

THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IN THE LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY BYZANTINE PERIODS



Edited by
Maria Gourdouba, Leena Pietilä-Castrén and Esko Tikkala

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Preface

The idea of organizing a one day seminar on the events of the sixth century AD arose from the Finnish Institute's early interest in this period, as attested by the first volume of the series *Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens (PMFIA)*, published in 1994 and entitled *Post-Herulian Athens. Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens, A.D. 267-529*. Furthermore, two archaeological fieldwork projects in which Finns have been engaged in the Eastern Mediterranean, on Mount Aron in Jordan, and at Paliambela in Northern Greece, have unearthed remains of Early Christian basilicas. It was thus tempting to examine more closely the spiritual and material world in which the congregations of these two churches once lived, and to seek a more complete picture of the peoples and places in those years of change.

A group of specialists from different fields of research were invited to the Finnish Institute at Athens on 24 January 2003. The keynote speakers were those responsible for the respective fieldwork projects, Prof. Jaakko Frösén and Dr. Zbigniew T. Fiema for Mount Aron (1997-) and Dr. Arja Karivieri for Paliambela (1999-2004). Their contributions have not been included in the present publication as they are due to appear elsewhere. The preliminary reports for Mount Aron have been published in *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* since 1998 (vol. 42), and the final publication will appear in the series of the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters. The results of the Paliambela fieldwork will be published in a later volume of the PMFIA. The present collection of six articles represents four of the contributions to the seminar, complemented by two other papers. One of these, that on Cosmas Indicopleustes by the Hungarian archaeologist László Borhy, was a public lecture at the Finnish Institute at Athens in March 2002. This article, about an unexpected room by a thermal complex in Pannonia, highlights an early visual view of a cosmological allegory, crystallized in writing by Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Alexandrian traveller of the 6th century. The other article, on Ennodius, was invited from a member of the learned audience of the seminar, the historian Stefanie A.H. Kennell, currently the director of the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens.

The basilica at Paliambela was in the immediate vicinity of the important land route of Via Egnatia, on which Ennodius was certainly kept busy while negotiating between Rome and Constantinople. He must have passed by the basilica at Paliambela several times. Athens, for her part, is represented by the writings of Dionsysius the Areopagite, celebrated as the Athenian church father par excellence. This paper was delivered by Gunnar af Hällström, Professor of Ecumenic Theology at the University of Joensuu in eastern Finland. He was also a member of the team investigating Post-Herulian Athens in the 1980s. The immediate environs of Athens are presented in the Early Christian remains of Maroussi, an active congregation in a fertile rural area, in the article by Greek archaeologist Georgios Pallis. An indirect glimpse of the Roman-Byzantine education of the court in Ravenna is provided by the work of the poet Venantius Fortunatus. The author of this piece, Seppo Heikkinen, is specializing in studies on poetic metre at the University of Helsinki. Back in the East, a frenzied construction of Christian churches is noted in Rhodes, with all adhering to the simple three-aisled plan known as early as the second century BC, for example in the basilica in the forum at Pompeii. This article is by Ioannis Volanakis, a senior Greek archaeologist.

I wish to express my thanks to all the contributors for meeting their deadlines. The intensive editing was made an agreeable task by my dedicated co-editors and language revisers, Dr. Uta-Maria Liertz of the Department of Classical Philology at the University of Helsinki, and Dr. Jonathan Tomlinson of the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens. I am also grateful to all those who procured photographs and maps for us, and, finally, to our referees.

Athens, 26 March, 2004

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

Director

Ewige Zeit – Ewiges Leben: Das Deckengemälde aus *Brigetio* und das kosmologische Zimmer des Cosmas Indicopleustes*

László Borhy

Fundumstände und Struktur

In den Jahren 1994–1996 wurden teilweise zusammenhängende Fragmente eines Deckengemäldes in der Zivilstadt von *Brigetio* (heute Komárom/Szöny; Fundort Vásártér) in einem Wohnhaus (Gebäude Nr. 1; Raum Nr. 1 und Nr. 2.) freigelegt.¹ Zwar lagen die Fragmente in zwei nebeneinander liegenden Räumen, doch gehörten sie, wie sich im Laufe der Restaurierung im Sommer 1998 herausstellte, zum Tonnengewölbe des Raumes Nr. 1. Die zerstreute Lage der Malereien der eingestürzten Decke ist durch spätere Störungen zu erklären.

In der Mitte der Decke ist im weißen Hintergrund als Grundfläche ein kreisförmiges Medaillon (Durchm.: 160 cm) zu sehen (Abb. 1), dessen Rahmung aus breiteren hellblauen (außen) und roten Kreislinien (innen) mit einem schmalen Streifen (Farbe identisch mit der Grundfläche) dazwischen besteht. In der Mitte der Kreiskomposition ist eine halbnackte weibliche Gestalt mit flatterndem grünen Mantel dargestellt, die neben einem nach rechts schreitenden Pferd schwebt. Das Pferd ist in außergewöhnlicher Position von unten zu sehen. Sein Maul und das Gesicht der Frau werden einander zugewendet, wobei das am Zügel gehaltene Pferd nach hinten schaut. In den vier Ecken der Decke sind die Personifikationen der vier Jahreszeiten (*Horae*) als Büsten dargestellt (Abb. 2). Unter den vier Pantheren (Abb. 3) der vier Längsseiten ist je ein grünes, mit roten Streifen dekoriertes Vorhangmotiv zu beobachten, das unten durch einen roten Streifen abgeschlossen wird. Dieser Streifen schließt die Wölbung des Tonnengewölbes ab, darunter fängt die Wand an.

* Diese Studie, die ich als Forschungsstipendiat der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung im Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg verfasst habe, stellt die überarbeitete und erweiterte Variante meines am 13. März 2002 in Athen, am Finnischen Archäologischen Institut gehaltenen Vortrages dar. Für die Einladung nach Athen und die Möglichkeit der Veröffentlichung dieses Vortrages bin ich Frau Direktorin Dr. Leena Pietilä-Castrén zu Dank verpflichtet.

¹ Zu den seit 1992 laufenden Grabungen und zu den Wandmalereien L. Borhy, *Pannoniai falfestmény. A Négy Évszak, az Idő és a csillagok ábrázolása a brigetioi mennyezetfestményen*, Budapest 2001, mit sämtlicher Literatur bis 2000; L. Borhy, Die Personifikationen der Vier Jahreszeiten (*Horae*) auf dem römischen Deckengemälde von Brigetio/Vásártér, *Anodos. Studies of Ancient World* 2 (2002) 41–51; L. Borhy, Die Kosmologie des Deckengemäldes aus Brigetio (FO: Komárom/Szöny-Vásártér), *Plafonds et voûtes à l'époque antique. Résumés du VIIIe Colloque International de l'Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique (Budapest-Veszprém, 15–19 mai 2001)*, L. Borhy (éd.), Budapest 2001, 9–10; L. Borhy, Hellenistische Kosmologie auf einem provinzialrömischen Deckengemälde aus *Brigetio* (FO: Komárom/Szöny-Vásártér, Ungarn), *Anodos. Studies of Ancient World* 1 (2001) 27–31; Harsányi – Kurovsky 2002, 151–169.

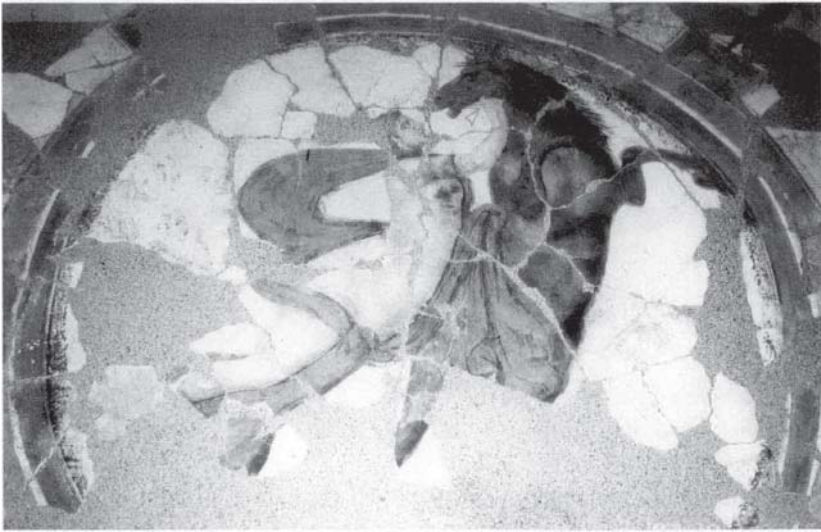


Abb. 1. Die zentrale Kreiskomposition des Deckengemäldes in der Ausstellung des Klapka-György -Museums, Komárom.

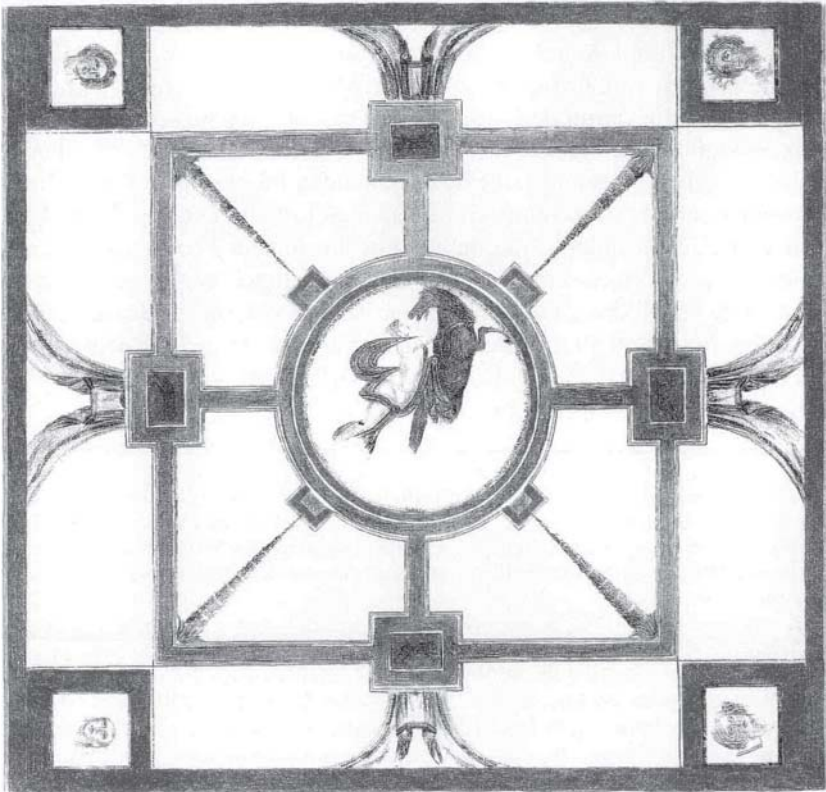


Abb. 2. Zeichnerische Rekonstruktion des Deckengemäldes von *Brigetio*.

Vier Jahreszeiten: Himmels- und Zeitsymbolik

Die Darstellung der Jahreszeiten entspricht vollkommen jener Ikonographie, die sich bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit herauskristallisierte und schematisierte. Typologisch gehören sie zu den weiblichen Porträtbüsten mit den für die gegebene Jahreszeit charakteristischen Früchten als Attributen im Haar, die sowohl auf Mosaiken und



Abb. 3. Darstellung eines der vier Panther auf dem Deckengemälde.

Wandmalereien, bzw. auf Reliefs vorkommen:² Der fragmentarische Kopf des Frühlings (*Ver*) trägt höchstwahrscheinlich einen Blumenkranz (Abb. 4a), die Haare des Sommers (*Aestas*) werden mit einem Kranz aus Getreideähren geschmückt (Abb. 4b), im Haar des Herbstes (*Autumnus*) sind Weintrauben sichtbar (Abb. 4c). Der Kopf des Winters (*Hiems*) wird durch ein Tuch bedeckt (Abb. 4d). Sie sind jung und wunderschön,³ mit rosiger Haut.⁴ Sommer und Herbst tragen einen Ohrring aus Goldfaden mit einer Perle (Abb. 4b und 4c), wodurch sie eindeutig als weibliche Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen (*Horae*) zu identifizieren sind.

Obwohl einige Forscher aus der Zahl der Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen darauf schließen, dass sie sich als ideale Dekorationen für die Ecken viereckiger Räume oder viereckiger bzw. quadratischer Flächen eignen,⁵ können wir im Falle des an-

spruchsvoll ausgeführten Deckengemäldes von *Brigetio* mit Recht behaupten, dass sich hinter der Darstellung der *Horae* ein tieferer Sinn verbirgt.

² Abad Casal 1990, 523-524 und 536: "Busts with attributes only in the hair", mit weiteren Gruppen. Zu den Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen zusammenfassend s. A. Rapp, s.v. Horai, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. W.H. Roscher (Hrsg.), Leipzig 1886-1890, 2712-2741; P. Stengel, s.v. Horai, *RE* 8.2 (1913) 2300-2313; E. Simon, s.v. Stagioni, *EAA* 7 (1966) 468-473; Th. Heinze, s.v. Horai, *NP* 5 (1998) 716-717. Weiterhin s. Hanfmann 1951 und die Monographie von F. Matz, *Ein römisches Meisterwerk: Der Jahreszeite Sarkophag Badminton - New York*, Berlin 1958, und M. Lawrence, *Season Sarcophagi of Architectural Type*, *AJA* 62 (1958) 273-295; R. Ling, *The Seasons in Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*, *Britannia* 14 (1983) 13-22 und M. Dufková, *Noch zu Jahreszeiten-Sarkophagen*, *LF* 115 (1992) 161-163.

³ Quint. *Smyrn.* 1,50-51, 4,142; Pollux 8,106; *Anth. Pal.* 5,70.

⁴ Nonnos, *Dion.* 11,487; 47,90.

⁵ Dazu s. Parrish 1984, 13.

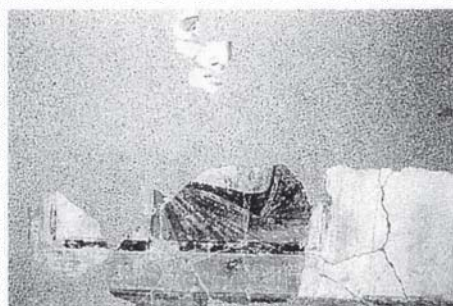


Abb. 4a. Frühling.



Abb. 4b. Sommer.

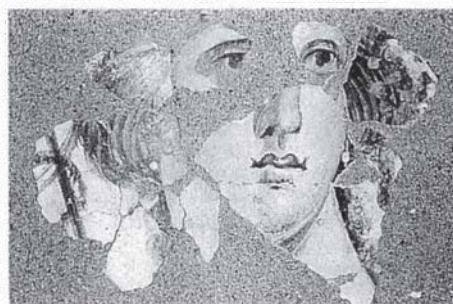


Abb. 4c. Herbst.

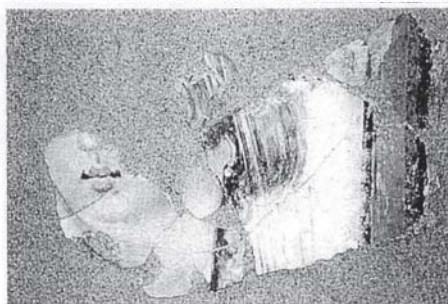


Abb. 4d. Winter.

Die Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen in der offiziellen kaiserzeitlichen Kunst – u.a. auf der *Ara Pacis*,⁶ auf Münzen,⁷ Triumphbögen⁸ – betonten die allgemeine, durch die Siege der Kaiser errungene Sicherheit des Römischen Imperiums und seiner Bewohner. In der Spätantike bekommen die Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen eine eher allegorische Deutung, wie aus einem Blatt der *Notitia Dignitatum* hervorgeht: Die allegorische Darstellung der *Divina Electio* wird um die vier Ecken durch die Personifikationen der Vier Jahreszeiten begleitet, die das ewige Bestehen des unerschütterlichen Römischen Reiches verkünde.⁹ Die Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen waren aber auch in der

⁶ T. De Hammond, *Pax Augusta and the Horai on the Ara Pacis*, *AJA* 94 (1990) 663-677.

⁷ S. seit Hadrian: BMC III, S. CXXXI 278 No. 312, pl. 52, 10: *SAEC(ulum) AUR(eum)*. Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen zusammen mit anderen Begriffen, wie z. B. *felicitas temporum*, *saeculi felicitas*, *felicia tempora* usw. bei Parrish 1984, 13 und Abad Casal 1990, 519-520 mit weiterer Literatur.

⁸ Auf Triumphbögen das erste Mal in Beneventum dargestellt: M. Rotili, *L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento*, Roma 1972, 76, Tav. XLIX-LII. Sie tauchen auch in Rom auf den Triumphbögen des Septimius Severus bzw. Konstantin I auf: R. Brilliant, *The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum*, Rome 1967, 120; H.P. L'Orange & A. v. Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinbogens*, Berlin 1939, 159.

⁹ *Not. dign.* 45; P.C. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum. A Contribution to the Study of Late Antique Illustrated Manuscripts*, New York-London 1981, 134-141, Fig. 45; C. Neira Faleiro, *Crisis y declive del imperio romano en coordenadas textuales. La Notitia Dignitatum*, *RAr* 18.198 (1997) 40-42. Zu den Darstellungen s. folgende Manuskripte: Monacensis. Clm. 10291, fol. 200r; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, M. 3. d. 151.a. Eine Facsimile-Ausgabe der *editio princeps* der *Notitia Dignitatum* (Basel 1552, herausgegeben in der Druckerei von Hieronymus Frobenius von Sigismundus Gelenius) s. neuerdings von L. Borhy, *Notitia utraque cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honorique Caesarum tempora*, Budapest 2003, bes. S. 82-83 mit weiterer Literatur. Der *nimbus* als Attribut der Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen, s. z. B. Sens, Musée Municipal, polychromes Mosaik (225-275 n.Chr.), zitiert bei Abad Casal 1990, 536.

Privatsphäre auf Mosaiken, in Wandmalereien und auf Deckengemälden anwesend.¹⁰ In Speisesälen dargestellte *Horae* wiesen ohne politischen Inhalt auf den Reichtum des Villenbesitzers hin.¹¹ Im *triclinium* des Kaiserpalastes von Ravenna wird diese Deutung auch inschriftlich bekräftigt: *Sume quod autumnus quod / ver quod bruma quod aestas / alternis reparant et / toto creant in orbe*.¹²

Die Interpretation der Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen auf dem Deckengemälde von *Brigetio* hat aber mit der offiziellen Kunst oder mit den oben geschilderten Deutungen nichts zu tun. Da sie die Schlüsselfiguren für das Verstehen der Darstellungen des Deckengemäldes von *Brigetio* darstellen, müssen wir uns im folgenden mit einem ihrer Aspekte näher beschäftigen.

Es konnte kein Zufall gewesen sein, dass die Herauskristallisierung der Ikonographie der Darstellung der Vier Jahreszeiten im Hofe jenes Ptolemaios Philadelphos II stattfand, dessen festliche Prozession, bei der die jungen, weiblichen Gestalten der *Horai* in ihrer endgültig gefestigten Form bzw. mit den Früchten als Attributen das erste Mal erschienen, von A. Alföldi folgenderweise charakterisiert wird: "Was die Symbolgestalten der Jahreszeiten anbelangt, so ist ihre Anwendung in der Kunstsymbolik durch die frühen Diadochen im Rahmen der Schausstellung der kosmischen Glücksträume in der authentischen Beschreibung der Aufzüge des Ptolemaios Philadelphos gesichert".¹³ Auch wir sollten hinter der Darstellung der *Horae* in *Brigetio* kosmologische Zusammenhänge suchen.

Bei der Analyse der allegorischen Sprache des Deckengemäldes stellte sich heraus, dass es sich bei der Gesamtkomposition um die Darstellung der nördlichen Halbkugel des Himmelgewölbes handelt. Die einzelnen Details sind anhand der Beschreibungen jener Dichter zu verstehen, die einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Entwicklung und Festigung der Ikonographie der Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen während des Hellenismus leisteten: Es handelt sich nicht nur um Kallimachos und Theokritos, sondern auch um den berühmten Astronomen, Aratos, dessen Werk über die Himmelserscheinungen, *Phainomena*, Darstellungen enthalten haben dürfte, die wohl die zeitgenössischen Beschreibungen der Horen, die mit den hellenistischen Kunstwerken gut zu vergleichen sind, beeinflusst haben.¹⁴

Es wird auf dem Deckengemälde von *Brigetio* eine durch ein göttliches Wesen beherrschte kosmische Harmonie, eine Weltordnung dargestellt, die durch die zyklische Wiederkehr der Jahreszeiten begreiflich, beschreibbar und darstellbar wurde. Dieses göttliche Wesen könnte – laut z. B. Zenon und Chrysippos – eine *pneuma* oder *divina mens* gewesen sein, welche die ganze Welt in Einklang, *sympatheia*, brachte. Oder wie es z. B. Cicero formulierte: *...solem, lunam stellasque*,

¹⁰ S. bei Schwinzer 1979, 87-90, bzw. M. Schleiermacher, Die Jahreszeitenfresken von Nida-Heddernheim, *KJ* 24 (1991) 213-218; Parrish 1984, passim; Parrish 1995, passim.

¹¹ Parrish 1984, 13. ebda: "In general, therefore, the seasons represented notions of recurrent happiness and well-being – pleasurable thoughts for the private mosaic-owner"; Schwinzer 1979, 94: "als Ausdruck von Lebensgenuß". S. noch *op. cit.* 87-90, Kat. Nr. 22-24, z. B. Casa dei Vettii, großes *triclinium* (Q) und das sog. Ixionszimmer (ebenfalls *triclinium*). Zu Mosaiken in Speisesälen s. Brandenburg 1968, 64: "gängiges Schema für die Dekoration von Speiseräumen".

¹² Quint. *Smyrn.* 4, 134-136; Brandenburg 1968, 62-63.

¹³ A. Alföldi, *Aion in Mérida und Aphrodisias*, Madrider Beiträge 6, Mainz 1979, 6-7.

¹⁴ Hanfmann 1951, 112-13 (s. z. B. Kat. 13.: Tazza Farnese); D. Parrish, s.v. Annus, *LIMC* 1.1 (1981) 799.

*vidissent, cumque temporum maturitates, mutationes vicissitudinesque cognovissent, suspicati essent aliquam excellentem esse praestantemque naturam, quae haec effecisset, moveret, regeret, gubernaret.*¹⁵ Diese *divina mens*, dieses Weltprinzip war manchmal mit Zeus identisch,¹⁶ es ordnete sogar die notwendige Arbeit in der Landwirtschaft an, und bestimmte im Zusammenhang damit den Wechsel der Jahreszeiten. Cicero formulierte es wie folgt: *Saturnum autem eum esse voluerunt, qui cursum et conversionem spatiorum ac temporum contineret* und fügt etymologisierend hinzu, dass *...Saturnus autem est appellatus, quod saturaretur annis...*¹⁷

Die *Horae* werden also auf dem Deckengemälde nicht einfach als bloße Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen dargestellt, sondern sie führen das Auge des Betrachters in einen ganz anderen Bereich, nämlich in die himmlische Sphäre hinüber, die von der irdischen – und architektonisch gesehen von den Motiven der Seitenwände – an den vier Seiten durch je ein Vorhangmotiv (*katapetasma*) getrennt werden (Abb. 2).¹⁸ In dieser Sphäre weisen die *Horae* auf die zyklische, jährliche Erneuerung, also auf den Begriff des Jahres hin, welches erst in der römischen Kunst anhand einer komplizierten, allegorisch-symbolischen Bildsprache veranschaulicht werden konnte. Laut antiker Auffassung drehten sich die Jahreszeiten – und dadurch das Jahr und die Zeit auch – in Kreisform herum, wie es bereits Platon formulierte.¹⁹ Bei Cicero wird diese kreisförmige Bewegung mit der Bewegung des Himmels verbunden und für den Zeitraum eines Jahres definiert: *cum autem impetum caeli cum admirabili celeritate moveri vertique videamus constantissime conficientem vicissitudines anniversarias cum summa salute et conservatione rerum omnium, dubitamus, quin ea non solum ratione fiant, sed etiam excellenti divinaque ratione?*²⁰ Seneca nannte es *rota anni*, während Macrobius es als *orbis annus* bezeichnete.²¹ Laut platonischer Auffassung sind Himmel und Zeit gleichzeitig entstanden und existieren immer und ewiglich, wie die ewige Natur.²² Diese Vorstellung spiegelt sich bei Lukrez wider, der sich das Jahr, *annus*, als Raum, *spatium*, folgenderweise vorstellte: *annus... id spatium... / annua Sol in quo consumit tempora cursu*. Diese Auffassung steht in engem Zusammenhang mit den Ewigkeitsvorstellungen, wobei die Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen des Deckengemäldes von *Brigetio* als Allegorien der ewigen Zeit (gr. *αἰών*; lat. *annus, aevum, Caelus Aeternus* usw.) betrachtet werden können, die sich am Himmel herumdrehte.²³

¹⁵ Cic. *nat.deor.* 1,36. Zur *sympatheia* vgl. L. Kákósy, *Egyptomi és antik csillaghit*, Budapest 1978, 271-273.

¹⁶ A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899, 29; Hanfmann 1951, 107. Zur Zyklizität und Regelung der Jahreszeiten s. Manil. 1,555-572 (nach Aratos); M. Erren, *Die Phainomena des Aratos von Soloi. Untersuchungen zum Sach- und Sinnverständnis*. Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie. Einzelschriften (hrsg. von K. Büchner, H. Gundel, H. Nesselhauf), Heft 19, Wiesbaden 1967, 51-52: "Bauernlehrer, ...er dirigiert die Arbeit, indem er für jede einzelne landwirtschaftliche Arbeit den Zeitpunkt angibt".

¹⁷ Cic. *nat.deor.* 2,25; Abad Casal 1990, 514, Kat. Nr. 26; Serv. *Aen.* 3,104: *dicitur deus esse aeternitatis et saeculorum*.

¹⁸ Nag Hammadi Codices II.4,94,4ff., zitiert bei L. Kákósy, *Fény és káosz. A kopt gnóosztikus kódexek*, Budapest 1984, 88-90; s. dazu noch G. Zuntz, *Aión in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit*, Wien 1992, 44 (*polyimona*) und 47 (*theia Physis*).

¹⁹ Pl. *Ti.* 39d.

²⁰ Cic. *nat.deor.* 2,38. Zum *circulus* als astrologischer Begriff s. Le Boeuffe 1987, 88-90.

²¹ Sen. *Herc.f.* 180; Macr. *Sat.* 1,21,13. S. noch mit weiteren Quellen bei Parrish 1995, 176.

²² Pl. *Ti.* 38b-c; vgl. H. Leisegang, *Die Begriffe der Zeit und Ewigkeit im späteren Platonismus*, Münster i. W. 1913, 6.

²³ Parrish 1995, 190-191.

Der Himmel stellte in der antiken Kosmologie einen Teil des Universums (gr. κόσμος oder οὐρανός; lat. *mundus, mundus omnis* oder *universum*) dar.²⁴ Der Himmel bedeckt alles (*quod tegit omnia caelum*),²⁵ und war der höchste (*pars mundi summa*) bzw. am weitesten entfernte Teil der Welt (*caelum ipsum quod extremum atque ultimum est*),²⁶ welcher wegen der Sterne *stellifera* hieß.²⁷ Die höchste himmlische Sphäre bekrönte das Weltall, weshalb diese als Kreis (*circulus*) veranschaulicht wurde, und halo (gr. ἄλως) oder *corona* (lat.) hieß.²⁸ Und schließlich hier, ganz oben, befanden sich die als Fixsterne verewigten (*katasterismos*) mythologischen Gestalten.²⁹

Das zentrale Medaillon des Deckengemäldes von *Brigetio* stellt die obersten Sphären des Himmels, den von einem ewigen Feuer – *pyr technikon*, welches durch einen roten Kreis veranschaulicht wird (Abb. 1) – umgebenen Äther mit den Fixsternen *Andromeda* und *Pegasos* (*Pegasus* oder *Hippos* bzw. *Equus*) dar (gr. παρανατέλλοντα; lat. *constellatio*). Die ikonographische Ähnlichkeit Andromedas mit der Darstellung der Nereiden fällt ins Auge, diese Anknüpfung kann aber aufgrund der griechischen Mythologie leicht gefunden werden: Kassiopeia, die Mutter Andromedas verglich die Schönheit ihrer Tochter mit der der Nereiden, wodurch Andromeda von Poseidon, der mit Amphitrite, einer Nereide verheiratet war, bestraft und an eine Felswand gefesselt dem Ketos ausgesetzt wurde. Pegasos ist aufgrund seines goldenen Pferdezaumzeuges (gr. χρυσάμπυξ χαλινός), das von *Athena Chalinitis* – laut Pindaros³⁰ – an Bellerophon geschenkt wurde, bzw. aufgrund seiner merkwürdigen, sogar beispiellosen Darstellungsweise vom unten, als Fixstern erkennbar.

Die zentrale Kreiskomposition in der römischen Kunst und Architektur

Die Darstellung der Kreiskomposition, genau in der Mitte des Deckengewölbes, weist auf enge Parallelen in der Architektur hin: Kreisförmige Öffnungen auf Kuppeln (gr. ὀπαῖον, lat. *oculus*) erweisen sich seit spätrepublikanischer Zeit als unerlässlicher Bestandteil der Thermenanlagen in Kampanien.³¹ Bis in die Zeit Neros verfügten

²⁴ J. Bollók, A VI. ekloga kozmológiájának háttere, *AntTan* 41.1-2 (1997) 54-57; Vgl. Arist. *cael.* 2,1,283 b. 26; Cic. *Tim.* 2,4. (Pl. *Ti.* 28b) : *omne igitur hoc, quicquid est, cui mundi caelique nomen indimus, unum id est*; Plin. *nat.* 2,1: *mundum et hoc quodcumque nomine alio caelum appellare libuit, cuius circumflexu degunt cuncta*; Chalc. 98 (151, 3W.) : *caelum quoque usurpantes mundum omnem vocamus*.

²⁵ Ov. *met.* 1,5.

²⁶ Cic. *div.* 2,91.

²⁷ Macr. *somn.* 2,4,8: *prima illa stellifera (sc. sphaera), quae proprio nomine caelum dicitur*; *ibid.* 1,11,10: *caelum quod aplanes sphaera vocitatur...* Zu den Epitheta (z. B. *stellifer, stelliger, sidereus, signifer, astrifer, astriger, flammiger*) des Wortes Himmel s. Le Boeuffe 1987, 77.

²⁸ Sen. *nat.* 1,2,1: *hunc (i.e. circulum) Graeci halo vocant, nos dicere coronam aptissime possumus*; Plin. *nat.* 2,98: *circa solis orbem ceu spicae coronae ... Existunt eadem coronae circa lunam et circa mobilia caeloque inhaerentia*. Zusammenfassend s. bei Le Boeuffe 1987, 106, s.v. *Corona*.

²⁹ Manil. 5,616: *hic dedit Andromedae caelum*. Ov. *fast.* 5,114: *illa (i.e. Capella) dati caelum praemia lactis habet*.

