ICONOCLASM

Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies

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March 1975

Edited by

ANTHONY BRYER and JUDITH HERRIN

Centre for Byzantine Studies
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FOREWORD

These papers are substantially those presented at the University of Birmingham's Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, which was devoted to 'Iconoclasm'. It was held on 22–24 March 1975 under the direction of Dr Neville Birdsall, Dr Anthony Bryer and Professor Cyril Mango. These symposia are sponsored by the University of Birmingham Committee (now Centre) for Byzantine Studies and Department of Extramural Studies.

This is the first spring symposium to be published. The coherence of the subject, the interest aroused by the papers, as well as clear demand for a report on current work on Iconoclasm, encouraged the new University of Birmingham Centre for Byzantine Studies to make these papers its inaugural publication.

All but one of the sixteen contributions to the Symposium are presented here. Apart from inviting historical and theological introductions from Professor Cyril Mango and Dr Leslie Barnard respectively, there has been no attempt to make the volume comprehensive (though we have added a chronology and anthology of texts in translation). This is obviously a partial survey of Iconoclasm. Neither the papers nor the scholars represented claim to cover the entire field between them, and it is only natural that their conclusions vary.

In order to offer the volume at a price which we trust will enable it to reach the readership it deserves, the Centre has acted as its own publisher. We are grateful to Mr Tom Davis for designing the volume and to John Goodman and Sons Ltd., Printers, for the care they have taken over an unusual order. For additional editorial help we are most grateful to Dr Leslie Barnard and Dr Robin Cormack. It is a pleasure to acknowledge Dr Philip Whitting's unfailing encouragement and practical help. Our principal thanks, however, must go to the 250 symposiasts from thirteen countries who discussed Iconoclasm and, especially, to the contributors to this volume for preparing their papers for publication.

ANTHONY BRYER JUDITH HERRIN

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			3. Kartmin: a, c (reconstructed); d = mosaic (after E. Hawkins and M. Mundell, *DOP*, 27 [1973], figs. 18–20); b = mosaic (reconstructed), after *ibid.*, 288).	
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ABBREVIATIONS

Byzantinists traditionally disclaim consistency in transliteration. Although its principles may not be immediately apparent, a single transliteration system has been imposed consistently on all contributions. The "Style Guide for the Dumbarton Oaks Papers," *DOP*, 26 (1972), 363–5, has been adopted.

In addition to the "Dumbarton Oaks List of Abbreviations," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 329–339, the following are used in this volume:

TEXTS

Cedrenus
Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope, Bonn ed. (ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols., *CSHB* [Bonn, 1838–9]).

Genesius
[Joseph] Genesius [*Regna*], Bonn ed. (ed. C. Lachmann, *CSHB* [Bonn, 1834]).

Georgius Monachus
Georgius Monachus (Harmatolus), *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1904) = Bonn ed. (*Georgii Monachi Vitae Imperatorum Recentiorum*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* [Bonn, 1838], 761–924; see under Pseudo-Symeon).

Nicephorus
Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula Historica, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880); *Historia syntomos* (Brevarium), 1–77.

Scriptor incertus de Leone
Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio, Bonn ed. (ed. I Bekker, *CSHB* [Bonn, 1842] in *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, 335–362) = PG, 108 (1863), cols. 1009–1037.

Pseudo-Symeon
Symeon Magistri Annales, Bonn. ed. (ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* [Bonn, 1838] in *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, 601–760).

Synaxarium CP
Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinipolitanae. Propylaeum ad ActaSS Novembris, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902; reprinted Louvain, 1954).

Theophanes
Theophanis Chronographia, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–5; reprinted Hildesheim, 1963).

Theophanes Continuatus
Theophanes Continuatus, [*Chronographia*], Bonn ed. (ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* [Bonn, 1838], 3–481; see under Pseudo-Symeon).

OTHER WORKS

Alexander, *Nicephorus*
P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958).

Alexander, "Sect"
P. J. Alexander, "An ascetic sect of Iconoclasts in seventh-century Armenia," in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1954), 155–160.

Alexander, *DOP*, 7 (1953)
P. J. Alexander, "The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and its Definition (*Horos*)," *DOP*, 7 (1953), 35–66.

Anastos, "Leo III's Edict"
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Anastos, "Ethical Theory"
M. V. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 151–160.

Anastos, "754"
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Barnard, *Background*
L. W. Barnard, *The Graeco-Roman and Oriental Background of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (= Byzantina Neerlandica, 5) (Leiden, 1974).

Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur*
H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959).

Brown, *EHR*, 346 (1973)
P. Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis: aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy," *EHR*, 346 (1973), 1–34.

Dölger, *Regesten*
F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches* (Corpus der Greichischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der Neueren Zeit), I (Munich-Berlin, 1924).

George, *Saint-Eirene*
W. S. George, *The Church of Saint Eirene at Constantinople* (Oxford, 1912).

Gero, *Byzantion*, 44 (1974)
S. Gero, "Notes on Byzantine Iconoclasm in the eighth century," *Byzantion*, 44 (1974), 23–42.

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Gero, *Leo III*
S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the reign of Leo III. With particular attention to the Oriental Sources* (= Corpus Scriptorum Christ. Orient., 346, Subsidia, 41) (Louvain, 1973).

Gouillard, "Deux figures"
J. Gouillard, "Deux figures mal connues du second iconoclasme du IXe siècle," *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), 371–401.

Gouillard, "Synodikon"
J. Gouillard, "Le Synodikon d'Orthodoxie: édition et commentaire," *TM*, 2 (1967), 1–316.

Grabar, Iconoclasme
A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957).

Grumel, *Regestes*
V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, I: Les Actes des Patriarches*, II: 715–1043 (Socii Assumptionistae Chalcedonenses, 1936).

Hennephof, *Textus*
H. Hennephof, *Textus byzantini ad Iconomachiam pertinentes in usum academicum* (Leipzig, 1969).

Kitzinger, *DOP*, 8 (1954)
E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the age before Iconoclasm," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 83–150.

Ladner, "Concept"
G. Ladner, "The Concept of Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," *DOP*, 7 (1953), 1–34.

Ladner, "Origin"
G. Ladner, "Origin and Significance of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy, *MedSt*, 2 (1940), 127–149.

Lemerle, "Paulicians"
P. Lemerle, "L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques," *TM*, 5 (1973), 1–144.

Mango, *Art*
C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972).

Mango, *Brazen House*
C. Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (= Arkaeol. Kunsthist. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk. IV, 4 [1959]) (Copenhagen, 1959).

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Mansi
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Martin, *History*
E. J. Martin, *A History of the Iconoclast Controversy* (London, 1930).

Millet, *BCH*, 34 (1910)
G. Millet, "Les iconoclastes et la croix, à propos d'une inscription de Cappadoce," *BCH*, 34 (1910), 96–109.

Ostrogorsky, "Débuts"
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I HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

CYRIL MANGO

THE 'Age of Iconoclasm' is a label applied to somewhat more than a century of Byzantine history, namely from the first promulgation of an Iconoclastic policy as the official doctrine of the State in (probably) 726 until its final condemnation in 843. Nearly all historians concur in regarding this period as one of momentous transformation in the structure and ideology of the Empire, although they often disagree among themselves concerning the precise nature of this transformation. There can be little doubt, however, that the Age of Iconoclasm was in almost every respect a dark age – an age marked by continuous, dogged fighting against external enemies; an age that produced hardly any polite literature or art; in short, an age that does not readily invite the historian's imagination to linger within its bleak boundaries. And yet, hardly any other period of Byzantine history has been the subject of so much scholarly attention.

The purpose of this introductory chapter is neither to relate everything that happened in the Byzantine Empire between 726 and 843 nor to evaluate the various interpretations of Iconoclasm that have been put forward by historians in the past hundred years or so; much less is it to trace the beginnings of iconoclastic or anti-representational tendencies in the early Church and in Judaism. All we propose to do – and, for the most part, we shall be following a well-trodden path – is to provide a historical sketch of Byzantine 'State Iconoclasm' as a framework for the more specialized contributions contained in this volume.

Our first witness will be Germanos, an aging eunuch of aristocratic lineage who occupied the patriarchal throne of Constantinople from 715 until 730. His previous career had not been marked by an unanswering devotion to the cause of Orthodox doctrine: when the Emperor Philippikos Bardanes (711-13) decided to revive the Monothelete heresy and to rescind the Sixth Ecumenical Council, Germanos, then bishop of Kyzikos, duly concurred. The spirit of accommodation he showed at this juncture may have been a factor in his transfer to the see of Constantinople, but once elevated to the highest ecclesiastical dignity, he seems to have acquired a firmness of conviction that he had lacked before. Some time prior to 726 he reprimanded two provincial bishops, Constantine of Nakoleia in Phyrgia (modern Seyitgazi) and Thomas of Claudiopolis (modern Bolu) for taking a hostile stand against religious images. This issue appeared to Germanos to be one of considerable gravity. The veneration of 'hand-made' objects had been used, he says, as an argument against the Christian religion by pagans, Jew and Arabs – all of them a pretty idolatrous lot. It was vital not to give a handle to the enemy. Considering the fact that icons had for a long time been part of Christian life, their rejection would amount to an admission that the Church had been in error – a precedent that would have the most disastrous consequences. Germanos was worried that "now whole towns and multitudes of people are in considerable agitation concerning this matter." Among the arguments he used to castigate the deviant bishops was the example of "our pious and Christ-loving emperors" (Leo III and his son Constantine V, the latter crowned in 720) who had actually put up a religious painting in front of the Imperial Palace.[1]

The statesmanlike arguments of Germanos proved of no avail. In the summer of 726 a submarine eruption of tremendous violence occurred in the Aegean Sea between the islands of Thera and Therasia. Leo III, who may have had previous contact with Constantine of Nakoleia and Thomas of Claudiopolis (though this is not attested), interpreted this catastrophe as a manifest sign of divine displeasure and came to the conclusion that the sin of which the Christians were guilty was that of idolatry. Accordingly, he made it known that icons, i.e. portraits of Christ and of the saints, should be removed and denied veneration. Perhaps in the same year he sent a band of soldiers to take down the famous image of Christ that was displayed above the main entrance of the Imperial Palace known as the Chalke (Bronze) Gate. Some good Christians resisted this sacrilegious act and in the ensuing scuffle there were a few casualties – the first victims of Iconoclasm.

1. PG, 98 col. 164 ff. The role of the Anatolian bishops has rightly been stressed by Ostrogorsky, "débuts," 235 ff. but cf. p. 22 below. For abbreviations, see p. x – xi.

It is not entirely clear if an Iconoclastic edict was issued in 726 and if it was, what form it took.[2] In any case, Germanos remained in office for another four years.[3] Only when, in January 730, the emperor convened a formal meeting *(silention)* to proclaim the new teaching, did the patriarch refuse to co-operate. He laid down his episcopal insignia and retired to his private estate where, undistrubed by the authorities, he lived on for another ten years or so.

It is virtually impossible to determine whether Leo III was principally responsible for the introduction of Iconoclasm or whether he merely put into effect a reform which had widespread popular support.[4] Leo himself was a native of Germanikeia (Maraş) and must have grown up, therefore, in a Syriac-speaking milieu not far from the Arab frontier. It is reasonable to assume that his oriental background had some bearing upon his religious beliefs, but he was not a cultivated man and his understanding of theology was probably quite rudimentary. Leo was a successful military commander who had led a bold expedition into the Caucasus and was eventually promoted to *stratègos* of the Anatolic theme. At the time of the Arab invasion of Asia Minor in 716 he played a somewhat ambiguous role which suggests a prior understanding between him and the caliph.[5] He might have turned traitor. Instead, he seized the imperial throne and threw all his energies into fighting the enemy.

In the light of his career, Leo may be regarded as representing the views and interests of the Byzantine army in Asia Minor, i.e. of men whose life was dominated by the conflict with the Arabs. It would be a mistake, however, to think that the Arabs were uniformly successful since they first overran Palestine in the 630's. Their great onslaught against Byzantium was broken after the failure of the five-year siege of Constantinople (674–78) and the irruption of the Mardaïtes into the Lebanon. The caliph had to sue for peace on unfavourable terms and to pay an annual tribute to the emperor. All of Christendom drew a sigh of relief, and there was in the Byzantine Empire a feeling of widespread euphoria which marked not only the latter years of the reign of Constantine IV, but also the first reign of Justinian II (685–95) who was thereby emboldened to try his hand at daring adventures. But then chaos erupted: Justinian's increasingly irrational behaviour led to his overthrow which was followed by twenty years of unstable government. In 706–07 the Arab advance into Asia Minor was resumed. The following year the general Maslama defeated a Byzantine army at Amorion and appears to have pushed as far as the Black Sea and the Propontis. In 711–12 Amaseia and Sebastia fell. And in 716 the Arabs mounted their second great onslaught against Constantinople.[6]

It is, I believe, important to bear these developments in mind, for the problem to be resolved is not why Iconoclasm arose at all (an undercurrent of hostility towards religious images having been present for several centuries), but why it came to the surface at the time it did. Correct observance of religious doctrine was, to the Byzantine mind, closely related to military and political success. The plan of Divine Dispensation made allowance for occasional defeat of the Christians at the hands of unbelievers. Such defeat was a retribution for sins committed or heretical views held. But since the unbelievers existed only as instruments of correction and divine punishment, their success could not be long-lasting. Indeed, after 678, it appeared at though the Muslims, after performing the task laid upon them by the Almighty, had gone into decline. The Christians had been chastened, the heretical Monophysites of Syria, Egypt and Armenia duly punished. The true faith was confirmed by the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680–81), while the Quinisext Council, held at Constantinople in 692, took special care to correct by means of disciplinary canons whatever abuses existed within the body of the faithful. It may be recalled that the latter Council encouraged the manufacture of icons of Christ while criticising the use of symbolical representations. Truth had been made manifest and could now be apprehended in its fulness.

But then came the second Arab offensive. What further sins of the Christians could have been causing this renewed visitation? Constantinople, it is true was saved, but much of Asia Minor lay at the invader's mercy. In 723–24 Ikonion fell. In 727 the Arabs were besieging Nicaea, barely sixty miles from the capital, and during this siege a curious incident is said to have taken place. One of the defenders, an officer called Constantine, smashed an icon of the Virgin, and the city

2. For a defence of the 726 date see Anastos, "Leo III's Edict," 5 ff.

3. The confusion in our sources concerning the date of the first Iconoclastic edict (726 or 730) may be due to a later attempt to erase the memory of those four years that did not entirely redound to the credit of Germanos.

4. In his *De haeresibus et synodis*, PG, 98, col. 77, Germanos implies that the movement was initiated by a good deal of agitation on the part of Constantine of Nakoleia and other members of the clergy whom he is unwilling to name.

5. This is clear from the very detailed story in Theophanes, 386 ff.

6. See E.W. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor . . ," *JHS*, 18 (1898), 192–93.

was saved. The icon-worshippers, it is true, placed a different interpretation on this event: they claimed that Constantine met a prompt death after committing the sacrilege, and that Nicaea was spared thanks to the portraits of the 318 holy Fathers (i.e. the members of the First Nicene Council) that adorned the walls of its principal church. One may be certain however, that at the time the opposite view prevailed.[7] We should also remember that all through the seventh and early eighth centuries icons were widely used as palladia: they were solemnly paraded round city walls, painted in towers and above gates, carried into battle. And yet, in spite of such protection, city after city fell to the Arabs. Clearly, something was amiss, and it was perhaps at Nicaea that the cause of divine displeasure was most clearly identified.

Such, I believe, was the main motivation of the religious reform of Leo III. His opponents, of course, presented the origins of the movement in a very different light. It all started, they said, among the Arabs. A Jewish sorcerer had persuaded the Caliph Yazid II to destroy all images throughout his dominions, but those contained in Christian churches and those on public display, by promising him a long and prosperous reign. Yazid complied, but died soon thereafter. From that polluted source Iconoclastic ideas were drawn by Constantine bishop of Nakoleia, who imitated the example of Jews and Arabs, and he passed those ideas on to the emperor who was also influenced by a renegade named Beser. There is in this story a kernel of truth: Yazid did introduce in 724 a measure directed against the representation of living beings as attested by both historical and archaeological evidence; the important role of Constantine of Nakoleia in initiating the movement within the Empire is confirmed by the Patriarch Germanos; and Beser is a historical personage. But we cannot accept the contention that Leo was influenced by Yazid's example: the purpose of the story, after all, was to present the origin of the movement in as discreditable a light as possible. The story, however, had one big flaw: granted that Yazid had a short and inglorious reign, exactly the opposite was true of Leo III. If Iconoclasm survived as long as it did, it was because Leo and his son were so signally successful.

It is difficult to tell in what light Leo himself regarded the reform he had introduced: perhaps merely as a measure affecting religious practice rather than doctrine. He did not, in any case, deem it necessary to convene a council of the Church. Apart from the removal of the Chalke image, no specific cases of image-breaking are recorded during his reign, nor are there any authenticated instances of persecution. The story that he burnt the sixteen professors of the University because of their opposition to his views is a later and particularly silly invention. It should be pointed out, however, that in his *De haeresibus et synodis* (written after 730) the Patriarch Germanos does speak of a widespread persecution as a result of which many priests and laymen and even greater numbers of monks were driven to exile and penury, while some even suffered mutilation. The Iconoclasts, he continues, were not content to do away with panel icons, but also destroyed mural decorations in churches as well as alter covers and burnt relics of saints.[8]

Iconoclasm reached its peak under Leo's son and successor, Constantine V (740–75). A year after his accession to the throne he had to face the revolt of his own brother-in-law Artavasdos who succeeded in installing himself as emperor in Constantinople. During his brief reign (741–42) Artavasdos re-introduced the worship of icons perhaps because he thought that such a measure would be popular. Constantine, however, who had withdrawn to his power base in Asia Minor, managed to regain the capital. God seemed to be decidedly on the side of the Iconoclasts. Constantine, who, unlike his father, had himself a serious interest in theology, now set about providing Iconoclasm with a solid doctrinal basis. Research was undertaken in patristic literature and an anthology of corroborative passages was assembled; special lectures (as we would call them) were given. At length, a council of 338 bishops met in 754 in the suburban palace of Hiereia (modern Fenerbahçe) under the presidency of Theodosios of Ephesus (son of the former Emperor Tiberios III), the patriarchate of Constantinople being at that time vacant. There can be little doubt that practically all the bishops of the Empire were present. The minutes of their deliberations are, unfortunately, lost, but we do possess the doctrinal Definition in which they summarised the argument against icons and pronounced anathemas against their chief ideological opponents, namely the Patriarch Germanos and John of Damascus, both of whom were then deceased. For it was John who, from the safe distance of St. Sabas's monastery near Jerusalem, had taken up in his three Apologies the systematic vindication of the icons and had raised the issue to a lofty theological plane. The fact that he was living and writing in Arab territory must have been particularly galling to the imperial government. .

7. As is evident from Theophanes, 406, line 16, who has great difficulty in interpreting this incident in an Iconophile sense.
8. PG, 98, col. 80.

It was only after the Council of Hiereia that Constantine's deputies took in hand the destruction of icons and the persecurtion of their supporters. We must not be misled by the somewhat rhetorical statements contained in written sources into thinking that 'everywhere' the interiors of churches were either whitewashed or scraped down, thus causing the complete disappearance of early Christian religious art in the eastern provinces. To have carried out such operations in the innumerable and, often, very large churches scattered all through the Empire was certainly no easy matter; and the available evidence suggests that the destruction was anything but systematic. In Salonica, for example, the mosaics in the churches of St. Demetrios and St. George (the Rotunda) do not appear to have been affected, although there is some reason to believe that the apse mosaic in the monastic church of Hosios David in the same city was covered over. In Constantinople, we know that the representations of the Councils in the arch of the Milion were taken down and replaced by pictures of chariot races; and that in the church of St. Mary of Blachernae (where the final session of the Council of Hiereia was held) a New Testament cycle was removed and a 'neutral' decoration of vegetal rinceaux and birds put in its place. A particularly interesting case is that of the *sekreta* of the Patriarchal Palace, i.e. the very nerve centre of Iconoclasm, whose frugal pictures in mosaic and fresco were destroyed as late as 769. In the church of the Dormition at Nicaea the mosaic of the Virgin in the apse was replaced by a plain cross.

Known cases of persecution all date after 760. The famous anchorite St. Stephen the Younger was put to death in 765. In 766 monks were made to parade in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, each one holding a woman by the hand. In 768 a number of important monasteries in the capital were either secularised or destroyed. It is an interesting fact that the secular clergy hardly put up any resistance at all. The defence of icons fell to the monks, not because they had a material interest in the matter (as has often been suggested), but rather because they had assumed for several centuries past the unofficial role of guardians of the faith, because they enjoyed great popular support and were not liable to the same direct pressures from the government as was the episcopal organisation. The emperor did his best to bring them round to his views by argument; if they refused to be persuaded, they faced inprisonment and torture. Some were executed. Here too, it is difficult to determine how far-reaching the persecution was. The author of the *Life of St. Stephen the Younger* speaks of 342 monks languishing in the prison of the Praetorium, and tells us that the only safe refuge for the icon-worshipper lay in lands where the emperor's jurisdiction could not be effectively enforced, namely on the northern shore of the Black Sea, the southern shore of Asia Minor, in Cyprus and in Italy.[9] Clearly, the application of the imperial decree in the provinces depended on the zeal of the local governors. We happen to know that Michael Lachanodrakon, governor of the Thrakesian theme (in western Asia Minor), was very energetic in this respect and all but extirpated the monasteries under his jurisdiction. He gathered all the monks in a playing field at Ephesus and gave them the choice of either taking a wife on the spot or being blinded and exiled to Cyprus. "Many defected and suffered perdition," comments sadly the chronicler.[10]

It is usually asserted that the persecution proved ineffectual, that is only hardened the determination of the icon-worshippers. This may have been so. On the other hand, the fact that Constantine's successor, Leo IV (775–80), allowed the prisoners and exiles to return home admits of other interpretations. He may simply have decided to use different tactics, or he may have judged that the persecution had accomplished its purpose and that the opposition was no longer dangerous. However that may be, Leo's reign was too brief to have left any significant imprint in this respect; and his widow, the Athenian Eirene, was determined to bring back the veneration of icons. The role of women in the Iconophile movement was certainly considerable.

Eirene's task was by no means easy since the entire body of the secular Church and an appreciable proportion of the monasteries were, outwardly at least, of Iconoclastic persuasion. Furthermore, the army had been bound by oath to observe the doctrine of 754. Juridically, it was necessary to annul the Council of Hiereia, and this could only be done by the convocation of another Ecumenical Council. In this respect Eirene had one advantage since she could count on the support of the pope of Rome and of the Oriental Patriarchates, but she does not seem to have done sufficient groundwork with regard to the Church within the Empire. When the Council assembled at Constantinople in August 786, a number of Iconoclastic bishops put up a stout resistance; and the proceedings were halted by a demonstration of the military garrison. The Council had to be

9. PG, 100, cols. 1117, 1160.
10. Theophanes, 445.

temporarily disbanded. Only after the troublesome troops had been moved out of the capital and disarmed, could the ecclesiastical assembly resume its work. It was, however, transferred to Nicaea, possible because of the association of that city with the First Council, but also perhaps because Nicaea could be more effectively policed. In September – October 787, under the skilful guidance of the Patriarch Tarasios (an ex-civil servant) the veneration of icons was officially re-introduced into the Church.

This might have been the end of the whole affair were it not for the accident that the reigns of Eirene and her two Iconophile successors proved so disastrous. For all the extravagant praise that was heaped upon Eirene by her monkish supporters, her failure in the military and economic fields was all too evident; and the monstrous crime by which she incapacitated her own son so as to become sole ruler sent a shudder of revulsion throughout Christendom. Nikephoros I (802–10), the Treasury official who overthrew Eirene, made himself thoroughly unpopular by the stringency of his fiscal reforms, no matter how justified; and was suitably punished by the Almighty when his army was exterminated by the Bulgarians and he himself fell on the field of battle. The gentle but ineffectual Michael I (811–13) lasted less than two years on the throne and was just as resoundingly defeated by the Bulgarian Khan Krum. A stronger hand was needed at the helm; and when the Armenian Leo was given the throne in an effort to save a desperate situation, he was surely not the only one to put two and two together. The victories of the Iconclastic emperors, their lengthy reigns and peaceful succession stood out in marked contrast to the humiliation and confusion that had prevailed since 780. Leo V wanted a long a successful reign; he wanted to die in his bed and to be succeeded by his son. He accordingly decided to re-introduce Iconoclasm. That this was how he reasoned is confirmed by an excellent contemporary source.[11] The populace, too, remembered with nostalgia the days of cheap bread it had enjoyed under Constantine V. A heaven-sent sign confirmed Leo's resolve: on 14 April 814 Krum died suddenly outside the walls of Constantinople and the Bulgarian danger was averted.

After this, events moved very quickly. First, a committee was appointed to re-examine the scriptural and patristic proofs of the Iconoclastic doctrine. When it had reported in a favourable sense. Leo called in the Patriarch Nikephorosand asked him to bow before popular demand by removing those images that were hanging low, i.e. portable icons that invited an unacceptable degree of adoration. Nikephoros refused to compromise. A few days later (December 814) the image of Christ above the Chalke gate (it had been restored by Eirene) was insulted by soldiers and removed for 'protective reasons.' Early in 815 Nikephoros abdicated and an Iconoclastic patriarch was appointed in his place. Soon after Easter of the same year a council was held in St. Sophia to ratify the re-introduction of Iconoclasm. We do not know how many bishops attended it, but the very fact that a council could be assembled at such short notice proves that there was a respectable number of bishops who did not have to be coaxed for a long time to accept the emperor's views.

Leo V took resolute measures against dissidents without, however, resorting to unnecessarily harsh penalties. The details of the persecution may best be studied in the Correspondence of St. Theodore the Studite who took it upon himself to organise the iconophile 'underground movement.' Using his high connections and a considerable network of agents that extended to Rome and the Arab-dominated East, Theodore laboured ceaselessly in buttressing the determination of his brethren, maintaining his influence on certain sympathisers among members of the imperial administration and even soliciting help from abroad. In so doing he provided a rallying point for the opposition; even so, he had to admit that a growing number of abbots and monks went over to the adversary. Fortunately, the luck of the Iconoclasts appeared to be breaking: far from dying in his bed and establishing a dynasty, Leo V was brutally murdered after a fairly short rule (820). His assassin, Michael II (820–29), stopped the persecution and recalled the exiles, but did not give them any further satisfaction. The existing state of affairs was simply frozen. Michael himself showed little interest in the finer points of the controversy; and his administration appears to have taken the eminently sensible position that the whole matter concerned nothing more than the correction of a devotional abuse. This had been done by the council of 815 and there was no need for further discussion.

Theophilos, the last Iconoclastic emperor (829–42), adopted a more determined stance than his father had done. Persecution on a limited scale was revived, but appears to have been mostly directed against infiltrators from abroad. In the provinces, application of the emperor's policy

11. *Scriptor incertus de Leone*, 346, 349.

was, at its best, lax. To take but one instance, the Iconophile Niketas the Patrician did not have to go farther than twenty miles from the capital to find a safe refuge. The emperor's own wife, Theodora, was widely known as an image worshipper, and even the future Patriarch Methodios, himself a victim of the persecution, became a member of the court (we do not know in what capacity). In spite of the anti-icon fervour and dialectical skill of the Patriarch John the Grammarian (837–43), the movement appears to have been losing steam. The same could be said of the opposition which subsided after the death of Theodore the Studite in 826. Popular as Theophilos was because of his proverbial justice, his conduct of public affairs was not uniformly successful, and the disastrous fall of Amorion in 838 could hardly be regarded as vindicating the correctness of his religious beliefs. It may have seemed to some contemporary observers that things were moving towards a compromise, and this was, more or less, what the government tried to achieve after the emperor's death. The persons who quietly engineered the 'Triumph of Orthodoxy' in 843 were not so much resistance fighters as those same courtiers who had faithfully served Theophilos. Of this we shall have more to say in a later chapter.

Such, in brief outline, was the public course of Byzantine Iconoclasm. To conclude, a few general observations may not be out of place.

First, it is well to remember that the historian of Iconoclasm, like any other historian, has to work within the limits of his source of material. There is still considerable scope for refining our understanding this material,[12] but there is little expectation (I am speaking here of written sources) of any substantial enlargement of it. We must, therefore, reconcile ourselves to the fact that this material is and will remain pretty scrappy, and that the inferences that may legitimately be drawn from it are necessarily limited. It is important to state this caveat, because historians today, used as they are to more fully documented periods that allow quantitative analysis and other fashionable approaches, tend to ask questions about the period of Iconoclasm that simply cannot be answered. It would be nice to know, for example, what proportion of Iconoclast sympathisers came from certain areas of Asia Minor, how much support they had in specific army units or what social classes they belonged to. Alas, this kind of information is not contained in our sources and there is little justification in generalising on the basis of two or three examples.

Another consequence of our dependence on the sources, which show a marked penchant for *odium theologicum*, is that we probably tend to overstress the importance of Iconoclasm as an issue affecting the events of the eighth and ninth centuries. We have no trouble in discounting the statement of Theophanes that the great plague of 747 was brought on by the impiety of Leo III;[13] yet most religious historians have readily accepted the insinuation of the same Theophanes that the rebellion of the Helladic troops under a certain Kosmas in 727 was a reaction to Leo's Iconoclasm, and have drawn from this the further conclusion that Iconoclasm was unpopular in the western provinces. It is much more likely, to my mind, that the rebellion in question was no different from the series of other military insurrections of the early eighth century, and when we look closely at the text of Theophanes, we realize that he does not even state a connection between the rebellion and the emperor's heresy except by inuendo.[14] My impression, for what it is worth, is that the issue of Iconoclasm was deliberately magnified by its opponents, as it certainly was by the Patriarch Photios. We should treat their evidence with great circumspection.

Lastly, it seems to me that Iconoclasm ought to be considered not as a strictly Byzantine but as a Near Eastern movement. This view has often been denied by historians who are unwilling to accept any 'outside influence' as if the political frontiers of the eighth century corresponded to a real cultural demarkation. I do not mean, of course, to imply that Leo III was directly influenced by the Caliph Yazid or that Byzantine Iconoclasts were the disciples of "godless Jews and Saracens." It is, however, obvious to me that Germanikeia is closer to Damascus than it is to Constantinople, and that Byzantine Iconoclasm arose in the same milieu and had many of the same antecedents as the Umayyad Caliphate. There is a good deal of justification for calling it a Semitic movement.

12. It is worth pointing out that, apart from the chronicles of Theophanes and Nikephoros, practically all the important Greek sources on Iconoclasm need to be properly edited and analysed in detail. This applies to the works of Germanos, St. John Damascene, Patriarch Nikephoros, St. Theodore the Studite, etc. This task ought to take precedence over the formulation of any further interpretations of Iconoclasm.

13. Theophanes, 423.

14. *Ibid.*, 405.

II THE THEOLOGY OF IMAGES

LESLIE BARNARD

THE study of the attitude towards images adopted by both sides in the Iconoclastic controversy cannot be divorced from the wider study of pagan and Jewish attitudes towards images. Byzantine civilisation was not *de novo* but a continuation of Graeco-Roman culture. There was no sharp break with the past. The pagan who became a Christian and a member of the Orthodox Church was not forced to relinquish the treasures of classical antiquity. Sokrates, the fifth-century Church historian, gives in his *Ecclesiastical History* a reasoned defence of the use by Christians of pagan literature:

> 'Wherefore by not forbidding the study of the learned works of the Greeks, they (the apostles) left it to the discretion of those who wish to do so. This is our first argument in defence of the position we took: another may be put thus: the divinely inspired Scriptures undoubtedly inculcate doctrines that are both admirable in themselves and heavenly in their character . . . but they do not instruct us in the art of reasoning, by means of which we may be enabled successfully to resist those who oppose the truth . . . this we cannot do unless we possess ourselves of the weapons of our adversaries: taking care that in making this acquisition we do not adopt their sentiments, but testing them, reject the evil, but retain all that is good and true: for good, whenever it is found, is a property of truth.'[1]

So the legacy of paganism was united with the Christian tradition and Byzantium became the bridge linking the Graeco-Roman world to the Europe of the Middle Ages.

Iconoclasm undoubtedly was a challenge to this sense of continuity with the Graeco-Roman past. In iconography it was a challenge to the Greek tradition of representation. In the legal sense it was a challenge to the supremacy of Roman law for the Iconoclastic Emperors "made a consistent effort to remodel the legislation of the State and refashion it upon a Christian basis."[2] The outcome is well known — the Byzantines refused to abandon their icons despite persecution, they maintained their loyalty to Greek iconography, and they rejected with anathemas the Christian legislation of the Iconoclast Emperors and, instead, reaffirmed the Roman law of the Emperor Justinian. The attempt to break the traditional mould came too late, for the Byzantines were too long familiar with the conditions of the Constantinian settlement to tolerate any change. This is a striking illustration of the continuity of Byzantine civilisation with its Graeco-Roman past — a continuity particularly evident in the attitude towards images which assumed such crucial importance in the Iconoclastic period.

The prolonged attack of the Christian apologists against idolatry shows how widespread this was in the early Christian period. Origen's argument, in various works,[3] is typical of this attack. Men, he says, tend to believe that statues are gods through paying reverence to them. God alone, not matter, is entitled to reverence — to give this to a statue is to insult God and, in any event, daemons take up their abode in statues and places where statues are erected. Exodus xx, 4, the divine prohibition of images, is still binding on the Church. If the Christian apologists, despite their liking for Graeco-Roman culture, could make no concessions on the point of idolatry, what of the pagan apologists who were burdened with religious practices which had come down from an animistic past? Maximus of Tyre's answer is that, since worship is the common law of all men it is better to make no innovations but to follow common practice in regard to images.[4] Dion of Prusa has the same argument.[5] Traditional popular usage of images was too strong to be ignored by pagan philosophers and the 'common law of all men' had therefore to be justified. Stoicism and Neo-platonism, which excluded images, were the preserve of intellectuals and could not provide a bulwark against the power of popular tradition.

The Emperor Julian, inaugurator of the short-lived fourth-century pagan revival, adopts a kind of *via media*. The images of the gods are not merely stone or wood — neither are they gods. They are reminders which enable men to feel reverence and awe for the gods who look on men from the unseen world.[6] This apologia is to be found in several writers e.g. Maximus of Tyre, Macarius and Dion of Prusa. The statues are men's teachers, rather like the writing-masters who give their

1. Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. A.C. Zenos (Oxford, 1891), III, 16.
2. N. H. Baynes, "Some aspects of Byzantine Civilisation" *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London, 1955), 78, to which I am indebted.
3. Summarized in Baynes, "Idolatry and the Early Church," *op. cit.*, 120
4. Max. Tyrus, *Dissertation* no. 38, trans. T. Taylor, II (London, 1804), 195–6, quoted in Baynes, *op. cit.*, 129.
5. Dion of Prusa (Dio Chrysostom), *Oratio XII*, 60–1; Loeb ed., II, 64; Baynes, *op. cit.*, 129.
6. Julian, ed. Hertlein, 294 C–D; Loeb ed., II, 310 (fragment of a letter to a priest); Baynes, *op. cit.*, 130

boys dim outlines as copies, over which they write, their hands guided by their masters, and so become accustomed to the art.[7]

When Christian thinkers came to tackle seriously the problem of the image cult they had behind them this pagan apologia. They were not the first to seek to relate images to their prototypes for they shared with pagans the same cultural milieu and faced similar problems.

Jewish objections to the use of images by Christians came into greater prominence in the seventh century A.D. Moreover in that century, during the Byzantine struggle first against Persia and then against Islam, the Jews began to occupy a theological and geographical position of more significance. Some tended to favour the Persians and others took up a hostile attitude towards Byzantium when the Arab threat loomed. The tension between Christians and Jews found expression in literature and in discussions concerning images. The first work to reveal this is that of John, metropolitan of Salonica from 610–49 (dated *ca.* 630), fragments of which were read at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 and which apparently formed part of a comprehensive work, *Contra Paganos et Judaeos*.[8] The second fragment of this work has a Jewish interlocutor objecting to images on the grounds of the well-known Old Testament prohibitions against idolatry; their purpose was rather that of a reminder.

The same Council has also preserved fragments of the *Defence of the Christians against the Jews* by Leontius, bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus in the early-seventh century.[9] While this work has only come down in fragmentary form sufficient has survived of the main lines of the Jewish attack against images and the reply Leontius made to it.

The Jews took their stand on the *torah* which contained the prohibition against idolatry (Exod. xx, 4–5, Lev. xxvi, 1, Deut. v, 8). Leontius however argued that there was another legal tradition: God had commanded Moses that he should fashion two cherubim graven in gold (Exod. xxv, 18) and, moreover, God had showed to Ezekiel a temple with forms of palms, lions and men with cherubim from pavement to roof (Ezek. xli, 18). So God had revoked his own law: "If you wish to condemn me on account of images then you must condemn God for ordering them to be made."[10] On the legal precedent of God's command to Moses Solomon filled the temple with lions, bulls, palm trees, men in bronze, and carved and molten images. Leontius seeks to show that Christians, in using images, were not innovators but were following a tradition derived from the same scriptures which his Jewish opponents used. Solomon, he says, was not condemned for filling the temple with images "for he made these shapes to the glory of God just as we do."

The Jewish reply was that these images were permitted to be made by God — but were not to be adored as gods but were reminders of Him. Leontius replies that the same is true of Christian images: "We do not make obeisance to the nature of the wood, but we revere and do obeisance to Him who was crucified on the Cross"[11] . . . "We do not say to the Cross nor to the icons of the saints, 'You are my God.' For they are not as gods, but open books to remind us of God and to His honour set in the churches and adored."[12] Leontius presents his case against the Jews with great skill. Throughout he appeals to the Old Testament, common ground that he shared with his Jewish opponents. Nowhere does he appeal to the Incarnation in defence of Christian images, as John Damascene and other Iconodule writers were to do after him. Leontius knew that this would cut no ice with a Jew. Similarly although Leontius knows Basil's doctrine that the honour given to the icon passes to the prototype,[13] a *locus classicus* for the later defence of images, nowhere does he use it or cite any other Patristic author in support of his case. The only distinctive Christian argument Leontius uses is the evidence of miracles performed through icons for which, he felt, the Jew must provide an explanation. Leontius' apologia is different in emphasis from later Christian apologia in that it seeks to meet the Jew on his own ground. It is possible that it was intended to meet the scruples of Christians impressed by Jewish opposition to images as much as to confute the Jews themselves.

There is other evidence that Christians were being subject to Jewish attack. So in *Les trophées de Damas*[14] the Jewish charge of idolatry is repeated — the Christians are little better than pagans

7. Max. Tyrus, *Dissertation* No. 38, trans. Taylor, II, 190; Baynes *op. cit.*, 131–2.
8. Mansi, XIII, cols. 164–8. On this author see M. Jugie, *EO*, 21 (1922), 293–307 and Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, 79.
9. Fragments in Mansi, XIII; PG, 93, cols. 1597–1609.
Leontius' work may represent a missionary effort in Jewish proselytism in literary form as well as an attempt to meet the scruples of Christians impressed by Jewish opposition; cf. the remarks of John Moschos in the *Pratum Spirituale*, PG, 87, cols. 3040 C – 3041 B, concerning Cosmas, a *scholasticus* of Alexandria. On Leontius see further, H. Gelzer, *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des heiligen Johannes des Barmherzigen* (Leipzig, 1893).
10. Cf. PG, 94, col. 1384 A–B.
11. *Ibid.*, col. 1384 D.
12. *Ibid.*, col. 1276 A.
13. *De Spiritu Sancto*, 18; PG, 32, col. 149 C.
14. Ed. G. Bardy, PO, 15, fasc. 2, 273.

and do obeisance to things made by human hands. In reply the author points to the ark of the covenant, to Moses and the tables of the Law and to the Cherubim. Other examples of the Jewish attack are found in the *Dialogue of Papiscus and Philo*, in the Pseudo-Athanasian *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem* cited by N.H. Baynes.[15] In the Iconoclastic movement which arose in Armenia in the late-sixth century, which had a complicated religious and political background, and which remained active until the eve of the Iconoclastic controversy, the Jewish argument against idolatry was apparently used against the Orthodox.[16] In reply, the stock argument appears — God did not disapprove of Solomon's initiative in placing images in the temple. It seems that in Armenia two monks were preaching the destruction of the icons and appealing to the Old Testament Scriptures. Again the orthodox apologia meets these objectors on their own ground.

The Jewish attitude to images was simply the charge of idolatry somewhat monotonously repeated. This same charge is found among certain Christian opponents of images, such as Epiphanius, and formed the main plank of the Iconoclasts' platform at the beginning of the Byzantine controversy.

The first Christian thinker to make the question of religious images a major issue was Epiphanius of Salamis in the late-fourth century A.D.[17] The exact scope of Epiphanius' campaign against images depends upon the authenticity or otherwise of certain writings attributed to him by the Iconoclasts of the eighth century. Ostrogorsky[18] has argued that certain fragments, notably No. 16 (= Holl. No. 13), refute a defence of images based on the contention that Christ may be depicted because He became a man. Ostrogorsky claims that this reasoning is characteristic of the Iconodules of the Iconoclastic period. Had Epiphanius used such a Christological argument in the fourth century this would surely have been quoted at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 which also preserved the arguments of the Iconoclastic Council of 754. Hence according to Ostrogorsky this (and other) fragments of Epiphanius are unauthentic. This circular argument is however unconvincing. Epiphanius' argument had already been anticipated by the Church historian Eusebius of Caesarea in his letter to Constantia in which he refused her request for a picture of Christ.[19] Moreover Epiphanius is not arguing against a logically-thought-out defence of images — he merely says 'some say' Christ is represented as a man because He was born of the Virgin Mary.[20] There was no particular reason why the 787 Council should produce Epiphanius' hostile fragment as a defence of the Christological argument. Epiphanius does not go far beyond Eusebius.

What of Epiphanius' views? One day, he says, he came across a village church in Palestine and on the curtain hanging before the door was a picture of Christ or one of the Saints. Epiphanius tore down the curtain and enraged wrote a treatise against those who idolatrously attempted to make icons representing Christ, the Mother of God, the martyrs, angels or prophets. He inveighs against those who plaster the walls of churches with representations of the saints. They are not representations at all. St. John had said, "when He shall be revealed we shall be like unto Him"; St. Paul referred to the Saints as "of the same form as the Son of God;" Jesus had said that the Saints "shall be as the angels of God." It is wrong, then, to desire to see those Saints who will one day be glorified, represented in inglorious, dead matter. The Saints themselves do not desire such reverence. And what of Christ? How can one comprehend the inconceivable, the ineffable, the incomprehensible? Was the object of the Incarnation that Christ should be represented at your hands in painting? Is He not the likeness of the Father, does He not call the dead to life? Art is a contempt of God, "thou shalt reverence the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou worship." Epiphanius' fellow bishops were somewhat unmoved by his protest — the cult of images had not yet reached any great proportions in the Christian East — as was the Emperor Theodosius to whom he appealed. Theodosius was told that the devil was dragging back Christians into ancient idolatry. The pictures were lies and the imaginations of men. Even an archangel had been depicted with sinews and bones. So all pictures should be swept from the churches and no new mosaics added. Epiphanius was finally reduced to leaving in his will dire warnings to his flock to keep to the traditions they had received and not to bring images into churches or burial places of the Saints. God should be inscribed in their hearts. He anathematizes any who seek to represent through material colours the outline of the Word Incarnate.[21]

Epiphanius' protest against images is not part of a developed theological polemic. It was simply a protest against idolatry, "an invasion of paganism into the Church:" "When images are put up

15. Baynes, *op. cit.*, 237.
16. Alexander, "Sect," 151–60.
17. K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, II (Tübingen, 1928), 351 ff.
18. Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, 68 ff. For a criticism of Ostrogorsky see Kitzinger, *DOP*, 8 (1954), 93.
19. PG, 20, cols. 1545 ff.
20. Holl, *op. cit.*, II, 359, No. 13; cf. Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, no. 16.
21. Mansi, XIII, col. 292 D; cf. Niceph. *Apol. Min. ibid.*, col. 837 B–C; Theod. Stud. *ibid.*, col. 388 D.

the customs of the pagans do the rest."[22] Pagan apologists too were conscious of the charge of idolatry and they developed, as we have seen, an apologia for images. We must now examine the Christian apologia, as it developed in the pre-Iconoclastic and the Iconoclastic periods, to see how far it resembles the pagan apologia.

The principal charge of the Iconoclasts, at the outset of the Byzantine controversy, was the same as that of Epiphanius — idolatry. In support of this the Old Testament provided most of the ammunition. The second of the ten commandments was the obvious starting point, "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above nor in the earth beneath" (Exod. xx, 4).[23] To this was added a variety of texts such as Deut. vi, 13, Psalm xcvii, John i, 18, John iv, 24, John xx, 29, Rom. i, 23, 25, Rom. x, 17, 2 Cor. v, 16. In reply the Iconodules asserted that idolatry was possible only in paganism. To fail to see that Christ has destroyed idolatry is to nullify His work. Christ is God, not a creature, so his image cannot be an idol. There is a legitimate use of material things, such as an act of reverence, which is not to be equated with the worship of God. Thus in the Septuagint, *proskynēsis* is used of Abraham bowing before the children of Heth (Gen. xxiii, 7) of Jacob greeting Esau (Gen. xxxiii, 3) and of Jacob and Pharoah (Gen. xlvii, 7).[24] The legitimacy of an image made of material things lies in the fact that man was created in the image of God[25] (Gen. i, 26). The elaborate scriptural regulations about the details of the tabernacle are divine authority for the use of material things in worship (Ex. xxv, 18, 40; xxxi, 1–6, xxxv, 4–10, xxxvi, 37 ff.). Similarly the bulls erected in Solomon's temple (2 Kings vi, 25, 29) and the palm trees in Ezekiel's mystical temple (Ezek. xli, 18) point in the same direction — arguments already used in anti-Jewish polemic. John Damascene concludes that although Scripture calls the idols of the heathen the work of men's hands, what it forbids is the veneration of the images of daemons, i.e. pagan gods, not the veneration of inanimate objects *per se*.[26]

During the early stages of the controversy, Patriarch Germanos gave this answer at a more popular level: The Old Testament command against idolatry meant that God was like no visible being or thing, and consequently any representation of a visible thing would involve a wrong-conception of God's nature. But the coming of Christ had revealed the nature of God, consequently in Christ idolatry is removed. The Christian by the very fact that he is a Christian cannot be an idolater. He knows the true nature of God and in whatever form or by whatever means he offers his worship, it is to God alone that he gives it. To charge the Church with idolatry is equivalent to saying that Christ has failed.[27]

Underlying this argument and the appeal to scriptural texts was a deeper division between Iconoclast and Iconodule, which may be elucidated by a fragment of the Iconoclast Emperor Constantine V, quoted in the refutation by the Patriarch Nikephoros.[28] The emperor held that the image was of the same *ousia* as the subject of which it is an image. On this premise images are indeed idols and the battery of Old Testament texts could be adduced to support the position. Images thus drew "the spirit of man from the lofty adoration of God to the low and material adoration of the creature and substituted the created thing for its Creator."[29] In reply the Iconodules admitted that the image was closely connected with its subject — but they maintained the clear distinction in *ousia* between image and prototype and so defended image worship from the charge of idolatry much as the pagan apologist had earlier rebutted the accusation of Christians. It was John Damascene who formulated this apologetic systematically. The honour given to the image is referred to its prototype.

This difference between Iconoclast and Iconodule is fundamental to the understanding of the apologetic of the controversy. The iconoclasts held that a material object could be the habitation of a spiritual being — that the *ousiai* of both coalesced into one *ousia* — thus worship of any image was inevitably in the nature of idolatry. Against this the Iconodules laboured to show that, however close the connection between image and original, their *ousiai* were different — hence the worship of images was legitimate, as this worship would be referred to the prototype. This was essentially a Platonic view.

Before considering John Damascene's apologia in more detail it is worth noting that this Platonic

22. *Panarion Haereses*, 27, 6, 10.
23. John Damasc., PG, 94, *Or.* I, col. 1235 A–D; II, col. 1288 D; Niceph. *Antirrh.* 3 = PG, 100, col. 448 A; Mansi, XIII, col. 285 A.
24. John Damasc., PG, 94, *Or.* I, cols. 1240 B, 1244 B.
25. Niceph. *Antirrh.* PG, 100, col. 484 A.
26. PG, 94, *Or.* I col. 1257 C; cf. Definition of Nicaea II, Mansi, XIII, col. 373, "They have failed to distinguish sacred and profane, styling the images of our Lord and of His Saints by the same name as the statues of diabolical idols."
27. *Ep. to Thomas of Claudiopolis*, Mansi, XIII, col. 108 B.
28. PG, 100, col. 225 A.
29. Mansi, XIII, col. 228.

view is found in the pre-Iconoclastic period. In the first half of the fifth century, Philostorgius, although deprecating the worship accorded to the statue of Christ at Paneas, yet sees in a joyful approach to the image a way of demonstrating one's love for its archetype.[30] This idea received a powerful impetus in the late-fifth century through the concepts introduced into Christian thought by the Neoplatonic mystical writer known as Pseudo-Dionysius:

> "The essences and orders which are above us . . . are incorporeal and their hierarchy is of the intellect and transcends our world. Our human hierarchy, on the contrary, we see filled with the multiplicity of visible symbols, through which we are led up hierarchically and according to our capacity to the unified deification, to God and divine virtue. As is meet to them they comprehend as pure intellects. We however are led up, as far as possible, through visible images to contemplation of the divine.[31]

For Pseudo-Dionysius contemplation of the world of senses serves as a means to elevate ourselves towards the world of Spirit. While this writer does not specifically apply his theory to the realm of art, he frequently refers to the objects which make up the world of senses as images — and Christian apologists were not slow to apply his theory to the role accorded to images in the life of the Church. So the letter written by Bishop Hypatios of Ephesus to Julian of Atramytion[32] shows how simple and uneducated people, for whom the images were books, have now become part of a Neoplatonic hierarchical system: "We leave material adornment in the churches . . . because we conceive that each order of the faithful is guided and led up to the divine in its own way and that some are led even by these (images) towards the intelligible beauty and from the abundant light in the sanctuaries to the intelligible and immaterial light."[33] This is the thought and language of Pseudo-Dionysius applied to the problem of ecclesiastical images.

In the Christian apologies of the post-Justinianic era this Neoplatonic argument, that images lead us from the visible to the invisible, is frequently found. Yet in addition the apologists of the late-sixth and seventh centuries, i.e. immediately preceding the outbreak of the Iconoclastic controversy, use additional arguments in which the individual worshipper does not appear — rather the emphasis is on the timeless and cosmic relationship between the image and its prototype. The role of the onlooker was accordingly reduced and the icon given a status of its own in the divine order of the universe. As by virtue of the hierarchic order there is an ascent from the lower and sensual to the higher and intellectual sphere and finally to God, so God is Himself reflected in the lower orders and material objects which make up our physical surroundings. However, it is significant that when Christian apologists of the late-sixth and seventh centuries claim that the relationship between image and prototype is a transcendental one, the authority on which they draw is the Bible and particularly Gen. i.27. So Leontius of Neapolis, in his apologia against the Jews already mentioned, argues that God's servants are the Saints, who are 'images of God' because they have received the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.[34] The house, the image, is hallowed and transfigured by the Spirit in the case of Saints. So the dignity of the human form is vindicated — there is a descent from God to the saint and from the saint to the icon through the 'image' element in each step. At the basis of Leontius' use of Gen. i.27 is the Neoplatonic belief in the divine manifesting itself in a descending sequence. Yet in this descent and assent the *ousiai* of prototype and image remain distinct and so the charge of idolatry is excluded.

John Damascene, the greatest Iconodule apologist of the Iconoclastic period, devoted much space to showing that behind the Iconoclast charge of idolatry was an abnormal fear of matter which ultimately was Manichaean. He then examined the nature of an image and gave a reasoned defence of image worship. The image, for Damascene, serves various purposes:[35]

> It may be a recollection of past events like a pictorial book or record.
> It may be a type foreshadowing something else.
> It may be an analogy. Damascene cites such examples as the sun, its light and its beam, or the rose, the tree, the flower, the scent which are images of the Trinity.
> It may be by imitation, as the created cannot strictly be an image of the uncreated.
> It may be a plan of a future undertaking, like the foreknowledge in the mind of God.
> It may be the image by nature, as contrasted with by arrangement and imitation. The example is Christ, who is the self-existent image of God, as man is the potential image by disposition.

30. J. Bidez, *Philostorgius' Kirchengeschichte*, GCS, 21 (Leipzig, 1913), 78.
31. *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* 1.2; PG, 3, col. 373 A–B.
32. F. Diekamp, *OCA*, 117 (Rome, 1938), 127 ff. On Hypatios see P.J. Alexander, "Hypatios of Ephesus: A Note on Image Worship in the Sixth Century," *HThR*, 45 (1952), 177 ff.
33. Diekamp, *op. cit.*, 128.
34. PG, 93, col. 1604 C D.
35. PG, 94, *Or.* III, cols. 1341 C, 1340 D, 1337 C; Martin, *History*, 118–19.

John Damascene puts the picture or statue, the earthly image, lowest in the list as its significance is only found in the others. He sees six stages evolving from God:

Christ the direct image of God.
The thought of God, His creative mind.
Man actually created but having affinities with the uncreated.
The visible world as a medium revealing God but in no way part of God.
Particular objects or incidents in the visible world alluding to particular facts in God's plan.
The historical icon, recording good and evil, to promote virtue or shame.

There is thus a ladder of revelation from visible to invisible[36] and vice-versa and the visible is in some measure endowed sacramentally with the virtue of the invisible it represents. As the image of the Ruler is the Ruler, so the image of Christ is Christ, and the image of the Saint is the Saint. In Damascene's view an image is in some sense a sacrament and from the image to God and from God to the image there is a graded ascent and descent as in the Neoplatonic scheme.

It is significant that later Iconodule writers do not reproduce Damascene's reasoning, although Theodore the Studite refers to it[37] and there are other echoes, e.g. in the *Life of Stephen*, which states that an image is, " a door opening the God-created mind to the likeness of the original within."[38] The sacramental view of images articulated the sentiments of those who were wedded to icons. The Iconoclasts never really answered satisfactorily this sacramental view of images although, in fact, it may have led them to concentrate on the Christological issue. They may have realised that an image of Christ or a saint bore a relation to its prototype that a pagan idol did not have.

It was essential to the Iconodule position to establish that there was a difference in essence between an image and its original — even though their relationship was sacramental and hierarchical. Only so could the charge of idolatry be avoided. On the other hand the Iconoclasts fought hard for the view that the image was of the same *ousia* as that which it represented. So for them the eucharist, the cross and the church building were the only permissible images: in the eucharist, after consecration, the elements, being now the Body and Blood of Christ, were of the same *ousia* as the prototype . . . "This is my Body." The *eikōn* is not a likeness but is, under a figure (morphōsis), Christ himself.[39] It is only the offering made by the priest's hands which fulfils this purpose. All bread is not His Body but becomes His Body by an unseen process in the spiritual world. This is not strictly Monophysitism, as Martin maintains,[40] but follows logically from the initial Iconoclast position that a true image must be of the same *ousia* as its original and so the eucharist was a true image. Theodore the Studite regarded this view of the eucharist as a terrible blasphemy. If the eucharist was only an *eikōn*, its virtue was challenged -- it was not reality.

The tragedy of the Iconoclastic controversy lay not simply in an opposition of a magical view of images to a Neoplatonic view. Rather it lay in a different conception of the image to its original. Had the two sides examined together what each meant by the terms *ousia* and *eikōn* much abortive controversy might have been avoided. The terms meant different things to each. As in the Arian controversy of the fourth century there was a chasm of misunderstanding which no political patchwork could close. It may well have been the case that, as with Athanasius and Arius, the sides were not so far apart as would appear from the polemical literature of the period. Both Iconoclasts and Iconodules held that an image was closely connected with its prototype. The difference arose over the *nature* of the connection. But more important than this was the practical issue — the fact that magical and superstitious practices had become attached to images particularly in the period immediately before the controversy and that many of these practices were little more than a veiled animism.

The Christological argument for and against images first came into prominence in the reign of Constantine V. By the end of the seventh century, however, the Orthodox had already discovered in the pictorial representation of Christ an important means of supporting their Christological views, expressed in the eighty-second canon of the Council of Trullo (692) (See *Anthology* B 15). The difference between the ancient figure of the lamb and the new figure of Christ was apparently the emphasis on His humanity. It is possible that members of the Council had in view quasi-Monophysite elements in the Church which tended to exalt Christ's divine nature in contrast to His humanity. But of that we cannot be certain. However it is clear that the Trullo Council intended that images of Christ should be used to support Christological orthodoxy.

36. PG, 94, *Or.* I, col. 1240 C ff.
37. PG, 99, *Antirrh.* I. cols. 341–3.
38. PG, 100, col. 1113 B.
39. So Constantine V; Niceph. *Antirrh.* 2, PG, 100 cols. 33 B, 336 A.
40. Martin, *History*, 127.

Under Constantine V who was more of a theologian than his father, Leo III,[41] this position was developed and centred around the question of circumscription and uncircumscription. The Iconoclasts argued that the Godhead could not be circumscribed in space and so portrayed in art, for God Himself was uncircumscribable. The earliest theological use of this word was in the fourth Canon of the Lateran Council of 649 as reported by the delegates to the Sixth General Council.[42] John Damascene several times uses the word in discussing how far the representation of God is legitimate. Constantine V seized on the linguistic relationship between 'uncircumscribed' and 'incapable of being depicted.' God, he argued, is uncircumscribable; Christ is God; therefore Christ is uncircumscribable. As that which is uncircumscribable cannot be represented, so Christ (as God) cannot be represented in an image. The arguments of the interlocutor, cited by Nikephoros, give a fair summary of Constantine's case, quoted in the Anthology, C 18. This introduces a fourth person into the Godhead, i.e. Christ as a man separate from Christ, the God-man. An image either attempts to represent the Godhead, confusing the natures as is the case with the Monophysites, or else it divides the Person of Christ and so results in Nestorianism. This argument was repeated at the Iconoclastic Council of 754, an objective account of which has been preserved in the Definition (Horos) of the Second Council of Nicaea of 787.[43] The Iconodule reply was to appeal to the Incarnation. So Nikephoros argues that because Christ was visible and circumscribed throughout the Gospel story can be depicted in art. To deny this is to deny his full humanity, to lapse into Monophysitism of a docetic kind and to deny the Gospel.

The third line of argument used by both sides was the appeal to tradition and usage. The Iconoclasts claimed that the worship of images had no ancient church authority;[44] the only authority was the attack on images of such writers as Eusebius and Epiphanius. The Iconodules, on the other hand, appealed to the unwritten tradition of the Church. Tradition, they argued, was the only authority for many church ordinances such as fasting communion, the crowning at weddings, fast days, festivals and rites of worship.[45] Likewise images have a long history in the Church as is shown by a catalogue of famous examples such as the picture of Christ sent to Abgar, King of Edessa, the statue of Christ and the woman with the issue of blood at Paneas, a portrait of the Virgin by St. Luke, a portrait of the Virgin and child made for a King of Persia, portraits of SS. Peter and Paul at Rome, a miraculous portrait of the Virgin in a church at Lydda and others. These were thought to go back to apostolic times. In fact, none will stand up to critical investigation for the earliest authentic examples of Christian pictures are those described by the fourth-century writers Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom. The appeal to tradition could prove little. Iconoclasm could not in the end be settled by theologians but only by people who knew that the icons were their teachers in religious matters. Western Europe realised this from the first. But the East, with its love of theological disputation, learnt it only slowly.

Pagan apologia for the use of images, which we discussed briefly at the beginning of this chapter, held that the statues are expressions of the divinity and so can lead men's minds towards the divinity; they are also copybooks through which man engraves on his memory the lineaments of the divinity. Our discussion has shown that Christian apologia also closely connected the icon and its prototype — images leading men's minds from the visible to the invisible. From the late-sixth century onwards this relationship between image and prototype was thought of as cosmic and timeless. For Theodore the Studite the relation was hypostatic, like that between a man and his shadow. Moreover, much as the pagans regarded images as copybooks teaching divine truth, Christians regarded images as the books of the illiterate, teaching truths which they were unable to read in books. This pragmatic view was particularly congenial to the West which was untroubled by the profound theological problems which concerned the East. Yet even in the East we find the same, common-sense view taught by John Damascene.[46]

The Iconodule position, the defence of icons, which was finally to triumph in 843 had close points of contact with that adopted by pagan defenders of the statues as well as with earlier anti-Jewish apologetic. There was no sharp break with the Graeco-Roman past. The Iconoclast position, on the other hand, involved a clean break with the past and so had no hope of final success, supported though it was by strong and able Emperors and by other elements in the Byzantine population. The Iconoclast Emperors underestimated the hold of the icons on ordinary people who so often subtly reflect, in their attitudes, traditional culture. The theology of images developed by Iconodule thinkers was but one expression of this continuity.

41. Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 48, describes Constantine's adaptation of the Christological arguments of his opponents as 'an act of genius.'
42. PL, 87, col. 1215 ff. Christ is said to be *circumscriptum corpore, incircumscriptum deitate.*
43. Horos, *Textus*, 61–78.
44. Mansi, XIII, col. 800 A.
45. PG, 100; *Antirrh.* 3, col. 388 A.
46. PG, 94, *De Imaginibus*, I, 17 col. 1248 C; M.H. Allies, *St. John Damascene on Holy Images* (London, 1898), 19.

III THE CONTEXT OF ICONOCLAST REFORM

JUDITH HERRIN

THE early eighth century was a time when the Byzantine Empire was in danger of total collapse. From 695 to 717 internal conflicts threatened to divide the Empire, while Muslim forces seemed poised ready to capture Constantinople itself. This troubled period is therefore crucial to an analysis of Byzantium during the first outbreak of Iconoclasm.

The first reign of Justinian II, the last ruling member of the Heraclian dynasty, ended in a palace coup of 695, which established a usurper, Leontios, as emperor.[1] This event was the first of many similar upheavals which followed with all too regular repetition, making nonsense of the tradition of a Byzantine imperial family. In 22 years no less than six candidates claimed the throne in rapid succession.[2] Only one, the unfortunate Justinian II, had truly imperial credentials (and even these were debased by a slit nose, a deformity imposed in 695 precisely with the intention of preventing such a return to power). While there was no guarantee of sound government in imperial blood — Justinian's second reign, devoted almost exclusively to revenge, is a clear example — few of the five other emperors of the period were in any way competent.[3] Three were military candidates, pushed by their own troops who also disposed of them at will. The other two, civilians, were pawns set up and directed by forces beyond their control.

None was able to establish himself as a true emperor. Leontios, Tiberios III, Philippikos, Anastasios II and Theodosios III are all rulers without a history. Their names are hardly known, except to collectors of their coins. They reigned on average for a little more than three years each, a figure which should be compared to the average reigns of sixth- and seventh-century rulers: seventeen and twenty years respectively (see Fig. 1). During the second reign of Justinian II

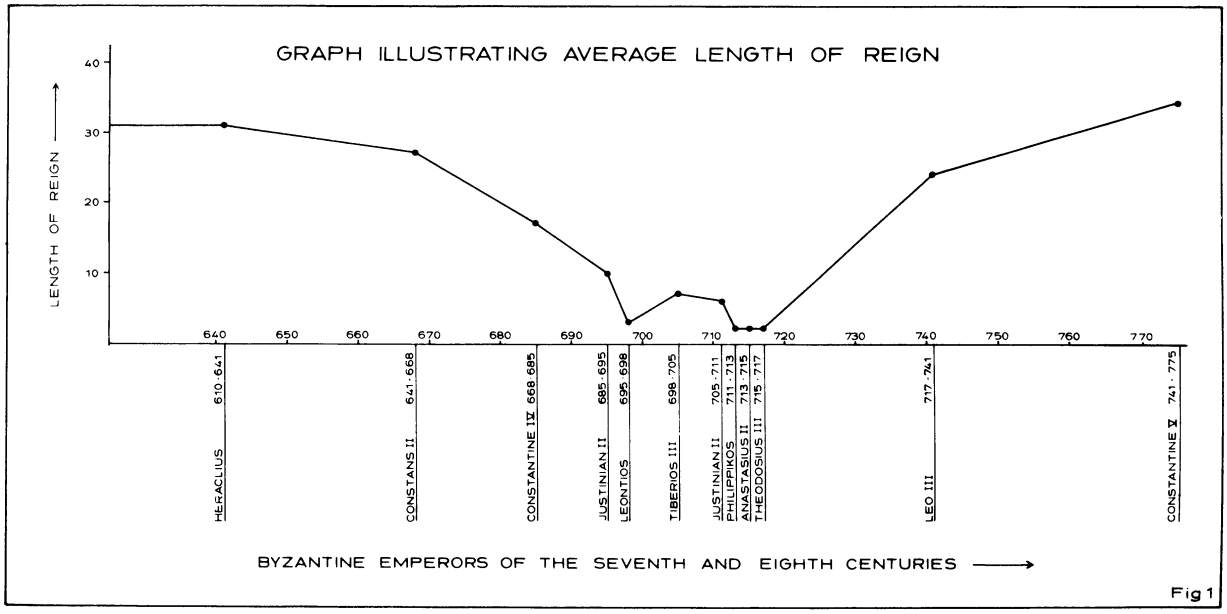


Fig. 1. Graph illustrating average length of reign. Drawing J. Dowling.

(705–11), the rule of his father and grandfather was within living memory — a traditional sequence of ordered government, in which son succeeded father, that constituted the apex of the essentially conservative Byzantine system. Within this established framework usurpers could sometimes find a place, provided that they were infrequent and managed to found a new dynasty. The Emperors Justin I and Heraclius both fell into this category. They were accepted and praised exactly because they installed their own families in the given manner. A rebellious military officer who aspired to

1. Theophanes, 368–69; Nicephorus, 37–39. The recent publication by C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (Wisconsin, 1972), adds little to Bury's excellent treatment; see J.B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene* (London/New York, 1889), II, 327–30.
2. From 695 to 717 the six emperors were:— Leontios (695–98); Tiberios III (698–705); Justinian II, second reign (705–11); Philippikos (711–13); Anastasios II (713–15), and Theodosios III (715–17).
3. On the second reign of Justinian II, see Theophanes, 374–81; Nicephorus, 41–48.

the imperial insignia and thereafter maintained Byzantine prestige abroad and peace at home, would gradually become the legitimate emperor of his time. On the other hand, those candidates who did not impose themselves, could expect only the treatment accorded to failures — revolt, counter-coup, death or mutilation and exile, imposed as often as not, by erstwhile supporters.

In sharp distinction to the relative stability of the Heraclian dynasty, the "decades of anarchy" provided little but confusion. In a situation where there was no settled imperial family at Constantinople, and no respect for the offspring of past emperors, any general could chance his luck. Thus, the commander of the Anatolikon *thema* (Leontios); a *drouggarios* of the fleet (Tiberios), and an ambitious Armenian noble, with naval and Opsikion troop support, (Philippikos) seized the throne.[4] But only Tiberios survived more than three years. After the deposition of Philippikos, military forces installed first Anastasios and then Theodosios, for two years each. And during the latter's reign (715–17), there was virtual civil war as Anastasios refused to accept his demotion and Leo (later Leo III) never recognised Theodosios' authority.[5] In these circumstances continuity in imperial administration was negligible; the rapid turnover in nominal emperors caused disorder and instability, not only in the capital but also in the provinces. It was hardly surprising that in the face of such disarray the Arab Caliphate decided to strike at the heart of Byzantium in a final effort to make Constantinople the Muslim world capital.

Such an enterprise had been attempted in the course of the seventh century. But conditions were now much more favourable to an Arab victory.[6] From their capital at Damascus successive caliphs had extended their control over much of the south-east Mediterranean. In 698 Carthage had been captured, despite an initially successful defence by Byzantine sea forces. A by-product of this momentous event was the revolt which removed Leontios from office and installed Apsimar, the naval commander, as Emperor Tiberios III.[7] Arab power continued to advance west from Carthage, taking Ceuta the last Byzantine outpost in N Africa in 711. From this springboard Spain and Western Europe were immediately threatened, while simultaneously sea-borne raids in the east Mediterranean seriously damaged Byzantine bases in the Aegean and on the coasts of Asia Minor.[8] Byzantine control over outlying regions of the Empire, particularly Italy, was inevitably weakened by this hostile encirclement.

Soldier emperors were in part a response to these widespread threats. But for a period of over 20 years not one was capable of checking the disintegration of imperial authority. Fortunately for Byzantium, Leo III was to succeed where others had failed. He gained the throne in the same way as many of his immediate predecessors: by challenging an incumbent emperor, winning control of the capital and getting himself proclaimed by the people and crowned by the patriarch. Like most military candidates, he was supported by his own troops, soldiers of the Anatolikon *thema* army, together with those of the Armeniakon, which was commanded by his ally and future son-in-law, Artavasdos.[9] There was nothing uncharacteristic in all this, or in his background. Those who aimed at the purple often came from distant provinces, and adopted a more regal and Byzantine name in order to get on in the ranks.[10] They usually had little formal education and had to give evidence of their personal commitment to the orthodoxy of the time. In Leo's case all these factors can be observed. His family originated in Northern Syria and later moved to Thrace; he abandoned his baptismal name of Konon, and made the usual claims to orthodox belief.[11] By a stroke of good luck and ingenuity, he won the patronage of Justinian II (if a somewhat legendary account preserves some historical basis), and beween 711 and 717 he was promoted to become commander (*stratègos*) of the large Anatolikon *thema*.[12] During his career, as he witnessed the demise of three emperors,

4. On Leontios, see note 1 above; on Apsimar/Tiberios, see Theophanes, 370–71; Nicephorus, 40; and on Philippikos, see Theophanes, 379–81; Nicephorus, 51–52.

5. On Anastasios, see Nicephorus, 49–52, and Theophanes, 383–86; on Theodosios, Nicephorus, 51, and Theophanes, 386–91. For the veiled references to a state of near civil war, Theophanes, 386, 395.

6. P.K. Hitti, *A History of the Arabs* (London, 1956), 206–23; the attack had been planned since 714, see Theophanes, 383–4; Nicephorus, 49–50; M. Canard, "Les Expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende," *JA*, 208 (1926), 80.

7. On the revolt of Apsimar, see note 3 above, and H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer* (Paris, 1966), 50.

8. The establishment of a naval base at Tunis (704), extended Muslim naval power into the west Mediterranean, while the Syrian and Alexandrian fleets continued to harass Byzantine coastlands. The existence of Arab pirates, attested in many provincial waters, was coupled with highly destructive attacks, such as the expedition of 715 to Lycia, which stripped the region of Cyprus wood for ship building, see Theophanes, 385; Nicephorus, 50.

9. Theophanes, 390–91; Nicephorus, 52; W. Kaegi, "The Byzantine armies and Iconoclasm," *Byzantinoslavica*, 27 (1966), 51. Leo and Artavasdos appear to have formed a pact to get Leo to the throne; the agreement became a family tie when Artavasdos married Anna, Leo's daughter, see Theophanes, 386, 395.

10. Bardanes, who ruled as Philippikos, was Armenian; Leontios was from Isauria; Apsimar, the original name of Tiberios III, suggests a Slav origin, and Artemios changed his name to rule as Anastasios II. These double names are preserved in the chapter titles of a ninth century chronicle, see Georgius Monachus, II, 732, 734, 735.

11. Leo's origins are discussed at length by Gero, *Leo III*, 1–24.

12. Theophanes, 391.

he obviously began to consider the question of his own qualifications. This is suggested not only by the fact that he refused to serve the Emperor Theodosios III, but also by the latter's apparent willingness for him to take over in 717.[13] Thus, in March of that year, he was acclaimed and crowned like so many other soldier emperors. But in contrast, both his immediate and more long-term actions suggested that he would prove to be very different from the two-year rulers. As well as confirmed military skills, he had a clear idea of traditional imperial government and was determined to secure the Empire and his own rule for posterity.

In the effort to understand the phenomenon of Iconoclasm, non-religious aspects of eighth century iconoclast rule have often been overlooked. Both Leo III and Constantine V have been portrayed as megalomaniacs, determined to reform the eastern Church, rather than as outstanding generals and efficient administrators. Without discounting the momentous development in religious practice instituted by the iconoclasts, it is necessary to examine their primary tasks in political administration. A glance at the graph reveals that they were successful in one thing—the restoration of traditional Byzantine government, judged by a return to the sixth century pattern of long reigns and hereditary succession. The Syrian dynasty established by Leo averaged 18 years per reign, a respectable figure to be held up to those of the Justinian and Heraclian centuries. After the immense disruption of the period 695–717, this clear and continuous family rule takes on a special significance.

Only a few months after Leo's coronation the long-awaited threat of a major attack on Constantinople materialized in the form of a large Arab fleet, which had successfully sailed through Byzantine defences in the Aegean and was fast approaching the Dardanelles. News of this threat had already persuaded Anastasios II to repair the fortifications of the capital and to build ships, weapons and ballistic machines, but even so imminent warfare and so close at hand constituted a serious challenge.[14] Leo dealt with it by a judicious combination of military and diplomatic activity — highly combustible "Greek fire" was very effectively used against the Arab navy, while Bulgarian forces were drawn in to harrass part of the army encamped in Thrace. In addition, the twelve-month old defence was greatly assisted by a very hard winter. As the Muslims were not familiar with snow, and as they did not usually campaign during winter months, cold, hunger and disease took an abnormally high toll on those outside the city walls.[15]

The final withdrawal of Arab forces in August 718, plus the fortuitous destruction of many Arab ships by storm, established the new emperor with a certain authority. Leo used this victory and the ensuing peace treaty, which gave Byzantium a break from annual campaigning, to consolidate his position further.[16] He dealt promptly with a rival emperor who had been proclaimed in Sicily. As soon as the *stratègos* of the island had learned that Constantinople was besieged, he decided to promote his own candidate, one Basileios Onomagoulos, who adopted the imperial name of Tiberios. But these plans were effectively nullified by Leo's forces under the patrician Paul, who became general of Sicily. Thereafter Byzantine control over both Sicily and Italy was strengthened by a new census, intended to increase taxation as well as to record population.[17] Similarly, when Leo got wind of a conspiracy between the ex-Emperor Anastasios II, a group of exiles in Salonica and the Bulgar Khan, he acted rapidly and ruthlessly.[18] Constantine V was later to display the same single-minded attitude to any challenge to his own position as emperor. Both recognized that the ability to crush rivals was an essential part of their staying power.[19]

13. Theophanes, 395; Nicephorus, 52. In the course of his career he may well have acted in complicity with Arab forces, see for example, the strange account of his meeting with the general Maslama, Theophanes, 378–91; Arab sources record similar dealings, see Gero, *op. cit.*, 32–33.

14. Theophanes, 383–84; Nicephorus, 49–50.

15. Theophanes, 395–99; Nicephorus, 53–55; R. Guilland, "L'expédition de Maslama contre Constantinople (717–718)," *Études Byzantines* (Paris, 1959), 109–33; M. Canard, *op. cit.* (note 5 above), 80–94. On the siege, see also Gero, *op. cit.*, 36–43; F. Gabrieli, "L'eroe omàyyade Maslamah ibn 'Abd al-Malik," *Academia dei Lincei*, 346, Rendiconti morali, 150, serie 8, vol. 5, fasc. 1–2, 22–39, esp. 25–32. Both Ahrweiler, *op. cit.*, 30, 441 (Appendix IV), and Gero *op. cit.*, 172–80 (Appendix 3), have drawn attention to an anonymous account of the siege, published by S. Lampros, *Historika Meletèmata* (Athens, 1884) (in Greek), 142–4; cf. the verses attributed to Theodosios *grammatikos*, which may also refer to this event, *ibid.* 129–32.

16. In this Leo was assisted by increasing divisions within the Muslim world. During the second quarter of the eighth century, the Ummayad Caliphate was severely weakened by internal disagreements, which led finally to the Abbasid coup of 750 and the establishment of a new capital at Baghdad. On this shift to the East, see P. Hitti, *op.cit.* 279–96.

17. Theophanes, 398–99; Nicephorus, 54–55; *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris, 1886), I, 403. There can be no doubt that Leo decided to punish the Byzantine provinces in Italy; all previous tax exemptions were rescinded and much higher payments imposed. Cf. the register of births recorded by Theophanes, 410.

18. On the conspiracy, see Theophanes, 400–401; Nicephorus, 55–56; cf. the ingenious theory of H. Ahrweiler, *op. cit.* (note 6 above), 26–31, which depends upon the dating of a crucial passage in the *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*, PG, 116, col. 1368 ff.

19. The civil war brought about by Artavasdos, Constantine's brother-in-law, was the single, most serious challenge to the emperor, see Theophanes, 414–20; Nicephorus, 59–62; A. Lombard, *Constantin V, Empereur des Romains* (Paris, 1902), 23–30.

From the first years of his reign Leo appears to have conceived a substantial reform of military forces, designed to maximise their effectiveness. Immediately after the siege of 717–8 he turned his attention to the organisation of Byzantine naval resources, which had failed to check either the preparatory activity, or the final Muslim attack on Constantinople. The previous supreme naval command, the post of *stratègos tôn karabisianôn*, was abolished.[20] An entirely new military organ assumed responsibility for maritime affairs, the Kibyrreot *thema*, based on the south west coast of Asia Minor. It was formed from the coastal territory formerly part of the Anatolikon *thema*, and it was comparable in every way except its size to the other Asian ones. The institution of this type of military administration in a specifically maritime area provided the region with a powerful and local naval weapon. Its troops were inherited in part from an earlier force commanded by a *drouggarios*, which had been subordinated to the general of the *Karabisianoi*, and additional sailors were recrited from among Mardaïtes settled in Pamphilia and round Attaleia. As *thema* forces, both men and ships were maintained, supplied and equipped by that area. Thus, a sensitive coastland received an organised naval defence, while from its base the new, regular Kibyrreot fleet could oversee the movement of Arab shipping.[21]

In disbanding the older maritime formations, Leo doubtless wished to prevent a repetition of those successful revolts sparked off by the *Karabisianoi*, and to limit direct access to the capital which a disgruntled fleet offered to rival emperors. The imperial fleet, based at Constantinople, was therefore transformed and brought under closer control.[22] But the reorganisation was also motivated by the need to create a permanent naval strike-force in all strategic parts of the Empire. The great innovation of Leo, and Constantine after him, was to extend seventh century administration to Byzantine waters. The *thema tôn Kibyrraiôtôn* was the first attempt to meet such a need. It was followed by the creation of naval themes on Crete (by 767) and in the Aegean (by 843), with subordinate detachments stationed in the Dodecanese and the Cyclades. In conjunction with these sea-borne forces, the European provinces of the Empire were given mixed troops, both naval and territorial, which provided additional maritime defence. In the course of the eighth century the successes of these forces, for example, off the coast of Cyprus in 747, when a Syrian fleet was almost entirely destroyed, confirmed the significance attributed by Leo and Constantine to naval strength.[23]

In the same way it was Leo's aim to consolidate Byzantine land armies. From his experience in the Anatolikon *thema*, he knew both the strengths of the established administrative system, and also the competitive and separatist tendencies so often displayed by provincial troops. His own career illustrated what a stepping stone to higher aspirations the post of *stratègos* might constitute. These factors demanded a reform which would limit the power of individual generals without weakening the *thema* system. Leo achieved this by reducing the size of the Anatolikon *thema*, the first and most prestigious. It gave up a large part of its western region to the Thrakesion, and its southern coastland to the Kibyrreot. Later, Constantine V followed this example, dividing the Opsikion to form a central Anatolian *thema*, called the Boukellarion.[24] In this instance the past history of Opsikion troops backing imperial rivals and imposing their own candidates, most recently Artavasdos, may well have been decisive. Although it was almost impossible to break the loyalty of provincial soldiers to their own commanders, a powerful factor in the process of uniting the armed forces was the sustained military success of Leo and Constantine. Through their victorious campaigns against both the Arabs and Bulgars, they gradually won a respect from *thema* troops which balanced that accorded to *stratègoi*. Both emperors also paid great attention to the élite garrison troops of Constantinople, organised in three *tagmata*. Their loyalty became in time one of the major forces of Iconoclasm.[25]

Early in his reign Leo III indicated his determination to secure the hereditary succession of his

20. On the dissolution of the *Karabisianoi*, see H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Etudes d'histoire maritime de Byzance* (Paris, 1966), 63–87; H. Ahrweiler, *op. cit.* (note 6 above), 22–35.

21. On the Kibyrreot formation, see A Pertusi, *Costantino Porfirogenito De Thematibus* (Vatican, 1952), 149–53; on the previous *drouggarios* (Apsimar), see note 3 above. The Kibyrreot fleet under its first *stratègos*, Manès, was severely damaged by storms in the Adriatic in 732, Theophanes, 410.

22. Leontios, Apsimar/Tiberios and Philippikos all owed their successful revolts to naval power. On the imperial fleet, manned by mercenaries, see H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *op.cit.* 86–87; cf. H. Ahrweiler, *op.cit.* 44, 69. It is difficult to establish the exact date of the reform which created the 'basilikon plôimon,' but it seems clear that Leo ensured an effective naval defence for the capital.

23. On the creation of naval *themata*, see H. Ahrweiler, *op cit.* 50–52; H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *op.cit.*, 88–89; N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), 45–47, 49, 53, 352–53. While the *drouggarios* of the Dodecanese remained a subordinate of the Kibyrreot *stratègos*, by 889 the equivalent officer attached to the Cyclades was promoted to become the first *strategos* of Samos, new naval *thema*, see H. Ahrweiler, *op. cit.*, 80–81. On the victory of 747 and subsequent naval activity, see Theophanes, 419, 424, 432–33, 446, 447–48; Nicephorus, 64.

24. On the creation of these *themata*, see A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, (note 21 above), 124–26, 133–36; cf. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *op. cit.*, (note 20 above), 68–70, 75–77.

25. On the loyalty of *thema* forces and Constantine's campaign to reform the *tagmata*, see Kaegi, *op.cit.* (note 9 above), 50–51, 53, 56, 61.

family, by the coronation of his infant son, Constantine, as Co-Emperor.[26] This event of 720 was reflected in imperial coinage, in the issue of a new type of gold *solidus* (*nomisma*), which carried a portrait of the young emperor on the reverse.[27] This replaced the traditional reverse with the cross potent, which had been used throughout the seventh century with a few exceptions. The second imperial portrait thus can be interpreted as an iconoclast measure designed to remove a representation of the cross from coinage. But the change was certainly introduced for purely dynastic reasons. It was traditional for emperors to signal their heirs as co-emperors on imperial coinage; in this way Justinian II displayed his son, Tiberios, on the reverse of gold coins struck during his second reign.[28] Also, there was no question of removing the cross potent from the coinage altogether. With the introduction of a new gold coin type in 720, this image was transferred to the obverse of the *miliarèsion*, a new silver coin struck for the first time on the same occasion.[29] Far from banning the use of the cross, the Iconoclasts gave it great prominence. The image of the cross replaced the icon of Christ on the Chalke Gate of the imperial palace, and it was given special significance in iconoclast church decoration.[30] Leo's new gold coin proclaimed his son as co-emperor and celebrated this fact in normal Byzantine fashion, which could be immediately appreciated. This coin type, with two full imperial portraits, continued to be used throughout the eighth century, and after 843 it was still employed on occasions. Even the iconophile Empress Eirene did not alter it. When she reigned alone (797–802) she merely put her own portrait on both sides, as if to emphasize her sole authority.[31]

Once the succession had been established, and while military reforms were being put into effect, Leo ordered legal experts, including the *quaestor*, consuls and patricians, to draw up a handbook of basic law.[32] They were instructed to prepare a short compilation in Greek, the spoken language of Byzantium, rather than Latin, the legal language which was hardly understood. The emperor intended it to provide a convenient manual for provincial judges. At the same time he made strenuous efforts to reform the judiciary, so that both the body of law and all its agents would be set on a sounder footing. All officials involved in the administration of justice were to be salaried and were forbidden to accept gifts. Judges were exhorted to bring all criminals, even the powerful and the rich, to justice. At the same time the Code stated emphatically that Christian clemency should be exercised.[33] The *Ekloga* (Selections) combined a simplified version of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian I, with various customary rulings of the Church on questions of marriage, inheritance and property. The latter introduced not only considerable Christian influence but also specific alteration from traditional Roman law in domestic matters. Hardly any new legislation was incorporated in the *Ekloga* — instead the handbook set out the most straightforward guide-lines by which to provide justice. In the same way as other short legal codes, the Farmers' Law of Justinian II, the 'naval' and 'military' laws, the *Ekloga* was designed to help resolve practical problems, such as matters relating to unpaid dowries, repayment of loans or compensation for the loss of a guard dog.[34] Leo III realised that this was very necessary in an Empire where there had been so little central control for many years, and where even established law was not generally understood; the introduction to the *Ekloga* draws attention to this quite specifically.[35] While he does

26. Theophanes, 400; Nicephorus, 56–57.

27. On the new gold coin, see P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection* (hereafter, *DOC*) III, part 1 (Washington, D.C., 1973), 227, and plate 1, type 3 onwards; C. Morrisson, *Catalogue des Monnaies Byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1970), II, 450–53, and plate LXVI, type AV 02 onwards. The coronation was also marked by a new series of copper coins, on which Constantine was portrayed, and by an entirely new silver coin, see note 29 below.

28. In place of the cross potent on the reverse, Constans II had previously portrayed first his two sons between a long cross on a small globus and then all three sons, see P. Grierson, *DOC*, II, part 2 (Washington, D.C., 1968), plate XXIV, type 28; plate XXV, type 40. Justinian II's revolutionary new coin had the emperor holding the cross potent on the reverse, see J. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (New York, 1959), plate 1, nos. 5–10. For the coins of his second reign with Co-Emperor Tiberios, see P. Grierson, *DOC*, II, part 2, 644–46, plate XLIII, types 2, 4, 6, 7. There are large reproductions of this type in C. Head, *op.cit.* (note 1 above), 114, 121.

29. On the silver reform introduced in 720, see P. Grierson, *DOC*, III, part 1, plates II and III, type 22 onwards; C. Morrisson, *op.cit.* II, 450–52. This silver *miliarèsion* was the first Byzantine coin to employ a Greek term, '*basileus*'.

30. On the Chalke cross, see Mango, *Brazen House*, 118–19; cf. P. Speck, "Symmeikta. Die Ikonoklastischen Jamben an der Chalke," *Hellènika*, 27 (1974), 376–80. On the mosaic cross put up in the church of Saint Eirene, see George, *Saint Eirene*, 47–54, plate 17.

31. On the gold coins of Eirene, see P. Grierson, *DOC*, III, part 1, 347–48, plate XV. The same type was used in the ninth century by Basil I, see *idem*, *DOC*, III, part 2 (Washington, D.C., 1973), plate XXX, types 3–6.

32. For the text of the *Ekloga*, see C. Zachariae von Ligenthal, *Collectio Librorum Juris Graeco-Romani Ineditorum* (Leipzig, 1852) 9–52; Zepos, *Jus*, II (Athens, 1931, reprinted Aalen, 1962), 11–62; E.A. Freshfield, *A Manual of Roman Law. The Ecloga*, (Cambridge, 1926) (English translation). The Code was issued in March, 726, see Gero, *Leo III*, 48, note 1.

33. Zepos, *Jus*, II, 13–14 (instructions); 14–17 (reform of judicial practice); Christian influence is evident throughout the introduction, see 12–12 especially; cf. T. E. Gregory, "The Ekloga of Leo III and the Concept of 'Philanthropia'," *Byzantina*, 7 (1975), 267–87.

34. For the three codes, see Zepos, *Jus*, II, 67–103. The military and naval laws are not securely dated, but in character and objective they are close to the *Ekloga*. On specific problems, see *ibid.* 27–28 (*Ekloga*, title 3 on dowries); 39–42 (*Ekloga*, title 10, on securities); and 69–70 (Farmers' Law, titles 45 and 65, on guard dogs).

35. *Ibid.* II, 13, 16; cf. G. Ostrogorsky, "Über der vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurier," *BZ*, 30 (1929/30), 394–400, which overlooks the fact that seventh-century emperors had not continued the legal work of Justinian, and does not draw sufficient attention to the influence of the *Ekloga* on Slavic, Latin, and even Arabic law, see Gero, *op.cit.*, 50, note 4.

not appear to have been a great legislator, Leo clearly recognised the importance of making old laws available in comprehensible form — laws which are neither codified nor accessible can not be efficiently applied.

Throughout his reign, Leo was concerned to restore the traditional institutions of Byzantium, and its now much-shaken claim to military invincibility. Both he and his son devoted their considerable tactical skills to the planning and execution of annual campaigns, in an attempt to consolidate the Empire's reduced frontiers — an attempt that was largely successful.[36] After an earthquake in 740, and again after the 747 epidemic of plague in Constantinople, both emperors insisted upon rebuilding and repopulating the city. This desire to strengthen the capital may well reflect a distrust of provincial loyalties, but it also corresponds to the normal wish of emperors to leave their own mark on the Queen City.[37] Through their efforts to make imperial administration effective and fair, to maintain basic food supplies when economic life was seriously disrupted by both internal and external factors, and to encourage market activity by monetary reforms, they tried to bring order and greater prosperity to the provinces.[38] Little of this, however, is directly acknowledged by the uniformly biased sources of the period, which prefer to condemn both Leo and Constantine as 'Saracen-minded,' a 'Pharaoh' and a 'second Midas.'[39]

This then constituted the historical setting in which the ideological controversy over the use of icons was argued. These two aspects of Byzantium in the eighth century should not be treated in isolation, as they were of course closely connected and interdependent. The degree to which religious, economic, military and political factors combined can be illustrated by an incident which took place during the iconophile lull of the early ninth century. Rebellious soldiers, recently dismissed from service in the central garrisons, broke into the tomb of Constantine V and called for a resumption of Iconoclasm in order to defeat the Bulgars.[40] Victorious military campaigns and iconoclast theology had become inextricably entwined, however confusedly, with the activities of Leo and Constantine. This popular association centred particularly on the person of Constantine, whom the soldiers exhorted to rise up and lead them into battle again.

But the relationship between political events and religious movements was not fixed and static throughout the period of Iconoclasm; it varied from one decade to another. It is precisely the structure of this interdependence which requires further research. Such an investigation, however, is beyond the scope of this paper, which has simply noted the efforts of Leo and Constantine to end a political crisis that nearly brought down the Byzantine Empire. For it was during the "decades of anarchy" that the continued existence of Byzantium came into question. The accumulated effects of so many short, uncertain and ineffectual reigns were multiplied by the constant threat of Muslim domination. It is necessary, therefore, to draw attention to Leo and Constantine's major achievement — the restoration of imperial authority which prevented the Empire's demise. The methods by which this restoration was accomplished were developed by Leo in the first decade of his reign (717–726), a highly significant period, and one in which no question of theology or of any religious nature was accorded primary importance. Later these matters *did* assume a primary importance. This in turn was dependent upon the re-establishment of Byzantine authority. For without Leo and Constantine's principally political and military success, there would have been no iconoclast controversy as we know it.

36. The victory at Akroïnon in 740 was a turning point in the struggle against the Arabs, see Theophanes, 411; on subsequent campaigns, Theophanes, 429, 432–33, 437, 446–47; Nicephorus, 66–67, 69, 73.

37. On the earthquake, see Theophanes, 412; Nicephorus, 59; and on other building activity, Theophanes, 432–24, 429, 440; Nicephorus, 62–64; cf. also accounts of Constantine V's redecoration of the Blachernai church, *Life of Saint Stephen the Younger*, PG, 100, cols. 1120–21.

38. During Constantine's reign the price of grain was particularly cheap, see Theophanes, 443; Nicephorus, 76; this fact was remembered in the ninth century, see PG, 100, cols. 492–93. Leo and Constantine's efforts to maintain economic activity must be seen in the context of a marked decline in towns and markets. This shrinkage is probably reflected in the gradual disappearance of smaller coin denominations. Leo took steps to simplify imperial coinage, which had always been issued in a bewildering complexity of types and ceremonial pieces. By the end of the eignth century only the gold *nomisma*, silver *miliarèsion* and copper *follis* were struck, not the half and quarter *follis* normally used as small change, nor the fractional gold coins.

39. Theophanes, 405, 410, 423, 443; Nicephorus, 76.

40. Theophanes, 501; Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 111–25; A. Lombard, *op.cit.* (note 19 above) 20–21; cf. another aspect of this legend, N. Adontz, "Les légendes de Maurice et de Constantin V," *AIPHO* 2 (1934), 9–11.

IV THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE ICONOCLAST WORLD

HÉLÈNE AHRWEILER

HOWEVER it is considered, whether as a social, political or religious movement, or as a particular attitude to private morals or public ethics, Iconoclasm in all its forms germinates in the breeding ground of the Byzantine Empire. The fact that 'Iconoclasm' and 'Iconoclast' are the only Byzantine terms which have entered modern European languages to any extent seems to me very pertinent. Their original meaning may help us to understand what Byzantine Iconoclasm was all about. I find it significant that the word 'Iconoclasm' suggests today protest against traditional values and *mores* as well as against the Establishment. The word has now lost all connection with holy images (icons) and their destroyers. I have always regarded Iconoclasm as an important phase in the development of Byzantine ethics and politics, affecting the very structure of Byzantine society: for the veneration or destruction of images was a significant way for people to express their attachment or opposition to the policies of the capital, Constantinople. This central concern of the Iconoclast controversy is reflected in a number of scholarly studies which attempt to analyse the problem. It is no exaggeration to say that every Byzantinist has his own views on Iconoclasm, which prove (a) that no definitive study exists at present (hence the choice of the subject for this symposium), and (b) that Iconoclasm is still the nodal point of Byzantine Studies.

The crisis, rather misleadingly known as Iconoclasm, was as lengthy as it was significant. But in spite of the huge bibliography which it has engendered, its importance contrasts with the scantiness of our primary sources: new research into the problem raised by this complex phenomenon is therefore always welcome. The recent works of Gero and Barnard,[1] both very useful, throw new light on the origins of the Iconoclastic movement. Gero concentrates on the Oriental sources. The evidence is poor but it was time that they were examined. On the other hand Barnard demonstrates how the Graeco-Roman background to the controversy counter-balances the Oriental aspect, still the only one which scholars tend to stress.

In the context of this symposium, which aims to discuss various questions raised by Iconoclasm, I would like to give my own interpretation of the course of Iconoclasm and, in particular, to examine its geography. By Iconoclasm I mean the whole period between 726 and 842, for I consider the Iconodule interlude of Eirene's and Nikephoros' reigns as no more than a lull in the movement, an integral part of a continuous phenomenon.

Although the title of this paper is "The Geography of the Iconoclast World,' I shall be using evidence from a very wide variety of primary sources. But it must be particularly stressed that this evidence (historical, hagiographic or diplomatic) is all of Iconodule origin. Nonetheless this enables us to locate some of the centres of Iconoclast as well as Iconodule agitation, permitting us to discern social and ethnic divisions, which reveal what can only be called class disparaties in the reaction to Iconoclasm. What it does not do is to allow us to draw a complete picture of Iconoclast geography, for with certain rare exceptions we have virtually no evidence for the attitude and reaction of large bodies of the population, particularly in the provinces. However, these difficulties should not prevent us from investigating the subject, for geography is fundamental to an understanding of much of the basic outline of Byzantine Iconoclasm.

First I must sound a warning. There is still a widespread assumption among Byzantinists that the birthplace of religious agitation is to be found in the eastern provinces, more especially along the distant Oriental borders whose various peoples shared religious traditions which conflicted with Constantinople and its official 'Graeco-Roman' policies. The natural reflex to search for, and eventually to identify, Oriental roots for Iconoclasm was at work even during this historical period. Thus Judaism and Islam were made to explain Iconoclastic theory and practice. This view was vigorously spread at the time by Iconodules, and has been widely inherited by modern scholars.[2]

1. Gero, *Leo III*; Barnard, *Background*. For a review of sources on Iconoclasm, see Hennephof, *Textus*. For a select bibliography (sources and literature), see A.A.M.B[ryer] in the booklet for the *Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (Birmingham, 1975), 7–12; and abbreviations on pp. x–xi above. For an up to date synopsis, see H.-G. Beck, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, III, 1 (Freiburg, 1966), 31–61.

2. See G. von Grunebaum, "Byzantine Iconoclasm and the Influence of the Islamic Environment," *History of Religions*, 2 (1962), 1–10; Barnard, *Background* 10–33 (Islam and Iconoclasm), 34–50 (The Jews and Iconoclasm); and L.W. Barnard, "Byzantium and Islam. The Interaction of two Worlds in the Iconoclastic Era," *Byzantinoslavica*, 36 (1975), 25–37. See also Ostrogorsky, "Débuts," (and the note in Barnard, *Background*, 13); Ostrogorsky, *Studien*. For a review of the theories on the origins of Iconoclasm, see D. Zakythinos, "Skepseis peri Eikonomachias," *Mélanges A. Alibizatos* (Athens, 1957), 3–15; Gero, *Leo III*, 85–6.

The birthplace of Leo III, the instigator of Iconoclasm, and the part played by the metropolitans and bishops of Anatolia all argue in favour of Oriental origins. I refer especially to the careers of Constantine of Nakoleia, Thomas of Claudiopolis (who acted against images in his own diocese before Leo's decision) and John of Synnada (who was suspected by Patriarch Germanos of favouring the image-breakers). Nevertheless we must take what may be termed 'the Oriental theory' seriously. It is clear that there was active Iconoclastic feeling in Anatolia, particularly in Phrygia: the prominent figure here is Thomas of Claudiopolis, considered by many as the source of the evil. But we must analyse this assertion anew. I agree with Gero that the rôle of the Anatolian bishops has been unduly magnified.[3] Leo III, the prime leader of Iconoclasm, acted independently of these figures: all Oriental sources make him the sole heresiarch. Although Byzantine and even Western sources of the period mask his prominent role, for their concern was to whitewash the ruling dynasty, ninth-century Greek sources rightly emphasized the acts of the Isaurian emperors, because their dynasty was overthrown before the end of the eighth century. It seems unlikely, in any case, that Leo's only theological advisers were the Anatolian bishops.

It is also an error to presume that in adopting Iconoclasm Leo was concerned with strengthening his authority in the Oriental provinces. Iconoclasm may have been welcomed by people influenced by aniconic traditions (for example the old heretical underworld of Phrygia), but it also attracted popular support from people in the same areas who were otherwise firmly Orthodox. In any case it seems to me that abstract discussion of the theory of images could hardly affect the popular "milieu," and as regards the Oriental provinces all our evidence shows that Leo's position was particularly solid there. Indeed imperial policy was later supported in Anatolia, whereas it was strongly contested in Greece and Italy where, according to Theophanes, the people revolted against the emperor himself.[4] It was not in the eastern but western provinces that his authority was shaken. In other words Iconoclasm was such a complex phenomenon that it is unlikely that it was the personal interests of Leo alone that led him to adopt the policy which was to destroy the 'Pax Christiana' (then hardly in existence), and which diminished the prestige of Byzantium both internally and abroad. So one cannot explain the breakdown of Byzantine society during Iconoclasm by the image controversy alone, or by the origins of the Iconoclasts, or of the Orthodox. The question of icons was deliberately raised by an emperor, who was trying to halt the military disasters and the political decline which beset the empire, by every possible means.[5] In my opinion this fact proves that Iconoclasm was provoked by a state of national emergency, which required a vast programme of reform of both the state apparatus and society of Byzantium, embarked upon by the Isaurian emperors. The controversy over icons was therefore only a pretext, a convenient touch-stone by which the people could express their agreement or disagreement with imperial policy. This is why I use the term Iconoclasm in its wider sense, covering the whole chronological period of the Iconoclast crisis, as well as the general policy of Iconoclast emperors.

Any investigation of Iconoclast geography therefore involves the identification of those areas whose population suffered injury at the hands of the Iconoclasts and those places where image venerators were safe. One must also examine individual cases of persecution. Bury attempted it many years ago and more recently Alexander examined the period of the second Iconoclasm.[6] Through them we may try to discern and to describe three areas. First, regions of banishment: in other words, areas where Iconodule refugees found a ready welcome by the population and by ecclesiastical authorities. Second, those areas where Iconoclast measures were at work; and third, those areas where they remained inoperative because of the resistance of the population and, perhaps, of local officials. In other words one has to investigate the evidence of primary sources for popular attitudes and feelings, for and against Iconoclasm, especially in the provinces. The reaction of the most striking figures to Iconodule and Iconoclast practices is also significant. We must also examine the part played by Iconoclasts and Iconodules in public affairs, and the intervention or mediation by foreign rulers whose interests were to encourage one or other of the parties. From this it becomes clear that our sources have only Iconodule sympathies. All Byzantines and foreigners who gave their support to the Iconoclasts and their enterprises are almost always identified by our sources as enemies of the empire, that is to say, as Jews, Saracens, and heretics in general: Iconoclasts are presented as people from the lowest social rank whose damaging action

3. Gero, *Leo III*, 90–3.
4. 404–6 (= Hennephof, *Textus*, No. 3).
5. On Leo III's anti-Arab policy and his military qualities, see H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer. La Marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII — XVe siècles* (Paris, 1966), 42; *idem*, "L'Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes (VIIe–IXe siècles en Asie Mineure," *RH*, 227, 1 (1962), 1–32 = H. Ahrweiler, *Etudes sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance*, No. IX (London, 1971), 22ff.
6. Alexander, *Nicephorus, index onomasticus*; Gouillard, "Deux figures."

produced the greatest misfortunes; they aimed to prevent genuine, Orthodox, Christians from gaining any power in the spiritual, political or social spheres. It is no wonder that our knowledge of Iconoclast geography suffers from these tendentious sources.

But they are all we have. I have gone back to them again and re-analysed them and think that the problem of the geography of the Iconoclast world, that is to say, the question of which provinces sympathised or disagreed with Iconoclasm, may be summed up by asking the following questions:
1. Did Iconoclast policy and the struggle against the Arabs preserve or damage the economic and social interests of a particular region?
2. What was the ecclesiastical colour of that region? It is obvious that at the turn of the century the policies of Rome, Constantinople and the Oriental patriarchates diverged in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; in the same way their populations had equally divergent interests.
3. Finally, what were the moral attitudes and kind of life adopted by the most prominent adherents of Iconoclast and Iconodule movements respectively? Recent research has emphasised the difference between Iconodule and Iconoclast ethics. I should particularly like to mention the very interesting study by Marie-France Rouan on the life of St. Stephen the Younger, which provides much information about Iconoclast and Iconodule behaviour in normal everyday matters.[7]

Iconoclast geography therefore should be seen as a description of zones of welcome or rejection for Iconoclastic policy in its various aspects. We must reconsider our scattered evidence from this viewpoint. So it is hardly surprising that I consider the 726 uprising of the Helladic themes, described by Theophanes, as a general reaction against Leo III's policy rather than against Iconoclasm itself, which at that time was far from being overt.[8] The destruction of the icon on the Brazen House of the Great Palace, which provoked a violent reaction among the people of the capital, seems to me insufficient grounds for a revolt which mobilised the provincial fleet and led Greek sailors against Constantinople. I am inclined to conclude that the real reason for the Greek maritime population's fight against Leo's policy was its concern to maintain commercial contacts with the Arab world. As this was the main source of their prosperity, and as the continuous struggle with the Arabs, conducted by Byzantine armies under the Isaurians, obviously put an end to Arab-Byzantine relations, the population was forced to abandon its trading activities. Indeed the main result of the Arab threat was to hinder navigation in the eastern Mediterranean, a development which excluded the inhabitants of the islands and coastlands from all profitable occupation, by sea and even by land. I have analysed the evidence for this view in a previous study, fully documented.[9] The point I would like to stress here is that, in my opinion, no possible association exists between the Iconoclast measures of Leo III and the revolt of the Greek maritime population. The uprising was crushed by the fleet of Constantinople near that City in April 726, while the destruction of the famous Brazen House icon and the subsequent mob riots against its destroyers, did not take place until late summer or autumn of that year. Add to this the fact that the real Iconoclast policy of Leo III did not start before 730.[10] Although the study of the course of events during the opening stages of Iconoclasm is still open to discussion, there is no way of associating the Greek maritime revolt with the Iconoclast policy of Leo.

When we consider the revolts in Southern Italy and the final secession of its provinces from Byzantium, recent Western and Byzantine historians have explained these events as an anti-Iconoclast reaction of the western provincial populations. Once again, I think that Iconoclasm offers only an excuse for any agitation really caused by the political and economic situation in Italy during the last quarter of the eighth century. The Franks' intervention in Italian affairs, and the motives that led the Papacy to turn from Byzantium and make an alliance with newcomers to Italian soil, hardly seem to be bound up with the Iconoclast controversy. These provinces clearly rejected Byzantine authority when they welcomed Iconodules who fled to ancient Rome and (according to Michael II in his letter to Louis the Pious)[11] calumnied the Orthodox Church, and when they refused to pay taxes to Constantinople. These events reveal, first, that Rome wished to assert her independence of Constantinople, and second that the arm of the Byzantine government, both secular and ecclesiastical, was unable to reach any outlying province which had decided to resist it.[12] Hence Italy became a centre of reaction against Iconoclasm for reasons which had little or nothing to do with the controversy over images. In Italy both local tradition and the

7. Thesis for Research Doctorate (Centre des Etudes Byzantines, Sorbonne — Université de Paris I, 1974).
8. See note 4, above.
9. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer*, 40ff.
10. Gero, *Leo III*, 94ff.
11. Mansi, XIV, cols. 417–422 (=Hennephof, *Textus*, No. 102).
12. Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 140ff; Zakythinos, *op.cit.* (note 2, above), 8–11.

eighth-century situation encouraged people to remain attached to the veneration of icons. But when Illyricum and southern Italy came under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, the Iconoclasts managed to gain control of some Italian sees. The Life of Gregory the Decapolite bears witness to the Iconoclast bishop of Otranto, who tried to prevent communication between Rome and the Orthodox faithful in Byzantium, led at the time by St. Theodore the Studite. It is through Theodore's letters that we have evidence of the good reception given to Iconodule refugees in Italy, particularly in Rome, Naples and 'Longabardia,' where priests had been ordained *akéryktoi* and *apolymenoi*.[13] They found a similar welcome in Sicily, where presbyters had been ordained by Orthodox prelates in exile. I would like to stress that the evidence for the situation in Italy, provided by Theodore's letters for the second Iconoclasm, confirm what we know from the Life of Stephen for the mid-eighth century before 765.[14] I shall develop this point further when we examine the work of Stephen's hagiographer.

