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The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

II. Introduction and Commentary

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for

the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Trinity Term, 1986.

Abstract

The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

Cynthia Jean Stallman

The Life of S. Pancratius of Taormina describes the mission and martyrdom of S. Pancratius, a disciple of the Apostle Peter sent to evangelize Taormina as its first bishop, and purports to have been written by S. Pancratius' successor, Evagrius. It also records details concerning S. Marcian, who was dispatched to Syracuse at the same time. The text exists in three recensions. The *editio princeps* of the first recension is presented here, based on six manuscripts (Vat. Gr. 1591, Mess. S. Salv. 53, Crypt. BβV, Vat. Gr. 1985, Vind. Hist. Gr. 3 and Vat. Ottobon. Gr. 92), together with an introduction and commentary. External and internal evidence has been used to argue that it should be dated to the early eighth century and that it is of Sicilian provenance. The analysis of the sources of the text and its presentation of the apostolic era contributes to our understanding of the Byzantine attitude to the past and of the novelistic approach to hagiography. The *Life* is a product of an important, but obscure period of Sicilian history, and it provides some evidence from a local perspective concerning matters such as ecclesiastical arrangements and attitudes in Sicily, views about religious images, practices in church decoration, liturgical rites, book production, the development of legends concerning the apostles, especially S. Peter, civil and military administration, the Sicilian language question, the topography of Sicily and Calabria and contacts with Lombardy, as well as curious references to Slavs and Avars in Sicily. The Commentary is concerned with these questions and in general with the exegesis of the text. A summary of the use made of the *Life* of S. Pancratius by later writers contributes to our understanding of the iconoclastic controversy. An edition of the *Encomium* of S. Pancratius by Gregory the Pagurite, probably written in the early ninth century, has been included in an Appendix.

Balliol College,
University of Oxford

Trinity Term, 1986
D. Phil.

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Photos taken by H. A. Stallman

Preface

That the *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina has only attracted the attention of an editor some thirteen centuries after its composition is perhaps not surprising in view of its inordinate length and the verbosity and repetitiveness of the narrative in which the few episodes of interest are embedded, but it is nevertheless regrettable, given the considerable interest the text has for Byzantinists.

The *VP* was known to scholars as early as the seventeenth century through the efforts of O. Gaetani, who summarized it in his *Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum.*[1] The seminal modern study is that of A. N. Veselovskij,[2] which remains the most comprehensive study of the *Life.* More recently, É. Patlagean[3] has published an important, if controversial article which offers an analysis of our text. A number of other scholars have commented on individual aspects of the *Life*, but have not given consideration to the work as a whole.

The *VP* is a product of a critical period in Sicilian history,

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1. O. Gaetani (Caietanus), *Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum*, I (Palermo, 1657), pp. 7-10.
2. A. N. Veselovskij, *'Изъ исторіи Романа и повѣсти' Сборникъ отдѣленія русскаго языка и словесности императорской академіи наукъ* xl/2 (1886), pp.1-64.
3. É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIII^{e} - IX^{e} siècles)', *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, v/2 (1964), pp. 579-602.

within which it provides us with evidence from a local perspective concerning a considerable range of subjects. It is not, however, an historical text, and its value as a source needs to be assessed in the light of an understanding of the nature and peculiar qualities of the text as a whole, for which a complete edition is essential.

The *VP* is an example of novelistic hagiography, and again it is important that a complete text be available if it is to be added to the materials on which discussion of this genre is based. The investigation of Evagrius' sources and methods for reconstructing the apostolic period provides a further case through which our knowledge of the Byzantine attitude to and understanding of the past can be advanced.

The study of the fate of the text, as reflected both in the direct manuscript tradition and in its use by later authors extends our knowledge especially of Sicilian and iconodule literary history, and a critical edition of the Greek text of the *VP* is essential to any Slavicist or Orientalist who intends to tackle the Old Slavonic or Georgian translations.

As this is the *editio princeps*, I have concentrated on the basic problems which surround a text, aiming especially to establish the textual tradition, the date and the provenance, and in addition have attempted to comment briefly on the more significant aspects of the *VP*, while realizing that many solutions to the text's problems remain undiscovered.

I have many acknowledgements to make. The research for the thesis was undertaken during the tenure of a University of Melbourne Travelling Scholarship, a Junior Fellowship from the Dumbarton Oaks Research Collection and Library (Harvard

University), Washington, D. C. and a Visiting Fellowship at Harvard University. I would particularly like to thank my supervisor, Prof. C. Mango, who has always been ready to offer useful and apt criticism and advice from his vast reservoir of knowledge and perception of all aspects of the Byzantine world. During my two years at Harvard, I benefited greatly from the breadth of scholarship and compulsion to teach of Prof. I. Ševčenko. I am privileged to have studied under these two great scholars. A number of Byzantinists have contributed help and advice, in particular M. Cunningham, S. Ellis, S. Georgiopoulou, M. Mango, C. Rapp, N. Ševčenko, M. Whitby and M. Whitby. I was helped with the article of Veselovskij by Princess E. N. Obolensky. I have benefited from the invaluable advice on filagranology given by N. G. Pacitti. Proof-reading was undertaken selflessly by P. de la Paz. The Greek text was typeset at the Oxford University Computing Service, in which undertaking I was given considerable guidance by S. Hockey and C. Griffin. I owe much to the support of friends in Australia, Oxford and Harvard. My final acknowledgement is of my family, especially my father, and my mother, who always believed in my work, but did not live to see its completion.

General Introduction

The date of the *VP*

External evidence provides an incontrovertible *terminus ante quem* of 814 for the composition of the *VP*, as the text was quoted in that year by Theodore the Studite. In the early ninth century, the Patriarch Nicephorus, Gregory the Pagurite, whose *Encomium* is dated here to the 820's, and Epiphanius in his *Life* of the Apostle Andrew, also show familiarity with the text. Two sources which cannot be dated securely may have made use of the *VP* before Theodore the Studite. An excerpt from the *VP* is included in the iconodule *florilegium* of Parisinus Graecus 1115, a collection which should probably be dated to the end of the eighth century, and the *Encomium* of S. Marcian, the iconoclast character of which should place it in the eighth or early ninth century, is derivative in some respects from the *VP*. The evidence of Nicephorus, who excerpts substantially from the *VP* in his *Refutatio et Eversio*, allows us to argue for an earlier date. Nicephorus refers in 820 to the codex containing the text as being 'ἀρχαιοτάτῃ', and records the mutilation of the work by the iconoclasts, so that it must have been in Constantinople before 787. It must therefore have been a product of the first iconoclastic period, or have predated it.

Internal evidence is not conclusive and involves an analysis of various attitudes and arrangements in the text and suppositions as to the circumstances in which these characteristics would most likely have been found in the light of our knowledge of the history of Sicily in the relevant period.

The *terminus post quem* is established by the use of the term 'Calabria' for the ancient Bruttium, a use found from *circa* 680, and by the familiarity shown by the author with military arrangements under the theme system, introduced into Sicily by 709/10, or perhaps 695. A reference to what appears to be Greek fire brings us to a date after 678. The argument that the *VP* is part of a cycle of saints' lives, immediately inspired by the legend of S. Apollinaris of Ravenna, which claimed Petrine foundation for sees in the Byzantine West, and especially South Italy and Sicily, again brings us to the second half of the seventh century.

It is more difficult to secure a *terminus ante quem* for the text. A causal relationship between the edict of Leo III promulgated in 721/2 against the Jews and Montanists and the appearance of these two groups in the text is difficult to establish. The dating of the legendary excursus concerning Remaldus and Aculinus, Taurus and Menia, is dependent upon the acceptance of the identification of the Remaldus of the excursus with either of the Lombards Romuald I or Romuald II, and upon assumptions concerning the time necessary for the transformation of history into Romance, so that it is at best imprecise. The use of the references to the Slavs and Avars, and suggestions as to the remote influence of the activity of the Emperor Constans on local memory are subject to the same constraints. Ecclesiastical arrangements in Sicily depicted in the *VP* correspond to those which existed before the transfer of Sicily from the jurisdiction of Rome to that of Constantinople, an event which may have taken place in 732/3 or between 752 and 757. Dating by this means is inconclusive, as the arrangements presented by Evagrius may either be those of his own time and therefore banal, as I suggest

is more likely, or, as Patlagean has proposed, may be a reconstruction of earlier arrangements made with polemical intent. References to religious images are also inconclusive. All the material in this category is found elsewhere in the period before iconoclasm, and it is difficult to prove that there was a polemical intention in its inclusion. As regards both these matters, however, it seems unlikely that an iconodule text arguing for Roman jurisdiction was written in Sicily under iconoclastic, Constantinopolitan jurisdiction, especially if it had official patronage, so that a date *before circa* 730 is probable.

Provenance

Our analysis of the knowledge of topography shown by Evagrius suggests that he had no familiarity with the Eastern Mediterranean or Rome, and that his world was limited to the East coast of Sicily and to Calabria, and that his base of operations was Taormina. Thus, the *VP* was neither a product of a refugee from the East, nor of a member of the Greek community in Rome.

The Author

The most patent purpose of the text seems to have been the advancement of the diocese of Taormina through claims of apostolicity, the promotion of its saintly founder and the justification of its jurisdictional rights and ecclesiastical practices through a demonstration of their apostolic ordinance. The history and aetiology not only of the diocese, but of the city itself is a constant preoccupation of our author. In view of the great length of the text, some form of official patronage should be assumed,

and it is reasonable to conclude that the bishop of Taormina, or perhaps a monastery there, commissioned the work to advance the city's interests and outline its history. Evagrius' knowledge of and interest in ecclesiastical administration suggests that he may have been an official in the diocesan administration.

Sources

The figure of S. Pancratius existed before the production of the *VP* and undoubtedly there were already legends concerning him. The *Life* of A. Apollinaris of Ravenna may have influenced the association of S. Pancratius with Antioch and S. Peter through the mediation of the S. Marcian legend. For details about the apostolic period, Evagrius turned, not unreasonably, to the *Acts* of the Apostle John, a fifth century work which purported to be a product of the apostolic era, using the same device of pseudo-discipleship Evagrius himself was to adopt. Here his dependence on sources concerned with the apostolic era seems to end. A Romance which appears to have been based on Byzantine-Lombard relations in South Italy, in which there are also elements from the Alexander Romance, the Old Testament, local legend and folk-lore motifs has not only been recounted at length in the *VP*, but has had a pervasive influence on the narrative as a whole and introduced a fabulous and folk-lore quality into the *VP*. Sections of the *VP*, like the miracle stories and the martyrdom of the saint, seem to be derived from the common stock of hagiographic material. An historical source concerning the seventh century, or local memory, may be responsible for the reference to the Slavs and Avars, unlesss they too are commonplaces. In addition, Evagrius has undoubtedly introduced

aspects of his own world, like military administration, agrarian conditions and topography, assuming their pre-existence in the apostolic period. In addition to all this, the contribution of Evagrius' own imagination must be suspected.

The identification of these sources not only indicates the range of literary material available to Evagrius, but also shows something of the historical perception of Evagrius and of his method as a novelistic hagiographer. He is not able to distinguish between different periods of history, but sees the past as a single period into which any material to hand about the past can be inserted. He does not appear to be aware of any incongruity in placing Avars, Slavs and Lombards together with the Apostle Peter, Montanists with an *adnoumion* of soldiers, material from a Romance with material from the *Life* of an Apostle.

The *VP* as an historical source

The *VP* is a product of a critical time in Sicily's history. It was written within a period which, speaking broadly, saw the establishment of the theme of Sicily, the transfer of its ecclesiastical jurisdiction from Rome to Constantinople, the outbreak of iconoclasm, the arrival of refugees from the East, a substantial linguistic upheaval, the sojourn in Syracuse of an Emperor, the increasing influence of the Lombards in South Italy, and the appearance of an Arab menace. The distant nature of its subject and its novelistic approach restrict the value of the *VP* as an historical source, but its evidence concerning the topography and monuments of Eastern Sicily and Calabria, architecture, ecclesiastical attitudes and arrangements, liturgical rites, attitudes and practices regarding religious images, church decoration,

writing materials and book production, the position of Jews, the development of apostolic legends, trade and maritime matters, civil and military administration, the Christian view of the pagan world, deaconesses, the possible presence of Slavs and Avars in Sicily, agrarian conditions, relations between Taormina and Syracuse, and in general the outlook of a Sicilian writer on the world, is still of considerable value. The study of the fate of the *VP* in the hands of later writers casts some light on the history of the iconoclastic period and on Sicilian literary history.

The manuscripts of the *VP*

a) The manuscripts of the first recension

X Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1591

Vaticanus Graecus 1591 (olim Cryptoferratensis 40), a. 964, parchment, 22.0 x 16.5 cm., III.216 foll., two columns, 35-37 ll., one hand.

Contents

1. The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina (*BHG* 1410)

Inc. (fol. 1r) Ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ... Des. (fol. 107v) ταῦτα δὲ ἀνεγραψάμεθα κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν, ὅσον ἐχωροῦμεν ... ἀμήν.

Appendicula (*BHG* 1410a)

Inc. (fol. 107^{v}) Οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ τῶν εἰδώλων ναοὶ οἱ μέγιστοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ... Des. (fol. 107^{v}) καὶ πάντας ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπήλασεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς πρεσβείας τοῦ ἁγίου Παγκρατίου καὶ κατέσπαρται ἐν αὐτῇ εἰρήνη ... ἀμήν.

Lemmata

θαύμα α' (fol. 45^{v}) Inc. καὶ ἀπελθόντων αὐτῶν, ἐγένετο ὡσεὶ μιᾶς διάστημα (= *VP*, p.186, l. 13)

θαύμα β' (fol. 47^{v}) Inc. Ἑτέρα δὲ γυνὴ ἦλθεν ἐν ἀληθινὴ διαθέσει (= *VP*, p. 195, l. 11)

περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μαρκιανοῦ (fol. 79^{v}) Inc. Ἦλθεν οὖν ἡ ἀκοὴ εἰς τὸν ἁγιώτατον Μαρκιανὸν (= *VP*, p. 326 , l. 2)

ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Μαρκιανόν (fol. 80^{r}) Inc. Μαρκιανῷ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τῆς Συρακουσῶν πόλεως (= *VP*, p. 330 , l. 8)

περὶ Ταύρου (fol. 91^{r}) Inc. Ταύρος οὕτως ὁ πολὺς ἐν σαρκικῇ δυνάμει (= *VP*, p. 376 , l. 6)

2. S. Gregory Nazianzus *Advice to a Young Man* (ed. Jo. Sajdak, *Meletemata patristica* I (Cracow, 1914), p.242ff.)

Inc. (fol. 108^{r}) Δεῖ τὸν νέον ἀσκεῖν, σώματος ἐρημίαν ... Des. (fol 108^{r}) τὴν ἀνταπόδωσιν, αἰωνίοις δωρεαῖς ... ἀμήν.

3. The *Passion* of SS. Alphius, Philadelphus and Cyrinus of Leontini (*BHG* 57)

Inc. (fol. 110^{r}) Ἡ μὲν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προαιώνιος καὶ αὐτεξούσιος βασιλεία ... Des. (fol. 147^{r}) μεθ' ὧν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρήνην εἰλήφασιν διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ... ἀμήν.

with the following additions,

a) (foll. 147^{v} - 153^{v}) περὶ Ἐπιφανῆς τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου (*BHG* 58)

b) (foll. 153^{v} - 165^{v}) περὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀγάθωνος τῆς τῶν Λιπαριτῶν νήσου (*BHG* 59)

c) (foll. 165^{v} - 182^{r}) περὶ τῆς αἱμορροούσης γυναικὸς καὶ περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς Ευθαλίας, καὶ τὸ πῶς αὐτὴν ἀπέκτεινεν Σερβιλιανὸς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς (*BHG* 60)

d) (foll. 182^{r} - 204^{v}) περὶ Βηργαντίνου τοῦ τυφλοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Βηκτορίνου, καὶ πῶς αὐτὸς ἀνέβλεψεν, καὶ περὶ τῆς τελειώσεως τοῦ ἁθλίου Σερβηλιανοῦ (*BHG* 61)

e) (foll. 204^{r} - 216^{v}) περὶ Σαμουὴλ ἑβραίου τοῦ λεπροῦ, καὶ πῶς αὐτὸν ἰάσαντο οἱ ἅγιοι (*BHG* 62)

Colophon (fol. 216^{v})
σὺν θ(ε)ῳ τέρμα πυκτιδος ++ γραφεν δια χειρος Βασιλείου μο(να)χ(οῦ) ταπεινου κ(αὶ) αμαρτ(ωλοῦ) μηνὶ δεκεμβριω. κδ'. ἡμέρα σα(ββάτῳ) ωρ(ᾳ) ς' + ινδ. η'. ἔτ(ους) ,ϛυογ' + σ(ελήνης) κυ(κλῳ) ιγ'

Subscriptions

Fol. 107^{v}.

ὁ θεος ιλαθη μοι Βασιλειω τω ξυσαντη + Βασιλείου μοναχου δος Χριστε πάλα τοῖς πόνοις

ωσπερ τοῖς πεινοσι ὑδὺς ὁ ἄρτος. οὕτω καὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν ὁ ἔσχατος, στίχος

Fol. 165^{v}

σὺν θεῳ περας εἴληφεν ἡ βίβλος τῶν ἁγίων Ἀλφείου φιλαδέλφου καὶ Κυρίνου δια χειρὸς Βασιλείου μοναχου γραφέν

Description

The manuscript consists of two parts, the first from foll. 1 - 109 and the second from foll. 110 - 216, each part having fourteen fascicles. All the quires are quaternions, with the exception of the last of the second part, from which the fourth folio is missing, and in the first part, ι', which has seven folia, with one folio missing after fol. 78, and ιδ', which has six folia, with two folia missing after fol. 108. The missing folia do not cause *lacunae* in the text. The signatures are placed above the

right margin. The signatures α' - δ' are not visible because of damage to the manuscript.

Folio numbers have been indicated with Arabic numerals above the right margin. The damaged folia are numbered in the same way at the top of the surviving portion.

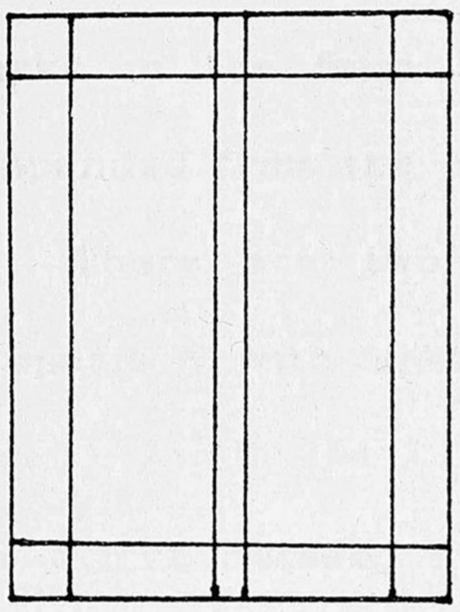


fig. a

The rulings are of the following type, a type common in South Italian manuscripts, including those of Tyrrhenian origin.[1]

Three extra folia (I.II.III) have been added at the beginning of the manuscript, II and III being paper folia.

The manuscript has been executed by one hand, which on a number of folia (e.g. foll. 13^{r}, 22^{v}, 65^{v} - 66^{r}, 75^{r}) lapses into greater informality.[2] The script is distinctive and has been the subject of much comment. It is rounded and inclined to the left, and has the general aspect of an early minuscule manuscript, despite its relatively late date, a discrepancy which points to a

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1. See J. Irigoin, 'Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins', *Scriptorium* xii (1958), pp. 217-18.
2. These folia were declared to be by a different hand by K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, VII (Boston, 1937), p. 10. See Giannelli's refutation of this made on the basis of a comparison with the scribe Basil's own minuscule subscription (fol. 165^{v}). C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci (Codices 1485-1683)* (Vatican, 1950), p. 218.

South Italian origin.[3] There are some uncial letters. At intervals the first letter of the line is larger than the body of the writing. Neither adscript nor subscript iota is used, nor apostrophe after Hebrew words. Accents are placed on the second of two vowels, and both parts of compound verbs are accented. Breathings are angular in form and diaeresis is marked. There are a few compendia and the standard *nomina sacra*, which are unaccented. Marks in the form > are used for quotations. The writing is suspended from the ruled lines.

There are two sets of corrections, one (X^2), made after comparison with another manuscript and marked "ἐν ἄλλῳ" (e.g. foll. 24^v, 54^v, 154^v), and a series of corrections (X^1), perhaps by the scribe himself, but probably by a more recent corrector (e.g. foll. 173^v, 174^r, 193^v). In addition, there are a number of notes (e.g. foll. 13^v, 21^r, 91^v).

The *VP* begins below an interwoven border coloured with green, red and brown. The initial E of the text is distinctive as its ornamentation incorporates a hand and face, and again is colored with red, green and brown. The *lemmata* are also preceded by borders and have ornamented initial letters of different degrees of elaborateness. Several crosses of uncial

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3. E. Follieri, 'La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X', in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), p. 149.

form[4] are placed before titles. A yellow wash has been used over titles, a characteristic of South Italian manuscripts.[5] On fol. 109, which has no text, there is a crudely executed image in red and brown of a saint with a nimbus, looking heavenward and holding a stole,[6] as well as a face in a lunette and a border.

There are many later contributions to the manuscript.

Fol. I^{r}.

There are traces of writing, from which Giannelli[7] was able to discern the words, "δευτε προς κν ... στ(αυ)ρων γὰρ ὑπομεινας ...". Below this a label has been pasted with the number '1591' and a Latin index of Allacci indicating, "Pancratii episcopi vita et miracula scripta per Evagrium eius discipulum. Alphii, Philadelphii et Quirini Marty(rum) vitae et miracula."

Fol. IV.

A scribe has practised writing the titles of the *vitae*, namely,

Βί(ος) τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Πανκρατίου

+ Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Πανκρατίου καὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀλφίου Φιλαδέλφου καὶ <K>υρίνου

+ Βίος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Πανκρατίου ἀρχιπροέδρου τῆς τῶν Ταυρομενίτων πόλεως : συγγραφῆς ὑπὸ Εὐαγρίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαθητοῦ καὶ οἰκέτου, π(άτ)ερ εὐ(λόγησον)

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4. See J. Leroy, 'Un témoin ancien des *Petites Catéchèses* de Théodore Studite', *Scriptorium* xv (1961), pp. 48–52.
5. R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale* (*ST* 183) (Vatican, 1955), p. 29.
6. This is reproduced in É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIII^{e} - IX^{e} siècles)', *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, v/ii (1964), opposite p. 569.
7. C. Giannelli, *Codices*, p. 218.

The execution of a number of capital letters, namely two B's and two E's has been practised, that of the E in extremely crude imitation of the initial E on fol. 1^{r}. The execution of the E bears a strong resemblence to the initial E at the beginning of the *Life* of the Apostle John in Vat. Gr. 1985 (fol. 101^{r}). The text of the *VP* in the latter manuscript seems to converge with that of the former towards the end of the text. It is tempting to see, in the similarity of the ornamented E's, evidence of contact between the two manuscripts. It should be noted in this respect that the *Life* of the Apostle John in Vat. Gr. 1985 has the same *incipit* as the *VP*.

There are, furthermore, two invocations on fol. I^{v}, namely, "ελεησον του δ<ου>λ<ου> σου Βλασίου" and "μνη<σ>θ<η>τ<ι> κ(ύρι)ε του δουλου σ<ου> Κυπριάνου του ἀλίτηρι<ου>".[8]

Fol. II^{r}.

Fol. II^{r} has the number '40', the original Grottaferrata numbering of the manuscript. This number also appears at the top of fol. 5^{r}.

Fol. III^{r}.

Fol. III^{r} has a *pinax* in Greek written by L.F.Tiburtinus (?),[9] who was perhaps also responsible for the two Π's at the bottom of fol. 1^{r}. This gives as the title of the *VP*, "Βίος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Πανκρατίου συγγραφεῖς ὑπὸ Εὐαγρίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ

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8. C. Giannelli, *Codices*, p. 218.
9. C. Giannelli, *Codices*, p. 218.

μαθητοῦ καὶ οἰκέτου", and lists two *lemmata*, "περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μαρκιανοῦ" and "περὶ Ταύρου". The title of S. Gregory's tractate is, "Ναζιανζου ὅπως δεῖ τὸν νέον ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει αὐτὸν ἄγειν" and of the *Lives* of SS. Alphius, Philadelphus and Quirinus, "Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγί(ων) πανευφήμων μαρτύρω(ν) τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ Ἀλφίου, Φιλαδέλφου, καὶ Κυρίνου". The remaining titles are as those given in 4.a - e in the list of Contents above. No folio numbers are given. A different hand has written across the top of the page, "τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἦν τῆς μονῆς τῆς Κρυφτωφέρρης (corr. Κρυπτωφέρρης)".

At the top of fol. 108^{v}, most of which has been cut away, a hand which cannot be securely identified with any of the other contributors to the manuscript has written, "κυριε ὁ θεος τῶν πατερων μου βοηθησόν μοι καὶ σκέπασόν με γένοιτο ἀμήν".

The parchment is of mediocre quality, sometimes resistent to the ink. The first thirteen folia are badly damaged, some of the text being lost. Other damage to the manuscript has not affected the text. The manuscript is bound in cream vellum with red leather and is embossed in gold with the arms of Pope Leo XIII.

History

Vat. Gr. 1591 (olim Crypt. 40) is among the manuscripts of Grottaferrata which date from before the time of the monastery's foundation in 1004. R. Devreesse[10] has suggested that it comes

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10. R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits*, p. 29.

from the 'Tyrrhenian' region, that is, that it was produced in a monastery in Western Calabria. The scribe Basil cannot be identified in any other manuscript,[11] but his colophon is useful in giving the date a. 964. The manuscript must later have been acquired by the important Basilian center of Grottaferrata, but there is no evidence concerning the date and circumstances of the acquistion.

It was on the basis of this manuscript that Gaetani made his Latin translation of the *VP*, in that Cod. II.E8 of the National Library of Palermo,[12] a sixteenth or seventeenth century paper manuscript made by various hands for the use of Gaetani, is based on this manuscript (foll. 86^{r} - 99^{v}). It was also used by J. Sirmond for his translation of the *Passion* of S. Alphius and his companions in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[13]

In 1615 it was one of a group of thirty six manuscripts which were transferred to the Vatican Library,[14] thus becoming Vat. Gr. 1591.

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11. M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 56, attempt to identify the Basil of Vat. Gr. 1591 with two scribes in dated manuscripts of the tenth century. Their attempt has been refuted by A. Ehrhard, 'Ein neues vormetaphrastisches Januarmenologium', *BZ* xxx (1929-30), p. 311.
12. F. Halkin, 'Manuscrits grecs à Messine et à Palerme', *AB* lxix (1951), p. 271.
13. *AASS* (Maii ii), pp. 772-88. Sirmond refers to the manuscript as a Grottaferrata manuscript and dates it to 1473. See C. Giannelli, *Codices*, p. 218.
14. C. Giannelli, *Codices*, p. viii.

S Codex Messanensis S. Salvatoris 53

Messanensis S. Salvatoris 53, c. XII, parchment, 35.0 x 24.0 cm., 225 foll., two columns, 24-34 ll., three (?) hands.

Contents

1. The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina (*BHG* 1410)

Inc. (fol. 1^{r}) Ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθεῖναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ... Des. (fol. 154^{v}) τὰ (corr. ταῦτα) δὲ ἀνεγραψάμεθα κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν, ὅσον ἐχωροῦμεν ... ἀμήν.

Appendicula (*BHG* 1410a)

Inc. (fol. 154^{v}) Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τῶν εἰδώλων ναοὶ οἱ μέγιστοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ... Des. (fol. 154^{v}) καὶ πάντας ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπήλασεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς πρεσβείας τοῦ ἁγίου Παγκρατίου καὶ κατέσπαρται εἰρήνη ἐπ' αὐτῇ ... ἀμήν.

Lemmata

θαύμα α' γυνη λαλεπρομενη (fol. 64^{v}) Inc. καὶ ἀπελθόντων αὐτῶν. ἐγένετο ὡσεὶ μιὰς ὥρας διάστημα (= *VP*, p. 186, l. 13)

θαύμα β' (fol. 68^{v}) Inc. Ἑτέρα δὲ γυνὴ ἦλθεν ἐν ἀληθινῇ διαθέσει γονυπετοῦσα τῷ μακαρίῳ (= *VP*, p. 195, l. 11)

περι Παυληνης (M^{1}) (fol. 73^{v}) Inc. οὐ μόνον παρθένοι καὶ χῆραι (= *VP*, p. 213, l. 15)

περὶ τῆ φονης [...] (M^{1}) (fol. 101^{v}) Inc. (at top of column beginning) (περιβλε)ψάμενος δὲ ὁ μακάριος εἰς τὸ σύγκλητον (= *VP*, p. , l.)

πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου Μαρκιανοῦ (fol. 112^{v}) Inc. Ἦλθεν οὖν ἡ ἀκοὴ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Μαρκιανόν (= *VP*, p. 326, l. 2)

επηστολη Πανκρατιου προς Μαρκιανον (M^{1}) (fol. 141^{r}) Inc. (at top of column beginning) (διδά)ξας τηρεῖν πάντα ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν (= *VP*, p. , l.)

2. The *Life* of S. Nicholas of Myra (Symeon Metaphrastes) (*BHG* 1349)

Inc. (fol. 155^{r}) Σοφόν τι χρῆμα ζωγράφων χεὶρ καὶ δεινὴ μὲν μιμήσασθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ... Des. (fol. 183^{r}) καὶ τὴν προτέραν τιμὴν τῇ δευτέρᾳ διαδεξάμενον ... ἀμήν.

3. The *Life* of S. Nicholas of Myra (*BHG* 1349z)

Inc. (fol. 183^{v}) Ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, ἐγένετο ἀκαταστασία ... Des. (fol. 190^{r}) οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες οὗτοι ὑπέστρεψαν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει δοξάζοντες ... ἀμήν.

4. The *Life* of S. Nicholas of Myra (Michael the Archimandrite) (*BHG* 1348)

Inc. (fol. 190^{v}) Ὄρθρος ἡμῖν φαεινώτατος εὐσεβείας καὶ λαμπρῶν θαυμάτων περιοχή ... Des. (fol. 206^{v}) σὲ γὰρ βοηθὸν ἱκανότατον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βίου ὀχληροῖς Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν προεστήσατο ... ἀμήν.

5. The *Life* of S. Mary of Egypt (Sophronius ?) (*BHG* 1042c)
Inc. (fol. 207^{r}) Μυστήριον βασιλέως κρύπτειν καλόν· τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακηρύττειν ἔνδοξον ... Des. (fol. 224^{r-v}) ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ Ζωσιμᾶς εἰς ἐκείνω τῶ μοναστήριον ἑκατὸν ἐγγὺς ἐτῶν / [...] κυρίου ἡμῶν ... ἀμήν. (mutil.)

Colophon

There is no colophon, but the words ευσεβιου του μοναχ(ου) appear on fol. 224^{v}.

Description

The manuscript has the number ξς' on fol. 1^{r}, which does not correspond to its present number. There has been some confusion in the numbering of the collection.[1]

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1. On the confusion in the numbering system of the collection, see G. Fraccaroli, 'Dei codici Greci del Monastero del SS. Salvatore', *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* iv (1897), pp. 487-514.

The quires are all quaternions, except for η', from which the fourth folio is missing (after fol. 58), without loss to the text, and κ' and κζ' which are binions. Signatures are marked at the bottom of the first column. The signature θ' appears on both fol. 64^{r} and fol. 65^{r}.

Folio numbers are indicated by Arabic numerals at the bottom of the page, and occasionally also at the top. Fol. 176 has been numbered as both 176 and 177, and fol. 158 as both 158 and 159.

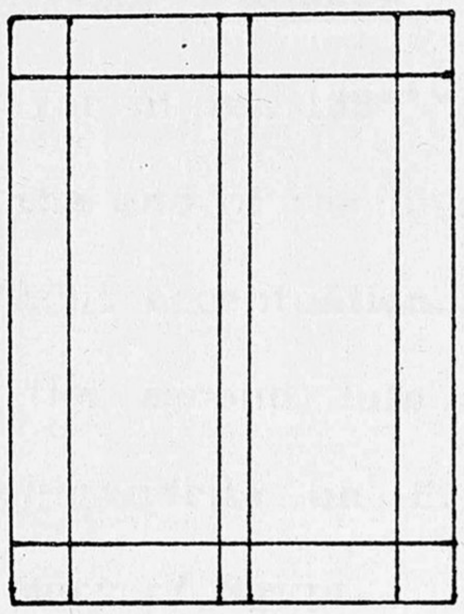


fig. a

The rulings take the following form. One column is often wider than the other on a given folio. There is also considerable variation in the number of lines on each page, with great variation occurring even in sections which appear to be written by the same hand. The vertical rulings have been traced over with a crayon in some instances, a feature characteristic of South Italian manuscripts.[2]

The manuscript consists of 224 folia proper to it, and in addition, one extraneous folio (fol. 226) originally from a twelfth

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2. See P. Canart and J. Leroy, 'Les manuscrits en style de Reggio. Étude paléographique et codicologique', in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), p. 251.

century manuscript in the Reggio script and reused as an end-paper in the sixteenth century.[3]

A number of hands have contributed to the manuscript. The *VP* appears to have been written by a single hand, although there is considerable variation in the size of the script. It is a semi-uncial hand with many ligatures. There is no final sigma, neither adscript nor subscript iota, nor apostrophe after Hebrew words. Accents are placed on the second of two vowels and diaeresis is marked. Quotation marks in the form > are used for a prayer at fol. 139^{r+v}. There are a number of compendia, usually at the end of the line, and standard *nomina sacra* are abbreviated, without accentuation. The hand of the *VP* seems to be that also of the second *Life* of S. Nicholas, of the work of Michael the Archimandrite on S. Nicholas to fol. 203^{r}, and of the *Life* of S. Mary of Egypt.

The first *Life* of S. Nicholas is written by a second hand, also semi-uncial, but more rounded and bolder. The words 'μέν' and 'δέ' have a double accent.

A third hand seems to have completed the second *Life* of S. Nicholas from fol. 203^{r} to fol. 206^{v}. The script is semi-uncial, with a neat, sharp appearance. The letter τ is often written

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3. See M. B. Foti, *Catalogo dei Frammenti di Codici Manoscritti Greci della Biblioteca Universitaria di Messina* (Messina, 1979), p. 10 with n. 19.

larger than other letters, there is a distinctive form of λ, and compendia and abbreviations are executed with flourishes.

In all cases the writing is suspended from the ruled line.

The text of the *VP* alone has been corrected. Two hands seem to have been used: an untidy, informal hand (M^1) and a small hand (M^2), which has largely attempted to supply the text where it has been damaged. The former hand has added comments and *lemmata* in addition to corrections.

The ornamentation in the manuscript is all monochromatic, with simple borders and ornamented initials being used by the first hand, and a more elaborate style of border by the second hand.

