioned too. In the Palaiologan period, however, the bloom of the so-called kalophonic style made its off-print in the manuscripts with hundreds of new composers' names in the rubrics. A new approach to the muscial composition as a work of art is also revealed in the way the originality of the compositions is stated. The traditional melodies of the Sticherarion, for example, were used as a basis for new compositions, and so-called *kratemata* passa-

[1] As summarised, for example, by G. Wolfram, "Erneuernde Tendenzen in der Byzantinischen Kirchenmusik des 13./14. Jahrhunderts," *Revista de Musicología* 14 (1993), 761–68.

Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 13 (Stockholm, 2004).

ges (see below) were inserted. The pieces could then be further embellished by the next generation of church musicians, just to be modified in turn by their successors, as appears from a title like the following:

> ἐποιήθησαν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ δομεστίκου ἐκείνου κὺρ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ἀνεώτου· ἐκαλλωπίσθησαν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου κὺρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γλυκέως· ὕστερον δὲ ἐγράφησαν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Μαΐστορος κὺρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κουκουζέλη, συντετμημένα καὶ σαφέστατα, καὶ οὐ γὰρ πολλὰς εἶχον μακρολογίας.[2]
>
> (These [*kratemata*] were composed by the domestikos, Mr Michael Aneotes and embellished by the protopsaltes, Mr John Glykys. Later, they were notated by the master, Mr John Koukouzeles, abbreviated in a very clear manner, for they did not have exceedingly long passages.)

The tendency of attaching composers' names to the new compositions might even have had an effect back on the traditional chant collections. In a revision of the the classical Sticherarion, apparently due to the famous John Koukouzeles (*c.* AD 1300), names of melodes were attached throughout.[3] It was especially the formation of a kalophonic repertory and its compositional principles that established a basis for further development of the church music in late Byzantium and the period to follow. Therefore it might be reasonable to attack questions concerning the Late Byzantine and the early Post-Byzantine chant tradition departing from the musical practice as transmitted by the Greek and other Orthodox Churches, which can be followed precisely back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the first musical prints with a reformed and simplified musical notation, the so-called New Method, came into circulation, and to the immediately preceding period, in which we find the received repertory represented at a late stage of the Middle Byzantine notation.

The Oriental connection

The traditional Greek Church music has some elements in it that from a Western European point of view have been described as "oriental", including features such as a nasal vocal technique, the use of microtones, and chromatic scales. The presence of such characteristics impelled a number of earlier scholars to identify an oriental, more specifically Turkish, influence in "Neo-Byzantine" chant. This "theory of degeneration" of the idiom of the classical Byzantine chant was not only adopted by a number of Western scholars. Even a distinguished group of Greeks, predominantly among the well-educated, shared this view. One of the most polemic wordings was published by H. W. J Tillyard, one of the founders of the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. In 1933 he wrote:

> The singers at Constantinople [in the seventeenth century] ... not only embellished their own hymnody with Oriental ornaments, but also composed music for their masters, the Turks. The result, naturally, was that Greek

[2] MS Sinai gr. 1262 (AD 1437), fol. 1[r]; see G. Stathis, "The Abridgements in Byzantine Music," *CIMAGL* 44 (1983), 16–38, here at 20.

[3] J. Raasted, "Koukouzeles' Revision of the Sticherarion and Sinai gr. 1230," in J. Szendrei and D. Hiley, *Laborare fratres in unum. Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag* [Spolia Berolinensia, Berliner Beiträge zur Mediävistik, 7] (Hildesheim, 1995), 261–77.

music became indistinguishable from Turkish, as travellers from the eighteenth century have reported.[4]

And in 1935 he concluded:

it is therefore unsafe to assume that the modern music of the Greek Church contains any body of tradition earlier than the eighteenth century.[5]

Now, the latter statement can immediately be proved false. There are melodies that can be followed back to the Middle Ages, though clear examples are in fact difficult to find. In music Example I, versions of the beginning of the troparion Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος from the fourteenth through the twentieth centuries are compared.[6] There is a constant close relationship between the cadence notes in all the versions from that of the fourteenth century to the contemporary one (note that the 1972 version is placed a fouth below the three older ones), even if the melodic movement displays variation over the centuries. Although only the beginning of the melody is shown here, the same tendency can be followed through the rest of the piece. The chant is set in a simple, semi-psalmodic, style, and in practical liturgical use it has most likely been orally transmitted. This is exactly one of the genres where continuity between Byzantine, Post-Byzantine and Neo-Byzantine chant can be seen directly. The notation provides precise information only about the melodic line, and possible differences in vocal technique and the precise temperament of the scales are not made explicit in the Middle Byzantine notation. The discussion of continuity versus development/evolution/transformation of the medieval tradition therefore depends—to some degree—on secondary evidence.