As regards Italy, therefore, Orthodox clergy and laymen received a ready welcome in those western areas where Rome's influence remained strong and where Byzantine authority was challenged by the new Frankish rulers. It seems to me possible, although the sources are not explicit on this point, that the Italian people and authorities adopted the grievances of the Iconodule refugees against the policies of Constantinople because they wanted to emphasize their determination to cut the tie between the two Romes — the Old, then politically much less important than the New, wished to assert its independence. In this context Pope Gregory's decision to forbid Italians and Romans to send taxes to Constantinople, a symbolic act, provides the best evidence of this desire for independence felt by all Italians and especially their leaders. So the deterioration of Byzantine relations with the Papacy, with the Franks and with the Italians in general, may have arisen from an Italian disloyalty or separatism rather than from (as is generally believed) the Iconoclast policy of Constantinople. Theodore's letters (especially that to Pope Paschal) bear witness to the fact that Rome encouraged the Orthodox there to resist imperial measures. They lay great weight on the pre-eminence of the Roman see in all matters, so diminishing the patriarchate which was simultaneously conducting a bitter conflict with the secular power. It cannot be emphasised too often that Iconoclasm was introduced by emperors without the assent of churchmen, reflecting the imperial and secular claim to pronounce on spiritual matters. The claim was violently rejected by the Church; and, as is well known, Iconoclasm provoked yet another discussion of a very old problem: the definition of imperial and patriarchal jurisdictions.

The Studites' attitude to this conflict remains ambiguous. We need not doubt that St. Theodore was the spokesman for a new force, the monastic world, whose interests did not always correspond with those of the clergy (especially the patriarchate), and still less with those of the emperor. Monks were the target of Iconoclast persecution; they suffered at the hands of imperial agents; during the persecutions they were forced to flee from their monasteries, losing property and suffering physical injury. But they were also the most energetic defenders of images; it was they who countered the progress of Iconoclasm, especially under the direction of Theodore the Studite; they succeeded in arousing popular and foreign support, and the sufferings they endured under persecution only served to increase their power. The monastic communities henceforth became a major element of Byzantine society; but it is not our purpose to analyse this unexpected result of Iconoclasm. It should be noted that anti-monastic policy reached its height under Constantine V, who was indeed the greatest enemy of the monks. It is during Constantine's reign that the sources mention refuges for Iconodules (which were often the same as official places of exile) and regions where monasteries had been deserted and prominent supporters of icons had found martyrdom as a reward for their faith. It is necessary to analyse the geographical evidence for this period: the most important information is provided by the Life of Stephen, in a passage which presents many problems of interpretation.

In her study of the Life of St. Stephen, Marie-France Rouan tried to analyse why the areas cited by its author, the deacon Stephen, were secure places of refuge for Iconodules during the height of the persecution of the monks. The passage is well known.[16] Let us only recall that the places reviewed by Stephen are to be found in three geographical zones, all maritime: the north-east Pontic region; the Tyrrhenian and Ionian coast, connecting southern Italy and the region of Rome; and Cyprus with the south-east coast of Anatolia, which was that island's hinterland. In his list,

13. Theodore the Studite, PG, 99, col. 1281.
14. *Vita Sancti Stephani junioris*, PG, 100, cols. 1069–1186 (= Hennephof, *Textus*. No. 47–55); Gero, *Leo III*. Appendix B, 212–7.
15. PG, 99, col. 1281.
16. PG, 100, cols. 1117–1120 (= Hennephof, *Textus*, No. 51); see also Marie France Rouan, note 7,, above; Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer*, 77, note 4.

the Propontis is also mentioned as a area where Iconodules could find a welcome: one wonders if this Propontis is the Constantinopolitan one; the Straits between Cyprus and Anatolia may also be described as a Propontic entry to the open sea, and the Straits of the Cimmerian Bosphoros were certainly called Propontic.[17] If our proposed location of the Propontis in the Life is correct (i.e. the Cypriot, or the Cimmerian, Straits) it belongs to one of our three zones. But if we understand this 'Propontis' as the Sea of Marmara (which is the most usual use of the term), we have to add a fourth zone of refuge: the area around Constantinople itself.

The Life of Gregory the Decapolite tells us that the inhabitants of this Propontic region were ready to violate imperial regulations by offering lodging and protection to Iconodules persecuted by imperial agents.[18] However, apart from sporadic outbreaks of Iconodulism, it is now agreed that Iconoclasm was openly professed in Constantinople and its surrounds even by those who secretly sided with the image-venerators. As Theodore the Studite notes, "almost every soul yielded and nobody held his ground."[19] Emperors attempted to win over the population by various means, especially by threats and bribes. There is no doubt that Iconoclasm was most violent in and around the capital. But although it was implanted throughout the empire, the fact remains that its enforcement became progressively weaker in proportion to the remoteness of provinces.[20] At the time Cyprus lay under a sort of Byzantine-Arab 'condominium'.[21] Byzantine rule there was far from dominant. The northern Pontic provinces mentioned in the Life also enjoyed a real independence under their local rulers,[22] while the distant Italian provinces were carefully preparing to cut their links with the New Rome. It is easy to understand why all these regions welcomed Iconodules: imperial agents were inactive and Byzantine garrisons under imperial orders were virtually non-existent. This illustrates, once again, a well known aspect of Iconoclast success (and failure): Iconoclasm was especially important only where Byzantine government officials or military authorities were able to enforce it without provoking local opposition. All our evidence goes to show that it was the imperial official authorities who enforced active Iconoclast measures. Where the authorities exercised power without restraint,the measures took a harsh and violent form.[23]

Thus, I am inclined to conclude that Iconoclasm was above all an imperial means of control over the provinces. It remains therefore a *Constantinopolitan phenomenon* which invaded the provinces: like every important imperial decision, it was respected by the common people, but rejected by opponents of imperial policy, who often endured penalties and even torture. It was more or less violent, its vigour depending on agents' success in executing orders and on the power of its opponents to resist. In any case it ended just where Byzantine ruled ended. Cyprus, East Pontos and the Italian provinces are good examples: they were all outlying districts considered by Iconodules as ideal places of refuge for those who opposed imperial measures.

Besides the geographical evidence which the Life of St. Stephen gives us, one may add (at least as far as the second period of Iconoclasm is concerned) important information provided by St. Theodore's letters. The text has been analysed by Alexander.[24] It confirms our conclusions about the areas where Iconoclasm was practised. To this one must add one notable fact: the increasing number of monastic communities won by the Iconoclasts. To some extent this is due to a concerted attempt to convert important Iconodules. Once again I must note that our evidence does not help us to distinguish the different regions of Iconoclast and Iconodule practice. The fact is that Iconoclasts and Iconodules lived side by side throughout the empire; the difference in their attitudes was founded on social and economic factors rather than geographical, and on their fidelity to traditions rooted in differing cultures. All in all, individual attitudes, rather than geography, dictated who was Iconoclast and who was Orthodox.

If we wish to follow the development of reaction towards Iconoclasm and to determine the regions and centres of Iconoclast activity, we must remember the main lines of Iconoclast imperial policy. Our sources bear unanimous witness to their hostility to images and image-venerators. Very early on, the monks were considered as leaders of the Iconodules. They were identified as the sole internal enemy, while the Arabs represented the main external enemy. We can provisionally

17. Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, ed., L. Dindorf, VI (Leipzig, 1875), commentary.
18. F. Dvornik, *La vie de Saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IXe siècle* (Paris, 1926), 54ff.
19. Cited, with further evidence, in Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 142.
20. See note 12, above.
21. H. Ahrweiler, "Les frontières orientales de l'Empire Byzantin," *Rapports du XIVe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines* (Bucarest, 1974), 215ff. (=H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance, les pays et les territories*, No. 111 [London, 1976]).
22. A.A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).
23. For example: the *Vita S. Stephani junioris*, PG, 100, col. 1156 (for Thrace), col. 1164 (for Crete), col. 1165 (for Asia-Ephesus); Theophanes, 445–6 (= Hennephof, *Textus*, No. 13) (for Thrakesion).
24. Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 140ff; see also Alexander, *DOP* 7 (1954), 35–66.

conclude that the policy of Iconoclasm was designed to assert control over centrifugal powers within the Byzantine state. In a recent study[25] Brown tried to explain Iconoclasm as an attempt to impose centralization over centrifugalism. Without agreeing with his final analysis (in particular with his notions of the nature of holiness in Byzantine society), it seems to me that his centrifugal theory may help us understand why Iconoclast measures were used against monasteries and monks in particular. This view must be complemented by other aspects of Iconoclast policy, especially by the antagonsim felt by the Iconoclast emperors for the Arabs, as well as by their efforts to assert imperial authority over their own state, army and church.

In fact this crisis of authority seems to me to be one of the main features of pre-Iconoclast Byzantium — a view which must be analysed with great care. Even during the short-lived 'Pax Christiana,' that is to say between the end of the Christological controversies and their political outcome (the loss of the southern provinces, Egypt, Palestine, Syria), the question which divided Byzantine rulers and ruled was how the rulers were to use their powers. Rivalries between government, army, church and other interests shook the Establishment. They finally provoked anarchy, or in Simocatta's words, "the death of the Empire",[26] and all its subsequent evils. Iconoclast policy may signify a reaction to this decline; or it may be an effort to end it by making the best use of national resources. Our sources bear witness to the great realism of Iconoclast rulers; their effort is largely summed up by the *Ekloga*, Leo's compendium of laws.[27] Iconoclast imperial policy may be characterized in this way: the emperors ruled Byzantium in order to preserve the state, without attempting to revive its past glories. In other words, they cut their robes to suit what cloth-of-gold they had, adopting policies suited to their reduced powers and relinquishing utopian ideals of world domination. Their main worry was the advance of their enemies.

In an effort to stop the Arab invasions and to prevent internal disorder, the Isaurian emperors organised regular military service. In my opinion this measure is the distinctive feature of the theme system, which left its mark on the future history of Byzantium. Henceforth Byzantine recruits, rather than mercenaries, were charged with the defence of their land, and not with its expansion. They fought to protect their homeland, and as the Emperor Leo VI said, "they fought under the protection of the cross, their battle cry being 'The Cross is Victorious.' They fought for their families, their homeland and for the welfare of the whole Christian nation." The most extreme of the Iconoclast emperors declared that "the war was pure, since not one Christian was killed."

The frequent use of such terms 'nation' and 'homeland,' which appear more and more often in Byzantine texts, denote important changes in outlook, including the birth of what may be termed Byzantine nationalism, whose growth entailed a feeling of solidarity among those eastern provinces which were threatened by the Arabs. This 'nationalism' signifies the abandonment of Byzantine universalism, so cherished by the peoples of the western provinces, areas still attached to the Old Roman ideal.[28]

Byzantine nationalism grew out of a keenly felt need of the Byzantine people to create ties of solidarity against the distresses and insecurity engendered by the growing Arab threat. Once more, nationalistic feelings appeared as the result of a collective inferiority complex. Byzantine nationalism, created as a counter-weight to the infidels' success, represents a determination to defend. As the Christian faith was threatened by Islam, its defence was a very natural background to Byzantine nationalism. The Iconoclast emperors who led the struggle against the Arabs were thus considered the heroes and the champions of their faith. As is well known, the main concern of the emperors during the Iconoclast period and even later on, was to provide security, to control their destiny and to maintain a certain prosperity within the borders of the empire, which was continuously isolated by its enemies and the Arabs in particular.

The Byzantine world was obliged to yield: austerity and sacrifice were the common lot, measures required by the national emergency. Everybody had to contribute and participate in the achievement of a vast defensive policy which a number of Iconoclast emperors conducted. Many reacted against this undertaking because it conflicted with their own interests. We must deplore the fact that such an effort, conducted by Iconoclasts and supported by large parts of the Byzantine population throughout the empire, and crowned with success into the bargain, has been overshadowed by the denigration of our Iconodule sources.

25. Brown, *EHR*, 346 (1973), 1–34.
26. Simocatta, Bonn ed., 166.
27. Gero, *Leo III*, 48–58; and H. Ahrweiler, *L'Idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), 26.
28. Ahrweiler, *Idéologie*, 24ff.

During the controversy defenders and opponents of Iconoclasm had motives to explain their attitudes. These motives are not related to the geographical factors; they are attitudes conditioned by the social groups to which each belonged. But people did understand that Iconoclasm was, *sui generis*, a struggle between the two sides of Byzantium: Church and State. The old connivance and collaboration of Church and State not only conditioned Byzantium's welfare but was the basis of its very existence. The imperial decision to cut the vital links between Church and State sowed discord among the natural defenders of the empire and created confusion. This confusion accounts for the attitudes of individuals during the Iconoclast crisis; geography has little or nothing to do with the matter. In fact the moral, political and social background, fundamental to the Byzantine concept of security, was thus broken down by the Iconoclast controversy. For the common people the struggle between Church and State, expressed by Iconoclasm, was remote. It concerned the upper governmental classes only; it failed to create the unity against national enemies throughout the empire. Instead it served only to confuse ordinary Byzantines.

Here are a few examples of ambiguous attitudes. It must be emphasised that nowhere was the population entirely Orthodox or Iconoclast. In the Aegean islands and Peloponnesos, supposedly firmly attached to Iconodulism, Iconoclast churches were built during the reign of Theophilos;[29] but at the same time and in the same areas prominent figures of Orthodoxy who fled Iconoclast persecution received a ready welcome by the Greek population.[30] The monastic communities of Cappadocia, normally regarded as the natural defenders of icons, have been claimed by some (but not Ann Epstein — see Chapter XII of this book), to have decorated their churches with Iconoclast frescoes.[31] Another example of ambiguous behaviour towards Iconoclasm is given by the monks and clergy of the Isaurian Decapolis. Here we find abbots vigorously defending Iconoclast measures against Iconodule bishops,[32] while in Cilicia the natural representatives of these movements were reversed. Here an old monk defended images in a local synod against an imperial spokesman.[33] Similarly in Nicaea an icon of the Virgin was destroyed by a *strator* serving Artavasdos, who had certain Iconodule leanings.[34] Simultaneously, Nicaea is supposed to have been saved from Arab seige by the miraculous intervention of the Virgin of the Council Fathers, who appeared before a soldier, and because of the veneration shown to her image there. It should be pointed out that there was the same confusion about images during the pre-Iconoclastic period. Epiphanius of Cyprus' views against images did not in fact prevent the veneration of his own portrait by his disciples after his death.[35] Perhaps this confused situation is best epitomised by a scene recorded in the Life of St. Romanos.[36] Here Byzantine prisoners-of-war formed two mutually hostile groups of Iconodule and Iconoclast supporters within their Arab gaol. A monk led the Iconodules, while an officer was the chief Iconoclast. The two groups came to blows; peace was only restored between them by their Arab gaolers.

My conclusion is obvious. The imperial City is the birthplace, the centre and the heart of Iconoclasm. Like all other Byzantine policies and reforms, Iconoclasm is essentially Constantinopolitan. It found its defenders and opponents all over the empire and in all social strata, but only two social groups seem to have identified themselves with one or the other faction: monks were the most Iconodule, while the army was relatively Inconoclast (with some significant exceptions noted by Kaegi).[37] To this one can add that the western provinces on the whole showed Iconodule feelings while the eastern population displayed Iconoclast sympathies. Finally we can offer our own impression: the common people followed official decisions, especially in Constantinople, whereas the ranks of the traditional ruling classes remained attached to the old traditions. But this is an impression only, which must be carefully analysed and examined by other scholars. As far as I'm concerned, I shall be happy if this paper arouses discussion of one of the most significant problems in Byzantine policy during the so-called Dark Ages.

29. A. Basilakes, "Eikonomachikes Ekklēsies stē Naxo," *Delt.Christ.Arch.Et.*, 4th series, 3 (1962/3), 49–74; N.B. Dandrakes, *Byzantinai Toichographiai tēs Mesa Manēs* (Athens, 1964).
30. Niketas of the Amnia wrote the Life of St. Philaretos in Karyoupolis (Lakedaimonia); see M.-H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, "La Vie de S. Philarète," *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), 85–170.
31. Millet, *BCH*, 34 (1910), 96–100; see also recent studies by N. Thierry; for Iconoclasm and Art, see George, *Saint Eirene*; Grabar, *Iconoclasme*; Mango, *Brazen House*; and for sources dealing with art in translation, Mango, *Art*, 149–180.
32. Ed. F. Dvornik, *La Vie de Saint Grégoire le Décapolite* (Paris, 1926), 48ff.
33. See *Nouthesia gerontos peri tōn hagiōn eikonōn*, ed. Melioranskij, *Georgij i Ioann*, v–xxxix (St. Petersburg, 1910).
34. Theophanes, 414–5.
35. For Epiphianus's theory on images, see the texts collected by Hennephof, *Textus*, Nos. 111–139, and *Anthology* A5.
36. P. Peeters, "S. Romain le néomartyr († 1 Mai 780) d'après un document géorgien," *AnalBoll*, 30 (1911), 393–427.
37. W. Kaegi, "The Byzantine Armies and Iconoclasm," *Byzantinoslavica*, 27 (1966), 48–70.

V THE ROMAN CHURCH ON THE OUTBREAK OF ICONOCLASM

PETER LLEWELLYN

THIS paper sets out to examine and interpret the Roman Church and its development in the half-century or so prior to the outbreak of Iconoclasm and to assess the points of departure for its reactions to the events of the eighth century in both East and West. The progress of the Roman Church was not one of even tempo and its appearance to different eyes at any one time was not uniform; due weight must be given to the elusive, yet real and changing, corporative mentality of its personnel which is latent within its formal acts. It is argued here that the great evolutions of the eighth century, the rise of Frankish power and the iconoclast movement, may have been received in Rome more strictly within the context and habits of thought of a local, recently developed establishment than may hitherto have been allowed. So often in papal history, with its unique institutional continuity, developments which later interpretation gives a universalist significance grow from purely local considerations, while their expression in traditional language may give too strong a sense of consistency. To see the place within the Empire that Rome felt itself to have, and the constituent place of the Roman Church within Rome, may help to isolate those aspects of Iconoclasm which aroused dissent.

The growth during the seventh century of Eastern influence in the Roman Church, in its personnel, its liturgy and its art, is well known; a glance at the names, parentage and origins of the popes between 678 and 752 is often considered a sufficient indicator of the natural consequence of the presence of refugees from the Slavs, the Arabs and Monothelitism, and of the presence of an army largely recruited in the first instance from the East and settled on Italian soil.[1] There are, clearly, varying degrees to this influence; the monks, for example, who stimulated Roman resistance to Monothelitism were present at the Lateran Synod of 649 as petitioners and experts, did not form part of the close-knit corporation of the Roman clergy, around which much of the municipal as well as ecclesiastical identity of the city was now concentrated, and of course, were not responsible for the more general aspects of Roman hellenisation. This last was due to the gradual and natural penetration of Roman society by officials and soldiers and their families. But there is also discernable an influx of much more deliberate and abrupt a character, whose implications may reveal something of Rome's conception of its place within the Empire.

Among thirty-four Roman priests who attended the Synod of October 679 we find, out of fifteen with indisputably Greek names, four called Sisinnios and three called George, a high and sudden concentration of names which had not hitherto appeared among the Roman clergy and which had only the scantiest of places in Italian hagiographical tradition.[2] The two names, which are those of Eastern military saints, recur among the Roman clergy for the next generation or so. For Sisinnios, we have the pope of 708, described as a Syrian and perhaps one of the priests of 679: a *nomenclator* of 710: two priests at the Roman Synod of 721, who might on age grounds just be identifiable with priests of 679: a priest at the Synod of 732 who cannot, on grounds of seniority, be identified with any of those of 679: a priest, from an undated epitaph, who might be any of the four: in sum, at least six and perhaps ten occurrences of this name over 50 years.[3] To the three Georges of 679, we may add a priest (perhaps one of them) and the *secundicerius* of 710, and a number of eighth century Roman clerics and bishops of the neighbourhood of the city.[4]

The interest of these names lies in the pattern of their general distribution, in both time and geography. Taking their incidence among bishops,[5] we find that of 24 occurrences of Sisinnios, one

1. The latest and fullest account of Hellenism in the West is that of Cyril Mango, "La culture grecque et l'Occident au VIIIe siècle" in *I Problemi dell'occidente nel Secolo VIII* (Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano sull' Alto Medioevo, 20, 1972) (Spoleto, 1973) III, 683–721.
2. W. Levison, "Die Akten der römischen Synode von 679," *Z Sav*, 33, (1912), *Kanonistische Abteilung*, 2, 265 ff. A *comes* Sisinnios features in the *Passio Chrysogoni*, but the cult of Chrysogonos was a fifth century importation into Rome from Aquileia; in the *Gesta Clementis*, a Sisinnios is a friend of Nerva, but this legend draws heavily from that of Clement of Cherson. A. Dufourcq, *'Etudes sur les Gesta Martyrum romains*, I (Paris, 1904–10), 121–2, 160ff. Pope Leo II (682–3) established the feast of St. George in Rome, but the first legend of George in the West is simply an adaptation of the, possibly sixth century, *Passio* of St. Gregory of Spoleto.
3. Pope Sisinnios, *natione Syrus*, but with no information on his clerical career, *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1955), = LP, I, 388; LP, I, 389; Mansi, Xii, col. 265; LP, I, 422, n. 13: de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, II, 65, note 17. Also to be noted are the Sisinnioi, bishops of Gabii and Ostia in 732, who may well be promoted Roman priests.
4. LP, I, 389. To provide a rough scale of proportions, the names of 89 Roman clerics, securely datable to the seventh century (604–715), are known.
5. The count is taken from P.B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, (Ratisbon, 1873).

is perhaps of the third century and one of the sixth; nine are of the late seventh century, eight of the late eighth and five of the late ninth century. Geographically, seventeen of these twenty-four (and six of the nine late seventh century instances) are from the provinces of south-west Anatolia and the Aegean sea-board: Cilicia, Isauria, Asia, Pisidia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia and the Cyclades. From the same material we find 58 instances of George, divided as follows: one from the fourth century and three from the sixth: twenty-six in the seventh century, eleven in the eighth and fourteen in the ninth. Of the twenty six seventh-century occurrences, thirteen are from that same group of provinces. It is suggested that these concentrations are to be related to shifts in population and specifically to the establishment after *ca.* 636 of the army groups Anatolikon and Thrakesion, and perhaps of *Karabisianoi*, a suggestion which is supported by the pattern of the scantier secular occurrences of these names.[6] The popularity of George, in particular, may have owed much to the troops of the former *MM. per Orientem.* It was from these commands that Constans II drew contingents for the army which he brought to the West in 661–2 to provide the nucleus for the defence and control of southern Italy and Sicily.

The concentrated appearance of these names in Rome reflects a special influx into the city, and into its clerical body, under special conditions, from a precisely defined source under close government control. From the tentative identifications made with later clerics and from the only other indications available, the *cursus* of Popes Conon and Sergios, it may be postulated that these were young men and that there was some accelerated promotion through the clerical grades.[7] Certainly, the influx produced tensions within both the clerical body and in Rome as a whole; resentment at strangers holding enviable positions and enjoying Roman clerical privileges, disputed papal elections in 686 and 687, and the necessity for unprecedentedly large donations to the clergy as a whole, may be mentioned.[8] Yet these internal tensions arose during a period of progressive easing by the imperial government of the controls and restrictions it had exercised over the Roman Church, in recognition in part, perhaps, of Vitalian's use of his influence in the suppression of the revolt of Mezezius in 668 but also in the establishment of a new system of government. Agatho (678–81) gained a reduction in the fees for a pope's consecration and Benedict II (684–5) the abolition of the requirement of imperial permission for a pope's consecration, an important protection for the Roman Church from imperial pressure at those vulnerable moments of papal vacancy.[9] In 685 the custom, as it was thought, was revived of electing the pope in the Lateran basilica by, or at any rate in the presence and with the approval of, the general populace.[10] It was the long pontificate of Sergios (687–701) which permitted a large measure of integration between the newcomers and established Roman tradition.[11]

6. Cf. the naval commander Sisinnios in the *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*, PG, 116, col. 1369C, and the *kommerkiarios* George, in Caria and Lycia in the 660s (Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 264, 735).

7. The latest regulations were those of the fifth century, which laid down that a *lector* admitted in infancy must serve until he is twenty, and an older entrant to the clergy for at least five years as *lector* or exorcist, until eligible for further orders: four years must be spent as acolyte or subdeacon, before advancing to the diaconate (minimum age, twenty-five) or priesthood (minimum age, thirty). Conon could have qualified on these terms: he does not feature among the priests of 679 and may have been ordained by Agatho (678–81) or by Leo II on 27 June, 683 (LP, I, pp. 355, 360, 362 note 11). If Conon's father were from the Thrakesion contingent, he could not have settled in Sicily before 662; Conon was "edocatus apud Siciliam," which implies several years, before coming to Rome, say in the late 660s, which would allow him at least ten years' service before becoming a priest.

On the other hand, Sergios, "natione Syrus, Antiochae regionis, ortus ex patre Tiberio in Panormo Siciliae," came to Rome in the time of Pope Adeodatus (672–6), was educated in the *Schola Cantorum*, became an acolyte and then progressed through all the grades until ordained priest by Leo II, in 683. A puzzling phrase of his *Vita*, refers to Conon's death in 687 as "post septennium vero," which Duchesne refers back to Sergios' ordination as acolyte in 680–1, which, if correct, makes his priestly ordination premature.

It is worth noting that, from the ordination figures supplied by LP for Popes Vitalian, Adeodatus, Donus and Agatho (657–81), the majority of priests of 679 would have been ordained within the previous seven years, the average rate of ordination 657–683 was 2·5 p.a. No ordinations are recorded for 684–7, and Sergios ordained 18, that is 1·3 p.a. for his pontificate, or just over 1·0 p.a. from 683. The explanation may well be the younger age of those ordained in the 670s.

8. The appointment by Conon of the Syracusan deacon Constantine to be rector of the patrimony of Sicily, with the privilege of the *mappula*, LP, I, 369; the dispute of 686 between clerical and army candidates, the archpriest Peter and the priest Theodore, LP, I, 368: that of the following year, between Theodore, by then archpriest, and the archdeacon Paschal, LP, I, 371; noting on each occasion the contrast between a Greek name and one established in Rome. Agatho's extravagant donations to the clergy of all grades which, acting as treasurer, he was perhaps able to make more freely (LP, I, 350).

9. LP, I, 354, 363: the latter decree was, of course, addressed to the military laity as well as the clergy. During the seventh century the imperial authorities had several times taken advantage of a papal vacancy to exert pressure, e.g. in 638 on the death of Honorius, when the Lateran was pillaged and permission to consecrate Severinus was delayed for seventeen months while papal representatives argued over acceptance of the *Ecthesis*, and in 681–2, when permission to consecrate Leo II was delayed a similar period, to win approval of Honorius' condemnation.

10. LP, I, 366. From the sixth century, papal inductions had taken place in St. Peter's. Revival of the Lateran for this purpose must reflect a shift in the public standing of the pope and papacy, for the Lateran, in the late fourth century, had been held to possess a special *qualitas loci* for papal succession.

11. Sergios had received his education in the *Schola Cantorum*, on the importance of which as a focus of exclusively Roman tradtion around the ceremonial person of the pope, see S.J.P. van Dijk, "The Urban and Papal rites in VIIth and VIIIth century Rome," *Sacris Erudiri*, 12 (1961), 411–487.

These developments reflect a new accommodation reached under Constantine IV, whereby a greater devolution of authority was allowed to local communities in Italy. In the main this crystallised around the existing clerical organisations, which alone had the resources and the following to provide stability.[12] But, while the outward appearance of jurisdiction was increasingly vested in the person of the pope, this was not the establishment of a motley-shod clerical viceroyalty such as that of Cyrus of the Phasis; the Constantinian accommodation, achieved probably by the mid-680s, assumed the establishment of the military as a constituent *ordo* in local and indeed in wider affairs.[13] The sudden introduction of so many clerics from a military source, whether a result of direct imperial pressure or no, was a necessary stage in the implementing of this policy.

This accommodation marks also a new stage in the papacy's relationship with local society. Until the Justinianic reconquest, popes had been selected from a narrow field by a restricted process; in the main, they were chosen from the deacons, the pope's personally selected assistants, and were frequently former archdeacons, probably the elected seniors of their colleagues, while the influence of the previous pope marked out, if it did not actually dictate, the choice of a successor.[14] Papal interregna were short and the succession was arranged domestically; few popes had family connections with the aristocracy, whose ecclesiastical patronage, if any, was confined to the semi-independant *tituli*. From the mid-sixth century papal appointments were placed more squarely in the context of imperial policies; many popes were former *apokrisiarioi* in Constantinople, acquainted with government thinking, sometimes out of sympathy with Roman society. They were used by the government as immediate agents in Italy and the means adopted to influence or control the Roman Church were correspondingly direct; interregna were long and often prolonged.[16] It is in the reign of Constantine IV that we see the emergence of the popular pope, the pope whose appointment is made and confirmed locally and whose authority is now derived in part from the community as well as from apostolic and Petrine doctrine. It is a ceremonial, representative and constitutional authority; popes no longer devote such time to the instruction of the people by homilies in the city churches or to celebrating in the suburban cemeteries, but develop the more formal stational observances in which the regional notables take an integral part. City officials take a large and recognised share in a newly-developed aspect of church life, the *diaconiæ*. As papal ceremonial is elaborated, its performance can in turn be increasingly delegated.[17] For the first time, we have a close association between the ruling clerical and military *ordines* and the beginnings of the nexus, fully developed in the eighth century, of Lateran and civic policies, careers and families.[18]

For the Roman Church, the settlement of the Monothelete controversy in 680–1 had been a qualified success only; on the universalist issue, Honorius had been condemned, whatever reports were circulated in the West, and Petrine *magisterium* had not been unequivocally vindicated. The emphasis given by late seventh-century popes to the continuing apostolicity and unfailing purity of Rome may be largely a matter of reaction by the now ascendant secular clergy to the series of compromises suffered earlier under Gregorian churchmanship; there is, after all, a clear acceptance and approval of imperial direction in ecclesiastical affairs, and of an emperor who, while tactfully

12. P.A.B. Llewellyn, "The Roman Church in the Seventh Century: the Legacy of Gregory the Great,' *JEH*, 35 (1974), 363–380.

13. Cf. the decree cited above (note 9, LP, I, 363), sent, "ad venerabilem clerum et populum atque felicissimum exercitum Romanae civitatis," as well as the joint acceptance of the *mallones capillorum* of Justinian and Heraclius, the sons of Constantine IV, and, later, the *jussio* of Justinian II to Conon in 687, (Dölger, *Regesten*, No. 254).

14. No priest was elected pope between 432 (Sixtus III) and 533 (John II). Jerome, *Ep.* (PL, 22, col. 1080): "diaconi eligant de se, quem industriam noverint, et archidiaconum vocent." On papal influence in the choice of a successor in the early sixth century, H. Leclercq, "Elections épiscopales" in *DACL*, IV, (Paris, 1921), cols. 2623–2629.

15. The only popes, or indeed clergy of any rank, with possible connection among the senatorial class are Vigilius (537–555), whose father was a *consularis* (of whom nothing further is known); whose brother was a senator, and who married his niece Vigilia to an Asterius: Honorius (625–38), whose father Petronius was a *consularis* from Campania: Severinus (640), whose father Abienus, it has been suggested, was a member of a senatorial family (J. Matthews, "Continuity in a Roman Family: the Rufii Festi of Volsinii," *Historia*, 16 (1967), 505). More typical of Roman clerical families was that of Gregory the Great, which served the Roman Church at all levels for 150 years without entering into high civic office until the period of the Senate's decline. Although the Senate in 483 had attempted to reassert patronage and control over the Roman Church, it could not prevent the elections of men like Gelasius and Symmachus, strangers to Rome and antipathetic to senatorial traditions.

16. The average durations of papal interregna, as given by LP, are of interest: 401–523, 11 days; 555–683 (death of Leo II), 191 days; 685–772, 44 days.

17. The archetype of the *Paduensis* sacramentary, which was probably produced in Rome early in 683, shows a decline in papal celebration at the cemeteries. The performance of Lateran liturgies by the seven *episcopi cardinales ebdomadarii*, representing the pope, is first attested under Stephen III (768–72), whom the *Liber Pontificalis* describes as showing great concern for the liturgical traditions of the Roman Church.

18. Cf. Plato, the father of John VII (705–7), *curopalates* in Rome and a former military and naval commander (LP, I, 385, 386 note 1); the family of the *primikerios* Christopher, and the career of Theodotos, uncle of Hadrian I, and successively consul, duke and *primikerios* of the Roman Church (LP, I, 514, note 2).

editing his Roman correspondence, applied to himself more of the terminologies of the priest-king than had any other. To Constantine IV had been applied the role of God's colleague in the kingdom, of the foundation rock and of the Good Shepherd; Constantinople was Sion and the gates of Hell would not prevail against the Orthodox Empire.[19] Roman ecclesiology in these years, it is said, swung away from the theme of patriarchal consensus, as held by Pelagius I and Gregory I, and reverted to the assertiveness of the Roman norm of the fifth century;[20] externally, this is possible, for the Petrine legend had been built up strongly outside Rome, the theme developing through Chintilla's dedications of the 630s, to the foundations by Honorius' friend Amandus, to the Synod of Whitby and Aldhelm of Malmesbury's collection of Roman inscriptions.

But this interest in and concentration on the Roman need not have been fully representative of Roman preoccupations. The benefits of 680–1 had been local. Peace with the Lombards had been followed by the final eradication of Arianism in the duchy of Benevento, by the appearance of bishops in Rome from central and southern Italy, by the re-establishment, in effect, of the pope's metropolitan jurisdiction over suburbicarian Italy. Shortly after, the old humiliations of the Three Chapters Schism were to be wiped away. At the same time, old preoccupations reasserted themselves. Rome was now faced by one Patriarchate, its old rival for jurisdiction which now, through the recent geographical concentration of the Empire, was acquiring the firm and settled identity through practice and customs which would be codified soon in the complement of Constantinople III, the Quinisext Council. Rome's own ecclesiastical identity, perhaps in as much jeopardy of dilution through immigration as earlier in the century it had been through monasticising, needed new affirmation and definition. The decrees of the Quintext are rejected; new honour is paid to Leo the Great, the figure of Rome's Orthodoxy in all Chalcedonian controversies, the defender of Rome against the pretensions of Constantinople and the preacher of the assimilation of civic tradition to religious practice.[21]

It is within this domestic context, rather than within any scheme of universalism, that the Roman reactions to the events of the eighth century must in some measure be set, however Roman habits of thought were taken up and interpreted elsewhere. In briefly surveying the record of Roman contacts with the West, we may note how the drive to create a great Christian power which could in some measure compare with the Empire is not merely extra-Roman but is achieved in large measure against Roman inertia or actual obstruction. It is the kings, Luitprand and the Franks, who take up the challenge of Iconoclasm as a function of their kingship. Rome continued to look to the lesser states and the *principes*, of Aquitaine, Bavaria, Spoleto and Benevento, as the most suitable and promising media for the creation of a Christian society, and as the proper area for its influence.[22] The control of established churches, like that of Gaul, did not concern the Roman Church, whose function was to provide a moral and legislative norm for those that were emerging. Here could be applied specifically Roman practices; so, Boniface was to some degree incorporated into the Roman clergy, and Bavaria could be permitted to adopt Roman liturgical practices, which were, as Gregory II wrote to his legates, an icon, a *figura* of the Roman Church. But the aid given by the Roman Church to the Romanisation of the Frankish Church was minimal, almost grudging; few, and often inappropriate liturgical books were offered, and the *schola cantorum*, which more than any single institution expressed the new Rome, clerical and municipal, of the Constantinian accommodation, seems actually to have sabotaged Frankish attempts to adopt its mysteries.[23] The reconstruction of metropolitan provinces and authority may also be seen to have been specifically within a current Byzantine frame of order and thought. The seventh and eighth centuries, with all their redrawing of boundaries and changes in administrative structure, show us, for the first time in the history of the Church in the Roman Empire, ecclesiastical organisation failing to conform instinctively to new civil circumscriptions. The old Diocletianic structure is perpetuated in the Eastern Church and revived in the West by Boniface, drawing on the experiences of men with the background of Theodore of Tarsos.

But it is clearly within Italy that the characteristics of this newly-evolved society's reaction to the events of the eighth century may best be observed. The fortunes of the various constituents of

19. O. Bertolini, "Dal VI all VII Concilio ecumenico: problemi giurisdizionali e riflessi politici in Italia delle controversie dottrinali," *Italia Sacra*, 20: = Atti del convegno storico itereclesiale (Bari, 1969), I, 135–151.
20. E.g. Karl F. Morrison, *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church 300–1140* (Princeton, 1969), 140–152.
21. LP, I, 375. C. Lepelley, 'S. Léon le Grand et la cité romaine,' *RSR*, 35 (1961), 130–150.
22. See for example, K.F. Werner, "Les principautés periphériques dans le monde franc du VIIIe siècle" in *I problemi dell 'Occidente nel secolo VIII* (cited in note 1), II, 483–514.
23. C. Vogel, "Saint Chrodegang et les débuts de la romanisation du culte en pays francs" in *Saint Chrodegang: Communications presentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort* (Metz, 1967), 91–109; S.J.P. van Dijk,"Papal Schola versus Charlemagne," *Organicae Voces: Festschrift Joseph Smits van Waesberghe* (Amsterdam, 1963), 21–30.

mainland imperial Italy display markedly similar fortunes. In the Veneto, for example, which since the destruction of Opitergum by the Lombards in the 660s had been confined to the lagoon area as a scatter of small and only loosely grouped settlements, it was probably the needs of defence against resurgent Lombard power, rather than defection from an Iconoclast Empire which led the inhabitants to elect a duke: Gregory II fully accepted the concept of the local provincial community's authority. But the tenor of Leo III's rule in Italy, and the reasons for Italian dissent, is shown in the Exarch Eutychios' resumption of direct control in 736–7, through a series of annually appointed *magistri militum*. In Ravenna, also, had been acquired the capacity for effective local action, manifested on the occasions of renewed and violent imperial intervention which infringed the late seventh century convention.

The occasions when Italy, and especially Rome, came into conflict with imperial authority, both before and after the accession of Leo III and the promulgation of Iconoclasm, show similar patterns. When Justinian II sent the *protospatharios* Zacharias to coerce Pope Sergios into acceptance of the Quinisext, it was the hostility of the army of Ravenna and Pentapolis, and of the people of Rome, which was first aroused by this intrusion into the delicate area of recovery of local identity; it is the pope who acts personally to protect the imperial envoy and representative of ultimate, if misapplied, authority from abuse.[24] A few years later, Pope Constantine acted similarly, as a constitutional leader of a mixed society with a concern not to be involved in purely factional struggles; when the announcement of the Monothelite Philippikos' accession sparked off civil disorder and fighting in the heart of Rome, when the parties attached overtly confessional labels to themselves, the pope sends his clergy to intervene, to maintain order but not to lead a movement of protest.[25] It is difficult here to see any 'emancipation plan' of the papacy. Even less, can one see such a plan receiving impetus from Leo III's doctrinal stance. The generation of Gregory II, which first faced Iconoclasm in Rome, was a generation which had grown up with and become accustomed to the Constantinian accommodation of the 680s, accepted it and its concomitants, the lessened impact of immediate imperial authority, the peace with the Lombards, the recovery of the local prestige and influence of St. Peter and his Church, and the mixed society of Rome, as things natural and desirable, as the ground base for social, political and diplomatic thought. There could be disruptions to this, by Justinian II, for example, or by a newly-succeeded Emperor, such as Tiberios III, anxious to assert himself by a show of force. But the Roman experience may well have been that these were ephemeral phenomena; Justinian II had transgressed the accommodation but could re-establish it, and the future Pope Gregory II could travel to Constantinople and witness a pope's reception by an emperor with all the honours of a Caesar, the final seal on that accommodation, and could talk to and impress an emperor on matters close to Rome's self-esteem. The first years of Leo III's reign may have strengthened the Roman conviction that the Western accommodation was successful; that Gregory II could co-ordinate local affairs, as Gregory I had thought he could do and as John VI had done in 702 on the occasion of Gisulf of Benevento's attack on Rome, more satisfactorily than imperial commanders acting on directives issued from the capital. In imperial eyes, the government of Rome, including the papacy, remained a relic of the previous order, such as had produced an equilibrium of power in Italy, only temporarily disrupted during the collapse of the Heraclian dynasty. On the one hand, Leo III may not have appreciated the strength of the system of the 680s, which allowed Rome to show a remarkable consistency in continuing that policy towards equilibrium; on the other, Rome's experience, after the first abrupt shocks of a militarily-minded regime, was a hopeful one; not only had previous military men, Justin I and Phokas, favoured Rome, but also, the precedents remained for the re-establishment of the Constantinian system.

Re-established it was; Eutychios, whose second term as exarch was the longest of any imperial official in Italy, perhaps best summarises the hopes of the papacy in the acceptance of that system; Constantine V, no less an Iconoclast than his father, was able to establish perfectly workable relations with Rome, which proceed from the principles of the 680s while accepting the changes forced by Lombard revival.[27] In all this, the horizon of Roman historical experience was strictly the period of recovery from the height of the Monothelite crisis, and Rome's sense of isolation in the 640s and 650s from its natural milieu in the *oecumene*; what Rome struggles for is its place in the

24. LP, I, 373–4.
25. LP, I, 392: I cannot understand how this incident can be interpreted as "the papacy making common front with the Roman populace against the imperial garrison" (W. Ullmann, *A short history of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), 65): our only account, in LP, makes clear that the Romans took the initiative in non-recognition, and that Constantine's action was essentially one of arbitration.
26. LP, I, 389–90.
27. Cf. O. Bertolini, "I rapporti di Zaccaria con Constantino V e con Artavasdo nel racconto del biografo e nella probabile realtà storica' ", *Archivio della Societa romana di storia patria*, 78 (1955).

Roman Empire which Constantine IV had given it, and the society which had evolved therewith.

When the diplomatic effort to do so is begun, it is in terms taken from this Constantinian era that appeals are made; the Romans as Peter's especial people are presented in the context of local constitutional development, while the pope travelling as representative of imperial Italy is received as the Good Shepherd, according to principles most forcibly pronounced, for himself, by Constantine IV. The defence of imperial Italy, the maintenance of its cohesion and that of the *territoria* of its constituent cities, were not for Rome revolutionary moves.[28] If we look for a revolution in eighth century Italy, we must look first to the government of Leo III which sought, in imposing a more direct rule, to revoke local privileges, and, then, secondly, to the interpretations placed upon these privileges and upon the legal authority of their expression, by extra-Roman habits of thought. Slowly, eighth century Rome responded and fell in with these interpretations where necessary;[29] but it remained true to that sense of exclusive identity which had first emerged in the 680s. The Roman and papal response to Leo III and Iconoclasm was measured against the standards of that settlement; local prestige restored and ecclesiological status conformable to that of a patriarchate within the Empire. The reaction of Gregory II to the imposition of taxes, or the alteration of the traditional spheres of jurisdiction, differs little from that of John the Almsgiver at the moment of Persian invasion. In the long term the historical memory of Constantine the Great, and the accretion of legendary privileges and rights conferred on Rome, would overshadow that of Constantine IV and actual accommodation achieved, just as the universalist view of Peter as both key-bearer and connecting historical link between the churches of the West, overshadowed in the interpretation of events the domestic view of Peter as the icon of a church and society within the Empire.

28. Paul Afiarta was sent by Hadrian I to Constantinople for sentencing (LP, I, 490), just as Gregory II sent the head of Tiberius Petasius (LP, I, 408–9).

29. In such approaches as that of D.H. Miller, "The Roman Revolution of the Eighth Century: the Ideological Background of the Papal Separation from Byzantium and Alliance with the Franks," *MedSt*, 36 (1974), 78–133, there is a tendency to seek the historical grounds for separation or ecclesiological independence as far back as the fifth century. This is, of course, a valid approach but it can obscure much of the practical mentality of the society in which Roman churchmen lived and by which they were conditioned. For example, the statement by M.V. Anastos, "for the Papacy theology was always a primary consideration" ("Leo III's Edict," 5–41), places too much of papal activity on an ethical level. The Roman Church was quite capable of the practice of *oikonomia*; mention of Iconoclasm is dropped from the *Liber Pontificalis* after Leo III's re-assignment of Sicily and Illyricum to Constantinople.

VI THE ARTS DURING THE AGE OF ICONOCLASM

ROBIN CORMACK

MY aim in this paper is to survey the arts in the period from 726 to 843, not to discuss the theory of images. Like any other period in the history of art, there are limitations in the evidence of surviving works and written sources.[1] A small number of the major buildings survive, which show it to be an influential time for Byzantine architecture. The position in monumental decoration is more obscure, and only one dated illustrated manuscript is extant.

Two surviving episcopal churches show the possible scale of work that could be achieved during the period. The church of St. Eirene was substantially rebuilt on Justinianic foundations after its devastation in the earthquake of 740,[2] and the church of St. Sophia in Salonica was erected over an earlier basilica as the new cathedral of that city between 780 and 797.[3] The massive new domed church in Salonica was presumably designed to impress the Slavonic settlers of Greece with the power of Byzantine imperial Christianity in this unconquered city, and also to emphasize to the citizens their required orientation to Constantinople, not Rome, in ecclesiastical affairs.

The study of Iconoclastic art is hindered by three main factors, not all of which are connected with the ideologies of the age. The first factor is simply the distance in time from us, and the consequent erosion of monuments. There is a paradox, however, for in Istanbul and its surroundings virtually as much material has survived from the Iconoclastic period as from the tenth century, a century generally emphasized as more important in the history of art. One would not expect Iconoclastic

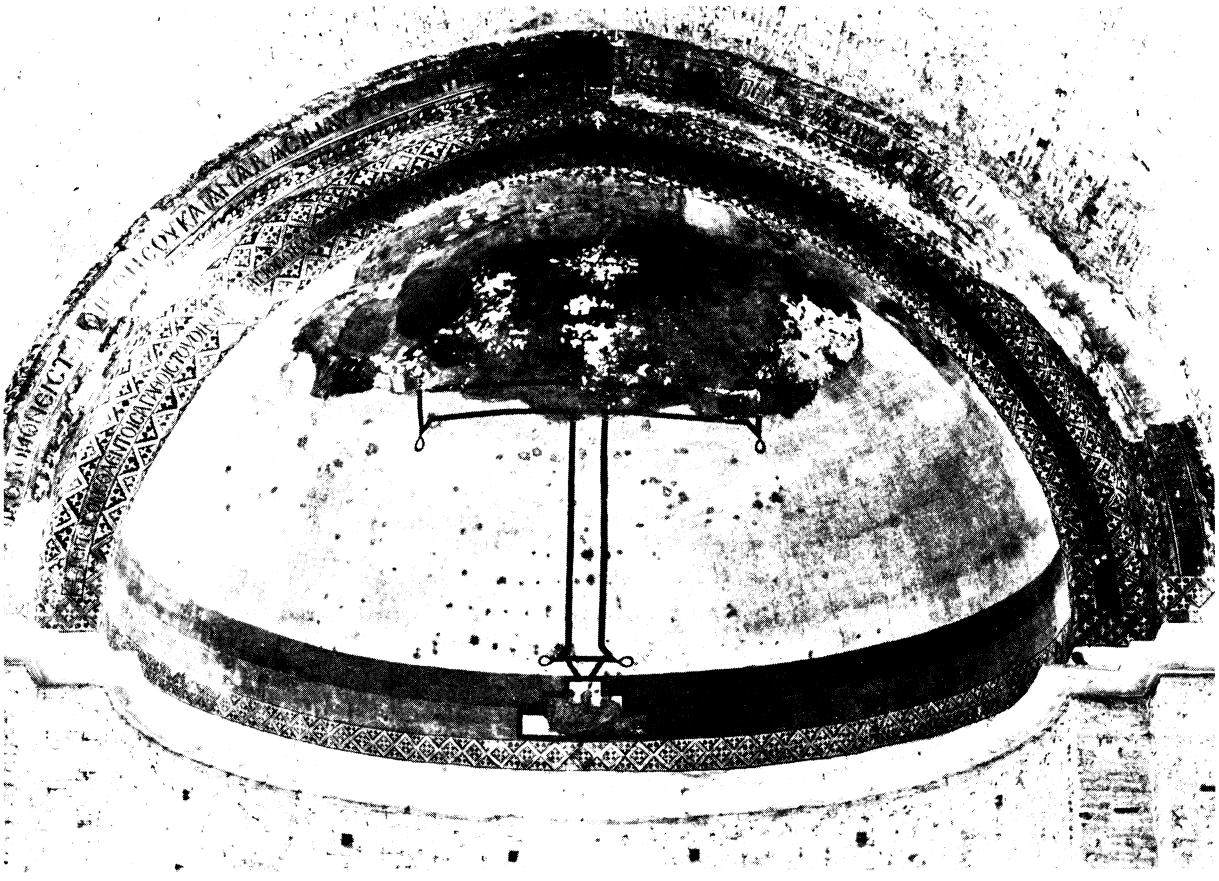


Fig 2. Apse of St. Eirene, Istanbul. Photo: Courtauld Institute.

1. For methodology, see E. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the period between Justinian and Iconoclasm," *Berichte zum XI Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958); Grabar, *Iconoclasme*; and Mango, *Art*.
2. George, *Saint Eirene*. A new study by U. Peschlow is in preparation.
3. R.S. Cormack, *Ninth Century Monumental Painting and Mosaic in Thessaloniki* (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1968); cf. J.-M. Speiser, "Les Inscriptions de Thessalonique," *TM*, 5 (1973), 145–80, esp. 159.

monuments to contain much material surviving in good condition from a time of execution over eleven centuries ago, but two 'Great Churches' of the period do preserve some indications of their appearance. In St. Eirene, apart from the large mosaic cross (never replaced with a figure in the apse (Fig.2), there are fragments of a non-figurative fresco decoration recently uncovered in the south aisle; the prominence of the crosses here supports an eighth-century date. Fragments of marble plaques, no longer in position but broken up some time after 1453, survive as bases for the present disturbed north aisle colonnade. Their decoration with a monogram of Constantine suggests that these formed part of a decoration of between 741 and 775, perhaps a new templon screen to replace one shattered by falling masonry.[4] In St. Sophia in Salonica, some of the original mosaics of the sanctuary survive: for example, the decoration of crosses in the barrel vault above the dating monograms of Constantine and Eirene (Fig. 3), and the relics of the apse scheme of a large cross

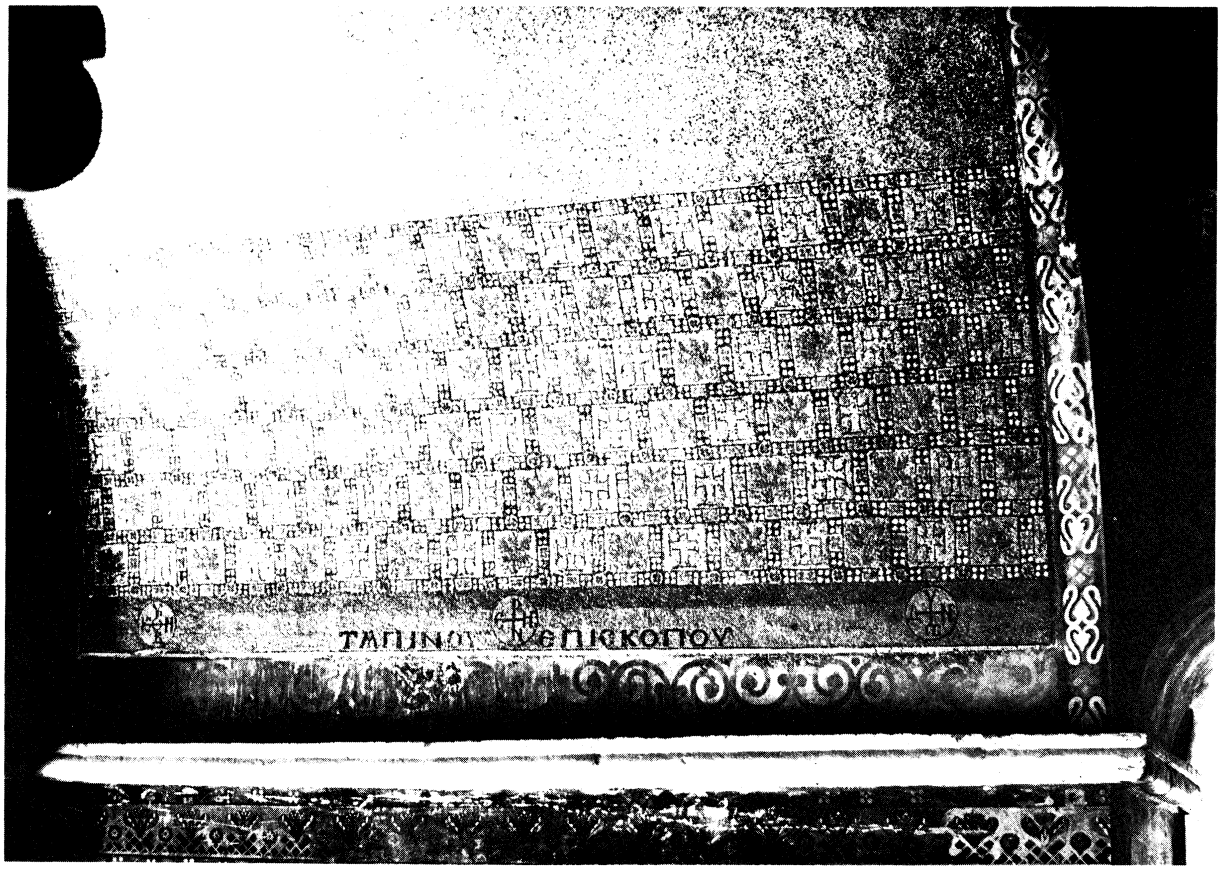


Fig. 3. South side of the sanctuary vault of St. Sophia, Salonica. Photo: Courtauld Institute.

against a gold ground (replaced by the present Virgin and Child in the second quarter of eleventh century, according to my interpretation of the style) (Fig. 4). The structure suffered extensive damage in the fire of 1890, and the building was only consolidated in 1908 after some years of neglect, from when the incorrectly restored roofing of the galleries dates. To this restoration belongs the present wall decoration, which was executed then as an appropriate scheme for an early twentieth-century mosque.[5] See Figs. 5–6.

The second factor inhibiting the existence of Iconoclastic art is historical. Byzantium was struggling for its continued existence under the threat of Arab and Slavonic pressures. Day-to-day living was also threatened by an alarming number of natural catastrophes – several earthquakes (including the massive one of 740), volcanic eruptions, and plague. Consequently, the priority for building activities during the eighth century must have been defensive works and essential projects. Presumably, repairs to the walls of Constantinople by Leo III and Constantine V must have taken priority in 740 over the reconstruction of St. Eirene or the repair of St. Sophia (where work was

4. T. Ulbert, "Untersuchungen zu den byzantinischen Reliefplattern des 6 bis 8 Jahrunderts," *IstMitt*, 19/20 (1969/1970), 338–57, esp. 349–50, and taf. 72.
5. H. Buchwald, *The Church of the Archangels in Sige near Mudania* (Graz, 1969), esp. 40, discusses the original appearance of St. Sophia.



Fig. 4. Apse of St. Sophia, Salonica. Photo: R. Cormack, Courtauld Institute.

postponed until 768/9). The walls needed further attention during the reign of Theophilos.[6] Another work in this category was undertaken by Constantine V after the drought of 766. He resolved to restore the Aqueduct of Valens, which had been ruined over a century before by Avars in the reign of Heraclius, and imposed heavy taxes to pay for the operation. According to Theophanes, Constantine hired vast numbers of workers.[7]

The quantity of new church building and normal maintenance work must have been reduced in these times of military and economic crisis, and the great amount of building and repair undertaken by Basil I in the second half of the ninth century, as recorded in the *Vita Basilii*, can be taken as a confirmation of neglect during Iconoclasm. This is not to say that no prestige building was undertaken in the period, for even the delegates to the Council of Nicaea in 787 admitted that the Iconoclasts dedicated churches – the Council complained that such monuments had not received relics at the time of foundation.[8] The economic consideration may have influenced emperors that the State might be able to promote employment by financing building works.

The third factor is the Iconoclastic policy in attacking the monks. Even if the claim that the 'reduction of the power of the monks is the key to most Iconoclastic policy' is an exaggeration (which Ostrogorsky had warned against),[9] yet these attacks must have reduced, though not eliminated, one area of substantial patronage of the period before Iconoclasm. There is evidence that monks were a considerable factor in the production of art in the sixth and seventh centuries; for example, the vast gold treasure of the Monastery of Sion in south Asia Minor (now divided between the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and the Dumbarton Oaks Collection), or the encaustic icons acquired by the monks on Mount Sinai (several, though not all, of great quality), or the high-quality frescoes which decorated the church of the Greek monastic Diaconia of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome. The *Vita* of St. Theodore of Sykeon portrays an Anatolian monk who prayed to icons, and who could commission a silver chalice from Constantinople.

6. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1950), 245–82.
7. Theophanes, 440. Most of the workers came from Thrace, where Constantine also repaired a bridge: C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Three inscriptions of the reigns of Anastasius I and Constantine V," *BZ*, 65 (1972), 379–93, esp. 384ff.
8. Canon VII.
9. The quotation is from Brown, *EHR*, 346 (1973), 1–34; but see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 2nd English ed. (Oxford, 1968), 174, n.2.

Monastic investment of money in art must have been reduced in the eighth century, but there is evidence of recovery under Empress Eirene, and in the first half of the ninth century, particularly in Bithynia.



Fig. 5. St. Sophia, Salonica, from the north-east, as in 1890. Photo: Courtauld Institute.

Artistic profile of the period

With these historical factors in mind, it is possible to sketch out the pattern of production.

Before his declaration of Iconoclasm, Leo III seems to have commissioned figurative painting: Patriarch Germanos describes 'the icon in front of the palace' on which the Emperor represented the likenesses of the apostles and the prophets, and where were written their utterances about God, proclaiming the cross of salvation to be the proud ornament of their faith.[10] After his destruction of the portable icon of Christ on the Chalke Gate, there is no clear evidence that Leo III put up a cross in its place – though this seems likely.

The next moment of artistic patronage recorded in Constantinople is the temporary restoration of images under the usurper Artavasdos; some work is presumably to be deduced between June 741 and November 742, though specific information is lacking.

The reign of Constantine V showed a definite upsurge in artistic activity, for even the overt acts of Iconoclasm represent the employment of artists and builders. After the Council of 754, the *Vita* of St. Stephen the Younger records the scraping down of images, but also the giving of 'greater lustre' to pictures of trees, birds, or beasts, and of horse-races, hunts, theatrical and hippodrome scenes. In the Church of the Virgin of Blachernae, a cycle of the life of Christ was removed, but Constantine did commission mosaics representing trees, birds, beasts, ivy scrolls and such motifs. In the Milion, the scene of the prominent political use of the icon at the beginning of the eighth century under both Philippikos and Anastasios II, Constantine obliterated the representations of the six Church Councils and substituted a picture of a horse race and his favourite charioteer, called Ouranikos.[11]

10. This is the dating maintained by Mango, *Brazen House*, 112 ff.
11. For the sources, see Mango, *Art*, 149 ff.

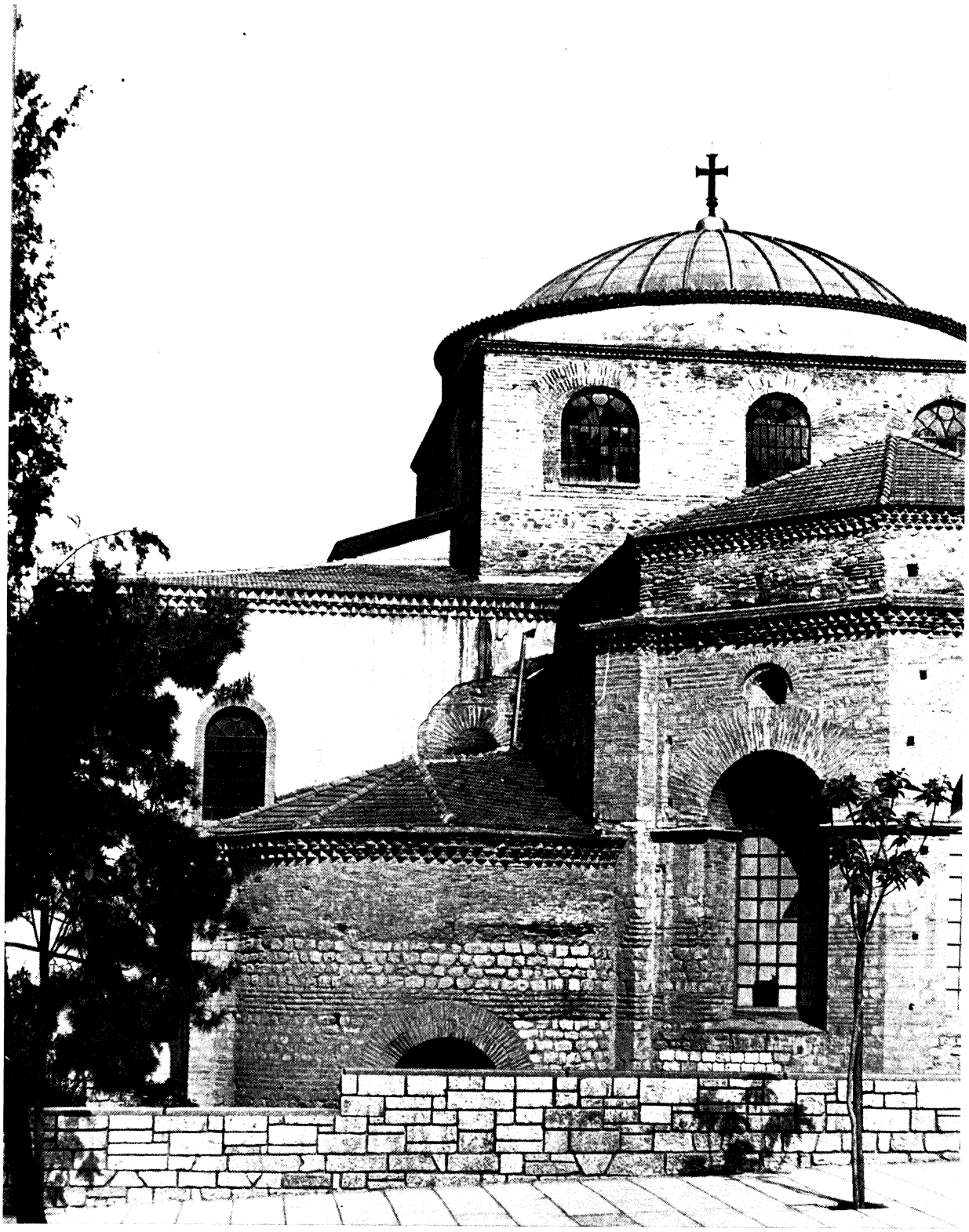


Fig. 6. St. Sophia, Salonica, from the south-east. Photo: S. Murray, Courtauld Institute.

Surviving work from this reign is the rebuilding and decoration of St. Eirene, as well as some work in St. Sophia. In the Patriarchate of the Great Church, Niketas on his elevation as Patriarch may have had his own security in office in mind when he removed the figurative icons still visible there in 768/9 and substituted crosses (Fig. 7).[12] Perhaps the substitution of a cross in the apse of the Koimesis Church at Nicaea in place of a standing Virgin belongs to this reign.

12. These mosaics are discussed by R. Cormack and E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Mosaics of S. Sophia at Istanbul: the Patriarchal Apartments," (to appear).

To the period of Eirene can be attributed a number of churches, for example, St. Sophia at Salonica, St. Sophia at Vize in Thrace, and several monastery churches in Bithynia, notably the Fatih Camii at Tirilye (probably the monastery of Trigleia).[13] A feature of all the churches datable to this period is their reliance on the re-use of marble sculpture from an earlier period for their fittings and decoration. This seems to confirm that the major quarries of Late Antiquity, such as those of the Marmara, had fallen into disuse by this period. The suggestion has even been made that the need to revamp any available materials led to the invention of the four-column domed church in Bithynia in the late eighth century, a region which teemed with classical remains.

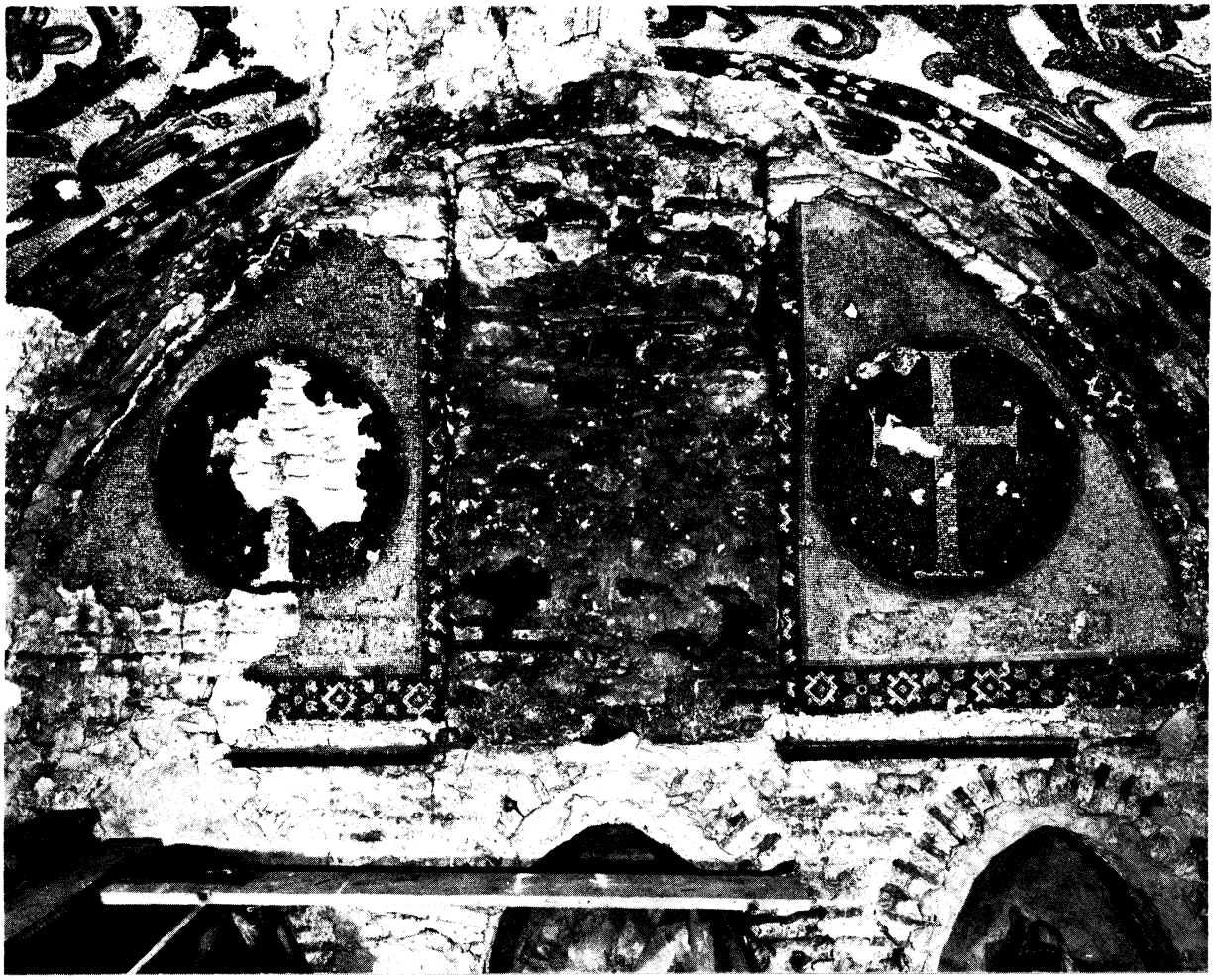


Fig. 7. Mosaic crosses in the south tympanum of the rooms over the south-west ramp of St. Sophia, Istanbul. Photo: Courtauld Institute.

A number of major artistic works undertaken by Eirene are known through the evidence of texts – and there seems to have been a conscious attempt to proclaim the return of a 'Golden Age'.[14] There is mention of statues in the round of Constantine VI and Eirene (the first statues of Emperors since Philippikos) and of a series of votive offerings (after an illness of Eirene) to the Church of the Virgin *tes Peges*. These included rich veils and curtains, a crown, liturgical vessels, and mosaic panels with portraits of the two imperial donors making their offerings and commemorating the 'miracle' of the healing.[15] Eirene probably restored an image of Christ on the Chalke Gate between 797 and 802. The production and display of portrait icons, including pictures of famous monks and saints, has been deduced as taking place in the Studios Monastery – this depends on the interpretation of some epigrams of St. Theodore as describing twenty four such icons around 800.[16]

13. C. Mango; "The Byzantine Church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St. Mary the Younger," *ZVI*, 11 (1968), 9–13; and C. Mango and I. Ševčenko; "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 235–77.
14. C. Mango, "A forged inscription of the year 781," *ZVI*, 8 (1963), 201–7.
15. Mango, *Art*, 156–7.
16. P. Speck, "Ein Heiligenbilderzyklus im Studios-Kloster um Jahr 800," *Actes du XII Congrès international d'études byzantines*, (Beograd, 1964), tome 3, 333–44; and Theodoros Studites, *Jamben*, edited by P. Speck, (Berlin, 1968), esp. 211–39.

Leo V removed the new Chalke icon, but he did commission a cross in its place. There is a case for the attribution to Second Iconoclasm of the invention of some of the pictorial models used after 843 in such Psalters with marginal illustrations as the Chludov. Certain of the anti-Iconoclastic illustrations of these manuscripts might have been first composed as appropriate visual propaganda in iconodule pamphlets – the icon party seems likely to have used art in this way. Such pictures perhaps appeared in the texts composed by Nikephoros in 818–820, for example to accompany the *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*, where (section 8) he compares Iconoclasts with those who crucified Christ.[17] Nikephoros also accuses the Iconoclasts of simony. However the use of such pictures in Iconophile texts might be even earlier, for similar polemics had already flowed from the pen of John of Damascus.[18] The representation of Nikephoros trampling upon Leo V and Theodotos now found beside an anti-iconoclastic poem in the Athonite Psalter, *Pantokrator cod.* 61, might be an invention of the 820s.[19]

Icons of saints were certainly available for use during Second Iconoclasm. One official concession was that images high up in buildings were permitted to 'fulfil the purpose of writing'.[20] The apse mosaic of Hosios David in Salonica probably remained exposed to view after its discovery below a covering in the reign of Leo V.[21] The implication of this evidence is that Iconoclasm was losing its impetus. There is more support for this interpretation of the period. The 'panel-worshipping' monks of St. John of Pelekete in Bithynia were ordered to be scourged and expelled for their intransigence, but escaped any punishment.[22] The painter Lazaros painted an image of the Baptist in the church of St. John the Baptist *tou Phoberou*, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphoros near the Black Sea. Even the Empress Theodora had icons in the Palace, offering a Byzantine example of divergence between the public and private practices of the Imperial family in a period of Iconoclasm. Her husband, Theophilos, is well-known for his artistic patronage, especially in the building and decoration of palaces.

Even a brief survey of this kind gives evidence of artistic activity throughout the period, though its quantity was less than in the periods before and after Iconoclasm. The problem, therefore, is not whether there was art during Iconoclasm, but whether its appearance and style can be characterized. Since there is evidence of some continuity of production during Iconoclasm, my approach is to ask whether the three main visual currents known before, and still apparent in the period after Iconoclasm, might have survived through the period. I shall investigate these currents under three headings; the non-figurative and symbolic current, the 'abstract' treatment of figure style, and the 'illusionist' treatment of figure style.[23]

The non-figurative and symbolic current

Two examples from the reign of Constantine V exemplify this type of art: the apse mosaics of St. Eirene, and the crosses in the Small Sekreton of the Patriarchate of St. Sophia. The focus of these decorations is the cross, within an ornamental setting. This system of decoration was not an invention of the Iconoclastic period, but had occurred commonly for some centuries beforehand. The decoration of St. Sophia in this manner by Justinian may even have been influential in its popularity.[24] This current of art is of such a traditional nature that it is difficult to date even the various parts of St. Sophia.[25] In view of the history of this current, I doubt whether a strong case can be made that the development of ornamental art was an original feature of Iconoclasm.

Traditional schemes were used for the decoration of the Blachernae Church, and the current continues in the sanctuary mosaics of St. Sophia at Salonica (which dates after the Byzantine triumphant campaign in Greece of 783, but may be before or after the restoration of icons in 787). The bronze decorations of the door into the south – west Vestibule of St. Sophia carried out under Theophilos might be adduced as a continuation of the same current; and in the third *Antirrheticus* of Patriarch Nikephoros are described curtains and other sanctuary furnishings on which images may appear for veneration, or zoomorphic elements 'for decorative purposes'.[26] Under this heading it

17. PG, 100, col. 549 C.
18. A survey of this literature is by J. Gouillard, "Art et Littérature théologique à Byzance au lendemain de la querelle des images," *CahCM*, 12 (1969), 1–13, esp. 3.
19. I. Ševčenko, "The anti-iconoclastic poem in the *Pantocrator* Psalter," *CahArch*, 15 (1965), 39–60.
20. Mango, *Art*, 157–8; Photios in 867 was emphatic on the value of icons for teaching, see Mango, *Photius*, 293–5 (Homily XVII).
21. Mango, *Art*, 155–6.
22. C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, as in note 13: see 246.
23. My formulation depends on E. Kitzinger, cited in note 1, but I prefer to avoid the term 'hellenistic'.
24. The lack of figurative mosaics may be due to practical considerations, such as speed of execution; however, for a possible theological consideration, see M. Mundell, *infra*, IX.
25. See also, A. Epstein, *infra*, XIII.
26. Discussed by A.H.S. Megaw, "The Skripou Screen," *BSA*, 61 (1966), 1–32.

may be appropriate to mention the manner of representation of the Ecumenical Councils known in the Nativity Church at Bethlehem, even if these particular mosaics might be as late as the Crusader period.[27] For that this type of symbolic representation of theology and christology through texts was known in this period is suggested by the appearance of the decoration of S. Julian de los Prados at Oviedo in Spain. Perhaps the Milion panels destroyed by Constantine V were of this type also.

The 'abstract' treatment of figure style

This second current is characterized in the period before Iconoclasm by the apse mosaics of St. Catherine's on Sinai or by various panels in the church of St. Demetrios in Salonica, and is continued up to the years before Iconoclasm in the mosaic of the Presentation in the Kalenderhane Camii at Istanbul. To a varying degree, these mosaics portray saints as stylized figures, particularly suitable as cult images to whom might be addressed prayers. This current of style entered Byzantine art from Late Roman imperial art, and can be tracked in early sculptural monuments in New Rome, as in the (old) Porphyrios base erected in the Hippodrome around 500.[28] It seems likely that this traditional form of Hippodrome art would have reasserted itself in the representation of the charioteer Ouranikos executed for Constantine V in the Milion. This suggestion is supported by the survival of the tradition in charioteer silk textiles, which have been attributed to Constantinopolitan workshops of the late eighth century, and in New Testament scenes in silk from the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome, which have been dated to Second Iconoclasm by reference to the descriptions in the *Liber Pontificalis*.[29] The late eighth century mosaics of the church of the Virgin *tes Peges* seem likely to have been in this tradition.

The 'illusionist' treatment of figure style

This third current of style entered Byzantine art as a legacy from the Hellenistic art of Antiquity, and an artist working in this form of expression would be concerned not only with solid treatment of figures but also with their setting and their emotions. An example of good quality work in this current by artists from Constantinople is found in the frescoes commissioned by Pope John VII in St. Maria Antiqua in Rome (705–707).[30] Even higher quality work of this current is found in North Italy, in the sanctuary frescoes of the church of S. Maria at Castelseprio. Some stylistic features shared with the John VII paintings in Rome and the indications that Lombard artists of the middle of the eighth century were influenced by Castelseprio seem to provide a reasonable basis for attributing these frescoes to the first half of the eighth century.[31] Castelseprio is an outstanding work of Byzantine art; a comparison of the treatment of the scene of the Adoration of the Magi here and at S. Maria Antiqua shows the common use of a similar iconography, but the Castelseprio artist shows his superiority in his success in designing an effective composition over the architectural surface with which he was confronted.

The work of the period of Pope Zacharias (741–752) in S. Maria Antiqua, for example the Crucifixion scene in the Theodotus chapel, can be compared with the painting of half a century earlier. On one interpretation, this comparison documents a steep decline of competence in the 'hellenistic style' in the first half of the eighth century occurring in both the East and West Mediterranean. By about 750 it was a style of the past, never to be found again in monumental art, but forever limited to miniature reflections in the pages of manuscripts.[32] Another interpretation of this comparison is to see a new Byzantine influence in Rome, this time of the more abstract linear current; in this case the Crucifixion panel represents not the illusionist current in decline, but a new positive mode of expression. This interpretation depends on an identification of the source of the new influence in the Greek East because of similarities with a Crucifixion icon in the collection of St. Catherine's on Sinai; this panel is not however dated, nor is it very similar to the rendering in Rome.[33]

I prefer to see the mid-eighth century frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua as examples of a stiffened degeneration of the 'illusionist' current, but I do not wish to make any generalizations from this

27. Cf. M. Mundell, *infra*, IX, 67 and note 89.
28. Cf. A. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford, 1973), 204–5.
29. This is the dating of J.G. Beckwith, "Byzantine Tissues," *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines* (Bucharest, 1974), 343–53. For a statement of scepticism, see H. Wentzel, "Byzantinische Kleinkunstwerke aus dem Umkreis der Kaiserin Theophano," *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 44 (1973), 43–86. The Vatican Ptolemy (*gr. 1291*) might be attributed to this current.
30. The arguments for deriving the artists from Constantinople are set out by P.J. Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII (705–707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome," *ActaIRNorv*, 3 (1968).
31. D.H. Wright, "The Shape of the Seventh Century in Byzantine Art," *Byzantine Studies Conference* (Cleveland, 1975), 9–28.
32. P.J. Nordhagen, cited in note 30.
33. K. Weitzmann, "The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression," *Byzantine Art* (Athens, 1966), 151–77.

material about the state of expertise outside Rome or in the Greek East. The problem therefore remains whether the 'illusionist' current continued to be employed by Byzantine artists after the 720s. For example, were the non-figurative decorations of the Blachernae and other churches under Constantine V executed in an 'illusionist' tradition, like the Great Palace mosaics in the sixth century and the mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus in the early eighth?

To offer an answer to this question, it seems necessary to turn to the indirect evidence for the period available in the art of the West.[34] I mention – but only to reject – the possibility that the stucco figures of S. Maria in Valle at Cividale reflect East Mediterranean prototypes from the Byzantine or Islamic world. It is more likely that this work is part of a local North Italian tradition, a mid-eighth century cheap form of statuary. More crucial is the artistic production of the Carolingian court at Aachen, where the production of mosaics in the Palatine Chapel (790–800), and the illumination of certain manuscripts suggest the presence here of Byzantine artists. Nothing much can be said about the style of these mosaics; the manuscripts are more useful. Several embassies passed between Constantinople and the court of Charlemagne in the 790s and 800s, and since art is always a part of such diplomatic missions, conditions existed for the stimulus of Byzantine works of art or the presence of Byzantine artists. A case for the participation of Byzantine painters in Carolingian courts workshops has been made for the production of four manuscripts, classified by Koehler as the 'Group of the Vienna Coronation Gospels', and distinguished from the Palace School. Their Byzantine attribution depends on two factors, their technique and their style. The miniatures exhibit a specific Byzantine failing, the technical inability to make the paint adhere to the parchment without flaking. In style, the high quality of their 'illusionist' figures is achieved by a facility in modelling and by the merging of wet colours, which makes other Carolingian painting look artificial. If it can be correctly claimed that such expertise in the application of pigments can only derive from a continuous tradition of workshop training and cannot be artificially revived, then it would seem that the 'illusionist' style was passed down from master to pupil in eighth-century Constantinople, and had survived the first period of Iconoclasm.

A case can therefore be made from the Carolingian evidence for a continuity of this current up to the early ninth century; possibly during Second Iconoclasm there was a decline into harder forms.[35] This mode, perhaps more than any other, requires high quality practitioners who in this period of reduced patronage must have been in short supply. Although it is natural to assume that such artists were supported by Iconoclastic commissions, it is conceivable that they received underground Iconodule patronage. The suggestion that there was a continuity of this current throughout the period may be supported by a parallel in education in profane literature, which can also be tracked continuously through the period.[36] A specific example of how the period could be bridged is given by Tarasios (born about 730) who taught verse to Ignatios the Deacon, who lived beyond 842, and whose letters prove his knowledge of classical literature.

My answer to the question of what was the appearance of Iconoclastic art is that the three main types of expression used at the time when Leo III banned the images did in fact continue throughout the period. The continuation of these modes, including that deriving ultimately from the Hellenistic period, does not make it a time of 'renaissance', which would be a crude way of characterizing the relationship with Antique art. In short, Iconoclasm was not an entirely fallow period in the history of art, but it witnessed little stylistic advance. Even the developments in architecture seem partly negative, for they are an adaption to available materials (spoils from the past) and are marked in Bithynia by a reduction in scale.

Relations with outside cultures

The period of Iconoclasm with its reduction in patronage and the consequent deterioration in the conditions and numbers of artists may as a consequence have increased the receptiveness of the community to influences from outside Byzantium. Such outside stimulation can be attributed to two cultures brought into contact with Byzantium for political reasons: the Islamic world and the Carolingian West.

An intention to imitate the art of the Abbasid court of Bagdad is specifically documented for the Emperor Theophilos by Theophanes Continuatus. This early ninth-century taste for Islamic art permanently influenced the forms of Byzantine ornament, and is perhaps responsible for its profusion. Oleg Grabar has characterized this as the 'orientalization of Macedonian art'.

34. O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York, 1970); esp. 60 ff.
35. The frescoes of S. Saba in Rome may give some indication of this current in its hardened form; see also H. Belting, *Studien zur beneventanischen Malerei* (Wiesbaden, 1968).
36. P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971).

Influence from the West is more difficult to substantiate, as the evidence is usually ambiguous. A similar ambiguity of the evidence is encountered in attempting to decide priority for the development of minuscule script. A controversial group of works, which share a linear, rather decorative, figure style, has been seen as an East Mediterranean source for the linear mosaics in Rome under Pope Paschal I (817–24).[37] However, if the key members of this group are dated later in the ninth century, then this style in Byzantium would derive from Italian art during Second Iconoclasm. In this case, the style (and iconography) of the Paschalian mosaics would derive from Roman traditions. In my estimation, there is a strong case for dating the manuscript of the *Sacra Parallela* (*cod. Paris gr. 923*) to the same period as the datable *Homilies of S. Gregory Nazianzenus* (*cod. Paris gr. 510*) on grounds of palaeography and the style of some of the miniatures. The *Sacra Parallela* would in this case date around 880. As for the ivory in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin on which is represented the Coronation of an emperor named Leo, an identification with Leo VI would give a dating around 886. It is therefore possible that Byzantine art was stimulated in the ninth century by the vigorous Carolingian art of Rome; knowledge of this art might have been channelled through refugees from Constantinople, like the future Patriarch Methodios who was in close contact with Paschal in the 820s.

Conclusion

The Age of Iconoclasm was not a great period in the history of art, but traditions continued and some new influences were absorbed. The number of artists trained in Constantinople must have dropped, and knowledge of some kinds of expertise must have declined, as, for example, the manufacture of mosaic cubes and their application to architecture. There was probably little work for artists outside Constantinople, though this trend had already begun before Iconoclasm, when the rich cities of Late Antiquity (like Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Salonica and so on) were declining in the late sixth or early seventh centuries. The trickle of commissions during Iconoclasm must have centred on the Imperial family rather than on the monasteries or bishops. This patronage made it a distinctive period.

37. K. Weitzmann, "The Ivories of the so-called Grado Chair," *DOP*, 26 (1972), 45–91.

VII ISLAM AND ICONOCLASM[1]

OLEG GRABAR

THE most obvious difference between Byzantine and Islamic iconoclasm is that the former is usually spelled with a capital "I" and the latter with a small "i". This secondary typographical distinction illustrates first of all the difference between a historical moment (these are presumably capitalized) and an attitude or mode of behaviour, the latter being apparently too common to deserve capitalization. In Byzantium the historicity of the events which are called the Iconoclastic period is defined through very specific dates: a crisis involving the relationship of worshippers and religious images in the seventh century; a succession of edicts and debates starting around 726 and remarkable for their verbal wealth, intellectual content, and occasional violence; and finally in 843 a final Restoration of Images, once again capitalized by becoming a Feast of the Church. There is nothing comparable in the Muslim world. There are no internally decided edicts; the Koran is totally silent on images except insofar as they were used as idols which are most forcefully condemned; to the extent that there was a debate, it was hardly a significant one, and our evidence for it is far more tangible in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries or, even more so, in the twentieth, than in the seventh or eighth. Forceful destruction of images is usually quite late, the action of brutal conquerors like the Ghaznavids in India or Nadir Shah attacking the Buddhas of Bamiyan with his artillery, and almost always directed against non-Muslim monuments, with a few exceptions of late defacing of miniatures by pious librarians. While there are instances of technical destruction of representations, as when Mahmud of Ghazna asked his son to remove erotic paintings from his palace,[2] such instances are few, and on the whole, literary references to the use of representations tend to take the form of titilated disapproval, not unlike our own cultural, if not individual, reaction to pornography.

There does not seem to be in fact any real parallelism between the Byzantine phenomenon and a Muslim attitude, even though it is possible that the adjective "iconoclastic" can justifiably be attributed to both. Why then concern one's self with the Muslim world when dealing with Byzantine Iconoclasm? Beyond the theoretical possibility that a general phenomenon can be of use in explaining a specific one, the most important reason is the coincidence in time between Byzantine Iconoclasm and the rise of Islam. Several decades ago many a scholar had seen the Christian phenomenon as directly influenced by the new faith and culture and a number of rather troubling arguments do exist to support such a contention. There is the celebrated edict of Yazid in 721 which is supposed to have led to the destruction of Christian images.[3] It is the most clearly focused of a group of alleged instances of forceful removals of Christian images from religious buildings, and several examples of replacements of representations by vegetal or geometric ornament seem *prima facie* to demonstrate the actual implementation of such edicts. The Ma'in mosaic is the most celebrated instance but there are others, curiously concentrated in Jordan and still unpublished.[4] Then it is possible to relate the well-known changes in the coinage of Justinian II, both iconographic and epigraphical ones, to the cold and at times hot war between the first Umayyad caliphs and their Byzantine counterparts.[5] And finally, the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock, of Bethlehem's Church of the Nativity, of the Aqsa mosque (redone in Fatimid times but certainly reflecting Umayyad models), perhaps even those of the mosque of Damascus – all following each other over twenty years at most – can be construed to reflect, in their unusual sequence, a series of statements about Christian or Muslim, imperial or caliphal, power, for which it is possible to propose the conscious will of formal assertions directed to the competitor or the enemy rather than to one's own culture.[6] However these examples of wall mosaics must in fact be interpreted, it seems hardly

1. This lecture was left essentially in the shape in which it was delivered at the symposium with two modifications other than the elimination of most obvious features of oral presentation. I have simplified the second half of the paper, since many of its points have been reworked for a meeting German Orientalists in Freiburg (September 1975) and will be published in the proceedings of the meeting. I have also eliminated all illustrations, as they consisted almost exclusively of well-known and often illustrated monuments; for the same reason, bibliographical notes have been limited to references which are immediately pertinent to the text.
2. Quoted by T.A. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, repr. ed. (New York, 1965), p. 86.
3. Most texts gathered by Vasiliev, "Edict".
4. R. de Vaux, "Une mosaic byzantine à Ma'in." *RBibl*, 47 (1938).
5. Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 67 ff.; J. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (New York, 1959).
6. For the Dome of the Rock, see K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1969) and O. Grabar, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock," *Ars Orientalis*, 3 (1957); for the mosque of Damascus, Creswell and now B. Finster, "Die Mosaiken der Umayyadenmoschee," *Kunst des Orients* 7 (1970–1), where the arguments of R. Ettinghausen, K. Otto-Dorn, and others are mentioned; for the basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, I am following H. Stern, "Les Représentations des conciles," *Byzantion*, 11 and 13 (1936 and 1938), and (A.) Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 50 ff. rather than R.W. Hamilton, *The Church of the Nativity* (Jerusalem, 1947), 59–69; for the Aqsa mosque, see H. Stern, "Recherches sur la mosquée al-Aqsa," *Ars Orientalis*, 5 (1963).

accidental that the Muslim statements reject all representations of anything living and that the Christian answer in Bethlehem is equally devoid of the usual personages of Byzantine imagery, just a few years before the formal opening of the Iconoclastic period.

It seems altogether possible to hypothesize for the Byzantine phenomenon an Islamic influence or impact and it could be imagined that a deeper investigation into the few documents we possess would clinch the argument. But, even if one could delve more profoundly into the matter – and I for one am far from sure that it is really possible – it is hardly likely that the argument would be clinched, for there is no real need for Islam to explain Byzantium. The edict of Yazid is a very suspicious document, curiously absent from early Muslim sources and appearing in the Christian ones as an anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish document of doubtful historical importance, and, in my judgement, even validity. Floor mosaics may have been redone but is it necessary to make Muslim power responsible for the changes rather than local Christian practices, perhaps the impact of Monophysites or changes in ecclesiastical allegiances? The changes in coinage, be they iconographic like the sudden emphasis on Christ, or verbal like the *servus Christi* so close to the *'Abd Allah* of the Muslims, can easily be explained in purely internal Christian terms.[7] And the mosaics in official buildings all make sense internally, the Dome of the Rock, Aqsa, and Damascus as statements of some significance to Muslims, and the Nativity mosaics for Christians. At best, one could argue that the lack of representations in the latter was a concession to a prevailing mood, an expression of taste rather than a conscious and formal rejection of representations.

It is not going to be my purpose to pursue the investigation of these well-worn questions, for in the absence of new evidence or of a new perspective, arguments become circular and interpretations more persuasive by the eloquence of their expression than by their intrinsic value. It is even possible that stylistic changes and iconographic purposes within the Muslim world are not pertinent to the Christian phenomenon, and in a wider sense, that the two empires were at that time irrelevant to each other artistically, if not politically. At best the Muslim world served as a political haven for actually persecuted or ideologically threatened Christians, but it is curious to note that from John of Damascus to Theodore and Theophanes, two monks from Palestine who were punished under Theophilos and one of whom became bishop of Nicaea after the restoration of Orthodoxy, it is Christian Iconodules rather than Iconoclasts who resided within the Muslim world.

The examples of John of Damascus or of the saintly brothers from Palestine a century later illustrate a medieval version of a well-documented phenomenon of the nineteenth century or of our own time: the possibility of living in peace within one culture while fighting battles, mostly verbal ones, within another. There is no evidence known to me during the Iconoclastic century (as opposed to the end of the seventh century) that either empire utilized such groups for political purposes, although one can wonder whether the striking Muslim military successes between 813 and 840 may not have been helped by Iconoclastic populations. A more interesting point may be that the Iconoclastic period, and most particularly its second phase in the ninth century, was a time of considerable cultural contacts between Greek and Arab Muslim worlds. It was the time of the largest group of translations of science and philosophy into Arabic and it has long been recognized that the Emperor Theophilos was strongly influenced by the themes and possibly styles of the Abbasids.[8] His pavilions bearing names like Love, Pearl, or Harmony, as well as his gardens filled with spectacular automatic machines, all find parallels in the art of the caliphs in Baghdad. The ruins of Küçükyalı, identified with some likelihood as those of Theophilos' Bryas, bear some resemblance to earlier or contemporary Muslim monuments.[9] Regardless of its other aspects, the later Iconoclastic period, with its secular concerns, seems to be a reversal of the phenemenon of the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Instead of Muslim patrons struggling with Christian Byzantine art, we finnd the emperors of Constantinople fascinated with the forms developed in Baghdad and laying the ground for the partial orientalization of Macedonian taste.[10]

The actual nature of these forms transmitted from one culture to the other is difficult to illustrate in the ninth century, for both in Islam and in Byzantium, a number of key documents are missing and will probably never be recovered. There are also problems of dating individual monuments which complicate matters even farther. Regardless of the solutions to be given to these, a possible conclusion may be that, instead of thinking about Iconoclasm and Islam in terms of relatable and comparable or irrelevant and separate ideologies and attitudes, we should rather investigate questions of taste within a period of time in which each entity developed its own modes of behaviour and firms; emphasize, in other words, a system of cultural contacts and of mutual or contradictory

7. O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, 1973), 89, 97.
8. (A.) Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 169 ff.
9. S. Eyice, "Contributions à l'histoire de l'art byzantin," *CahArch* 10 (1951).
10. A. Grabar, "Le Succès des arts orientaux," *Münch Jb*, 2 (1951).

concerns rather than seek out a single explanation for diverse phenomena. One should concentrate on the Muslim search for Greek books to be translated into Arabic and on the orientalization of Christian taste, not only in Constantinople but also in the provinces, most particularly in Armenia and northern Mesopotamia, those extraordinary regions which still await coherent cultural and artistic investigation. Within this perspective, the religious and intellectual quarrel recedes somewhat in importance, except in the relatively narrow area of specifically Byzantine religious art. What emerges instead as particularly significant is a period of shifting cultural currents, and the church of Aghtamar datable between 915 and 921 as well as Gagik's palace described by the Armenian historian Artzrumi are the most remarkable results of the formal and ideological currents of the Iconoclastic period.[11]

These preliminary remarks can be summed up in the following manner. Just before the Iconoclastic controversy in Byzantium, a group of Islamic monuments utilized primarily Byzantine forms but avoided representations of living beings, even though there is no intellectual or doctrinal argument for such an abandonment of living things in what we know of Islamic thought at the time, and the roughly contemporary Byzantine monuments and symbolic images like coins do not require the explanation of an external impact, at least not on their "iconoclastic" level. A long century later, Byzantium established a reasonably rational and formalized definition of images, but in the meantime there had occurred a shift in the relationship between the new Muslim culture and the old Byzantine one and it has been argued that the changes introduced by Iconoclasm – but not necessarily Iconoclasm itself – were at least in part responsible for the new Byzantine receptivity to eastern things.

In both instances, the early eighth century or the middle of the ninth, two concurrent questions are raised. One is historical and requires a precise reconstruction of the kinds of events and social, political, or cultural attitudes which would make it reasonable, if not always necessary, to explain an impact of Byzantium on Islam or vice-versa. The second question is one of artistic ideology: what made certain forms and themes rather than others pass from one culture to the other? Is it an aspect of the "giving" culture or of the "receiving" one? Is it both? Can such aspects be defined? Or should one tend to interpret similarities in terms of some vague common *Zeitgeist*? Since a full investigation of all four of these questions – Byzantine and Muslim history and ideologies *ca.* 680–730 and *ca.* 820–850 – is clearly beyond the possibilities of a single paper as well as way beyond my competence, I should like to limit my remarks to one major question which is the nature and meaning of what has been called Islamic iconoclasm, thus trying to answer the subsidiary one whether or not the nature of a Muslim attitude to the arts is of any real pertinence to the Byzantine phenomenon.

The historical setting in the Muslim world of the years 680–720 seems reasonably clear, and I only want to summarize conclusions reached elsewhere on fuller evidence.[12] My argument is essentially that the early Muslims were indifferent to images, that in a group of coins they sought to create an imagery and a symbolism of their own,[13] and that this effort failed for many reasons, but primarily because they could not create a meaningful and effective imagery without becoming like the Christians. The result appears in a succession of major creations – the Dome of the Rock, Abd al-Malik's new coinage, the mosque of Damascus – which rejected representations in official art, emphasized writing, and sublimated symbolic meanings of whatever sort into what appears to us now as being primarily ornament. This rejection was not carried down to private art, as is amply demonstrated by the so-called "desert palaces" of the Umayyads or by the more hidden parts of Samarra in the ninth century. But in the public art of the mosque or of coinage, it is only exceptionally that representations occur, at least until the eleventh or twelfth centuries. A rational and intellectual justification for these changes did not occur on a doctrinal level until later. Its earliest traces seem to be in polemical writing of the middle of the eighth century, although I have often wondered whether the celebrated text of Theodore Abu Qurra which has so frequently been used to indicate this particular date really does have all the implications attributed to it.[14] It is possible that a careful study of early traditions and of legal literature will bring out some additional information of the elaboration of the doctrine within Islam itself, but these are notoriously difficult sources to use, especially when one seeks to date them properly, and their serious investigation has barely begun.[15] But, even if more information is found, I rather doubt that it will alter in any

11. S. Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar* (Cambridge, 1965).
12. (O.) Grabar, *Formation*, 75 ff.
13. The latest statement on the evidence, with full bibliography, is found in G.C. Miles, "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage," *ANSMN*, 13 (1967).
14. K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 411–12.
15. R.Paret, "Textbelege zum islamischen Bilderverbot," *Studien H. Schrade dargebracht* (Stuttgart, 1960).

significant way the conclusion that there is nothing within early Islamic thought comparable to the Late Antique and especially medieval Christian concern with formulating a precise relationship between representation and the represented.

The paradox seems then to be that, for immanent cultural, psychological, and political considerations of a very specific time, official Islam succeeded in doing, apparently painlessly, bloodlessly and without rational justification, what required, at almost the same time in Byzantium, endless discussions, often of a very high level of sophistication, and a violence hardly seen before or after around what we would consider as works of art. Furthermore, Byzantine Iconoclasm was eventually rescinded, while an absence of representations in all aesthetic or symbolic creativity pertaining to the faith and a reluctance to images in other arts became accepted characteristics of Islamic art. Without a capitalized Iconoclasm, iconoclasm with a small "i" became apparently the norm for an enormous culture extending from Spain to India and the inheritor of practically all the forms which had grown in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. How was it possible? And, if an explanation can be provided, does it in any way help in understanding Byzantine Iconoclasm?

Let me begin with a parenthetical remark dealing with an important problem of formal interpretation of monuments and affecting the hypothesis I will propose later. While it is true that calligraphy and geometric or vegetal ornament predominated in the visual tradition created by Islamic culture, these two modes did not exclude representations of living beings whose analysis brings out frequently enough complex meanings. Umayyad palaces like Qusayr Amrah and Khirbat al-Mafjar are obvious examples which are reasonably well-known, but the Abbasids, the Fatimids, and almost every secondary dynasty as well as the non-dynastic substructure of Islamic civilization sponsored and utilized figural art, with the exception so far of North African Berber dynasties.[16] After the middle of the twelfth century, there occurred a true explosion of such images which continued in India, Iran and the Ottoman empires, although a taste for and interest in representations disappeared almost entirely in the Arab world *ca.* 1350 onward.[17] Under these circumstances, is it really correct to talk of an Islamic iconoclasm or even of an avoidance of representations of living things? And should one not limit investigations to those aspects of the arts which are directly and exclusively related to the faith? Maybe so, but it is important to note that, in scale and in formal character, Islamic representations are, with a few exceptions, of a different order than figures in classical, Byzantine, or western medieval arts after the early Romanesque period.

Three examples may suffice to make my point. In the Cairo Museum there is a celebrated group of wooden beams which presumably came from the Fatimid palace and which are usually dated in the latter part of the eleventh century.[18] They are elaborately carved and contain a simple geometric progression of cartouches with a standard imagery of royal pastime. In the twelfth-century ceiling of the Capella Palatina in Palermo, almost every facet of an elaborate *muqarnas* ceiling contains images with an unusually wide variety of subjects.[19] The point, however, is that in neither case could the figures be easily seen. Obviously their point as decoration, as a manner of transforming a high ceiling or wooden beams far above the eyes of the users of whatever room containing them, overshadowed, not to say obliterated, their immediate visual impact as figures belonging to a variety of otherwise definable iconographic cycles. My third example is that of one of the celebrated group of Spanish ivories of the last decades of the tenth century. Their quality has long been recognized and, although some of the subjects of their decoration are not entirely clear, there is a general agreement that it included principally typical scenes of princely life.[20] These ivories differ from the Cairo woodwork or the Palermo paintings in that they were meant to be handled directly and their representations could not remain unseen or barely imagined. Yet one of their stylistic characteristics is that there is no hierarchical distinction between medallion frames, vegetal ornament, and personages. They are all shown on the same plane or planes, and subjects with the same iconographic meaning are found inside and outside medallions. It is as though they were meant to be equal in the visual effect they produced. This rather curious egalitarianism in the use of forms and subjects lends itself to several interpretations, one of which is ambiguity or uncertainty about the meaning to be given to images. Similar ambiguities occur in the eighth century sculpture at Khirbat al-Mafjar,[21] in Nishapur pottery of the ninth or tenth centuries,[22] and, in a different way, in later Persian miniatures.

16. There is no coherent history of Islamic iconography. A genral introduction may be found in R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962) and specific examples are discussed by many studies by Ettinghausen, the latest one being, *From Byzantium to Sassanian Iran* (Leiden, 1973). See also various studies by E. Baer.
17. O. Grabar, "Les Arts Mineurs de l'Orient Musulman," *Cah CM*, 11 (1968).
18. G. Marçais, "Les figures d'hommes et de bêtes," *Mélanges Maspero* III (Cairo, 1940).
19. U. Monneret de Villard, *Le Pitture Musulmane al Soffitto della Capella Palatina* (Rome, 1950).
20. See now E. Kühnel, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen* (Berlin, 1969), esp. pls. XVIII and XXII.
21. R.W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar* (Oxford, 1957), pls. XXXV, 1 or LIII, 2.
22. E. Atil, *Ceramics from the World of Islam* (Washington, 1973), pl. 12.

The first point of these examples is that, even if it is incorrect to imagine Islamic art as devoid of representations, it probably is correct to say that they played in it a different role, perhaps best defined at this stage as undifferentiated from other motifs, as though part of a "total" system of designs in which not a single category, except writing, was unduly emphasized. But there is a second point to these examples which is more important to my subject. It is that a culture and an art which picked up its visual vocabulary in the richest repertoire of representations known in history managed to use these forms in a manner least suited to the models and kept up for centuries, with only occasional disruptions after the twelfth century, a use of representations which seemed at first glance to be defeating its subjects.

In other words, the central tradition of Islamic art always downplayed representations of living things and, even though the contrast between the right side of the Mshatta façade which is in front of the mosque and contains no animals and the left side which does have animals and human heads makes the point in a rather crude manner,[23] the visual contrast between the two sides is one of degree rather than of kind, and there is something disingenuous in doing what so many of us have done: to excerpt a representation of man, however deeply hidden it may be, and to give it the only importance of a design.

To propose an explanation to this phenomenon we must turn to what may be called considerations of social ethics. For it is probably neither artists and artisans nor legal scholars and theologians nor even caliphs and lesser princes who determined a Muslim artistic attitude, but rather that peculiarly unique social phenomenon which has still evaded coherent definition by social scientists, the corporate *ummah*. Centered primarily in urban settings, its components were related to each other by a complicated set of bonds, at times formalized as through the workings of the *shari'ah*, the legal system, at other times more informal, as the complex of ties which has been called the *asabiyah*.[24] It is this body which created the norms around which the visual creativity of the culture was developed and it is rather remarkable that only one scholar, the late Marshall Hodgson, has tried in a brilliant article published over ten years ago to disentangle the components of this social ethic as it applied to the arts.[25] Starting with his rather abstract analysis, I shall try to develop a slightly different interpretation of a Muslim attitude toward the arts and suggest a way in which it may be, at least conceptually, of some value in understanding the Byzantine phenomenon. I will only deal with monuments and ideas which seem to me valid for a period earlier than the middle of the twelfth century, for, in spite of a generally accepted notion of a monolithic Islamic position, so many things changed in the latter part of the twelfth century that generalizations applicable to earlier times simply do not work, as mysticism together with many ethnic and regional modifications require entirely different explanations.

Influenced in many ways by the formally expressed or subjacent views of various forms of Protestantism, most specifically early Calvinism and the Quakers, Hodgson identifies four key aspects of a Muslim social ethos: *populism* in the sense that a working urban bourgeoisie established itself, at least until the thirteenth century, as the main taste-maker in opposition to the court of princes; *moralism* in the sense that an ethical justification, usually in legal terms, must be given to any action or form of behaviour; *factualism* in the sense that there is no real mystery in the universe, and since God alone is Power and Reality, there is no need for the obvious substitution for physical reality which characterizes any representation; and, finally, *historicalism*, a term which strikes me as less clear than the previous one but which I interpret to mean that no event or no life (with only a very partial exception for the Prophet) could acquire the kind of extra-temporal or para-chronic value which has led to the Christian or Buddhist attempts to represent the intelligible. Although an Islamicist may quibble with some aspects of this rough definition of a culture, it seems to me at least that, on the whole it succeeds quite adequately in identifying the key features of early Sunni Islam. It implies a distrust if not an outright rejection of two essential aspects of artistic creativity. It denies the possibility or the value of escaping time through the freezing of a moment or of an idea; this objection is particularly valid for the visual arts, for poetry or music were precisely arts which are intimately bound to the time of recitation or of performance. And, secondly, Hodgson's model implies a rejection or at the very least a disapproval of expensive possessions, and, in our fascination for the public art of churches, it is essential to remember that the arts most commonly known or seen were privately owned or used objects, ranging from simple ceramics to fancy textiles and gold cups. The rejection is not of art *per se*, nor even of representations, but, as Ibn Miskawayh, a typical *honnête homme* of the tenth century, put it, of becoming attached to something beautiful

23. Creswell, pls. 119 and ff.
24. See Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, esp. vol. 1 (Chicago, 1974).
25. M. Hodgson, "Islam and Image," *History of Religions*, 3 (1964).

and expensive.[26] The cardinal sin is not one of artistic creativity but of greed and of temptation away from divine truth.

Up to this point, Hodgson's analysis, which I have only modified, I trust, on minor details, seems reasonable enough, for it does provide an explanation for the striking practicality of so much of Islamic art of early centuries: its emphasis on public architecture with social functions, its development of an elaborate art of textiles and of ceramics. It also explains why so much of the fancier arts is identified with royal or princely luxury: the palaces of the Umayyads with their exuberant sculptures and paintings, the silver objects continuing Sassanian practices, so many themes of the Capella Palatina. This was precisely the stuff which was morally and socially wrong and it is curious indeed, especially when compared to Christian historiography, that so little information about all these royal orgies of forms is given in the literature written by and for the learned bourgeoisie. But Hodgson and many other writers may have overstated their point when they deduce from their analyses of a Muslim ethos that there was no Islamic visual symbolism and that there was no concern for the intellectual problems of images and of representations. I should like to suggest, on the contrary, that Islamic culture did in fact develop both a visual symbolic system and a rather complex, if limited, argument about representation.