A table of contents in Latin has been added as a flyleaf (paper) at the end of the manuscript, which gives the following references:-

Vita S.P.N. Pancratij	f.1
Epistola S. Marciani ep(iscop)i Syracusani ad S. Pancratium	f.109-102 (sic)
Responsio S. Pancratij ad S. Marcianum	f.111
S.P.N. Nicolai Archiep(iscop)i Myron	f.152
Vita et institutiones S.P.N. Nicolai Archiep(iscop)i Myron	f.179
Michaelij Archimandritae in vita et miracula S.P.N. Nicolai	f.186
Vita et conversatio S. Mariae Egyptiae	f.202

This suggests that the folio numbering must have been different at the time of the composition of the index. H. Delehaye gives the same references as the index in his catalogue.[4]

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4. H. Delehaye, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum monasterii Sancti Salvatoris, nunc bibliothecae Universitatis Messanensis', *AB* xxiii (1904), pp. 55-6.

The paper flyleaf also bears these entries.

"[...] S. Pangratio [...] S. Nicolai [...] Miri[...]"

"Vitae S. Pancratii & S. Nicolai"

"Ms.53"

The parchment is of poor quality. There is water damage to the top corner of the whole manuscript, with the most serious damage at the beginning, where some of the text has been lost. It is bound in brown leather with wooden covers. A note on the end paper of the back cover records the manuscript's restoration at Grottaferrata in December, 1957.

History

The Monastery of S. Salvatore at Messina, after its founding at the beginning of the twelfth century, gathered a collection of manuscripts. A account of this is contained in the preface to the *typicon* of the monastery in the thirteenth century Cod. Mess. S. Salv. 115.

> Εἶτα γραμματικούς τε καὶ καλλιγράφους καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν θείων βίβλων καὶ ἡμετέρων καὶ τὴν ἔξω παιδείαν ἱκανῶς ἠσκημένους, καὶ βίβλους πολλὰς καὶ καλλίστους συνήγαγον τῆς τε ἡμετέρας καὶ οὐχ ἡμετέρας καὶ θείας γραφῆς καὶ τῆς πάντῃ οἰκείας ἡμῖν, ... [5]

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5. Mess. S. Salv. 115, fol. 4^{v}, published in G. Fraccaroli, 'Dei codici Greci', pp. 488-89.

The typicon and its preface probably date from the early years of the monastery, and the account is confirmed by several colophons in the early dated manuscripts from S. Salvatore.[6] This process of collection undoubtedly continued, so that Mess. S. Salv.53 may have been written elsewhere and acquired by the monastery. The monastery also undertook copying, this again being confirmed by the colophons of manuscripts dated to the twelfth[7], thirteenth[8], and fourteenth[9] centuries, so that it is possible that our manuscript, which has no colophon, was written in the monastery itself. It is not, however (apart from the extraneous fol. 225), written in the distinctive 'Reggio' style peculiar to the area dependent on the monastery of S. Salvatore.[10] Whether it is a product of the monastery of S. Salvatore or not, it is almost certainly of Sicilian or South Italian origin, its decoration, material and ruling being characteristic of the area.

The manuscript appears in the inventory made by P. Francesco di Napoli at the behest of Pope Pius IV.[11] In 1872, it was moved with the entire collection to the library of the University of Messina.[12]

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6. E.g. Mess. S. Salv. 45, a. 961, from the church of S. Leo of Catania; Mess. S. Salv. 117, a. 1116, written by Leo the *notarios* of Reggio.
7. Mess. S. Salv. 73, a. 1173, written in Messina.
8. Mess. S. Salv. 86, a. 1281, written by Jacob of the Monastery of S. Salvatore.
9. Mess. S. Salv. 30, a. 1308, written by Daniel of the Monastery of S. Salvatore.
10. See P. Canart and J. Leroy, 'Style de Reggio', pp. 241-61.
11. It is no. 85 in the list published by P. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano* (Paris, 1891), p. 140.
12. G. Fraccaroli, 'Dei codici Greci', p. 510.

C Codex Cryptoferratensis BβV

Cryptoferratensis BβV, c. X, parchment, 15.0 x 20.0 cm., I.160 foll., complete lines, 28 ll., one hand.

Contents

1. The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina (*BHG* 1410)

Inc. (fol. 9r) Ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ... Des. (fol. 167r) ταῦτα δὲ ἀνεγραψάμεθα κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν, ὅσον ἐχωροῦμεν ... ἀμήν.

Appendicula (*BHG* 1410a)

Inc. (fol. 167v) Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τῶν εἰδώλων ναοὶ οἱ μέγιστοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ... Des. (fol. 167v) καὶ πάντας ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπέλασεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς πρεσβείας τοῦ ἁγίου Παγκρατίου καὶ κατέσπαρται εἰρήνη ἐπ' αὐτῇ ... ἀμήν.

Lemmata

περὶ Ταύρου τοποκτίστου (fol. 140r) Inc. ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παγκράτιος πρὸς Βονηφάτιον (= *VP*, p. 373 , l.13)

περὶ τῆς τελιώσεως τοῦ ἁγίου (fol. 153v) Inc. Ὁ οὖν μακάριος Παγκράτιος φωνήσας με (= *VP*, p.410 , l. 7)

πε(ρὶ) τ(ῆ)ς διαθίκ(η)ς (fol. 154r) Inc. (above page beginning) ταύτῃ κηρύξαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ (= *VP*, p.410 , l. 14)[1]

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1. A. Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano* (Grottaferrata, 1883), p. 145, states that there is only one lemma, that on fol. 153v (fol. 154 according to Rocchi). The third lemma may have been added by a corrector.

Colophon (fol. 167^{v})

Παγκρατίου πέφυκε τοῦ θείου βίος.
Εὐάγριος συγγραφεὺς ὑπάρχ(ει) μόνος.
Εὔχεσθαι κἀμοὶ τοῦ γράψαντο(ς) ἐκ πόθ(ου).

l. 3 κἀμοὶ : οὖν, corr. κἀμοὶ

Description

The quires are all regular quaternions. There are two series of signatures, one in thick, dark ink resembling the hand of the Latin numbering, but a number of quires (ϛ', ζ', η', ιβ', ιθ' and κ') have no signatures, the trimming of the manuscript having removed a number of the original signatures, and the second series being incomplete. The signatures begin with γ' at fol. 25^{r}, indicating that, despite the Arabic numbering, the manuscript is complete. The Arabic numbering, placed at the top of the page, begins with '9' on the first folio, then proceeds regularly.

The ruling of the first quire has the form (a) below, and the remaining quires are ruled according to system (b).

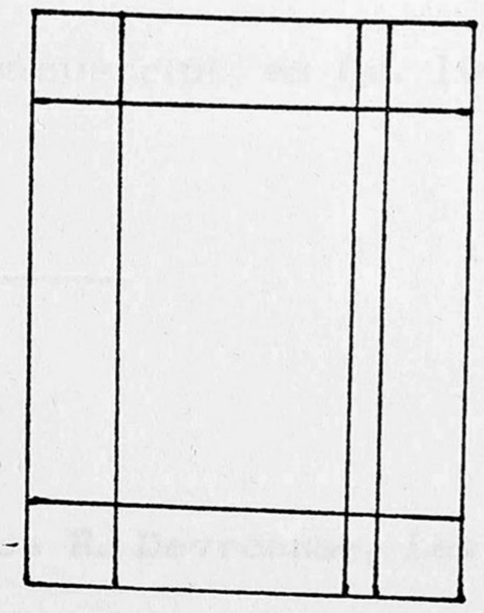


fig. a

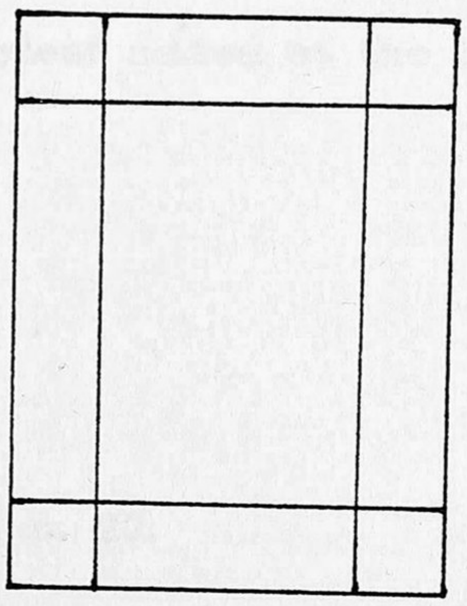


fig. b

One hand is responsible for the manuscript. There are very few uncial forms, and those which are used occur mainly in abbreviations. More have been introduced by the same hand on foll. 79^{r}-80^{r}. The script becomes rather untidy at the end of the text (from fol. 167^{r}). There are few ligatures or abbreviations, other than the standard *nomina sacra*, which are unaccented. There is no final sigma, and neither adscript nor subscript iota. Compound verbs have only one accent and accents are placed on the second of two vowels. Breathings are angular, diaeresis is marked and apostrophes are placed after Hebrew words. The writing is suspended from the ruled lines.

There is one corrector, perhaps the scribe himself (e.g. foll. 25^{r}, 60^{r}).

The border on the first folio and the ornamented initial letter are monochromatic and have a pale wash over them. A wash has also been applied over the *lemma* on fol. 153^{v}.[2]

The final folio, 168^{r}, which contains no text, has a drawing of a quadruped, bird-like creature, and the words, "αἰ τὸν ουρανον η ψηλοτερα". Two marginal *lemmata*, "θαυμ" on fol. 68^{v} and "θαυμα β" on fol. 75^{v}, seem to have been added by a later hand. A recent contributor to the manuscript has written in pencil the number of the manuscript, as Gr. 144, on the flyleaf added at the beginning,

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2. See R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits*, p. 29.

several page numbers, which do not correspond to the earlier numbering system (e.g. 'p. 79' on fol. 23) and several asterisks. The number BβV has been added in blue ink next to the seal of the library on foll. 9^r and 167^r.

The parchment, although undamaged, is of extremely poor quality, yellow in colour and with numerous defects and irregularly shaped folia, and often takes the ink badly. Some of the deficiencies in the parchment have been filled in the course of restoration. The manuscript has a brown leather binding with wooden covers and a brass clasp. A label on the end paper of the back cover records the manuscript's restoration at Grottaferrata in January, 1976.

History

The manuscript is among those at Grottaferrata dating from before the monastery's foundation in 1004. The quality of the parchment, the characteristic wash over the title and the script all point to a South Italian origin. It was acquired by the monastery of Grottaferrata at an unknown date. It is noteworthy that it contains only one work. As Ehrhard noted[3], this format, which would have been that of the original version, is unusual.

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3. See A. Ehrhard, *Uberlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, III/2 (*TU* 52) (Leipzig, 1952), pp. 945-46.

Y Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1985

Vaticanus Graecus 1985 (olim Basilianus 24), c.XI, parchment, 16.4 x 19.9 cm., 158 foll., complete lines, 25 ll., three hands.

Contents

1. The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina (*BHG* 1410)

Inc. (fol. 1r) ... -κεκλίκει εἰσῆλθεν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐκάθησεν ἄντικρυς αὐτῶν (= *VP*, p. 236, l. 8) ... Des. (fol. 76r) ταῦτα δὲ ἀνεγραψάμεθα κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν, ὅσον ἐχωροῦμεν ... ἀμήν.

Appendicula (*BHG* 1410a)

Inc. (fol. 76r) Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τῶν εἰδώλων ναοὶ οἱ μέγιστοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ... Des. (fol. 76r) καὶ πάντας ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπήλασεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς πρεσβείας τοῦ ἁγίου Παγκρατίου καὶ κατέσπαρται ἐν αὐτῇ εἰρήνη / (fol. 77r) εἰρήνη ... ἀμήν.

2. The *Acts* of the Apostle Thomas (*BHG* 1800)

Inc. (fol. 77r) Κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἦμεν πάντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ... Des. (fol. 101r) παρεκάλει εὔξασθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἵνα ἐλέους τύχει παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ ... ἀμήν.

3. The *Life* of the Apostle John (*BHG* 916)
Inc. (fol. 101r) Ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ... Des. mutil.

Colophon (fol. 76v)

+ Ἐτελεώθη ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ ὁ ἐν μακαρήᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ Νικόδημος ὁ πρεσβύτερος μηνῇ Μαίῳ ΙΔ' + ἡμέρᾳ α' τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὡρ(ᾳ) ι' ἔτους ,ϛφλε' + ἰνδ ι' +
ἠρρώστησεν δὲ ἡμέρας ι' τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀλγήσας + μήνας δὲ ἄφωνος ἡμέρας ἑπτᾶ + καὶ ἀπεδίμησεν ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ πρὸς τοὺς π(ατέ)ρας (rasura) + ὅσοι μὲν νοῦν ἐχῶς ἀναγνηνόσκετε τὴν δήλτον ταύτην εὔχεσθ(ε) ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸν κ(ύριο)ν + καὶ τ(οῦ) γράψαντος +

Description

The quires are all quaternions, with the exception of ι', which is a ternion. Signatures appear at the top of the right margin. Arabic numbering is also placed at the top of the right margin.

Several ruling systems have been used. The first eight quires (foll. 1 - 64) are ruled in the following way (fig. a). The last two lines have generally been left unused. There is considerable variation in the distance between lines and signs of carelessness in the execution of the rulings (e.g. fol. 56). Quires θ' and ι' have been ruled with columns according to the following system (fig. b), although the text has continued to be written in full lines. The second hand of the manuscript, that responsible for completing the text of the *VP*, presumably, according to the colophon, after the death of the first scribe, begins at fol. 67^{v}. The second contributor seems to have taken up the unfinished task with miscellaneous materials which lay to hand. From quires ια' - ιε', the ruling is in the form below (fig. c), and from quire ις' to the end of the manuscript, in the form below (fig. d).

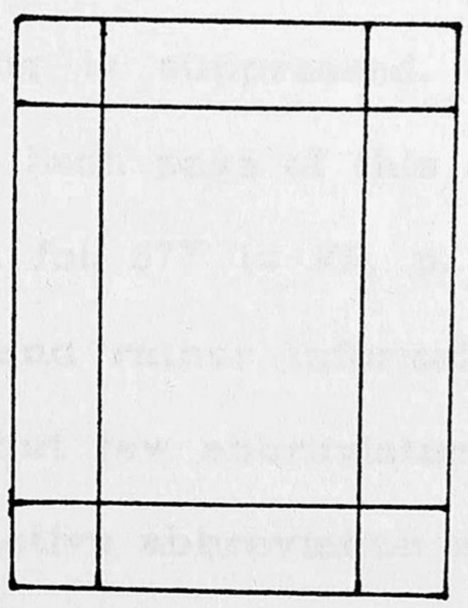


fig. a

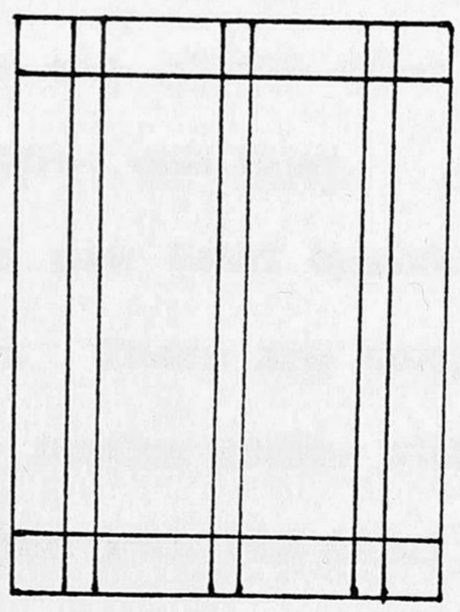


fig. b

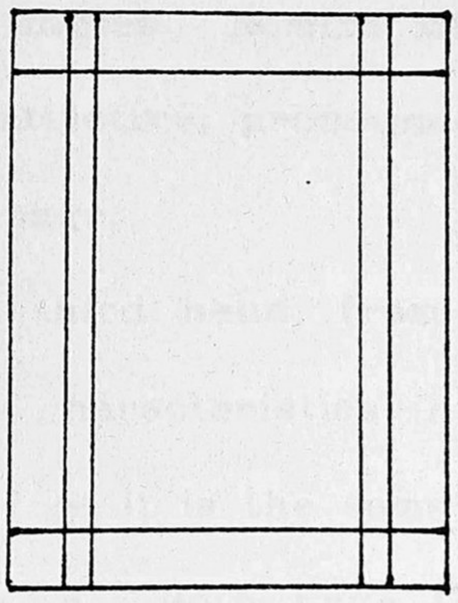


fig. c

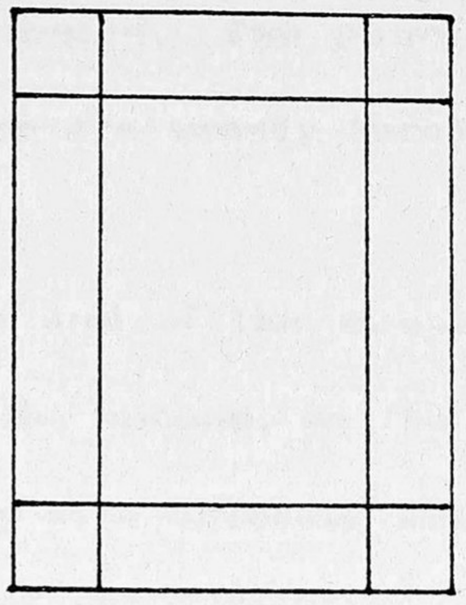


fig. d

The ink used for the *VP* is pale brown with a yellow tinge. That used for the other texts is brown.

The **manuscript** has been written by three hands (or possibly two). The first, from foll. 1^{r} - 67^{r}, shows a sporadic use of uncial forms. There are few abbreviations or compendia beyond the standard *nomina sacra*, which are unaccented. There is no final sigma and neither adscript nor subscript iota. On each page, the initial letters of three lines at regular intervals are written larger, and the initial letters of sentences are bolder and usually capitalized. Capitals are also used for *lemmata*. Where diaeresis, which is used liberally, and a breathing coincide, the breathing is suppressed. Apostrophes are placed after Hebrew words. Each page of this section has thirty one lines.

On fol. 67^{v} (= *VP*, p. 425 , l. 3) a new hand begins. It is larger and rather informal in execution. There are many uncial forms, but few abbreviations except for *nomina sacra*, which have a distinctive abbreviation mark above them with two short strokes crossing the horizontal line. There is no final sigma, nor adscript nor subscript iota. Accentuation is often inaccurate, diaeresis is

indicated and breathings are angular in form. Some lines begin with capitals, which also have short strokes intersecting the letter at right angles. *Nomina sacra* are not accented. The punctuation has a distinctive, pronounced point. There are twenty three lines on each page.

The third hand, from fol. 77^{r} to the end of the manuscript, has some characteristics in common with the second, so that it is possible that it is the same hand operating at a different standard of execution. Both have the same type of abbreviation mark for *nomina sacra*, although later in the manuscript, the third hand either omits the strokes or uses a small cross instead, and both have the pronounced stop. There are similarities in the form of letters, especially the rather distinctive ν and γ. Some capitals, used occasionally to begin lines, have small strokes through them. The third hand uses uncial forms sporadically, but few abbreviations other than unaccented *nomina sacra*. There is no final sigma, nor adscript nor subscript iota. Breathings are angular in form and placed well in front of their associated letters. Apostrophe is either omitted or placed before the last letter of the shortened word, and there is no apostrophe after Hebrew words. Diaeresis sometimes suppresses breathings. There are usually twenty five lines on each page, although the poor quality of the parchment can reduce this number to nineteen.

The first scribe has made some corrections (e.g. foll. 22^{r}, 52^{r}), as has the third (e.g. fol. 78^{v}). No other correctors seem to have contributed to the manuscript.

The poorly executed ornamental E, with hands extended in blessing, on fol. 101^{r}, bears a distinct resemblance to those practised on Vat. Gr. 1591. This section of the manuscript was probably not written by the scribe of the *VP*, nor is it a unique

example of such ornamentation, but it is possible that the similarity indicates some form of contact between the manuscripts.

On fol. 1^{r}, there has been written, "no. 24 - 1985 Basil XXIV". On several folia (foll. 3^{r}, 47^{r}, 61^{r}, 65^{r}) the drawing of borders has been practised, and on fol. 61^{r} a bird's head has been sketched. Across the top of fol. 32^{v} there is written in dark ink, "αρξου χηρ μου γρα".

The quality of the parchment is mediocre. Quire ιβ' takes the ink so badly that fol. 91^{v} has been left blank.. The manuscript is bound in red leather, embossed in gold with the arms of Pope Pius IX.

History

The manuscript was among those brought by P. Menniti, abbot general of the Basilians from 1696, from various Basilian monasteries to Rome, to the monastery of S. Basil *in urbe*,[1] where it was numbered 24. It was acquired by the Vatican Library in 1786.[2] Its exact provenance is not known, but as Menniti collected his manuscripts from declining Basilian monasteries, a South Italian origin is probable.

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1. R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale* (*ST* 183) (Vatican, 1955), p. 23.
2. R. Devreesse, 'Pour l'histoire des manuscrits du fonds Vatican grec', *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, I (*ST* 219) (Vatican, 1962), p. 335.

V Codex Vindobonensis Historicus Graecus 3

Vindobonensis Historicus Graecus 3 (olim 11), c. XI and c. XV (foll. 137^{r} - 151^{v}), parchment, 41.0 x 27.0 cm., III.393 foll., two columns, 39 ll., two hands.

Contents

1. The *Martyrdom* of S. Tryphon (Symeon Metaphrastes) (*BHG* 1857)

Inc. (fol. 1^{r}) τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τὴν θεανδρικὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφάνειαν ... Des. (fol. 6^{v}) πολλὰς δὲ νόσους ἀνθρώπων ἰασάμενος, πλείστας δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμωριῶν ἰδέας καὶ βασάνους ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας διενεγκών, τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀνεδήσατο στέφανον ... ἀμήν.

2. The *Life* of S. Tryphon (*BHG* 1856a)

Inc. (fol. 6^{v}) ὁ βίος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Τρύφωνος ἀπὸ διετοῦς χρόνου μέχρι τέλους ... Des. (fol. 12^{v}) ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Τρύφων προκόπτων ἐν σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ, δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐξετέλει, βοηθὸν ἔχων τὸν θεὸν ... ἀμήν.

3. *Prayer* of S. Tryphon (*BHG* 1858p)

Inc. (fol. 12^{v}) Ὄντος μου ἐν Καμψάδου κώμῃ καὶ τὰς χῆνας ἐπιμελουμένου ... Des. (fol. 13^{v}) καὶ ἡ προσευχὴ καὶ αἴτησις τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Τρύφωνος τελειωθῇ ... ἀμήν.

4. S. John Chrysostom *On the Meeting of the Lord* (*PG* 50, coll. 807-812)

Inc. (fol. 13^{v}) Οὐ μόνον φορεῖ σάρκα ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ... Des. (fol. 17^{r-v}*) ἀρχὴ δὲ, βραβείων καὶ στεφάνων ὧν, γέ/νοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς πάντας τυχεῖν ... ἀμήν.

5. S. Gregory of Nyssa *On the Meeting of the Lord* (*PG* 46, coll. 1152-1181)

Inc. (fol. 17^{v}*) ὁ τῇ φρονήσει τῶν οὐρανιῶν μετέωρος ... Des. (fol. 26^{r}) ὑποστρέψωμεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἡμῶν τὴν ἀληθινὴν τὴν ἐπουράνιον Ἱερουσαλὴμ ... ἀμήν.

6. S. Amphilochius of Iconium *On the Meeting of the Lord* (*PG* 39, coll. 44-60)

Inc. (fol. 26^{r}) Πολλοὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἀνθρώπων τὴν παρθενίαν θαυμάζουσιν ... Des. (fol. 30^{r}) αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ σωτὴρ ὁ τὸν κόσμον σώζων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ... ἀμήν.

7. S. Cyril of Jerusalem *On the Meeting of the Lord* (*PG* 33, coll. 1188-1204)

Inc. (fol. 30^{r}) χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιών ... Des. (fol. 32^{v}*) ὅπως καὶ τῶν αἰωνίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγαθῶν, ἐντὸς γενώμεθα ... ἀμήν.

8. Timothy of Jerusalem *Sermon on the Prophet Symeon* (*PG* 86, coll. 237-252)

Inc. (mutil.) (fol. 33^{r}) φέρε ἀγαπητὲ, τὸν τελευταῖον δίκαιον ... Des. (fol. 37^{r}) καὶ ἐκκλησία πληθύνεται καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἁγιάζεται ... ἀμήν.

9. Eutychianus *Life* of Theophilus (ed. L. Radermacher, *Sitzber. Wien. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.* 206/4 (1927), pp. 182-218)

Inc. (fol. 37^{r}) Ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ... Des. (fol. 45^{r}) καὶ πιστοῖς φίλοις καὶ εὐλαβέσιν ἀνδρᾶσιν ἐξεθέμην ... ἀμήν.

10. The *Martyrdom* of S. Isidore (*BHG* 961)

Inc. (fol. 45^{r}) κατὰ τὴν τιμίαν καὶ ἔνθεον διδασκαλίαν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους ... Des. (fol. 47^{v}) πρὸς καθαρισμῶν ψυχῶν καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν σωμάτων ... ἀμήν.

11. The *Martyrdom* of S. Agatha (*BHG* 37)

Inc. (fol. 48^{r}) βασιλεύοντος Δεκίου τοῦ παρανόμου Καίσαρος κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν, ἡγεμονεύοντος δὲ Κυντιανοῦ τῆς Σικελῶν νήσου ... Des. (fol. 53^{r}) ἔστη τὸ πῦρ ἐκεῖνο, ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ θαῦμα μηνὶ φεβρουαρίῳ ε', ἐν ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἤθλησεν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἑορτάζοντες δοξάζομεν τὸν κύριον ... ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς ταῖς ἁγίαις πρεσβείαις αὐτῆς ἄφεσιν λάβωμεν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος ... ἀμήν.

12. The *Martyrdom* of SS. Fausta, Euilasius and Maximinus (*BHG* 658)

Inc. (fol. 53^{r}) κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καίρους ἦν ἡ ἁγία μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Φαύστα ἐπὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ... Des. (fol. 56^{v}) παρέδωκαν τὰς τιμίας καὶ ἁγίας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς ἐν εἰρήνῃ τῷ θεῷ μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ ς' ... ἀμήν.

13. The *Martyrdom* of S. Theodore Stratelates (Abgar) (*BHG* 1750)

Inc. (fol. 56^{v}) ὥσπερ φαίνει ὁ ἥλιος τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, οὕτως ὁ περὶ τῶν μαρτύρων λόγος ... Des. (fol. 61^{v}) ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείας εἰς τὴν Εὐχάϊτα κἀκεῖ αὐτὸ κατέθεντο πάντων βλεπόντων μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ η'· ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ... συναθροίζεται· πολλὰ γὰρ θαύματα καὶ ἰάσεις ποιεῖ ὁ κύριος διὰ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ἁγίου σώματος τοῦ καλλινίκου μάρτυρος Θεοδώρου εἰς δόξαν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ... ἀμήν.

14. The *Life* of S. Parthenius (Crispinus) (*BHG* 1422)

Inc. (fol. 62^{r}) Πόθῳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ κινούμενος ἐγὼ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς Κρισπίνος ἔσπευσα γράψαι ... Des. (fol. 69^{v}) οὐκ ἠρεμεῖ θαυματουργῶν, δαίμονας ἀπελαύνων, λεπροὺς καθαίρων καὶ πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν ἰώμενος ... ἀμήν.

15. The *Life* of SS. Eugenius and Maria (*BHG* 615d)

Inc. (fol. 69^{v}) κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἦν τις ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ ὀνόματι Εὐγένιος ... Des. (fol. 73^{v}) καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀδελφοὶ ἀγαπητοὶ ζηλώσωμεν τὴν καρτερίαν ... ἵνα εὕρωμεν ἔλεος ... ἀμήν.

16. The *Martyrdom* of S. Nicephorus (*BHG* 1333)

Inc. (fol. 73^{v}) κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἦν τις πρεσβύτερος ἐν Ἀντοχείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ ... Des. (fol. 76^{v}) στέφανον ἀνεδήσατο καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις μάρτυσι συναρίθμιος κατηξιώθη γενέσθαι ... ἀμήν.

17. The *Martyrdom* of S. Charalampius (*BHG* 298a)

Inc. (fol. 77^{r}) βασιλεύοντος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πᾶσα δαιμονικὴ λατρεία πέπαυται ... Des. (fol. 85^{r}*) ἐτελειώθη δὲ ὁ ἅγιος ... μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ δεκάτῃ καὶ πρεσβεύει ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν πάντοτε ... ἀμήν.

18. The *Martyrdom* of S. Blasius (*BHG* 276)

Inc. (fol. 85^{r}*) Ἡνίκα ὁ καιρὸς τῶν εἰδώλων ἐπεκράτει καὶ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι ... Des. (fol. 91^{r}) σεπτὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Βλασίου μετὰ λαμπάδων καὶ ὕμνων καὶ εὐωχίας πολλῆς ... ἀμήν.

19. S. John Chrysostom *Encomium* of S. Meletius (*BHG* 1244)

Inc. (fol. 91^{r}) πανταχοῦ τῆς τιμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς ταύτης ἀγέλης περιφέρων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ... Des. (fol. 95^{v}) γενέσθαι πλησίον τῆς μακαρίας καὶ αἰωνίας αὐτοῦ σκηνῆς καὶ τῶν ἀποκειμένων τυχεῖν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ... ἀμήν.

20. Nicephorus Rhetor *Encomium* of Patriarch Antony II (*BHG* 139)

Inc. (fol. 95^{v}) οὐκ ἦν ἄρα τῶν προλαβόντων καλῶν εἰς πίστιν μὴ πάλιν τὸν χρόνον ... Des. (fol. 109^{v}) πᾶσαν κατευνάζων σπιλάδα καταιγίδος πονηρευομένων καὶ βυθίζων ὁρατῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀοράτων ἐφόδους ... ἀμήν.

21. The *Life* of S. Martinian (*BHG* 1177)

Inc. (fol. 109^{v}) ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως Καισαρείας τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ὄρος ἐστὶν καλούμενον Τόπος Κιβωτοῦ· ἐν τούτῳ ... Des. (fol. 121^{v}) ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ τότε ἐπισκόπῳ τὸν ταυτῆς ἐνάρετον βίον, ὅθεν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐν τόπῳ σεμνῷ καὶ ἐπισήμῳ ταφῆναι αὐτὴν, μετὰ λαμπάδων καὶ ὕμνων θεϊκῶν ... ἀμήν.

22. The *Life* of S. Auxentius (*BHG* 199)

Inc. (fol. 121^{v}) τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων πατέρων ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις διαπρεψάντων ... Des. (fol. 145^{v}) ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν ἰάσεις ἐπιτελεῖ· ἐτελειώθη δὲ ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης ... μηνὶ Φευρουαρίῳ ιδ' κατετέθηση τῷ προηρημένῳ εὐκτηρίῳ ... ἀμήν.

23. The *Martyrdom* of S. Onesimus (*BHG* 1376y)
Inc. (fol. 145^{v}) χαίρει καὶ γένος οἰκετικὸν ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ γνωριζόμενον, ὅταν τῇ πίστει τὰ κέντρα τοῦ διαβόλου συντρίψαν ... Des. (fol. 150^{r}) τὸ λείψανον ἐναπέθετο τοῦ μάρτυρος, μισθὸν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἅγιον μνήμης αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῇ πορίζουσα ... ἀμήν.

24. The *Martyrdom* of S. Pamphilus and his companions (*BHG* 1405)

Inc. (fol. 150^{r}) καιρὸς δὴ καλεῖ πρὸς ἅπασι τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον ἀνιστορῆσαι θέατρον Παμφίλου τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ... Des. (fol. 156^{r}) ἐν ἱεροῖς τε προσευκτηρίοις εἰς ἄληκτον μνήμην τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λαῷ τιμᾶσθαι παραδεδομένα εἰς δόξαν ... ἀμήν.

25. The *Martyrdom* of S. Theodore the Recruit (*BHG* 1762d)

Inc. (fol. 156^{r}) Μαξιμιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμῖνος οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐξαπέστειλαν ... Des. (fol. 160^{r-v}) ἀπέ/θετο ἐν γλωσσοκόμῳ ... ἐν πόλει Εὐχαΐτων ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀμασέων μητρόπολιν μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦσα καθ' ἕκαστον χρόνον ... ἀμήν.

26. S. Gregory of Nyssa *Encomium* of S. Theodore (*BHG* 1760)

Inc. (fol. 160^{v}) ὑμεῖς, ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λαός, ἡ ἁγία ποίμνη τὸ βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα ... Des. (fol. 166^{r}) ἐν τῇ λιπαρᾷ καὶ εὐκάρπῳ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως ἀρούρᾳ ἀεὶ καρποφοροῦν τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ... ἀμήν.

27. Nectarius of Constantinople *On the Festival of S. Theodore* (*BHG* 1768)

Inc. (fol. 166^{r}) ὡς πολὺ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρηστότητός σου, κύριε ... Des. (fol. 173^{v}) ἵλεω τοῦτον ταῖς λιταῖς τοῖς δούλοις σου ποίησον, ὡς ἂν διὰ σοῦ ... τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτύχωμεν ... ἀμήν.

28. The *Martyrdom* of SS. Leo and Paregorius (*BHG* 983b)

Inc. (fol. 173^{v}) ποικίλαι μὲν τοῦ διαβόλου αἱ μηχαναὶ κατὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ ... Des. (fol. 177^{r}) ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰπὼν, ἀπετμήθη τὴν ἁγίαν κεφαλὴν. μηνὶ Φευρουραρίῳ ιη' βασιλεύοντος τοῦ κυρίου ... ἀμήν.

29. The *Life* of S. Auxibius (*BHG* 204)

Inc. (fol. 177^{r}) Βούλομαι διηγήσασθαι ὑμῖν πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀγαπητοὶ, τὴν θαυμαστὴν καὶ φαιδρὰν πολιτείαν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ὁσίου πατρὸς ... Des. (fol. 186^{r}) οὐ δυνήσομαι ἐπαξίως ἀνυμνῆσαι τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν καὶ θαυματουργὸν Αὐξίβιον. λοιπὸν, ἐνθάδε καταπαύσωμεν τὸν λόγον ... ἀμήν.

30. The *Martyrdom* of S. Sadoth (*BHG* 1613)

Inc. (fol. 186^{v}) μετὰ τὸ τελειωθῆναι τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Συμεῶνος ... Des. (fol. 188^{v}) ἀπέτεμον τὴν τιμίαν καὶ ἁγίαν κεφαλήν· ἐτελειώθησαν δὲ πάντες ... ἀμήν.

31. The *Martyrdom* of S. Mauricius (*BHG* 1230)

Inc. (fol. 188^{v}) Μαρτύρων μνήμη φιλοθεΐας καθέστηκεν ἔνδειξις καὶ φιλοσόφου διανοίας πρὸς θεὸν κοινωνία ... Des. (fol. 195^{v}) καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ὁμογνώμονες τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν ἰάσεως ἀπολαύοντες ... ἀμήν.