³⁰ Pind. *Ol.* 13,63-86 und Paus. 2,4,1. S. dazu A. Hekler, Bellerophon és Pegasos. Görög dombormű a Szépművészeti Múzeumban, *OMSZMÉ* 4 (1924-1926) 1-9; N. Yalouris, Athena als Herrin der Pferde, *MH* 7 (1950), 19-101, und T. Gericke, Die Bändigung des Pegasos, *MDAI(R)* 71 (1956) 193-201. Die typologische Einstufung der goldenen Beschläge auf der Darstellung des Pferdes in *Brigetio* s. bei L. Borhy, Wandmalereien aus *Brigetio* (Komórom/Szőny-Vásártér) und der Grabhügel 2 von Inota. S. K. Palágyi (hrsg.), *Akten des 4. Internationalen Tagung über römerzeitliche Hügelgräber, Veszprém 13-15. September 1996, BalK* 5 (1997) bes. Abb. 2-3.

jedoch weder die Kuppeln, noch die Kuppelöffnungen über einen kosmologischen Inhalt: Darauf weisen einerseits die wenigen bekannten frühen Kuppeldekorationen,³² andererseits die Beschreibungen über die Funktion der Kuppelöffnungen eindeutig hin.³³ Erst während der Regierungszeit Neros begegnen uns solche Tendenzen, die darauf schließen lassen, dass Nero ganz absichtlich die sich in der Kuppel und Kuppelöffnung steckenden Möglichkeiten als erster der römischen Kaiser zu seiner Selbstdarstellung als Herrscher des Weltalls sowohl in der Kaiserpropaganda,³⁴ als auch in der Architektur ausnutzte.³⁵ Seither wurden die Kaiserpaläste, die immer über mindestens einen mehreckigen oder kreisförmigen, mit Kuppeln oder zumindest Gewölben gedeckten Festsaal verfügten, als Nachahmung des Universums in der kaiserzeitlichen Architektur allgemein akzeptiert.³⁶ Die Spitze dieser Entwicklung erreichte die römische Architektur unter Hadrian durch die Vollendung des hinsichtlich seiner Proportionen bereits in der Antike als das am vollkommensten geltenden Pantheon in Rom. Kein einziges der einzelnen Details war in der früheren italisch-römischen Architekturgeschichte vorher unbekannt: Weder der kreisförmig-zylindrische Unterteil, der in den wohl bekannten *tholoi* sogar in der stadtrömischen Architektur anwesend war,³⁷ noch der Oberteil mit Kuppel und *oculus*. Etwas ganz neues stellten aber die vollkommene, aufeinander bezogene Harmonie der Einzelteile im Inneren, bzw. die Gesamtwirkung ihres riesigen, vorher niemals errungenen und auch in der Antike nie übertroffenen Ausmaßes dar.³⁸ Jener Teil, der die Phantasie der Besucher des Pantheons seit der Antike am meisten in Bewegung setzt, ist der *oculus*, die einzige Quelle für die natürliche Beleuchtung des Inneren des Gebäudes.³⁹ K. De Fine Licht – obwohl er es nicht nachweisen kann – rechnet damit, dass die Kuppelöffnung durch die sichtbar gewordenen Himmelserscheinungen (Licht am Tage und Dunkelheit in der Nacht, Sonne und Mond, die Sterne oder der Himmel

³¹ Zusammenfassend s. R. Staccioli, Le “rotonde” delle terme pompeiane, *ArchClass* 7 (1955) 75-84 und De Fine Licht 1966, 205-206; Lucchini 1996, 83.

³² S. z. B. die Basilikathermen in Herculaneum, deren Kuppel mit in grün-blauischem Wasser schwimmenden Fischen bemalt wurde: Diese Dekoration erweckt die Illusion des Badens unter freiem Himmel: Lucchini 1996, 83.

³³ Vit. 5,10,5: die mit einer Metallplatte (*clipeus aeneus*) verschließbare Kuppelöffnung diente zur Regelung der Temperatur und der Lichtverhältnisse in der *sudatio* bzw. im *laconicum*.

³⁴ Dio 62,6,2: Nero ließ das purpurfarbige *parapetasma* über dem Zuschauerraum eines Amphitheaters mit seinem Bild als Wagenlenker dekorieren, wobei er mit den Attributen von *Sol-Helios*, mit goldenen Sternen umgeben, erschien.

³⁵ S. den heute oktagonalen, ursprünglich jedoch vermutlich kreisförmigen Saal in der *Domus Aurea*: Suet. *Nero* 31: *praecipua cenationum rotunda, quae perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumageretur*.

³⁶ Wie A. Alföldi es formulierte: “Die Wohnung des Kosmokrators ist das Himmelsgewölbe”, Alföldi 1935, Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser, *MDAI(R)* 50 (1935) 128. S. noch H. Flasche, *Similitudo templi* (Zur Geschichte einer Metapher), *DVLG* 23 (1949) 81-125; R. Bloch, Le symbolisme cosmique et les monuments religieux dans l’Italie ancienne. *Le symbolisme cosmique des monuments religieux. Actes de la conférence internationale à Rome, avril-mai 1955*. Istituto italiano per il medio e estremo oriente. Serie orientale 14, Roma 1957, 17-29; ibid. M. Eliade, *Centre du monde, temple, maison*, 57-82; P. Hommel, *Giebel und Himmel*, in *MDAI(I)* 7 (1957) 11-55. Vgl. Ov. *met.* 1,170-176 und Mart. 7,56 bzw. 8,36,7-12 (bes. ebenda Zeile 12: *par domus est caelo sed minus est domino*).

³⁷ Lucchini 1996, 47-48 (z. B. Vestatempel, Tempel der *Fortuna Huiusce Diei*, Largo Argentina, Tempel B).

³⁸ Durchmesser der Kuppel (gleichzeitig Höhe des Pantheons): 43.20 m; Durchmesser des *oculus*: 8.853 m. De Fine Licht 1966, passim; W.-D. Heilmeyer, Apollodorus von Damaskus, der Architekt des Pantheon, *JDAI* 90 (1975), 316-347; W.L. MacDonald, *The Pantheon. Design, Meaning, and Progeny*, London 1976; Heilmeyer 1990, 107-114; Sperling 1999, passim.

³⁹ Heilmeyer 1990, passim.

selbst) vielleicht metaphysische Gedanken in den Besuchern erweckt haben dürfte.⁴⁰ Man kann jedoch behaupten, dass solche kosmologischen Gedanken erst später, und nicht unbedingt bereits zur Zeit der Errichtung des Pantheons entstanden. Abgesehen davon, dass das Gebäude ein Spiel mit den für die am vollkommensten gehaltenen geometrischen Körpern (Kubus, Kugel, Halbkugel) darstellt, mit denen man sowohl die Schönheit, als auch die Form des Kosmos zum Ausdruck bringen konnte, dürfte es sich vielleicht darum gehandelt haben, dass ein in der römischen Architektur seit langem bekannter Bautyp in monumentalem Ausmaß ausgeführt wurde, und sich mit den unter Nero ins Leben gerufenen kosmologischen Symbolsystemen vereinigte.

Den einzigen Beweis für die Auffassung der Ähnlichkeit der Kuppel des Pantheons und des Himmels aus der Antike liefert uns Cassius Dio,⁴¹ wodurch die Vorstellungen vom kosmologischen Inhalt der Kuppel, die sich mit der Errichtung der *Domus Aurea* unter Nero entfalteten und mit der Vollendung des Pantheons unter Hadrian gefestigten, im ersten Drittel des 3. Jh.s n.Chr. schriftlich bekräftigt wurden. Die halbkugelförmige Kuppel, deren Querschnitt einen Halbkreis darstellt, konnte mit ihrer Form – laut antiker Auffassung – die Gestalt des Universums veranschaulichen. Auf die Person der Herrscher bezogen hieß es, man konnte ihre Ansprüche auf die Selbstverherrlichung als Kosmokrator, d.h. Herrscher des Weltalls mit der Verwirklichung der Kuppel und Kuppelöffnung zum Ausdruck bringen, während sie im Privatbereich mit solchen Deutungen wie Ewigkeit, Kontinuität und Sicherheit in Verbindung standen. Damit kehren wir zu den Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen auf dem Deckengemälde von *Brigetio* zurück, die nicht nur die zyklische Wiederkehr der ewigen Zeit veranschaulichen, sondern auch auf den Raum ihrer Bewegung, den Himmel hindeuten.

Das Tonnengewölbe aus *Brigetio*: symbolischer Rundbau mit Kuppel

Die Decke des Raumes Nr. 1. im Gebäude I von *Brigetio* weist leider keine Kuppelform auf. Es handelt sich dabei jedoch um ein Tonnengewölbe, deren Querschnitt – wie im Falle der halbkugelförmigen Kuppeln – einen Halbkreis darstellt (Radius: 145 cm).⁴² Geht man einen Schritt weiter, kann noch eine Parallele zwischen Kuppel und

⁴⁰ De Fine Licht 1966, 218.

⁴¹ Dio 53,27,2.

⁴² Während der Restaurierung des Deckengemäldes wurden von den Restauratorinnen E. Harsányi und Zs. Kurovsky solche, in die Oberfläche eingeritzten Zeichen entdeckt, die nicht nur die Rekonstruktion des Ablaufes der Etappen der Verfertigung des Deckengemäldes erlauben, sondern wichtige Hinweise auf das geometrische Grundsystem, nämlich auf die *commodulatio* und Quadratur des Kreises liefern. Der genau halbkreisförmige Querschnitt des Deckengemäldes hat einen Radius von 145 cm, der 5 *moduli* entspricht, da die eingeritzten Zeichen auf der Decke auf eine geometrische Grundeinheit von 29 cm schließen lassen, die den *modulus* der Proportionen der Bemalung der Decke darstellt. Dies weist auf ein sehr detailliert geplantes und wohl überlegt ausgeführtes Deckengemälde hin. Aufgrund dieser Angaben kann man vielleicht die innere Höhe des bemalten, und mit einem halbkreisförmigen Tonnengewölbe gedeckten Raumes theoretisch auf das Doppelte des Radius, d.h. auf 290 cm (10 *moduli*) setzen. In diesem Fall könnte sogar der halbkreisförmige Querschnitt theoretisch zu einem solchen Kreis ergänzt werden, der den Boden des Raumes berühren würde. Dass solche Spiele mit geometrischen Formationen (Kreis und Quadrat; Kugel und Kubus) während der römischen Kaiserzeit existierten, beweisen nicht nur die Quellen (s. Vitruvius 3,1,5-6. und Á. Szabó, Roma quadrata, *RhM* 87 (1938) 160-169) sondern auch Bauten, wie das Pantheon in Rom (s. dazu Sperling 1999, 105, 110, Abb. 58), oder die *Villa Hadriani* in Tivoli (H. Herter, Die Rundform in Platons Atlantis und ihre Nachwirkung in der Villa Hadriani, *RhM* N.F. 96 (1953) 1-20). Zu den geometrischen Zeichnungen s. Harsányi - Kurovsky 2002, 151-169.

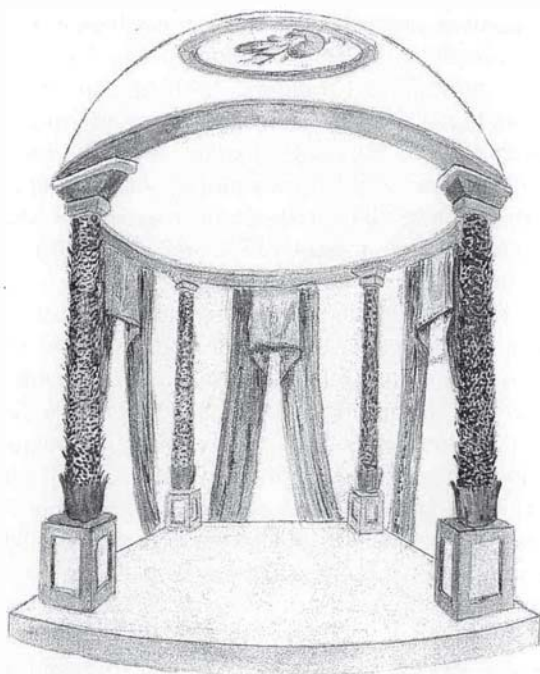


Abb. 5. Die dreidimensionale Vorstellung des illusionistischen *tholos* auf dem Deckengemälde von *Brigetio* mit kreisförmigen Architrav und illusionistischer Koppelöffnung (*oculus*), in der Mitte mit den Fixsternen Andromeda und Pegasos.

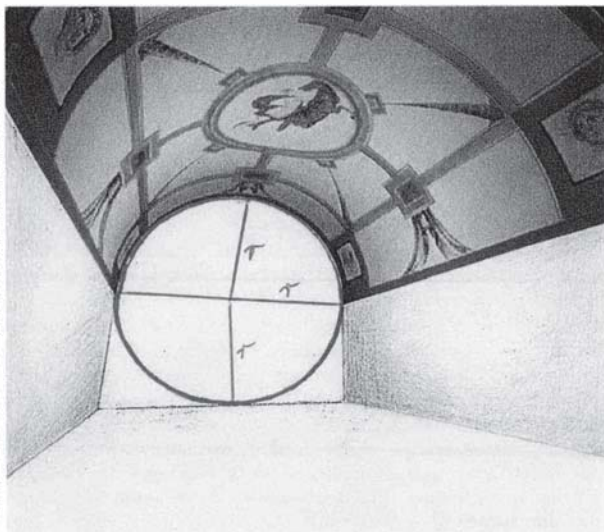


Abb. 6. Die theoretische Rekonstruktion der Höhe (290 cm) des Zimmers mit Tonnengewölbe mit halbkreisförmigem Querschnitt (Radius: 145 cm).

Tonnengewölbe gezogen werden: wie der *oculus* im Pantheon die Sterne, Himmelskörper, mit einem Wort die himmlische Sphäre in ihrer physischen Wirklichkeit im Inneren eines Gebäudes zu sichtbar macht, so lässt die zentrale Kreiskomposition auf dem Deckengemälde von *Brigetio* wie eine illusionistische Kuppelöffnung die höchsten Fixsterne der nördlichen Halbkugel, Andromeda und Pegasos erblicken. Die rote Farbe der Kreiskomposition (Abb. 1) weist schließlich auf den feurigen Äther, die am weitesten entfernte, höchste, und das Weltall bekrönende Zone des Himmels hin, während die Kreiskomposition selbst den Architrav eines derartigen *tholos* darstellt, die durch vier geradlinigen Girlanden säulenartig an vier Konsolen unterstützt und zwischen denen mit vier herunterhängenden Vorhängen dekoriert wird (Abb. 5).⁴³ Damit können wir behaupten, dass die Komposition des Deckengemäldes von *Brigetio* auf dem Tonnengewölbe mit einer komplizierten Symbolsprache eine illusionistische Kuppel darstellt, wobei das Bildprogramm des Deckengemäldes eben dem Inhalt entspricht, den die Kuppel, mit oder ohne weitere Dekorationen, bloß mit ihrer architektonischen Form (auf kreisförmige Grundfläche gesetzte Halbkugel mit halbkreisförmigem Querschnitt) zum Ausdruck bringen kann. Halbkugelförmige Kuppel und Tonnengewölbe mit halbkreisförmigem Querschnitt wurden in *Brigetio* austauschbar (Abb. 6): Da das gesamte Bildprogramm auf Kuppel adaptiert wurde, kam der gewölbten Fläche, die selbst symbolisch war, eine besondere Bedeutung zu.

Cosmas Indicopleustes: Die symbolische Kuppel als Ausdrucksform der Himmelssymbolik

Obwohl das Bildprogramm des Deckengemäldes von *Brigetio* über keine genauen Parallelen verfügt, lassen sich die einzelnen Elemente in die Symbolsprache der römischen kaiserzeitlichen Kunst hervorragend einfügen und gut identifizieren bzw. interpretieren. Dies geht vor allem aus spätrömisch-frühbyzantinischen Kuppeldarstellungen und Kuppelbeschreibungen eindeutig hervor. Alles, was Weltall (*Kosmos*, *Ouranos*), Naturelemente (Winde, Donner, Blitz usw.), Ewigkeit (*Aion*, *Nyx*) und himmlische Sphären (*Aither*) usw. anbelangt, taucht in den symbolischen Darstellungen eines mit Inschriften versehenen, leider aber nur durch textliche Überlieferung bekannten Kuppelmosaiks vermutlich in einer Thermenanlage in Antiochia aus dem 6. Jh. (Abb. 7) auf.⁴⁴ Diese beinahe abstrakte, mit religiösen Visionen durchwobene Symbolsprache kann man auch hinter den unverzierten Kuppeln aus dem 6. Jh. vermuten, die in Hymnen verewigt wurden.⁴⁵

⁴³ Zu dieser Agnoszierung führte mich der Hinweis von Herrn Dr. Antero Tammisto während meines Aufenthaltes am *Institutum Classicum* der Universität Helsinki im Herbst 1999, der mich darauf aufmerksam machte, dass die Girlanden nicht einfach als bloße, horizontal ausgebreitete pflanzliche Dekorationen, sondern als vertikale Säulen zu sehen sind. Für seine freundliche Hilfe möchte ich mich auch an dieser Stelle herzlichst bedanken.

⁴⁴ Ioh. Gaz. 314-343. Dazu s. Friedländer 1912, 165-224.

⁴⁵ Hagia Sophia in Constantinopel: Paulus Silentiarius 196-197, 308-310, 466-467, 471-472, 481-491, 506-508, 529-530, 668-672; Hagia Sophia in Edessa: Codex Vaticanus Syriacus 95, fol. 49-50; Zur Interpretation s. A. Dupont-Sommer, Une Hymne syriaque sur la cathédrale d'Édesse, *CArch* 2 (1947) 29-39, und A. Grabar, Le témoignage d'une Hymne syriaque sur l'architecture de la cathédrale d'Édesse au VI^e siècle sur la symbolisme de l'édifice chrétien, *CArch* 2 (1947) 41-67.

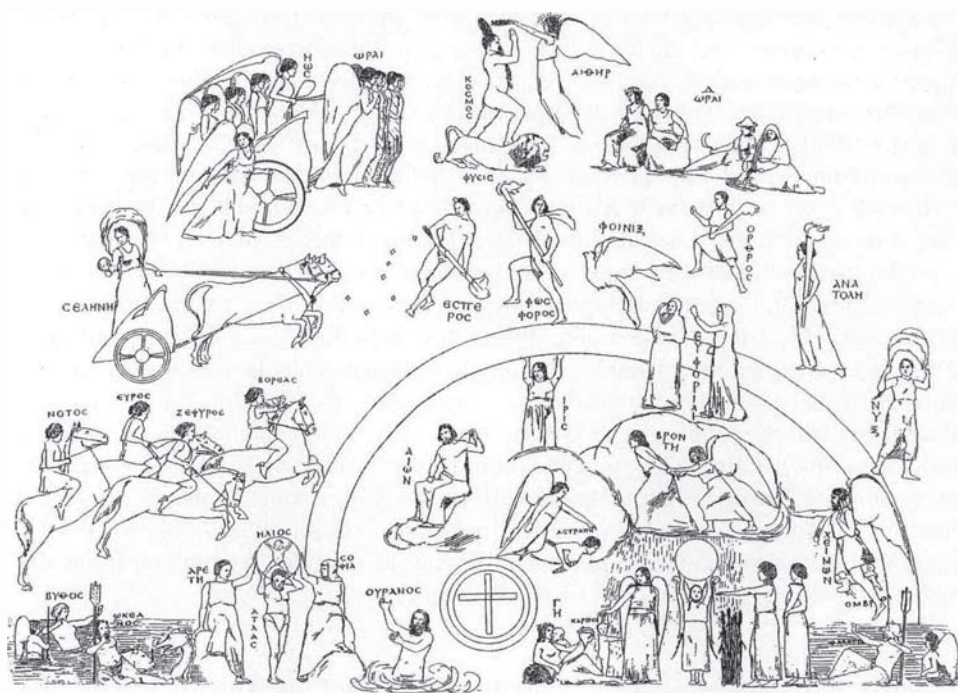


Abb. 7. Die zeichnerische Rekonstruktion der Kuppelverzierung (Mosaik? Gemälde?) der Badeanlage (?) in Antiochia (?) aufgrund der Beschreibung von Joannes Gazaeus aus dem 6. Jh.

Zu dieser Reihe von Decken- und Kuppelverzierungen schließt sich die in seinem Werk *Topographia Christiana* verfertigte Zeichnung des Cosmas Indicopleustes an (Abb. 8),⁴⁶ welche seine Vorstellungen vom Universum in einer ganz merkwürdigen Form zeigt. Im Buch IV handelt es sich um eine rechteckige, zimmerartige Darstellung, welche oberhalb durch eine Wölbung abgeschlossen (*kamara*, *kamaroeides*) wird, und sie auf diese Art und Weise den *ouranos* veranschaulicht. Während einige Einzelheiten – wie die Längs- und Schmalseiten des Zimmers (von Cosmas als *oikos* und *tholos* bezeichnet) als Himmelsrichtungen, Ozean, Erde, Sonne usw. – durch Inschriften angedeutet werden, taucht ebenfalls eine gut lesbare Symbolsprache auf, deren Elemente teilweise mit einigen Darstellungen aus der älteren Kaiserzeit, und auf diese Weise mit einigen Details auf dem Deckengemälde von *Brigetio*, verglichen werden können.

Cosmas unterscheidet die Sphären des Himmels, wobei er von einer unteren und oberen Zone spricht: In der erst benannten wohnen die Menschen und die Engel, die letztere gehört dem Herrscher des Ouranos. Diese zweifache Teilung erinnert uns an die Struktur des Deckengemäldes von *Brigetio*, wobei zwischen Äer (untere Sphäre) und Äther (oberste Sphäre) durch blaue und rote Farbe ein Unterschied

⁴⁶ Cosm. Ind. 4,2-3. S. dazu die Kritik von Photios in *Bibl.* 36; W. Wolska, *La topographie chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustes. Théologie et Science au VI^e siècle*, *Bibliothèque byzantine* 3, Paris 1962, 112, 143, und W. Wolska-Conus, *Cosmas Indicopleustes. Topographie chrétienne* I, Sources chrétiennes 141, Paris 1968, 531-569.

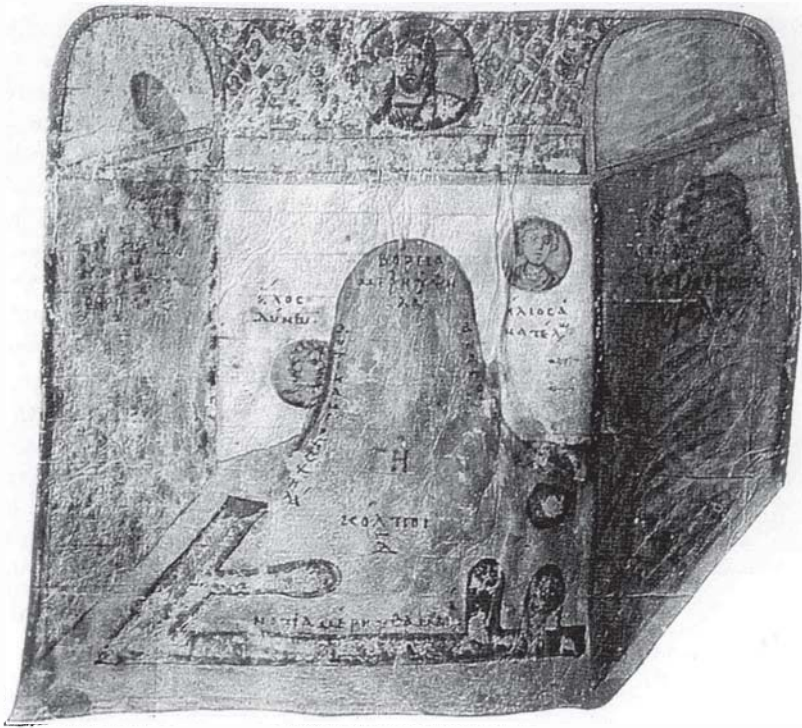


Abb. 8. Das kosmologische Zimmer von Cosmas Indicopleustes.

gemacht wurde (Abb. 9). Die oberste Zone mit den Fixsternen Andromeda und Pegasus im illusionistischen *oculus* weist auf den Himmel hin; bei Cosmas wird diese Sphäre auf dem Tonnengewölbe mit goldenen Sternen auf dunkelblauem Hintergrund veranschaulicht.

Es gibt aber ein weiteres wichtiges gemeinsames Element zwischen den beiden, eine Zeitspanne von ungefähr 300 Jahre überbrückenden Darstellungen. Es handelt sich nämlich um die Kreiskomposition in der Mitte beider Deckengemälde: in *Brigetio* mit den Fixsternen Andromeda und Pegasus, und auf der Decke des kosmologischen Zimmers von Cosmas Indicopleustes mit der Büste von Christus in der Mitte (Abb. 8-9). Es besteht darüber kein Zweifel, dass diese letztgenannte Kreiskomposition sich vom (Pseudo-)Oculus der heidnischen Kunst ableiten lässt: Während im Falle des Deckengemäldes von *Brigetio* durch die Himmelssymbolik (Vorhangmotiv, Vier Jahreszeiten, blaue Luft, roter Äther, Andromeda, Pegasus) der Raum der Bewegung der ewigen Zeit, und dadurch die Ewigkeit erscheint, wird auf der Zeichnung von Cosmas Indicopleustes durch die goldenen Sterne auf dunkelblauem Hintergrund ebenfalls der Himmel, durch den *oculus* mit der Büste von Christus aber der Raum des ewigen Lebens symbolisiert.

Wie vorher erörtert, weisen gewölbte Decken, so auch beide Tonnengewölbe auf die Symbolsprache der Kuppeln hin: Während das Deckengemälde von *Brigetio* mit Hilfe der Mittel der Kunst einen horizontal ausgebreiteten illusionistischen *tholos* mit girlandenartigen Säulen, Architrav und *oculus* auf einer nicht darstellbaren, illusionis-

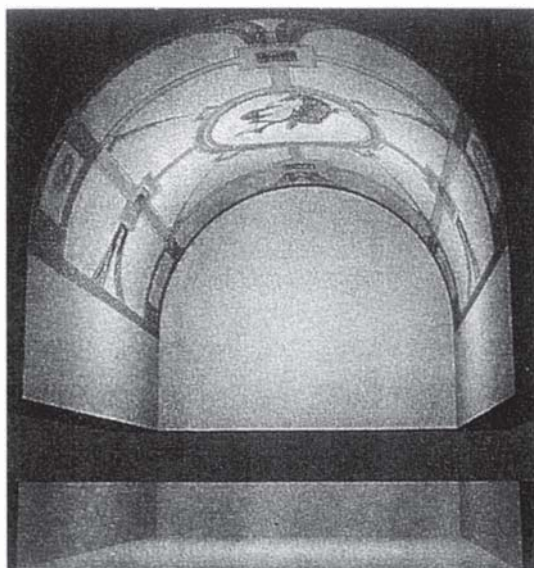


Abb. 9. Die zeichnerische Rekonstruktion des Zimmers von *Brigetio* mit Deckengemälde auf dem Tonnengewölbe mit halbkreisförmigem Querschnitt.

tischen Kuppel zu veranschaulichen versucht, liefern die detaillierten Kommentare des Cosmas Indicopleustes zu seinen eigenen Zeichnungen wichtige Hinweise auf die Grenzen und Schwierigkeiten der Darstellung symbolischen Flächen: Die von ihm verwendete Terminologie zur Bezeichnung dieses gewölbten Raumes (*kamara*, *kamaroeides*), schwankt nämlich zwischen *oikos* und *tholos*.

Die Jahreszeitenpersonifikationen am Rande des gesamten Tonnengewölbes sind als Überführungsmotive in die himmlische Sphäre zu interpretieren, die durch ihr Wesen auf den Raum der ewigen Zeit, d.h. auf den Himmel und auf das Weltall mit dem Äther einerseits, mit den

beiden obersten Fixsternen andererseits hindeuten. Das Deckengemälde trägt einen tiefen sophistischen, kosmologischen Sinn, der der Weltanschauung jener Epoche, d.h. Ende des 2./erstes Drittel des 3. Jh.s n.Chr., vollkommen entspricht, wobei die Verehrung der anthropomorphen Gottheiten durch die von Naturkräften und Elementen teilweise abgelöst wurde.⁴⁷ Wie K. Lehmann hinsichtlich der weiteren Entwicklungsgeschichte sehr treffend formulierte: "All these are expressions of the systematic Byzantine mind. But the basic idea of this vision of an intellectualized and spiritualized heaven on the dome, like that of many of its individual elements, is clearly rooted in a now aging antique tradition."⁴⁸

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⁴⁷ Die Wandmalereien sind der letzten Bauphase des Hauses zuzuschreiben. Die absolute Chronologie kann durch Terra Sigillata-Funde, die im Terrazzo-Boden der letzten Bauphase ans Tageslicht kamen, nur ungefähr bestimmt werden: unter den Ziegel- und Steinbrocken des Gelniveaus sind auch einige Fragmente von Sigillatagefäßen gefunden worden, die aus rheinländischen Werkstätten stammen, und das letzte Drittel des 2. Jh.s n.Chr. als *terminus a quo* liefern. Die obersten Schichten der gesamten Grabung enden mit spätseverischen Münzen (Elagabal, Severus Alexander), die als *terminus ante quem* für die Datierung der Wandmalereien, zumindest in diesem Raum des Hauses, herangezogen werden können.

⁴⁸ K. Lehmann, *The Dome of Heaven, Modern Perspectives in Western Art History. An Anthology of 20th-century Writings on the Visual Arts*. W. E. Kleinbauer (ed.), New York 1971, 252.

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The Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus: The Twilight of Roman Metre

Seppo Heikkinen

Introduction

Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 530-600), who was born and educated in Northern Italy but made his career in the Merovingian court in Gaul, has often been characterised as the last Roman poet. His life and work are seen as overlapping the boundary lying between classical antiquity and the Middle Ages. This duality of his literary personality is clearly reflected in his work: he was a prolific, versatile, and original master of the hexameter and the elegiac couplet, the most classical of the classical metres, but the ends to which he employed these metres manifest a radical departure from classical tradition. One of the most noticeable characteristics of Venantius' poetry is the coexistence of classical form and Christian content. When we evaluate the poetry of Venantius Fortunatus, we must bear in mind that it was composed at a time when the syllable quantities on which classical metre is based had all but disappeared from spoken Latin. Nevertheless, Venantius Fortunatus succeeded in composing vast numbers of hexameters and elegiac couplets that are metrically faultless, which must be regarded as an indication of the poet's high learning. On the other hand, many of Venantius' metric and stylistic solutions are rather idiosyncratic and display an independence from, or disregard for, previous tradition.

Venantius Fortunatus was born in Treviso around 530 and received his education in the 550s or 560s in Ravenna, which at the time enjoyed close and significant ties to Byzantium and was unique in providing the opportunity of a classical education even in the post-Theoderic era. Almost the only sources on the early years of his life are his own works, notably his *Carmina*.¹ In Ravenna, Venantius, although attracted to the church, had a traditional secular education that included grammar, rhetoric and the rudiments of law.² The poet himself describes his education in the following lines of his *Vita Sancti Martini*:

Parvula grammaticae lambens refluamina guttae,
rhetorici exiguum praelibans gurgitis haustum,
cote ex iuridica cui vix rubigo recessit. (*Mart.* 1,29-31).

¹ George 1992, 18, 20.

² Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Erster Teil*, Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 9, 2, 1, München 1911, 170.

Et claro ingenio teant spargenda portum
 Ultradianis mergis licet ille nec indigeat istis
 Cuncta cuius ouans ac fama iter occupatoribus
 Arua capax pelagus intrans super astra coruscans
 Distribuens miras populis prostopse medullas
 Quidno famulando suo capite omnia dono
 Et quo xps habet nomen martinus honorem
 Explicit opus FORTUNATI.

PRIBI DI VIN SE MARIN EPI FELT

INEPTOPVS FORTVNATI

IN LINOEN DISCE MARINAE

Lingua prophetarum cecinit de uirgine paritum
 Nuntia fert terris angelus ista poli
 Consona uoce hominum memorat hoc ferre puellam
 Quidam absque uiro germine uirgo uirum
 Hoc euangelio concordans pandit esaias
 Quae di inspirat haec canit ipse tuba
 Eloquio torrentis & rite profunda locutus
 Emmanuel nrm uirgine dante canens
 Praedicens olim uide matre conatibus honore
 Radices florem iesse a uirga dare
 Virgo hec uirga fuit de qua est filius xps abortus
 Cuius odor uirgine membra seputa leuat

Fig. 10. Page of the *Vita Sancti Martini* in the manuscript N Vaticanus Palatinus 845 from the 9th century, in the Vatican Library.

Venantius' modesty here is obviously affected and must be viewed as representing the then conventional topos of self-deprecation:³ elsewhere in his poetry he goes to considerable lengths to demonstrate the extent of his classical learning. His works show that he was familiar with the major Latin poets, pre-Christian and Christian alike, for frequent reminiscences from lines of Vergil, Horace, Ovid, and Statius appear in his work. For all his knowledge of the pre-Christian classics, however, Venantius saw himself as an heir to the tradition of Christian poetry that began with Juvenius:

Primus enim, docili distinguens ordine carmen
maiestatis opus metri canit arte Iuvenius.
Hinc quoque conspicui radiavit lingua Seduli,
paucaque perstrinxit florente Orentius ore... (*Mart.* 1, 14-17).