The key point about symbolism and the reason why it is not usually detected is that it rarely took the form expected in the classical tradition of a one-to-one relationship between a visual motif and an external subject. The celebrated third style of Samarra stucco decoration from the ninth century is usually interpreted as a fascinating ornamental achievement of utilizing the full surface of a wall in the creation of an endlessly repetitive pattern which can only be defined in abstract terms: that is to say, not in terms of separate motifs which can be excerpted from the design but as a set of relationship of symmetry, light and shade, and so on.[27] The Kalayan minaret in Bukhara is a striking composition of brick combinations in which each stage is a different aspect of the same basic diamond motif.[28] And the surface of a celebrated plate from Nishapur in the Freer Gallery contains an inscription with a proverb and five floral designs in the centre.[29] All these examples can be interpreted as visual interpretations of medieval Islamic intellectual currents. The abstraction of the Samarra design can be seen as a visual translation of the philosophical, legalistic, and ethical concerns of the ninth century which attempted to discover the basic, abstract principles of thought in such a fashion that no aspect of reality would be immune from them, just as no part of the decorated wall escapes from a meaning in the design. The Nishapur plate or the Kalayan minaret are not really examples of a *horro vacui* but of the fact that everything has meaning and value. And in the instance of the minaret, as in several other examples more particular to Iran, it may even be suggested that the expression of the same motif in several different appearances is a translation through elaborate geometry of a profoundly Islamic notion of one God with many equivalent names. What gives some credence to these hypothetical explanations is, first of all, that symbolic meanings through inscriptions pervaded so much of Islamic art,[30] and secondly, that there is such striking correspondence in time between the visual phenomena and scientific, legal, and philosophical interests, just as the mystical developments of later times will, together with other reasons, lead to a reappearance of images and of concrete symbols. And then there is a logical argument which is that the absence of a developed visual symbolism is simply an unlikely phenomenon for a huge world over several centuries.

Now in all these examples there are no representations of living beings, men or animals. The reason, I submit, is only secondarily the negative one of rejecting actual or potential idols. It is rather that the Muslim world had not quite managed to come to grips with the key problem of visual reality. Or rather it gave to this problem an unusual and contradictory solution. Two examples will serve to make my point. One is the celebrated text of Maqrizi describing the competition around 1058 between two painters, Qusayr and Ibn Aziz. One claimed to be able to represent a personage so that it can be seen in relief, while the other one said that his personage will seem to be imbedded in the wall. Both succeeded by an artful combination of colours (in one case white on black, in the other red on yellow), according to the account. But preceding this story is another one, less frequently quoted, which relates that in a mosque of Cairo there was a representation of a fountain with steps leading to it and that the combination of colours was such as to give, from one particular spot, the typical *trompe d'oeil* feeling of an actual staircase.[31] Both stories suggest

26. Ibn Miskawayh, *Traité d'Ethique*, tr. M. Arkoun (Damascus, 1969), 301–3.
27. Grabar, *Formation*, 198 ff.
28. D. Hill and O. Grabar, *Islamic Architecture and its Decoration* (London, 1967), figs. 10–11.
29. Quoted in note 22.
30. E. Dodd, "The Image of the Word," *Berytus*, 18 (1969).
31. X. Maqrizi, *Khitat* (Bulaq, 1869), II, 318.

an illusionist perfection which hardly accords with the works known from that time. The explanation is that the eye of the medieval viewer in the Muslim world interpreted automatically the simplest outlines of what it saw as an illusion of reality, because there is no way of interpreting something one knows otherwise except as potentially real.

My second example comes from Ghazali's *Alchemy of Happiness* written around 1106 and discovered in a very rarely mentioned article by Ettinghausen.[32] His main emphasis is on the pleasure of that which is beautiful and he writes: "the beauty of a thing lies in the appearance of that perfection which is realizable and in accord with its nature. When all possible traits of perfection appear in an object, it represents the highest stage of beauty; when only part of them occur, it has that measure of beauty which appears in the realized degree of perfection." But then, in ways which recall Plotinus, Ghazali adds that there is a difference of degree existing between those things which belong to the outer world and to the inner world: "there is a great difference between him who loves the painted picture on the wall on account of the beauty of its outer form and him who loves a prophet on account of the beauty of his inner form." The point of these passages is that, however one enjoys it, one can only represent that which one knows, a doctrine strikingly akin to that of socialist realism. The further point, however, is that the truth or reality of anything alive does not lie in its shape, its physical character, which is but an accident, but in its inner worthiness which is only hidden by the accidental shape.

What these two examples suggest is not at all iconoclasm, but beyond a truly sensuous feeling for pictoral beauty, the ultimate impossibility of representations of living things. It is of course true that out of these two examples of the eleventh century it is probably not proper to define a doctrine, and clearly a search for additional texts, not in juridical and religious treatises where scholarship has tended to look for them but in philosophical and ethical ones, is a needed task for research. Yet, when related to my earlier example from Ibn Miskawayh and to the monuments I have mentioned they suggest a pattern for the Muslim attitude to images.

First of all, it is not proper to refer to it as iconoclasm. At best aniconism is perhaps acceptable, for its key point is that it saw images not as evil *per se* (only man can do evil with them) but as irrelevant since unable to capture reality, and at worst temptations away from the requirements of a good life. This position was not achieved immediately and is not pertinent to the monuments of *ca.* 700. They are the result of a specific inner growth of the Muslim world and not necessarily influenced by other cultures and developments. But aniconism did not mean absence of symbols or a negative rejection of representations, at least not in early times. It rather meant the elevation of other visual forms, writing, vegetal ornament, geometry, abstract pattern, possibly colour, to the level of meaningful forms, around which the culture developed its own systems of association whose study is still in its infancy.

From these remarks it could be concluded that an understanding of Islamic attitudes has nothing to do with Byzantine Iconoclasm, except perhaps to the extent that the phenomenon of Islam is pertinent to explain the Byzantine crisis. Such has been the conclusion of many scholars in recent years, for instance that of Grunebaum, among others.[33] At best one can simply argue, as many have done, that Islamic monuments serve as examples of styles and motifs which would have disappeared from Byzantium because of Iconoclastic destructions. But there are perhaps two areas in which an awareness of the Muslim phenomenon is quite pertinent to the Byzantine one. One is technical. The fact that the Muslim attitude developed as it did was one of the reasons why Islamic art could have an impact on other arts, especially in Christendom, whereas the reverse was no longer possible. For the very qualities of its abstraction and purely interiorized symbolism made it adaptable to other tastes and other purposes, and even its writing could be copied with impunity if one did not become aware of its meaning.[34] It transformed Islamic forms into a uniquely intercultural system of forms in the Middle Ages and even in the Renaissance. And, when its princely cycles were copied, they did not represent so much Islamic art as the Near Eastern version of the art of all princes. The uniqueness of the Muslim ideological development may therefore explain its impact of Byzantium in the ninth century.

But the second aspect of the Muslim attitude is perhaps more important, although more difficult to focus properly. One can argue that Islam elaborated a mode of creativity which illustrates far more than itself. It is in fact a manner of "seeing" and of "showing" which tended to refuse the hierarchy of subjects imposed by Antiquity in which the representation of man

32. R. Ettinghausen, "Al-Ghazzāli on Beauty," *Art and Thought*, ed. K. Bharatna Iyer (London, 1947), 160–5.
33. G. von Grunebaum, "Byzantine Iconoclasm and the influence of the Islamic Environment," *History of Religions*, 2 (1962).
34. Much remains to be done in this area; see R. Ettinghausen's contribution to S. Schacht and J. Bosworth, eds., *The Legacy of Islam* (London, 1972).

occupied the first place. Thereby, like early Buddhist art from which the Buddha is absent, it avoided the dilemma of Christian art which was that God can only be represented in human form but how can one make a human form to be understood as God? The choice existed in Byzantium as well, just as it existed later in the West, and the problem becomes less why Iconoclasm with a capital "I" began than why it did not succeed, for the questions it posed were universal ones rather than localized ones in time and space. To this question also the Muslim phenomenon may provide an answer, or at least the elements of an answer. It is that the starting point for an explanation of a phenomenon like the destruction or avoidance of images does not lie in immanent formal changes or in specific philosophical positions, but rather in the coexistence, at all times and in all places, of two equally potent attitudes toward the visual world: one which seeks the relationship between the thing made and its subjects or functions, and the other one which seeks to emphasize the relationship between works of art and their viewers and users. The Muslim world, for historical reasons of its own, chose to develop primarily the latter, while being occasionally tempted by the former. Christianity adopted the former and was compelled to struggle with the complex of Pygmalion, of images which become alive. Islam, by leaving the choice of interpreting visual creativity to men rather than by creating a doctrine of visual interpretation, may have succeeded in setting the nature of the arts in a totally different dimension.

VIII ICONOCLASM AND THE MONOPHYSITES

SEBASTIAN BROCK

IN the course of the refutation of the Iconoclast Council of 754 that features in Actio VI of the Second Council of Nicaea, the deacon Epiphanios flatly states that "neither the Theopaschites nor the impious Severus, Peter the Fuller, Philoxenos of Mabbug and all their many-headed – but headless – hydra" accept icons.[1] The "many-headed but headless hydra" of course puns on the nickname *Akephaloi*, "headless ones," by which the Severan Monophysites were commonly designated. Elsewhere, too, in the course of the Acts of the Seventh Council, the great sixth-century Monophysite leaders, Severus and Philoxenos, come under fire for their allegedly Iconoclast views.

In modern literature on the subject the main proponent of the theory of Monophysite influence on the Iconoclasts has been Ostrogorsky, in his study of the extant fragments of Constantine V's writings.[2] Although Henri Grégoire, in a review of Ostrogorsky's little book,[3] had no difficulty in exposing the weakness of Ostrogorsky's arguments on this particular point, the Monophysite hydra – if I may be permitted to borrow the deacon Epiphanios' image – continues to push up one or other of its many heads in the modern literature on the origins of Iconoclasm.[4] My aim in this paper is to dispose of as many heads as possible of this particular monster, basing my case largely on the Syriac sources available.

The paper falls into four sections. First of all I shall examine in turn the various pieces of evidence that apparently favour the hypothesis of some connection between Iconoclasm and Monophysitism, and (I hope) show that the texts in question are either misleading, or should be interpreted quite differently. In the second and third sections I shall look at the Syriac evidence for the use of icons among the Monophysites, first the positive evidence, then that which can reasonably be deduced *e silentio*. Finally I shall suggest that the real issue underlying the Iconoclast controversy has nothing specifically to do with Christology, or even – paradoxically – in the essential with images at all.

I

First then we should consider the evidence that on the surface might be thought to support a connection between Iconoclasm and Monophysitism. Here I select four main items.

(1) The only specific example of Severus' alleged Iconoclasm that was adduced at the Seventh Council is taken from a hostile Life of Severus by John of Gabala;[5] according to this source Severus preached a sermon to the effect that the archangel Michael should not be depicted as wearing purple, but white – his underlying intention being to pour disrepute on the idea of depicting angels at all. Fortunately we are able to check the allegation, for Severus' actual sermon survives, in Syriac translation.[6] An unbiased reading of the passage in question makes it quite clear that all that Severus objected to was the depiction of archangels in purple, on the grounds that this gave a misleading impression of their proper roles. John of Gabala's interpretation of Severus' motives can be safely dismissed as purely tendentious. All that we have here is the well-known situation where a passage of an opponent's writings has been taken out of context and its meaning twisted to suit the purpose of those quoting it. In actual fact we know from one of the Monophysite Lives of Severus that a mural portrayal of the Paradise story played a part in his spiritual conversion.[7]

(2) The Iconodule case against Philoxenos of Mabbug is more detailed.[8] He is accused of having said that angels, being bodiless, should not be depicted, and of having forbidden the depiction of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. Furthermore Philoxenos is said to have put his principles into action, removing (ἐξηλείφε) paintings of angels, and hiding away icons of Christ.

1. Mansi, XIII, cols. 317–8. Since it was almost exclusively the Severan Monophysites (i.e. Syrian Orthodox) who received attention in the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea, this paper does not deal with evidence from the other non-Chalcedonian churches, Armenian, Coptic and Ethiopian Orthodox.
2. *Studien*.
3. *Byzantion*, 4 (1927/8), 765–71.
4. E.g. in recent literature: Alexander, *Nicephorus* 53; P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), 34, 107; Gero, *Leo III*, 26, 127; Barnard, *Background*, 61, 143.
5. Mansi, XIII, cols. 183–4.
6. *Hom.* 72 (in PO, XII); cf. H. Chadwick in *JThS* n.s. 25 (1974), 67 (note 3).
7. Zacharias Scholasticus, *Vita Severi* (in PO, II, 49).
8. Mansi, XIII, cols. 179 ff. (from John Diakrinomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*); cf. A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbug* (Louvain, 1963), 88–90.

Quite a number of Philoxenos' Syriac writings survive, but nowhere, to my knowledge, does he express Iconoclast opinions that would lend support to these accusations.[9] On one particular point, however, a little light can be shed: the ban on eucharistic doves (a number of which survive). This was actually something that Severus disapproved of too (although this was not brought up at the Seventh Council), to judge from a contemporary disposition against him.[10] If, however, one recalls that in north Syria – and centred on Hierapolis/Mabbug, Philoxenos' own see – the cult of Atargatis, where the dove was an important symbol, was still very much alive in the sixth century, the hostility of these two bishops over this point becomes very understandable. It is thus likely that their opposition to the doves had nothing directly to do with Iconoclast tendencies.[11]

Actually, both Severus and Philoxenos did have an ascetic streak in them, and this could easily have given rise to accusations of Iconoclasm on the part of their opponents. Severus for example, on taking over the patriarchal palace at Antioch, threw out all the luxurious bathing and kitchen installations that his predecessors had put in.[12] This puritan streak – like that of Epiphanius of Salamis before them – had nothing to do with their particular Christological beliefs.[13]

(3) We may turn now from Iconodule accusations to two related items: Constantine V's theology, and Michael the Syrian's comments on the Iconoclast Council of 754 – the king-pins of Ostrogorsky's hypothesis. But before embarking on these, we should briefly consider what is meant by Monophysitism, since this term is frequently misunderstood by western writers. To many 'Monophysitism' means the doctrine that Christ had a single, divine nature – with the manhood swallowed up into the divine. This is indeed the position of Eutyches, but it is teaching that is condemned just as much by the surviving Monophysite churches (Syrian, Armenian, Coptic and Ethiopian Orthodox) as by the Chalcedonians. Severan Monophysitism, the norm in north Syria, held that the incarnate nature of Christ was *one*, coming *from* (ἐκ) two natures, human and divine, in perfect union of the two – as opposed to the Chalcedonian definition which maintained that the incarnate Christ was *in* (ἐν) two natures. From the point of view of the Severan Monophysites, the one nature (God-Man) teaching *alone* ensured the reality of the incarnation of the divine Logos; in their eyes the Chalcedonian definition of two natures in the incarnate Christ unduly separated the divine from the human in Christ, thus endangering the full reality of the incarnation of the divinity. This is an important point and one that should be stressed, seeing that many moden writers tacitly, but quite wrongly, assume that all Monophysites are Eutychians, and so go on to point out that the Monophysites are thus likely to have been opposed to the portrayal of Christ, as being of divine nature only. As far as the Eutychians are concerned this is a reasonable deduction, although there is not, to my knowledge, any actual evidence that they did oppose the portrayal of Christ. It is totally illegitimate, however, to apply this argument to the Severan Monophysites.

Nevertheless, within the Monophysite ranks there had arisen during the sixth century a new issue, propagated by Julian of Halicarnassus, and vigorously combatted by Severus. Julian held that the body of Christ was incorruptible and that it was of heavenly origin, a view that gave rise to the nickname 'Phantasiasts' being applied to his followers.[14] In certain areas the Phantasiasts were very numerous, and this applied in particular to Armenia,[15] where, according to some, they may have been linked with the seventh-century outbursts of Iconoclasm in that area.[16] If there was any relationship, however, between the Julianists and the Armenian Iconoclasts (which is not certain), this relationship is almost certainly an incidental, and not a casual one.[17]

To return to Constantine V: Ostrogorsky laid great stress on the fact that in the extant fragments of his writings – preserved it should be remembered, by his enemies – only the terminology 'out of two natures' occurs, and not 'in two natures'.[18] That is to say, terminology that, while not specifically anti-Chalcedonian, was acceptable to the Severan Monophysites. But before jumping to the conclusions to which Ostrogorsky comes, two points should be kept in mind. First, the argument from silence here, namely that Constantine deliberately avoided the Chalcedonian terminology 'in two natures,' is a very weak one, for his opponents were only likely to quote those

9. In a passage in *De Trinitate*, ed. A. Vaschalde, CSCO Scr. Syri 9 (Louvain, 1907), 12 (text) = Scr. Syri 10, (Louvain, 1907), 15 (translation), he does state that the Godhead cannot be depicted, but that is a different matter.
10. Mansi, VIII, col. 1039; cf. E. Honigman, *Évêques et Évêches monophysites* CSCO 127, Subsidia 2 (Louvain, 1951), 23–4.
11. Both Honigmann and de Halleux (*loc. cit.*) make this point.
12. Ps. Dionysius, *Chronicon*, II (CSCO Scr. Syri 53), 13. In *Select Letters*, ed. E.W. Brooks (London, 1902), IV, 1, Severus complains of over ornate thurches (he is speaking specifically of the use of marble); contrast note 30.
13. Cf. de Halleux, *Philoxène*, 88–90.
14. In the *Vita Stephani* (PG, 100, col. 1084) Leo is called a "Julianist and a Manichee" (whereas John of Damascus makes do with only "Manichee"); in the Acta (Mansi, XIII, cols. 157-8) Tarasios asserts that "Hebrews, Saracens, Pagans, Samaritans, Manichaeans and Phantasiasts, imitating the Theopaschites, wanted to do away with icons."
15. Cf. Ps. Dionysius, *Chronicon*, II, 124.
16. So S. der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images au VIIe siècle", *Byzantion*, 17 (1944/5), 86–7 (note).
17. Cf. Alexander, "Sect," 158 (note 32).
18. *Studien*, 24 ff.

passages to which they could take objection. Secondly, the issue of Christology should not be taken in isolation: Constantine's apparent rejection of the term 'Theotokos' and the cult of relics must also be taken into account, and neither of these points would have endeared him in the slightest to the Monophysites.

In any case it is quite clear that Monophysitism played no formative role in the initial development of the Iconoclast ideology, since specifically Christological arguments are absent from the opening phases of the controversy. In fact it is almost as if the whole issue of Christology had been introduced as it were out of habit, simply because that had become the traditional battle ground for controversy.

The second point raised by Ostrogorsky is Michael the Syrian's favourable comments on Constantine V.[19] A closer look at the passage will reveal the true reason for Michael's apparent approval of Constantine and the Iconoclast Council of 754. After briefly reporting the Council itself, Michael adds:[20] "The Chalcedonians hated this Constantine, calling him icon-hater, because he held this synod and forbade the veneration of images. He anathematized John and George of Cyprus because they upheld the teaching of Maximus. The Emperor Constantine was a cultivated man and he preserved the mysteries of the orthodox faith. That is why the Chalcedonians hated him".[20]

The reference to Maximus provides the key to the proper understanding of Michael's attitude. Michael's knowledge of the Iconoclast synod seems to be confined to two basic pieces of information: that the veneration of images had been condemned, and that John of Damascus and others had been anathematized. To the Monophysite Michael, John of Damascus primarily meant the upholder of the Dyothelete theology of Maximus the Confessor, and not the defender of images (and it should be remembered that the Dyothelete-Monothelete controversy was very much a live issue in the early eighth century in Syria, as Michael himself elsewhere reports).[21] Accordingly Michael has assumed that the condemnation of John of Damascus in fact meant a condemnation of Maximus' Dyothelete teaching, and a return to a Monothelete position, which was of course much more acceptable to the Monophysites. It can thus safely be deduced that Michael praises Constantine, not for his Iconoclasm, but for his supposed condemnation of Maximus' theology – something that Michael (or his source) in fact wrongly deduced from the anathema on John of Damascus.

II

We now turn to the other side of the coin – the positive evidence for the use of images among the Monophysites.

First of all we may consider the legend about one of the most famous of all icons, the Abgar icon at Edessa. The story takes on various forms, but the *Teaching of Addai*, preserved in Syriac, states that the portrait was painted by Hannan, Abgar's emissary to Jesus.[22] The icon itself was probably kept in the Great Church at Edessa, and, although this was in Melkite hands under Arab rule, it had belonged to the Monophysites for a time in the early seventh century, until their Bishop Isaiah imprudently refused Heraclius communion on the grounds that he was a Chalcedonian. There is no hint that the icon was disapproved of by the Monophysites; to the contrary, we hear of a prominent Monophysite of the late seventh century, Athanasius bar Gumaye, who had a replica of the icon made while the original was temporarily in his house, and then kept the genuine one and returned the replica to the unsuspecting Chalcedonians.[23]

In Greek tradition the controversial literature with the Jews provides an interesting source of Iconodule replies to Jewish accusations of idolatry – replies that ironically made use of the sophisticated arguments adduced by the Neoplatonists in their defence of idols against earlier Christian attacks![24] There happen to be two Syriac texts of this type: one a recently published dialogue between a Jew and a Christian, attributed to a stylite called Sergios,[25] the other a treatise against the Jews by the twelfth century Monophysite writer, Dionysios bar Salibi.[26] The former

19. *Studien*, 27 ff.
20. *Chronicle*, ed. J.B. Chabot (Paris, 1899–1924/Brussels, 1963), II, 521 (translation); IV, 473 (text).
21. *Chronicle*, II, 492; IV, 537–8. For the background, see my "An early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor," *AnalBoll*, 91 (1973), 341–6; and "A Syriac fragment on the Sixth Council", *OrChr*, 57 (1973), 63–71.
22. Ed. G. Phillips, *The Doctrina of Addai* (London, 1876). In the anonymous chronicle *ad annum* 1234 (ed. Chabot, I, 121) we have the later fusion with the Veronica legend, and the icon is on a veil with which Christ had wiped his face. (Pope Gregory refers specifically to the Abgar icon in his letter to Leo, Mansi, XII, cols. 963–4).
23. Michael, *Chronicle*, II, 476–7; IV, 448–9.
24. See Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 35 ff.
25. Ed. P. Hayman in CSCO Scr. Syri 152–3 (Louvain, 1973).
26. Ed. J. de Zwaan (Leiden, 1906) (text only).

text, which probably belongs to the eighth century, is particularly interesting, since it contains a long section on the subject of images, where the arguments are only partially paralleled in the comparable Greek literature.[27] Unfortunately, however, it is not clear whether the author is Monophysite or Melkite. The editor of the text is inclined to think that he is a Monophysite,[28] but it must be admitted that the evidence on this point either way is very thin. The other document, which is much later (though definitely Monophysite), contains only a passing reference to icons, but one which makes it quite clear that it was the norm for Monophysites to venerate them.[29]

Incidental references to icons or figurative painting and mosaics are not common in Monophysite literature up to the end of the Iconoclast period, but the few that there are suggest that no offence was taken to them. The Paradise cycle at Beirut, mentioned in the *Life of Severus*, has already been referred to.[30] Even though the church in question need not necessarily have been a Monophysite one, the attitude of Severus and his biographer imply no disapproval – rather the opposite. From John of Ephesus we learn that portraits of patriarchs were to be found in monasteries, and in another work he tells of the decoration of a shrine in Amida "with likenesses and pictures".[31] An Arabic writer informs us that the banners of the Ghassanid troops had a portrait of their favourite saint, Sergios, depicted on them.[32] Writing towards the end of the seventh century the great Monophysite scholar, Jacob of Edessa, states that artists normally depict three Magi, whereas he knows another tradition according to which there were twelve.[33] In all there might be a dozen such references belonging to the sixth to eighth century available in Syriac sources.

Finally we can point also to illuminated manuscripts, and one of the earliest and finest of these, the famous Rabbula Gospels of 586, is generally agreed to be of Monophysite provenance.[34] Much less well known, but probably from the same sort of date is a very fragmentary illuminated Gospels preserved in Diyarbakir (ancient Amida).[35] Since, however, the colophon is lost, nothing is known of its provenance, and all that can be said is that, whatever its origin, it has been preserved in Monophysite circles.

Another early example of Monophysite illumination is to be found in the Wolfenbüttel Gospels, where the colophon, which is dated exactly to 24th December 633, has as its centre-piece a small Pantokrator.[36]

Next in date comes the seventh/eighth-century Paris Bible, *BN syr. 341* (nowadays sometimes dated to the sixth century).[37] Unfortunately the colophon is again missing, and so we have no clear pointer to its origin. Actually, on purely liturgical grounds, it would seem to be of Nestorian, and not Monophysite provenance (as has usually been assumed).[38] Here it is worth interposing the remark that there is quite a lot of evidence for Nestorian figurative art for this and the later period.[39] The impression gained by nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries, that their art was aniconic, was quite a false one.

After the Paris Bible there is a gap in surviving illuminated manuscripts until the tenth and eleventh centuries, from which time onwards we have quite a number of illuminated manuscripts of specifically Monophysite provenance.[40]

27. X. 2–3; XII; XVI–XVII.
28. Hayman, *op.cit.*, 6*.
29. VIII. 2: ". . . the Israelites used to pray before the ark (of the Covenant) worshipping God, and not planks or stones – just as we worship before painted icons and before the cross, not worshipping the paint or wood, but God". (Compare the analogous argument used by Leontius (in Mansi XIII, col. 44 and *Anthology* B14), and in the *Trophies of Damascus* (in PO, XV, 246 f).
30. Reference in note 7, Severus uses painting similes a number of times in his homilies, e.g. *Hom.* 52 (PO, IV, 7–8), *Hom.* 67 (PO, VIII, 360), *Hom.* 118 (PO, XXVI, 357 f). Compare also what he has to say on the decoration of the martyrion of St. Drosis in *Hom.* 100 (PO, XXII, 246).
31. John of Ephesus, *Hist. Eccl.*, ed. E.W. Brooks, CSCO Scr. Syri 54, 11, 100 (text); Scr. Syri 55, 7, 72–3 (translation); *Lives of Eastern Saints*, ed. E.W. Brooks, PO, XVII, 177.
32. Al Akhtal, quoted by J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures* (Paris, 1964), I, 40.
33. In E. Nestle, *Brevis linguae syriacae grammatica, Litteratura, chrestomathia* (Leipzig, 1881), 82* (omitted in later editions). This is quoted by Moshe bar Kepha, *Homily on the Magi* (in *Cambridge Add. 2918*, fol. 42^b; I owe the reference to Mr. J. F. Coakley); according to the anonymous chronicle *ad annum* 1234 (ed. J. B. Chabot, II, 275), Moshe bar Kepha's mother died when he was ten months old, whereupon his father brought him to the church of the Theotokos at Balad, where "*the icon of our Lady* suckled him".
34. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, 155–6.
35. *Ibid.*, 207 f.
36. Illustrated in J. Assfalg, *Syrische Handschriften* (verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland V; Wiesbaden, 1963), frontispiece. The colophon states that the manuscript was written in the time of John I, Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch (630/1 – 648).
37. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, 208–19.
38. Cf. *Vetus Testamentum Syriace*, IV.6 (Leiden, 1972), iv; *List of Peshitta Old Testament Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1961), 37.
39. Cf. E. Delly, "Le culte des saintes images dans l'église syrienne orientale", *L'Orient Syrien*, 1 (1956), 291–6; J. Dauvillier, "Quelques témoignages littéraires et archéologiques sur la présence et sur le culte des images dans l'ancienne église chaldéene", *L'Orient Syrien*, 1 (1956), 297–304. Note that a passage in the Nestorian spiritual writer Dadischoc assumes the common use of a painted crucifix: ed. A. Mingana, in *Woodbrooke Studies* 7 (Cambridge, 1934), 138.
40. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, 219 ff; see also H. Buchtal, "The painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its relation to Byzantine and Islamic art", *Syria*, 1939, 136–50.

We now pass to arguments *e silentio*. It has already been seen that Michael the Syrian's apparent approval of the Iconoclast synod is based on his understanding of what happened there. It is worth considering for a moment the reporting of the Iconoclast controversy in other chronicles of Monophysite origin. Most of them mention Yazid's Iconoclast measures (one early one adds that the next year Yazid ordered all white dogs, white pigeons and black cocks to be put to death).[41] It is only the later chroniclers, like Michael, who link Yazid's measures with those of Leo,[42] on whose Iconoclasm the earlier chronicles are completely silent. The Iconoclast synod of 754 likewise only features in the later chronicles, and then – apart from Michael – without any comment.[43] It seems safe to assume that the issue was not a live one for the Monophysite chroniclers.

Just as the question of images was a regular topic for Jewish-Christian controversy of the seventh and eighth centuries, so one would imagine that, had this particular issue been a live one between Chalcedonians and Monophysites, it would also have featured in their controversial literature of the period. But the few relevant Syriac texts of Monophysite polemic against the Chalcedonians are absolutely silent on this subject.[44]

One final point is worth making. It is generally agreed that image cult and relic cult are closely interrelated, and relics certainly came under the attack of the Iconoclasts at times.[45] If we turn to the Monophysites, we find no hint of opposition to relic cult: on the contrary, there is considerable evidence that it was very widespread in the sixth to eighth centuries, and the one Monophysite writer who falls under closest suspicion of Iconoclasm, Philoxenos of Mabbug, actually has a very interesting explanation of why relics should have spiritual potency.[46]

IV

By way of conclusion I should like to suggest that the real – but unvoiced – issue underlying the whole Iconoclast controversy has nothing at all to do with Christology, and very little (directly at least) with the legitimacy of images. It is, rather, a question of how far the divine is allowed to impinge on the human world.[47] The Iconoclasts wished to confine the sphere of divine 'interference' – to put it that way – to certain given areas, in particular the Eucharist, and the saints, not allowing it to spill out untidily into other areas where humanity was perfectly well in control. As it were, God on Sundays only. There is a telling sentence in the *Horos* of 754 which illustrates this attitude very nicely:[48] "images/icons are ordinary matter since no prayer of sanctification has been said over them" – that is to say, from the Iconoclast point of view, specific human initiative is required in order to bring something into the realm of the "holy." (It will be recalled that at that date tradition had not yet prescribed any such prayer of consecration).[49]

To the Iconodules, however, the divine was very much present in the world, and was not subject to neat barriers. They are in fact heirs of that tradition of spirituality that saw the world as a sacrament, and that allows for the transformation and transfiguration of matter by means of the spirit.[50]

If there is anything in this suggestion, it perhaps helps explain why the Iconoclasts were far from consistent in their choice of areas to attack – something that is very hard to explain if the whole controversy is viewed in terms of iconic versus aniconic religious art.[51] It may be added, in conclusion, that if one looks at the controversy in this light, the Iconoclasts turn out to be forerunners of Barlaam and the opponents of Hesychasm in the fourteenth century.

41. J.B. Chabot, *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahre, IVe partie* (Paris, 1895), 17.
42. Michael, *Chronicle*, II, 491; IV, 456–7.
43. E.g. *Chonicon ad annum 1234*, ed. J.B. Chabot (CSCO Scr. Syri 36), I, 337.
44. E.g. A. van Roey, "La lettre apologétique d'Élie à Léon", *Le Muséon*, 57 (1944), 1–52, and his *Nonne de Nisibe: Traité apologétique* (Louvain, 1948). On the Chalcedonian side it is significant that John of Damascus does not bring up the subject is his work against the Jacobites (PG, 94, cols. 1436–1502). Note too that the Melkite Theodore Abu Qurra, writing in an area where Monophysites were plentiful could say ". . . cum usus imaginum *omnibus ecclesiis* communis sit . . . nulla enim regio per fidem meam ubi imagines sanctorum non inveniuntur"; *de Cultu Imaginum*, ed. I. Arendzen (Bonn, 1897), 11.
45. Cf. Gero, *Leo III*, 97–9.
46. *Memra on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit*, ed. A. Tanghe, *Le Muséon*, 73 (1960), 69.
47. Compare Ladner, "Origin", 134–5, and especially Brown, *EHR*, 346 (1973), 1–34 ("The iconoclast controversy was a debate on the position of the holy in Byzantine society," 5). I did not have access to this penetrating article until the present paragraph was already written.
48. Mansi, XIII, col. 268; cf. Anastos, "754", 181.
49. For the later Monophysite practice over this see P. Krüger, "Der Ritus der Ikonenweihe nach dem westsyrischen Pontifikale und seine theologische Bedeutung im Vergleich zur byzantinischen Ikonen, *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 14 (1965), 292–304.
50. I take very much the opposite view to N. Garsoïan, "Byzantine heresy", 97 ff, 105 ff.
51. See especially Brown, *op. cit.*

IX MONOPHYSITE CHURCH DECORATION

MARLIA MUNDELL

THE subject of Monophysite church decoration has been mostly confined to the footnote of discussions of Iconoclasm by Byzantine art historians. Either reference is made to statements attributed to Philoxenos of Mabbug and Severus of Antioch, or the subject is alluded to and dropped.[1] Perhaps with good cause. Although there was no doctrinal opposition to human images among Monophysites and icons were apparently owned by some of them,[2] there is still room to consider the decoration of their churches which is, strictly speaking, a separate question. Opposition to human images, or to put it another way, preference for abstract decoration (including symbols) may be more a matter of tradition than of doctrine. In a long analysis of the use of images in the Syriac-speaking world, Abbé Leroy denies that Monophysite practice differed in any way from Melkite or Nestorian.[3] This position is better supported for the later period than for that of the fifth to the eighth centuries when I think there is evidence to demonstrate that these sects were more divided on this matter than they may have been later. By examining the archaeological remains – supplemented by literary evidence – one may decide whether a non-figural tradition persisted in the Near East in the pre-Iconoclast period, whether Monophysite or not. We shall then consider the relationship of church decoration to the use of icons.

The focus of this paper will be Syria – the Patriarchate of Antioch – an area of intense Monophysite activity, where Leo III originated and the Umayyad Caliphate established its capital. The decoration of churches in this region, therefore, could contribute towards an understanding of both Byzantine Iconoclasm and Umayyad art. Related spheres of Monophysite control or influence – the Patriarchate of Alexandria, Nubia, Ethiopa, the Yemen, Armenia and part of Asia Minor – will be but briefly referred to as the limited scope of this paper does not permit adequate examination of these complex areas. To fill out this brief survey of the Near East attention will also be paid to decorative practices of Chalcedonians (Melkites) in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and of Nestorians in Sassanian Persia.

It should be noted at the outset that material remains in all these areas are very few and in most cases their context is undocumented. The conclusions reached here – both concerning individual movements and general trends – are conjectural. But the body of evidence contains many items that deserve further study. It is often impossible to link precisely a particular decoration to its patron who may have been Chalcedonian, Monophysite or Nestorian. Likewise it is uncertain to what extent the clergy of a particular church excluded from its congregation those they considered to be heretics. Presumably parochial or cathedral churches would be controlled by one particular group, but several influences may have been at work in the case of pilgrimage churches or martyrs' shrines that attracted a broad cross-section of the public and it is reported that at least one monastery in Egypt included both Chalcedonian and Monophysite churches within its walls (see below). A further area of uncertainty is to what extent churches would be redecorated on being taken over by another sect.

Stories survive concerning the shrines of the Holy Land which indicate that Monophysites were not welcome to worship there and that Chalcedonian control was resented.[4] The latter point is forcefully expressed in the tale of a late-night visit by Christ Himself to the shrine of the Piscina Probatica where He chided the watchman for slipshod housekeeping, ordered him to launder the

1. Kitzinger, *DOP*, 8 (1954), 120, 131; Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 80, 97; S. Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," *Etudes byzantines et arméniennes* (Louvain, 1973), 388–389; L. Durnovo, *Kratkaja istorja drevnearmjanskoj živopisi* (Erevan, 1957), 8–9; V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura byzantina* (Turin, 1967), 88–89. The last three are in reference to Armenian art. Cf. J. Lassus who discusses Syrian church decoration without reference to Monophysites, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* (Paris, 1947), 289–308.
The possibility of Monophysite influence on iconography has recently been raised in the following: K. Wessel, "Zur Iconographie der koptischen Kunst" in *Christentum am Nil* (Recklinghausen, 1964), 234 ff.; P. van Moorsel, "Die Stillende Gottesmutter und die Monophysiten" in *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlichen Zeit* (Reclinghausen, 1970) (hereafter *Kunst Nubiens*), 281 ff.; M. Sacopoulo, *La Theotokos à la mandorle de Lythrankomi* (Paris, 1975), 77–108.

2. See the contribution of Dr. S. Brock to this volume.

3. J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peinture* (Paris, 1964), 37–92, esp. 37–46. Abbé Leroy uses many of the same examples that I have but his interpretation of them often differs from mine.

4. John Rufus, *Plerophoria* (trans. F. Nau), *PO* VIII (Paris, 1912).
While some of these stories are probably to be interpreted on two levels (e.g. p. 28), others (pp. 135, 136) seem to be simple accounts of the anguish felt by Monophysites on contact with Chalcedonian worship in the shrines. Later John Moschos describes how a Monophysite duke of Palestine, Gevemer, was miraculously prevented from entering the Church of the Anastasis (*PG*, 87ter, col. 2904–5).

vestments and blamed these unsatisfactory conditions on the treacherous Patriarch Juvenal.[5] Although it is difficult to determine to what extent such exclusiveness was practised at a local level, Rabbula of Edessa (411–435) dictated to village priests that "any of the heretics who come to the church . . . shall not receive the Eucharist,"[6] and on a reverse issue, Severus of Antioch counselled that it was permitted for Monophysites to pray before relics in churches "when the heretics are not unlawfully conducting services or singing inside."[7] On the other hand, John of Hephaestopolis was brazenly ordaining Monophysite priests in the gallery of the church at Tralles while Chalcedonian mass was being celebrated below.[8]

The subject of decoration will be limited to that of the walls of the church and architectural sculpture such as capitals; in short, decoration still physically attached to the church itself. Pavements are excluded on the grounds that in the Christian Near East they virtually never feature Biblical or Divine illustration, so that the use of non-figural or symbolic pavements indicates little for our purposes here.[9] Portable objects not found within a particular church or monastery are likewise omitted because there is usually no way of connecting them with any certainty to site or patron.[10] Finally, in the interests of simplicity, I shall try to limit myself to two terms only in describing decoration: 1) *figural:* with human figures, 2) *non-figural:* without human figures. *Icon* will refer only to paintings on panels. The term *aniconic* will be avoided.

In considering surviving and attested wall decoration where patronage is known with any certainty, one can come to at least a negative conclusion, namely that for the period up to Byzantine Iconoclasm, no figural composition can be definitely associated with Monophysite patronage. There is evidence, on the other hand, that both Nestorian and Melkite churches displayed large scale figural decorations.

Nestorian Church Decoration

In support of the Nestorian practice there are only two published examples, but considering the small amount that is known of early Nestorian churches, these examples are significant.[11] The first is particularly so owing to its scale (Fig. 8). This is a painted stucco statue of life-size, said to represent a saint, excavated in 1929[12] within the area of Seleucia/Ctesiphon known as Kokhe in what might have been the Nestorian Patriarchal church.[13] It was found in the sanctuary under a floor laid in the early Islamic period and has been dated to the sixth century.[14]

The second example, although a great deal smaller, is noteworthy because of its location. It is a capital from the Nestorian monastery founded *ca.* 571 by Abraham of Kashkar on the southern edge of the Tur 'Abdin. Abraham was an alumnus of the School of Nisibis and his foundation is thought

5. John Rufus, 35.

6. A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents regarding Legislation relative to Syrian Asceticism* (Stockholm, 1966), 48.

7. *The Sixth Book of Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch*, ed. and trans. E.W. Brooks (London, 1902–4), 271.

8. John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, trans. E.W. Brooks, *PO*, XVIII, 538.

9. Secular human figures taken as symbols (e.g. vintage scenes) in pavements are found more in Chalcedonian areas of Palestine and Lebanon and might offer a further category of distinction in a more thorough treatment of the subject of this paper. See Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 100–103; H. Stern, "Sur quelques pavements paleo-chrétiens du Liban," *CahArch*, 15 (1965), 21–37. The Samson cycle at Mopsuestia may have been in a synagogue, E. Kitzinger, "The Samson Floor at Mopsuestia," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 135–137.

10. The best case for Monophysite patronage in this category is that made for the Rabbula Gospels executed in 586 in a monastery which appears among the signatures (although with a different abbot) of Monophysite abbots attached to documents of 567 and 571. The location of Beth Zagba is unknown; cf. Brock, *supra* VIII, 56 note 34. Later the manuscript belonged to Maronite monastries, Leroy, *Manuscrits*, 156. Another manuscript dated 633/4 executed at the monastery of Beth Hala near Damascus features a Pantokrator bust in a medallion set in the centre of a cross. This, too, is probably Monophysite as its colophon refers to the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, John (631–649), *ibid.*, 118, pl. 2, 1–2. G. Downey has compared the inscription of the Riha paten with the Jacobite Dismissal in the liturgy, "The Inscription on a Silver Chalice from Syria in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *AJA*, 55 (1951), 349–353. If, as E. Dodd suggests, the Stuma, Riha and Abegg treasures were donated to Rusafa, it would not necessarily follow that the donors were Monophysite; E. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures* (Bern, 1973), 56–57.

11. Two other sites have been excavated in Persia and reveal a total of three sixth–seventh century churches (see Fig. 5), two at Hira (D. Talbot Rice, "The Oxford Excavations at Hira, 1931," *Antiquity*, 6 [1932], 276–282, figs. 1–4, pls. I–II; *idem*, "The Oxford Excavations at Hira." *AI*, I [1934], 51–73) and one on the island of Kharg (R. Ghirshman, *The Island of Kharg* [Tehran, 1960], 10–14, also 7, pls. 5, 6, 11–14). All three churches are said to be Nestorian apparently because they are in Persia, whereas it is recorded that a Monophysite church existed in Hira in the sixth century (John of Ephesus, *Lives*, PO, XVII, 140). The fragments of the decoration of the churches at Hira (Fig. 5, 1) include a picture of a human arm in an upright position (an orant?) preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Talbot Rice, *AI*, 58). The decoration of the monastery and tombs at Kharg is limited to crosses (Fig. 5,2) but its church lacks the bema (Ghirshman, *Kharg*, pls. 11–12) which current literature presumes is characteristic of Nestorian churches (R. Taft, "Some notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Traditions," *OCP* 34 [1968], 330–337). The church at Seleucia/Ctesiphon (notes 12–14) has not been completely excavated and so it is unknown whether or not it too possessed a bema (*infra* note 13).

12. O. Reuther, "The German Excavations at Ctesiphon," *Antiquity*, 2 (1929), 449–451, pl. VI figs. 1–2.

13. J. Fiey, "Topography of al-Mada 'in," *Sumer*, 23 (1967), 17 f. A possible objection to the excavated church being identified with the "Great Church of Kokhe" is that the former was apparently turned into a bath in the early Islamic period (Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der deutschen Ktesiphon Expedition in Winter 1928/29* [Berlin, 1929], 15) while the latter was apparently in continual use until at least 1318 (Fiey, "al-Mada'in", 18). Cf. R. Heidenriech, "Stukfigur aus Ktesiphon," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl Marx Universität Leipzig, Gesellschafts Reihe*, 12 (1963), Heft 2, 473–477.

14. Reuther, "Excavations," 450–451.



Fig. 8

Stucco statue from Seleucia/ Ctesiphon. Photo: Staatliche Museen, Berlin.



Fig. 14 Relief of a stylite, Hama Museum, Syria. Photo: C. Mango.

to have completely renovated monastic life in Persia.[15] This capital represents the bust of a bearded man with arms belonging to unidentified figures reaching around the sides.[16] Although this is a minor piece, the total absence of such figures on capitals in the Tur 'Abdin and northern Syria would indicate a different tradition in those parts. On the significant exception of the Melkite churches of the Younger Symeon Stylite (built 541 – *ca.* 592) near Antioch see below.[17]

Patriarchate of Jerusalem

Aside from a brief period of compromise in 479–494, the Patriarch of Jerusalem was consistently Chalcedonian[18] and churches in his jurisdiction reveal figural decorations. In the Holy Land, especially at Jerusalem, their number is presumed to have been substantial and is deduced in part from the scenes on the Monza and Bobbio ampullae,[19] as well as from the iconography of other portable objects. From written sources it is known that at Gaza, Stephen the Governor of Palestine and the Melkite bishop Marcian built two churches between 536 and 548, both containing figural decoration, one of which included a New Testament cycle of at least 24 scenes.[20] The mosaic of the Adoration of the Magi on the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem was certainly earlier than the ninth century and may have been Justinianic.[21] Actual remains in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem are few, aside from the Melkite monastery church of Mt. Sinai,[22] built and decorated (548–565) by Justinian which has scriptural subjects in mosaic and encaustic, dating to the sixth and seventh centuries.[23] Of a fifth-sixth century date are two apse compositions in churches at Shivta (Sbeita) – possibly a Transfiguration and a Christ with angels,[24] and frescoes of saints were discovered on the walls of the sixth century churches at Avdat (Eboda) in the central Negev (*ca.* 540).[25] The Melkite lavra of St. Theoktistos (Deir el-Mukelik) associated with the monastery of St. Euthymios (Khan el-Ahmar), preserves wallpaintings of various periods in its rockcut chambers. One group of Christ flanked by saints is dated sixth-eighth century by its excavator.[26]

Patriarchate of Alexandria

The art within the Patriarchate of Alexandria is notoriously difficult to date and the excavated material insufficiently published.[27] It has been suggested, however, that the following chronology applies to the paintings of two of the most richly decorated monasteries, those of Bawit and Saqqara: non-figural decoration in the fifth and a gradual trend towards figures in the first part of the sixth and mid-sixth century.[28] This dating parallels the Monophysite flowering in the fifth and the Melkite persecution and takeover of monasteries starting in 537.[29] It is unclear in whose hands these two monasteries were at the time various paintings were done. A case for Melkite possession

15. A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO Subsidia 26 (Louvain, 1965), 206.
16. G. Bell, *Churches and Monasteries of the Tûr Abdin and Neighbouring Districts* (Heidelberg, 1913), 107, fig. 39.
17. W. Djobadze, "Vorläufiger Bericht über Grabungen und Untersuchungen in der Gegend von Antiochia am Orontes," *IsMitt* 15 (1965), pl. 53.2; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche* (Brussels, 1967), pls. XXXIII–XXXVI.
18. W. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972), 189, 205.
19. D. Ainalov, *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art* (New Jersey, 1961), 224–248.
20. Mango, *Art*, 60–72.
21. *Ibid.*, 114 and note 287.
22. From 451 Sinai was subordinate to Jerusalem, F. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris, 1938), II, 205.
23. G. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai* (Ann Abor, 1974), pls. CIII, CXXII–III, CXXVI–VII (mosaics); CXXX–CXXXI (encaustic panels). For dating see I. Ševčenko, "The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of its Inscriptions," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 259–261 (mosaics); Weitzmann, "The Jepthah Panel in the Bema of the Church of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai," *DOP*, 18 (1964), 347 (encaustic panels).
24. A. Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches of the Holy Land* (Bonn, 1970), 169, 172, 173; C. Woolley and T.E. Lawrence, "The Wilderness of Zin," *PEFA*, 1914/1915, 84, 189–90; cf. C. Baly, "S'baita," *PEFQ*, 1935, 176.
25. Ovadiah, *Corpus*, 25; "Chronique archéologique," *RBibl*, 67 (1960), 379.
26. Ovadiah, *Corpus*, 48; D. Chitty, *PEFQ* 1928, 146–147, figs. 3–4. The frescoes surviving at Khan el-Ahmar are later, *ibid.*, 176 and *idem*, *PEFQ* 1932, 196.
27. M. Martin, "Laures et ermitages du désert d'Egypte," *MélUSJ*, 42 (1966), 183–185.
28. H. Torp, "La date de la fondation du monastère d'Apa Apollo de Baouit et de son abandon," *MélRome*, 77 (1965), 171.
29. Frend, *Movement* (*supra* note 18), 274–275.

of Bawit at least *ca.* 570 could be made by the honourable mention of it by John Moschos.[30] For Saqqara its control by the Monophysites is thought to be indicated by a reference on the part of the monk Theodosios who was there between 520 and 530 and said it was a convent of Vandals, which is interpreted as meaning Arians, i.e. Monophysites.[31]

It should be noted that few of the paintings in these two monasteries survive in the churches whose walls are mostly destroyed,[32] but are found in various cells and communal rooms. An interesting example of the shift from non-figural to figural decoration can be seen in room 6 of Bawit where the four walls of the fifth century are covered with fresco imitations of marble revetment. Sometime in the sixth century a niche was let into the east wall and painted with the characteristically Coptic composition of the Ascension.[33] Icons survive from this general period in Egypt and the similarity of that of Bishop Abraham from Bawit[34] with the icon-like portrait of Jeremiah on a wall at Saqqara[35] illustrates how close these two media were there. At Saqqara and Bawit are also examples of the practice prevalent at this time of painting on the wall icon-like pictures of various saints, together with the donor who, as Professor A. Grabar puts it, thereby renders "l'équivalent pictural de sa prière".

After 451 the monastery of the Kellia in northern Egypt had both Chalcedonian and Monophysite churches.[37] Portions of this site have recently been excavated revealing no churches, but numerous rooms lined with niches (some dated sixth–seventh century) which may have held icons.[38] With two exceptions all the decoration tended to be non-figural, featuring only crosses.[39]

Nubia

In Monophysite Nubia,[40] as far as we can tell, churches were either simply whitewashed or the fresco was limited to imitations of marble revetment. This applies to Qasr Ibrim (of *ca.* 590),[41] the church at Aksha (seventh–ninth century),[42] and the first church of Faras of 630, the capital of Nubia.[43] The walls of the second church of Faras (dedicated in 707) were originally whitewashed and eventually, possibly decades later, figural painting – mostly single figures – was introduced[44] with at least one obvious copy of an icon, the Douting of Thomas, which is enclosed in a frame.[45] Over the centuries these paintings were added to, seemingly at random, all over the walls.[46] Professor Weitzmann has compared the wall decoration of Faras with that of St. Maria Antiqua in Rome which similarly displays what he describes as an "icon copying approach" which would be distinguished from a fresco tradition of monumental Old and New Testament cycles.[47] Less may be said of Ethiopia and the Yemen as little is clear of their early ecclesiastical history, although both were subjected to Monophysite missions,[48] and very little known of their monuments from this period.[49]

Georgia

The Georgian church was united for some time with the anti-Chalcedonian church of Armenia

30. John Moschos, PG, 87ter, col. 3057B. A similar case exists for Melkite control of St. Menas near Alexandria by Melkites at the same period, *ibid.*, col. 2960A–B.

31. The earlier manuscript lacks the qualifying phrase "of Vandals," P. van Cauwenbergh, *Études sur les moines d'Egypte depuis le concile de Chalcedoine jusqu'à l'invasion arabe* (Paris, 1914), 130. A better case for Monophysite control in the seventh century, might be the attempt by John of Nikiu (*ca.* 630) to associate with the probable founder of Saqqara, Apa Jeremiah, a visit by the Emperor Anastasius when he was supposedly exiled by Zeno, *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, trans. V. Zotenburg (Paris, 1883), 368.

32. There was a fresco (now destroyed) in the south church at Bawit of Christ and the apostles (E. Chassinat, *Fouilles à Baouït, MémInstCaire*, 13, 1 [Cairo, 1911], pls. X, LXVII–LXVIII) and numerous mosaic tesserae were found from the apse of one of the churches at Saqqara (J. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* [1907–1908], [Cairo, 1909], 3, 5–6).

33. J. Maspero, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouit, MémInstCaire*, 19 (Cairo, 1931–43), pp. VI–VII, pls. XV–XXIV.

34. K. Wessel, *Koptische Kunst* (Recklinghausen, 1963), frontispiece, p. 187f.

35. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906–1907), (Cairo, 1908), pl. LX.

36. A. Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur la culte des reliques at l'art chrétien antique*, II, (Paris, 1946), 126–128.

37. F. Daumas and A. Guillaumont, *Kellia I kom 219, Fouilles exécutées en 1964 et 1965*, I (Cairo, 1969), 8.

38. *Ibid.*, 143, pl. 2, 4–11, 13–14, 16, 18; R. Kasser *Kellia 1965* (Geneva, 1967), 29–39, 49–51, figs. 24, 30–32, 34–35, 37–39, 44, 52, 81–82; idem, *Kellia Topographie* (Geneva, 1972), figs. 56–57, 88–91.

39. *Ibid.*, fig. 56, 88–91, 140–147, 150–152; *idem*, *Kellia 1965*, fig. 27, 35, 68; Daumas and Guillaumont, *Kellia, I*, I, pls. 8, 10, 24 (as against 23e) ; II, pls. XXVII–XXXVII, XL (as against XXXVIII, XXXIX).

40. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, (Paris, 1949), 300–302; Frend, *Movement*, 297–303. For historical and archaeological evidence combined see S.Jakobielski, *A History of the Bishopric of Pachoras based on the Coptic Inscriptions, Faras III* (Warsaw, 1972), 19–25.

41. J. Plumley, "Some examples of Christain Nubian Art from the Excavations at Qasr Ibrim," *Kunst Nubiens* (*supra* note 1), 130.

42. J. Vercoutter, "Les trouvailles chrétiennes françaises à Aksha, Mirqissa et Sai," *Kunst Nubiens*, 156.

43. K. Michalowski, *Faras, Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand* (Zürich, 1967), 61.

44. Concerning the date of this introduction see Jakobielski, *History*, 53–72 and cf. Michalowski, *Kathedrale*, 72–74, and *idem*, *Faras, Centre artistique de la Nubie chrétienne* (Leiden, 1966), II.

45. Jakobielski, *History*, 57 and fig. 8.

46. Michalowski, *Kathedrale*, 74–100 and all plates.

47. K. Weitzmann, "Some remarks on the Sources of the Fresco Paintings of the Cathedral of Faras," *Kunst Nubiens*, 335–339.

48. Frend, *Movement*, 304–308.

49. J. Leclant, "L'art chrétien d'Ethiopis – découvertes récentes et points de vue nouveaux," *Kunst Nubiens*, 291–292.

until the formal split at the end of the sixth century. Thereafter Georgia remained Chalcedonian.[50] The only surviving interior mural decoration in Georgia is from the seventh century. This is an apse mosaic of Christ and other figures (a Theophany?) at Zromi (626–634).[51] The Djvari Church at Mtskheta has lost its apse decoration, but retains among its sculpture a large portrait of Christ on the façade.[52]

Armenia

The Armenian church was anti-Chalcedonian and anti-Nestorian from the early sixth century. By 550 Armenian theology was influenced by the heresy of Julian of Halicarnassus, and Severus of Antioch was condemned in a letter by the Katholikos Narses II (548–557). Thus, while the Armenian church became Monophysite, it differed from the Monophysite Jacobite church of Antioch which was Severan.[53] It has been suggested that the decorated churches of Armenia were built by Chalcedonians.[54] In 571 and under Maurice, Heraclius – both persecutors of Monophysites – and Constans II, there was union between the churches of Armenia and Constantinople.[55] Precisely from this last period date at least three of the seven preserved apse decorations from the seventh century in Armenia. The church of Mren (629–640) was founded by David Saharuni and Nerseh Kamsaraken whose names are mentioned in conjunction with Heraclius; the former was confirmed as Prince of the Armenians by the Byzantine Emperor.[56] The churches of Talish (Aruč) (668)[57] and Zoravar at Egvard (662–681)[58] were founded by Grigor Mamikonian a member of whose family was named by Constans II to command Armenia in 657/8, and who was himself ruler (652–684).[59] The apse of the former is ornamented with a standing Christ (seven metres high) and those of the latter are the only example of large scale ornamental compositions in the group. The other four churches with Christ (in theophanic compositions) or apostles surviving in the apse are of uncertain date and unknown patronage – Lmbat, Goch, T'alin and Artik.[60] Considering the Julianist tone of the Monophysitism of the Armenian church it may be unlikely that the paintings described by Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh (604–607) namely "the Birth, Baptism, Passion and Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension"[61] which emphasize Christ's Passion, and which were widely found in Armenian churches, would have been in churches properly Julianist (see below).

Patriarchate of Antioch: 1 Urban Centres

Like the Patriarchate of Alexandria, that of Antioch presents a complex situation. Although officially Monophysite for short periods of time, after the expulsion of Severus of Antioch from his seat in 519, the Melkite hierarchy was firmly entrenched. From *ca.* 540 onwards there gradually developed from Monophysite enclaves in Constantinople and the monasteries of northern Syria and Mesopotamia the hierarchy in exile (or "shadow cabinet") of what became the Jacobite church. Roughly speaking, there existed a dual system of Melkite and Monophysite bishops, the former in towns and the latter in monasteries.[62] The archaeological evidence from this period, probably less abundant than that of Egypt, is likewise confusing owing to the lack of dating of the few decorated monuments which survive.

The Christian remains in large centres which would yield Melkite monumental arts, such as Antioch and Apamea, are virtually gone. A possible example might be that of the Old Testament cycle painted in the Church of the Mother of God at Berytus (Beirut) – (autocephalous bishopric) –

50. M. Brosset, *Additions et éclairissements à l'histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'en 1496 de J.-C.* (St. Petersburg, 1851), 107–124; R. Janin, art. "Géorgie" in *Dictionnaire de la Théologie catholique*, VI (Paris, 1920), col. 1250. Cf. C. Toumanoff, "Christian Caucasia between Byzantium and Iran: new light on old sources," *Traditio*, 10 (1954), 174–184.

51. G. Čubinašvili, *Tsromi. Iz istorii gruzinskoj architektury pervoj treti VII veka* (Moskow, 1969), figs. 95–99. On the iconography see Lazarev, *Storia*, 90–91 (*supra*, note 1).

52. This church is dated 587–604 by some (see W. Djobadze, "The Sculptures on the Eastern Façade of the Holy Cross at Mtzkhet'a," *OrChr*, 44 [1960], 1–24, 112–135, figs. 1–6; idem, *OrChr*, 45 [1961], 70–77) and mid-seventh century by C. Toumanoff (Djobadze, *OrChr*, 44, 4–14 and note 14).

53. Toumanoff, "Caucasia," 142–145; Frend, *Movement*, 312–315. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, trans. J.-B. Chabot, (Paris, 1899–1905) II, 266, mentions that a Julianist named Dada converted 72 Armenian bishops to his heresy in the sixth century; J. Maspero, *Histoires des Patriarches d'Alexandrie (518–616)*, (Paris, 1923), 95, 266

54. Durnovo, *Istorja* (*supra*, note 1), 8–9.

55. Toumanoff, "Caucasia," 152–162.

56. The church at Mren also has reliefs of Christ and donors on the façade, N. and M. Thierry, "La Cathédrale de Mren et sa décoration," *CahArch*, 21 (1971), 43–77, figs. 13, 36–37.

57. Durnovo, *Istorja*, 11–12; *idem*, in *Izvestija Akademii Nauk Armenskoj SSR* (1952), no. 1, 49–66; Lazarev, *Storia*, 89–90; J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, I, (Vienna, 1918), 46–49, fig. 14.

58. Four of the eight original apses of this 16-sided church survive. Durnovo, *Istorja*, 12; Lazarev, *Storia*, 89; Strzygowski, *Baukunst* I, 47–48.

59. R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris, 1947), 304–306.

60. Durnova, *Istorja*, 9–10, 12 (fig. 1 = Lmbat); Lazarev, *Storia*, 89–90; for T'alin see also Strzgowski, *Baukunst* 1, 298, figs. 200, 336. A Kamsarakan built another church at T'alin in 689 (Thierry, "Mren," note 35).

61. Der Nersessian, "Une apologie" (*supra*, note 1), 384.

62. E. Honigmann, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle*, CSCO Subsidia 2 (Louvain, 1951), 142–206, 231–245; G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord. Le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine*, III, (Paris, 1953–1958), 63 ff.

mentioned in the Life of Severus of Antioch but now destroyed.[63] The one attested example of Melkite monumental art, likewise destroyed, is at Edessa. The church of St. Sophia was demolished by flood in 525 and thereafter rebuilt by Justinian,[64] under the direction of the Melkite bishop Amazonius.[65] Richly ornamented with white marble, it was "adorned with golden mosaics as the firmament is with shining stars".[66] No image or design was delineated in the monochrome mosaic. There is one disputed point in the description concerning the reference to the famous Mandylion of Edessa. The passage has been variously translated either as comparing the marble in its origin to that of the image not made by human hand or as stating that the Holy image itself was incorporated into the decoration of the church, perhaps let into the wall.[67] If the Sacred Face was displayed in St. Sophia, this would have been a case of the exhibition of an icon or relic rather than of the painted decoration of the church. Various cases have been made that the image was housed elsewhere and exhibited in the church occasionally.[68] This arrangement would seem to be repeated later in Edessa in the account of the church and baptistery built *ca.* 700 by a wealthy Jacobite, Athanasios bar Gumaye, to house the Mandylion which he had secured from the Melkites, duplicated and kept, returning to them the copy. The Image was housed in the baptistery which was embellished with gold, silver and marble revetments.[69]

A similar example may be found in the case of what was perhaps an icon of Christ in Amida. In Zachariah of Mitylene's account of the Persian capture of that city in 504 the Persian King Kavad saw "an image of the Lord Jesus, depicted in the likeness of a Galilean" in the treasury of the Church – apparently the Great Church of the Forty Martyrs – and only then learned that it was Christ whom he had seen in a vision foretelling his victory.[70] This image may have been an icon kept in the treasury along with the "quantity of silver and gold of the holy vessels and the costly garments", that is, the booty which Kavad was seeking there. That it was in the treasury and not in the main body of the church that he encountered the familiar face may indicate that no such images were to be seen in the church proper. Zachariah's appraisal of the Bishop John, a monk from the monastery near Kartmin, who built the church between 484 and 504, as "chaste, noble and of honoured character" and "righteous"[71] could indicate that he was a Monophysite.

2. Monastic Churches of northern Mesopotamia

Also in northern Mesopotamia, an area traditionally considered a stronghold of Monophysites, there is a group of four churches in villages of the Tur'Abdin which may represent a popular decorative scheme translated into sculpture, that of the cross in the apse, of which a painted example at Rusafa is considered below.[72] Most of the church embellishment in northern Mesopotamia, as in northern Syria, consist of elaborately carved cornices, architraves and capitals. In addition, the Tur'Abdin churches sometimes feature ornamental patterns incorporated into the brick work of the vaults which may indicate that the vaults were not plastered for further decoration.[73] The four churches considered here, have a cross carved in the stonework of the apse conch which is particularly visible in the earliest example, perhaps of the first half of the sixth century, that of Mar Sovo at Hah (Fig. 9).[74] The other three churches, el-Hadra at Hah,[75] and the

63. Although Severus, the future Monophysite leader, was introduced to Christianity in this church by his friend Zachariah (*Life* of Severus of Antioch by Zachariah Scholasticus, trans. F. Nau, PO II, 49), it is not clear that the church was held by Monophysites. Severus was shortly afterwards baptised (in 488) in a non-Monophysite church at Tyre (that of St. Leontius) (L. Duchesne, *L'Église au VIe siècle* (Paris, 1924), 19). Whatever its patronage the church decoration here belongs to the sphere of narrative cycles found in coastal Syria and Palestine. On the churches of Berytus, see P. Collinet, *Histoire de l'école de droit de Beyrouth* (Paris, 1925), 48–50, 63–73 and map. On Zachariah, see E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies*, ST, 173 (Vatican, 1952), 194–204 and John Rufus (*supra*, note 4), 128.

64. Procopius, *Buildings*, II. vii. 6.

65. As stated in the hymn commemorating St. Sophia, "And now Amidonius, Asaph and Addai have built for thee at Edessa this glorious Temple," Mango, *Art*, 58, verse 2. Amidonius (Amazon) is listed as Chalcedonian by R. Devréese, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'église jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1945), 292. See also J. Segal, *Edessa the Blessed City* (Oxford, 1970), 189 f.

66. Mango, *Art*, 58, verse 5. Cf. Segal, *Edessa*, 189.

67. *Ibid.*, and discussions accompanying other translations given in Mango, *Art*, 57, note 8.

68. Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 33.

69. Segal, *Edessa*, 213–214.

70. Zachariah of Mitylene, *Church History*, trans. F.J.Hamilton and E.W. Brooks (London, 1899), 158.

71. *Ibid.*, 154 and 208.

72. *Infra, p 62.* Lassus reports a blue glass revetment with a gold cross taken from the apse conch at Korkaya and seen in the possession of a dealer at Damascus, *Sanctuaires*, 301.

73. E.g. Mar Ya Qub at Salah (Bell, *Churches*, pl. III.2), Mar Azizael at Kefr Ze (*ibid.*, pl. IV.2), the narthex of el-Hadra at Hah (*idem*, "The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin" in *Amida* by M. van Berchem and J. Strzgowski [Heidelberg, 1910], 260 — no photograph published). The brickwork of Mar Gabriel near Kartmin, however, was plastered in both nave and sanctuary, the latter being decorated with mosaic (Bell, *Chuches*, pl. III. 1 and *infra*, notes 81–82).

74. On Mar Sovo at Hah see Bell in *Amida*, 250–256 and S. Guyer, "Amida," *RepKunstw*, 38 (1916), 209–212. The early sixth-century date is suggested here on the basis of the resemblance of its sculpture with that at Deir Zafarari (C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler altchristliche und Islamischer Zeit* [Leipzig, 1911], 49–54, pls. 62–65) which shares features with both Basufan in Northern Syria dated 490/1 (Tchalenko, *Villages* I, 231–232) and churches at Rusafa dated to before 542 (J. Kollwitz, *AA* (1954), 120).

75. Guyer, "Vom Wesen der byanzantinischen Kunst," *MünchJb* N.F., Bd. 8 (1931), 113, fig. 9.

churches at Arnas[76] and Kefr Ze (Fig. 10)[77] share a sculpture style which may be slightly later[78] and would therefore attest the continued use of this apse decoration.[79] They have a *terminus ante quem* of *ca.* 750 provided by the inscription on the templon screen at Arnas.[80] To dispel any impression that sectarian crosses existed I have included a chart of crosses from Persia (Hira and Kharg), (see *supra.* note 11), Kartmin and Mt. Sinai (Fig. 11).



Fig. 9. Remains of cross in apse, Mar Sovo, Hah, Turkey. Photo: C. Mango, Dumbarton Oaks

The Monophysite monastery of Mar Gabriel near Kartmin, also in the Tur 'Abdin, preserves one of the few mural mosaics of this early period in the east. The *History* of the monastery claims that it was commissioned by the Emperor Anastasius in 512, the date when Severus became the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch with the support of the emperor.[81] We have here not merely an ornamental or monochrome mosaic but one from which figures are apparently suppressed. The vault is covered with vines issuing from amphorae set in the four corners and it has crosses in the centre, east and west.[82] On the south lunette the altar is set with the vessels of the Eucharist (Fig. 12) and lacks any of the figures found, for instance, in San Vitale at Ravenna – Abel and Melkisedek[83] – or on the Riha or Stuma patens[84] which display the Communion of the Apostles. Although much of the north lunette is missing,[75] enough gold tesserae remain between the columns to exclude the possibility of a halo that would accompany a holy figure seated on a throne under the ciborium. The only evidence of mosaic in the apse is of a foliate pattern.[87] It is unlikely that a figure appeared there. Instead there may have been a fourth cross as in the funerary chapel of Bab Sba at Homs (Fig. 13) which is dated to the late fifth century and in which the latest epitaph is dated 514 and commemorates an archimandrite who built the walls of the "holy monastery of Telda" which Sauvaget suggests may have been the famous Monophysite monastery of Tel'ada, in northern Syria.[87] At Homs there are three crosses in the vault – as at Kartmin – and a fourth in the eastern niche above the altar. Likewise similar to Kartmin are the ninth century frescoes at Oviedo in Spain which represent an extensive series of altars with crosses under the arches at the cardinal points of the church.[88] The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem should be mentioned here too, although the date of the mosaics, which have not been cleaned or closely examined, remains open

76. Bell, *Churches*, pls. VI–VII.

77. *Ibid.*, pl. V, fig. 1.

78. After comparison with the sculpture at Mshatta, Bell revised her earlier dating of these three churches, which she groups with Mar Ya Qub of Salah, further into the seventh and eighth centuries. The dating of all these churches remains to be settled, *ibid.*, 108–109. For illustrations of the other sculpture of the three churches, *idem*, in *Amida*, figs. 176–178, 185–186, 203–207, pl. XXII, 3, 4, XXIII. Crosses are likewise carved into the apses of the exedras which stand to the south outside some of these churches e.g. Arnas, and Mar Sovo at Hah (Bell in *Amida*, 246, 256).

79. The cross carved in the conch of the apse is also found in Thrace at Vize (F. Dirimtekin, "Rock Church at Vize," *Ayasofya Müzesi Yilliği*, 4 (1962), 49–50) (a painted cross decorates the apse conch in Thrace at Midye, see S. Eyice and N. Thierry, "Le Monastère et la source sainte de Midye en Thrace Turque," *CahArch* 20 (1970), 56, figs. 9, 10), and in Lycia at Karabel (R.M. Harrison, "Churches and chapels of Central Lycia," *AnatSt*, 13 (1963), 131–135, pl. XL a, b). This is probably the church of St. Nicholas of Sion (*ibid.*, 150, note 165) built in the first half of the sixth century (*ibid.*, note 166) and is one of a group of Lycian monuments betraying contacts with Syria and Egypt; it may have been a Monophysite church (*ibid.*, 119–120). A nearby church with the same triconchos sanctuary, Alacahisar, has painted crosses in the three apses (*ibid.*, 136). A third example of a carved cross is in Cappadocia at Çavuşin (N. Thierry, "La basilique Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Çavuşin, Cappadoce," *BantFr*, (1972), 200–202). Although the sculptured cross there is surrounded by painted figures, the Tur'Abdin crosses fill the entire conch and correspond in their placement to the painted crosses at Rusafa and Homs, which have no figures. If the Tur'Abdin conches did have angels or saints (as one apparently did in 1911, Bell, *Churches*, pl. VI) they would not have had room for Christ as does that at Çavuşin, Thierry, "Çavuşin," figs. 1–2.

80. H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul* (Paris, 1907), 95–99, no. 52, and Bell, *Churches*, 79–80.

81. E. Hawkins and M. Mundell, "The Mosaics of the Monastery of Mâr Samuel, Mâr Simeon and Mâr Gabriel near Kartmin," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 280, 294.

82. *Ibid.*, figs. 7–10, 14–17.

83. F. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Baden-Baden, 1928), fig. 314.

84. Dodd, *Treasures* (*supra*, note 10), figs. 35–36.

85. Hawkins and Mundell, "Kartmin," 290–291, figs. 40–46.

86. *Ibid.*, 283.

87. J. Sauvaget, *MélUSJ*, 14 (1929), 11–14. On the monastery of Tel'ada see Tchalenko, *Villages* I, 154 ff.

88. S. Julian de los Prados (812–842), see H. Schlunk and M. Berenguer, *La pintura mural asturiana de los siglos IX y X* (Madrid, 1957), 14–37 , pls. 2–18.

to question as long as the inscriptions on the altars betray characteristics too late for the seventh to eighth century date often suggested for them.[89]

In the apse of a chapel added to the southeast corner of Basilica A at Rusafa is a rayed jewelled cross within a wreath.[90] Its exact date is unknown but a likely one is within the sixth–seventh century.[91] Rusafa was, of course, the thriving pilgrimage center dedicated to St. Sergios. There are several churches there in addition to Basilica A (of unknown function); Basilica B (the martyrion of St. Sergios),[92] and the tetraconch cathedral were decorated with mosaic[93] and an eleventh century source reports gold mosaics on the outside of a church within the fortifications.[94] We are left, therefore, with a decoration that, while clearly non-figural, is relatively minor. What is perhaps more revealing of the lost decoration is that during excavations of the site, no representation of the saint was found.[95] It is interesting to note that the mosaic tesserae found in the northern cult room which housed the relics of St. Sergios in Basilica B and thought to have fallen from its apse conch

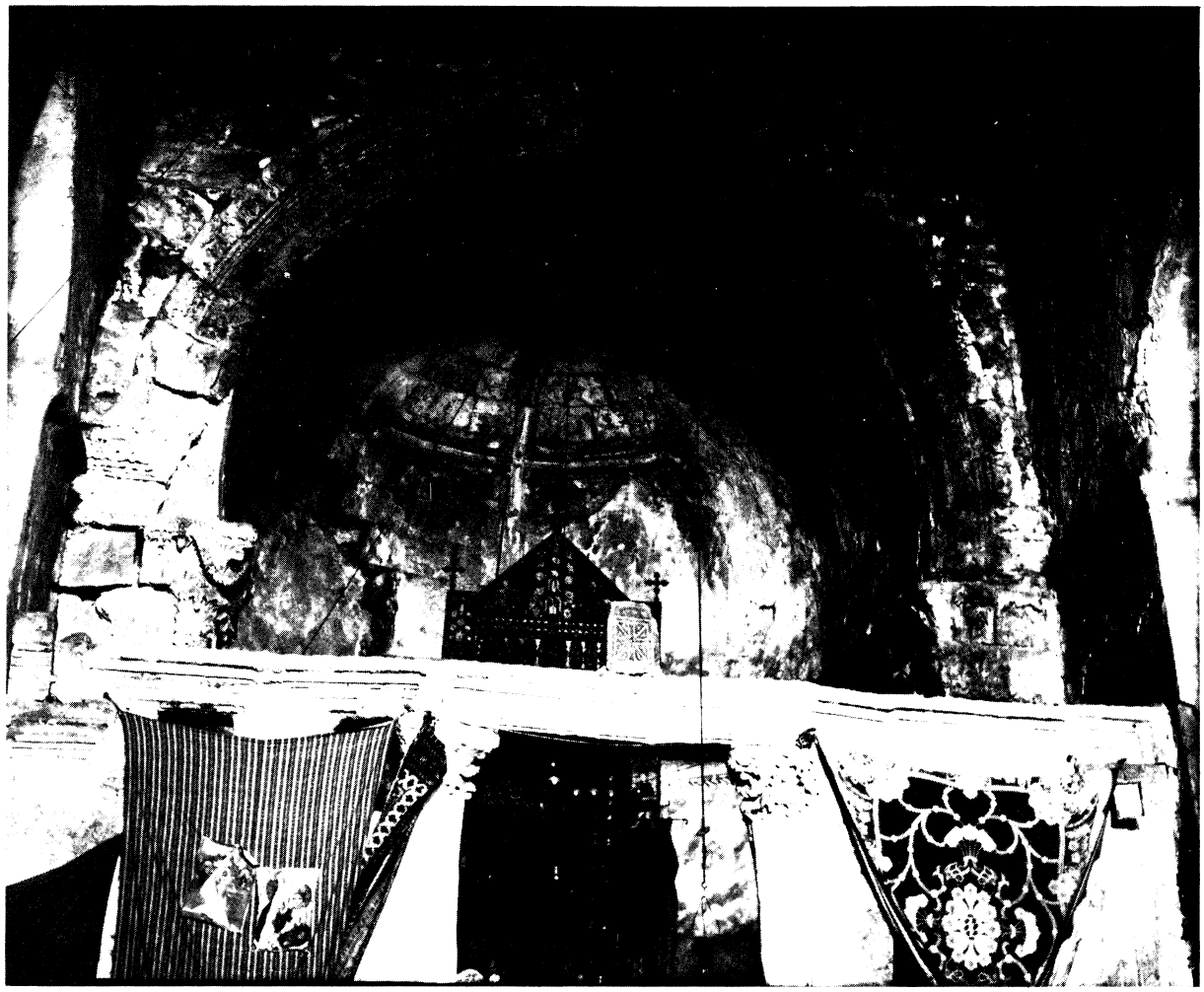


Fig. 10. Cross in apse, Mar Azizael, Kefre Ze, Turkey. Photo: G. Bell, Newcastle upon Tyne.

89. W. Harvey et al., *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem* (London, 1910), pl. 10. On the inscriptions see R. Hamilton, *The Church of the Nativity Bethlehem. A Guide* (Jerusalem, 1947), 67–69 and cf. H. Stern, "Encore les mosaiques de l'église de la Nativité à Bethlehem," *CahArch*, 9 (1957), 142–144. In spite of M. Stern's remarks, the inscriptions on the north wall, while unaccented, contain a number of abbreviations and ligatures whose presence before the eleventh century would be most remarkable. I owe this observation to Prof. Cyril Mango.

90. Hawkins and Mundell, "Kartmin," figs. 22–23. Slightly inaccurate drawing in Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, fig. 109.

91. J. Kollwitz, "Die Grabungen in Rusafa," *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen in Mittelmeergebiet und im vorderen Orient* (Berlin, 1959), 65.

92. *Idem*, "Die Grabungen in Resafa 1952," *AA* (1954), col. 125 f.

93. *Idem*, "Die Grabungen in Resafa. Herbst 1954 und Herbst 1956," *AA* (1957), col. 96.

94. Ibn Butlan writing in 1051. G. LeStrange, *Palestine under the Moslems, A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from AD 650 to 1500* (Beirut, 1965; Khayats reprint of 1890 edition), 522.

95. For a stone mould with a picture of Sergios (on horseback) reportedly from Rusafa, although not necessarily from the martyrion, see *infra*, note 97.

were the following colours: green, blue, yellow amber, dark olive and gold,[96] which would suggest a foliate or ornamental pattern on a gold ground rather than a portrait of St. Sergios himself.[97]

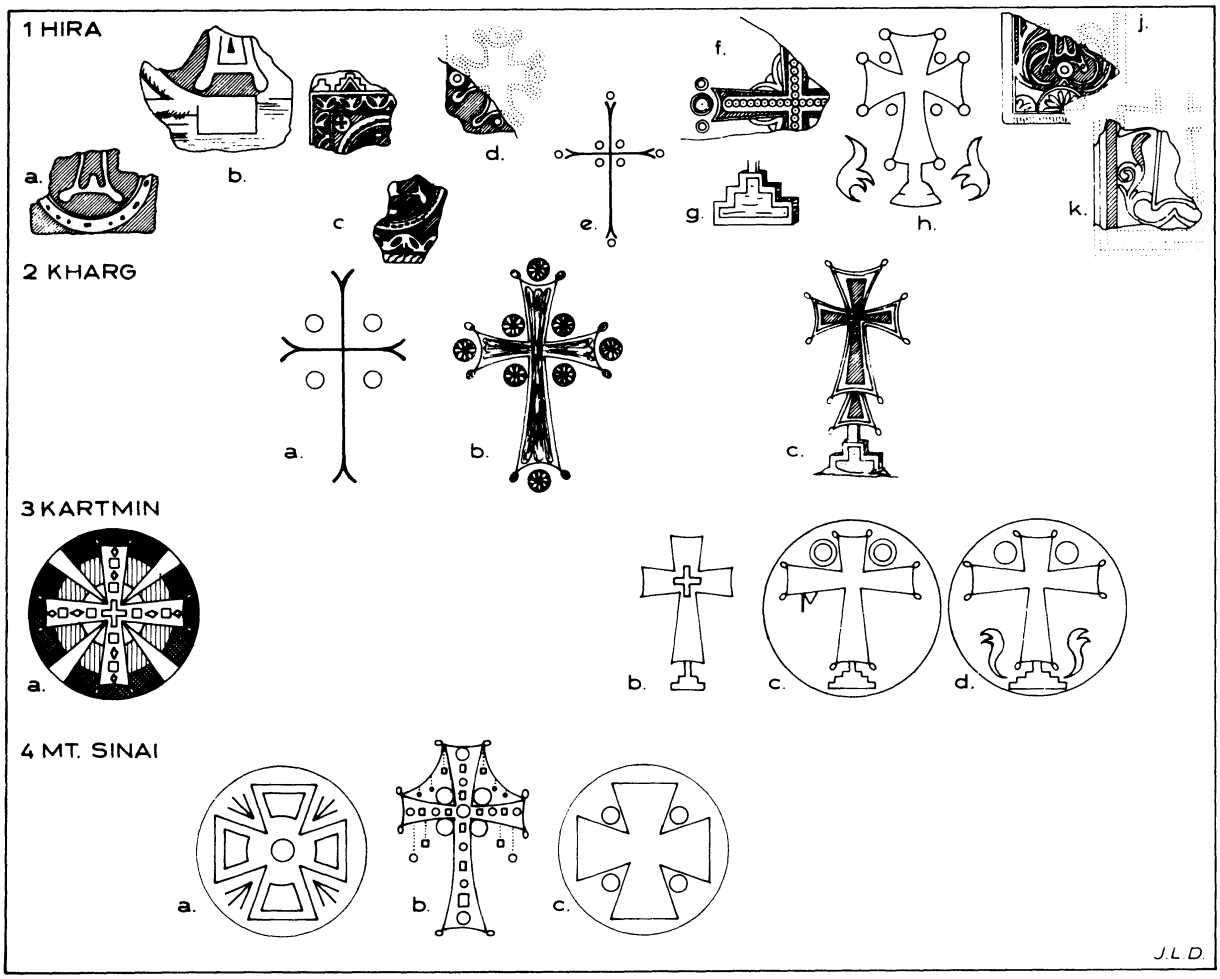


Fig. 11. Chart of crosses (not to scale).

1. *Hira*: a, c, d, f, j, k = plaster plaques (cf. D. Talbot Rice, "The Oxford Excavations at Hira, 1931," *Antiquity*, 6 (1932), 283, figs. 3–4); c = fresco (after *ibid.*, pl. II); b = plaster plaques; and h = fresco (reconstructed). With the exception of 1(e) the drawings presented here are based on the objects themselves rather than on Talbot Rice's illustrations. I should like to thank Dr. P. Moorey and Mr S. Digby of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for allowing me to consult this material. Drawing: J. Dowling and M. Mundell.

2. *Kharg*: a = carved in stone (after R. Girshamn, *Island of Kharg* [Tehran, 1960], pl. 5); b, c = stucco (after *ibid.*, pls, 13–14).

3. Kartmin: a, c (reconstructed); d = mosaic (after E. Hawkins and M. Mundell, *DOP*, 27 [1973], figs. 18–20); b = mosaic (reconstructed), after *ibid.*, 288).

4. *Mt. Sinai*: a, b = fresco (after Forsyth and Weitzmann, *Mt. Sinai* [supra, note 23], pls. CXCVII, CXCIV); c = wood (after *ibid.*, pl. XLVII a).

96. Kollwitz, *AA* (1954), col. 127.

97. A. Grabar suggested that such a portrait at Rusafa would have served as the prototype of extant portraits such as the mosaic panel in St. Demetrios, Salonica (*Martyrium* II, 26 and 97, note 3) and the Mt. Sinai icon now in Kiev (Ainalov, *Origins -supra* note 13 – fig. 101, p. 210 and note 78). As Sinai and St Demetrios were Chalcedonian churches these portraits may form part of a cult parallel to that of the Monophysites as is suggested below happened in the case of the two Symeon Stylites. The only representation of Sergios found at Rusafa appears to be a stone mould (4 cm. wide) showing a figure mounted on horseback and holding a cross and inscribed ΕΤΛΟΤΙΑ(sic)ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ which in 1924 was in the private collection of M. Guillaume Poche in Aleppo (A. Jalabert et R. Mouterde, "A propos de saint Serge, aviation et épigraphie," *AnalBoll*, 67 (1949), 115). The iconography of the mould does not, however, correspond to these early representations of Sergios. The Arab poet al-Akhtal (*ca.* 640–710) recorded in verse that the Christian Taghlibites fought for Yazid I at the battle of Medina (683) carrying "la croix en tête sous la bannière de St. Sergius" the patron of their tribe, H. Lammens, *La Syrie, Précis historique* (Paris, 1922), 73. It is unclear whether or not the banner displayed a picture of St. Sergios. See *supra*, note 35.

Rusafa was raised to metropolitan status by the Emperor Anastasius between 514 and 518.[98] Even if this church was controlled by Melkite bishops after 519, the centre was heavily patronized by Monophysites, including Arabs, the latter commemorated by two buildings of about 565. Ahudemmeh, the first Monophysite bishop of Beit Arbaye built a duplicate of the "house of Mar Sergius which is at Resafa" near Singar, perhaps to keep his Monophysite Beduin flock "at home" in Persia.[99] And the Monophysite Ghassanid chieftan al-Mundhir built an audience hall outside the walls of Rusafa.[100] On the other hand, John Moschos, a staunch Chalcedonian, writing about the same time, mentions Rusafa in the same breath as the pilgrimage centres of Ephesus, Meriamlik and Euchaita.[101] Despite this somewhat universal popularity it would still seem reasonable to suppose that Monophysite devotion – whether Syrian, Mesopotamian, Persian or Arab[102] – predominated. Proof of this may be found in the fact that no Nestorian churches are dedicated to St. Sergios after the sixth century, and few before.[103] Peeters suggested that Monophysites took over Qal'at Siman in 512 and with this loss Melkite interest turned to the younger St. Symeon near Antioch.[104] The situation may have been somewhat different at Rusafa, where a metropolitan bishop may have protected Melkite interests.

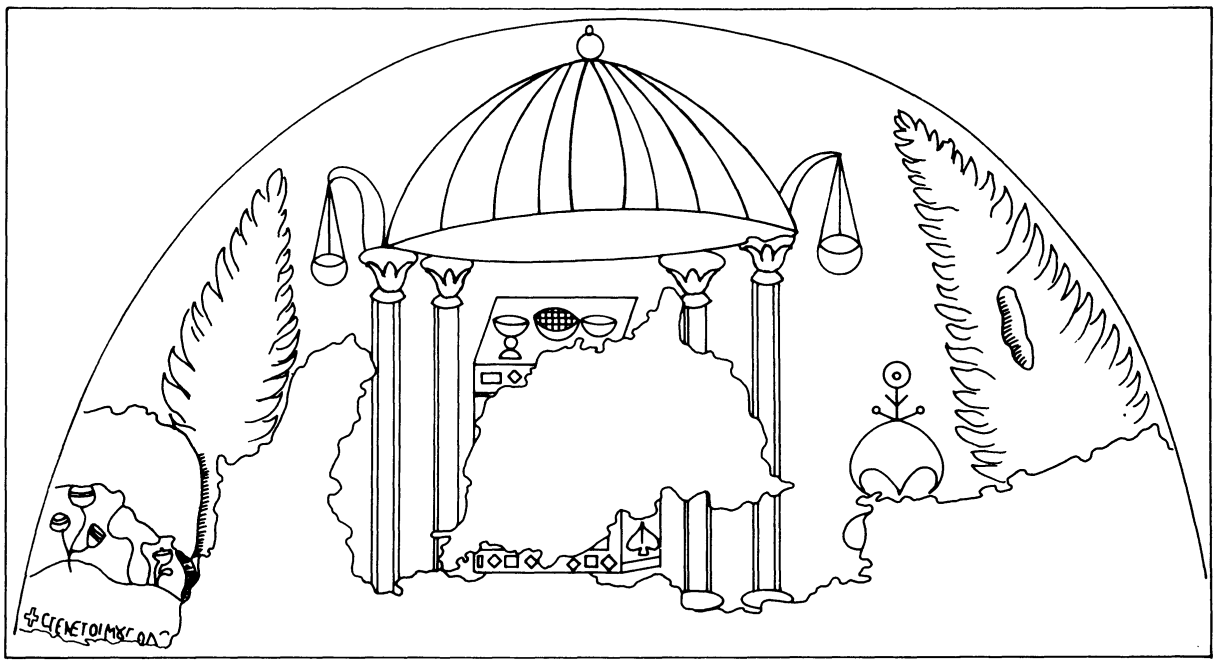


Fig. 12. Mosaic of altar under ciborium flanked by trees, Mar Gabriel, near Kartmin, Turkey. Line drawing after E. Hawkins and M. Mundell, *DOP*, 27 (1973), fig. 34, by J. Dowling and M. Mundell.

3. Monastic Churches of northern Syria.

We have omitted from this discussion the monastery churches of northern Syria – a Monophysite citadel of the sixth century – because they preserve no wall decorations. Aside from Rusafa, the only other recorded painted church decoration in northern Syria was the motif painted on a cornice in Qal'at Siman.[105] In other structures there were scant remains. From above the entrance to a

98. Honigmann, *Evêques*, 102–103.
99. Fiey, "Identification of Qasr Serej," *Sumer*, 14 (1958), figs. 1–5; *idem*, "S. Serge de l'Iraq," *AnalBoll*, 79 (1961), 102–105; D. Oates, "Qasr Serij – a Sixth Century Basilica in Northern Iraq," *Iraq*, 24 (1962), 78–89, pls. XXVII–XXIX. An interesting point about this church (*ibid.*, pls. XXVII–XXVIII) is that it shares features with two churches at Rusafa – Basilica B which was the martyrion (Kollwitz, *AA* (1957), fig. 2) and Basilica A of unknown function (*idem*, as in n. 91 *supra*, fig. 11). This imitation may reinforce evidence that the tetraconch at Rusafa was not the martyrion. See W.E. Kleinbauer, "The Origin and Functions of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 95–98.
100. C. Mango, *Architettura Bizantina* (Milan, 1974), figs. 101–103. J. Sauvaget, "Les Ghassanides et Sergiopolis," *Byzantion*, 14 (1939), 115–130. Arab tribes came to Rusafa on frequent pilgrimage (P. Peeters, *Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels, 1950), 69 note 6) and Arab interest in the site continued after the introduction of Islam. Yaqut (*ca.* 1225) claimed that the Caliph Hisham (724–743) founded his palace there "to be near this monastery," LeStrange, *Palestine*, 432, cf. *ibid.*, 522.
101. John Moschos, PG 87ter, col. 3052B.
102. On Persian patronage see P. Peeters, "Les ex-voto de Khosrau Aparwez à Sergiopolis," *AnalBoll*, 65 (1947), 5–56.
103. Fiey, *AnalBoll*, 79 (*supra*, note 99), 111–112. For churches dedicated to St. Sergios in Iraq see *ibid.*, 102–114 and in Syria and Arabia (Roman provinces)see Jalabert and Mouterde, *AnalBoll*, 67 (*supra*, note 97), 109–116.
104. Peeters, *Le tréfonds*, 135.
105. M. De Vogüé, *La Syria centrale, Architecture civile et réligieuse du I^{e} au VIIe siècle* (Paris, 1865–77), 152, 154 pl. 151.2.

tomb at Deir Sanbil, De Vogüé copied the fragments of a painted bread and wine motif.[106] Butler reported crosses and symbols painted on a yellow ground in the lower stories of a tower at the Monophysite monastery of Mar Bizzos at Qasr el Banat and in three tombs elsewhere he found the following: 1) grape vines and symbols, 2) aquatic and floral paintings, 3) two portrait busts with crosses, peacocks and a seven branched candelabrum.[107]

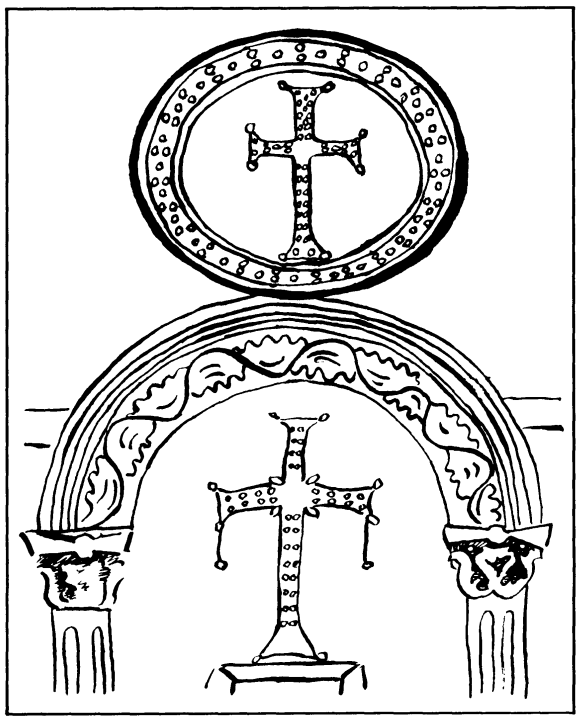


Fig. 13. Fresco cross in niche apse, Bab Sba, Homs, Syria. Line drawing J. Sauvaget, *MelUSJ*, XIV (1929), pl. 3, by M. Mundell.

It would seem, then, that we have a collection of non-figural decorations in Mesopotamia and northern Syria. If, among these, the churches of Edessa and Rusafa were officialy controlled by the Melkites at the time of their decoration, one might conclude that the non-figural scheme was a non-sectarian, local tradition, or that it was identified with Monophysites and used here in deference to their wishes. A similar case could be made for the apparently neutral decoration of Justinian's St. Sophia in Constantinople executed in the 530's, at the time when he was courting the co-operation of Monophysite leaders whom he had invited to the capital in the years preceding the Council of 536.[108] It is well-known that the eye-witness accounts of the construction of the church describes an ornamentation reminiscent of the nearly contemporary church of the same name at Edessa, namely dazzling marbles and gold mosaics which lacked any pictorial content.[109] Close examination of the apse decoration has revealed two phases of work only: the Virgin and Child dated to the ninth century and the mosaic between the windows being possibly of the first half of the sixth. The shape of the area remade in the ninth might be explained by the removal of an extensive foliate decoration with perhaps a cross in the center.[110] Such foliage is known from the Patriarchal Palace[111] and the narthex of St. Eirene.[112] (both in the 560's). The ornamental mosaics of the narthex[113] and aisle [114] of St. Sophia probably date to its first decoration (532–537) and its second dome (finished 563) had simply a cross in its gold mosaic covering.[115]

4. Sculptural Decoration

In spite of the lack of surviving wall decoration in paint or mosaic the churches in northern Syria do preserve their sculptural ornamentation and one is struck by the general absence in the inland region of figural representations even in this medium. A point to be borne in mind is that this area was not destroyed when conquered but simply abandoned[116] and therefore preserves an accurate telling impression. This lack of representational sculpture contrasts with what is found at Constantinople[117] and Antioch in this period, for example the slabs found in St. John of Studion in

106. *Ibid.*, 154, pl. 151.1.
107. H.C.Butler, *Report on an American Archaeological Expedition in Syria 1899–1900* (New York, 1903) (hereafter AAES) II, 293–294.
108. L. Duchesne, *L'Eglise* (*supra*, note 63) 81. On Justinian's building of S. Sergios and Bacchos for the large community of Monophysite monks housed in the Palace of Hormisdas during this period see C. Mango, "The Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the Alleged Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches," *JÖBG* 21 (1972), 189–194; *idem*, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus once Again," *BZ*, 68 (1975), 385–392. In contrast to the non-figural ornament of St. Sophia were the figural scenes decorating St. Polyeuktos built by Juliana Anicia (*Greek Anthology*, I. 10, lines 66–73) who was a fervent Chalcedonian (Stein, *Histoire*, II, 172 note 3). See also R. Martin Harrison and Nezih Fıratlı, "Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul: Second and Third Preliminary Reports," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 227.
109. Mango, *Art*, 76 (Procopius, *Buildings*, I.i.54) and 83 (Paul the Silentiary, *Description of St. Sophia*, 506).
110. C. Mango and E. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 147–148, figs. B, C, 15–20.
111. P. Underwood, *DOP*, 9/10 (1956), fig. 108. This room over the south-west ramp of St. Sophia is considered part of the Patriarchal Palace, C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 94.
112. For the date *ca.* 564 of St. Eirene narthex mosaics see George, *Saint Eirene*, 55–56, 70.
113. T. Whittemore, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul, Preliminary Report on the First Year's Work 1931–1932* (Paris, 1933), pl. IV.
114. E.M. Antoniades, *Ekphrasis tes Hagias Sophias* (Leipzig, 1908), B', figs. 275–279.
115. Mango, *Art* 83 (Paul the Silentiary, verse 489f).
116. Tchalenko, *Villages*, I, 431–438.
117. A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople IVe – Xe siècle* (Paris, 1963), 33–58, pls. II.2, III–IV, VII–XVII, XIX.4, XXI–XXII, XXV–XXXIII.

Istanbul[118] and those from the so-called Martyrion at Seleucia Pieria (which include what might have been a figure of Christ on the same scale as the statue from Ctesiphon[119] [Fig. 14]) or the Melkite shrines of the Younger Symeon the Stylite near Antioch.[120]

What little figural sculpture is found inland in Syria comes from large towns or from villages in Chalcedonian areas such as Syria Secunda. Reliefs, many representing the Virgin, have been found in the large towns (three of which were bishoprics) of Anasartha (Khanasir),[121] Zebed,[122] Ruweyda,[123] Hawa,[124] Salamias,[125] Yabrud,[126] and Babiska.[127] These are nearly all isolated panels of a small scale and crude style and which partly resemble icons. Lassus has pointed out concerning the lintel from a church at Anasartha that the Virgin in the center is presented within a frame upheld by two angels.[128] Equally suggestive of icons must have been the figures now mutilated that were enclosed by the arcade over the doorway of a building adjoining the east church at Babiska, particularly that in the centre which was flanked by two candles. The entire arcade was "supported" by two torch-shaped posts.[129]

Of all such preserved sculpture only two examples are dated, one of the Virgin – labelled "Hagia Maria" – to 556,[130] and one of a stylite on the façade of what is probably a pilgrimage church at Qalb Loseh recently redated by Tchalenko to *ca.* 450.[131] Further stylites (e.g. Fig. 8),[132] monks and one angel have been found in Syrian villages, all within traditionally Chalcedonian territory.[133] In reference to this group of Stylites it is interesting to recall that it corresponds to the collection of stories involving icons of stylites, particularly the Melkite Symeon the Younger Stylite[134] and that virtually no material or written record exists of a similar nature for St. Sergios as already observed in relation to Rusafa.[135]

118. *Ibid.*, pl. XIV.3. G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques romaines et byzantines*, II (Constantinople, 1914), 456–458 and 461–468 ("Notes sur les reliefs d'Imrahor Djamissi" by M. Pantchenko). N.Firatli, "Deux nouveaux reliefs funéraires d'Istanbul et les reliefs similaires," *CahArch*, 11 (1960), 73–92.

119. *Antioch-on-the Orontes III the Excavations 1937–1939* (Princeton, 1941), 124–149, pls. 17–29; the Pantocrator icon = 30, pl. 25 #460. Weitzmann concedes that this may be later than the other pieces, *ibid.*, 146.

120. Whose decoration includes, besides the figured capitals referred to (*supra* note 17), an architrave block with angels supporting a cross (Djobadze, *IstMitt*, pl. 54.3 and Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires*, fig. 68 bis, a) and miscellaneous unpublished pieces awaiting study (*ibid.*, 72 note 3).

121. A loose lintel with Virgin and Christ and angels, Butler, *AAES* II, 307 f. and fig. on p. 308 (cf. note 107); Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, fig. 208. Anasartha (Khanasir) was a bishopric (Devréesse, *Patriarcat*, 162f.) and an "important walled city" R. Garrett, *Topography and Itinerary*, *AAES* I, 60–68; Butler, *AAES* II, 300–301) where sixteen Greek inscriptions have been found recording, among other things, a building of the city walls in the early seventh century (W. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions AAES* III, 318–331; R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard, *Le limes de Chalcis* (Paris, 1945), 67–68, 193–197).

122. Lintel with Virgin and Child and angels on east church (date unknown), Butler, *AAES* II, 308–309, fig. 117 and photograph. Zebed, about 10 miles northeast of Anasartha, is likewise described as a "large city" with a fort; Garrett, *AAES* I, 68; Butler, *AAES* II, 296, 299, 301, 305. Prentice, *AAES* III, 336–341 (cf. Mouterde and Poidebard, *Limes*, 197); E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, *AAES* IV, 46–56. See also Mounterde and Poidebard, *Limes*, 161–168.

123. A small relief of Virgin and Child, labelled "Hagia Maria" in the center of inscribed lintel dated 556 from a church; Lassus, *Inventaire archéologique de la région au nord-est de Hama*, pl. XXIII and 122f. Ruweyda (about half way between Hama and el-Anderin) is described as "une ville importante" with a tower dated 539/40. Several other Greek inscriptions are recorded there: *ibid.*, 119–128.

124. An enthroned Virgin and Child and a hermit saint on two chancel slabs found near a church, *ibid.*, 98–99, pl. XVIII. Hawa (51 km north-east of Hama) another "très important," site also preserves among its ruins another inscribed Byzantine tower, *ibid.*, 91–100.

125. Six carved slabs with Daniel in the Lions Den, Adoration of the Magi and miscellaneous figures and animals from Raqem el Qanafez near Salamias and now in the Damascus Museum, J. Nasrallah, "Bas-reliefs chrétiens inconnus de Syrie," *Syria*, 38 (1961), 44–53, pls. III–IV. Salamiye (Salamias) (32 km. south-east of Hama) was a bishopric (Devréesse, *Patriarcat*, 207) and is a "large modern town built from . . . ruins of the ancient city." (Butler, *AAES* II, 297); 20 Greek inscriptions were recorded there (Prentice, *AAES* III, 284–304).

126. The fragment of a relief of the Nativity inscribed in Greek from a church outside of Yabrud which was a bishopric (Devréesse, *Patriarcat*, 206, 107 note 2) under the metropolitan of Damascus. On the relief and the sustained Chalcedonianism of Yabrud see, Nasrallah, *Syria*, 36–44, fig. 2.

127. Destroyed bust(s) (?) under an arcade above the doorway of a building attached to the east church, Butler, *AAES* II, 134 and figs. on pp. 132–133; *idem*, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Section B, (Leiden, 1910), fig. 178; Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, pl. LVII. Babiska, in the Gebel Babisqa to the north, is described by Tchalenko as a small commercial centre of the oil industry located on the Antioch-Chalcis road (*Villages* II, pl. CXXXII) and by Butler as "a large ruined town" (*AAES* II, 44). Eight Greek and two Syriac inscriptions are recorded with dates ranging from the second to the seventh centuries, Prentice, *AAES* III, 64–71 and Littmann, *AAES* IV, 14–16.

128. Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, 295.

129. *Supra*, note 127. Butler considers the building to be a baptistery dated 480 (*Architecture*, 165–168), while Lassus thinks it is possibly a martyrion of the sixth century (*Sanctuaires*, 179).

130. Ruweyda, *supra*, note 123.

131. Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, pl. XLVI and Tchalenko, "Travaux en cours dans la Syrie du Nord," *Syria*, 50 (1973), 128ff.

132. Now in the Hama Museum.

133. The first, a relief of two cowled monks at the base of a cross (Nasrallah, *Syria*, fig. 1), is a few km. north-east of Yabrud at the monastery of Mar Moussa al-Habashi near Nebek in what is probably a Chalcedonian area (see *supra*, note 126). The other six are included in a list given by Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, 294 and pl. XLVII. All of these are within Syria Secunda under the Metropolitan seat of Apamea (Devréesse, *Patriarcat*, 184–191) which was traditionally Chalcedonian.

134. J. Lassus, "Images des Stylites," *BEODam*, II (1932), 79; see also, Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Recherches sur le Monastère et sur l'iconographie de S. Syméon Stylite la jeune" in *Itinéraires* (*supra*, note 16), 138–196.

135. The relatively scant material record is discussed *supra*, note 97.

It is apparent that these extremely rare and scattered pieces of sculpture are different in their non-narrative form and content from many sculptures of Constantinople and coastal Syria. Considering the locations of these small reliefs in the larger towns and Chalcedonian areas they may be Melkite.[136] None of these examples of icon-like reliefs can be designated as Monophysite and only two (Qalb Lozeh and Babiska) (*supra*, notes 125, 121) are found in what could be called the Monophysite region of northern Syria, although *not* in the monasteries.

5. Monophysite Icons

The reliefs may, on the other hand, reflect in sculptural form Monophysite icons, for it is known from texts that Monophysites did have icons. Concerning the church at Amida, I suggested from the context that "Christ as a Galilean" was an icon kept in the church treasury, like the Jacobite's Mandylion later kept in a baptistery at Edessa. More explicit is another story set in Amida related by John of Ephesus. A pious Monophysite lady called Euphemia improvised in rented rooms a martyr's chapel for the use of monks suffering from the persecution of 537. This room she equipped "With likenesses and pictures and chests and everything that is proper to a monastery".[137] The "likenesses" and "pictures" were undoubtedly portable icons, but may have been of saints, or the patriarch (see *infra*) and not Christ. Michael the Syrian mentions the "reliquaries of saints and the crosses and the images" venerated in church by the mother of the Jacobite Patriarch Athanasios (595–631) when he was a child.[138] Again the nature and the precise location of these "images" are not indicated. Slightly more ambiguous is another story contained in the Chronicle of 1234 and set in northern Syria in 649. Demons released from an unearthed idol entered the Monophysite monks of the Qeneshrin monastery causing them to "crow like roosters, bleat like goats and deride the images of the saints, calling Peter an uneducated fisherman, Paul an abominable head, Thomas a half-eunuch, John bar Aphthonia a long beard, Ephrem, a small withered beard, and Mar Theodore the one-eyed".[139] In this case the images could have been on panels or walls, in the church or elsewhere in the monastery. It should be noted that John of Ephesus states that when the patriarch of Constantinople, John Scholastikos, took over a Monophysite monastery to make it Chalcedonian he "took down and erased all the pictures of the Orthodox (viz. Monophysite) fathers, and fixed up his own everywhere in their place"; in turn, on this Patriarch's death, his successor Eutychios "obliterated and expelled [John's pictures] not merely from the episcopal palace and churches . . ." and the "inhabitants of both towns and villages . . . obliterated all John's pictures, whether painted on the walls or on tablets and took them down and fixed up those of Eutychios . . .".[140] It would seem then that both Chalcedonians and Monophysites displayed the portrait "on walls or on tablets" of at least the current patriarch in churches in towns, villages and monasteries as well as in the episcopal palace. Elsewhere John of Ephesus accuses Pope Agapetus during a visit to Constantinople (536) of being opposed to commemorating the name of "Blessed Mary the God-Bearer" and to "her likeness [being] depicted anywhere".[141]

From this survey of Syria and Mesopotamia there emerges a preference for non-figural wall decoration, on the one hand, and a use of iconic panels, on the other. For none of the churches considered, however, does there survive an entire church decoration – aside from the description of that at Edessa. For a complete idea of the decorative scheme an example may be cited of two churches excavated in the Lakhmid capital of Hira which were covered in thick white plaster throughout, five layers in one church, only the central sanctuary being adorned with various ornamental paintings and crosses, (Fig. 11, 1h) also in several layers, thus indicating a persistant practice. Small loose stucco plaques with an assortment of crosses were also found (Fig. 11, 1a–d, f, g, j, k).[142] These may have had a use analogous to that suggested for icons at Mt. Sinai: that they served to decorate the nave walls.[143] In connection with the layers of white plaster it is interesting to note that among the canons for village priests drawn up by Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa (411–435), was the following, "those churches which were built shall be whitened . . .".[144] Likewise the

136. Frend, *Movement*, 333.
137. John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, PO, XVII, 181.
138. Michael the Syrian, II, 375. Cf. Leroy, *Manuscrits*, 42 note 3 who mistakenly attributes this story to Athanasios of Balad, Nestorian Patriarch (681–686).
139. *Chronicon ad annum Domini 1234 pertinens, anon.*, ed. and trans. E.W. Brooks and J.B. Chabot, CSCO, Scriptores Syri III, 56 (Louvain, 1952), 208–209. A similar story dated a little later than the time of the author concerning demons at Qeneshrin is told by Daniel of Edessa (665–684) (F. Nau, "Fragments sur la monastère de Qennesré," *Actes du XVe Congrès des Orientalistes, Alger, 1903* (Paris, 1906), 76–87) and alluded to by Michael the Syrian (II, 249). Specific mention is made of the "image(s)" (p. 78, 82) as well as "relique" (p. 80) of some of the same saints which in this version miraculously repulse the demons.
140. The Third Part of the *Ecclesiastical History* of John Bishop of Ephesus, trans. R. Payne Smith (Oxford, 1860), 71–72, 135.
141. John of Ephesus, *Lives*, PO, XVII, 26–27.
142. Talbot Rice, *Antiquity*, 279–282; *idem*, *AI*, 54–55, 58 (*supra*, note 11).
143. Weitzmann in *Kunst Nubiens* (*supra*, note 1), 338–339.
144. Vööbus, *Documents* (*supra*, note 6), 49.