32. The *Martyrdom* of SS. Eugenius and Macarius (*BHG* 2126)

Inc. (fol. 195^{v}) πολλὰ μὲν, ἀδελφοὶ, καὶ παράδοξα τὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων ἀνδραγαθήματα ... Des. (fol. 200^{v}) ἀπέδωκαν τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς χεῖρας θεοῦ ζῶντος· ἐτελειώθησαν δὲ ... ἀμήν.

33. The *Martyrdom* of S. Polycarp (*BHG* 1560a)

Inc. (fol. 200^{v}) ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν ... Des. (fol. 205^{r}) τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μιμητὰς καὶ μαθητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως· ὧν γένοιτο ... ἀμήν.

34. *On the Finding of the Head of S. John the Baptist* (*BHG* 839.840b)

Inc. (fol. 205^{v}) μοναχοὶ δύο ἐκ τῆς ἑῴας ὁρμώμενοι τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ τὸν τύπον ... Des. (fol. 211^{r}) εὑρέθη δὲ μηνὶ Φευρουαρίῳ κδ' ἰνδικτιόνος ἕκτης εἰς δόξαν ... ἀμήν.

35. The *Life* of S. Tarasius (Ignatius the Deacon) (*BHG* 1698)

Inc. (fol. 211^{r}) μέλλων ἀπείρω μεγέθει πελάγους ἀρετῶν διανήξασθαι ... Des. (fol. 233^{v}) καὶ ἁγνῆς θεομήτορος καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ ἀΰλων δυνάμεων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, ἀμήν.

36. The *Life* of S. Porphyrius of Gaza (Mark the Deacon) (*BHG* 1570)

Inc. (fol. 234^{r}) τῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἄθλους καὶ τὸν θεῖκον αὐτῶν ζῆλον ... Des. (fol. 261^{v}) καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς· πρεσβεύων μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ... ἀμήν.

37. The *Life* of SS. Andronicus and Athanasia (*BHG* 120)

Inc. (fol. 261^{v}) ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ... Des. (fol. 264^{v}) ταῦτα ἐθάρρησεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιὴλ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· εὐξώμεθα οὖν ... ἀμήν.

38. The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina (*BHG* 1410a)

Inc. (fol. 265^{r}) Ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ... Des. (fol. 390^{v}) ταῦτα δὲ ἀνεγραψάμεθα κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν, ὅσον ἐχωροῦμεν ... ἀμήν.

* Denotes references given inaccurately in Hunger's catalogue.

Description

The quires are all quaternions. The last folio of quire κ', the last of the fifteenth century section, is missing (before

fol. 152), with no loss to the text, and the last folio of the manuscript is also missing, again with no loss to the text. Signatures are marked at the bottom of the right margin. There are no signatures on the two quires of the fifteenth century section (ιη' and ιθ'), but the signatures resume regularly after the single missing folio with κ' on fol. 152^{r}.

There are two series of Arabic numbers, both at the top of the right margin. The first series fails to number fol. 61 and to use the numbers 100, 189, 200 and 300. The second series is regular.

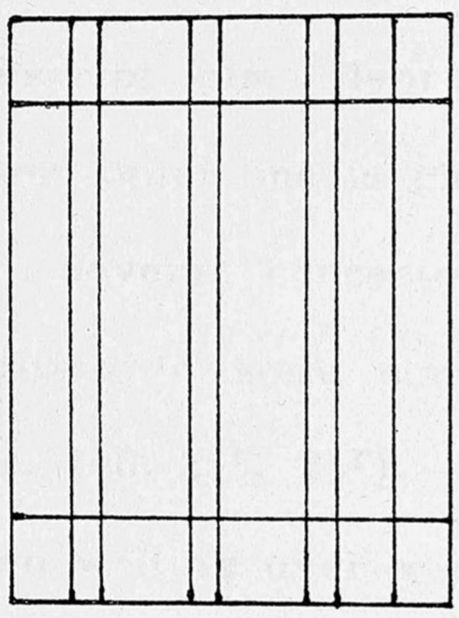


fig. a

The ruling takes the form represented here (fig. a).

There are three flyleaves at the beginning (I-III) and three at the end (foll. 391-3).

The eleventh century hand of foll. 1 - 136^{v} and foll. 152^{v} - 390^{v} is almost pure minuscule.[1] There is no capitalization, and neither adscript nor subscript iota, but there is an occasional semi-lunar final sigma. Breathings are sometimes angular, but

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1. For an assessment of the considerable merits of the scribe, see F. Halkin, 'La passion grecque des saints Eugène et Macaire', *AB* lxxviii (1960), p. 42.

usually curved in form. Accents are often placed on the first of two vowels and are not used on *nomina sacra*. The infrequently used diaeresis suppresses the accent. There are no apostrophes after Hebrew words, but there is a very frequent use of quotation marks in the form >. The writing is suspended from the ruled lines.

The second hand, that of fol. 137^{r}-151^{v}, is a fifteenth century, semi-uncial hand with a large number of uncial forms and abbreviations. Accents are placed over the second of two vowels and are used on *nomina sacra*. Diaeresis is marked and semi-lunar final sigma is used, but there is neither adscript nor subscript iota. Hebrew words are followed by an apostrophe, and a horizontal line is placed over them.

Several correctors have contributed to the manuscript, in addition to some corrections which may be those of the scribe (e.g. foll. 25^{r}, 35^{r}). A hand has made corrections in black ink, often writing over a *rasura* (e.g. foll. 13^{r}, 71^{v}). There is a series of corrections in an extremely pale ink which is barely legible (e.g. foll. 52^{r}, 78^{r}). A later hand may perhaps be responsible for some corrections (e.g. foll. 15^{r}, 19^{v}).

In the eleventh century section, the initial letters of each work are ornamented and a decorative border is placed above, using the colours blue, white and gold.[2] Headings and dates are

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2. See P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften. Beschreibendes Verzeichnes der illuminierten Handschriften in Osterreich, Neue Folge: Die illuminierten Hss. der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, iv/2 (Leipzig, 1938), p. 87 f.. See also A. Ehrhard, *Uberlieferung*, I, p. 570, n. 2.

rubricated. The first date (fol. 1r) was written in gold on a red background and the first heading was in gold, but only traces remain of this. The fifteenth century section has simple borders in red and brown.

There are a number of important later entries on fol. 1r. Lambeck notes the following,

> "Undecimus Codex manuscriptus *Historicus Graecus* ..... & primum quidem ad *Marcum Mamunam Cretensem*, postea autem ad *Joannem Sambucum*, ut ambo proprijs inscriptionibus suis testantur, olim pertinuit."[3]

The evidence for his statement was probably lost in the course of van Swieten's binding.[4] Hunger[5] identifies the words, "βίοι καὶ μαρτύρια τῶν ἁγίων" at the top of the right margin as a contribution of Andreas Darmarios.[6] The *ex libris* "JOAN. SAMBUCI" across the bottom of fol. 1r indicates the ownership of Johannes Sambucus.[7] Beneath this are the words, "Augustissima

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3. P. Lambeck, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi liber*, Editio altera studio et opera A. F. Kollar, VIII (Vienna, 1782), p. 71. Cf. D. de Nessel, *Catalogus sive Recensio Specialis omnium Codicum Manuscriptorum Graecorum, nec non Linguarum Orientalium, Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis*, IV (Vienna, 1690), p. 5.
4. See J. Bick, *Die Schreiber der Wiener Griechischen Handschriften* (Vienna, 1920), p. 109.
5. H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, I, Codices historici. Codices philosophici et philologici* (Vienna, 1961), p. 4.
6. On Darmarios as an allocator of titles, see V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, II (Leipzig, 1913), p. 312ff..
7. See H. Gerstinger, 'Johannes Sambucus als Handschriftensammler' , pp. 250-400 in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Vienna, 1926).

Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensis Codex manuscriptus historicus Graecus undecimus n. 11".

The front end-paper bears the words, "11A.3" and "Lamb. Hist. Eccles. XI". On the first flyleaf is written, "Theol. gr. 3", which has been corrected to, "Hist. gr. 3".

There are signs of further contributions to the manuscript. Several remarks (e.g. fol. 386^{v}) and some underscoring (e.g. fol. 389^{v}) have been made in pencil. On fol. 6^{v}, the title, "Vita celeberrimi martyris Tryphonis" has been written. On fol. 205^{v}, the words, "κε ις χε ὁ θεος" have been written on the edge of the page.

The parchment is of good quality. Damage to fol. 1 has cause the loss of some text, while further damage at the end of the manuscript has not affected it. The manuscript was bound by Gerard van Swieten in 1754 and given leather markers and inscribed on the spine, "MAGNI MENOLOGII GRAECORUM MENSIS FEBRUARIUS. COD. MS. HIST. GRAEC. N. III ol. 11".

History

The original provenance and history of the manuscript before its ownership by Marcus Mamunas of Crete[8] in the fifteenth

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8. On Mamunas' ownership of manuscripts, see M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber*, pp. 289-90 and J. Bick, *Die Schreiber*, pp. 109-10.

century is not known. Johannes Sambucus purchased it in Venice (where Vat. Ottobon. Gr. 92 was copied from it) probably in 1555,[9] and from his collection it entered the Imperial Library in Vienna, where it was first catalogued among the theological manuscripts,[10] then as Historicus Graecus 11, [11] then as Historicus Graecus 3.[12]

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9. H. Gerstinger, 'Johannes Sambucus', p. 296. See his index for other manuscripts of Marcus Mamunas acquired by Sambucus and now in Vienna.
10. Lambeck-Kollar, VIII, p. 71, n. 1, "Fuit is olim inter Codices manuscriptos Theologicos Graecos centesimus vigesimus."
11. Lambeck-Kollar, VIII, p. 71.
12. D. de Nessel, *Catalogus*, IV, p. 5

O Codex Vaticanus Ottobonensis Graecus 92

Vaticanus Ottobonensis Graecus 92 (olim Altaempsianus), c. XVI, paper, 35.6 x 24.1 cm., I.450 foll., complete lines, 30 ll., one hand.

Contents

Vat. Ottobon. Gr. 92 is an apograph of Vind. Hist. Gr. 3. I will therefore not list the contents in full, but instead give the folio references in Vat. Ottob. Gr. 92 which should be related to the list of contents given for Vind. Hist. Gr. 3.

1. = foll. 1^{r} - 8^{r}
2. = foll. 8^{v} - 15^{r}
3. = foll. 15^{v} - 16^{v}
4. = foll. 17^{r} - 20^{v}
5. = foll. 21^{r} - 33^{r}
6. = foll. 33^{v} - 39^{r}
7. = foll. 39^{v} - 43^{r}
8. = foll. 43^{v} - 47^{v}
9. = foll. 48^{r} - 57^{v}
10. = foll. 58^{r} - 61^{r}
11. = foll. 61^{v} - 67^{v}
12. = foll. 68^{r} - 71^{v}
13. = foll. 72^{r} - 77^{v}
14. = foll. 78^{r} - 86^{v}
15. = foll. 87^{r} - 91^{v}
16. = foll. 92^{r} - 95^{v}

17. = foll. 96^{r} - 106^{r}

18. = foll. 106^{v} - 111^{v}

19. = foll. 112^{r} - 116^{v}

20. = foll. 117^{r} - 131^{v}

21. = foll. 132^{r} - 144^{r}

22. = foll. 144^{v} - 170^{v}

23. = foll. 170^{v} - 175^{r}

24. = foll. 175^{v} - 181^{r}

25. = foll. 181^{v} - 185^{v}

26. = foll. 186^{r} - 191^{r}

27. = foll. 191^{v} - 198^{v}

28. = foll. 199^{r} - 202^{v}

29. = foll. 203^{r} - 212^{v}

30. = foll. 213^{r} - 215^{r}

31. = foll. 215^{v} - 222^{v}

32. = foll. 223^{r} - 228^{r}

33. = foll. 228^{v} - 232^{v}

34. = foll. 233^{r} - 238^{v}

35. = foll. 239^{r} - 265^{v}

36. = foll. 266^{r} - 298^{v}

37. = foll. 299^{r} - 302^{v}

38. = The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina (*BHG* 1401)

Inc. (fol. 303^{r}) Ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ... Des. (fol. 451^{r}) ταῦτα δὲ ἀνεγραψάμεθα κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν, ὅσον ἐχωροῦμεν ... ἀμήν.

Description

The quires are all quaternions, except for the last which is a binion.

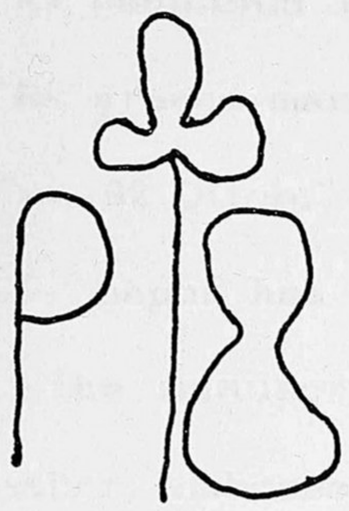


fig. a

The paper bears a watermark of a type noted by Harlfinger, "Lettres 75-76".[1]

The single hand responsible for the manuscript uses few abbreviations or compendia, even *nomina sacra* frequently being written fully. Capitals are not used in the text. Iota is written adscript, but is not consistently used. Accents are detached from words. The diaeresis mark is used liberally and often inappropriately. There are no apostrophes after Hebrew words and *nomina sacra* are unaccented.

The scribe himself has made some corrections (e.g. foll. 19^{r}, 374^{v}, 403^{v}). Another corrector seems to have operated at the beginning of the manuscript (e.g. foll. 6^{v}, 9^{r}), and to have added hyphenation. The titles and initials, together with the decorative borders are all rubricated. The title on fol. 1^{r} is missing.

There are a number of entries on the flyleaf (fol. I), which is original to the manuscript, namely,

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1. D. and J. Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handscriften*, I (Berlin, 1974), s.v. "Lettres 75" and "Lettres 76".

"Febraro grec, carte no. 450"

"vitae sanctor(um) quor(um) festivitates occurrunt mense februario"

"Ex codicibus Joannis Angeli Ducis ad Altaemps."

"Ex graeco manuscripto"

"No. 92 Ottob."

The paper has sufferred some water damage, especially at the end of the manuscript, without loss to the text. It is bound in red leather, embossed in gold with the arms of Pius IX.

History

The manuscript was almost certainly copied from Vind. Hist. Gr. 3, probably in Venice, where the Vienna manuscript was bought by Sambucus in 1555.[2] Watermarks of the same type are found in three sixteenth century manuscripts, one of which, Cod. Mon. Gr. 49, is known to have been copied in Venice in 1548.[3] It entered the Vatican Library in 1740 when the library of

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2. See p. 41. above.
3. Cod. Monac. Gr. 49, dated 22 June, 1548 and copied in Venice by the hand of Petros Karneades (fol. 420^{v}) (Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen*, s.v. "Lettres 75"). Cf. Cod. Monac. Gr. 75, dated 26 March, 1550, and copied by Petros Karneades (fol. 332^{r}) (Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen*, s.v. "Lettres 75") and Cod. Monac. Gr. 36, dated a. 1556, copied by Emmanuel Bebenes (fol. 465^{v}) (Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen*, s.v. "Lettres 76").

Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (Pope Alexander VIII) was acquired by it.[4] Cardinal Ottoboni in turn had obtained it from the library of the Duke of Altemps.

b) The manuscripts of the second recension

M Codex Mosquensis 15

Mosquensis 15 (Vladimir 381), a. 1023, parchment, 7 7/8 x 5 7/8 в. (= 35.0 x 26.1 cm.), 367 foll., two columns, 31 ll., ? hands.

I have not seen the manuscript, and rely for the reconstruction of its contents, the colophon and codicological comments, on the

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4. E. Feron and F. Battaglini, *Manuscripti Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1903), pp. xv-xx.

catalogues of C. F. Matthaeus[1] and Archimandrite Vladimir[2], and on a microfilm of foll. 122^{v} - 226^{v}.

Contents

1. The *Sermon* of S. Basil on the Holy Spirit

2. The *Miracles* of S. George

3. The *Life* of S. Symeon Stylites the Younger (Nicephorus Uranus)

4. The *Martyrdom* of S. Modestus

5. The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina (*BHG* 1410)

Tit. (fol. 122^{v}) Εὐαγρίου ἐπισκόπ(ου) εἰς τ(ὸν) βί(ον) καὶ τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν) Παγκρατ(ίου) ἀρχ(ιεπισκόπου) προέδρου Ταυρομενίας. Μηνὶ 'Ιουλίῳ θ'.

Inc. (fol. 122^{v}) 'Εγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν 'Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ... Des. (fol. 226^{r}) ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ μέρους συνεγραψάμεθα κατά τε ἡμετέραν δύναμιν, καὶ ὅσον ἐγχωροῦν ἦν ... ἀμήν.

6. The *Life* of S. Theodore of Edessa

7. The *Chapters* of S. Theodore the Sabaite

8. *Commentary* on the Prophets Elijah and Elisha

9. The *Life* of S. Alexius

10. Nilus the Monk, *On the Passions*, 1. *On Gluttony*

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1. C. F. Matthaeus, *Notitia Codicum Manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecarum Mosquensium Sanctissimae Synodi Ecclesiae Orthodoxae Graeco-Rossicae* (S. Petersburg, 1776), pp. 25-6.
2. Archimandrite Vladimir, *Систематическое описаніе рукописей Московской синодальной (Патріаршей) Библіотеки. Часть Первая. Рукописи Греческія* (Moscow, 1894), p. 574.

11. Maximus the Confessor, *Interpretation of the 'Our Father'*

12. *Commentary* of Olympiodorus on Ecclesiastes c. 1

Colophon (fol. 366^{v})[3]

'Ετελειώθη ἡ γραφὴ τῆς παρούσης βίβλου μηνὶ 'Ιουνίῳ ιθ', ἰνδ. ς', ἔτους ςφλα', χαραχθεῖσα χειρὶ Θεοφάνους ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ. Εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἀναγινώσκοντες.

Description

The rather untidy hand has a marked inclination to the right, and has some uncial forms. There are many ligatures and abbreviations. Accents are often placed on the first of two vowels and *nomina sacra* are accented. Double accentuation of μέν and δέ occurs sporadically. Diaeresis is marked by two short vertical lines, and breathings are angular in form. There is an occasional semi-lunar final sigma, but neither adscript nor subscript iota, nor apostrophe after Hebrew words, nor capitalization. Ornamentation consists of simple borders and ornamental initials.

A later contributor seems to have added liturgical dates (e.g. Μ΄΄ ΙΟΥΛΙΩ Θ', fol. 122^{v}) and the number of pages in the work has been indicated (e.g. φ^{λλ} δεκατ`` τέσσαρα, fol. 122^{v}).

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3. Archimandrite Vladimir, *Описание* , p. 574.

History

Archimandrite Vladimir records the subscription 'τῶν 'Ιβήρων' indicating the manuscript's ownership at some point by the Iveron monastery on Mt. Athos. The scribe Theophanes is probably the scribe of Mosq. 162 (Vladimir 380),[4] also originally from the Iveron monastery, which has the colophon Θεοφάνους ≠σφλ' ἔτους (fol. 370r, 6530 = a. 1022), but further identification and determination of the provenance of the manuscript is not possible.

It was obtained, with many others, by Arsenij Sukhanov († 1668) from the Iveron monastery[5] and brought to the Moscow Synodal/Patriarchal Library, where it became № 15, and was catalogued by Archimandrite Vladimir as № 381.

L Athous Lavra Δ 58

Athous Lavra Δ 58, c. XI, parchment, 31.0 x 24.0 cm., 230 foll., two columns, 30 ll., one hand.

This manuscript was only available to me on microfilm.

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4. Mosq. 162 (Vladimir 380). See Archimandrite Vladimir, *Описаніе*, p. 572.
5. Archimandrite Vladimir, *Описаніе*, p. 1, nn. 1 and 2.

Contents

1. The *Martyrdom* of S. Panteleimon (foll. 1^r - 11^v)

2. Josippus *On the Maccabean Martyrs* (foll. 12^r - 28^v)

3. *Sermon* on the Nativity of the Virgin (foll. 29^r - 59^r)

4. The *Life* of S. Sabas (foll. 59^r - 83^v)

5. The *Life* of SS. Thecla and Justina (foll. 84^r - 115^v)

6. The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina (*BHG, Novum Auct.* 1410e)

Inc. (fol. 116^r) Ἔστη ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδίδασκε τὸν λόγον· παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐπίστευσε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τῇ διδαχῇ

Des. (fol. 230^r) ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ μέρους συνεγραψάμεθα κατά τε τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν καὶ ὅσον ἐχωροῦμεν ... ἀμήν.

Colophon (?) (fol. 230^v)

The following request has been written three times on fol. 230^v, with the different versions partly obscuring each other, so that it is difficult to determine if any can be attributed to the scribe of the manuscript.

Εὔχεσθαι οἱ ἀναγινώσκωντες τὴν βίβλον ταύτην τῷ ταπινῷ Ἰω(άννῃ) καὶ Μαξίμο τῷ ἱεροδιακώνῳ

Description

The manuscript is executed in a neat, semi-uncial hand. There is a distinctive 'ɑn' ligature with a pronounced flourish, which is sometimes also used in writing initial 'ω'. There are some compendia, and *nomina sacra* are abbreviated, without

accentuation. Breathings are markedly angular in form. The word 'δέ' occasionally has double accentuation. The copyist uses neither final sigma, nor iota in adscript or subscript form, nor apostrophe after Hebrew words, nor capital letters. There appears to have been one corrector.

History

There is no evidence concerning the history of this manuscript beyond the ownership of the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos, a record of which appears on fol. 230^{v}.

P Codex Athous Pantocrator 53

Athous Pantocrator 53, c. XII, parchment, 14.5 x 20.5 cm., 215.III foll., complete lines, 21-25 ll., three hands.

This manuscript was only available to me on microfilm.

Contents[1]

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1. The contents of the manuscript are more fully described by F. Halkin, 'Un recueil hagiographique du Mont Athos', *AB* xciv (1976), pp. 391-3.

1. The *Martyrdom* of S. Tryphon (foll. 1^{r} - 15^{v})

2. The *Martyrdom* of S. Nicetas (foll. 15^{v} - 20^{v})

3. The *Life* of S. Nicholas of Myra (foll. 20^{v} - 30^{v})

4. *Concerning S. Onuphrius* (foll. 30^{v} - 42^{r})

5. *Commentary* on the Prophet Elias (foll. 42^{v} - 62^{r})

6. The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

Tit. (fol. 62^{r}) μη/ ἰουλίῳ Β'. ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Παγκρατίου ἐπισκόπου Ταυρομενίας.

Inc. (fol. 62^{r}) τότε ἐγὼ κύψας καὶ τοὺς τιμίους αὐτοῦ πόδας περιπτυξάμενος ... Des. (fol. 79^{r}) καὶ λέγω αὐτῷ. δεῦρο λοιπὸν ἀπέλθομεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθώς μοι ὁ κύριός μου ἔτι περιὼν ἐνετείλατο ὅτι τῷ θεῷ πρέπει δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

7. *Encomium* on the Finding of the Head of S. John the Baptist

(S. Theodore the Studite) (fol. 79^{r} - 85^{r})

8. A *Miracle* of S. Michael the Archangel (foll. 85^{r} - 87^{v})

9. *Encomium* on the Apostle Titus (S. Andrew of Crete) (foll. 88^{r} - 107^{v})

10. The Deposition of the Robe of the Virgin at Blachernae (Theodore Presbyter) (foll. 107^{v} - 127^{v})

11. The *Martyrdom* of S. Porphyrius the Mime (foll. 127^{v} - 130^{r})

12. The *Martyrdom* of S. Sebastiana (foll. 131^{r} - 140^{r})

13. The *Martyrdom* of S. Glyceria (foll. 140^{v} - 150^{v})

14. *Encomium* of S. George (Nicephorus) (foll. 150^{v} - 173^{r})

15. *Encomium* of S. Agathonicus (foll. 173^{r} - 188^{v})

16. The *Martyrdom* of S. Basilissa (foll. 189^{r} - 195^{r})

17. The *Martyrdom* of S. Andrew 'ἐν τῇ κρίσει' (foll. 195^{r} - 209^{v})

18. The *Martyrdom* of S. Cornelius (foll. 209^{v} - 215^{v}) (mutil.)

Description

In addition to the three final folia, which are later

additions,[2] the manuscript seems to have been executed by three hands, the first from foll. 1 - 86^{v}, the second between fol. 87^{r} and fol. 87^{v}, and the third from fol. 88^{r} - 215^{v}.

The first script is largely minuscule, with some sentences beginning with capitals, and a number of abbreviations at the end of lines. Accents are placed on the second of two vowels, diaeresis is marked, and breathings, angular in form, are regularly absent. *Nomina sacra* are unaccented, but sometimes a cross has been placed through the horizontal line above them. There is no final sigma, no adscript or subscript iota and no apostrophe after Hebrew words.

The second script is a later script, notable for having many ligatures. There is no adscript or subscript iota and no final sigma. *Nomina sacra* are unaccented.

The third script has a number of uncial forms and semi-lunar final sigma. Accents and breathings are small and cursive in form, and are placed on the first of two vowels. *Nomina sacra* are unaccented, and there is neither subscript nor adscript iota, nor capitalization.

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2. Fol. I (= 216), a parchment folio of the fourteenth century, has the beginning of the Gospel of S. John. Foll. II - III (= 217 - 218), paper folia of the fifteenth century, contain the 'τρισάγιον κάθισμα' . See S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I (Cambridge, 1895), p. 98.

The first scribe seems to have corrected his own work (e.g. foll. 32^{v}, 34^{r}), but there do not seem to have been other correctors.

There are three types of ornamentation associated with the three scripts. The first consists of a simple line border in one of two styles (the first, foll. 1^{r}, 15^{v}, 20^{v}, 41^{v}, 55^{v}, 78^{r}; the second, foll. 30^{v}, 62^{r}) and an ornamental initial letter. In some cases, these letters have small strokes through them perpendicular to the letter. The second type consists of a more elaborate border and initial letter (fol. 87^{r}). The third type has a cross before the title rather than a border, either in the form (foll. 107^{v}, 195^{r}) or in uncial form (foll. 139^{v}, 127^{v}, 173^{r}, 149^{v}, 129^{v}, 189^{r}, 209^{v}). In most cases of the latter form (except foll. 189^{r} and 209^{v}), the intial letter is not ornamented.

A later hand has numbered the works in the manuscript (e.g. λογ/ α', fol. 1^{r}) and the number of pages in each work has been indicated (e.g. φύλλ/ ε', fol. 16^{r}).

There are graffiti and marginalia, and some writing on the final three folia, which are not legible from microfilm.

History

Nothing is known of the history of the manuscript beyond its being owned by the Pantocrator monastery on Mt. Athos.

I Codex Athous Iveron 424 (53)

Athous Iveron 424 (53), c. XVI, paper, (dimensions unknown), I.409 foll., complete lines, 25 ll., one hand.

This manuscript was only available to me on microfilm.

Contents

1. The *Martyrdom* of S. Irene (foll. 1^r - 28^r)
2. The *Life* of S. Arsenius (fol. 28^v)
3. The *Martyrdom* of S. Christopher (foll. 29^r - 50^v)
4. The *Martyrdom* of S. Basiliscus (foll. 51^r - 57^v)
5. The *Life* of S. Symeon the Stylite the Younger (foll. 58^r - 69^r)
6. The *Martyrdom* of S. Hyacinthus (foll. 170^r - 177^r)
7. The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

Tit. (fol. 177^v) Εὐαγρίου ἐπισκόπου εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παγκρατίου ἀρχιπροέδρου

Inc. (fol. 177^v) Ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ... Des. (fol. 277^v) ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ μέρους συνεγραψάμεθα κατά τε ἡμετέραν δύναμιν καὶ ὅσον ἐγχωροῦν ἦν ... ἀμήν.

8. The *Martyrdom* of the 45 Martyrs of Nicopolis (foll. 278^r - 292^r)
9. The *Martyrdom* of SS. ~~Cery~~yria cus and Julitta (Theodore of Iconium) (foll. 293^r - 297^v)
10. The *Life* of S. Macrina (S. Gregory of Nyssa) (foll. 298^r - 312^r)
11. The *Life* of S. Theodore of Edessa (foll. 312^v - 348^v)

12. The *Martyrdom* of S. Laurentius and his companions (foll. 349^{r} - 361^{r})

13. The *Life* of S. Maximus the Confessor (foll. 361^{v} - 389^{v})

14. The *Martyrdom* of S. Andrew Stratelates (foll. 390^{r} - 399^{r})

15. The *Martyrdom* of S. Agathonicus and his companions (foll. 399^{v} - 409^{r})

Description

The manuscript appears to be written by a single scribe of the sixteenth century. A. Ehrhard[1] reports the rubrication of the titles and initial letters of the texts in this manuscript.

History

There is no evidence concerning the history of this manuscript, except that it is in the possession of the Iveron monastery on Mt. Athos, and as it appears to have been copied from the former Iveron manuscript M, there is no reason to suppose that it has been elsewhere than in that monastery.

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1. A. Ehrhard, *Uberlieferung*, I, p. 370, n. 2.

D Codex Athous Dionysiou 143

Athous Dionysiou 143, a. 1632/33, paper, 18.5 x 29.0 cm., 605 foll., complete lines, 24 ll., two hands.

This manuscript was only available to me on microfilm.

Contents

1. The *Martyrdom* of S. Agatha (foll. 3^r - 11^v)

2. The *Martyrdom* of SS. Fausta, Evilasius and Maximinus (foll. 12^r - 17^v)

3. The *Life* of S. Auxentius (foll. 19^r - 31^r)

4. The *Martyrdom* of S. Onesimus (foll. 31^v - 35^v)

5. The *Martyrdom* of SS. Cleonicus and Eutropius (foll. 39^r - 51^v)

6. The *Life* of S. Theophylact of Nicomedia (foll. 52^r - 60^v)

7. The *Martyrdom* of SS. Theodulus and Agathopus (foll. 63^r - 73^v)

8. The *Martyrdom* of S. Theodore of Perge in Pamphylia (foll. 73^v - 83^v)

9. The *Miracles* of S. George (foll. 84^r - 98^r)

10. The *Martyrdom* of S. Basil of Amaseia (foll. 99^r - 114^v)

11. The *Martyrdom* of S. Isidore (foll. 115^r - 119^r)

12. The *Life* of S. Achillius of Larissa (foll. 119^v - 141^r)

13. The *Life* of S. Symeon the Stylite the Younger (foll. 142^r - 238^v)

14. The *Martyrdom* of S. Julianus and his companions (foll. 239^r - 264^v)

15. Theodore the Presbyter. *Sermon* on the Deposition of the Robe of the Virgin at Blachernae (foll. 265^{r} - 282^{r})

16. The *Martyrdom* of S. Cointus (foll. 282^{v} - 286^{r})

17. The *Martyrdom* of S. Conon (foll. 286^{v} - 289^{r})

18. The *Martyrdom* of S. Hyacinthus (foll. 290^{v} - 295^{r})

19. The *Life* of S. Athanasius of Athos (foll. 296^{r} - 366^{v})

20. The *Martyrdom* of S. Procopius and his companions (foll. 367^{v} - 393^{v})

21. The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

Tit. (fol. 394^{r}) + Εὐαγρίου ἐπισκόπου εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παγκρατίου ἀρχιπροέδρου Ταυρομενίας

Inc. (fol. 394^{v}) Ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ... Des. (fol. 488^{v}) ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ μέρους συνεγραψάμεθα κατά τε ἡμετέραν δύναμιν καὶ ὅσον ἐγχωροῦν ἦν ... ἀμήν.

22. The *Martyrdom* of the 45 Martyrs of Nicopolis in Armenia (foll. 489^{r} - 501^{v})

23. The *Martyrdom* of SS. Proclus and Hilarus (foll. 502^{r} - 508^{r})

24. The *Definition* of the Fourth Oecumenical Council in Chalcedon (foll. 508^{v} - 517^{r})

25. The *Martyrdom* of S. Antiochus (foll. 517^{v} - 523^{v})

26. The *Martyrdom* of S. Athenogenes (foll. 523^{v} - 527^{v})

27. The *Martyrdom* of S. Aemilian (foll. 527^{v} - 532^{r})

28. The *Martyrdom* of S. Christina (foll. 533^{r} - 547^{r})

29. The *Martyrdom* of S. Laurentius and his companions (foll. 548^{r} - 559^{v})

30. The *Life* of S. Maximus the Confessor (foll. 560^{r} - 586^{v})

31. The *Martyrdom* of S. Andrew Stratelates and his companions (foll. 587^{r} - 595^{r})

32. The *Martyrdom* of S. Agathonicus and his companions (foll. 596^{r} - 605^{r})

Colophon[1] (fol. 605^{v})

δόξα τῷ ἁγίῳ θ(ε)ῷ ἡμῶν. ἀμήν.
τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ὑπάρχει μὲν κτῆμα τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ προφήτου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ ᾽Ιωάννου τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης τοῦ Διονυσίου συγκειμένης ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἄθῳ ὄρει· ἐγράφη δὲ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ εὐτελοῦς ᾽Ιωάσαφ ἱερομονάχου διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ ἐξόδου τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου καὶ μουσικωτάτου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κυροῦ Δαμιανοῦ τοῦ ἐξ ᾽Αθηνῶν καὶ ἐπροσήλωσα αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ῥηθείσῃ μονῇ ἕνεκεν ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας καὶ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες αὐτὸ εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἔτει ,ζρμα᾽ (=1633)

Description

The manuscript is largely attributable to one hand, except for foll. 262^{v} - 264^{v}. Fol. 1 and fol. 2 contain a *Pinax* and there are a number of blank folia, as is apparent from the list of Contents above.

History

There is no evidence that the manuscript has ever been outside the Dionysiou monastery on Mt. Athos, where, as the colophon indicates, it was copied in 1632/33.

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1. See S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue*, I, p. 343. See also A. Ehrhard, *Uberlieferung*, III.i, p. 450, n. 2.

c) The Manuscript of the Third Recension

Z Codex Vaticanus Graecus 2010

Vaticanus Graecus 2010 (olim Basilianus 49), c. XI, parchment, 24.5 x 17.0 cm., 235 foll., complete lines, 26 ll., one hand.

Contents

1. The *Life* of S. Andrew the Fool (foll. 1^{r} - 129^{v})

2. The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

Tit. (fol. 130^{r}) Μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ θ'. Βίος καὶ πολητία καὶ διὰ Χριστὸν ἀγόνες καὶ ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου ἰσαποστόλου καὶ ἱερομάρτυρος Παγκρατίου προέδρου γεγωνότος πόλεως Ταυρομενίας συγγραφεὶς παρὰ Εὐγρίου (sic) ἐπισκόπου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.

Inc. (fol. 130^{r}) Ἐγένετω μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆνε τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς οὐρανούς ... Des. (fol. 206^{v}) ἅτινα ἢ καθ' ἓν γραφῇ παραδοῦναι, πολλὰς ἂν ἀπηρτίσαμεν βίβλους ... ἀμήν.