If one reads the 1728 treatise of Panagiotes Chalatzoglou, *protopsaltes* of the Great Church in Constantinople/Istanbul, it appears that he was in fact trying to create a kind of unified musical theory that includes both the Byzantine chant and the Ottoman art music. Chalatzolglou compares and identifies the Byzantine *echoi* with the Ottoman modal system in the Arabo–Persian tradition, the *makam*s (pl. Arab. *makamat* / Turk. *makamlar*).[7] In this period, the two systems were apparently felt to belong to the same musical universe and the modal concepts were compatible. The work was dedicated to Dimitrescu Cantemir, governor of the Ottoman province of Moldo-Walachia. This learned Romanian prince had himself written on the Turkish musical theory and notated a collection of Turkish songs.

Ἐπειδὴ οὗτοι τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν ὀκτὼ ἤχους καλοῦσι μακάμια ...
... Γεγγιάχ, ἀσιράν, ἀτζὲμ ἀσιράν, ἀράκ ... [8]
(And as they call our eight modes [*echoi*] "makams"...
.... Yegâh, Aṣîran, Acem Aṣîran, Iraq ...)

As mentioned by Tillyard, many of the Greek Church musicians in Constantinople/Istanbul were also active as court musicians, and it is

[4] H. J. W. Tillyard, "Byzantine Music at the End of the Middle Ages," *Laudate: Quarterly Review of the Benedictines of Nashdom* 43 (1933), 141–51, here at 143.
[5] H. W. J. Tilllyard, *A Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Notation* [Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia I,b] (Copenhagen, 1935), 16.
[6] The *sigla* in example 1 are: V = MS Athos Vatopediou 1493 (14th c.), fol. 187^{r}; S = MS Sinai gr. 1259 (16th c.), fol. 142^{r}; O = MS Sofia, Kliment Ohridski (AD 1720), fol. 55; A = *Ἀναστασιματάριον ἀργὸν καὶ σύντομον* [ΖΩΗ series] (Athens, 1972), 16.
[7] Panagiotes Chalatzoglou, "Σύγκρισις ..." (ed. I. Naupliotes), *Παράρτημα τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἀληθείας*, II (Athens, 1900), 68–75. A Norwegian translation by Bjarne Schartau is forthcoming.
[8] Op. cit., 69 f.

reasonable again to emphasize, as Zannos has done in his book *Ichos und Makam*[9] from 1993, the fact that the secular music they practised was the Ottoman reception of the Arabo-Persian art music, sometimes referred to also as "classical Turkish music". From approximately the same period Turkish songs appear in otherwise Greek musical manuscripts, as for example in a manuscript attributed to Cyril Marmarenos, cod. 994 of the library of Panteleemonos monastery on Mount Athos, fol. 323^{v}–324^{r} (*c.* 1750):

> Τὸ ὁποῖον λέγεται σεμαΐ, τουρκιστὶ δὲ σεχουσεινὴ μέλος, καὶ λέξαις Περσῶν
> (This melody is called "semai", in Turkish "Huseyni makam"; the words are Persian.)

This close relationship between the modal systems of the Neo-Byzantine chant and Turkish art music has been continued up to modern times as a part of the theoretical system taught in at least one of the most influential schools of Neo-Byzantine chant revival in the last century, namely that of Simon Karas († 1998).[10] There seems thus to be little doubt that the Neo-Byzantine and the Turkish tradition are closely related to each other, but we are forced to go further back to attack the question of "orientalisation" of the Byzantine tradition, and to determine whether an influence from, or interaction with, Turkish music can be documented at an earlier stage. Now "Turkish music" is in itself far from being a clear concept as it might refer to various traditions of folk music, as well as to the religious traditions of the mosques, to the music of the Dervish brotherhoods, military music, or, finally, entertainment and art music at the Ottoman court. An anonymous Greek chronicle, *Ἔκθεσις Χρονική* (*c.* AD 1500) and Martin Kraus (Crusius) in his work *Turcograeciae libri octo* (Basle, 1584) relate a story about an encounter between Greek church singers and a Turkish court musician. The episode is placed at the end of the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (1481), the conqueror of Constantinople. The Sultan who, generally, is depicted with much sympathy, strolls secretly around in the city by night to gather first-hand intelligence on the sentiments among the ordinary people:[11]