The Christian poets whom Venantius mentions as his influences include Juvenius, Sedulius, Prudentius and Paulinus of Nola. Venantius' *Vita Sancti Martini*, the hexameter biography of Saint Martin of Tours, is his own contribution to the genre of epic hexameter poetry on Christian themes.

We can assume that Venantius also picked up a working knowledge of Greek in Ravenna. At that time, the use of the language appears to have been largely confined to certain trades, such as physicians and artisans, but the influx of Byzantine dignitaries after 540 may have stimulated a wider interest in the language. Whether, on the other hand, the actual cultivation of literary Greek underwent a similar revival, has been open to debate, and most references to Greek literature in Venantius' poetry are probably attributable to secondary sources in Latin.⁴

Although the bulk of Venantius' vast output, which includes poems on a wide range of topics from the spiritual to the personal and even the political, was composed in elegiac couplets, his most ambitious work is arguably his *Vita Sancti Martini* (Fig. 10). This hagiographical work essentially paraphrases in hexameter form the prose *Vita* by Sulpicius Severus.⁵ The metre is classical, but in other respects the work can no longer be regarded as representing the tradition of epic poetry: structurally, it is thoroughly medieval. It renders, in a rather disjointed manner, episodes from St. Martin's life, interspersed with lavish and heavily rhetorical encomia of, and invocations to, the saint. *Vita Sancti Martini* can be seen as the last representative of Roman hexameter poetry, while at the same time being one of the pioneering works of medieval hagiographic literature.⁶ In this presentation I will focus on the metric and stylistic features of this particular work, but most of my observations apply equally well to Venantius' other poetry.

³ George 1992, 21; on the topos of self-deprecation see Curtius 1948, 410.

⁴ George 1992, 22; Courcelle 1969, 266-267 (on Venantius Fortunatus) and 311-360 (on the interest in literary Greek in the 5th century). Names of classical Greek authors are mentioned in Venantius' works, but according to Courcelle "there is nothing in all this to prove any contact between Fortunatus and Greek literature, even through the medium of translation." On the other hand, he identifies an allusion to *Il.* 3, 237 in Ven. Fort. *carm.* 3, 4, 5: *non enim Polydeucen suae commendasset venae salientis ubertas, nisi Smyrnei fontis fatidico latice fuisset adtactus*. In other words, the question of the actual extent of Venantius' knowledge of Greek literature remains open.

⁵ Sulpicius Severus (born ca. 363), monk and historian, was Martin's pupil, and his prose hagiography, which was instrumental to the birth of the cult of St. Martin, predates the death of the bishop in 397.

⁶ Quesnel 1996, xlii.

Vita Sancti Martini: General stylistic features

Although *Vita Sancti Martini* purports to follow classical examples, it shows stylistic features that are more typical of medieval poetry. One of Venantius' most recognizable idiosyncrasies is his endless fascination with strange or foreign vocabulary. The work abounds in long compound words and neologisms, which often seem to be used mainly to fill up the line:⁷

atque *subincrepitans* [=crepitans] casura cacumine nutat (*Mart.* 1,259)
molliter aërio *dissulcans* [=sulcans] nubila lapsu (*Mart.* 4,243)
limine nullus obest, ad principis ora *perintrat* (*Mart.* 3,225).

He is also, surprisingly enough, one of the first users of some neologisms later adopted by modern languages:⁸

prosaico digesta situ, commune rotatu (*Mart.* 1,13)⁹
submontana quidem castella per ardua tendens (*Mart.* 4,657).¹⁰

One of Venantius' staple mannerisms is his 'Romanic' use of the ablative form of the gerund as a substitute for the present participle, always with the final *o* in shortened form:¹¹

vivificatus enim gressum *meditando* rediscens (*Mart.* 1,196)
ligna *trahendo* focus nemorum vectore bubulco (*Mart.* 2,155)
Carnutis hinc etiam dum *praetereundo* veniret (*Mart.* 3,153).

This predilection for words of increasing length and complexity is, however, more than mere showmanship or a self-gratuitous mannerism. It can be argued that the use of such words is an essential part of Venantius' composition technique. In an age where classical syllable quantity had vanished from spoken Latin, writers of quantitative verse had to rely on words and word combinations with predetermined lengths to fill up parts of their lines. Later, this was to form the cornerstone of the verse technique of such insular poets as Aldhelm and Bede. As we shall presently observe, Venantius' hexameter style is highly dactylic, and such prefixes as *sub-*, *in-*, *re-*, and *per-* obviously provided him with the short syllables he needed for the composition of dactyls. The same possibly applies to Venantius' use of frequentative verbs, which also often include such neologisms as *monitare* (*Mart.* 2,387) and *fluentare* (*Mart.* 4,642).¹²

⁷ The technique of using long compound words with predetermined syllable lengths was later extensively employed by the Anglo-Saxon poets; see A. Campbell, *Some Linguistic Features of Early Anglo-Latin Verse and Its Use of Classical Models*, *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1953) 1-20.

⁸ Tardi 1927, 222-223; S. Blomgren: *Studia Fortunatiana, Commentatio academica*. Upsaliae 1933, 151.

⁹ Niermeyer 2002, 1127.

¹⁰ Niermeyer 2002, 1303.

¹¹ Leo 1881, 425; on the treatment of the final *o* in post-classical and medieval poetry see Norberg 1958, 9.

¹² Tardi 1927, 222-224: "On peut en effet se demander si chez le poète, le suffixe *tare* ou *itare* ajoute quelque chose à l'idée du verbe."

Venantius is certainly one of the wittiest hexameter poets since Ennius, the first Latin poet to compose hexameters, at the beginning of 2nd century BC. Venantius' lines abound with alliteration, assonance, *figura etymologica*, puns, deliberate tautology and wordplay in general.¹³ His lines are often a far cry from the low-key tastefulness of the classical hexameter poets and occasionally they can verge on the bizarre:

prudens prudenter Prudentius immolat actus (*Mart.* 1,19)

post Aeduum templum dum evellere vellet
obstant inculti cultores ruricolares,
ne colerent melius sua si cultura periret. (*Mart.* 1,325-327)

Leucadis pariter pro praeside prompta precatrix (*Mart.* 4,342).

Witness the dramatic change which Vergil's *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (*Aen.* 6,853) has undergone at Venantius' hands:

arma ministra vides: nostrum est *superare superbos* (*Mart.* 1,315).¹⁴

There are also frequent instances of primitive Leonine rhyme:

maiestatis opus metri canit arte Iuencus.
hinc quoque conspicui radiavit lingua Seduli (*Mart.* 1,15-16)

hinc furor Australis premit, hinc velocibus alis
flamma volans Borinas mordebat in aera pinnae (*Mart.* 1,289-290).

Venantius is also one of the first and most avid users of the typically medieval device that Curtius has called "verse-filling asyndeton",¹⁵ as exemplified by the following catalogues:

attonitus, trepidus, hebetans, vagus, anxius, anceps (*Mart.* praef. 2,23)
flos, odor, esca, sapor, fons, lux, via, gloria Christus (*Mart.* 2,440)
faece gravis, sermone levis, ratione pigrescens,
mente hebes, arte carens, usu rudis ore nec expers (*Mart.* 1,27-28).

This is a technique for which the poet was lauded by such medieval authors as the Venerable Bede¹⁶ and which was frequently imitated in the Middle Ages.

In matters of prosody, Venantius Fortunatus is, for his day and age, remarkably faultless. He follows the post-classical practice of shortening the final vowels even of words that are unaffected by iambic shortening.¹⁷

¹³ Tardi 1927, 263-264.

¹⁴ The change in style here can be said to reflect the change in content: the church has inherited the role of the Roman empire and has been invested with its authority. In this line, angels urge the saint to destroy a pagan temple.

¹⁵ Curtius 1948, 289.

¹⁶ *aliquando versum nominibus tantum perficere gratum est, ut Fortunatus...*, *De arte metrica* ed. Kendall 1975, 114.

¹⁷ Leo 1881, 424-425; on this phenomenon in Silver Latin see Raven 1965, 23-24.

vir cunctis bonitate parens, tibi *suggero* luctus (*Mart.* 1,390)
ad cursum levis aura vocat, *paro* lintea ventis (*Mart.* 2,5).

He also often takes other prosodic liberties:¹⁸

fitque *monasterium* Pictava comminus urbe (*Mart* 1,158):
monasterium with short *e*.

qui male polluerint *lavacri* venerabilis undam (*Mart.* 2,186):
lavacri with short *a* in the penultimate.

He also often treats *h* as a consonant, a feature which he shares with Sedulius and other Christian writers of late antiquity:¹⁹

nulla Augustorum meruit hunc vestis honorem (*Mart.* 1,65)
tempore sub mortis hostis compendia tractans (*Mart.* 1,80).

Venantius has also reverted to the pre-classical practice of ending hexameter lines with words of five syllables, a common feature in the poetry of Lucretius, but shunned by the classics:²⁰

quantum voce valens viduis nec *orfanatrofis* (*Mart.* 2,405)
patriciis mixtus generosis *consulibusque* (*Mart.* 3,521)
libertate nova surgunt colla *Avitiani* (*Mart.* 4,207).

On the other hand, all other types of archaic verse-ending have disappeared almost completely, including the spondaic line-ending and line-endings where accent and ictus do not coincide. We shall deal with this phenomenon more closely below.

Metrical style: dactyls, spondees and fourth-foot texture

Venantius' pronounced individualism extends beyond matters of prosody and vocabulary: he is probably the most dactylic of all Latin hexameter poets in history, at times exceeding even Ovid. If we observe the first four feet of each line, the *Vita Sancti Martini* has the astonishing ratio of 20 dactyls to 12 spondees; Ovid's *Metamorphoses* have the same ratio whereas in Vergil's *Aeneid* the ratio is 12 spondees to 20 dactyls. However, Venantius' favourite verse patterns are even more dactylic than Ovid's: Ovid favours the pattern *ddss*, where the first and second feet are dactyls and the third and fourth spondees. Venantius, on the other hand, favours the pattern *ddsd*, where the

¹⁸ Leo 1881, 422-427.

¹⁹ This is another practice later adopted by insular poets, as exemplified by Bede's mention in his *De arte metrica*: *item natura brevis syllaba ad votum poetarum transferri potest in longam, cum correpta vocalis in consonantem desinit et excipitur ab H littera* (Kendall 1975, 89). The practice is apparently based on the example of Verg. *Aen.* 9,610, *terga fatigamus hasta*, which had later been formulated into a metrical rule by the grammarians (Norberg 1958, 7). It is, however, noteworthy that even in classical Roman poetry the hiatus is more common before initial *h* than before vowels and that even classical poets avoid elision before the pronoun *hic*; see Allen 1973, 148.

²⁰ Wilkinson 1963, 231-232.

fourth foot is also a dactyl. This tendency is highly unusual in Roman hexameter, where the dactylic feet are usually placed toward the beginning of the line.²¹ In Venantius' poetry, dactyls also have a tendency to accumulate and appear in adjacent verses. The following passage from the fourth book of *Vita Sancti Martini* is a prime example:

cuius honor tumuli facit hic sua rura tueri;	(dddd)
qui pietatis opem tribuat, nam largus ubique	(ddds)
scit nihil esse meum, sua sed sibi dona recurrunt.	(dddd)
si tamen urgueris, ut adhuc temerarius intres	(dddd)
inde Parisiacam placide properabis ad arcem	(dddd)
quam modo Germanus regit et Dionysius olim.	(dsdd)
si pede progredieris, venerato sepulchra Remedi	(dddd) (Mart. 4,632-638).

As we can see, five of the seven lines consist entirely of dactyls. This kind of heavy-handed metric repetition is another feature that Venantius shares with the pre-classical hexameter poets Lucretius and Catullus.²² Venantius' use of dactyls and spondees bears little resemblance to the practices of any other poet. The origins of his often exhaustingly dactylic style are also obscure; in this, as in many other respects, the poet appears to be a true individualist, "*un génie un peu fou*", as he has been characterised.²³ It is possible that the fact that Venantius Fortunatus, like Ovid, mainly wrote elegiac verse has contributed to the extremely dactylic character of his hexameter poetry.

Venantius Fortunatus resembles Lucretius and Catullus in another important respect: the coincidence of word-accent and metrical ictus in the fourth foot, the so-called fourth-foot homodyne, is very common in his work. It is this very phenomenon that Vergil sought to avoid when he chose to write

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris

instead of

Arma virumque cano, qui Troiae primus ab oris.

As a rule, lines with fourth-foot homodyne are considered smoother, or more fluid, whereas the clash of accent and ictus in the fourth foot is thought to confer an air of *gravitas* or even tragedy. In addition to limiting the occurrence of fourth-foot homodyne in his verses, Vergil strove to create variation between adjacent, otherwise structurally similar lines by subtly altering the texture of the fourth foot.²⁴ Venantius reverted to the practices of the pre-classical authors in his more straightforward manner of dealing with fourth-foot texture. In Venantius Fortunatus' hexameter style, fourth-foot homodyne, like other metrical features, has a tendency to accumulate. The fourth book of *Vita Sancti Martini* has a passage of no less than seventeen lines in which accent and ictus coincide in the fourth foot of all lines save one:

²¹ Duckworth 1969, table I; Thraede (1978, 67-68) has observed that the frequency of spondaic feet in Roman hexameter lines increases progressively over the first four feet of the line.

²² Duckworth 1969, table I.

²³ Tardi 1927, 265.

²⁴ Duckworth 1969, 46-48.

quam modo Germanus regit | et Dio|nysius olim,
 si pede progredieris, vene|rato se|pulchra Remedi
 atque pii fratris con|plectere | templa Medardi.
 si tibi barbaricos con|ceditur | ire per amnes,
 ut placide Rhenum trans|cendere | possis et Histrium (*Mart.* 4,637-640).

and so forth, creating generally a rather flat effect.

Venantius Fortunatus' dual role in the history of literature is reflected by his verse technique: he was an educated poet of evidently great verbal talent; he was thoroughly familiar with the works of his classical predecessors as well as their techniques, which he, however, applied in an idiosyncratic and sometimes undisciplined manner. In his *Vita Sancti Martini* we can witness the coexistence of thoroughly classical expression with a baroque exuberance more typical of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Some features of his verses, such as the frequent use of alliteration and what amounts to a virtual obsession with wordplay are also reminiscent of the archaic Latin poets.²⁵

Greek influence or lack thereof

Adapting Greek hexameter to Roman Poetry

When we evaluate Roman hexameter poetry, or, indeed, any form of Roman quantitative verse, we must be aware of the fact that we are ultimately dealing with a tradition of Greek origin. Although in Rome the hexameter underwent considerable structural changes that were necessary for the accommodation of the unique prosodic qualities of the Latin language, Greek verses and stylistic effects were frequently emulated by the classical hexameter poets. Indeed, the very structural differences of Latin and Greek hexameter poetry make the Greek influences in Vergil's poetry, for instance, all the more noticeable.

The most obvious difference between Greek and Latin hexameter poetry is that the former is considerably more dactylic than the latter. This has usually been attributed to the ratio of short and long syllables in the two languages. In Greek, short syllables are very common, because most of the Indo-European vocalic liquids and nasals have changed into the short *a* sound; in Latin, on the other hand, such phonetic phenomena as the syncope have eliminated many of the short syllables;²⁶ also, Latin lacks the articles and particles that have furnished the Greek poets with the required short syllables. As a result, the first Latin hexameter poets were forced to compromise the dactylic nature of the metre and create a form of hexameter verse that relied more heavily on spondaic feet. The contrast is nowhere as marked as it is in the very earliest Latin hexameter poetry: while in Greek hexameter poetry, and Homer in particular, the overwhelmingly most popular verse-pattern is *dddd*, in the poetry of Ennius it is *ssss*.²⁷

²⁵ The most famous examples of archaic wordplay are, of course, Ennius' at *tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit* (ann. 140) and *O, Tite, tute, Tati, tibi tanta, tyranne, tulisti* (ann. 109).

²⁶ e.g. Latin *dexter*, Greek δεξιτερός.

²⁷ Duckworth 1969, 37.

In other words, when borrowing the hexameter from the Greeks, the earliest Roman hexameter poets converted this fundamentally dactylic metre into a predominantly spondaic one. This made the Roman hexameter, by its very nature, heavier and less fluid than its Greek predecessor.

Later, as the Roman poets grew more adept at emulating Greek verse techniques, the Roman hexameter also grew more dactylic. From Lucretius onwards, most Roman poets, including Vergil, favoured dactylic first feet. Vergil's favourite verse-pattern *dsss* has several advantages over Ennius' heavier *ssss*: the dactylic nature of the meter is made clear by the initial dactyl and then reasserted by the dactyl in the penultimate foot, while the spondaic middle feet retain the *gravitas* that had become an essential characteristic of Roman hexameter poetry. Ovid and his followers made the hexameter more dactylic still, and we can actually speak of a 'Vergilian' and an 'Ovidian' school of hexameter writing, the former being more heavy and spondaic, the latter more fluid and dactylic.²⁸ At the same time, spondaic line-endings, which are fairly common in Greek hexameter poetry, as a rule are avoided;²⁹ possibly it was thought that a dactylic fifth foot was required to assert the dactylic nature of the metre in Roman hexameter lines that were often otherwise heavily spondaic.

Another feature that must be taken into account when evaluating Roman hexameter poetry is the Latin system of accentuation which is thoroughly different from the Greek and which was to influence the structure of the Latin hexameter profoundly.³⁰ In Greek poetry, the word-accent has no effect on the verse structures, whereas in Latin poetry new metrical rules were devised to accommodate the regular dynamic accent of the language. In hexameter poetry, this is particularly discernible in the Roman poets' use of caesurae.

In Greek hexameter poetry, the principal types of third-foot caesurae are the strong caesura, which comes after the first 2½ feet, and the trochaic caesura, which comes after the first 2¾ feet, as in

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, // πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ (Hom. *Od.* 1,1)

or

Μοῦσαι Περὶ γένεον, // ἀοιδῆσιν κλείουσαι (Hes. *Erga* 1,1).

This type of caesura, which was actually the favourite of many Greek authors,³¹ fell out of favour with the Romans, or at best played only a secondary role in Roman hexameter poetry. The overwhelming majority of Roman hexameter lines have the strong caesura in the third foot, and when the third-foot trochaic caesura is employed, it is virtually always supported by auxiliary strong caesurae in the second or fourth feet, as in

²⁸ Duckworth 1969, 39, 55, 75.

²⁹ Homer has one spondaic line every 19.4 lines and Callimachus one every 15.1 lines, whereas in Vergil's *Aeneid* there is only one spondaic line every 409.5 lines and in Horace's *Satires* and *Epistles* one spondaic line every 408.1 lines. See Duckworth 1969, 3 and tables I-III.

³⁰ Allen 1973, 337-338.

³¹ Sicking 1993, 76.

Infandum, / regina, // iubes, / renovare dolorem (Verg. *Aen.* 2,3).

In such lines, the role of the auxiliary caesura at 3 ½ feet is often actually more prominent than that of the trochaic caesura at 2 ¾ feet.³² It can, in fact, be argued that most Roman hexameter lines are divided by a strong caesura either at 2 ½ or 3 ½ feet. The trochaic caesura unsupported is a very rare thing indeed, and it is usually employed in emulation of Greek models.

This change in the use of caesurae is a direct result of the Latin accent system: strong caesurae cause lines where there is little coincidence of accent and ictus, whereas trochaic caesurae give the opposite result. The classical Roman hexameter poets preferred a type of line where accent and ictus clash in the middle of the line and coincide in the final cadence.³³ Trochaic caesurae and word-division between feet result in lines such as:

spárgens úmida mélla // sopòriferúmque papáver (Verg. *Aen.* 4,486),

where we have complete coincidence of accent and ictus. In this line, Vergil deliberately deviates from established Roman metrical practice: the line, which is completely lacking in strong caesurae, is supposed to be *soporifer*.³⁴ Often, such lines are intended to create a Greek-sounding effect, associated with images of eastern languor or effeminacy. Frequently such lines are paraphrases of Greek hexameter lines that were well known to Vergil's readers.

As we can see, Roman hexameter poetry developed a set of rules of its own. These rules were often dictated by the prosodic qualities of the Latin language itself, and evolved over a length of time independently of Greek influence. As a result, deviations from these rules in classical hexameter poetry are frequently Graecisms and lines that show such deviations are often direct paraphrases of Greek models.

Venantius Fortunatus' Vocabulary and Style

We have previously observed the original and witty, if at times also heavily ornate metrical style of Venantius Fortunatus. Is it possible to detect any similar metrical or stylistic Graecisms in his poetic style? Venantius certainly often deviates from the strictest classical norm in his hexameter lines, but are these deviations attributable to Greek influence?

As mentioned above, the most noticeable metrical feature of Venantius' hexameter poetry is his extremely dactylic style. In this respect, he is metrically closer to the Greek hexameter poets than any other Roman poet. The ratio of dactyls and spondees in his eight favourite verse patterns (20 dactyls to 12 spondees) equals that of Theocritus, the most spondaic of the Greek hexameter poets.³⁵ Furthermore, his

³² Raven 1965, 94.

³³ Wilkinson 1963, 120-121; Raven 1965, 98-99.

³⁴ Wilkinson 1963, 72.

³⁵ Duckworth 1969, table III. The corresponding ratio for Homer is 22 dactyls to 10 spondees and for Hesiod 21 dactyls to 11 spondees.

preference for fourth-foot dactyls over fourth-foot spondees can be regarded as a distinctly un-Roman feature.³⁶ It is interesting to note that Venantius, who is one of the very last representatives of Roman hexameter poetry, was the closest to the Greeks in terms of his use of dactylic feet, but as evidence of Greek influence this is hardly conclusive.

Venantius' use of caesurae betrays no Greek allusions: in general, he observes the Roman rules of word-division quite closely. His lines are almost always divided by a strong caesura at either 2½ or 3½ feet. There is some deviation from the strictest classical norm,³⁷ but the trochaic caesura or the bucolic diaeresis play no discernible structural role in his lines.

As already mentioned, Venantius had reverted to some archaic types of line-ending which the classical Roman poets avoided. He often ends his lines with pentasyllabic words, and not infrequently these words are actually of Greek origin:

haec memorante pio stupidus hebet *archidiacon* (Mart. 3,38)

pastor adesse iubet quendam es grege *daemoniacum* (Mart. 1,474)

Augustinus adest pretiosus *Basiliusque* (Mart. 4,664).

These examples cannot, however, be attributed to any actual Greek influence; it is probable that Venantius has in these cases used Greek loans because of their appropriate length. Furthermore, it is notable that such loan words are also often prosodically faulty: in the previous examples *archidiacon* and *daemoniacus* are scanned with long *a* in the penultimate and *Basilius* with a long *a* and a short *i*. There are numerous other examples of prosodic liberties that Venantius has taken with Greek loans:

emblema, *gemma*, *lapis*, *toreumata*, *tura*, *Falerna* (Mart. 1,80):
emblema with short *e* in the penultimate, *toreumata* with long *o*

qui necdum Christi *charismata* senserit exsors (Mart. 4,416):
charisma with long *a* in the first syllable

tabida *paralysis* gelido languore puella (Mart. 1,368):
paralysis with a long *a* in the first syllable

dum pede tardat *heros* praecessit cura volatu (Mart. 3,83):
heros with short *e*

quaestio tanta ligat neque *problema* solvit egeni (Mart. 3,44):
problema with short *e*, cf. *emblema* in Mart. 1,80.

³⁶ Thraede 1978, 67-68; Sicking 1993, 73-74.

³⁷ In classical Roman hexameter poetry, lines with a strong caesura at 3½ feet should also have a strong caesura at 1½ feet to preclude the coincidence of ictus and accent in the middle feet (Raven 1965, 96). This is something Venantius occasionally neglects as in *dogmate luce fide informans / virtute sequaces* (Mart. 1,140) or *huius in affectu insertus / solidatus adultus* (Mart. 2,442), see Leo 1881, 423.

Such liberties are by no means unusual even in classical hexameter poetry, and often they are unavoidable because there are prosodic structures such as the proceleusmatic that cannot be accommodated into a dactylic metre. *Paralysis* would belong to this category of liberties taken out of necessity, exactly like the Latin words *Italia* and *religio*, where similar prosodic changes occur in dactylic poetry. As a rule, however, Venantius appears to take such liberties much more often with words of Greek origin, even ones that are fairly common and metrically unproblematic like *heros*, which may reflect the decline of Greek letters in Western Europe.

Venantius occasionally uses hiatuses, but they are usually attributable to the Late Latin practice of treating *h* as a consonant, as previously noted. The only spondaic verse in the whole work of over 2,000 lines is an example of Venantius' word-play. It occurs in the description of an ox that kneels before the saint:

flexit et ipse genu, qui non habet *intellectum* (*Mart.* 3,315).

The line-ending is deliberately clumsy, the unusual and heavy structure being a metrical allusion to the great size and dim wit of the animal. In other words, the spondaic line-ending seems to have not only virtually disappeared from Venantius' metrical technique but also become divested of its previous prestige.³⁸

We may safely conclude that the hexameter poetry of Venantius Fortunatus shows no clear Greek influences on a metrical level. There is no subtle application of Greek verse techniques or allusion to lines from the Greek classics. Such devices, had Venantius had them at his disposal, would have been wasted on his audience. Of course, his poetry displays many rhetorical and poetic devices that were common to Greek and Roman poets alike, but their immediate sources are in Latin poetry – or, in some cases, ecclesiastical language – and they can scarcely be attributed to any direct Greek influence. On the lexical level, however, we often encounter a virtual congestion of Greek loans that are often also prosodically shaky.

According to Tardi, nearly all of the Greek words Venantius used are words that had taken root in Christian Latin and subsequently received religious meanings or connotations.³⁹ This may explain their use, or overuse, by the poet. The religious context of Greek loans, together with the fact that the Greek language itself was becoming increasingly foreign to Western Europeans, made Greek words all the more prestigious to Venantius and his followers, often resulting in their self-gratuitous use. This tendency was later taken to extremes by the insular writers of the so-called hermeneutic school, whose texts are often rendered virtually unintelligible by their foreign and arcane vocabulary.

Something of the imagery associated with Greek elements seems to have persisted in the poetry of Venantius Fortunatus. As previously mentioned, Graecisms in the classical poets are frequently intended to convey images of either languor or luxury, sometimes quite irrespective of actual geographic context. Vestiges of such *topoi* can be found in Venantius' poetry. The poet practically revels in the foreign

³⁸ It is interesting to note that the spondaic line-ending has also disappeared from the verse technique of the late Greek hexameter poets Nonnus and Musaeus (see Duckworth 1969, table III). These poets are also metrically the most repetitious of the Greek hexameter poets.

³⁹ Tardi 1927, 224: "Même les termes d'origine profane, come *amphiballum* ou *encoenia*, avaient pris depuis quatre siècles un sens religieux."

sounds of his Greek words (*y*, *z*, and the Greek aspirates), and this effect is further enhanced by the poet's habit of overusing every means of expression at his disposal. A case in point is the description of the temple in the third book of *Vita Sancti Martini*, which is a good illustration of his baroque style:

O sinceri oculi, nulla caligine pressi,
mens radiata *sopho*, retinens sine nube serenum,
inspicias aeriam carnali lumine *Theclam*
atque vides Agnem redimita fronte corona,
cernis et egregiam pretiosa luce Mariam.
Vidisti templum domini *diademate* fultum,
vidisti *thalamum* sponsi super omnia pulchri,
compositum gemmis auroque ostroque decorum.
Qualis *iaspis* erat pedibus laterique *topazus*,
qui digitis anuli viridi fulgore venusti,
quales armillae dextrae ardescente *hyacintho*,
quanto *zona* die lapidum radiabat honore,
cycladis aut qualis *cataclyzis* effora rasis,
quae palla ex humeris mixto *chrysopraxe beryllis*,
quodve monile decens collo rutilabat in illo? (*Mart.* 3,455-469)

The poet has sought to convey an image of grandeur and opulence, and the Greek vocabulary, together with the anaphora, serves to heighten the effect. Similar in style is the description of the court of emperor Maximus in the second book, where we encounter asyndetic lines crammed with geographic names or names of jewels:

Augusti obsequiis fremit undique concitus orbis,
divitias pariter producens deliciasque
quas habet Indus, Arabs, Geta, Thrax, Persa, Afer, Hiberus,
quod fert meridies, arctos, occasus et ortus,
quod Boreas, Aquilo, Libs, Circius, Auster et Eurus,
quod Geon et Phison, Tigris Eufratesque redundant,
Rhenus, Atax, Rhodanus, Tiberis, Padus, Hister, Orontes,
quod mare, terra, polus pisce, alite, fruge ministrat,
emblema, gemma, lapis, toreumata, tura, Falerna
Gazaque, Creta, Samos, Cypros, Colofona, Seraptis,
lucida perspicuis certantia vina lapillis,
vix discernendis cristallina pocula potis. (*Mart.* 2,72-82).

Although as a rule Venantius Fortunatus is fond of neologisms, he usually relies on Greek words already in existence. There are relatively few cases where he has actually ventured to coin new words from Greek roots.⁴⁰ Such neologisms are usually very simple constructions where a Latin ending has been grafted onto a Greek word-stem:

dum satiat vindicta famem *lymphatilis* Irae (*Mart.* 2,276).

⁴⁰ Tardi 1927, 224.

Other such examples can be found in his *Carmina*:

in me qui regit ire lutum *plasmabile* numen (*Carm.* 2,5,3)

atque *zmaragdineo* ianua poste viret (*Carm.* 8,4,18).⁴¹

As a rule, Venantius' own creations from Greek roots tend to be fewer and less imaginative than his Latin neologisms.

Conclusion

In general, the poetry of Venantius Fortunatus reflects many of the metric practices of late antiquity. At the same time, he seems to have reverted to some archaic practices shunned by the classics. As a user of dactylic rhythm he is certainly unique, and he appears to have developed a highly personal poetic style. Although *Vita Sancti Martini* is a fascinating document of the evolution of the Latin hexameter, it can no longer, in the strictest sense, be regarded as a representative of classical epic poetry.

The poetry of Venantius Fortunatus also documents the evolution of a Latin literature that is no longer in direct contact with Greek poetry. As we have noted, all Greek influences in his poetry have been filtered to him through either Latin poetry or ecclesiastical Latin. These influences are predominantly lexical or stylistic: the lines in his poetry are devoid of direct allusions to Greek metric techniques, but in contrast we are faced with an abundance of Greek loan words and, occasionally, neologisms from Greek roots. Venantius' use of Greek loans appears predominantly ornamental and must be viewed as simply one aspect of his exuberant baroque aesthetic: the Greek words are there to express foreignness and exoticism rather than familiarity. As we study the poetry of Venantius Fortunatus we can feel that we are gradually entering the medieval realm of glossaries and "*Graeca sunt, non leguntur.*"

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⁴¹ TLL VII:2, 1944; Tardi 1927, 221.

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From Chaos to Cosmos – Interpreting the Hierarchies of Pseudo-Dionysius

Gunnar af Hällström

It has been said that the ancient Greek philosophers were in a constant search for unchangeable structures in an ever-changing, chaotic world.¹ Thus, some thinkers postulated a certain ἀρχή, a kind of starting point explaining things on earth, while others presupposed eternal and unchangeable ideas, etc. In the early sixth century AD, a corpus of hitherto unknown writings, later called the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, was mentioned for the first time,² in which the longing for fixed structures reached a new culmination. The opinions of the unknown author, often called Pseudo-Dionysius, were dominant in the Christian world for a whole millennium, and his ideas can still be seen in church architecture and iconography in Europe. One reason for this success was that the author was believed to have apostolic authority, since he was regarded as an Athenian convert of St. Paul³ and was known also as Dionysius the Areopagite (Fig. 11).⁴

The single centre of the universe

The logical starting point for St. Dionysius was, typically enough, simultaneously theological and philosophical. He postulated an utterly transcendent principle, a logical necessity, often called God by the peoples of the world, but by St. Dionysius preferably named τὸ Ἐν, the One, or sometimes τὸ Κάλόν. This One can be compared to the centre of a circle, as it does not exist in the usual sense of the word but its postulation is nevertheless necessary.⁵ The centre explains the circle, and possible concentric circles, and this is how Pseudo-Dionysius brings order into the universe. Whatever exists in the intelligible or physical world, all are defined by their position

¹ E. Stenius, *Tänkens gryning*, Helsingfors 1975², 20 - 21. Erik Stenius was Professor of Philosophy from 1949 to 1963 at Åbo Akademi, the Swedish-speaking University of Turku, and from 1963 to 1974 at the University of Helsinki.