3. The *Martyrdom* of the Great-martyr Procopius (foll. 207^{r} - 235^{v})

Description

The entire manuscript is attributable to a single hand, a

semi-uncial South Italian hand[1] which shows considerable use of uncial forms. The script inclines markedly to the right. The standard *nomina sacra* are abbreviated, without accentuation, and there are some compendia at the ends of lines. A few capital letters are used within the text for the initial letters of chapters.

Chapters are indicated with a number in the outer margin. Word division is incomplete. There is no final sigma, and neither adscript nor subscript iota. Accents are placed well after the accented letter. If an accent and a breathing occur on the same letter, the breathing is omitted. Accents are placed over the second of two vowels and both parts of compound verbs are usually accented. Diaeresis is not marked, nor are apostrophes placed after Hebrew words. The writing is suspended from the ruled lines. The rulings take the following form. There are monochromatic borders before each text.

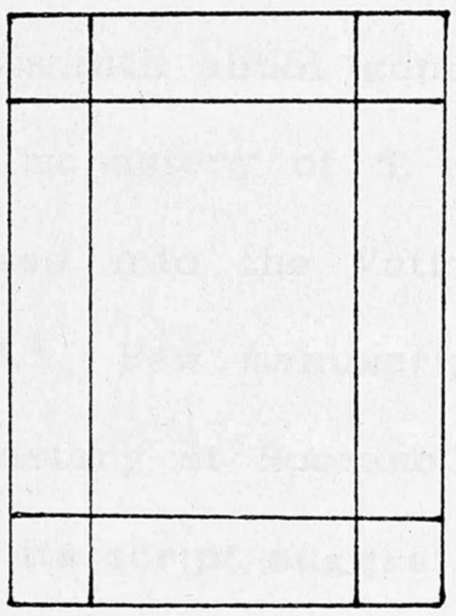


fig. a

Fol. 1^{r} bears the following entries in different hands;

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1. Concerning the South Italian origin of the manuscript, see A. Ehrhard, *Uberlieferung*, III.ii, p. 785, n. 2.

"No. 73 Vita patrum" (Menniti ?), "49", and across the bottom, "Basil 49" and "2010".

The parchment is of poor quality, yellow in color with numerous defects. The manuscript is bound in red leather with the arms of Pius IX.

History

The manuscript was brought from the monastery of S. Mary of Patir at Rossano, where it was catalogued as no. 73[2] by P. Menniti, abbot general of the Basilians from 1696, to Rome, to the monastery of S. Basil *in urbe*,[3] where it became no. 49. It passed into the Vatican Library with the Basilian collection in 1786.[4] Few manuscripts are known to have been copied in the monastery at Rossano,[5] but the characteristics of the manuscript and its script suggest a South Italian origin.

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2. P. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye*, p. 56, misread this as '13', a mistake corrected by G. Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d'Italia e di Patmo* (*ST* 68) (Vatican, 1935), p. 205, who draws attention to Vat. Gr. 1997, which is marked "Libro 72 Vita Patrum".
3. See the subscription of Menniti to Vat. Gr. 2004, noted by R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits*, p. 23.
4. R. Devreesse, 'Pour l'histoire', p. 335.
5. R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits*, p. 23.

d) Testimonia

The *VP* was excerpted and used by several sources in support of iconodule arguments,[1] and this has provided us with *testimonia* for a number of passages.

Flor The Iconodule *florilegium* of Par. Gr. 1115 (fol. 254^{v})

A small section of the text (*VP*, p. 11. 13 - 12.1) was selected for this collection of patristic and hagiographic sources.

I am grateful to M. Cunningham for her transcription of this passage.

Th The *Letters* of Theodore the Studite (*Ep.* lxxii, *PG* 99, coll. 1303-1306 and *Ep.* cxcix, *PG* 99, coll. 1599-1612)

Theodore excerpted a passage (*VP*, p. 11.13 - 12.1) for his letter to Nicholas (*PG* 99, col. 1304C). The same passage is quoted more extensively in the letter to Thalelaeus (*PG* 99, col. 1605A-B), and after quoting this section, Theodore comments on and

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1. See below, pp. 76. - 89.

develops elements of it in turn, a process which only repeats the textual evidence given by the direct quotation.

Nic Nicephorus, Ἔλεγχος καὶ Ἀνατροπή (*Refutation et Eversio*) (Par. Gr. 1250, foll. 239^{r} - 241^{r} (=P); Coislin. 93, foll. 69^{r} - 70^{r} (=C)).

Nicephorus excerpts more extensively from the *VP*, giving us passages of varying length, including the *incipit*. These are; *VP*, p. 1 , ll. 1 - 4 ; *VP*, p. 11 , ll. 12 - 13, l. 3, *VP*, p. 14 , ll. 2 - 9; *VP*, p. 35 , ll. 12 - 36, l. 2; ; *VP*, p. 80 , ll. 10-15; *VP*, p. 304, l. 6 - 305, l. 4; *VP*, p. 226 , ll. 9 -12.

I am grateful to J. Featherstone, who has edited the first part of this text in an unpublished dissertation at Harvard University, 1984, for providing me with his collation of the two manuscripts.

e) The Old Slavonic Translation Usp

Information concerning the translation of the *VP* into Slavonic is given in the colophons of two, perhaps three manuscripts, none of which contains the text itself.

The sixteenth century manuscript Undolsky 231 has a colophon which says that the *Life* of S. Antony the Great by

Athanasius of Alexandria, as well as the *Life* of S. Pancratius, the disciple of S. Peter, were translated at the behest of, "John the builder of churches, our Lord, the Archbishop of the land of Bulgaria, for they have not yet been translated by anyone else."[1]. The solutions proposed by scholars to the problem of identifying this John of Bulgaria are summarized by B. S. Angelov.[2] It is sufficient for our purposes to note that the translation should probably be attributed to the early eleventh century. The manuscript contains the *Life* of Antony, but not the *VP*.

A similar colophon is said to have been seen by Sakharov, as reported by A. Popov, in a seventeenth century manuscript.

> " ... We did not rely on our own judgement, nor did we dare to set about such a task, for great it is, but we were made to do it by order of the church-builder John of Bulgaria. We were ordered to translate not only the *Life* of Antony the Great, but also of the wondrous disciple of Peter, Pancratius, for neither *Life* has been translated by anyone before us ..."[3]

A fourteenth century manuscript, which was numbered 195 in

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1. Undolsky 231 (fol.309^{v}). Translated from the Russian translation of A. N. Veselovskij, '*Изъ исторіи Романа и повѣсти*' *Сборникъ отдѣленія русскаго языка и словесности императорской академіи наукъ* xl/2 (1886), p. 70. The catalogue of the collection does not give the complete text of the colophon. See A. Viktorov, *Славяно-русскія Рукописи В. М. Ундольскаго* (Moscow, 1870).
2. See B. S. Angelov, *Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература* II (Sofia, 1967), pp. 106-109.
3. A. Popov, *Описаніе Рукописей и Каталогъ книгъ церковной печати библіотеки А. И. Хлудова* (Moscow, 1872), pp. 393-4.

the collection of A. I. Khludov, has the following colophon.[4]

Їѡа҃ недо҃ннаго пр҃звитера. пр҃ложьшаго сие.
Сѐ гр҃кѡ́нкїи а҃зъ прочьтъ створенїѐ григорїа (sic) ѡ҃ житии великаго
ѻ҃ца нашегѡ҃ а҃нтѡнїа. пр҃ложенїе́мъ конч҃авъ. мало что́ повес҃тдовати, кі҃
послоу҃шаю҆щїимъ. вс҃ѣмъ чр҃ньцѣ҃. коу҃пно же и҆ простїи́мъ. и҆ простїѣ прошоу҃
ѡ҃ ва҃. а҃ще р҃чь зазо́рноу и҆ не оу҃хїи́рѣ́ноу҃ боудемъ положилй прелагае҆ чюсл
ѥго́, не во́ нѣсми то́лькїи смотрьливии є҃линьскый р҃чїй. їзъѡ҃бра́зити тр҃ѣ
ѡ҃бразъ. нѣ҃ илоу҃ю҆ю҃ то́гда́ ѣ҃зы́коу҃ словѣ҃ньскоу҃. нѣ҃ на разоу҃мъ ноу҃дещїе поло
жихолй. нѣ҃ то́лма же разоу҃момъ своймъ. оу҃пова́ю҆щїе поу҃стинижителѣ їѡа҃на.
ѥ҃го же а҃нтѡнїѣ житїю поре́внова. мы҆ же лѣщїе цр҃кове́на́го їѡа҃. гл҃аа҃ а҃рхы
є҃пс҃па. їже вы҃ патрїа́рхъ боугарьскы҆ земли. нѣ҃ се тъ́кмо житиѣ великогѡ҃
а҃нтѡнїа́. нѣ҃ и҆ пре҆чюнаа҃го чюдотво́рца нѣ҃потаѣ́наго житиа. ѩ҃ко же не
соу҃щемъ пр҃ложеномъ. нѣ҃кы҆ѣ҃мы҆ же пр҃ѣ҃ ними, того дѣ҃ла приноу҃дише нашоу҃
гроубость. помы҆́сливъ, ѩ҃ко же да не лихъ боу҃детъ. нѣ҃ тр҃ѣ҃ чюдотво́рьць бж҃твы
на҆а҃го и҆ житиа҃. словѣ҃ньскы҆и҃ ѣзыкъ. и҆ добр҃ъ же и҆ самъ ве́лми не лихъ
бы҆́ти мьзды послоу҃шаю҆щїй ради. на оу҃спѣхъ дш҃ньый. ѡ҃ гл҃а ва҃ спса нашего
їс҃ хр҃а. є҃гда же ѥ҃лоу [1]).... за люди ставшоу... ихъ чи... пр҃ѣ҃ставити хр҃оу҃ боу҃
толоу оу҃бїю ѥ҃ слава. сн҃ѣ҃ ѡ҃цемъ. и҆ сн҃омъ и҆ стымъ дх҃омъ. нн҃а и҆ пр҃но
и҆ вн҃ вѣ҃ы вѣ҃ко: (239 об.—240).

While the *VP* is not mentioned specifically, it seems likely, in the light of the reference to John the Bulgarian, and the association with the *Life* of Antony, that the "*Life* of the wonderful ѬѢПОТАѢ҃НАГО [5] wonder-worker" is the *VP*. The manuscript, a Serbian *torzhestvennik*, does contain the *Life* of S. Antony.

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4. A. Popov, ***Описаніе***, p. 393. A fifteenth century hand records the ownership of the manuscript by the Markov monastery.
5. A. N. Veselovskij, '***Изъ исторіи***', p. 71, thinks that this means 'not apocryphal'.

The text of a Slavonic translation of the *VP* is contained in two manuscripts.

The earlier is a thirteenth or fourteenth century manuscript obtained by Bishop Porfirij (Uspenskij) from the Hilandar monastery on Mt. Athos, and later placed in the collection of the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg. Bishop Porfirij, in his account of his journey to Mt. Athos,[6] gives a summary of the text, and in the context of this, he presents a number of the more unusual and significant words from the Slavonic translation. These have been incorporated into the apparatus with the *siglum* 'Usp'.

The text is also found in a seventeenth century manuscript, which was in the library of the Voskresenskij Novoierusalimskij monastery, numbered 124.[7]

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6. Bishop Porfirij (Uspenskij), ***Первое путешествие въ Аѳонскіе Монастыри и Скиты Часть 1 въ 1845 году*** (Kiev, 1877), pp. 39-84. Bishop Porfirij, p. 96 ff., advanced an imaginative opinion on the origin of the translation. He thought that the *VP* was published by Cyril, bishop of Catania, and with his blessing, was translated for the Dalmatian Serbs and Khorvats, and for Slavic Sicilian sailors, who brought it to Dalmatia, whence it made its way to Athos.

7. Archimandrite Amfilochij, ***Описаніе Воскресенской Новоіерусалимской Библіотеки*** (Moscow, 1875), p. 173.

f) The Georgian Translation

The translation of the *VP* into Georgian was carried out by S. Euthymius Mtatsminedela of the Iveron Monastery on Mt. Athos († 1028). It exists in four manuscripts.

1. Iveron 54 (a. 1030)

Contents:[1]

a) The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

b) The *Life* of SS. Eustathius, Theopista and their children

c) The *Martyrdom* of S. Demetrius

d) Clement of Rome. The *Martyrdom* of SS. Eustathius, Auxentius, Eugenius, Orestes and Mardarius

Colophon (on the final folio):[2]

> "Christ, glorify our holy father Euthymius the translator of this book, and Father Gregory, its purchaser. Written on the holy mountain of Greek Olympus, in the Georgian cave at the church of the most holy Theotokos, at the order of Father Gregory, by the hand of the wicked and greatly sinful Isaac, in the reign of Romanus, when he undertook an expedition against the Saracens. In the ***корониконъ*** 250 (250 + +780 = 1030)."

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1. A. Khakhanov, ***Багратъ, епископъ Тавроменійскій Грузинскій текстъ по рукописямъ XI в.*** (Moscow, 1904), p. III.
2. Translated from the Russian translation of A. Khakhanov, ***Грузинскій текстъ***, pp. III-IV.

2. Tiflis (Jordania 134) (a. 1066)

This manuscript was catalogued by Th. D. Jordania in the Tiflis Church Museum.

Contents:[3]

a) The *Life* of S. John of the Ladder

b) & c) Correspondence between S. John of the Ladder and John of Raithu

d) The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

e) The *Life* of S. Nicholas and the Service to him

Colophon (fol. 591, at the end of the *VP*):[4]

> "By the graciousness and help of our father Hilarion, I, Gelasius, unworthy monk of the monastery of Romanus, during the abbacy in this monastery, was deemed worthy to copy this holy *Ladder* (***клемаксь*** = S. John of the Ladder) and the *Life* of the holy equal-to-the-apostles Bagrat (= Pancratius), to the glory of God and of the protecting and ennabling king of Avkhazia and Georgia Bagrat and his son George Curopalates - may the Lord glorify them - and for the commemoration of my soul and all the fathers and brothers struggling in the (monastery) of Romanus. Written by the hand of Simeon Dvala in the *hesychasterion* of the monastery of Romanus in the name of S. Anna, in the reign of Ducas, at the time when (his) daughter, Martha, was in the court of the Emperor. ***короникономъ*** 286 + 780 = 1066) - and we placed it in the library of the monastery of Romanus, in the church of the Holy Apostles."

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3. Th. D. Jordania, *Описаніе Рукописей Тифлисскаго Церковнаго Музея* I (Tiflis, 1903), no. 134.
4. Translated from the Russian translation of A. Khakhanov, ***Грузинскій текстъ***, p. IV, n. 2.

3. Iveron 50 (c. XI)

Contents:[5]

a) The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

b) The *Martyrdom* of SS. Eustathius, Theopista and their children Agapius and Theopista

c) John of Thessalonica. Concerning S. Demetrius

d) An account sent by Clement of Rome, the disciple of S. Peter, to James, brother of the Lord

4. Tiflis (Jordania 610) (c. XIX)

This manuscript was also catalogued by Jordania in the Tiflis Church Museum.

Contents:[6]

a) The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

b) *Concerning the Winds*

c) The names of the months in different languages

The text was edited in 1902 from the Iveron manuscripts by A. Khakhanov.[7]

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5. A. Khakhanov, ***Грузинскій текстъ*** p. III.
6. Th. D. Jordania. ***Описаніе*** , II (Tiflis, 1902), no. 610.
7. A. Khakhanov, ***Грузинскій текстъ***

It seems reasonable to assume that the translation was motivated by the incumbency of the Georgian throne by Bagrat III († 1014) or Bagrat IV († 1072), the Georgian name 'Bagrat' being the equivalent to the Greek 'Παγκράτιος'. It is, however, possible that the Georgian interest in the *VP* was attracted by S. Pancratius' real or fictitious association with Pontus.

The textual tradition

The manuscripts of the first recension do not have a straightforward pattern of relationship. As is usual in the transmission of hagiographic texts, a good deal of liberty has been taken by copyists, and there is a substantial amount of trivial, stylistic variation in the midst of which it is difficult to attribute individual cases to direct transmission, contamination or independent alteration. However, by examining cases of more significant variation, such as the number of icons referred to and the inclusion or exclusion of the names of the two orphaned sisters, it is possible to identify three groups of manuscripts, associated by apparent affinity rather than necessarily by a clear filial or fraternal relationship. The first group is represented by X and S and the end of Y. It is upon this group that the present edition is based. The manuscript X is particularly valuable in view of its early date. The manuscript S is a poorer witness, subject as it is to frequent incidences of omission through homoearchon and homoeteleuton. It does, however, occasionally preserve a better reading than X, suggesting a

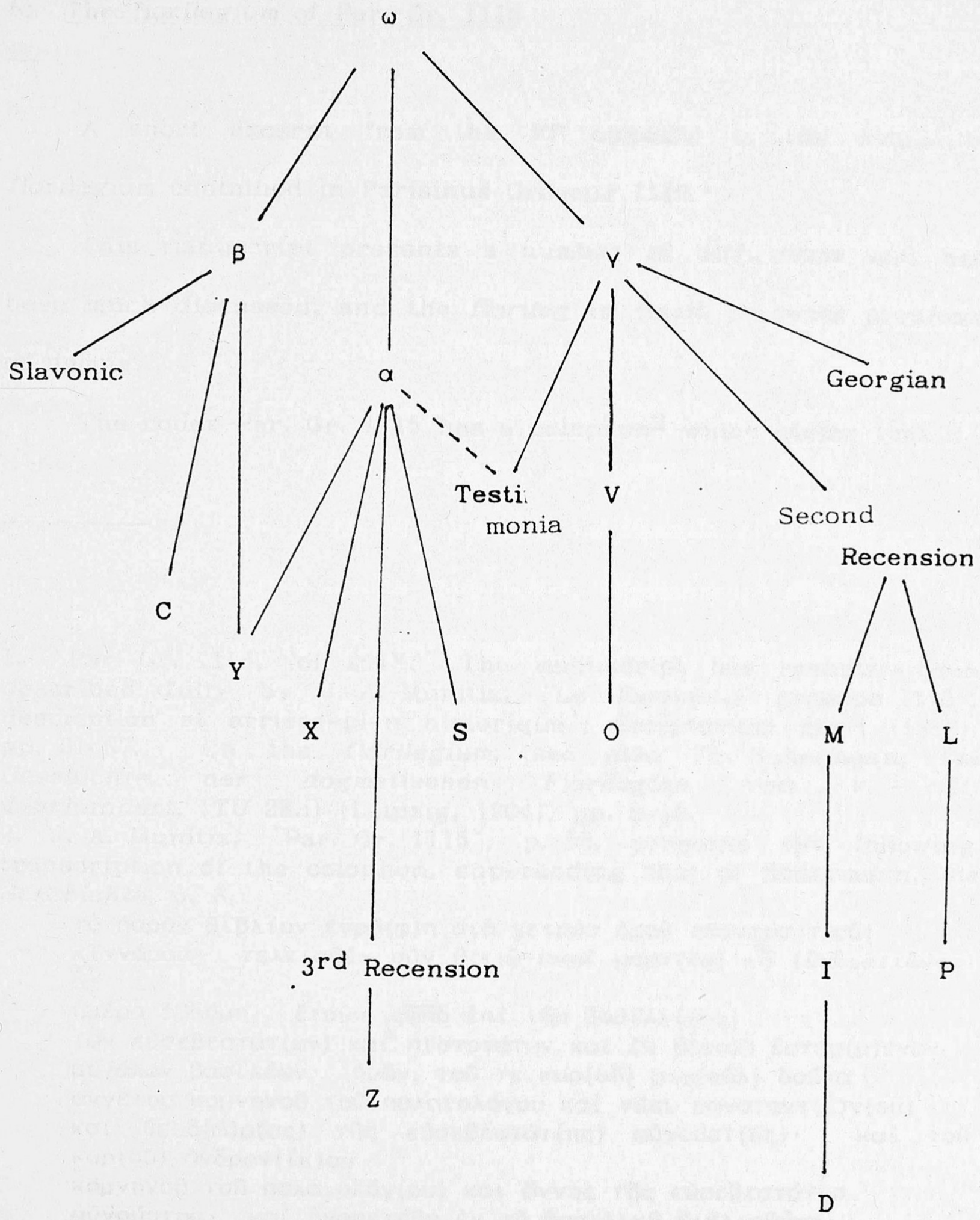
fraternal rather than a filial relationship. The manuscript Y appears to follow this branch towards the end of the text, although this does not coincide with the change of hand in that manuscript. The second group consists of C and the greater part of Y. The latter manuscript is mutilated at the beginning, with the loss of some of the text. The text witnessed by this group, apart from including a number of important variants which represent significant differences in meaning, exhibits a certain degree of stylistic variation from the text found in manuscripts of the first group. The third group is principally represented by V, which contains a version of the *VP* which is a slight stylistic improvement on the text found in the other manuscripts of the first recension. It is not a South Italian manuscript, and there are signs, for example in the form of the name 'Remaldus' and of toponyms in Calabria, that it represents an exported, rather than a local version, so that, despite its many commendable readings, it is more likely that we have here the result of an attempt to improve the text than that it is the closest witness to the archetype. This version must have been in existence by the early eleventh century as its changes are reflected in the second recension. The manuscript O is an apograph of V and makes no independent contribution. It has therefore been omitted from the apparatus. The *testimonia* Flor, Th and Nic appear to be closer to the third group, a judgement based in some cases on stylistic grounds, but particularly on the number of icons included. This suggests that the third version was produced quite early, but confirms the suggestion that it was an exported, rather than a local version. The inconsistent position of X and S as regards the icon of the Mother of God may be the result of contamination from

one of the *testimonia*. The influence of Flor or Th is more likely than of Nic, whose more extensive excerpts might be expected to have had a broader effect. The Old Slavonic translation should, especially on account of its inclusion of the names of the two orphaned sisters, be associated with the branch of the tradition represented by C and Y, an affinity which should be of great interest to Slavicists. The Georgian translation, on the other hand, is based on the third version, a fact which confirms the witness of the second recension to the effect that this version had reached Athos by the beginning of the eleventh century.

The second recension represents an abbreviation and substantial stylistic improvement of the first recension. It appears to have been restricted to Mt. Athos and must have been created by 1023, the date of the earliest manuscript, M. The relationships of manuscripts in this group are quite straightforward. The text is incomplete in both L and P, the latter manuscript containing very little of the text. These two manuscripts share some minor variants not found in M. The remaining manuscripts, I and D, both very late witnesses, should perhaps be classed as a separate recension as they contain an abridgement of the second recension, which can, nevertheless, be seen to be descended from that in M.

The third recension is found in a single manuscript, Z. It is a substantially abbreviated version, so that its position in the tradition is difficult to determine, but it is certainly related to the South Italian tradition and is probably descended from a manuscript of the first branch of the first recension. The production of the third recension may have been carried out in Italo-Greek circles.

The edition offerred here is an edition of the first recension. I hope that I will have the opportunity later to produce an edition of the second recension. I have largely omitted from the apparatus orthographical mistakes where the reading is not otherwise in question, but have included many minor stylistic variants in order to give as complete as possible a guide to the textual tradition and the fullest possible opportunity for the reader to make his own judgements. Where a manuscript is mutilated, I have indicated the limits of the mutilation immediately below the text and mentioned this factor in the apparatus only when the variants of a particular word are in question. None of the manuscripts of the first recension has chapter divisions. Those in the text are mine. I have omitted noting the manuscript O in the apparatus as it has no independent value.


ω
β
γ
Slavonic
α
Georgian
Testi
monia
V
Second
Recension
C
Y
X
S
O
M
L
3rd Recension
I
P
Z
D

The use of the *VP* by later sources

1. Iconodule Literature

a) The *florilegium* of Par. Gr. 1115

A short excerpt from the *VP* appears in the iconodule *florilegium* contained in Parisinus Graecus 1115.[1]

This manuscript presents a number of difficulties and has been much discussed, and the *florilegium* itself presents problems of dating.

The codex Par. Gr. 1115 has a colophon[2] which states that it

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1. Par. Gr. 1115, fol. 254^{v}. The manuscript has recently been described fully by J. A. Munitiz, 'Le *Parisinus graecus* 1115 : description et arrière-plan historique', *Scriptorium* xxxvi (1982), pp. 51-67. On the *florilegium*, see also Th. Schermann, *Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Florilegien vom V. - VIII. Jahrhundert*, (*TU* 28.i) (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 6-10.
2. J. A. Munitiz, 'Par. Gr. 1115', p. 55, presents the following transcription of the colophon, superceding that of Schermann, *Die Geschichte*, p. 6.

τὸ παρὸν βϊβλίον ἐγρά(φ)η διὰ χειρὸσ ἐμοῦ λέοντοσ τ(οῦ)
κϊννάμου· τελειωθὲν σὺν θ(ε)ῷ μνηῖ μαρτ(ίῳ) ϊδ̄ (ἰνδικτιῶνος)
δ̄·
ἡμέρα ἑβδόμη· ἔτουσ ,ςψπδ̄ ἐπὶ τῆσ βασϊλεί(ας)
τῶν εὐσεβεστάτ(ων) καῖ πϊστοτάτων καὶ ἐκ θ(εο)ῦ ἐστεμ(μ)ένων
μεγάλων βασϊλέων· ἡμῶν, τοῦ τε κυρ(οῦ) μιχ(αὴλ) δούκα
ἀγγέλου κομνηνοῦ τοῦ παλαϊολόγου καὶ νέου κωνσταντ(ί)ν(ου)
καὶ θεοδ(ώ)ρ(ας) τῆς εὐσεβεστάτ(ης) αὐγούστ(ης)· καὶ τοῦ
κυρ(οῦ) ἀνδρον(ίκ)ου
κομνηνοῦ τοῦ παλαιολόγ(ου) και ἄννης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτησ
αὐγούστησ· καὶ ἐναπετέθη ἐν τῆ βασϊλϊκῆ βιβλιοθήκη·
μετεγράφη δὲ ἀπὸ βϊβλίου εὑρεθέντος ἐν τῆ παλαιᾶ
βϊβλιοθήκη τῆς ἁγίασ ἐκκλ(ησίας) τῆς πρεσβυτέρασ ῥώμησ·
ὅπερ βϊβλίον ἐγράφη καὶ αὐτὸ ἐν ἔτει ,ςσξζ ὡς ἀριθ
μεῖσθαι τοὺς χρόνουσ τοῦ τοιούτου βϊβλίου ἀχρὶ τοῦ
παρόντος ιζ̄ πρὸσ τοῖσ πεντασκοίοισ +
ἔχει δὲ τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τετράδ(ια) γεγραμμένα μῆ κα(ὶ) φύλλα
τπᾱ καὶ τετρ(άδια) ἄγραφ(α) β'

was copied by a certain Leo Kinnamus for the Imperial Library in a. 6784 (= a.d. 1276) from an exemplar of the Church of Rome which was dated a. 6267 (= a.d. 759), yet the dates of a number of the texts in the manuscript are incompatible with the original manuscript having been written in 759. The question of the date of the manuscript is of concern to us insofar as it affects the date of the *florilegium* and therefore of the *VP*.

The *florilegium* itself contains three texts which show some evidence of a date later than 759. The first is a *Synodicon* of John, Patriarch of Jerusalem, which mentions both the Iconoclastic Council of 754 and the execution of Patriarch Constantine of Constantinople in 766.[3] The other two texts, the account of the rise of iconoclasm in Syria[4] and the anathemas of Theodosius of Ephesus, Sisinnius Pastillas and other iconoclasts,[5] appear to be derived from the *Acts* of the Seventh Council of 787, although the *florilegium* as a whole is not, in that it contains considerably more extracts than the *Acts* of the Council, and the extracts it has in common with the *Acts* show considerable variation from the texts of these extracts in the *Acts* of the Council.[6]

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3. Par. Gr. 1115, fol. 239^{r}.
4. Par. Gr. 1115, fol. 280^{v}. Cf. Mansi xiii, 197.
5. Par. Gr. 1115, fol. 283^{v}. Cf. Mansi xiii, 400A-B, 416C.
6. See C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium, 1971) (Washington, D.C., 1975), p. 34.

Several other texts in the manuscript also present problems. The *Canon* of fol. 235^{r+v} [7] and the fragment wrongly attributed to Amphilochius of Iconium,[8] both difficult to date, are probably ninth century texts.[9] The *Miscellanea theologica A & B*[10] seem to be collections of anti-Latin polemic concerning the *filioque*.[11]

One solution to the problems raised by these texts is the proposal that additional material, incorporated into the manuscript after the substance of it was written, was copied by Kinnamus as if part of the original manuscript.[12]

Several other suggestions have been proposed. Montfaucon[13] claimed that Kinnamus misread the first letter of the date, purportedly τ, as a ς, so that the original colophon read ,ϛσξζ' (a. 6367 = a.d. 859). He has been followed in this by most modern scholars.[14] However, while it must be admitted that the date of the *florilegium* may be earlier than that of the manuscript, it would seem unlikely that a *florilegium* assembled in the middle of

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7. On the date, see V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. I. Les Actes des Patriarches.* ii. *Les Regestes de 715 à 1043* (Kadiköy, 1936), no. 588.
8. *PG* 39, col. 109B-C. On the date, see C. Datema, *Amphilochii Iconiensis Opera* (*CC*, ser. gr., 3) (Brepols, 1978), pp. xxv-xxvii.
9. See J. A. Munitiz, 'Par. Gr. 1115', p. 63.
10. Par. Gr. 1115, foll. 173^{v} - 188^{r}, 194^{r} - 219^{v}.
11. See J. A. Munitiz, 'Par. Gr. 1115', p. 63.
12. See C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books', p. 34, n. 21.
13. B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca* (Paris, 1708), pp. 65-66.
14. E.g. V. Gardthausen, *Griech. Pal.*, p. 439; R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1954), p. 54, n. 8.

the ninth century would not have mentioned the Seventh Council.[15]

A second solution, first proposed by B. M. Melioranskij[16] and rediscovered by C. Mango,[17] is that the date of the original manuscript followed the Alexandrian, not the Byzantine, reckoning, that is, that the colophon dated it to 774/5, not 759. This gives us sixteen more years, which overcomes the difficulty of the *Synodicon*, but not of the other two problematic texts in the *florilegium*, nor the other late texts in the manuscript, although these can still be explained as interpolations in the exemplar.

The third suggested solution, put forward by J.A. Munitiz in his recent study of the manuscript,[18] is that the colophon is merely a forgery perpetrated by Kinnamus and designed to give authority to a manuscript which, through the *Miscellanea theologica*, was to be used for polemical purposes following the Council of Lyon in 1274. Munitiz suggests that Kinnamus' colophon is *too* detailed, and its unusual character draws suspicion on it. However, he does not advance any reason for the choice of the date given in the colophon for the archetype, and

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15. C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books', p. 34.
16. B. M. Melioranskij, *Георгій Кипрянинъ и Іоаннъ Іерусалимлянинъ Записки Историко-Филологическаго Факультета Императорскаго С.- Петербургскаго Университета* ч. lix (1901), p. 83.
17. C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books', p. 33 with n. 20.
18. J. A. Munitiz, 'Par.Gr. 1115', p. 64.

one must question whether it is likely that it was purely arbitrary, nor does he make any real suggestions about the date and nature of the archetype, nor does he give any reason for the pre-eminent position in the manuscript of the issues of montheletism and iconoclasm, which were not relevant in the context of the anti-Latin polemic which concerned thirteenth century theologians. His suggestion that Kinnamus was preoccupied with proving the authenticity of the archetype because of the incorporation of the *filioque* material may well be true, but it also seems possible that what we have in Par. Gr. 1115 is a copy of an early manuscript, maybe primarily of a.d. 774/5, with a few minor ninth century additions, into which material of contemporary relevance has been inserted. This may also explain the difficulties in reconciling the contradictions in Kinnamus' account of the physical structure of the manuscript.

As we have noted, as regards the *florilegium*, there are problems attendant on a late date as well as an early one, and the appearance of the condemnation of Theodosius, Sisinnius and their associates does not create more difficulties than the absence of any reference to the Seventh Council.

Munitiz has also called into question the Roman provenance of the archetype claimed in the colophon on the basis of a hypothetical claim that it is unlikely that the Emperor Michael VIII would have allowed a Roman manuscript into the Imperial

Library.[19] He has made this claim without attempting to refute Mango's statement[20] that conditions in Kinnamus' time were, in fact, very favorable to his having come in contact with a Roman manuscript. Moreover, as regards the *florilegium*, the Greek community in Rome, with its strong iconodule stance, seems a likely context for the production of such a collection. The fact that it contains Western texts, such as selections from the works of S. Ambrose and the *Life* of Pope Silvester, as one might expect in a collection formed in Greek circles in the West, supports the probability of a Roman provenance.

The date of the manuscript, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the *florilegium*, cannot be definitely established granted the problems we have outlined, but it seems likely that the manuscript dates at least from the late eighth century and originated in Rome.

As far as the *VP* is concerned, while it does provide a *terminus ante quem*, the excerpt in the *florilegium* is more useful in showing that the text, or at least an excerpt, was in Rome by this time.

Proposals as to how this came about can only be hypothetical. We will show that the *VP* was almost certainly *not*

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19. J. A.Munitiz, 'Par.Gr. 1115', p. 53 and pp. 61-2.
20. C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books', p. 34.

written in Rome by a member of the Greek community there.[21] We may ask, then, in what circumstances prior to the end of the eighth century, it would most likely have made its way from Sicily to Rome. It seems more likely that this would have been in the period when Sicily was jurisdictionally subject to Rome, but it would be rash to draw firm conclusions on the basis of what may have been an isolated case.

b) Theodore the Studite and the Patriarch Nicephorus

Both Theodore the Studite and the Patriarch Nicephorus use excerpts from the *VP*.[1] In the case of Theodore, the brevity of his extracts might lead us to suspect that he did not have access to a complete text, but only a selected passage, maybe obtained through a *florilegium*, or excerpted for his use. He does show

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21. See below, p. 394 - 398.

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1. See above, Testimonia, p. 63. .

some signs of further acquaintance with the *VP* in his discussion of its authorship[2] and his knowledge of the cult of S. Pancratius, although this is not necessarily derived from the text.[3] Nicephorus, on the other hand, whose selection of extracts is far more extensive, including the *incipit*, and whose copy was in two volumes, seems to have had access to the whole text. This makes it reasonably likely that Theodore did also. Thus a copy of the *VP* must have been in Constantinople by 814, so that it could have been used by Theodore in 814 and Nicephorus in 820.