> Ἔμαθε δὲ καὶ ὅπως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ψάλται γράφουσι τὰς τῶν μελῳδούντων φωνάς· ὥρισε γοῦν ἵνα τραγῳδήσῃ τις Πέρσης ὅνπερ εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἐκλεκτὸν ἐπιστήμονα. Ἐκτραγῴδει οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὸ τεσνέαιον, ὁ δὲ κὺρ Γεράσιμος καὶ Γεώργιος ὁ ψάλτης ἔγραφον τὰς φωνάς· τελειώσαντες δὲ καὶ σχηματίσαντες αὐτό, ὥρισεν ὅπως ψάλλωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ αὐθέντη τὸ αὐτὸ τεσνέαιον, ὄντος καὶ τοῦ Πέρσου ἐκεῖ· ἔψαλλον γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν τραγῳδήσαντα πρῴην. Ἤρεσε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀπεδέχθη καὶ ἐθαύμασε τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λεπτότητα· ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτοῖς δωρεὰς καὶ ὥρισεν ὅτι ὃ ἂν αἰτήσωνται δοῦναι· ὁ δὲ Πέρσης πεσὼν προσεκύνησεν αὐτοὺς ἐκπλαγεὶς τὸ παράδοξον.
>
> (Further, he learnt how the Greek cantors write down the intervals of those who sing. He therefore decreed that a certain Persian, whom he considered excellently skilled, should sing. And he sang the *tesnéaion*, and Mr Gerasimos

[9] I. Zannos, *Ichos und Makam: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zum Tonsystem der griechisch-ortodoxen Kirchenmusik und der türkischen Kunstmusik* [Orfeus Schriftreihe in Musikwissenschaft, 74] (Bonn, 1994), esp. 24–48.

[10] For example, S. Karas, *Ἁρμονικά* (Athens, 1989).

[11] N. Sathas (ed.), *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, VII (repr. Hildesheim, 1972), 589. See B. Schartau, "Testimonia of Byzantine musical practice II," *CIMAGL* 72 (2001), 3–10. I thank Bjarne Schartau for making me aware of this passage.

and the cantor George wrote down the intervals. When they had finished the notation, he ordered that they should now sing the same *tesnéaion* in the presence of his Majesty, while also the Persian was present. And in their turn they sang even better than the one who had sung earlier. It pleased the Sultan and he welcomed and admired the refinement of the Greeks. And he gave them gifts and decreed to give them whatever they asked for. But the Persian fell down before them in adoration, amazed at the miracle.)

Whether facts or fiction, the passage reveals something of a late fifteenth-century notion about the relationship between the two musical cultures living together in Constantinople/Istanbul. As mentioned above, it seems reasonable to identify the "Persian" specialist with a court musician of Mehmed II and the *tesnéaion*[12] as a "classical" Turkish song. It is well-known that Turkish music did not make use of notation in this period. Various systems of letter notation were used in musical treatises from the thirteenth century, but not until the twentieth century did notation, in the shape of the Western five-line staff notation, become more widespread.[13] The Greeks, on the other hand, had a well established notational system, namely the Middle Byzantine notation, which developed around AD 1150 and—in principle—stayed in use until the "New Method" was introduced around 1815. But the passage also tells us that at the end of the fifteenth century the two musical traditions were not as far removed from each other as might have been expected, at least if one accepts the theory of "degeneration".