Armenian Katholikos John (died 929) described the activity of the *nakharars* who "built stone churches . . . and covered them heavily in whitewash".[145] It is reasonable to suppose, then, that the whitewashing of the side walls of the church was the frugal counterpart of the monochrome gold mosaic covering the more lavishly endowed Church of St. Sophia at Edessa, and that at both levels pictorial adornment was held to a minimum or omitted altogether.

Concerning the icons mentioned above, it should be noted that none was said expressly to have been in the church proper. In his story set in Amida, John of Ephesus mentioned that their presence was usual in the martyrs' chapels of monasteries and elsewhere he says in the "episcopal palace . . . churches . . . monasteries"; the images at Qeneshrin were simply in the monastery, Athanasios' mother saw the images when she went to Mass and "Christ as a Galilean" was in the treasury of the church at Amida. This leaves open the possibility that icons may have been relegated to subsidiary rooms or structures. The other observation pertinent here is that only the image at Amida was of Christ (the purloined Mandylion at Edessa was not properly an icon) and that the other images were of bishops, martyrs or unspecified. Similarly, Christ does not figure among the small reliefs scattered in Syria considered above, which are almost exclusively of the Virgin and Child and Stylites.

6. Figural Decorations

To conclude the section on the Patriarchate of Antioch I would like to mention two figural decorations so far omitted as no indication of patronage exists. These are from two garrison towns – Dara and Palmyra – and probably date to the sixth century. Both are life size. The one at Dara, probably illustrating Old Testament scenes, is on a tomb in the necropolis west of the city built by Anastasius in 508 as military headquarters in Mesopotamia and refortified by Justinian *ca.* 530. Until its fall to the Arabs in 634 it had a heterogenous population presided over in turn by Monophysite and Chalcedonian metropolitan bishops and included both Byzantine and Persian garrisons.[146] The decoration at Palmyra (Tadmor) consists of nearly 30 figures which were painted on the walls of the cella of the Temple of Bel[147] after it was converted into a church at an unknown date, and probably before 728/9.[148] Virtually all that is known of the city at this period is that the Monophysite bishop was expelled in 519[149] and Justinian repaired fortifications, built two churches and placed there a garrison from Emesa (Homs).[150] A Monophysite Bishop, Thomas of Tadmor, is recorded *ca.* 620–630.[151] Both these decorations may have been introductions of external influences into garrison towns. Another garrison center, Qasr Ibn Wardan, of unknown patronage but thought to be Arab, preserved in 1943 traces of figures painted on the wall of the prothesis. No indication of their date is published.[152]

Conclusion

In sum, different approaches to church wall decoration have been noted in the areas considered. In Melkite Palestine it is that of figural, including narrative, art. The same probably applied to coastal Syria (e.g. frescoes in Beirut; sculpture in Antioch) whereas the interior of the Antioch Patriarchate preferred non-figural wall decoration combined, perhaps with hung icons which were apparently in use. This combination of plain wall decoration and icon is taken a step further in the Patriarchate of Alexandria and in Nubia where dogmatic compositions and isolated "icons" – as opposed to narrative cycles – were painted on the walls. The former were found also in Armenia and the latter were paralleled in relatively fewer numbers in sculpture in Syria.

In Monophysite areas of Egypt and Armenia it is tempting to suggest an additional element at work to explain the *choice* – not the invention – of the theophanic compositions in apse conches.[153] This is the Julianist Monophysite heresy which spread about 519 in Egypt where it was particularly popular among monks[154] and which, as noted above, greatly colored Armenian theology. It was suggested above (note 61) that members of this sect might not choose to illustrate Christ's Passion in churches they founded since they denied the corruptibility of His flesh. Conversely, they may have chosen to illustrate His Ascension or some other form of theophany. At the same time Severan Monophysites, who had been keen to add "who was crucified for us" to the *Trisagion*,[155] may

145. C. Burney and D. Lang, *The People of the Hills, Ancient Ararat and Caucasus* (London, 1971), 209.
146. M. Mundell, "A Sixth Century Funerary Relief at Dara in Mesopotamia," *JÖBG* 24 (1975), 209–227.
147. J. Leroy, "Un portrait du Christ à Palmyre au 6e siècle," *CahArch*, 15 (1965), 17–20. pls. I–II.
148. J. Cantineau, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre* (Beirut, 1936), 50.
149. Honigmann, *Evêques* (*supra* note 62), 98.
150. D. Schlumberger, "Etudes sur Palmyre," *Berytus*, 2 (1935), 160f.
151. Michael the Syrian, II, 412.
152. Mouterde and Poidebard, *Limes* (*supra*, note 121), 175.
153. On theophanic apse compositions see Grabar, *Martyrium* II, 219–234 (*supra*, note 36).
154. Maspero, *Histoires* (*supra*, note 53), 94–95, 113.
155. Frend, *Movement*, 168, 218.

logically have stressed the Passion through the symbol of the cross as placed in the apse. It could be noted in this connection that the Emperor Justinian himself succumbed to Julianism in his old age[156] to which one might associate the choice of the Transfiguration in the apse of Mt. Sinai which he built at this period (note 21). This suggestion is made very cautiously in view of the perfectly adequate explanation of its iconography in terms of Mt. Sinai itself.[157]

Of the three Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria and of their general trends in decoration – narrative, non-figural and icon-like – that of the second, of the non-figural art of Antioch, is the least explored phenomenon. In evaluating the evidence presented here I think it is important to keep in mind its nature. That is, it is a question of prestigious or influential churches, decorated in mosaic with imperial funds: St. Sophia of Edessa – and by extension – that of Constantinople, and the monastery of Kartmin. These can be fairly compared with decorations at Ctesiphon and Mt. Sinai. It is not, therefore, evidence drawn only from crude Coptic chapels or village churches in the Tur'Abdin. All this evidence points to a preference for abstract church decoration. Whether or not the icon played a role in the decoration of the church proper requires further study, but what has been noted thus far might indicate a negative response. It is still unclear whether non-figural decoration can be identified with the Monophysites, but there is definitely an overlap.

In considering the Syrian background of Iconoclasm it is likewise unclear whether the use of icons in that area as cited in the examples above amounted eventually to the same abuse extensive elsewhere in the Empire. There certainly seemed to have been other ritual excesses in Syria at least in the seventh century. Giwargi, bishop of the Arabs (687–724), places among his canons the warning that "monks who carry bags and reliquaries of saints [i.e. bones] and are roaming around shall not be received".[159] This rule is repeated by the Patriarch Quriaqos (793–817) who specifies priests, deacons and laymen along with monks as offenders.[160] In the alternative version of the story quoted above concerning the monks of Qeneshrin, the images and relics of the saints performed the miracles of repulsing the demons (note 139). While this story is told on two levels – (on one the demons are Chalcedonians who are chastized by the saints) – the lower level may reflect a commonly held belief in the efficacy of icons. It should be noted concerning this particular monastery, however, that it was distinguished for its Greek studies and may have translated Byzantine practices as well as texts.[161]

Perhaps more suggestive conclusions can be reached here concerning Umayyad art in Syria. Whatever the explanations, it would seem on the basis of this brief survey that there existed in Syria a number of churches whose non-figural decoration obviously corresponded to the decoration of Umayyad shrines. The identity of the workmen who produced the latter has been the subject of some debate among art historians,[162] but the patrons who dictated the ornamentation may well have drawn upon the neutral schemes – minus the cross – which already existed as the basic repertoire of Christian church decoration in the area. In this respect, perhaps attention should be paid to Christian shrines patronized or built by Ghassanid and Lakhmid Christians of the Syrian-Iraqi desert such as at Rusafa and Hira. This suggestion is made on the face of the existing evidence which may admit of different interpretations and which awaits further confirmation or denial by fresh discoveries.

156. Stein, *Histoire* (*supra*, note 40), II, 685–690.
157. Forsyth and Weitzmann, *Mt. Sinai* (*supra*, note 23), 14–15.
158. The "icon-like" in cases of "feast icons" could have derived from the narrative or commemorative scenes of Jerusalem. But those relatively few "feast icons" subjects were absorbed into a larger indigenous network of local figures, apotropaic symbols and calvary saints rather than into a narrative cycle; see Weitzmann, in *Kunst Nubiens* (*supra*, note 1), 335–337.
159. Vööbus, *Documents* (*supra*, note 6), 99.
160. *Ibid.*, 104.
161. Nau, "Fragments" (*supra*, 139), 76.
162. H. Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate," *DOP*, 12 (1958), 219ff; M. van Berchem "The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and of the Great Mosque in Damascus," in R.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, 2nd ed., (Oxford, 1969), 229–245; E. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm," *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongress München 1958* (Munich, 1958), 10–11, 33–35 and note 30.

X THE PAULICIANS AND ICONOCLASM*

LESLIE BARNARD

IN the year 869 the Emperor Basil I sent a certain Peter of Sicily as his agent to Tephrike, which was then a renegade Byzantine strong point on a branch of the Upper Euphrates (later Leontokome, now Divriği on the Bati Firat). His instructions were to negotiate peace with Chrysocheir, a Paulician military leader, and to arrange an exchange of prisoners with the Paulicians. During a nine-month stay Peter had occasion to study the beliefs and customs of the Paulicians and he decided to write a systematic work to refute the heresy. As Peter learnt that the Paulicians were planning to send missionaries to Bulgaria, he wrote his treatise for the use of the Bulgarian Church, and not solely for his imperial masters in Constantinople. Peter's work, entitled *Historia Manichaeorum*, was completed *ca.* 872 and is the fundamental source for our knowledge of the Paulicians of Tephrike. Moreover chapters 21 to 43 of the *Historia Manichaeorum* cover the history of the Paulician movement from 668 to 868 and are of value for our purposes.[1]

The text of the *Historia* evokes the atmosphere of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, for it concentrates on the tradition of the sect and personalities of the Paulician 'masters' who were revered as apostles.. Yet Peter of Sicily relates the internal history of the sect to Byzantine history, by naming those emperors in whose reigns certain events took place and by identifying Byzantine commanders or church dignitaries who persecuted the sect and its masters. The topographical references given by this source refer to the siting of churches and of places associated with significant events and developments in the early history of the sect. These are of great value. However, the chronology of the *Historia* must be treated with caution, for up to the beginning of the ninth century the length of activity of the sect's masters is given in a stereotyped form often in multiples of three; only for the Paulician leader Sergios do we have exact dates.

M. Loos, in an important study, has critically sifted the material in the *Historia Manichaeorum* and has isolated certain fundamental features in the earliest period of the sect's history.[2] He shows that at the time of its origins the sect was concentrated in country communities in the former provinces of Armenia IV and Pontos.[3] Peter of Sicily's view was that "In the days of the Emperor Constantine [i.e. Constans II (641–68), or Constantine IV (668–85)], grandson of Heraclius, a certain Armenian named Constantine was born in the district of Samosata of Armenia, in a village (kōmē) called Mananalis, which still [i.e. in 869] belongs to the Manicheans."[4]

The geographical contradictions in this statement (for Mananalis is a district, not a village, and nowhere near Samosata of Armenia) are discussed in an Excursus appended to this paper.

*Note: geographical observations and some notes have been added or revised by the Editors.

1. The *Historia Manichaeorum* (PG, 104, cols. 1240–1349) was rehabilitated by H. Grégoire, "Les sources de l'histoire des Pauliciens: Pierre de Sicile est authentique et "Photius" un faux," *BAcBela*, 22 (1936), 95–114. Cf. also his "Pour l'histoire des églises Pauliciennes," OCP, 13 (1947), = *Mélanges Jerphanion*, 509–14. On previous eds. see Lemerle, "Paulicians," 2–15. A new edition and translation is presented in the study by Astruc *et al.*, "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure", *TM*, 4 (1970) 3–67, hereinafter cited as *Histoire*. For earlier doubts as to the reliability of the source, D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge, 1948), 30, note 7. N.G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague, 1967) has sought to show that the Greek sources consist of a triple pattern of texts. The earliest group (A and the *Letters of Sergios*) preserve the 'authentic' adoptionist character of the Armenian tradition. The second group (S and P), particularly the supposed lost source, P, reflect a docetic-dualism characteristic of Manichaeism. The third goup (the *Histories* of Peter of Sicily, Ps-Photios and the Manichaean Formula) are late compilations designed to combat the revival of Paulicianism in the Balkans. Their purpose is a tendentious presentation of Paulician doctrine as a form of Manichaeism and they are therefore not primary evidence for the origin of Paulicianism (*ibid.*, 27–29). Against Garsoïan's somewhat subjective treatment of the Greek sources is that in the disputation between Gegnesios-Timothy and Patriarch Germanos in the reign of Leo III (Garsoïan's source S; Petrus Siculus, *Histoire*, 45–49 = PG, 104, cols. 1283/4B–1285/6A) we find so-called 'later' ninth century Paulician beliefs appearing. There is no good reason however for rejecting the historicity of this disputation. I adhere to the view that *Historia Manichaeorum*, chaps. 21–43 contains matter of high historical value for the understanding of early Paulicianism, although its chronological statements are admittedly not always accurate. For a recent study of all the Greek sources and a general review of Paulicianism, see Lemerle, "Paulicians," 1–135, especially 12–15 for comments on Garsoïan's theory. Cf. The review of Lemerle's work by M. Loos, "Deux publications fondamentales sur le paulicianisme d'Asie Mineure," *Byzantinoslavica*, 35 (1974), 194–209.

2. "Le mouvement Paulicien à Byzance," *Byzantinoslavica*, 24 (1963), 258–86; 25 (1964), 52–68, hereafter cited as "Le mouvement." See further his book, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974), 32–40. I am much indebted to these studies in this chapter.

3. On Armenia IV, see J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam* (Paris, 1919), Appendix I, 303–6; A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the East Roman provinces* (Oxford, 1937), 444–5, 530; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* (Brussels, 1935; reprinted Brussels, 1961), 16, 34–7, 40. The connection with Armenia in the earliest sources is striking – even in the Pontos pockets of Paulicians existed in areas where the Armenian element in the population predominated. This close association with Armenia proper (i.e. the country which lay to the east of the Byzantine frontier) was to continue throughout the history of the Paulicians. On the difficulty of identifying this border accurately, see Lemerle, "Paulicians," 53, note 10.

4. *Histoire*, 41 = PG, 104, col. 1276.

From her study of Armenian sources, Garsoïan[5] has shown that the first traces of the Paulicians are found further east, in mid-sixth century Armenia; for then the Council of Dvin (554–5) associated Paulicianism with Nestorianism and condemned it.[6] We have seen that in the following century, Constantine was born in Mananalis. His humble beginnings suggest that earlier Paulicians had virtually disappeared by this time. Originally a follower of Mani, he wished to support his teaching by an appeal to the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. Constantine's reforms, according to Peter of Sicily, were a re-clothing of Manichaean ideas in a form more acceptable to Christians by rejecting the cosmological myths – indeed so subtle was this process that, according to Peter, the Paulicians from this time readily anathematised Mani and other Manichaean teachers.[7] One of the most remarkable features of primitive Paulicianism is its great veneration for St. Paul, a fact underestimated by N. Garsoïan. This again apparently originated with Constantine for he assumed the name of St. Paul's companion, Silvanos, and having fled from Mananalis before an Arab attack, took up residence in the fortress of Kibossa, near Koloneia (now Şebinkarahisar), on the frontiers of the future Koloneian and Chaldian themes. (In a forthcoming study Anthony Bryer will propose Sisorta Kale as the site of Kibossa). The Paulician community at Kibossa called itself the 'church of Macedonia' – a name perhaps chosen because Kibossa was near to Koloneia, and in the Acts of the Apostles the term *Kolonia* (in the Roman sense of 'colony') is coupled with Macedonia.[8] Constantine-Silvanos originated the tradition of giving Paulician churches names associated with the travels of St. Paul and of bestowing on the leaders of these churches the names of St. Paul's disciples associated with these particular churches.

Constantine remained the leader of the Paulician community at Kibossa for twenty-seven years until he was arrested and stoned to death by a certain Justus, on the orders of Symeon, an imperial officer sent to Kibossa by Constans II or Constantine IV to stamp out the Paulician heresy. This period saw the first general persecution of Paulicians during the reigns of Constans II (641–68), or Constantine IV (668–85), and Justinian II (685–95). Many Paulicians were martyred. Symeon, however, was apparently so impressed by what he had seen that three years later he renounced his position and returned to Kibossa. After assuming the name Titus, he became leader of the Armenian Paulicians. His apostasy from Byzantine Orthodoxy was short lived, for within three years he had quarrelled with Justus over the interpretation of the Pauline text *Colossians* i, 16. Justus secretly appealed to the bishop of Koloneia who notified the imperial authorities in Constantinople. The result was that Justinian II ordered the arrest of all Paulicians in *ca.* 690. Those who persisted in their faith, such as Symeon, were burnt alive.[9]

The events of the first century A.D., as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and Pauline Epistles, determined the development of the sect in a remarkable way. Not only were the Paulician communities modelled on the early Christian communities, not only did their leaders take Pauline names, but events in Paulician history were shaped by those recorded in these writings. So in the incident concerning Justus we have a close parallel to the stoning of the first Christian martyr Stephen and the conversion of Saul-Paul which followed it.[10] It would seem probable that the historical details concerning Justus cannot be pressed and that the events of the first Christian century may have influenced the account of Paulician history recorded by Peter of Sicily at this point.

The *Historia Manichaeorum* then tells of another Armenian, named Paul, who had escaped the persecution of Justinian II. With his two sons, Gegnesios and Theodore, he revived Paulician fortunes in the village of Episparis.[11] Paul made Gegnesios the master of the sect but quarelled with Theodore, provoking a discord which continued to the end of their lives. Gegnesios had to defend his faith at Constantinople at the beginning of the reign of Leo III, the inaugurator of Byzantine Iconoclasm.[12] Accused by the patriarch of denying the Orthodox faith, the Cross, the Mother of God, the Body and Blood of Christ, the Catholic and Apostolic Church and baptism, Gegnesios stated that he firmly believed in these doctrines – meaning, according to Peter of Sicily, his own

5. Garsoïan, *op.cit.*, 88–91, 149; cf. an earlier examination by R.M. Bartikian, *Istochniki dlya izychenia istorii navlikiänskovo dvejenia* (Yerevan, 1961), reviewed by Loos, *Byzantinoslavica*, 24 (1963), 135–41, and by Lemerle, "Paulicians," 10–11.
6. This identification is doubted by Lemerle, "Paulicians," 54.
7. *Histoire*, 41–3 = PG, 104, cols. 1276–7.
8. *Acts* xvi, 11–12; *Histoire*, 43, 61 = PG, 104, cols. 1277–80, 1297; cf. Lemerle, "Paulicians," 58, note 21.
9. *Histoire*, 43–5 = PG, 104, col. 1281.
10. Analogy already drawn by E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury (Cambridge, 1898), VI, 117; Loos, "Le mouvement," 263.
11. On the problem of locating Episparis, see most recently Lemerle, "Paulicians," 51–2, 77–8.
12. *Histoire* 47–9 = PG, 104, cols. 1284.S; Leo III may have been accused of favouring the Paulicians, see Stephanus Diaconus, PG, 100, cols. 1083–4; cf. Georgius Monachus, 798.

Paulician heresy.[13] As reported in the Paulician source, Gegnesios succeeded in deluding the patriarch and clearing himself of heresy, and returned home to Armenia with a safe-conduct from the emperor. The source at this point illustrates the difficulties which the Church faced in combatting heretics who professed conformity with Orthodox teaching. Gegnesios, however, apparently feared that he might not escape in future, so on returning to Episparis, he migrated with his followers to Mananalis, the sect's original homeland, which was now under Arab domination and so beyond the limits of Byzantine power.[14] Some years later, after the death of Gegnesios and further internal strife, the sect left Mananalis and returned to Byzantium. M. Loos supports Bartikian's opinion that the intolerable burden of the Muslim tax system was the main cause of this further emigration,[15] which eventually brought the Paulicians back to Episparis, where their leader, Joseph, was received with lighted lamps as if a disciple of Christ had arrived.

From the mid-eighth century the Paulicians became increasingly noticeable on the stage of Byzantine history as a political, as well as a religious, problem. They were no longer rooted in a rural milieu but spread into towns, such as Antioch of Pisida, where a new Paulician community emerged. They even appeared in Constantinople itself. This raises the question of their connection with Iconoclasm. How far did specifically Paulician tenets influence those of the Iconoclasts? How far were Paulician fortunes bound up with this controversy? What was the reason for the increasing interest in the Paulicians taken by Byzantine chroniclers from the eighth century onwards and for the production of polemical literature directed against their beliefs? In my view, the increasing strength of Paulicianism is directly related to the historical situation which developed in Byzantium in the eighth century, and in particular during the reign of the Iconoclast Emperor Constantine V (741–775). This emperor moved drastically against religious images, and in particular attacked monasteries, which formed the heart of the Iconodule opposition to this policy, which was directed to the secularization of their property. Monastic resistance was regarded as a revolt against imperial power and one to be suppressed by every possible means. The appearance of Paulicians on Byzantine soil coincided with the height of this crisis. They too were relentlessly opposed to the monks and indeed described the monastic habit as one of the disguises of Satan. They apparently repudiated the use of images and denied any special place to the Virgin Mary; while these views were largely consonant with Iconoclasm, it is not certain how far Paulicianism was officially tolerated by Constantine V.[17]

There are in fact considerable differences between Byzantine Iconoclasm and Paulicianism. The former was not dualistic and did not reject the Old Testament or savour of Marcionite or Manichaean beliefs. The Paulicians forbade the material cross, substituting the outstretched arms of Christ; for the Body and Blood of Christ they substituted His words. The Iconoclasts, on the other hand, retained the Cross and the eucharist as true symbols.[18] Other differences will emerge later. Not too much weight should be accorded to Theophanes' statement that in 754 Constantine V transplanted to Thrace Syrians and Armenians from Melitene (Malatya) and Theodosioupolis (Erzurum), thus extending the Paulician sect. This seems to refer to a colonization of Thrace, an area which had been depopulated by epidemics and wars. Theophanes is the only writer who mentions the Paulicians in this context. Other sources such as George the Monk, describe these people simply as heretics.[19] Michael the Syrian also speaks of Monophysites from Claudia and from the regions of Melitene.[20]

The Paulicians greatly revered the figure of Constantine V, but their movement differed fundamentally from Iconoclasm in one respect: its attitude towards the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is true that Constantine V replaced unco-operative bishops by docile men and persecuted monastic opposition – but he did not intend to ride roughshod over the church hierarchy which was inseparably linked to the Byzantine State. The Paulicians, on the other hand, relentlessly attacked

13. Garsoïan, *op.cit.*, 175–6, seeks to prove that Peter of Sicily's account is seriously interpolated at this point and distorts the original form of the story which had Gegnesios favourably treated by the patriarch and sent home. The ninth century narrator, unwilling to accept this, adapted Gegnesios' words to the Paulician teaching prevalent in his own time. This interpretation of the account is special pleading, but it is essential to Garsoïan's theory that Byzantine Paulicianism was in origin non-dualistic and adoptionist in character. I do not believe this to be the case.

14. According to Theophanes, 372, Armenia IV fell to the Arabs in 702. On the Arab occupation and resulting movement of refugees into Byzantine territory, see Laurent, *op.cit.*, (note 3 above) 175–82, 190–3.

15. Loos, "Le mouvement," 265.

16. Cf. *Matt.* XXV. 1–13.cf. Lemerle, "Paulicians," 66–7.

17. Cedrenus, II, 10, states that Paulicians settled in Constantinople during the reign of Constantine V (after the plague), and Georgius Monachus, 750–1, accuses the emperor himself of being a Paulician.

18. Brown, *EHR*, 346 (1973), 5; cf. Gero, *BZ*, 68 (1975), 4–22.

19. Theophanes, 429; Georgius Monachus, 752, refers to them as "Theopaschitai"; the same movement of population is mentioned by Nicephorus, 65–66.

20. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche* (1116–99), ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1904) II, 523.

the foundations of ecclesiastical organization. They called members of the Byzantine church 'Romans' (Rhōmaioi); opposed and indeed hated, Orthodox clergy (*Presbyteroi*),[21] and considered only themselves as 'Christians' and the true 'Catholic Church.' For this reason any alliance with Iconoclast state power was impossible, although individual Paulicians might, from time to time, adopt Iconoclasm.

An interesting example of the Paulician attitude towards the church hierarchy is provided by Peter of Sicily's account of the conversion of a young educated boy named Sergios by a Paulician woman.[22] Sergios was the son of an affluent family of Tavia. In the conversion the proselityzing Paulician adopts an 'indirect' method of evangelisation; she points out the trail of 'truth' in the Gospels, so as to arouse the boy's curiosity. She rids him of the prejudice that it was wrong for laymen to read the Gospels alone – such a principle has no foundation in the Scriptures. On the contrary, God willed all men to be saved and to come to know the truth. It was the clergy, rapacious in their desire for gain, who intended to conceal the truth from the faithful. The woman read through the entire text of the Gospels with Sergios to show that the true sense of Christian doctrine was open to all. This account shows how the Paulician argument against the ecclesiastical hierarchy was developed in practice, no doubt concording with other matters, such as the wealth and privileges of the Church, which provoked strong discontent.[23]

These factors, however, do not explain why the Paulicians developed so rapidly from *ca.* 750 onwards. It is the merit of the work of Loos and Garsoïan to have shown that the conditions for this development were provided by Iconoclasm. The relaxation of persecution helped, but more important was the atmosphere engendered by the Iconoclast controversy.[24] A small treatise written in the ninth century illustrates the way in which Paulicianism adapted itself and flourished in this atmosphere. It contains a Paulician legend in which the sect's hatred of baptism and of the apostle Peter is linked to a sarcastic attack on monks – indeed, it claims that monasticism originated in the devil dressing himself up in a monk's habit. Such stories would have fitted into Constantine V's condemnation of the monastic habit as "a form of darkness";[25] similarly the Paulician belief that Mary was an ordinary woman could easily be incorporated with Iconoclast condemnation of the term *Theotokos*. Moreover, as Iconoclasm became widespread among different strata of the population, a more radical movement, such as Paulicianism, could gain converts from those already affected by Iconoclast propaganda.

We have clear evidence that this was the case. The Seventh Ecumenical Council called by the Iconodule Empress Eirene met at Constantinople on 17 August 786 in the church of the Holy Apostles, the empress and emperor watching from the gallery seats of the Catechumens.[26] The Iconoclast party was still active and soldiers of the imperial guard (scholarioi and excubitors), supporters of Iconoclasm, burst into the church, violence only being prevented by the Iconoclast bishops present shouting out, "we have won." The Council was forced to close.[27] However, during the winter Eirene had the Iconoclast units of the army sent on field service in Asia Minor on the pretext of a Saracen attack. This event is described in detail by Theophanes[28] and is also mentioned by Patriarch Nikephoros, who states that the dismissed soldiers "wandered about like planets" in search of a sect where there was no veneration of icons.[29] Many of them fell into the 'Manichaean' heresy, i.e. Paulicianism. Knowing the adroitness of Paulician propaganda, it is easy to see how it managed to gain ground among those disaffected with the restoration of icon worship by Eirene. In this way, Iconoclasm contributed to the development of Paulicianism even when it was not in the ascendant in Byzantium.

A favourable change occurred only after the deposition of Eirene and her replacement by Nikephoros (802–11). The new emperor exploited the available resources, public and private, in the interests of the State. He also restricted the gifts and privileges which Eirene had granted to the Church in profusion. Because of this Nikephoros became the object of the Iconodule party's criticism; Theophanes gives a detailed account of his alleged crimes. He states, among other faults, that the emperor was a friend and protector of heretics. In addition to the Iconoclasts, two sects in

21. *Histoire*, 23 = PG, 104, col. 1257A. Peter of Sicily regarded this as a striking feature of their heresy.
22. *Histoire*, 51ff = PG, 104 cols. 1288ff.
23. P. Charanis, "The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire," *DOP* 4 (1948), 51–118; M.V. Levcenko, "Tserkovnie imushchestva 5–8 vv v vostochnorumskoi imperii," *VizVrem*, 2 (1949), 11–59.
24. Loos, *op.cit.*, (note 2 above), 8–9.
25. PG, 95, col. 361B.
26. Theophanes, 461.
27. Theophanes, 461; Mansi, XIII, cols. 990E –999B.
28. Theophanes, 461; Mansi, XIII, col. 991C.
29. PG, 100, col. 501B–C, cf. Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 18–19.

Asia Minor are cited: the Paulicians and their near neighbours, the *Athinganoi*.[30] The precise motive for Nikephoros' tolerant attitude towards these sects is not known. However, it seems clear that Iconoclasm, temporarily repressed during the reign of Eirene, was still strong at the beginning of the ninth century and that even the Paulician movement still constituted a danger.

Theophanes' account of the benefits enjoyed by the Paulicians after Nikephoros' accession, is in agreement with Peter of Sicily's survey of these years. He states that at the end of Eirene's reign Sergios, already mentioned in connection with the Paulician missionary, succeeded in putting himself at the head of the sect. The young educated convert from Tavia undermined the authority of the master of the sect, a simple Armenian named Baanes, in public debate. The *Historia Manichaeorum* glorifies Sergios as the greatest leader of the Paulicians, although his rival, Baanes, complained: "You [Sergios] have only recently appeared, and have not known any of our masters, nor have you been associated with them. But, on the contrary, I am a disciple of master Epaphroditos, and teach his doctrine as he instilled it in me from the start."[31] But Sergios, a strong personality, dominated the sect as a teacher, reformer, missionary and organiser. He adopted the name of Tychikos, a disciple of St. Paul, and from 801–35 he ruled the Paulicians. He reinvigorated the life of the sect, correcting those who had fallen into lax ways. Sergios inspired his followers with zeal for spreading the Paulician faith: "from the East to the West, in the North and in the South I have journeyed, proclaiming the Gospel of Christ, walking with (?) my own knees."[32] In his remarkable missionary journeys Sergios founded three new Paulician churches. Such was his prestige that, like Mani before him, he was regarded as the Paraclete by his followers. His power of propaganda was so great that, according to Peter of Sicily, in order to follow him married people broke their vows, monks and nuns their monastic vows, even children and clergy became his disciples. Under Sergios' leadership Paulicianism reached its highest peak and influence.

This advantageous period, however, soon passed. The Emperor Nikephoros was killed by the Bulgars after having ventured with his army deep into the interior of their country. The reign of his successor, the weak Michael I (811–13), brought a great change. The Iconodule party succeeded in getting the death penalty proclaimed against Paulicians and Athinganoi, although this drastic measure was moderated somewhat through the influence of the celebrated Theodore the Studite and his monastic circle.[33] Theophanes nevertheless records that the emperor had a number of heretics beheaded. In spite of persecution, the Paulicians seem to have persisted in their beliefs secretly. In this they were encouraged by the political situation. The aversion of the populace to war, the burden of equipping Byzantine armies against the Bulgars and the Bulgarian penetration into Macedonia and Thrace, provided an opportunity for the renewal of Iconoclasm. Propaganda spread amongst the disaffected populace, suggesting that failure in the war was due to the eclipse of Iconoclasm. Had not Iconoclast leaders always led the Byzantine army from victory to victory? Theophanes, in this context, again speaks of Paulicians alongside the Iconoclasts.[34] For a time Michael succeeded in preventing a revolt in Constantinople. But the city lived through a further period of suspense when the Bulgarian leader Krum encamped near Versinikeia, not far from the Byzantine army, and prepared to annihilate it. People gathered at the Church of the Holy Apostles where the liturgy was celebrated. In the confusion no one noticed that the bolts of the door leading to the imperial tomb had been removed. With a great creaking noise the door suddenly opened and Iconoclast soldiers, who had pre-arranged their tactics, rushed to the tomb of Constantine V, invoking his aid. They called on the great Iconoclast Emperor to rise and save the state in its hour of doom. Stories spread of Constantine leaving the grave and riding on his horse against the Bulgars. The old cry went up again that Orthodoxy and the monks were bringing God's curse upon the country. According to Theophanes, the Paulicians took part in the activities of the Iconoclasts because they were unable to spread their ideas openly – hence they joined with those who called upon Constantine V's aid.[35] According to Martin, the term 'Paulician' used by Theophanes in this context, is a nickname for the Iconoclasts.[36] However, as Loos points out, in this source Paulicians are clearly distinguished from Iconoclasts;[37] and it seems quite likely that the Paulicians in the capital supported the restoration of Iconoclasm, no doubt believing that it would provide more favourable circumstances for their own activities.

30. Theophanes, 488; Loos, "Le mouvement," 273.
31. *Histoire*, 63–5 = PG, 104, col.1300C–D. Garsoïan, *op.cit.*, 183–4, argues that Sergios introduced new doctrines into the sect while Baanes represented the older Armenian tradition, cf. Lemerle, "Paulicians," 69–70.
32. *Histoire*, 57, and especially note 77; = PG, 104, col. 1293.
33. Theodore the Studite, *epistola* 23 (Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, VIII, pt I, 21), and *epistola* 155 (PG, 99, cols. 1481–5).
34. Theophanes, 496.
35. *Ibid.*, 501; cf. Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 111–3.
36. Martin, *History*, 277.
37. Loos, "Le mouvement," 276.

With the accession of Leo V the Armenian (813–20), Iconoclasm was indeed restored. To their surprise, however, this did not alter the official Byzantine attitude towards the Paulicians. Peter of Sicily, who wrote within living memory of this period, claims that the two Emperors, Michael I and Leo V, instigated a persecution which wrought overwhelming harm to the Paulicians throughout the Empire.[38] The principal strength of the Paulician movement at this time was concentrated in the Armeniakon theme, where the population was heavily Armenian. It was in this region that imperial orders calling for the extermination of the Paulicians, provoked a bloody retaliation. Peter of Sicily records how Sergios' disciples, the "Astatoi", and people of Kynochorion (?Kainon Chorion = ? a site near Akkuş/Karakuş between Niksar and Ünye), the "Kynochoritai," seized the archbishop of Neocaesarea (Niksar), a certain Thomas, who had to carry out the imperial edict against heretics, and killed him.[39] At the same time the "Astatoi" killed the Exarch Parakondakes, and then fled to the territory of the emir of Melitene.[40] Whatever the precise details, this was an event of great significance and not simply the flight of a small group of rebels. Peter of Sicily states that hordes of Paulician refugees went over into the territory of Melitene at this time. They became a source of great assistance to the Arabs – no doubt because they had a warlike Armenian strain, coupled with a fierce desire to avenge the massacre of their co-religionists.[41] In Melitene the Paulicians were exposed to foreign influences and the purity of their faith was sorely threatened.[42] Sergios tried to prevent the dissipation of his movement but without much success: "I am not guilty of these evils. I have pleaded with them many times not to take the Rhōmaioi captive, but they have not listened to me."[43] Sergios, however, kept his Paulician faith. In the frontier area under Arab rule he developed a remarkable and widespread missionary project, recalling the great missionary efforts of the Monophysites some three centuries before. He was able to found two Paulician churches at Argaoun and Mopsuestia (named Kolossae and Ephesus), which formed a unit with the church of Laodicea also founded by him. While many Paulicians lived off the booty gained in their military raids, Sergios–Tychikos continued to live by his own labour, like the Apostle Paul himself. In 835 he was murdered on a mountain near Argaoun while cutting timber.[44] Nothing is known about his assassin Tzanion although this act was possibly bound up with the older quarrel between the disciples of Sergios and those of Baanes. The result of the murder was a massacre of the followers of Baanes, which was ended only by the intervention of Theodotos, one of Sergios' companions.

We do not possess concrete evidence about the fate of the Paulicians during the reign of Michael II (820–29). Certainly there is no evidence that they took part in the revolt led by Thomas the Slav which challenged that emperor. However, in the reign of the last Iconoclast Emperor, Theophilos (829–32), the *Life of Makarios* records that the Paulician heresy was condemned and Paulicians thrown into prison and put to death; Makarios knew them personally.[45] Another biographical source, written shortly after Theophilos' reign, casts light on the struggle of the Paulician movement at this time. In the *Acts of the Martyrs of Amorion* the story is related of the martyrdom of a certain *spartharios* Kallistos.[46] Because of his Iconodule convictions, he had been exiled by the Emperor Theophilos to Koloneia. Many of his subordinate officers in this place were Paulicians and Kallistos tried in vain to convert them to image veneration. After this failure, he was handed over to the Paulicians who were allied with the Arabs. Some years later, during the conquest of the Amorion fortress, Kallistos was captured and martyred. On the unsettled eastern frontier, Paulicianism was still a force which united rebellious elements of the population including Armenians.[47] At this time it had adherents among wealthy and influential people, as well as among the commanders of the Armeniakon theme – a threatening situation for Byzantium.

Such was the state of affairs in the eastern themes when Empress Theodora became Regent in 842. As is well known she put an end to Iconoclasm – but she also decided to destroy Paulicianism. Although not all the Iconoclast opposition disappeared overnight, the Restoration of Orthodoxy in 843 was a relatively straightforward operation.[48] This was, however, not the case with the Paulicians, who had to be put down by force. The *Continuator* of Theophanes gives a frightful

38. *Histoire*, 65 = PG, 104, cols. 1300D–1301A; cf. Lemerle, "Paulicians," 81–2.
39. Astruc *et. al.*, *op.cit.*, (note 1 above), 167 = PG, 102, col. 77B; *Histoire*, 65 = PG, 104, col. 1301.
40. On the Astatoi, see J.K.L. Gieseler, "Untersuchungen Uber die Geschichte der Paulikianer," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 2 (1829), 93; cf. Lemerle, "Paulicians," 71–2.
41. Cf. Laurent, *op.cit.* (note 3 above), 50, 54–5.
42. Loos, "Le mouvement," 278.
43. *Histoire*, 59 = PG, 104, cols. 1293D–1296A.
44. *Histoire*, 65 = PG, 104, col. 1301; cf. Lemerle, "Paulicians," 74–5.
45. Ed. H. Delehaye, *AnalBoll*, 16 (1897), 140ff.
46. Acta 42 Martyrorum Amorion, ed. V. Vasilievskii and P. Nikitin, *Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk*, series VIII, vol. 7, no. 2, (1905), 22–36 (version 3).
47. Loos, "Le mouvement," 280.
48. See the contribution by C. Mango, "The liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios," *infra*, 133–40.

account of their suffering[49] – tens of thousands of heretics hanged, beheaded or drowned and their goods confiscated. The result of this persecution was another movement of Paulician refugees into Arab territory, and from this time a new Paulician urban centre emerged named Tephrike. An alliance was struck with the emirs of Melitene and Tarsos, to whom Paulician leadership was somewhat subordinated. Paulician support was in fact highly valued by the Arabs. An arabic source tells us that in a certain Byzantine church there were portraits not only of the most dreaded Arab leaders but also of the Paulician general, Karbeas.[50] The heyday of Paulician power on the frontier of the Byzantine Empire came when Paulician armies commanded by Chrysocheir, dominated the mountainous region extending from Tephrike towards the south.[51] Even the most western areas of Asia Minor were not immune from their raids – in Ephesus the heretics stabled their horses in the Church of St. John the Theologian near the temple of Artemis. However this spectacular period was short lived. After the failure of Peter of Sicily's attempt to secure peace with the Paulicians, Byzantine forces finally succeeded in crushing their military power in the year 872. The future of Paulicianism was to lie in the Balkans where, with Messalianism, it became an antecedent of Bogomilism.

There has been considerable discussion among scholars as to whether Paulicianism in its first stage propagated an adoptionist, non dualistic form of teaching; whether it had affinities with the teaching of Marcion, the second century Gnostic teacher,[52] or whether it was a recrudence of Manichaeism. Professor Garsoïan has sought to show that Paulicianism originated in Armenia in the sixth century in an adoptionist, non-dualistic form, which had close affinities with early Syriac Christianity, rather than with St. Paul's version of Christianity. From Armenia it spread into the Byzantine Empire where at first it appeared in a non-dualistic form. According to Garsoïan,[53] it was only in the ninth century that the Paulicians adopted a docetic Christology and a type of dualism akin to that of the Manichees. This shift of emphasis occured through the influence of extreme Iconoclast groups in Constantinople, which were developing a Manichaean tendency even during the Iconoclast period. This theory of a straight-line evolution of Paulicianism from primitive adoptionism to dualism seems to me too stereotyped. It is unlikely that the Paulicians were branded 'Manichaean' in the ninth century simply because their Iconoclast tendencies connected them with the Byzantine Iconoclasts. Although they were condemned by the Iconodules as Manichaean despisers of matter and the material world, 'Manichaean' was simply a term of abuse which could be used of many groups and individuals, as Gero[54] points out. In the last resort Professor Garsoïan's theory depends upon her highly questionable analysis of the Greek sources – in particular that of Peter of Sicily's *Historia Manichaeorum*. Moreover, there are too many references which do not fit easily into this theory such as the Genesios – Germanos conflict in the time of Leo III, which has already been mentioned. I cannot believe that the Paulicians are correctly described as the extreme left-wing of the Iconoclast movement as Conybeare, has done,[55] followed by Garsoïan.[56] Of course it all depends how one defines 'Iconoclast,' but restricting the term to its Byzantine connotation, Paulicianism and Iconoclasm seem to me distinct separate movements which developed in different ways.

The importance of Iconoclasm is that it provided favourable conditions for the widespread extension of Paulicianism from *ca.* 750 and, paradoxically, contributed to its growth when the Iconodules were in power. Like Iconoclasts, the Paulicians drew their followers from all strata of society – and developed in a complex environmental situation. However unlike the Iconoclasts, the Paulicians totally rejected Orthodox ecclesiastical organization, particularly the ministry, and sought to recreate the simplicity of the Christianity of the apostolic age by appeal to the cult of St. Paul. The Paulicians had no hope of gaining the adherence of the Byzantine State and populace at large, important though some of their colonies were in the great urban cities of the empire. Paulicianism lacked the appeal to tradition (an appeal not neglected by the Iconoclasts), and they severed the close connection between the emperor and the Christian *schema* – a connection which Iconoclasm was to re-emphasize. The real strength of Paulicianism always lay in Armenia and on the eastern borders of the empire.[57] Here their power, far removed from Constantinople, was

49. Theophanes Continuatus, 165ff.
50. Mas'udi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. and trans. Barbier de Maynard, (Paris, 1874), VIII, 74; cf. G. Le Strange, "Al-Abrik, Tephrike the capital of the Paulicians: A correction corrected," *JRAS*, (1896), 733–41. cf. Lemerle, "Paulicians," 93, esp. note 19.
51. S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge, 1946), 41–3.
52. A full discussion in Obolensky, *op.cit.*, 25–58; cf. Loos, "Le mouvement," 55–64; Lemerle, "Paulicians," 126–32.
53. Garsoïan, *op.cit.*, 151–85, 235. See further Garsoïan, *DOP*, 25 (1971), 87–113.
54. Gero, *Byzantion*, 44 (1974), 35.
55. *The Key of Truth*, (Oxford 1898), cvi.
56. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy*, 210, 226.
57. There seems to be no direct connection between the Armenian Paulicians and the ascetic iconoclastic sect which existed in Armenia in the seventh century. The latter was not originally heretical in doctrine but emphasized that sanctity belonged to persons not images, see Alexander, "Sect," 151–60.

often formidable, particularly when allied to that of the Arabs. Their fate in this situation was however to be largely the same as the Monophysites before them. A learned historian of the Monophysite movement has written recently: "No people or religion can accept the domination of another without risk of absorption and decline. By accepting the 'Ishmaelites' as instruments of God wherewith to punish the Chalcedonians, the Monophysites purchased not their liberty but their grave."[58] That could equally well have been written of the proud people called Paulicians, who flourished on the eastern borders of the Empire. But during their heyday from the mid-eighth to the mid-ninth centuries they were a considerable power in Byzantium. That was in no small measure due to the complex movement we call Iconoclasm, the conditions it created, and the issues it raised.

58. W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972), 359.

EXCURSUS ON MANANALIS, SAMOSATA OF ARMENIA AND PAULICIAN GEOGRAPHY

(See page 75, above)

Peter of Sicily stated that "In the days of the Emperor Constantine [i.e. Constans II (641–68), or Constantine IV (668–85)], grandson of Heraclius, a certain Armenian named Constantine was born in the district of Samosata of Armenia, in a village (kōmē) called Mananalis, which still [i.e. in 869) belongs to the Manichaeans." (*Histoire*, 41 = PG, 104, col. 1276).

Garsoïan has already pointed out the obvious contradictions in this statement: Mananalis was not a village but a district which lay a good 110 km. north-north-east of Armenia. The two are divided by a formidable gorge and 3,000 m. range now known appropriately as The 'Mountains of the Devil' (Şeytandağlari) – perhaps Aristakes' "the mountain which is called the fortress of Smbat," (Sembataberd, which Gelzer and Laurent make the see of Mananalis). Peter of Sicily's geography is clearly at fault in detail (Garsoïan suggests a misreading of Peter the *hegumene* and points out that the pseudo-Photios placed this Samosata in Syria), but his general directions are curiously significant. He is pointing to a stretch of longitude 40°E, east of Tephrike: harsh borderland, inaccessible but relatively well populated pastures, more successfully claimed by Arabs than Byzantines in the ninth century. Arnold Toynbee noted that "This district is walled-off from the rest of the World by ranges of huge mountains (I have seen Manalali [as he insisted on calling it] from the air)." Soon after Peter of Sicily's account much of these mountains became a new theme of 'Mesopotamia'. But by the late tenth century the *Taktika* (especially Oikonomides-Escorial) and the *Notitiae* (especially of Tzimiskes) reveal elaborate episcopal and thematic reorganisation and the same stretch emerges, defying all physical geography, as a deceptively realistic-looking frontier on Honigmann's map II. It is in fact the shortest overland line (but not route) between two great branches of the Euphrates: the Karasu and Murat, in other words the divide between Byzantine 'Mesopotamia' and Armenian Taron. But it may not have been a fresh border that a chain of new *stratègoi* and far-flung suffragan bishops of Trebizond were primarily appointed to patrol, so much as to regularise imperial control and Orthodoxy in an area identified by Peter of Sicily as an early Paulician one, which hence became a vulnerable section of the new Byzantine defence system. The remarkably obscure sites chosen for the short-lived Byzantine missionary cathedrals and army posts reflect the Paulician penchant for remoteness more than any obvious demands of strategy or centres of Orthodox population.

Unfortunately, an exact identification of this vital Paulician stretch can only be attempted when field work confirms armchair comparisons of the *taktika* with modern maps. There is, typically for a Paulician area, no direct road between Mananalis and Samosata of Armenia today, any more than there had been in the *Itineraria* or in the ninth century: communications run east-west. One of the few travellers' reports is by Kinneir who skirted Mananalis in 1813 (encountering lions). The laborious armchair geographer, Ritter, was misled by Kinneir; Lynch's comment on the matter is salutary: "A few months' personal travel would have stood him in good stead after all his minute analysis of the works of travellers." But, for almost all the stretch, there are simply no works of travellers.

With these caveats a preliminary guide to the ninth-century Paulician stronghold and tenth-century imperial 'frontier' along the 40°E longitude may be ventured, working north to south: *Derxene* (Derzene, Xerxene in Strabo) district lay along a bend of a branch of the Upper Euphrates (here Karasu), about 70 km. east of Arzinga (Erzincan) and 90 km. west of Theodosioupolis (Erzurum). The naphtha noted by Constantine Porphyrogennetos there still congeals along the east-west road to its north – a route which may explain why the empire was able to tackle Derxene earlier than other stations on the longitude. Its see of Bizana (?Vican), suffragan of Trebizond, may have been established as early as 856. Derxene district became a theme by 951/2 and was, like its bishopric, sometimes administered from Chaldia. In this century, a small town on a minor tributary of the Upper Euphrates (Tuzlasuyu), long known after its thirteenth-century mausoleum of Mamahatun (40° 23′E, 39° 50′N), has adopted the earlier district name of Tercan. Another ironic example of a Byzantine district name replacing a long-established Turkish place name in recent years comes from the Pontos, where Cevizlik (Karydia, Dikaisimon) has been renamed Maçka (i.e. Matzouka), which it was never called in the Middle Ages. In fact *Mananalis* (Armenian Mananaghi) seems to have been the southern Tuzlasuyu plain and it is even possible that the site of modern Tercan lay in it. The area was heretic in 869 but a short-lived suffragan bishopric of Trebizond was set up there after 969. Its Orthodox prelate must have found stony ground in the old heretic stronghold, for unlike nearby Bizana or even remote Chantierz, his see drops out of episcopal lists within eleven years. It may, however, have lasted a little longer, if only *in partibus*,

for Laurent dates the only known seal of a bishop (Michael) of Mananalis to the tenth/eleventh century. But it was hardly effective for by *ca.* 1000 Mananalis is again reported as a hotbed of heresy and home of a local Armenian Paulician prince, Vrver. The combination of Armenian popular tradition, and aristocratic protection for it, could well have been more than a Trapezuntine Greek bishop could face.

On the south side of the 'Mountains of the Devil', a tributary of the Tuzlasuyu reaches a broad plain, site perhaps of *Kama* (? Paulician Kameia – Katabatala), a new theme in 971/5 and (a long shot) maybe modern Kaman (40° 13′E, 39′N). To the south-east lay *Chortzine* (?? now Çorşan), a theme in 971/5. To the south-west lay *Chantiarte* (bishopric of Chantierz, Arabic Hisn al-H.n.d.r.s.), the most distant suffragan of Trebizond after 969 and a pocket theme before 971/5.

Finally *Samosata of Armenia* (Arsamasata, Asmosaton, now Şimşat Kale at 39° 47′E, 38° 37′N), lay on the south side of the Arsanias, yet another branch of the Upper Euphrates (here Murat), between Balouos (Palu) and Charpete (Harput, near Elazığ). This major site brings us on to a common east-west route again. Not surprisingly it became a theme capital, (and independent metropolis) even earlier than Derxene, in 938/52. It is also the only site of the group of which we have any useful reports and has been excavated since 1969. It must be distinguished from the great mound of Samosata (Samsat) which lies by a crossing of the Euphrates proper (Firat) more than 200 km. downstream and is even better known to archaeologists.

Peter of Sicily's geographical error in fact brackets a goup of sites which were Paulician hideouts in the ninth century and God-forsaken Byzantine administrative and ecclesiastical postings subsequently, reflecting imperial worries about the area. Until serious field research is conducted there, little more can usefully be said.*

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*For this geographical discussion, see the Turkish Harta General Müdülüğü 1:200,000 series of maps (Ankara, 1953), and Strabo, *Geography*, XI, xiv, 5; Polybius, *Historiae*, ed. T. Büthner-Wobst (Leipzig, 1889), VIII, 23; N. Oikonomides, "L'Organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe–XIe siècles et la Taktikon de l'Escorial," *XIVe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines, Rapports II* (Bucarest, 1971), 73–90, and *idem*, *Les Listes de Préséance Byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), 241, 267–9, 358–363; to Oikonomides' seals of Derxene, add G. Schlumberger, "Sceaux Byzantins inédits (3e série)," *REG*, 7 (1894), 321–2, no. 105 (George Dros[eri]os, dysanthypatos, krites epi tou hippodromou, of Chaldia and Derxene, 10th–11th centuries); and unpublished ones in Dumbarton Oaks: D.O. 55.1.2933 (Leo Areob[a]n[denos], krites, spatharocandidate, asekretes of Chaldia and Derxene); and D.O. 55.1.2066 (Michael, spatharios epi tou chrysotriklinou, logethete, grand curator, anagrapheus of Chaldia, Derxene and Taron); V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des Sceaux de l'Empire Byzantin*, V, 1 (Paris, 1962), 502–3, no. 668; Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik and trans. R.J.H. Jenkins, I (Budapest, 1949), 238, 284; H. Gelzer, *Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae episcopatuum (Munich, 1901), 576, 578*; Chrysanthos (Philippides), "*He ekklesia Trapezountos*," *ArchPont*, 4–5 (1933), 154–164, who is to be preferred to N. Bees, "Sur quelques évêchés suffragants de la métropole de Trébizonde," *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 117–137; MS *Soumela 27*, f.1, a retrospective episcopal list copied on Sunday 6 March 1737, now in the Archaeological Museum, Ankara, identifies Bizana with Tercan but (misleadingly) Chantierz with Erzincan; J.M. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan, in the years 1813 and 1814* (London, 1818), 358–9; H.F.B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies* (Beirut, 1965), II, 231 and n.l; Arnold Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (London, 1973), 683; H.A. Manandian, trans. N.G. Garsoïan, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in relation to Ancient World Trade* (Lisbon, 1965), 33–5, 44, 52, 91–2; David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the end of the third century after Christ* (Princeton, 1950), II, 1464–5; Honigmann, *op.cit.*, 64, 78, 191–205 and *idem*, *RE*, 27, 971–2; J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen* (Vienna, 1930), 51–3, 244–64, 436–7, 468; Obolensky, *op.cit.*, 32; M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974), 32 and n.2; Garsoïan, *op.cit.*, 71–2, esp. notes 164 and 165; 143–6, who is to be preferred topographically to Lemerle, "Paulicians," 50, note 3; 57–8, esp. note 17; B. Ogun, "Haraba, 1970," *AnatSt*, 21 (1971), 456, *idem*, "Haraba, 1973", *AnatSt*, 24 (1974), 33; and observations by Anthony Bryer in Tercan and near Samosata of Armenia.

XI SCHOOLING IN THE ICONOCLAST CENTURIES

ANN MOFFATT

BETWEEN the reigns of Justinian in the mid-sixth century and Michael III in the mid-ninth our knowledge of Byzantine education is very thin. This is due partly to the limited nature of our sources and partly, no doubt, to the fact that education suffered in the reduced and changed circumstances of the Empire. Indeed the numbers who made a career of teaching started dropping dramatically in the sixth century, even before any Arab attacks or Iconoclasm, and there are signs of revival only in the ninth century. Moreover theories of imperial or ecclesiastical sponsorship of education in this period through a university or patriarchal academy in Constantinople have been undermined in the last decade by the fine scholarship of Beck, Lemerle and Speck.[1] There remain scattered and tantalizing clues which hint of the officially sponsored education of later centuries, but for the moment anyway, we have just to keep pushing around those pieces of the puzzle, watching for new leads.

For a different approach to reconstructing the picture of education, and particularly for the period of Iconoclastic rule, we can turn to the more general phrases in the lives of saints.[2] These lives are numerous for the eighth and ninth centuries, but in dealing with them we get a new set of problems. Let's take for example the life of Ioannikios the monk who was born in the village of Marykatos in Bithynia in 754, in the middle of the first phase of Iconoclasm, and who died, a very old man, in 846, not long after the final restoration of Orthodoxy. We have three accounts of his life, two by younger contemporaries and a Metaphrastic version.[3] Ioannikios died in his nineties and indeed many of these monks and bishops lived to a great age and, when they finally died, even one who had known the holy man well might be hard put to give accurate information about the man's family and education nearly a century before. In the case of Ioannikios one life prudently skips right over his early years with a few short phrases, "brought up in a pious home and passing through the age of boyhood and reaching early manhood, he served in the army."[4] The other near contemporary life explains that his parents gave him an upbringing only in keeping with his physical age, and did not educate his soul with Scripture and writing. That is to say, he was without any elementary education. But Ioannikios held the true faith as one taught by God Himself, with it inscribed on his heart by the Holy Spirit.[5] Then, at the age of seven, the normal age for beginning an elementary education, Ioannikios' job was out minding the pigs. Certainly he found that if he made the sign of the Cross over the animals, they were safe for the day and he could wander where he pleased; but apparently he did not go in search of a classroom. What did Symeon Metaphrastes make of this education, or lack of it, when he produced his rewriting of the life of Ioannikios in a more polished literary style? "From birth he was brought up and trained with sensible nourishment, and he acquired not a general education and worldly wisdom, but that which leads and brings one to God."[6] It's rather different from the totally negative picture we get in the less sophisticated account. Παιδοτριβούμενος hints at, though it doesn't have to mean, an elementary education.

1. H.-G. Beck, "Bildung und Theologie im Frühmittelalterlichen Byzanz," *Polychronion, Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Wirth (Heidelberg, 1966), 69–81; P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle* (Paris, 1971); P. Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel. Präzisierungen zur Frage des höheren Schulwesens in Byzanz im 9. und 10. Jahrundert, ByzArch* 14 (Munich, 1974).

2. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, 97–104, has made a very substantial analysis of the information about education contained in the hagiography of this period. He has set guidelines and himself examined twenty lives of saints of the seventh to ninth centuries. The starting-point for a really comprehensive study should lie back in the fifth century with the lives of Cyril of Skythopolis, when the information about the education the saints received can be set against the picture gained from other contemporary sources. Such a study should be carried through at least to the tenth century, and possibly to the twelfth, so that at that end the information can be measured against that of other evidence, particularly the letters of the Anonymous teacher of the tenth century, the writings of Psellos, and the details of the structure of the patriarchal academy in the twelfth century.

3. Life (A) by the monk Sabas, *ActaSS* November, II, 1 (1894), 332–83; Life (B) by the monk Petros, *ibid.*, 384–435; Life (C) by Symeon Metaphrastes, PG, 116, cols. 36–92. Sabas and Petros were contemporaries of Photios; Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur*, 558.

4. Life (B) by Petros, November, 386 *καὶ εὐσεβῶς ἀπογαλακτισθεὶς καὶ τὴν ἔφηβον νηπιότα ὑπερβὰς καὶ εἰς νεανίσκου ἡλικίαν ἐληλακὼς στρατοποιεῖται.*

5. Life (A) by Sabas, November, 333: *τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς αὐτὸν τρέφοντες μόνον καθ' ἡλικίαν σωματικῶς ἀναγόμενον· καὶ οὐ τοῖς θείοις λόγοις καὶ γράμμασιν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἐνάρετον καὶ ἔνθεον ἐκπαιδεύοντες· ἀλλ' αὐτός· ὡς διδακτὸς Θεοῦ καὶ Πνεύματι Θείῳ τὴν καρδίαν ἐγγεγραμμένος· πρὸς τῷ ἁπλῷ τοῦ ἤθους συνακμάζουσαν εἶχε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὴν τελειοποιὸν πίστιν καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ ῥίζαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.*

6. PG, 116, col. 37: *Εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐκ πρώτης τριχὸς αἰσθητοῖς βρώμασι παιδοτριβούμενός τε καὶ ἀναγώμενος· ὅια παῖς· οὐ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον ταύτην καὶ κοσμικὴν εἵλετο σοφίαν· ἀλλὰ τὴν προσάγουσάν τε καὶ οἰκειοῦσαν Θεῷ· ἥτις καὶ ἀρχὴ σοφίας ἐστίν.*

Παιδοτρίβης was used, however, in this period to describe an elementary teacher.[7] So Ioannikios received some training and then he did not take the general education, *οὐ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον ταύτην καὶ κοσμικὴν σοφίαν*, that is to say, not the *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*, or secondary education.[8] He certainly did not!

Fortunately in looking at the lives of men who were educated in the period 726–842 we have pre-Metaphrastic lives for more than thirty saints, and sometimes more than one version survives. Often we have either a life that was written within about a generation of the saint's death, or one that doesn't betray heavy rewriting of an early tradition. Some of these lives are as devoid of information about a man's education as the near contemporary lives of Ioannikios. Some almost extol the saint's lack of secular education. Ioannikios' life is interesting not only as an illustration of the educational upgrading achieved by the pen of Metaphrastes, but also in showing there was no stigma attached to a saint being without formal education. Indeed the men who were their biographers sometimes boasted or were proudly apologetic about their own lack of contact with secular learning.[9] Sometimes in their negativeness they in fact provide a great deal of information. The outstanding example is the life of John Psichaites (d. 820–9) written by a member of his monastery later that century.[10] Here we are given a quite detailed description of the content of the secondary and higher, that is tertiary, education of which John had no need and no experience. For John counselled men not to indulge in false philosophical speculation about the origins of the world and the movement of the heavens, but to be reverend; it was by concentrating exclusively on divine matters that he attained the ideal of *apatheia*.[11] Clearly the biographer had some interest in and perhaps some experience of higher education and was proud to display his knowledge. These lives do come close on occasions to telling us more about their author than their hero.[12]

In most saint's lives there is at least a paragraph devoted to the early years of the hero's life and some detail of his education. The origins of this lie in the formal rhetorical structure of classical panegyric which was not lost, but acquired enormous authority in Christian circles with the magnificent orations in this genre by Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa. Not only was this formal structure inherited, but within the hagiographical tradition itself some phrases become almost formulaic, and common-places about education abound. However, if the biographer chose the phrases and common-places appropriate to the facts, we are being moderately well informed, and that is the best we can hope for. The author of the life of Ioannikios who reneged altogether in his obligations to the genre is one of a minority amongst those biographers for our period who were writing relatively close to the events, though in Ioannikios' case he had good reason to be silent. It was also possible to write the paragraph saying much that sounds fine, but saying even less than the simple *topoi*. A striking example of this is the life of Nikephoros of Sebazē, foundation abbot of a monastery of that name in Bithynia, early in the ninth century.[13] The Patmos manuscript is of the late tenth century or early eleventh century,[14] and the life itself may date from near that time because the author, with refreshing honesty, admits that it is difficult to write the life because it is now a long time since Nikephoros' death. After the very general remarks, but at the appropriate length, about the abbot's youth and entry into a monastery, the author goes on padding out the life with a quick run-down of the history of Iconoclasm from Leo the Isaurian on, for all that Nikephoros suffered in the second phase, and was exiled under Leo the Armenian. But this life is not typical of lives written closer to the events, or with some documentation to draw on.

When we do get them, what were these stock phrases about the education the saint received? The

7. E.g. in the life of David of Mitylene it is used of an elementary teacher; see *infra*. In the life of George of Amastris, ed. V. Vasil'evsky, "Zitija svv. Georgija Amastridskago i Stefana Surozskago," *Russko-vizantijskija Izsledovanija*, II (St. Petersburg, 1893), 15, the term appears to embrace both the elementary and the secondary school-teacher.

8. See *infra*, note 54.

9. E.g. the author of the life of Eustratios, abbot on Mt. Olympos (772–*ca.* 867), ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, (St. Petersburg, 1891–98), IV, 368. The authors of the life of Constantine the former Jew (*ActaSS* November, IV [1925], 628) and of Nicholas the Studite (PG, 105, col. 864) warned that they would not employ fine rhetorical phrases but would allow the truth to speak for itself. The author of the life of Peter of Atroa (died 837) writing *ca.* 847 was more humbly apologetic about his shortcomings as a writer; ed. and trans. V. Laurent, *La vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Atroa*, SubsHag, 29 (Brussels, 1956), 67.

10. Ed. P. Van den Ven, "La vie grecque de S. Jean le Psichaïte sous le regne de Léon l'Arménien (813–20)," *Le Muséon*, NS 3 (1902), 97–125. The earliest manuscript of this life is *Cod. Monac. gr.366* of the late ninth century; A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, I (Leipzig, 1937), 620–23.

11. Ed. van den Ven, *op. cit.*, 109 f.

12. However scepticism need not be carried to the point where one assumes the biographer is more likely to be inserting information anachronistically from his own day into that of an earlier generation. If this were consistently the case one would have to look for information only in those lives written in the Iconoclastic period, and regardless of when their heroes lived. In fact the number of lives written during and shortly after the Iconoclastic period of men of earlier centuries is too small to act as a control to test such a tendency towards anachronism. It must therefore cautiously be assumed that in near contemporary lives the passages about the saint's education during the Iconoclastic period may contain some core corresponding to historical reality.

13. Ed. F. Halkin, "Une victime inconnue de Léon l'Arménien? Saint Nicéphore de Sébazè," *Byzantion*, 23 (1953), 11–30.

14. F. Halkin, "Un ménologe de Patmos (MS 254) et ses légendes inédites," *AnalBoll*, 72 (1954), 15–34.

most straightforward one we meet is Biblical. The child progresses in the knowledge and admonition of the Lord, *ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου*, or some slight variation of this.[15] It occurs in the context of moral training by the parents.[16] The one possible exception is the case of Euaristos the Studite, born in Galatia in 819.[17] When the school he attended let the students out at the time for lunch, Euaristos didn't go home like the other boys, but fasted and applied himself to *τὰ μαθήματα*, to learning, and so progressed "in the knowledge and admonition of the Lord." This example is ambiguous since *τὰ μαθήματα* could refer to his formal elementary education from the school. But it seems in this case too, that it does not, unless his elementary education was based on the Scriptures. The clue lies in the fact that the same story of the lunch-hour is told with more details and more colourfully by George the Presbyter in his life of Theodore of Sykeon, also a Galatian, but two centuries earlier than Euaristos. Theodore used to retreat in the lunch-break to an oratory on the hillside where he concentrated on sacred literature.[18] It is safe to say, then, that this phrase, "in the knowledge and admonition of the Lord," even with the word *παιδεία* in it, is associated with moral and religious training, usually in the home, and does not necessarily infer learning to read and write, skills basic to a formal elementary education.

Τὰ μαθήματα, or *τὰ ἱερὰ μαθήματα*, is another common phrase, and again we have to feel our way to see if any elementary education might be implied by this learning when the phrase appears in the lives. If we are told that a man had such learning, can we assume that he would be literate? Euaristos had such a training in *τὰ μαθήματα* both from his parents, who acted as his teachers in matters of piety and the faith, and at his school.[19] But since he attended an elementary school, that is where he would have learned to read and write. On the other hand, Joseph the Hymnographer, his contemporary, but born in Sicily and, like Euaristos, of a well-heeled family, was trained by his parents in sacred learning and, being a sharp lad, he made good progress in speaking, reading and writing.[20] There is no mention of a professional teacher or of him going to a school, so that it is not clear here whether the formal education was considered as part of, or in addition to, the sacred learning. It seems, then, from the evidence we have, that *τὰ μαθήματα*, the completely neutral term, and *τὰ ἱερὰ μαθήματα* do not, on their own, necessarily imply any training to read or write. The content of any such learning probably varied from one situation to another. For formal education the phrase *τὰ γράμματα* or *τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα* was available and more specific. Now, with this phrase there is a mention more frequently and directly of a teacher or a school.

The simple phrase *τὰ γράμματα* appears in an interesting range of educational situations. With Nicholas the Studite (793–868) we get the distinction between *τὰ γράμματα*, which he learned from his parents in Crete, and then the further progress which he made from the age of ten in the Studite school in Constantinople. What he acquired in Crete was a grasp of the elements, *τῶν στοιχείων*, which was sufficient as a preparation, *προπαιδεία*, for further study.[21] When he got to

15. *Ephesians*, vi, 4.

16. E.g. in the lives of the Empress Theodora (died 867), brought up in Paphlagonia, ed. W. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (St. Petersburg, 1891), 3; of the monk Nikephoros of Medikion (755–813), educated in Constantinople, ed. F. Halkin, "La vie de saint Nicéphore fondateur de Médikion en Bythynie († 813)," *AnalBoll*, 78 (1960), 406; the historian Theophanes the Confessor (died 817), a Constantinopolitan of whom the earliest life is by Methodios the patriarch (died 847), ed. B. Latyšev, "Methodii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Vita S. Theophanis Confessoris," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Russie*, 8th series, XIII, 4 (1918), 4; the abbot Eustratios from Mt. Olympos who was brought up in the region of Tarsia in Bithynia, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, IV, 368. Theodora's life was probably written during the reign of Basil, about thirty years after her death on the basis of oral sources (Regel, *op. cit.* xiii and xviii). The life of Nikephoros was written by one of his disciples between 824 and 837 and it survives in a manuscript of the late ninth century, *Cod. Monac. gr. 366*. The life of Eustratios survives in a manuscript of the early twelfth century, *Cod. Sab. 242*. The parental and essentially moral nature of this education "in the knowledge and admonition of the Lord" is borne out by the use of this phrase in the *Poenae Monasteriales* which is attributed to Theodore the Studite. The teacher in charge of the Studite school acted *in loco parentis* to the young boys who had not yet entered the monastery proper and was to be punished if he failed to show a sympathetic and fatherly attitude to the young boys: PG, 99, col. 1745: *Ἐὰν μὴ σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ πατρικὴν διάθεσιν ἔχῃ ὥστε ἐκτρέφειν τὰ νήπια ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ Κυρίου· ἰμειρόμενος αὐτῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν καὶ κατὰ σῶμα ...*

17. Ed. C. Van de Vorst, "La vie de S. Évariste higoumene à Constantinople," *AnalBoll*, 41 (1923), 299. This anonymous life was written *ca.* the first quarter of the tenth century, within the generation after the saint's death (died 897); the sole manuscript is of the tenth century, *Par. gr. 1171*.

18. Ed. A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, SubsHag, 48, I (Brussels, 1970), 6: *ἐνκαθέζετο ἐν τῇ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μελέτῃ ἀσχολούμενος.*

19. Ed. Van de Vorst, *op. cit.*, 298: *Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀφίκετο καὶ μειράκιον ἦν ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν μαθημάτων ἐπιτηδειώς ἔχει κατάληψιν· τούτοις αὐτὸν ἐκδεδώκασιν οἱ τεκόντες· τῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀμώμητον πίστιν φερόντων αἴτιοι ποδηγοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι πεφηνότες αὐτῷ...*

20. The life of Joseph the Hymnographer (816–86) was written in the late ninth century by Theophanes, a monk, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia*, II (St. Petersburg, 1901), 2: *οἱ γε δὴ τὸν μακάριον τοῦτον οὐ τροφαῖς ἐξέτρεφον φθειρομέναις μόνον· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱεροῖς ἐπαιδοτρίβουν μαθήμασιν· ὃς παιδοθεν φέρων τὸ εὐφυὲς τοῖς λόγοις προέκοπτε τῇ τε ἀναγνώσει χρώμενος εὐφυῶς καὶ τῇ γραφῇ τὸ θαρσαλέον ἐπιδεικνύς.*

21. PG, 105, col. 869. The life of Nicholas the Studite was written *ca.* the first half of the tenth century; E. von Döbschutz, "Methodios und die Studiten. Strömungen und Gegenströmungen in der Hagiographie des 9. Jahrhunderts," *BZ*, 18 (1909), 70.

the Studite school he was taught *τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων μάθησιν*, a knowledge of reading and writing. Within elementary education, then, different levels of attainment were appreciated. As others have recognized, this Studite school was not a monastic school open to the public, but simply a separate Studite set-up for boys destined to be monks, but thought still a little too young to join the older men. The reason was that the company of young boys could present the monks with moral problems. In this separate house of the monastery the boys were kept occupied with schooling. Sometimes it has been seen as an elementary-school,[22] sometimes as a secondary-school.[23] The answer is that it was probably both. While the norm for entering the monastic life was somewhere about eighteen years of age, it was from ten that boys were eligible to do so,[24] at that very age which was traditionally just between elementary and secondary schooling. In the special case of this school, drawing on boys from different backgrounds and geographical areas, it is not surprising if the teacher had to cope with both categories. This warrants mention particularly because Speck has challenged Lemerle's view that the classical tradition of three stages of education, elementary secondary and higher, or tertiary education continued through these centuries. Speck does not deny that the idea persisted, but he claims that the system broke down and that in practice the traditional divisions within the teaching profession largely disappeared, with the level of education available depending far more on the quality of the individual teacher.[25]

Two other examples of an education in *τὰ γράμματα* catch the eye because they concern minority or disadvantaged groups. Constantine, a Jew who became a monk and hermit on Olympos, was born in Synnada in Phrygia probably towards the end of the Iconoclastic period. He was brought up to be a cultivated man. It wasn't necessary for his upbringing to be anything greater, meaning in effect that, since Constantine belonged to a Jewish family, the author couldn't use one of the usual formulae about a pious upbringing in a Christian home. Constantine acquired a knowledge of *τὰ γράμματα* and of Hebrew as well.[26] A life of the Virgin written around the time of Iconoclasm could envisage Mary learning *τὰ Ἑβραϊκὰ γράμματα* from her father.[27] As for women, we see the two sisters of Stephen the Younger, children of a wealthy but self-made man in Constantinople, being taught piety and *τὰ γράμματα* by their mother just before the first outbreak of Iconoclasm.[28] One significant phrase, which may in fact sum up the situation of elementary education in these centuries is in the life of Niketas of Medikion (d. 824) written by his disciple Theosteriktos. In Caesarea, Bithynia, Niketas' father saw to it that Niketas got "the elementary education customary for young boys," and then the boy was given the *Psalms*.[29] It seems that whether it was Crete or Galatia or Constantinople, elementary education was available and not unusual, and that therefore many people must have been literate.

Τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα as distinct from *τὰ γράμματα* seems to indicate the same sort of training, in reading and writing, but the implication of the word "sacred" is nowhere spelt out. The natural assumption, and there is some support for it, is that it means that the texts from which the reading and writing was practised were selections from Scripture and perhaps the lives of martyrs and saints and the writings of the Church Fathers. Lives of saints do appear as part of the youthful reading of Theodore the Studite[30] and Stephen the Younger.[31] Stephen, a precocious child, when everyone else sat down in the church during the readings, used to go forward to the chancel-rail to listen carefully and memorize what was read, accounts of martyrs, lives of saints, or the teachings of one of the Fathers, and he was particularly keen on John Chrysostom. This is the man whose elder sisters were taught *τὰ γράμματα* by their mother. But Stephen in his turn, at the age of six, was

22. E.g. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, 103.
23. E.g. G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles," *Byzantion*, 25–27 (1955–57), 796.
24. Council in Trullo, *Canon* 40, PG, 137, col. 653.
25. Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel*, 34f.
26. *ActaSS* November, IV (1925), 629: *ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἀγωγὴν ἀστεῖος καὶ ὡς οὐ κρειττον ἔδει προήχθη καὶ δὴ γραμμάτων ἐγένετο καὶ τῆς ἑβραΐδος διαλέκτου ὁ μέγας οὗτος ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ* ... This life which survives in an early eleventh century manuscript, *Cod. Laur. IX. 14*, was written in Constantinople after the accession of Leo VI (A.D. 886), and reported an oral tradition. The life is therefore of doubtful value as historical evidence. The interest here is to see how conscious the biographers were of their genre, as well as to note the assumption that Hebrew learning was maintained. There are no precise dates for Constantine. He was a monk during the reign of Basil I, for he predicted the tension between Basil and his son Leo.
27. PG, 120, col. 192; Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur*, 513.
28. PG, 100, col. 1076. The life of Stephen the Younger (713–64) was written by Stephen, a deacon of Constantinople, in 806, long after the events described. The author claims to have used reliable sources, the information of men who were Stephen's contemporaries. The life has value in any case for our purposes because it was written during the period under review. The information about the girls' education is likely to be valid since it is incidental to the story recounted.
29. *ActaSS* April, I, 3rd ed. (1865), xix: *καὶ ὅτε ἔφθασεν εἰς τὸν χρόνον τῶν μειρακίων· τὰ ἐξ ἔθους γράμματα τοῖς παισὶν ὁ πατὴρ ἐκμανθάνειν παρέδωκεν... εἶτα τὸ ψαλτήριον*....
30. Life (B) of Theodore the Studite, PG, 99, col. 237, a life written by Michael the Monk, probably also a Studite, at some date after 855; Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur*, 504. Although there are three versions of the life of Theodore the Studite all drawing apparently on at least one common source, this is the only one with this information.
31. PG, 100, col. 1081.

handed over by his parents (and so presumably to a teacher) for προπαιδεία, elementary education, to learn τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα. Theodore, later bishop of Edessa, his home town, was handed over at the age of five to a teacher (διδάσκαλος) to learn τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα.[32] There is no doubt about the phrase here. It does not refer simply to Christian training in the home. Theodore was hopeless at school, because he suffered some sort of disability, or, the biographer adds, perhaps he even conveniently affected this disability so that the learning of τὰ γράμματα should come to him from God. In a sense this is what did happen. After he had spent two years at the school he had learned nothing, despite punishments from his parents and despite beatings from his teachers.[33] Theodore was also subject to the jeers of his fellow students. He sought help from the Lord, hid one Sunday unnoticed under the altar in the church and fell asleep there. Asleep he had a vision of his future as a bishop, and woke up just as the archbishop and clergy finished celebrating the liturgy. On hearing the story of his vision the archbishop immediately enrolled Stephen amongst the clergy. Now the point of the story for us, is that from that time forth, he was the star pupil of the school, and he could at one, or perhaps two hearings for the biographer is more sceptical than we would sometimes think, memorize the text, whether it was the *Psalms* of David or some other subject, and he excelled in every form of learning.[34] And when he had been taught τὰ θεῖα ταῦτα καὶ ἡμέτερα μαθήματα he then went on to secondary education, the ἐγκύκλιος παίδευσις or liberal arts, and even tertiary education, both under the sophist Sophronios.[35] Well, it's a lovely story, and at least the author of the romance, who was ostensibly the bishop's nephew, Basil of Emesa, considered it possible to get in a school an elementary education that was based on the *Psalms* and other texts, and from which a student could proceed to secondary education and beyond. The value of this life, which is so full of interesting detail, has been seriously questioned, yet within it, as Vasiliev concluded, there is some core of historical reality.[36] It is less likely that the picture of the elementary education of the time has been distorted than that of the higher education of some pretensions.

What other support is there for this form of education based on religious texts? Nikephoros of Medikion who founded his monastery in 780 grew up in Constantinople. He was not allowed to run around with no clothes on like a dung-beetle, nor to learn the ditties of the day, but his mother sent him and his two brothers to pedagogues, and in parenthesis, "or if you like, teachers," to learn τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα.[37] Theodora of Salonica (d. 892) was born and educated on Aegina, but fled the island as a girl when the Arabs attacked. At seven she learned τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα and a part of the *Psalms*.[38] In this case, however, it is not clear who was her teacher and, apart from the formula, we would not know that she received the sort of education that would make her literate. In the same century, however, also on Aegina, there was an abbess called Athanasia.[39] At the age

32. Ed. J. P. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie iže vo sv. otca našego Theodoro archiepiskopa edesskago* (St. Petersburg, 1892), 5. This life of Theodore of Edessa (*ca.* 793–860+) was written ostensibly by his nephew Basil, bishop of Emesa. It contains fascinating details relating to historical events along with a very romantic element. It is strongly influenced by known events from the life of Theodore's near contemporary, Theodore Abû Qurra, also of Edessa (died *ca.* 820). On these problems see especially, A. Vasiliev, "The life of St Theodore of Edessa," *Byzantion*, 16 (1942/43), 165–225; J. Gouillard, "Supercheries et méprises littéraires: L'oeuvre de saint Théodore d'Edesse," *REB*, 5 (1947), 137–57; A. Abel, "La portée apologétique de la 'vie' de S. Théodore d'Edesse," *Byzantinoslavica*, 10 (1949), 229–40. Gouillard (p. 137) described it as a pastiche and "l'un des meilleurs échantillons du mensonge hagiographique sous la forme la plus effrontée." Abel (p. 339f.) concluded that the life was written *ca.* the mid-tenth century by a monk of the Lavra of St. Saba as a work of propaganda to lead back to the faith Christians who had lapsed when their territory was under Arab rule. The earliest manuscript of the life, *Cod. Mosq. Synod. 381* (=Matthaei xv), is dated A.D. 1023.

33. Ed. Pomjalovskij, *op. cit.*, 5: πολλὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τῶν γονέων στυφόμενος· πλεῖστα δὲ παρὰ τῶν παιδευτῶν μαστιζόμενος... The plural "teachers" in the text is strange. It may be in the plural by analogy with "parents" in the previous phrase to heighten the antithesis by repetition. See *infra*, note 37.

34. *Ibid.*, 6: ὑπεραίρων κατὰ πᾶν εἶδος παιδεύσεως.

35. *Ibid.*, 6: ἔπει καὶ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδευσιν ἐπιχειρεῖ ὑπο τωι σοφιστῆι Σοφρονίῳ καλουμένῳ· ὃν κοινὸν παιδευτὴν ἡ πᾶν Ἐδεσήνων τηνικαῦτα πόλις εἶχε.

36. Vasiliev, "The life of St Theodore of Edessa," *Byzantion*, 16 (1942/43), 166.

37. Ed. Halkin, "La vie de saint Nicéphore fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie († 813)," *AnalBoll*, 78 (1960), 406. Again the plural "teachers" is used; cf. *supra*, note 33. As in the life of Theodore of Edessa, this appears to be used loosely and is probably due to the fact that there were three brothers going to school. It does not mean that each boy had more than one teacher. It would be significant if there was more than one teacher in a school, a thing unprecedented in Byzantium up to this date. It would also be significant if the teacher had assistant teachers working with him. I know of no incontrovertible examples of this in the early centuries of Byzantine education, with the exception of Libanius in his old age, although it is usually thought that this was a not uncommon practice. Looking forward, there is no evidence of assistant teachers until a rather obscure phrase in a letter of the Anonymous teacher of the tenth century, and a very puzzling phrase in the life of the tenth century Saint Athanasios of Athos. This evidence has been analysed most recently by Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel*, 36–50; see *infra*, note 55. There are two other examples of teachers being referred to like this in the plural in the lives for this period, the lives of Gregory Dekapolites (died 842) and of George of Amastris (died *ca.* 802–7) both written very probably by Ignatios the Deacon; ed. F. Dvornik, *La Vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves Macédoniens au IXe siècle* (Paris, 1926), 47; and ed. Vasil'evsky, "Zitija svv. Georgija Amastridskago i Stefana Surozskago," *Russko-vizantijskija. Izsledovanija*, II (St. Petersburg, 1893), 15. In each case both elementary and secondary education or some sort of higher education were taken by these saints, presumably from different teachers, one at each level, as we would expect if we accept the continued existence of the three stages in education.

38. Ed. Bishop Arsenij, *Zitie i podvigi Sv. Feodory Solunskoi* (Jurjev, 1899), 3.

39. *Cod. Vat. gr. 1660*, fols. 211^{v}–228, dated A.D. 916, esp. fols. 212^{r} and 213^{r}. A Latin version has been published, *ActaSS* August, III, 3rd ed. (1867), 170–75.

of seven she too learned the Psalter and studied the Scriptures. It is clear that she learned to read because on Sundays and feast days she used to bring the local population together and read the Scriptures to them. This was before she became an abbess. Her first husband had died, killed during Arab attacks on the island, and she had been forced to remarry. Eventually, however, she persuaded her second husband to renounce the world. He entered a monastery and she gathered a group of women together and they then formed a convent. So it is that we have her life.

There are at least three other examples of men educated in *τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα* but in each case we have some major problems in dealing with their lives. David of Mitylene is associated in the one life with his two brothers, Symeon and George, a future bishop of Mitylene.[40] It is a complicated life as it survives now in a fourteenth century manuscript. According to the latest editor, Phountoules, details of two other Georges who were bishops of Mitylene in the ninth century have crept into the life as well, for one of whom we have a separate life.[41] However, the passage about the education of David occurs early in the account, before the complications of the various Georges begin, and the phrases are typical of those in other near contemporary lives of eighth and ninth century gentlemen. David was given by his parents to a *παιδοτρίβης* to learn *τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα*. By the age of nine he had learned the *Psalms* – there is a play on the name David here – and his job, like Ioannikios', was to mind the animals at pasture. His formal education must have been very elementary. Another tricky life to handle is that of Andrew the Fool for the sake of Christ, an historical novel, it seems, set in the fifth or sixth century, but written possibly in the ninth or tenth century by Nikephoros, a presbyter of St. Sophia.[42] Andrew, we are told, was a Scythian, the favourite slave of the *protospatharios* Theognostos, and he was taught *τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα*. He absorbed all the divine learning that was put before him by his teacher, mastered the Greek language, and went on to become a notary in the capital.[43] The life of Hilarion, who headed a monastery in Constantinople and died in 845, may be of use here. In the synaxarion notice published in the *Acta Sanctorum* we are told he was instructed by his parents in *τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα*.[44] The life itself, which survives in a ninth to tenth century palimpsest, is difficult to read and has not been published.[45] Though the life may not tell us much more about the man than is known already, it could be interesting for other details of this kind.

Certainly this is not all very satisfactory evidence, but the clues here in the lives of Stephen the Younger, Theodore of Edessa, Nikephoros of Medikion, David of Mitylene and Andrew Salos suggest that in this Iconoclastic period there was a tendency for elementary education, not only in the home, as earlier, but also now in the schools, to be based on Christian texts. This was an innovation and may have been related to the religious mood of the period. Possibly George Choiroboskos' grammatical analysis of the *Psalms* fits into this context, though it is not clear whether, simple as it is, this work would have been intended for the elementary or for the secondary school, where grammar was studied.[46]

This use of the Bible in a school was not an altogether unprecedented phenomenon in the Greek world. In the fourth century Protogenes, a presbyter of Edessa, was exiled under the Arian Valentinian to Antinoe in Egypt where, we are told, there were many pagans. Protogenes set up a school there and taught the boys to write shorthand and educated them in the Scriptures and dictated the *Psalms* to them.[47] But this was an unusual situation in that the teacher was a cleric who had lost his job, whereas in none of the cases that we have looked at is there any suggestion that the teacher was a cleric, though this possibility is not eliminated just by the silence of the sources. Such an education by laymen would hardly conflict with the ruling of the Council in Trullo of 691/92 which forbad the laity to expound the Scriptures in public, since the teaching was primarily concerned with reading and writing and was not exposition.[48]

To complete the picture, however, we should consider the occasional teaching of secular subjects by monks or clergy to their disciples. The only indisputable example in the lives is that of Michael Synkellos teaching the brothers Theodore and Theophanes Graptoi, while he lived as a hermit and

40. Ed. I. M. Phountoules, *Οἱ ὅσιοι αἰτάδελφοι Δαβὶδ · Συμεὼν καὶ Γεώργιος · Λεσβιακὸν ἑορτολόγιον · Γ΄* (Athens, 1961) 17–54.
41. Ed. I. M. Phountoules, *Οἱ ἁγιοι Γεώργιοι Μυτιλήνης · Λεσβιακὸν ἑορτολόγιον · Α΄* (Athens, 1959), 33–43.
42. PG, 111, cols. 625–88.
43 *Ibid.*, col. 632: *ἐν τάχει ἐξέμαθεν ἅπαντα τὰ παρατιθέμενα αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτοῦ θεῖα μαθήματα. Ἔμαθεν δὲ καὶ τὴν αἰτόθεν γλῶσσαν · λέγω δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ...*
44. *ActaSS* June, I, 3rd ed. (1867), 746–748.
45. *Cod. Vat. gr. 984*: for the relevant folia see P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Note Agiographiche*, ST 33 (Vatican, 1920), 107.
46. Ed. Th. Gaisford, *Choerobosci dictata in Theodosii canones necnon epimerismi in psalmos*, III (Oxford, 1843), 1–192.
47. Theodoretos of Cyrrhus, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. L. Parmentier and revised F. Scheidweiler. GCS 44, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1954), IV, 18.
48. Council in Trullo, *Canon* 64, PG, 137, col. 736.

all three were associated with the Saba monastery near Jerusalem.[49] Other possible examples are less clear. We do not know what the relationship was between Ignatios the Deacon as a young man and Tarasios the Imperial Secretary, and later Patriarch, when Tarasios introduced him to the metres of classical poetry.[50] The life of the Patriarch Antonios II Kauleas (893–901) by a philosopher Nikephoros, appears to be a late one, and so for our purposes should not be given much credence.[51] It is of interest only because it purports to speak of the ninth century and there is always the possibility that some earlier material is contained within it. This is very unlikely, however, because the philosopher-biographer, displaying his own erudition, elaborated extensively on the subject of Antonios' education. According to him Antonios got all the fruits of education direct from the Almighty, though he was taught the ἐγκύκλιος παιδευσις, what is normally the secular secondary education, by the head of the monastery which he entered at the age of twelve. In this case we are told, through a slightly ambiguous analogy about debauchery and a hangover, that the ἐγκύκλιος παιδευσις was based solely on Scripture and the secular subjects were avoided.[52] That is really saying, in an elaborate way, that instead of a secular secondary education Antonios studied Scripture is a monastery. If this is the case, then the life is not evidence of anything unusual in the saint's education.

The question has been raised whether the traditional distinctions within the teaching profession between the elementary, secondary and teachers of higher education persisted. The only exception noted so far has been the peculiar case of the Studite school which Nicholas attended.[53] Secondary education was clearly alluded to as the study of grammar, of the ἐγκύκλιος παίδευσις, or of subjects or literature "outside" that of the Church.[54] When Speck was critical of Lemerle's insistence that the three stages of education were still recognized, he argued that some tenth and eleventh century teachers taught students at different levels, sometimes with the help of assistants.[55] This might be debated, but certainly the distinctions are still clear in the sources for the eighth and ninth centuries, as Lemerle has shown.[56] The question is a real one at the point of tertiary studies. For example, Michael Synkellos (761–846) after his elementary education in Jerusalem studied grammar, rhetoric and philosophy and also poetry and astronomy, though we are told nothing of schools or teachers.[57] The list might have been given as a *topos*, with no foundation in fact; we naturally become more sceptical at this point than when we are looking at elementary education. But is there any need for scepticism here? Michael taught much the same subjects, grammar and philosophy, which might conceivably mean theology, and "the reflections contained in poetry" to the brothers Graptoi. Michael's education was such that, besides other works he wrote a treatise on grammar which survives.[58] His training in rhetoric may have been slight since this is the one subject he did not teach the Graptoi. After his education under Michael, Theodore Graptos temporarily left the Saba community. According to the Metaphrastic life of Theodore, he left it for higher studies and went to a learned and pious man, and the benefit of what he learned there was reflected in his λόγοι , speeches or writings, which he later put to the service of the Church.[59] But he spent only so long on rhetoric[60] and returned to the monastery. What we have here is a man who was teaching rhetoric, which was apparently beyond the scope of Michael.

Certainly confusion creeps in when we see that Theodore, bishop of Edessa in 836, had studied there under a sophist Sophronios, whom the Edessenes had as their common teacher, and from whom Theodore had learned grammar, rhetoric and philosophy.[61] Is the author, who styled himself as Theodore's nephew, unreliable in this list, or do we have a breakdown in the traditional three

49. Life (A) of Michael Synkellos from the twelfth century manuscript *Athos Pantocrator 13* (=Lambros 1047) ed. Th. Schmitt, "Prilozenija," *IRAIK*, 11 (1906), 227–59.

50. Ed. I. A. Heikel, *Vita Tarasii Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani* (Helsinki, 1889), subsequently published in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 17 (1891), 391–439.

51. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia*, I (St Petersburg, 1899), 1–25. This edition is based on *Cod. Ath. 983* dated A.D. 1267.

52. *Ibid.*, 6: ὑφ' οὗ (*sc.* διδασκάλου) τὴν ἐγκύκλιον ἐξασκούμενος παιδευσιν τὸ γλυκὺ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν ἔσπα νάμα· τῆς ἔξω μέθης την κραιπάλην ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ καθηγητῇ παρωθούμενος.

53. See *supra*.

54. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, 101f.

55. Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel*, 29, 33, 34 note 28.

56. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, 100.

57. Ed. Schmitt, "Prilozenija," *IRAIK*, 11 (1906), 228: μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐκπαιδευθῆναι αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς προπαιδείας γράμματα· καθὼς ἔφημεν· κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ αὐτὸν ἀποκείραντος πατριάρχου παραδίδοται εἰς τὰ τῆς γραμματικῆς καὶ ῥητορικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας διδάγματα· καὶ δή· ὡς γῆ λιπαρὰ καὶ πίων· ἐκεινῳ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἀνεμάξετο τά τε τῆς γραμματικῆς καὶ ῥητορικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας μαθήματα (ὡς ἄλλος τῷ τότε χρόνῳ οὐδείς)· οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητικῶν καὶ ἀστρονομίας ὅσον τὸ κάλλιστον.

58. See D. Donnet, "Le traité de grammaire de Michel le Syncelle, inventaire préalable à l'histoire du texte," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 40 (1969), 33–67; and "La tradition imprimée du traité de grammaire de Michel, le Syncelle de Jérusalem," *Byzantion*, 42 (1972), 441–508.

59. PG, 116, col. 657. Although this life is Metaphrastic, it is based on original documents; S. Vailhé, "Saint Michel le Syncelle et les deux frères Grapti Saint Théodore et Saint Théophane," *ROC*, 6 (1901), 319f.

60. PG, 116, col. 657: Ἀλλὰ ἡ μὲν περι τοὺς λόγους ἀσχολία μέχρι τωός.

61. Ed. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie iže vo sv. otca našego Theodoro*, 6: ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδευσιν ἐπιχειρεῖ ὑπό τινι σοφιστῇ Σωφρονίῳ καλουμένῳ ὃν κοινὸν παιδευτὴν ἡ Ἐδεσηνῶν τηνικαῦτα πόλις εἶχε· παρ' αὐτῷ τοίνυν φοιτῶν γραμματικήν τε καὶ ῥητορικὴν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἄκρως ἐκπαιδεύεται.

stages of education? The passage is a puzzle. Has Basil of Emesa simply given the name, Sophronios the sophist, because it was a famous name from the past? Sophronios, bishop of Jerusalem (634–38) and friend of John Moschos, seems to have taught rhetoric when in his twenties, before becoming a monk in 580. But in the titles of his later writings he continued to be described as a sophist.[62] If this was the confusion, why then did Basil add the detail that the city of Edessa had Sophronios as a "common teacher?" It is an unusual phrase that appears in the tenth century applied to the grammarian Athanasios in Constantinople, who taught Abrahamios-Athanasios, the future monk of Athos.[63] The phrase applied to Sophronios suggests that the city supported him in some way, as teachers had been endorsed and sometimes given salaries and public rooms to teach in during the early centuries of the Byzantine Empire. Is this an anachronism too? It joins the clues about the official sponsorship of education which permit of different interpretations.[64]

Our evidence about education at tertiary level in this period is slight. Certainly it was not a prerequisite for sainthood, but Lemerle and others are probably justified in thinking that the number of teachers and the number of prospective students who had a full secondary education was very limited.[65] Nikephoros, the future patriarch, learned rhetoric and then philosophy. His philosophical studies were a detailed study of the quadrivium of mathematical subjects which as an advanced study always belonged to the philosopher at the third stage of education, and not to the grammarian. But we hear nothing about his teachers.[66] Theodore the Studite, after an elementary and secondary education, then met with philosophers and studied the whole range of philosophy, including ethics and dialectic.[67] Here we see philosophers at tertiary level quite distinct from other members of the teaching profession, though we might wonder whether they were professional teachers. Such is our evidence. On weighing it, it appears that the three stages of education did survive, not only as an educational ideal, but also in practice, and not only in Constantinople. But whereas Lemerle believed there was no change either in structure or in content in elementary or secondary education,[68] there seems to have been a significant swing in the Iconoclastic period away from an elementary education based on Homer, to one based on reading the *Psalms* and other Scripture. That change may have been influenced by the spirit of the Iconoclastic period. If, as is generally accepted, from the middle of the ninth-century secondary education and higher education started to prosper again, it was on the basis of the existing widespread elementary education. The formulae of the saints' lives suggest that in the eighth and early ninth centuries elementary education continued to be quite a normal thing for a large section of the population, and that secondary and tertiary education was available, though the supply and demand for both seems to have been slight. Granted that the lives of the saints are a peculiar genre and often anti-intellectual, they can prove to be even more edifying for readers today than their authors originally intended.

62. G. Downey, "The Christian schools of Palestine," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 12 (1958), 305.

63. Ed. J.P. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie prepodobnago Afanasija Afonskago* (St. Petersburg, 1895), 14: τοῦ κοινοῦ παιδευτοῦ.

64. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, 257–60; Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel*, 36–43.

65. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, 256f., in an attempt to get some sense of the scale, conjectured on the basis of the number of teachers (four) involved in the correspondence of the tenth century Anonymous teacher that approximately two or three hundred students would have graduated each year from secondary-schools in Constantinople at that time.

66. The life of Nikephoros (died 829) was written in the first half of the ninth century by Ignatios the Deacon; ed. C. de Boor, *Nicephori Opuscula Historica*, Teubner (1880), 139–217, esp. 149–151.

67. Life (A), attributed in one manuscript to Theodore Daphnopates, PG, 99, cols. 117–120: Ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτος καὶ φιλοσόφοις συγγινόμενος, ἦν ... πᾶσαν ἐπῄει φιλοσοφίαν· ὅσον τε ἠθικὸν ταύτης· καὶ ὅσον δογματικὸν· καὶ ὅσον ἐκεύην ἐν διαλέξει καὶ ἀποδείξεσιν.

68. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, 105.

XII THE BYZANTINE PSALTER: BEFORE AND AFTER ICONOCLASM

ANTHONY CUTLER

In proposing to talk about 'The Byzantine Psalter: Before and After Iconoclasm', I have chosen a somewhat larger canvas than some of the other speakers. I am not going to talk about the impact and overthrow of Iconoclasm upon manuscripts illuminated in the first two generations after the Triumph of Orthodoxy; and certainly not about the problem of Photios' or Methodios' sponsorship. Within the last decade, scholars far more able than myself have discussed the "marginal" psalters of the second half of the ninth century extensively if not exhaustively.[1] Rather, I intend to recognize Iconoclasm as the watershed that it is, not only in terms of style and iconography but in a more pragmatic and much less frequently considered fashion: as a watershed literally between all and nothing, for all the illuminated Greek psalters that we have date from the period after, and for the most part long after, 843. In other words, we have to ask – at the risk of sounding naive – were there illuminated psalters before Iconoclasm and, if so, what form did they take and what did they contain?

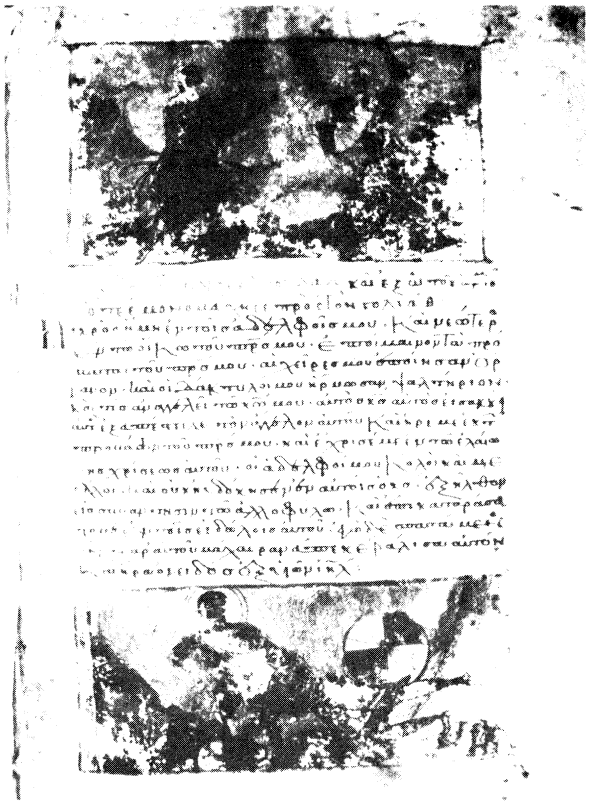


Fig. 15A. *Florence, Laur. 6.36*, fol. 347r. David and Goliath.

Now, in the view of the total absence of *textual* evidence for Byzantine psalters with pictures before the ninth century there are only two ways in which we can approach this problem: first by examining manuscripts of this and succeding centuries which may constitute a "fossil record" so to speak; and, second, to scrutinize those works, manuscripts and artifacts in other media, that are commonly held to reflect the influence of Psalter decoration. This first method, the palaeontological approach, is impeded above all the fact that most of the evidence is inaccessible (whether these are species that evolved in the Middle Byzantine period or are the descendants of pre-Iconoclastic – one is tempted to say antediluvian – dinosaurs). While of the nine psalters with marginal decoration, four have been published *in extenso*,[2] as well as a fair number of miniatures from the others,[3] we have no such percentage for the "aristocratic" psalters. Nowhere in print can one even discover how many of these there are, let alone their content. It is only this sad fact that can justify the substitution of the now fashionable phrase "psautier à pleine page" for Tikkanen's term "aristocratic," which is admittedly unsupported and insupportable if interpreted as designating a common social origin or stylistic denominator. In fact, fifty-four "aristocratic" psalters and related psalters exist. Of these, fewer than one-third have been published. Of the unpublished miniatures — and we are talking about some 100–150 pictures — rather less than half their number occupy the full page and many a much smaller area. It has been argued that such

1. S. Dufrenne, "Une illustration 'historique,' inconnue du Psautier du Mont-Athos, Pantocrator no. 61," *CahArch*, 15 (1965), 83–93; A. Grabar, "Quelques notes sur les psautiers illustrés byzantins du IXe siècle," *ibid.*, 61–82; I. Ševčenko, "The Anti-Iconoclastic Poem in the Pantocrator Psalter," *ibid.*, pp. 39–60 (with earlier literature).

2. *Athos, Pantokrator 61, Paris gr. 20, British Library Add. 40731* ("Bristol" Psalter): S. Dufrenne, *L'Illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge*, I (Paris, 1966); *British Library Add. 19.352*: S. Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge*, II (Paris 1970).

3. For representative selections of the miniatures in *Baltimore, W.733*, see D.E. Miner, "The 'Monastic' Psalter in the Walters Gallery," *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A.M. Friend Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), pp. 232–253; and *Sinai cod. 48*. K. Weitzmann, "Sinaiskaia psaltir s illiustratsiami na poliach," *Vizantiia iuzhnie slaviane i drevnaia Rus', zapadnaia Evropa* (=Festschrift Lazarev), (Moscow 1973), 112–130. The Barberini Psalter (*Vat. Barb. gr. 372*) the Chludov Psalter (*Moscow, Hist. Mus. 129D*), and the Hamilton Psalter (*Berlin, Kupferstichkab. cod. 78 A9*) await any extensive reproduction.

pictures are merely reductions of full-page illuminations,[4] but this is to oversimplify a much more complex situation. There is no reason to believe that images like the recently published Teaching Scene in *Athos, Gregoriou 3*,[5] or the David and Goliath in the Laurenziana New Testament and Psalter[6] (Fig. 15A) are reduced from full-page images. Instead, they rehearse directly their origin in strip-illustration, whether a single strip as in the Gregoriou Psalter or a sequence as in the Florence manuscript. To assign all these books to a single "recension," defined in terms of format and iconography is to pose a simplistic and unverifiable hypothesis. For their form, some would be better left ungrouped along with the five manuscripts that resist classification as "marginal" or "aristocratic" psalters; *Jerusalem cod. Taphou 53*,[7] *Vat. gr. 752* and *1927*,[8] the Serbian Psalter in Munich,[9] and *Athens, Benaki 34.3*.[10] Yet, while I shall have to speak of format, we shall see that this is a necessary but insufficient touchstone by which to categorize such illumination.

Other criteria should include iconography and the painter's approach to his textual material. These two cannot really be separated, for the first – the substantive aspect – is determined by the second – the conceptual foundation. This is clearly demonstrated by the oldest surviving illustrated psalter in any language, *Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare cod. I*,[11] although with the exception of Professor Mütherlich[12] it has hardly survived in the minds of scholars concerned with the evolution of the psalter. It is important to remember what this manuscript looks like and to understand the somewhat jejune process by which such illustration was created. Assigned by Goldschmidt to the late seventh or early eighth century, and to a western scriptorium that he thought might be Ravenna, the *margins* of this Greco-Latin psalter contain simple word-illustrations of zoomorphic and sometimes zooanthropomorphic nature, functioning as symbolic equivalents of the text.[13] Thus Ps. 58:4 which in the Septuagint and Itala versions reads "For behold, they have hunted after my soul," is illustrated with a somewhat orientalizing antelope,[14] while a hybrid creature with a palm growing out of her head is attached to 91:12, "The righteous shall flourish as a palm-tree" (Fig. 15B).[15] It is intersting to note that in the thirteenth-century Greco-Latin psalter in *Berlin, Hamilton 78 A9*, St. John Chrysostom with a similar vegetal attribute adorns the same passage.[16]

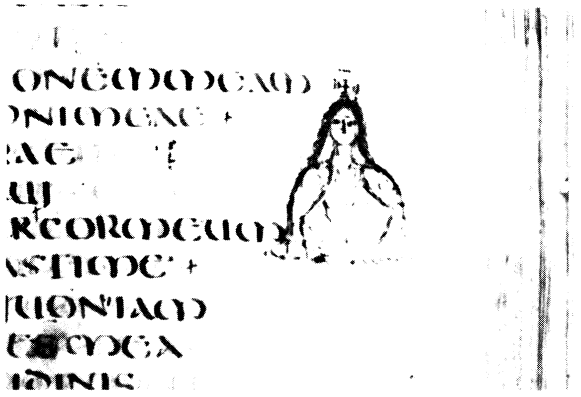


Fig. 15B. *Verona, Bib. Capitolare I*, fol. 46r. Righteous with palm.

Only once in this psalter is decoration fitted within or, more precisely, above the column text. Immediately below the titulus of Ps. 64, a vine, a peacock, a date-palm and an olive (Fig. 16)[17] function synecdochally for the terrestrial abundance mentioned later in the psalm that occasions its incipit Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Σιὼν.[18] But this lone band of figures occupies what is essentially an upper margin and cannot be considered a column-text picture in the sense that Weitzmann intends in his discussion of pre-Iconoclast manuscript illumination.[19]

4. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*,[2] (Princeton, 1970), 111.
5. Fol. 79r, S.M. Pelekanidis, P.C. Christou, Ch. Tsioumis, S.N. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, I (Athens, 1973), fig. 469.
6. Fol. 347r, E. Rostagno and N. Festa, "Indice dei codici greci Laurenziani non compresi nel catalogo del Bandini," *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 1 (1893), 219, no. 4. Miniature previously unpublished.
7. *Byzantine Art and European Art* (exhibition catalogue), (Athens, 1964), no. 281 (with literature).
8. E.T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Manuscripts of the Septuagint* III, 1 and 2 (Princeton 1941–42).
9. J. Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des Serbischen Psalters*, (=DenkWien 52, 2 [1906]). A detailed study by H. Belting, S. Dufrenne and I. Ševčenko is expected imminently.
10. See A. Cutler — A.W. Carr, "An Anomaly in Athens: The Psalter Benaki Vitr. 34.3. An unpublished illuminated Manuscript from the Family 2400," *REB*, 24 (1976), pp. 5–55.
11. A. Goldschmidt, "Die ältesten Psalterillustrationen," *RepKunstW*, 23 (1900), 265–273; E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini antiquiores* IV, (1947), no. 472.
12. *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter II: Untersuchungen* (Stuttgart, 1968), 151–222.
13. F. Wormald, *The Utrecht Psalter* (Utrecht, 1953), 10, insisted that Verona's few illustrations are typological in nature. In fact they are almost entirely literal or, as at Ps. 64 (discussed below), at most symbolic.
14. Fol. 141r, Goldschmidt, "Psalterillustrationen," fig. 2.
15. Fol. 46r.
16. Fol. 171v, P. Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniatur-Handschriften und Einzelblätter der Staatl. Museen Berlin* (Leipzig, 1931), 28. A detailed study of this manuscript is in preparation by Christine Havice. This is also found in *Vat. Barb. gr. 372*, fol. 154r.
17. Fol. 152v.
18. A similar group illustrates the increase of corn and wine of Ps. 4:8 in the archaizing "Bristol" Psalter, fol. 11r, Dufrenne, *L'Illustration* I, pl. 48.
19. *Roll and Codex*, 70–97 and passim.