Nicephorus, writing in the *Refutatio et Eversio* about the iconoclasts' program of mutilating and falsifying books, includes the *VP* among them specifically, saying,

> ταῦτα καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρων μὲν πλειόνων ἐμφανὲς πολλοῖς γέγονεν· ἐκδηλότερον δ' ἂν φωραθείη, εἴ τινι τῇ βίβλῳ καθ' ἣν τὰ τοῦ προειρημένου ἱερομάρτυρος Παγκρατίου ἱστόρηται, ἀρχαιοτάτῃ γε οὔσῃ, περιτυχεῖν ποθεν περιγένοιτο· ἣν αὐτοὶ ὄψεσιν οἰκείαις τέλεον ἀπηχρειωμένην τεθεάμενοι, τὴν τόλμαν τῶν ἀσεβῶν κατεπλάγημεν.[4]

Thus a copy must have been in iconoclast hands during the first period of Iconoclasm, that is, prior to 787. An intact copy may well have been brought to Constantinople by the iconodules, whose activities in collecting books, including books from the West, is

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2. Theodore the Studite, *Ep.* xlii, *PG* 99, col. 1244D. See below, p. 85 - 86.
3. Theodore the Studite, *Ep.* xlii, *PG* 99, col. 1244D.
4. Par. Gr. 1250, fol. 241^{r-v}; Coislin. 93, fol. 71^{r}. Coislin. 93 has a reading αὐταῖς for οἰκείαις in l. 4.

well-known, and it may well be that through the importation of such a volume, the mutilation of the text was discovered, but it cannot be the case that the first copy in Constantinople, the copy which was mutilated, was imported by the iconodules of the second period of Iconoclasm. It is important to note that Nicephorus speaks of the codex as being of great antiquity. It is difficult to say how old a manuscript would have to have been to have qualified as 'ἀρχαιοτάτη' in Nicephorus' judgement, but this description is at least compatible with the date we have proposed as the latest for its introduction to Constantinople, and probably indicates an even earlier date for the execution of the manuscript.

The *VP*, however, was not among the texts produced as evidence by the Fathers of the Seventh Council at Nicaea.[5] This may seem surprising in view of the thoroughness of the search made for supporting texts.[6] However, the fact of its mutilation may account for this. The text of John Moschus' *Leimonarion*, the Patriarchal library's copy of which, according to Tarasius, had had the sections relevant to icons removed, was not brought forward and only came to the notice of the Council when a complete text was presented by a 'spontaneous' contributor.[7]

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5. See P. van den Ven, 'La patristique et l'hagiographie au concile de Nicée de 787', *Byzantion* xxv-xxvii (1955-57), pp. 325-62. Van den Ven lists the works quoted at the Council, pp. 346-62.
6. See C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books', p. 33 .
7. Mansi xii, 192D. On references made at the Council to the mutilation of manuscripts, see P. van den Ven, 'La patristique', p. 340.

This may well have been a pre-arranged exercise aimed at showing the extent of the iconoclasts' perfidy, but on the other hand may represent a parallel situation to that of the *VP*. In the case of the *VP*, no complete copy was brought forward. This need not surprise us. The *Leimonarion* was a much more common text, and there was probably only one copy of the *VP* in Constantinople. The search for texts seems to have been carried out largely in the Patriarchal library and smaller libraries in the capital.[8] There were 'spontaneous' contributions from various participants, including the bishop of Catania,[9] but evidence suggests that they did not bring the texts they quoted with them,[10] so that we should not be surprised that a complete text was not among the resources to which the Fathers of the Council had access.

A letter of Theodore the Studite gives evidence of another aspect of the text's treatment in the course of the Iconoclast controversy. Theodore states,

> περὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ ἁγίου Παγκρατίου, ὅτι οὐ δηλοῖ πρὸς τίνος συνεγράφη, τί τοῦτο; σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ μαρτυρογράφια, ἀνεπίγραφά εἰσιν· ἀλλ' ὅμως βέβαιά εἰσι· κἀκεῖθεν οἱ διδάσκαλοι ἀφορμίζονται ποιεῖν τὰ τῶν μαρτυρησάντων ἐγκώμια. ὁ ἅγιος Παγκράτιος ἐν Σικελίᾳ τιμᾶται, ναῷ μεγίστῳ· ἐν ᾧ φασι καὶ σημεῖα γεγενῆσθαι. ὁ οὖν μὴ δεχόμενος τὴν ἱστορίαν, συναπεβάλετο τὸν μάρτυρα δηλονότι. ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἐν ὀλίγοις.[11]

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8. See C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books', pp. 29-32.
9. The bishop of Catania's offerring was S. Basil's *Panegyric* of Barlaam (Mansi xii, 80B).
10. John, vicar of the Oriental Patriarchs, read from a book he found in Constantinople, mentioning that he had the same book at home in the East (Mansi xii, 53D). The failure of the bishop of Catania to discover or bring a copy of the *VP* with him does not provide evidence of any substance about its availability in Sicily or Constantinople.
11. Theodore the Studite, *Ep.* xlii, *PG* 99, col. 1244D.

From this it seems that there was some dispute over the authenticity of the *VP*. Theodore suggests that this arose because its authorship was questioned, in particular, the identity of the author. Theodore's arguments in support of the text - namely that even the *Lives* of the martyrs which were anonymous were authentic and formed the basis of *encomia*, that the cult and attested miracles of S. Pancratius proved his existence (and, by implication, the historicity of his biography), and finally, the more emotive argument that rejecting the authenticity of the text was tantamount to rejecting the saint himself - provide us with some insight into scholarly method at the time. It would be interesting to know the way in which the opposing arguments were formulated, as it would give us some indication of how Evagrius failed in his attempts to persuade his Byzantine readers of the veracity of his *persona*, and give us a greater understanding of his procedure for reconstructing the past and the nature of his conception of it in the context of that of his contemporaries.

We may conclude, then, on the basis of the evidence of Theodore the Studite and Nicephorus, that the *VP*, in a manuscript considered to be of some antiquity by 820, had reached Constantinople by 787, and that the text was something of a *cause célèbre* during the Iconoclastic controversy, attracting the attention of both iconoclasts, who excised the sections which controverted their opinions and disputed its authenticity, and iconodules, who expressed suitable outrage at its treatment and came to the defence of its soundness. It is probable that a second, intact copy reached Constantinople between 787 and 814.

c) *The Admonition of the Old Man concerning the Holy Images*

The *Admonition of the Old Man concerning the Holy Images*[1] is an account of a debate concerning images said to have taken place in Cilicia between an iconophile monk, George of Cyprus, the 'Old Man' of the title, and an iconoclast bishop, Cosmas. In the course of the debate, George makes a reference to S. Peter going to Rome (according to our father Cyril), then says,

> καὶ εὐθέως ἀκούσαντες οἱ πιστοὶ τὰ μεγαλεῖα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λαληθέντων, καὶ εὐθέως παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς λόγοις τῇ κηροχύτῳ γραφῇ, ὑποδεικνύων αὐτοῖς Μωσῆν καὶ 'Ηλίαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, καὶ τὸν 'Ιησοῦν μέσον, καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὑποσκιαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς νεφέλης, καὶ παρέδωκεν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς.[2]

This section occurs in the second part of the work, which is dated to a.d. 750-754.

P. J. Alexander[3] has suggested that the source of the passage is probably the *VP*. The passage in the *Admonition* is *not* a quotation from the *VP*, but the presence of S. Peter and the unusual reference to an encaustic depiction of a New Testament event are both found in our text, and it is possible that these

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1. Νουθεσία γέροντος περὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων, ed. B. M. Melioranskij, '*Георгій Кипрянинъ и Іоаннъ Іерусалимлянинъ*', *Записки Историко-Филологическаго Факультета Императорскаго С.-Университета ч. Петербургскаго* lix (1901).
2. *Admonition* (ed. Melioranskij), p. xxvi.
3. P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958), p. 12, n. 2.

elements in the *VP* inspired the author of the *Admonition*, who then selected the Transfiguration as a specific example, perhaps because of its usefulness in refuting the iconoclast argument that the representation of Christ was particularly inappropriate from the time of the Transfiguration, although such sophistication of argument is not characteristic of the *Admonition*. Moreover, the supporting texts used in the *Admonition* are usually more recognizable and are not subjected to any substantial degree of imaginative adaptation such as we must assume if we claim that this section is based on the *VP*.

The author of the work is said to be George's disciple Theosebes, who wrote it after fleeing to Syria[4]. His resources of patristic and hagiographic literature are meagre and sometimes dubious,[5] maybe reflecting as much the state of the development of the controversy as his removal to the provinces, but it is difficult to know the extent and nature of his bibliographic background - it is possible that he had had access to a more susbstantial library, maybe even in Constantinople, before his flight, so that the adaptation of the text could be attributed to his having to recall from memory. It certainly seems to me highly

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4. *Admonition* (ed. Melioranskij), p. xxxix.
5. The patristic and hagiographic sources of the *Admonition* have been identified by Melioranskij and are listed by him, pp. 126-7.

unlikely that there was a copy of the *VP* in Syria by 754.

Were the case for the dependence of the *Admonition* on the *VP* more secure, we would then be able to bring our date for the existence of a copy of the *VP* in the East back to 754, that is , to an earlier date within the first period of iconoclasm. However, the circumstances of the production of the *Admonition* and the degree of deviation of the relevant passage from the *VP* do not allow us to draw firm conclusions.

It is possible that they were both inspired by a single source, but the most important evidence supplied by this text is the indication that the argument in favour of icons on the basis of their apostolic establishment was already formulated in the early years of the iconclastic controversy, and could even be found in a text not noted for its range of reference or sophistication of argument.

2. Homiletic Literature

a) The *Encomium* of S. Pancratius by Gregory the Pagurite

An *Encomium* of S. Pancratius exists, written by a certain Gregory of Byzantium of the monastery 'τοῦ Παγουρίου'.[1]

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1. The *Encomium*, which has never been edited, is contained in two manuscripts, Mess. S. Salv. 3 (foll. 74^{v} - 81^{v}) and Mess. S. Salv. 26 (foll. 95^{v} - 103^{v}). I offer an edition of the text in Appendix I.

The *Encomium* is clearly based on the *VP*. The only elements it includes which are not found in the *VP* are a miracle in which S. Pancratius steers his storm-threatened boat to safety,[2] a scene on his arrival when he is asked about the value of his cargo,[3] and the church of S. Laurence mentioned below.[4] The first is such a commonplace that it is only surprising that the author of the *VP* resisted the temptation to include such an event himself. The second is something of a commonplace as well, and may also be based on the conversation accompanying the sale of Remaldus elsewhere in the *VP*.[5] The inclusion of new elements does give us some idea of the influence of the *VP* and shows that it did not canonize the legend of S. Pancratius, but allowed for further development.[6]

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2. Gregory the Pagurite, *Encomium* of S. Pancratius of Taormina (ed. Appendix I), p.416 , ll.20 - 27.
3. Gregory the Pagurite, *Encomium*, p.417 , ll. 1 - 3 .
4. Gregory the Pagurite, *Encomium*, p.418 , ll.23 - 24.
5. *VP*, p. 377.13 - 378.14.
6. The *VP* does not seem to have prevented further development of the legend of S. Pancratius. For example, the *Commentarius de SS. Petro et Paulo*, a document of indeterminate date, states that S. Peter stayed with S. Pancratius at Taormina and baptised and ordained Maximus there.

> (Πέτρος) εἰς Σικελίαν κατέπλευσε. καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ Ταυρομένιον παρὰ Παγκρατίῳ ἀνδρὶ σωφωτάτῳ κατάγεται· ἔνθα Μάξιμόν τινα κατηχήσας καὶ βαπτίσας, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονήσας, εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνάγεται.

(*AASS* (Iun. v), p. 414). Local legends clearly developed in other areas of Sicily as well, reflected in caves associated with S. Pancratius at Palermo (see S. Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, I (Palermo, 1868), p. 680) and at Modica and Enna, which both claimed caves where he first spoke to his converts. See G. Agnello, *L'Architettura bizantina in Sicilia* (Florence, 1952), pp. 147–152.

We have no evidence concerning Gregory the Pagurite beyond the internal evidence supplied by the text.

The title declares him to have been a monk of Byzantium of the monastery 'τοῦ Παγουρίου'. Little is known concerning this monastery.[7] A representative of it, John, signed in a prominent position at the Council of 787,[8] so it must have been an establishment of some importance, but its location is not known. The name is probably derived from 'ὁ πάγουρος' (= 'a crab').[9]

However, despite the Constantinopolitan connection of the encomiast, there are indications in the text that it was produced, or at least presented, in Sicily. The description of S. Pancratius' passage from East to West[10] is unfortunately inconclusive in indicating the perspective of the author. However, Gregory asks S. Pancratius to intercede for his own flock.[11] While he may have had the universal church in mind, it is more likely that he is referring to S. Pancratius' own particular flock, the diocese of Taormina, members of which have gathered specifically to keep the

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7. See R. Janin, *Les Églises et les Monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), App. 2, p. 429.
8. Mansi xii, 111D.
9. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine*, I (Paris, 1963), p. 169.
10. Gregory the Pagurite, *Encomium*, p.416 , ll.17-20.
11. Gregory the Pagurite, *Encomium*, p.424 , l. 1 . Cf. the reference to the people of S. Pancratius, p.424 , l. 5. .

feast.[12] The choice of subject in itself supports such a conclusion, especially as, to my knowledge, this is the only work of this author. Gregory has few details not found in the account in the *VP*, but he does state that the church founded by S. Pancratius was now a church of S. Laurence. No church with this dedication is known at Taormina, but our documentation of the churches of Taormina is meagre, so that one may well have existed. It seems, at any rate, that Gregory is identifying a contemporary church as one founded by S. Pancratius. If this is the case, it is the sort of information which he would most likely have acquired through a first hand knowledge of Taormina. The word 'μέδιμνος', meaning 'a fountain', is used by Gregory. This word, in antiquity at least, was characteristically South Italian.[13] The manuscript tradition of the *Encomium* is exclusively South Italian,[14] which leads us to suspect that it did not circulate beyond its immediate locality. In addition, there is one element in the *Encomium* by which we can attempt to locate the copy of the *VP* used by Gregory within the manuscript tradition of the *VP*. Gregory refers to S. Pancratius as having overcome Aculinus by the use of the cross, an icon of Christ and an icon of the Mother of God.[15] The icon of the Theotokos appears in manuscripts of

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12. Gregory the Pagurite, *Encomium*, p. 414 , ll. 1 - 2 .
13. *LSJ*, s.v. 'μέδιμνος' II.
14. On the manuscript tradition, see Appendix I.
15. Gregory the Pagurite, *Encomium*, p. 419 , ll. 19-21 .

the *VP* of South Italian origin.[16]

Any attempt at assigning a date to the *Encomium* must also depend on internal evidence. At the end of the work, in the following passage, S. Pancratius' intercession is asked for assistance against foreign invasion, civil strife, heresy and an unnamed 'new Goliath'.

> τοὺς πιστῶς σε γεραίροντας καὶ ἐπιτελοῦντας τὴν μνήμην σου, ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀλλοφύλων λύτρωσαι. τοὺς πόθῳ σοι προστρέχοντας, ἐξ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου διατήρησον· τὰς αἱρέσεις σφενδόνισον· τὸν νέον Γολιὰθ κατάβαλλε.[17]

In the general Byzantine context, a reference to foreign invasion would offer little assistance in dating the text. In the Sicilian context, however, the reference must be to the Arab invasions of the island, and as it seems to imply an ongoing process, rather than a state of occupation, the text must have been written before the final conquest of Sicily by the Arabs which was accomplished with the fall of Taormina in 902. Although Arab raids on Sicily began in the middle of the seventh century, they increased in intensity in the ninth century, particularly after 827, so that Gregory's request fits best the circumstances of the ninth century.

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16. See apparatus *ad VP*, p. 44 , l. 7- and p. 160 - 2 below.
17. Gregory the Pagurite, *Encomium*, p. 424 , ll. 11- 14.

The second decade of the ninth century was a period of great civil strife in Sicily. P. J. Alexander[18] has reconstructed the course of events in the 820's in Sicily, using not only the traditional sources for these events, namely, John the Deacon, the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Symeon and the Arab writer Nuwayri but also two new sources, an *Apocalypse* attributed to the Prophet Daniel, preserved in an Old Slavonic translation of the Greek original, and an unpublished poem contained in Vat. Gr. 1257 and attributed to a certain 'philosopher Bryson', three lines of which are quoted by Pseudo-Symeon. Alexander produces evidence of a Sicilian mutiny following an attempt by envoys of the Emperor Michael II to extract money from Sicily during the revolt of Thomas the Slav (821-3).[19] The imperial action brought about a rising in Syracuse at least, and a conflict arose between pro- and anti-imperial factions. In 825 or 826, the *turmarch* Euphemius fought against

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18. P. J. Alexander, 'Les débuts des conquêtes arabes en Sicile et la tradition apocalyptique byzantino-slave', *Bollettino del Centro di Studi filologici e linguistici siciliani* xii (1973), pp. 5-35.
19. Evidence for a Sicilian rebellion as early as 821 can be found in John the Deacon, *Gestorum Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, ii, c. 52 (ed. Waitz), p. 429, l. 18, who places the revolt after the accession of Michael II, and Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicon* (ed. Bekker), pp. 621-2, who places it at the time of the revolt of Thomas the Slav. The reason for this rebellion is implied by the poem of Bryson, Λόγοι Βρύσονος φιλοσόφου διὰ ἰάμβων περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν καὶ τί τὰ συμβησόμενα εἰς τὴν Δύσιν, Vat. Gr. 1257, fol. 36^{r}, (the relevant line is quoted and emended by P. J. Alexander, 'Les débuts', p. 15, n/ 40) and the Slavonic *Apocalypse* (see P. J. Alexander, 'Les débuts', pp. 9-14).

the group which remained loyal to Constantinople and killed their leader. He then styled himself *rex*,[20] but after the rebellion of one of his own associates and a bloody battle at Syracuse, he fled to Africa, where his invitation to Ziyādat Allāh I of Qayrawān led to the Arab invasion of Sicily in 827. Gregory's reference to civil strife could well relate to the circumstances of the 820's which we have outlined.

Gregory refers to heresies. The dominant heresy of this period was iconoclasm, and Gregory clearly allied himself with the iconodules.[21] Granted the remarks we have made concerning the time of the Arab invasions, the first iconoclastic period is apparently too early to provide a suitable context for the work, and Gregory's iconodulia must be a response to Iconoclasm in its second manifestation.

There are several candidates for identification as the 'new Goliath' in the period under consideration. If Gregory had in mind an enemy of the Church, then Leo the Armenian (813-20)[22]

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20. Alexander's evidence for this is sigillographic. See 'Les débuts', p. 12, n. 31.
21. Gregory the Pagurite, *Encomium*, p. 419 , ll. 20-22 .
22. O. Gaetani (Caietanus), *Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum*, I (Palermo, 1657), p. 18, discusses the possibility that the 'new Goliath' is a Saracen, then argues for an identification as Leo the Armenian. He finally concludes that the *Encomium* was written in 815. D. G. Lancia di Brolo, *Storia della Chiesa in Sicilia*, I (Palermo, 1880), pp. 41-42, identifies the 'new Goliath' as Constantine Copronymus, but we would not expect the reference to foreign invasion during his reign.

and Theophilus (829-42) both might have warranted this description. Of these, the reign of Theophilus co-ordinates better chronologically with the intensification of the Arab threat to Sicily. It is also possible that Gregory's description is based on secular considerations and refers to the Emperor Michael II, who, although less active as an iconoclast, presented a fiscal threat to Sicily and was the immediate cause of its troubles. It is possible too that Gregory is not referring to an Emperor, but perhaps to the rebel and traitor Euphemius, although the comparison with the figure of Goliath is less explicable in this case.

The brevity of Gregory's supplication prevents us from being specific in our identification of the threats he perceived, and therefore in our dating of the *Encomium*. However, events in Sicily in the second decade of the ninth century do display the relevant factors, namely, civil disorder, threat of invasion, the prevalence of heresy and a hostile ruler.

Gregory the Pagurite's *Encomium*, then, may provide evidence of a response to troubled circumstances in Sicily which co-ordinates with the evidence assembled by Alexander.

Both the Emperor Leo the Armenian and the Emperor Theophilus persecuted monks in the capital, so that it is possible that Gregory was a Constantinopolitan monk who fled from Constantinople to the safety of the provinces in Sicily. This would account for Sicilian elements being found in a work of a monk of Byzantium. Alternatively, it is possible that Gregory was a Sicilian who moved to Constantinople, although some of the South Italian elements, like the manuscript tradition and the indication that the sermon was probably delivered in Taormina, are harder to explain if this was the case.

The *Encomium* of Gregory the Pagurite, then, should probably be seen as an early ninth century homily, perhaps written in the second decade of that century, which was based on the *VP* and preached on S. Pancratius' feast in Taormina by a monk from Constantinople.

If our dating of the text is correct, the *Encomium* is also of some literary interest. The level of style in which it is written is quite high. An early ninth century date would make it a rather early example of this development in Byzantine prose.[23]

A. Guillou[24] has stated that Gregory the Pagurite was a Georgian. He presents as his only evidence the existence of a Hebrew word understood by him to be Georgian, ~~word~~ '*bekhôr*' (= 'πρωτότοκος', 'primogenitus').[25] It must be assumed that he considers 'τοῦ Παγουρίου' to be derived from this. It is possible that Guillou has confused this encomiast with the Iberian prince Γρηγόριος Πακουριανός, the Domestic of the

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23. On the question of levels of style in Byzantine literature, see especially I. Ševčenko, 'Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose', *XVI.Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress*, Vienna, 1981, Akten I.i (= *JOBG* xxxi/1 (1981)), pp. 289-312.
24. A. Guillou, 'L'école dans l'Italie byzantine', *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo* xix (Spoleto, 1972), p. 305, n. 31.
25. C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington D.C., 1963), p. 121, n. 207.

West under Alexius I Comnenus, who in the eleventh century wrote a *typicon* for the Georgian monastery he founded near Philippopolis.[26] A Georgian author seems unlikely for the *Encomium*. There is no internal evidence for such a conclusion, and to my knowledge no external evidence, once the zoomorphic derivation of 'τοῦ Παγουρίου' is accepted over the Georgian alternative. Guillou himself admits that the redaction we have is South Italian,[27] and we have presented evidence of a South Italian origin for Gregory. As to his suggestion that the *Encomium* must be associated with the Georgian translation, the mechanics of the encomiastic process must be borne in mind, as well as the circumstances of the Georgian translation, and one must ask whether a Hellenized Georgian would have been likely to have written an encomium of a Sicilian saint with quite a localized cult before the special circumstances which brought about the Georgian translation.

b) <u>The Homily of 'Theophanes Cerameus'</u>

There is a homily on the feast of S. Pancratius in the collection of sermons which goes under the name of 'Theophanes

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26. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmische Reiches (527-1453)*, ed.[2] (Munich, 1897), p. 315.
27. A. Guillou, 'L'école', p. 305, n. 31.

Cerameus',[1] archbishop of Taormina. This collection of sermons is now known to be not Byzantine, but Italo-Greek of the twelfth century.[2] The sermon refers to few facts concerning S. Pancratius,[3] but the specific reference to Evagrius[4] as its source, and the details it does supply, all of which are found in the *VP*, make it clear that it is derived from our text. Thus it provides evidence of the *VP* being read in Sicily in Italo-Greek circles in the twelfth century.

3. Hymnography

A *Canon* to S. Pancratius was written by the hymnographer

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1. Theophanes Cerameus, *Homily* lvii, *PG* 132, coll. 989-1004.
2. On the question of the identity of 'Theophanes Cerameus', see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 632.
3. Theophanes Cerameus, *Homily* lvii, *PG* 132, coll. 1000-1001.
4. Theophanes Cerameus, *Homily* lvii, *PG* 132, coll. 1000B.

Elias.[1] Its acrostic reads,

Ὕμνοις, Παγκράτιε σοφέ, ἱεροῖ σε· ὁ ἐλάχιστος Ἠλίας.[2]

The provenance of the canon is clearly Sicilian.[3] There are frequent references to the Saracen threat to Sicily,[4] and when S. Pancratius' intercessions are asked, it is for "this city" and "your flock".[5] The two manuscripts which contain the text are both South Italian,[6] and as we will see, Elias has based the *Canon* on the South Italian recension of the *VP*.

The date of its composition cannot be determined precisely. It must have been written no earlier than the middle of the eighth

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1. Elias, *Canon in Sanctum Martyrem Pancratium Tauromenii Episcopum*, ed. G. Schirò, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, xi (*Canones Iulii*) (Rome, 1978), Canon xv, pp. 155-70, with a commentary, pp. 547-53.
2. On the acrostic, formed from the initials of the *irmoi* and excluding the *theotokia* to make a dodecasyllabic phrase and epilogue, with several repeated letters (omitted in this transcription), see G. Schirò, *AHG*, xi, pp. 550-51.
3. G. Schirò, *AHG*, xi, p. 551, has dismissed the possible attribution of the *Canon* to Elias II, Patriarch of Jerusalem.
4. Elias, *Canon in S. Panc.* (ed. Schirò), vv. 289-91, 304-08, 309-13, 314-15.
5. Elias, *Canon in S. Panc.* (ed. Schirò), vv. 199-201.
   φύλαττε τὴν ποίμνην σου
   καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην,
   ἱερώτατε Παγκράτιε.
6. Vallic. Gr. E 55 (foll. 17^{v} - 20^{r}); Crypt. Δ.γ.III (foll. 134^{v} - 136^{v}). The former manuscript is dated to the eleventh century. The latter is a thirteenth century manuscript, but foll. 134 - 136 may be of the eleventh century. The *Canon* is included in the latter manuscript as part of the Office for S. Pancratius. See A. Rocchi, *Codd. Crypt.*, p. 368.

century, as it uses *irmoi* from various earlier hymnographers.[7] It cannot have been written after 902, as Taormina is clearly not yet occupied by the Saracens and the tomb of S. Pancratius is still a place of veneration.[8] The explicitly iconodule nature of the *Canon*,[9] and the fact that the hymnographer was able to include a condemnation of iconoclasm in terms of a quite official character,[10] suggests it was written during a period of iconodule supremacy. The reference to the εὐσεβὴς βασιλεύς[11] must be to an iconodule emperor. Thus it must have been written between 787 and 815 or after 843.[12] The urgency of the references to the Saracens suggests that the later date is more likely.

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7. On Elias' use of the *irmoi* of earlier hymnographers, see G. Schirò, *AHG*, xi, p. 550, n. 8.
8. Elias, *Canon in S. Panc.* (ed. Schirò), vv. 265-70. The *Canon* refers to 'τάφος σου' (v. 266). See note on the relics of S. Pancratius, below, p. 393-394.
9. Elias, *Canon in S. Panc.* (ed. Schirò), vv. 155-58, 164-65, 167-73, 244-47, 301-03, 316-18.
10. Elias, *Canon in S. Panc.* (ed. Schirò), vv. 167-68.
    'Ο τὰς θείας εἰκόνας
    μὴ τιμῶν ὀρθοδόξως, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα·
11. Elias, *Canon in S. Panc.* (ed. Schirò), vv. 307-08.
    κατ' ἐχθρῶν παρέχων
    νίκας τῷ εὐσεβεῖ βασιλεῖ.
12. The two other canons attributed to Elias, a *Canon* for the twelve apostles (ed. G. Schirò, *AHG*, x (Rome,1972), pp. 282-309) and a *Canon* for S. Aemilianus (ed. G. Schirò, *AHG*, xi, pp. 334-46) do not contribute much to dating his *floreat*. They both refer to the Saracen threat and are iconodule (although see n. 15 below). Schirò (*AHG*, x, pp. 416 and 419) thinks that the *Canon* for the apostles may have been written before 838.

The *Canon*, which includes considerable narrative detail, is clearly based on the *VP*. One detail included in it allows us to determine which part of the manuscript tradition of the *VP* was used by Elias. He refers to the two martyred orphans as Σεργία and Σωσάννα.[13] The Grottaferrata manuscript of the *Canon* has the variants Σεγία and Σουσάννα. These names are only found in the part of the tradition of the *VP* represented by C and Y.[14] This is useful in indicating the date by which this development in the tradition of the *VP* had taken place, demonstrating its existence in South Italy in the ninth century.

A comparison with certain elements in the *Encomium* of Gregory the Pagurite throws some light on that text. In both, S. Pancratius is asked to watch over his flock. In both, his intercession is asked against foreign aggressors. In both, there are indications of iconodulia. In Elias' *Canon* this is more explicit than in Gregory's *Encomium*, where it is expressed in a way more akin to that in Elias' less patently iconodule canons.[15] The important difference is that Elias can write of the εὐσεβὴς βασιλεύς, while Gregory writes of the νέος Γολιάθ. The comparison

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13. Elias, *Canon in S. Panc.* (ed. Schirò), v. 228; Σεργία καί Σωσάννα, Vallic. Gr. E 55; Σεγία καὶ Σουσάννα, Crypt. Δ.γ.III, cf. v.278.
14. See note on Sergia and Susanna, below, p. 266 – 268.
15. G. Schirò, *AHG*, xi, p. 552, has noted that Elias' other two canons are much more muted in their expression of iconodule thought, and has suggested that this may be a result of their having been written in a period less secure for the iconodule party.

of the orientation of the two sheds some light on the circumstances in which each must have been written.

There is a second *Canon* to S. Pancratius, contained in Vat. Gr. 1547,[16] but in such a state of mutilation as to be almost illegible. The end of the acrostic of the *theotokia* can, however,be reconstructed, and reads, "-δοτος".[17] It is reasonable, then, to attribute the *Canon* to the hymnographer Theodotus, the author of the *Canon* for S. Stephen of Reggio,[18] and one of the Grottaferrata hymnographers.[19]

4. Hagiography

a) Epiphanius' *Life* of the Apostle Andrew

The *VP* was known to and used by Epiphanius, a monk of the Callistratos monastery in Constantinople, in his *Life* of the Apostle

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16. Vat. Gr. 1547 (foll. 176^{r} - 178^{r}). See C. Giannelli, *Codices*, pp. 123-6. The manuscript is South Italian.
17. See G. Schirò, *AHG*, xi, p. 553.
18. G. Schirò, *AHG*, xi, p. 553. The *Canon* to S. Stephen is edited by Schirò, *AHG*, xi, pp. 73-81.
19. A. Rocchi, *De Coenobio Cryptoferratensi* (Grottaferrata, 1893), pp. 259-60.

Andrew.[1] A *terminus post quem* of 815 for the *Life* is given by the author's statement that he left his monastery to escape the iconoclasts in conjunction with his reference to an event which had occurred some time earlier during the reign of Constantine Copronymus,[2] but he must have written the work after he was restored to his monastery, that is, in the middle of the ninth century.

Expressing a somewhat self-congratulatory disappointment that few have written about the apostles, he makes the following declaration of his written sources.

> ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ ποθοῦντι καὶ ζητοῦντι ὧδε κἀκεῖσε, ἐρευνῆσαι καὶ ἐκλέξασθαι παρὰ αὐτοπτῶν καὶ θεοφόρων ἀνδρῶν τὰ περὶ τούτων, ἀπό τε Κλήμεντος Ῥώμης καὶ Εὐαγρίου Σικελοῦ καὶ Ἐπιφανίου τῆς Κύπρου.[3]

He states, then, that he has used Pseudo-Epiphanius' *Index Apostolorum*,[4] Clement of Rome's *Hypotyposis*,[5] now lost, and our

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1. Epiphanius, *Life* of the Apostle Andrew, ed. A. Dressel, *Epiphanii monachi et presbyteri edita et inedita* (Paris and Leipzig, 1843), pp. 45-82, rpt. in *PG* 120, coll. 218-60.
2. Epiphanius, *Life* of the Apostle Andrew (ed. Dressel), p. 49, l. 29 - p. 50, l. 3; p. 47, ll. 28-31.
3. Epiphanius, *Life* of the Apostle Andrew (ed. Dressel), p. 45, ll. 4-18. Epiphanius goes on to acknowledge that Epiphanius of Cyprus can be regarded as an eyewitness authority on the basis of his having received an unwritten tradition from his predecessors.
4. Pseudo-Epiphanius, *Index of the Apostles* (ed. Schermann), pp. 107-131.
5. The lost *Hypotyposis* of Clement of Rome was known to Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1, 12, 2 (ed. Bardy), I, p. 39, but is unlikely to have represented a very developed stage of the legends concerning the apostles.

Evagrius' *Life* of S. Pancratius. Evagrius is placed among the eyewitnesses of events in the apostolic era. This indicates to us something of the operation of the critical faculty of a far from brilliant author of the middle of the ninth century when confronted with the *VP*, and of the literary world into which the pseudepigraphic *VP* entered, and helps us to understand its composition and degree of success in convincing Byzantine readers of the authenticity of its presentation of the world of the apostles.

It is difficult to determine the extent of dependence of the *Life* of the Apostle Andrew on the *VP* and what parts of it are based on our text, because we do not have a full knowledge of the sources of the former text.[6] Moreover, a comparison of the facts concerning the apostles presented by the *Life* of the Apostle Andrew with those in Pseudo-Epiphanius shows that Epiphanius took some liberties with his sources, extracting material concerning S. Andrew, but presenting contradictory details about other apostles in his determination to make his subject centrally important.[7]

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6. See F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Ma., 1958), pp. 180-222. Dvornik makes no attempt to identify Evagrius Siculus.
7. E.g. S. Matthias is associated closely with S. Andrew's mission, whereas in Pseudo-Epiphanius' *Index* (ed. Schermann), p. 113, he preaches and is martyred in Ethiopa. Gaius, also associated with S. Andrew in the *Life* of the Apostle Andrew, becomes bishop of Ephesus in the *Index* (ed. Schermann), p. 122.

It is clear that Epiphanius' reference to S. Pancratius' ordination of SS. Marcian and Pancratius comes from the *VP*.[8]

Several other elements of the *Life* of the Apostle Andrew seem to be closely based on the *VP*, in the sense that ideas and motifs have been adapted from the earlier text, even if the actual wording has been changed. S. Andrew gives copies of the Old Testament and the Gospels to his flock and establishes the practice of decorating the church walls with scenes from the Old and New Testaments.[9] There are references to icons of S. Andrew painted during his lifetime and still in existence.[10] S. Andrew presents a biblical synopsis which, while differring from that in

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8. Epiphanius, *Life* of the Apostle Andrew (ed. Dressel), p. 55, l. 33 - p. 56, l. 3.
καὶ Φίλιππος κατῆλθεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Συρίας. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πέτρος ἐναπέμεινε καὶ ἐχειροτόνησε σὺν Παύλῳ Μαρκιανὸν καὶ Παγκράτιον ἐπισκόπους Σικελίας. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἁπάραντες διήρχοντο τὰς πόλεις τῶν μεσογαίων.
The *Laudatio* of S. Andrew (ed. M. Bonnet, 'Acta Andreae Apostoli cum laudatione contexta' , *AB* xiii (1894), pp. 309-36), which is based on the *Life* of the Apostle Andrew, omits any mention of Evagrius Siculus, but retains the names of Marcian and Pancratius. See the *Laudatio* of the Apostle Andrew (ed. Bonnet), p. 322, ll. 25-30.
κατῆλθον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας· αὕτη ἐστὶ Θεούπολις· ἐν ᾗ τοῦ Πέτρου ὑπομείναντος καὶ χειροτονήσαντος Μαρκιανόν τε καὶ Παγκράτιον ἐπισκόπους Σικελίας εἰσηγήσει τοῦ θεσπεσίου Παύλου ἐκεῖσε καὶ αὐτοῦ τότε παραγεγονότος, οἱ λοιποὶ ἁπάραντες ἐκεῖθεν τάς τῶν μεσογείων πόλεις διήρχοντο διδάσκοντες.
9. Epiphanius, *Life* of the Apostle Andrew (ed. Dressel), p. 71, ll. 16-22.
10. Epiphanius, *Life* of the Apostle Andrew (ed. Dressel), p. 48, l. 24 - p. 49, l. 2; p. 50, ll. 23-25.

the *VP*, has some similarity to it.[11] S. Andrew also faces the challenge of paganism by casting down idols, destroying temples, driving away attendant demons and giving the proceeds to charity.[12] Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the pagan gods mentioned are Apollo, Artemis and Aphrodite, and that he is confronted by two huge snakes associated with the pagan cult, one of which he kills, the other of which is driven away.[13]

In addition, there is a pattern of events in the *Life* of the Apostle Andrew which, while not found exclusively in the *VP*, is certainly similar to that in it, and in the light of Epiphanius' specific acknowledgement of a debt to Evagrius Siculus, should perhaps be considered as being derived from his work. Following the Ascension of Christ, the apostles are sent out, S. Andrew confronts the pagans and reproaches the Jews, he establishes the church community by baptising, instructing the baptised with advice similar to that of S. Pancratius, administering the mysteries, the ordination of clergy, the building of churches and the general establishment of church order.