Traditionally, scholarship has operated with a specific "Late Byzantine" or "Koukouzelian" stage of the Middle Byzantine notation, which is typical of the Palaiologan period. The basic principles of this notation were the same as those of the "classical" Middle Byzantine notation: it is a relative notation in which each interval sign has a specific numeric step value in relation to the immediately preceding one (for example, one step up, two steps down, etc.), and in addition specific signs for dynamic and rhythmic properties. The difference is that around AD 1300 or a little earlier, the number of group and phrasing signs drawn in red ink began to increase in comparison with the black interval signs. Some of these are modulation signs, the so-called *phthorai*. Especially in the *deuteros* modes—the second authentic and the plagal, which in the late Byzantine tradition became unquestionably chromatic in character—, these signs proliferated. If these *phthorai* are signs of an increasing chromaticism, this poses another difficulty for the theory of "degeneration" or "orientalization." It does not appear reasonable to assume a decisive musical influence from areas already under Turkish control into the slowly shrinking Byzantine areas in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Alternatively, the situation could be seen as a symptom of a development towards a more refined theoretical system of the Byzantine modes, where new variants of the eight modes built on clusters of thirds, fourths, or fifths entered the treatises. In fact, the growth in number of the modes—*echoi kyrioi*, *echoi mesoi*, *echoi plagioi*, *plagioi* of the *plagioi*, *mesoi* of the *mesoi*, *tetraphonic* modes (with fifth-identity), triphonic modes (with fourth-identity), and diphonic modes (with third-identity)—,[14] has a counterpart in Turkish musical theory, which begins

[12] One suggestion could be a Greek rendition of the makam "*tiz nawâ*," spelled τιζ νεβάν by Chalatzoglou (see above, note 7).
[13] K. Signell, *The Makam System* (New York, NY, 1986), 2.
[14] On the modal theory on this period, see A. Alygizakis, *H Οκταηχία* (Thessalonike, 1986), 134–55.

with a system of twelwe *makamat* in the thirteenth century and ends with ninety-two or more in the nineteenth century.[15] That Byzantine and Arabo–Persian modal categories, specifically the second mode variant called *nenano,* were similar already around AD 1400 is reflected in a chapter of a little treatise in dialogue form found in the manuscript St. Petersburg 494, where the rubric reads (fol. 3^{v}):[16]

> Περὶ τοῦ δέματος τοῦ λεγομένου ἀζηζὴ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις.
> (About the knot? ["formula"] that is called *atsisi* [?] by the Persians.)

As has already been mentioned, the fourteenth century experienced the break-through of the kalophonic style in Byzantine chant. This consists in a compositional principle according to which a traditional melody is subjected to an artificial expansion and embellishment. Portions of the original hymn text are repeated—in a manner that could be compared to an opera aria—to the effect that certain phrases or words are emphasised, and a new and original piece is created, although both text and music evolves from the traditional hymn. Edward Williams described in 1970 the kalophonic style as the Byzantine *Ars Nova*, and in many respects this comparison can be justified. In the West, the Gregorian tune is used as *Cantus Firmus*, as a structural basis of the new polyphonic composition. The Byzantine kalophonic style sticks to the monophonic ideal, but uses the melodic/modal structure of a traditional melody as basis for new, longer, and more complex compositions.

Music example II shows both the original neume text of the first five lines of a classical *sticheron* and three different kalophonic settings from the earliest kalophonic period.[17] The sticheron is Αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου from the office of September 8, the Nativity of the Theotokos, with clear allusions to Psalm 117. In addition to the embellishment of the traditional melodic phrases, the kalophonic versions are provided with non-sense passages, the so-called *kratemata*, joining phrases such as "te-re-rem" and "to-rro-rro" to extended newly composed melodies. And while it is likely that the traditional melodies could be performed and are rendered in the manuscripts with a certain variation, a more exact notation is found in multiple versions of the kalophonic pieces.

In Turkish art music too, the first non-mythical composers date from the beginning of the fifteenth century,[18] and non-sense passages are introduced in the earliest Turkish song collections to become a fixed stylistic mark in the later period.[19]

The Byzantine *kratemata* of the Palaiologan period often have "exotic" titles attached to them in the manuscripts. For example, the title περσικόν, ("Persian") appears in a number of compositions,[20] some of the