² *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* 4:2, 172. J. Alberigo et al (cur.), Bologna 1973.

³ *Acts* 17, 34.

⁴ P.E. Rorem, s.v. Dionysius the Areopagite, and J. Dillon, s.v. Mysticism, in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*. G.W. Bowersock, P. Brown, & O. Grabar (eds.), Cambridge MA and London 1999, 410-411 and 599-600. The basic study on Pseudo-Dionysius is still R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien: Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le pseudo-Denys*, Paris 1954.

⁵ *de divinis nominibus* 2, 5.



Fig. 11. Dionysius the Areopagite, a detail from the 17th-century wall painting in the narthex of the church of The Presentation of The Virgin, in the Monastery of Kaisariani, near Athens.

in relation to the One. To put it another way, they are all situated in concentric circles closer to or further from the centre. Everything in existence thus has its given place in the structure around the One. Consequently, the One is called the source of all unity.⁶ This expression reveals unquestionably that Pseudo-Dionysius, like the ancient philosophers, is in search of cosmic order, or to put it differently, in search of cosmos in a world of chaos. The One is also called *ἐνοποιὸς δυνάμις*,⁷ unifying power, bringing forth the same longing for order. An analogy from nature serves St. Dionysius' purposes, too. The One is like the sun: it explains everything, it gives life to everything, for example to a plant, but from our world of living beings, e.g. from a plant, one can never deduce what the sun is like. The One enlightens all beings in proportion to their nature.⁸ This analogy emphasizes once again the unknowability of the One, but also the necessity of its (utterly different) existence.

The structure of the universe

From the principle of a single centre of the universe, Pseudo-Dionysius advances towards an explanation of the structure of the universe, firstly by the aforementioned idea of concentric circles, having the One as their coordinating feature. But one more factor must be added in order to give the ordered universe a Dionysian structure: the principle of the holy number *τρία*. Each concentric circle consists, as it were, of three entities, structured in this way by the influence of the One. The Christian doctrine of a

⁶ *de divinis nominibus* 1,1.

⁷ *de divinis nominibus* 1,4.

⁸ *de divinis nominibus* 1,2.

triune God, a doctrine clearly expressed as early as the second century,⁹ certainly influenced St. Dionysius in structuring the universe in the way he did, but it does not explain why everything else, in addition to the Godhead, must be structured into groups of three. Beginning from the highest point of the hierarchy there is, then, the triune God. The Three-in-One is thus the single feature that it is possible to affirm positively about the One, which, beyond this point, is unknowable altogether. The borderline between an apophatic (negative) and a cataphatic (affirmative) theology thus runs between the One and the Trinity. In other words, nothing higher can ever be stated of God than He is triune, but many lower and less appropriate things can of course be said of Him.

From the Trinity downwards, Pseudo-Dionysius continues the division of all things into units of three. The angels closest to God are divided into three choirs: Cherubs, Seraphs and Thrones. The next grouping of three angelic orders consists of Dominations, Virtues, and Powers. Closest to the world of human beings we find Principalities, Archangels and Angels. All these names of angelic beings can no doubt be found in the Holy Scriptures, but certainly not in this three-times-three arrangement of choirs. A systematist has been at work, endeavoring to organize beings where there was previously no arrangement.

The heavenly hierarchy described above has a parallel on earth, a visible image of the invisible world. This hierarchy on earth is described in Dionysius' treatise *de ecclesiastica hierarchia*. As the title suggests, the structure continues in the Church, visible and weakened, but nevertheless it continues, based again on the holy number three. Interestingly enough, it is not a high ecclesiastical dignitary who has the seat of honour in this structure. In 5th-century Byzantium, the Patriarch of Constantinople was certainly temptingly at hand, but the closest link between the heavenly hierarchy and its earthly counterpart is not a person at all, but a sacrament. The fragrance of myrrh, the Eucharist and baptism constitute the first and highest triad of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Only then come ecclesiastical dignitaries: the bishop first, then the presbyters, followed by the liturgists, that is, the deacons. Since the ecclesiastical hierarchy reflects the heavenly, it must also consist of three-times-three classes. The ecclesiastical hierarchy therefore continues with three more: the monks, ordinary lay Christians and the catechumens. This weighty construction of hierarchies provides a structure to all that is of importance in Dionysius' world. It could be called a worldwide web, or rather a universe-wide network, but lacking the chaotic nature of present-day data information.

From an ideological point of view, Pseudo-Dionysius has made maximum use of a Neoplatonic structure, which was both hierarchical and built on triads as is the Dionysian hierarchy. From an ontological point of view the structure is Neoplatonic. Dionysius, however, has communicated this structure to his 5-6th-century Byzantine contemporaries, who lived in a world where the Church was the centre of life and the bishop the centre of the Church. The system of Proclus, the Athenian Neoplatonist, has been modified to explain the world in which most Byzantines lived. There was no place whatever for the Church in Proclus' system of triads, but Dionysius provided a theoretical model where the Church was legitimately the centre of the empirical world, and the bishop the unquestioned authority he actually was.

⁹ The term *τριάς* occurs for the first time in *ad autolyicum* 2,15 by Theophilus of Antioch, a second-century apologist.

Distribution network

The hierarchies, however, serve many more purposes than that of an explanation of the present situation in Byzantine reality. In the way they are presented by Dionysius they may with good reason be called a distribution network. They are not ends in themselves, but they have a function. The distribution, it seems, is primarily in just one direction, from the top downwards. Many things could, theoretically, be imagined to flow down in this way through the hierarchies. If the structure were of military nature, orders and duties could be distributed thus. If it was mainly an ontological structure, real being, that is, existence, could be delivered along these distribution lines. Dionysius' emphasis, though, is elsewhere. He speaks of God's goodness flowing over.¹⁰ This overproduction of goodness is distributed from higher beings to lower ones. The distributors vary, the contents always being the same. Other things besides goodness are distributed too, though they clearly belong to the same category of entities. Thus, light and love are also said to be transmitted through the hierarchies.¹¹ Pseudo-Dionysius could also have said that the hierarchies transmit grace, salvation and other typically Christian values. But he prefers expressions from a foreign ideology, intelligible also to Christians. From a Neoplatonic structure of an ontological nature, Pseudo-Dionysius has made a rather weighty but comprehensible system for the delivery of spiritual gifts of all kinds. The hierarchies provide us with the story of how God blessed the Byzantine man, through angels, sacraments and the ministry of the Church, a story presented in Neoplatonic terminology and structures. From the Unknown God – an Athenian concept! – the flow progresses down to the local church, unbroken, though somewhat weakened by the long journey.

The idea of hierarchy

Pseudo-Dionysius, a lover of neologisms, created a new word *ἱεραρχία* for the structure he had conceived. He was in fact obsessed by words from the stem *ἄρχ-*, and made frequent use of them. His term designating a bishop, *ἱεράρχης*, was in itself not quite new, since it had already been used in the Eleusinian mysteries – again a link between Pseudo-Dionysius and Athens – but he introduced the word into Christian usage. The bishop is the most important human being in the hierarchy. His position within this structure, between the angels and mysteries on the one side, and the congregation with all its dignitaries on the other, certainly aimed at increasing his significance, legitimizing at the same time the honour and wealth (of all kinds) he already enjoyed. But the very idea of a hierarchy maintains that no-one can simply enjoy their position. A position is a call to action. To expound on this theme, Pseudo-Dionysius again utilizes a Neoplatonic concept, that of a three-fold movement, or, perhaps better, of the three-fold status of each member of the hierarchy. Everyone has his or her own

¹⁰ *de divinis nominibus* 2,11.

¹¹ *de coelesti hierarchia* 3,2; *de divinis nominibus* 4,13. As for love, Pseudo-Dionysius cautiously prefers the (Neoplatonic) term *ἔρως* to (the Johannine) *ἀγάπη*, well aware of the opposition he encounters from many Christians. For Pseudo-Dionysius, Eros is not a poor demon or demigod lacking everything, as in Plato's Symposium. Eros is an aspect of God himself when creating and taking care of all that exists.

identity; the act of exercising one's own identity is called by St. Dionysius *μονή*, remaining. The task of all is to take care of those lower in the hierarchical structure. This care-taking activity is called *πρόοδος*, that is, procession. This term is not, then, to designate any kind of progress, it is, on the contrary, a movement downwards in order to assist others. Therefore Pseudo-Dionysius can characterize it as a *φιλάνθρωπος πρόοδος*, an act of philanthropy.¹² A bishop pastoring his congregation makes *πρόοδος* from his own privileged position on behalf of his flock. But, the mission being completed, he returns to his own level, to his own identity. This return to one's own level is called *ἐπιστροφή* by Pseudo-Dionysius. Christ himself is, of course, the ultimate example of this three-fold movement: the pre-existence in heaven is the *μονή*, the incarnation the *πρόοδος*, and the ascension back to heaven the *ἐπιστροφή*. According to this system, nobody can live exclusively for himself, but has to act *προνοητικῶς*, like Providence towards others. The hierarchies of Pseudo-Dionysius thus have a strongly ethical character, containing an agenda for each and everyone.

When the hierarchies of Pseudo-Dionysius are understood Neoplatonically, an aspect other than the philanthropic is at issue: the hierarchies are considered from the point of view of mysticism, the obligation of every human being to ascend to God and become deified. This programme of ascension towards God, so central in Byzantine devotion, is certainly central in the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius too, but the question is how it fits into the system. All movement within the hierarchical structure seems to be either a preservation of the status quo, *μονή*, or a downward movement, *πρόοδος*. Nevertheless, Pseudo-Dionysius even claims that the mystical *θέωσις* is the *raison d'être* of the whole hierarchical structure. He writes, "The aim of the hierarchy is the likeness and union with God..."¹³ and makes use of an analogy from nature. All living beings turn towards the sun, each one in its own way. In the same way all beings in Creation turn towards God, also the centre and origin of everything.¹⁴ We could say that the light and warmth of the sun reach men through the intermediation of the hierarchies, and thus men become motivated to begin their journey towards God. The Dionysian hierarchical structure provides the means for mystical ascent, but it is not a description of this ascent.

From the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius in general, and from the hierarchies in particular, a programme of ecclesiastical art and architecture is easily deduced. It is hard to say whether Pseudo-Dionysius himself regarded his theological writings in this way, but his text itself offers itself for this purpose. This is more particularly so since the texts are strongly liturgical, placing their reader within a Byzantine church, as it were, and as participants of the liturgical drama conducted there. Although the church of Dionysius the Areopagite in Athens¹⁵ has wall paintings with themes from the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, it is only partially realized according to Pseudo-Dionysian theology as far as art and architecture are concerned. True, the lowest levels of the walls are dedicated to images of the lowest categories of the Dionysian hierarchies. The bishops are placed higher and the angels still higher, but this is traditional, not

¹² *de ecclesiastica hierarchia* 3.

¹³ *de coelesti hierarchia* 3,2: Σκοπὸς οὖν ἱεραρχίας ἐστὶν ἡ πρὸς θεὸν ὡς ἐφικτὸν ἀφομοίωσις τε καὶ ἐνωσις...

¹⁴ *de divinis nominibus* 8,8.

¹⁵ The only church in Athens dedicated to Dionysius the Areopagite is situated on Skoufa street 34, in Kolonaki. The current building is from the 1850s.

particularly Dionysian. From Pseudo-Dionysius' theory of similar and dissimilar symbols it can be concluded that the upper levels of a church should be covered with dissimilar symbols, and by ever increasing light. The forty windows in the cupola of Hagia Sofia in Constantinople are much closer to the intentions of Pseudo-Dionysius than is the Athenian church dedicated to him.

An optimistic cosmos

The hierarchical structure created by Pseudo-Dionysius is filled with light and harmony; it presents a cosmos. It is timeless, too, in a sense, since it is concentrated on beholding the eternal liturgy of Cherubs and Seraphs before God. Alluding to the words of Pseudo-Dionysius himself, this hierarchical world has been called γανυμένη, smiling.¹⁶ This world of his is, admittedly, deeply optimistic. Even Evil itself belongs to the system, occupying the lowest part of the hierarchical construction.¹⁷ He takes little notice of the disharmony and innumerable problems encountered by Byzantine man. The empirical world plays at most a subordinate role. Neither the holy Byzantine state, nor its emperor, is mentioned in the whole of *Corpus Dionysiacum*. Rather, it presents a universe, an orderly cosmos, as it appears when meditating and celebrating within the walls of a Byzantine basilica. It has an atmosphere filled with symbolism, with the singing of hymns, with the scent of holy incense. For those taking part it provides a rationalization, both philosophical and theological, of the existing state of affairs, it explains the world and provides the faithful with a programme for action within that world.

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¹⁶ *de divinis nominibus* 12,3: Καὶ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς (τῆς αἰτίας ὅλων, τὸν Θεὸν) ἐν ἐνὶ καὶ ἀθρόως ἐκπέφυκε καὶ διανεμένηται πᾶσα ἀμιγῆς ἀκρίβεια πάσης εἰλικρινοῦς καθαρότητος, πᾶσα ἡ τῶν ὄντων διάταξις τε καὶ διακόσμησις ἀναρμοστίαν καὶ ἀνισότητα καὶ ἀσυμμετρίαν ἐξαρρίζουσα καὶ εἰς τὴν εὐτακτον ταυτότητα καὶ ὀρθότητα γανυμένη καὶ περιάγουσα τὰ μετέχειν αὐτῆς ἡξιωμένα . . . From it (the Cause of everything, God) has come every law and ranking of all things which gets rid of all disharmony, inequality, and disproportion, which rejoices in well-ordered consistency and rightness.

¹⁷ *de divinis nominibus* 4,19: Καὶ ἔσται τὸ κακὸν εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς συμπλήρωσιν συντελοῦν καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ τὸ μὴ ἀτελὲς εἶναι δι' ἑαυτὸ παρεχόμενον.

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Latin Bishops and Greek Emperors: Ennodius' Missions to Constantinople

Stefanie A.H. Kennell

In 515, when Pope Hormisdas sent his long-time friend Magnus Felix Ennodius and several other churchmen on a diplomatic mission to the Imperial court at Constantinople, the Churches of Rome and Constantinople had been in a state of schism for well over thirty years. The purpose of Ennodius' mission was to end this split between the Eastern and Western churches by inducing the Emperor Anastasius to accept the Papal position regarding the Council of Chalcedon and Pope Leo the Great's contribution to its decisions so that he would then make the Eastern Church submit to Roman authority. The mission was not a success. In 517, Ennodius was sent on a related errand; its result was similarly unsatisfactory. The failure of both missions was predetermined by the intransigence of both Pope and Emperor. No room for manoeuvre could exist in a situation where the irresistibly dogmatic certitude of the Bishop of Rome was pitted against the immovably tenacious pragmatism of an Emperor disposed to consider the Christological formulations of Chalcedon unnecessarily precise.¹ The situation would change only with the ruler; after Anastasius died, the pro-Chalcedonian Justin became Emperor and so Hormisdas finally succeeded in having the Roman position accepted in 519.

By this time, Ennodius himself was no longer directly involved in negotiations at Constantinople, though he seems to have assisted Pope Hormisdas with the composition of a letter to the new emperor, and died in July 521.² Recent surveys of the period make scant mention of Ennodius' interventions,³ yet his epitaph, still visible in Pavia, credits him with ending the East-West schism (Fig. 12) and the fourteenth-century Pavian writer Opicino de Canistris gives him the title 'Teacher of the Greeks', *doctor Grecorum*. The events in which he was involved constitute minor details in the history of the tumultuous sixth century that are nonetheless significant for the light they shed on discordant perceptions. On the one hand, Hormisdas' directions to his legates precluded any activity approximating actual negotiation; on the other, the breach was ultimately closed by Imperial intervention rather than Papal admonition. What were Ennodius and his colleagues expected to accomplish in 515 and 517? An answer can be found by examining the assumptions and perceptions of the two opposing sides, which sprang from over a century of increasingly divergent experience and practice and even today underlie certain divisions in the community of those who call themselves Christians.

¹ Kennell 2000, 215-219.

² Caspar 1933, 154-155.

³ J.M. Gaddis, s.v. Chalcedon, Council of, in Bowersock 1999, 369-370; Lee 2000, 55-57; Kennell 2000, 220-221.

The Acacian Schism: its Causes and Consequences

The rupture Ennodius was sent to heal is known as the Acacian Schism.⁴ Like the Photian Schism, it takes its name from the person the Bishops of Rome considered principally responsible for a grave breach of ecclesiastical discipline, although the rift was solemnly opened by Rome's own representative. In this case, the deemed guilty



Fig. 12. The epitaph of Ennodius in the chancel of the church of S. Michele Maggiore in Pavia.

party was Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople, who in 482 participated in the drafting and acceptance of an Imperial document called the *Henoticon*. This document originated in the embattled Emperor Zeno's resolve to create, without resorting to further synods, a compromise statement of Christological doctrine that the dissenting Christians of the Empire – Egyptians, Syrians, Armenians, and others – could agree on.⁵ Zeno's strategy was to affirm the formulations of the Council of Nicaea as the basic definition of the nature of Christ as the Second Person of the Trinity, while leaving aside all the refinements introduced by later councils from Constantinople to Chalcedon. Depending on the literature we choose to consult, the *Henoticon* is variously called "a masterpiece of imperial diplomacy", "a purely political document that dispensed with dogmatic fidelity to principle", "a fine piece of caesaro-papism", or "a plea for reunion on a basis of reticence and compromise".⁶

Regardless of its inadequacy in the long term, the immediate practical result of the *Henoticon* was that not only Acacius himself but also the incumbents of the ancient patriarchal sees of Alexandria and Antioch subscribed to it, thereby restoring a semblance of ecclesiastical unity to the Empire. Until the opportunity for consensus offered by the *Henoticon*, these metropolitan bishops had dissented from the version of Orthodoxy promulgated since the Council of Chalcedon in 451, earning themselves the heretical label of Monophysites, whereas after 482 they could worship God and ponder theological issues more freely.⁷

⁴ Schwartz 1934, 171-262.

⁵ Gray 1979, 28-29; G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth: consequences of monotheism in late antiquity*, Princeton 1993, 106-109; R. Lim, *Christian Triumph and Controversy*, in Bowersock 1999, 207.

⁶ Allen 2000, 817; Caspar 1933, 22 n. 5; Frend 1976, 72; *NCE*, s.v. Acacius Patriarch of Constantinople.

⁷ Chadwick 1967, 205-208; G. Fowden, *Religious Communities*, in Bowersock 1999, 93-94; Allen 2000, 818-820.

Zeno's achievement in bringing the three great sees of the East and their ancillary churches back into communion with one another might have seemed laudable in some circles, but for Rome and its Latin-speaking constituency in the West, the expedients involved were wholly objectionable. By passing over the Council of Chalcedon, Zeno and Acacius had effectively dismissed Pope Leo's definition of Christ as one person in two natures, divine and human, as expressed in the famous *Tomus* read into the council's proceedings and incorporated into its final, emphatically Dyophysite statement of faith. That the bishops who gathered at Chalcedon believed this formulation owed its validity more to the theological thought of Cyril of Alexandria than to the doctrinal leadership of Pope Leo was conveniently overlooked by Westerners.⁸ Latin-speakers at the time, as well as those later on, Ennodius among them, viewed Leo's role in the council as proof that they could make a significant contribution to the articulation of theological issues, an activity that had long been the province of Hellenophones.⁹

Rome's objections did not spring simply from a difference of opinion on an abstract point of theology. The fact that the Bishop of Constantinople had resumed communion with bishops of dubious doctrine who had moreover obtained their sees in circumstances that usually involved the removal of predecessors holding divergent theological views and violent behaviour by some members of their flocks did not meet with Papal approval either.¹⁰ It appears, however, that Acacius' gravest offence in Roman eyes was in not keeping the Pope informed of ecclesiastical developments in the (now-Byzantine) Empire and obtaining Rome's guidance regarding any and all matters that might be considered problematic.¹¹ Though Pope Simplicius was made aware of the *Henoticon* and its omissions in 482, he died in 483. It was his successor Felix III who learned from other sources that Acacius had renewed communion with the anti-Chalcedonian Peter Mongus of Alexandria and who in 484 took the step of convoking a provincial council that issued a letter excommunicating the bishop of the Imperial capital.¹² Zeno's and Acacius' names were accordingly removed from the diptychs at Rome, the tablets that listed those for whom prayers were offered during the liturgy. Acacius, not surprisingly, reciprocated by striking the bishop of Rome's name from the diptychs of the Church of Constantinople.

The schism thus officially began during the pontificate of Felix and would not easily subside, thanks in large part to the ideological contribution of Gelasius, the deacon whose skill in letter-writing underpinned Felix' assertion of Roman rights vis-à-vis unauthorised activity in Constantinople, exemplified by the *tomus de anathematis vinculo* of 484, and who became Pope upon the death of Felix in February 492.¹³ Gelasius' most famous achievement was to articulate the doctrine of the two powers, secular and ecclesiastical, each supreme in its own sphere but subordinate to the other outside it, with the power of the Church ultimately supreme, for the instruction of Anastasius, who had succeeded Zeno as Emperor in 491.¹⁴ This doctrine,

⁸ Gray 1979, 9-16.

⁹ Herrin 1987, 102-103.

¹⁰ Schwartz 1934, 4-19, 33-49.

¹¹ Caspar 1933, 16-24.

¹² Caspar 1933, 28-33.

¹³ Schwartz 1934, 7-15, 19-24; Caspar 1933, 33-81; Ertl 1938, 61-66.

¹⁴ Schwartz 1934, 106-111; Chadwick 1967, 245; Wirbelauer 1993, 47-49.

which would have wide currency in the West well beyond the Reformation of the sixteenth century, found little resonance in Eastern lands, where the traditional inseparability of religious and political life would survive into the twentieth century. Gelasius' preference for phrases using the verbs 'teach' (*docere*) and 'learn' (*discere*), whereby the Bishop of Rome was understood to be imparting instruction and the Emperor receiving it, for saying that it was God's will that the Emperor submit to Rome's authority in religious matters, and for identifying Peter the Apostle as the unique source of Catholic truth and ecclesiastical unity enabled him to state the Roman Church's position with trenchant confidence, at the same time ensuring resistance by emperors and churchmen less concerned about Chalcedon.¹⁵

For Latin-speaking Catholics, the West's rupture with a bishop "branded by Pope Felix as one who had sinned against the Holy Ghost and apostolic authority" was fully justified.¹⁶ Orthodox churchmen who adhered to the teachings of Chalcedon also deplored the situation and desired its end, appealing to the Bishop of Rome for vindication; deposed pro-Chalcedonian bishops and the Sleepless Monks of Constantinople were among Rome's most sedulous informants, in the absence of permanent Papal representatives in the capital and other major cities, concerning the perceived misdeeds of emperors and bishops.¹⁷ Other Easterners, who were not so persuaded that the formulations of Chalcedon had accurately and completely settled the question of the nature of Jesus Christ, thought Rome's stance an overreaction to a purely internal measure designed to bring a modicum of tranquillity to the far-flung and polyglot communities of the Empire.¹⁸

To understand why Eastern and Western Christians had such differing perceptions of the split that separated Rome from Constantinople, we need to take account of two of the basic assumptions that underlay their thinking: the apostolic pre-eminence unilaterally claimed by the bishops of Rome over all other sees in the Church, and the role of the emperor in relation to the Church, which was as much a result of simple physical proximity as of deliberate ideological policy. Ennodius' writings for Pope Symmachus and Pope Hormisdas and his missions to the Imperial court express the working-out of these assumptions.

The Western Conception of Apostolicity

The Roman conception of apostolicity and the rights and privileges consequent upon it was constructed with materials from several sources. The famous Gospel verse, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church" (*Matth.* 16, 18-19), was of course the starting point, but early Fathers of the Church from Irenaeus and Ignatius to Clement and Origen also made reference to the apostolic foundation of the see of Rome.¹⁹ It was Irenaeus of Lyon who named Peter and Paul as the founders of the Church of Rome, but distinguished them from Linus, whom he called the first bishop;

¹⁵ Ertl 1938, 63-64.

¹⁶ *NCE*, s.v. Acacius Patriarch of Constantinople.

¹⁷ Gray 1979, 30-44; Herrin 1987, 104-105.

¹⁸ Dvornik 1958, 109-119; Frend 1976, 74-78.

¹⁹ V. Kesich, Peter's Primacy in the New Testament and the Early Tradition. *The Primacy of Peter: Essays in Ecclesiology and the Early Church*. J. Meyendorff (ed.), Crestwood NY 1992, 5-66.

this distinction between founders and bishops was maintained by Tertullian and Eusebius.²⁰ Latin Christians venerated the relics of St. Peter, and Western sees tended to appeal to Roman authority to settle local quarrels.²¹ Since Rome was the only see in the western territories of the Empire that had an indisputable claim to having been founded by the leader of the Apostles, it enjoyed prestige far above the other churches of the Latin West, whose apostolic origin was second-hand at best.²² That the eminence of the city of Rome had ever been connected with its unique political status as the capital of the Empire, at least until the inauguration of Constantinople as the New Rome in 330 was not generally acknowledged by its incumbents, who began not long after to emphasize Rome's Christian re-foundation by Peter and Paul.²³ Once the Latin- and Greek-speaking halves of the Empire began to go their separate ways in 395 and the Western court moved to the more defensible Ravenna in 402, the development of an independent Christian ideology for Rome proceeded apace, so that by the pontificate of Leo the Great (440-461), the Pope had become accustomed to expect, and usually received, Imperial assistance to implement his teachings.²⁴ Local Western synods might be convoked to resolve local disciplinary issues, but any disgruntled prelate could always appeal directly to the Bishop of Rome, whose decision on all matters was authoritative and binding without requiring confirmation by a council.²⁵ Such was the environment from which Ennodius' thinking arose.

Authority among the Sees of the East

This Western ideology, centred on the persons of Peter and Paul, was to clash with the rather different Eastern attitude toward apostolicity and its relevance to the hierarchy of ecclesiastical governance. Rome's apostolic foundation may have endowed the see with a uniquely authentic authority in the eyes of Latin-speaking Christians, but the sees of the East did not find such authority so distinctive. Apostolicity was only one of the factors that determined a city's place in a Christian empire. Alexandria and Antioch could claim apostolic origin for their churches from their earliest beginnings, but they were at the same time the eastern Empire's most important cities, administratively and economically, so that it was seen as only natural that their ecclesiastical status as metropolitan bishoprics and, eventually, patriarchates should correspond with their political role.²⁶ Below the metropolitan level, other eastern cities could at least say that one Apostle or another had visited them, even if he did not bequeath them the relics of his martyrdom; the fact that cities of second- or third-rate administrative importance nonetheless had bishops who were entitled and expected to participate in the councils of the Church mattered more than appeals to apostolic prestige. The city of Jerusalem,

²⁰ Dvornik 1958, 40-43.

²¹ Mathisen 1989, 44-68, 141-172.

²² Dvornik 1958, 43-47.

²³ Jones 1964, 84.

²⁴ H.M. Klinkenberg, Papsttum und Reichskirche bei Leo dem Großen, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonische Abteilung* 38 (1952), 44-47; Jones 1964, 211-212; C. Pietri, *Roma Christiana: recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III*, 1-2, Rome 1976, 503-514 et passim.

²⁵ Mathisen 1989, 45-48.

²⁶ Dvornik 1958, 4-18.

though hallowed by its associations, remained less notable politically and thus managed to acquire patriarchal status only in the 440s as a result of the rivalry between Alexandria and Antioch.²⁷

In 325, the Council of Nicaea established certain rules for the governance of the Church as a whole. Among them was canon 6, which confirmed the principle that administrative and religious importance went hand in hand, so that Alexandria and Antioch had their own spheres of authority in Egypt and Syria, just as Rome had jurisdiction over the dioceses of Italy and Illyricum; Constantinople was not mentioned at all because it did not properly exist yet, and the old see of Heraclea retained metropolitan authority.²⁸ Not until the Council of Constantinople in 381 was the new capital's ecclesiastical and political status in the eastern half of the Empire clearly articulated, in canon 3, as second in honour only to Rome; at this time Rome made no protest. That the churches of the Old and the New Rome were to share equal honours, each see having authority in its own respective territory, were restated in canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon, which placed the provinces of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace under Constantinopolitan jurisdiction and to which the Roman legates strongly but vainly objected.²⁹ The Imperial representatives who were charged with ensuring that Leo's Christological teaching was adopted by the participants at Chalcedon found it simply incomprehensible that the bishop of the Old Rome, spiritual leader of the Latin West, could at the same council begrudge the bishop of the New Rome an authority commensurate with his own in the territories of the Greek, Syriac, and Coptic East; more than seven and a half centuries would pass before Latin churchmen recognised canon 28 of Chalcedon, in 1215 when one of their own held the see of Constantinople thanks to the Fourth Crusade.³⁰ In the same way, the Bishop of Constantinople's use of the title of 'Ecumenical Patriarch' from the 480s onward was a further irritant to Romans who did not appreciate that the *oikoumene* was functionally equivalent to the Empire and the nomenclature thus reflected the status of the metropolitan bishop of the Empire's capital.³¹

Divergent Traditions of Political and Religious Leadership

The emperor had occupied an exalted place in the affairs of the Church since the reign of Constantine the Great, particularly in regard to the convoking and regulating of councils of bishops within the Empire. Beginning with the Council of Nicaea in 325, the seven councils called 'ecumenical' by the Orthodox Church and therefore binding for its doctrine and organisation were all called by emperors as well as populated by representatively large numbers of bishops from a wide geographical area; no bishop of Rome was personally present until the Second Council of Constantinople in 553, when the emperor Justinian prevailed upon Pope Vigilius to attend. By virtue of the concern for establishing correct and unified doctrine he manifested by calling the

²⁷ Dvornik 1958, 48.

²⁸ Chadwick 1967, 131-132; H. Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Sardica*, Oxford 2002, 82-85.

²⁹ Dvornik 1964, 37-50.

³⁰ Anastos 2001, 11-17.

³¹ Caspar 1933, 16, 747; Anastos 2001, 25-26.

bishops of the Empire together at Nicaea, Constantine claimed quasi-episcopal status for himself, while his construction of the Church of the Holy Apostles in the new capital corroborated his virtual equality with the Twelve Apostles, so that he became the model for many sainted rulers who followed, in the West as well as the East.³² Nor were the personalities of New Testament times the only examples for sovereigns who aspired to lead in the religious as well as the political sphere. With the growing awareness that Christianity was not going to sweep away existing governmental structures, Old Testament rulers such as Melchisedech, David and Solomon became favoured images for monarchs to identify with, images that were incorporated into the intellectual fabric of Romano-Byzantine society. For understanding how the late Roman-early Byzantine Empire functioned on its own terms, the tendentious Western label of 'Caesaropapism' is neither helpful to us nor would it have been comprehensible to individuals living during eras politically so characterised; emperors were expected to take an interest in theological matters as well as military and political affairs.³³ That rulers participated to some extent in the religious life of the lands they controlled was taken for granted until fairly recently, with the only real difference between Eastern and Western Christendom the unique spiritual authority claimed by the bishops of Rome beginning with Gelasius. Because emperors ceased to figure in the everyday life of the Latin Church after the middle of the fifth century, the Roman model of religious organisation developed to a large extent independently of civil power; secular rulers could still be called upon to do their duty vis-à-vis the Church, but bishops and abbots had the moral upper hand when it came to telling monarchs what they should believe.