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11. Epiphanius, *Life* of the Apostle Andrew (ed. Dressel), p. 60, l. 10 - p. 64, l. 28.

12. Epiphanius, *Life* of the Apostle Andrew (ed. Dressel), p. 58, ll. 11-20; p. 71, ll. 10-16.

13. Epiphanius, *Life* of the Apostle Andrew (ed. Dressel), p. 56, ll. 24-26 (Apollo); p. 58, l. 10 (Artemis); p. 58, l. 24 (Aphrodite); p. 57, ll. 3-11 and p. 58, ll. 21-28 (serpents).

It seems that Epiphanius, in approaching the task of writing the *Life* of an apostle, looked to a pre-existent *Life* purporting to depict the apostolic era, took useful elements from it and to some extent based his portrayal of the period on it. It is very like the process by which Evagrius used the *Acts* of the Apostle John,[14] although Epiphanius does not assume a contemporary *persona* and acknowledges his sources. A comparison of the two texts shows us something of the methodology of Byzantine hagiographers in reconstructing the past, and of how given material could be transmitted from text to text.

b) The *Life* of S. Michael the Syncellus

The *Life* of S. Michael the Syncellus[1] makes use of the *VP* in giving evidence of the apostolic establishment of icons in the following passage.

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14. See below, pp. 114 - 121.

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1. The *Life* of S. Michael the Syncellus, ed Ф. *І. Шмит* (Th. I. Schmitt), '*Житіе св. Михаила Синкелла въ редакціи* IX *в.*' *Приложеніе Кахріэ Джами, Извѣстія Русскаго Археологическаго Института въ Константинополѣ* xi (1906), pp. 227-59.

> οὐχ ὁ πρῶτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλος, ... οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτὸς φαίνεται Παγκρατίῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ μαθητῇ δεδωκὼς δύο εἰκόνας τοῦ τε Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς τῆς εὐλογημένης Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, παρεγγυήσας αὐτῷ ἐξεικονίζειν πᾶσαν τὴν ἔνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ἡμῶν Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπό τε τῆς τοῦ ἀγγέλου πρὸς τὴν Παρθένον λεχθείσης φωνῆς τοῦ 'χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ Κύριος μετά σου' μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀναλήψεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος παρουσίας, ὥστε δύνασθαι καὶ τὸν ἰδιώτην καὶ ἀγράμματον ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων στηλογραφίας κατανοεῖν, ὅσα ἀνθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας ᾠκονόμησεν ὁ προαιώνιος Θεὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ποιῆσαί τε καὶ παθεῖν;[2]

This *Life*, which must have been written between 842 and 867 as it refers to Michael III as the ruling Emperor,[3] is also, like Epiphanius' *Life* of the Apostle Andrew, a product of the period after the final victory of the iconodule party in 843,[4] although it has been argued that it is of a considerably later date.[5] Together with the *Life* of the Apostle Andrew, it is useful in indicating the continued popularity of the *VP* among iconodules in the middle of the ninth century.

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2. The *Life* of Michael the Syncellus (ed. Schmitt), p. 235, ll. 15-26.
3. The *Life* of Michael the Syncellus (ed. Schmitt), p. 254, l. 21.
4. I. Ševčenko, 'Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period', pp. 113-131 in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1975), argues (p. 30, n. 19) that it may have been written before the death of the Patriarch John the Grammarian.
5. See E. von Dobschütz, 'Methodius und die Studiten', *BZ* xviii (1909), p. 83.

The Commentary

The Life of our Father among the saints Pancratius, bishop of the city of Taormina, written by Evagrius, his disciple and servant.

VP, Title

S. Pancratius before the *VP*

S. Pancratius is commemorated on two days in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. On the third of April, it records,

"in Tauromenio Siciliae sancti Prancati",[1]

and on the eighth of July,

"in Sicilia Prancani in Tauromini".[2]

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1. *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (ed. Delehaye), Apr. 3, p. 172. Cf. Apr. 5, p. 175, "... et alibi Quinti Pancrati Successi. in Sicilia natale sancti Honori."
2. *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (ed. Delehaye), Iul. 8, p. 358. This is also the day on which S. Pancratius is commemorated in the Neapolitan marble calendar as, "S PANCRATI EPI". See H. Delehaye, 'Hagiographie Napolitaine', *AB* lvii (1939), p. 27. The calendar is of the ninth century, but incorporates earlier local Italian calendars.

Before the writing of the *VP*, then, a S. Pancratius, associated with Taormina and the subject of widespread veneration, was already known. No further indication of the nature of his cult is given in the calendar.

It is possible that a basilica at Messina, dedicated in 591 "in honore sanctorum Stephani et Pancrati et Eupli", and mentioned by Gregory the Great,[3] was dedicated to our S. Pancratius rather than to the Roman martyr Pancratius commemorated on the twelfth of May. Messina is well placed to have had a church dedicated to S. Euplus (Catania), S. Pancratius (Taormina ?) and S. Stephen (Reggio ?).

Evagrius

Our author's decision to assume the *persona* of a disciple and companion of his subject was probably modelled on the figure of Prochorus in the *Life* of the Apostle John, one of the sources of

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3. Pope Gregory I, *Ep.* II, 9 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann) I, p. 107, l. 20. See H. Delehaye, *Commentarius Perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (*AASS* Nov. ii/2) (Brussels, 1931), p. 359, n. 22.

the *VP.*[1]

Two suggestions have been made as to the source of the name 'Evagrius'.

F. Lanzoni[2] suggested that the name chosen by our author was that of an early bishop of Taormina. The Synod of Antioch in 363 was attended by an 'Evagrius Siculus',[3] but there is no evidence that he was bishop of Taormina. No bishops of that name are recorded specifically at Taormina.

In the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, on the third of April, a day on which S. Pancratius is commemorated, there is a notice,

"in Syciana Thome natale Evagrii ... "[4]

H. Delehaye[5] thinks that the name 'Evagrius' was a marginal addition connected with S. Pancratius which later entered the text of the calendar. Depending on when this took place, it would make the calendrical notice subsequent to the production of the

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1. See below, p. 114 - 121.
2. F. Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia dalle origini al principio del secolo VII (an. 604)* I (*ST* 35) (Rome, 1927), p. 623.
3. Mansi iii, 371.
4. *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (ed. Delehaye), Apr. 3, p. 172.
5. H. Delehaye, *Comm. in Mart. Hier.*, p. 172, n. 5.

VP or imply that Evagrius was already associated with S. Pancratius before the *VP* was written.

E. Patlagean[6] has suggested that Evagrius took his pseudonym from the liturgical calendar. The Codex Epternacensis of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* has a reading of 'Sicilia' for 'Syciana' in the notice for the third of April,[7] but even assuming the latter reading, it is possible that our author selected the name of a saint commemorated on the same day as his subject, S. Pancratius.

VP; p. -1, l. 1.

The *VP* and the *Acts* of the Apostle John

The *incipit* of the *VP* is the same as that of the *Acts* of the

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6. E. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', pp. 600-01.
7. Codex Epternacensis (E), c. VIII, Anglo-Saxon. H. Delehaye, *Comm. in Mart. Hier.*, p. 172, n. 1, commends this reading.

Apostle John.[1] This begins a pattern of similarity between the two texts. The *incipit* in the *VP* develops into a short scriptural *cento*, which breaks off rather awkwardly to begin the *Life* proper. This disjointed character and inappropriate, almost irrelevant beginning, in themselves point towards derivation from a model.

The authors of both texts have taken upon themselves *personae* as disciples of the saints whose biographies they claim to have written after witnessing the events of their lives as their constant companions.[2] Both are given instructions by their mentors before their deaths - Prochorus, the supposed author of the *Acts* of the Apostle John, to go to Jerusalem, and Evagrius to Rome.[3] Prochorus is one of the seventy apostles.[4] Perhaps this inspired the statement in the *VP* that S. Marcian also was an apostle of the second rank,[5] as our author tried to reproduce the world of the earlier text.

In both texts, there is an assembly of the apostles. In the

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1. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 3, ll. 1-2. The *Acts* in question are the 'ecclesiastical' *Acts* of Pseudo-Prochorus (*BHG* 916), edited by Th. Zahn, *Acta Ioannis* (Erlangen, 1880), rather than the 'apocryphal' *Acts*.
2. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p.3, Titulum, p. 7, ll. 3-4; *VP*, p. 15 , ll. 12 - 13.
3. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 163, ll. 9-10; *VP*, p. 43 , ll. 1 - 2.
4. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 7, ll. 2-4.
5. *VP*, p. 17 , ll. 2 - 3.

Acts,[6] this takes place in Gethsemane and its purpose is to determine the missionary fields of the apostles themselves. S. Peter and S. James dominate this council. In the *VP*,[7] the assembly occurs somewhat later, allowing for the narration of S. Pancratius' early life and association with S. Peter, and takes place in Antioch. S. Paul is its instigator, and has possibly been introduced because of his mentorship of Crescens.[8] The purpose of the Council is the determination by the apostles of the missionary fields of their disciples, as is required by the position of the *VP*'s subject. Yet, despite the differences in detail, it remains that the two texts both record an assembly of the Apostles as bringing about the beginning of their subject's apostolate.

There are similarities, in some details, in the travels of S. John and S. Pancratius. Both go to the shore and chance upon suitable merchant ships, S. John stating that he is bound for the 'western parts', as S. Pancratius is for Sicily.[9] The unrealistic length - three days and three nights - of S. Pancratius' voyage may be derived from the *Acts*.[10]

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6. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 3, l. 2 - p. 7, l. 4.
7. *VP*, p. 18.9 - 19.3 .
8. See below, p. 195 - 196.
9. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 7, ll. 8-9.
10. Cf. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 51, ll. 7-8 and *VP*, p. 40 , ll. 2 - 3 .

S. Pancratius and S. John are both made to carry out their apostolate in a pagan world with similar characteristics and have a number of similar experiences. The *VP* follows the *Acts* in its representation of a world of temples, idols, attendant demons and pagan priests. S. Pancratius, like the Apostle John, shatters idols and destroys temples by prayer and the sign of the cross.[11] S. John challenges attendant demons, once by sending his disciple Prochorus with a letter. In the *VP*, S. Pancratius sends a letter to Lysson with Lycaonides.[12] S. Pancratius asks the familiar of Falcon how long he has been there and receives an answer of two hundred and sixty years. S. John's enquiries had yielded answers of two hundred and forty nine, sixty and six years.[13] Pagan priests in the *VP*, as in the *Acts*, cause an uproar and complain about the missionaries to the secular authorities.[14] The

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11. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 42, ll. 10-11, p. 44, ll. 15-16, p. 81, ll. 1-5, p. 128, ll. 1-18, p. 134, ll. 13-17; *VP*, p. 41 , l. 12.
12. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 62, l. 19 - p. 63, l. 16; *VP*, p. 129, ll. 7 - 21.
13. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 42, ll. 14-17 (249 years);
καὶ εὐθέως ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ Ἰωάννου κατέπεσεν τὸ μιαρὸν ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωάννης τῷ δαίμονι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ, ὁ οἰκῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ τίς ἐστιν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ δαίμων μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου· ἡ μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· πόσα ἔτη ἔχεις ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ οἰκῶν; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ δαίμων· διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα.
p. 119, ll. 7-9 (sixty years), p. 124, ll. 7-11 (six years); *VP*, p. 46.8 - 47.3.
14. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 81, ll. 5-12; *VP*, p. 52 , l. 2ff .

πολιτάρχης, ἡγεμών and τριβοῦνος of the *VP* have all appeared in the *Acts*.[15] As with the Apostle John in the *Acts*, a pagan festival, as well as a threat of human sacrifice cause S. Pancratius to act,[16] and in the *Acts* also, the gluttony and bibulousness of the pagan priests have been mentioned.[17] Another incident in which the *VP* resembles the *Acts* is the drowning of an adversary, in the case of the *Acts*, a magician;[18] in the *VP*, the Jews, who are also adversaries in the *Acts*.[19] The unclean demons, the great gods, the most pure Apollo, Zeus, Heracles and Artemis of the *VP* are all found in the *Acts*, in which there are also Asclepius and Lycus, but not Scamander, Lysson and the daughter of Hero.[20] So, there is a similarity between the *VP* and the *Acts* in the presentation of the pagan world and of particular incidents

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15. E.g. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 11, ll. 4-5 (πολιτάρχης), p. 61, ll. 2-3 (ἡγεμών), p. 5, l. 9 (τριβοῦνος).
16. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 33, l. 1 - p. 36, l. 8, p. 127, l. 6 - p. 128, l. 18, p. 117, l. 1 - p. 122, l. 3 (human sacrifice); *VP*, p. 173, l. 1ff. .
17. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 127, ll. 7-15; cf. *VP*, p. , ll. - .
18. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 104, ll. 16 - p. 105, l. 5; *VP*, p. , ll. - .
19. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 43, ll. 4-23, p. 44, ll. 17-19, p. 51, ll. 8 - p. 53, l. 15.
20. E.g. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 15, l. 2, p. 26, l. 5, p. 33, l. 8, l. 12, p. 49, l. 3 (Artemis); p. 49, l. 1, p. 80, l. 11, l. 13, p. 85, l. 3, l. 6, l. 15 (Apollo); p. 49, l. 2 (Heracles); p. 49, l. 1 (Zeus); p. 49, l. 3 (Asclepius); p. 118, l. 4, l. 11, l. 17 (Lycus); p. 127, l. 8 (Dionysus); p. 90, ll. 3-4 (unclean spirits).

involving a saint and paganism.

S. Pancratius follows S. John in requesting upon first landing at his destination that his arrival be kept secret until God has willed otherwise.[21] Prochorus and Lycaonides both recount their mentors' experiences to the authorities anyway.[22] Like S. John, S. Pancratius evangelizes the population with doctrinal statements and paraphrases of salvation history, and is also reported to have read from and interpreted the scriptures, although S. John did not have the benefit of illustrations.[23] S. Pancratius and S. John are both taken for gods and disclaim this.[24] S. John is said to have appointed clergy, built churches and brought about the copying and distribution of his Gospel, as S. Pancratius also is said to have established the church hierarchy and equipped the churches with the necessary books.[25] The same pattern of conversion is evident, including baptisms

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21. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 15, ll. 4-7; *VP*, p. 43 , ll. 1 - 3.
22. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 12; *VP*, p. 50 , l. 9 ff..
23. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 31, l. 11 - p. 32, l. 6, p. 56, ll. 15-19, p. 87, l. 9 - p. 88, l. 3, p. 109, ll. 11-17; cf. *VP*, p. 87 , l. 2.
24. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 28, l. 19 - p. 29, l. 1. δέομαί σου, ἀνάγγειλόν μοι, τίς εἶ σύ; πάντως γὰρ εἶ θεὸς ἢ υἱὸς θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυνάμεις τοιαύτας ποιεῖς. ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης εἶπεν αὐτῷ· οὔτε θεός εἰμι, οὔτε τοῦ θεοῦ υἱός, ἀλλ' ἐγώ εἰμι Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ...
25. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 157, l. 4 - p. 158, l. 6; *VP*, p. 35 , ll. 12 - 13.

carried out in a river,[26] and a number of incidents in the *VP* resemble those in the *Acts*, namely, the offer of money by converts and its refusal by the saint;[27] an example of the saint being tempted to produce a miracle by a promise of conversion;[28] the healing of a leprous woman;[29] the striking dumb of an adversary,[30] and a vision in which the Lord calls the saint by name.[31]

Many of these motifs and incidents can be found in other texts, so that it cannot be stated categorically that the *Acts* of the Apostle John was necessarily the source of all that we have outlined. However, it would be unrealistic to postulate a great number of sources for the *VP*, and, given the similarity of so many elements of the *VP* to the *Acts*, it is reasonable to suppose

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26. E.g., *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 30, l. 22 - p. 31, l. 1, p. 32, ll. 9-10, p. 71, ll. 5-7, p. 120, ll. 6-9 (baptism in a river).
27. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 31, ll. 1-9, p. 79, l. 20 - p. 8, l. 6, p. 116, ll. 10-14; cf. *VP*, p. 195, ll. 1 - 4 (where it is said that there *are* no poor!).
28. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 75, l. 12 - p. 76, l. 11, p. 112, l. 12 - p. 114, l. 5; *VP*, p. 187, ll. 6 -7 .
29. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 111, l. 18 - p. 112, l. 4; *VP*, p. 186, ll. 15 ff.
30. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 88, ll. 4-7; *VP*, p. 70, ll. 2 - 3 .
31. *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 44, ll. 11-15;
καὶ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν ὀπτασίᾳ εἶπεν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ· Ἰωάννη. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· τί ἐστιν, κύριε;
Cf. *VP*, p. 294 , ll 12 ff .
32. See above, pp. 103 - 107.

that the *Acts* formed its model for these elements. It is interesting to note that the two works were put together in one manuscript in Vaticanus Graecus 1985.

The identification of the *Acts* of the Apostle John as a source of the *VP* is of interest to us on several counts. First, it helps us to define the range of literary reference of our author, and thus the sort of material which was available and read in Sicily in his time. Second, a comparison of the *VP* and its model enables us to understand something of how Evagrius used his sources and the degree of imaginativeness we can expect of him. Third, it allows us some insight into Evagrius' understanding of the past and his method in reconstructing it. In attempting to represent the world of the apostles, he looked, not unreasonably, to a *Life* of an apostle as a model, and, in addition to taking from it inspiration for various events in his own work, he based his presentation of the civilization of the apostolic era - its pagan religious practices, its secular administration and its reaction to the Gospel - on the presentation of this in the earlier text. Fourth, it casts some light on the critical faculty of the writer and the issue of pseudonymous authorship in Byzantine literature. The author of the *VP* seems to have accepted the authority of the *Acts*, at least insofar as he was prepared to base his representation of the apostolic era on that text, while using the same technique of adopting a *persona*. Perhaps a century later, the author of the *Acts* of the Apostle Andrew regarded Evagrius Siculus as an authority on the apostolic era.[32] Thus it can be seen how each age built on a previous understanding of the past, and the limitations of the historical sense of the Byzantines become apparent.

VP, p. 1, l. 4.

The 'Angel of the Lord'

The first lines of the *VP* are composed almost entirely of scriptural elements, largely from *Acts* 1:4. Our author has added to his account an 'angel of the Lord'[1] not present in *Acts*. This seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the text, or perhaps the reliance on a corrupt version, of *Acts* 1:4, which reads,

> καὶ συναλιζόμενος [sc. ὁ Ἰησοῦς] παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἣν ἠκούσατέ μου·

The word 'παρηγγειλεν' seems to have been understood or read as 'παρ' ἀγγέλου', thus generating the 'angel' of the Lord' in the *VP*.

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1. *VP*, p. 1, l. 4 "ἄγγελος κυρίου".

VP, p. 1, l.1.

Evagrius and the Eastern Mediterranean

There is evidence that refugees from the Persian and Arab invasions in the Eastern Mediterranean in the seventh century made their way to the West, and some are known to have gone to Sicily, or passed through Sicily on their way to Rome.[1] Granted that S. Peter ordains S. Pancratius and S. Marcian in Antioch, and that the origins of the church of Taormina are traced back to the East, it is reasonable to ask whether the author of the *VP* was among the refugees. If this were the case, we would expect to find signs of a first hand knowledge of Antioch and the East, and of the journey necessary to reach Sicily. An example of an author such as we have outlined with whom to compare our

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1. The question of substantial Greek immigration to the West and the Hellenization of Sicily is discussed later, p. 394. Individual examples of such refugees are Pope Conon (686-87), whose father was of the Thracesion theme, but who was brought up in Sicily; Pope Sergius (687-701), an Antiochene who went to Rome from Palermo (see p. 394 with n. 3.); Bishop Gaudiosus of Messina, who at the Council of 787 referred to his childhood in Syria (Mansi xiii, 200B); and Leontius, author of the *Life* of S. Gregory of Agrigento (see p. 124.).

Evagrius is Leontius, who wrote the *Life* of S. Gregory of Agrigento. He is known to have been the abbot of the monastery of S. Sabas in Rome. However, he shows a knowledge of toponyms and monuments in Constantinople, Jerusalem, Tripoli, Carthage, Agrigento and Rome, places along a common route of escape to the West, and from this it is reasonable to conclude that he was himself, or was informed by, a refugee whose flight took him from Palestine through North Africa and Sicily to Rome.[2]

There are three points of reference in the East Mediterranean in the *VP*, namely, Jerusalem, Antioch and S. Pancratius' native village.

Jerusalem is simply mentioned in connection with the apostles after the Ascension and as the destination of S. Pancratius and his parents when they were converted in a city of Judaea.

S. Pancratius' and Evagrius' native village is never named, but is said to be located in the area beyond Antioch.[3] It appears that it is the same village as that in which S. Peter finds S. Pancratius, granted that no mention is made of S. Pancratius moving in order to embrace the solitary life, and that his household and his parents graves are there. The village is also described as being in Pontus, both in the episode where S. Peter

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2. C. Mango, 'La culture grecque et l'occident au VIII^{e} siècle', *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo* xx (Spoleto, 1972), p. 706.
3. *VP*, p. 2 , ll. 3 - 4. ἐν τοῖς ἐπέκεινα Ἀντιοχείας ὁρίοις

finds S. Pancratius as he is going to Pontus,[4] and when S. Pancratius' slaves, sent to Sicily by Bishop Maximus, on their return home arrive in the bay of Pontus,[5] a meaningless expression which shows that despite Evagrius' detail that the village is twenty *stadia* distant from the sea, he has no real conception of his own and his master's native village and its supposed position.

Apart from the absence of recognizable details, two elements of Evagrius' description of Antioch itself reveal his fundamental ignorance of the city. First, he assumes that it is a sea port in saying that he, with SS. Pancratius and Marcian, embarked for Sicily there, going to the gate by the sea,[6] and finding two ships. Yet the *Acts* of the Apostle John, a text which was, as we have seen, an important model for the *VP*, refers to Antioch's sea port, Seleucia Pieria.[7] Second, when S. Peter is in Antioch, S. Paul is said to have heard that he was in Cilicia.[8]

Evagrius gives few details of the sea journey to Sicily. A north wind gives them a good start, they sail for three days and three nights, the two boats come together between two cities

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4. *VP*, p. 3 , ll. 14-15. ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου
5. *VP*, p. 410 , l. 4. ἐν τῇ μάλῃ τοῦ Πόντου
6. *VP*, p. 20 , l. 1. ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν
7. The *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 9, ll. 5-7.
8. *VP*, p. 80 , l. 10. ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν Κιλικίας

(Syracuse and Taormina ?) and after two more days and nights, Evagrius and S. Pancratius land at Taormina. It is clear that our author had no real idea of the mechanics of a sea passage from the Eastern Mediterranean to Sicily.

This analysis of Evagrius' knowledge of the toponyms of the Eastern Mediterranean shows that he had no immediate knowledge of it. His description of events before his arrival in Sicily depends on an uninformed use of commonplace toponyms - Antioch, Jerusalem, Pontus and Cilicia. His frame of reference seems to have been limited to Calabria and the East coast of Sicily.

VP, p. 3, l. 11.

The πυργίσκος

It is difficult to determine exactly how Evagrius understood the function and configuration of the πυργίσκος.[1] It is said to have had a στῦλος,[2] which S. Peter stood on to preach, the meaning of which is obscure to me, and a προαύλιος,[3] a vestibule.

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1. *VP*, p. 3 , l. 1 ff..
2. *VP*, p. 4 , l. 1.
3. *VP*, p. 4 , l. 9.

S. Pancratius lived in the πυργίσκος, and S. Peter stayed there with him.[4] Later, a church was built near it,[5] and the πυργίσκος became its sacristy (τὸν πύργον τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου),[6] and had images of Christ, S. Peter and S. Pancratius painted in it by the painter Joseph.[7] It seems most likely that Evagrius' model was a sacristy separate from a church, in which he imagined S. Pancratius to have lived at one time as a hermit.

VP, p. 4, l. 8.

S. Pancratius' κολόβιον

The κολόβιον was a short - sleeved tunic often associated with monks. See Lampe, s.v. 'κολόβιον'.

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4. *VP*, p. 5 , ll. 10-11.
5. *VP*, p. 7 , l. 10.
6. This arrangement is like that, for example, of the sacristy of the Justinianic Hagia Sophia. See F. Dirimtekin, 'Le skévophylakion de Sainte - Sophie', *RÊB* xix (1961), pp. 390 - 400. Other examples are assembled by R. F. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom* (*OCA* 200) (Rome, 1975), pp. 185-91. Taft is aware of our text through Nicephorus' excerpts.
7. *VP*, p. 12 , ll. 1 - 9 .

VP, p. 5, l. 8.

The bishop Maximus

The form 'Μάξιμος' is attested only by the manuscript C, which in normal circumstance would have encouraged me to accept the reading, 'Μαξιμῖνος', attested by the remaining witnesses, X S V. However, at the end of the text, when the Pontic bishop sends former members of S. Pancratius' household to search for him, then renews contact with S. Pancratius, the manuscripts, now joined by Y, concur in giving the reading 'Μάξιμος'. While the loss of a syllable may seem the more likely explanation of the variants, I have been unwilling to emend the form of the name as it appears at the end of the text against all the manuscript witnesses, and with some hesitation have considered the reading in the consistent manuscript, C, to be original.

VP, p. 7, l. 9.

The Consecration of Churches

Evagrius refers to the consecration of churches on several occasions. He is characteristically vague in his descriptions of

this rite. In his fullest description, that of the consecration of the oratory at Taormina, S. Pancratius[1] performs the ἀφιέρωσις, which is either equivalent to, or followed by, the ἐνθρονιασμός,[2] then a Liturgy. The subsequent celebrations are referred to as the feast of the ἀφιερασμός and the ἐγκαίνια and as taking place on the day of the ἐγκαινισμός.[3]

The consecration is preceded by the σταυροπήγιον,[4] the fixture of the cross where the church is to be built, before the work begins. This is usually done by the bishop, but in the case of Epaphroditus' Church of Peace, it appears that the bishop, Marcian, gives permission to the priest Epaphroditus to perform this.

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1. *VP*, p. 141, ll. 8 - 9 . It is stated elsewhere (*VP*, p. 325 , ll. 13 - 15) that only a bishop can consecrate a church.
2. The term 'ἐνθρονιασμός', placed between the ἀφιέρωσις and the Liturgy, may refer to an enthronement of the bishop rather than the consecration itself. See Lampe, s.v. 'ἐνθρονιασμός'.
3. *VP*, p. 145 , ll. 3 - 4 . Cf. *VP*, p. 141 .. 9 (ἀφιέρωσις / ἀφιερῶ); *VP*, p. 145 . 4 (ἐγκαινισμός / ἐγκαινίζω); *VP*, p. 145 . 6 (ἐγκαίνια). The use of these terms is discussed by H. Emonds, 'Enkainia - Weihe und Weihegedächtnis', *Miscellanea Enkainia* (Düsseldorf, 1956), pp. 30-44.
4. This term is found, and the rite described, in the Barberini *Euchologion* (ed. Goar), pp. 485-6. I am not aware of earlier examples of its use.

VP, p. 10, l. 13

The Liturgy

The author of the *VP* gives some indications of the form of the Liturgy as S. Pancratius is supposed to have celebrated it. These indications are sparse, inexact, disconnected and far from comprehensive, but by bringing the separate elements together, some idea of the structure of the service can be formed.

The usual terms used for the Liturgy in the *VP* are 'ἡ συνήθης / θεία λειτουργία',[1] 'ὁ θεῖος ὕμνος',[2] 'ἡ θεία μυσταγωγία'[3] and 'ἡ πνευματικὴ καὶ ἀναίμακτος θυσία.'[4]

Reference is made to the following rites.

1. The Preparatory rite.

There seems to be a preparatory rite *before* the *enarxis* of the Liturgy itself, that is, before the summons to prayer is made. Lycaonides, the σκευοφύλαξ,[5] is responsible for providing the bread and wine, called either ἡ προσφορά[6] or ὁ ἄρτος τῆς προθέσεως

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1. *VP*, p. 323, l. 6.
2. *VP*, p. 141, l. 13.
3. *VP*, p. 138, l. 13.
4. *VP*, p. 287, l. 11.
5. *VP*, p. 286, l. 5.
6. *VP*, p. 141, l. 13.

καὶ τὸ νᾶμα.[7] The deacon assists by putting the vessels (τὰ σκεύη)[8] and cross in front of the bishop. The rite is called the πρόθεσις.[9]

2. The *Trisagion*

This is the first prayer of the service. In one chapter (where there is no reference to the preparatory rites), it follows *immediately* after τοῦ παννυχίου τὴν ἀκολουθίαν.[10] It is called 'ὁ φοβερὸς ὕμνος τοῦ τρισαγιάσματος τῶν Σεραφίμ'.[11] There is no reference to, nor place for, preceding antiphons.

3. The Gospel and Sermon

After the *Trisagion*, it is said that everyone sits, but during the reading of the Gospel by S. Pancratius, Bonifatius and Lycaonides at least seem to be standing.[12] The confusion may derive from the interleaving of the Gospel reading with illustrations from S. Peter's pictures, or may relate to the reading of the Apostle. S. Pancratius' interpretation of the Gospel by means of the pictures may be said to be a sermon.

4. The Elevation

Miracles occur at the elevation of the consecrated Host,

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7. *VP*, p. 145 , ll. 11-12 .
8. *VP*, p. 225 , l. 14.
9. *VP*, p. 10 , l. 14.
10. *VP*, p. 85 , l. 3.
11. *VP*, p. 85 , l. 4.
12. *VP*, p. 88 , l. 12.

referred to as 'ἡ ὕψωσις τοῦ ἄρτου'.[13]

5. The Communion

The Communion of the clergy takes place according to clerical rank. S. Pancratius at least takes the Host in his hand, at which point it is called 'ὁ θεῖος ἄνθραξ' or 'ὁ πύρινος ἄνθραξ'.[14] The word 'κοινωνία'[15] is also used, but the general term is 'τὰ θεῖα / ἄχραντα μυστηρία.'[16] The people also take Communion by rank, or according to their 'τάγματα'.[17]

6. The Prayer after Communion

After the Communion, there is a prayer referred to as 'ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς ἀποθέσεως τῶν δώρων'.[18] It immediately precedes the Dismissal.

7. The Dismissal

This is called the 'ἀπόλυσις τῶν ἁγίων'[19] or is expressed simply by the verb 'ἀπολύω'.

Our knowledge of liturgical practice in the seventh century comes largely from the *Mystagogia* of S. Maximus the Confessor.[20]

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13. *VP*, p. 362, l.15.
14. *VP*, p. 202, l. 15. Cf. *Isa.* 6:6. See J. Brinktrine, 'Duae denominationes quibus in liturgiis orientalibus particulae consecratae significantur', *EL* 1 (1936), pp. 34-5.
15. *VP*, p. 202, ll. 9-10.
16. *VP*, p. 323, l. 7.
17. *VP*, p. 268, ll. 6-8.
18. *VP*, p. 293, ll. 4-5.
19. *VP*, p. 219, ll. 15-16.
20. Maximus the Confessor, *Mystagogia*, *PG* 91(2), coll. 657-718.

This is supplemented by information from the *Chronicon Paschale* for the year 624, a number of canons from the Trullan Council of 692 and other passages in the works of S. Maximus.[21] These sources together indicate a form of the Liturgy in which there were no preparatory rites *before* the service, but the service began with the entry of the clergy and people into the church, followed by the *Trisagion* hymn. The bishop then entered the sanctuary and ascended the throne. There followed the readings from the Old Testament, the Psalms, the Apostle, the Gospel and a Sermon. The catechumens were then dismissed and the doors closed before the Great Entrance, the Creed, the Anaphora with the Sanctus, the Elevation accompanied by the words, 'τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις' and the Communion.[22] Evidence for developments in the early eighth century is found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the liturgical commentary attributed to S. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople († 733).[23] The developments indicated by this commentary are the introduction of a preparatory rite before the

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21. Detailed references for the remaining sources are given by J. M. Hanssens, *Institutiones liturgicae de ritibus orientalibus*, II (Rome, 1932), p. 447.
22. See J. M. Hanssens, *Institutiones liturgicae*, II, p. 448.
23. Discussion of the problems associated with the *Historia Ecclesiastica* is outside the scope of this thesis. The conclusions of R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1966), pp. 125-60, concerning the authorship of the work by S. Germanus, the priority of redaction 'A' and the existence of interpolation, are accepted here.

beginning of the service, which is called the πρόθεσις (a second preparatory rite being called the προσκομιδή), and the appearance of antiphons before the *Trisagion.*[24] There are no liturgical texts surviving before the late eighth or early ninth century, from which period the Barberini *Euchologion*[25] dates.

It can be seen that there is nothing in the liturgical practices of the *VP* which is not found already in the *Mystagogia* of S. Maximus, or earlier texts, except for the πρόθεσις *before* the *enarxis* of the Liturgy, and this is found in S. Germanus' *Historia Ecclesiastica.* However, the position of the *Trisagion* at the very beginning of the service, implying the absence of antiphons, suggests that the liturgical practices represented here probably correspond to the period between the two commentaries, granted that we do not know exactly when the developments were introduced, only the *terminus ante quem*, and that the commentaries are based on practices in Constantinople, not Sicily, and it is difficult to assess the extent of regional differences of liturgical practice. At least, there is nothing to suggest from this evidence, limited as it is, that the text is later that the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of S. Germanus.

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24. See R. Bornert, *Les commentaires*, pp. 161-4.
25. Barb. Gr. 336. The text of the Liturgy is edited by F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I. Eastern Liturgies (Oxford, 1896).

There are no liturgical texts representing practice in Sicily and South Italy before the Italo-Byzantine Liturgy of S. Peter, dated to the tenth century.[26] In view of this, it is unfortunate that Evagrius is not more specific in his descriptions and fails to supply us with details which might have enlightened us as to possible local peculiarities in liturgical practice in Sicily, especially given the relatively recent introduction of the Greek rite there.