What we have in Verona I is generally a body of illustration of the same format as the Greek marginal psalters. Iconographically, it is related to, but at a considerable remove from sophisticated Carolingian works like the Utrecht Psalter where the image of earthly plenitude evoked by this psalm is much more highly developed.[20] But this earliest surviving psalm-book is at its furthest from the Byzantine "aristocratic" Psalter. Here there is no relationship whatsoever, although I have time to demonstrate the point with only one example. Where the "aristocratic" psalters, such as *Sinai 38*, customarily illustrate the incipit of Ps. 77, "Give heed, O my people, to my Law" with a large image of Moses on Sinai or a Teaching Scene or both, the Verona psalter has only a marginal, and alas unpublished, palm-tree representing Mount Zion mentioned at the end of the psalm.[21]

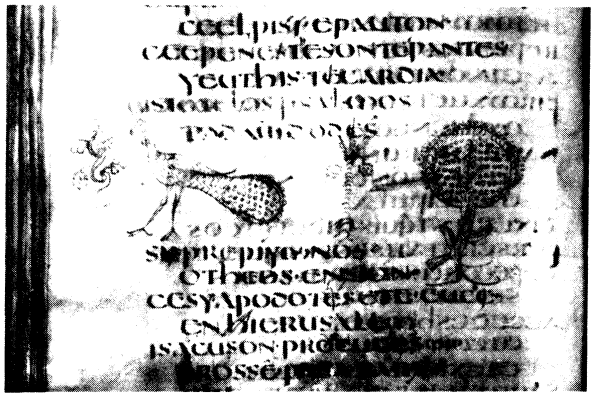


Fig. 16. *Verona, Bib. Capitolare I*, fol. 152v. Vine, peacock, date-palm and olive.

If the marginal format of manuscripts like the Chludov Psalter and *Pantokrator 61* is prefigured in the pre-Iconoclastic book we have just considered, their approach to the text is generally at variance from it. Only occasionally do the painters of the marginal psalters dabble in simple word-illustration. One example – to stay with palm trees for a minute – is a splendid black-and-blue specimen in *Pantokrator 61* set beside Ps. 95:12 where it exemplifies the trees of the wood that shall exult in the presence of the Lord when he comes to judge.[22] More often their approach is explicitly typological,[23] as in the same manuscript where the title of Ps. 55, which mentions the Philistines' seizure of David in Geth, is paired with the arrest of Christ, depicted in the lower margin and operating, as Suzy Dufrenne has pointed out, as a commentary on the main image.[24]

An analogous relationship between the main statement and a mass of surrounding commentary had, of course, been the norm of manuscripts containing texts but no images. This time-honoured apposition was preserved in a few "aristocratic" psalters such as *Paris gr. 139* and in the Marciana Basil Psalter which is not an "aristocratic" psalter but which draws on many of the same traditions. But it never became a frequent feature of psalm-books with large-scale pictures, although *Vat. gr. 752*, whose Easter tables begin in 1059, has miniatures inserted in and frequently illustrating commentaries on the Psalms rather than the biblical text itself. I know of no example after the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth-century *Topkapı 8* in Istanbul, the commentary of which was studied by Uspenskii but whose half-page miniatures are only incompletely published.[25] The purpose for which illuminated psalters were made – for pictures rather than text – had, by the twelfth century, eliminated the catenae. By the same sort of artistic Darwinism, and by the same date, marginal psalters (with the exception of the highly anomalous *Hamilton 78 A9*) had yielded to books with more expansive pictorial decoration.

In the second half of the ninth century it was clearly understood that one picture was worth a thousand words. Cosmas Indicopleustes and earlier Christian commentators had insisted on the primacy of the "Messianic" psalms, those with passages that are cited by Christ in the New Testament.[26] Instead of using commentary, the artist of *Pantokrator 61* indicated his knowledge of this tradition by attaching to Ps. 81:6 the scene of Jesus stoned by the Hebrews (Fig. 17)[27] on which occasion the Lord quoted from this psalm. The text of John 11:33–34, where the incident is narrated, fills the lower left corner of the page. But strictly speaking, the Gospel verses are supererogatory since the illustration itself functions as a visual lemma.

20. Fol. 36r, E.T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton, n.d. [1932]), pl. LIX.
21. Fol. 207r.
22. Fol. 132r, Dufrenne, *L'Illustration* I, pl. 20.
23. For the typological interpretation of the Psalms before the Peace of the Church, see B. Fischer, *Die Psalmenfrommigkeit der Martyrerkirche*, (Freiburg, 1949), 7–10.
24. Fol. 68v, Dufrenne, *L'Illustration* I, p. 26, pl. 9. The commentatorial role of such pictures was first pointed out by Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 121–122.
25. F. Uspenskii, "Konstantinopolskaia seralskaia rukopisnaia psaltir s tolkovaniiami," *VizVrem*, 23 (1917–22), 118–133. Some of the miniatures are reproduced by A. Muñoz, *StudBiz*, 1 (1924), 202–205, and M. Alpatov, *REG*, 39 (1926), 306–9. Both studies are plagued by iconographical misidentification, a state of affairs I hope to correct in my forthcoming Corpus of "aristocratic" psalters.
26. Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Chr. Topog.* V, 123–134, ed. W. Wolska-Conus (=*SC*, no. 159) (Paris, 1970), 183–195.
27. Fol. 114v, Dufrenne, *L'Illustration* I, pl. 17.

The presence of such images in the marginal psalters, unlike their body of purely polemical, anti-Iconoclast imagery, argues for a highly developed tradition and a theological sophistication unlikely to have developed in the two generations between the end of Iconoclasm and the end of the century. And if this iconographical subtlety indicates a long history behind it, so too the concise yet uncrowded disposition of the group suggests that this particular format had been in use for a long time rather than recently adapted. There is nothing in the composition or the drawing to suggest that this is a reduction of either a strip- or a full-page illustration; and whether it originated as a column-text picture is something that can be hypothesized but not demonstrated. For my part, it seems highly doubtful. Surely images in this same format decorated the margins of the Byzantine psalter before Iconoclasm. Gospel illustrations on a similar scale – such as the healing of the Curvata – has fitted easily within the margins of Rabbula's Syriac codex of 586.[28] Dependent on a Greek model,[29] they were here brought into conjunction with Old Testament images, not merely portraits of the prophets, as in the Rossano Gospels, but vignettes from their lives such as Jonah asleep under the gourd above the Nineveh that he has abandoned. This does not mean that such an image had been dislocated from a narrative context; it does mean that the approximation of Old and New Testament subject-matter is here, as in patristic exegesis, a rational, deliberate and much more sophisticated exercise than mere word-illustration.



Fig. 17. *Athos, Pantokrator 61*, fol. 114r. Jesus stoned by the Jews.

Another point argues for the antiquity of the core of marginal psalter illustration. It is a point first suggested by André Grabar although the suggestion that the pre-Iconoclastic psalter had primarily marginal illustration is mine not his. He pointed to the fact that the pictures in the Chludov Psalter, *Pantokrator 61* and the Theodore Psalter often resemble one another closely without any one manuscript being dependent on another. This suggested to him a very busy workshop where certain images were the invention of masters, who varied them from one codex to another, while other images – those that recur throughout this group – were borrowed from older models.[30] Let me suggest a corollary consideration. In the marginal psalters we find a broad diversity in the choice of verses drawn on to illustrate any particular psalm. Thus, for Ps. 50, *Pantokrator 61* has the Washing of the Feet, the Chludov Psalter the same scene and the "directing spirit" of verse 12, while the "Bristol" Psalter, like its "aristocratic" cousins, has the Penitence of David.[31] The Theodore Psalter contains no fewer than five different images in the margins of the three pages occupied by this psalm.[32]

Now we cannot argue, as have some, that, where different medieval manuscripts illustrate the same texts with different scenes, this predicates the existence of a dense, early Christian cycle from which such scenes are a selection; at least in this instance the images come not only from different narratives but from different Testaments. Rather, this variety is further evidence of a set of diverse traditions, of a widespread iconographical ramification diverging ever further from the prototypical tree-trunk – if, indeed, such an *Urpsalter* is not a mythical tree growing in a fabulous forest. If I may pursue this biological model for a moment, it would seem self-evident that the greater the degree of ramification – that is, of horizontal iconographical diversity – then the longer the vertical stemma; in other words the older the tree as a whole.

The "aristocratic" psalters likewise contain this sort of iconographical diversity, although of an order of magnitude far smaller than that of the marginally illustrated books. Yet, paradoxically, this confirms my hypothesis, for their heterogeneity, too, is a late development not really in full bloom until we reach the so-called Nicaea group of manuscripts in general and the "Family 2400" in particular – a family whose beginnings we now know date in the middle of the twelfth century.[33] In

28. *Laur. plut. I.* 56, fol. 6r, C. Cecchelli, J. Furlani, M. Salmi, *The Rabbula Gospels* (facsimile edition) (Olten-Lausanne, 1959).
29. C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantike Kanontafeln* I, (Göteborg, 1938), pp. 256–258.
30. *Iconoclasme*, 197.
31. *Pantokrator 61*, fol. 63r; "Bristol" Psalter, fol. 82v: Dufrenne, *L'Illustration* I, pls. 8, 52.
32. Fols. 63v–65r, Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration* II, figs. 102–105.
33. For a full exposition of this thesis, see A.M. Carr, "The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament: Studies towards the Reattribution of Chicago, University Library, MS 965" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973). Her views are summarized in the forthcoming article cited in note 10, above.

other words, the "aristocratic" psalters did not put out new and experimental branches until this genre had been in existence for some 200 years. This last statement anticipates my final argument: that such psalters cannot antedate the second half of the ninth century at the earliest.

But first it is necessary to consider one other, fundamental difference between the conceptual basis of the marginally illustrated books and those with pictures on a larger scale. In addition to their frequent borrowing of New Testament imagery and their typological construction – explicit or implicit – the marginal psalters teem with the thrust of patristic commentary, with the direct impact of early Christian exegetical thought.[34] The "aristocratic" psalters, on the other hand, are almost entirely innocent of this influence. Hans Belting demonstrated, for example, that the theological sublety of combining the figures of Logos and Sophia in the "surplus" miniature in the Palatina Psalter was an invention of the artist or his patron, borrowed neither from this manuscript's model nor from older commentary.[35] When the "aristocratic" psalters are so affected, the change is primarily Christological in nature and occurs under the influence of the "marginal" psalter – as Miss Der Nersessian has shown for *Dumbarton Oaks 3*, where the Pantokrator is substituted for the Reception of the Law at Psalm 77.[36]



Fig. 18. *Venice, Marciana 565*, fol. 341r. Visitation

Now the patristic content of the Chludov Psalter, of *Pantokrator 61* and the rest, are fields far less worked but probably no less fertile than those of *Vat. gr. 752* and *1927* so thoroughly harvested by DeWald. Beat Brenk has shown that the Visitation miniature in the Pantokrator Psalter as attached to 84:11 – "Mercy and Truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other" – is due not to the memory for Scripture of some ninth-century patriarch or painter but to the fifth century commentary by Theodoret.[37] We may expand this observation in two related but contrary directions: first, the *Aspasmos* is the standard image for this psalm in the "marginal" psalters – it is found equally in Chludov and Theodore;[38] and second that, while of course the 84th Psalm is never represented in the "aristocratic" psalters, the Visitation is used in two – and only two[39] – of this large group of manuscripts: first as a headpiece to the Magnificat in *Marciana 565* (Fig. 18)[40] and later in a somewhat *outré* Palaeologan version, as one of four full-page frontispieces inserted before the Odes in the twelfth-century New Testament and Psalter, *Moscow gr. 407*.[41] The essential difference is that while the Visitation occurs in the marginal psalters in response to exegesis, in the "aristocratic" manuscripts it is where it belongs, before the song of thanksgiving that Mary uttered in the house of Elizabeth, i.e. selected from and justified by its proper Gospel context.[42]

34. The only exception to this proposition is the "Bristol" Psalter, which unlike those of the ninth century, shows little impact of commentary. Thus Dufrenne, "Le Psautier de Bristol et les autres psautiers byzantins," *CahArch*, 14 (1964), 162.

35. *Vat. Palat. gr. 381*, fol. 172r, "Zum Palatina-Psalter des 13. Jahrhunderts. Aus der Werkstattpraxis eines byzantinischen Malers," *JÖB*, 21 (1972), pp. 17–38.

36. "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 175–177; A. Cutler, "The Spencer Psalter: A Thirteenth Century Byzantine Manuscript in the New York Public Library," *CahArch*, 23 (1974), 138–139.

37. *BZ*, 61 (1968), 360.

38. Chludov Psalter, fol. 85r; *Add. 19.352*, fol. 113v, Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration* II, fig. 187.

39. The Visitation occurs in the initial of the Magnificat in *Dumbarton Oaks 3*, fol. 80v, Der Nersessian, "Psalter and New Testament," fig. 22.

40. Fol. 341r, M. Bonicatti, "Un Salterio greco miniato del periodo comneno: Venezia Bibl. Marciana, cod. gr. 565, già 113, cl. II Naniano 167," *Bull. dell'Archivio Paleografico Italiano* N.S. 2–3 (1956–57), pl. IX.1.

41. Fol. 491v, V.N. Lazarev *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), fig. 515 (here incorrectly cited as fol. 401v). See now H. Belting, "Ein paläologisches Evangeliar in Cambridge," *ZKunst*, 38 (1975), 231–244.

42. Luke 1:4–55.

If the "aristocratic" psalters are, by and large, independent of early Christian commentary, they are by no means exempt from the influence of the marginally illustrated books that reflect this commentary. The myth of two discrete recensions, evolving simultaneously but independently, dies hard despite efforts by Professor Dufrenne, Miss Der Nersessian and myself to give it a decent burial.[43] The mutual contamination of the two types of psalter is analogous to and contemporary with the interpretation of the monastic office and the so-called "chanted office," tangled skeins which, as Oliver Strunk has shown, can be unravelled by analyzing their ordination of the psalter text.[44] There is, in this connection, one important and unnoticed difference between the marginal and the "aristocratic" manuscripts that connotes the antiquity of the former and the relative novelty of the latter. Each of the marginals – at least each of those that is complete enough to bear witness – contains more canticle texts and, of course, more canticle pictures than the vast majority of "aristocratic" psalters. *Pantokrator 61* and "Bristol" each have nine Odes; Chludov and Theodore each have ten. Of the fifty-two surviving "aristocratic" manuscripts only two (*Laurenziana plut. 6.36* and *Lavra B.26*) contain nine canticle images. A few have eight; most have many fewer. This may well reflect that liturgically-ordered diminution of the number of Odes employed in the Middle Byzantine offices that Schneider[45] noticed and Strunk confirmed on the basis of *typika* and musical manuscripts. (The one exception – the Spencer Psalter which has twelve Ode pictures – is accounted for below).



Fig. 19. *New York Public Library, Spencer Coll. Gr. 1*, fol. 376r. Hannah and Christ Child.

Instead of rehearsing our arguments for a double helix of mutually impinging iconographies rather than two separate recensions, let me add one new observation, one that flows directly from my rejection of the term "psautier à pleine page" as a preferable designation for the "aristocratic" psalter. Lacking the desire or the space for full-page pictures, the artist of *Gr. MS 1* in the New York Public Library's Spencer Collection, created no fewer than eleven anthropomorphic Ode miniatures, like that of Hannah (Fig. 19)[46] as initials for their respective canticles. Such initials are not unknown in other "aristocratic" psalters, in *Dumbarton Oaks 3* and *Sinai 61* for example. In commenting on the picture attached to Hannah Ode in the Theodore Psalter (Fig. 20), Der Nersessian recognized that in the "aristocratic" manuscripts, Samuel's mother is, for the most part, represented alone or, in a very few cases, with her son on her knee. Never is she found, as in Theodore, holding the infant prophet in the manner of a Hodegetria.[47] Indeed, Der Nersessian is correct. But the Spencer painter wanted to show Hannah holding Christ. It follows from Der Nersessian's observation that he had no "aristocratic" model. Yet in the Spencer Psalter, Hannah holds a child-sized but entirely adult, bearded Christ: there can be no doubt that he turned to a marginal miniature like that in Theodore.

I suspect that the painter of Spencer was not the only one to turn for a model to the older type of psalter. The prayer of Hannah in the *Parisinus* – the oldest if still not firmly dated "aristocratic" psalter that we have[48] – is an awkward composition in which an anomalous architectural and landscape setting, presumably intended to represent the House of the Lord in Selom where she

43. Dufrenne, "Psautier de Bristol"; Der Nersessian, "Psalter and New Testament"; Cutler, "Spencer Psalter". The artificiality of this distinction was already apparent to O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, II (Berlin, 1918), 520.

44. "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," *DOP*, 9–10 (1956), pp. 175–202.

45. "Die biblischen Oden," *Biblica*, 30 (1949), pp. 28–65, 239–272, 433–452, 479–500.

46. Fol. 376r, Cutler, "Spencer Psalter," fig. 17.

47. *L'Illustration* II, 106; *idem*, "Psalter and New Testament," 170–171.

48. The best date we have for the making of *Paris gr. 139* (which does not necessarily date its inserted miniatures) is *ca.* 975. K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei* (Berlin, 1935) 11, pointed to similarities of ornament in Moscow, *Hist. Mus. 60*, a Gregory manuscript written by the monk Nicholas at some otherwise unidentified monastery of the Theotokos.

dedicated her son,[49] is added to the early Christian orant type, preserved in such manuscripts as the "Bristol" Psalter. It is an invention that found no successors. But the somewhat clumsy device of combining *orans* portrait-images with a scene from the life of the figure portrayed is the guiding principle of Ode illumination in *Paris gr. 139* as in other early manuscripts of this type. It is the basis of the Hezekiah picture in which Isaiah's prophecy that the king, on his bed before the palace step, would be cured.[50] This picture, too, is without heirs.



Fig. 20. *London, Add. 19.352*, fol. 197r. Hannah and Samuel.

When she published *Dumbarton Oaks 3*, Miss Der Nersessian was puzzled by the fact that its Hezekiah miniature did not follow that of the *Parisinus* but rather showed the king praying on all fours.[51] The explanation is not hard to find: for the unsatisfactory composition of the older picture a more coherent substitute was available. This is preserved in the Penitence of David in *Add. 36928* a psalter painted six years[52] after the manuscript in Washington. The figure of Proseuchē stands in precisely the same position vis-à-vis the two kings, both of whom defer to an arc of heaven at top right. There could hardly be clearer evidence that the model of the *Parisinus* was an *ad hoc* invention, sumptuous in size and colour but unsuccessful as a work of art and unacceptable as a paradigm. This set of images must have belonged to one of the first "aristocratic" psalters to have been made.

And when it was made, it was assembled from elements that by no means presuppose a prototypical manuscript cycle. Let us consider the Jonah story as our final example of Ode miniature construction. Even if, as has been insisted, *Vatopedi 760* is closer to the "archetype" than *Paris gr. 139*,[53] most of the elements in the Athos manuscript have their forebears not only in the Roman catacombs but also in the group of third century marbles at Cleveland. The prophet has lost his beard in the Middle Byzantine psalters but is similarly spewed up from the *kētos*.[54] In another marble he rests under his gourd, alone apart from the Biblical worm that smites it,[55] while the miniature is tricked out with aulic iconography and such conventions as the voyeurs who peep into diverse scenes in a variety of early Macedonian manuscripts.[56] Again, one member of the marble group anticipates the praying prophet of the *Parisinus*,[57] now safely based not only on *terra firma* but also on a long tradition of monumental representation.

There is no more reason to assume a manuscript prototype – and please note that I say prototype and not immediate model – for the David pages in psalters than for the Jonah images. The Sant'Ambrogio doors,[58] fragments of reliefs from the martyrium at Antioch Seleucia,[59] and the paintings of Chapel 3 at Bawit[60] all testify to extended narrative cycles of the life of David in monumental form long before the onset of Iconoclasm, even if we accept du Bourguet's very late date for the Bawit chapel.[61] Each of these cycles, moreover, participates in those apocryphal additions to the life of David not found in the Book of Kings, and therefore not in *Vat. gr. 333*, but scattered through such "aristocratic" psalters as *Dumbarton Oaks 3* and *Athens 7*.

One group of works dependent on a cycle of the life of David and securely dated between 613 and

49. Fol. 428v, H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1929), pl. XI.
50. Fol. 446v, *ibid.*, pl. XIV.
51. Fol. 81v, "Psalter and New Testament," 172, fig. 24.
52. Fol. 46r, previously unpublished.
53. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 170, n. 139.
54. W.D. Wixom, "Early Christian Sculptures at Cleveland," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 54 (1967), fig. 27, *Vatop. 760*, fol. 282v, H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938), fig. 80.
55. Wixom, "Early Christian Sculptures," fig. 29; *Vatop. 760*, fol. 283r, Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, fig. 81.
56. Cf. *Paris gr. 510*, fol. 3r (Jonah), fol. 143r (Zedekiah watching Jeremiah); *Paris gr. 923*, fol. 282v (David spying on Bathsheba); *Vat. Reg. gr. 1*, fol. 385r (Coronation of Solomon).
57. Wixom, "Early Christian Sculptures," fig. 31; *Paris gr. 139*, fol. 431v, Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. XII.
58. A. Goldschmidt, *Die Kirchentür des hl. Ambrosius in Mailand* (Strassburg, 1902). Cf. F. Gerke, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Baden, 1967), 118, 138.
59. K. Weitzmann, "The Iconography of the Reliefs from the Martyrion," *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* III. *The Excavations 1937–39* (Princeton, 1941), 135–149, esp. 141, no. 397.
60. J. Clédat, *Le Monastère et la necropole de Baouït* (=MémInstCaire, 12) (Cairo, 1904), pl. 16–19.
61. *The Art of the Copts* (London, 1971), 170 ("at the end of the seventh century, if not in the eighth").

629/630[62] has borne the burden of a manuscript prototype since it was first published in 1906.[63] I need not speak here of the Cyprus plates, however, for recently Steven Wander has relieved at least many of the nine of this incubus.[64] More problematical are the pictures in *Paris gr. 510*, supposed to derive from a "frontispiece" psalter. The Gregory manuscript is datable in the seventh or eighth decade of the ninth century[66] and could therefore conceivably reflect a post-Iconoclastic "aristocratic" psalter. Yet this is unnecessary given that its one picture large enough to accommodate a scene found in our type of psalter – the Passage of the Red Sea – contains no iconographical details not found in the Theodore Psalter,[68] dated 1066 but illustrated in the marginal manner that I have suggested above is of pre-Iconoclastic origin. There is, moreover, the question of format. The horizontal arrangement of the Gregory miniature (like the scene in *Paris gr. 139*)[69] resembles far more closely a strip-composition than the vertical organisation later adopted in most "aristocratic" psalters. A vertical format is imposed on the four pictures (Daniel, the Three Hebrews, Manasses, Isaiah and Hezekiah) that make up fol. 435v of the Paris Gregory[70] and the subjects of which are indeed found sometimes as Ode "frontispiece" pictures. It has therefore been said to derive "undoubtedly" from a psalter of the "aristocratic recension."[71] But caution demands that we recognize certain problems in such an attribution. First, the arrangement of these pictures does not reflect the normal order of the Odes; this problem is unlikely to be solved given the fact that we lack a text explaining their presence. And secondly, details of their iconography differ from those of the miniatures cited as *comparanda*.[72]

If the dogmatic assertion of an origin in an "aristocratic" psalter is out of place regarding these scenes in *Paris gr. 510*, it is even more inappropriate to the single miniature in the Carolingian Psalter in Zurich,[73] a picture hedged about with difficulties. Even if the manuscript were securely dated, which it is not, "shortly after 820," this does not guarantee that the image of the penitent David is contemporaneous; its forms and colours are utterly unlike those of the elaborate initials attached to every tenth psalm.[74] Details of its iconography, in particular the "Latin" free-standing altar, are found nowhere in the "aristocratic" tradition[75] and the organization of the picture's elements similarly finds no parallel. The analogies drawn by Kauffmann with the Penitence miniatures in *Paris gr. 510* and *Vat. gr. 333* at best suggest that this image derives ultimately from a David cycle, and are insufficient to support the claim that the manuscript is "not only the unique example of an aristocratic redaction in the West but also the oldest aristocratic psalter that we possess."[76]

Finally, what of the pre-Iconoclastic, Western manuscripts that are held to depend upon Greek psalters? The leaf inserted into the eighth-century *Leningrad Paulinus* (Fig. 21)[77] raises problems beyond that of provenance. Kurz was correct in seeing the sketchy, central figure in the upper picture as a later addition[78] but he did not trouble to ask why such an addition (which is a crude but certainly not a mindless adjunct) should have been made. The answer surely lies in the inscriptions attached to the lateral figures. These have always been taken on trust. But it is noteworthy that the name David is set beside a bearded figure, differing not only from the youthful David who beheads

62. E.C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (=*DOS*, 7) (Washington, D.C., 1961), 10.
63. O.M. Dalton, "A Second Silver Treasure from the District of Kyrenia, Cyprus," *Archaeologia*, 60 (1906), pp. 1–24; K. Weitzmann, "Prolegomena to a Study of the Cyprus Plates," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 3 (1970), pp. 97–111.
64. "The Cyprus Plates: The Story of David and Goliath," *Met. Mus. Journal*, 8 (1973), 89–104.
65. E.g. H. Kessler, "The Psalter," *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, ed. G. Vikan, (Princeton, 1973), 32; A.W. Byvanck, "Le problème du Psautier de Paris," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 6 (1955), 32–33.
66. S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustration of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr. 510," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 197 (880–883). Recently, I. Spatharakis, "The Portraits and the Date of the Codex *Par. Gr.* 510," *CahArch*, 23 (1974), pp. 97–105, has proposed the year 879.
67. Fol. 264v, Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. XLII.
68. Fol. 192v, Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, fig. 302.
69. Fol. 419v, Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. XI.
70. Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. LVII.
71. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 149–150.
72. E.g. Daniel stands *en face* in *Paris gr. 510* as against Habakkuk turned to the right in *Dumbarton Oaks 3*, fol. 76r. Further, in the leaf in the Benaki Museum that originated in *Dumbarton Oaks 3*, as in all other known "aristocratic" psalters, the Three Hebrews are partially covered by the furnace; in *Paris gr. 510* they are shown full-length.
73. *Zentralbibliothek C.12*, fol. 53r, A. Bruckner, *Scriptoria medii aevi Helvetica* II, (Geneva, 1936), 82, III (1938), colour pl. I.
74. The likelihood of the miniature being added later is increased by the fact that it occurs at the bottom of the page following the text of Ps. 50, while in "aristocratic" psalters it precedes the psalm. A. Goldschmidt, *Die deutsche Buchmalerei*, (Berlin, 1928), I, 60, suggested that the miniature was an insertion of the tenth century.
75. The object upon which Metanoia leans in the Paris Psalter, fol. 136v (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. VIII) is not an altar – which would be entirely out-of-place supporting a classical personification – but a lectern complete with scrolled *analogion*.
76. G. Kauffmann, "Der karolingische Psalter in Zürich und sein Verhältnis zu einigen Problemen byzantinischer Psalterillustration," *ZSchwAkg*, 16 (1956), 72.
77. *Public Library, Q.V. XIV. no. 1*, fol. 1r, E.H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1916), 130, pl. 332b; *C.L.A.* XI, no. 1622.
78. O, Kurz, "Ein insulares Musterbuchblatt und die byzantinische Psalterillustration," *BNJbb*, 14 (1937–38), 84–86.

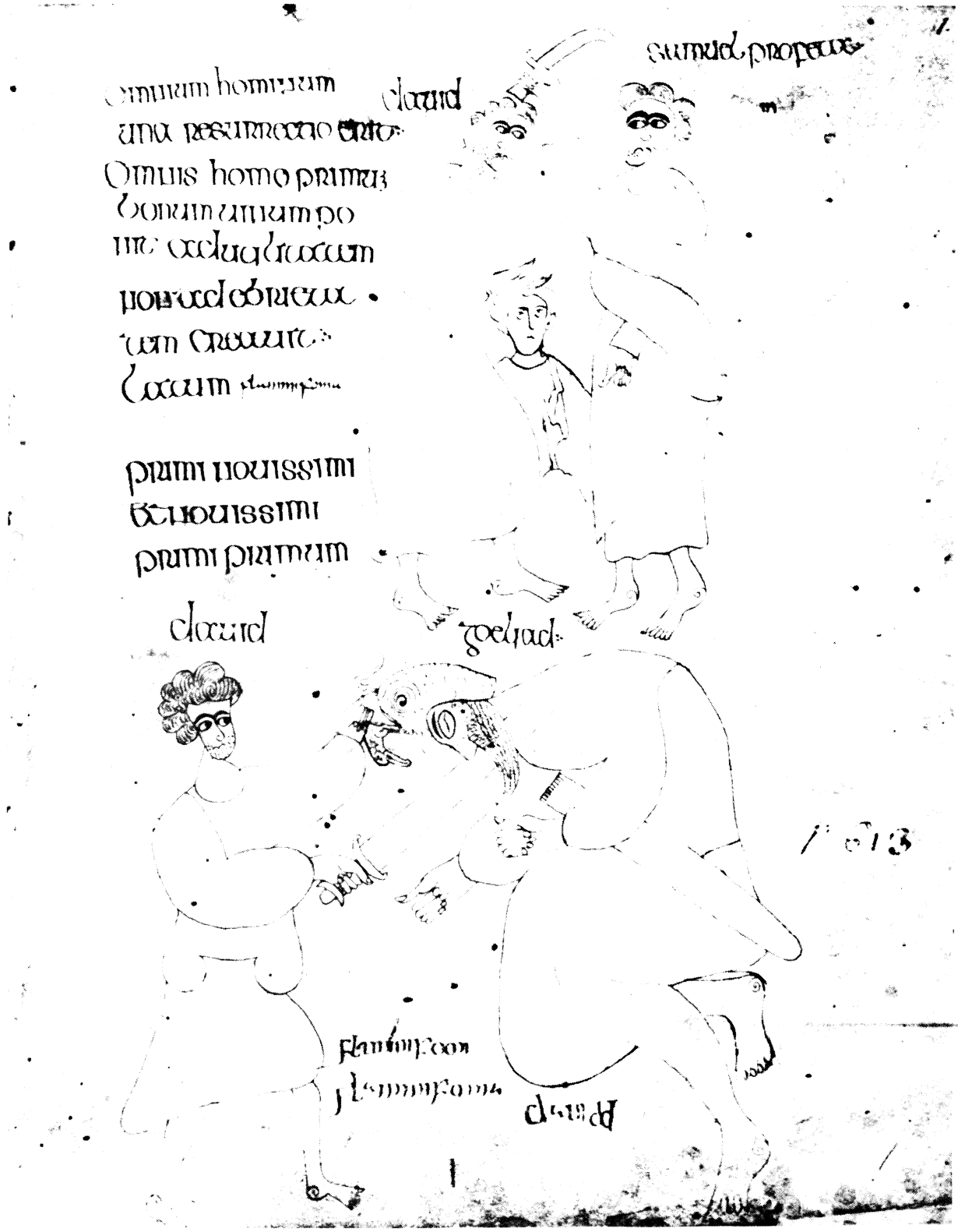


Fig. 21. *Leningrad, Public Library, Lat. Q.V. XIV, no. 1*, fol. 1r. Saul, David and Samuel; David and Goliath.

Goliath in the lower picture, but also from the biblical account which requires that Samuel anoint a child (a requirement consistently met in early Christian and Byzantine iconography). The artist who added the diminutive figure sought to insert a David where he could find only an adult. Indeed, the mature figure over whose head the prophet holds the horn is much more likely to be Saul in the scene of unction that we know from the Vatican Kings Book.[79] This scene is, of course, unknown in "aristocratic" psalter illumination. It follows that the model used by the man who drew both pictures could not have been such a psalter. His source must have been illuminations in either an earlier Book of Kings or a David cycle. Even if I am wrong and some pre-Iconoclastic psalter does turn up to prove it, this is very unlikely to be of the "aristocratic" type: the proportions of the groups in the Leningrad leaf resemble much more those that flank the text in the marginal psalters discussed above.

This is even more likely for the historiated initials in the early eighth-century Vespasian Psalter.[80] The compact form and restricted action of David killing the Lion and of the other initials in this book are alien to the breadth of scope, both formal and substantive, of the "aristocratic" psalters. As Wright has pointed out, the David enthroned with musicians is the only one among the Vespasian Psalter miniatures which suggests a full-page frontispiece in its painter's model. He argues for a manuscript akin to the Chludov Psalter. I do not disagree but would add that the only full-page images in the archaizing "Bristol" Psalter are the framed frontispiece of David before Ps. 1 and of Christ teaching at Ps. 77, the manuscript's caesura.[81] I see no reason to believe that pre-Iconoclastic psalters had more than two full-page illustrations at most.

Save for author-portraits, large-scale figural illumination is all but unknown before the end of Iconoclasm. The few such Gospel images in the Rossano and the Rabbula codices have been explained as deriving from monumental Palestinian prototypes.[82] Whether or not this is so, the full-page miniature is probably the creation and certainly the hall-mark of the post-Iconoclastic book industry in what André Grabar has called "l'époque de la multiplication des livres." Of frequently illustrated Biblical books, the psalter was the most contrived and the most eclectic. And within this artificial genus, the "aristocratic" psalter was the most eclectic species of all, assembled with great experience of scriptural imagery and great theological cunning. Recognizing this, Strzygowski proposed that it originated in the hellenistic city culture of western Asia Minor in the fourth or fifth century.[83] He may have been only two or three hundred miles out in his geography but he got the date wrong by about half a millenium.

ADDENDUM

Mr. Robert S. Nelson has kindly drawn my attention to the argument of G. Zuntz ("Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papryi. III. Schlussfolgerungen," *Byzantion*, 14 (1939), 545–614, esp. 584–591) that marginal illumination in psalters was first practiced by Studite monks in the ninth century. Zuntz's main and familiar point is that the illustrations in the Theodore Psalter (and by inference in earlier manuscripts of this type) are full of anti-Iconoclastic imagery and are therefore "time-bound." This is to ignore what is, statistically, their much larger body of non-polemical miniatures which, as he admits, revert to much earlier sources. Zuntz notes that the miniatures beside the canon tables of the Rabula Gospelbook are disposed in both margins and sees this disposition as critically different from the arrangement of images in the marginal psalters. Yet he hypothesizes that such miniatures originally stood beside the Gospel text proper (presumably in the manner of *Vienna, cod. theol. gr. 154*). This would seem to argue, as I have above, for a long tradition of marginal illustration. Zuntz's strongest point is that such pre-Iconoclastic manuscripts as the Vienna Dioskorides and the Rossano and Sinope fragments do not have marginal illustration. The fact remains that we have no illustrated psalters before the specimen in Verona that I discuss. There is therefore no certain way of knowing what pre-Iconoclastic psalters looked like. And Zuntz' contention that Syriac marginal decoration was passed by Palestinian monks to the monks of Studion when the "eastern spirit" invaded Constantinople during Iconoclasm cannot be documented.

79. *Vat. gr. 333*, fol. 14v (J. Lassus, *L'Illustration byzantine du Livre des Rois* [Paris, 1973], fig. 24) illustrating I Kings 10:1.
80. British Library, *Cotton Vesp. A.I*, D.H. Wright, *The Vespasian Psalter* = Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, no. 14, (Copenhagen, 1967).
81. Fols. 7v, 125v, Dufrenne, *L'Illustration*, I, pls. 47, 54.
82. W.C. Loerke, "The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," *ArtB*, 43, (1961), 171–195; *idem*, "The Monumental Miniature," in K. Weitzmann, W.C. Loerke, E. Kitzinger and H. Buchthal, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1975), 68–96; K. Weitzmann, "*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *DOP*, 28 (1974), 37, 41–2, 49.
83. Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik = *DenkWien*, 51,2, (Vienna, 1906) 182.

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XIII THE 'ICONOCLAST' CHURCHES OF CAPPADOCIA

ANN WHARTON EPSTEIN

OUR knowledge of monastic development in the volcanic regions of Cappadocia in Central Anatolia during the pre-Iconoclast and Iconoclast periods is very limited. There are no datable inscriptions in the area before the tenth century. Literary references are also scarce. Saint Hieron, a Cappadocian martyr during the reign of Diocletian, supposedly found refuge in a chapel-like cavern when fleeing from his persecutors, but Saint Hieron was no monk.[1] The Cappadocian, Saint Basil the Great, sought an ascetic retreat on a mountain, but his 'cavern' was in the Pontus.[2] Cappadocia was not mentioned as a refuge for Orthodox monks during Iconoclasm as were Cyprus, the Crimea, parts of Italy and the southeast coast of Asia Minor.[3] Nor is there any reference to heretical monks in Cappadocia as there is to heretical monks in Isauria.[4] Despite this dearth of documents, scholars have postulated considerable monastic communities in Cappadocia in the pre-Iconoclast and Iconoclast periods on the basis of the decoration of several painted rock-cut chapels in the tuff hills of the province. The early dating of these churches is based entirely on stylistic and iconographic evidence.

An art historian cannot afford to deny the validity of using style and iconography as a means of dating a work of art in the absence of more conclusive literary documentation. However, the cogency of such efforts depends to some degree on the quality of the object. The paintings of the churches under discussion are so crude as to qualify any attempt made to compare them with dated works outside Cappadocia. Equally the assumption that simplicity of design, unrefined technique and poverty of style may be equated with an early date is unfounded in Cappadocia. While monasticism may have existed in Cappadocia at an early date, I want to suggest that the proof for extensive settlement in the province is as yet inconclusive. Indeed, by considering these churches as a group, certain architectural and decorative features emerge which connect the so-called Iconoclast chapels with the local monuments dated by inscription to the first half of the tenth century.[5]

The churches discussed in this paper include Saint Basil near Sinassos, Saint Stephen outside Cemil, Joachim and Anna in Kızıl Çukur and Chapel I in Balkan Deresi.[6] Of these Saint Basil is the

1. *ActaSS* November, III, 229–289. This life of Saint Hieron is taken from the unique manuscript, *Marciana gr. 349*. The editor suggests that it stems from a redaction of the sixth or seventh century, probably composed in Cappadocia. For the Metaphrastian version, PG, 116, cols. 109–120.

2. W.K. Lowther Clarke, *Saint Basil the Great, a Study in Monasticism* (Cambridge, 1913), 43f. Perhaps the most interesting of the letters exchanged between Basil and Gregory Nazianzos during the Saint's first experiments in the ascetic life is no. xiv, in which the beauty and bounty of the Pontos site is contrasted to the Cappadocian alternative. *Saint Basile, Lettres*, ed. Y. Courtonne (Paris, 1957), I, 42–5.

3. PG, 100, col. 1117. Cf. C. Diehl, "Une vie de Saint de l'époque des empereurs iconoclastes," *CRAI*, (Paris, 1915), 134ff. Also, Vita Joann. ep. Gotthiae, *ActaSS* June, VII, 167–171.

4. F. Dvornik, *La vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les slaves Macédoniens au IXe siècle* (Paris, 1926), 47f.

5. Cappadocian churches of the first half of the tenth century are commonly titled the 'Archaic Group'. As the stylistic developments found in these monuments are related to contemporary Constantinopolitan ideas, the term 'Archaic' is inappropriate and is avoided in this paper. The 'Archaic Group' was so named by G. de Jerphanion in his first and still authoritative study of these chapels, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, I (Paris, 1925), 67ff.

6. Chapels which have been cited as Iconoclast or pre-Iconoclast monuments include Chapel III in Balkan Deresi, Ağaç Altı Kilise and Batkın Kilise in the Peristrema Valley, Soğanlı Kilise and the Cruciform Church in Mavruçan, several chapels with aniconic sculpture in Zelve, the Church of Saint John the Baptist in Çavuşin, the churches of Güllü Dere and Kızıl Çukur, Saints Peter and Paul in Meskendir, a couple of chapels in Göreme and Durmuş Kadir Kilise in Avcilar. The two churches of this series which deserve closer attention in a paper on the 'Iconoclast' churches of Cappadocia are Saint Niketas in Kızıl Çukur and Saints Peter and Paul in Meskendir. L. Budde, *Göreme, Höhlenkirchen in Kappadokien* (Dusseldorf, 1958), pl. 34; G.P. Schiemenz, "Die Kapelle des Styliten Niketas in den Weinbergen von Ortahisar," *JÖBG*, 18 (1969), 238–258 (end of Iconoclasm or early post-Iconoclastic period); S. Kostof, *Caves of God, the Monastic Environment of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), cat. no. 7 (Iconoclastic); N. Thierry, "Monuments pré-iconoclastes en Cappadoce rupestre," *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueologia Cristiana*, Barcelona, 5–11 Octubre, 1969, Studi di Antichita cristiana pubblicati a aura del Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana XXX (Vatican/Barcelona, 1972), 563–5 (pre-Iconoclastic); *idem*, "Les peintures murales de six eglises du haut moyen en Cappadoce," *CRAI*, (Paris, 1971), 445f. They have been excluded from the present discussion because I have not been able as yet to study the monuments myself. In addition, Thierry's communication on the Chapel of Niketas the Stylite dealing with its important inscription is not available to me. It will be published in vol. II of the papers given at the Bucharest International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in 1972. Regarding the other chapels dated to the Iconoclastic or pre-Iconoclastic periods: the ascription of the excavation of the two great basilicas, Durmuş Kadir Kilise and Saint John the Baptist in Çavuşin to a pre-Iconoclastic period is probably correct. N. Thierry, "Quelques monuments inedits ou mal connus en Cappadoce, Centres de Maçan, Çavuşin, et Mavruçan," *L'information d'histoire de l'art*, 14 (Jan-Feb., 1969), no. 1, 10ff.

Chapels with elaborate sculpture, like those in Zelve and Chapel III in Balkan Deresi, are difficult to date because of a lack of comparable monuments elsewhere. However, it seems just as likely that these churches were carved under Turkish rule in the post-Byzantine period as in Iconoclast or pre-Iconoclast times. The Peristrema chapels, because of their independence from mainstream Cappadocian painting, present different problems from those with which I am here concerned. Consequently they will not be discussed in the text of this paper. N. Thierry, "Un décor pré-iconoclaste de Cappadoce: Açıkel Ağa Kilisesi," *CahArch*, 18 (1968), 33–69.

Chapels once dated to an early period but now generally regarded as later, like Chapel III in Göreme, have also been excluded from the discussion. G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province*, I, 140–144; M. Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, I (Recklinghausen, 1967), 15f.

Others are not dealt with because of the quality of the work or the state of the painting discourages critical treatment. This is the case for instance, with the Cruciform Church at Mavruçan.

most important as it has been consistently regarded as an Iconoclast monument. The chapel comprises two regular, flat-roofed naves connected by a triple arcade. Each nave has a single large apse separated from the nave by a low, rock-cut parapet screen. The north wall of the church is carved with three blind arches. Both naves are neatly excavated with a double-stepped cornice and moulded imposts. Only the south nave received a painted decoration. Grégoire, who in 1909 first published the church, ascribed it to the Iconoclast period on the grounds of its aniconic decoration and the prominence of the cross.[7]

A cross framed in various diaper patterns dominates the vault of the south nave (Fig. 22). Smaller crosses are also incorporated into the carpet of ornament which rolls down the lower walls. Millet's important article on the Iconoclasts and the cross, which took Saint Basil as its starting point,

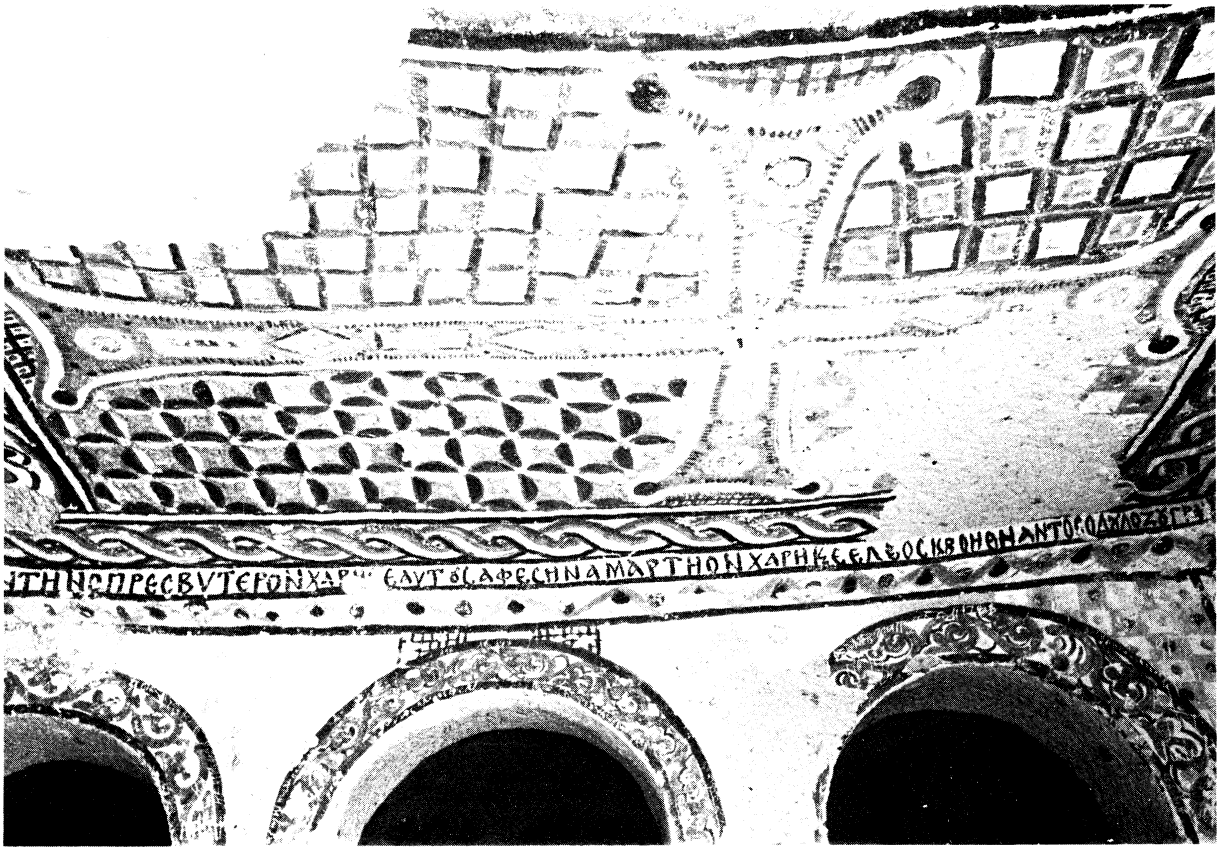


Fig. 22. Vault of south nave, chapel of St. Basil, near Sinassos.

appeared the next year.[8] Millet accepted Grégoire's ascription of Saint Basil to the Iconoclast period, reiterating his remarks about the non-figural ornament and the emphasis placed on the cross. Millet then used the dedication inscribed on the cornice of the south nave to demonstrate further the Iconoclast's high regard for the cross. Jerphanion, who included Saint Basil in his great corpus of Cappadocian churches, followed Grégoire and Millet in dating the chapel to the period of Iconoclasm.[9] He was, however, the first to note that the decoration of the church was not purely aniconic. Figures of bishops belonging to the same painting phase as the rest of the decoration flank the apse on the east wall. Thus, he discredited one of the basic arguments for the Iconoclast dating of Saint Basil – the lack of figural representations in the chapel.

The Iconoclast dating of the chapel of Saint Basil hangs on the interpretation of the cross as a specifically Iconoclast symbol. But there are several reasons why the prominence of the cross in the decoration of the south nave of the church cannot be taken as a clear indication of the chapel's Iconoclast origins. The limited resources of the Cappadocian monasteries militated against an

7. H. Grégoire, "Rapport sur un voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et en Cappadoce," *BCH*, 33 (1909), 91–92. "Je n'ai point rencontré d'autre exemple d'une église à revetement de plâtre et décoration complète, où la figure humaine fût évitée d'une manière si absolue. Le Timios Staurós de Sinasos pourrait, à la rigueur, remonter à l'époque des Iconoclastes."
8. Millet, *BCH*, 34 (1910), 96f.
9. Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province*, II (Paris, 1932), 105–111, 413.

elaborate figural decoration. Cheap, minimally trained painters might well favour crosses and geometric ornament.[10] The fact that geometric decor – including the cross – was an economic expedient is also reflected in the painting technique. The lime wash ground in Saint Basil is the simplest and cheapest painting surface. It is found again in the paintings of the impoverished Yilanli Group later in the eleventh century.[11] The exclusive use of earth colours in the rest of the decoration underlines the fact that the work was poorly financed. Also, ceiling crosses of the type remarked upon by Grégoire, Millet and Jerphanion enjoyed considerable popularity throughout the Middle Byzantine period in Cappadocia. In Chapel III in Göreme for instance a great cross on a field of scrolls and rosettes fills the flat ceiling of the west nave. The representation of the Prophetic Vision in the vault of the east nave allows the programme to be dated to the tenth century.[12] Another painted cross, probably dating from the early eleventh century, appears in the vault of the southernmost nave of the Karabaş Kilise complex in Soğanli Dere.[13] Sculptured ceiling crosses are even more common in Cappadocian churches of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[14]

Reasons may be found outside as well as inside Cappadocia for not regarding the prominent portrayal of the cross as necessarily Iconoclast in motivation. Crosses remain conspicuous in the decoration of Middle Byzantine buildings elsewhere in the Empire. A provincial example of the post-iconoclast use of the cross as the principal ornament in a painted decoration is provided by the chapel of Saint Paul on the island of Ikaria. This chapel is dated to the twelfth century.[15] In Constantinople the cross in the apse of Saint Sophia was left intact for almost a generation after the end of Iconoclasm. This delayed reaction to the decoration of the sanctuary in Saint Sophia has been regarded as evidence of the Iconoclast's residual strength, but it may equally reflect the Iconodules' continued veneration of the archetypal symbol of Christ's sacrifice and His victory over death.[16] Certainly the great cross in the conch of Saint Eirene (Fig. 2) survived the Triumph of Orthodoxy.[17] Even after Iconoclasm crosses continued to be included in decorative programmes conceived in the capital. A well-known example is the *Kainourgion* palace of Basil I, described as being dominated by a great mosaic cross.[18]

There is also considerable literary evidence indicating that the veneration of the cross was not exclusively Iconoclast. Grabar and others have shown how the cross was adored before the Iconoclast period.[19] But its position in the post-Iconoclast period has not perhaps been satisfactorily established. Certainly the simultaneous veneration of the cross *and* the image has been noted as a characteristic feature of the post-Iconoclast period.[20] "Seeing thy stainless image, O Christ, *and* thy cross figured in relief . . .," reads in the pre-814 inscription of the Chalke Gate.[21] Patriarch Methodios is exhorted by Theodora at the end of Iconoclasm to ". . . assemble all orthodox men . . . so that they might process into the Great Church *with the venerated crosses* and holy icons . . ."[22] "Dismiss all impious (men) and, along with the angels, pledge to me the sacrifice of praise, venerating the appearance of my icons *along with the cross*," says the Lord through Isaiah the holy man after the death of Theophilos.[23] But the unique efficacy of the cross is also

10. It has been suggested that poverty caused the cross to be used instead of figural decoration even in Rome. W. Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome from the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1967), 200. The church in question is SS. Nero ed Achilleo.

11. A.W. Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels in Göreme; the Column Churches and the Yilanli Group," *CahArch*, 24 (1975), 115–135.

12. Cf. note 6 above. For the Prophetic Vision in Cappadocia, J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Theophanies-visions auxquelles participent les prophètes dans l'art byzantins après la restauration des images," *Synthronon*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, Recueil détudes par André Grabar et un groupe de ses disciples (Paris, 1968), 135ff.

13. A study of the internal chronology of Karabaş Kilise indicates that the secondary naves of the church post-date the large, northern-most nave, the excavation of which is dated to the early tenth century by its apse decoration. On the other hand the secondary naves pre-date the redecoration of the north nave, which is dated by inscription to 1060–1061. Previous writers on the subject came to different conclusions. H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien* (Leipzig, 1908), 135–9; Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province*, II, 333–360. More recent literature on this important church has not been concerned with its architectural features. N. Thierry, "'Etude stylistique des peintures de Karabaş Kilise en Cappadoce (1060–1061)," *CahArch*, 17 (1967), 161–175; M. Restle, "Zum Datum der Karabaş Kilise in Soğanli Dere," *JÖBG*, 19 (1970), 201–6.

14. Churches with sculptured ceiling crosses which can be dated to the early tenth century through their attachment to the so-called "Archaic" Group include Saint Symeon in Zelve, Chapel 13 in Göreme and Haçlı Kilise in Kızıl Çukur. Saklı Kilise, Chapel 2a in Göreme, which is usually dated to around the middle of the eleventh century, also is adorned with sculptured ceiling crosses. There is no reason to date the excavation and the decoration of these chapels to different periods.

15. D. I. Pallas, "Eine anikonische lineare Wanddekoration auf der Insel Ikaria, Zur Tradition der bilderlosen Kirchenaufstatung," *JÖBG*, 23 (1974), 271f.

16. Dvornik, *DOP*, 7 (1953), 67f.; C. Mango and E. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaic of Saint Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 113f.

17. George, *Saint Eirene*.

18. Theophanes Continuatus, *Vita Basilii*, Book V, Bonn ed. 331f. The relevant passage is translated into English in Mango, *Art*, 196–198.

19. Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 27f.

20. *Ibid.*, 204f.

21. *Ibid.*, 131f. An English translation as well as a discussion of the implications of the inscription is found in Mango, *Brazen House*, 126–128.

22. "De Theopili imperatoris absolutione," ed. W. Regel, *Analecta byzantino - russica* (St. Petersburg, 1891), 37–38.

23. *Ibid.*, 26.

remembered. The arch-iconodule Theodore the Studite preaches, "Cross, of all objects the object most venerated; Cross, most steadfast refuge of Christians . . . Height and breadth of the cross, most comprehensive measure of the vast heaven; strength and power of the cross, ruin of the might of every enemy; figure and form of the cross, of all forms the most honourable to look upon."[24] Niketas the Paphlagonian also panagericizes, "Cross, uncorruptible and invincible shield for all Christians; wall covered with brass; inaccessible to all piratical assaults; tower of strength before the face of enemies; royal seal uninjurable and genuine; secure place for those seeking salvation; house of refuge for those made hostile to sin; drug of life for those being in danger of death . . ."[25] It is the apotropaeic power of the cross emphasized by post-Iconoclast writers which evidently appealed to the monks. The Iconodule Saint Gregory the Decapolite for instance banished demons from his cave hermitage through the sign of the cross.[26] In Cappadocia the Middle Byzantine masons who excavated the churches very often painted crosses directly on the stone, evidently to protect them until the final decoration was added. Elmalı Kilise in Göreme valley exemplifies the aesthetic possibilities of the preliminary decoration.[27] In the same manner, the inscription around the cornice of the south nave of Saint Basil seems to refer to the sign of the cross in an apotropaeic context: "(The) venerable cross protects (or decorates?) the walls of this glorious house. The image arises from the holy wood. Lord always protect your servant . . . and Constantine the Presbyter. Pardon them the transgressions of sinners and mercifully offer assistance to your servant the painter."[28]



Fig. 23. West corner of south wall, chapel of St. Basil, near Sinassos.

The Middle Byzantine emphasis on the aprotopaeic power of the cross continues a tradition well-established from the fourth century. Constantine has a vision of the cross at noon the day before the critical battle against Maxentius. That night he is visited by Christ carrying the same sign. The Lord exhorts the Emperor, "to make an imitation of the sign he had seen in the heavens to use to escape from the snares of the enemy."[29] Constantine promptly makes a great gemmed cross. A conflation of theses Constantinian crosses is alluded to in a painting at the west end of the nave of the church of Saint Basil. This painting consists of a flowering Latin cross with a vertical title to the left and an inscription within its arms (Fig. 23). This inscription is barely legible, and from Jerphanion's drawing it is clear that it was in no better condition when he recorded it.[30] Despite the difficulties with the reading, Jerphanion tentatively interprets the muddled Greek of his reconstruction as: "le Fils de Dieu représenté symboliquement par la croix – car, par sa nature, il échappe à toute figuration matérielle – n'en subit aucun dommage. En d'autres termes: l'image que voici n'est pas indigne de Celui qui ne souffre pas d'image." This important evidence for the Iconoclast origin of the Chapel of Saint Basil has been quoted in subsequent publications, but usually without Jerphanion's scrupulous qualifications. Pallas has, however, dealt critically with Jerphanion's discussion of the inscription.[31] Having not seen the church himself, he accepts Jerphanion's transcription of the passage, but reconstructs it in such a way that it loses its specifically Iconoclast

24. Theodore the Studite, *Oratio II*, In adorationen crucis, PG, 99, col. 697.
25. Niketas Paphlagois, *Oratio II*, In exaltationem S. Crucis, PG, 105, col. 32.
26. Dvornik, *La vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite*, 50.
27. Jerphanion, *Un nouvelle province*, plate vol. II, 114, 2; 117, 2. The suggestion that red linear decorations which include crosses date from the Iconoclast period has rightly been rejected. R. Cormack, "The Archaic Group of Churches in Cappadocia," *JBAA*, series iii, 30 (1967), 27.
28. Compare with transcriptions in: Grégoire, "Rapport sur un voyage," 91–92; Millet, *BCH*, 34 (1910), 96; Jerphanion, *Un nouvelle province*, II, 109.
29. Eusebius of Caesarea, "Life of Emperor Constantine," Book I, 29, ed: I.A. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke*, I (Leipzig, 1902), 21.
30. Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province*, II, inscription 140. Jerphanion copied the inscription in 1912 and checked his transcription in 1927, 107–108, note 4.
31. Pallas, "Eine anikonische lineare Wanddekoration," (cited in note 15) 311–314.

connotations: "Das in der Luft gestaltete Kreuz was ein amorpher Typ Christi. Es wird nicht beflecht," or alternatively for the last section, "Das Zeichnen (d.h.das Kreuz) wird nicht beflecht." Pallas concludes that the inscription may represent a post-Iconoclast protest over the invasion of the churches by icons. While I agree with the Pallas' non-Iconoclast interpretation of the inscription in Saint Basil, it seems that both Pallas's and Jerphanion's readings are over ambitious. Given the state of the painting and the orthography of the painter a clear reading of the inscription is impossible. What does remain can be interpreted roughly as, the cross of Heaven (i.e. Constantine's cross) is an incorruptible symbol of Christ. This sentiment is common enough in the post-Iconoclast period. It certainly cannot be regarded as proof of the Iconoclast origins of the Chapel.

It has been suggested that as SS. Constantine and Helen were particularly venerated by Iconoclasts, the reference to Constantine in S. Basil supports the chapel's Iconoclast attribution. However, Pope Hadrian dubs Eirene and Constantine VI, who made a first attempt to restore icons, a new Helen and a new Constantine.[32] The pair is similarly named in the proceedings of the Council of 787.[33] Constantine and Helen are also particularly prominent in the decoration of the tenth century churches of Cappadocia. Saint Symeon in Zelve is just one of many examples. There the dominant sculptured ceiling cross is flanked by busts of Constantine and Helen.[34] Like the appearance of the cross, the references to Constantine in the Chapel of Saint Basil cannot be regarded as an indication of its Iconoclast date. If the attribution of Saint Basil to the Iconoclast period is unconvincing, is there any way to establish a more acceptable date for the monument? The common occurrence of gemmed crosses in churches securely dated to the tenth century seems to indicate that Saint Basil might be ascribed to a post-Iconoclast period. Further evidence for a late ninth or early tenth century date for the church is found in a fresco fragment in the Old Church of Tokalı Kilise in Göreme Valley.[35] Here there remains half of a niche decorated with the bust of a saint on white ground. The colours of the pigments used in the ornamentation of this niche are the same as those found in Saint Basil. In addition the decorative elements – the sausage-link chevron and the checker-board pattern with dotted roundels – have close parallels in Saint Basil. Finally, the remaining half of the saint's identification and the partial inscription around the niche are written in a crude uncial very similar to that of the cornice inscription of Saint Basil. This fragment in Tokalı Kilise can, on the basis of the internal chronology of the church, be dated to the late ninth or early tenth century.[36]

The post-Iconoclast date thus suggested for Saint Basil is substantiated by a consideration of the churches with which it can be associated programmatically and architecturally. Saint Stephen near Cemil is a single chapel with a flat roof, a blind arcade on the north wall and a large apse to the east separated from the nave by low parapet slabs.[37] The space is similar to that of the north nave of Saint Basil, though it is not so carefully carved. The two chapels share their palette – earth colours on a white background – and their delight in decorative ornament. Again, like Saint Basil, Saint Stephen is dominated by a great gemmed ceiling cross. But figural painting is more prominent in Saint Stephen than it is in Saint Basil. To the same painting phase as the ceiling cross belongs the figural painting on the walls of the nave with the exception of the Virgin to the left of the apse. These crude paintings are conceived almost ornamentally. The mounted figure and the Baptism in the eastern-most arcades of the north wall are indeed painted on ornamental grounds similar to the treatment of the scenes in Ağaç Altı Kilise in the Peristrema Valley (Fig. 24). The melon dome of this cruciform chapel supports its Middle Byzantine dating.[38] The poor condition and quality of the

32. PL, 96, col. 1218 (Greek).
33. Mansi, XIII.
34. Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province*, I, 555.
35. *Ibid.*, 303–304; Restle, *Byzantinishe Wandmalerei*, II, plate 96.
36. I hope to publish my findings on the internal chronology of Tokalı Kilise shortly.
37. Jerphanion proposes that the most important phase of decoration, including the ornament, a few isolated figures and the cross of Saint Euphemia, dates from the second phase of Iconoclasm. A rider attacking a dragon and a Communion of the Apostles are the remains of an older, figural decoration over-painted by monks with iconoclastic sympathies. A third and last phase, including an Annunciation (sic), obscures some of the ninth century work, *Une nouvelle province*, II, 146–155, 413. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne accepts Jerphanion's dating, "Nouvelles notes Cappadociennes," *Byzantion*, 30 (1963), 137–138. Restle found that the Apostle Communion belongs to the same phase of decoration as the aniconic ceiling decoration. He further qualifies Jerphanion's dating schema by correctly noting that the reference to Saint Euphemia does not date the painting but merely provides it with an Iconoclastic *terminus post quem*. Restle goes on to point out that the vegetal ornament in certain Middle Byzantine manuscripts provides a parallel to that found in Saint Stephen. He favours an early tenth century date for the chapel, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei*, I, 16–7.

N. Thierry dates Saint Stephen as well as the other chapels discussed in this paper to the seventh century largely on stylistic grounds, "Monuments pre-iconoclastes en Cappadoce rupestre," 563–565; *idem*, "Les peintures murales de six eglises in Cappadoce," 445f. Kostof supports an Iconoclast dating for Saint Stephen without introducing new evidence into the discussion. *Caves*, 88–90, cat. no. 4.
38. Thierry dates the church to the Early Christian period, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce, région du Hasan Dağı* (Paris, 1963), 73–87; *idem*, "Monuments pré-iconoclastes en Cappadoce," 563f. Restle however dates Ağaç Altı Kilise to the beginning of the eleventh century on the basis of his analysis of the style of the paintings, *Byzantinishe Wandmalerei*, I, 69–71. Kostof adds that the high drum of the cupola suggests at least a tenth century dating, *Caves*, 112–113, cat. no. 30. Evidently the segmental nature of the cupola has not been previously noticed.

paintings argue against a stylistic or iconographic analysis of the work. Their appearance, like that of the bishops in Saint Basil, makes it unlikely that the chapel should be dated to even the second Iconoclast period as Jerphanion suggested. Indeed, a post-Iconoclast date is probable considering the decoration of the spandrel on the north wall of the chapel with a cross inscribed, "The cross of Saint Euphemia." This doubtlessly refers to a passage by Asterios of Amaseia describing the torments of Saint Euphemia as represented in a painting near her tomb in Chalcedon. In one of the four scenes she is represented in prison. "There, once again, is the holy virgin in her grey garments, sitting alone and stretching out her arms to heaven as she calls on God to help her in her distress. And while she prays, there appears above her head the sign which Christians are wont to worship and claim as their own, the symbol, I say, of the passion that was awaiting her."[39] This fourth century reference was a favourite among iconodules.[40] The saint herself was particularly venerated by the Orthodox after Constantine V's abortive attempt to dispose of her relics.[41] Her image is prominent in the tenth century churches of Ayvalı Kilise in Güllü Dere and in the Holy Apostles near Sinassos.[42] It is hard to imagine that she would be depicted in an Iconoclast chapel.



Fig. 24. North wall, chapel of St. Stephen, near Cemil.

A third monument that has been ascribed to the Iconoclast period is part of the double nave church of Joachim and Anna in Kızıl Çukur near Çavuşın. The two naves of this chapel have been consistently dated to different periods, the south nave either to the pre-Iconoclastic or Iconoclastic period and the north nave usually to the late-ninth/early tenth century, or more recently to

39. Asterius of Amasea, *Homilies I–XIV*, ed. C. Datema (Leiden, 1970), XI, 147–155. The relevant passage is translated into English in Mango, *Art*, 39.

40. Reference to the passage is made twice in the Council of Nicaea in 787 and is cited by Patriarch Nikephoros in a refutation of the pseudo-Council of 815, Asterius of Amasea, ed. Datema, 149–150, texts C and N.

41. Theophanes, 439–440.

42. N. and M. Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise ou Pigeonnier de Gülli Dere, église inédite de Cappadoce," *CahArch*, 15 (1965), 97ff.; Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province*, II, 65.

pre-Iconoclastic times.[43] The narrative fresco decoration of the north chapel of Joachim and Anna is both programmatically distinct from the decoration of the south nave and qualitatively different from the work found in the chapels of Saint Basil and Saint Stephen. This need not, however, imply a time lapse. It may indicate simply that the dedication of the chapel inspired a search for either an appropriate new model or for a more able artist. In any case, architecturally there is no indication of two phases of excavation. The naves are similar in size, level and orientation. The sculptural detailing of both naves also appears to have been the same, although much of the south chapel has fallen away. Each nave was ornamented with blind arcades on their outside walls.[44] Each nave had a large apse separated from the nave by a low parapet screen. The naves of the chapel are both barrel vaulted. The fact that unlike Saint Basil and Saint Stephen the Church of Joachim and Anna is barrel vaulted and has a narthex suggests a closer architectural association with the Cappadocian churches of the tenth century than with the two chapels already discussed.

However, the ornamental elements of the decoration of Joachim and Anna link it closely to Saint Basil and Saint Stephen. The cross in the narthex is partially framed with a diaper pattern similar to that on the ceiling of Saint Basil. The vigorous vine scroll framing the cross in the barrel vault of the south nave is very similar to that found in Saint Stephen except in colouring (Fig. 25). The collapse



Fig. 25. Vault of south nave, chapel of Joachim and Anna, Kızıl Çukur, near Çavuşin.

43. N. and M. Thierry date the south nave to the period of Iconoclasm and the north nave to the late ninth century or early tenth century. "Église de Kizil Tchoukour, chapelle iconoclaste, chapelle de Joachim et d'Anne," *MonPiot*,50 (1958), 105–146: and *idem*, "Iconographie inédite en Cappadoce. Le cycle de la conception et de l'enfance de la Vierge à Kizil-Tshoukour," *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, Munchen, 1958* (Munich, 1960), 620–3.

In later publications Thierry changes position in regard to the dating of the Chapel of Joachim and Anna. In "Quelques monuments inédits en Cappadoce," 15, and in "Les peinture murales de six églises," 451f., she dates the chapel to the seventh or early eighth century.

K. M. Swoboda attaches Joachim and Anna to the end of a local painting tradition spanning the eighth and ninth centuries. Another member of this series is Saint Theodore near Ürgüp. "In den jahren 1950 bis 1961 erschienene Werke zur byzantinischen und weiterin ostchristlichen Kunst," *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, n.f. 5 (1961–1962), 123.

Lafontaine-Dosogne accepts Thierry's earlier ascription of Joachim and Anna to the late ninth or early tenth century, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire Byzantin et en occident*, I (Bruxelles, 1964), 37.

Kostof repeats the conclusion that the north chapel is ninth or early tenth century while the south chapel is Iconoclastic, *Caves*, 185–186, cat. nos. 3 and 16.

Restle suggests a date at the beginning of the tenth century when discussing Joachim and Anna in relation to churches associated with the Chapel of Saint Stephen, but a mid-ninth century date when considering the church in association with the niche painting in Tokali Kilise and the Prophetic Vision and Pentecost paintings in the Church of the Holy Apostles near Sinassos, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei*, I, 17, 25–6.

E. Coche de la Ferte compares the rosettes at the apex of the vault of Joachim and Anna with decorative ceramics dating generally from the ninth through twelfth century. "Decors en ceramique byzantine au Musee du Louvre," *CahArch*, 9 (1957), 198–200.

44. The sketch plan in Thierry's article is incorrect in this detail, "Eglise de Kizil Tchoukour," fig. 1.

of the south-east part of the chapel has exposed the painting to the elements, causing it to lose all its pigment with the exception of the brown-red. The painting of the south nave and the painting of the south-west corner of the wall of the north nave consequently give a linear impression. Other patterns in the ornamental repertoire of the chapel link the north and south naves as well as strengthening the chapel's ties with the two other churches. Around the cornice of the north nave is a chain of leaf-like elements constructed from opposing, interlocked half circles and variegated with hearts in the apices. The same pattern in a slightly simplified form appears on the cornice of the narthex of Joachim and Anna as well as in Saint Basil. The bloated chevron found in the cornice of Saint Basil and around the niche in Tokalı Kilise is also found in the narthex and north nave of Kızıl Çuzur. The rinceau pattern under the cornice in the south nave again has a parallel in Saint Basil (Figs. 22 and 26). Thus several of the same ornamental motives found in the north nave of Joachim and Anna and in its narthex also appear in Saint Basil. This fact, in conjunction with the architectural evidence, suggests that the naves of the church of Joachim and Anna are contemporary.



Fig. 26. West corner of the vault, north nave, chapel of Joachim and Anna, Kızıl Çukur, near Çavuşin.

A late ninth century or early tenth century date is generally accepted for the paintings of the north nave. A comparison of the head of the angel of the Annunciation to Anna from the west tympanum of the chapel in the Kızıl Çukur, with the head of the Virgin in Ayvalı Kilise located not far away in Güllü Dere shows the same large eyes with double-lined lids, heavy half-moon eye-brows and pursed, cherry-like lips.[45] Ayvalı Kilise is dated by inscription to the first quarter of the tenth century.[46] It seems likely that despite the cruder handling of the draperies in Joachim and Anna the two churches roughly date from the same period. This not only helps to date the paintings of the south nave of Joachim and Anna to the late ninth or early tenth century but also contributes further support to the post-Iconoclastic attribution of the chapels of Saint Basil and Saint Stephen.

The final monument to be considered in this paper is Chapel I in Balkan Deresi. This church has been ascribed not to Iconoclasm but to a pre-Iconoclastic date.[47] It does differ in several ways from the chapels so far considered. In plan it is an irregular cruciform. The south and west arms are flat-roofed; the north arm is relatively shallow and barrel vaulted; the east arm and the sanctuary have unfortunately fallen away. An uncentred cupola has been carved in the flat roof of the crossing. The paintings of the chapel, as its architecture, are in poor condition. They are, like the frescoes of the south nave of Joachim and Anna, badly faded by exposure to the elements. Nevertheless, ornamental features of the chapel are quite clear, at least in the south arm and crossing (Fig. 27). The ceiling of the south arm is covered with an all-over pattern of interlaced roundels, giving an impression similar to the west end of the ceiling in the chapel of Saint Stephen. Below the cornice is a chevron pattern commonly associated with later Cappadocian churches. The flat areas of the crossing are decorated with interlaced full circles making a pattern of banded leaves very similar to those used as a border in Joachim and Anna. Decorating the top of the crossing piers is a much faded checker-board pattern with dotted-roundals like those found in Saint Basil and the Tokalı niche. The apex of the cupola is filled with a pattern similar to that forming the ground of the Baptism in the Chapel of Saint Stephen. The ornamental repertoire of the Chapel I in Balkan Deresi is then very similar to that of the three churches already discussed.

45. L. Giovannini, ed., *Arts of Cappadocia* (London, 1971), pls. 75 and 84.
46. N. and M. Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise ou pigeonnier de Gülli Dere, église inédite de Cappadoce," *CahArch*, 15 (1965), 99, fig. 2.
47. N. Thierry, "Peintures paléochrétiennes en Cappadoce. L'église No 1 de Balkan Dere," *Synthronon*, (cited in note 12) 53–60; Kostof, *Caves*, 80, 205, cat. no. 1.

The figural ornament of the chapel is limited to the lowest register of the dome. To the west is the Virgin flanked by angels and the apostles. To the east is Christ enthroned in a mandorla. Originally he was perhaps accompanied by the symbols of the Evangelists. The figures are very crudely realized. In style as well as in their decorative ground the figures may best be compared with those under the blind arches in the Chapel of Saint Stephen (Figs. 24 and 27). The odd iconographic arrangement of the dome may be related to the apse decorations of the Cappadocian churches of the early tenth century. Apostles are found below the Prophetic Vision, for instance in Chapel 3 in Güllü Dere and in Chapel 11 in Göreme.[48] The orant Virgin is located directly under the Prophetic Vision in Haçlı Kilise in Kızıl Çukur.[49] The paintings in these chapels have been dated to the early tenth century. Just as the Prophetic Vision was placed on the flat ceiling of Chapel 3 in Göreme, so it seems that both the conch and the apse wall decoration were fitted into the cupola at Balkan Deresi. These iconographic parallels in conjunction with the inarticulate figure style suggest that the dome of Chapel I is the ad hoc result of crude imitation of early tenth century local models rather than a unique example of pre-Iconoclastic work.

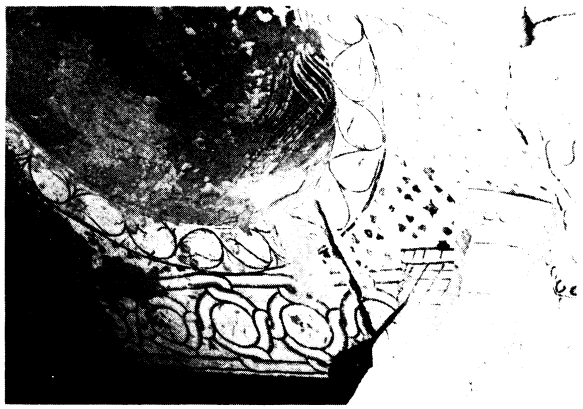


Fig. 27. Vault, chapel I, Balkan Deresi.

A post-Iconoclast dating of the chapels of Saint Basil, Saint Stephen and Joachim and Anna is also favoured by contemporary historical circumstances. Economic and political conditions retarded monastic growth during Iconoclasm. Throughout the Empire building activity was curtailed. In contrast there was a general revitalisation of monasticism in Byzantium after Iconoclasm in which Cappadocia very clearly participated. Moreover, the military stabilization on the eastern borders in the ninth and tenth centuries made Cappadocia a relatively secure site for the holy hermits and consequently a good investment for pious military officers and government officials stationed on the frontiers. The simple decorations of Saint Basil and the churches associated with it reflect the minimal resources that might be expected in nascent Cappadocian monasticism in the post-Iconoclast period. They also mirror contemporary economic, theological and political pre-occupations of other parts of the Byzantine empire in the later ninth and early tenth centuries. Thus by redating the three chapels, and by implication a number of other churches which have previously been associated with one or the other of these monuments, to the late ninth or early tenth century, the group is no longer an isolated phenomenon, but the logical preface to the extensive development of monastic art in Cappadocia in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Cappadocian painting in the Middle Byzantine period can then be seen as a historically consistent, unified development from crude, post-Iconoclast beginnings to the quite sophisticated work found in the province before the Seljuk invasion in the third quarter of the eleventh century.

The redating of Saint Basil, Saint Stephen and Joachim and Anna to the late ninth or early tenth century also has broader art historical implications. The narrative fragments in the chapels related to Saint Basil have been regarded as the intermediaries between a local, early Christian tradition and the narrative cycles of tenth century chapels like the Old Church of Tokalı Kilise. However, if the Saint Basil group does not precede the tenth century churches by a hundred years or more, but rather overlaps the later series, there is no longer a need to postulate remote, early eastern origins for the elaborate Christological sequences of the local Middle Byzantine monuments. In other words the programmes of chapels like Tokalı Kilise, as is the case with the style and iconography of their paintings, must have originated in Constantinople. Thus the redating of a few crude cave chapels in Cappadocia may effect the way in which we look at one of the fundamental problems in Byzantine art: the development of the Middle Byzantine monumental feast cycle. So while there is little in Cappadocia to interest a student of Iconoclasm, we may be reminded once again of its importance – despite its provincialism – to the study of the early Middle Byzantine period.[50]

48. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Théophanies-Visions" (cited in note 12), 134–144; Restle, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei*, II, 134.
49. N. and M. Thierry, "Haçlı Kilise, l'Eglise à la croix, en Cappadoce," *JSav* 00 (1964), 248–252.
50. I wish to acknowledge gratefully the University of Birmingham Field Research Fund for its support in the summer of 1975 of my investigations of the chapels considered in this paper.

XIV HAGIOGRAPHY OF THE ICONOCLAST PERIOD*

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

A veneer of uniformity, made up of similarities in structure, in stylistic devices, and in *topoi*, covers much of Byzantine hagiography; and the several dozen Lives of Saints which deal with the first or the second Iconoclasm, or were influenced by the iconoclastic controversy, are no exception to this rule. When, however, we look beyond the veneer of style, and instead examine these *Lives* according to the purpose, circumstance, and time of their composition, uniformity gives way to variety.[1] Some *Lives*, we find, defend the interests of a monastic centre, while others flatter the patriarch in power; some are biographies of prelates, others, of simple monks; *Lives* about Saints of the capital stand side by side with those about Saints of the provinces, and only a dozen years separate products of genuine defiance of Iconoclast government from self-serving hagiography by a former, and now repentant, Iconoclast. Even in matters of attribution our eye learns to distinguish between individual authors, once it gets adjusted to the obscurity which pervades their works.

Naturally enough, most of our *Lives* were concerned with the contemporaries of the Iconoclast struggle; several of them, however, dealt with Saints of olden times, such as the Apostle Andrew; Pankratios, the legendary disciple of Saint Peter; or Saint Nicholas of Myra, purportedly a participant in the first Council of Nicaea.[2] In *Lives* glorifying Saints of the eighth and ninth centuries, most principal characters were depicted as protagonists or at least participants in the controversy; some, however, such as Andrew of Crete (d. 740), Philaretos (d. 792) and Eudokimos (d. before 842?), were not, and one is entitled to ask for reasons for such reticence.[3] Nor was the choice of ancient Saints made without purpose: the Apostle Andrew and Pankratios were to bear witness that images had been used in churches as far back as the apostolic times; and Nicholas was made to profess beliefs which anticipated Iconodule Christology.

Stylistic uniformity also tends to obscure one fact of prime importance about *Lives* which deal with Iconoclasm: they were composed at different times. The fact is not remarkable in itself, for common sense tells us that some *Lives* must have been created in the heat of battle for the images, while others were produced later; but the preponderance of *Lives* of late date would certainly be significant. As the point is essential for my purposes, I shall explore it right away, and shall try to determine which Iconodule *Vitae* were composed by authors who wrote, say, not more than half a century after the events they describe, and which *Vitae* were composed considerably later.

If we examine the dozen *Lives* concerning the first iconoclastic period (730–787) with this task in mind, we find that only one of them is roughly contemporary with that period; that only three are prior to the final triumph of the icon-worship in 843; and that the remaining eight *Lives* of this category were written much later. To begin with the last group, the *Vita* of Patriarch Germanos

*This essay is a somewhat enlarged version of the lecture given at Birmingham in March of 1975. References are usually to sources. Secondary literature is quoted selectively, to single out praiseworthy contributions, or to adduce opinions divergent from those espoused here.

1. For such an approach to ninth-century hagiography, cf. the classic study by E. v. Dobschütz, "Methodios und die Studiten," *BZ*, 18 (1909), 41–105, esp. 102–103, and, among our contemporaries, the stimlating article by E. Patlagean, "Les moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIIIe–IXe siècles)," *StM*, Serie terza, 5, 2 (1964), 579–602.

2. Apostle Andrew: *Vita* by Monk Epiphanios, PG, 120, 216–260 and A. Dressel, *Epiphanii monachi et presbyteri edita et inedita* (Paris-Leipzig, 1843), 45–82. Epiphanios "fled" the iconoclasts; moreover, he claims to have been in Sinope and to have talked there to a man of over seventy, who remembered the reign of Constantine the Kopronymos (d. 775). Cf. Dressel, 49; 47. Thus Epiphanios may have written under the second Iconoclasm, or shortly afterwards. For the latter view, cf. F. Dvornik, *The idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958), 225–226. – Pankratios: the *Vita* has not yet been published in full; cf. A. P. Veselovskij, "Iz istorii romana i povesti . . . I," *Sbornik Otdelenija Russkogo Jazyka i Slovesnosti Imp. Akad. Nauk*, 40, 2 (1886), 65–128 (excerpts from the *Vita* by "Evagrios" and discussion of contents). The time of composition of "Evagrios's" *Vita* is difficult to establish. Patlagean, "Les moines . . ." (n. 1 above), 581–583; 587–588, opts for the end of the eighth–beginning of the ninth century. But a somewhat later date (under the second Iconoclasm) is also possible, for the author insists a great deal on the Apostolic origin of Church images. In this context it is worth noting that Epiphanios, the author of the *Vita* of Apostle Andrew, knows about Pankratios' ordination by St. Peter, and that Andrew and Pankratios have one thing in common: Andrew has the New and Old Testaments painted on the walls of the Church at Patras; the same is done in a church at Taormina dedicated to Pankratios. Compare Dressel, 56 and 71 with Patlagean, 582; cf. also the good remarks by A. Guillou, "L'école dans l'Italie byzantine," *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull' alto medioevo*, 19 (Spoleto, 1972), 307–308. Pankratios is also known to the author of the *Vita* of Michael Synkellos (n. 19 below), 235, 15–20. – Nicholas: for the *Vita per Michaelem*, cf. p. 119 below; for *Methodius ad Theodorum*, cf. p. 125f. below. – The connection between two works on St. Euphemia of Chalcedon (by Constantine of Tios and Theodore Bestes) and Iconoclasm is obvious, since her relics were desecrated by Leo III or Constantine V. The latest editor of both texts dates them to before 815, cf. F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine* [SubsHag 41] (1965), 82 and 108; however, this seems too optimistic a dating. Cf. n. 87 below.

3. The *Vita* of Andrew of Crete by Niketas: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολ. Σταχυολογίας, V (St. Petersburg, 1898), 169–170 (cf. 422–424). On this *Vita's* silence on Andrew's attitude towards the images, cf. n. 105b below. – On Philaretos and Eudokimos, cf. p. 126–7 below.

(715–730), the hero of the beginnings of Iconoclasm, copies not only Theophanes and the interpolated George the Monk, but probably even Cedrenus (whom we put around 1100); its author thought that Germanos' counterpart in Rome was Pope Gregory the Great, "the Dialogos," of about 600, and he had Leo III burn the university library of Constantinople together with its professors—a canard repeatedly exposed by modern scholarship.[4] Neither of the two *Lives* of St. Andrew in Krisei, the Metaphrastic one or the *Vita Prior* which was its source, inspires much confidence that that Saint ever existed.[5] The *Life* of the Ten Martyrs of Constantinople who suffered in 730 in connection with Leo III's attack on the icon of the Brazen House — an opening salvo in the Iconoclast war — quotes verbatim from the Chronicle of Theophanes and is in fact later than the earthquake of 869;[6] the author of the published Greek *Vita* of Paul the Younger, another victim of the Kopronymos, admits that the saint's body was discovered near the monastery of Kaiouma in Constantinople under Patriarch Anthony Kauleas, 122 years after Paul's martyrdom; however, the versified ending of the *Life* makes it a part of the so-called Imperial *Menologion*, hence its date should not be earlier than the mid-eleventh century.[7]

I shall close this sample of late biographies of eighth-century Saints with the *Vita* of Stephen of Sugdaia in the Crimea. Its Greek version confuses Leo III with Leo V and its author does not know — or does not want to know — that the pious woman Eirene who helped the Saint was in fact a Chazar princess, the very wife of the dreaded Constantine the Kopronymos; and the late Slavic version of the same *Life* has *Stephen* tell Leo III of the prophecy according to which icons would be persecuted under an Emperor by the name of Konon — in fact Leo's original name. As we know, this conversation, first found in the Chronicle of Theophanes, repeatedly took place rather between Patriarch *Germanos* and Leo III.[8]

The elimination of these texts leaves us with four early *Vitae:* that of Romanos the Neomartyr, that of Plato, Abbot of Sakkoudion, that of John, Bishop of Gotthia, and the famous *Life* of Stephen the Younger.

The *Life* of Romanos, which may be the earliest of our examples,[9] gives us the idea of the vast stage on which the participants — and pawns — in the struggle between Arabs and Byzantines moved about in the late eighth century. Romanos was born in Galatia (ca. 730), entered a monastery on the shores of Lake Daphnousis in Western Asia Minor, spent nine years in a prison in Baghdad, and was beheaded in Raqqah on the Euphrates (780). The text of his *Life* has been preserved in Georgian; this version, in turn, is a translation from the Arabic; and Arabic, not Greek, was in all probability the *Life's* original language. The author was a monk of the St. Sabas monastery near Jerusalem. His geographical horizon — and perhaps his Arab native tongue — accounts for three aspects of his work: his unbridled vituperation of Constantine V, that man of a Jewish frame of mind;[10] his relative ignorance of the affairs in the Byzantine capital; and his familiarity with what went on in the Caliphate in general and in the Baghdad prison camp in particular. Thus the author of the *Life* of Romanos knew that Constantine V had his Patriarch

4. Text in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἑλλ. Φιλ. Σύλλ., Suppl. to vol. 15 (1884), 3–17. Cf. 4, 6, 13, 14, 17 (Theophanes as source); 7, 8 (*Vita Stephani Iunioris* as possible source); 13, 15 (George the Monk interpolated as source); 12 and n. 1 and 13 (Cedrenus as possible source); 13 (burning of professors); 15–16 (confusion with Gregory the Great). On the worthlessness of this *Vita*, cf. also P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanism byzantin* (Paris, 1971), 92 and n. 65.

5. *Vita Prior: ActaSS* Oct., VIII (1866), 135–142 (from a MS. of the 11th c.); the Metaphrastic *Vita*: PG, 115, 1109 C–1128 C. For the peculiarities of the *Vita Prior*, cf. 137C (Andrew comes from Crete); 136F; 138DEF; 139A; 140EF (the Saint utters arrogant clichés against Constantine V); 140D (minions of the Emperor wish to kill Andrew by a rain of stones *in the palace*: cf. 140F), 140D, 141C–142A (parallels with the *Vita* of Stephen the Younger); 141A (Andrew dragged on the ground first in the Mamas Palace [at Beşiktaş!], then in the City); cf. also n. 121 below. For the dependence of the Metaphrastic *Vita* on the *Vita Prior*, compare, e.g., chapters 10 and 12 in both *Lives*.

6. Text in *ActaSS* Aug., II (1751), 434–448; for a passage from Theophanes (*Chron.*, 404, 18–405, 5, ed. de Boor), cf. 437BC; for the reference to the earthquake of January 9, 869, cf. 445 BC. Cf. also Mango, *Brazen House*, 116–117.

7. Text: a) A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολ. Σταχ., IV (St. Petersburg, 1897), 247–251; b) V. V. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, II (St. Petersburg, 1912), 23–27. For an unpublished *Passio* of Paul the Younger, cf. BHG^{n}, 1471 b; for a Latin version of the *Acts* of Paul the Younger, going back to a Greek original which copies the *Life* of Stephen the Younger, cf. *ActaSS* June, II (1721), 631–643 and J. Gill, *OCP*, 6 (1940), 134–136. Unfounded doubts concerning the dependence of this *Vita* on the *Life* of Stephen the Younger in Gero, *Leo III*, 3, n. 9. For the discovery of Paul's body at the time of Michael III (d. 867) *and* Patriarch Anthony (893–901!), cf. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 250–251; Latyšev, 26. I connect the Imperial Menologion with Patriarch Michael Keroullarios (1043–1058).

8. Texts in V. G. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, III (St. Petersburg, 1915), 72–76 (Greek); 77–98 (Slavic). Cf. also *ibidem*, CXLII–CCLXXXVIII. Cf. esp. 74, 11–14 (Leo III called "the Armenian Leo"); 76, 8–9 (Stephen receives help from "a certain woman, Eirene;" the Slavic version, 93, 16–24, attributes the same deed to "Theodora," the daughter of the *car'* of Kerč; this means that the helpful lady was Eirene, the daughter of the Chazar Kagan, and wife of Constantine V); 92, 19–24 (Stephen's discussion with Leo III about the iconoclast Emperor Konon. The echo of the sources for this discussion is to be read in 88, 24–25; 89, 18–19, where the interlocutors are – properly – Patriarch Germanos and Leo III, but where the name of Konon is not mentioned. Theophanes reports the discussion in *Chron.*, 407, 17–24, ed. de Boor. Gero, *Leo III*, 14, n. 4, unsuccessfully attempts to claim an independent clue to the "Konon" story in the Slavic *Vita*).

9. I follow Father P. Peeters who argued that the *Vita* of Romanos was composed between 780 and 787. Cf. his "S. Romain le néomartyr (1 mai 780) d'après un document géorgien," *AnalBoll*, 30 (1911), 393–427 (Latin translation of the Georgian text; cf. 403 for the date of the *Vita*). The only *caveat* is the reference to "Frankish" Christian prisoners at Baghdad ca. 780. Cf. 398, where Peeters is not quite effective in disposing of this difficulty.

10. Peeters, "S. Romain . . ." (preceding note), 409; 413, 3–6.

killed, and that this Patriarch was the Emperor's namesake. But he called Patriarch Constantine "a saintly man and worshipper of God;" that is to say, he was unaware that the Patriarch was a staunch Iconoclast.[11] On the other hand, he was able to draw a detailed picture of internal rifts among the Byzantine inmates of the prison camp in Baghdad. He showed that the majority of these inmates were Iconoclasts and narrated how they plotted against the Iconodule minority, whom they called "enemies of our Emperor."[12]

In spite of its author's fame and its early date, the Funeral Oration on Plato of Sakkoudion (d. 814) by his nephew, Theodore the Studite, is only of tangential interest to us. The *Speech* was written soon after Plato's death, perhaps even before the outbreak of Second Iconoclasm; but Theodore was too involved in the Moechian Affair and in the tribulations which his hero had undergone at the hands of Orthodox authorities, to dwell in detail upon Plato's fate under Constantine Kopronymos. Incidentally, it seems that Plato did not greatly suffer during the first Iconoclasm, since he took up residence in Constantinople prior to 780, perhaps even before 775, and was offered two high ecclesiastical posts by the patriarch in office, hence by an iconoclast. Theodore does report Plato's refusal of dignities proffered to him, but is silent on his uncle's indignation that such offers should have been made at all.[13]

The *Life* of St. John of Gotthia (d. 791–792?) is quite short, but it inspires confidence. Its hero is a historical figure, independently attested in Georgian sources and by a signatory of the Council of 787. Like the *Vita* of Romanos, the *Life* of John was written outside Constantinople, possibly in Amastris, and is more involved with events in Chazaria than with Byzantium. However, it is sober and sounds authentic when it describes the Saint's journey to the Caucasus in search of an Orthodox ordination, calls him grandson of an ensign (*bandophoros*) of the Armeniac theme and provides us with details about Crimean topography. Its chief interest to our subject lies in the fact that the Saint is asked to help "us" to stand firm and be saved from the "harmful communion with the burners of the Holy (*hagiokaustōn*) and filthy heretics," that is, the Iconoclasts. It follows that the *Life* of John was written between 815 and 842.[14]

The last of the four early *Lives*, Stephen the Deacon's *Vita* of Stephen the Younger, who was martyred in 764, is a jewel of the hagiography of the iconoclastic period. The *Vita* was written in 806.[15] There was hardly a Byzantine scholar in our century, from Father Pargoire to Professor Peter Brown, who has not drawn on *Vita Stephani Iunioris*.[16] The reason for the popularity which the *Life* of Stephen has enjoyed among scholars is fairly obvious: of the four early hagiographic texts dealing with the first Iconoclasm, that *Life* is the only one to give us abundant information on events occurring within the Empire. Could not the same reason account for the *Life's* popularity in Byzantium? For our modern scholars had Byzantine predecessors: several *Lives* I just mentioned, that of Patriarch Germanos, that of Andrew in Krisei, that of Paul the Younger, perhaps the *Lives* of the Ten Martyrs, borrow situations, motifs, toponyms and whole phrases from the *Life* of Stephen. More than that, the Chronicler George the Monk and the interpolated version of the

11. Weak that he was on historical events in Byzantium, our author knew a number of authentic snippets of polemical nature which recur in Iconodule sources written in the Capital or near it: he explained the meaning of the name "unmentionables" (ἀμνημόνευτοι) given to Iconodule monks by Constantine V; he also identified the monkish garb with the garb of John the Baptist; therefore, he said, the enemy of the monks was an enemy of John the Baptist. Compare Peeters, "S. Romain . . ." (n. 9 above), 417, 5–8, 12–14, with Theophanes, 443, line 1, and the *Vita* of Stephen the Younger (n. 15 below), *passim*; furthermore, *Vita per Michaelem* (n. 46 below), 115, 11–13, *Methodius ad Theodorum* (n. 95 below), 143, 15–16.

12. Cf. Peeters, "S. Romain . . ." (n. 9 above), 416, 36–37; 418–419.

13. Text in PG, 99, 803–849. Cf. 820 BC (sojourn in Constantinople, probably still under Constantine V, in any case before 780); 821BC (offer of dignities). Only 849A ("may we not in the least slacken in our Orthodox faith out of fear" may be a reflection of the gathering storm of the second Iconoclasm. French summary of the Funeral Oration by G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople au VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles," *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 230–240 (233, assertion, without proof, that Plato went to the capital after the death of Constantine V).

14. Text, e.g., in *ActaSS* June, V (1709), 184–194; for other edd., cf. *BHG*^{3} 891; *BHG*^{a} 891b (which I follow for the date of the Saint's death). Cf. V. G. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, II (1912), 351–427, esp. 396–400 (Russian translation of the *Vita*); 415; 426. Cf. text, 190E (on John's grandfather, with the false reading κανδοφόρος; beware of Vasil'evskij's errors, 402–403!); 190F (John ordained bishop in Georgia [probably at Mtskheta]); 193CD (topographical details); 194E (escaping harmful communion with Iconoclasts). The language of the *Vita*, too, has an early flavour. Compare ἐκουρασεν· κουρασθηναι in the rare meaning of "torture, kill by torture" (191C; 193B) with Theophanes, 448, line 9, (κουρασας, *id.*). On John, his politics and the date of his death, cf. P. Peeters, *AnalBoll*, 52 (1934), 39–43, esp. 41; A.A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 89–96, esp. 92. On a new Synaxarion extract from the *Vita*, cf. F. Halkin, *AnalBoll*, 66 (1948), 80–83.

15. Text in PG, 100, 1067–1186; new edition, translation and commentary by M. F. Rouan in preparation. Cf., e.g., V. G. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, II (1912), 297–350; P. V. Nikitin, "O Žitii Stefana Novago," *Izvestija Imper. Akad. Nauk, 6 serija* (1912, nr. 18), 1099–1115; Ch. Diehl, "Une Vie de Saint de l'époque des empereurs iconoclastes," *CRAI* (mars-avril, 1915), 134–150 (still best); J. Gill, "The Life of Stephen the Younger by Stephen the Deacon, Debts and Loans," *OCP*, 6 (1940), 114–139. On J. Pargoire, cf. the subsequent note. – The date of 806 for the *Life* rests on 1072C, where the author asserts that he is writing 42 years after the Saint's death.

16. J. Pargoire, *Mont Saint-Auxence, étude historique et topographique* [= L. Clugnet, ed., Bibliothèque hagiographique orientale, 2] (1904), *passim*, esp. 43–58; P. Brown, *EHR*, 346 (1973), esp. 32–33.

Letter of Oriental Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos copied it extensively for the history of the reigns of Leo III and of the Kopronymos.[17]

First conclusion: already in the second half of the ninth century people knew little about the Iconodule heroes of the first Iconoclast struggle, little about the period itself, and has few *Lives* about it to draw upon. This was most probably because few of them had yet been written.

Second conclusion: the *Vita* of Romanos the Neomartyr was written outside the Empire, and the *Vita Stephani Iunioris*, under Orthodox rule. In reality, as opposed to literary fiction, it was easier to vituperate a distant or a fallen enemy than a near and a threatening one. It must be said, however, that Iconoclasm and its consequences were not quite dead issues even in Stephen's time: after having recounted how Leo III destroyed the monastery of Auxentios on the Asiatic side and gave the name of Auxentios to the mountain on which it had stood, Stephen the Deacon added that this name continued to be applied to it by Iconoclasts "until this very day." When he deplored the destruction of the figural cycles in the Church of the Blachernae by Constantine V, cycles which the emperor replaced by mosaics of trees and birds, he bid Iconoclasts *of his day* to come and discover for themselves that these objectionable changes were still to be seen in the Church. Some of the sympathisers of Constantine V were still alive in Stephen the Deacon's time and even served the latter as informants when he collected material for his work; no wonder that in his final address to the Saint, Stephen begged him to expel those who "even now" clung to the heresy of the accusers of Christ. The presence of actual Iconoclasts in Stephen the Deacon's day may account for the credibility of his attacks, for his indirect admission of Constantine's moderation in handling the obstreperous Saint, and for Abbot Epiphanos' decision to commission the *Life* of Stephen.[18]

When we come to the period of second Iconoclasm (815–843), our sample grows considerably larger, for we have more than two dozen *Lives* at our disposal. The distribution between early and late texts, however, remains about the same as in the case of *Lives* pertaining to the first Iconoclast period. Many *Lives* or *Encomia*, especially those of saintly monks, such as Theophanes the Confessor (d. 818), Michael Synkellos (d. 846), Peter of Atroa (d. 837), and St. Ioannikios (d. 846), were written by authors separated by only a generation or less from their heroes, and the same may hold true for the Story of the Translation of the Relics of Theodore the Studite (d. 826) and of his brother Joseph;[19] but even among the *Lives* of most important figures of that period, we meet several which were written long afterwards.

The full-fledged *Vita* of Theodore the Studite by Michael is later than 868;[20] the recently published *Life* of Euthymios, Bishop of Sardis (d. 831), is a secondary work of uncertain date, perhaps of the end of the century;[21] in its printed form, the *Life* of Patriarch Methodios (d. 847) is reputedly an abbreviation of one by Gregory Asbestas, Photios's ally, and appears to be late;[22] and of the *Lives* of Eudokimos (d. before 842?) and of Theodore Graptos (d. 841?) only the

17. *Life* of Germanos (n. 4 above), 7 (Germanos predicts the birth, name and martyrdom of *hosiomartyr* Stephen). *Life* of Andrew in Krisei (n. 5 above), 140D (way of being beaten similar); 140F (Andrew imitates "in this, too," the protomartyr Stephen); 141 AB (similar death scenes; see also p. 129 below); 141C–142A (similar perorations). *Life* of Ten Martyrs (n. 6 above), 442D (place of death – pit in the Pelagion quarter – described in similar terms). For Paul the Younger, the Letter of three Oriental Patriarchs and George the Monk, cf. Gill, "The Life . . ." (preceding note), 128–136 and Georgius Monachus, II (1904), *passim in apparatu*, and esp. 738, 15–739, 11; 740, 16–741, 20. The fact that borrowings from the *Vita* of Stephen occur only in the interpolated version of the *Letter* of the three Oriental Patriarchs, discredits at least this version and reveals it as a Constantinopolitan concoction. The borrowing of a description of Stephen's penitential harness by the *Vita* of Lazaros of Galesion (11th c.) is outside of our purview.

18. PG, 100, cols. 1100B; 1120C; 1184B; 1185A; 1184C.

19. *Encomium* of Theophanes (almost surely by Theodore the Studite): ed. C. Van De Vorst, *AnalBoll*, 31 (1912), 11–23. It was pronounced in the early 820's. Since the printed text is incomplete at the end, the *Encomium* has little to say (outside of ch. 1) about Theophanes' struggle with Iconoclasm. *Athous Laurae E169*, fols. 303r–305 may be a fuller version. – Text of the *Vita Michaelis Syncelli* in F. I. Smit, *IRAIK*, 11 (1906), 227–259; Russian translation in S. V. Poljakova, *Vizantijskie Legendy* (Moscow, 1972), 114–139. This *Vita* is earlier than 867, since it refers (254, 21) to the "great and Orthodox ruler Michael," i.e., Michael III. It may even date from before the death of the Patriarch John the Grammarian, for in one passage (236, 29) the author "willingly" omits "the mention of the name" of a man easily identifiable as that iconoclastic Patriarch. In another passage, John is called Ἰωάννης rather than Ἰαννῆς ; the latter vituperative form seems to be preferred by later texts. On the internal chronology of the *Vita* of Michael, cf. the excellent study by S. Vailhé, "Saint Michel le Syncelle et les deux frères Grapti . . .," *ROChr*, 6 (1901), 313–352; 610–642. For doubts (unfounded, in my opinion) concerning the early date and trustworthiness of the *Vita* of Michael, cf. Dobschütz, "Methodios . . ." (n. 1 above), 83. – Peter of Atroa: text in V. Laurent, *La Vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* . . . [= SubsHag, 29] (1956); *idem*, *La Vita retractata et les miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* [= SubsHag, 31] (1958). – Ioannikios (*Vita* by Sabas): *ActaSS* November, II (1894), 332–384; Translation of Theodore's relics e.g., C. Van De Vorst, *AnalBoll*, 32 (1913), 27–62.

20. Text in PG, 99, 233–328. For the date, cf. C. Van de Vorst in *AnalBoll*, 32 (1913), 29. Michael is the earliest preserved biographer of Theodore the Studite.

21. Text in A. Papadakis, "The Unpublished Life of Euthymius of Sardis . . .," *Traditio*, 26 (1970), 63–89. This *Vita* depends on the one by Methodios, concerning which cf. p. 118 below. The *Vita* ed. Papadakis is a panegyric pronounced on an anniversary of the Saint's death (December 26, cf. ch. 1–2), usually a sign that a text is late.

22. For the date, cf. H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 558 and J. Pargoire in *EO*, 6 (1903), 126 n. 1. Text in PG, 100, col. 1244–1261. The peroration (1261 BC) is similar to the formulae ending each *Life* in the so-called Imperial Menologion, an eleventh-century collection; cf. n. 7 above. However, a similar peroration does occur in one (early?) *Life* of the 42 Martyrs of Amorion, ed. Vasil'evskij-Nikitin (as in n. 63 below), 36. Dobschütz, "Methodios . . ." (n. 1 above), 52 thought that the *Vita* was written "not too soon" after Methodios' death.

Metaphrastic — that is tenth-century — text is available in print.[23] Even the *Chalkensis*, a manuscript of the "ninth-tenth" centuries, containing one of the principal sources of the Metaphrast, the *Encomium* of Theodore Graptos by Theophanes, Metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia,[24] does not bring us close to the time of Theodore's death. For one thing, we cannot be sure which one of the two Theophaneses of Caesarea wrote the *Encomium*;[25] for another, our text is surely later than the *Vita* of Michael Synkellos, which it exploits. Moreover, it contains — if I read it correctly — one chronological oddity: it implies the presence of John the Grammarian as "champion of the heresy" at the confrontation which occurred in 836 between Emperor Theophilos and the brothers Graptoi; we know, however, that John was not yet Patriarch by that year.[26] The recently rediscovered fragment of the *Life* of Niketas, Patrician and Monk (d. 836) wins us over by its homespun details, and its air of artlessness and immediacy. Yet, it has at least one literary model (it copied three sizable passages from the *Vita* of George the Decapolite) and it may have been written as late as two generations after the Saint.[26a]

The *Life* of John, Abbot of the Psicha monastery, who died most probably soon after 820, was written after 843.[27] Its author, surely a monk of Psicha, knew a fair amount of details about the Saint's family and his peregrinations, and was vaguely aware of the Bulgarian Khan Krum's attack on Constantinople in 813; on the other hand, he was ignorant of the exact place of John's birth, and left us in the dark about the date — and even the place — of his death. What he tells us about his hero's tribulations under Leo V does not go beyond the commonplaces of other late *Lives*, and it is clear that he had never met the Saint in person.[28]

On the surface of it the *Vita* of Makarios (d. after 829), Abbot of Pelekete near the modern Tirilye, offers reassuring credentials: it was commissioned by one Sabas, a successor to the Saint, even if it was written by "another person;" this Sabas calls himself eye-witness of Makarios' iconodule exploits;[29] and a modern defender of our text established parallels between it and several letters which Theodore of Studios addressed to one Makarios.[30] If I hesitate to accept both the credentials and the defence of the *Acta* of Makarios, it is on account of this text's vapidity. Makarios, we hear, was educated in the household of "some relative of his, who is habitually and customarily called uncle," and Sabas neglects to tell us where he succeeded to Makarios, whether he was his direct or indirect successor, and exactly when and where Makarios died.[31]

There can be no hesitation as to the general date of the lengthy *Acta* of David, Symeon and George, the three brothers hailing from Lesbos. David, we are told, witnessed the first Iconoclasm and died sometime at the end of the eighth century, while the other two brothers lived until 843 and 844 respectively.[32] As they stand now, the *Acta* are of late making, and their precision is spurious. The author creates quite a generation gap between the Saintly brothers and their mother; she was a biological marvel, since she must have given birth to Symeon not earlier than at the age of 52, 54, 59 or even 62, and to the *twins* George and Hilaria at 51 (assuming in both cases that she had David at 12 or 14).[33] He also introduces a pun which presupposes the reader's familiarity with

23. Eudokimos: X. Loparev, *Žitie sv. Evdokima pravednogo* [Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti, 93] (St. Petersburg, 1893), 1–23 (discussion I–XV); Theodore Graptos: PG, 116, cols. 653–684.