In contrast, coordination of religious and political authority was essential to perform binding acts of consensus in the Byzantine empire, where matters of ecclesiastical moment were determined by emperor-convoked councils of bishops rather than a single supreme pontiff issuing unilateral decrees. The authority of the Popes in Italy was such that synods of suburbicarian bishops could approve doctrinal and disciplinary statements from their pen without demur, but that same authority required Imperial assistance to prevail at Eastern episcopal gatherings, as witness the proceedings at Chalcedon.³⁴ Pope Leo's *Tomus* would not have been upheld without the leadership of the Empress Pulcheria, with whom he had corresponded at length.³⁵ When it came to recognising the status of the see of Constantinople over the other sees of the East, the fact of Imperial residence carried more weight than the remonstrances of the Successor of Peter in distant Rome. Had the Imperial court continued to reside there instead of Constantinople, it is difficult to believe that Gelasius' formulations of Papal authority and Church-State relations could have developed in so distinctively assertive a fashion. For the Ostrogothic Arian Theoderic to rule Catholic Italy, it was both desirable and necessary for him to maintain respectfully cordial relations with the Bishop of Rome. The king did not intervene in ecclesiastical matters unless they presented a threat to civil order, and his own doctrinal preferences favoured a policy of

³² T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge MA 1981, 214-219; Dagron 1996, 146-154.

³³ Dagron 1996, 290-322.

³⁴ M. Wojtowysch, *Papsttum und Konzile von den Anfängen bis zu Leo I (440-461)*, Stuttgart 1981, 333-348.

³⁵ K.G. Holum, *Theodosian Emperresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1982, 209-216.



Fig. 13. A golden tremissis of Anastasius I (491-518).

tolerance.³⁶ In the East, the emperor Anastasius (Fig. 13) found himself in a slightly different position. His election solidly legitimated by marriage to the widow of his predecessor Zeno, he proved an administratively sound and fiscally responsible ruler, but his own Monophysite-friendly theological stance remained a source of weakness throughout his reign, serving as a pretext for revolts in the name of Chalcedonian orthodoxy.³⁷ His main priority was to maintain peace and prosperity, so that he found enforcing submission to Roman doctrinal policy a poor way to cultivate good relations with the leaders of the Empire's diverse Christian communities.

Ennodius and the Bishops of Rome

Such is the situation into which Ennodius and his Italian colleagues were thrust in 515. How did his own personal views fit into the conflict? While the utterances in his writings suggest that his attitude towards Easterners was conditioned largely by particular rhetorical situations, so that pejorative stereotypes occur in speeches by Ligurian aristocrats and the *Panegyric* of Theoderic, Ennodius himself was a professed admirer of Greek learning and culture and can consequently not be classed as a xenophobic Latin-speaker.³⁸ Likewise, his basic attitude toward rulers fits comfortably into the Romano-Byzantine tradition, for in one poem he endows Theoderic with the attributes of victory, while in the *Panegyric* he describes the king in terms that could just as easily be applied to an emperor, praising him as "a prince in vigour, vigilance, and good fortune, a priest in mildness".³⁹

At the same time, Ennodius' writing in defence of Pope Symmachus, in consequence of the schism that arose from the rival elections of the deacon Symmachus and the priest Laurentius to the see of Rome in 498, shows him closely following the path Gelasius had already trodden in asserting the unique authority of the Bishop of Rome.⁴⁰ The *Libellus pro Synodo* was composed in 503 to combat a pro-

³⁶ Moorhead 1992, 54-60; T.F.X. Noble, Theoderic and the Papacy, *Teoderico il Grande e i Goti d'Italia* 1-2. *Atti del XII congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, Milano 2. - 6. Novembre 1992, Spoleto 1992, 399-404.

³⁷ Lee 2000, 52-59.

³⁸ Kennell 2000, 206-208.

³⁹ Moorhead 1992, 46-47; Kennell 2000, 113-115, 123-124; Dagron 1996, 314; Ennod. *opusc.* 1,80 (Vogel 213,4-5): *exhibet robore vigilantia prosperitate principem, mansuetudine sacerdotem*.

⁴⁰ Wirbelauer 1993, 9-37, 148-154. Cf. *Lib. pontif.* 53,1-5 (Mommson 120,8-122,19).

Laurentian pamphlet impugning the proceedings of an Italian synod, summoned by Theoderic, whose participants had determined that they were unqualified to sit in judgement on the Pope. After defending the conduct of the synod and the king at length, as well as casting aspersions on Symmachus' senatorial accusers, Ennodius affirms that the Successor of Peter is above every law regulating bishops in general because he is the divinely-ordained lawgiver for and head of the entire Church; accordingly, only God can judge him.⁴¹ The patriarch-emperor dynamic that would have operated in the East is wholly absent here, as the heterodox king is credited for his restraint and propriety in understanding that his role was simply to preserve order and give aid to the legitimate Pope.

The early stages of Ennodius' contribution to the See of Rome's foreign policy, as we may term it, are visible in a late prose composition, the *in Christi nomine*, which has many points in common with a letter Pope Symmachus wrote to Eastern churchmen dated 8 October 512, which begins "No one should be surprised that we have now broken the silence maintained up to the present, since those words of the most prudent Solomon give the keynote: 'there is a time for speaking and a time for keeping silent'."⁴² The Symmachan letter, true to its genre and official character, contains a larger number of Scriptural quotations and historical references and maintains a more conversational tone. Ennodius, on the other hand, prefers a more oratorical stance for his exhortation to bishops of suspect doctrine; assuming the Papal persona, he uses the first person plural throughout his composition.⁴³

Ennodius' address opens with the speaker encouraged by "the weight of obedience" proffered by others "to raise up those doing good" and subdue evildoers.⁴⁴ Characterising Nestorius and Eutyches, long condemned as heretics, as "twin prodigies of a diabolical conception," Ennodius leads his audience through a landscape of aberrant Christological teachings whose most prominent promulgators are the Alexandrian bishops Dioscorus, Petrus Mongus and Timotheus Aelurus, and where orthodoxy is upheld by Flavianus of Constantinople and Proterius of Alexandria, the latter lynched by a mob supporting Aelurus.⁴⁵ Confronted with so horrific a consequence of error, the "brothers" being addressed are therefore expected to "hold to the fathers' judgement abiding on high and sticking close to blessed Peter" because the speaker desires "the unity of a pure Church"; the collegiality implicit in "brothers" is then swept away as the speaker proclaims his inability to tolerate "those belching empty blasphemies" and invokes surgical remedies for the gangrenous heresies besetting the Church.⁴⁶ Ennodius

⁴¹ Ennod. *opusc.* 2 (Vogel 61,30-62,7); S.A.H. Kennell, *Style and Substance in the Libellus pro Synodo. Atti della prima Giornata Ennodiana, Pavia, 29-30 marzo 2000*. Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Pavia 94. F. Gasti (ed.), Pisa 2001, 63-65.

⁴² Ennod. *dict.* 6 (Vogel 322-323); the Symmachan text is reproduced on 322 in the note to line 15: *nullus stupeat servatum hactenus nos nunc solvisse silentium, cum prudentissimi Solomonis ista vox personet 'tempus loquendi et tempus tacendi'.*

⁴³ Kennell 2000, 202-206.

⁴⁴ Ennod. *dict.* 6,2 (Vogel 322,19-20): *nos praecipue, quos praelati ceteris hortatur pondus obsequii, decet aut bona facientes elevare aut mala comprimere.*

⁴⁵ Ennod. *dict.* 6,3 (Vogel 322,23-24): *Nestorius et Eutyches, gemina diabolicae informationis ostenta.*

⁴⁶ Ennod. *dict.* 6,6 (Vogel 323,10-15): *proinde, fratres, manentem in superis patrum et adhaerentem beato Petro tenete sententiam, quia nos munda ecclesiae et non habentis maculam optamus unitatem. patienter ferre non possumus vana in Christum nostrum et blasfema ructantes. scimus, quia qui in putribus membris non utitur ferri medicina, serpentibus morbis praestat obsequia; nam nisi secentur tabefacta, contaminant.*

reserves his strongest censure for Acacius, who began his episcopal career defending the doctrine of Chalcedon against the usurper Basiliscus, then sank into perfidy, without explicitly stating that his crime was to collaborate with Zeno on the *Henoticon*. Deploring the deposition of a more recent bishop of Constantinople who had refused to hand over the original *acta* of Chalcedon in August 511, the address ends on an implacable note, by observing that “those who do not submit to the remedies that have been offered” deserved to lack consolation in their hour of need.⁴⁷ While the comparable passage in the letter attributed to Pope Symmachus refers directly to “those who believed the admonition of the Apostolic See was to be disregarded,” the fundamental similarity of these texts is unmistakable.⁴⁸ Any tendency to remonstrate or persuade has been ruthlessly suppressed; it is merely a matter of right, as defined and taught by the Successors of Peter, and wrong, as represented by all who fail to assent to that teaching without question.

The Mission of 515

When Pope Hormisdas entrusted Ennodius and his colleagues with their letters of instruction and supporting documents in August 515,⁴⁹ correspondence had been going back and forth between Rome and Constantinople for some time. On 12 January of that year, Anastasius sent a letter to Hormisdas that opens with an allusion to Ecclesiastes (*Ecccl.* 3,7) clearly meant to echo the opening phrase of Symmachus’ 512 letter cited above. He explains why he had not written sooner: “before this, for the harshness of those to whom the concern for the episcopate that you now hold had been entrusted was making us refrain from sending letters; now, however, sweet sentiment running from you has led us to remember the goodness of fatherly affection, so that we ask those things which God and our Saviour taught the holy Apostles with divine speech, most of all the blessed Peter, in whom he established the strength of his Church”.⁵⁰ The Emperor then mentions that he has called a council to deal with the problems of the churches of the East, exhorting “your Apostolate to make itself a mediator, so that when controversies have been eradicated unity is restored to the holy Church,” and concludes with the hope that all will come out right if the Pope remembers him with prayers and letters.⁵¹ The letter was not received until 28 March. A week after that, Hormisdas replied, expressing his thanks that God’s “heavenly virtue” has deigned to end the silence and dwelling on the significance of peace as

⁴⁷ Kennell 2000, 205; Ennod. *dict.* 6,9 (Vogel 323,28-29): *qui enim oblatis remediis non oboedunt, merito nihil consolationis tempore quo premuntur habuerunt.*

⁴⁸ Vogel 1885, 323, note to line 27: *nam qui apostolicae sedis admonitionem neglegendam esse crediderunt, merito inciderunt in ea, quae evenire solent solatio destitutis.*

⁴⁹ Kennell 2000, 216-218.

⁵⁰ Coll. Avell. 107,1-2: *Beatitudini vestrae non putamus ignotum, quod pro temporis qualitate loquendum et tacendum etiam divinae scripturae provida est ammonitione dispositum. ... ante hoc siquidem duritia eorum, quibus episcopatus, quem nunc geritis, erat sollicitudo commissa, temperare nos a transmittendis faciebat epistolis; nunc autem currens de nobis suavis opinio ad memoriam nostram bonitatem paternae affectionis adduxit, ut illa requiramus, quae deus et salvator noster sanctos apostolos divino sermone docuit ac maxime beatum Petrum, in quo fortitudinem ecclesiae suae constituit.*

⁵¹ Coll. Avell. 107,3: *hortamur ut ... mediatorem se apostolatus vester faciat, ut contentionibus amputatis unitas sanctae restituatur ecclesiae.*

“the mother of all good things” according to the Gospel of John (14,27).⁵² Only in the last quarter of his letter does the Pope refer, without notable enthusiasm, to the Emperor’s intention to summon a council.

Unfortunately, Anastasius had sent another letter two weeks earlier (28 December 514) about the council intended to settle “certain doubts about the Orthodox religion”, that did not arrive in Rome until 14 May.⁵³ Stressing his awareness of the preeminent importance of religious matters, since he entrusts the well-being of the State to God, the Emperor informs the Pope that a synod will take place in Heraclea in July to reach a consensus concerning the true faith, “so that thereafter there can be no doubt or discord”, and invites Hormisdas to attend with whatever doctrinally knowledgeable bishops he may choose.⁵⁴ Hormisdas replied to this overture on 8 July 515, commending Anastasius’ zeal and saying that he would pray for the restoration of concord; when it comes to the planned synod, however, he says that he will entrust his “brothers and fellow-bishops” with confidential information about what must be done at the gathering so that Anastasius “can be more suitably apprised of everything”.⁵⁵

Just over a month later, on 11 August 515, Ennodius and his colleagues – a bishop named Fortunatus, the priest Venantius, a deacon named Vitalis, and Hilarus, a notary – received their instructions for the mission to Constantinople.⁵⁶ Attending the synod that Anastasius had called for July was never in consideration; Hormisdas had other plans. The documents with which the papal legates were equipped were four in number: a letter to the Emperor himself, an arrestingly detailed series of directions on how to proceed from the moment they arrived on Greek soil (the so-called *Indiculus*), an outline of the points on which they had to insist (*capitula singularum causarum*), and a statement (*libellus*) that anathematized all the foes of Chalcedon and confirmed the validity of the doctrinal letters of Pope Leo.

The letter Hormisdas wrote for the legates to present to Anastasius focuses on the upcoming synod announced by the Emperor. Anastasius’ good intentions, the Pope tells him, are supposed “to seek out the venerable teachers of the Church”, for the splendour of good will “chooses either to be confirmed or to be corrected by the Apostolic and immaculate faith and by suitable preachers”.⁵⁷ In other words, if the Emperor intends what the Pope thinks he should, he will accept all the instruction given him. Hence, the next part of the message comprises Hormisdas’ review of the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, who denied that Jesus Christ the son of Mary has both divine and human natures, and affirmation of the orthodox doctrine that “in one and the same

⁵² Coll. Avell. 108,1: *Gratias supernae uirtuti, quae per uestrae pietatis affatus diuturnum dignata est terminare silentium ...*; 3: *pax est enim totius bonitatis initium, qua nihil, quantum ad catholicae fidei cultum, ualidius, nihil aestimari oportet excelsius ... hanc omnium bonorum matrem et nutricem Christum dominum nostrum his constat praedicasse discipulis dicentem: pacem meam do uobis, pacem relinquo uobis.*

⁵³ Coll. Avell. 109,2: *dubitaciones quaedam de orthodoxa religione.*

⁵⁴ Coll. Avell. 109,2: *ut deinceps nulla possit esse dubitatio uel discordia.*

⁵⁵ Coll. Avell. 110,2: *de his uero, quae pro synodali congregatione praecepistis, quid fieri oporteat, per fratres et coepiscopos meos, qui propere subsequuntur, gloriae uestrae insinuanda mandaui, quorum suggestionem, si diuinus fauor mea vota prosequitur, competentiùs poteritis uniuersa cognoscere.*

⁵⁶ Coll. Avell. 115, 116, 116a, 116b.

⁵⁷ Coll. Avell. 115,3: *ergo quia mansuetudo uestra futuram synodum scriptis sacratissimis indicauit ... gaudemus scientes, quoniam directarum mentium est uenerabilis ecclesiae magistros expetere; soli enim declinant examen conscientiae, quae iusta sunt, non tenentes, nam et feriato ore splendorem bonae uoluntatis enuntiat, qui per apostolicam immaculatamque fidem et per competentes praedicatores aut confirmari se optat aut corrigi.*

person each nature abides".⁵⁸ Appealing to Anastasius' learning and to the examples of his right-thinking predecessors Marcian and Leo, the Pope expresses his hope that the Emperor will take instruction, with the result that Dioscorus, Eutyches, Timotheus and Petrus Mongus are never again commemorated in the Church's prayers, the definitions of Chalcedon and the doctrinal letters of Pope Leo are upheld, and Acacius is relegated to the shadows.

Blandly assuring Anastasius that all will be well with the Empire, Hormisdas' letter assumes that he will meekly acquiesce. The next item, the *Indiculus*, thus contains the particulars of that anticipated assent, right down to the exact words and gestures the legates were supposed to use in their meeting with the Emperor. Among Hormisdas' assumptions is that Anastasius himself would accept and read the doctrinal *libellus* before the encounter proceeded further; given that diplomatic documents were normally screened by the *magister officiorum* prior to imperial audiences, this would have been highly unusual.⁵⁹ He also anticipated that the Emperor might ask for the letters the Pope sent to the usurper Vitalian, in which case the legates were supposed to reply, "our father the holy Pope has not told us this, nor can we do anything without his command", though the Emperor could delegate someone to whom the letters might be read aloud.⁶⁰ Hormisdas' scenario, whose only *dramatis personae* are the Emperor and the Papal legates, for all courtiers are mysteriously absent, supposed that a blend of instruction, exhortation, and tearful prayer would suffice to bring a piously receptive Emperor into the Roman sheepfold, ready to condemn every heretic the Pope chose to designate. Invoking St. Peter as the symbol of the Apostolic See's monopoly on universal truth, the *libellus* records what Hormisdas condemns and anathematizes – Nestorius, noted as having been condemned at the first Council of Ephesus by Pope Celestine (by means of a letter) and Cyril of Alexandria, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Timotheus Aelurus, Petrus Mongus, Acacius and Peter of Antioch – and what he acknowledges and approves of, namely "all the letters of blessed Pope Leo which he wrote about the Christian religion".⁶¹ The positions outlined in the *capitula* differ only on two points: they begin by asserting the indispensability of "the holy synod of Chalcedon and the letters of the holy Pope Leo", which Anastasius was to direct the bishops of the Empire to accept and promulgate; subsequently, they require that all the bishops who were exiled for doctrinal reasons be investigated by the Apostolic See and proven Catholics be restored to their sees.⁶²

These documents, which Ennodius was to present and Anastasius to read and accept, represent a tidy summary of the Roman position. Their emphasis on the teachings of Papal letters in preference to the canons of ecumenical councils would have galled Eastern sensibilities, while their condescendingly pastoral tone shows total incomprehension of the fact that Anastasius would not have thought himself

⁵⁸ Coll. Avell. 115,7: *ita enim in una eademque persona persistit utraque natura.*

⁵⁹ A. Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411-533*, Cambridge 2003, 222-230, discussing Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' *De ceremoniis*; cf. 244-249.

⁶⁰ Coll. Avell. 116,8: *sic respondendum est, 'non hoc nobis pater uester sanctus papa praecepit nec sine iussione ipsius aliquid possumus facere; tamen ut sciatis simplicitatem litterarum ... iungite nobiscum personam, qua praesente traditae a nobis litterae relegantur'.*

⁶¹ Coll. Avell. 116b,4: *suscipimus et probamus epistolas beati Leonis papae uniuersas, quas de Christiana religione conscripsit.*

⁶² Coll. Avell. 116a,1: *consentientes etiam episcopi in ecclesia praesente plebe Christiana haec praedicare debent: amplecti se sanctam synodum Calcedonensem et epistolas sanctissimi papae Leonis.*

merely another sheep in the Successor of Peter's fold, but rather, in the Imperial tradition of Constantine the Great, just as much a shepherd as the bishops of his Empire, with a flock far larger and more diverse.

Reactions at Constantinople and Rome

Though the legates were obliged to remain in Constantinople until the winter of 516, which did not make their journey home any easier, all discussion was for practical purposes over before it could begin owing to the nature of the documents they had brought.⁶³ The hard-line Roman stance could not fail to be rejected by the Emperor and any ecclesiastics who had not already appealed to Rome for support because of their own attachment to the definitions of Chalcedon. The letter Anastasius gave to Ennodius and his colleagues to carry back to their master in Rome showed how far he was willing to go. Commending the Papal legates for their exposition of the Christian faith and the unity of the Church as confirmed by 'apostolic teachings', he affirms the Incarnation and the two natures of Jesus Christ as well as anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches.⁶⁴ The Emperor wonders, however, why Hormisdas "wanted to write some things about the most blessed fathers who met at Chalcedon", because they anathematized all novelties, including those of Nestorius and Eutyches, and affirmed the faith of Nicaea, while he himself wrote to the Alexandrians several times about their problems with Chalcedon and Leo.⁶⁵ The name of Acacius is not mentioned, nor is the Pope reminded that the fathers of Chalcedon regarded the contributions of Cyril of Alexandria to Eastern Christological thought more normative than those of Leo of Rome. Maintaining that he has done everything in his power to remove the ban of anathema and restore unity to the Church, Anastasius asks Hormisdas to consider the implications of what he has commanded, for "casting out living men on account of dead ones" will result in "much outpouring of human blood", as the legates will explain.⁶⁶

The Emperor's letter ends with a request for prayers and a reminder of Christ's mandate of peace, but after Ennodius and his companions had returned to Italy, more letters were sent by both sides with minimal results. On 10 July 516, Anastasius dispatched a brief, hopeful missive to Hormisdas about diplomatic contacts that was delivered personally by Theopompus and Severianus, trusted court officials deputed to provide additional information.⁶⁷ To this overture Hormisdas replied at greater length in the

⁶³ Schwartz 1934, 251-253.

⁶⁴ Coll. Avell. 125,1: *Gratias omnipotenti deo referimus, quod sanctitas uestra disciplinis caelestibus instituta, sicut poposcimus, legatos fidei Ennodium et Fortunatum ... destinavit, ... et ipsi sicut decuit declararunt et a nobis sicut oportuit agnouerunt, quia una est ecclesia dei apostolicis ubique firmata doctrinis; 5: cum omnibus etiam orthodoxis impiissimos Nestorium atque Eutychetem uitamus pariter et horremus eorum condemnantes et anathematizantes et personas et dogmata.*

⁶⁵ Coll. Avell. 125,7: *miramur autem, quam ob rem de beatissimis patribus, qui in Chalcedona conuenerunt, aliqua nobis scribere uoluistis ... maxime cum ipsa synodus dixerit anathema esse debere, quicumque aliam fidem, quam apud Nicaeam ... patres constituerunt; 8: attestantur nobis etiam diuinae litterae ad Alexandriam non semel sed multotiens destinatae*

⁶⁶ Coll. Avell. 125,11: *perpendite, quia grave esse clementia nostra iudicat de ecclesia uenerabili propter mortuos uiuos expelli nec sine multa effusione humani sanguinis scimus posse ea, quae super hoc scribitis, ordinari; 12: per omnia tamen uoluntatis nostrae puritatem legatorum uestrorum poteritis narratione cognoscere.*

⁶⁷ Coll. Avell. 111.

autumn, with an abundance of Scriptural allusions. He implies that the Emperor was not proceeding quickly enough to heal the Church's ills and urges him to "shun the slippery spots of deviance, keep your footsteps firm on the rock with us"; while acknowledging his correspondent's "mildness", the Pope demands that he "cut off the incurable parts" and treat the sick ones.⁶⁸ Hormisdas' reply dismisses a request Anastasius made to the Roman Senate in a letter he wrote 28 July, that they should persuade him to take a more peaceable stance; the letter from the Emperor he mentions had in fact asked both the senators and their bishop not to listen to "plausible talk from runaway clergy, composed only of mendacity", but instead to heed the Emperor's own legates in the interest of peace.⁶⁹ The Senate composed their own reply to Anastasius which was sent together with the Pope's letter; saying that they had been instructed by King Theoderic to follow their bishop's commands, the senators explicitly echo Hormisdas' sentiments as they tell the Emperor that cutting off the body part that causes offence is better than burning in eternal torment, though the peace of God and the virtue of charity are worthy in their fashion.⁷⁰

The Mission of 517

With the persistence of both Rome's enthusiasm for spilling the blood of far-away heretics and the Constantinopolitan preference for a more peaceable laissez-faire religious policy in the cities of the Empire, the arrival of 517 not surprisingly found the situation unchanged. Hormisdas nonetheless wanted to signal his continuing concern and involvement in Eastern ecclesiastical affairs, so in April of that year he dispatched Ennodius and another bishop named Peregrinus to the Imperial capital with a bundle of letters that stated the Apostolic See's position on various doctrinal and disciplinary matters with categorical firmness. Six of these letters concerned the schism and were addressed to Anastasius, Timotheus of Constantinople, all the bishops of the East, and several other sets of orthodox bishops, clergy, monks and laymen in the city of Constantinople and throughout the East; the *Liber Pontificalis* claims that Ennodius and his companions carried nineteen letters in all.⁷¹

Substantive negotiations do not appear to have been envisioned in 517. The dossier from Rome includes nothing reminiscent of the *Indiculus* of 515 and the letter to the Emperor tells its addressee that condemning the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches is not enough: he must "hate even their followers and comrades", especially Acacius, who is held responsible for everything that is bad about the Church in the

⁶⁸ Coll. Avell. 112,3: *unde et fateor me fuisse miratum, cur tam diu legatio promissa tardaverit, cum facienda uis sit, ut regna caelestia rapiantur; 4: ergo uiae, cui coepistis, insistite et spretis errantium lubricis nobiscum supra petram solida tenete uestigia; 7: mansuetudinem uestram; 10: quae insanabilia uidetis, abscidite, et quae aegra, curate.*

⁶⁹ Coll. Avell. 113,3: *non uidetur absurdum ... almae urbis Romae patres conscriptos imperiali petitioni coniunctos ea sperare, quae et nobis et sibi deo annuente in commune proficiant, hoc est, ne fugitiuorum audiant concinnatos sermones et mendacio solo compositos sed satisfactione suscepta, quam et ueritas et legatorum qui directi sunt inquisitio patefecit, ad desideratam pacem acceptabili deo uoluntate concurrant; cf. Coll. Avell. 112, 9: uos senatui urbis Romae, ut me ad pacem hortaretur; iniungitis.*

⁷⁰ Coll. Avell. 114,2: *dum uox sit ista dominica: uae mundo ab scandalis, et abscidere oportere homines scandalizantem partem membrorum, quam ut in ignem non renuntiando scandalis mittantur aeternum; cf. Moorhead 1992, 196.*

⁷¹ Coll. Avell. 126, 128-132. Cf. *Lib. pontif.* 54,3 (Mommesen 127,1-5): *Idem secundo misit Ennodium ipsum et Peregrinum episcopum Mesenense portantes epistulas confortatorias fidei et contestationes secretas numero XVIII et textum libelli.*

East, excepting Alexandria.⁷² Although he quotes the Gospel of Matthew more than once, Hormisdas draws his strongest inspiration from the Old Testament as he invokes the examples of Moses' uplifted arm enabling the host of the Israelites to prevail against their foes (*exod.* 17,11) and King Hezekiah, the destroyer of numerous foci of idolatry, including images and groves (*IV reg.* 18,4), in his charge to Anastasius to smite the hard hearts of the unfaithful and the poisons of the Devil.⁷³ Thus does the Successor of Peter, who in the Gospels appears as all-too-fallible, urge the Emperor to accede to his "trustworthy admonitions" by hating both sins and sinners.⁷⁴

The Emperor's reply was composed 11 July 517. Anastasius reminds Hormisdas that Jesus Christ suffered and died for the sins of men, enabling them to learn the lessons of mercy, for which reason "we do not believe that we should think that those who have learned mercy should be thought unmerciful".⁷⁵ His oft-commended mildness exhausted by the Pope's unremitting demands for a response whose severity would devastate large tracts of the Empire, Anastasius declares an end to the diplomatic charades of a Pope devoid of persuasion, as he will not pray for persons "who are unwilling to be queried, for we can bear to be injured and nullified; we cannot be commanded".⁷⁶ He was not a sheep *comme les autres*.

Hormisdas' other letters of April 517 had the objective of enlisting and strengthening support among co-religionists of the pro-Chalcedonian party throughout the Empire.⁷⁷ The Pope tells the bishop of Constantinople what his responsibilities are, as also the bishops of the rest of the East, while he dispenses assurances of God's special consolation to orthodox bishops and exhorts them to stand firm.⁷⁸ The clergy, people and orthodox monks of the capital city receive particular injunctions about what they must do as upholders of Chalcedon and Leo's doctrinal letters, namely avoid contact with every sort of heretics, be they followers of Eutyches and Dioscorus or, still worse, Manichees, and remember how the people of Constantinople resisted "the shameless and monstrous presumption" of Basiliscus and Timotheus Aelurus.⁷⁹ Implicit in these letters is that Ennodius and his colleagues were to become involved in making effective contacts with groups of Orthodox who were reacting against Anastasius' policy of tolerance for limited heterodoxy; the *Liber Pontificalis* plainly states, "the legates of the Apostolic See quite secretly, by the hands of Orthodox monks, placed ... letters of faith throughout all the cities".⁸⁰ Such an activity would assuredly not have served further to endear the Papal legates to their Imperial hosts.

⁷² Coll. Avell. 126,5: *primus innocentiae gradus est odisse culpanda, sed ueritatis interest, domine fili, et catholicae disciplinae, ut sectatores etiam eorum atque participes oderitis, quorum exsecrandos principes iudicatis*; 7-8: *ne facile putet uestra clementia Acacii praetereundam esse personam ... ab illo per Orientales ecclesias fermentum nefandi erroris inoleuit*; 12: *sola ante Acacium Alexandria perfidiae suae foeditate sordebat*.

⁷³ Coll. Avell. 126,4 and 13.

⁷⁴ Coll. Avell. 126,16: *acquiescite, precamur, fidelibus monitis*.

⁷⁵ Coll. Avell. 138,2-4; 5: *nos autem non ea credimus ratione, ut immisericordes esse putemus, qui misericordiam didicerunt*.

⁷⁶ Coll. Avell. 138,5: *sed postulationem nosram a praesenti tempore taciturnitate comprimimus, inrationabile iudicantes illis precum adhibere bonitatem, qui rogari se nolint contumaciter respuentes. iniuriari enim et adnullari sustinere possumus, iuberi non possumus*. See Kennell 2000, 219.

⁷⁷ Schwartz 1934, 254-255.

⁷⁸ Coll. Avell. 128-130.

⁷⁹ Coll. Avell. 132,2-4; 3: *recolite, ... quam impudens et monstrosa praesumptio, quantus etiam per uniuersum orbem fidei se uestrae feruor ostenderit*.

⁸⁰ Lib. pontif. 54,4 (Mommson 127,27-30): *Legati vero sedis apostolicae secretius supra scriptas epistolas fidei XVIII per manus monachorum orthodoxorum et posuerunt per omnes civitates*.

As a result of the impossibility of accomplishing anything constructive at Constantinople on an official diplomatic level and the behind-the-scenes propagandizing of Ennodius and his fellow Italians, the legates were eventually sent back to Italy. If we believe the inherently biased account of the *Liber Pontificalis*, which claims that the legates, having refused to succumb to bribery, were tossed out the back door by the enraged Emperor and bundled onto a “dangerous ship,” their transport vessel seems to have been of questionable seaworthiness.⁸¹ Leaving the credibility of these Neronian literary details aside, though, the account strongly suggests Catholic demonization of a steadfastly heterodox Emperor.⁸²

The End of the Schism

In 518, the waiting game at last paid off for Hormisdas. With the death of Anastasius on 9 July and the accession of the orthodox Justin the next day, changes were swift: a feast of the Council of Chalcedon was instituted 16 July, letters were sent concerning arrangements, Papal legates arrived in the capital 25 March of the following year, and three days later the Bishop of Constantinople subscribed to the terms of Hormisdas’ *libellus*, including the anathemas and the removal of all the offending names from the diptychs.⁸³ Ably assisting the new Emperor was his nephew Justinian, who may already have considered how useful the Bishop of Rome would be for the reconquest of Italy; in any case, he desired ecclesiastical unity.⁸⁴ But Hormisdas did not get everything he wanted: Canon 28 of Chalcedon remained untouchable and the bishop of the Empire’s capital the Ecumenical Patriarch. Later in the sixth century, more profound disillusionment awaited the bishops of Rome in their dealings with Emperors, but Ennodius and his Papal master, who died in 521 and 523 respectively, were spared such distress.⁸⁵ As the pressure of other responsibilities or failing health evidently kept Ennodius from participating in the successful mission of 519, his labours on behalf of his old friend Hormisdas in 515-517 can best be understood as helping to build Eastern support for the Roman, pro-Chalcedonian position and to lay a foundation for the eventual reunion of Catholics and Orthodox. Ennodius’ Pavian title ‘Teacher of the Greeks’ thus owes more to Italian provincial patriotism and Catholic self-aggrandizement than to accurate knowledge of which individuals had actually accomplished what in Constantinople.