It is of some interest that Evagrius is so imprecise in his indications of liturgical practice. It suggests that liturgics was not a preoccupation of our author, and in addition, it gives us further insight into Evagrius' method of reconstructing the past, providing an example of an area where Evagrius resorts to vague generalities rather than relying on pure anachronism.

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26. Ed. H. W. Codrington, *The Liturgy of Saint Peter* (Münster in Westfalen, 1936).

VP, p. 11, l. 13.

Images

The *VP* provides important evidence on church decoration and images, both in terms of technical details and of their use and attitudes to them. It is reasonable to assume that this reflects Evagrius' own experience to a considerable degree, while maintaining the usual reservations about his tendency towards imprecision and an imaginative approach to the past. We will first assess Evagrius' notices on images as evidence for practices in Evagrius' own time, and then will consider their implications for the date of the *VP*.

1. Church Decoration and the Painters' Manual

A recurring feature of the *VP* is a book consisting of a number of papyrus leaves[1] illustrated with scenes from Scripture. S. Peter was responsible for ordering the original collection to be painted by Joseph the painter.[2] The set of illustrations was then handed over to the bishop of S. Pancratius' village, Maximus, and

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1. See below, p. 163 - 166.
2. *VP*, p. 13 , ll. 1 - 3. Joseph is described as, "ὁ ζωγράφος".

used to provide a model for the new church built there.[3] S. Peter included further sets among the essential equipment dispensed to S. Marcian and S. Pancratius at the beginning of their mission, and specifically instructed them as to the procedure for decorating the churches they were to establish, giving as the purpose for this, "that the multitudes of those who enter will see them and will recollect the Incarnation of the Lord," resulting in a "warmer faith".[4] S. Pancratius later instructs his own clergy to use the same patterns in the churches they found,[5] and after S. Pancratius' death, Evagrius undertakes the decoration of his mentor's *martyrium*.[6]

The painters' manual has another function. S. Pancratius uses the book given to him by S. Peter for the purposes of instruction, illustrating scenes from the New Testament by means of the representations in it as his deacon Epaphroditus reads aloud the Gospel of S. Matthew.[7]

The painters' manual is, however, not merely functional. Bishop Marcian gives instructions that the illustrations be shown the honour due to them as representations of the events depicted

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3. *VP*, p.13 , ll.2 - 3 .
4. *VP*, p.39 , l.8.
5. *VP*, p. , ll. - .
6. *VP*, p.442 , ll.7 -14 .
7. *VP*, p.87 , l.2.

therein,[8] and later the books are used, together with the Cross and other icons, to drive away demons and overcome idols.[9]

The scenes represented on the leaves of the book are specified more or less exactly at different points in the text, and also, by implication, in descriptions of the decoration of churches. S. Peter is said to have prescribed, as the scheme for church decoration, scenes from the Old and New Testaments, as well as an image of Christ.[10] When Evagrius decorates S. Pancratius' *martyrium*, his arrangement begins with the Creation and the events of the book of Genesis, and includes also New Testament scenes and an image of S. Pancratius.[11] The remaining descriptions only mention the New Testament.[12] Thus, Joseph's initial scheme is of events from the Annunciation to the Ascension, that is, "from the beginning, when the Angel cried out 'Hail' to the Virgin, until the time when the Lord Jesus Christ was taken up."[13] S. Peter's instructions to S. Marcian and S. Pancratius decree the depiction of "the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Baptism by the Forerunner, the disciples, the healings, the Betrayal, the Crucifixion, the Burial, the Resurrection from Hades,

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8. *VP*, p. 13 , ll. 2 - 3 .
9. *VP*, p. 44 , ll. 8 - 10.
10. *VP*, p. 36 , ll. 1 - 2 .
11. *VP*, p. 442 , ll. 7 -14 .
12. *VP*, p. 12 , ll. 9 -11 .
13. *VP*, p. 12 , ll. 13-14 .

the Ascension".[14] These scenes are mentioned specifically with reference to church decoration. In connection with S. Pancratius' use of the book to illustrate the Gospel, a longer list of contents is given. He is said to have shown them "the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Magi, Herod's plot, the shepherds, the manger, the cave, the slaughtered children, the Forerunner, the Jordan, the Lord going down into the waters, the Holy Spirit coming upon Him, the things which followed these - the apostles, the healings, all the parables", and then, "the Passion, the Cross, the Burial, the Resurrection, until the time when He ascended into heaven from the Mount of Olives."[15]

In addition to the scenes from Scripture, icons of Christ, S. Peter and S. Pancratius are included in the scheme of decoration. First, these images are painted at the behest of S. Peter by Joseph the painter in the sacristy previously occupied by S. Pancratius.[16] That of Christ is painted, "so that those who see might believe all the more, looking on the representation of the form, and might recollect the things we have preached to them"; those of S. Peter and S. Pancratius, "so that those who recollect might say, 'this was he who preached the Word of God

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14. *VP*, p. 39, ll.1 - 4.
15. *VP*, p. 37.3 - 38.11.
16. See above, p. 126 - 127.

among us, the Apostle Peter,' and concerning our brother Pancratius, 'this was he who built the tower of the sacristy'".17 That is to say, the purpose of the images was to bring about the recollection in the minds of the faithful of the figures of Christ and his apostles S. Peter and S. Pancratius, and their deeds.

These images are produced by the encaustic method,18 but it

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17. *VP*, p. 12 , ll. 5 - 8 .
18. *VP*, p. 12 , l. 2.
ὁ οὖν ζωγράφος, λαβὼν ἐγκήρωτα χρώματα, ἐζωγράφησεν τὴν εἰκόνα ...
The expression 'ἐγκήρωτα χρώματα' indicates that the image is executed using the encaustic process. To my knowledge, 'ἐγκήρωτα' is a *hapax legomenon* peculiar to the *VP*. The implication of the expression is that the colours have been prepared in a wax emulsion, 'en-waxed', so to speak, before being applied. On this process, see the *Reallexicon zur byzantinische Künst*, s.v. 'Enkaustik' and the bibliography cited there, and the citations in Du Cange, s.v. 'κηρόχυτος γραφή'. The passage from the *Sermon on the Sabbath* of Anastasius the Sinaite excerpted in the fourth session of the Seventh Oecumenical Synod provides a parallel, but somewhat expanded account of the technique implied in the description in the *VP*.
εἰκόνος οὐδὲν ἕτερον οὔσης, ἢ ξύλον, καὶ χρώματα κηρῶν μεμιγμένα καὶ κεκραμμένα.
(Mansi xii,). The method is most commonly applied to icon painting on wood, and was used in the production of the early Byzantine icons of the Monastery of S. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. See G. and M. Soteriou, Εἰκόνες τῆς μονῆς Σινᾶ, I (Athens, 1956), nos. 1-16, II (Athens, 1958), pp. 17-30. Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxv, 49, declared the encaustic process to be inappropriate to mural painting, an opinion which seems also to have been held by Procopius, *Buildings*, I, 10 (ed. Haury), p. 40, although Vitruvius, *Concerning Architecture*, VII, 9, described a process called 'γάνωσις' which could be used to prepare walls for encaustic murals. There are two examples of murals executed using the encaustic technique on marble and dated to the seventh century in the monastery of S. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. See M. G. Soteriou, 'Τοιχογραφία τῆς Θυσίας τοῦ 'Αβραὰμ τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ', 'Αρχαιολογικὴ 'Εφημερίς iii (1953-4) (Athens, 1961), pp. 45-48 and K. Weitzmann, 'The Jephthah Panel in the Bema of the Church of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai', *DOP* xviii (1964), pp. 341-52.

is not altogether clear whether they are painted directly on the walls or first as free - standing icons, then attached to the walls.[19] They are also said to have been signed by the painter with his own name. The leaves of the painters' manual are apparently papyrus, but no information is given about the technique of the execution of the illustrations.

It is probable, then, that Evagrius was familiar with a pattern of church decoration in which there were Old and New Testament cycles as well as representations of individual saints. It is not clear how these were arranged within the church. The selection of New Testament events suggests the rationale was to produce a narrative cycle, rather than a series of types and anti-types. It is also not clear what Old Testament events are meant by the "events of the Book of Genesis", although perhaps Evagrius had an exaggerated idea of its contents. Evagrius may well have had a specific church in mind in which the scenes mentioned in the *VP* appeared, which, granted the extent of his horizons, was probably in Sicily or South Italy, or he may have had a general idea of a scheme of Old and New Testament scenes, for which he himself provided concrete examples.

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19. Later in the *VP*, free - standing images which seem to be identified with those made by Joseph appear, but these could have been copied from an original icon *or* fresco.

The general use of painters' manuals to provide models for church frescoes is also an implication of the appearance of the manual in the *VP*.[20]

It is also probable that a book of scriptural scenes was in use in Taormina for the instruction of the unlettered in Evagrius' time.[21] This provides a useful insight into the existence of illiteracy in Byzantine Sicily and the way in which the church sought to overcome this barrier to religious instruction.

2. Icons

Free - standing, portable icons painted on wood also appear in the *VP*. They have a number of functions.

Like the painters' manuals, they, together with the Cross, drive out demons and vanquish pagan idols - notably the idols such as Falcon, at Taormina, those at Syracuse in S. Marcian's

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20. The manual was probably used in much the same way as that described by Gregory of Tours in the *Historia Francorum*, *PL* 71, II, c. 7.

> "Cuius (sc. Namatii) coniux basilicam Sancti Stephani suburbano murorum aedificavit. Quam cum fucis adornare velit, tenebat librum in sinum suum, legens historias actionis antiquae, pictoribus indicans, quae in parietibus pingere debebant."

21. See the comments on the evidence of the *VP* concerning illiteracy and the use of illustrations for instructional purposes in A. Guillou, 'L'école', pp. 306-08.

confrontation with the pagans, and the idols of the Avars, according to their own report.[22]

When Aculinus attacks Taormina, the icons and Cross bring about the salvation of the city by causing darkness and concomitant confusion to fall upon the enemy, while the icons themselves paradoxically shine like suns.[23]

During Epaphroditus' mission to the South, when he baptises the farmer in a stream, the newly - illumined proselyte emerges to report that the icon set up by the stream had stretched out its hand and touched him.[24] This icon was made of cypress wood and had approximate dimensions of 70.2 x 23.4 cm. and could be "held in the hand".[25]

Icons are said to receive veneration, and are set up by S. Pancratius before the faithful at the vigil service.

So, in Evagrius' mind, icons are worthy of veneration. They are powerful against evil forces - not only do they overcome

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22. *VP*, p. 44 , l. 6. (Taormina); *VP*, p. 348 , ll. 15 ff. (Syracuse); *VP*, p. , ll. - (Avars).
23. *VP*, p. 406 , ll. 3 - 5 .
24. *VP*, p. 305 , ll. 3 - 4 .
25. *VP*, p. 304 , ll. 11 - 13. The icon is said to be about one and a half cubits in length (ὡσεὶ μίας ἥμισυ πήχης) and about one span wide (ὡσεὶ σπιθαμῆς). The length of the Byzantine measure, the πήχη, is 46.8 cm., and that of the σπιθαμή is 23.4 cm., so that the icon measures 70.2 x 23.4 cm.. See E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), s.vv. 'πήχη' and 'σπιθαμή'. The shape of the icon suggests that it bore a full - length depiction of Christ.

unseen forces, but they can be expected to play an active, miraculous role against tangible foes. For Evagrius, the distinction between the prototype and the image has been eroded, as is reflected in the action of the icon at the baptism of the farmer. The use of portraits of living holy men in much the same way as icons of departed saints is normal to him.

3. The Implications for the Date of the *VP*

It has generally been believed by scholars[27] that the *VP* is an iconodule *Life*, that is to say, that it must have been written after the outbreak of the iconoclast controversy[28] in order to

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27. E.g., A. N. Veselovskij, '*Изъ исторіи*', p. 67; É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 588.

28. Some complications arise from the attempt to use arguments for the icondule nature of the *VP* to establish the date of the text. This is not the place to discuss at length the date and nature of the official outbreak of Iconoclasm, which are discussed in many places, for example, by G. Ostrogorsky, 'Les débuts de la querelle des images', *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, I (Paris, 1930), pp. 235-55 and P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus*, c. 1. For our purposes of comparative dating, it is perhaps sufficient to accept the date of 730 given by Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 404, despite indications that the Emperor was moving towards this end earlier. The question of the necessary relation of an iconodule text, were the *VP* proved to be so, to the imperial pronouncement is more problematic. It is clear that the iconoclast controversy was a perpetuation, with greater intensity, of a long controversy in the church over religious images. See, for example, E. Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm', *DOP* viii (1954), pp. 85-88, 129-50 and P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus*, c. 1. Therefore, even if iconodulia motivated our author, the text could still have been written before 730. See also S. der Nersessian, 'Une Apologie des Images du Septième Siècle', *Byzantion* xvii (1944-45), pp. 58-87.

defend icons, especially on the grounds that their use was established by the Apostles.

It is argued that the *VP* is preoccupied with images. Such qualitative judgements are difficult to prove or disprove, but they must also be balanced by other considerations. First, the *VP* is a very prolix text, so that the actual proportion of material dealing with icons in relation to the whole is not overwhelming. Second, as our analysis of the references to images shows, they consist of a very few repeated motifs. Such repetition is characteristic of the *VP*, and when it is rationalized, the quantity of material related to images is substantially reduced. The assumption that the *VP* is obsessed in some way with icons needs to be questioned. It is an impression which is greatly reinforced by the subsequent use of the text in iconodule polemic and the pattern of excerption that this brought about.

The argument that religious images were ordained by the Apostles certainly was an iconodule argument, as the use of our text by iconodules in itself demonstrates. To this may be added, as further examples, the passage concerning S. Peter and the icon of the Transfiguration in the *Admonition of the Old Man concerning the Holy Images*, which has been suspected of being derivative from our text,[29] and on the iconoclast side, the

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29. See above, p. 87 – 89.

assertion of the Council of 815 that the apostles never commanded anyone to look upon representations.[30] However, claims of the existence of icons in the apostolic period are found well before iconoclasm. In the second half of the sixth century, the legend of the image 'made without hands' of Edessa is first recorded.[31] Theodore Lector in the sixth century refers to an icon of the Mother of God painted by S. Luke,[32] and the pilgrim Antoninus of Piacenza at the end of the sixth century mentions an icon of Christ in Jerusalem which was painted during His lifetime.[33] In addition to this, it must be remembered that *everything* in the *VP* is established by the apostles, not just icons and church decoration. The responsibilities of the bishop, church order, the liturgical cycle, the see itself; almost every element of church life is given authority and antiquity through its having been ordained by the apostles. This is the common denominator in the text. I suggest that in the light of this, we should consider Evagrius' assertions concerning the *apostolic origins* of images, rather than claims for the appropriateness of the depiction of Christ and the

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30. *Decree* of the Council of 815 (ed. Alexander), p. 63, 30B.
31. Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 27 (ed. Bidez and Parmentier), I, p. 212.
32. Theodore Lector, *Ecclesiastical History* I, 1 (excerpted by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulus), *PG* 86, col. 165A. See E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur Christlichen Legende* (*TU* 18.iii) (Leipzig, 1899), p. 269**.
33. Antoninus of Piacenza, *Itinerarium*, *PL* 72, c. 23.

saints in *images*, as the inspiration for the text. Evagrius is concerned with authenticating and validating current practices by appealing to their apostolicity, and images are not singled out for special treatment, as we might expect if iconodule sentiments were of paramount importance to him.

The pattern of church decoration prescribed by S. Peter, consisting of selected Biblical scenes and representations of saints, has parallels in the pre-iconoclastic cycles known to us from surviving frescoes and literary sources.

The fifth century basilica of S. Mary Major in Rome,[34] has a cycle of Old Testament events beginning with Melchisedech in the central nave, and on the main arch, a New Testament cycle, of which the representations of the Annunciation, the Magi and the Massacre of the Innocents are among the scenes prescribed in the *VP*. The sixth century church of S. Apollinaris the New in Ravenna,[35] decorated in the 570's, has twenty-six scenes from the life of Christ, including, of the scenes in the *VP*, apostles,

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34. See M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaiques chrétiennes du IV^me^ au X^me^ siècle* (Geneva, 1924), pp. 11-58. On cycles of church decoration in general, see O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1947); J. Reil, *Die altchristlichen Bildzyklen des Lebens Jesu* (Leipzig, 1910); *Reallexikon z. byz. Künst*, s.v. 'Bildprogramm'.

35. See M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaiques*, pp. 125-44 and G. Bovini, *Mosaici di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna. Il Ciclo Cristologico* (Florence, 1958).

healings, miracles, parables, the Betrayal, and, representing the Resurrection, the Holy Women at the Tomb. The sixth century church of S. Vitalis,[36] again at Ravenna, as well as scenes from the Old and New Testaments, has a representation of the patron saint of the church. These examples from Rome and Ravenna are particularly important in the light of Sicily's ecclesiastical relation to them.

A number of literary sources refer to church decoration. S. Nilus of Sinai,[37] in a letter to the eparch Olympiodorus, advises him to decorate a church with Old and New Testament scenes. A letter of Pope Hadrian to the Council of 787[38] refers to the Emperor Constantine's decoration of the Lateran basilica with Old and New Testament events. From the examples he gives, namely

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36. M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaiques*, pp. 145-57.
37. Nilus, *Ep.* LXI (Olympiodoro Eparcho), *PG* 79, 577D.
    'Ιστοριῶν δὲ Παλαιᾶς καὶ Νέας Διαθήκης πληρῶσαι ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν χειρὶ καλλίστου ζωγράφου τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον, ὅπως ἂν οἱ μὴ εἰδότες γράμματα, μηδὲ δυνάμενοι τὰς θείας ἀναγινώσκειν Γραφὰς τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῆς ζωγραφίας, μνήμην τε λαμβάνωσιν τῆς τῶν γνησίως τῷ ἀληθινῷ Θεῷ δεδουλευκότων ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ πρὸς ἅμιλλαν διεγείρωνται τῶν εὐκλεῶν καὶ ἀοιδίμων ἀριστευμάτων, δι' ὧν τῆς γῆς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπηλλάξαντο, τῶν βλεπομένων τὰ μὴ ὁρώμενα προτιμήσαντες.
    On this text, see W. Elliger, *Die Stellung der alten Christen zu den Bildern in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 76-8.
38. Text in J. Reil, *Bildzyklen*, p. 43.
    Κωνσταντῖντος οἰκοδομήσας ναὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐν 'Ρώμῃ ἐν τοῖς δυσὶ τοίχοις τοῦ ναοῦ ἱστορίας παλαιὰς καὶ νέας ἐνετύπωσεν· ἐνταῦθα τὸν 'Αδὰμ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐξιόντα, ἐκεῖσε δὲ τὸν λῃστὴν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἰσιόντα.

Adam and the Penitent Thief, it seems that they may have been arranged as types and anti-types. The so-called *Letter of the Oriental Patriarchs to the Emperor Theophilus*[39] states that the basilica at Bethlehem, which was probably Justinianic, was decorated with representations of the Nativity, the Magi, the Baptism by John, parables, miracles, the Passion, the Ressurrection (*Anastasis*), the Ascension and the miracles of the apostles. Choricius of Gaza's *Encomium* of Bishop Marcianus of Gaza[40] included an *Ekphrasis* of the church of S. Sergius at Gaza built in the time of Justinian. This mentions, of the scenes in the *VP*, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the shepherds, the Magi, miracles, the Betrayal, the Crucifixion, the appearance of Christ to the Holy Women and the Ascension. The *Life* of S. Stephen the Younger[41] records the destruction by Constantine V in 769 of the decorations in the church of the Mother of God at Blachernae which had been executed in the time of Pulcheria (414-53) and in which were depicted New Testament events from the Nativity to the Ascension (and Pentecost), miracles being specifically mentioned. These examples are sufficient to indicate that the general pattern of

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39. Text in J. Reil, *Bildzyklen*, p. 43. I have noted only the scenes which the letter has in common with the *VP*.
40. Choricius of Gaza, *Encomium* of Marcian, bishop of Gaza (ed. J. F. Boissonade), pp. 79-125, esp. pp. 91-8.
41. The *Life* of S. Stephen the Younger, *PG* 100, col. 1120C.

decoration in the period before iconoclasm consisted of cycles of Old and New Testament events, not yet systematized, and of representations of martyrs or patrons, such as we have in the *VP*.

Several elements of the scheme in the *VP* need further comment. The depiction of Old Testament events is quite rare in mural paintings.[42] To the examples above should be added the church of S. Maria Antiqua,[43] built by the Greek Pope John VII (705-7), which provides further evidence that this practice was more common in the West than in the East, a fact which may point to a Western influence or survival in the art of Byzantine Sicily. While the specific content of the Old Testament cycles mentioned in literary sources is unclear, I do not know of any pre - Iconoclastic frescoes which depict the Creation, although it certainly appears in other forms quite early.[44]

The *VP* refers to the 'Resurrection from Hades'.[45] It is not clear whether this reference is to the 'Descent' type of depiction

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42. See J. Reil, *Bildzyklen*, p. 54 and *Reallexicon z. byz. Künst*, s.v 'Bildprogramm'.
43. See E. Müntz, 'Notes sur les mosaiques chrétiennes de l'Italie IV, L'oratoire du Pape Jean VII', *RA* xxxiv (1877), pp. 145-62.
44. See *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* III.2, coll. 3020-21, s.v. 'Creation'.
45. *VP*, p. 39 , ll. 3 - 4 .

of the *Anastasis*,[46] or whether the description has a purely literary function and refers only to the representation of the Resurrection common in the early period, the arrival of the Myrrh - bearing Women at the Tomb. If the former is the case, it must be noted that this type is found only from the beginning of the eighth century. Two forms of the type are recognised; an Eastern and a Western. The first Eastern example is a cross reliquary dated to c. 700.[47] The first Western example is, significantly, a fresco in Pope John VII's church of S. Maria Antiqua mentioned earlier.[48]

The *VP* does *not* refer to the Transfiguration, which is depicted in the pre-iconoclastic period, but rarely.[49] This argues against the Petrine fragment in the *Admonition of the the Old Man concerning the Holy Icons* having been based on the *VP*, as it

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46. On this question, see *Reallexicon z. byz. Künst*, s.v. 'Anastasis'; M. G. Soteriou, 'Χρυσοκέντητον Ἐπιγονάτιον τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν μετὰ παραστάσεως τῆς εἰς Ἅδου Καθόδου', *BNGJ* xi (1935), pp. 284-96; and the thesis of M. Bauer, Die Ikonographie der Höllenfahrt Christi von ihren Anfängen bis zum 16. Jh. (Diss. Göttingen, 1948), who is not, however, aware of our text.
47. The Cross reliquary Fieschi Morgan, N. Y.. See *Reallexicon z. byz. Künst*, s.v. 'Anastasis'.
48. See above, p. 150 with n. 43.
49. Perhaps the best known example is the apse mosaic at Mt. Sinai, dated to 565 / 66. See G. Soteriou, 'Τὸ Ψηφιδωτὸν τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Καθολικοῦ τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ', *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di studi Byzantini*, Palermo, *1951*, ii (= *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* viii (1953)), pp. 246-52.

mentions only this scene.

It must be remembered, before any conclusions are drawn, that Evagrius may well not have had a specific example in mind, but may merely have meant to imply, through a list of examples, that the whole of Biblical history was represented on the walls of churches.

The idea that images make people recollect the life of Christ and can be used to instruct the illiterate by visual means is also found in the pre-iconoclastic period. S. Nilus of Sinai, in his letter to the eparch Olympiodorus in 430,[50] refers to the value of church decoration for the instruction of the unlettered. S. Gregory of Nyssa[51] lauded the value of the 'silent writing' of images. The well-known canon of the Trullan Council[52] discouraging the depiction of Christ as a lamb argues that the image of Christ serves to remind people of His Life and Passion.

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50. See above, p. 148. , n. 37.
51. Gregory of Nyssa, *Concerning S. Theodore the Martyr*, PG 46, 737D.
οἶδε γὰρ καὶ γραφὴ σιωπῶσα ἐν τοίχῳ λαλεῖν, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελεῖν·
On this text, see W. Elliger, *Die Stellung*, pp. 63-70.
52. Canon 82, Mansi xi, col. 980.
δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς ταπεινώσεως ὕψος τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου κατανοοῦντες, καὶ πρὸς μνήμην τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ πολιτείας, τοῦ τε πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου θανάτου χειραγωγούμενοι, καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν γενομένης τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπολυτρώσεως.

Later this became an iconodule argument, used, for example, by S. John Damascene.[53]

The existence of portraits of living holy people is also attested early, by S. Nilus in the fifth century,[54] and by Theodoret (of S. Symeon Stylites),[55] as is the depiction of martyrs, for example in the passage of S. Gregory of Nyssa mentioned earlier.[56]

Icons were the object of veneration well before iconoclasm, with particular intensity shown from the sixth century.[57]

Only one example is recorded before iconoclasm of an image taking effective action in battle, namely an incident during the Persian siege of Edessa in 544,[58] when the image kindles a fire, and then water which had been sprinkled on it was used, paradoxically, to fuel the flames. Otherwise, their effect in battle was mainly "psychological and perhaps apotropaic"[59] rather than

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53. S. John Damascene, *De imaginibus oratio* iii, *PG* 94, 1332B, where images (εἰκόνες) are said to be,
βίβλους τῶν ἀγραμμάτων καὶ ὑπόμνησιν ...
54. See E. Kitzinger, 'Images before Iconoclasm', p. 93.
55. Theodoret, *Religiosa Historia*, c. 26, *PG* 82, col. 1473A, refers to portraits of S. Symeon in workshops in Rome.
56. Gregory of Nyssa, *Concerning S. Theodore the Martyr*, *PG* 46, col. 737D. On the development of the representation of Martyrs, see A. Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, II (Paris, 1946), pp. 39-128.
57. See E. Kitzinger, 'Images before Iconoclasm', pp. 95-100.
58. See E. Kitzinger, 'Images before Iconoclasm', pp. 103-4 and 109-12.
59. See E. Kitzinger, 'Images before Iconoclasm', p. 112.

functional. However, this one example does exist, and moreover, the incident in the *VP* owes more to folklore motifs introduced with the legendary and fabulous element of the *VP* than to the tradition of iconic palladia. The activity of the Cross and icons in battle must be assessed in this context as much as in the context of the development of the belief in the miraculous power of icons.

The loss of the distinction between the prototype and the image represented by the incident at the baptism performed by Epaphroditus is again a characteristic of the Byzantine cult of images before Iconoclasm, where icons were reported to engage in such activities as speaking, bleeding and defending themselves.[60]

We have established, then, that all of the aspects of the veneration, function and representation of images in the *VP* are found in the pre - iconoclastic period, so that it cannot be definitively dated after the outbreak of iconoclasm on the basis of having elements in it, either polemical or technical, which only occur after that event.

We have presented elsewhere an argument against the *VP* having had an iconodule purpose on the basis of an analysis of iconodule hagiography.[61] Other general arguments may be

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60. See E. Kitzinger, 'Images before Iconoclasm', pp. 101-2.
61. See below, p. 157 - 160.

advanced to support the same contention.

First, if the *VP* were an iconodule *Life*, we might have expected *more* apology in it. Not only does this element, as we have pointed out, occupy a reasonably small proportion of the text, but there is very little interpretative material in it and very little theological justification of icons or real argumentation in their favour. For example, the argument for images on the basis of the Incarnation is never mentioned. Much early iconodule argumentation is closely related to the tradition of Christian argumentation against the Jews,[62] and Jewish attacks on icons are noted,[63] yet, despite the large part played by the Jews in the *VP*, there is no debate with them on images, nor any report of Jewish disrespect for them.

Second, if iconodule fervour motivated our author, it seems odd that so much other material was included, far outweighing the references to icons. It seems unlikely that it would have been written in the heat of the controversy and have had its message so much diluted with material extraneous to its purpose.

Third, it has a distinctly different character from the

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62. This is true, for example, of George of Cyprus' *Admonition of the Old Man concerning the Holy Images*. See the comments of P. J. Alexander to this effect in *The Patriarch Nicephorus*, pp. 11-12 and also S. Der Nersessian, 'Une apologie', pp. 79-83.
63. E.g. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum* c. 22 (*PL* 71, col. 724).

hagiography we know was produced in the iconoclast controversy.[64] It makes no reference to any possible controversy over icons, does not explicitly argue in their favour and does not concern a participant in the struggle.[65]

We may conclude, then, that the treatment of images in the *VP* is probably most appropriate to the period immediately before the outbreak of iconoclasm, when images were an important part of the Christian faith, with great veneration being given to them and much power attributed to them, but before any official attack made it necessary for the orthodox to write specifically in their defence. They were included in the text along with other aspects of contemporary church life because of Evagrius' concern to justify church practice in general by apostolic precedent. If this is the case, the *VP* should be dated before 730. At the very least, it cannot be said that the *VP* is assuredly iconodule and necessarily written after 730.

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64. See below, p. 157 - 160.
65. The only other iconodule Life concerned with apostolic, rather than contemporary, times, is the *Life* of the Apostle Andrew, which is, as we have shown (above, p. 103) derivative from our text.

The *VP* and Iconodule Hagiography

Our examination of the later writers who give evidence of the fate and progress of the *VP* in the Byzantine world has shown that it could not have been a product of the period of iconodule supremacy after 787, but had already reached Constantinople before this date.[1] We will now consider whether it is likely that it was produced in defence of icons during the first period of Iconoclasm (730-787).

It has been shown by I. Ševčenko[2] that none of the *Lives* which concern figures of the first iconoclastic period were written in the early period of Iconoclasm. Setting aside those written considerably later, he has shown that only the following four *Lives* remain to be considered. That of S. Stephen the Younger was written in 806, under orthodox rule.[3] Theodore the Studite's *Funeral Oration* for S. Plato of Sakkoudion may also have been

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1. See above, pp. 82- 85.
2. I. Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', pp. 113-131.
3. The *Life* of S. Stephen the Younger, *PG* 100, coll. 1067-1186. The author, Stephen the Deacon, records that he wrote the *Life* forty two years after the saint's death (col. 1072C).

written just before the second outbreak of Iconoclasm,[4] but anyway is more concerned with the Moechian controversy than with Iconoclasm. The *Life* of S. John of Gotthia[5] was written between 815 and 842, during the second iconoclastic period, but probably in Amastris, well away from the centre of the controversy. The only *Life* which can be shown to have been written during the first iconoclastic period, and then only at the end of it, between 780 and 787, is the *Life* of S. Romanus the Neomartyr.[6] This too was written away from the capital, by a monk of the monastery of S. Sabas in Palestine, and shows much greater knowledge of and interest in affairs in the Arab world than in those of Constantinople. It was also probably written originally in Arabic.[7]

So, as Ševčenko has concluded, "it was easier to vituperate a

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4. Theodore the Studite's *Funeral Oration* for S. Plato of Sakkoudion, *PG* 99, coll. 803-849. There is a suggestion (col. 849A) that the orthodox are under threat, and this may indicate that the *Oration* was written very soon after S. Plato's death in 814 and before the second iconoclastic period began.
5. The *Life* of S. John of Gotthia, *AASS* (Iun. v), pp. 190-94. The saint died in 791 or 792, and the statements in the *Life* concerning the question of communion with iconoclasts in particular show that it was written during the supremacy of the iconoclast party.
6. This is the date advanced by P. Peeters, 'S. Romain le néo-martyr (1er mai 780) d' après un document géorgien', *AB* xxx (1911), p. 403.
7. The text is preserved in a Georgian version translated from the Arabic. On the language of the original, see P. Peeters, 'S. Romain le néo-martyr', p. 403.

distant or fallen enemy than a near and a threatening one".[8] Iconodule hagiography of the first iconoclastic period was either written in a period of iconodule supremacy or at a safe distance from the capital.

We must then ask whether Sicily was such a 'safe' area. The *Life* of S. Stephen the Younger mentions the area South of Rome as one of the havens for fleeing iconodules,[9] but does not mention Sicily specifically, and it is difficult to determine the extent of territory concerned. It seems unlikely that it would have extended into the dioceses under Constantinopolitan jurisdiction. Furthermore, there is evidence that Sicily was affected by iconoclasm and was not a sanctuary for iconodules. Theophanes records the execution of Antiochus, the iconodule *strategos* of Sicily, in 766,[10] and it is significant that the only piece of hagiography, namely the *Encomium* of S. Marcian, which can be said to have been produced in Sicily during the iconoclastic controversy is, in fact, an *iconoclast* work.[11]

If we were to say that the *VP* was composed in defence of

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8. I. Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', p. 116.
9. The *Life* of S. Stephen the Younger, *PG* 100, col. 1117C.
   εἶθ' οὕτως καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸ Παρθενικὸν κόλπον, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης τὸ κάταντες, ἥ τε Νικοπολιτῶν μητρόπολις, καὶ ἡ Νεάπολις καὶ τὰ ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ Τιβερίου Ῥώμης συγκείμενα ...
10. Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 483.
11. See below, pp. 177 - 178.

icons in the first iconoclastic period, and indeed some time before 787, if it had reached Constantinople and been tampered with before that date, we would be saying that it was a unique phenomenon in Greek hagiography, not only in Sicily, but in the whole Byzantine world. Such a phenomenon might be possible, but is unlikely, and the absence of any parallel works gives support to the proposition that it was written before 730 and was not intentionally iconodule.

VP, p. 11, l. 14.

The Icon of the Mother of God

The most substantial textual discrepancies in the *VP* are found in the passages which are concerned with icons. When the subjects depicted on icons are mentioned, the tradition represented by C, and probably Y (although the critical beginning of the text is missing from the latter manuscript), as well as the Old Slavonic version, consistently refer to an icon of the Mother of God in addition to those of Christ and of S. Peter. The tradition represented by V and the manuscripts of the second recension is consistent in omitting any mention of an icon of the Mother of God. The tradition represented by X and S, and the third recension, follows a middle course. The icon of the Mother of God does not appear in the first reference to icons, but does appear subsequently. Because of this 'mixed' tradition, it is

difficult to determine the relation to the manuscript tradition of the later witnesses to the text. The *Testimonia*, Th, Nic and Flor do not include an icon of the Mother of God. In the case of Th and Flor, they quote from a passage where the 'mixed' tradition also omits any reference to a third icon. Such an icon, however, is also absent from the more comprehensive excerpts of Nic. Thus they seem, in this respect at least, to be closest to the tradition represented by V. The *Canon* of the hymnographer Elias does not specify the number of icons involved in the legend of S. Pancratius. Two texts, however, *do* include the icon of the Mother of God, but omit that of S. Peter. The relevant passage in the *Encomium* of Gregory the Pagurite is based on the account in the *VP* of S. Pancratius' defeat, with the aid of icons, of Aculinus at the walls of Taormina. Here there are icons of Christ and the Apostle Peter in V, and of Christ, the Mother of God and S. Peter in X, S, C and Y. The *Life* of S. Michael the Syncellus also makes reference to an icon of the Mother of God, but not of S. Peter, although it is not clear on which part of the *VP* it is based. In both these cases, it is possible that the icon of the Mother of God has been substituted for that of S. Peter, rather than that they rely on a text which mentions the former.