[15] G. Oransay, *Die melodische Linie und der Begriff Makam der traditionellen türkischen Kunstmusik vom 15. bis 19. Jhdt.*, (Ankara, 1966), 91.
[16] E. Gertsman, *Petersburg Theoreticon* (Odessa, 1994), 54 f.
[17] The *sigla* in Example II are: A = traditional version, MS Ambr. gr. 139 Sup., fol. 8^{v}; G = anonymous early kalophonic setting, MS Grottaferrata G.g.IV, fol. 20^{v} ff.; K = version ascribed to John Koukouzeles (*c.* 1300), MS Sinai gr. 2151, fol. 16^{r} ff.; S = version with portions ascribed to Germanos the Monk (*c.* 1280) and Xenos Korones (*c.* 1325), MS Sinai gr. 2151, fol. 17^{v} ff.
[18] Signell, *The Makam System*, 5.
[19] O. Wright, *Words Without Songs: A Musicological Study of an Early Ottoman Anthology and its Precursors* (London, 1992).
[20] See M. Velimirović, "'Persian Music' in Byzantium?," in idem (ed.), *Studies in Eastern chant*, III (New York, NY, 1978), 179–81.

later ones even with strange non-Greek texts written in Greek letters. One rubric reads περσικόν, ποίημα τοῦ Μαΐστορος, τὸ λεγόμενον ἐθνικόν.[21] Generally, the titles of the Palaiologan *kratemata* have invited many and sometimes imaginative interpretations, such as Ὀργανικόν ("Organ *kratema*"), Λαμέρα (?), τὸ Ῥοδαῖον ("the Rose"), ἡ Βιόλα ("the Violet"), Ξυλικόν ("Tree *kratema*"), Ὄρφανον ("Orphan *kratema*"), and ἡ Βούλγαρα ("the Bulgarian Woman"). The musical style of these pieces does not, however, appear to differ significantly from the standard Byzantine kalophonic idiom, nor does a group of pieces entitled Φραγγικόν ("Frankish *kratema*") or Δυσικόν ("Western *kratema*").[22] One could perhaps recognize a Palaiologan "romanticism" or "exoticism" in such titles, while no musical analysis has yet been able to point out any stylistic or melodic traits that could be put in connection with specific titles. The practical purpose was evidently to identify a text-less chant with a call-name.

Contacts with the West

Also the relationship between the Late Byzantine chant and the musical culture of the West is just as ambiguous as its relationship to Turkish music. At the dogmatic level, chant texts were, in the fourteenth century, composed against the heterodox Latins, for example the following *troparion triadikon* by Xenos Korones (*c.* AD 1325), the text of which is based on a traditional *troparion*:

> **Τοῦ Κορώνη, Κατὰ Λατίνων.**
> Ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν, δόξα σοι. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ μόνου, καὶ μόνου ἐκπορευόμενον · Τριὰς Ἁγία, δόξα σοι.
>
> **(By Korones, Against the Latins** [rubric]:
> Thou that watchest the earth and makest it tremble, glory to thee; Holy Spirit that proceedest only and solely from the Father. Holy Trinity, glory to thee!)

There is little doubt that this piece is a musical utterance with a connection to the *Filioque* controversy and to the internal Byzantine quarrels in the aftermath of the Union council of Lyons in 1274. The melody is constructed from well-known elements of the kalophonic style.

In a late thirteenth-century chant manuscript from South Italy, one finds in the liturgy of St. Basil a peculiar version of the age-old Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος-hymn, the Byzantine *Sanctus*.[23] The text is written with Greek letters, but is in fact transliterated Latin: Σαντους, σαντους, σαντους δδομινους δδεους σαββαοθ, πλενι σουτ σελι, ετ τερρα γλορια τουα, Οσαννα ιν εσξελσις (sic!). Neil Moran, who first published the piece, has transcribed and analysed the notated melody in order to check whether a Western model might be identified. The melody, however, as Moran rightly concludes, clearly belongs to the Byzantine sphere, showing characteristics of the early kalophonic style. In addition, it is interesting that the melody is

[21] MS Athos, Iviron 984 (*c.* 1450), fols. 35^{r}–37^{v}.
[22] See e.g. the MSS Athos, Koutloumousiou 457 (*c.* 1350), fol. 69^{v}; Athos, Iviron 985 (AD 1425), fol. 15^{v}; Athos, Iviron 974, fol. 15^{v}.
[23] MS Grottaferrata G.b.37, fol. 54^{r}–54^{v}, transcribed by N. Moran, *The Ordinary Chants of the Byzantine Mass* [Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 12] (Hamburg, 1975), vol. I, 162–66, and vol. II, 190–92.

written by the same hand as other parts of the repertory with the title ᾆσμα, which includes the oldest Middle Byzantine kalophonic settings of Stichera and psalm verses.[24]

Musically speaking, the most interesting "Western" connection is perhaps a series of *Koinonika* attributed to Manuel Gazes (*c.* AD 1400). In the Greek manuscript Athens 2401 (15th c.), the *Koinonikon* Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον has the following rubric:[25]

> τοιοῦτον κοινωνικὸν ψαλοῦντο δύω, ὁ εἷς τὰ μαῦρα εἰς ἦχον δ΄, ὁ δ' ἄλλος τὰ κόκκινα εἰς ἦχον πλ. δ΄. (This *koinonikon* is sung by two <singers>. The one <sings> the black <neumes> in the fourth mode, the other <sings> the red <neumes> in the fourth plagal mode.)