24. Istanbul, *Oec. Patr.*, *Chalcensis (81) 88*, fols. 255^{r}–279^{v} (mutilated at end); cf. A. Tsakopoulos, Ἱεριγραφικὸς κατάλογος ..., II (1956), 87 (folio indications wrong). In 1976, my student, Mr. Jeffrey Featherstone, transcribed, translated and partly commented on the text of the *Chalcensis* in a Senior Thesis deposited at Harvard University.

25. There were two of them: Theophanes Protothronos, attested in 886, who was Photios' helper in the latter's scheme, involving a forgery, to regain Basil I's favour; and Theophanes Choirinos, Metropolitan of Caesarea in 928–933. Mr. Featherstone inclines towards the authorship by the earlier Theophanes.

26. *Chalcensis (81) 88*, esp. fol. 276^{r}a.

26a. Text in D. Papachryssanthou, "Un confesseur du second Iconoclasme; La Vie du Patrice Nicétas (†836)," *TM*, 3 (1968), 309–351. The author wrote after the death of the Saint's nephew who was Niketas' successor as abbot. True, he used that nephew's notes (cf. 333, ch. 9; 349, ch. 31; ch. 33). – Passages (not indicated by the editor) in common with the *Life* of George the Decapolite (n. 69 below): 341, ch. 20 (cf. *Life* of George, 69, 12–27); 343, ch. 21 (cf. *ibidem*, 70, 3–4); 343, ch. 22 (cf. *ibidem*, 70, 9–12); 349, ch. 33 (cf. *ibidem*, 74, 6–15); 349–351, ch. 34 (cf. *ibidem*, 75, 2–8). The priority of the *Life* of George (or its being closer to a common source) is assured.

27. Text in P. Van den Ven, *Le Muséon*, N.S., 3 (1902), 97–125. Cf. 122, 23–24, where we hear that "the defilement of the heresy was *still* prevalent" at the time of John's death. Thus we are after 843.

28. It must be granted, however, that the *Life* of John of Psicha is surely premetaphastic and that it occurs in an early manuscript, the *Monacensis Graecus 366* (inspected by me), which I assign to the early tenth century. The dating by Mgr. Ehrhard to the late ninth century (Überlieferung . . . [n. 62 below], 620 seems too generous. P. Van den Ven, *La Vie Ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521–592)*, I (1962), 17,* follows Ehrhard.

29. Text (badly edited): I. Van den Gheyn, "S. Macarii, monasterii Pelecetes hegumeni Acta Graeca," *AnalBoll*, 16 (1897), 140–163. Cf. esp. 163, 17–19; 25–26.

30. P. Van den Ven, "Note sur S. Macaire de Pélécète," *AnalBoll*, 32 (1913), 270–273.

31. Cf. Van den Gheyn, "S. Macarii . . ." (n. 29 above), esp. 143, 29 (definition of "uncle"). We can only surmise that Makarios died on the island of Aphousia (today's Avşar Adası), near the Cyzicus peninsula. John the Grammarian is called Iannes(154, 31–32), which is a form preferred by later texts.

32. Text: e.g. I. Van den Gheyn, "Acta Graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii . . .," *AnalBoll*, 18 (1899), 209–259. A new edition by I. Phoundoules was not accessible to me.

33. Combine Van den Gheyn, "Acta . . ." (preceding note), 218, 27; 218, 23; 223, 18; 231, 7–8.

the Slavic loanword for "whore" — and we hesitate to postulate this kind of Slavic influence on Hellenism as early as the ninth century.[34]

Moreover, the author of the *Acta* first promoted Symeon of Lesbos to the dignity of *synkellos* of Patriarch Methodios (this dignity, we know from elsewhere, was held by Michael Synkellos), and then made the same Symeon forget all about his high function at the Patriarchate and return to Lesbos about 843.[35] To top it all, the *Acta* seem to refer to the monastery of Virgin Peribleptos, built at the beginning of the eleventh century.[36]

Several considerations make me doubt the early date of the *Life* of a protégé of Patriarch Tarasios, Theophylaktos of Nikomedeia (d. 840–845?).[37] The *Life's* author is vague or contradictory on essentials about his Saint[38] and he never says that he had known him or obtained information on him from eyewitnesses. The two errors he makes concerning the history of the ninth century are so egregious that I hesitate to impute them to anyone having lived during that century.[39] Moreover, the author tells us that practices instituted by Theophylaktos in the hospital which the Saint had built in his See continued to be applied "until now" under those who "one after another" held episcopal office there;[40] thus by the author's time several prelates had succeeded Theophylaktos on the throne of Nikomedeia.[40a]

True, three choice *Lives* of prominent figures: those of Patriarchs Tarasios and Nikephoros, and that of Gregory the Decapolite — all of them by Ignatios the Deacon — date from a period only slightly later than the triumph of Orthodoxy, but I am excluding them from the discussion of works by iconodules for reasons which will soon become apparent.

Even though many Iconodule *Lives* dealing with second Iconoclasm were written within the ninth century, the number of those dating from before 843 is so small, that they can be listed here. The original *Vita* of Euthymios of Sardis by the future Patriarch Methodios dates from early 832. This *Life* was preceded in time by that of Theophanes the Confessor (d. 818), by the same author;[41] thus the *Life* of Theophanes may conceivably fall in the time of Michael II. The *Life* of Niketas of Medikion (d. 824) by Theosteriktos was written while the deposed Emperor Michael I was still alive, hence before 844–45;[42] the bland *Life* of Niketas' predecessor, Nikephoros (d. 813?), seems to be even earlier, for its author considers the *Vita* of Niketas as not yet written, and proposes to do it himself on some other occasion.[43]

34. The pun (252, 10–11) is οὐαὶ τῷ μέσον δύο κουρβῶν μοναχῷ καθημένῳ (said by George, unwilling to mount a saddled horse). Κουρβῶν = both "pointed ends of the saddle" and "whores," cf. κούρβα, from Slavic *kurva*, "whore" (this is in turn from *kury*, "hen," cf. French "poule," English "chick"). On this loanword in Greek, cf. Ph. Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, II, 2 (Athens, 1948), 124.

35. Combine 250, 24 with 252, 31 and 253, 10.

36. Cf. 244, 3. In that passage, I put a comma between βασιλείων and ἐν', and translate: "the Empress, having gladly received them inside the Palace, ordered that they should for the time being be lodged in the so-called Peribleptos." This against the view of the editor, 244, n. 3. On the late date of the *Acta Davidis*, cf. also F. Halkin in *AnalBoll*, 62 (1944), 200 (the *Acta* may depend on the *Vitae* of Ioannikios and Anthony the Younger) and *AnalBoll*, 72 (1954), 23 (the *Acta* are a *Vie fantaisiste*). Difficulties encountered by J. Pargoire, "Saint Méthode et la persécution," *EO*, 6 (1903), esp. 185 are due in part to his early dating of the *Acta*. I cannot share the high esteem in which H. Grégoire held our text (he dated it to the closing years of Michael III's reign, cf. *Byzantion*, 8 [1922], 517–518), even though I readily admit that here and there it may contain a detail, or a name, *bonae notae*. The *Life* of George of Mytilene was unaccessible to me, cf. n. 47a below.

37. Text in A. Vogt, "S. Théophylacte de Nicomédie," *AnalBoll*, 50 (1932), 67–82. The editor does not commit himself directly on the date of his text, but on p. 68 he seems to consider it earlier than the controversy between Ignatios and Photios, i.e., 858.

38. Cf. the contradictory statements on the Saint's death: in one place (ch. 17 and ch. 18, beginning) we hear that he died "a few years" before the triumph of Orthodoxy, thus a few years before 842; in another (ch. 15), that he spent "about" thirty years in exile; thus he must have died only shortly before 815 + 30 = 845.

39. The author thinks that Nikephoros I succeeded to Eirene after the latter's death (ch. 10, p. 76, 12–13). He also tells us that the Iconoclast heresy "had disappeared through the killing of the tyrant with a bestial name and Orthodoxy shone forth and the most pious Augusta Theodora exercised Imperial power at that time" (ch. 18, p. 81, 17–20). Thus he absconds with twenty-two years (820–842) of Byzantine history. – The author, blameable in the eyes of a historian, redeems himself in the eyes of a philologist by giving us a hitherto unattested meaning for περιστροφος, namely, "tap, faucet," cf. ch. 6, p. 74, 12.

40. Ch. 8, p. 75, 20–21.

40a. As for the *Vita* of Nikephoros of Sebaze, an unknown Saint and abbot of a monastery situated in an otherwise unknown locality, who is said to have suffered under Leo V, a mere mention will suffice here: its author himself declares that the long passage of time had obscured his Saint's memory. Text by F. Halkin, "Une victime inconnue de Léon l'Arménien? Saint Nicéphore de Sébazè," *Byzantion*, 23 (1953), 11–30; for its late date, cf. ch. 1, pp. 18–19. Still, the *Life* is premetaphrastic: cf. *ibidem*, 12.

41. All this was shown most convincingly by J. Gouillard, "Une oeuvre inédite du Patriarche Méthode: la Vie d'Euthyme de Sardes," *BZ*, 53 (1960), 36–40; cf. 41, n. 29 on the secondary nature of the *Vita* of Euthymios published by Papadakis (n. 21 above); 45 on the priority of Methodios' *Life* of Theophanes. Methodios' *Vita* of Euthymios has been preserved in the same *Chalcensis* which contains the *Encomium* of Theodore Graptos (n. 24 above). Best edition of Methodios' *Life* of Theophanes is by V. V. Latyšev, "Methodii Patr. Const. Vita S. Theophanis Confessoris . . .," *Zapiski Rossijskoj Akad. Nauk po istor.-filol. otdeljeniju*, 8e Série, 13, 4 (1918).

42. Text in *ActaSS* April, I (1866), Appendix, XVIII–XXVIII. For the date, cf. XXIV, ch. 31: "[Emperor] Michael who even now is wearing the monastic garb." For the time of Michael's death, cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 20, line 2, who says that Michael lived 32 years after his abdication. This gives the year 845. But the same Theophanes Continuatus, 20, lines 12–14 (and the best manuscript, the *Vat. Gr. 167*, fol. 6^{v}) gives A. M. 6302 as the year of Michael I's death, which is impossible. In the unpublished draft of a new edition of Theophanes Cont., C. de Boor emended 6302 to 6352, and obtained A.D. 844. The date of 840 offered by J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (1912), 30, n. 2 has no validity, for it rests on combinations by E. Muralt, *Essai de chronographie byzantine*, I (1855), 422.

43. Text in F. Halkin, "La Vie de Saint Nicéphore, fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie," *AnalBoll*, 78 (1960), 396–430. Cf. 413 = ch. 9, 25–28 for the date of the *Life*. The author was himself a monk of Medikion (cf. 422, ch. 17, 1 and 6; 426, ch. 21, 2–3; 427, ch. 22, 17). Lack of Iconodule zeal in the *Life* may be inferred from 427 = ch. 24, 4, where Nikephoros is asked posthumously to pray for "the Emperors." If the *Life* dates from 824–840, these emperors are most likely Michael II and the young Theophilos. References to Iconoclasm are few: attack on first Iconoclasm (409–410, ch. 7); tax-collectors of first Iconoclasm (414, ch. 10, 14–16); shortly before his death. Nikephoros prophesied a time of tribulations (i.e., second Iconoclasm: 422, ch. 17, 10ff).

Finally, the *Letter* — which I believe essentially authentic — in which Theodore Graptos describes his and his brother's hearing before Emperor Theophilos and the subsequent branding of their faces with iambics must date from about 836–837.[44]

We marvel both at the courage of the authors of these works and at the inefficiency of the government which could not prevent their composition — to believe Methodios, he wrote the *Life* of Euthymios in prison.[45] However, not all Iconodule hagiographers were as outspoken as Methodios. Michael, who wrote probably before 842, used only allusive language in his *Life* of Saint Nicholas of Myra.[46] Thus he quoted the passage of the Epistle to the Romans which spoke of the image (*eikonos*) of the Son of God; and he pointed out that Nicholas was a foe of Arianism, a heresy with which Iconoclasts, too, were tainted. Nicholas, so Michael further said, also proclaimed the Son of God in two perfect Natures, for he was mindful of the First Epistle to Timothy, in which we read of the One "manifested in the flesh" and "seen by the angels" in the shape of a slave. In short, Michael suggested that Nicholas used Iconodule Christological arguments.

Nicholas was also an implacable enemy of idols — Michael's is the earliest Nicholas text in which this point makes its appearance. This stress on fighting *pagan* idols may have had something to do with the accusation of idolatry leveled by Iconoclasts at Iconodules, an accusation which the latter refuted by saying that only worship of *pagan* gods was idolatry. When Michael recommended to the faithful the setting up and adoration of Nicholas' image, he did it only in passing, eschewed the word *eikōn*, and used the neutral term *emphereia*, "likeness," instead.[47] We should not blame Michael for a lack of courage, for even Methodios, as we shall presently see, may have been circumspect on one occasion.

The third and final conclusion to be drawn from the preceding survey is that we should not be deceived by the apparent flowering of hagiography during both periods of Iconoclasm (and during its immediate aftermath), for much of this bloom is of later date. Among the *Lives* that favoured Iconodule Saints relatively few came into being between 730 and 842. Some, like the two *Vitae* by Methodios, were written in open defiance of the Iconoclast government; others, like the *Vita per Michaelem* of Nicholas took heed of official censorship, and expressed Iconodule beliefs in a veiled form. Along with this hagiography produced in *samizdat*, as it were, there stand such works as the *Lives* of Romanos and of Stephen the Younger. They, too, were written soon after the events which they describe, but were composed in safety: either at a time when the government was pursuing Iconodule policies, or in a place that lay beyond the Iconoclast government's reach. Even these texts are few in number.

From this perspective, the void of hagiographic production on the Iconoclast side will appear less gaping. This void I propose to fill by claiming a loyalist Iconoclast character for one well-known work of ninth-century hagiography. In addition, I shall single out two other hagiographic texts composed during the second Iconoclasm. Whether out of expediency or conformity, authors of these two works — which I shall call non-Iconodulic — made no reference to the chief religious preoccupation of their day, although they had good reasons to do the opposite. Three non-Iconodulic hagiographical texts is a small number, but we should keep in mind that on the openly Iconodule side we came up with only about a dozen *Lives* written prior to 842.[47a]

44. Two excerpts from the *Letter*, one of them extensive, have been preserved in the Metaphrastic *Vita* of Theodore Graptos, PG, 116, 672B–680A (cf. 672AB for indications that the excerpts are *verbatim*). For a partial French translation, cf. Vailhé, "Saint Michel . . ." (n. 19 above), 618–623. Metaphrastes himself thought it necessary to apologize for the lowly style of the *Letter* (672A). This style, however, turns out to be fairly respectable. I do not think that Metaphrastes touched it up to any extent; otherwise he would have eliminated the popular form διαβεβαιῶσαι, 2 pers. sg. praes. med., which Theodore Graptos used instead of διαβεβαοῖ (677A). The substance of the letter seems genuine (so also Vailhé, "Saint Michel . . .," 623).

45. Gouillard, "Une oeuvre . . ." (n. 41 above), 44–45. There may have been political reasons for Methodios' emprisonment, for he shared his confinement (on the island of St. Andrew?) with a rude fellow who had been locked up "on account of tyranny," that is, participation in a *coup d'état*. Cf. *Vita Methodii* (n. 22 above), 1248C

46. Text of the *Vita per Michaelem* in G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolas* . . . I (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), 111–139; for the date before 842, cf. *ibidem* II (1917), 264. One of the *Vita's* final phrases, "dissipate the designs of those who vaingloriously blaspheme against us" may be a veiled reference to Iconoclasts (139, 5–6; cf. also 4–7 and 9). We must keep in mind that these final phrases are our only "hard" argument for an early dating of the *Vita per Michaelem*. Anrich, *ibidem*, II (1917), 276 and 284 imagined that this *Vita* was the main source of *Methodius ad Theodorum* (a text certainly prior to 843, on which see p. 000 below). In my opinion, the reverese is the case. Detailed proof cannot be given here; in general terms, it consists of showing that a) several passages common to both texts make better sense in *Methodius and Theodorum* than in the *Vita per Michaelem*, and that b) the respective use of perfect and pluperfect form of finite verbs in both texts points to the dependence of *Vita per Michaelem* on *Methodius ad Theodorum*.

47. *Vita per Michaelem* (preceding note), 116, 15–16 (quotation from Rom. viii, 29, συμμόρφους της εικόνος του υίου ; this passage was also used in the Iconoclast *Florilegium* of 815, but the word εικόνος was omitted from it, cf. Alexander in *DOP*, 7 [1953], 43 and 64).

47a. Not all the hagiographic texts relevant to the subject at hand have been used in the first section of this article. Some sources have been omitted advisedly, e.g., when the hagiographer's main concern was with things other than Iconoclasm: The *Life* of Anthony the Younger, that of Eustratios, Abbot of *ta Augarou*, the *Vita* of Constantine, Apostle of the Slavs, or the *Lives* of the 42 Martyrs of Amorion are cases in point. I also disregard notices in *Synaxarium CP* (Hilarion of Dalmatos, John of Katharoi). Other sources were inaccessible to me, e.g., the apparently valuable *Life* of George, Bishop of Mytilene, ed. I. Phoundoules in Νεοβιακὸν Ἑορτολόγιον, I (1959), 33–43, or the *Life* of Hilarion, Abbot of Dalmatos (d. ca. 845), unpublished by 1973; cf. J. Gouillard in *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Ve Section, Annuaire*, 80–81, 3 (1971–72; 73–23), 369. Finally, I omitted potentially relevant texts, if I was not able to place them in time. This was the case with the *Miracles* of Prophet Isaiah, ed. H. Delehaye, *AnalBoll*, 42 (1924), 259–265 (Beck, *Kirche* . . . [n. 22 above], 513 tentatively assigns this source to the Iconoclast period, while Delehaye, *AnalBoll*, 43 [1925], is non-committal).

HAGIOGRAPHY OF THE ICONOCLAST PERIOD

II

In our most modern treatise on Byzantine theological literature — that by Professor Beck — we read sections about Iconoclast dogmatic works and Iconoclast poetry, but not about Iconoclast hagiography.[48] A moment's reflection — for which we erudites, unfortunately, seldom have time — should suffice to realize that this omission is not as obvious as it appears. In spite of their ambivalent attitude towards the Cult and the relics of the Saints, Iconoclasts were far from condemning hagiographic works; on the contrary, they set them up as a counterpart to the icons and a primary substitute for them; while the icons were condemned, the *Lives* of the Saints, defined as "so to say" the living icons of the Godly way of life, were praised, for by inspiring us to imitation, they lead us to Godly works. This view is part of what Professor Anastos calls the Iconoclast ethical doctrine of images; and it was expounded in the sixteenth anathema of the Iconoclast Council of 754 and in six quotations chosen *ad hoc* from Church Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries; these quotations were used either by that Council or by the second Iconoclast Council of 815, or by both.

All these texts speak of the depiction, in the souls of the faithful, of the Saints' virtues; their virtues are recalled — and here I translate the terms — in writings about them, or in their eulogies in writing, or in commemorations in writing, or, finally, and simply, in their *Vitae*. The virtues of the Saints, so transmitted, are — I quote again — "so to say" their living icons.[49] In short — icons, no, *Lives* of the Saints, yes. Among other things, such a doctrinal position explains why, while pre-Iconoclastic icons are such a rarity, pre-Iconoclastic *Vitae* are not.

In Iconoclast theory, then, there could well have existed an Iconoclast *Vita* of a virtuous Saint. In several of its traits, this *Vita* should be the negative image of an Iconodule *Life* such as that of Stephen the Younger. As the author of that *Life* used the text of the Iconodule Council of 787,[50] so our putative author might make use of one of the Iconoclast Councils; Stephen the Deacon paraded the tag from St. Basil about the honour paid to an icon "passing on" to its prototype;[51] the author of our Iconoclast *Life* could either ignore it or change it and, ideally, readapt it to the uses of the imperial cult; Stephen the Younger's birth was prophesied by an icon, as a baby he was offered to the icon of the Virgin, and every single miracle which that Saint operated in his lifetime was brought about by the adoration of an icon: this is how a blind man was healed, a possessed boy freed of the demon, how a woman from Herakleia had her issue of blood staunched, and how an Armenian soldier from Thrace was given back the use of his withered hand;[52] in our Iconoclast *Life*, miracles would be wrought by the cross, by God, or by the Saint himself. It would not mention material icons at all, and employ the word either in a symbolic meaning, or in connection with the terms "animated, living," or "virtue;" it would refer to the Saints as "living icons," or use the expression "after the image" as an allusion to the passage in the book of Genesis, invoked by Iconoclasts to show that *men* were *potential* images of God.[53] Our *Life* would insist on the *virtues* of his hero or of Saints in general, virtues, of which we should "receive the impression" on our souls; thus it would follow the prescriptions, and even the terminology, of Iconoclast *Florilegia* of 754 and 815.[54] Or it would describe the eucharistic elements as the *typos* of Christ's divine body; thus it would be in agreement with Constantine the Kopronymos and with the Iconoclast Council of 754 which considered the Eucharist to be the only valid image of Christ and which used the term *typos* in this context, but would directly contradict the Iconodule Patriarch Nikephoros.[55]

Stephen the Deacon knew, and quoted with indignation, the epithet "statuary idols," *agalmatika*

48. Beck, *Kirche* . . . (n. 22 above), 498–500. This is not a criticism of Professor Beck's invaluable work.

49. All these texts are now conveniently assembled (from Mansi) and discussed in the following two articles: Alexander, *DOP*, 7 (1953), 35–66, esp. 61 (with quotations in nrs. 20, 21, 22); Anastos, "Ethical Theory," 15–160, esp. 155, notes 8; 10; 12; 156–157. The passage of Hypatios of Ephesus (early sixth century) in which that author gives preference to formulating (*διατυποῦμεν*) the holy struggles of the Saints in writing (*ἐν γράμμασι*) [i.e. composing *Lives* of Saints] over representing them in a plastic or pictorial form belongs into our context. The passage is attested both during first and second Iconoclasm, since it was included in an eighth-century *Florilegium* preserved in *Parisinus Gr. 1115* (13th. c.), and was quoted (and, of course rejected) in a letter by Theodore the Studite. On this passage, cf., in the last place, S. Gero, "Hypatius of Ephesus on the Cult of Images," in *Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty, Part II, Early Christianity* (Leiden, 1975), 208–216 (with reference to Diekamp who published the passage in 1938 and Gouillard who recognized it in a letter by Theodore in 1961).

50. Cf. J. Gill, "The Life . . ." (n. 15 above), 127–128.

51. PG, 100, col. 1113B, cf. *Anthology* B9.

52. PG, 100, cols. 1076B; 1080AB; 1152A; 1153AB; 1156A.

53. Cf. the *Florilegium* of 815 in Alexander, *DOP*, 7 (1953), 61, nr. 23.

54. Cf. the *Florilegium* of 754 in Anastos, "Ethical Theory," 155, n. 10; that of 815 in Alexander, *DOP*, 7 (1953), 61, nr. 20. For "to receive the impression" both *Florilegia* use *ἀναμάττεσθαι*. Our *Life* uses *ἀπομάττεσθαι*. Cf. note 59 below.

55. Text (after Mansi), e.g., in Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, 21; cf. also *ibidem*, 10, nrs. 19 and 20, for quotations from Constantine V (eucharistic bread given to the disciples is an *εἰκὼν* of Christ, and a *τύπος* of his body). Cf. also Gero, *BZ*, 68 (1975), 4–22; esp. 5–6; 8; 11–2. For the contrary formulation by Patriarch Nikephoros ("We do not call these things [i.e. the Eucharist] either an image or a *typos* of his body:"), c.f. *Antirrheticus* II, PG, 100, col. 336B. That in general some early Orthodox Fathers made an equation Eucharist = *typos* (three second–fifth–century examples in Gero, 13 and n. 45) is not disturbing. In the ninth century, such an equation amounted to an Iconoclast shibboleth.

eidōla, which the Iconoclast Council of 754 attached to venerable icons of wood and stone;[56] our hypothetical *Life* would allude to "misplaced Egyptian remnants," that is, idols, or to "idols of error," removed by its hero. When the blind man appealed to Stephen the Younger for a miraculous intervention, the Saint demanded of him the belief that God would heal him in exchange for being worshipped *en eikoni*;[57] the author of our *Life* would assert that God needed nothing, but accepted from us our good deeds (*praxeis agathas*); the very good deeds through which, according to the Iconoclast *Florilegium* of 815, the faithful should imitate the Saints.[58]

There does exist a *Life* which possesses the traits I just postulated for the model Iconoclast *Vita*; in fact, these postulated traits have been culled from it. This *Life* is the *Vita* of George, autocephalous archbishop of Amastris, a charming town on the southern shore of the Black Sea, who was still alive in the first decade of the ninth century.[59] Two passages of this *Vita* shall make my point more explicit. In the first passage, we hear how George, upon entering the monastic orders, acquired the four cardinal virtues by — and here I begin to translate — "the incessant study of the holy writings, so that he might find these a guide for actions; and [he read] the *Lives* of Blessed Men, transmitted in written form, being, so to say, living images of the way of life according to God through imitation of Godly deeds."

Now, among the sayings quoted in the Iconoclastic *Florilegium* of 754, one is attributed to Basil of Caesarea, but apparently not attested in his works. It runs as follows: "The study of the God-inspired writings constitutes the best path towards the discovery of our duties, in the words of Saint Basil. For these provide a guide for actions; so do the *Lives* of Blessed Men, transmitted in written form; they are offered [to us], so to say, as living images of the way of life according to God through imitation of Godly deeds." The coincidence is quasi-literal.[60]

I come now to the second passage. After having first described, by means of a borrowing from Gregory of Nazianzos, how his hero showed himself superior to some Saints of the past whom he imitated, the author of the *Life* of George proceeds: "for both an excellent painter and a soldier in battle array, when he imitates the courage of the Emperor, do by nature pass on their glory to the prototype." This, I submit, is an alteration of the tag of St. Basil concerning icons, "The honour given to an icon is passed on to its prototype." The tag, an authentic one, for it occurs in Basil's Treatise on the Holy Ghost, was used not only in the *Vita Stephani Iunioris*, but in practically every Iconodule *Life* early or late; it may have spread to these texts from the Definition of the Council of 787 — in fact this was the *argument-massue* of Iconodule polemics. In the Iconodule formulation the recipient of honour was God or a Saint; in the rephrasing of our *Vita* the recipient of glory was the Emperor.[61]

The *Life* of George of Amastris has been preserved in a single manuscript — perhaps a sign that Iconodules realized its unusual character; in that manuscript, it is transmitted anonymously.[62] However, already the editor of its Greek text, Vasil'evskij, noticed a number of stylistic similarities between that *Vita* and the famous *Vitae* of Patriarchs Nikephoros and Tarasios, written by Ignatios,

56. PG, 100, col. 1121A.
57. PG, 100, col. 1152A.
58. Cf., e.g., Alexander, *DOP*, 7 (1953), 61, nr. 22.
59. Text in Vasil'evskij (n.8 above), 1–71 (the *Vita* of George will be hereafter quoted as *VGA*); cf. the discussion, *ibidem*, I–CXLI. Russian and French summaries respectively (also discussion and bibliography) in Xr. Loparev, "Vizantijskie Žitija svjatyx VIII–IX vekov," *VizVrem*, 18 (1911), 15–35 and da Costa-Louillet, "Saints . . ." (n. 13 above), 479–492. – On George of Amastris and the date of his death, cf. also Halkin, *Euphémie* . . . (n. 2 above), 82 and n. 2. Father Halkin also quotes Professor Mango's view that George died ca. 825. Professor Mango's reasons are unknown to me, but my reading of *VGA* is compatible with his dating. – Here are the traits culled from the *VGA* in the preceding description of an ideal Iconoclast *Life*: cross as agent in a miracle: 39, 7ff; God as author of miracles: 39, 13ff; 46, 5ff; 50, 3; 2–3, 6; 63, 11–14; George as direct source of miracles: 55, 5ff; 56, 6–7; "icon" meaning "symbolic prefiguration": 40, 10; icons of virtue: 36, 8; Saints as animate icons: 23, 6; κατ' εἰκόνα (Gen. i, 27): 55, 15; virtues of George or of the Saints: 20, 11; 32, 15; 36, 5–10 (ἀπεμάσσοντο); 40, 4–5; 43, 10; 46, 10; 57, 3–4 (ἀπομαξάμενος); 70, 17; Eucharist as *typos* of Christ's body: 50, 6–8 (παρασχόμενος ... εἰς τύπον τοῦ θείου αὐτοῦ σώματος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου); "Egyptian remnants" removed by George, that new Moses: 58, 8–9 (parallel this with the Iconodule argument in Ignatios' *Vita Nicephori* [n. 69 below], 174, 7–25, where Moses forbids representations of God in order to turn Jews away from Egyptian idolatry); idols of error (unspecified): 59, 12–13; God needs nothing, but accepts our good deeds: 67, 2 and 4; importance of virtuous deeds: 30, 3–4. In three passages (65, 11–15; 68, 9–10; 68, 16–69, 1) the tomb of the Saint itself performed a miracle; twice (69, 2 and 6) the Saint's relics were praised. This is compatible with the doctrinal position of second Iconoclasm. No source warrants the assumption that the third Iconoclast Council of Blachernae, held under Theophilos, advocated hostility to the Cult of the Saints. We just do not know what that Council advocated. Alexander, *DOP*, 7 (1953), 57, n. 42 extrapolates from an *obiter dictum* by V. Grumel in *EO*, 29 (1930), 99.
60. Cf. Appendix I, p.130 below. Already Vasil'evskij, (n. 8 above), LXXVIII, n. 2 and LXXIX, n. 1 compared *VGA*, 36, 5–8 with Mansi, XIII, 345 (= Anastos, "Ethical Theory," 155, n. 12); the message of Vasil'evskij's comparison is similar to mine, but the parallel adduced in the Appendix is closer.
61. Cf. Appendix II, p.130 below.
62. *Parisinus Gr. 1452* (10th c.), fols. 57r–75r. Descriptions in Vasil'evskij (n. 8 above), XI–XXI; A. Ehrhard, "Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, I. 1 [= *TU*, 50] (Leipzig, 1937), 577–580; F. Halkin, *SubsHag*, 44 (1968), 161–162. I do not know what happened to a fragment of *VGA* reportedly found by Rosweyde; cf. *ActaSS* Febr., III (1865), 272B and Vasil'evskij (n. 8 above), XVII–XVIII. *Parisinus Gr. 1452* offers only premetaphrastic texts, cf. Ehrhard, *ibidem*, 580. Ehrhard's hypothesis that the *Parisinus* was written in the Studios monastery has a flaw: *VGA* speaks of Emperor Nikephoros I, disliked by the Studites, in such favourable terms (53, 2–54, 8), that the scribe, if he was a Studite, must have been either tolerant or thoughtless.

the deacon and skevophylax of the Great Church of Constantinople and a former Metropolitan of Nicaea (born ca. 770–780, died soon after 845).[63] Consequently, Vasil'evskij attributed the *Vita* of George to Ignatios. As he was struck by the absence of refrences to icons from the *Life*, he dated it to a period prior to 842.[64] This dating, and Ignatios' authorship, might have remained unchallenged, and the *Vita* of George, undisturbed and little read, were it not for the fact that one of the two posthumous miracles of that *Vita* dealt with the attack of the Rhōs, or Russes, on Amastris and with the futile attempt of these Russes to desecrate the Saint's tomb.[65] If the date of "before 842" for the *Life* is correct, we would have a first attested attack by the Russes upon Byzantium prior to that date; however, if we are to believe Photios, the first appearance of the Rus' raiders on the Byzantine horizon occurred with the attack of 860.[66]

Vasil'evskij's hypothesis, which provoked some doubts in Imperial Russia, has been discredited among Western scholars ever since Henri Grégoire and his school launched a vigorous attack against it some forty years ago and managed to sway a prominent disciple of Vasil'evskij's, by the name of A. A. Vasiliev. Since the Rus' aspect of this considerable controversy has less to do with hagiography than it does with national pride and with my teacher's brilliance, on occasion more blinding than illuminating, I shall not dwell upon it here, except to remind the adversaries of the early date of what every student of the period knows: that the earliest information on Russo-Byzantine contacts, attested in passing in the Bertinian Annals — an uninterested, hence trustworthy, Western source — is safely dated to 839.[67]

Still, a student of hagiography needs to know where to place this *Life*; hence, he too, must know whether Vasil'evskij was right or wrong. By now, I have my answer, to which I came reluctantly and only within the last two years; even now, I am aware of traps set up for anyone who argues Ignatian authorship of a *Life* largely on the basis of its style.[67a] In my present opinion, Vasil'evskij was right on most counts. He was right on the *Vita's* author, essentially right on its date, and absolutely right in his claim that the posthumous miracle which deals with the Russes is not an

63. On Ignatios, cf. e.g., in addition to Vasil'evskij (n. 59 above), E. E. Lipšic, *Očerki istorii vizantijskogo obščestva i kul'tury (VIII-pervaja polovina IX veka)* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1961), 302–309 (which partly repeats "O poxode . . ." [n. 67 below]); R. Browning, "Ignace le Diacre et la tragédie classique à Byzance," *REG*, 81 (1968), 401–410, esp. 407–410; and C. A. Mango, "Observations on the Correspondence of Ignatius, Metropolitan of Nicaea (First Half of the Ninth Century)," to appear in the *Festschrift* for Marcel Richard (most valuable). The latest published article on our author is W. Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam Ignatiis," *TM*, 4 (1970), 329–360. I regret to disagree with five of the author's main contentions (that Ignatios did not write the *Vita* of George of Amastris [342–351; 359]; that he did not write the *Vita* of Gregory the Decapolite [340–342; 359]; that he wrote *all* of the *Vita Nicephori* ca. 828 [339, 346, 349, 352]; that he became Metropolitan of Nicaea *after* 845 [*passim*, e.g. 357, 359]; and that the Iconoclast poets refuted by Theodore the Studite lived during the first Iconoclasm [351–356]); the latter view, to which Professor Gero, too, is attached with a tenacity worthy of a better cause (n. 7 above and *Byzantion*, 44 [1974], 27), has been disposed of by P. Speck, Ἑλληνικά , 27 (1974), 376–380. The date "soon after 845" for Ignatios' death rests on the attribution, which seems to me quite likely, of a Canon in honor of the 42 Martyrs of Amorion (beheaded on March 6, 845) to our Ignatios. The Canon opens with what I consider to be a contrite autobiographical remark: "O Christ, lead me, who hath fallen into the depth of errors and fled to the sea of Thy compassion, to the haven of Salvation through the intercession of the bearers of the Prize [i.e. the Martyrs]." Cf. also the respective Theotokia of the eighth and ninth Ode: "wipe clean the wounds of my soul and the scars of error" and "heal the heavy, old and festering wounds of my soul." I deduce from these allusions that Ignatios was alive, but in disgrace, soon after 845. For the text and discussion of this Canon, cf. V. G. Vasil'evskij-P. Nikitin, "Skazanija o 42 Amorijskix Mučenikax," *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, 8[e] Série, 7, 2 (1905), 80–87; 272. – Cf. also the compunctive autobiographical references in the Canon on Tarasios, by "Ignatios the Monk" (seemingly our Ignatios again), ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια, 22 (1902), 88, 90–91 (Tarasios is asked to ransom the author from the slavery of Sin, to lead him to repentance, to have pity on him, and to make the gift of atonement to him). If the Canon on the Translation of the Relics of the Patriarch Nikephoros (for the text, cf. the Menaion of March 13) is by our Ignatios, as suggested by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ibidem*, 38, he would still have been alive by 846. The first stanza of the Canon's first Ode does open with a contrite and personal phrase (the author is entrapped in the tomb of sin).

64. Vasil'evskij (n. 8 above), LXXVII–CVIII.

65. *VGA*, 64, 3–68, 12.

66. Vasil'evskij (n. 8 above), CVIII–CXLI. Photios: *Homily* 4:2, ed. B. Laourdas, Φωτίου Ὁμιλίαι, (Thessalonica, 1959), 42, 8–43, 12; English translation in Mango, *Photius*, 98–99.

67. What follows is just a sample from the vast literature on this pivotal point in the history of early Rus'. (a) The "Grégoire" position: N. de Baumgarten in *OCA*, 119 (1939), 24–33; G. da Costa-Louillet, "Y eut-il des invasions russes dans l'Empire byzantin avant 860?" *Byzantion*, 15 (1940–41), 231–248, esp. 245–248; *eadem*, "Saints . . ." (n. 13 above), 480; 490–491; 511. A. A. Vasiliev, who in his *The Goths . . .* (n. 14 above), 111–112 still followed Vasil'evskij, changed his mind in *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), 71–81. Cf. also Mango, *Photius*, 74 and n. 2; 98, n. 13. (b) The "Vasil'evskij" position: E. È. Lipšic, "O poxode Rusi na Vizantiju ranee 842 goda," *IstZap*, 26 (1948), 312–331; *eadem*, *Očerki . . .* (n. 63 above), 22, 211. Cf. also articles by Levčenko quoted in my "Byzantine Cultural Influences," C. Black, ed., *Rewriting Russian History* (2nd ed., New York, 1962), 151 and n. 20. In present-day Soviet scholarship, both *VGA's* authorship by Ignatios and its date prior to 842 are taken for granted, cf. e.g., *Pamjatniki vizantijskoj literatury IV–IX vekov* (Moscow, 1968), 262–267. – Adherents of the "Grégoire" position concentrated on the context of early Russo-Byzantine relations (about which we know precious little) to the detriment of the literary and ideological context of *VGA*. Da Costa-Louillet was even willing to grant that there had been an original *VGA* by Ignatios; however, in order to get rid of the embarrassing miracle with the Russes, she postulated that the preserved *VGA* is a reworking by Symeon Metaphrastes or a contemporary of his (cf. "Y eut-il . . ." 246–247 and "Saints . . ." 480). She forgot that *Parisinus Gr. 1452* as a whole is a premetaphrastic Menologion. Our concern here is not with the Russes, but with the proposition that there could have existed a loyalist hagiographical work under Iconoclasm, and that Ignatios wrote such a work. Incidentally, I, too, grant that *VGA* might have undergone editorial changes (cf. n. 94 below), although I believe that the miracle with the Russes is an integral part of it.

67a. Even such an experienced student of hagiography as Loparev walked into such a trap: he surmised that a *Vita* of Eudokimos (d. before 842?; *BHG*[3], no. 609) betrayed "if not the pen of Ignatios [the Deacon], then the style of the school of Tarasios" (*VizVrem*, 4 [1897], 355–356). In fact, that *Vita* is due to the pen of Constantine Akropolites (d. *ca.* 1321).

interpolation. The only point on which I differ from him now has to do with the character of the *Vita*, for Vasil'evskij, although he smelled a rat, did not consider our *Life* to have been a piece of Iconoclast hagiography.

The data which, in my view, suggest the attribution of the *Vita* of George of Amastris to Ignatios the Deacon are of the same kind as those offered by Vasil'evskij himself and after him by Nikitin.[68] These data concern the use of sources and the existence of stylistic and textual similarities between that *Vita* and the undisputed works of Ignatios. After 842, Ignatios wrote the *Vitae* of Patriarchs Tarasios and Nikephoros (the latter at least in its final form) and all agree that these are choice pieces in the hagiography of our period. Also after 842, he wrote the *Vita* of Gregory the Decapolite (which, too, has been dragged from obscurity because it mentions the Slavs).[69] The latter's attribution to Ignatios, sometimes denied or made with hesitancy,[70] is nonetheless sound. The quickest, but not the only, way to demonstrate this is to point out that an unparalleled form *Olympiathen*, meaning not "from Olympia" but "from Mt. Olympus in Bithynia" occurs both in it and in *Letter* 58 of Ignatios.[71]

All the three authentically Ignatian *Vitae* draw upon the Funeral Oration on Saint Basil by Gregory of Nazianzos So does the *Vita* of George of Amastris. The merit of having detected this relationship belongs to Nikitin, as far back as 1895. Nikitin also observed that the borrowings from the Funeral Oration on Basil were most numerous in the *Vita* of George of Amastris (35), and diminished progressively in the *Vitae* of Nikephoros (20), Tarasios (8) and Gregory the Decapolite (1). Moreover, he recorded that in some cases — six to be exact — the passages borrowed by the *Vita* of George were also borrowed by the *Vitae* of Nikephoros (3), of Tarasios (2), and by that of Gregory the Decapolite (1).[72] What Nikitin did not see is what the reader may control by referring to parallel examples given in the Appendix; this is, that in three out of these six cases the *Life* of George of Amastris is closer in its borrowings to the *Vitae* of Nikephoros and of Gregory the Decapolite than it is to their common source, the Funeral Oration on Basil.[73] To assume that the author of the *Life* of George, who turned directly to the Funeral Oration thirty-five times, would turn three times to two different *Lives* by another author, Ignatios, for quotations from the same Oration, seems to me to assume the unlikely.[74]

The difficulty disappears, if we posit instead that the *Life* of George and the authentic Ignatian *Lives* were written by the same person; this person, then, was Ignatios. Ignatios would have had the Funeral Oration on Basil in his mind, or on his table, whenever he composed a life of a Saint. He then recast his borrowings slightly in accordance with his own style. If these borrowings were repeated on different occasions, they would naturally bear his stamp. This is how I explain one type of similarity between the *Lives* of George, Nikephoros, and Gregory of Decapolis.

Other similarities between the *Vita* of George and other Ignatian *Lives* derive, I submit, from the fact that Ignatios repeated himself. Not only characteristic expressions but also parallel passages can be easily adduced, especially with the final part of *Vita Nicephori*; the reader will find a quickly assembled sample of parallels in the Appendix. I have limited that sample to quotations not adduced by Vasil'evskij or Nikitin.[75] An exhaustive list of parallels has still to be made, and the direction of these repetitions, to be examined in every case; one thing, however, is apparent even

68. Vasil'evskij (n. 8 above), LXXXVIII–CVIII, esp. CII–CIII; P. Nikitin, "O nekotoryx grečeskix tekstax žitij svjatyx," *Zapiski Imp. Akademii Nauk po istor.-filol. otdeleniju*, 8[e] Série, 1, 1 (1895), 27ff.

69. Tarasios: *BHG*[3] no. 1698 (ed. by I. Heikel, with errors; henceforth: *VT*); cf. corrections by Nikitin, "O nekotoryx . . ." (preceding note), 3–16; Nikephoros: *BHG*[3] no. 1335 (ed. by C. de Boor, well; henceforth: *VN*); cf. corrections by Nikitin, *ibid.*, 16–21; Gregory the Decapolite: *BHG*[3], no. 711 (ed. by F. Dvornik, on insufficient MSS basis; needs reedition; cf. corrections indicated in *BHG*[3] *ad locum*; henceforth: *VGD*).

70. Cf. Dobschütz, "Methodios . . ." (n. 1 above), 77 (doubts); Loparev in *VizVrem*, 17 (1910), 114, n. 3; and Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam . . ." (n. 63 above), 340–342 (authorship denied).

71. Compare *VGD* (n. 69 above), 63, 18, and two manuscripts not used by Dvornik, Istanbul, *Oec. Patr., Hag. Triados 77* (84), fol. 78[v], and *75 (82)*, p. 40, with *Letter* 58, *Cod. Vatopedi 588*, p. 154 (the two editions of Ignatios' *Letters* by M. Gedeon are inaccessible to me). A large number of other Ignatian words and phrases occurs in *VGD*. Thus, to limit ourselves to chapter 1 (less than *two* pages) of *VGD* alone: τληπαθέστατος 45, 12: τληπαθὲς *VT* 412, 37; [Job's] πειρασμούς 45, 13: Ἰωβ πειρασμῶν *VT*, 419, 1–2; καλλυνόμενος 46, 6: καλλυνομένους *VT*, 402, 3; ἐλλιμναζόμενος [sic] 46, 10 (and ελλιμενώσανταs 56, 27): ἐλλιμενίζει *VT*, 418, 19; μέλι γλυκάζον 46, 11: μέλι γλυκάζον *VT*, 407, 4; δαψιλέστερον 46, 13: δαψιλεστέραν *VT*, 402, 23; θιάσος 46, 14: *id. VT*, 421, 4; θεόβλυστα νάματα 46, 15: βλυστάνουσι νάμασιν *VT*, 413, 5; I Cor. 9:22 46, 15: *id. VT*, 421, 2; καρυκεία 46, 23: καρυκεύμασι *VT*, 403, 7; Ps. 131 (132):5 46, 26: *id. VT*, 418, 24; προπάτορας 46, 27: *id. VT*, 405, 19; κονισάμενος 46, 27: *id. VT*, 399, 34 and κονισαμένη *VN*, 144, 18; ὅση δύναμις 47, 1 (and three other mss not used by Dvornik): *id. VN*, 139, 10; 153, 9; 156, 31 and *VGA*, 28, 16; 64, 13.

72. Nikitin, "O nekotoryx . . ." (n. 68 above), 36–51; 49.

73. cf. Appendix, III, p. 130 below. – On the borrowing from *VGD*, 70, 9–12 by the *Vita* of Niketas the Patrician, cf. n. 26a above.

74. A refutation of the views presented here would consist in a proof that the *VGA* was written after the triumph of Orthodoxy; that its Iconoclast language is due to a crypto-Iconoclast, is unintentional, or imaginary; that the frequency of its quotations from Gregory of Nazianzos' Funeral Oration on St. Basil is approximated in several non-Ignatian *Lives* of the ninth and tenth centuries: that all textual parallels between *VGA* and *VN* are in fact cases of the non-Ignatian author of *VGA* simply copying *VN*; and that the similar way in which both *VGA* and *VGD* used one passage of Gregory of Nazianzos was either the result of an accident or points to the use of a common intermediary source.

75. Cf. Appendix, IV, p. 131 below.

at this stage: in spite of parallelisms between the final parts of the *Vitae* of George and of Nikephoros, their respective ideological allegiances remain separate: Iconodule passages occur only in the *Vita Nicephori*; three possible Iconoclast ones, only in the *Vita* of George. A similar conclusion is suggested by the last pair of passages quoted in our Appendix.[76]

Some new arguments can be quoted on behalf of Vasil'evskij's claim that the posthumous miracle in which George's tomb defied the attacking Russes is an integral part of the *Vita*.[77] For one thing, four expressions found in the body of the *Vita* reappear in the relatively short miracle passage.[78] For another, that passage contains two phrases inspired by Gregory of Nazianzos. These two phrases not only show that the miracle story is made of the same cloth as the remainder of the *Vita*, but also provide two hallmarks, as it were, of Ignatian provenience.

The first phrase is again a borrowing from the Funeral Oration on Saint Basil.[79] The second phrase has to do with the cruel religious practice of the invaders, *Taurikē xenoktonia ekeinē*, "that Tauric murder of strangers," an ancient custom which had been revived by the Russes.[80] This, too, brings us into the orbit of Gregory of Nazianzos who alluded to this custom in his First Invective against Julian in almost identical terms: *tēn en Taurois xenoktonian*.[81] The ultimate source for the expression is, of course, Euripides' *Iphigenia Taurica*, where the Taurians' "art of killing strangers" is mentioned and explained. I shall not, however, ascribe to the author of the *Vita* of George a direct classical reminiscence here, even though Professor Browning recently showed that Ignatios the Deacon used the Tragedians, including Euripides.[82] The reason for this restraint is that the phrase in the posthumous miracle is much closer to the formulation by Gregory of Nazianzos than to that by Euripides.[83] The author of the *Vita* may even owe his "Tauric murder of strangers" not directly to Gregory, but to the commentary by Pseudo-Nonnos on mythological stories adduced in four of Nazianzen's Orations. When Pseudo-Nonnos comes to discuss the passage on the murder of strangers in Gregory's First Invective, he gives the relevant section the heading *peri tēs en Taurois xenoktonias*.[84] It happens that in the only surviving manuscript of our Ignatios' Correspondence, his letters are immediately preceded by a part of Pseudo-Nonnos' Commentary, including the story of the Tauric killing.[85] To my mind, this suggests that Ps.-Nonnos was familiar to Ignatios himself, or to his milieu.

There were at least two reasons why Vasil'evskij did not consider the *Vita* of George of Amastris as an Iconoclast *Life*, and why he viewed Ignatios as Orthodox, if hardly a hero.[86] One reason was that the Saint himself, to judge both by his biography and by other sources, was an Iconodule. For instance, he had been singled out beforehand by the Orthodox Patriarch Tarasios and ordained bishop by him against the Emperor's (Constantine VI's?) opposition; George also was friend of Orthodox Emperors, Eirene, and later Nikephoros I, successfully, and prophetically, advising the latter in real-estate matters. We further know that George protected the Iconodule John of Gotthia, had his body sent from Amastris to the Crimea, and allegedly inspired Constantine, bishop of Tios, to write an Iconodule story of the relics of St. Euphemia.[87] All this, however, happened

76. Appendix, V, p. 131 below.
77. *Trudy* (n. 8 above), XLIV–LII.
78. Compare *VGA*, 3, 10 with 69, 9 (*θεῖον γεώργιον* [a pun on the Saint's name]); 28, 16 with 64, 13 (*ὅση δύναμις*); 25, 14 and 58, 9 with 64, 5 (*λείψανον*, "trace, remnant"); on the repetition of 37, 9 in 64, 10–11, cf. the subsequent note.
79. Compare *VGA*, 64, 10–11, *κόπτον ... γένος ἅπαν καὶ ἡλικίαν πᾶσαν* with Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43: 57, PG, 36, 469A: *γένος ἅπαν καὶ ἡλικία πᾶσα*; *ibid.*, 80, 601B: *γένους παντὸς καὶ ἡλικίας ἀπάσης*. Seen by Nikitin, "O nekotoryx . . ." (as in note 68 above), 42. This phrase from the Funeral Oration already occurred in *VGA*, 37, 9 (not seen by Nikitin). – Banal as this borrowing is, it shows that same predilection for Gregory's Funeral Oration which was demonstrated for the body of *VGA*.
80. *VGA*, 64, 15–65, 1.
81. *Or.* 4: 70, PG, 35, 592 A: *τὴν ἐν Ταύροις ξενοκτονίαν*. Gregory mentioned Iphigenia's practice in the Funeral Oration on St. Basil as well: *Or.* 43:8, PG, 36, 504, 3; however, he used the infinitive *ξενοκτονεῖν* there.
82. Browning, "Ignace . . ." (n. 63 above).
83. *Iph. Taur.* 53 has *τέχνην ... ξενοκτόνον*; in the *Argumentum* of the tragedy, we read *Ὀρέστης ἐλθὼν εἰς Ταύρους ...; τοὺς ... ξένους ἀπέσφαττον*.
84. Ps.-Nonnus, *Collectio*, PG, 36, 989D.
85. In *Vatop. 588*, pp. 1–73; cf. S. Eustratiades and Deacon Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* [= *Harvard Theological Studies*, 11] (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), 115. The story of "Tauric killings," listed as the fifty-seventh, is on p. 4 of the Vatopedi manuscript. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 30 (Artemis *ἐχαιρεν τῇ ξενοκτονίᾳ* among the Taurians).
86 Cf. *Trudy* (n. 8 above), LXXX–LXXXIII; LXXXV. Wolska-Conus' "hypothèse d'Ignace-iconoclaste lancée par V. Vasil'evskij" ("De quibusdam . . ." [n. 63 above], 351) is a misunderstanding.
87. Ordination and imperial opposition: *VGA*, 30, 1–31, 10; friendship with Eirene, Constantine VI and Nikephoros I and the real-estate prophecy: *ibidem*, 52, 3–54, 8; John of Gotthia: *ActaSS* June, V (1709), 191C–192D; George inspires the Story of St. Euphemia's relics: Halkin, *Euphémie* . . . (n. 2 above), 84. However, the story by Constantine of Tios seems to be considerably later than *ca.* 815. On internal evidence alone, Constantine would have to be at least seventy when he started writing his story (combine ch. 6, where he saw an event surely prior to 741, with his writing avowedly after 796). In ch. 16 he says that at the Translation, the small remaining part of Euphemia's relics had been placed in the original sarcophagus (*ἐν τῷ πάλαι λάρνακι*); this part "is being preserved, we know it, in a small sarcophagus (*λαρνακίσκῳ μικρῷ*) even to this very day." This is surely a language spoken long after the Translation itself (796). Cf., for other good arguments in favor of a latter date for the Story (and, *a fortiori*, for the piece by Theodore Bestes, which depends on it), C. Mango in *JThS*, 17 (1966), 485–488. – Incidentally, I believe that the man who witnessed the restitution of St. Euphemia's relics in 796 under Tarasios (cf. Theophanes, 440, lines 7–11) was not Theophanes himself, but the *synkellos* of Tarasios, George: George was Theophanes' admitted source, and our chronicler must have been copying him without much thought.

between 784 and 814, and we do not know for sure that George died before the latter date.[88]

The other reason was that Vasil'evskij knew less about Ignatios than we do today. He knew that Ignatios, like his hero, was a *protégé* of Tarasios. Today we know that, too, but we also know that at some point in his life Ignatios was an Iconoclast, most probably an Iconoclast Metropolitan, and that on account of this he was in disgrace and confined by Patriarch Methodios to a monastery at the far end of the Golden Horn soon after 843. Much of this hard information comes from Ignatios' Correspondence which Professor Mango recently put back in circulation and interpreted with his usual finesse;[89] but the essential fact of Ignatios' having been an Iconoclast can be deduced from a text accessible for about a hundred years: the Epilogue to his *Vita* of Nikephoros.[90] There, Ignatios admits that he had been defiled by communion with Iconoclasts (this is certain); he may even allude to his Iconoclast ordination (this is at least as I understand him); he agrees to being cleansed by tears of repentance and of "bitter penance:" he is aware that he is *going to* suffer grave consequences of his fall; quoting a Psalm, a Minor Prophet, and mixing his metaphors, he hopes that the well of Iconoclasm will not shut its mouth upon him, submerged as he is by the waves of faithlessness; he claims to have abjured (or at least rejected) his being a Canaanite, that is, a Gentile, in still other words, an Iconoclast; and he realizes that the "bruise on his soul" puts him among the condemned. He, of course, asserts that he had been entrapped in the heresy involuntarily, yielding to threats which left him no way out.[91] Whatever opinion we may hold of the date of the *Vita Nicephori* as a whole, its *Epilogue*, I submit, was written after 842.[92]

We believe Ignatios' protestations that he was no Iconoclast by conviction, even if a Byzantine reader of his did not.[93] Ignatios was a mere fellow-traveller; and the *Life* of George has something half-hearted about it. The author seems merely to go through the motions; his work is a loyalist piece done to please an Establishment, and Establishments do not have martyrs of their own. Thus the *Vita* of George, as we read it now, lacks the passion of the best Iconodule *Lives*:[94] these, after all, came out of a milieu which was willing to face up to the problems of resistance to State power and to ideological coercion.

I can be brief when I deal with my two non-Iconodule texts. The first of them is an Essay on Saint Nicholas.[95] In contrast to the *Vita per Michaelem*, which, as I suggested earlier, derives from it, the Essay contains no reference to images, let alone Iconoclasm.[96] And yet, its author was none other than Methodios, the future Patriarch of the Feast of Orthodoxy. The paternity of *Methodius ad Theodorum* — this is the Essay's name in scholarly literature — is assured both by a ninth-century Latin witness who admitted to using it, and by the style of the piece, unmistakably Methodian in its obscurity and preciosity.[97] Since Methodios is called "Presbyter and Abbot" in the title of the Essay, the work itself must date from before 843. Beyond that, we are faced with uncertainties. We do not know the reason for the revival of Nicholas' popularity in the ninth century; and we are not able to narrow down the date of Methodios' contribution to that revival.

88. On the moot date of George's death, cf. n. 59 above. The identity of George's uncle and the date of his ordination is another moot point.

89. Cf. Mango, "Observations . . ." (n. 63 above). For Ignatios' disgrace and confinement in the monastery of Pikridion (the area of today's Hasköy (*ca.* 843, cf. the pun in his *Letter* 43 ([Methodios] στυφούσας ἡμῖν πικρίδας ... παρέθετο) and his *Letter* 46 (ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ Βυζαντίου κόλπου ... παροικεῖν κατεκρίθημεν). Cf. *Vatop. Gr. 588*, pp. 140, 143. – Lipšic, *Očerki* . . . (n. 63 above), 302–304 and "O poxode . . ." (n. 67 above), 325–327, and Browning, "Ignace . . ." (n. 63 above), 410 also consider Ignatios to have been an Iconoclast. Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam . . ." (n. 63 above), 349–350 does the same, but makes him return to the fold too early (ca. 828).

90. *VN* (n. 69 above), 215, 13–217, 36. Cf. 215, 14 for the term "Epilogue." The point did not escape other scholars: cf. Vasil'evskij (n. 8 above), XCIV–XCV; Lipšic, "O poxode . . ." (n. 67 above), 325–326; Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam . . ." (n. 63 above), 349–350.

91. *VN*, 215, 27 (κοινωνίᾳ χρανθέντας); 215, 26 (χειρὶ κλαπέντας: I take it to mean "deceived by *cheirotonia*;" this Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam . . ." [n. 63 above], 346 interprets as "il a prêté la main à une fraude;" Lipšic, "O poxode . . ." [n. 67 above], 326, n. 57, as "caught by an evil hand"); 215, 28–29 (πικρὰς ἐπιτιμίας); 216, 14–15 (οὐχ ἐλάχιστα τοῦ τοιοῦδε χάριν πτώματος πείσομαι; which Iconodule could impose sanctions upon an Iconoclast in 829?); 216, 19–23 (allusions are to Ps. 68 [69]: 15 and Habakkuk ii, 15); 217, 20–25 (κατήργηκα); 216, 32–217, 1 (in 32, read ψυχῆς instead of de Boor's εὐχῆς ; cf. Ignatios, *Canon on the 42 Martyrs of Amorion*, 87, 40–41 edd. Vasil'evskij-Nikitin [n. 63 above]: τὰ ἕλκη καὶ τὰ θραύματα τῆς ψυχῆς μου θεράπευσον; for "condemned," cf. 33 ἐν μοίρᾳ τῶν κατακριτῶν συνιστησω); 216, 27–32 (ἀπειλαῖς ... πᾶσαν ἀτράπιτον ... φυγῆς προκαταλαβούσαις εἰρχθείς).

92. Without committing myself here as to the date of *VN* as a whole (passages like 214, 27 or 215, 11–12, where the author implies that iconoclasts enjoy freedom of action and expresses his certitude that iconoclastic machinations *will* come to naught do present a difficulty), I point to statements in the body of *VN* (140, 9; 141, 5–10), in which Ignatios refers to himself as *lapsus*. In any case, *VN* is later than October 829; cf. 209, 11, where Michael II is said to have died (ἐναπέθανεν) together with his foul dogmas. Dobschütz, "Methodios . . ." (n. 1 above), 54–55 puts the "final version" of *VN* between 843 and 846. This may be the right view.

93. *VN*, 216, 30: in the middle of Ignatios' exculpatory passage (asserting that he joined the heresy only under duress), the oldest manuscript (*Vaticanus Gr. 1809*, 10c.) has the word ἡ σκῆψις, "excuse, pretext;" de Boor justly considers it to have been originally a marginal gloss made by an incredulous early reader.

94. *VGA* may even have been bowdlerized: either Ignatios himself after 843 or the premetaphrastic editor of the Menologion of February in which *VGA* is to be read today may have attenuated its statements.

95. Text in G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos* . . ., I (1913), 140–150, repeated *ibidem*, II (1917), 546–556 (a better version, used here).

96. The only use of the term "icon" occurs in the rhythmic peroration (556, 1–2); there, it is metaphoric: Nicholas is a genuine image of God's love.

97. Proofs in Anrich, *Hagios* . . . (n. 95 above), II, 284–287.

We are not even sure why Methodios is silent on icons: as he was already Abbot by about 815,[98] he could have dealt with Nicholas before icons had become an issue again.

However, there are reasons for favouring a later date for the composition. When he wrote his *Ad Theodorum*, Methodios was already a writer of enough notoriety for his style to be criticized as obscure.[99] He addressed Theodore, a rich man and a gourmet, as *periphanestatos*, "His Eminence."[100] I imagine Theodore to have been some court personality, and Methodios to have been out of prison,[101] residing at Theophilos' court and satisfying Theodore's curiosity about Nicholas in a tactfully conceived work; this work contained two new miracles by the Saint and showed interest in questions of literary theory, but shied away from controversial statements on images. At the time of writing on Nicholas, Methodios was picking no fights.

My second non-Iconodule text is the *Vita* of Saint Philaretos the Merciful, probably an Armenian from Paphlagonia, who died in 792.[102] It deserves more credence than it commands on first reading. The tribulations and antics of the Saint and some passages of his *Life* have so many parallels in the book of Job and in folklore, that scholars have expressed doubts as to their historicity.[103] Yet, the beauty contest among candidates aspiring to be the bride of Emperor Constantine VI, described in the *Life*, should be believed. After all, Maria of Amnia, the granddaughter of the Saint, who won the contest, is known to chroniclers as the wife of that Emperor. No matter how much the contest may remind us of the Cinderella story, it is but one, and the earliest, of the accounts of this kind which refer to imperial brideshows of the ninth and tenth centuries. And the information which the author of the *Life*, Niketas by name, gives about the members of that large branch of the Philaretos family to which he himself belonged is so precise and withstands cross-checking so well, that we must declare him to have been in fact the Saint's grandson and godson at the same time, and conclude that by and large Philaretos' *Life* is a historical document.

Of the two known versions of the *Vita Philareti*, the original one is precisely dated by Niketas himself. He wrote, he tells us at the end of his work, in 822, while in exile in the Mani in the Southern Peloponnese, and this brings us into the period of the second Iconoclasm. We must disregard the circular judgment of the *Vita*'s editors who concluded that Niketas had been exiled to the Peloponnese on account of his Iconodule persuasion. For the *Vita* itself — and we know nothing about its author outside of it — contains little support for such a judgment, only the epithet *philochristos* attached to the name of the Iconodule Empress Eirene. There could have been various reasons besides Iconodule beliefs for being exiled in 822, under a mildly Iconoclast Michael II. True, Niketas was no outspoken Iconoclast — born in 785, he spent his childhood and adolescence under an Orthodox government; he became a monk in 803 — hence under an Orthodox regime. Monasteries are mentioned in the *Vita* as places of burial of members of his family — the latest such burial being that of 815. But in two respects Niketas' *Vita* stands out among products of its kind. First, it contains no mention of the Iconoclast struggle, although Niketas, a member of a family which owed its ascent to the marital machinations of Empress Eirene, had an ample opportunity to praise the part she had played in restoring the images.

Moreover, the *Vita* contains no mention of the icons, although it repeatedly enumerates various precious objects with which the Emperor Constantine VI showered Philaretos' children. The only image referred to in the *Vita* is the *lauraton*, or the model portrait of an imperial bride, which the members of the brideshow commission carried around with them in their search for a wife for Constantine.[104] The prime message of the *Vita* of Philaretos is the extolling of the Saint's virtues, so that its readers might become worthy of them.[105]

Vasil'evskij thought that *Vita Philareti* was the only hagiographic text written during Iconoclasm which shared the silence on icons with the *Life* of George of Amastris.[105a] By now we know that

98. Cf. J. Pargoire, "Saint Méthode de Constantinople avant 821," *EO*, 6 (1903), 129 (titulature in a letter of Theodore of Studios to Methodios).

99. I take ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγων πλοκή (546, 4) to mean "our [i.e. Methodios' own] literary conpositions" rather than "literary activity of our time." Cf. 549, 10, τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγῳ, which I understand to mean "in this work of ours" rather than "in our fashion." Obscurity of these works by Methodios (or his contemporaries) put Theodore off; in the present Essay, Methodios promises to be both clear and brief and to stick to the facts: 546, 5–15; cf. 548, 26.

100. 548, 27–28.

101. This is to suggest a date after 832, at which time Methodios was still incarcerated. Cf. Gouillard, "Une oeuvre . . ." (n. 41 above), 45.

102. Text (and French translation) of the original version in M.-H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, "La vie de S. Philarète," *Byzantion*, 7 (1934), 85–170; text of a later reworking in A. A. Vasil'ev, *Žitie Filareta Milostivago*, *IRAIK*, 5 (1900), 49–86. Russian translation of Vasil'ev's text in Poljakova, *Vizantijskie* . . . (n. 19 above), 99–113.

103. For a recent "folkloristic" conception of the *Vita*, cf. S. V. Poljakova, "Fol'klornyj sjužet o sčastlivom glupce v nekotoryx pamjatnikax agiografii VIII v.," *VizVrem*, 34 (1973), 130–136.

104. On *lauration* = model portrait, cf. H. Hunger, "Die Schönheitskonkurrenz in 'Belthandros und Chrysantza,' und die Brautschau am byzantinischen Kaiserhof," *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), esp. 151–152.

105. The above remarks on *Vita Philareti* sum up the results obtained in my Seminar on Byzantine Hagiography, held at Harvard in 1973–74.

105a. Vasil'evskij (n. 8 above), LXXXVI.

there were more such texts, and their number may further increase. As of now, we must regret the absence of the premetaphrastic *Life* of Eudokimos, for he is a good candidate for an Iconoclast Saint. He had access to the imperial palace and may have been a member of the imperial guard; the emperor made him a military commander of a Cappadocian unit (*meros*) in the theme Charsianon, where Eudokimos died at the age of thirty-three. Metaphrastes does not tell us the name of the emperor who furthered the Saint's career, but the Synaxaria do: that emperor was the "Christ-hating" Theophilos. Neither Metaphrastes nor the Synaxaria mention icons, Iconoclasm, or Eudokimos' opposition to the government, but Metaphrastes, of all writers, lets fly one or two arrows against the monks. The Saint excelled by his virtuous deeds.[105b]

III

The doctrinal differences between Iconodule *Vitae* and the *Vitae* for which I claim a non-Iconodule, or even an Iconoclast, tenour are not very interesting, mostly because the doctrinal content of these *Vitae* in general is trivial. Our three non-Iconodule *Vitae* were not strident, for their authors just had to follow a negative course; it was good if they made necessary obeisances to official doctrinal pronouncements by discreetly quoting from them or by extolling the virtues of the Saints; but it was good enough if they merely steered clear of subversive statements.

Iconodulic *Vitae* were certainly strident with regard to doctrine, but they tell us the same four things over and over again: that the worship of the icon is a "relative," or "timetic," not a "latreutic" one;[106] that the worship of the image is "passed on" to the prototype — this argument became so trite that in one *Vita* it was no longer introduced by the name of St. Basil but by the phrase "as someone says somewhere;"[107] that graven images of bad things, such as pagan gods, are a bad thing, while images of good things, such as Christ, the Virgin and the Apostles, are a good thing;[108] and only in more sophisticated *Lives* do we find elaborations on the essential argument that the iconoclastic doctrine negated the mystery of Incarnation and that our Lord, whom his disciples saw and touched, was "circumscribable."[109] This was all the readers of the *Lives* needed to know; we should no more expect doctrinal information from them than we expect information on Leninism from a biography of a Soviet partisan hero of World War II. Still, when we take them as doctrinal documents, there is a dividing line between Iconodule and non-Iconodule *Lives*.

There is no such line between these two kinds of *Lives* as literary works. The mere fact that we could attribute Iconodule and non-Iconodule *Lives* to the same author on stylistic grounds — and we could have built our argument on structural grounds as well — brings this simple point home. Another fact is that of our three non-Iconodule *Lives*, two were written in very high, and the third, in very low, style.

For a literary historian, the dividing lines to be drawn in the hagiography of the Iconoclast period are the same as the dividing lines that obtain in Byzantine hagiography in general, or simply in Byzantine literature. They coincide with the levels of rhetorical skill acquired at school, with the stylistic levels of the literary models followed by the hagiographers, and, to a lesser degree, with those hagiographers' *clientèle*. The old division into high, middle and low styles is still best for our purposes. In this division, Ignatios the Deacon, in both his ideological guises, occupied the highest

105b. On Eudokimos, cf. Loparev (n. 23 above), 1 (virtuous life in the world is more worthy of praise than the flight to the desert), 5, 7, 13, 14 (those who are separated from the world do not hold exclusive ownership of virtue). Cf. also, e.g., *Synaxarium CP*, 857 (July 31). – However, we must proceed with caution before adding new members to the class of non-iconodulic *Lives*. The *Vita* of Andrew of Crete which, as we recall, is silent on icons, is a case in point. L. G. Westerink, *Nicétas Magistros, lettres d'un exilé . . .* (Paris, 1973), 46, dates it to the mid-eighth century, hence into the first Iconoclast period. This would be an enticing solution, if the grounds given by Westerink for the early date were quite convincing. In brief, they are that the *Vita* refers to a Theodore, Patriarch of Jerusalem (which one?) and to Emperor Constantine IV (d. 685) as "then living" because Patriarch of Jerusalem Theodore I (d. after 767) and Emperor Constantine V (d. 775) were alive at the time of the composition of the *Vita*. It is more likely that the author of the *Vita* had only a vague notion about Patriarchs of Jerusalem and made an error in chronology. Therefore, for the time being at least, I do not include the *Life* of Andrew of Crete among non-Iconodule texts.

106. Examples: Euthymios of Sardis (n. 21 above), ch. 18, 159ff = p. 83; *Vita Prior* of Andrew in Krisei (n. 5 above), 136E; Paul the Younger (n. 7 above), 249, 31–32; *VGD* (n. 69 above), 69, 22–24. The point was made in the *Horos* of the Council of 787, Mansi, XIII, col. 377D.

107. Cf. Apostle Andrew, ed. Dressel (n. 2 above), 50; Germanos (n. 4 above), 14; *Vita Prior* of Andrew in Krisei (n. 5 above), 139B; *Vita Metaphrastica* of Andrew in Krisei (n. 5 above), 1113A, 1120C; Plato of Sakkoudion (n. 13 above), 808A; Michael Synkellos (n. 19 above), 245, 29; Euthymios of Sardis (n. 21 above), ch. 18, 97; cf. *ibid.*, 164; *Niketas the Patrician* (n. 26a above), 341, ch. 20; Theophylaktos of Nikomedeia (n. 37 above), ch. 13, p. 79; Nikephoros of Sebaze (n. 40a above), ch. 6, p. 25; Nikephoros of Medikion (n. 43 above), ch. 7, p. 410; Stephen the Younger (n. 15 above), 1113B; *VN* (n. 69 above), 168, 19–20. For referring the saying to ὡς *που τις φησιν*, cf. *Vita* of Stephen of Sugdaia (n. 8 above), 75, 17–76, 1. – The tag was inserted into the Acts and the *Horos* of the Council of 787 (Mansi, XIII, 69C [uttered by Patriarch Tarasios!]; 69D, 72C [quotations from St. Basil]; 377E [*Horos*]). The original by St. Basil is to be read in his *De Spiritu Sancto*, ch. 18, PG, 31, col. 149C. The context is that of the imperial cult, see *Anthology* B9.

108. Cf. *Vita Metaphrastica* of Andrew in Krisei (n. 5 above), 1113B; Niketas the Patrician (n. 26a above), 341, ch. 20; even our Ignatios, a high-class author, uses the same juxtaposition: *VT* (N. 69 above), 416, 29–417, 16. For the same argument in John of Damascus, cf. the brilliant essay by H.-G. Beck, "Die Fragwürdigkeit der Ikonen," SB München, Phil.-hist. Kl., Heft 7 (1975), 15.

109 Cf. *VN* (n. 69 above), 184, 10–16; Stephen the Younger (n. 15 above), 1084D; 1121C; 1152A; Michael Synkellos (n. 19 above), 237, 7 and 27; 239, 11; 240, 34–35; 241, 1; 248, 29; Euthymios of Sardis (n. 21 above), ch. 18, 79ff.

spot. He interspersed his writings with classical allusions and proverbs; he knew how to construe the rhetorical figure of the Klimax; he affected Attic forms; and he used the more refined Classics—Pindar and the Tragedians, not to speak of Homer.[110] On the Christian side, he plundered — as we have just seen — one of the highest achievements of late second Sophistics — the Funeral Oration on Saint Basil.

Next comes Stephen the Deacon: his *Vita* of Stephen the Younger is tightly constructed, without the loose ends which we deplore in a hack's work. Thus, early in the *Life*, we hear of a widow who settled near the Saint's abode; the reason for the story is not immediately apparent. The story is dropped, but not forgotten: much later, the same widow re-appears as an innocent victim of a government frame-up; she is accused of making clandestine visits to the Saint's cell at night for fornication. The widow's maid, who agreed to perjure herself and to back up the story concocted by officials, is promised freedom and marriage to someone at the imperial palace as reward for her perjury. Again, the narrative is dropped, but the story not forgotten — the maid reappears toward the end of the *Life*, and we hear how she blackmailed the authors of the frame-up, threatening to reveal it to the whole world, how she was appeased by an inferior marriage to a notary of a tax-collector from Nikomedeia, and how she met her dreadful end.[111] Finally, Constantine the Kopronymos' order for forbidding communion and contacts with Orthodox monks is reported well ahead of the story for which it provides a cue: that story deals with a minion of the Emperor, an *agent provocateur* who cajoled the Saint into tonsuring him, and thus made him transgress an imperial rescript.[112]

Stephen the Deacon must have read some commentary on Porphyry's Introduction to Dialectic, or some scriptual commentary depending on Origen, for he called "six" the perfect number among single digit numbers,[113] and multiples of six do play some role in his Saint's biography.[114] However, Stephen's prose is burdened with nominatives absolute, he had trouble with verbal and participial forms, and his main literary model was not Gregory of Nazianzos, Ignatios' stylistic guide, but the unpretentious hagiographer Cyril of Skythopolis of the sixth century.[115]

The last place —according to the classification by levels of style, not according to the literary sensibility of the present-day reader — belongs to Niketas' *Life* of Philaretos the Merciful. For its plan it, too, had a literary model — but it was simply the Book of Job. Its language is not quite the spoken language of Niketas' time, but only the rudimentary literacy of the author stands between the two. Nothing quite like the *Life* of Philaretos is known to me from subsequent Byzantine literary history. With the possible exception of the *Vita* of Andrew the Fool, a document of uncertain date, this *Life* is the last specimen of a series of which the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the *Historia Lausiaca*, John Moschos' *Spiritual Meadow*, some *Collections of Miracles*, such as those of Artemios, and Leontius of Neapolis' *Lives* are previous examples. The *Life* of Philaretos was out of step with literary history.[116]

110. For a list of classical allusions in *VN* and *VT* (n. 69 above), cf. Dobschütz, "Methodios . . ." (n. 1 above), 53, n. 6 and Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam . . .," (n. 63 above), 339, n. 62; 343, n. 85. – Klimax: e.g. *VN*, 162, 2–10; *VGA*, 35, 14–36, 5; cf. also Nikitin, "O nekotoryx . . ." (n. 68 above), 41; 50–51; – Pindar: *VN*, 141, 33–142, 1 is a quotation from *Ol.* 6:3–4. As Ignatios concealed Pindar under the designation "some lyric poet," our *Vita* is not quoted among the *testimonia* for this passage adduced in A. Turyn's edition of Pindar, 28. Ignatios' choice may have been influenced by the fact that in the Funeral Oration on Basil, ch. 20: 1, Gregory of Nazianos quoted *Ol.* 6:1–2 (and mentioned Pindar by name). – For the Tragedians, cf. Browning, "Ignace . . ." (n. 63 above). – Bits of Homer and homeric words are used by Ignatios *passim*, even in *VGD* (n. 69 above). So in 52, 28 (cf. Iliad, 13: 281) and 74, 8 (κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν; allusion is to Iliad, 2: 489): cf. also 50, 10 (cf. Iliad, 13: 583). This disposes of the claim by Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam . . ." (n. 63 above), 340, 66, that *VGD* does not contain "a single classical reminiscence."

111. PG, 100, cols. 1105A–1108A; 1125C–1128A; 1181D–1184B (maid's children devour her breasts).

112. Compare 1112B (Constantine's order) with 1136A–1137A (the Emperor's agent George Synklētous prevails upon Stephen to tonsure him; Constantine's joy upon learning this). Stephen is presented as an unsuspecting victim of a political frame-up. And yet his involvement in a political plot against Constantine V becomes virtually certain, if we put several passages of Nikephoros' *Brevarium*, Theophanes' *Chronicle* and our *Vita* together. These passages state the following: One high dignitary of Constantine V, Strategios Podopagouros, had dealings with the Orthodox recluse Stephen; he, or his brother was alleged to have dealt with the Iconoclast Patriarch Constantine as well. According to the government, both these dealings were treasonable and had to do with a widespread plot of at least nineteen dignitaries against Constantine V. Stephen, too, was denounced and accused of plotting against the Emperor. The brothers Podopagouroi, Patriarch Constantine, and Stephen were executed. Cf. Nikephoros 74, 8–75, 4; Theophanes, 438, 3–21; 443, 8–18; 438, 30–439, 5; our *Vita*, 1125D; 1172D–1173C. The hypothesis of Stephen's involvement in a political plot explains the unusual information of our *Vita* (1128AC) that false accusations of fornication with the Saint, leveled against Stephen's spiritual daughter, were transmitted by special messenger to the Emperor who was at the Bulgarian front, and that the woman herself was subsequently despatched there. – Stephen's involvement in a political plot was surmised by A. Lombard, *Constantine V, Empereur des Romains* (Paris, 1902), 146–148.

113. PG, 100, 1096C. On six being a perfect number, cf. e.g., Elias, *Introd. to Philosophy*, ed. A Busse, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 18, 1 (1900), 24, 16; 25, 3–4.

114. Cf. 1081B (Stephen goes to school at the age of six); 1096C and 1097B (he is the sixth abbot of Mt. Auxentios at the age of thirty-six [= 6 × 6]); 1101C (he moves to the top of the mountain at the age of forty-two [= 7 × 6]); 1160CD (three hundred and forty two [= 27 × 6] iconodulic prisoners in the Praetorium; 1164B (Stephen eats six ounces of bread on Saturdays and Sundays only); 1072C (the *Life* written forty-two [= 7 × 6] years after the Saint's death).

115. Cf. 1152C–1153A (nominatives absolute); 1104D (ἐπαλωοδοῦσαν = "they returned") 1152C; (δαιμονιῶντα = acc. sg. neutr.); 1169B (προσενεγκοῦσα for προσενεχθεῖσας?). – On Cyril of Skythopolis as source, cf. Gill, "The Life . . ." (n 15 above), 114–123.

116. Stylistic observations on Ignatios' hagiography, *Vita Stephani Iunioris* and *Vita Philareti*, in Lipšic, "O poxode . . ." (n. 67 above), 317–318. (She, too, establishes the sequence Ignatios, Stephen the Deacon, Niketas).

By the time when Philaretos' *Life* was being written — 822 — the first Byzantine Humanism, the roots of which go back to the obscure eighth century, was in full bloom;[117] through schoolmasters, textbooks and reference works it resumed the traditions of antique rhetorics and reshaped, in the ninth century and the tenth, the biographical and encomiastic genre and thus helped shape the new hagiography. This new hagiograhy was only a part, if a very important one, of the biographical genre. This is to say that, on the level of high style, it is not very useful to set up two separate categories of Secular Biography and Hagiography in Byzantium. It leads to confusion; when we examine the texts themselves, we are led to create such hybrids as "semi-secular hagiography" of which, not surprisingly, Ignatios' *Vita Nicephori* is given as a prime example. Things become simpler, if we realize that on the level of high and in part middle, style, secular and ecclesiastic biographies used the same rhetorical rules and the same linguistic vehicle for different purposes.[118]

The new hagiography of the second Iconoclast period assimilated the rhetorical skills regained by the first Byzantine Humanism and fed on authentic outrages of the struggle and on the fears, feelings, or vindictiveness of its aftermath. As represented by Ignatios or Patriarch Methodios, or even by the monk Theosteriktos, this hagiography commands our respect. It may even have had its beneficial effect on the later elaboration of the standard middle-Byzantine Eulogy of a Saint, as we know it from Loparev's reconstruction.[119] The story becomes different later in the ninth century and in the next, when the shock of the Iconoclast struggle began to subside, when only victors were left to celebrate their own heroes, and when every-day interests, other than those of the struggle itself, occasioned the writing of *Lives* dealing with our period: local patriotism of individual monasteries or their abbots; the need to authenticate, or even explain, some relics; the desire to flatter a Saint's imperial relative; an individual author's literary ambitions; or simply the nagging recurrence of a hero's anniversary, demanding a symposium and its lectures. At best, such interests brought forth an elegant, if empty, *Laudation*, like that of Theophanes the Confessor by Theodore the Protasekretes;[120] at worst, they produced the *Vita* of St. Andrew in Krisei, who died on the spot when a villain who happened to be nearby cut off his *foot*; I presume this was written because Stephen the Younger, too, had been killed by a villain who happened to be nearby, but who, reasonably enough, finished the Saint by a shattering blow to his head.[121]

Since the victims of the iconoclastic struggle were likened to the martyrs of the early centuries,[122] their later biographies were patterned on the Acts of the early martyrs, most of which are late lucubrations of the fifth and later centuries. Such is the source from which spring the portraits of Iconoclast tyrants on the throne and of arrogant Iconodules defying them. These worthies easily outdisputed that cunning Iconoclast and precursor of the Antichrist, the Patriarch Iannis, that is, John the Grammarian; on their own they sought out Iconoclast emperors and heaped abuse upon them. Contrast this with the authentic letter of Theodore Graptos, which tells us how he and his brother prostrated themselves before Emperor Theophilos, how they kept silence when he insulted them, and how, after prolonged beating, one of them exclaimed: "we committed no sin against Your Majesty."[123]

Late *Lives* like these were produced by formula and further standardized when processed in the factory of Symeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century and in that of the Imperial Menologion in the next. But this was hagiography *about* the Iconoclast period, not *of* the Iconoclast period.

117. Many scholars still begin that Humanism with Leo the Mathematician and Photios, which is too late. Cf., e.g., J. Irigoin, "Survie et renouveau de la littérature antique à Constantinople (IXe siècle)," *CahCM*, 5 (1962), esp. 302. For a technical grammatical work dedicated to Leo V (814–820), cf. now K. Alpers, *Theognostos* Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας, (Diss. Hamburg, 1964), esp. 61–64 and 68–69 (Greek text of the dedication, in high style).

118. This view differs from that expressed in the celebrated study by P. Alexander, "Secular Biography at Byzantium," *Speculum*, 15 (1940), *passim*, esp. 204; it agrees with that of R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Classical Background of the Scriptores Post Theophanem," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 22.

119. Cf. Xr. Loparev, "Vizantijskie Žitija Svjatyx VIII–IX vekov," *VizVrem*, 17 (1910), 15–36; French summary by L. Bréhier in *JSav*, 14 (1916), 358–367.

120. Cf. *BHG*^{3}, no. 1792 (ed. by K. Krumbacher) and Mango-Ševčenko in *DOP*, 27 (1973), 269 and n. 174. – The author of the *Encomium* is very likely the famous man of letters and high official, Theodore Daphnopates. Cf. V. V. Latyšev in *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik*, 59 (1910), LXXVI–LXXXI.

121. Compare *Vita Prior* of Andrew in Krisei, 141B and his *Vita Metaphrastica* (both n. 5 above), 1125B with *Vita* of Stephen the Younger, PG, 100, col. 1176 CD.

122. *Vita Prior* pf Andrew in Krisei (n. 5 above), 137C; *Vita* of Stephen of Sugdaia (n. 8 above), 89, 6–16; *Vita* of Makarios of Pelekete (n. 29 above), 156, 5–15.

123. The Metaphrastic *Life* of Theodore Graptos (n. 44 above), 673AB; 676A.

APPENDIX

I

Florilegium of the year of 754, Mansi, XIII, 300AB: *μεγίστη γὰρ ὁδὸς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καθήκοντος εὕρεσιν· ὁ ἅγιος ἔφη Βασίλειος·* Ἡ ΜΕΛΕΤΗ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΠΝΕΥΣΤΩΝ ΓΡΑΦΩΝ· *ἐν ταύταις γὰρ καὶ* ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ ΥΠΟΘΗΚΑΙ *εὑρίσκονται·* ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΒΙΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΠΤΟΙ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΟΙ· ΟΙΟΝ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ ΕΜΨΥΧΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ· ΤΩι ΜΙΜΗΜΑΤΙ ΤΩΝ *κατὰ θεὸν* ΕΡΓΩΝ *προκείμενοι.*

VGA, 23,3–7: ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΙΩΝ ΓΡΑΦΩΝ ΜΕΛΕΤΗΝ *ποιούμενος ἀκατάπαυστα· ὡς ἐκεῖθεν* ΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ ΥΠΟΘΗΚΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΒΙΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΠΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣ ΕΜΨΥΧΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΤΩι ΜΙΜΗΜΑΤΙ ΤΩΝ *ἀγαθῶν* ΕΡΓΩΝ *εὑρίσκεσθαι.*

II

Horos of the Council of the year 787, Mansi, XIII, 377E (cf. St. Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, ch.18[45], Migne, PG, 32, 149C): Ἡ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΟΣ ΤΙΜΗ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΤΥΠΟΝ ΔΙΑΒΑΙΝΕΙ.

VGA, 57,4–8: *ὥστε μέγα μὲν τούτῳ* [sc. George] *πρὸς τοιαῦτα ἀφορῶντι ἀρχέτυπα* [sc. the Saints that preceded him], *μείζω δ' ἐκείνοις· τοιοῦτον ἐσχηκόσι τὸν μιμησάμενον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ζωγράφος ἄριστος καὶ στρατιώτης ἐπὶ παρατάξεως τὴν βασιλέως ἀνδρείαν μιμησάμενος* ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΤΥΠΟΝ *πεφύκασι* ΔΙΑΒΙΒΑΖΕΙΝ *τὴν εὔκλειαν.*

III

Borrowings from the Funeral Oration on Saint Basil by Gregory of Nazianzos [*VGA* = *Life* of George; *VN* = *Life* of Nikephoros; *VGD* = *Life* of Gregory the Decapolite; *LB* = *In Laudem Basilii Magni*, Migne, PG, 36, 493–605].

1. *VGA* is closer to *VN* than to *LB*:

a) *VGA*, 595–6: ΗΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ *ἐσχηκὼς* ΤΟ ΦΙΛΕΡΗΜΟΝ.

VN, 212,17–19: ΗΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟ ΦΙΛΕΡΗΜΟΝ *καὶ ἡσύχιον ... κατησπάσατο.*

LB, ch. 29, 536B: *καὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἀσπάζεται μετὰ Ἡλίου καὶ Ἰωάννου.*

b) *VGA*, 57,17–58, 2: ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΙΜΝΗΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΞ ΑΣΗΜΩΝ· ΑΛΛ' ΕΠΙΣΗΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΛΗΘΥΝΑΣ· ΤΟ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΟΝ *ὡς ὄντως* ΕΠΙ ΤΗι ΠΟΙΜΑΝΤΙΚΗι *ἐκληρώσατο*

VN, 211,7–9: *Ἰακὼβ* ΤΟ ΕΝ ΠΟΙΜΕΣΙΝ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΟΝ *ἐμμαξάμενος* ΟΥΚ ΕΞ ΑΣΗΜΩΝ ΑΛΛ' ΕΠΙΣΗΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ *θρεμμάτων τὴν* ΠΟΙΜΝΗΝ ΕΠΛΗΘΥΝΕΝ· *ἣν καὶ* ΕΠΕΥΛΟΓΕΙΣΘΑΙ *ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ ποδὶ παρὰ κυρίου κεκαύχηται.*

LB, ch. 71, 592D–593A: *ἀλλ' ἐπαινῶ ...* ΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΠΟΙΜΑΝΤΙΚΗΝ *τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἐξ ἧς ἐπλούτησε· πλείω τῶν ἀσήμων προβάτων κτησάμενος τὰ ἐπίσημα· τήν τε καλὴν πολυτεκνίαν τῶν κατὰ θεὸν γεννηθέντων· καὶ τὴν* ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΝ· *ἣ πολλοὺς ἐστήριξεν.*

2. *VGA* is closer to *VGD* than to *LB:*

VGA, 21,1–8: *οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ· καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτην* [sc. George's spiritual Father] Ἡ ΑΝΩΘΕΝ ΕΠΕΖΗΤΕΙ ΧΟΡΟΣΤΑΣΙΑ· ΚΑΙ Ἡ ΩΡΑ ΠΑΡΕΣΤΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΕΩΣ. *καὶ ... μεταστέλλεται τὸν γεννάδαν* [sc. George], *καὶ πρὸς μονήν τινα παραγενέσθαι ... ἐπέσκηπτεν ... ἐν ᾗ δὴ μοναχῶν* ΟΜΗΓΥΡΙΣ ....

VGD, 70,9–12: *ἐπειδὴ δὲ* Ὁ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΕΩΣ ΕΦΕΙΣΤΗΚΕΙ ΚΑΙΡΟΣ· *καὶ θεὸς αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν* Ἄνω ΧΟΡΟΣΤΑΣΙΑΝ *ἐκάλει· καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀσωμάτων θίασος τὸν ὅσιον ... συμμετασχεῖν τῆς ἐκεῖθεν χαρᾶς* ΕΠΕΖΗΤΕΙ· *καὶ ἡ τῶν ὁσίων* ΟΜΗΓΥΡΙΣ *... ἐπεπόθει ... .*

LB, ch. 78–79, 600B–C: (78) *ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν δρόμον τελέσας ἐπόθει τὴν ἀνάλυσιν καὶ ὁ τῶν στεφάνων ἐνειστήκει καιρός ...* (79) *ἔκειτο μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ τὰ τελευταῖα πνέων καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἄνω χοροστασίας ἐπιζητούμενος· πρὸς ἣν ἐκ πλείονος ἔβλεπεν.*

IV

VN	*VGA*
211,1–7: Ἰσαὰκ δὲ τὴν μέχρις αἵματος ὑπακοὴν πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων πατέρα θεὸν προσκτησάμενος καὶ τυθεὶς μὲν πλήθεσι πειρασμῶν· οὐ πειρασθεὶς δὲ τῆς δι᾽ αἵματος ὁλοκαυτώσεως· ἀλλ᾽ ἱερεὺς καὶ θύτης τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ ἀναίμου θυσίας γενόμενος· υἱοὺς θεοῦ καὶ κληρονόμους ἐκ τῆς ἁρμοσθείσης αὐτῷ πνευματικῶς· ὡς ἐξ ἄλλης Ῥεβέκκας· τῆς ἐκκλησίας σαφῶς [read σοφῶς] ἀπεγέννησεν.	57,11–17: καὶ τὴν μέχρις αἵματος ὑπακοὴν πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων πατέρα θεὸν προσκτησάμενος καὶ τοῦτο διδάσκων πρακτικῶς ἐμφανέστατα καὶ θυόμενος καθ᾽ ἡκάστην τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ θύτης τῆς ἀναιμάκτου θυσίας διαδεικνύμενος· υἱοὺς θεοῦ καὶ κληρονόμους ἐκ τῆς θεοπρεπῶς ἁρμοσθείσης αὐτῷ ἐκκλησίας· ὡς ἐξ ἄλλης Ῥεβέκκας· πανσόφως ἀπεγέννησεν.
212,26–28 and 213,4–7: Πέτρου τοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προβόλου τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ θερμὸν περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐπιδειξάμενος ... τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ λόγου μαθητῶν τὸ πρὸς ἀποστολικὴν [read ἀποστολήν] ἀκριβὲς ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐβεβαίωσε· πᾶσι τρανῶς ἀποκαλύπτων τὰ τῆς αὐτῶν κρυφιομύστου διδασκαλίας ζωαρχικὰ καὶ θεοπαράδοτα λόγια.	59,7–11: Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τὸ θερμὸν πρὸς τὴν πίστιν καὶ μεγαλοφυὲς ἐνδείξατο. τῶν λοιπῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ λόγου τὸ πρὸς ἀποστολὴν ἐβεβαίωσεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀκριβέστατον· πᾶσιν ἀνακαλύπτων τὰ ζωαρχικὰ καὶ θεοπαράδοτα τῆς αὐτῶν κρυφιομύστου διδασκαλίας λόγια.
213,19–22 and 213,28–214,7: ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἀπαραιτήτῳ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα λειτουργῆσαι χρεών· οἰκείαν θεῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος διὰ θανάτου ποιεῖται ἀνάλυσιν· ἣν οὐ θάνατον ἀλλὰ πρὸς κρείττω ζωὴν διάβασιν ὑποληπτέον καὶ λῆξιν ... τὴν ὑστάτην ὑπελθὼν ἀρρωστίαν· ἐπιστάντα τὸν ὅρον τοῦ τέλους οὐδαμῶς ἠγνόησεν· ἀλλ᾽ ὃν ἐδεδίει πάλαι διὰ τὸ φοβερὸν τῆς ἀπροόπτου καὶ ὠκυτάτης ἐλεύσεως· τότε περιχαρῶς προσεδέχετο· χάριν εἰδὼς τῷ δήσαντι καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἀνιαρῶν διὰ λύσεως προξενήσαντι· καὶ αὖθις συνδήσοντι· κρίμασιν οἷς ἐδικαίωσεν· ὑψηλότερον.	60,13–61,6: ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ χρεὼν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα λειτουργῆσαι καὶ τὰ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὴν ὕλην ἀποτιναξάμενον πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω λῆξιν μεταβῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας στεφάνους ἀναδήσασθαι· θεῷ ἀκραιφνῶς συγγενόμενον· τὴν τελευταίαν ὑπελθὼν ἀρρωστίαν· οὐδαμῶς τὸν ὅρον τοῦ τέλους ἠγνόησεν· ἀλλὰ περιχαρῶς ὑπεδέχετο· χάριν ὁμολογῶν τῷ δήσαντι καὶ συνδήσοντι αὖθις· οἷς ἐδικαίωσε κρίμασιν· ὑψηλότερον.
217,31–34: σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν· ὦ τιμία ψυχὴ καὶ ἰσάγγελε· ΤΗΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΟΔΕΞΑΙ διὰ τὴν τῆς σῆς διδασκαλίας πεποίθησιν τοῖς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ΕΓΧΕΙΡΗΣΑΝΤΑΣ· τῇ δὲ ἰδιωτείᾳ τοῦ λόγου ΣΥΓΓΝΩΜΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΧΕ καὶ συμπάθησον.	70,7–9: καὶ τοῦ μὲν τολμήματος ΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΩΝ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΩΝ ΕΓΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΩΣ ΣΥΓΓΝΩΘΙ· ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΑΙΡΕΣΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΔΕΞΑΙ· ἐπεὶ καὶ θεῷ τοῦτο εὐάρεστον.

V

VN	*VGA*
213,8–10 τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας κινδύνους ἀνατλᾶσι συνωμολόγησε μάρτυσι· πάντα πρότερον ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ εἰς ἀτιμίαν ἑλόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μή τι παθεῖν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀνάξιον.	59,11–13 τὴν τῶν μαρτύρων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας μέχρι θανάτου τῇ συνειδήσει ἐπεδείξατο ἔνστασιν· ἅπαν ἁμαρτίας ἰσχυρῶς καταστρεψάμενος εἴδωλον.

XV THE LIQUIDATION OF ICONOCLASM AND THE PATRIARCH PHOTIOS

CYRIL MANGO

IF the introduction of Iconoclasm as the official doctrine of the Byzantine State is shrouded in obscurity, the same may be said of its liquidation in 843. At first sight, this appears strange, for we are reasonably well informed concerning the religious events of the period in question. The historical documentation is admittedly poor and, for the most part, about a hundred years later than the events that interest us here; on the other hand, we do possess a considerable mass of contemporary saints' Lives, not to mention other categories of evidence. And what event was worthier of celebration and description than the long-awaited Triumph of Orthodoxy? Celebrations exist in plenty; factual accounts, however, are disappointingly brief.

To be sure, the main events are well established. The Emperor Theophilos died on 20 January 842. His pious widow Theodora, acting as regent on behalf of her two-year old son Michael, set about restoring the worship of icons. She laid her plans carefully. The Iconoclastic Patriarch, the much-loathed "precursor of the Antichrist," John the Grammarian, was left in office for another year. When, at length, everything was ready, some kind of ecclesiastical assembly was convened without much publicity; and, on the first Sunday of Lent, 843, a solemn procession inaugurated the return of Orthodoxy. No active opposition on the part of the Iconoclasts is recorded. Such, in brief, are the accepted facts.[1] It is when we probe deeper that we run into difficulty.

To begin with, I should like to quote two accounts of the events of 843. They are both taken from a work conventionally called the *Synodicon vetus*, which is a compendium of all the councils, both orthodox and heretical, that took place from the time of the Apostles until the ninth century. This work has come down to us in two versions, as established by Mr. J.S.F. Parker. In the earlier version, which dates from the end of the ninth century, we find the following brief entry:

"When Theophilos had blasphemously ended his life, his son Michael succeeded to the Empire together with his own mother Theodora. Fired by a godly zeal, they recalled the holy Fathers who were in banishment and, having convened a holy local council in the residence of the Keeper of the Imperial Inkpot ἐν τοῖς Κανικλείου they ejected the abominable John from his throne and appointed St. Methodios patriarch of Constantinople. After ratifying the seven holy Ecumenical Councils, they rightly restored the sacred icons to the reverence that had been due to them from the beginning."[2]

We may pause to note a few points. All the credit is given to the Emperor Michael and the Empress Theodora: in effect, this means Theodora alone since in 843 Michael was three years old. The gathering that took place is called a σύνοδος τοπική and it assembled not in a church, not even in one of the ceremonial halls of the Imperial Palace, but in the private residence of a civil servant situated somewhere near the Golden Horn.[3] The office of ἐπὶ τοῦ Καγικλείουwas at that time held by Theoktistos, Theodora's chief minister.

In the second version of the *Synodicon* we find a very different account:

"When Michael, the son of Theophilos, had succeeded to the empire together with his mother Theodora, the orthodox faith was revealed at an opportune moment after the abominable heresy of the iconoclasts had dragged on for thirty years since the days of Leo the Amalekite (Leo V). Now Manuel, who was prominent in the government, was afflicted by an illness and all hope for him was given up. But God, who works miracles, incited the monks of Studios to visit him . . . When they approached his bed, some of the monks put their trust in God, and fortified him, who was nearly dead or about to die, with a promise of recovery. He, arousing himself a little from the depth of his afflicted soul, asked if he could have any such hope. Whereupon they cried out, 'If you promise God to restore the holy icons according to ancient custom, we can give you the good tidings that you will live.' When they had departed, their promise immediately came to pass, and he arose from Hades and was delivered from death. Perceiving himself to have unexpectedly recovered from his illness, he brought his pious striving to bear on the Empress Theodora; and after much conflict and discussion, the holy icons were restored. As for the priests and bishops, some abandoned their impiety, while others resisted the pious doctrine and were rightly ejected,

1. The best discussion of these events is by Gouillard, "Synodikon," 119 ff.
2. Fabricius – Harles, *Bibliotheca graeca*, XII (Hamburg, 1809), 416, No. 147. A new edition of the *Synodicon*, begun by Mr. Parker and continued by Dr. J.M. Duffy, is due to appear under the auspices of the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Center. I am indebted to Dr. Duffy for communicating to me the text of the passages quoted here.
3. See R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964), 366.

among them especially the heretical Patriarch John . . . In his stead was installed the pious Methodios who exhibited on his body, like so many marks of honour, the many wounds he had received on account of the faith and the loss of his hair caused by his fetid prison. And on an appointed day an assembly was convened and the Church regained her own beauty. And men came down from Mount Olympos, from Athos and Ida, even the congregation of Kyminas, and they proudly proclaimed the true faith. This happened on the first Sunday of Lent which is called the Sunday of Orthodoxy."[4]

This account of the *Synodicon* is copied almost verbatim from the History of Genesios[5] written at the behest of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and it embodies that version of the events of 843 which eventually prevailed in Byzantine historiography. The legendary character of the story is all too obvious. One could even have described it as a particularly inept piece of falsification if Henri Grégoire was right in claiming that the miraculously revived Manuel had actually died on the battlefield in 838, i.e. five years before the Studite monks had raised him from the dead;[6] but of this I am not sure,[7] and Manuel's story is too tangled to be examined here. In any case, a falsification was perpetrated, and one may assume that its purpose was both to give the Studite monastery some share of the credit and to obscure the role of certain other parties who might have claimed a more direct involvement in the restoration of Orthodoxy.

When we examine the sources that are closest to the events, we come away with the impression that neither the monks nor the secular clergy covered themselves with glory at this juncture. The spirited resistance that had marked the reigns of Leo V and Michael II subsided after the death of Theodore the Studite. The doyen of the monastic corps, Ioannikios the Great, sat undisturbed on the summit of Mount Olympos. As Bury pointed out long ago,[8] the persecution under Theophilos claimed few victims, and these were mostly foreigners: Theophanes and Theodore the Graptoi as well as Michael Synkellos were Palestinians, the painter Lazaros a Chazar.[9] The record of the secular Church was even poorer: Theophilos of Ephesus, Joseph of Salonica and Euthymios of Sardis were detained for political rather than for religious reasons.[10] The pusillanimous attitude of the bishops may conveniently be studied in the correspondence of Ignatios of Nicaea.[11]

Who, then, was responsible for restoring the images? Apart from the Empress Theodora, our sources mention Theoktistos, the *magistros* Manuel, Bardas, Petronas and the enigmatic Sergios Niketiates.[12] It is an instructive list. The primary role of Theoktistos can hardly be doubted, for not only was he the most influential member of the council of regency; the ecclesiastical assembly of 843 also took place, as we have seen, in his own house. All the others were related to the Empress: Manuel (assuming he was alive) was her uncle, Bardas and Petronas her brothers, while Sergios is described more vaguely as a relative.[13] It was, therefore, in the strictest sense an 'inside job' organized by a group of persons who had held a prominent place at the court of the Iconoclast Theophilos. Furthermore, Methodios, their candidate for patriarch, was also an insider. There is much that is unclear in his life, but there can be no doubt that after he had undergone his famous internment in a tomb – an internment, incidentally, that took place in the reign of Michael II and was caused by political considerations – he was reprieved and taken into the palace by Theophilos, allegedly on account of his learning.[14] There was certainly more to it than that.

Grégoire, who deserves the credit for having rescued Sergios Niketiates from oblivion, had an excellent intuition, although, as was often the case, he pushed it too far.[15] If we may briefly

4. The second version of the *Synodicon* has not been published.
5. 78 – 82.
6. "Etudes sur le neuvième siècle," *Byzantion*, 8 (1933), 520 ff.
7. If, as Grégoire holds, Manuel's resurrection was modelled on the healing of another patrician Manuel by Nicholas the Studite (but cf. the discreet doubts expressed on this score by P. Peeters, *AnalBoll* 52 [1934], 146 – 47), and if the 'resuscitated' Manuel is merely a doublet of the historical Manuel who died in 838, it is difficult to see why this 'ghost' is made to do so many things in the reign of Michael III that he had not done earlier: he addresses the people in the Hippodrome, intervenes in the trial of the Patriarch Methodios, falls out with Theoktistos, retires to his own house, etc. Furthermore, according to Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, III, 113 (following Ignatios of Melitene who, in turn, had used Greek chronicles), Manuel was appointed commander-in-chief of the army after the death of Theophilos. The latter point has already been noted by Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), 476. There is certainly, with respect to Manuel, some deep-seated confusion in our sources, but I can see no obvious way of removing it.
8. *Op. cit.*, 136 ff.
9. The evidence on Lazaros has been assembled by me in *BZ*, 47 (1954), 396–97.
10. See J. Gouillard, "Une oeuvre inédite du patriarche Méthode," *BZ*, 53 (1960), 39 ff.
11. Ed. M. Gedeon, Νέα βιβλιοθήκη ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων I/1 (Constantinople, 1903), 1–64. I am preparing a new edition of this correspondence.
12. The longest list (Sergios Niketiates, Theoktistos, Bardas, Petronas, in that order) is in the *Acta SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii*, *AnalBoll*, 18 (1899), 245–46. Theophanes Cont., 148, mentions Theoktistos, Bardas and Manuel. Georgius Monachus, 811, ascribes all the credit to Theoktistos, and Genesios, as we have seen, to Manuel.
13. *Synaxarium CP*, 777/15.
14. *Vita Methodii*, PG, 100 col. 1252C. While living in the palace Methodios is said to have converted to Orthodoxy the Emperor's closest associates.
15. Grégoire, *op. cit.* (see note 6), 517 ff.

recapitulate the evidence, Sergios is mentioned as a leading figure in the restoration of Orthodoxy in the *Acta Davidis*;[16] he is also the subject of a notice in the Synaxarion in which it is stated that he came from Paphlagonia, was related to the Empress Theodora, and exerted himself very hard in order to bring about the restoration of the holy icons. He then led an expedition against Arab-occupied Crete where he died.[17] So far so good. We need not review Grégoire's theory that Sergios was the same as the enigmatic admiral Ibn-Qatuna who carried out the Byzantine raid on Damietta in 853, and that the expedition to Crete was that of 866 rather than the earlier one of 843 (which would appear to be the more likely date). But then Grégoire went one step further. He suggested that Sergios Niketiates was the brother of the Patriarch Photios and that, on account of this compromising kinship, his services in the restoration of Orthodoxy were later supressed. It can be shown without too much trouble that Sergios Niketiates was not the brother of Photios, although he may possibly have been his maternal uncle, as we shall see later. But even if this was not the case, Grégoire was right in thinking that Photios did have some connection with the clique that engineered the triumph of 843.

Students of the life and writings of Photios have been struck by the insistence with which he dwelt on the issue of Iconoclasm, and this at a time when all serious danger of an Iconoclastic revival appeared to have passed. We know that the condemnation of Iconoclasm was the chief dogmatic reason advanced for convoking the Council of 861. Once again, Iconoclasm was condemned, along with all the other great heresies, at the notorious Council of 867. In his Letters, in his *Amphilochia*, and, above all, in his Homilies Photios misses no opportunity of returning to this issue in terms which occasionally suggest that he regarded the suppression of Iconoclasm as almost a personal achievement. Particularly striking is a sentence in his seventeenth Homily: "For even if it is we," he says, "that have sown and first ploughed with much toil the fallow land, yet that too was not independent of imperial zeal and co-operation."[18]

The late Francis Dvornik, who devoted a study to this very question,[19] tried to show that Photios's attitude was dictated by the continued vigour of the Iconoclastic party. Iconoclasm, he says, was still rampant. But was it? We know, of course, that a few Iconoclasts remained unrepentant. Some of them are mentioned by name – Theodore Krithinos, former archbishop of Syracuse, who was condemned at the Ignatian Council of 869, a certain Paul, Theodore Gastes, Stephen Molites, Laloudios and Leo.[20] But I see no reason to believe that these men constituted much of a threat. It also seems to me that Dvornik (to whom we all owe so much) tended to see the career of Photios too much in terms of a conflict between political parties, i.e. in terms that are perhaps more applicable to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than to the ninth. If there was any danger of an Iconoclastic comeback, it could have come only from the top. Half a century earlier the youthful Constantine VI had threatened (so it is said) to re-introduce Iconoclasm if his marital intrigues were thwarted.[21] It is not inconceivable that the young Michael III, who was equally wilful and who, like Constantine, was saddled with a pious and meddlesome mother, may have entertained similar thoughts. Fortunately, his rebelliousness found less serious outlets.