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⁸¹ *Lib. pontif.* 54,3 (Mommson 127,13-26): *Volens itaque eos legatos per remunerationem corrumpere. legati vero sedis apostolicae contempto Anastasio Augusto nullatenus consenserunt accipere paecunias, nisi satisfactionem sedis apostolicae operaretur. Tunc imperator repletus furia eiecit eos per posterulam et inposuit eos in navem periculosam cum milites ... et praefectianos nomine Eliodorum et Demetrium qui hoc dedit eis in mandatis imperator Anastasius, ut nullam civitatem ingrederentur.*

⁸² Moorhead 1992, 196; Kennell 2000, 215, 219-220.

⁸³ Caspar 1933, 148-155; Allen 2000, 820.

⁸⁴ Dvornik 1964, 61; Anastos 2001, 19-21.

⁸⁵ Caspar 1933, 166-169; Chadwick 1967, 246.

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The Early Christian Attica: the Area of Maroussi

Georgios Pallis

The existence of Early Christian architectural sculpture and members in the Athenian suburb of Maroussi provides the inspiration for the present paper.* Knowledge of Early Christian Athens has progressed during recent years, thanks to scholarly publications and to extensive excavations during public works.¹ There are also some important finds from and studies of the countryside of Attica, which give an interesting impression of the region.² We know very little about the Athenian plain and life at the local demes during this period of transition from paganism to Christianity, but the study of Maroussi, ancient Amarysia, located in the deme of Athmonon, may throw some light on the matter.

Maroussi-Amarysia in the Roman era

The suburb of Maroussi is located 12 km northeast of Athens (Fig. 14). Its name derives from the cult of Artemis Amarysia, the local deity of the ancient deme of Athmonon.³ As the frequent references to citizens of Athmonon in the contemporary Attic inscriptions suggest, the deme was inhabited continuously during the Roman period. It also seems that the deme was favoured by Herodes Atticus, who had a great villa in the neighbouring deme of Kephisia in the 2nd century AD. Two archaistic boundary stones of the temenos of Amarysia,⁴ which have been dated to the same period and give some evidence of renovation activities in the sanctuary, may possibly be attributed to him.⁵ The history of the area during the 3rd century, when Attica was affected by the Herulian raid, is virtually unknown.

* I would like to thank the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities for permission to publish the Early Christian material from Maroussi. I also thank E. Eleutheriou for her kind help during the preparation of this paper.

¹ A. Frantz, *Late Antiquity: A.D. 267 - 700*. The Athenian Agora XXIV, Princeton 1988; D. Pallas, Η Αθήνα στα χρόνια της μετάβασης από την αρχαία λατρεία στη χριστιανική. Τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα, *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Θεολογικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών* 28 (1989) 851-930; P. Castrén (ed.), *Post-Herulian Athens*. PMFIA 1, Helsinki 1994; L. Parlama and N. Chr. Stambolidis (eds.), *The City Beneath the City. Antiquities from the Metropolitan Railway Excavations*, Athens 2000, 121-122, 135-136, 158-161 and 192-194.

² Pallas 1986, 43-80; E. Gini-Tsofopoulou, *AD* 45 (1990) B' 1, 92-93, plans 6-7, pl. 41στ-42α; E. Chalkia, Η Λαυρεωτική κατά την Παλαιοχριστιανική εποχή: μερικά νέα ευρήματα, *IB' Συμπόσιο XAE* (1992) *Περίληψεις*, 60-61; E. Gini-Tsofopoulou, *AD* 49 (1994) μ'1, 106-107, plan 11, pl. 46Α; E. Gini-Tsofopoulou, *AD* 50 (1995) μ'1, 71-73, σχ. 2-3, pl. 31-32; E. Gini-Tsofopoulou, *Βυζαντινό Μουσείο. Τα νέα αποκτήματα* (1986 - 1996), Αθήνα 1997, 164-169; E. Gini-Tsofopoulou, *Παλαιοχριστιανική και πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδος (4ος-8ος). Μεσογασία. Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός των Μεσογείων Αττικής*, Αθήνα 2000, 150-165.

³ Paus. 1, 14, 7; J. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica*, Hesperia Suppl. XIV, Princeton 1975, 50; Pikoulas 1992-1998, 205-214.

⁴ *IG* 1² 865a - b.

⁵ H.G. Lolling, *Neuer Grenzstein der Artemis Amarysia*, *MDAI(A)* 5 (1880) 289-291; M.K. Langdon, *Επίμετρον II*, in Pikoulas 1992-1998, 212-213.

Amarysia in the Early Christian period

There are many difficulties in studying the life of Amarysia in the Early Christian period, as it is not mentioned in the contemporary written sources. Moreover, the epigraphic testimony is very poor with only two sepulchral inscriptions of local origin.⁶ The first, of Ἑρμῇ καὶ Φιλίνας (*IG* III 3519 = *EM* 9945; Fig. 15) was found, reused, at the chapel of Agios Nikolaos on Pelikas hill. Erkki Sironen dates the inscription to the 5th or 6th century.⁷ There is no distinguishing feature from which this gravestone may be attributed to Christians or pagans. The careless shape of the letters and the erroneous use of the genitive Ἑρμῇ instead of Ἑρμοῦ could perhaps indicate

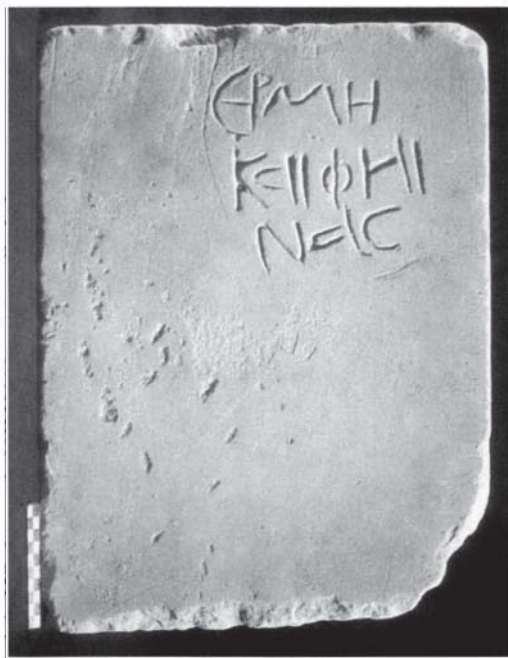


Fig. 15. *EM* 9945.

the decline of language among the rural population.⁸ In addition, the inscription was found just a few metres from the site of the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia, later occupied by the chapel of Agios Ioannis Pelikas,⁹ which shows that burials occurred close to the site of the most important local pagan sanctuary.

The second inscription, the epitaph of the deaconess Εὐφροσύνη, is published by Erkki Sironen¹⁰ on the basis of a squeeze made by Werner Peek. The stone, originally at the church of Agioi Anargyroi (formerly Panagia Marmariotissa), has been lost. In this case, the deceased was not only a Christian, but had served the church as a deaconess. The short text, with a curse against possible grave robbers, supplies two errors that reaffirm the modest level of the

language. The grave is mentioned as τάφος, which is an unusual term in this early period. According to Erkki Sironen, Εὐφροσύνη is one of only two known deaconesses in Attica. He dates this inscription also to the 5th or 6th century.

Since modern Maroussi has been completely overbuilt without constant archaeological supervision, much archaeological evidence and documentation is missing. Recent excavations, during construction of some parts of the new highway (Attiki Odos) and the Olympic Stadium complex, did not provide any finds dated to

⁶ An Early Christian inscription was recently (autumn 2003) found at the excavation of a post-Byzantine chapel by the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, not very far from Nerantziotissa, but it is as yet unpublished.

⁷ Sironen 1997, 223–224, n. 177.

⁸ See inscriptions from northeastern Attica in Pallas 1986, 44.

⁹ For the location of the sanctuary at this site, see Pikoulas 1992–1998, 205–211.

¹⁰ Sironen 1997, 235.

the Early Christian period.¹¹ The architectural sculpture and members reused as spolia in later monuments comprise the most important evidence from this period. Their number, and the fact that they are found gathered in and around three post-Byzantine churches, presents an opportunity to examine the topography of the area in the Early Christian period.

The spolia from Panagia Marmariotissa (Agioi Anargyroi)

The first monument which once preserved Early Christian material, was the church of Panagia Marmariotissa, later Agioi Anargyroi, a 16th-century, three-aisled basilica.¹² It was situated close to Pelikas, to the northeast of the hill, possibly on an ancient site. The name Marmariotissa reflects the existence of numerous marble members reused in the masonry of the church or lying around. Among them was the aforementioned sepulchral inscription of the deaconess Εὐφροσύνη.



Fig. 16. Panagia Marmariotissa: Columns in the courtyard.

Some of the spolia saved after the demolition of Marmariotissa in 1973 can be dated to the Early Christian period. Two unfluted monolithic columns (Fig. 16) of the same whitish veined marble and of almost identical dimensions, lie today in the courtyard of the modern church. These columns, clearly of the same workshop, were unfortunately broken a few years ago. In 1998, the intact one had a height of 2.68 m, and the other, at that time in two fragments, measured 2.62 m.¹³ Apophyges are found on both upper and lower parts of each column. The veining of the marble gives a decorative impression much favoured in this period.¹⁴ Both columns seem to come from the same edifice.

¹¹ According to information provided by archaeologists of the 2nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, involved in these excavations; the official reports are as yet unpublished.

¹² Orlandos 1933, 201-202, Figs. 271-272; Lazarides 1968, 116-118, plan 3, pl. 59β-γ.

¹³ Given that the position of the two pieces did not permit the taking of accurate measurements, this value is quite possibly imprecise.

¹⁴ Orlandos 1954, 274-276.

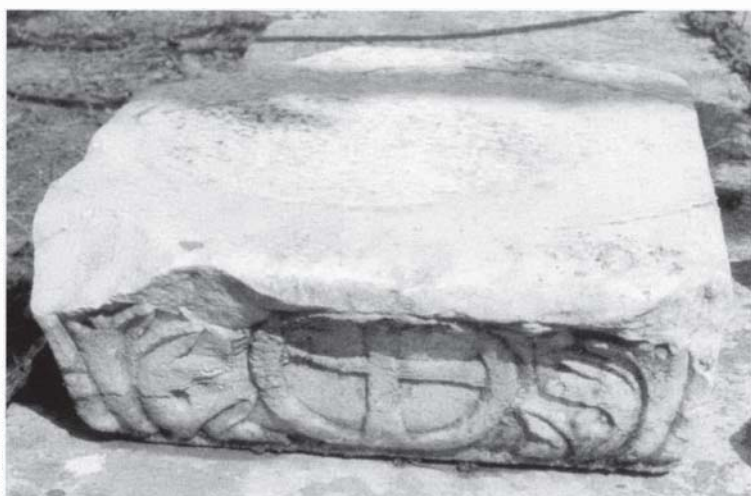


Fig. 17. Panagia Marmariotissa: Cubical impost of white marble.



Fig. 18. Panagia Marmariotissa: Undecorated impost of white marble.

A cubical impost (h: 0.135 m; w: 0.37 m; Fig. 17) of white marble was rescued during the demolition of Marmariotissa.¹⁵ The two main faces are adorned with a simple Greek cross inscribed in a circle and framed by two acanthus half-leaves. Although stylized, the leaves preserve some plasticity. The theme is very common in southern Greece during this period.¹⁶ The impost from Marmariotissa, with the simple cross in place of the chrisma, has close parallels in the 5th and 6th centuries.¹⁷

¹⁵ This impost was recently (October 2003) donated to the local Historical and Folk Art Museum of the Municipality of Amaroussion, where it is presently located.

¹⁶ Sodini 1977, 440, with many examples.

¹⁷ A 5th-century impost in the Byzantine Museum, Athens: Sklavou Mavroceidi 1999, 54, n. 58. See also an impost capital from Constantinople, with similar half-leaves, dated to the second half of the 6th century: Th. Zolt, *Kapitellplastik Konstantinopels vom 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert n. Christ.* Asia Minor Studien 14, Bonn 1994, 40, n. 80, table 19.



Fig. 19. Panagia Marmariotissa:
Mullion fragment.

Some small fragments from the same church were once to be found in a neighbouring private garden.¹⁸ Among them was a part of an undecorated impost (h: 0.12 m; w: 0.24 m; Fig. 18) of white marble and a piece of a mullion (h: 0.30 m; w: 0.13 m; Fig. 19).

The spolia at Panagia Nerantziotissa

Much more material can be seen at Panagia Nerantziotissa, a 16th-century single-naved church,¹⁹ at the foot of Pelikas hill, close to the aforementioned chapels of Agios Nikolaos and Agios Ioannis, and not far from Marmariotissa. Some traces of foundations near the north wall of the church indicate that it may have been built on the site of pre-existing buildings. Numerous ancient, Early Christian and Byzantine sculpture and other spolia have been reused in the structure.

A white marble impost (h: 0.10 m; l: 0.67 m; Fig. 20) has been reused as a sill for the small window in the bema. Its only visible face is decorated with fleshy acanthus and waterleaves, common motifs in the Athenian architectural sculpture of this period.²⁰ The plasticity and fine execution follow the classic style of the 5th century.²¹

Fragments of mullions and imposts have been reused in several places in the stonework, leaving only small parts of them visible. The small window in the bema also preserves one piece of a white marble mullion (h: 0.50 m; w: 0.18 m; Fig. 21), used as the right window-frame. Part of another mullion has been built into the northeast corner of the church, and the side of an impost is to be found in the upper part of the south wall above the long buttress. A further cubical impost has been reused as part of the window-frame high on the east wall.

Two unfluted monolithic columns²² support the arch of the reconstructed entrance to the narthex. That on the right (visible h: 2.34 m; Fig. 22) is of whitish

¹⁸ A new building is under construction on this property (Ag. Anargyron and Marathonodromou str.), so the present whereabouts of the spolia is unknown.

¹⁹ Orlandos 1933, 200, Figs. 267-268; P. Lazarides, *AD* 26 (1971) B' 1, 65; P. Lazarides, *AD* 27 (1972) μ' 1, 188; P. Lazarides, *AD* 28 (1973) μ' 1, 58; E. Manolessou, *AD* 34 (1979) B' 1, 116, pl. 27β-γ; M. Lazari, *AD* 35 (1980) B' 1, 98; E. Manolessou, *AD* 38 (1983) μ', 66.

²⁰ Sodini 1977, 428-434, with many examples.

²¹ See a moulding from the Theseion in Frantz 1965, 203, Figs. 20, 22.

²² Two other columns have been inserted in modern times at the right and the left of the entrance, to decorate it. Unfortunately they have been painted, so the graffiti on one of them is not visible anymore. The part of another white marble column, which was lying at the courtyard, was lost in 1995. These columns are probably of local origin, but the exact provenance is unknown.



Fig. 20. Panagia Nerantziotissa: Impost of white marble.

marble, while that on the left is of blue-white veined marble (visible h: 2.15 m). The limited visibility of these columns does not allow more precise remarks about their shape and other details.

A blue-grey marble impost (h: 0.13 m; w: 0.35 m; Fig. 23) has been reused in a niche over the door to the main nave. The visible face is decorated with a large waterleaf between two half-leaves, an ornament very common in this period.²³ The rather stylised execution may date the impost to the 6th century.²⁴

A white marble epistyle (h: 0.13 m; l: 1.46 m; Figs 24-25) has been placed on the stone-built post-Byzantine iconostasis. The lower arms of three Greek crosses, between two birds, grow into long stems which end in triple-leaves. Though stylized, the birds still have plasticity and delicate lines. This type of cross is common in this period, with many examples from Attica,²⁵ and triple-leaves are paralleled in sculpture from Athens²⁶ and Corinth²⁷ from the 5th and 6th century. Similar birds are also known in Athens.²⁸ Accordingly, the epistyle of Nerantziotissa can be dated to the 6th century at the latest.



Fig. 21. Panagia Nerantziotissa: Mullion fragment of white marble.

²³ Sodini 1977, 428-431, with many examples.

²⁴ See examples from Athens: Bouras 1985-1986, 44-45, Fig. 7; 56, Fig. 36; 59-60, Fig. 41, and from Corinth: Scranton 1957, 111, n. 64-66, 69. The other impost, shown on the left in Fig. 9 seems to be a later copy of an Early Christian theme.

²⁵ The numerous examples include a 5th-century epistyle in the Byzantine Museum, Athens (Sklavou Mavroeiidi 1999, 44, n. 38), an epistyle from the Athenian Asklepieion, also probably dated to the 5th century (Xyngopoulos 1915, 57, Fig. 6) and other sculptures from Brauron (E. Stikas, *Ανασκαφή παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής παρά την Βραυρώνα*, ΠΑΕ 1951, 68-69, Figs. 21-22) and Agios Ioannis Kynegos on Mount Hymettos (St. Mamaloukos, *Ο πυλώνας της Μονής Αγίου Ιωάννου του Κυνηγού στον Υμηττό*, ΑΡΜΟΣ. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Ν. Κ. Μουτσόπουλο Β', Θεσσαλονίκη 1991, 1112, Fig. 5, with more examples from Attica).

²⁶ There are examples on the epistyle of the Christian Parthenon, dated to the 5th century (Sklavou Mavroeiidi 1999, 42, n. 34), on a pilaster capital from the Theseion, dated to the 6th century (Frantz 1965, 203, Fig. 21) and on an impost from Asklepieion (Xyngopoulos 1915, 56, Fig. 4).

²⁷ Scranton 1957, 113, n. 88.

²⁸ See the bird on a 6th-century panel from Athens: Sklavou Mavroeiidi 1999, 77, n. 104.

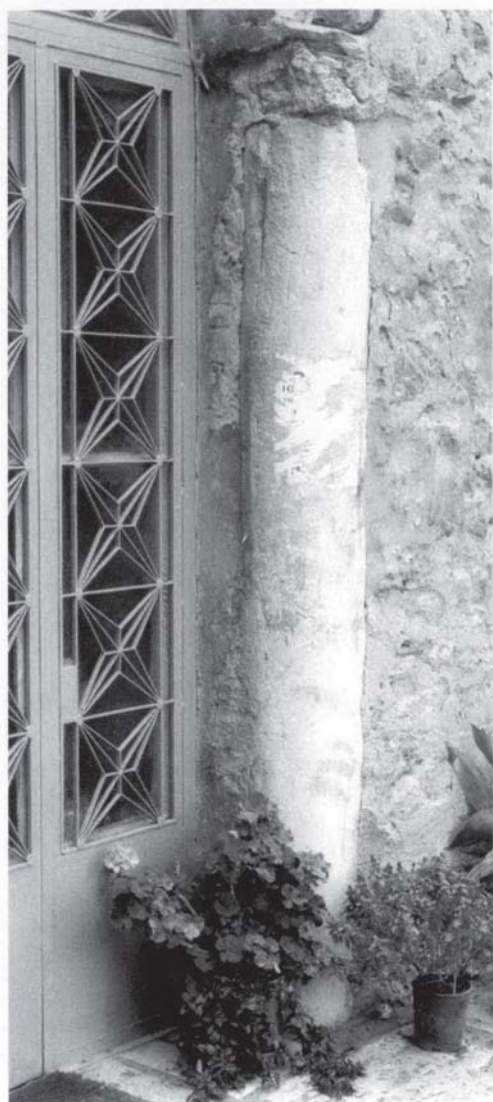


Fig. 22. Panagia Nerantziotissa:
Reused monolithic column of white
marble at the entrance to the narthex.

Some other sculptural elements were to be found in the courtyard of Nerantziotissa until the late 1970s. Most of these had been rescued from the surrounding area in the 1920s by the local Ephor of Antiquities, Christos Iliopoulos.²⁹ Today, only two columns³⁰ and an epistyle remain. Acanthus and waterleaves with lotus flowers decorate the epistyle of white marble (h: 0.17 m; w: 0.97 m; Fig. 26), the centre of which depicts a circle with a floral element on each side. Within the circle are a square, a rhombus and a smaller square (Fig. 27). The common motifs used, and their stylized execution, date the epistyle to the 5th or 6th century.³¹ A pilaster-capital from the same collection, now lost, is known from a photograph (Fig. 28).³² It may come from the same workshop as an almost identical pilaster-capital in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, dated to the early 6th century.³³

The spolia at Agios Thomas

The post-Byzantine chapel of Agios Thomas in lower Maroussi is the third site where Early Christian material is preserved.³⁴ The pieces are in the courtyard and it is probable that they were collected from the neighbouring area in the same way as at Nerantziotissa.³⁵

²⁹ Orlandos 1933, 200, Figs. 269-270.

³⁰ For these columns see n. 21.

³¹ For the lotus flowers, a common motif in southern Greece during this period, see Sodini 1977, 437-439, with many examples.

³² Orlandos 1933, Fig. 269.

³³ Sklavou Mavroeidi 1999, 73, n. 99.

³⁴ Orlandos 1933, 200.

³⁵ Iliopoulos was involved in the restoration of the ruined Agios Thomas in 1931.



Fig. 23. Panagia Nerantziotissa: 6th-century marble impost with half-leaves at the right corner of the niche. The left impost is later.



Fig. 24. Panagia Nerantziotissa: Marble epistyle on the stone-built post-Byzantine iconostasis.



Fig. 25. Detail of the epistyle in Fig. 24.

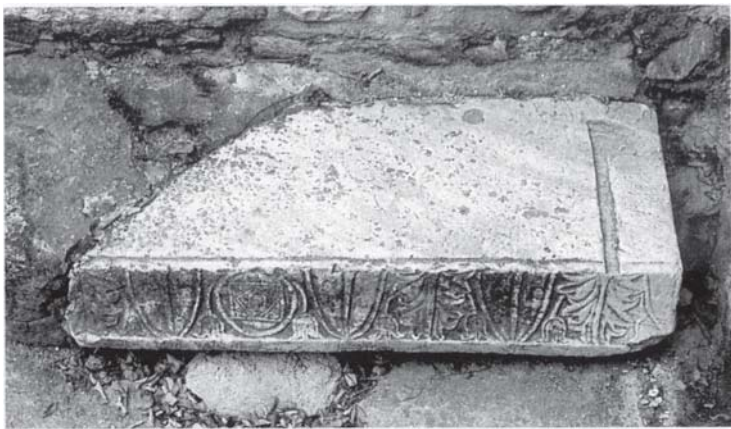


Fig. 26. Epistyle fragment with acanthus and water-leaves with lotus flowers.

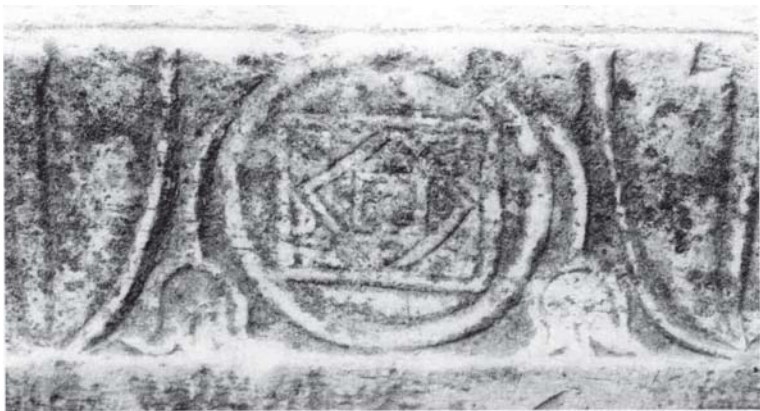


Fig. 27. Panagia Nerantziotissa: Central decoration of the epistyle in Fig. 26.



Fig. 28. Panagia Nerantziotissa: Pilaster capital, formerly in the courtyard of the church, now lost.



Fig. 29. Agios Thomas:
Capital of a mullion depicting
a Greek cross between
water half-leaves.



Fig. 30. Agios Thomas:
Capital of a mullion depicting
a lance-shaped element
framed by stylized acanthus leaves
and water half-leaves.

A capital of a mullion of white marble (h: 0.165 m; l: 0.54 m; Fig. 29) depicts a Greek cross between water half-leaves on the face. This motif and the shape of the cross were in widespread use in the 5th and 6th century.³⁶ Another capital of a mullion of white marble (h: 0.13 m; l: 0.60 m; Fig. 30) has decoration on the front faces which extends partially to the long sides. On one face³⁷ stylized acanthus leaves and water half-leaves frame a lance-shaped element. This common floral combination suggests a 5th or 6th century date,³⁸ when the lance motif was also in use.³⁹

In the courtyard there is also a white marble cubical impost (h: 0.18 m; l: 0.52 m; Fig. 31) decorated on the front face with an incised Latin cross, framed by half-palmettes. The back face depicts the same cross, framed by simple incised half-leaves. The style of the half-palmettes seems to follow the classic style of the 5th century. A small impost of unidentifiable stone (h: 0.12 m; l: 0.60 m; Fig. 32) has been reused in the north window of the church. It is decorated on both faces by simple, incised Greek

³⁶ See n. 23.

³⁷ The other is partially destroyed.

³⁸ See Bouras 1985-1986, 53, Fig. 27; 53-54, Fig. 29.

³⁹ See an impost from the Roman Agora of Athens, dated to the 5th century, Sklavou Mavroeiidi 1999, 53, n. 56.

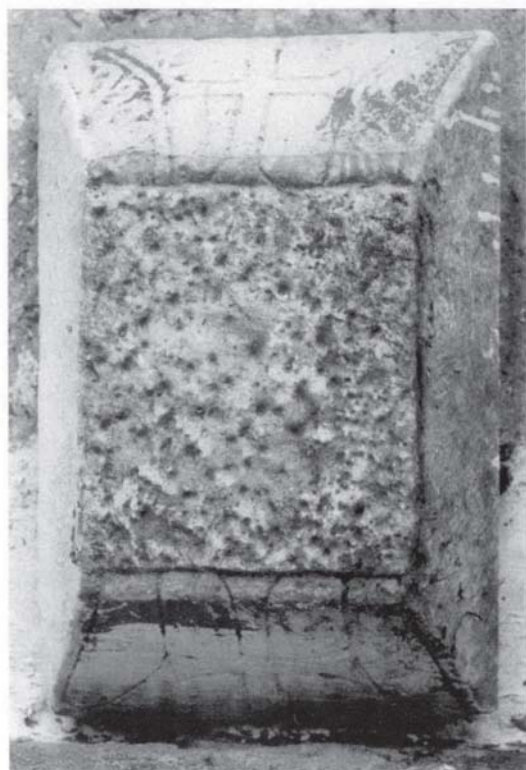


Fig. 31. Agios Thomas: Marble impost decorated with an incised Latin cross framed by half-palmettes.

inherent capital (total h: 0.22 m) is placed over this impost. The colonnette, ending in a torus, has thin flutes which are closely set. Acanthus leaves cover the capital, which is shaped into a basket. The dimensions suggest that this fragment may originate from a small structure, such as an altar.⁴¹ The fluted colonnette and the style of the acanthus leaves belong again to the 5th and 6th century.

Conclusion

It is natural to think that the architectural sculpture and members mentioned above⁴² are of local origin, as it would have been reasonable to recycle the older material lying to hand nearby; the three sites are from just 50 to 300 m from each other. The distinctive stylistic and iconographic features assign them to 5th and 6th centuries.

⁴⁰ For a group of imposts and mullion capitals from Corinth decorated with simple crosses of this kind, see Scranton 1957, 114, n. 102.

⁴¹ For Early Christian altars consisting of marble slabs placed on colonnettes, see Orlandos 1954, 444-450.

⁴² More Early Christian architectural sculptures are to be found isolated in Maroussi, especially in the area of Pelikas: a small impost, decorated with a Löffelacanthus between two water half-leaves, has been reused over the door of Agios Ioannis Pelikas chapel, near Nerantziotissa. The lintel of the door at the same church is a fluted post from a templon. An unpublished sculptured lintel that was found in 1995 in front of Agios Nikolaos at Pelikas (now at the headquarters of the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in Athens), could also be assigned to the Early Christian period. An ionic, probably impost, capital is partially visible in the apse of Agia Sotira (Transfiguration of the Saviour) chapel on Kiphissias avenue.

crosses.⁴⁰ The close similarity of the Latin crosses suggests a possible connection with the white marble cubical impost.

A column of blue-white veined marble of fine quality (h: 2.24 m) is to be found at the west side of the courtyard. Although this column is partially painted and damaged, the apophyge is recognizable at the preserved end.

In the immediate vicinity of Agios Thomas is the small, ruined chapel of Agios Nikolaos of Chomatianos-Logothetis, built after the Greek War of Independence. Here, also, two Early Christian spolia are built into the west side of the church. The common ornament of a stylized acanthus leaf between two water half-leaves decorates the small impost of white marble (visible h: 0.10 m; visible w: 0.105 m; Fig. 33), which can be dated to the 5th or 6th century. The upper part of a colonette with an

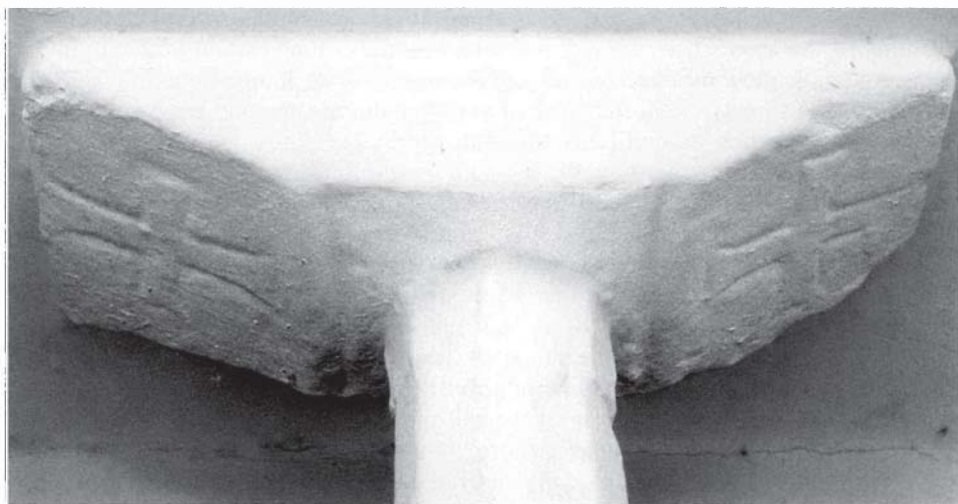


Fig. 32. Agios Thomas: Small impost with Greek crosses on both faces.



Fig. 33. Agios Nikolaos: Colonnnette fragment with an inherent Corinthian capital atop a decorated impost.

Little can be said in the case of Marmariotissa, given that the church has been demolished. An excavation, carried out in 1968 at the east and south of the building, uncovered only a few middle-Byzantine burials and a wall of unknown purpose.⁴³ In the aisles of this post-Byzantine basilica marble columns and ancient capitals were reused, some of which were of Early Christian origin.

The case of Nerantziotissa is more rewarding. Nikolaos Papahatzis, a commentator on Pausanias, suggested in 1974 that an Early Christian basilica must have existed previously on the site of the post-Byzantine church.⁴⁴ His view was based on the sculptural material that he noted as having been reused in the masonry or lying nearby. Nerantziotissa is indeed situated just a few metres from the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia, at the site of the chapel of Agios Ioannis Pelikas. The importance of the local cult of the deme of Athmonon had a long tradition, so it is not by chance that the name of the sanctuary survived, eventually taking over the whole area, while the name of the deme itself fell into oblivion. It is likely that the Christians would have wanted to penetrate the local centres of paganism during the process of Attica's Christianization. How successfully this was done is apparent from the famous rural sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, where a basilica complex was erected nearby in the late 5th century, when the pagan cult was still very much alive.⁴⁵ In a perhaps similar way, a basilica had been built on the site of the later Nerantziotissa, next to the ancient sanctuary, with the intention of competing with paganism. An excavation in the courtyard could shed light on this.⁴⁶

The Early Christian spolia at Agios Thomas must also originate from the neighbouring area, even though no traces of contemporary buildings have yet been found.

It seems that the life of the ancient deme of Athmonon, in the area of modern Maroussi, continued during the Early Christian era. This is quite natural for a fertile rural settlement, which had flourished already during classical antiquity. The number of sculptured spolia proves that there had been building activity in the 5th and 6th centuries, when at least one basilica was erected. Thus, this area may be safely added to the map of Early Christian Attica.

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⁴³ Lazarides 1968, 116-118, plan 3, pl. 59γ.

⁴⁴ N.D. Papahatzis, *Παυσανίου Ελλάδος Περιήγησις. Αττικά*, Αθήνα 1974, 409-410, n. 1.