The two voices has an almost identical sequence of neumes, but given that the one singer begins in the fourth mode on *d*, and the other in the fourth plagal a fifth lower on *G*, a parallel *organum* in fifth distance is the result. It is reasonable to assume, as M. Adamis has done, that this is a trace of Western musical influence on the Byzantine chant in the Palaiologan period. Parallel *organa* were practiced in the West already by the year 900, as the Carolingian chant treatise *Musica Enchiriadis* shows,[26] but remained in use for centuries, even after the harmonically more complex and "modern" polyphonic styles *Ars Antiqua* and *Ars Nova* had been introduced.

Another manuscript of the Palaiologan era, cod. Athos, Iviron 975, gives a marginal reference to a second voice,[27] possibly called τένωρ. This is also a clear indication that Western music was known and had a potential influence in the Byzantine chant milieu.

Conclusion

Discussing the interaction between Byzantine music and its neighbouring traditions, it is important to note that already in the ninth century, an Arab musical theoretician was able to place Byzantine and classical Arab music in the same musical universe, referring to an experiment of providing a Byzantine melody with Arabic text, as Max Haas has pointed out.[28] A similar concept of a common Mediterranean–Aegean musical universe has been suggested by Reinhold Schlötterer.[29] Departing from such a concept

[24] B. di Salvo, "Gli asmata nella musica bizantina," *BollGrott* 13 (1959), 45–50 and 135–78; 14 (1960), 145–78.

[25] The melody was first published and discussed by M. Adamis, "An Example of Polyphony in Byzantine Music in the Late Middle Ages," in H. Glahn, S. Sørensen and P. Ryom (eds.), *International Musicological Society. Report of the Eleventh Congress, Copenhagen 1972*, (Copenhagen, 1974), 737–47. See also D. Conomos, "Experimental polyphony 'according to the ... Latins', in late Byzantine psalmody," *Early Music History*, II (1982), 1–16.

[26] H. Schmid (ed.), *Musica and Scholica Enchiriadis* (Munich, 1981).

[27] See G. Stathis, *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς, Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, Γ΄ (Athens, 1993), 768 f. A single phrase is set with two voices in mostly parallel movements, as appears from the marginal note τενωρεῖ τὰ κόκκινα ("the red neumes give the *tenor*, i.e. a second voice) in a piece by Manouel Chrysaphes (*c.* 1450) in the kalophonic Sticherarion cod. Iviron 975, fol. 270.