However that may be, the attitude of Photios towards Iconoclasm was, I believe, dictated by entirely different considerations which become apparent when we examine his early life. On this score there has been much uncertainty. My own reconstruction is radically different from that proposed a few years ago by Madame H. Ahrweiler.[22] But although I cannot agree with her conclusions, I must pay tribute to the interesting and ingenious manner in which she presented her arguments; and at one point she came very close to discovering the truth as I see it.[23]

I shall begin with a passage of the *Bibliotheca*. In codices 62–67 Photios reviews in chronological order six works devoted to Byzantine history: the History of Constantine the Great by Praxagoras (lost), the *Wars* by Procopius, a History of Justinian and Justin II by Theophanes of Byzantium (lost), the History by Theophylact Simocatta, the *Breviarium* of the Patriarch Nikephoros, and, finally, a History of Michael II by Sergios the Confessor, which is lost. The last work (cod. 67)

16. As in note 12 *supra*.
17. *Synaxarium CP*, 777–78.
18. Ed. B. Laourdas, Φωτίου ὁμιλίαι (Thessaloniki, 1959), 165; trans. C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 287.
19. "The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm," *DOP*, 7 (1953), 69 ff.
20. See Gouillard, "Deux figures," 387 ff. Some concern to silence the iconoclasts is shown in the revised version of the Life of St. Peter of Atroa, written *ca.* 860–65: V. Laurent, *La vita retractata et les miracles posthumes de S. Pierre d'Atroa* (Brussels, 1958), 135, §86bis, and 47–49.
21. *De sanctis patriarchis Tarasio et Nicephoro*, PG, 99, col. 1852D.
22. "Sur la carrière de Photius avant son patriarcat," *BZ*, 58 (1965), 348 ff.
23. *Ibid.*, 350, note 18.

deserves particular attention if for no other reason than that it is the most recent book reviewed in the *Bibliotheca*. Photios comments on it as follows:

"I have read [a work] by Sergios the Confessor. He starts with the actions of Michael, then reverts to the lawless abominations of Kopronymos, and goes on from that point in a continuous narrative until the eighth year of the same Michael. He describes the actions [of this emperor] as relating both to the State and to the Church; furthermore, he gives a detailed account of his fortunes in war and of his religious views.

"As regards his style, he is, more than any other [author], adorned with clarity and simplicity in the use of words of plain meaning as well as in the construction and general disposition of the discourse which consequently appears to have been written, so to speak, extemporaneously. For, indeed, his language blooms with a natural grace and does not contain any elaborate forms. This kind of style is especially appropriate for ecclesiastical history, which was, indeed, the author's intention."

There can be no doubt that this work dealt with Michael II (820–29), since Michael I reigned less than two years (2 October 811 – 10 July 813), while Michael III, was, as I have said, two years old at his accession and could not, therefore, be said to have held any religious views up to the age of ten (the eighth year of his reign). In order to explain Michael II's religious policy, the author inserted a retrospective excursus concerning the "abominations" of Constantine V, and then proceeded as far as Michael's eighth year, i.e. 828. Clearly, this was an anti-Iconoclastic work, and it appears to have been left unfinished since it did not extend to the Emperor's death in 829.

Who was Sergios the Confessor? Henry, the latest editor of the *Bibliotheca*, is content to say, "Le personnage est mal connu et l'oeuvre est perdue."[24] Yet there can be little doubt that he was the same person as the one commemorated by the Synaxarion in the following words:

"The same day [13 May] the remembrance of our holy Father Sergios the Confessor. He was born at Constantinople of a renowned and noble family and was known as a worshipper of the holy icons. He was brought before that persecutor, the godless Emperor Theophilos; a cord was tied round his neck and he was led round the market-place like a criminal. Then he was imprisoned. After being deprived of his great wealth, he was exiled with his whole family (*πανοικί*), namely his wife Eirene and his children. Having suffered many sorrows and various tribulations in exile, he departed unto the Lord."[25]

All the particulars supplied by the Synaxarion are applicable to the father of the Patriarch Photios: he was called Sergios, came of a prominent family, was married to a lady called Eirene, had several children, was exiled for his faith together with his wife, and met an early death in exile. I am not, of course, the first person to have noticed this identity;[26] yet no-one, as far as I know, has put together all the pieces of the puzzle. To do so, we must first examine the other pieces.

The plainest part of the evidence is supplied by Photios himself. In his 'enthronistic' letter, i.e. the letter announcing his own appointment, which he addressed to the see of Antioch, he made a point of referring to his father who, "on account of correct doctrine and true faith, bade farewell to wealth and splendid office and, after undergoing every kind of suffering . . . died a martyr's death in banishment;" and to his mother who was "pious and virtuous, and strove not to fall short of her husband in any of these things."[27] In another letter, a letter of consolation he wrote to his brother Tarasios on the death of the latter's daughter, Photios recalls the infinitely worse hardships that their parents had suffered, and adds: "Where is my father? Where is my mother? Did they not, after playing a short role in life – yet a role adorned by the crown of martyrdom and endurance – quickly depart from the stage?"[28] In yet another letter Photios makes this defiant statement: "For many years every heretical council and every Iconoclastic conventicle has anathematized me, and not only me, but also my father and my uncle, men who confessed Christ and were the ornament of the episcopate. Yet, after anathematizing me, they elevated me, even against my wish, to a bishop's throne. Let, therefore, these men now who, like the others, have set the Lord's ordinances at nought and who have opened the door wide to every kind of transgression, anathematize me again so that they, too, may elevate me from earth to the heavenly kingdom, sluggish though I am."[29] This is a highly rhetorical statement, and it has been,

24. *Bibliothèque*, I (Paris, 1959), 99, note 2.
25. *Synaxarium CP*, 682.
26. See, e.g., F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge, 1948), 387.
27. PG, 102, col. 1020A; ed. I.N. Valettas, Φωτίου ... ἐπιστολαί (London, 1864), 145.
28. PG, 102, col. 972–73; ed. Valettas, 459.
29. PG, 102, col. 877B–C; ed. Valettas, 501.

I think, misunderstood. For maximum effect, Photios telescopes the unjust condemnation of himself with that of his father and uncle. The uncle in question was the Patriarch Tarasios (784–806) whom Photios calls elsewhere his *πατρόθεως*, i.e. his paternal uncle.[30] I should like to add in passing that this description ought not to be taken literally since Tarasios could not possibly have belonged to the same generation as Photios's father. So, instead of 'uncle' we should understand 'great uncle' or, more generally, 'relative on the father's side.'[31] This, however, is a minor point; what I should like to stress is that Photios is here rolling into one the persecution inflicted on several members of his family: the epithet *ἀρχιερέων σεμνολόγημα*, 'ornament of the episcopate' refers to Tarasios; *ὁμολογητὰς Χριστοῦ*, 'confessors of Christ' to his father. It is either the first only or both of them that were condemned by 'iconoclastic conventicles;' Photios himself was anathematized by a different kind of heretical council, *σύνοδος αἱρετική*, i.e., presumably, by his Ignatian opponents in 859. Indeed, the last Iconoclastic Council took place in 837 (if it took place at all), and Photios could hardly have been old enough at the time to have merited a separate anathema. Without going into further detail, let us recapitulate the evidence that Photios provides on his own family: his father was a confessor, both he and his mother died an untimely death in exile and persecution, his father was related to that great champion of Orthodoxy, the Patriarch Tarasios. We may also gather from the addressees of Photios's Letters that he had four brothers called Tarasios, Constantine, Theodore and Sergios.[32]

This information is corroborated by other sources. At the Council of 879, which rehabilitated Photios, an official spokesman referred to "his father and mother who died in their struggle for the faith."[33] Similarly, the Life of St. Euthymios the Younger speaks of Photios as a virtuous man, "who from the very cradle had been consecrated to Christ, for whose icon he suffered confiscation and banishment in common with his father; whose life was admirable and whose death was agreeable, as God has confirmed by miracles."[34] This sentence is so constructed that the last clause, the one referring to posthumous miracles, could apply either to Photios or to his father; but this detail does not concern us now.

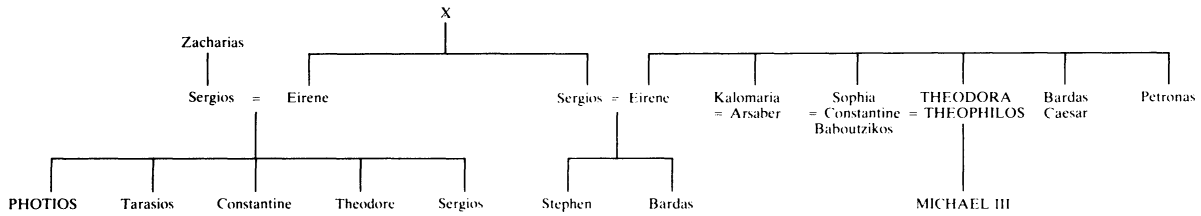
The next piece of the puzzle is a well known passage of Theophanes Continuatus which gives an account of the family of the Empress Theodora, wife of Theophilos, namely of her two brothers, Bardas and Petronas, and her three sisters.[35] Previous discussions of this passage have overlooked the fact that the published text, which is due to Combefis and Bekker, contains one tacit and one explicit addition. In the basic manuscript, *Vatic. gr. 167*, fol. 59^{v}, we read the following: *ἀδελφαὶ δὲ τρεῖς· ἥ τε εὐφήμῳ οὕτω καλουμένη ὀνόματι* Καλομαρία· *καὶ* Σοφία· *καὶ ἡ* [lacuna of about 11 letters; the editors have tacitly added Εἰρήνη].[36] *ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν* Σοφία *εἰς κοίτην ἐδίδοτο* Κωνσταντίνῳ *τῷ κατὰ τὸν* Βαβούτζικον· *ἡ δὲ* Καλομαρία *Ἀρσαβὴρ τῷ τηνικαῦτα μὲν πατρικίῳ ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ μαγίστρῳ·*[*ἡ δὲ* Εἰρήνη explicitly added by the editors]*τῷ* Εἰρήνης *τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ μετὰ ταυτα τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον ἀντιλαβομένου Ψωτίου ἀδελφῷ· μεθ' οὗ καὶ δύο τεκνώσασα παιδας· Στέφανόν τε τὸν μάγιστρον καὶ Βάρδαν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸν καὶ μάγιστρον ... τὴν συγγένειαν πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην ἐσωζε Ψώτιων· ἐξάδελφοι γὰρ οἱ δύο μάγιστροι οὗτοι τούτου ἐτύγχανον.*
A shortened paraphrase of the same pasage is also found in Skylitzes[37] who, however, introduces some significant changes:*ἦσαν δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ βασιλιδι ἄρρενες μὲν ἀδελφοὶ δύο...ἀδελφαὶ δὲ τρεῖς·* Σοφία· Μαρία· *καὶ* Εἰρήνη· *ὧν ἡ μὲν* Σοφία Κωνσταντίνῳ *συνήφθη τῷ* Βαρβουτζίκῳ· *εἰς μαγίστρους τελοῦντι·* Εἰρήνη *δὲ* Σεργίῳ *πατρικίῳ· ἀδελφῷ τυγχάνοντι Ψωτίου τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὸν τῆς πατριαρχίας ἀναβιβασθέντος θρόνον· καὶ ἡ* Μαρία *Ἀρσαβὴρ μαγίστρῳ· ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς διαπρέποντι ...*

Let us, for the sake of argument, admit that the name of the third sister, which is left blank in Theoph. Cont., was Eirene; even so, it is clear that Skylitzes committed an error in saying that this Eirene married Sergios the brother of Photios, for, in that case, her two sons would have been Photios's nephews, not his cousins as specified in Theoph. Cont. But then we may ask (as Bury did a long time ago): Where did Skylitzes find the name of Sergios if it was not in his source? Consequently, Bury suggested adding to the text of the Continuator, after *ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ μαγίστρῳ*, the words <*ἡ δὲ Εἰρήνη Σεργίῳ*> and continuing *τῷ Εἰρήνης τῆς μητρός*, etc.[38] If we accept this

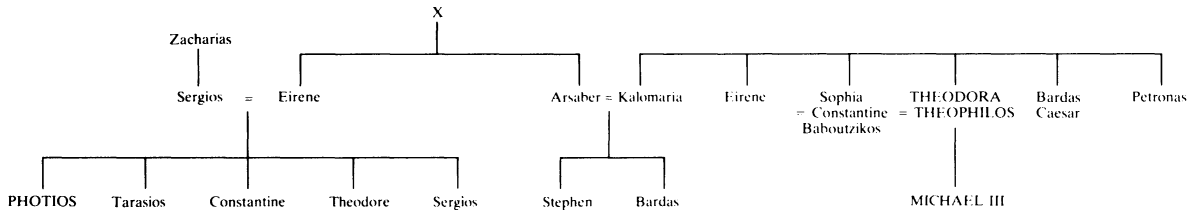
30. PG, 102, cols. 609B, 817B.
31. A well-known parallel is provided by Constantine Porphyrogennetos who in *De admin. Imp.*, 22/79, ed. Moravcsik-Jenkins (1967), 98, calls Theophanes Confessor (died 818) his own *μητρόθεως*. In fact at least four generations must have elapsed between Theophanes and Constantine. See *De admin. Imp., Commentary*, ed. Jenkins (1962), 80; and J. Pargoire, "Saint Théophane le Chronographe," *VizVrem*, 9 (1902), 38–39.
32. In Valettas's ed. letters 12–14, 142–43, 220, 223–24 are addressed to Tarasios; 15, 16 to Constantine; 17 to Theodore; 7–11, 85 to Sergios.
33. Mansi, XVII, col. 460B.
34. L. Petit, "Vie et office de S. Euthyme le Jeune," *ROChr*, 8 (1903), 179.
35. 174–75.
36. The only other manuscript that contains this passage, viz. *Barber. gr. 232*, fol. 103^{v}, has the same lacuna after *Σοφία· καὶ ἡ*. *Barber. gr. 232* is, however, a copy of *Vatic. gr. 167*. I am indebted to Prof. I. Ševčenko for these particulars.
37. Ed. Thurn, 98 = Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II, 161.
38. "The Relationship of the Patriarch Photius to the Empress Theodora," *EHR*, 5 (1890), 255–58.

addition, we obtain the genealogical tree No. 1. We could then go one step further and suggest that Sergios, the brother of Eirene, i.e. the uncle of Photios, may have been Sergios Niketiates;[39] but this of course, is only speculation. Bury himself, however, later changed his mind and declared the Continuator's text to be satisfactory as it stands on the grounds that only two of the three sisters need have been married.[40] If so, we obtain the genealogical tree No. 2. Whichever solution we adopt, we may conclude that Photios's mother was called Eirene and that she was related by marriage to the imperial family.

Genealogical Tree: Alternative 1



Genealogical Tree: Alternative 2



The last piece of the puzzle that need concern us is the anti-Photian pamphlet contained in the Chronicle of pseudo-Symeon.[41] This venomous document begins by saying that Photios's father was the *spatharios* Sergios and that his grandfather was called Zacharias.[42] Sergios was of alien extraction, ἐθνικοῦ αἵματος, and he married a nun whom he had abducted from a convent. When the woman became pregnant, St. Michael of Synnada, who was on friendly terms with Sergios, foresaw the baleful future of the offspring and wanted to kill the mother with his staff. St. Hilarion of the monastery of Dalmatou delivered a similar prophecy. When Photios had been born, another prominent monk, the Abbot James of the monastery of Maximina, was prevailed upon to baptize him; for the parents were φιλομόναχοι, lovers of monks and they begged all the holy men of their aquaintance to pray on behalf of Photios. Sergios even undertook the ascent of Mount Olympos to seek the blessing of the great hermit, St. Ioannikios, only to be greeted with the words: "Photios does not wish in his heart to know Thy ways, O Lord." The pamphlet goes on to relate how the young Photios excelled in pagan studies; how he sold his soul to a Jewish magician after abjuring the cross, how he became friendly with Gregory Asbestas, the deposed bishop of Syracuse, how at length the Caesar Bardas made him patriarch.

The mythical elements of the story are obvious enough, and they have recently been analysed by J. Gouillard.[43] The motif of the ravished nun, for example, is a known ingredient of the Antichrist legend. Nor need we believe the allegation that Photios sold his soul to a Jewish magician. Yet, when we examine this text, we notice several elements that clearly conflict with the purpose of the diatribe. In spite of a half-hearted attempt to blacken the character of Sergios (alien origin, irruption into a nunnery), he is made to keep impeccable company: he is a friend of St. Michael of

39. The name Sergios was, in any case, very common in the family of Photios. In addition to his father and his brother, we may mention his ἀνεψιός Sergios who was held in high esteem by Romanos I: Theoph. Cont., 433–34.

40. *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 156.

41. 668–71.

42. There is a difficulty at 668/15–17, where the printed text has οὗτος ὁ Φώτιος υἱὸς Σεργίου σπαθαρίου ἦν· οὗτος ὁ πατὴρ Ζαχαρίας ὠνόμαστο· ὃς πάλιν ἔσχεν υἱὸν Λέοντα βασι... This suggests a lacuna, but, in fact, there is none in our only independent MS of pseudo-Symeon, viz. *Paris. gr. 1712*, fol. 250^{r}, which has βασι, i.e., presumably, βασιλέα. The same reading appears in the *Scor. V–I–4*, fol. 78^{r}, an apographon of the Parisinus. Since Zacharias could not have been the father of any emperor called Leo, one must postulate a scribal error. I am indebted for these details to Mr. A. Markopoulos who is preparing a new edition of pseudo-Symeon.

43. "Le Photius du pseudo-Syméon Magistros," *RESEE*, 9 (1971), 397–404.

Synnada, he consorts with St. Hilarion and the Abbot James, he pays a visit to St. Ioannikios. He and his wife are called *philomonachoi*, which was en epithet of commendation. Why should the libellist, who was writing, as is generally assumed, in the late ninth century,[44] have invented these details which redounded to the credit of Sergios, unless they were generally known to be true? Why should he have called Photios's father Sergios if that was not his name? Even the allegation of alien extraction may be true, as already noticed by Gouillard: for we are told that the Emperor Michael referred to his patriarch as *Chazaroprosopos*, 'Chazar face,' and applied to him the enigmatic epithet Marzoukas,[45] which Gouillard thinks may have been a Laz word.

We may now put together the pieces of the puzzle. The father of Photios was Sergios the Confessor, a rich dignitary, probably of foreign extraction, but whose family must have been established at Constantinople for a few generations. He married a lady called Eirene whose brother was the husband of either Kalomaria or Eirene, sisters of the Empress Theodora. Sergios was exiled, together with his whole family, by order of the Emperor Theophilos – not of Leo V or Michael II, as some scholars have assumed. This probably happened after 832/33, when Theophilos launched his persecution.[46] The harsh treatment inflicted on Sergios – suprising in the case of a man having such high connections – may well have been caused by the discovery of his historical work which was directed against the father of the reigning emperor. This hypothesis may explain the fact that the history was left unfinished. Both Sergios and Eirene died in banishment. We do not know how old Photios was at the time – perhaps in his teens. In any case, it is very unlikely that he could have entered government service before the death of his persecutor in 842. If true, this would have interesting chronological implications for other aspects of Photios's career which, however, we do not have to pursue here.

However that may be, there can be no doubt that Photios grew up under the shadow of the Iconoclastic persecution. This fact alone would account for his lifelong preoccupation with the issue of Iconoclasm. But there was, I believe, more to it than that. The glorious death of his father, his own early sufferings conferred on him an aura of martyrdom or, at any rate, of great respectability which made him later a fitting candidate for the patriarchal throne. Furthermore, he was closely identified by family ties with the very clique that had engineered the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843. In addition to his relatives, this coterie also included Methodios and the Sicilian archbishop Gregory Asbestas. At an earlier date St. Euthymios of Sardis had belonged to the same group. Their mutual ties are well attested. When Euthymios died in 831, it was Methodios that wrote his *Vita*. This document contains a curious detail. When Euthymios was deported by the Emperor Theophilos to the little island of St. Andrew, where he was imprisoned in the same tomb-like cell as Methodios, he was interrogated concerning his acquaintances: in his reply he named only one, a female relative by marriage (κηδεστρία) of the Emperor.[47] Unfortunately, we are not given her name: it may have been one of Theodora's sisters; it could even have been the mother of Photios. The ties that linked Methodios, Gregory Asbestas and Photios are better known. The young Photios wrote a hymn that was recited at the funeral of Methodios in 847; the same Saint's *Vita* was composed by Gregory Asbestas.[48] In 858 Photios received his priestly ordination at the hands of Gregory Asbestas and throughout his life he remained this bishop's active supporter.

By comparison with Photios, his opponent Ignatios could not claim much credit in the struggle against Iconoclasm. Even his enthusiastic biographer Niketas the Paphlagonian could not adduce any significant achievements: he tells us that during the persecution Ignatios devoted himself to a strict regimen of fasting and genuflection; that he baptized a great number of children; and that he occasionally afforded hospitality to victims of the persecution.[49] In other words, he remained pretty passive; and there is evidence to suggest that most other monks did the same. There is a curious incident in the Life of one of these monks, St. Anthony the Younger. In speaking of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, his biographer does not even mention the Empress Theodora or the Patriarch Methodios; whatever credit there was is ascribed to "the gathering of our holy fathers and confessors of Christ." Even so, he is not very enthusiastic about this event which he calls "the so-called joy that had spread through the world" (τὴν γεγενημένην δῆθεν χαρὰν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ). And he adds that when the news of this so-called joy was brought to St. Anthony, the holy man replied in a surly tone: "Indeed, Orthodoxy has been established; but after a time things will only get worse."[50] His negative response should probably be explained by the fact that Orthodoxy had

44. See A.P. Każdan, "Khronika Simeona Logofeta," *VizVrem*, 15 (1959), 134–35.
45. Pseudo-Symeon, 673–74.
46. See V. Laurent, *La Vie merveilleuse de S. Pierre d'Atroa* (Brussels, 1956), 187, §63. Cf. D. Papachryssanthou, "La Vie du patrice Nicétas," *TM*, 3 (1968), 320–21.
47. See J. Gouillard in *BZ*, 53 (1960), 40.
48. On this *Vita* see J. Gouillard in *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), 371 ff.
49. *Vita Ignatii*, PG, 105, cols. 497D–500B. See also Mrs. P. Karlin-Hayter's contribution, XVI, *infra*.
50. F. Halkin, "Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas," *AnalBoll*, 62 (1944), 211–12.

been established by the wrong set of people, and he may have been prophesying the acrimonious rift that was soon to divide Methodios from the Studites.

Now, I do not believe that the Patriarch Photios was as pure as snow. He had a great deal to account for, including his ordination, and he did on occasion some pretty unscrupulous things. In fighting his opponents he needed a weapon, a cause that everyone could understand: this cause was provided by the issue of Iconoclasm. He could truthfully claim for himself and his parents a glorious part in the struggle; he could and did assume the spiritual heritage of Methodios, a heritage that had been rejected by the Ignatians. This, I believe, is the main reason why he harped on Iconoclasm at every possible opportunity; why he wanted to see it condemned time and time again. To give even wider publicity to his achievements, he embarked on a programme of church decoration. In this respect, Ignatios appears to have done very little, if anything, during the eleven years of his first patriarchate (847–58). Photios seized the opportunity: he covered with iconic mosaics the Golden Hall of the palace, the palatine chapel of the Virgin of the Pharos, and had started work in St. Sophia when he was overthrown in 867. Moreover, he himself loudly proclaimed the importance of these artistic manifestations: it was as if the theme of Orthodoxy was being constantly replayed. One may recall his proud statement when the mosaic of the Virgin in the apse of St. Sophia was unveiled on 29 March 867: "If one called this day the beginning and day of Orthodoxy . . . one would not be far wrong."[51]

One may wonder at this point whether this artistic zeal was due to Photios himself. The obscure figure of Gregory Asbestas naturally comes to mind. It will be remembered that the Sicilian bishop was an amateur artist who drew uncomplimentary miniatures of Ignatios in the margins of a manuscript – "for the splendid fellow was also a painter in addition to his other vices," as Niketas the Paphlagonian tells us.[52] Did Asbestas, too, take a lead in the redecoration of churches? The Sicilian Chronicle known as the Cambridge Chronicle informs us that in 844, "the archbishop Gregory introduced Orthodoxy."[53] Did he introduce it visually as well as dogmatically? In the one preserved letter of Photios addressed to Asbestas – a letter dating from the second patriarchate of Ignatios when both friends were in disgrace – the deposed patriarch urges his correspondent to go on erecting churches, "now that the abandonment and destruction of churches, instead of their former adornment, prevails in the Roman State."[54] Was he referring to conditions in Sicily under the impact of the Arab invasion or was he making a more general statement concerning the abandonment of their joint artistic undertakings?

Today the quarrels of Methodios and the Studites, of Photios and Ignatios are forgotten except by a few professional Byzantinists. A somewhat wider public knows that Photios provided the definitive and most eloquent statement of the victory of icon-worship. But his artistic achievement, prompted by the circumstances that I tried to explain, is seen and admired in the apse of St. Sophia (fig. 31) by every tourist who goes to Istanbul.

51. Ed. Laourdas, 168; trans. Mango, 291.
52. *Vita Ignatii*, PG, 105, col. 540D.
53. A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I (Brussels, 1935), 345.
54. PG, 102, col. 832D; ed. Valettas, 423.

XVI GREGORY OF SYRACUSE, IGNATIOS AND PHOTIOS

PATRICIA KARLIN-HAYTER

AMONG problems surrounding the end of the second Iconoclasm and the restoration of Orthodoxy, the question of who held the patriarchal throne is central. The successive choice of Methodios and Ignatios as patriarchs, and the consecration of Photios by Gregory Asbestas (of Syracuse), reveal an obviously interconnected group of people. Study of it has been handicapped by an important assumption concerning the role of Ignatios during the Iconoclastic period which can, I think, be shown to be erroneous. No less misleading is the idea that the opposition to Methodios was homogeneous. This note will consider the reasons for Theodora's choice of Ignatios, his record in the preceding régime and, lastly, the implications of Photios' decision to have Gregory Asbestas consecrate him.

It is assumed, correctly I think, that Theodora chose Ignatios to correct her previous course. Why, then, had she originally chosen Methodios? Dvornik holds that she chose him, reluctantly, because he was a "moderate," and that when his policy of moderation failed to unite the body politic, she followed her real inclination and chose the "extremist" Ignatios.[1] Moderate and extremist are somewhat ambiguous terms in Dvornik's work, but they are used here expressly to indicate an attitude of greater or lesser severity towards the former Iconoclast hierarchy.[2] Grumel, however, at about the same time, in a most carefully substantiated article, came to the opposite conclusion: "Méthode fut du parti de la sévérité."[3] There can, I think, be no doubt that Grumel is right.

Theodora — it is convenient to refer simply to her because there is no means of knowing how decisions were reached during the protracted crisis that followed Theophilos' death (at very least she depended on information and took advice) — did not choose the patriarch to conduct the transition simply on impulse. There was a year of waiting, and while she no doubt reckoned that God was pro-image, the way in which His will was to be implemented was thought out with great care in terms of whose support she was going to bid for. Of the counsellors lent her by the chroniclers, the only one about whom there can be no doubt is Theoktistos; a trusted servant of the crown under Iconoclasm, he was no less trusted when it came to restoring the cult of images.[4] This alone shows the choice of Methodios was political.

Methodios was not a moderate; so much can be deducted from his *Vita*, and not in terms of praise — it is clear that the author is embarrassed by his lack of moderation. He says, reluctantly and with some beating about the bush, that his hero overdid the ejecting of former Iconoclast hierarchs, and their replacement by candidates of whom nothing was required but a demonstration of Orthodoxy.[5] Methodios' ode on the triumph of the images is not moderate either.[6] That he accepted Theodora's conditions — the business of the "Repentance of Theophilos"[7]— does not make him so, nor does the rapid appearance of the Studites in the opposition. The old quarrel between them and the new patriarch was now resumed. While Iconoclasm held sway they had formed an inevitable alliance, which became a brief truce when it fell. Just what ended the truce is not clear, but the Studites denounced Methodios for violation of the canons.[8]

The other elements at war with the patriarch were of a completely different nature: those who were compromised with Iconoclasm. Theodora was determined to win over the enemies of the heresy, who, on the other hand, or at least their spokesmen, were determined to punish its

1. F. Dvornik, *Le schisme de Photius. Histoire et légende* (Paris, 1950), 43–44, 45–48 ff.
2. *Op. cit.*, 37–38.
3. Venance Grumel, "La politique religieuse du patriarche saint Méthode," *EO*, 34 (1935), 385–401, esp. 390–91, 393. Analysis of different categories in the hierarchy to be treated with greater or less severity, 388–9; Grumel concludes that Methodios, backed by Ioannikios, intended a thorough purge: "Il aura à coeur d'établir un épiscopat nouveau, orthodoxe d'éducation et de coeur," 401. Gouillard, "Synodikon," 127–8.
4. Saint Theoktistos (as Grégoire liked to call him; see *Synaxarium CP* Nov. 20) was Theophilos' Logothete of the Drome. Gouillard has drawn attention to evidence, in the unpublished *Life* of Euthymios of Sardis, that he was an active persecutor: "Une oeuvre inconnue du patriarche Méthode: la Vie d'Euthyme de Sardes," *BZ*, 53 (1960), 40; *idem*, "Synodikon" 126, note 51): this depends on the identification of Theoktistos, the *epi tou kanikleiou*, who participated in Michael the Stammerer's coup d'état in 820, with the logothete murdered at the height of his power in 856. At all events, Theoktistos carried out Theophilos' policy and must have been involved to some extent in persecution. See also Gouillard, "Synodikon," 120–121.
5. *Vita Methodii*, PG 100, col. 1257. For the interpretation of chap. 16, l.9–10, see Gouillard, "Deux figures," 371–401, esp. 373, note 1.
6. *Ibid.*, 381 ff; *idem.*, "*Synodikon*," 135.
7. Theophanes Continuatus, 152–154; Pseud-Symeon, 650–1.
8. Grumel, *op.cit.*, 394 ff.

supporters, active or passive.[9] A price had to be paid, but, as far as one can see, the civil service and the army went practically unscathed.[10] The "Repentance of Theophilos" was presumably, as Gouillard says, arranged for the benefit of the dynasty; it was the supreme expression of the whitewashing of lay Iconoclasm. But the ecclesiastical hierarchy was considered expendable.[11] Nor could the great majority of prelates deposed ever hope to be reinstated: after due penance, all they could aspire to was lay communion. Their discontent acquired respectability when the Studites assumed the leadership of opposition to the patriarch.

These results were not what the government had hoped for. When Methodios died four years later, the patriarchal throne was given to an abbot venerated for his saintliness, but who had been in communion with the Iconoclasts: Ignatios. St. Ignatios is generally assumed to have confessed Iconodulism. There is no support for this in the sources, of which the most revealing is the *Vita*. It insists on his hospitality, and that of his mother and sister, to the victims of persecution. True, it says that he suffered under the Iconoclasts, but what are the achievements (*kartorthômata*) listed? "Fasting, vigils, prolonged Psalm-singing, sore knees, tears, beating of the breast and holding of the tongue, patience under the ill-treatments of a harsh *hegumene* who disciplined him with the utmost severity in order to curry favour with the iconoclasts."[12] These are not the sufferings of a confessor, but simply the curriculum of any good establishment, and if the hegumene was harsher with Ignatios than with the rest of the brotherhood, it was a mrk of favour and esteem, and Ignatios was duly grateful. This would have been a reasonable deduction, but the *Vita* obligingly confirms it. When the *hegumene* died (and in this passage there is no talk of harshness, rather he is Ignatios' "father and guide"), the brotherhood elected Ignatios in his stead.[13] The phrase quoted above about currying favour with the Iconoclasts must mean that the *hegumene* was in communion with them; according to Theodore the Studite all the monasteries of Constantinople were (formalities had been designed to make it practically painless).[14] It follows almost inevitably that Ignatios accepted the direction of a monastery in communion with the Iconoclasts, and that Theodora counted on him to rally ex-Iconoclasts since he was one of them. At the same time, he was in with the Studites, and even Methodios' followers were willing to give Ignatios a chance — aware perhaps, as the Life suggests, that Methodios' policy was too rigid and would not work. This is demonstrated by the presence of Gregory Asbestas at his consecration.

Reconciliation seemed achieved, when Ignatios signified to one of the metropolitans gathered to perform the consecration that his presence was not desired. The prelate he insulted was a close collaborator of Methodios': Gregory Asbestas, bishop of Syracuse. He immediately threw down the candles he was holding for the ceremony, exclaimed that a wolf, not a shepherd, had got into the fold, and swept out followed by several of his fellow prelates. At some later point, though probably not for several years, Ignatios deposed and anathematised Gregory. When appealed to, the pope insisted on making his own enquiry. It was never carried out. In 858 Ignatios was

9. Gouillard, "Synodikon," 149. Madame Ahrweiler suggests that the importance of the Iconoclastic affair in the history of the Isaurian dynasty has been grossly exaggerated. I am convinced she is right (by a curious coincidence, whenever religious differences, however trivial, dominate the history of a period, the sources turn out to be of clerical origin). Nonetheless, the importance attached to reconciling militant Iconodulism was considerable; widespread labour discontent and strikes constitute, perhaps, a reasonable analogy.

10. The number of self-proclaimed former crypto-Iconodules must have been enormous. Best known is Theoktistos; cf. the wonderful histrionics at Theophilos' deathbed described in the *Vita St. Theodorae imperatricis*, ed. Regel, *Analecta byzantino-russica* (St. Petersburg, 1891), 10 ff. Constantine the Drungarios of the Watch, claimed no more than a modest material rôle in the deposition of John the Grammarian; see Theophanes Continuatus, 150; Genesius, 81, and for discussion, see P. Karlin-Hayter, "Etudes sur les deux histoires du règne de Michel III," *Byzantion*, 41 (1971), 485 ff. One cannot even be certain about Theodora herself. The entertaining little stories in the chroniclers (Theoph.Cont. 90–92) were, I suspect, put into circulation deliberately when the decision to restore the cult of icons required a certain touching-up of the dynastic image. The affair of the repentance of Theophilos is related with considerable verismilitude in the *Acta SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii*, *AnalBoll*, 18 (1899), 209–59, esp. 243 ff., if allowance is made for the hagiographical obligation to give one's hero the leading rôle. For discussion and other references, see Gouillard, soothsayer," 102.

11. A consequence of this is the dubious status of the council of 843; see Gouillard, "Synodikon," 122, 123, 127.

12. *Vita sancti Ignatii*, PG, 105, col. 493D–496D. Scylitzes relates the hospitality to a victim of persecution of "the great Ignatios," *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), 60; Cedrenus, 112. This is not the patriarch (though Skylitzes may have thought it was); cf. his source, Theophanes Continuatus: "a man inspired by God, Ignatios by name, a famous soothsayer," 102.

13. *Vita Ignatii*, col. 496C. The printed text requires emendation. "His father and his *hegumene* having both died, he was entrusted with the *hegumenate*" (see below, note 29) is absurd. Obviously it was his *spiritual* father and *hegumene*, one and the same person. At some point in the tradition a copyist has been unable to believe that the harsh *hegumene* and Iconoclast of the earlier paragraph is here called Ignatios' father, and consequently he has divided the one person into two. The MS tradition would show whether this intervention is ancient or modern. Ignatios' father, according to Theophanes Continuatus, lived for thirty-two years after being deposed, which would mean that he did not die under Iconoclasm; the Anno Mundi given for his death, 6302, is impossible, but this does not necessarily invalidate the other figure (Theophanes Continuatus, 20).

14. Theodore the Studite, letter Cozzi-Luzi, 41 (p. 34); 165 (p. 44), *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae*, ed. A. Mai (Rome, 1871). On the communion with an Iconoclast patriarch, see the *Life* of St. Niketas of Medikion, *ActaSS*, April I, col. 26 ff. (allowance should perhaps be made for exaggeration).

compelled to resign and Photios was promoted to the patriarchate. His consecration was performed by Gregory Asbestas.[15]

The sources preserve two different versions of Gregory's canonical position at this junction, both hostile: 1) He was a schismatic and had been deposed, as such, by Ignatios and his synod. 2) He had committed some offence against the canons before Ignatios' patriarchate.[16]

The first (No. 1) is the version known to Pope Nicolas I, though his information comes from Roman archives and Gregory's adversaries. It is also the one given by Zacharias of Chalcedon in the defence he attempted to present before the council of 869; in the very presence of Ignatios, he could hardly have risked giving false witness on this particular point.[17] The *Vita Ignatii* is again a suggestive witness, if only by implication. Having stated explicitly that Gregory's offence was against the canons, it goes on to say that Ignatios laboured to be reconciled, but there was no appeasing the terrible Sicilian. This is confirmed by Stylianos of Neocaesarea. Now such behaviour is inexplicable if Gregory's offence was against the canons. Either Ignatios was concerned only with defending them (in which case Gregory was more than a schismatic), or he had a grievance of some other nature.

The quality of the witnesses who call Gregory schismatic; the inconsistencies in the testimony of those who assert that his offence was canonical; the behaviour of Ignatios as related by his own supporters, and Zacharias' assertions ("Neque enim pro criminibus isti depositi fuerunt, sed pro eo quod restiterunt ecclesiae"), make out an overwhelming case for the first version: when he took his place in the church to participate in the ceremonies of Ignatios' consecration, he was not under sentence; not until much later was he deposed, by Ignatios (or his synod): for rejecting Ignatios' advances and refusing his communion.

No source reveals the nature of the offence which so provoked Ignatios. There is, in general, very little information about the bishop of Syracuse, he is under a *damnatio memoriae*, but enough is known to suggest he may have made himself enemies. His caricatures of Ignatios are described with distaste by Niketas in the *Vita Ignatii*. Gouillard suggests that the story of the unsuccessful attempt to convict Methodios of loose morals, that recoiled onto the head of the mother of Metrophanes of Smyrna, comes from Gregory's lost *Life of Methodios*. Two of his disciples effectively ridiculed the poems of Theodore the Studite in the eyes of a former great admirer.[18] We may reasonably guess that Gregory devised propaganda for Methodios and his side, and it is possible that he had already attacked Ignatios before his predecessor's death.

There is also the accusation levelled at Ignatios that he maligned the memory of Methodios; Photios is said to have used the word 'parricide.' At this moment of tension when the Methodians, for whom the acceptance of Ignatios as patriarch represented a considerable concession, were certainly on the alert to see what line he was going to take, the attack on Gregory Asbestas was

15. Both Grumel and Dvornik assume that this choice was objectionable not only because of the canonical position of Gregory, but because it disregarded the alleged right of the metropolitan of Herakleia to consecrate the patriarch of Constantinople, a right expressly, if reluctantly, admitted by Balsamon. Not once, in the sources, does this particular offence appear among the accusations brought against him, in spite of the pressing need to convict him of canonical irregularity; nor does Zacharias of Chalcedon, in his defence of Photios' consecration, make any allusion to it. In fact, this "right" was invented in the tenth century for polemical reasons, see P. Karlin-Hayter "Le statut du siège patriarcal de Constantinople" (to appear in *Festschrift J. Vogt = Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, 3).
16. Letters of Nicolas I, MGH, Ep. V: "a Gregorio syracusano vel ceteris schismaticis institutus" — (letter 90, 497 to Michael, Nov. 866); "quique olim . . . a fratre . . . nostro et comministro Ignatio et a synodo quae sub eo erat depositus est," (500); "Gregorium sane qui Syracusanae ecclesiae irregulariter atque Deo contempto praeest, eo quod et ipse parte schismaticorum sit et, postquam a synodo episcopatus officio privatus est et a decessore meo sanctai memoriae papa Benedicto obligatus est, et Photium laicum subito consecrare in episcopatum non formidavit," (to metropolitans and bishops of the Church of Constantinople, same date, 521); letter 94: "Gregorium qui Syrac. eccl. Deo contemptu praeest, eo quod a vestra se communione sequestraverit et Photium irregulariter ordinaverit et post depositionem sacrum ministerium tetigerit," (to Ignatios, same date). The extract from letter 91 is, in my opinion, a likely summary of what actually took place. See also, Stylianos of Neocaesarea: "Gregory Asbestas, Eulampios and Peter (of Sardis) whom the patriarch repeatedly called to the synod and attempted to heal so that they should not be cut off from the Church and fall a prey to the Evil One, but he was not able to appease them. So he deposed and anathematised them. But they sent letters and emissaries to the then pope, the blessed Leo, asking for redress as though they had been wronged," Mansi, XVI, col. 428. Metrophanes of Smyrna: "*propter criminales causas*," (*ibid.*, col. 353); this is in answer to Zacharias of Chalcedon's claim that he and his companions had been condemned exclusively for dividing themselves from the Church; when Zacharias tried to answer Metrophanes he was forbidden to speak by order of the legates. The *Vita Ignatii* PG, 115, ed. 512 claims that at the time of Ignatios' consecration, Asbestas happened to be in the capital summoned to answer for certain misdeeds; he had already been deposed by Rome for canonical transgressions. (This at least was not so: see Nicolas I's letters and Dvornik, *Photius* [cited in note 1], 58–9). Anastasius Bibliothecarius says that they had already been condemned; see Mansi XVI, col. 3. Ps.—Symeon adds that he was deposed by Methodios for many things, but chiefly for the extra-diocesan ordination of Zacharias, Methodios' envoy to Rome, 671. This farrago is worthy of Ps.-Symeon, but one point is interesting: Rome considered that ordinations by the Byzantine Church in Sicily, were extra-diocesan, see Nicolas' letter to Michael, Mansi, XV, col. 162; XVI, col. 159; J.A.G. Hergenröther, *Photius Patriarch von Konstantinopel* (Regensburg, 1867–9), I, 415. Gregory probably succeeded Theodore Krithinos, Gouillard, "Deux figures," (cited in note 5 above), 380, when he was appointed by Methodios to the see of Syracuse; "In the year 6352 Orthodoxy was brought (back to Sicily) by the archbishop Gregory," see the *Cambridge Chronicle*. (Greek text, but not Arabic) edd. A. Vasiliev and M. Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes* (Bruxelles, 1935), 345. Cf. Grumel, "Le schisme de Grégoire de Syracuse," *EO*, 39 (1940–42), 257–67.
17. Mansi, XVI, 87.
18. Gouillard, *op.cit.*, 375; *Vita Theodorae*, PG, 99, col. 312D.

felt as an attack on Methodios himself, even if it was not so intended. Ignatios, henceforth, was irretrievably compromised with the anti-Methodian interest.

In fact he tried to retrieve this unfortunate step, but in vain. Faced with the relentless antagonism of Gregory and his supporters, there was probably nothing he could do but depose them, though he seems to have waited several years.[19] Gregory and those who sided with him appealed to Rome, where they found Leo IV on the papal throne.[20] He wrote to Ignatios in strong terms; a few lines only are preserved, but it is probably in answer to this letter that Ignatios dispatched the monk Lazaros to Rome. Lazaros found Leo dead and Benedict on the throne. Dvornik assumes that Leo's death must have been very recent; in fact, we do not know how dilatory Constantinople was in answering what certainly appeared, to both emperor and patriarch, an unjustifiable intervention. At all events, Benedict decreed that the whole affair was to be retried by him in Rome. Pending his decision, those deposed by Ignatios were to consider themselves suspended and to refrain from all episcopal activities. Whether Benedict wrote to Ignatios once or twice, we only hear of one letter. This Ignatios excused himself for not having answered, because it did not reach him till July (858), nine or ten days before his deposition.[21]

This last event was the signal for Gregory and his friends to come back into the bosom of the Church. There was no need for great formalities: their only offence was to separate themselves from their patriarch, and if it is true that they were condemned *absente Ignatio*,[22] the synod could lift the condemnation which it had imposed. So, all being satisfactorily settled, they bothered no further with Rome. This was a serious mistake. Pope Nicolas dwells repeatedly on the refusal of his predecessors to confirm Ignatios' condemnation without enquiry, and Gregory's lack of gratitude. This is, in fact where the Photian affair went wrong.[23] If Gregory had been more tactful with the pope, whose arbitrage he had (after all) solicited, the apostolic see would probably have been on his side.

Meanwhile, Ignatios was made to abdicate. The canonicity of his election had been contested. Good care was taken that this should not happen with the new patriarch. In complete contradiction with Constantinopolitan custom, but in conformity with canons 4 and 6 of Nicaea and 12 of Laodicaea, the synod was invited to elect a patriarch.[24] Whether governmental pressure imposed Photios, or whether he was in fact agreeable to the majority, is impossible to say. At all events, he was formally elected. He was ordained by Gregory Asbestas. "L'erreur de sa vie" says Grumel.[25] This is perhaps true chiefly in the eyes of posterity.

From the legalistic point of view, canon law also is subject to time and place; in spite of sustained efforts, Rome could not avoid a measure of regional autonomism, and Zacharias of Chalcedon is doubtless speaking for the majority in the Byzantine Church (up to Photios' deposition) when he says: "As for their allegation that he (Photios) was promoted by deposed prelates, in the first place, we do not agree that this is so, since they had not been deposed for misdeeds (*criminibus*), but because they were in opposition to the Church; but when they returned to Her, and condemned their own apostasy, it was right to receive them. But even if Gregory who consecrated him was deposed, Photios is not to blame "*sed ii qui eum promoverunt*" (*eum* is Gregory, as appears from the

19. Dvornik, *Photius*, 51–56. However, the words "La démarche d'Asbestas nous est connue avec quelques détails par une lettre du pape Léon IV," appears to telescope the fact that a certain amount can be picked up here and there about this *démarche*; in particular, a letter from Leo IV, expressing strong disapproval of Ignatios, is almost certainly connected with it. Only a fragment of the letter survives. See also note 20 below.

20. Obviously the initiative came from the deposed prelates, not from Ignatios. The idea could not have occurred to him, as depositions inside his own patriarchate did not need to be confirmed by Rome to be valid. It was, however, impossible to disregard appeals to Rome by the condemned. As Ignatios' emissary found Leo IV dead (+ 855), it is a reasonable presumption that the appeal of the deposed prelates reached Rome not long before his death, certainly not more than two or three years before. The appeal, on the other hand, will have followed rapidly on the condemnation which must, therefore, have been pronounced in the early fifties.

21. Extracts from the Acts of the 861 Council, quoted by Dvornik, *Photius*, 63, note 61, from the canonical collection of Cardinal Deusdedit edited by Wolf von Glanvell, *Die Kanonensammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit* (Paderborn, 1905), 604.

22. "Ecce enim scripta vestra . . . quosdam partis Gregorii Syracusani congregatis episcopis etiam absente fratre nostro Ignatio vos anathematizasse testantur." Letter from Pope Nicolas I to Michael III, dated 865 (MGH, *Ep.* V, no. 88, 478). This, however, is at variance with letter 90 dated Nov. 866: "a fratre et comministro nostro Ignatio et a synodo quae sub eo erat, depositus," (500). Which is right? One can only say that the second version is the one required by the Ignatians, cf. the same letter: "Sed videamus quorum iudicio vel quorum auctoritate Gregorius post depositionem et anathema honorem episcopatus resumpsit . . . Quod si rursus dicat Gregorius, se ab episcopis absolutum esse, frustra est: neque enim ab inferioribus, vel aequalibus, sed a superiore, et ut ex apostolicis sanctionibus discimus, ab eo ipso qui illum communione privarat, vel certe a primae sedis potestate absolvendus est," (*ibid.*, 499).

23. In the judgment of Rome. This made him vulnerable, should he find himself at odds with the emperor; but the idea, which is, admittedly, hard to shake off, that his pontificate was a failure, is due to the Roman tradition and to the survival of the texts handed out by a small but energetic opposition.

24. There is abundant evidence that up to the beginning of the ninth century it was Constantinopolitan custom for the patriarch to be elected by the local clergy and senate. Against this custom it was easy to invoke the authority of various canons, in particular Apost. 30, Laodicaea 12 and Nicaea II (787) 4, see P. Karlin-Hayter, "Le statut du siège patriarcal," cited in note 18 above.

25. Venance Gruel, "La genèse du schisme photien. La succession d'Ignace," *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale degli Studi Bizantini*, *SBN*, 5 (1939), 179–184.

next passage, while the one just quoted means: "but those who selected Gregory to consecrate him" [i.e. Photios]). "And even allowing that Gregory was deposed, it is possible for those who advanced him to escape blame. Flavian deposed Eutyches and Anatolios received him . . ."[26]

But we have here a fundamental point: the choice was not essentially Photios'. In the first place it is obvious that, as bishop-elect, he could not lift any ban; equally obvious that, though he might express a wish, he could not impose the choice of his consecrator. Finally, the government would never have allowed the consecration to be performed by a prelate in an uncanonical position (from the Byzantine point of view), or likely to handicap Photios in the task of healing the religious dissensions.

In fact, the evidence suggests that Photios was successful in uniting the great majority of the Church. By the end of the century it was possible to venerate both Ignatios and his one-time adversary — as did Joseph the Hymnographer, Arethas, and the biographer of Patriarch Euthymios. Certainly he was actively combated by a small group, who justified their opposition by reference to Ignatios, even after the reconciliation between him and Photios. Nor did Iconoclasm die out overnight. It may not, however, have constituted an opposition, if its defeated adherents were willing to lie low, insofar as Orthodox zeal would let them. Photios asked the pope to send legates to condemn the Iconoclast heresy;[27] and, much later, Arethas was asked for arguments for use against Iconoclasm,[28] but all in all Photios seems to have succeeded in reuniting the Byzantine Church.

What then was the significance of the choice of Gregory, in which Photios, the synod and the government must have concurred? Too much was at stake for this step to have been taken merely to make amends to the bishop of Syracuse. His presence stood for a policy. To identify it with certainty is of course impossible, but the most likely, to my mind, is a rehabilitation of Methodios' memory, though not of his methods. This presumably appeared necessary after Ignatios' blunder, if unity was to be achieved, and it also constituted, apparently, an affirmation that it was to be an Iconodule unity.[29]

26. Mansi, XVI, col. 87D (Greek 349A). Interpretation of the words *ii qui eum promoverunt* is difficult. Four passages in the Acts of this *Sessio* apparently repeat the same thing. The first says expressly "The bishops who consecrated [not 'promoted'] Photios" (85E; 348A). The next two come from the speech of Zacharias of Chalcedon. Speaking of Photios, he says "consecrate;" "promovere" he uses twice with an ambiguous "eum" (87D; Anastasius has explicited by adding a "Gregorius" which slightly obscures the logical construction of Zacharias' argument; 349A; 87D; 349A). The last passage uses "promovere" of Photios, but Metrophanes of Smyrna is taking up Zacharias' points verbatim to refute them, and it is possible that he misunderstood this one — or chose to. Such a misunderstanding, deliberate or not, was all the more natural as Metrophanes was concerned with proving that the bishops other than Gregory who participated in Photios' consecration were not to be condemned (cf. the first of these passages, from the speech of Hierosolymitan legate who had the same preoccupations). The points to note are 1) vocabulary; 2) "And even if his consecrator has been degraded, Photios is not at fault but those who chose the consecrator" make more sense than " . . . not Photios but those who promoted him (Photios) are at fault;" 3) in the precedents with which Zacharias bolsters up his point, a cleric or prelate who has been degraded is accepted by others as able to carry on with his priestly functions, or himself disregards the measure taken against him. (The precedents chosen were hardly tactful, but could reflect an emancipation from the Roman point of view that is still surprising to the heirs of Roman tradition).

27. The request came from both Photios and Michael, see Grumel, *Régestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* no. 467; Michael had Constantine the Kopronymos and John the Grammarian exhumed. They were put aside until the next races, to be ceremonially whipped in the Hippodrome; the remains were then burned in the Amastrianou; Georgius Monachus cont., 834; Ps.-Symeon, 681. Georg. cont. notes that Constantine's body was sound, and that "John the Patriarch" was wearing his omophorion.

28. Arethas, *Scripta minora*, ed. L.G. Westerink, I (Lipsiae, 1968), 75. See below, note 29.

29. Text to notes (13), (14) and (28).

(ιγ') τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ καθηγητοῦ τὸν ἀνθρώπωον μετηλλαχότων βίων· πάσης δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῶν ἐπιμελείας κτλ περιισταμένης εἰς αὐτὸν ...
ὀρθ· : τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ καθηγητοῦ ... μετηλλαχότος.

(ιδ') ὠλώθησεν ... ἐν ἡγουμένοις ὁ Χρυσοπολίτης· ὁ τῆς Δίου· ὁ τῆς Χώρας καὶ μικροῦ δεῶν πάντες οἱ ἐν ἄστει (Ἐπ. μα') πάντες μικροῦ δεῶν ἐν τῇ Βυζαντιδι μοναστaί τε καὶ ἡγούμενοι (Ἐπ.ρξε').

(κη') τὴν ἀλογωτάτην τῶν αἱρέσεων εὐθύνειν τέκνον Νικολαε εἰ μή πού με προμήθεια τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων ἐδυσώπει οὐκ ἂν ὅλως ἠξίουν ... πλὴν εἰ καὶ σκιαμαχεῖν δόξωμεν τοῖς θεωρητικωτέροις ἀλλ' οὖν ἐλοίμην ἂν καὶ πλέον τι δόξαι τῶν οὐκ ἐπαινουμένων ἢ τῆς τῶν ἁπλουστέρων ... σωτηρίας καταμελῆσαι.

XVII PAINTING AFTER ICONOCLASM

ROBIN CORMACK

THE Restoration of Icons in 843 marked the end of the second Iconoclasm as we know by historical hindsight, but there was no instant redecoration of churches. This delay in restoration may be attributed to practical considerations, prudence, or even to the personality of Ignatios. It took thirty years or so before the large churches such as St. Sophia or the Holy Apostles received, with imperial financial support, a mosaic figurative decoration (possibly in these cases for the first time ever). The question asked in this paper, whether the discussion on religious images stimulated by Iconoclasm changed the nature of Byzantine art, therefore needs consideration through a survey of the century of production after 843.

Some clues to the period are given by the little material surviving from the first generation after 843. For example, soon after 843 the coins of Michael III change the Iconoclastic types and represent on the obverse the bust of Christ. This type had only previously appeared in Byzantium just before Iconoclasm on the coins of the first reign of Justinian II. The inscription on the coins of the 840s reads simply 'Iesous Christos', but there can be no doubt that the post-Iconoclastic issues copy the iconography of the actual coins of Justinian II (one error in the earliest issues in which locks of hair trail oddly in front of Christ's left shoulder must be a direct misreading of this actual model).[1]

In the sanctuary of the Koimesis Church at Nicaea, the mosaic decoration inserted during Iconoclasm, which featured a cross in the conch of the apse, was replaced after 843 with a figurative scheme (Fig. 28). This ninth-century alteration cannot be dated precisely, unless a certain Naukratios who had his name inscribed in the new mosaics is to be identified with the Studite disciple of St. Theodore who died in 848.[2] The post-Iconoclastic Virgin and the Angels are a correct restoration of the original figurative programme of the sanctuary (which may have dated from the late-sixth century), as can be deduced from the inscriptions which survived from the first phase. Either Naukratios made this same deduction, or some record of the original decoration had been kept.

Both these examples witness a direct restoration of pre-iconoclastic iconography after 843. In the matter of style, however, it is less easy to conclude that artists returned to the point where developments were cut off, for I think that the same stylistic currents had continued during Iconoclasm. Nevertheless, artists do seem to have looked at work surviving from before 726 and to have been stimulated by it. This procedure would at least account for some similarity of style between the head of the Virgin, executed by Greek mosaicists in an oratory in St. Peter's in Rome between 705 and 707 (a fragment is now in S. Marco, Florence), and the head of the apse Virgin of St. Sophia, inaugurated in 867.

Such evidence confirms the description of the period as one of restoration of the past as expressed in the *Vita Basilii* and other texts. The idea of the regeneration of the Empire by an ideal ruler is not pure rhetoric but corresponds with the great amount of rebuilding and redecoration of the times. This renovation was stimulated, at least in the examples considered so far, by models dating from the period immediately before Iconoclasm rather than from earlier models from the Antique world. The period is characterized by Theophanes Continuatus as one of *palinzoia* and *palingenesia*, which means one of spiritual regeneration, not a revival of Classical Antiquity.[3]

Iconoclasm, then, did not radically change the direction of Byzantine art. Yet after more than a century of the lack of figurative icons in public places, there must have been a dislocation of the spectator's experience and perception of art, even though there was no new conception of the religious function of religious pictures. The mind's eye of the spectator in any period of Byzantine art is remote from ours, yet it is worth trying to enter it in this period of reorientation. The Council of Nicaea of 787 stated a principle of control over art, which offers a context through which to

1. J.D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (New York, 1959), esp. 47. There was a claim that a model dating from the reign of Constantine was being copied, see Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 210.
2. The stylistic evidence of Nicaea is discussed by P.J. Nordhagen, "The Mosaics of John VII (705–707)", *ActaIRNorv*, 2 (1965), 121–66, and the documentary evidence by E. Lipšits, "Naucratios and the Nicaean Mosaics," (in Russian), *ŽVI*, 8 part 2 (1964), 241–6.
3. K. Weitzmann, "The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance", *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (Chicago, 1971), 193, goes too far.



Fig. 28. Apse mosaic in the church of the Koimesis, Nicaea. Photo: Courtauld Institute.

approach the problem.[4] The reasoning of these theologians is that the painter's business is limited to his art, whereas its disposition is the concern of the Church. While it is not in practice possible to separate form from content, yet it seems worth making a selection of works, in roughly chronological order, where the treatment of iconography seems to document control by church patrons or theological dogma. These cases show the control of the patron, rather than the thinking of the artist.

1. The Chludov Psalter in the State Historical Museum in Moscow is one of a group of three Psalters with marginal illustrations attributed to the ninth century, but whose precise dating and context are uncertain.[5] Several principles are to be identified in the choice of passages to be illustrated with pictures, but I refer to those scenes with Iconoclastic references (Figs. 29, 30). Such images were chosen for the Psalter while Iconoclasm was an issue, and were meant to indoctrinate those using the book for regular reading. The particular passages chosen for such illustration depend on the attitudes of the patron; the visual models seem likely to be earlier products from the period of Iconoclasm.

2. On 29 March 867, the Patriarch Photios delivered the homily (no. 17) in which he inaugurated the first monumental representation to be executed in St. Sophia after Iconoclasm. In all probability, he was referring to the surviving apse mosaics in the church (Fig. 31).[6] In an earlier homily (no. 7), Photios had mentioned an adornment of St. Sophia in March 863, but presumably his reference was to portable icons and so implies that after Iconoclasm the first type of artistic decoration was of a makeshift character. Around the new apse mosaic was inscribed a verse celebration of the restoration of images, written in an iambic distich which in its formulation refers back to the inscription placed over her new image of Christ Chalkites by Eirene after 787.[7]

The choice for the new apse decoration of an enthroned Virgin and Child between Archangels must have been made (or approved) by Photios not as an isolated decision but as part of a planned scheme for the whole church. The existence of such a blueprint is implied when towards the end of his homily he appeals (for funds) to the Emperors (Michael III and Basil I) "to consecrate the remainder too with holy images." Since Photios placed the Virgin in the apse, he must already have envisaged a scheme in the dome which featured Christ. A patriarchal plan for the ninth century decoration of the Great Church to be presented to the artists when employed seems the reasonable assumption.

3. The main apartments of the Patriarchate were redecorated after Iconoclasm. In particular, the large vaulted room off the South end of the West galley of St. Sophia received a scheme of mosaics incorporating about forty figures of saints (Fig. 32). The precise dating of these mosaics which seem to decorate the important apartment known as the large Sekreton, is controversial, but in my judgement belongs to the early 870's and was planned by Patriarch Ignatios.[8] The cycle of figures conforms with the recommendations on art agreed by his Council of 869–70, for canon three affirms that: the images of Christ, Mary, the apostles, prophets, martyrs, and all the saints and angels ought to be honoured and venerated in the equal of the holy Gospels and representations of the precious cross. This Council also approved the idea that unless a man venerates the images of Christ and the saints he may be in danger of not recognizing them on the Day of Judgement. The programme is composed of portraits of single saints. Christ, in a Deesis between the Virgin and the Baptist, holds a Gospel Book (Fig. 33) and crosses are represented in the window soffits. André Grabar has suggested that this Council encouraged the portrayal of saints who had visions of God – there are several in this category in this room. Also selected for inclusion in the cycle are the four Orthodox Patriarchs concerned with the outbreaks or terminations of Iconoclasm, who had believed that in contemplating an icon, a man contemplated God.

The choice of each figure in the programme may be attributed to patriarchal initiative and control over the mosaicists. The ordering of the figures along the vault is hierarchical. The youngest saint (Methodios), who is the only person to make direct contact through his eyes with the spectator, is placed furthest from Christ, who is at the church end of the room. Such a principle of organisation is often observed in Byzantine art, yet it reflects less the visual conceptions of artists than the mind of this society, as documented, for example, in the late ninth century *Kleterologion* of Philotheos. This

4. Mango, *Art*, 172–3.
5. In discussion during the Symposium, Dr. R. Stichel referred to the use of the same antiphonic refrains in some South Italian Psalters; if these are not simply later copies of the service books of St. Sophia in Constantinople, then the interpretation of the use of the ninth century marginal psalters as monastic may after all be correct.
6. C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul", *DOP*, 19 (1965), 115–51.
7. Mango, *Brazen House*, 121.
8. R. Cormack and E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: the Patriarchal Apartments" (to appear).

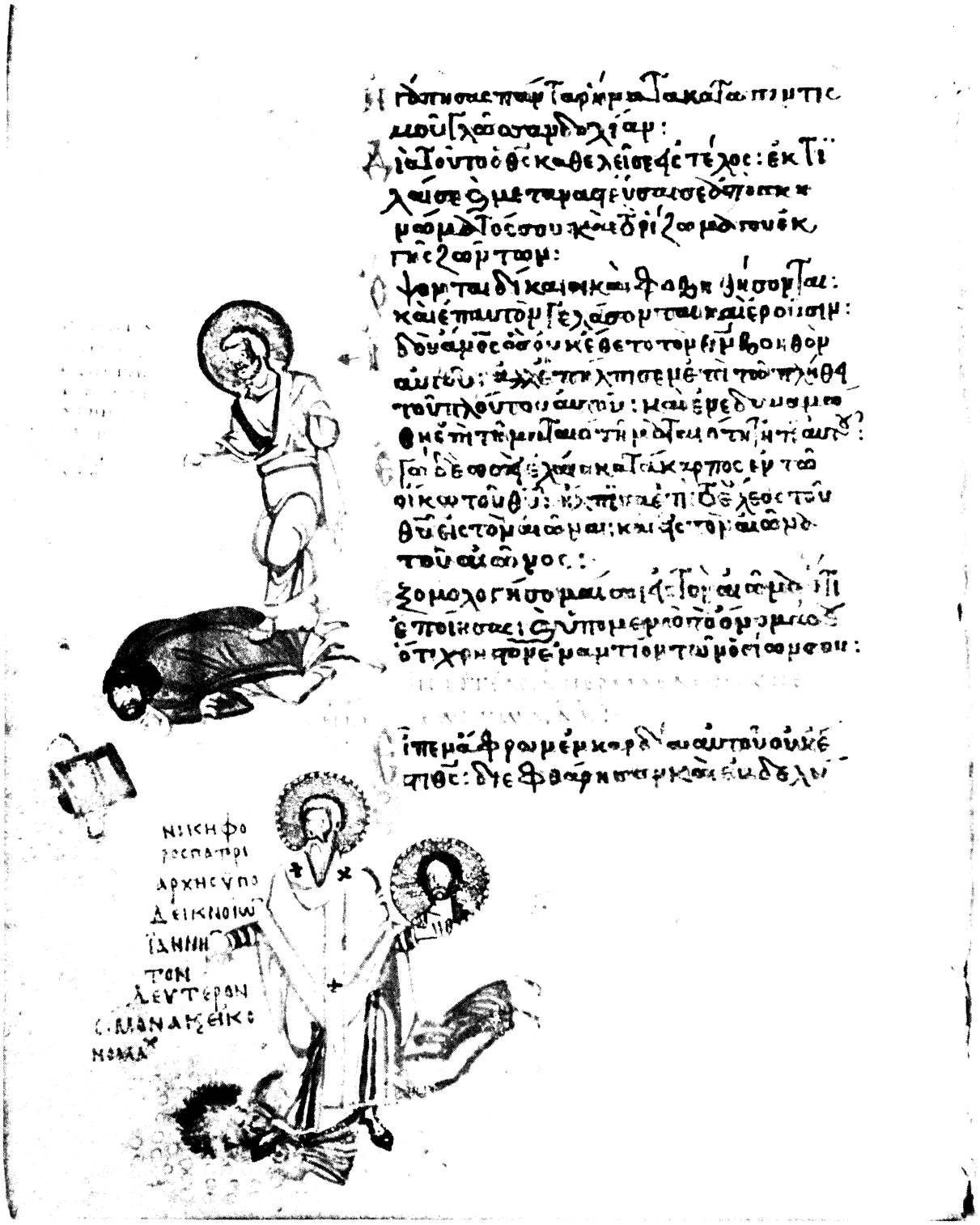


Fig. 29. Fol. 51v, Chludov Psalter, State Historical Museum, Moscow, illustrating the text: "Behold the man who made not God his strength, but trusted in the abundance of his riches, and strengthened himself in his wickedness." Photo: D. Wright, Courtauld Institute.

allocates the seating and order of precedence at imperial meals, including the two occasions when the Patriarch entertained the Emperor and his court to breakfast after the liturgy in this actual room. As well as the hierarchical system, the portrait-types of saints may to some extent have been imposed on artists through written canons, such as those given in the text of Elpius the Roman.[9]

4. In the interior of St. Sophia, some of the ninth century decoration survives, and more can be reconstructed.[10] The theological control over the artists is obvious in the choice of the saints set in the Tympana below the dome – there is a significant reference in the Church Fathers to the liturgical calendar of the Great Church.

I am sceptical about the suggestion that a characteristic programme of this period was the portrayal of the heavenly community on earth through a hierarchical system of icons consisting of single figures only and without any scenes.[11] St. Sophia did not have, as has been claimed, a decoration of this kind, for there were festival scenes in the galleries. The other decorations of this kind adduced are known only from written descriptions of churches whose scale is not known; nor are the descriptions likely to be complete. The cycle in the Large Sekreton of the Patriarchate decorated a private apartment, not a chapel, and so is of an exceptional type.

5. The luxury copy of the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (*cod. Paris gr. 510*), illustrated around 879 to 882, is a unique edition in which the pictures often illustrate the logic of the text, rather than the actual words. The illustrations succeed in drawing out imperial connotations as well as theological meanings from the texts included in the manuscript. This erudition implies careful control by the planner, who has been tentatively identified as Photios. He was by this time reconciled with the Emperor Basil I to whom the manuscript was presented.[12]

6. A recently published New Testament manuscript with a number of illustrations (divided between a private collection in Switzerland and the Walters Art Gallery, as *cod. Baltimore W. 524*) is an example of the paramount significance of ecclesiastical principles in the selection of iconography.[13] The illuminations seem to date around 900 to judge from their style, but the principle of illustration is one known at a developed stage in a group of twelfth century (and later) books – for example the *Codex Ebnerianus* at Oxford (*cod. Bodl. Lib. Auct. T. inf. 1.10*). The feature of this series is the accompaniment of a portrait of the writer of each book with a scene. For example in the tenth-century manuscript the portrait of Matthew was a full-page painting which faced a full-page Nativity. It is a reasonable assumption that the other surviving pictures (Baptism, Annunciation, and Anastasis) also faced Evangelist portraits. As in the *Ebnerianus*, where the portrait and related scenes are placed within a notional architectural framing, the scenes chosen illustrate the liturgical festival during which a passage from the first chapter is read. The scenes were therefore selected not for primarily narrative reasons, but they make a theological point about the liturgical significance of the four Gospels and other New Testament books. The control of a church patron can be felt in the organisation of this tenth-century manuscript.

7. Another undated work which I am including in this set of examples on grounds of style is the small painted wooden reliquary of the True Cross from the Sancta Sanctorum of St. Peter's and now kept in the Vatican Museum (Figs. 34, 35).[14] A Crucifixion is painted on the upper face of the lid; a portrait of St. John Chrysostom on the underside of the lid; and on the box itself – so that they were facing Chrysostom – were shown Sts. Peter and Paul (where the normal choice would have been Sts. Constantine and Helena) below Christ, the Virgin and two Archangels. Chrysostom holds an open codex with an inscription: on the left page, it is the usual lectionary formula to preface a reading; on the right the text derives from the Gospel of John (either xiii, 34 or xv, 17) and is one used in the first reading in the morning office of Good Friday (there is no liturgy on this day). The message is: "The Lord said to his disciples; I command you that you love one another" (Fig. 35). Chrysostom did write a homily on this text (no. 77), but this is insufficient to explain his representation on the reliquary. One explanation for the iconography, its stylistic dating in the first half of the tenth

9. N. Oikonomidès, *Les Lists de préséance byzantines des 9e et 10e siècles* (Paris, 1972): and M. Chatzidakis, "Ek ton Elpiou tou Romaiou", *EEBS*, 14 (1938), 393–414.

10. C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, 1962); and C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: the Church Fathers in the North Tympanum", *DOP*, 26 (1972), 3–41.

11. As S. der Nersessian, "Le décor des églises du IXe siècle", *Actes du VIe Congrès international des études byzantines* (Paris, 1951), tome 2, 315–20.

12. S. der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr. 510", *DOP*, 16 (1962), 197–228. A recent suggestion is that the manuscript was made for Basil's son Constantine, who died while it was under production: I. Spatharakis, "The Portraits and the date of the Codex Par. Gr. 510", *CahArch*, 23 (1974), 97–105.

13. K. Weitzmann, "An illustrated Greek New Testament of the Tenth Century in the Walters Art Gallery", *Gatherings in honour of D.E. Miner* (Baltimore, 1974), 19–38.

14. F.E. Hyslop, "A Byzantine Reliquary of the True Cross from the Sancta Sanctorum", *ArtB*, 16 (1934), 333–40; and A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961), 487, no. 667.

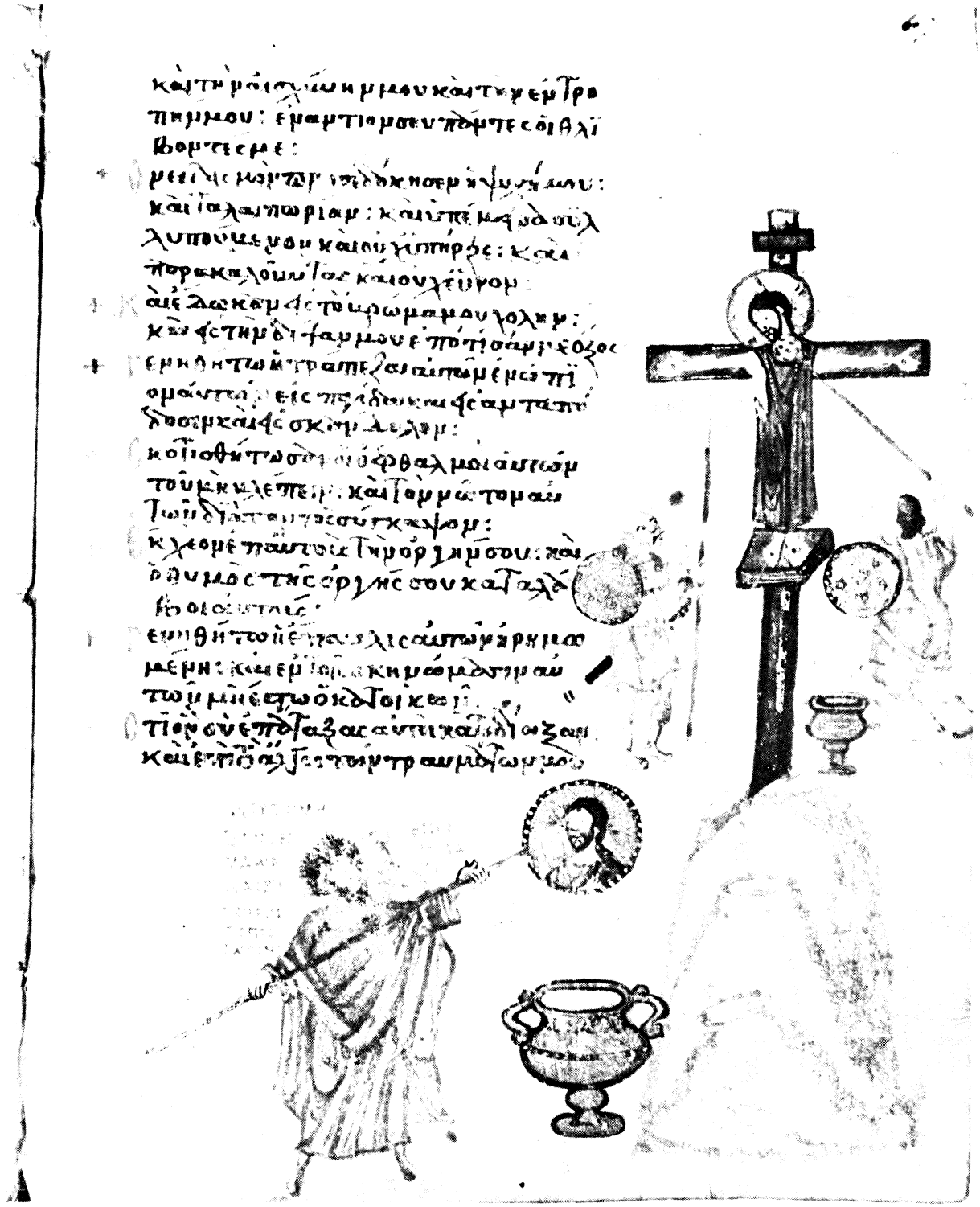


Fig. 30. Fol. 67r, Chludov Psalter, State Historical Museum, Moscow, illustrating the text: "They gave me also for my meat, and in my thirst, they gave me vinegar to drink." Photo: D. Wright, Courtauld Institute.

century, and its presence in Rome in the Sancta Sanctorum collection at least by the second half of the twelfth century, is that the box was a gift from the Patriarch of the Great Church to the Church of Rome, perhaps made during the conciliatory period around 920. This was when the rival elements in the Byzantine Church, quarrelling over the tetragamy of Leo VI, came to agreement in a council of July 920 in the presence of papal legates and enabled Nicholas Mystikos to proclaim his success in a *tomos enoseos*.[15] This interpretation of the iconography would recognize the church use of art for visual politics.

The unusual iconography of the paintings must show the further influence of special theological attitudes. The Crucifixion is startlingly unusual in Byzantine art, for it features the motif of the Virgin Mary embracing the bleeding feet of the dead Christ. The daring of this rendering is made clear by a comparison with the Crucifixion in the ninth century Homilies of St. Gregory (*cod. Paris gr. 510*: fol. 30 verso) where Christ had been designed as dead on the cross in the underdrawing but in the final painting was shown alive, as in the earlier normal convention. The dead Christ in this scene is, however, known in the ninth century, for example in the Chludov Psalter and in the mosaics of Holy Apostles as described by Constantine the Rhodian (probably executed for Basil I). The Crucifixion on the box also represents John the Theologian, holding his Gospels. Since the words of Christ as reported in John (xix) are inscribed, the picture may be said to be based on this description (Fig. 34).

The unusual rendering by the artist suggests the influence in some manner of a theologian in its invention. Possibly the source of this stimulus can be identified, though this is not necessarily the direct source for this actual work. I refer to the supporter of Photios named George of Nikomedeia (Bishop of Nikomedeia before 867 and after 877).[12] One of his homilies is directly relevant to our iconography, his homily no. 8 for Good Friday, though it needs to be noted that other texts in this vein may be adduced, and that this text influenced other writers (for example Symeon Metaphrates). George of Nikomedeia was an intellectual, who received a secondary education in profane literature. He devoted time to the study of ancient poets, found fault with a barbarian word used by St. Peter and criticized the style of St. Paul's writing. In one sense his long homily no. 8 shows the influence of a traditional rhetorical education, for he envisages the events of the Crucifixion as if he were present at the historical occasion. However his language and the sentiments put in the mouths of the participants are as emotional as the Apocryphal Gospels. His style is far from the calm but mandarin prose of Photios. He uses the words of Christ as reported in John, xix, for his re-enactment of the events, and emphasizes the death of Christ out of which came life for the Christians. The climax of his dramatic description is the act of the Virgin after Christ's death on the cross – "she approached boldly so close as to be able to grasp the cross and she kissed His pure feet".

If it is correct to see the stimulation of a theological text on the painter of this box, it must be further conceded that the influence goes beyond just iconography: form and content cannot be set in separate compartments here. The bold narrative treatment and prominence of the figures without landscape elements results in an emotional style designed to involve the spectator. The Pope who received this reliquary must have been shocked (and apparently kept it away from the eyes of Western artists).

8. The cycle of miniatures in the Bible of Leo the Patrikios (*cod. Vat. Reginensis gr. 1*) shows a careful selection under theological supervision. The Bible, planned to include both Testaments survives only with the Old Testament. The volume has, on the basis of the donor portraits, been dated to the second quarter of the tenth century.[17] Each book is preceded by a single full-page frontispiece scene with an inscription in iambic verses written around the frame. These texts, which were presumably composed for this manuscript and possibly by the donor himself, are typological in content. An interest in Old and New Testament parallelism is of course traditional in Christian theological exegesis, and had occurred in art before Iconoclasm. Both the Rossano Gospels and the Sinope fragment portray Old Testament prophets holding their texts which foretold the New Testament scenes illustrated. However the treatment of typology in this manuscript is both new and individual.

In the selection of scenes, there may be some connection between the Bible of Leo and the dogmatic formulations in the *Synodicon of Orthodoxy*, the ninth century statement of Byzantine theology.[18] Among those whose "memory be eternal" are: "Those who know that the rod and

15. Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 669. cf. R. Jenkins, *Byzantium: the Imperial Centuries, 610–1071* (London, 1966), esp. 237–8.
16. Some of his homilies are published in PG, 100; cf. Mango, *Photius*, 163.
17. C. Mango, "The Date of Cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance' ", *ActaIRNorv*, 4 (1969), 121–6.
18. Gouillard, "Synodicon", esp. 49, lines 76ff.The miniatures and their accompanying inscriptions are published in *Miniature della Bibbia Cod. Vat. Reg. gr. 1, e del Salterio Cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 381*, (Collezione Paleografica Vaticana, fasc. 1), (Milan, 1905).



Fig. 31. Apse Mosaic, St. Sophia, Istanbul. Photo: Courtauld Institute.

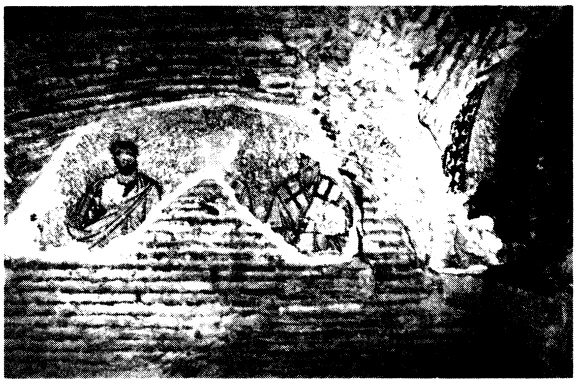


Fig. 32. Mosaic in the north-east bay of the Room over the south-west Vestibule of St. Sophia, Istanbul. From left to right: Symeon Zelotes, Germanos and Nikephoros. Photo: R. Cormack.

tablets of the Law, the Ark of the Covenant, the Menorah, the table and the censer foretell and prefigure the Theokotos Mary, and who know that these things prefigure her but she was not these things, but that she was born a girl and remained a Virgin after giving birth to God; those who for this reason prefer to represent her in images rather than to symbolise her in these types: may their memory be eternal." This prescription may have been noted in planning the cycle of this Bible as an expression of Orthodoxy. The Virgin is represented in the frontispiece, and is likely to have been represented again in the lost New Testament pictures. That the beliefs stated in the *Synodikon* were known is explicit in, for example, the picture of Moses and Aaron with the Levites carrying the Ark of the Covenant. The text inscribed around this picture reads: "Here are the priests and Levites of the Old Testament: in this picture, they show mystically the bliss of the New Testament. They foretell that they are carrying the Ark to Christ. Just as the panels of the Ark contain the Law, so the body of the Virgin Mary will give birth to Christ, who will combine the human and the divine in his nature" (Fig. 36). It may be seen that Leo the Patrikios was using the illustrations in his Bible to demonstrate (as the text alone could not) his theological knowledge and his Orthodoxy.

9. For the last example of this series, there is the luxury illustrated Psalter of the second half of the tenth century (*cod. Paris gr. 139*).[19] In a recent review of the problems posed by this manuscript, Professor Buchthal has discussed the creation of the cycle – he believes that the Paris Psalter is merely a copy of a psalter commissioned by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos and presented to his son Romanos II in 952. This opinion would explain the words of Psalm lxxi which were chosen for the text held by David in the miniature, where he stands between Wisdom and Prophecy (the seventh picture in the present cycle, but possibly the representation which opened the cycle of the proposed model). The text chosen is a prayer by David to give judgement and righteousness to his royal son Solomon. This would therefore appear to be a case of the supervision of the patron over the illuminator.

Probably the influence of the patron went considerably further, and entered into the creation of the pictures. A prominent feature of the iconography is the proliferation of abstract personifications, a feature which may have its parallel in that literature of the period which favoured the artificial use of classical allusions, such as the *Philopatris*. Some of the models of the Paris Psalter may have included abstract personifications; perhaps the most obvious candidate for such a figure in a model is the scene of David as the harpist, accompanied by Melodia.[20] But once the idea was taken up by the artist or recommended by the patron, it would have been possible to add personifications to any picture if appropriate, or even if not. There is no need to postulate the presence of such personifications in every model used. Their use must represent the artistic taste of the patron.

The conclusion I wish to draw from this selection of examples is that after Iconoclasm the role of the patron in the creation of painting was substantial, both in the choice of iconography but also in the way the artist visualized the subject matter. I do not of course suggest that this is a novel development of this period; only that some notion of the role of the patron in the period after Iconoclasm can be glimpsed, and that the prescription that the 'disposition' of art is the business of the church can, at least partially, be documented. However it is obvious even from a brief glance at this sequence of high-quality works that all participated in a general stylistic development over the period. A comparison of the miniatures of the two manuscripts now in Paris (*cod. gr. 510* and *cod. gr. 139*) exemplifies the change from stiff, linear figures to actors moving within a setting. Since all these different works seem to share a general development, it might be suggested that style was indeed the independent domain of the painters. Such a deduction can be criticized on several grounds, and the key problem is how to penetrate to the artists' own experience of style.

19. H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1929); cf. H. Buchthal, "The Exaltation of David", *JWarb*, 37 (1974), 330–3.

20. This case is argued by H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938).

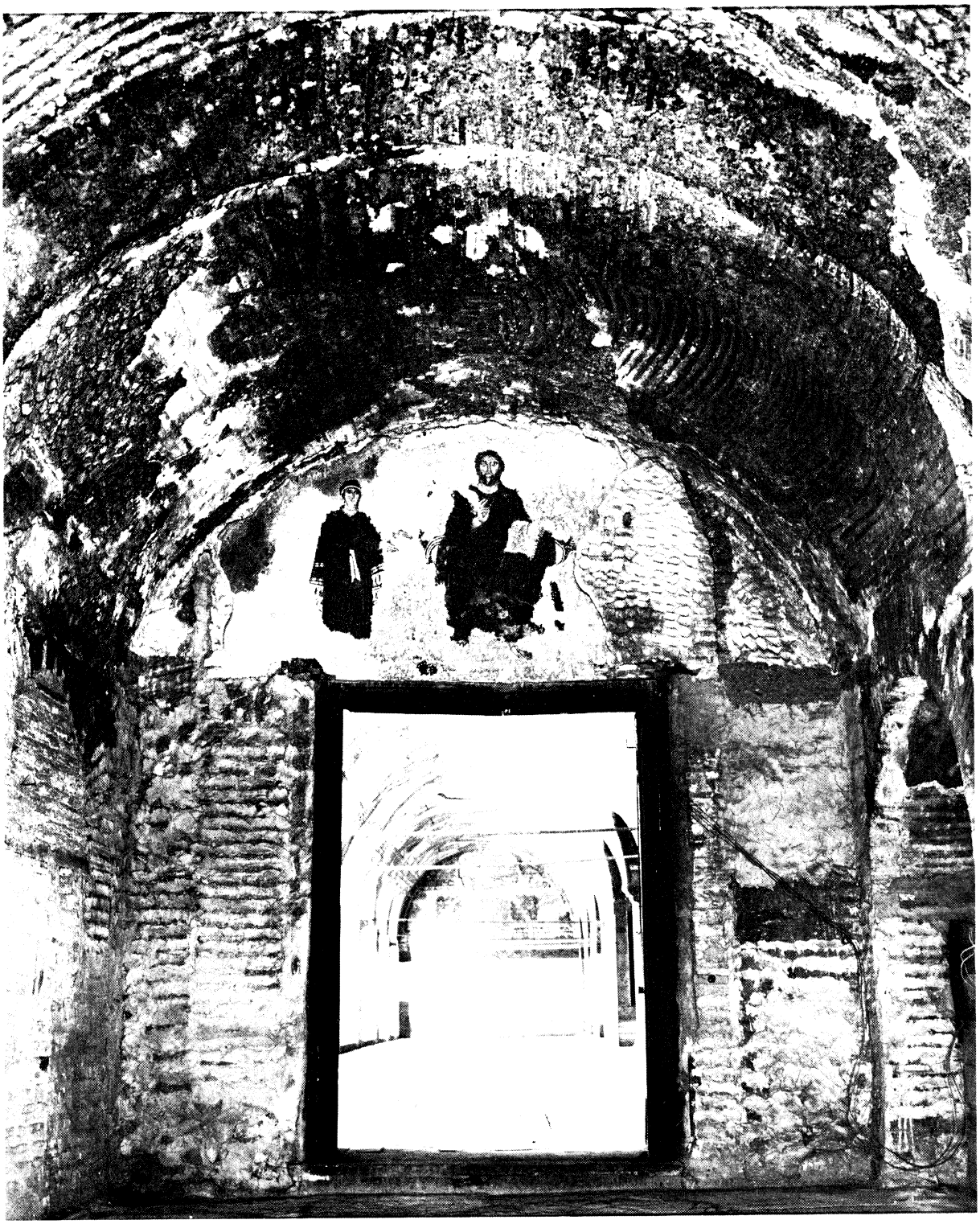


Fig. 33. Deesis mosaic above the door leading from the Room over the south-west Vestibule into the west Gallery of St. Sophia, Istanbul. Photo: Courtauld Institute.

The Byzantine experience of style can be approached through those works for which the environment of the patron can be documented and in which the artists could achieve the wishes of the patron. In an analysis with this aim, little direct help is given by works produced by painters whose expertise was inadequate for the stylistic expression used, since style is partly a factor of quality. This is the limitation of the important evidence of this period from Cappadocia for my present purposes. I regard the painter of Chapel 6 in the Göreme Valley as trying to work in the same mode as the manuscript *Paris gr. 510*, but failing to produce the same effect. Similarly, the painting of the mid-tenth century in the 'New Church' of Tokalı Kilise, despite certain positive qualities, emulates the stylistic expression of the manuscript *Vatican Reginensis gr. 1*, but falls short of the level of achievement of even that production. On these grounds, it seems necessary to try to look through the eyes of the patrons and artists of the highest class of production; this milieu is that of the imperial family, higher civil servants, and higher clergy – the group of educated men whose small number must be noted.[21]

A characterization of the writings of this clique on visual art has been made in a fundamental study by Cyril Mango.[22] Their critical attitudes can be exemplified by confronting the words of Photios delivered from the ambo of St. Sophia on Holy Saturday, 29 March 867, on the occasion of the inauguration of a work of art which was, with all probability, the surviving mosaic of the Virgin and Child in the apse (Fig. 31).[23] Photios speaks as if the artist has achieved an illusionist representation of a mother and child caught at a precise moment of time. The key term of appreciation used by Photios is 'lifelike'. In other words, Photios describes his experience of this mosaic in the critical terms appropriate to the standards of Antique art.

The Emperor Leo VI, a pupil of Photios, provides us with an insight into the process he followed when he too had to compose the inauguration homily for the foundation of a church and its mosaic decoration. When he came to describe the mosaic decoration of the apse of the Kauleas monastery church (dating between 893 and 901, and now lost), Leo VI obviously looked more closely at the appropriate section of the homily of Photios of some thirty years earlier than at the mosaic itself.[24] Like Photios, he appreciates the portrayal for its 'life-like' qualities. From such examples, Mango reached the conclusion that Byzantines saw no difference aesthetically between ancient art and their own art; they saw only the distinction of subject matter.

Such descriptions of works of art couched in the traditional rhetoric of the *ekphrasis* obviously cannot be used as a direct channel through which we can enter the mind's eye of the Byzantine spectator. However, it is not acceptable that a Byzantine could literally not perceive any difference between the art of his own time and the illusionist art of Antiquity. Whatever he said in front of a work of art, the Byzantine spectator did not view the compositions of his period according to 'rational' perceptions.[25] As a document for the history of art, the seventeenth homily of Photios illustrates two points. Firstly, that Photios is characteristic of educated men in most periods of history, and particularly in the Middle Ages, in his response to art. He is at a loss when trying to formulate a verbal response to a visual stimulus, for it is at any time eccentric to attempt this.[26] Photios' attempt shows the utter lack of development of any critical vocabulary on art during the period after Iconoclasm. He depends on already worn-out clichés, such as 'life-like'. His mandarin rhetoric tells something about his education; very little about his artistic experience. The second feature of the homily is that in voicing critical standards which are entirely traditional, Photios conforms to the normal conservative taste of church leaders and civil servants. It is exceptional to break out of conventional patterns; more normal to patronise the 'old master' trade, as in the Roman Empire. It is not surprising to find Photios expecting the contemporary artist to copy the past and to produce 'life-like' images. At a time when art was primarily conceived as carrying out a function (the visual expression of Christian Truth and of the permanence of the State), it was perhaps inevitable that the patron's conception of aesthetics was limited, and appreciation centred on technical expertise. The realities of artistic production were different.

Is it possible to detect any more positive side to the Byzantine response to art? One text written in a less elevated style than that of Photios gives some help. This is the Account of the image of Christ of the Monastery *tou Latomou* in Salonica written by a monk in that city, Ignatios, the abbot

21. P. Lemerle, "Élèves et professeurs à Constantinople au Xe siècle", *CRAI*, (1969), 576–87.
22. C. Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder", *DOP*, 17 (1963), 55–75.
23. Mango, *Photius*, 286–96.
24. Mango, *Art*, 202–3.
25. I use 'rational' only in the sense that a Byzantine presumably would not be amused by the cartoon by Harvey in *The Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia), reproduced as fig. 7 by E.H. Gombrich, "Visual Discovery through Art", *Arts Magazine* (November, 1965).
26. M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford, 1972), esp. 24–5.

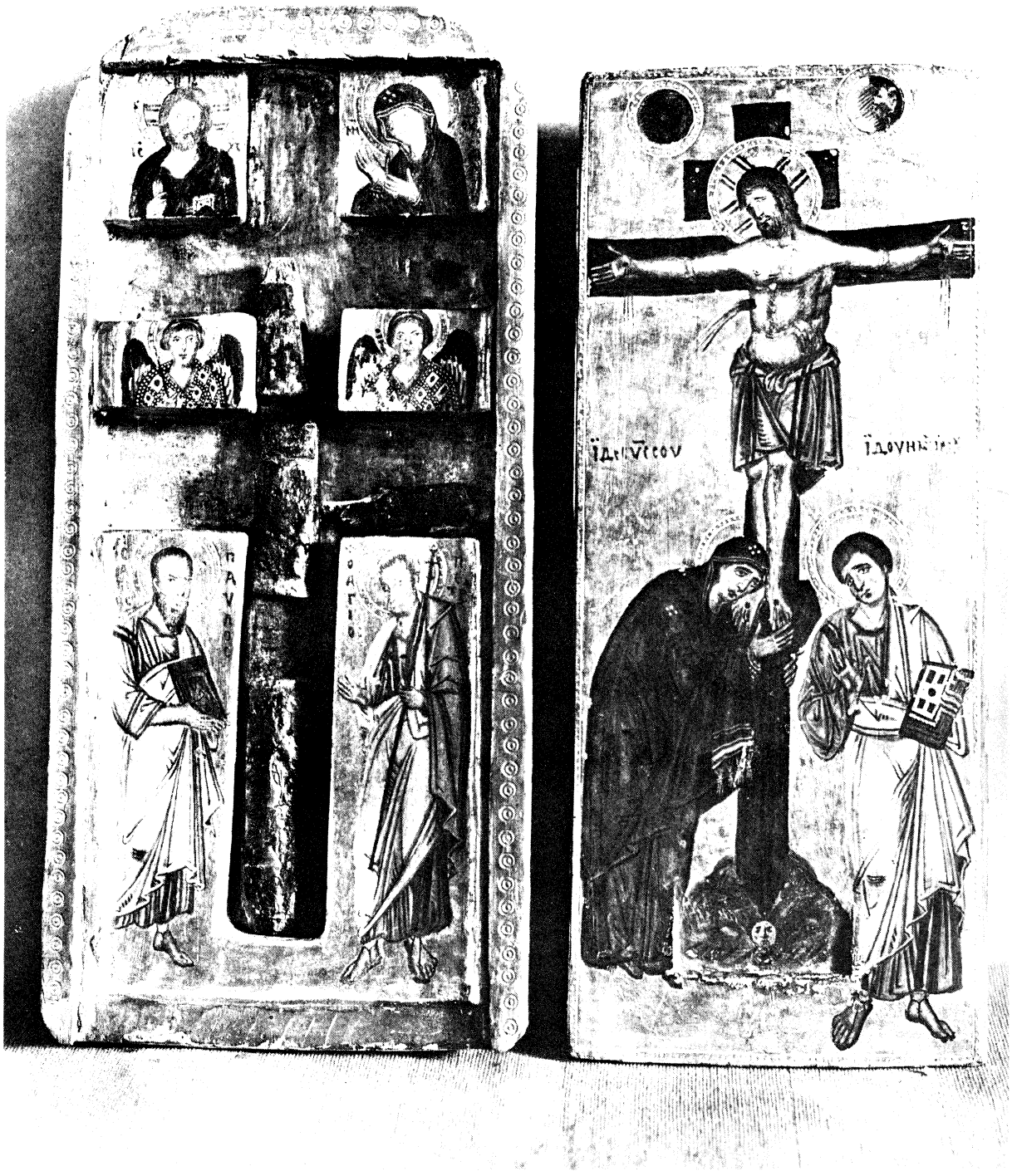


Fig. 34. Reliquary Box from the Sancta Sanctorum, now in the Museo Cristiano, Vatican. Lid: Crucifixion. Interior: Christ, Virgin, Angels, Sts. Peter and Paul. Photo: Alinari.



Fig. 35. Reliquary Box from the Sancta Sanctorum. Underside of Lid: St. John Chrysostom. Photo: Alinari.

of *tou Akapniou.*[27] It describes the miraculous manufacture of the mosaic figure of Christ, attributed to the period of Galerius (305–311), and its subsequent rediscovery in the reign of Leo V (813–820). The mosaic descirbed by Ignatios is the surviving apse decoration of the small church in Salonica, now (incorrectly) called Hosios David. The text has to be dated by internal indications, which in my point of view point to the late ninth century. The author gives no critical assessment of the art of the mosaic (which was executed some centuries before his time), but he does show considerable abilities of description. He mentions accurately all the iconographical elements, and transcribes the inscriptions, both on the scroll of Christ and below the conch, with precision – he slightly changes the grammar, but not the meaning. Ignatios also ventures identifications for the two witnesses of Christ, who are not labelled, as Ezekiel and Habakkuk. These identifications satisfied later Byzantine artists who reproduced the icon of Christ *tou Latomou.*[28] The suggestion, that the figures are prophets has satisfied some art historians too, although it may be no more than popular tradition in Salonica or a guess.[29] Ignatios is

27. Mango, *Art*, 155–6. V. Grumel, "La mosaique du 'Dieu-Sauveur' au Monastère du 'Latome' à Salonique", *EO*, 29 (1930), 157–75; and *idem*, "Le fondateur et la date de fondation du monastère thessalonicien d'Acapniou", *EO*, 30 (1931), 91–5 interprets the text differently. He dates the uncovering of the mosaic to the first half of the eleventh century, and the text of Ignatios to the twelfth century. He dates the foundation of the *Akapniou* monastery soon after 1018.

28. T. Gerasimov, "L'Icone bilatérale de Poganovo au Musée archéologique de Sofia", *CahArch*, 10 (1959), 279–88; A. Grabar, "A propos d'une icone byzantine du XIVe siècle au Musée de Sofia", *CahArch*, 10 (1959), 289–304; A. Xyngopoulos, "Sur l'icone bilatérale de Poganovo," *CahArch*, 11 (1960), 341–50; A. Grabar, "Sur les sources des peintres byzantins des XIIIe et XIVe siècles", *CahArch*, 11 (1960), 351–80. The wallpainting in the Bačkovo ossuary and the Poganovo icon reproduce the texts found in Ignatios and not those of the mosaic. The artists therefore may not have known the model directly but through some intermediary, perhaps an illustration attached to the account of Ignatios.

29. R.F. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia* (London, 1963), esp. 177–8, discusses the identifications, but misunderstands Grabar. For more guesswork, J. Snyder, "The meaning of the 'Maiestas Domini' in Hosios David", *Byzantion*, 37 (1967), 143–52.

undertaking art history of a kind in accepting the mosaic as dating from the Tetrarchic period and in giving an explanation for the iconography of Christ in the apse.

The text of Ignatios the monk proves the abilities of Byzantine spectators to describe the iconography of works of art.[30] Another low-brow text where the value of reading inscriptions for the identification of works of art, especially statues, is noted, is the eighth-century *Parastaseis*.[31] The information given by such texts is that Byzantine spectators did study and could describe their art, but they were limited by the lack of a relevant critical vocabulary and terminology in evaluating it.

If the literate spectator in Byzantium was inarticulate in this respect, what can be said about the artists themselves? In a survey of education in tenth century Constantinople, Lemerle suggests that artists belonged to the group who received a schooling up to the age of ten or eleven, and could read, write and count. Like many Byzantine monks, they were literate, but not 'educated'. On this view, the Byzantine artist would seem to be excluded from the possibility of personal contact with the *ekphrasis*, for this form of literature could not be appreciated, nor probably even understood, without a secondary education (up to eighteen) which included the study of 'profane', classical, texts.[32]

The problem is to find any documentation on the career of the painter in Byzantium in the period after Iconoclasm. It does not seem possible to quantify the numbers of artists who could be supported by patronage in the ninth and tenth centuries, nor the relative proportion of lay or monastic painters. However, the names of a handful of painters of the period are recorded, and while the number is not statistically significant nor their social status necessarily typical, some are worth mentioning for the light they throw on the type of education and social level which an artist could reach in the period. This information can be briefly sketched here.

According to Photios (in his fifteenth homily), the Iconoclastic Patriarch John the Grammarian was a trained painter. There seems no good reason to doubt that John painted icons in his youth during the interlude before the second Iconoclasm, perhaps while he was an *anagnostes* at the *Hodegetria* monastery.[33] The most famous artist of the first half of the ninth century was the Chazar Lazaros, who continued to paint icons despite torture and imprisonment by the Emperor Theophilos.[34] During the second Iconoclasm, he painted an icon of John the Baptist in the monastery of St. John *tou Phoberou* which was described as miraculous in the mid-tenth century. After 843, the restoration of the Chalke mosaic of Christ (before 847) is attributed to the mutilated hands of Lazaros. The attribution of the apse mosaic of St. Sophia to Lazaros, as told to the Russian pilgrim Antony of Novgorod in 1200, is less acceptable. Lazaros seems to have been painter and monk from an early age, but the Patriarch Ignatios considered him suitable to participate in a mission to the Pope in 855, and he died while accompanying a second papal mission soon after September 865. He was an ardent supporter of Ignatios, but his selection for a church envoy gives some indication of the status that a painter could reach. There is, however, a possible complication in the choice of Lazaros for the first mission, for its purpose was to obtain the Pope's consent to the deposition of Gregory Asbestas, bishop of Syracuse. Gregory himself seems to have had some kind of a training in painting, for one of his actions in the campaign of support for Photios against Ignatios was to produce around 867 a manuscript containing seven synodal Acts against Ignatios.[35] This manuscript contained miniatures painted by Asbestas portraying Ignatios as the devil, Antichrist, and so on. This abusive but inventive cycle may have been in the manner of the Chludov Psalter. Possibly Lazaros seemed to Ignatios a suitable opponent for Asbestas. For present purposes, both personalities give some indication of the possible place of the painter in Byzantine society.

In the legendary account of the conversion of King Boris of Bulgaria in 864 is mention of a Byzantine painter Methodios.[36] The story as told has some implications even if it is not literally acceptable as history. Methodios is summoned into the presence of the king and told to decide for himself the subject matter for a painting, which must stimulate fear and amazement in its spectators. The painter chose to represent the Last Judgement. This version in Theophanes Continuatus assumes the possibility of a dialogue between Boris and the painter, and gives Methodios the responsibility for selecting the iconography. The passage also deserves consideration as a statement

30. For a parallel in Armenia, see S. der Nersessian, *Aght'amar, Church of the Holy Cross*, (Harvard, 1965). See also H. Maguire, "Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art", *DOP*, 28 (1974), 113–40.
31. T. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, fasc. 1, (Leipzig, 1901), e.g. chaps. 27–8, 37, 38, 39, and 41.
32. P. Lemerle, as cited in note 21. R.J.H. Jenkins, "The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature", *DOP*, 17 (1963), 39–52, esp. 43–4, seems less precise in attributing a thorough rhetorical training "in the primary education of a Byzantine."
33. Mango, *Photius*, esp. 236–60. P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, (Paris, 1971), 138, note 121, is excessively sceptical.
34. C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins, as cited in note 6, esp. 144.
35. Mango, *Art*, 191–2, cf. p. 140 *supra*.
36. Mango, *Art*, 190–1.

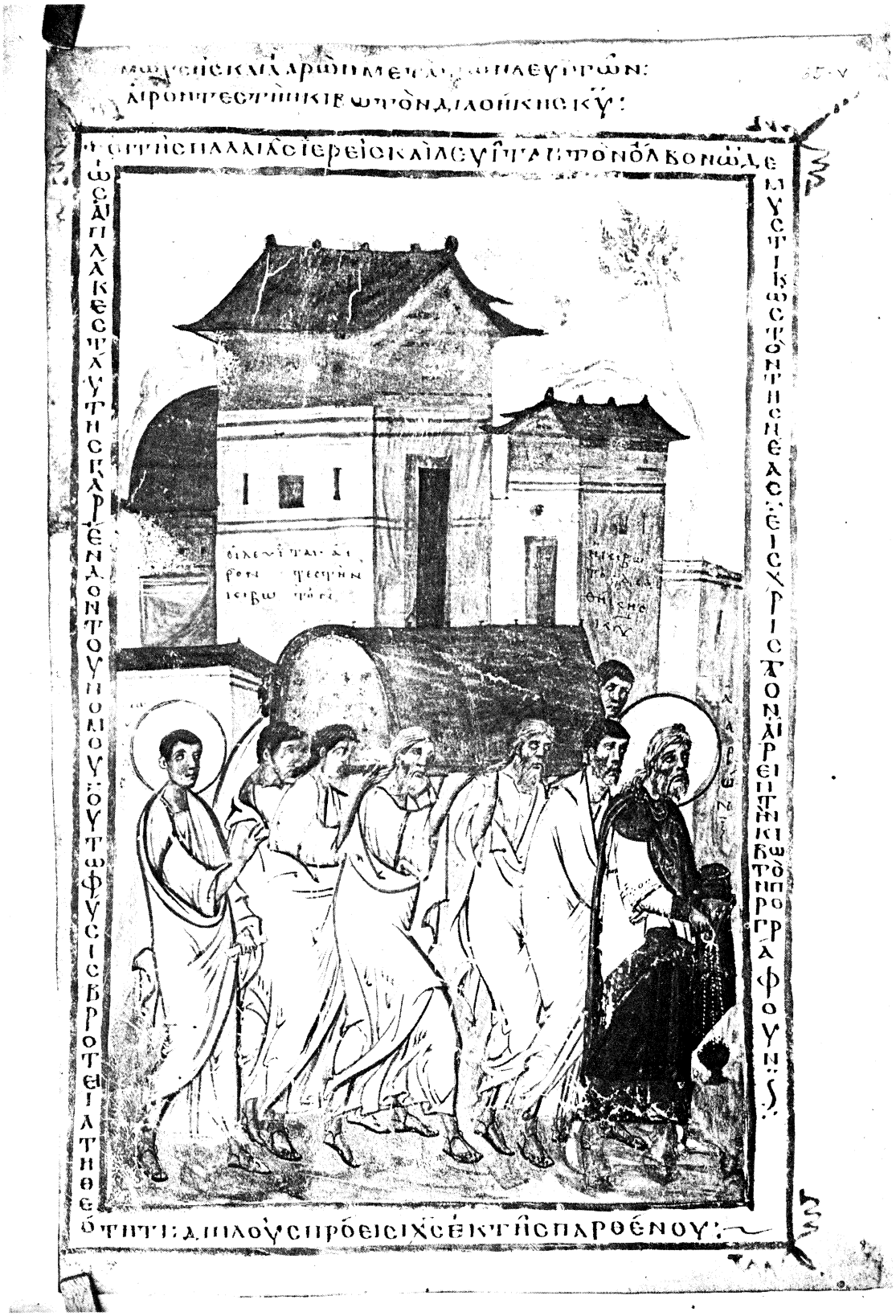


Fig. 36. *Vat. Reg. gr. 1*, the Bible of Leo the Patrikios. Picture g: The Ark of the Covenant.

on the function of art here not as directly didactic, but as inducing an emotional reaction in the spectator.