⁴⁵ Pallas 1986, 49. For the basilica of Brauron see E. Stikas, *Ανασκαφή παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής παρά την Βραύωνα*, *PAE* 1951, 53-76; E. Stikas, *Ανασκαφή παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής παρά την Βραύωνα*, *PAE* 1952, 73-91, and Pallas 1986, 46-49.

⁴⁶ A small excavation in 1973 (Lazarides 1973) and the construction of a junction by the south part of the Nerantziotissa courtyard in 1995, did not yield remarkable archaeological finds. But, as already mentioned, some traces of foundations still exist now in the north part of the courtyard, very close to the north wall of the church.

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AD = Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον

AE = Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς

BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*

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DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

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IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*

Lazarides 1968 = Π. Λαζαρίδης, Μεσαιωνικά Αθηνῶν, Αττικῆς καὶ νήσων Σαρωνικοῦ, *AD* 23 (1968) Β' 1, 114-121.

Lazarides 1973 = Π. Λαζαρίδης, Βυζαντινά καὶ Μεσαιωνικά μνημεῖα νομῶν Αττικῆς καὶ Πειραιῶς, *AD* 28 (1973) Β' 1, 53-79.

Orlandos 1933 = Α.Κ. Ορλάνδος, Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεῖα τῆς πεδιάδος τῶν Αθηνῶν καὶ τῶν κλιτύων Ὑμηττοῦ-Πεντελικοῦ-Πάρνηθος καὶ Αἰγάλεω. *Ευρετήριο Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ελλάδος Γ'*, Αθήναι 1933.

Orlandos 1954 = Α.Κ. Ορλάνδος, *Η ξυλόστεγος παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῆς μεσογειακῆς λεκάνης 2*, Αθήναι 1954.

MDAI(A) = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Ath. Abt)*

PAE = Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας

Pallas 1986 = Δ. Πάλλας, *Η Παλαιοχριστιανικὴ Νοτιοανατολικὴ Αττικὴ, Πρακτικά Β' Επιστημονικῆς Συναντήσεως ΝΑ. Αττικῆς (Καλύβια Αττικῆς, 25. - 28.10.1985). Π. Φιλίππου-Αγγέλου (επ.), Καλύβια 1986, 43-80.*

Pikoulas 1992-1998 = Γ.Α. Πίκουλας, Αμαρυσία Ἀρτεμῖς Αθμονήσι, *HOROS* 10-12 (1992-1998) 205-214.

PMFIA = *Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens*

Scranton 1957 = R.L. Scranton, *Mediaeval Architecture in the central area of Corinth. Corinth XVI*, Princeton 1957.

Sironen 1997 = E. Sironen, *The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica*, Helsinki 1997.

Sklavou Mavroeidi 1999 = Μ. Σκλάβου Μαυροειδή, *Γλυπτά του Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Αθηνῶν. Κατάλογος*, Αθήνα 1999.

Sodini 1977 = J.-P. Sodini, Remarques sur la sculpture architecturale d'Attique, de Béotie et du Péloponnèse à l'époque paléochrétienne, *BCH* 101 (1977) 423-450.

Xyngopoulos 1915 = Α. Ξυγγόπουλος, Χριστιανικόν Ασκληπιεῖον, *AE* 1915, 52-71.

Frühchristliche Monumente auf der Insel Rhodos – ein Überblick

Ioannis Volanakis

Einführung

Die Inseln des süd-östlichen Ägäischen Meeres werden Süd-Sporaden oder Dodekanes genannt. Vom Altertum bis heute bilden sie eine besondere kulturelle Einheit. Sie waren schon in der mykenischen, klassischen, hellenistisch-römischen und frühchristlichen Zeit hochentwickelt. Nicht nur der Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht und Fischerei war dies zu verdanken, sondern vor allem der Schifffahrt und dem Handel. Die geographische Lage des Dodekanes als Brücke in Ost-West und Nord-Süd Richtung war ebenfalls von großer Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der Inseln. Auch die günstigen klimatologischen Bedingungen förderten die Blüte der Kultur in diesem Raum.

Historische oder andere literarische Informationen über das Leben auf den Inseln des Dodekanes und besonders auf Rhodos aus der frühchristlichen Zeit sind kaum vorhanden. Es gibt aber zahlreiche Monumente, die uns über die hohe kulturelle Entwicklung dieser Region informieren und insofern noch größere Bedeutung besitzen, als sie die einzigen Quellen darstellen, die uns über diese Zeit Auskunft geben. Obwohl das Christentum sehr früh auf der Insel Rhodos bekannt wurde, die lokale Kirche gut organisiert war und nach örtlicher Überlieferung der Apostel Paulus Rhodos und speziell Lindos besucht und dort gepredigt und getauft hatte,¹ ist interessanterweise in Lindos bis heute keine andere frühchristliche Basilika bekannt, als die von Vigli (S. 82). In der Stadt Rhodos selbst sind bis jetzt relativ wenige frühchristliche Monumente bekannt, und diese sind nicht besonders gut erhalten. Das liegt daran, dass die Stadt seit über 2400 Jahren kontinuierlich bewohnt wird. Im Jahr 1947 waren auf ganz Rhodos nur acht frühchristliche Monumente bekannt,² 1953 war ihre Zahl schon auf sieben gestiegen,³ im Jahr 1988 waren es bereits einundsiebzig⁴ und im Jahr 2002 über hundert. Anderswo auf dem Dodekanes kennen wir 130 Monumente. Die Forschung wird fortgesetzt und in Zukunft werden sicher noch weitere Monumente entdeckt.

Es handelt sich in der Regel um große holzgedeckte Basiliken, die dem einfachen griechischen Typus angehören. Ihr Hauptraum hat einen rechteckigen Grundriss; durch zwei Reihen von Säulen oder von Pfeilern wurde er in drei Schiffe unterteilt.⁵ Die frühchristlichen Monumente auf der Insel Rhodos wurden frühestens im 5. Jh. aus einfachen, einheimischen, mittelgroßen Steinen mit Mörtel als Verbindungsmaterial gebaut. Oft wird zwischen die Steine eine Zone aus Ziegelsteinen

¹ Apg. 21, 2.

² Orlandos 1948, 3-54.

³ Lazaridis 1955, 227-248.

⁴ Volanakis 1988, 311-347.

⁵ G. Sotiriou, *Χριστιανική και Βυζαντινή Αρχαιολογία Α'*, Αθήναι 1942, 162-169; Orlandos 1952, 63.

gelegt, die aus 4 - 6 Lagen besteht. Manchmal wurden auch Spolien als Baumaterial verwendet und einige Monumente zeigen mindestens zwei Bauphasen. Die Anzahl, ihre Grösse und Form und der Reichtum dieser Monumente setzten eine große Zahl von Einwohnern wie auch eine finanzielle und kulturelle Blüte voraus.

Seit dem 7. Jh. beginnt die Zerstörung und der Verfall dieser Monumente, unter anderem aus folgenden Gründen: Naturkatastrophen wie Erdbeben,⁶ Überschwemmungen, Brände, Ikonoklasmen und Angriffe von Piraten.⁷ Die Insel Rhodos hat einer Oberfläche von 1398 km² und dort befinden sich nun dreißig Siedlungen, die meisten davon liegen an den gleichen Orten und tragen dieselben Namen mindestens seit der Zeit der Johanniter (1308-1522 n.Chr.). Aus dieser Zeit haben wir die ersten literarischen Informationen über Lokalisierung und Namen aller rhodischen Siedlungen.⁸

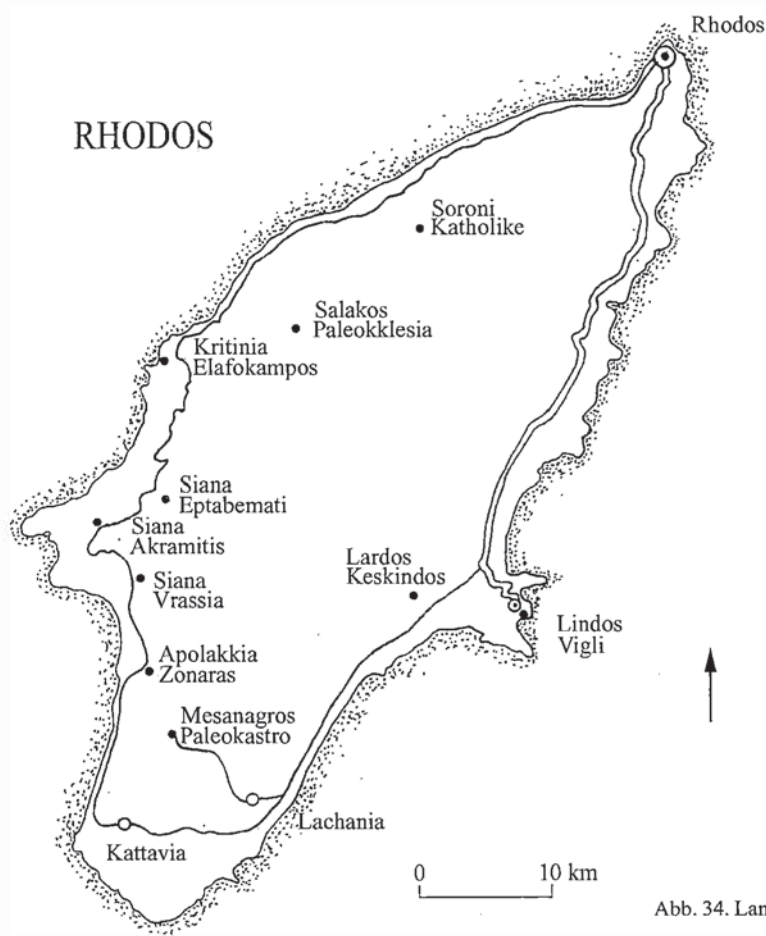


Abb. 34. Landkarte von Rhodos.

⁶ I. Malalas (starb 670), s.v. *Χρονογραφία* CSHB 66 (1831) 406; A. Galanopoulos, *Η σεισμικότης της Δωδεκανήσου*, *Δωδεκανησιακή Επιθεώρησις* 1 (1947) 82.

⁷ Orlandos 1948, 5-6; Theofanis (lebte ca. 900), s.v. *Χρονογραφία* CSHB 33:1 (1839) 527.

⁸ Papachristodoulou 1994, 286.

Der Verfasser dieses Artikels arbeitete in den Jahren 1977-2002 als Archäologe in der IV Ephoreia für Byzantinischen Antiquitäten des Dodekanes, Rhodos. Durch langjährige Forschungen wurde eine große Zahl von neuen Monumenten aus der frühchristlichen Zeit entdeckt und erforscht. Außerdem wurden schon bekannte Monumente weiter erforscht, beschrieben und neu interpretiert. Einige davon wurden ausgegraben und publiziert. Hier werden zehn Monumente erwähnt und beschrieben, von denen mehrere unpubliziert sind (Abb. 34).

Die Monumente

Agia Anastasia,⁹ Zonaras, Apolakkia (Abb. 35)

Im südlichen Teil der Insel Rhodos, 150 m links von der Autostraße Apolakkias – Kattavias, an einem kleinen Bodenhügel auf der Höhe von Zonaras, wurde im Jahr 1993 eine Basilika entdeckt, als die Gemeinde dort einen Wasserkanal baute.¹⁰ Sie liegt am Rand einer antiken Siedlung, die Jahrhunderte lang bewohnt wurde und in der

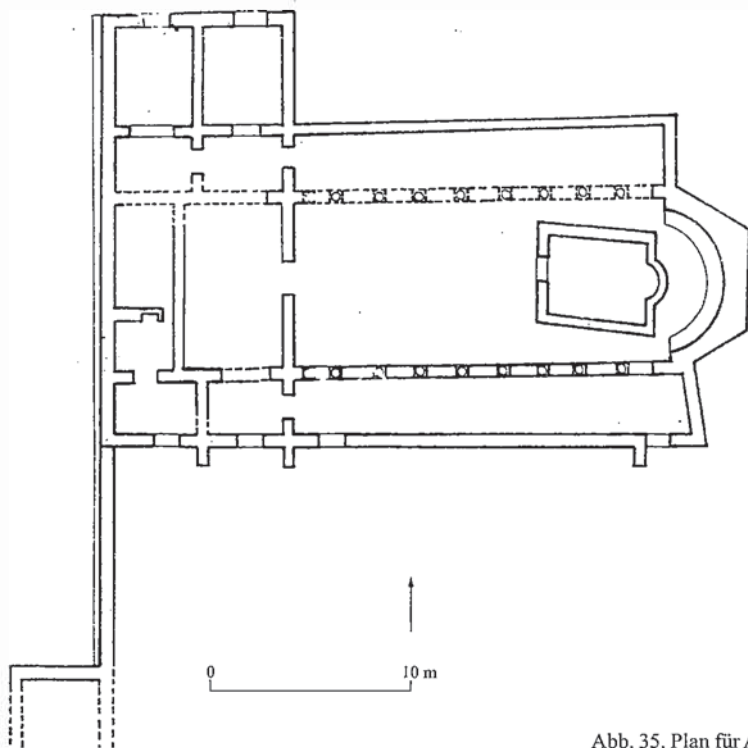


Abb. 35. Plan für Agia Anastasia.

⁹ Volanakis 1995, 769-790.

¹⁰ Am 17. März 1993 kam der Verfasser dienstlich nach Apolakkia und stellte fest, dass während der Arbeiten für den Bau des Wasserkanals, Reste von antiken Mauern und architektonische Glieder zutage gekommen waren. Es folgte eine Ausgrabung und die Basilika von Apolakkia wurde entdeckt.



Abb. 36. Ein Detail des Ambo: Medaillon mit einem griechischem Kreuz umgeben von Weinranken und Trauben.



Abb. 37. Inschrift auf einer Säulenbasis.

frühchristlichen Zeit besonders geblüht hat. In der Nähe der Basilika befindet sich eine grosse antike Nekropole, die auch in der frühchristlichen Zeit als solche benutzt wurde. Die Basilika liegt nur ca. 200 m vom Meer, vermutlich befand sich in der Antike dort auch ein Hafen.

Der Hauptraum der Basilika zeigt einen rechteckigen dreischiffigen Grundriss 19.00 x 14.60 m. Das Mittelschiff (Breite 7.75 m) endet an der Ostseite in einer großen Apsis. Sie ist innen halbkreisförmig (Breite 6.63, Pfeil 2.72 m) und außen dreiseitig oder halbhexagonal. In ihrem Raum lag das Synthronon mit den Sitzbänken für den Bischof, die Priester und Diakone. In der Mitte des Mittelschiffes lag der Ambo; er

bestand aus rotem Marmor (Porphyrit)¹¹ und war mit einem Relief aus Weinranken und Trauben geschmückt (Abb. 36). Das Südschiff (Breite 3.00 m) und das Nordschiff (Breite 2.80 m) enden im Osten mit einer gerade Wand. Westlich des Hauptraumes lag der Esonarthex (14.56 x 3.85 m) und westlich davon der Exonarthex (14.56 x 3.2m). Zu beiden Seiten des Doppelnarthex lagen Vorräume (Propyla, Skevophylakion oder Presbyterion).¹² Westlich der Basilika befand sich ein großer Hof, aber es gab kein Atrium. Um die Basilika herum lagern sich verschiedene Annexbauten, die aber nicht ausgegraben wurden. Die Innenwände der Basilika waren mit Putz bekleidet. Die Fußböden des Hauptraumes waren mit vielfarbigen geometrischen Mosaiken, der des Esonarthex mit Ziegelsteinchen in geometrischen Mustern und der des Exonarthex mit einfacher festgestampfter Erde gedeckt.

Die Basilika war der heiligen Anastasia geweiht, wie zwei Inschriften (Abb. 37),¹³ die an Ort und Stelle gefunden wurden, beweisen. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass seit den Pirateneinfällen im 7. Jh., die für die Bevölkerung der am Meer liegenden Siedlungen gefährlich wurden, die Siedlung von Zonaras ca. 3 km nordöstlich verlagert wurde. So entstand die noch heute existierende Siedlung von Apolakkia. Nach der Zerstörung der Basilika wurde an der Stelle des Bema eine einräumige Kapelle, von geringen Ausmaßen gebaut, damit der christliche Kult fortgesetzt werden konnte. Als Baumaterial wurden vor allem Spolien der Basilika verwendet. Obwohl diese Basilika seit Jahrhunderten zerstört war und die Siedlung verlassen wurde, blieb in der mündlichen Überlieferung der Bevölkerung von Apolakkia die Erinnerung erhalten, dass an dieser Stelle eine alte Kirche existierte.

Agios Tryfon, Elafokampos, Kritinia (Abb. 38)

In der Nähe von Kritinia, am Ort Elafokampos oder Aphyilmnionas,¹⁴ direkt am Meer (Abb. 39), liegen die Ruinen einer Basilika, die dem heiligen Tryfon,¹⁵ dem Beschützer der Gärtner und Bauern, geweiht war. Nördlich der Basilika, in ca. 100 m Entfernung, befindet sich eine Wasserquelle, die ins Meer fließt. Ihr Wasser galt vermutlich schon früh als Abfuhrmittel, da es auch heute für diesen Zweck von den Bewohnern der Umgebung benutzt wird. Weil die Basilika teilweise auf dem Strand liegt, ist fast der ganze Narthex und der Westteil des Hauptraumes des Gebäudes von den Wellen des Meeres hinweggespült und zerstört worden.¹⁶

Der dreischiffige Hauptraum der Basilika zeigt einen genauen quadratischen Grundriss (14.05 x 14.05 m).¹⁷ Das Mittelschiff (Breite 6.45 m) endet im Osten in

¹¹ Dieser Marmor kommt wahrscheinlich aus der Gegend von Kamiros Skala, wo antike Steinbrüche bis heute vorhanden sind; Volanakis 1995, 780.

¹² Volanakis 1995, 785-786.

¹³ Volanakis 1995, 775. Vorschlag von Dr. Erkki Sironen zu einer Datierung: Ende des 5. Jh.s, möglicherweise auch Anfang des 6. Jh.s.

¹⁴ Der Ortsname kommt vermutlich von Βαθυλιμνιώνας, d.h. der tiefe Hafen, oder *amphi + limen*, denn es gibt dort zwei Häfen, die den Schiffen Sicherheit bieten.

¹⁵ Nach mündliche Überlieferung.

¹⁶ Es wird berechnet, dass der Wasserstand jährlich ungefähr 1 mm aufsteigt; von Christi Geburt bis heute ist er 2 m gestiegen. Dieses Phänomen hat riesige Veränderungen an den Küsten verursacht.

¹⁷ Die Basilika von Elafokampos wurde durch den Verfasser dieser Arbeit entdeckt. Ihre Ausgrabung begann im Jahr 2000 und ist noch nicht abgeschlossen. Die Leitung der Ausgrabung hatte der Verfasser unter Mitarbeit des Kollegen Herrn Eustathius Evangelinides, dem auch an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt wird.

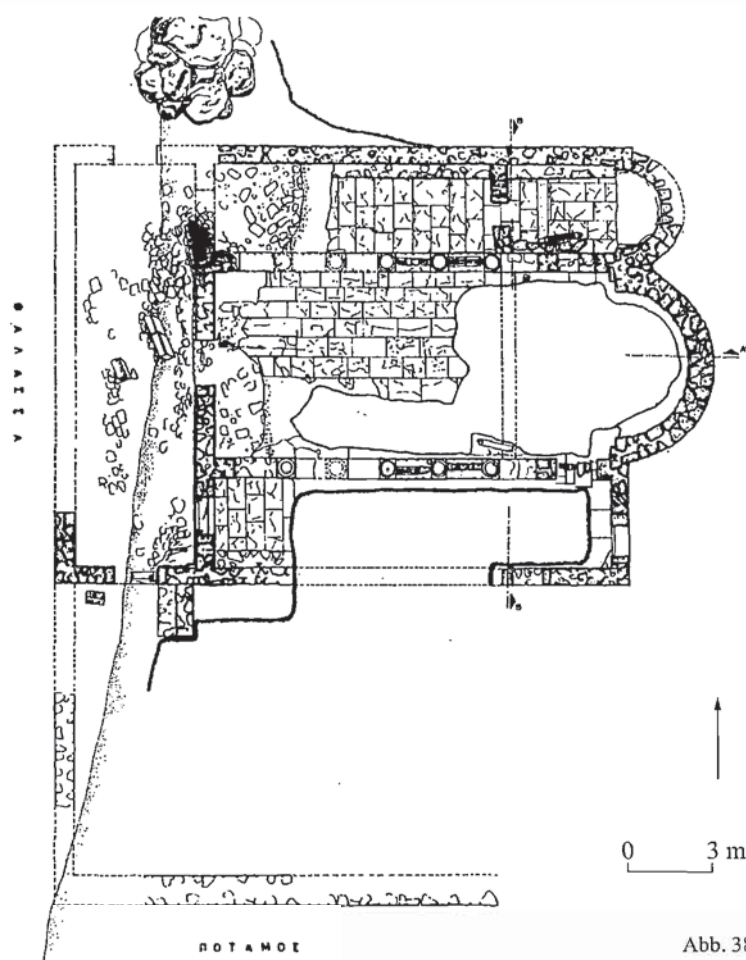


Abb. 38. Plan für Agios Tryfon.

einer großen, halbkreisförmigen Apsis (Breite 5.45, Pfeil 2.70 m). Innerhalb der Apsis befand sich das hufeisenförmige Synthronon und in dessen Mitte der Bischofsthron. Um den Bischof saß der zahlreiche Klerus.¹⁸ Das Südschiff (Breite 3.05 m) endet im Osten in einer geraden Wand. Das Nordschiff (Breite 3.00 m) endete im Osten zunächst ebenfalls in einer geraden Wand. Westlich des Hauptraumes lag der Narthex (14.05 x 4.27 m). Die Wand der Apsis des Bema ist 1.00 m dick.¹⁹ Die Seitenwände sind 0.65 m dick.²⁰ Der Stylobat der zwei Säulenreihen ist 0.70 m breit. Die Wände waren innen und außen verputzt, der Fußboden mit großen, rechteckigen Tuffsteinplatten gedeckt, von denen die meisten noch in situ liegen.

¹⁸ In der Koptischen Kirche und besonders in der Kirche von Äthiopien, ist es bis heute üblich, dass zahlreiche Kleriker zusammen am Gottesdienst und an den rituellen Handlungen teilnehmen.

¹⁹ Diese Dicke war notwendig, weil darüber eine Halbkuppel gebaut wurde.

²⁰ Die Seitenwände waren nicht dicker, weil sie nur eine Holzdecke zu tragen hatten. Anders bei den Basiliken von Palästina und Syrien, wo die Wände in der Regel dicker waren, weil sie eine halbzylindrische Decke tragen sollten.



Abb. 39. Luftbild der Basilika Agios Tryfon, direkt am Meer.

Später aber, nach der Zerstörung der Basilika, wurde der Ostteil des Nordschiffes zu einer kleinen, einräumigen Kapelle umgebaut, damit der christliche Kult in diesem Raum weiterging. Damals wurde die Ostseite des Nordschiffes zu einer halbkreisförmigen Apsis umgestaltet, damit der Raum orientiert war.

Keskindos, Lardos

Drei Kilometer südöstlich der Siedlung Lardos an der Stelle Keskindos²¹ liegen die Ruinen einer antiken Siedlung, die wahrscheinlich seit der prähistorischen Zeit bis in die Spätantike existierte und besonders von der klassischen bis in die frühchristlichen Zeit geblüht hatte.²² Unter den Ruinen befinden sich Reste einer Basilika mit rechteckigem Grundriss (17.00 x 13.20 m). Der Hauptraum wurde durch zwei Säulenreihen, die auf einem Stylobat, auch in diesem Falle mit einer Breite von 0.70 m, standen, in drei Schiffe geteilt. Das Mittelschiff (Breite 6.50 m) war breiter als die Nebenschiffe und endete im Osten in einer großen Apsis, die innen halbkreisförmig (Breite 5.50, Pfeil 2.90 m) und außen dreiseitig oder halbhexagonal war. Die Nebenschiffe (Breite 2.65 m) endeten im Osten in einer geraden Wand. Westlich des Hauptraumes der Basilika schloss der Narthex mit einem rechteckigen Grundriss (13.20 x 3.50 m) an. Die Wand der Apsis war 0.80 m, die anderen Wände des Gebäude 0.65 m dick. Noch heute liegen viele architektonische Glieder herum.²³

²¹ Sowohl Lardos als auch Keskindos sind alte vorgriechische Namen.

²² In Keskindos wurde am Ende des 19. Jh.s eine Inschrift entdeckt, die sich auf die Astronomie bezieht, ein Beweis, dass die alten Rhodier in dieser Wissenschaft fortgeschritten waren.

²³ Orlandos 1948, 28-30.

Für die Chronologie der Basilika erscheint dasselbe Muster wie bei den anderen Basiliken auf Rhodos. Die von Keskindos ist bis heute nicht ausgegraben oder auf andere Art und Weise erforscht und beschrieben. Die Einwohner der umliegende Siedlung zogen in der Mitte des 7. Jh.s wahrscheinlich in Lardos oder Lartos ein.²⁴

Vigli, Lindos (Abb. 40)

Nordöstlich der Akropolis von Lindos in einer tiefer gelegenen Ebene, in der Nähe von Boukopion und nicht weit vom Haupthafen von Lindos, an der Stelle Vigli,²⁵ liegen die Ruinen einer Basilika.²⁶ Man sollte mehrere Basiliken in Lindos und Umgebung vermuten, nur sind sie nicht erhalten, oder ihre Ruinen sind bis heute nicht als solche identifiziert.

Der Hauptraum der Basilika zeigt einen rechteckigen Grundriss (20.00 x 14.20 m) und wurde durch zwei Säulenreihen in drei Schiffe getrennt. Das Mittelschiff (Breite 5.40 m) ist breiter als die Nebenschiffe und endet im Osten in einer großen, halbkreisförmigen Apsis (Breite 4.00, Pfeil 2.30 m). Die Nebenschiffe (Breite 3.60 m) enden im Osten mit einer geraden Wand. Westlich des Hauptraumes der Basilika liegt der Narthex (14.20 x 4.65 m). Der Fußboden des Südschiffes war mit farbigen Mosaiken gedeckt, die teilweise bis heute in situ erhalten sind. Der Fußboden des Narthex war mit *opus sectile* gedeckt (Abb. 41). Reste auch davon sind bis heute in situ erhalten.

Um die Basilika von Vigli befanden sich, wie üblich, mehrere Annexbauten. Im Südteil des Narthex schloss sich an die westliche Außenwand ein quadratischer Raum (2.80 x 2.80 m) an. Vielleicht handelt es sich um die Basis einer Burg (A) für Verteidigungswerke. Einen entsprechenden Bau kann man auch am Nordteil der Westwand des Narthex vermuten. Solche Türme befinden sich oft in frühchristlichen Basiliken von Palästina und Syrien.²⁷ Rhodos liegt nicht sehr weit von diesen Ländern entfernt, und sowohl im Altertum, wie auch im Mittelalter, gab es enge kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Rhodos und den Nahostländern.²⁸

Agia Sotira,²⁹ Zopes, Paleokastro, Mesanagros

Südwestlich der Stadt Rhodos, zwischen Lachania, Apolakkia und Kattavia liegt die Siedlung Mesanagros,³⁰ wo bis heute zehn frühchristliche Basiliken lokalisiert sind, die erforscht, teilweise ausgegraben und publiziert wurden.³¹ Die große Zahl der

²⁴ Schon im Altertum, aber auch im Mittelalter und bis heute wurde in Lardos der sogenannte Lardische Stein gewonnen. Es handelt sich um eine Art von Marmor in schwarzer oder blauer Farbe.

²⁵ Der Ortsname Vigli kommt vielleicht von dem lateinischen Wort *vigilare*, d.h. sehen, beobachten.

²⁶ Lazaridis 1955, 243; S. Pelekanidis Πελεκανίδης, *Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων της Ελλάδος I: Νησιωτική Ελλάς*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1988, 92-93; Volanakis 1988, 335.

²⁷ A. Schneider, *Liturgie und Kirchenbau in Syrien*, Göttingen 1949, 45-68; S. Curcic, s.v. Bell Tower, *ODB*, 279-280.

²⁸ Die Basilika von Vigli wurde von italienischen Archäologen kurz vor dem zweiten Weltkrieg ausgegraben, aber bis heute nicht publiziert.

²⁹ Nach mündliche Überlieferungen der Bewohner des Dorfes war die Basilika der Agia Sotira, Verklärung, gewidmet.

³⁰ Der Name Mesanagros kommt aus der byzantinischen Zeit und bedeutet ein von Mauern geschützter und gesicherter Ort.

³¹ Der Verfasser hat erstmals im Jahr 1977 das Dorf Mesanagros dienstlich besucht und dort mehrere Ausgrabungen und Restaurationsarbeiten durchgeführt. Er hat die ganze Umgebung erforscht, dabei mehrere frühchristliche Monumente entdeckt, die beschrieben, teilweise ausgegraben und publiziert wurden.

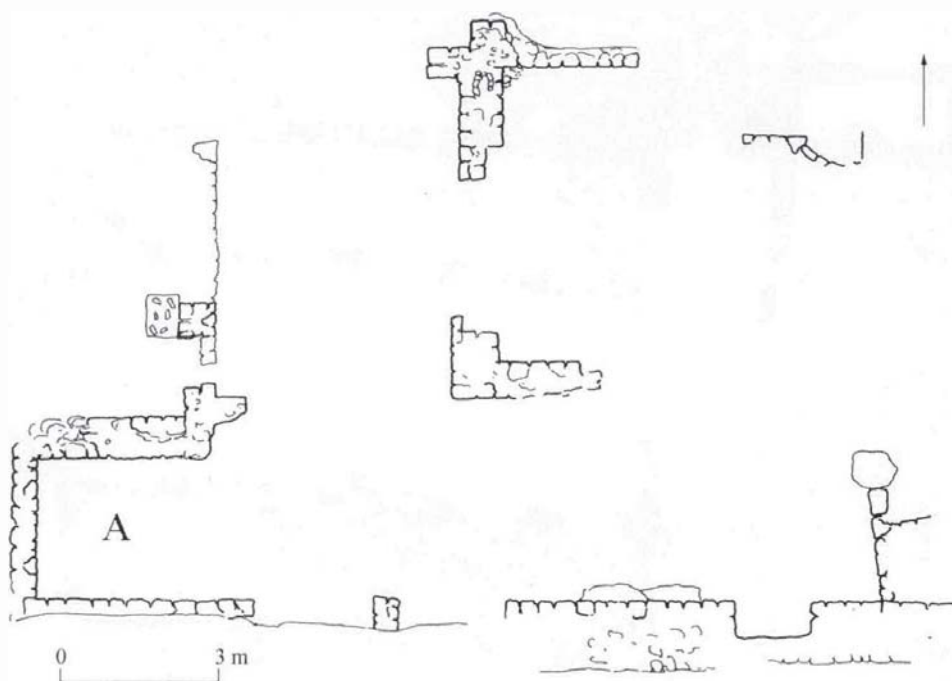


Abb. 40. Plan für die Basilika in Vigli.



Abb. 41. Der Fussboden des Narthex.