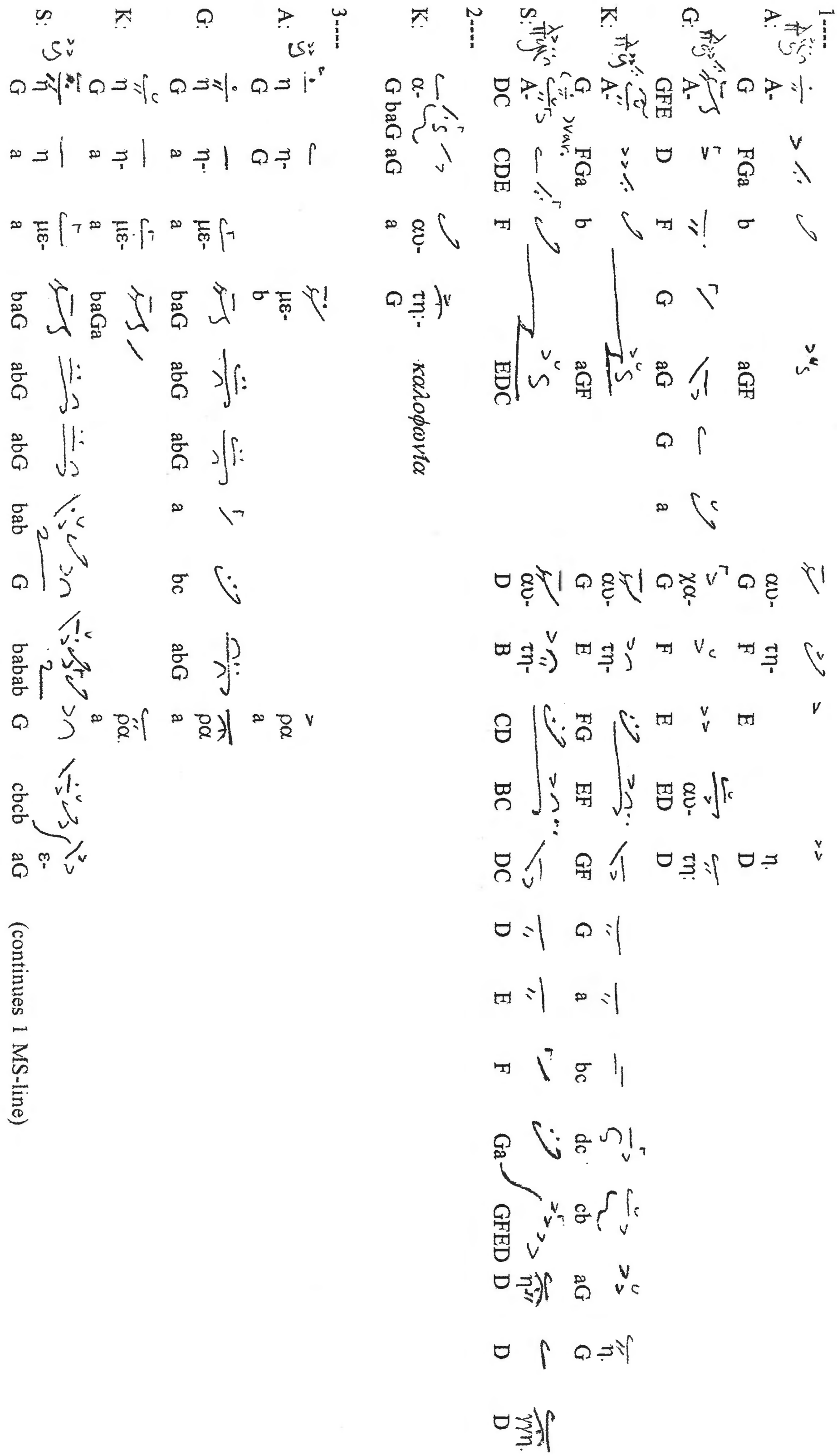
[28] M. Haas, "Modus als Skala – Modus als Modellmelodie: Ein Problem musikalischer Überlieferung in der Zeit vor den ersten notierten Quellen," in J. Raasted and C. Troelsgård (eds.), *Palaeo-Byzantine notations: A reconsideration of the source material* (Hernen, The Netherlands, 1995), 11–32, here at 22.

[29] R. Schlötterer, "Gegenwart und Vergangenheit im *Kara toprak* des türkischen Asik Veysel," in B. Edelmann and M. H. Schmid (eds.), *Altes im Neuen: Festschrift Theodor Göllner zum 65. Geburtstag* [Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 51] (Tutzing, 1995), 37–46.

it becomes difficult to distinguish between "interior developments" and "exterior influences." Some developments seem to take place simultaneously, and it appears that it is only rarely possible to prove precisely which "influenced" which, and in what way. In both East and West the development towards compositional music in a modern sense took its point of departure in the traditional monophonic chant, as the basic melody of the Byzantine kalophonic style and as the *cantus firmus* in early Western polyphony. Similarly, in Post-Byzantine and Ottoman music, it seems, a specific tension between the concepts of basic melody (in Greek *melos*) and interpretation (in Greek *exegesis*) with passages rhythmically multiplied. Likewise a convergence is seen between the modal systems and in the development of musical form, where the kalophonic *kratemata* (*tere*[*n*]*tismata*) could be compared with the non-sense-syllable expansions in Ottoman chant of the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries. Abandoning the theory of "oriental degeneration" thus opens the possibility of focussing the dynamics of interior and parallel developments in the musical cultures of the Mediterrenean areas of Late- and Post-Medieval Europe.

Music Example I

Music Example II a



Music Example II b

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