Another indication of the position of painters is given in canon seven of the Ignatian Council of 869–70.[37] According to this Council, the beliefs of painters must be taken into account by the Church: painters who did not accept the canons of the Fourth Council of Constantinople were banned from working in churches. This canon seems aimed against the team of artists previously employed by Photios.

A few more names are known from the tenth century, including the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos himself. Concerning the workshop which produced the illuminated *Menologion* for Basil II (*cod.Vat.gr. 1613*) and which consisted of eight named painters, perhaps both lay and monastic, it seems that the main master, Pantoleon, held a fairly high social status.[38]

The implication of this sample of artistic personalities is that the outlook of the Byzantine artist cannot be assimilated with any one category of society or education or literature, such as high-brow or low-brow. A certain social and intellectual mobility of artists is suggested. In this situation, how can written sources be used to understand the processes of artistic creation in Byzantium? How can we account for the current we see in Byzantine art after Iconoclasm towards a greater mastery in the handling of the human form within a more rationally convincing setting?

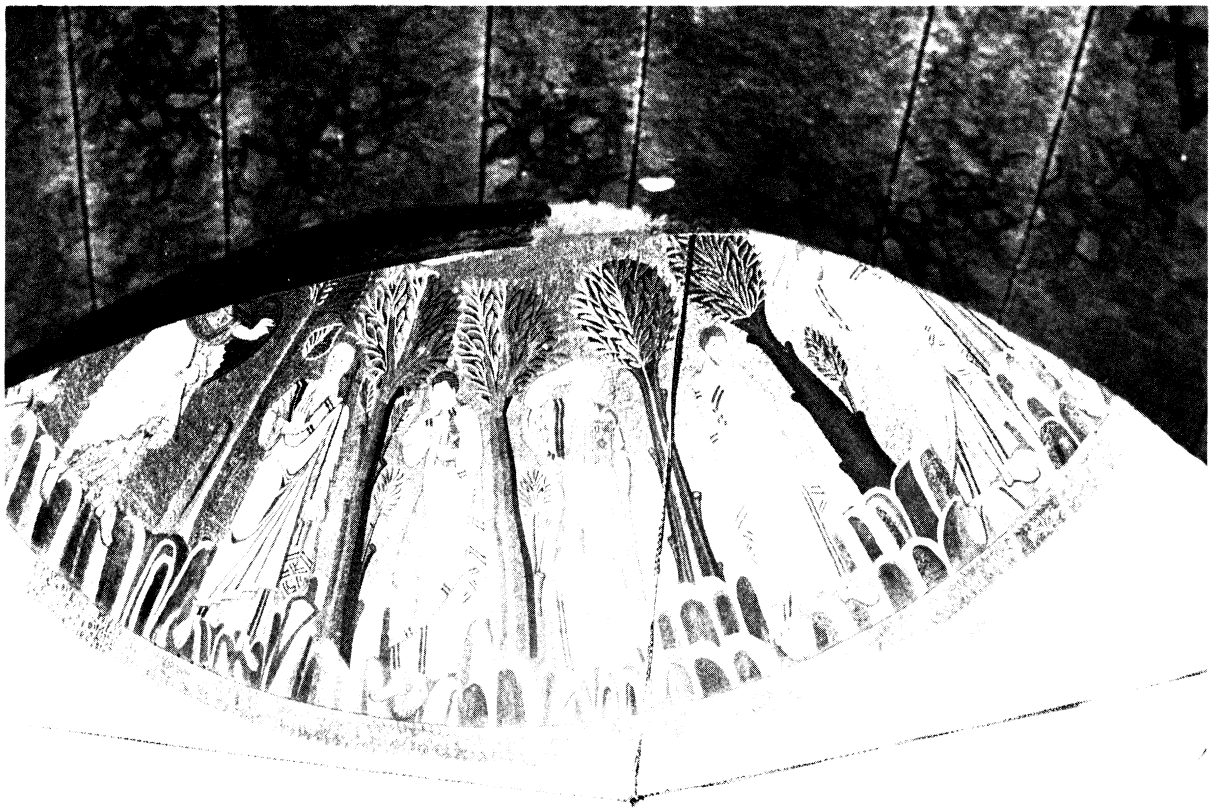


Fig. 37. Dome of St. Sophia, Salonica. Detail of the Ascension Mosaic. Photo: R. Cormack, Courtauld Institute.

Since some artists may have received an education which enabled them to appreciate the literary form of the *ekphrasis*, such texts cannot be dismissed as without possible influence. Even if the aesthetic terms used in these writings were clichés, yet clichés have meaning. Some insight into the art of the period is given by considering another inauguration homily by the Emperor Leo VI, delivered between 886 and c. 893 on the opening of the church built by Stylianos Zaoutzas.[39] Leo is describing a decoration by a contemporary artist, and so this type of *ekphrasis* differs from such

37. D. Stiernon, *Constantinople IV*, (Paris, 1967), 283.
38. I. Ševčenko "On Pantolean the Painter", *JÖB*, 21 (1972), 241–9.
39. Mango, *Art*, 203–5.

descriptions as those of Constantine the Rhodian or Nicholas Mesarites on the established and well-known mosaics of Holy Apostles. This homily of Leo VI contains some ideas which do not derive from Photios, and which suggest some original observation. One scene he describes in some detail is that of the Ascension. Although the mosaics of this church in Constantinople are now lost, a mosaic contemporary with them executed by artists from the capital has survived in the dome of St. Sophia in Salonica datable to *ca.* 885 (Fig. 37).[40] The words of the homily are sufficiently appropriate to the mosaic of the Ascension in the dome in Salonica to justify the use of this decoration in imagining the lost example (though the Ascension here was not in the central dome). The description of Leo VI concentrates on the appearance of the disciples. These standing figures, he writes, are fashioned with such lifelike character by the painter that they seem indeed to be seized by the various emotions of living persons. Leo then specifies some of their postures; one gives the impression of following the ascending Christ with his eyes, another is seen to be all ears (listening to the words uttered above), another is pensive because of his astonishment, and another is filled with wonder and fear.

The aptness of this description to the mosaic dome at Salonica encourages the belief that the homily did give an accurate description of the lost decoration, and that its artist, like the one in Salonica, was making some attempt to characterize emotion (though no doubt his models were pictorial rather than human). If this interpretation is correct, it means that the writer has recognized that the artist was portraying a religious scene by visualizing the emotions felt by the historical participants. There is a conscious intention to be 'life-like'. Possibly sermons, such as those of George of Nikomedeia, stimulated further artistic creation in this attitude of mind which gave meaning to the literary terms of criticism. This might be a partial explanation for the stylistic achievement of the Paris Psalter. Its miniatures need not derive from Antique models unused by other painters of the period, but may represent the productions of a workshop better able to recreate Antique ideals.

Some conclusions emerge from this survey of the period. To understand the revival of church figurative art after Iconoclasm requires study of the cooperation of patrons and artists. In attempting to penetrate to the visual experience of Byzantine society, only limited help is given by the formal literary *ekphrasis*. It may be more useful to consider the texts which the patrons used in planning decorations, and the sermons and commentaries through which the artists were educated to understand Christian history. Since some of these texts were written as part of the reaction to Iconoclasm, then, in a perhaps indirect manner, Iconoclasm had an effect on art.

40. R.S. Cormack, *Ninth Century Monumental Painting and Mosaic in Thessaloniki*, (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1968); cf. J.-M. Spieser, "Les inscriptions de Thessalonique", *TM*, 5 (1973), 145–80, esp. 160–1.

XVIII THE STRUCTURE OF BYZANTINE AND EUROPEAN ICONOCLASM

DAVID FREEDBERG

WHILE Byzantine Iconoclasm has received much attention from scholars, European Iconoclasm, until very recently, has been a surprisingly neglected phenomenon.[1] Byzantinists have been prepared to explore the implications and significance of Iconoclasm generally, for both doctrinal history and for the history of art, and have not shrunk from arguing tenaciously about its genesis, motivation and scope. But the same cannot be said for Eurpoean historians: Iconoclasm in post-Byzantine Europe still awaits adequate comprehensive treatment. Outbreaks of Iconoclasm in Europe have not always been minor and isolated events. In the Reformation it swept countries like England, Germany, France and the Netherlands – to say nothing of Eastern Europe – with a vigour that was as great as anything in the eighth and ninth centuries, and with a polemical backing that was perhaps greater. But the issues it raises parallel those of Byzantine Iconoclasm. Even the arguments against images were entirely derivative. Nothing could be more misleading than to insist on the absence of a connection, either in fact or in spirit, between the Iconoclasm of the eighth and ninth centuries and that of the Reformation.[2]

An attempt will be made here to point to some of the manifold similarities that link these phenomena. There are structural similarities as well, and it is in the framework of these that one may also consider such events as the *bruciamenti* of Savonarola's Florence and the Iconoclasm of the French Revolution. A useful analysis of Iconoclasm, both in general and in particular, may be achieved by considering the problems raised under the following headings. Each poses questions which must be asked in the case of almost all Iconoclastic activity and which provide a basis for comparison between widely distributed events. The aim is to discover ways in which individual outbreaks may cast light on each other, and to point to those general features of both Byzantine and European Iconoclasm which are characteristic of the phenomenon as a whole. While some of the questions have been frequently raised, others have often been overlooked: few of them can be considered entirely apart from the others.

Theory

It would be an impossible task to survey everything that was written against images. It would also be a dull one: the variations in the interpretation of the second commandment are endless, and so are the squabbles about how images could or could not reflect the unmaterial, divine aspect of the Godhead. One side would say that the only true image of God was man, while the other claimed that one could have images precisely *because* Christ was the incarnate image, *eikōn*, of the divine.[3] Did the honour paid to an image refer to its prototype, or were Christian images really no better than pagan idols? These are the questions that recur, from the very first writers on Christian imagery onwards.[4] It is unnecessary to deal with Eusebius' letter to Constantia, the writings of Epiphanius of Salamis, Hypatios' rebuttal of Julian of Atramytion, and the *horoi* of the Iconoclastic Councils of 754 and 815 here, because all of these have already received much attention in the literature.[5] They are worth enumerating, however, because every one of the arguments that appears in them reappears, with appalling monotony, in the writings of the Reformation critics of images – from

1. The only attempt to provide an overall view is the brief and inadequate work by J. van Vèghi, *Die Bilderstürmer: Eine kulturgeschichtliche Studie* (Strasbourg, 1915). A useful collection of essays on selected manifestations is M. Warnke, ed., *Bildersturm, Die Zerstörung des Kunstwerks* (Munich, 1973). Some regional studies have appeared, but none is as comprehensive as J. Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535–1660* (Berkeley, 1973).

2. The insistence appears in Martin, *History*, 272.

3. See note 10 below.

4. For the sources, see now Hennephof, *Textus*. An excellent selection of sources, with good translations, appears in Mango, *Art*, 3–190. For the pre-Byzantine period especially, these may be supplemented by W. Elliger, *Die Stellung der alten Christen zu den Bildern in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1930), and H. Koch, *Die altchristliche Bilderfrage nach den literarischen Quellen* (Göttingen, 1917).

5. For Eusebius' letter itself, see PG, 20, cols 1545 ff.; on the possibly spurious writings of Epiphanius of Salamis, see K. Holl, "Die Schriften des Epiphanius gegen die Bilderverehrung," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, II (Tubingen, 1928), 351ff. For Hypatios of Ephesus and Julian, see F. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica*, *OCA*, 107 (1938), 127ff., and Kitzinger, *DOP*, 8 (1954), 94–5 (note 33), 138; and for the *horos* of the Council of 754, see Mansi, XIII, col. 208ff. (read out and refuted by the Council of 787), and Anastos, "754," 177ff.; for that of 815, partially preserved in the *Refutatio et Eversio* of the Patriarch Nikephoros, see Alexander, *DOP*, 7 (1953), 58ff. The evidence for the religious views of the Iconoclasts comes largely from these councils, and also from the *peuseis* of Constantine V, extracted from Nikephoros, *Antirrhetici*, PG, 100, cols. 206–534 text in Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, 8ff, cf. *Anthology* A5, A6, B13, C18, C19 and D22.

Zwingli and Calvin right down to the vernacular publicists.[6] Obviously their utilisation of the sources varies, but there is not a new argument, nor even a new emphasis, between them.

The important – and useful – difference is that whereas most of the Byzantine arguments against images are only preserved in the writings of those who rebut them, the Reformation writings have come down to us in their original form. The method of argument is always the same: the marshalling of vast numbers of older sources, some authentic and some spurious, and innumerable quibbles about their validity. The same Christological arguments appear, the same charges of idolatry (although in the Byzantine discussions the emphasis on this varies), the same parallels with pagan practices, and the same insistence on the uncircumscribable and unmaterial nature of God.[8] Images (after all made only of wood and stone) work miracles which are quite improbable, it is claimed, and relics are held to be an overestimated – and over-supplied – commodity.

All the technical points recur, and a livelier writer like Calvin makes fun of the distinctions between concepts such as *proskynesis latreutikē* and *schetikē*, between *latreia* and *douleia*.[9] Then there is the delicate matter of the meaning of *eikōn*. Apart from the metaphysical, man-oriented and Word-oriented interpretations of that term,[10] some writers claim that the only true image of Christ is the Eucharist,[11] while others hold that the only image which should be tolerated is the Cross itself. In the Reformation, it is true, one finds more sweeping denials than previously of the intercessory abilities of the saints (man can communicate directly with God), so images of the saints are given short shrift.[12] But at the same time – in the Reformation as much as in Byzantium – the virtues of the saints are described as living images; and there is a call for their imitation in place of mere devotion to representations of them. We find this call from Amphilochios of Ikonion in the fourth century down to the Modern Devotion of the Netherlands in the fifteenth century.[13] Luther is the most tolerant of Reformed writers. Melanchthon simply sees them as *adiaphora* (unless they are abused), Zwingli allows the painting of historical scenes outside churches, and Calvin is critical of almost all religious imagery.[14] The popular writers, from Ludwig Hätzer in 1522[15] onwards, right until Didericus Camphuysen in the seventeenth century,[16] tend to be much more critical than the major reformers. They would do away with all portraits, all tomb imagery, all representations on coins, seals and other purely secular objects[17] – to say nothing of pornographic images in domestic or public places.[18]

In this respect, there is some divergence from the Byzantine polemic. Many of the later critics were, after all, popular writers, presenting their ideas in vernacular form. They were not always clerics. It was through them, and through preachers from the thirteenth century on, through Savonarola, to the field preachers of the Netherlands, that theological ideas filtered down into the

6. In contrast with the Byzantine writers, the Reformation critics have received little attention. There are, however, the two essays by Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, "Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation," in *Tradition und Leben – Kräften der Kirchengeschichte* (Tübingen, 1960), 392ff., and "Zwingli und Luther zur Bilderfrage," in W. Schöne, ed., *Das Gottesbild im Abendland* (Witten-Berlin, 1960), 139–172. I have dealt with the minor writers and vernacular publicists in my unpublished Oxford D.Phil. Dissertation, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Netherlands, 1566 – 1609* (1972), 32–104 and 136–169. On Zwingli, see C. Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts* (New Haven, 1966); and on Calvin, see L. Wencelius' not wholly adequate *L'Esthetique de Calvin* (Paris, 1937).

7. The charge of idolatry, made at the Council of 754, for example was abandoned at the Council of 815. See note 67 below.

8. See especially the *peuseis* of Constantine V, in Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, 8ff.

9. As in the *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne*, ed. F. Baumgartner (Paris, 1888), 54. The distinctions are between the veneration due only to God and the relative veneration of images (προσκύνησις λατρευτική σχετική), and between the reverence which is reserved for God alone and that which is paid to saints (λατρεία δουλεία). Ὑπερδουλεία, the special veneration paid to the Virgin, is a further complication satirized by Calvin.

10. For a full discussion with sources, see Ladner "Concept," 3–34.

11. See now Gero, *BZ*, 68 (1975), 4–22.

12. Even Claudius of Turin, discussed in Martin, *History*, 262–6, had criticized the concept of the intercession of saints, and, like Erasmus much later, the excessive importance attached to going on pilgrimages. For Erasmus' views on art generally, see E. Panofsky, "Erasmus and the Visual Arts," *JWarb* 32 (1969), 200–227. In almost every Reformation treatise, both for and against images, the cult of images is inextricably associated with that of saints. Vicious criticisms may be found, for example, in J. Veluanus, *Der Leken Wechwyser*, in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, IV (The Hague, 1906), 287–376; and biting satire in P. Marnix van St. Aldegonde, *Vraye Narration et apologie des choses passées au Pays-Bas touchant le faict de la Religion en l'an MDLXVI*, reprinted in J.J. van Toorenenberghen, ed., *Philips van Marnix, Godsdientstige en Kerkelijke Geschriften*, I (The Hague, 1871), 35–115; and even as late as J. Lydius, *Den Roomschen Uylen-Spiegel* (Amsterdam, 1671). Vigorous pleas on behalf of the cult of saints occur very frequently, but amongst the Reformation treatises specifically devoted to them, see, for example J. Cochlaeus (*recte* Dobneck), *De sanctorum invocatione, & intercessione, deque imaginibus . . . liber unus* (Ingolstadt, 1544), specifically countering the views of Bullinger; J. Hessels, *Tractatus pro invocatione sanctorum* (Louvain 1562, 1564, 1568); and J. Garetius, *De sanctorum invocatione liber* (Ghent, 1570).

13. See Anastos "Ethical Theory," 151–160; cf. *Anthology* A7. For similar notions in the Reformation, see the works by Hessels and Garetius cited in the preceding note.

14. See H.F. von Campenhausen, "Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation" on all of these.

15. L. Hätzer, *Ein Urteil Gottes . . . wie man sich mit allen gotzen und bildnissen halten sol* (Zurich, 1523).

16. D. Camphuysen, *Stichtelyke Rymen* (Amsterdam 1641).

17. An early critic of all these, who practised what he preached, was Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt. See his *Von Abtuhung der Bylder und das keyn Bedtler unter den Christen seyn sollen*, reprinted in H. Leitzmann, ed., *Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen und Übungen*, (Bonn, 1911), 74.

18. These came under fire from Catholic critics as well, such as Anna Bijns, Martin Donk (Duncanus) and also from Erasmus. See note 129 below.

popular imagination. Theological argument does bear a direct relationship to Iconoclastic practice. Whatever the motivation of the individual iconoclast, he could always justify his action by appealing to some semblance of theological thought. One tore down images, it was often claimed on the spot, not because one was excited or greedy for gain, but because of the idolatrous connotations of images.[19]

Motivation

At this stage one must consider Iconoclasm itself, and the Iconoclastic act. The scope of this subject is too broad to permit analyses of specific outbursts, but a number of questions immediately arise. In the first place, one simply asks: Why do men destroy images? That, in many ways, is a question which goes beyond the bounds of historical analysis, but it would beg too many questions to ignore the element of fear in men's attitudes towards images, and to overlook the associated problem of the magical properties supposed to inhere in them. Kitzinger's brilliant study of the Cult of Images before Iconoclasm provides a model analysis of the hold of the image on the popular imagination in a particular period,[20] and it is helpful to assume with him that the common denominator of beliefs and practices which attribute magical properties to images is that the distinction between the image and the person represented is to some extent eliminated.[21]

I suggest that there is an unspoken and possibly unconscious awareness of this in that favourite argument of all defenders of images, taken out of context from St. Basil and used from his time on until the sixteenth century and after, that the honour paid to an image passes to its prototype.[22] There is no question that when image and prototype become fused, images become prone to the abuses that characterize man's behaviour towards them. This is why images themselves and not only what they represent, work miracles. When one considers this along with the fact that it is usually only *holy* images, consecrated in one way or another, which work miracles, it is not surprising to find a potentially explosive situation. "As long as images remain in the sculptors workshop," claimed an anonymous but frequently reprinted Netherlandish Calvinist, "they can do no miracles – until they are brought into the Church . . ."[23] And here one remembers the tale of the man who, having failed to receive a cure at the shrine of Cosmas and Damian, shouted that they were impostors with no power to do any good.[24]

In moving on to the broader aspects of the motivation to destroy images, it is important to distinguish between destruction and removal ordained from above, and spontaneous attacks from below. These are often concomitant phenomena, and frequently the orders from above simply provide the initial impulse, giving free rein to the expression of popular antipathy. Iconoclasm can be ordained by the ruler, as in Constantinople, and in England under Henry VIII, Edward VII and Elizabeth, or by a person or group temporarily in power, as in Florence in the 1490s,[25] in Münster during the Anabaptist uprising,[26] by the Long Parliament once again in England,[27] and during the French Revolution.[28] It often, almost always, has a significant political dimension. Although the question of the motivation of Byzantine Iconoclasm is a vexed one, even there it seems safe to say that it goes hand in hand with a reassertion of imperial authority.[29] Images are symbols of a deposed ruling class, as in Florence and the French Revolution, or of a hated one, as in the Netherlands in 1566, where field preachers and the middle nobility group together to provoke and then organize that great iconoclastic outburst which marks the beginning of the revolt against Spain.[30]

19. See note 58 for an instance of the rejection of a monetary reward in return for an image. When asked whether justification for the breaking of images could be found in the Gospel, one of the Iconoclasts at Brill simply replied "dattet zoo behoorde ende dat de hoer van Babilon moest vallen," quoted in I.M.P.A. Wils, "De Reformatie en Beeldenstorm in den Briel," *Haarlemse Bijdragen*, 56 (1938), 410.

20. Kitzinger, *DOP*, 8 (1954), 83–150.

21. *Ibid.*, 101.

22. ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει. The whole paragraph, intended to serve as an illustration of the unifying image relation of the Son to the Father in the Trinity, may be found in St. Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto*, 18, 45, in PG, 32, col. 149C, and is well discussed by Ladner, "Concept," 3ff., as well as its relationship with other similar texts, see *Anthology* B9.

23. "Want die beelden so langhe als sy in den beeltsnijders winckel zijn, so en connen sy gheen miraculen doen, tot der tijd dat dese fijne ghesellen ghebrocht hebben in haer hoerachtiche kercke," Anonymous, *Den Val der Roomsche Kercken*, in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, I (The Hague, 1903), 406.

24. ἐπιθέτας ἀποκαλῶν τοὺς ἀγώνας καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐνέργειαν εὐεργεσίας κεκτημένους ἀλλὰ μάτην καὶ ἔκ τινος προλήψεως τὴν δόξαν τοῦ δύνασθαι παρὰ Θεῷ ἔχοντας L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1907), 145.

25. For a recent study of Savonarola's activity, see H. Bredekamp, "Renaissancekultur als 'hölle': Savonarolas Verbrennungen der Eitelkeiten," in Warnke, ed., *Bildersturm*, 41–64, with references to the older sources.

26. Now thoroughly analysed in M. Warnke, "Durchbrochene Geschichte? Die Bilderstürme der Wiedertäufer in Münster, 1534/5," in Warnke, ed., *op. cit.*, 65–8.

27. All the English phenomena are discussed in Phillips, *The Reformation of Images*.

28. See S. Idzerda, "Iconoclasm during the French Revolution," *AHR*, 60 (1954), 13–26.

29. See A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 166ff., and the just modifications made by Kitzinger, *DOP*, 8 (1954), 128, with further references there.

30. For a good survey of this subject, see M. Diericx, "Beeldenstorm in de Nederlanden in 1566," *Streven*, 19 (1966), 1040–1048.

There is another aspect of motivation which is frequently mentioned in the anti-image polemics but all too often discounted as a real impulse to Iconoclasm. That is the resentment of the populace, especially in times of economic stress, against the expense represented by images. Such feelings are exploited by the polemicists, who repeatedly harp on the disgraceful wealth expended on making fine statues, paintings and other liturgical accessories, when the money could have been more usefully expended on clothing the poor – all of whom, after all, had been created in God's own image.[31] Here is another instance where Iconoclastic theory and practice converge.

Other conditions of stress, too, may help trigger Iconoclasm. Once the abuses and theological weaknesses of images are made clear, it is not difficult to suggest that the blame may be laid on them for various aspects of God's wrath, such as military setbacks – especially when images fail to fulfil their expected apotropaic or palladian function.[32] But what of the immediate impulse for image destruction, the spark that lights the fire? Sometimes it is not particularly useful to think in these terms, as when those in authority decree a particular day on which the systematic destruction of image is to commence.[33] But often there is an individual action, both when Iconoclasm is ordained and when it is an act of rebellion, which breaks the spell of an image and which may release a whole range of pent-up emotions. One can think of many cases ranging from early Byzantium to the people who mocked and then pelted Antwerp's patron image of the Madonna after she had been carried round the city's streets in the annual procession on 22 August 1566.[34] In Antwerp and Wittenberg these individual acts are immediately followed by inflammatory sermons denouncing images.[35] Such instances provoke more widespread acts of Iconoclasm, giving courage, it would seem, to men suddenly made to realize the helplessness of images previously supposed to have had superhuman and supernatural powers.

Participants

Good accounts are given by the chroniclers of the actual destruction of images. We know in many cases from them what instruments were used, and how images in relatively inaccessible positions were brought down. For the Reformation we have some illustrations, in painting and engraving, showing Iconoclasm in action.[36] We also know about the people who participated, and here it is possible to be misled by the sources. The violent wave of Iconoclasm in the Netherlands was long thought to be an outburst of popular anger against a repressive regime, but it is now clear that it was organized by field preachers and some of the lower nobility.[37] Hired men often took the lead and showed the way to further destruction.[38] The participation of clergymen and monks who had convinced themselves of the wrongfulness of images is well documented from Byzantium to the Reformation and the French Revolution. During the Byzantine Iconoclastic periods we know that there were Iconoclastic monks and monasteries.[39] In the reign of Edward VI a Bishop Nicholas Ridley not only preached against images but actively encouraged the destruction.[40] Many lapsed clerics participated in the destruction in the Netherlands,[41] even though hounding of the clergy usually went hand in hand with Iconoclasm.[42]

31. These arguments, going back to St. Bernard, may be found from Luther and Zwingli right down to the popular writers of the Reformation. Cf. St. Bernard in the *Apologia ad Gullielmum Sancti Theoderici Abbatem*, PL, 182, cols. 915f.: "Fulget ecclesia in parietibus, et in pauperibus eget" etc. For Zwingli, see his *Ein Antwort Valentin Compar gegeben*, *Corpus Reformatorum Huldrych Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* (Berlin-Zurich, 1905ff.), IV, 146. Luther discusses the problem from this socio-ethical point of view in his Sermon on Indulgences already: *Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, I (Weimar, 1883), 246. The vigorous popular view is expressed by Veluanus, *Der Leken Wechwyser*, 288–90, 296, cf. von Campenhausen, "Die Bilderfrage," 103–5.

32. Or could setbacks have been regarded as punishment for that root evil, the sin of idolatry, into which humanity had lapsed? See the ὅρος of 754 in Hennephof, *Textus*, 62, no. 205, cf. *Anthology* C19. There were always the many parallels which could be drawn with the idol worship of the Old Testament apostate kings.

33. As when the newly constituted Calvinist City Council of Antwerp ordered the Cathedral to be closed on 19 June, 1581, and in the course of the next three days had all the altarpieces systematically removed, see F. Prims, "De Beeldstormerij van 1581," *Antwerpiensia 1940* (Antwerp, 1941), 183–9. But many other similar cases may be found, from Zurich in 1523 to the towns newly run by Calvinist councils throughout the Flemish provinces between 1579 and 1581.

34. For a detailed account of what happened, and a full bibliography, see R. van Roosbroeck, *Het Wonderhaar te Antwerpen, 1566"7* (Antwerp, 1930), It is worth noting here how often miraculous or traditionally venerated images are at the centre of the storm, from the ἀχειροποίηται of the Byzantine Empire to the sculpted wooden Madonna of Antwerp.

35. In Antwerp by the fiery Herman Moded, see early chronicles like F.G.V. (= G.V. van Loon and F.G. Ullens), *Antwerpsch Chronykje, sedert den jare 1500 tot het jaar 1574* (Leiden, 1743), 87, for graphic accounts; in Wittenberg by Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, on whom see M. Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt* (Leipzig, 1905).

36. E.g. above Erhard Schön's *Klagrede der armen verfolgten Gotzen und Tempelbilder* (*ca*: 1530), and F. Hogenberg's illustration in M. Aitsinger, *De Leone Belgico* (Cologne, 1588), and in many subsequent editions.

37. The extensive literature on the subject reviewed by Diericx, *op. cit.*, 1040–8.

38. Cf. A.C. Duke and D.H.A. Kolff, "The time of troubles in the County of Holland, 1566–7," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 3 (1969), 316–337.

39. Cf. Gero, *Byzantion*, 44 (1974), 39–40.

40. On Ridley, see Jasper Ridley, *Nicholas Ridley* (London, 1957).

41. Cf. Diericx, *op. cit.*, 1043; but examples are too frequent in the Netherlands to be listed here.

42. On the hounding of the clergy, see below, p. 173.

Perhaps even more surprising is the participation of artists themselves: one can only wonder at what must have passed through their minds as they turned their backs on the very concept which sustained their livelihood. During one of Savonarola's *bruciamenti*, Fra Bartolommeo and Lorenzo di Credi are supposed to have consigned some of their works to the flames;[43] in the Netherlands van Mander recorded that Joos van Lier gave up painting altogether because of the strength of his religious beliefs;[44] and even though artists were attacked for not recording the great events of the French Revolution, "no group seemed more anxious to join the iconoclastic crusade than the artists themselves."[45] Soon after the opening of the National Convention, David himself demanded that the effigies of kings and cardinals in the Academy's school in Rome be destroyed.[46] Such examples are worthy of attention not only because of modern idealistic notions about the integrity of artistic endeavour. There are indications that artists like these gave some thought to the problem of pursuing their calling in times when the validity of their productions was being undermined.[47] Some gave up painting altogether.

Modes of Destruction: Mutilation and Deconsecration

The next question to ask, perhaps, is: In what ways were images damaged or destroyed? This is one of those aspects of Iconoclasm in progress which can be particularly illuminating about attitudes towards images, and which has been a little neglected in scholarly research on the topic. On many occasions one is told exactly what part of the image was destroyed, and it is clear that wholesale destruction was not always the aim. The aim is to render images powerless, to deprive them of those parts which may be considered to embody their effectiveness.[48] This is why images are very often mutilated rather than wholly destroyed. Once deconsecrated they lose their power: they are deprived of their holiness. For that, they need only be removed from the context of the consecrated.

Relief sculptures and vessels embossed with figures are scraped down,[49] the heads of saints broken off and the Infant Christ removed from the arms of the Virgin, which are then amputated,[50] or her crown taken away. When John the Grammarian is removed to a monastery after the restoration of Orthodoxy, he displays his continued devotion to his principles by having the eyes of a picture cut out;[51] in Münster the standards of medieval justice are purposefully applied to effigies by depriving them of their extremities or appropriate sense organs.[52] There too, images of the upper classes and of members of the previous administration, from bishops to court and treasury officials, have their heads defaced to emphasize the anonymous equality of the new order.[53] In East Stoneham an image of St. Thomas Becket is turned into a female saint at the behest of Henry himself.[54] Inscriptions are removed, seals destroyed. Obviously, when Iconoclasm is subsumed under attacks on imperial or royal power, images which personify it come under particular fire.[55] Opponents of Elizabeth slashed her portraits, defaced her arms, even hanged her effigies.[56] It is surprising that Basil's explanation of the nature of Christ in terms of the honour paid to images of the Emperor was not more frequently used as a polemical resource for attacking both images of

43. G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architettori* (Florence, 1879), IV , 178f.
44. C. van Mander, *Het Schilderboeck* (Haarlem, 1604), fol. 257 r.
45. Idzerda, "Iconoclasm in the French Revolution", 21.
46. *Loc. cit.*
47. Cf. the case of Joos van Liere cited above, as well as B. Deneke, *Albrecht Dürer* (Exhibition Catalogue, Nürnberg, 1971), 199, on the Beham brothers and George Pencz.
48. A good discussion in Warnke, "Durchbrochene Geschichte," 91 ff. (note 25 above), under the heading *Deformationsformen*.
49. Cf. *Scriptor Incertus de Leone*, PG 108, col. 1036; *Vita Nicephori*, PG,100, col. 141A; for the scraping of images off walls, cf. the *Vita S. Stephani iunioris*, PG, 100, cols. 1112–13, and Nicephorus, 76, translated in Mango, *Art*, 152–3.
50. Warnke, "Durchbrochene Geschichte," 83.
51. Theophanes Continuatus, PG, 109, col. 172.
52. Well analysed in Warnke, *op. cit.*, 93–4.
53. But cf. Warnke's assertion that "Die Standeszeichen müssen erhalten bleiben, wann das Standesbewusstein sich als gebrochen darstellen soll," Warnke, *op. cit.*, 93.
54. T. Borenius, "Some further Aspects of St. Thomas of Canterbury," *Archaeologia*, 83 (1933), 182. One might perhaps note here that much earlier Wyclif had attacked Becket on two grounds: 1) for his defence of the temporal powers of the church, and 2) because of his association with the pilgrimages, legends and miracles at Canterbury, all aspects of image worship always set upon by its critics. See J. Davis, "Lollards, Reformers, and St. Thomas of Canterbury," *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 9 (1963–4), 1–15.
55. Brown, *EHR*, 346 (1973), 11, points out that "disrespect for the imperial image released a very real charge of feeling." For attacks on images of the emperor and bishops, especially in the eastern Empire, see R. Browning, "The Riot of 387 in Antioch," *JRS*, 13 (1952), 20: and K. Majewski, "L'Iconophobie et la destruction des statues des dieux et des monuments des souverains dans le monde gréco-romain," *Archaeologia*, 16 (Warsaw, 1965), 63ff. On the other hand, imperial antipathy towards images of Christ may to some extent have sprung from the fact many such images had been accorded honours traditionally due to the imperial image, as, say, in the case of the Christ of Camuliana: on this see E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (Leipzig, 1889), 6 ff. See also the perceptive discussion of this subject by Kitzinger, *DOP*, 8 (1954), 90, 122.
56. Examples collected in R. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 1963), 40.

Christ *and* of the Emperor.[57] In fact, assaults on the two by no means always go together.

Distinctions and Discrimination

At this point one may move on to the question of discrimination, another inseparable aspect of Iconoclastic activity. Which images are singled out for destruction and which ones left alone? Such questions, when answerable, provide what are perhaps the most positive clues to the motives of Iconoclasts – and those motives are not always easy to isolate when considered from the point of view of chroniclers and theorists alone. There are, admittedly, occasions when the fury of Iconoclasts knows no bounds, and every image is destroyed – even when monetary rewards are offered to individual iconoclasts to refrain from doing so, as in the Netherlands in the 1560s.[58] But this is the exception rather than the rule.

Julian of Atramytion was apparently prepared to leave paintings, whilst confining his iconoclastic impulses to sculpture.[59] In general, sculpture is regarded as more harmful than paintings. The Council of 754 gave special warning against the indiscriminate destruction of sacred vessels and vestments decorated with figures.[60] Such warnings are often given, but in practice they tend to be lost in the general conflagration. During the reign of Constantine V representations of birds, beasts and plants were spared, and even horse races, hunts and theatrical scenes.[61] Later medieval critics specifically censured such scenes,[62] but even in the Reformation they were allowed to stand. The fate of painted organ wings varied: sometimes they were attacked along with everything else, but on other occasions they escaped the wrath of the Iconoclasts, presumably because they were not regarded in the same class as devotional imagery.

Such seeming inconsistencies characterize much Reformation Iconoclastic activity; they can also illuminate the aims of the Iconoclasts. Despite the fact that his followers got out of hand, Zwingli was prepared to preserve historical scenes outside churches.[63] In Münster, in keeping with their view of the role of the Emperor, the Anabaptists left the royal images and arms alone,[64] even though the effigies of local officials and the nobility were ruthlessly assaulted. At first, tomb sculptures were left intact in England, by royal ordinance, but during the Puritan revolution they too were destroyed.[65] In addition to their theological objections to images, the Puritans were determined to do away with the signs of royalty;[66] royalty itself, on the other hand, recognized the threat that was posed to the bases of its power by excessive Iconoclastic activity.

But discrimination between what is to be destroyed and what not may be made on the basis of other criteria. These too should be explored more thoroughly than they have been, for they may tell us not only about Iconoclastic attitudes towards images, but also about the depth of convictions. At the Council of 815, when the charge that images were idols was abandoned,[67] it was decided to tolerate pictures placed in high positions. The reason given then was a surprisingly permissive one: that painting might fulfil the purpose of writing. It was argued that paintings in higher positions would not permit the gross acts of adoration accorded to lower ones and that they would provide useful illustrations of Christianity.[68] Such a reason would not have been acceptable to any but the most moderate of subsequent Iconoclastic movements, and it is difficult to think of any later case in which images were ordered to be retained on the basis of their elevated position, except of course when it was impracticable to pull them down – or the means to do so too expensive. On the other hand, when it was decided that some paintings could be left, it was on conditions such as closing the

57. For the full text from Basil, see the source cited in note 22 above. Athanasios had also used the simile of the image of the emperor, but in his case in order to show the relationship of Christ's divinity to the image: Ἐν γὰρ τῇ εἰκόνι τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐστὶ· καὶ ἐν τῷ βασιλεῖ δὲ τὸ ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι εἶδος ἐστιν. Ἀπαράλλακτος γὰρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμοιότης. ὥστε τὸν ἐνορῶντα τῇ εἰκόνι ὁρᾷν ἐν αὐτῇ τον βασιλέα ... Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἓν ἐσμεν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ εἰμι. κἀκεῖνος ἐν ἐμοι ... *Oratio III contra Arianos*, 5, PG, 26, col. 332A; cf. *Anthology* B10.

58. Van Mander, *op. cit.*, (note 44 above) fol. 244v, records how a woman offered the Iconoclasts in Warmenhuysen in North Holland one hundred pounds for a Crucifixion altarpiece by Pieter Aertsen; but the offer was refused and the painting was smashed to pieces.

59. P.J. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus: A note on image worship in the Sixth Century," *HThR*, 45 (1952), 177 ff. See also Kitzinger, *DOP*, 8 (1954), 90 (note 33), 131.

60. Permission had first to be obtained from the Patriarch and Emperor; Mansi, XIII,329 D - 332 D.

61. *Vita S. Stephani iunioris*, PG, 100, col. 1120.

62. See Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum*, 914 ff. For a fifth century criticism of such decorations, see St. Nilus of Sinai's letter to Olympiodorus, in which he disapproves of distracting the faithful with animal hunts, fishing, birds, plants and reptiles, in PG, 79, 577-80.

63. See the *Short Christian Introduction*, in *Huldrych Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* (cited in note 31 above), II, 658, 19-20.

64. Warnke, "Durchbrochene Geschichte," 83.

65. Phillips, *The Reformation of Images*, 117, 194.

66. Although already in the reign of Edward VI Bishop Gardiner had expressed the fear that the destruction of religious images might lead to that of the symbols of royalty as well: S. Gardiner, *Letters*, ed. J. Muller (Cambridge, 1933), 272-6.

67. Cf. Alexander, *DOP*, 7 (1953), 41.

68. *Epistola Michaelis II ad Ludovicum* in MGH, Legum Sectio III, ii/2, ed. A. Werminghoff (1908), 479. The parallel between painting and writing was, of course, used throughout the Reformation, 1) as part of the argument in favour of images; 2) as a basis for censorship, on which see below.

wings of altarpieces, as in Zwingli's Zurich.[69] But such a proviso bespeaks an unexpectedly deep concern either for the preservation of works of art or for the avoidance of unnecessary vandalism. The latter concern, indeed, features in most cases of official Iconoclasm, from the Council of 754 on.[70]

The Saving of Works of Art

Some discrimination, therefore, was exercised, and some images saved as a result. But conscious efforts to save works of art are themselves another concomitant of Iconoclastic outbreaks. There are always zealous clergy who get wind of the impending events and manage to hide some objects in time. They hide them in unlikely places, move them to safer or out of the way locations, or even take them to their own homes.[71] The same applies to all sections of the local populace: there almost always seem to be one or two zealous individuals who show their concern for works of art in this way. Some, as has been seen, may offer financial inducements to Iconoclasts to forego the destruction of an image or images.[72] When the feeling is intense, however, such offers tend to be rejected. In Florence it is claimed that a Venetian merchant unsuccessfully bid 20,000 Gulden for the contents of Savonarola's last great bonfire.[73] In the Netherlands, where Iconoclastic activity was very intense in both the 1560s and the 1580s, many of the greatest works of art – including the Ghent altarpiece[74] – were saved as a result of the foresight of concerned members of both clergy and laity. It is as well to remember, when assigning corporate responsibility for Iconoclasm to particular sections of the populace, that such lines of social demarcation, if there are any at all, tend to remain remarkably fluid. Monks may be pro-image and be persecuted for their beliefs, or they may set upon images; the poor may erupt into a group display of anti-image feeling or they may protectively ward off the assailants of images; and so on.

But to return to the savings of works of art. Even aesthetic considerations may prevail. In 1793 a member of the Monuments Commission (which had been instrumental in eliminating much imagery) recommended that a sceptre from the tomb of St. Denis be preserved as an example of fourteenth-century goldsmiths' work.[75] If one took into consideration objects preserved for didactic purposes, (those things which are regarded as memorials and instructive symbols of an order already overthrown or about to be overthrown), one would have to include such phenomena as Hitler's exhibitions of *Entartete Kunst*.[76] But twentieth century Iconoclasm comes outside the purview of this survey. It is worth noting, however, that even the Louvre was opened to the public in 1793 with the intention of housing those proscribed symbols of royalty, feudalism and superstition which had been specifically preserved for their didactic possibilities.[77]

The attack on associated objects

Attention has so far for the most part been confined to images. But any student of Iconoclasm will know that it is not only images which are attacked on these occasions. Before moving on to the immediate aftermath of Iconoclasm, he must ask himself: What else is destroyed when men take down images? Some things are obvious, but they are worth dwelling upon.

Almost all liturgical accessories can be attacked, and objects like altar hangings and vestments, if they are not actually destroyed, are removed for use in more mundane contexts. In England in the 1540's private parlours are supposed to have been hung with altar cloths, and tables and beds covered with copes.[78] In such cases we may see, if we like, the final stage in the deconsecration of holy objects; we are entitled to speak here of their 'demystification.' From the days of Byzantine Iconoclasm onwards, candles and incense have been rejected by all enemies of religious imagery.[79] Both feature extensively in the writings of the Reformation polemicists, and it is universally agreed, even by those who are tolerant towards some imagery, that candles and incense are unnecessary

69. Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts*, 152 (cited in note 6 above).

70. See above, note 60, and below, note 000.

71. Often the case in the Netherlands: for the saving of Cornelis Enghebrechtsz' Marienpoel altarpieces, see van Mander, fol. 210v. For other examples, see also F. Prims, "Altaarstudien," *Antwerpiensia 1939* (1940), 397, and E. van Autenboer, "Uit de geschiedenis van Turnhout in de 16de eeuw. Voorbereiding, uitbarsting, en gevolgen van de Beeldenstorm," *Taxandria*, 40/41 (1968–9), 1–276, both drawing on extensive archival material.

72. See note 58 above.

73. Admittedly recorded in the highly unreliable Pseudo-Burlamacchi, *La vita del beato Ieronimo Savonarola* (Florence, 1937), 131. The size of the bid may be exaggerated, but there is no reason why one like this should not have been made.

74. The vicissitudes and saving of the Ghent altarpiece during the Netherlands Iconoclasm is fully documented: see E. Dhanens, *Het Retabel van het Lam Gods in de Sint Baafskatedraal te Gent* (Ghent, 1965), with all the relevant archival data. For the best contemporary account, see M. van Vaernewyck, *Van de beroerlicke tijden in de Nederlanden en voornamelijk in Ghendt*, 1566–8, Ghent University Library, MS. G. 2469, fol. 29v.

75. Idzerda, "Iconoclasm during the French Revolution," 24.

76. On these, see now B. Hinz, *Die Malerei im Deutschen Faschismus: Kunst und Konterrevolution* (Munich, 1974).

77. Although the destruction of Christian and royal images still continued outside the museum, Idzerda, *op. cit.*, 24.

78. Phillips, *op. cit.*, 68–9.

79. See, for example, the *horos* of 815, in Alexander, *DOP*, 7 (1953), 58 ff; *Anthology* D22.

adjuncts to worship.[80] The reasons for their rejection are clear: they distance the worshipper even further from the essentials of devotion, they stand in the way of direct communication with the sacred: in short, they are utterly superfluous embellishments. In Byzantium it is possible that lights and incense before religious images were regarded as objectionable because such things had been accorded to the *imperial* images ever since the fifth century, if one may trust Photios' excerpt from Philostorgius.[81]

It is also instructive to look at the destruction of books, if only because this is a characteristic of both Iconoclasm *and* Orthodoxy. Not only liturgical books (in other words those which are intimately associated with the role of images within Christian worship) but also books which purvey the wrong ideas, can be destroyed. In the latter case the grievance is somewhat different to that held against images. One of the many constantly reiterated arguments against images was that they *misled*, rather than *instructed*, the illiterate.[82] But there was concern about those who could read as well. One should also not forget that, for the illiterate, books embody a mystery which in many cases must have bordered on the magical. Let us look at some instances of book destruction associated with Iconoclastic activity. Under Constantine V books were destroyed.[83] It may be that books such as *The Sayings of the Fathers* were burnt because from them the monks at least partially derived their hold on their charges.[84] Great quantities of books were consigned to the flames of Savonarola's *bruciamenti* – placed immediately below the images which rested on top of those great pyres.[85] Such bonfires – in which liturgical vessels were also melted down in order to give the proceeds to the poor – were not a new phenomenon in Italy. Preachers like Bernard of Siena and Robert of Lecce had burnt books in Milan, Bologna and Ferrara, along with images of their authors.[86] Full scale Iconoclasm in Münster was preceded by a week-long burning of books, muniments and seals in front of the Cathedral.[87] That served the additional function of doing away with all records of the privileges of the usurped class and the documentation of their authority. After the death of Mary in 1559, books were burnt along with copes and vestments, even though they were not mentioned in the parliamentary injunctions on images.[88] As always, the zeal of the populace gave a wide interpretation to the official decrees, and often far outstripped their real intent. In the Netherlands all the chroniclers record the loss of precious manuscripts, and the ripping out of pages, if they were not burnt. After the assassination and apotheosis of Marat, French Iconoclasm proceeded apace, and there too charters were burnt along with armorial bearings.[89] Even books with the fleur-de-lys on their bindings were thrown to the flames.[90] Book burning is part of a wider phenomenon, however, and not always within the bounds, strictly speaking of Iconoclasm, although it is undoubtedly an Iconoclastic activity.

Now one may turn to a larger class of objects: buildings. They are often attacked after images have been pulled down, but they are not usually destroyed. A variety of motives characterizes the attack on buildings. They may be used as hospitals, barracks and even prisons. Once stripped of their images and whitewashed they may be converted and used for new forms of religious service. It is noteworthy that although the polemicists frequently call for the levelling of the finest buildings, on the basis of their purported similarity with pagan temples,[91] this did not usually occur. There are many examples. The call to level religious buildings to the ground was particularly strong in Münster, but there too they were mostly preserved, even if they lost towers, porches and other parts. Abbeys were used for housing the poor; the more ostentatious chapels were mined for their stone: so, for that matter, were cemeteries and parts of the cathedral, in order to fill up gaps in the walls and in the stone fortifications of the city. All the towers were knocked down, except one which

80. The examples are many: cf. Veluanus, *Der Leken Wechwyser*, 288–90, and in the *Justification* of Angelus Merula, available in I.M.J. Hoog, ed., *Verantwoording van Angelus Merula* (Leiden, 1897), 21.

81. Cited and discussed by Kitzinger, *DOP*, 8 (1954), 91–2, with a further discussion on page 98.

82. Since images were traditionally regarded as the books of the illiterate. Stemming from Gregory the Great (see the letters *Ad Serenum Massiliensem Episcopum*, in *S. Gregorii Papae I cognomento Magno Opera Omnia*, VIII (1771), 134, 242) and passed down through Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, this latter argument occurs in almost every pro-image writer of the Reformation – seemingly without the realization of how easily it could be turned against them (although some added the proviso that what was forbidden in books should also be forbidden in paintings, for this very reason). Cf. J. Molanus, *De Historia sanctarum imaginum et picturarum* (Louvain, 1594), 31.

83. For a report on this by Leo, Bishop of Phocaea, to the Council of Nicaea, see Mansi, XIII, col. 185.

84. Cf. Brown, *EHR*, 346 (1973), 33.

85. See Bredekamp, "Renaissancekultur als 'Hölle'," 57.

86. *Ibid.*, with sources.

87. Warnke, *op. cit.*, 80, 90.

88. Phillips, *op. cit.*, 117.

89. Idzerda, *op. cit.*, 17.

90. *Ibid.*, 18.

91. But even Orthodox writers felt that the filling of churches with excessive and/or indecorous decorations rendered them liable to criticism on the basis of their similarities with "paganism." Cf. for example, A. Catharinus, *Disputatio de cultu et adoratione imaginum*, in ***Enarrationes . . . in Quinque priora capita libri Genesos. Adduntur plerique alii Tractatus et Quaestiones*** (Rome, 1552), cols. 143–4.

remained, to be used as a lookout post.[92] Such use of building materials extended even to the bells: in England they were melted down to make cannon, and so was the bronze in French monuments, in order to defend the newly defined *Patrie*.[93] In England, as later in the French Revolution, churches and surrounding buildings were sold to local lessees as quarries. Thomas Cromwell himself used the stone from the Crutched Friars for repairs to the Tower of London.[94] When the stripped buildings were not used as churches they were often used as private houses. Some monastic buildings provided convenient storehouses for businesses.[95] Roofing lead was eagerly sought and roof timbers then used as fuel for melting the lead.[96] The Lord Mayor of London petitioned Oliver Cromwell to use lead from the roof of St. Pauls to make water pipes, then in short supply. The nave of St. Paul's itself was used as a cavalry barracks, with stabling for up to 800 horses, and so on.[97]

Throughout Europe during the Reformation Catholic buildings were stripped bare and turned into Protestant conventicles. Even when there was some measure of toleration, as in Antwerp later in the 1580s, walls were built in the middle of a single building to provide two separate places of worship.[98] In France the churches were converted to Temples of Reason.[99] But there too some of the noblest monuments were sold and later used as quarries, such as the great Abbey Church of Cluny.[100]

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Thus far we have been dealing with inanimate objects – whatever degree of life may have been believed to inhere in them. But people too are persecuted and attacked in the wake of Iconoclasm. One thinks especially of the monastic orders, often seen to be proponents of images, if not actually on their side. The case for Leo III's and Constantine V's persecution of the monks may recently have been exaggerated, but there is no question that they did persecute them.[101] Monks encouraged the superstitious practices associated with images, monasteries were the repositories of great numbers of them, and monks were their greatest supporters. They even produced them. Brown may have overstated his thesis, but there is some truth in the suggestion that monks, like icons, were attacked because their holiness was consecrated, as it were, from below.[102] The sources of their power, therefore, were seen as potential threats, and had to be demystified. That is why Constantine attacked the monastic *schema* and Michael Lachanodrakon paraded the monks in his theme in the garb of a bridegroom.[103]

Indeed, the Byzantine situation may be taken to be paradigmatic. Perhaps the most extensive post-Byzantine anti-monastic policy was Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries, motivated by political reasons and reasons of expediency as much as by a concern for religious reform.[104] Iconoclasm followed shortly after. Elsewhere in the Reformation images were taken down and monks immediately run out of town – if they had not already fled. They are frequently mocked and made the subject of jest. They are stripped of their holiness. In addition to all this the morals of monks were as frequently open to suspicion as those of artists.[105] When Iconoclasm occurs people are no longer afraid to give expression to these suspicions: indeed, they are used as the pretext or the basis for such attacks as we have been discussing.

Substitution and replacement

Once one has seen what happens when Iconoclasm takes place, one must return to images themselves and consider another question which casts light on the phenomenon: What replaced the images which were effaced, destroyed, or removed? From the very beginnings of Iconoclastic polemic there is an important emphasis on the priority of the Word; and so texts may be used to

92. All well discussed in Warnke, *op. cit.*, 71, 78.
93. Phillips, *op. cit.*, 68 and Idzerda, *op. cit.*, 16.
94. E.J. Davis, "The Transformation of London," in R.W. Seton Watson, ed., *Tudor Studies* (London, 1924), 306.
95. Phillips, *op. cit.*, 69; *ibid.* 63 ff., gives a good analysis of the uses to which buildings were put after the Henrician reform.
96. *Ibid.*, 68.
97. *Ibid.*, 197–8.
98. See A. Monballieu, "De reconstructie van een drieluik van A. Th. Key bestemd voor het hoogaltaar van de Antwerpsche recolletenkerk," *Jaarboek, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen* (1971), 91–104.
99. Idzerda, *op. cit.*, 17 ff.
100. See F.L. Bruel, *Cluny 910-1910. Album historique et archólogique* (Macon, 1910).
101. Although, as Gero, *Byzantion*, 44 (1974), 27, points out, this is better attested for the reign of Constantine V than that of Leo III. Cf. Brown, *EHR*, 346 (1973), 30, for example, and his broad statement that "Iconomachy in action is monachomachy."
102. "For both were, technically, unconsecrated objects . . . he (the monk) was holy because he was held to be holy by his clientele, not because any bishop had conferred holy orders on him," Brown, *op. cit.*, 21.
103. Theophanes, 446.
104. See also G.W.O. Woodward, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London, 1966), and J. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London, 1971).
105. In England the monastic visitors at the time of the Dissolution noted in their findings both sexual misconduct and superstitious veneration of relics: Phillips, *op. cit.*, 129.

replace images. But not always: there is a whole variety of possibilities. All but the most extreme Iconoclasts are prepared to tolerate the cross, although it too is open to a number of superstitious practices. The crucifix, for obvious reasons, is less frequently tolerated. Symbols of royal power replace religious imagery, and many groups allow non-anthropomorphic imagery. During the reigns of Leo III and Constantine V the famous Christ on the Chalke Gate was replaced by a cross, with an inscription in verse beneath it.[106] The Life of St. Stephen the Younger records how Constantine turned the Church of the Virgin at Blachernae into something which looked like an aviary: he scraped down the representations of Christ's miracles and substituted mosaics of birds, beasts, and ivy.[107] Other of Constantine's crimes against images are recorded with a sort of disapproving enthusiasm. He replaced the representations of the Six Ecumenical Councils in the Milion with a portrait of his favourite charioteer racing, and so on.[108]

What all of these stories confirm, however, is that Constantine's antipathy towards art in general was by no means as all-embracing as that of many of the later European Iconoclasts. He shows little of the moralistic fear of *sensibilia* that characterized the writings of the more fervent polemicists. *They* insisted that God's Word was his true image, that the Word alone sufficed to lead man up to Him. In England and the Netherlands, Biblical texts, especially the Ten Commandments, were painted on the whitewashed walls as well as on already painted altarpieces.[109] There is a fascinating passage in Carel van Mander on the subject. He records that a Crucifixion by Hugo van der Goes was spared by the Iconoclasts because of its art. But since the church in which it stood was to be used for Protestant preaching, he says, it was taken to a painter to have the Ten Commandments written on it in gold letters on a black ground. And van Mander reproaches that painter for wishing to spoil so fine a work.[110] Fortunately the overpaint could later be removed, and many present-day restorers, both here and on the continent, will testify that such inscriptions can occasionally be removed to reveal the painting beneath.

In the reign of Henry VIII the royal arms replaced the holy rood; and similarly those of Elizabeth, which appeared on rood screens all over the country.[111] But Elizabeth – as Francis Yates has shown – appropriated to her own image many of the symbols traditionally associated with the Virgin Mary.[112] As suggested above, the possibilities when it came to alternative forms of imagery were manifold. The West Cheap Cross in London, already defaced in the reign of Elizabeth, was transformed by the Puritans into a harmless image. For the Cross, they substituted a pyramid, and for the statue of the Virgin a half-naked image of Diana.[113] At first one is inclined to think that they did this simply because pyramids and Dianas were not idolatrous in the Christian sense, but it seems more likely that they intended to make a pointed parallel with pagan customs. In Zurich, Hans Leu the Elder's panel representing Christ and the patron saints of the city in front of a topographical representation of it was removed from the Chapel of the Twelve Apostles in the Great Minster in 1524. But it was not destroyed: Christ and the saints were simply painted over with reproductions of those parts of the city which their images had covered.[114] Panoramic views are perhaps the most harmless form of decoration of all. Whenever a church was inaugurated as a Temple of Reason, busts of Marat replaced those statues which had stood there before.[115] All such replacements of Christian imagery, from Constantine V till the present, represent vigorous assertions of newly established or freshly affirmed political power.

Lulls and Relapses

At this point in the discussion it may be useful to consider one of the stronger testimonies to the persistence of anti-image feeling. Iconoclasm may in due course abate or be quelled, and Orthodoxy re-established. But it is not uncommon to find a relapse, and renewed outbursts give expression to still smouldering sentiments. Byzantium itself provides one of the most notable examples. Leo V rejects the Council of Nicaea and Eirene's restoration, and he initiates a new policy of Iconoclasm (harking back to the first period), which is then continued by Michael II and

106. The inscription beneath the second cross is recorded by Theodore the Studite in PG, 99, 476; see *Anthology* E24.
107. *Vita S. Stephani iunioris*, PG, 100, col. 1120.
108. *Ibid.*, col. 1172; cf. R. Cormack, VI above, p. 38.
109. Phillips, *op. cit.*, pl. 24b, reproduces a photograph of the base of the rood screen of St. Marys Priory in Binham, Norfolk, whitewashed and painted over with texts from Tyndales translation of the New Testament. See also pl. 29b for the painting of the text of the Decalogue on the exterior of a triptych at Preston, Suffolk.
110. Van Mander, *op. cit.*, fol. 204.
111. See Phillips, *op. cit.*, 88, 119, 128–9, 138, for examples, as well as for other instances of replacement.
112. Francis Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," *JWarb*, 10 (1947), 27–82.
113. Aylmer Vallance, *Old Crosses and Lych Gates* (London, 1920), 102–6.
114. Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts*, 112 (cited in note 69 above).
115. Idzerda, *op. cit.*, 17.

Theophilos. In England after the Marian interlude, Elizabeth gradually renews the Henrician and Edwardian antipathy; Laud then tries to bring back the images, but his policies fail to withstand the Puritan onslaught. In Antwerp, the *Beeldestorm* of 1566 lasts only a short while before the re-establishment of Orthodox services, but in 1581 there is a second outbreak of Iconoclasm.[116] Although it is outwardly quieter than the first, it is a great deal more systematic.

There is no doubt that everyone concerned is aware of the possibility of such relapses, including those who are responsible for restoring images during the lulls, the brief interludes of Orthodoxy. This accounts for the many examples found of temporary and makeshift images in such times. Evidence of these may be found, for example, in the guild account books preserved in Netherlandish archives. When not of wood such images are on canvas, and instances are known where the wings of an altarpiece are simply painted on a wall, to be easily whitewashed when next threatened.[117] In England during the reign of Mary "many parishes showed scepticism as to the stability of the revived regime and the unwanted expense of providing images that later might be declared illegal by erecting painted canvas to take the place of the carved figures on rood screens. At Ludlow in Shropshire the great rood was replaced by a makeshift painting of the Crucifixion on boards,"[118] and there are many further examples. And how justified such apprehension was! Interim periods such as these hardly inspire confidence in the worth of the aesthetic object: both artist and patron are inhibited by the continual threat of further destruction.

Ambiguity of attitude

As soon as one considers diffidence of this kind, one finds further ambiguities in the periods of Iconoclasm. Ambiguity of attitude, therefore, is the next question to explore. People are never sure why they should do away with images, and not even the theorists are sure. And is it not to be expected that people should waver when called upon to assail objects in which supernatural forces were thought to inhere, or, at the least, objects which were invested with all sorts of undefined powers? Then bring in aesthetic considerations, and one can see how attitudes could be confused or ambiguous. It must have been made worse when people were called upon to distinguish between images singled out for destruction and those which were not. A few simple examples of ambiguity in the behaviour of people who had decided or been forced to be Iconoclasts will suffice.

Many examples could be found in England, where there had always been considerable ambiguity over what constituted acceptable imagery, but even the behaviour of Elizabeth was hardly consistent. She ordered a crucifix for the royal chapel at the very time when its use was supposed to be illegal. The bishops objected, and though a cross was substituted for a crucifix, the chapel retained its images.[119] On the other hand, she roundly reproached the Dean of St. Paul's for having placed a new service book with engraved illustrations on her seat. After reminding the Dean of her aversion to idolatry, and singling out the "cuts resembling angels and saints, nay, grosser absurdities, pictures resembling the Holy Trinity," she asked of him, "Have you forgot our proclamations against images, pictures and Romish relics in the Churches?"[120] But one suspects that such a divergence between private practice and public policy must have been common enough amongst those who ruled. There is no need to insist here on the grip that image devotion retained on men's minds, even when it was officially renounced.

During the prelude to and aftermath of the worst Iconoclasm of the French Revolution there was a great deal of hesitation and ambiguity. In 1791 Barère wrote that "the revolutions of an enlightened people conserve the fine arts," while in the same month the journal *Revolutions de Paris* observed that "the statues of kings and queens in our cities are not the work of the people, but of courtesan ministers," and called for their destruction.[121] Under such circumstances it is not surprising that people should waver between Iconoclasm and the preservation of an artistic heritage. Once the spark had been lit, however, such aesthetic considerations did not matter to those who were determined to do away with the monuments of despotism and feudalism. Still, in the newly converted Temples of Reason, number six of the revised version of the Ten Commandments read: "Thou shalt cultivate the fine arts: they are the ornament of the state."[122] But even after it was

116. Prims, "De Beeldstormerij van 1581," 183–9 (cited in note 32).
117. For an interesting example in Malines, see A. Monballieu, "De Muurschildering van de Visverkopers in de Kerk van Onze Lieve Vrouwe over de Dijle te Mechelen." *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, 69 (1965), 60–76.
118. Phillips, *op. cit.*, 109.
119. *Ibid.*, 126.
120. J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion and other various occurrences in the Church of England during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign*, I (Oxford, 1824), 408–10.
121. Both quoted in Idzerda, *op. cit.*, 15.
122. *Ibid.*, 23.

agreed that objects of historical or artistic value should not be destroyed but taken to the newly established museums, the *conventionnels* could not control Iconoclasm for at least another two years.[123] Once latent anti-image sentiment is allowed to be freely expressed, there is not much that can be done to restrain it. When men's fear of the power of images is broken in the heat of Iconoclasm, it takes some time and effort before that feeling seeps back into the imagination. That is why every Iconoclast leader gives generally unsuccessful warnings against the indiscriminate destruction of images. Men cannot distinguish between images in the heat of the moment, and there is always the temptation to theft on such occasions, despite the institution of severe penalties against it. The Council of 754 forbade the wanton destruction of vessels and vestments decorated with figures; all alterations had to have the assent of the patriarch or emperor; and secular officials were warned against robbing churches on the pretext of destroying images.[124] Such injunctions may be taken as typical of most periods of Iconoclastic activity. Despite the fact that Iconoclastic leaders always threatened to punish those who exceeded the stated bounds, and often did so – as in France, Germany, England, The Netherlands, Switzerland – their followers refused to know where to stop.

The Orthodox Reaction: Supervision and Censorship

Before concluding, it is necessary to consider an important aspect of the reaction to Iconoclasm. To put it briefly, a certain form of rigoristic and moralistic zeal had characterized the attitude of the church towards imagery since its earliest days. This is what might be termed the Iconoclasm of the Orthodox, and if it is not Iconoclasm in the narrowest sense, it is certainly anti-art. One may refer not only to grave reservations about the dangers of images, as were expressed by early writers like Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Lactantius and Epiphanios of Salamis,[125] but also to suggested and actual restrictions such as those imposed by the Council of Elvira and the Quinisext Coucil of 692.[126] Images could be mere distractions of the senses, or incitements to concupiscence, or simply historically inaccurate – as when painters represented St. Peter with short hair and St. Paul as bald.[127] Standards of what might be called decorum fluctuate, and it is according to such standards that restrictions are imposed. The feeling that art corrupts morals is expressed in a multitude of ways, and with that may be linked the recurrent criticism of artists themselves.

In post-classical times it extends from Justin's assertion that, amongst their other vices, artists slept with their models, to French Revolutionary objections about the looseness of their morals,[128] to modern notions of bohemianism. In the Reformation, Catholic writers constantly rebut the assailants of religious imagery by asking why they do not first get rid of the disgracefully profane subjects they have in their own homes, to say nothing of public places.[129] Various ways are then devised of controlling such problems, and more restrictions imposed. In the Middle Ages rigoristic tendencies increase. St. Bernard wanted stained glass, paintings, mosaics and inlaid work to be banned from Cistercian churches.[130] He objected to precious materials not only because the money spent on them could better be spent on the poor, but also because they aroused admiration rather than true piety: they were mere distractions of the senses.[131]

123. *Ibid.*, 25.
124. Mansi, XIII, cols. 329D – 332D.
125. For all these, see Elliger, *Die Stellung der alten Christen*.
126. The thirty-sixth canon of the Council of Elvira (*ca.* 306), one of the councils which Calvin (*Institution de la Religion Chrétienne*, ed. Baumgartner, 718) played off against the Council of Nicaea, read, "Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere nec quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur": cf. G. Bareille, "Elvire, Le Concile d'," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, IV (1911), cols. 237–297. The eighty-second canon of the Quinisext Council of 692 (the Trullan Synod), while not by any means objecting to the principle of religious imagery, nonetheless insisted on the replacement of representations of Christ as a lamb, see Mansi, XI, 977 ff. Canon 100 raises objections to pornographic imagery; cf. *Anthology* B15.
127. A specific objection made by Erasmus in the *Christiani matrimonii Institutio*, in *Desiderii Erasmi Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Clericus (Jean Leclerc) (Leiden, 1703–6), V, 696F – 697A.
128. Justin, *Apologia*, I, ix, 4. Idzerda, *op. cit.*, 20, refers to opposition to the inclusion of the fine arts in the education of children – because the arts corrupted morals; the lax morals of artists were adduced as proof. Superstitious suspicion of a related sort may be found in the objection of many of the pro-image writers of the sixteenth century to artists who worked on Sundays and other holy days: cf. Molanus, *op. cit.*, Book III, chap. 71: *Admonitio ad pictores de non pingendo diebus sacris.*
129. Even secular writers, like the poet Anna Bijns, accused the Iconoclasts of destroying what aroused devotion while allowing the depiction of which aroused unchastity "after the manner of the heathen." In their own homes they had unedifying and immoral representations of Cupid, Lucretia, and Venus: *Refereinen van Anna Bijns*, ed. A. Bogaers en W.L. van Helten (Rotterdam, 1875), 106, 118, 124. This sort of reproach had first been made by Clement of Alexandria, but was popularized in the Reformation period by Erasmus, and rendered topical by the controversialists. For Clement of Alexandria, see his *Exhortation to the Heathen*, chap. 4, in A. Robert and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante Nicene Fathers*, II, *Fathers of the Second Century*, revised by A. Cleveland Coxe, (1969), 189. For Erasmus' reproach, see *Opera*, V, 719B–E, and for one of the polemicists, see also M. Donk (Duncanus), *Een cort onderscheyt tusschen Godlijcke en afgodissche beelden* (Antwerp, 1579), fols. Biv, recto and verso: "Waerom en gaen wy dan niet eerst ons cygen huysen reyn maken, etc", 130, cf. J. Bilson, "The Architecture of the Cistercians," *AJ*, 66 (1909), 190 ff. See also St. Bernard's comments in the *Apologia ad Guillelmum*, PL, 182, col. 912ff.
131. "Quid putas, in his omnibus quaeritur? poenitentium compunctio an intuentium admiratio?", *Ibid.*, 913.

But perhaps the most dramatic and serious form of the restrictive tendencies of the church is represented by its attitude towards books. After the Index of 1248's proscription of not only heretical books but also Jewish, pagan and scientific works, book burnings followed all over Europe:[132] these may be regarded, for a start, as the forerunners of Savonarola's great bonfires. All such phenomena are worth noting because one of the standard reactions to Iconoclasm is to impose restrictions on imagery. Once the abuses of art have been highlighted to such a degree that they become the pretext for Iconoclasm, then they at least must be eliminated, and it is necessary to tighten the controls upon art and image-making.

After the first period of Byzantine Iconoclasm, the Acts of the Council of Nicaea made it clear that the Church had to decide what could be represented.[133] The same insistence on the ecclesiastical supervision of artistic activity was made by the Council of Trent's decree on religious imagery,[134] a decree which was itself passed, only at the very final session of the Council, because of the pressing need to formulate an official stand on images in response to recent outbreaks of Iconoclasm in France.[135] In the Netherlands a whole spate of Catholic works on images appeared immediately after the first Iconoclasm there.[136] They all insisted again on ecclesiastical supervision, and, amongst all the restrictions, would themselves do away with images they regarded as unacceptable. They came dangerously close to proposing Iconoclasm on the grounds of Orthodoxy. Even in Italy, during the Counter Reformation, there was a large body of writers who, on the basis of the Tridentine decrees, called for the suppression of secular elements in religious subjects.[137] The vast question of objections to images on the basis of decorum or the need for fidelity to proper sources and so on has received a good deal of attention elsewhere.[138] Gilio da Fabriano rejects artistic styles – like Michelangelo's – which he regards as incapable of doing justice to the spiritual significance of religious themes.[139] One finds writers who are primarily concerned with a detailed account of abuses, and someone like Paleotti can actually provide a series of complex categories of the acceptable and unacceptable which amount to nothing less than an Index of proscribed images.[140]

Consequences

Thus, in the reaction to Iconoclasm, there lurks another form of antipathy towards images. It is perhaps one of the more depressing consequences of Iconoclasm, and although Iconoclasm sometimes had positive results in terms of the art that was produced afterwards, its effect was as frequently stifling. In the Netherlands after Iconoclasm, for example, there is a palpable loss in confidence on the part of both artist and patron, who are reluctant to produce or commission works which are ever liable to attack at the hands of those who are against images. And then, as soon as images are restored, official supervision inhibits artists: they become unsure not only of *what* to represent, but also of *how* they sould represent things. On the other hand, scholars have generally viewed the artistic consequences of Byzantine Iconoclasm in a positive light[141] – and it did not, admittedly, produce as great a restrictive reaction as later. It is probably safe to say that from Byzantine Iconoclasm onwards, Iconoclasts are at least as much in favour of art as Iconodules – with just a very few exceptions.[142] We can no longer be as certain as Ghiberti was when he blamed the Byzantine Iconoclasts for putting an end to art for six hundred years.[143] This is one of the great paradoxes of Iconoclasm, and it leads to further paradoxes. Implicit in the Orthodox attitude towards images is the belief that in some way or another they partake of the supernatural. But dare one say that the Iconoclasts stripped images of the supernatural association altogether? The mere fact that they felt compelled to do away with some, if not all, of them suggests that they realized that they could not. This is the problem that must concern anyone who is aware of the hold of the image on the imagination.

132. H. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (London, 1911), I, 554f; III, 612ff. For the sixteenth century indices, see F.H. Reusch, ed., *Die Indices librorum prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrunderts* (Tübingen, 1886).

133. Τῶν ζωγράφων ἐφεύρεσις ἡ τῶν εἰκόνων ποίησις· ἀλλα τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔγκριτος θεσμοθεσία καὶ παράδοσις in Mansi, XIII, 252. See also Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 259.

134. "Haec ut fidelius observentur, statuit sancta synodus, nemini licere, ullo in loco vel ecclesia, etiam quomodolibet exempta, ullam insolitam ponere val ponendam curare imaginem, nisi ab episcopo approbata fuerit" etc., *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* (Bologna-Freiburg im Breisgau, 1962), 752.

135. See H. Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung," *ThQ*, 116 (1935), 142–182, 404–428.

136. These are too numerous to mention here, but for a selection, see P. Polman, *L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVIe siècle* (Gembloux, 1932).

137. Well discussed in A. Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450–1600*, (reprint London, 1968), 103–6.

138. *Ibid.*, especially 110 ff.

139. G.A. Gilio da Fabriano, *Due Dialogi . . . degli errori de' Pittori* (Camerino, 1564), now available in P. Barocchi, ed., *Trattati d'Arte del Cinquecento*, II (Bari, 1961).

140. G. Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane* (Bologna, 1582). Latin translation (Ingolstadt, 1594). On this aspect of Paleotti's work, see P. Prodi, *Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*, II (Rome, 1967), 527–562, and cf. P. Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica delle arti figurative nella Riforma Cattolica," *Archivio Italiano per la storia della Pietà*, 4 (1962), 123–212.

141. See even C. Diehl, *Manuel d'Art byzantin* (Paris, 1910), 352.

142. They are not against art as such, but rather against all attempts to invest the figurative with any form of holy signification.

143. L. Ghiberti, *Commentari*, II,i, in J. von Schlosser, *Lorenzo Ghibertis Denkwürdigkeiten* (Berlin, 1912).

CHRONOLOGY

THE FIRST PHASE OF ICONOCLASM

715–30	'Iconodule' Patriarch Germanos I
715–31	'Iconodule' Pope Gregory II
717–41	Iconoclast Emperor Leo III the Isaurian (b. Germanikeia, Maraş)
717–8	Arab siege of Constantinople
720–4	'Iconoclast' Umayyad Caliph Yazid II
721–2	Leo III compels Jews and others accept to Orthodox baptism
723	'Iconoclast edict' of Yazid II at Damascus
726–7	Arabs take Caesarea; repulsed at Nicaea
726	Subaquatic volcanic eruption near Thera in Aegean
726 (or 730)	Leo III destroys the icon of Christ Chalkites on the Brazen House (Chalke) of the Great Palace
727	Iconodule rebellion fails
730–54	Iconoclast Patriarch Anastasios
730	Iconoclast edict of Leo III
	Certain ecclesiastical jurisdictions subsequently transferred from Rome to Constantinople
740	Leo III defeats Arabs at Akroïnon
	Thrakesion theme founded subsequently
741–75	Iconoclast Emperor Constantine V, son of Leo III
749	Death of St. John Damascene
750	Battle of the Great Zab; collapse of Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus; foundation of Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad
751	Lombards capture Ravenna; end of Byzantine rule in north and central Italy
754	Iconoclast Council at Hiereia; *Horos* (definition) issued
762–8	Severe persecution of Iconodules
765–75	Byzantino-Bulgar war
769	Iconodule Roman Synod under Pope Stephen III (IV)
775–80	Emperor Leo IV, son of Constantine V
780–802	Iconodule Empress Eirene (b. Athens), widow of Leo IV; rules intermittently with her son Emperor Constantine VI until blinding him in 797
780–4	Iconoclast Patriarch Paul IV; abdicates under Iconodule pressure
782	Harun ar-Rashid reaches Bosphoros; Eirene pays tribute
783	Reconquest of Greece from Slavs begins
784–806	Iconodule Patriarch Tarasios
786–809	Abbasid Caliph Harun ar-Rashid.
787	Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea; restoration of the veneration of Icons

THE LULL, 787–c. 815

787	Restoration of the icon of Christ on the Brazen House of the Great Palace some time after Council of Nicaea
800	Coronation of Charlemagne (768–814) in Rome
802–11	Emperor Nikephoros I; consolidation of the Peloponnese and creation of some European themes; new Bulgar war
803–14	Sublime Khan Krum of Bulgaria
806	Harun ar-Rashid takes Herakleia and Tyana
806–15	Iconodule (but anti-Studite) Patriarch Nikephoros I
811	Byzantine forces defeated in Bulgaria; Emperor Nikephoros killed by Khan Krum.
811–3	Pro-Studite Emperor Michael I Rhangabes
813	Krum besieges Constantinople unsuccessfully

THE SECOND PHASE OF ICONOCLASM

813–20	Iconoclast Emperor Leo V the Armenian
814	Icon of Christ on the Brazen House of the Great Palace removed and subsequently replaced by a cross
815–21	Iconoclast Patriarch Theodotos Melissenos Kassiteras
815	Iconoclast Council at St. Sophia; *Horos* (definition) issued.
820–9	Emperor Michael II (b. Amorion), son-in-law of Constantine VI
820–3	Revolt of Thomas the Slav (as Constantine VI).
826	Death of St. Theodore the Studite
828–961	Crete occupied by Arabs
829 (onwards)	Loss of Sicily to Arabs
829–42	Last Iconoclast Emperor, Theophilos, son of Michael II
837–43	Last Iconoclast Patriarch, John VII the Grammarian, tutor to Theophilos
838	Fall of Amorion to Arabs. Further military disasters Creation of more Asian themes
842–67	Emperor Michael III, son of Theophilos and Iconodule Empress Theodora
843–7	Iconodule Patriarch Methodios I installed on deposition of John VII
843 (11 March)	Restoration of the veneration of icons in St. Sophia, subsequently celebrated as the Feast of Orthodoxy

THE AFTERMATH

843 (after)	Restoration of the icon of Christ Chalkites on the Brazen House of the Great Palace
856	Redecoration of the Chrysotriklinos of the Great Palace
863	Cyril and Methodios begin work among Slavs
863	Defeat of Arabs at Poson
864 or 865	Baptism of Boris I (Michael) of Bulgaria (852–889)
864	Mosaic decoration of the Pharos church in the Great Palace
867 (29 March)	Inauguration of the mosaic of the Virgin and Child in St. Sophia by Iconodule Patriarch Photios (858–67, 877–86). Subsequent decoration or redecoration of the Large Sekreton of the Patriarchate of St. Sophia; and churches of Sts. Sergios and Bacchos, the Virgin of the Pege, the Virgin Hodegetria, the Holy Apostles and St. Sophia, Salonica

ANTHOLOGY OF TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

A. ICONOCLAST PRECEDENTS

1. *Exodus, xx, 4; the second commandment:*

Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.

2. *Romans, i, 18–23; the Pauline view*:

For we see divine retribution revealed from heaven and falling upon all the godless wickedness of men. In their wickedness they are stifling the truth. For all that may be known of God by men lies plain before their eyes; indeed God himself has disclosed it to them. His invisible attributes, that is to say his everlasting power and deity, have been visible, ever since the world began, to the eye of reason, in the things he has made . . . They boast of their wisdom, but they have made fools of themselves exchanging the splendour of immortal God for an image shaped like mortal man, even for images like birds, beasts, and creeping things.

3. *Origen (ca. 185–ca. 254)*:

[Our] cult-statues and fitting offerings to God are not fabricated by uneducated craftsmen but are rendered clear and formed within us by the Word of God . . . Therefore, cult-statues are in all those who, in accordance with the Divine Word, provide themselves with justice and courage and wisdom and piety . . . And in each of those who, to the best of their ability, imitate Him even in this respect there is the cult-statue 'in the likeness of the Creator' [Col., iii, 10] which they furnish by contemplating God with a pure heart when they have become 'imitators of God' [Ephes., v, 1].

Contra Celsum, VIII, 17–18 (ed. P. Koetschau, II, 234–6); trans. P. J. Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 41 and *DOP*, 7 (1953), 50; cf. *Contra Celsum*, Eng. trans., H. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1953); and *Contre Celse*, ed. and tr., M. Borret (Sources Chrétiennes, 1967).

4. *Council of Elvira (ca. 300–312), Canon 36*:

Resolved that paintings should not be in church; not to be painted on walls to be revered and worshipped.

Mansi, II, col. 11, *Concilium Liberitanum*.

5. *Epiphanius (ca. 315–413)*:

Remembering this . . . bring no images into the churches nor into the resting places of the saints; but always remember God in your hearts. Neither bring them into your common dwelling; for it becomes not a Christian to be unsettled by the eye or the fancies of the mind.

Mansi, XIII, col. 292 D–E; Hennephof, *Textus*, No. 138. Cf. Alexander, *DOP*, 7 (1953), on the use of Epiphanius' *Treatise against those who are engaged in making, after the fashion of idols, images in the likeness of Jesus Christ, the Mother of God, martyrs, angels and prophets*, in the Council of 815.

6. *Eusebius (265–340), letter to the Empress Constantia*:

Has the Scripture escaped you in which God by law prohibits the making of any likeness, either of things in heaven, or of those on the earth below? Have you ever heard of such a thing in a church or in any other place? Have not such things been banished from the entire Christian community and driven out of our churches?

PG, 20, col. 1548; Mansi, XIII, col. 313 A–D; Hennephof, *Textus*, No. 110, vi.

7. *Amphilochios of Ikonion (ca. 345–403)*:

It is not, however, our task to represent the physical form of the saints on slabs with paints, for we have no need of such, but to imitate their manner of life in the way of virtue.

Mansi, XIII, col. 301 D; Hennephof, *Textus*, No. 240.

B. ICONODULE PRECEDENTS

8. *Clement of Alexandria (ca. 200)*:

In order that he may reach the summit of knowledge he strives to adorn all his powers, and to equip his person, using all the advantages of the true Gnostic; he contemplates beautiful images (*eikonas*), thinking of the many patriarchs who before his time have reached perfection, the numberless prophets and the countless messengers and the Lord of them all who taught and made attainable the life of those leaders.

Stromata. VII, 11; ed. Staehlin, III, 45; PG, 9, col. 488; Eng. trans., W. Wilson, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, XII (1869), 451.

9. *Basil of Caesarea (330–379)*:

The image (*eikon*) of the Emperor is also called the Emperor, and there are not two Emperors in consequence. Neither is power divided nor is glory distributed. Just as the power reigning over us is one, so is our homage one, not many, and the honour given to the image passes to the original (*prototypon*). What the image is in the one case a representation, that the Son is in his nature, and as in art likeness is according to form, so in the divine and incommensurable nature there is union in the fellowship of the Godhead.

De Spiritu Sancto, xviii, 45; PG, 32, col. 145; Mansi, XIII, col. 69D; Mango, *Art*, 47.

10. *Athanasius of Alexandria (328–373)*:

For what can be a clearer consequence than that the Son is in the Father and Father in the Son, if He and the Father are One? And if they are One in Divinity and Nature . . . then it must follow that, 'He that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father,' for the Godhead of the Father is contemplated in the Son. This will be easier to understand from the example of the Emperor's image which displays his form and likeness. The Emperor is the likeness of his image. The likeness of the Emperor is indelibly impressed upon the image so that anyone looking at the image sees the Emperor, and again anyone looking at the Emperor recognises that the image is his likeness . . . He who worships the image worships the Emperor in it. The image is his form and likeness.

Oratio contra Arianos, iii, 5; PG, 26, col. 332; Mansi, XIII, col. 69B–D; Eng. trans., *Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature* (London, 1889), 185–6.

11. *Gregory of Nazianzos (ca. 329–390)*:

It is an axiom of royal practice observed, if not by all other men among whom royalty exists, certainly by the Romans, that the Rulers should be publicly honoured by their statues . . . Rulers need veneration (*proskynesis*) in order to seem more supreme: not only the veneration directed to them personally, but also that made to their images and portraits in order that a greater and more perfect honour be rendered to them. Emperors vary in what they like to see represented with their likeness in these portraits: some love to see themselves with the more prominent cities offering them gifts, with victories crowning their heads . . . others with subjugated barbarians laying prostrate under their feet or being exterminated in various ways. It is not that they love only the reality of deeds of which they are proud, but also their representation.

Oratio IV, Contra Iulianum, i, 80; PG, 35, cols. 605–8.

12. *Pseudo-Dionysius (6th Century)*:

On the one side, through the veiled language of Scripture and the help of received and hierarchical tradition [dia . . . tēs tōn logiōn kai tōn hierarchikōn paradoseōn philanthrōpias], intellectual things are understood through sensible ones, and the superexistent things through the things that exist. Forms are given to what is intangible and without shape and immaterial perfection is clothed and multiplied in a variety of different symbols.

De Divinis Nominibus, i, 4; PG, 3, col. 592; Eng. trans., *The Divine Names* (Shrine of Wisdom ed., 1957); ed. and trans., Rolt, *Translations of Christian Literature*, I (London, 1920).

13. *Hypatios, Archbishop of Ephesus 531–538*:

We ordain that the unspeakable and incomprehensible love of God for us men and the sacred patterns set by the Saints be celebrated in holy writings since so far as we are concerned we take no pleasure at all in sculpture or painting. But we permit simpler people, as they are less perfect, to learn by way of initiation about such things by [the sense of] sight which is more appropriate to their natural development . . . For these reasons we too, allow even material adornment in the sanctuaries, not because we believe that God considers gold and silver and silken vestments and gem-studded vessels venerable and sacred, but because we permit each order of the faithful to be guided and led up to the divine being in a manner appropriate to it [the order] . . . We do not, then, disturb the divine [commandments] with regard to sanctuaries . . . but we want even them [those still rather imperfect] to know that the divine being is not all identical or the same or similar to any of the existing things.

Miscellaneous Enquiries, ed. F. Diekamp, *OCA*, 117 (1938), 127–9; Eng. trans. P. J. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus. A Note on Image Worship in the Sixth Century," *HThR*, 44 (1952), 178–181.

14. *Leontius of Neapolis (d. ca. 650)*:

You do obeisance to the book of the Law, but you do not make obeisance to parchments and ink but to the words of God contained therein. And it is thus that I do obeisance to the icon of God, for when I hold the lifeless representation of Christ in my hands through it I seem to hold and do obeisance to the Christ. As Jacob kissed the coat of Joseph and felt that he held him in his arms, so Christians think that holding the image they hold Christ or his apostles and martyrs . . . as I have often said, in every greeting and obeisance it is the purpose of the action which is in question.

Mansi, XIII, cols. 43A–53C.

15. *Council in Trullo (692)*:

Now, in order that perfection be represented before the eyes of all people, even in paintings, we ordain that from now on Christ our God, the Lamb who took upon Himself the sins of the world, be set up, even in images according to His human character (*kata ton anthrōpinon charactēra*), instead of the ancient Lamb. Through this figure we realise the height of the humiliation of God the Word and are led to remember His life in the flesh, His suffering and His saving death, and the redemption ensuing from it for the world.

Mansi, XI, cols. 977–80; also XIII, cols. 40–1; cf. Mango, *Art*, 123.

C. THE FIRST PHASE OF ICONOCLASM, 726–787

16. *Leo III (ca. 720)*:

We honour the cross because of the suffering of that Word of God incarnate borne thereon, as we have learned from a commandment given by God to Moses, and from the prediction of the prophets. As for pictures we do not give them like respect, not having received in Holy scriptures any commandment whatsoever in regard to this. Nevertheless, finding in the Old Testament that divine command which authorised Moses to have executed in the tabernacle the figure of the cherubim and animated by a sincere attachment to the disciples of the Lord, who burned with love for the Saviour Himself, we have always felt a desire to conserve their images, which have come down to us from their times as their living representation. Their presence charms us, and we glorify God who has saved us by the intermediary of His only begotten Son, who appeared in the world in a similar figure, and we glorify the Saints. But as for the wood and the colours, we do not give them any reverence.

A. Jeffrey, "Ghevond's text of the correspondence between 'Umar II and Leo III," *HThR*, 37 (1944), 322; cf. Gero, *Leo III*, 44–7, App. 2, esp. 162–71; Fr. trans, G. V. Chahnazarian, *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie* (Paris, 1856), ch. 7, 88–9.

17. *Report of John of Jerusalem, to the Seventh Ecumenical Council held at Nicaea, on the origins of Iconoclasm:*

When [Caliph] Omar [717–20] had died, he was succeeded by Yazid [720–4] a frivolous and fickle man. Now, there was in Tiberias a certain leader of the lawless Jews, who was a sorcerer and the instrument of soul-destroying demons, called Tessarakontapêchys [Forty-Cubits-High] . . . Being informed of the frivolity of the ruler Yazid, this wicked Jew went up to him and attempted to make some prophecies. Having in this manner gained the tyrant's favour, he said: "I wish, O Caliph, on account of the good will I have towards you, to suggest to you a certain method, easy to accomplish, by means of which you will win an extension of your life and will remain here to rule for thirty years, if you put what I say into effect." Won over by the promise of longevity . . . the senseless tyrant replied: "Anything you suggest to me I shall readily do . . ." Whereupon, the Jewish sorcerer said to him, "Give an order without delay or postponement that an encylical letter be issued throughout your dominions to the effect that every kind of pictorial representation, be it on boards or in wall-mosaic or on holy vessels or altar-cloths, or anything else of the sort that is found in all Christian churches should be obliterated and entirely destroyed; not only these, but also all the effigies that are set up as decoration in the market-places of cities." It was a devilish plot on the part of the false prophet to have added "all effigies" because he tried to avoid suspicion of being hostile to us [Christians]. The wicked tyrant was easily persuaded by him and sent out emissaries throughout his dominions to pull down the holy icons and other images. And in this fashion he denuded God's churches . . . before this plague had reached our country. And since the God-loving Christians took flight so as not to destroy holy icons with their own hands, the Emirs who had been charged with this task imposed it on accursed Jews and miserable Arabs. And so they burnt the holy icons, and some churches were whitewashed, while others they scraped down. When the unworthy bishop of Nakoleia [advisor to Leo III] and his followers heard of this, they imitated the lawless Jews and infidel Arabs and set about insulting the churches of God . . .

The most-holy bishop of Messene said, "I, too, was a boy in Syria when the Caliph of the Saracens was destroying images."

Mansi, XIII, cols. 197–200; Mango, *Art*, 151; Gero, *Leo III*, 64–71; cf. Theophanes Continuatus (Bonn ed.), 481–7; PG, 109, 517–20.

18. *Constantine V (741–75)*:

How is it possible that there can be a drawing, that is an image, made of Our Lord Jesus Christ, when He is one person of two natures in a union of the material and the immaterial which admits no confusion? Since He

has another immaterial nature conjoined to the flesh, and with these two natures He is one, and His person or substance is inseparable from the two natures, we hold that He cannot be depicted. For what is depicted in one person, and he who circumscribes that person has plainly circumscribed the divine nature which is incapable of being circumscribed.

Nikephoros, *Antirrheticus I*, PG, 100, col. 301C; Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, 9; Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 167–73.

19. *Summary of part of the argument of the Iconoclast council of 754, refuted at the Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 787*:

The divine nature is completely uncircumscribable and cannot be depicted or represented by artists in any medium whatsoever. The word Christ means both God and Man, and an icon of Christ would therefore have to be an image of God in the flesh of the Son of God. But this is impossible. The artist would fall either into the heresy which claims that the divine and human natures of Christ are separate or into that which holds that there is only one nature in Christ.

Mansi, XIII, col. 208ff.; Mango, *Art*, 165–8; cf. Anastos, "754."

20. *John of Damascus (675–749)*:

When we set up an image of Christ in any place, we appeal to the senses, and indeed we sanctify the sense of sight, which is the highest among the perceptive senses, just as by sacred speech we sanctify the sense of hearing. An image is, after all, a reminder; it is to the illiterate what a book is to the literate, and what the word is to hearing, the image is to sight. All this is the approach through the senses: but it is with the mind that we lay hold on the image. We remember that God ordered that a vessel be made from wood that would not rot, gilded inside and out, and that the tables of the law should be placed in it and the staff and the golden vessel containing the manna – all this for a reminder of what had taken place, and a foreshadowing of what was to come. What was this but a visual image, more compelling than any sermon? And this sacred thing was not placed in some obscure corner of the tabernacle; it was displayed in full view of the people, so that whenever they looked at it they would give honour and worship to the God who had through its contents made known his design to them. They were of course not worshipping the things themselves; they were being led through them to recall the wonderful works of God, and to adore him whose words they had witnessed. [*Oratio* 1, PG, 94, col. 1258C–D].

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. . . Then why should we make representations of the previous sufferings of Christ the Lord? We make them so that I may say, 'God the Word was made man and through him our human nature was restored to its original felicity. Through him our human nature was raised from the lowest depth of the earth, above all earthly powers, to sit on the very throne of God' . . .

Anybody who makes an image of a man, or a bird or a reptile or any other created thing, and treats it as though it were God, falls under an anathema. [*Oratio* 3, PG, 94, col. 1332C]. But the contempt of material because it is material is a Manichean error. Scripture testifies against the forbidding of the use of material things as a help to the worship of God.

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Flesh is material – can you deny it? My salvation was brought to me by material means, and I venerate the wood of the blessed cross, not as though it were God but as being full of the grace and work of God. The hill, Calvary, the tomb, the stone, the very source of the Resurrection – all are material; the ink and the pages of the Gospels, the table from which we take our salvation and all its furniture, the very body and blood of the Lord – all are material. You must either forbid all respect to these things, or you must allow it respect to the images consecrated to the name of Christ and to his friends, the saints, as being overshadowed by the grace of the Holy Spirit. [*Oratio* 2, PG; 94, col. 1300B–G; cf. *Oratio* 1, *ibid.* col. 1245B–C].

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Of old God the incorporeal and uncircumscribed was not depicted at all. But now that God has appeared in the flesh and lived among men, I make an image of the God who can be seen. I do not worship matter but the creator of matter, who for my sake became material and deigned to dwell in matter, who through matter affected my salvation. I will not cease from worshipping the matter through which my salvation has been effected. [*Oratio* 1, PG, 94, col. 1245A].

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These injunctions (against idols) were given to the Jews on account of their proneness to idolatry. We, on the contrary, are no longer in leading strings . . . How depict the invisible? How picture the inconceivable? How give expression to the limitless, the imeasurable, the invisible? . . . It is clear that when you contemplate God who is pure spirit becoming man for your sake you will be able to clothe him with the human form. When the Invisible becomes visible in flesh you may then draw a likeness of his visible form. When he who is without

form or limitation, immeasurable in the boundlessness of his own nature, existing as God, takes upon himself the form of a servant in substance and stature, and a body of flesh, then you may draw his likeness and show it to anyone willing to contemplate it. *Oratio* 1, *ibid.*, col. 1245B–C].

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If power is not divided nor glory distributed, honouring the image becomes honouring the one who is depicted in the image. Devils have feared the saints and have fled from their shadow. The shadow is an image, and I make an image that I may scare the devils . . . material things are endued with a divine power because they bear the names of those they represent . . . Material things in themselves demand no veneration, but if the person who is represented be full of grace, the material becomes partaker of grace metaphorically, by faith.

Christ did not give to Kings the power to bind and loose, but to the apostles and their successors and to pastors and teachers . . . Kings have no title to make laws for the Church. What says the Holy Apostle? And God has set some in the Church, first apostles, second prophets, third pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the Church. He does not say Kings . . . The political commonwealth is the King's business; the ecclesiastical organisation belongs to pastors and teachers. To invade it is an act of robber . . . And now holy Germanos has been beaten and has become an exile, and many more bishops and fathers whose names are unknown to me. Is not this a persecution? . . . We are obedient to you, O King, in the affairs of this world . . . but in the government of the Church we have pastors who preach to us the Word and order the constitution of the Church. We do not change the boundaries marked out by our fathers. [*Oratio* 2, PG, 94, cols. 1296C–1297B].

PG, 94, extracts from *Oratio* 1, cols. 1232–84; *Oratio* 2, cols. 1284–1317; and *Oratio* 3, cols. 1317–1420; cf. M. H. Allies, *St. John Damascene on Images* (London, 1898); B. Kotter, ed., *Expositio Fidei* (Berlin and New York, 1973); Fr. trans., E. Ponsoye, *La Foi Orthodoxe* (Paris, 1966).

21. *Definition of the Seventh Ecumenical Council held at Nicaea in 787*:

We define with all accuracy and care that the venerable and holy icons be set up like the form of the venerable and life-giving Cross, inasmuch as matter consisting of colours and pebbles and other matter is appropriate in the holy Church of God, on sacred vessels and vestments, walls and panels, in houses and on the roads, as well as the images of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, of our undefiled Lady the Holy Mother of God, of the angels worthy of honour, and of all the holy and pious men. For the more frequently they are seen by means of pictorial representation the more those who behold them are aroused to remember and desire the prototypes and to give them greeting and worship of honour – but not the true worship of our faith which befits only the divine nature – but to offer them both incense and candles, in the same way as to the form of the venerable and life-giving Cross and the holy Gospel books and to the other sacred objects, as was the custom even of the ancients.

Mansi, XIII, col. 252; cf. Mango, *Art*, 172–3.

D. THE SECOND PERIOD OF ICONOCLASM, 815–843

22. *Definition of the Iconoclast Council of 815*:

This Council [of 754] having confirmed and fortified the divine doctrine of the holy Fathers and followed [the lead of] the six holy Ecumenical Councils, formulated [a set of] most pious canons; wherefore the Church of God remained un-troubled for many years and guarded the people in peace; until it chanced that the imperial office passed from [the hands of] men into [those of] a woman [Eirene] and God's Church was undone by female frivolity: for, guided by most ignorant bishops, she convened a thoughtless assembly [of 787] and put forward the doctrine that the incomprehensible Son and Logos of God should be painted [as He was] during the Incarnation by means of dishonoured matter. She also heedlessly stated that lifeless portraits of the most-holy Mother of God and the saints who share in His (i.e., Christ's] form should be set up and worshipped, thereby coming into conflict with the contral doctrine of the Church. Further, she confounded our worship by arbitrarily affirming that what is fit for God should be offered to the inanimate matter of icons, and she senselessly dared state that these were filled with divine grace, and by offering them candlelight and sweet-smelling incense as well as forced veneration, she led the simple-minded into error . . . Wherefore, taking to heart the correct doctrine, we banish from the Catholic Church the unwarranted manufacture of the spurious icons that has been so audaciously proclaimed, impelled as we are by a judicious judgment; nay, by passing a righteous judgment upon the veneration of icons that has been injudiciously proclaimed by Tarasios, [Patriarch, 784–806] and so refuting it, we declare his assembly invalid in that it bestowed exaggerated honor to painting, namely, as has already been said, the lighting of candles and lamps and the offering of incense, these marks of veneration being those of worship. We gladly accept, on the other hand, the pious council that was held at Blachernae, in the church of the all-pure Virgin, under the former pious Emperors Constantine and Leo, [in 754] a council that was fortified by the doctrine of the Fathers, and in preserving without alteration what was expressed by it, we decree that the manufacture of icons is unfit for veneration and useless. We refrain, however, from calling them idols since there is a distinction between different kinds of evil.

Ed. and trans., P. J. Alexander, *DOP*, 7 (1953), 58–60; Hennephof, *Textus*, No. 265.

23. *Theodore the Studite (759–826)*:

All of us may be depicted, for he who cannot be depicted is not a man but some abortive creature; indeed every living thing that has seen the light of day is naturally depictable. Hence, Christ, too, may be depicted, even if the godless [i.e. the Iconoclasts] think otherwise and so deny the mystery of the salutary incarnation. How, indeed, can the Son of God be acknowledged to have been a man like us – he who deigned to be called our brother – if he cannot, like us, be circumscribed? How could he have been born according to the law of nature if he was not similar to his own mother? For if he was not circumscribed then it was not out of her virginal blood that he fashioned a temple unto himself, but had a body made in heaven, as was the opinion of the heretic Marcellus and other impious men before him. It also follows that his mother was not really his mother, but one falsely so called; that he was not similar to us, but of a different nature; furthermore, that Adam has not been redeemed. For how can a body of earth be resurrected in a body of a different kind, when it has been proved that like is saved by like? Further, it would follow that death has not been swallowed up [cf. I. Cor., *xv*, 54] and that worship according to the [old] Law has not been abrogated, including the necessity of circumcision and all the rest.

Seest thou into what an abyss of impiety the Iconoclasts have been precipitated by believing that Christ should not be depicted on panels? Surely theirs is a Jewish faith.

PG, 99, cols. 1188–9; cf. Mango, *Art*, 173–5.

E. THE VICISSITUDES OF THE ICON OF CHRIST CHALKITES IN THE BRAZEN HOUSE OF THE GREAT PALACE. (The icon was destroyed and replaced with a cross by Leo III in 726–30, restored by Eirene after 787, removed and replaced with a cross by Leo V in 814, and finally restored by Theodora after 843).

24. *Inscription under the second cross*:

The Emperor Leo and his son Constantine
Thought it dishonour to the Christ divine
That on the very Palace gate he stood
A lifeless, speechless effigy of wood
Thus what the book forbids they did replace
With the believers' blessed sign of grace.

Theodore the Studite, *Refutatio poematum iconomachorum*, PG, 99, col. 437C; Eng. trans., Mango, *Brazen House*, 122–3.

25. *Inscription beside the third icon, by Patriarch Methodios I (843–7), in part*:

. . . the disciples of Manes' teachings . . . cast down thy most-venerable likeness, formerly portrayed here in holy form. Refuting their lawless error, the Empress Theodora, guardian of the faith, with her scions arrayed in purple and gold, emulating the pious among the emperors, and shown to be the most pious of them all, has re-erected it with righteous intent at this gate of the palace, to her own glory, praise and fame, to the dignity of the entire Church, to the full prosperity of the human race, to the fall of malevolent enemies and barbarians.

Grabar, *Iconoclasme*, 131; Eng. trans., Mango, *Brazen House*, 126–8.

F. THE AFTERMATH

26. *Inscription in the Chrysotriklinos of the Great Palace, round the ceiling (ca. 856–66)*:

The ray of truth has shone forth again and has dimmed the eyes of the imposters. Piety has grown, error has fallen, faith blooms and Grace spreads out. For behold, once again the image of Christ shines above the imperial throne and confounds the murky heresies; while above the entrance is represented the Virgin as divine gate and guardian. The Emperor [Michael III] and Bishop [Photios] are depicted close by along with their collaborators inasmuch as they have driven away error, and all round the building, like guards [stand] angels, apostles, martyrs, priests. Hence we call 'the new Chrysotriklinos' that which aforetime had been given a golden name, since it contains the throne of Christ, our Lord, the forms of Christ's Mother and Christ's heralds, and the image of Michael [III] whose deeds are filled with wisdom.

The Greek Anthology, i, 106; Loeb ed., I, 44–7; Eng. trans., Mango, *Art*, 184.

27. *Homily delivered by Patriarch Photios of Constantinople before the Emperors Michael III and Basil I in St. Sophia on 29 March 867, at the inauguration of the mosaic of the Enthroned Virgin and Child, (Fig. 31) in part*:

Christ came to us in the flesh, and was borne in the arms of his Mother. This is seen and confirmed and proclaimed in pictures, the teaching made manifest by means of personal eyewitness, and impelling the spectators to unhesitating assent. Does a man hate the teaching by means of pictures? Then how could he not have previously rejected and hated the message of the Gospels? Just as speech *is transmitted* by hearing, so form through sight is imprinted on the tablets of the soul, giving to those whose apprehension is not soiled by

wicked doctrines [i.e. Iconoclast teaching] a representation of knowledge concordance with piety. Martyrs have suffered for their love of God, showing with their blood the ardour of their desire . . . These things are conveyed both by stories and by pictures, but it is the spectators rather than the hearers who are drawn to emulation. The Virgin is holding the Creator in her arms as an infant. Who is there who would not marvel more from the sight of it than the report, at the magnitude of the mystery . . .? For even if one introduces the other, yet the comprehension that comes through the sight is shown in very fact to be far superior to the learning that penetrates through the ears. Has a man lent his ear to a story? Then, after judging it with sober attention, he deposits it in his memory. No less – indeed much greater – is the power of sight. For surely, having somehow through the outpouring and effluence of the optical rays touched and encompassed the object, it too sends the essence of the thing seen on to the mind letting it be conveyed from there to the memory for the concentration of unfailing knowledge. Has the mind seen? Has it grasped? Has it visualised? Then it has effortlessly transmitted the forms to the memory.

Eng. trans. Mango, *Photius*, 293–4.

28. *From the liturgy of the Sunday of Orthodoxy (first in Lent), in celebration of the restoration of icons in 843*:

To those who reject the Councils of the Holy Fathers, and their traditions which are agreeable to divine revelation, and which the Orthodox Catholic Church piously maintains, ANATHEMA! ANATHEMA! ANATHEMA!

Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Harmondsworth, 1963), 39; cf. Gouillard, "Synodikon."

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Major entries are: CALIPHS, CAPPADOCIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS, EMPERORS, MANUSCRIPTS, PATRIARCHS of Constantinople, POPES of Rome, SALONICA (Thessaloniki), and TUR 'ABDIN.

Monuments will be found by location (e.g. Aachen, Palatine Chapel, *not* Palatine Chapel, Aachen; and MANUSCRIPTS, Florence, Laurenziana, Plut. 1, 56, *not* Rabbula Gospels).

CALIPHS, COUNCILS, EMPERORS, PATRIARCHS and POPES are listed in their sections in chronological, *not* alphabetical, order.

Most *persons* are listed by their first names (e.g. Michael Lachanodrakon, *not* Lachanodrakon, Michael).

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ICONOCLASM—ERRATA

The Editors regret, and the Printers apologise for, the following errors and omissions:

Jacket, left flap. *Insert* Dr ANN MOFFATT
Australian National University, Canberra
Jacket, right flap. *For* UNIVERSTIY, *read* UNIVERSITY
pp. i–ii. Half-title page missing.
pp. viii–xi. Renumber ix-xii.
p.1, line 26. *For* Phyrgia, *read* Phrygia
p.1, footnote 1. *For* "débuts," *read* "Débuts,"
p.5, line 28. *For* Nikephorosand, *read* Nikephoros and
p.27, line 46. *For* Inconoclast, *read* Iconoclast
p.57, above line 1. *Insert* III
p.83, line 3. *For* [i.e. in 869), *read* [i.e. in 869]
p.83, line 6. *For* of Armenia, *read* of Samosata of Armenia
p.107, footnote 33. *For* Mansi, XIII., *read* Mansi, XIII, col. 129B.
p.142, line 18. *For* mrk, *read* mark
p.142, end of footnote 10. *For* soothsayer" 102., *read* "Synodikon," 124–5
p.151, footnote 9. *For Lists*, *read Listes*
p.153, line 22. *For* after 877).[12], *read* after 877).[16]
p.159, line 7. *For* descirbed, *read* described.
p.170, footnote 57. *For* κακεῖνος, *read* κἀκεῖνος
p.173, line 28. *For* bridegroom.[193], *read* bridegroom.[103]
p.173, footnote 100. *For archólogique*, *read archéologique*
p.177, footnote 133. *For* ἀλλα, *read* ἀλλά
p.181, *Anthology* B.9, reference. *For* PG, 32, col.145, *read* PG, 32, col. 149C
p.182, *Anthology* B.15, reference. *For* cf. Mango, *Art*, 123, *read* cf. Mango, Art, 139
p.187, *Index*, left column. *For* Abgar, King of Edessa, 13, *read* Abgar, King of Edessa, 13, 55
p.188, *Index*, right column. *For* COUNCILS, 364, Laodicaea, Council, 114, *read* COUNCILS, 364, Laodicaea, Council, 144
p.193, *Index*, left column. *For* POPES OF, *read* POPES of
Omit entries Constantine (708–15), Gregory II, St. (715–31)
and Hadrian I (772–95)
p.194, *Index*, left column. *For* Stylianos of Neocaesarea (Niksar), bishop, 134, *read* Stylianos of Neocaesaria (Niksar), bishop, 143