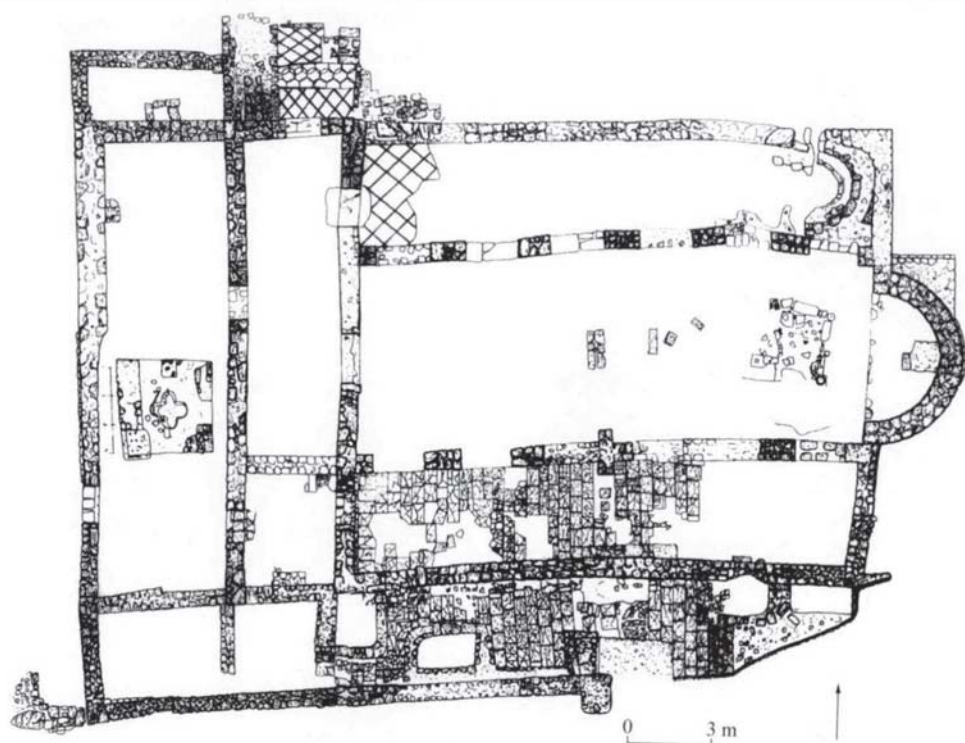


Abb. 42. Plan für die Basilika in Paleokklesia.

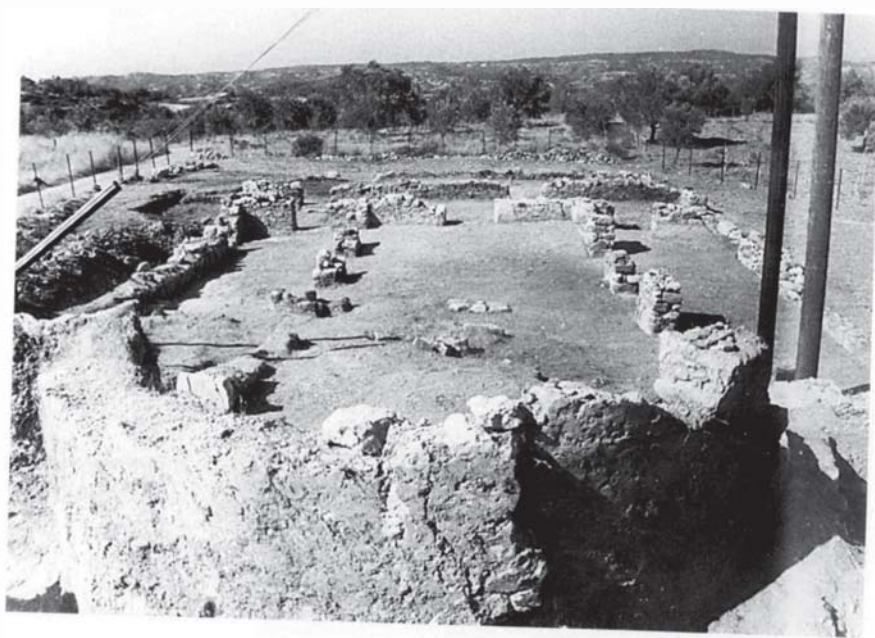


Abb. 43. Ansicht der Basilika gegen Westen.

frühchristlichen Monumente auf einem so kleinem Gebiet lässt uns vermuten, dass Mesanagros im Altertum ein wichtiges Kultzentrum und vielbesuchter Pilgerort von Süd-Rhodos war. Möglicherweise war dort das Grab eines oder mehrerer Märtyrer oder es wurden dort Reliquien aufbewahrt³².

Südöstlich der Siedlung Mesanagros, an der Stelle Paleokastro liegen auf einem Hügel die Ruinen einer Siedlung, die bis zur Zeit der Osmanischen Herrschaft auf Rhodos (1522-1912) bewohnt war. In der Mitte dieser Siedlung liegen die Ruinen einer Basilika. Das Mittelschiff (Breite 6.15 m) des dreischiffigen Hauptraumes (16.70 x 15.30 m) hat eine halbkreisförmige Apsis (Breite 4.85, Pfeil 2.65 m), die innen und außen dreiseitig ist (mittlere Seite 3.30 m, Nebenseiten 2.60 m). Die Nebenschiffe (Breite 3.85 m) enden im Osten mit einer geraden Wand. Westlich des Hauptraumes der Basilika liegt der Narthex (15.30 x 3.80 m), an den sich westlich das Atrium anschließt. Mitten in der Ostseite des Atriums befand sich ein Brunnen für die rituellen Waschungen. Um die Basilika lagen, wie gewöhnlich, mehrere Annexbauten.

Paleokklesia,³³ Salakos (Abb. 42)

Südwestlich von Salakos, an der Stelle Paleokklesia (alte Kirche), liegen auf einem Hügel (Höhe ca. 320 m), die Reste einer Basilika.³⁴ Der Hauptraum (18.05 x 15.10 m) wurde zuerst durch zwei Säulenreihen, später durch zwei Pfeilerreihen, in drei Schiffe geteilt. Das Mittelschiff (Breite 6.51 m) endet im Osten in einer halbkreisförmigen Apsis (Breite 4.55, Pfeil 2.50 m; Abb. 43). Innerhalb der Apsis befand sich der Bischofsthron, seines Basis wurde in situ entdeckt. Den Ostteil des Mittelschiffes bildete das Bema, das vom übrigen Raum durch eine niedrige Ikonostase (Templon) getrennt wurde, die aus Marmorpfeilern und Schrankenplatten bestand und auf einem Stylobat basiert war. In der Mitte des Bemas stand der rechteckiger Altartisch, der mit einem Ziborium überdeckt war. Die Basis des Altares und drei oder vier Säulen des Ziboriums wurden in situ gefunden. In der Mitte des Mittelschiffes stand der Ambo, auch seine rechteckige Basis wurde in situ entdeckt. An seinen beiden Seiten war eine Treppe. Das Südschiff (Breite 3.70 m) endete im Osten mit einer geraden Wand, während das Nordschiff (Breite 3.60 m) im Osten mit einer geraden Seite endete, die aber später zu einer Apsis umgestaltet wurde.

Westlich des Hauptraumes der Basilika liegt der Narthex (15.10 x 3.53 m), an dessen Innenwänden Fragmente von Fresken entdeckt wurden. Unterschiedliche Farbspuren sind zu erkennen: rot, blau, grün u.a. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um anikonische Wandmalerei. An die Westseite des Narthex war das Baptisterium angeschlossen, das aus folgenden drei Räumen bestand: das äußere Taufhaus, das inneres Taufhaus und das Consignatorium.³⁵ Die Dimensionen des äußeren Raumes

³² Leider sind literarische Informationen oder Inschriften darüber nicht erhalten. Bezügl. Martyria im allgemeinen: A. Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique* 1 - 2, London 1972.

³³ Volanakis 1997, 95-114.

³⁴ Um die Basilika herum liegen mehrere Gräber. Einige davon wurden im Jahr 1965 entdeckt und ausgegraben, als eine Landstraße südöstlich der Basilika gebaut wurde. Andere Gräber wurden während der Ausgrabung der Basilika 1989 - 2001 gefunden. Diese zeigen einen rechteckigen Grundriss (2.10 x 0.80 x 0.60 m) und sind mit einheimischen Steinplatten gedeckt. Die Hauptachse der Gräber liegt von W nach O. In der Regel wurde in jedem Grab eine Person ohne Beigaben beigesetzt. Die Chronologie dieser Gräber streckt sich ins Mittelalter.

³⁵ Für andere Baptisteria auf Rhodos: A. Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens, plans, notices et bibliographie*, Paris 1962, 121; Für die frühchristlichen Baptisteria: I. Volanakis, *Τα παλαιοχριστιανικά βαπτιστήρια της Ελλάδος*. Έκδοσις της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 86, Αθήναι 1976, 30-31, 126-131.



Abb. 44. Fussboden mit Mosaiken im Esonarthex.

sind 7.80 x 4.55 m. Südlich schloss sich das innere Taufhaus (4.35 x 3.25 m) an, und in seiner Mitte befand sich die kreuzförmige Taufpiscina. Südlich des inneren Taufhauses lag das Consignatorium (4.87 x 4.55 m).

An die Süd- und Nordseite des Narthex und des Baptisteriums schließen je zwei Vorräume (Propyla) an. Um die Basilika befinden sich mehrere Annexbauten, wie üblich. Der Fußboden des Altarraumes, des Mittelschiffes, der Ostteile des Süd- und Nordschiffes, des Narthex und des Baptisteriums war mit vielfarbigen Mosaiken ausgestattet, die mit verschiedenen geometrischen Formen (Abb. 44) und Wasservögeln geschmückt waren. Der Fußboden des Westteils des Südschiffes und der an der Südseite der Basilika angeschlossenen Annexbauten war mit Tonplatten gedeckt (Abb. 45). Der Fußboden des Westteiles des Nordschiffes und der Vorräume war mit kleinen Tonscherben bedeckt (Abb. 46). Sie bildeten verschiedene geometrische Muster, vor allem Romben.

Unter den Funden, die bei der Ausgrabung der Basilika ans Licht kamen, war auch ein Teil eines Ziegelsteines mit der fragmentarischen Inschrift: [τῆς ἀ]γίας [ἐκκ]λησίας. Wahrscheinlich war im fehlenden Teil dieser Inschrift der Name der Hersteller oder des Heiligen, dem diese Basilika geweiht war, erwähnt.³⁶ Diese Inschrift stammt vielleicht vom Ende des 5. Jh.s.

Im zweiten Jahrzehnt des 6. Jh.s wurde die Basilika von Salakos durch Erdbeben oder andere Naturkatastrophen stark beschädigt und kurz danach restauriert. Damals wurde auch der Fußboden im Westteil des Nordschiffes erhöht. Darüber wurde im Ostteil des Nordschiffes eine kleine, einräumige Kapelle gebaut. Ihre Ostseite endete in einer halbkreisförmigen Apsis (Breite 2.60, Pfeil 1.65 m), die in die Ostwand des Nordschiffes eingeschrieben war. In der mündlichen Überlieferung sind bis heute Legenden von der Zerstörung der Basilika und der umliegenden Siedlung durch

³⁶ Man kann vermuten, dass die Kirche der Gottesmutter geweiht war, weil auch die Hauptkirche der späteren Siedlung der Gottesmutter geweiht ist.

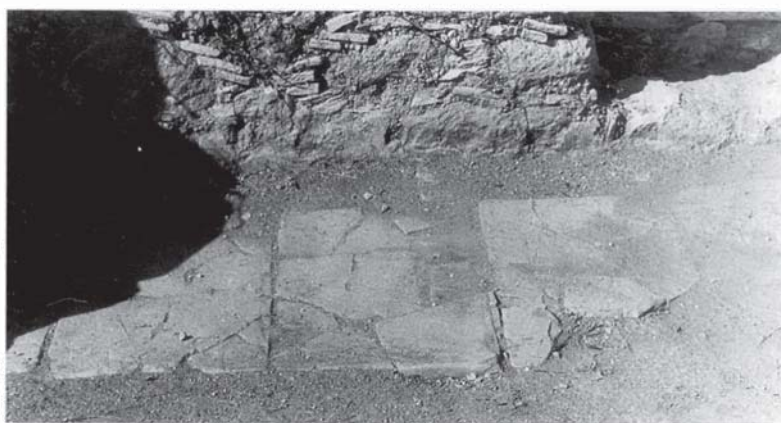


Abb. 45. Südschiff mit Tonplatten.



Abb. 46. Fussboden mit kleinen Tonscherben.

Piraten erhalten. Die Überlebenden haben ihre Siedlung dann etwas östlicher verlegt, dorthin wo das heutige Salakos liegt, damit sie nicht vom Meer her sichtbar ist.

Agios Ioannis Prodromos, Akramitis, Siana

Nördlich der heutigen Siedlung Siana, zwischen Siana und Monolithos auf dem Berg Akramitis (Höhe 823 m), liegt die Kapelle des Agios Ioannis Prodromos (der Täufer) im Höhe von ca. 700 m.³⁷ Sie ist genau an der Stelle des Bema einer frühchristlichen Basilika gebaut. Diese Basilika stand vielleicht am Ort eines antiken Heiligtums, wie man aus den Resten antiker Bauten und von der ganzen Lage her vermuten kann.

³⁷ Die Kapelle liegt in einer kleinen fruchtbaren Ebene inmitten des Waldes; sie wird Agios Ioannis genannt. Die Kapelle wurde zu Beginn des 20. Jh.s gründlich von den Einwohnern der Siedlung Siana restauriert.

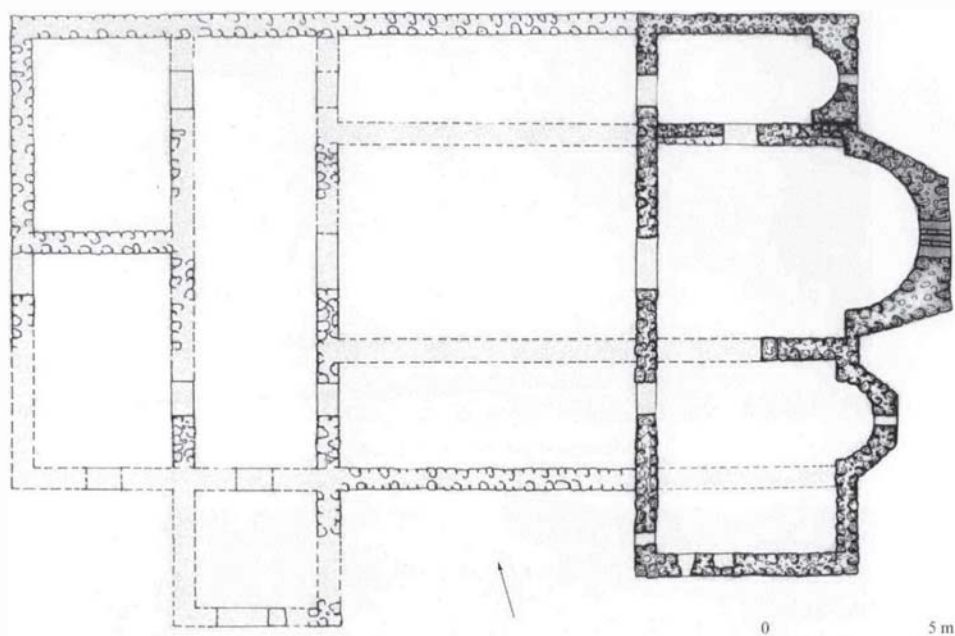


Abb. 47. Plan für die Basilika in Eptabemati.

Der Hauptraum der Basilika zeigt einen rechteckigen Grundriss (14.75 x 12.90 m), das Mittelschiff (Breite 6.50 m) war breiter als die Nebenschiffe und endete im Osten in einer großen, halbkreisförmigen Apsis (Breite 5.50, Pfeil 2.90 m). Teile ihrer Wände sind bis heute ziemlich gut erhalten. Das Südschiff (Breite 2.50 m) endete im Osten in einer kleinen, ebenfalls halbkreisförmigen Apsis (Breite 1.90, Pfeil 1.00 m). Das Nordschiff (Breite 2.50 m) schloss im Osten mit einer geraden Wand ab. Westlich der Basilika befand sich der rechteckige Narthex (12.90 x 3.30 m), an den sich das Atrium anschloss. Um die Basilika waren verschiedene Annexbauten angebaut.

Nordöstlich der Basilika in ca. 5 m Entfernung befindet sich eine unterirdische Wasserzisterne, die gut erhalten ist. Sie hat oben eine enge Öffnung und konnte daher gut verschlossen und gesichert werden. Ihre Innenwand war mit wasserdichtem Putz bedeckt, sodass sie bis heute wasserundurchlässig ist. Südöstlich der Basilika befindet sich in ca. 50 m Entfernung auf tieferem Niveau eine zweite unterirdische Wasserzisterne, die größer ist als die erste. In ihr wurde ebenfalls Regenwasser gesammelt. Diese Maßnahme war sehr nötig, da es dort oben keine Grundwasserquellen gab.

Die Basilika wurde im 5. Jh. gebaut, eine zweite Bauphase scheint aus dem 6. Jh. zu stammen. Seit der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jh.s wurde sie zerstört. Später baute man an der Stelle des Bemas die kleine, einräumige Kapelle zur Fortsetzung des christlichen Kultes. Auch diese Kapelle hatte mehrere Bauperioden.³⁸

³⁸ An der Innenwand des Bemas sind wenige Reste von Fresken aus dem 14.-15. Jh. erhalten.

Eptabemati, Siana (Abb. 47)

Fünf Kilometer südwestlich von Siana, zwischen der Siedlung Siana und Agios Isidoros, an der Stelle Eptabemati,³⁹ liegen auf einem Hügel die Ruinen einer antiken Siedlung. Der Name Eptabemati (Επταβήματα) kommt mehrmals auf der Insel Rhodos und im Dodekanes vor und wird als Synonym für große Kirchen verwendet. In der Mitte der Ruinen erheben sich die Wände einer Basilika, die mindestens zwei Bauphasen zeigt. Diese Basilika wurde wahrscheinlich an der Stelle eines antiken Heiligtums gebaut, wie man aus den Mauerresten und den architektonischen Gliedern, die zum Bau der Basilika wiederverwendet wurden, schließen kann (Abb. 48).

Erste Bauphase: Zuerst wurde an dieser Stelle eine große Basilika gebaut, ihr Hauptraum zeigt einen rechteckigen Grundriss (14.94 x 12.60 m). Das Mittelschiff (Breite 5.62 m) wurde im Osten mit einer Apsis beendet. Sie ist innen halbkreisförmig (Breite 4.40, Pfeil 2.30 m) und außen dreiseitig: Die Mittelseite misst 2.60 m und die Nebenseiten 3.00 m. Die Wand der Apsis ist fast vollständig erhalten. In ihrer Mitte öffnet sich ein Fenster. Im Innenraum der Apsis lag das hufeisenförmige Synthronon,



Abb. 48. Spolia von den Mauerresten in der Apsis.

³⁹ Wie bekannt, hat die Zahl sieben in mehreren Kulturen und Religionen vom Altertum bis heute eine mystische und symbolische Bedeutung.

das aus mehrere Stufen bestand. Der Ostteil des Mittelschiffes war durch Pfeiler und Marmorschranken vom Hauptraum der Kirche getrennt und bildete das Bema mit dem Altartisch in seiner Mitte. Das Südschiff (Breite 3.04 m) endete im Osten zunächst in einer geraden Wand, desgleichen das Nordschiff (Breite 2.60 m). Westlich des Hauptraumes der Basilika lag der Esonarthex (12.60 x 3.64 m), und noch westlich davon befand sich der Exonarthex (12.60 x 4.10 m).

Die Hauptachse der Basilika liegt 35° südöstlich gerichtet. Um die Basilika lagen verschiedene Annexbauten: südlich des Esonarthex befand sich ein rechteckiger Raum (3.64 x 3.45 m). Es handelt sich um einen Vorraum (Propylon). Die Basilika wurde im 5. Jh. gebaut und seit Mitte des 7. Jh.s zerstört.⁴⁰ Später wurden sowohl die Basilika als auch die dazugehörige Siedlung zerstört und verlassen. Die Basilika blieb aber von weither sichtbar und trägt in der mündlichen Überlieferung den Namen Eptabemati.⁴¹ In der Umgebung der Basilika befinden sich mehrere Gräber, die verschiedene Formen zeigen und aus unterschiedlichen Perioden stammen.

Kamaraki, Vrassia, Siana

Südöstlich von Siana, am Ort Prassos, befinden sich die Ruinen einer alten rhodischen Siedlung, die Vrassia hieß. Eineinhalb km südwestlich von Vrassia, am Ort Kamaraki⁴² liegen auf einer teilweise artifiziellen Terasse die Reste einer Basilika. Die Basilika war bis vor kurzer Zeit unbekannt, sie wurde aber nach einem großen Waldbrand, der den dichten Wald in der Umgebung vernichtet hatte, entdeckt.⁴³

Die Hauptachse der Basilika liegt 10° südöstlich gerichtet. Die Dimensionen des Hauptraumes waren 15.90 x 13.70 m, das Mittelschiff (Breite 6.30 m) endete im Osten in einer großen, halbkreisförmigen Apsis (Breite 5.30, Pfeil 2.80 m), ebenso das Südschiff (Breite 3.00 m; Apsisbreite 2.10, Pfeil 1.00). Das Nordschiff (Breite 3.00 m) schloss mit einer geraden Seite im Osten ab. Westlich der Basilika lag der Esonarthex (13.70 x 4.20 m) und anschließend der Exonarthex (13.70 x 3.85 m). Die Innenwände waren verputzt und mit Fresken geschmückt. Fragmente davon sind bis heute erhalten. Der Fußboden des Exonarthex, vielleicht auch noch weitere Räume der Basilika, war mit farbigen Mosaiken, die geometrischen Muster zeigen, bedeckt. Westlich des Doppelnarthex waren zwei (A und B) unterirdische Wasserzisternen gebaut.

⁴⁰ Zweite Bauphase: Nach der Zerstörung wurde die Basilika nicht verlassen, sondern der Ostteil der Hauptkirche wurde restauriert. Man baute wieder eine größere Basilika auf, zur Fortsetzung des christlichen Kultes. Das Mittelschiff (5.51 x 5.62 m) der Basilika endete im Osten mit der Apsis der ersten Basilika. Auch das Südschiff (5.35 x 5.56 m) endete im Osten in einer Apsis, die innen halbkreisförmig (Breite 2.20, Pfeil 1.15 m) und außen dreiseitig war. In der Mitte der Apsis öffnete sich ein Fenster. Das Nordschiff (4.38 x 2.60 m) endete ebenfalls im Osten in einer innen halbkreisförmigen Apsis (Breite 1.83, Pfeil 0.85 m). Sie war in die Ostwand des Schiffes eingeschrieben. In der Mitte der Apsis öffnete sich ein kreuzförmiges Fenster. Die zweite Bauphase ist nach der Mitte des 9. Jh.s zu datieren. Die Wand mit dem kreuzförmigen Fenster weist uns, zumindest was den Umbau des Ostteiles des Nordschiffes betrifft, in das 14. Jh.

⁴¹ Mitten in der nahe gelegenen Siedlung Siana erhebt sich die Kirche des Heiligen Panteleimon, die Ende des 19. oder Anfang des 20. Jh.s gebaut wurde. An der Südseite des Narthex stehen zwei zylindrische Marmorsäulen ohne Kanelluren, die aus der Basilika von Eptabemati stammen. Im Hof der Kirche befinden sie sich noch weitere architektonische Marmorglieder aus der Basilika Eptabemati: I. Volanakis, *Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Δωδεκανήσου*, ΑΔ 32, Β' Χρονικά (1977) 383-384.

⁴² Der Name Kamaraki bedeutet kleine Brücke und ist entstanden, weil sich nordöstlich in geringer Entfernung von der Basilika ein frühchristliches Grab befindet mit einer halbzylindrischen Decke, ähnlich einer kleinen Brücke.

⁴³ Das Monument hat der Verfasser dieses Artikels erstmals am 13.01. 2001 besucht, als solches erkannt, vermessen und beschrieben.

Zisterne A: Dem Nordteil des Exonarthex war eine Wasserzisterne von rechteckigem Grundriss (6.50 x 2.30 m) angeschlossen. Ihre Hauptachse lag von Norden nach Süden. Sie trug eine halbzyklindrische Decke und die Innenwände waren mit wasserdichtem Putz bedeckt. Zisterne B: Westlich von der Zisterne A lag die Zisterne B. Sie zeigte ebenfalls einen rechteckigen Grundriss (6.50 x 1.68 m) und ihre Hauptachse lag von Norden nach Süden. Sie trug eine halbzyklindrische Decke. In diesen beiden Zisternen wurde das Regenwasser vom Dach der Basilika gesammelt. Grabmonument: Nordöstlich der Basilika liegen in ca. 50 m Entfernung die Ruinen eines Grabmonumentes aus der frühchristlichen Zeit. Es handelt sich um ein unterirdisches Grab (ca. 2.30 x 1.50 m), dessen oberirdische Bau einen rechteckigen Grundriss mit äußeren Dimensionen von 3.29 x 2.40 m und inneren von 2.20 x 1.18 m zeigt. In der Mitte seiner Ostseite öffnete sich eine Tür (0.54 x 0.59 m), die wahrscheinlich durch eine Platte aus Marmor oder einfachem Stein geschlossen war. Auch dieser Bau trug eine halbzyklindrische Decke. Alle diese Gebäude wurden im 6. Jh. gebaut und seit dem 7. Jh. zerstört.

Agios Georgios, Katholike, Soroni (Abb. 49)

Ein Kilometer links von der Autostraße Soronis – Dimilias am Ort Katholike, 300 m südwestlich von der kleinen Kapelle des Agios Georgios entfernt, liegen die Ruinen einer Basilika.⁴⁴

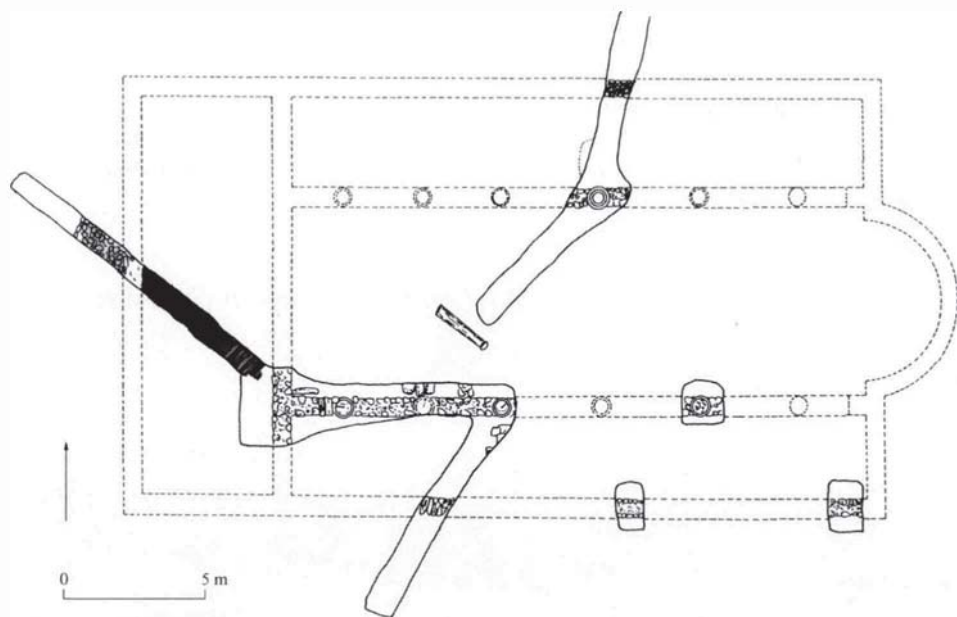


Abb. 49. Plan für Agios Georgios.

⁴⁴ Volanakis 1988, 341. In September 1992 nahm ich dort eine Untersuchung vor.

Der Hauptraum des Gebäudes zeigt einen rechteckigen Grundriss (ca. 17.80 x 13.80 m) und wurde durch zwei Säulenreihen in drei Schiffe geteilt. Jede Säulenreihe bestand aus sechs glatten Marmorsäulen (Länge 2.60, Durchmesser 0.45/0.42 m), die auf einer Marmorbasis mit Plinthe standen und ionische Kämpferkapitelle⁴⁵ getragen hatten. Das Mittelschiff (Breite 5.60 m) endete im Osten in einer halbkreisförmigen Apsis (Breite 4.60, Pfeil 2.00 m). Das Süd- (Breite 2.50 m) und das Nordschiff (Breite 3.00 m) endeten in einer geraden Wand. Westlich an die Basilika schloss sich der Narthex (13.80 x 4.40 m) an, dessen Fußboden mit farbigen Mosaiken, die geometrische Muster zeigen, geschmückt war.

Nach der Zerstörung der Basilika in der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jh.s wurde im ehemaligen Bema eine kleine Kapelle zur Fortsetzung des Kultes gebaut. Der Platz um diese Kapelle diente bis zum Spätmittelalter als Friedhof der umliegenden Siedlung.⁴⁶

Epilog

Diese Basiliken sind gute Belege für die über hundert frühchristlichen Monumente auf der Insel Rhodos. Die Mehrheit der Siedlungen, in denen diese zehn Basiliken lagen, befanden sich im Altertum am Meer oder in der Nähe des Meeres. Dies ist verständlich, weil die Schiffsverbindung die beste Möglichkeit zum Reisen und zum Gütertransport darstellte. Die Basiliken befanden sich in der Regel in der Mitte der Siedlungen, waren oft an den Ort eines antiken Tempels gebaut und bildeten das Zentrum der Gemeinden in allen Aspekten des Lebens. Die Breite des Mittelschiffes wechselt von 5.40 bis 7.75 m und ist meistens ca. 6.5 m. Die Nebenschiffe bringen wenige Abwechslung. Beim Vergleich der Breite der Schiffe mit der Breite des Hauptraumes erreichen wir in einigen Fällen das einfache Verhältniss 1:4, 1:5. Die Basiliken wurden im 5. oder 6. Jh. gebaut und seit der Mitte des 7. Jh.s zerstört oder beschädigt. Es wird geschätzt, dass die Insel Rhodos während der frühchristliche Zeit über 150.000 Einwohner hatte. Heute wohnen auf Rhodos, ein Drittel weniger, ca. 95.000 Menschen.

13. Ephoreia für Byzantinischen Antiquitäten Herakleio

⁴⁵ Orlandos 1952, 22, 323-324, Abb. 281-282.

⁴⁶ Nach den erhaltenen literarischen Informationen, ist diese Siedlung wahrscheinlich als die Siedlung Διόσκορον – Διόσκορος zu identifizieren, Papachristodoulou 1994, 286-287.

Literaturverzeichnis

ABME = Αρχείον των Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος

ΑΔ = Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον

CSHB = *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*

Lazaridis 1955 = Π. Λαζαρίδης, Συμβολή εις την μελέτην των παλαιοχριστιανικών μνημείων της Δωδεκανήσου, Πεπραγμένα του Θ' Διεθνούς Βυζαντινολογικού Συνεδρίου Θεσσαλονίκη Α', Αθήναι 1953, 227- 248.

ODB = *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* I. A.P. Kazhdan, A.-M. Talbot, A. Cutler, T.E. Gregory & N.P. Sevcenko (eds.), New York - Oxford 1991.

Orlandos 1948 = Α.Κ. Ορλάνδος, Παλαιοχριστιανικά λείψανα της Ρόδου, ABME 6 (1948) 3-54.

Orlandos 1952 = Α.Κ. Ορλάνδος, Η ξυλόστεγος παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική της μεσογειακής λεκάνης. Μελέτη περί της γενέσεως, της καταγωγής, της αρχιτεκτονικής μορφής και της διακοσμήσεως των χριστιανικών οίκων λατρείας από των αποστολικών χρόνων μέχρις Ιουστινιανού 1-2, Αθήναι 1952.

Papachristodoulou 1994 = Χρ. Παπαχριστοδούλου, Ιστορία της Ρόδου από τους αρχαιοτάτους χρόνους ως την ενσωμάτωση της Δωδεκανήσου, Αθήναι 1948, 1994².

Volanakis 1988 = Ι. Βολανάκης, Τα παλαιοχριστιανικά μνημεία της Δωδεκανήσου, Αφιέρωμα εις τον Μητροπολίτην Ρόδου κ.κ. Σπυρίδωνα, επί τη συμπληρώσει τεσσαράκοντα ετών αρχιερατείας, Αθήναι 1988, 311-347.

Volanakis 1995 = Ι. Volanakis, Die frühchristliche Basilika der heiligen Anastasia von Zonaras Apolakkia, *Theologia* 66 (1995) 769-790.

Volanakis 1997 = Ι. Βολανάκης, Παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική στη θέση Παληοκκλησιά Σαλάκου Ρόδου, *Festschrift für Prof. A. G. Tsopanakis, Φιλερήμου Αγάπησις*. Δ. Λυπουρλής & Κ. Μηνάς (Επ.), Ρόδος 1997, 95-114.

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