I have, with great hesitation, followed the tradition represented by V for several reasons. First, it seems to me more likely that the icon of the Mother of God would have been *added* to reinforce the iconodule character of the *VP*, rather than that that icon *alone* would have been excised. Second, the evidence of the *Testimonia*, Th, Nic and Flor, especially given the purpose for which they excerpted the *VP*, seems to argue strongly for the

version I have accepted. Third, the extra icon seems to fit uncomfortably into the narrative in the episode where S. Pancratius defends the walls of Taormina against Aculinus. It is in this episode that the greatest adaptation is necessary to accommodate the extra icon. In V, the ordination of Tatianus provides a third cleric to hold a third item. In the other manuscripts, one deacon is ordained to hold two items.

It seems most likely to me that the icon of the Mother of God is an addition introduced into the Sicilian / South Italian tradition of the *VP* represented by X, S, C, Y, Z and the Old Slavonic translation. If its appearance in the *Encomium* of Gregory the Pagurite is to be attributed directly to a manuscript source of the *VP*, then it must have been introduced by the early ninth century. It is reasonable to suppose that this occurred in response to iconoclasm. Its omission at the beginning of the *VP* in the 'mixed' tradition may be a result of the interaction of one of the *Testimonia* with the hypearchetype of X and S.

The witnesses not directly associated with Sicily and South Italy, namely V and the *Testimonia* Th, Nic and Flor, have not been affected by the innovation. The passage in the *Life* of S. Michael the Syncellus argues against this conclusion, but, especially as it does not purport to quote the *VP* directly, the icon of the Mother of God may have been introduced independently. It may also be the case that it is based on a manuscript which contained the interpolation and which was brought to the West later than the manuscript used by Th and Nic.

VP, p. 13, l. 1.

Writing materials

Several words are used to refer to writing materials in the *VP*, namely, 'χάρτης', 'χαρτίον',[1] 'χαρτῶος' and 'μεμβράνα'. Of these, the word 'χαρτῶος' is of the most interest. It usually referred, in the mediaeval period, to paper, and an occurrence of the word in this sense would compel us to date the *VP* after the eighth century. However, an earlier use is attested, referring to papyrus leaves, at the Council of 680,[2] where a number of texts are produced contained in papyrus codices.[3]

Papyrus continued to be used in Sicily, as in Egypt, after it

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1. On the significance of this word, see B. Atsalos, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine*, I (Thessalonica, 1971), pp. 138-9.
2. Mansi xi, 588 E. The Acts of the Council give details of the nature of the volumes containing the texts cited. For a discussion of 'χαρτῶος' in this context, see R. Devreesse, 'Le cinquième concile et l'oecuménicité byzantine', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati III* (*ST* 123) (Vatican, 1946), pp. 12-14 and P. Van den Ven, 'La patristique', pp. 329-30.
3. See H. Omont, 'Bulles pontificales sur papyrus (IX^{e} - XI^{e} siècles)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* lxv (1904), pp. 575-82. On the manufacture of papyrus in Syracuse, see G. B. Immé, 'Il papiro e la fabbricazione dell carta-papiro a Siracusa', *Bollettino dell' Istituto per la Patologia del Libro* ii (1940), pp. 13-22.

had largely been supplanted elsewhere by parchment. It was especially favored for diplomatic use, and Sicily was a source of papyrus for the Papal chancellery, where this material was used for documents from the eighth century to the eleventh century.[4]

There is a distinction between papyrus and parchment according to purpose in the *VP*. Papyrus is used for documents in general, namely, the records of names and donations to the church, and for S. Pancratius' letter to S. Marcian. It is also used for books written in the time of S. Pancratius, namely the books copied for the use of the priests ordained by S. Pancratius and the books owned by Xanthippus, as well as for the volumes containing the 'arrangement for decorating the church'. The first use is to be expected, especially in view of the continued use of papyrus from Sicily for this purpose. The second use is more problematic. A papyrus codex of a hagiographic text confirms the use of the material in this format in South Italy as

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4. On the use of papyrus in the Papal chancellery, see R. Devreesse, *Introduction*, p. 10; L. Santifaller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Beschreibstoffe im Mittelalter* (*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Osterreichische Geschichtsforschung* xvi/1) (Graz - Cologne, 1953), pp. 32-52 and G. Marini, *I Papiri Diplomatici* (Rome, 1805), pp. 221-2. The last known document from the Papal chancellery on papyrus is a privilege of Victor II dated 1057. See L. Santifaller, *Beschreibstoffe*, p. 35. Papyrus was also used in the scriptoria in Ravenna from the fifth to at least the tenth century. See L. Santifaller, *Beschreibstoffe*, p. 56-61.

late as the eleventh century,[5] but it is unlikely, in view of the scarcity of such remains, that this was widespread. It seems more likely that, as was the case with the fathers of the Council of Constantinople in 681, who valued the authority of a "βιβλίον χαρτῶον παλαιότατον"[6] containing the works of S. Ambrose, our author associated the use of papyrus with antiquity. This gives us a further indication of the way in which the author of the *VP* has tried to reconstruct the past and produce an impression of antiquity, and of his understanding of the past.

When he writes of the material he is currently using, in his rhetorical enquiry as to how many leaves he would need to record S. Pancratius' miracles, he refers to parchment leaves, μεμβράναι.[7] Although this word, of course, is already used by S. Paul,[8] it is, in the light of the references to papyrus in the text, rather a lapse into contemporanity, and sheds some light on the relation between the author and his *persona*, and the degree to which

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5. The fragments of this papyrus codex were published by A. Deissmann and P. Maas, 'Ein literarischer Papyrus des 11. - 12. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.', *Aegyptus* xiii (1933), pp. 11-20. See also the article of S. G. Mercati, 'Vita di S. Nifone riconosciuta nel papiro greco Fitz Roy Fenwick a Cheltenham, già Lambruschini a Firenze', *Aegyptus* xxi (1941), pp. 55-81.
6. Mansi xi, 396 A. Concerning a record on papyrus of some of the proceedings of the Fifth Council also produced at this Council, see R. Devreesse, 'Le cinquième concile', pp. 13-14. Evagrius uses both the words 'βίβλος' and 'βίβλιον' in the *VP*. On these terms, see B. Atsalos, *La terminologie*, pp. 46-75.
7. *VP*, p. 286 , ll. 10-
8. 2 Tim. 4:13.

Evagrius has been able to immerse himself in the ancient world and maintain his identification with S. Pancratius' disciple.

It may be said further that the familiarity with papyrus in the text gives some evidence that papyrus was not reintroduced into Sicily by the Arabs, a proposition already dismissed by Gardthausen,[9] but that there was continuity in its use in Sicily.

Books and documents

Written material, in the form of books and records and letters, has quite a prominent place in the *VP*. There is great diversity in the types of written books mentioned in the text. First there are the Scriptural books; the essential Gospels, among which the copy miraculously received by Xanthippus must be noted,[1] the Apostle and the epistles of Peter,[2] and the anthologies of readings from the Gospels, the Apostle and the prophets for

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9. V. Gardthausen, *Griech. Pal.*, i, p. 80.

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1. *VP*, p.170 , l.10.
2. *VP*, p. 44 , l. 8.

the liturgical year,[3] as well as the book of Isaiah, which S. Pancratius is said to read at one point.[4] Then there are the liturgical books, containing the order of the Liturgy[5] and of ordination and of the consecration of churches,[6] which are supplied to the bishops as basic equipment. The representations of Gospel events commissioned by S. Peter seem to be in book form.[7] Among the edifying books must be counted the *VP* itself, to which Evagrius makes occasional reference.[8]

There are also a number of secular books. Xanthippus, when he was the devil's *chartophylax*, owned a collection of medical books.[9] There were erotic books in the possession of the Montanists.[10] The location of the Slavic settlement near Syracuse is said to have been recorded by the 'historiographers',[11] and of the stream Kernêdolos by the 'experts'.[12] Evagrius refers to the books of the Athenians, presumably the Greek philosophers, about the Trinity.[13] Finally, the story of Taurus and Menia is read

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3. *VP*, p. 230, l. 13.
4. *VP*, p. 180, ll. 4-5.
5. *VP*, p. 35, ll. 12-13.
6. *VP*, p. 11, l. 2.
7. *VP*, p. 88, l. 14.
8. *VP*, p. 357, l. 8.
9. *VP*, p. 170, l. 3.
10. *VP*, p. 236, l. 13.
11. *VP*, p. 355, l. 9.
12. *VP*, p. 297, l. 15.
13. *VP*, p. 344, ll. 6-7.

Cf. above, p. 136 - 142.

aloud at S. Pancratius' request from a book,[14] and Aculinus' motivation for his attack is said to be the knowledge of the ancient wars acquired through books.[15]

In addition to these books, we find references to three letters. First, S. Pancratius writes to the god Lysson.[16] Then, there is the exchange of letters between S. Pancratius and S. Marcian.[17]

A further category of document is formed by the records of baptisms and donations to the church made for the archives of the diocese.[18]

Evagrius frequently refers to the process of writing. S. Pancratius asks for paper and ink.[19] We read of the copying of liturgical books and the Scriptures for the use of priests.[20] In this connection, the episode in which SS. Pancratius and Marcian compare the readings found in their individual copies is of particular interest as possible evidence of the operation of a primitive form of textual criticism in Evagrius' time.[21] Also of special interest is Evagrius' claim that he took notes from

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14. *VP*, p. 374, ll.11.
15. *VP*, p. 372, ll. 8 -9 .
16. *VP*, p. 129, ll. 7 -21 .
17. *VP*, p.327.1 ff.; 330.8 ff..
18. *VP*, p.289 , ll. 3 - 4 .
19. *VP*, p. 372 , ll. 9 -10 .
20. *VP*, p.275 , ll.14 - 276, l. 2
21. *VP*, p.364 , ll.12 - 15.

Epaphroditus' oral account of his adventures in shorthand symbols.[22] Although the reference is part of Evagrius' projection of his *persona*, it does suggest that Evagrius was familiar with tachygraphy.

This body of evidence encourages me to put forward the tentative hypothesis that Evagrius perhaps had a clerical function associated with the bishop of Taormina. It seems quite likely that a functionary in the chancellery of the cathedral would have written the *Life* of a saint who was a founder of a see, especially if the work was commissioned by the see; and a work of such enormous size, considering the expense involved, must surely have had an official sponsor. If Evagrius was associated with the cathedral chancellery at Taormina, this would explain a number of elements in the *VP*, such as his considerable interest in books, his knowledge of the format of letters and his decision to include letters as proof texts, his references to registers and records, his descriptions of the process of writing, and especially his familiarity with tachygraphy and his claim to possess this skill. It could also explain his choice of subject and his interest in the history of the diocese and in jurisdictional disputes and ecclesiastical matters. These considerations also should be weighed in the light of his apparent lack of interest in monastic matters.

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22. ἐν σημείοις *VP*, p. 359 , l. 9.

VP, p. 13, l. 5.

The Cross reliquary

The cross bequeathed to S. Pancratius by his father was enormously expensive, indicating, together with the description of the family estates, that Evagrius shared the Byzantine hagiographer's compulsion to present his subject's family as wealthy.

The word 'ἔνσυρτον',[1] used of the case made for the cross by S. Peter, probably means that it had some form of drawer in which the cross was deposited.

Wood

The wood used for crosses and for the case made to hold

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1. Cf. Mod. Gk. 'συρτάρι' = 'drawer'.

S. Pancratius' father's cross is said to have been cedar,[1] and that for the altars and an icon was cypress.[2] Both have similiar properties and are suitable media for carving and furniture-making.[3] Cypress grew in Italy.[4] Cedar was the more precious wood, coming from the Eastern Mediterranean.[5] Hence the allocation of the material is not unexpected. Artifacts said to be made in the East are of cedar, and in addition, the crosses made in Sicily, this either by association with the earlier crosses or because of their preciousness. When altars and an icon need to be made in Sicily, the former requiring quantities of material, the appropriate local wood is used.

VP, p. 16, l. 13.

Maritime arrangements and trade

The case of Lycaonides provides some evidence about trade and maritime activity in Sicily. The existence of merchants in

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1. 'Κέδρινος'. *VP*, pp. 35, l.15 (crosses); *VP*, p. 13, l. 14 (cross reliquary). This can also mean 'juniper'. See R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982), app. 3.1.
2. 'Κυπάρισσος', 'κυπαρίσσινος'. *VP*, p. 216, l.11 (altars); *VP*, p. 304, l. 13 (icon).
3. Vitruvius, *Concerning Architecture*, 2.9.9.
4. Pliny, *Natural History*, 16.237, suggests it was introduced there from Greece. Vitruvius, *Concerning Architecture*, 1.2.8, commends it as economical.
5. R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, p. 292.

Sicily is well established, with captains recorded in the *Life* of S. Zosimas of Syracuse,[1] a sea route from Catania to Constantinople in the *Life* of S. Leo of Catania,[2] and references to the increasing importance of Sicilian ports from the end of the seventh century in Agnellus' *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*.[3] While Catania and Syracuse were undoubtedly more important as ports, it is probable that the figure of the merchant was familiar in Taormina and would have contributed to Evagrius' representation of Lycaonides, together with literary models, like the *Acts* of the Apostle John.

Lycaonides, who is described as a 'ναύκληρος', appears to be both captain and owner of his ship. This is a type familiar to us from hagiographic sources.[4] He is involved in general trading in the Eastern Mediterranean and maintains his own shipyard near his mooring at Taormina. The sailors in his ship and that of Romullus from Syracuse, described as 'ναυτικοί' or 'ναῦται', together number two hundred, probably an exaggerated number.

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1. The *Life* of S. Zosimas of Syracuse, c. 24 (*AASS* Mar. iii), p. 843.
2. The *Life* of S. Leo of Catania, *passim* (*AASS* Feb. iii), pp. 223-25.
3. *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* c. 131, c. 145 (ed. Holder-Egger), p. 364, pp. 372-3.
4. E.g. Leontius of Naples, *Life* of S. John the Almsgiver (ed. Gelzer), p. 18, l. 3; p. 19, l. 25; p. 20, l. 9; *Miracles* of S. Artemius, c. 35 (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus), p. 55, ll. 12-14; *Life* of S. Gregory of Agrigento, *PG* 98, col. 560 BC. On the *naukleros* as proprietor and captain, see R. S. Lopez, 'The Role of Trade in the Economic Readjustment of Byzantium in the Seventh Century', *DOP* xiii (1959), pp. 79-80.

The words used for ships and boats in the *VP* are 'πλοῖα', 'σκάφη' and 'ναῦς', rather general terms. Bonifatius' army embarks on κάραβοι.[5]

It should be noted that when S. Marcian or S. Pancratius or Evagrius or the escaping Jews travel between Taormina and Syracuse, they do not contemplate an overland trip, but use the sea route. This is what we would expect, but is a useful indication of transport arrangements on the East coast of Sicily.

Two sets of gifts mentioned in the *VP* may give some indication of the goods which came to Sicily by means of trade. Lycaonides presents to Bonifatius on his return six Asian rugs, thirty jars of oil and thirty jars of 'island' wine.[6] Later, Maximus, bishop of S. Pancratius' native town in Pontus, sends a gift of Cretan oil, incense and vestments of 'Armenian weave' to S. Pancratius.[7] The items sent by S. Pancratius in return are unfortunately not specified.

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5. On the terminology connected with ships, see H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII^e - XV^e siècles* (Paris, 1966), App. II, pp. 408-18. On the navy in Sicily, see E. Eickhoff, 'Byzantinische Wachflottillen in Unteritalien im 10. Jahrhundert', *BZ* xlv (1952), pp. 340-44 and *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland* (Berlin, 1966), esp. pp. 96-99.
6. *VP*, p. 49 , ll. 8 -10.
7. *VP*, p. 409 , ll. 4 - 5.

Sicily does not seem to have been a producer of oil,[8] so that the practice of importing oil may lie behind the reference to gifts of oil. In particular, the reference to oil from Crete, not a natural provenance to choose for a gift from Pontus, suggests a familiarity with oil imported from this source. Taormina was known for its wine in antiquity[9] and there was certainly viticulture in Sicily at the time of Gregory the Great,[10] but that does not preclude the possibility of imported wine. The description of the wine as 'island' (νησαῖος) wine is unclear, but presumably wine from the Greek islands is meant. Incense would have to have been imported. The nature of the two types of textile mentioned is difficult to determine, but does suggest that textiles were imported to Sicily from the East.[11] The description of the rugs as 'Asian' and of the vestments as of 'Armenian weave' does not necessarily refer to provenance, but may refer to *type*.

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8. On the absence of oil production in Sicily, see M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, I, ed.^{2} (Catania, 1933), p. 206.
9. Amphorae with the inscription 'TAVR' have been found at Pompeii. See M. Guido, *Sicily : An Archaeological Guide* (London, 1967), p. 208.
10. Pope Gregory I, *Ep.* IX, 233 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann) II, p. 229.
11. Cf. the 'pluviales syrias exornatas' among the items sent from the Sicilian church to Ravenna reported in Agnellus' *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* c. 111 (ed. Holder-Egger) p. 350, l. 15. On these, see A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'Empire byzantin au VII^e siècle : l'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Rome, 1969), pp. 183-4.

VP, p. 17, l. 3.

S. Pancratius and S. Marcian

The *Life* of S. Pancratius is almost equally the *Life* of S. Marcian of Syracuse, as it narrates in considerable detail the progress of his mission in Syracuse. In order to assess Evagrius' presentation of S. Marcian, it is first necessary to determine the state of development of the legend concerning this saint, and thus to establish what materials Evagrius had in hand.

S. Marcian is not listed in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*,[1] and the first evidence we have about him is a *kontakion* of Gregory of Syracuse which is dated to the second half of the seventh century.[2] The factual content of the *kontakion* is limited.

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1. H. Delehaye, *Comm. in Mart. Hier.*, p. 209, n. 14, p. 329, n. 20, p. 577, n. 6, has made tentative suggestions that S. Marcian lies behind three entries in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, but none is convincing. The first calendrical evidence concerning S. Marcian is probably the ninth century marble calendar of Naples. See H. Delehaye, 'Hagiographie Napolitaine', pp. 36 and 38.

2. Ed. E. Mioni, 'I «kontakia» di Gregorio di Siracusa', *BBGG*, n.s., i (1947), pp. 204-06, and previously, on the basis of one manuscript, by J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi paratha*, i (Paris, 1876), pp. 273-4. There are two canons to S. Marcian. One is by George of Nicomedia and is edited by G. Schirò, *AHG* ii (Canones Octobris) (Rome, 1979), canon xl, *Canon*

In it, S. Marcian is the first star of the West, sent out by S. Peter and entrusted with the island of *Sicily*. This does not leave room for S. Pancratius, and provides evidence either of the state of development of the Pancratius legend at that time, or of the existence already of a degree of rivalry between Syracuse and Taormina. Little is said of S. Marcian's ministry, except for references to his exercizing the power of the cross and baptizing.

The principal hagiographic witness to S. Marcian is the *Encomium* of the saint contained in Vaticanus Graecus 866.[3] It has generally been dated to the seventh century on the grounds that it refers to people still alive who were eye-witnesses to the activities of Theodosius, bishop of Syracuse, identified as the signatory of that name at the Council of 680.[4] A. Amore[5] has

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In Sanctum Marcianum Episcopum, pp. 360-65. In this canon, the S. Marcian legend has been universalized and stripped of South Italian elements to the extent that Sicily and Syracuse are never mentioned. This is a useful foil against which to compare the local preoccupations of the Sicilian writers we have cause to examine here. S. Marcian in this canon is a disciple of S. Peter, present at Pentecost, who overcomes idols and temples, converts the pagans and labours against adversaries. The other canon is by Theophanes Siculus, and is edited by S. Tarquini, 'Teofane Siculo : canone per S. Marciano di Siracusa', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* ii (1961), pp. 263-76.

3. Vat. Gr. 866, foll. 43^{v} - 46^{v}. This has been published by A. Amore in his monograph on S. Marcian, *San Marciano di Siracusa* (Vatican, 1958), pp. 75-91, in an edition which is essentially a transcription of the manuscript. See also the edition of J. Sirmond in *AASS* (Iun. ii), 788-95.

4. Mansi xi, 179. See A. Amore, *San Marciano*, p. 27.

5. A. Amore, *San Marciano*, p. 30.

further argued that it was written prior to the *VP* on the grounds that the *Encomium* says that it relied on oral tradition.

However, there is evidence that the *Encomium* is really an eighth century, or even a ninth century text, in that it shows signs of an iconclast position. I. Ševčenko[6] has drawn up a list of traits which might have been expected in a hypothetical iconoclast *Life*, suggesting that it would have followed the terminology of the iconoclast *florilegia* and prescriptions of the Councils of 754 and 815, and has identified one such work as the *Life* of George of Amastris. I would like to suggest that the *Encomium* of S. Marcian is another such *Life* on the basis of the following passage.

> διὸ ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου τυγχάνοντες, τοὺς αὐτοῦ πολυτλήτους ἀγῶνας οὐκ ἐν στήλαις λιθοπεποιημέναις οὐδὲ γραφῇ χρωμάτων πεποιημέναις οὐδὲ τύποις μορφώσεσιν ὕλης ἀψύχου, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ ἀληθείας αὐτοῖς ἔργοις μαρτυρουμένῳ διεγράψαμεν εἰκόνα ἐνεργεῖ καὶ σεμνὸν παράδειγμα διδασκαλίας εὐσεβοῦς, εἰς ἄληκτον μνήμην ἀναπέμποντες θείαν πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰς ἐκείνου ἀρετὰς ποιούμενοι.[7]

Here, hagiographic writings, rather than visual representations, are put forward as the true images of the saints. This is a feature of the so-called 'Ethical theory of images' which was prominent among the iconoclast arguments in both the first and

6. I. Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', pp. 120–27.
7. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 8, ll. 9–21. I have regularized the orthography.

second periods of Iconoclasm, as they were expressed in the Councils of 754 and 815.[8] In addition, miracles in the *Encomium* are brought about by the cross alone,[9] and when a pictorial representation appears,[10] perhaps as an answer to the picture of S. Pancratius in the *VP*, it is very much seen as a simple portrait. Whether the *Encomium* is a product of the first or second period of Iconoclasm cannot be determined.[11]

The encomiast derives his image of S. Marcian in part from

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8. The iconoclastic texts of the Councils of 754 and 815 have been collected, respectively, by M. V. Anastos, 'The Ethical Theory of Images formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815', *DOP* viii (1954), pp. 151-60 and P. J. Alexander, 'The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and Its Definition (*Horos*)', *DOP* vii (1953), pp. 35-66. Four texts in which an argument was advanced in favour of hagiography as a true image of the saints were adduced by these Councils. One passage, attributed to S. Basil of Caesarea, was used only at the Council of 754 (Mansi xiii, 300 AB. See M. V. Anastos, 'Ethical Theory', p. 155 with n. 8). Two were used at both Councils, namely, excerpts from Theodotus of Ancyra (Mansi xiii, 309 E. See M. V. Anastos, 'Ethical Theory', p. 155 with n. 10 and P. J. Alexander, 'Iconoclastic Council', p. 61, no. 20) and Amphilochius of Iconium (Mansi xiii, 301 D. See M. V. Anastos, 'Ethical Theory', p. 155 with n. 9 and P. J. Alexander, 'Iconoclastic Council', p. 61, no. 22). The Council of 815 brought forward a further text from Basil of Seleucia (see P. J. Alexander, 'Iconoclastic Council'., p. 61, no. 21).
9. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 9, ll. 17-18; c. 11, l. 52.
10. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 2, ll. 37-48.
11. The absence of any reference to the Arabs might seem to argue for a date in the former period, although Syracuse did not fall to the Arabs until 878. In the *Encomium* (c. 11, l. 44), Theodosius uses an 'ἀντιμήσιον' (cod. ἀντιμήσσην) in the sense of a portable altar. I do not know of such a use of this word before the Barberini *Euchologion* (ed. Goar), p. 389.

the *Martyrdom* of S. Libertinus of Agrigento,[12] which mentions in passing a S. Marcian, bishop of Syracuse, who visited a certain Peregrinus, a monk near Agrigento who was martyred under Valerian and Gallienus, then sufferred martyrdom himself in the same persecution.[13] The reference to S. Libertinus,[14] the mountain called Crotaleum near Agrigento, [15] the emperors Valerian and Gallienus[16] and the figure of Peregrinus[17] are all derived from this text, which is probably of the fifth or sixth century.[18] No independent knowledge by the encomiast of any writings of the mysterious Peregrinus need be assumed. In the *Martyrdom* of S. Libertinus, Marcian visits the renowned monk Peregrinus, but in the *Encomium*, Peregrinus is Marcian's disciple.[19] The difficulties of reconciling chronological indications in the *Encomium* which have occupied some scholars[20] clearly are

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12. Ed. O. Gaetani (Caietanus), *Vitae SS. Siculorum*, I, pp. 20-23 (rpt. *AASS* (Nov. i), pp. 611-2). See A. Amore, *San Marciano*, pp. 32-49.
13. *Martyrdom* of S. Libertinus (ed. Gaetani), cc. 3-5.
14. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 6, ll. 25-7; *Martyrdom* of S. Libertinus (ed. Gaetani), *passim*.
15. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 6, ll. 23-4; *Martyrdom* of S. Libertinus (ed. Gaetani), c. 2.
16. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 7, ll. 2-4; *Martyrdom* of S. Libertinus (ed. Gaetani), c. 2.
17. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 6, l. 16 (Πελεγρίνου); *Martyrdom* of S. Libertinus, *passim*.
18. See A. Amore, *San Marciano*, p. 40.
19. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 6, ll. 17-19; *Martyrdom* of S. Libertinus (ed. Gaetani), c. 3.
20. See A. Amore, *San Marciano*, pp. 32-49.

derived from the problem faced by the encomiast of reconciling a source which had S. Marcian as a bishop of Syracuse who visited a monk near Agrigento and was later martyred under Valerian and Gallienus, with a source in which he was a disciple of S. Peter. This latter source, I suggest, is the *VP*. The two texts have much in common. They begin with the sending out of the apostles after the Resurrection.[21] S. Peter ordains S. Marcian and pronounces the same scriptural maxim at Antioch.[22] In both there is a picture of the saint. In both S. Marcian is associated with caves, this being developed at greater length in the *Encomium*.[23] The Jews are major adversaries, again in a more elaborate way in the *Encomium*, as are demons and idols and a snake.[24] Finally, the font used for baptisms is a feature of the two texts.[25] It seems less likely that the *VP* borrowed from the *Encomium*, given the material in that text which the *VP* does not have. It seems unlikely that Evagrius would not have mentioned that Marcian was a martyr, a fact also not found in the *kontakion* of Gregory of

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21. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 2; *VP*, p. 1 , ll. 1 - 12.
22. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 2, ll. 24-27; c. 2, ll. 29-31; *VP*, p. 1 , ll. 10-12.
23. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), cc. 3-4; cc. 8-9; c. 11; *VP*, p. 334 , ll. 11-12 .
24. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 5; c. 8; c. 10 (snake); *VP*, p. 177 , ll. 1 - 12.
25. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 4, ll. 29-31; *VP*, p. 340, l. 9. See note below, p. 313 - 315.

Syracuse, but only in the tradition concerning S. Marcian represented by the *Martyrdom* and the *Encomium* which is derived from it at this point, and later in the *Synaxarion*.[26] It also seems unlikely that the name of Peregrinus would not have appeared, and that the *VP* would not have used the place names and information about the cult of S. Marcian in the *Encomium*. The *VP* stands in the tradition represented earlier by the *kontakion* of Gregory of Syracuse. The *Encomium* has conflated this tradition with a separate tradition derived from the *Martyrdom* of S. Libertinus and unknown to Evagrius.

The reference to the eyewitnesses of bishop Theodosius does not disprove this theory. If Evagrius could go as far as claiming to be a contemporary of the apostles, there is ample reason to think that the encomiast of S. Marcian has resorted to the device of using a name of an earlier historical figure, probably derived, with the name of S. Zosimas,[27] from an episcopal list, in order to suggest that his work was the product of an earlier period, in this case, one before the outbreak of the iconoclastic controversy. As for the claim of dependence on oral tradition, this too gives an

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26. S. Marcian suffers martyrdom, for which the Jews are held responsible, in the *Synaxarion* (ed. Delehaye), 179-181. In the *Canon* of George of Nicomedia (ed. Schirò), v. 33, he is not specifically called a martyr, but is said to have sufferred from "κινδύνοις ἀπείροις".
27. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 10, l. 18.

impression of antiquity and authority, and may, with the absence of any reference to S. Pancratius, be an oblique blow aimed at the *VP* and the Pancratius tradition.

So, the *kontakion* of Gregory of Syracuse is the only text concerning S. Marcian which can definitely be said to pre-date the *VP* and represent the tradition to which Evagrius would have had access.

Evagrius, then, seems to have had a reasonably blank sheet before him as regards S. Marcian. His treatment of this saint appears to have been dictated on the one hand by the hagiographic need to honour a saint and eulogize his deeds, and on the other hand by an apologetic need to promote Taormina and its patron above all rivals. Thus, at the beginning of the *VP*, S. Marcian is equal in status to S. Pancratius, and indeed perhaps superior, as he is an apostle of the second rank.[28] They are ordained together at Antioch by S. Peter and dispatched at the same time, but as the story develops, S. Pancratius is consistently represented as the dominant figure and is presented more favourably. S. Marcian's mission at Syracuse is not as successful

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28. I do not know the source of this statement. There is certainly no S. Marcian among the seventy Apostles listed in the standard indices such as those of Pseudo-Epiphanius and Pseudo-Dorotheus (ed. Schermann). Perhaps the influence of the *Acts* of the Apostle John is again at work. See above, p. 115 .

as S. Pancratius' at Taormina. He has not managed to build a church and still lives in a cave under hostile conditions. He has Jews among his converts, while Evagrius is at pains to point out that this was not the case at Taormina. In the exchanges which take place between the two saints, S. Marcian seems to be worsted, especially in the exchange of letters and dispute over the mission of Epaphroditus, where S. Marcian has to retract his complaint. The implications of Evagrius' treatment of S. Marcian for the question of the purpose and motivation of Evagrius in writing the *VP* will be considered presently.[29]

The Apostolic origins of the diocese of Taormina

From the middle of the seventh century, there is evident an increasing concern to demonstrate the apostolicity of a number of churches by showing them to have been founded by the apostles or their disciples, and increasingly such claims were used for apologetic purposes. F. Dvornik has suggested that the church of Rome had greater recourse to such arguments from the time of the

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29. See below, p. 183 — 192.

Council of 680,[1] and has shown that the late seventh century saw the codification of the legend of S. Andrew as the founder of the see of Constantinople.[2]

In the middle of the seventh century, the legend of S. Apollinaris, an Antiochene who came with S. Peter to Rome, where he was ordained by the Apostle before being sent to be the first bishop of Ravenna, was almost certainly used by the archbishop of Ravenna, Maurus, to support his aspirations to autocephaly in petitioning the Emperor Constans.[3] The Emperor was probably in Syracuse at the time of the negotiations,[4] and it has been suggested that Maurus' emissary Reparatus took the *Martyrdom* of S. Apollinaris to the Emperor at Syracuse to support

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1. F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 162.
2. F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 171.
3. The evidence we have concerning this incident is found in the *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* of Agnellus. There are two references in the *Liber Pontificalis* noting the end of Ravenna's brief autocephaly. Under Pope Donus, Maurus' successor Reparatus is reported as having been ordained in Rome (*Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne) I, p. 348) and the final end of the period of independence is recorded under Pope Leo II (*Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne) I, p. 360). A fuller description of events is found in Agnellus' *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* (ed. Holder-Egger) *De sancto Mauro*, pp. 349-53. One fifteenth century codex of this work contains a Latin text of the privilege of Constans granting autocephaly issued at Syracuse on 1 March, 666. It is generally believed to be genuine. The expression '*typum autocephaliae*' used in the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne, I, p. 360) is probably a reference to this privilege and argues for the existence of such a document.
4. The date and place of its issue depend on the subscription of the privilege.

his submission,[5] this being reflected in the references to the apostolicity of the see of Ravenna in Constans' privilege issued there.[6] Once again, the appearance of the question of apostolicity

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5. A. Testi-Rasponi, 'Note marginali al "Liber Pontificalis" di Agnello Ravennate', *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna* ser. 3, xxvii (1909), pp. 225-346, has argued that Maurus' emissary Reparatus, whose position as *vicedominus* put him in charge of the chancellery of Ravenna, took two documents with him to present to Constans in Syracuse, namely the *Martyrdom* of S. Apollinaris and the pseudo-diploma of Valentinian III. He considers the pseudo-diploma of Valentinian (ed. G. Marini, *I Papiri Diplomatici*, p. 94) to be a product of Maurus' negotiations on the grounds of its spuriousness and claims for extensive ecclesiastical powers for Ravenna, and has pointed out some parallelisms in the language of the privilege of Constans and the pseudo-diploma which suggest that Constans' privilege was composed with the pseudo-diploma before the writer and that its statement that the Emperor was not instituting, but *restoring* Ravenna's rights, relates to this document. The *Martyrdom* of S. Apollinaris (*AASS* (Iul. v), 344-350) has been shown by G. Zattoni, 'La data della "Passio S. Apollinaris" di Ravenna', *Atti della R. Accademia delle scienze di Torino. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche* xxxix (1903-04), pp. 364-78, to have been unknown before the seventh century. Testi-Rasponi claims that the *Martyrdom*, which stresses the apostolic nature of the see of Ravenna through S. Apollinaris' Petrine ordination, was also a product of the Ravenna chancellery *circa* 666, created to support Archbishop Maurus' case. Whatever the date and circumstances of its composition, it was certainly known to Maurus, who had some of it inscribed on silver tablets (*Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* (ed. Holder-Egger) p. 352), and it is credible that this *Martyrdom* also was taken to Syracuse by Reparatus, as Testi-Rasponi asserts ('Note Marginali', p. 252), and lies behind the references to Ravenna's apostolicity in the privilege of Constans.

6. *Privilegium Constantini Eraclii imperatorum ad Maurum archiepiscopum Ravennatem* (ed. Holder-Egger), p. 351, n. 8, ll. 29 and 34.

in the negotiations is an indication of the concerns of the time.[7]

We have already traced the development of the tradition concerning S. Marcian and the apostolic foundation of Syracuse.[8] This was probably the first such tradition to develop in South Italy, and the fact that the first evidence we have of it comes from Syracuse not long after Constans' stay there and the exchange with archbishop Maurus of Ravenna, and in the works of an author thought to have come to Sicily in the wake of the Emperor,[9] together with the similarity in some points, especially the Antiochene origin and the ordination by S. Peter, of the accounts of S. Apollinaris and of S. Marcian, suggests that there may be a causal connection.

There are two traditions concerning the origins of the church of Reggio in Calabria. The *VP* alone[10] records the tradition that a certain Stephen was ordained by S. Peter in Ravenna and sent to Reggio as the first bishop. The remaining

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7. The use of claims of apostolic foundation in ecclesiastical dispute did not, of course, begin with the S. Apollinaris legend. It was known much earlier in the Latin West. For example, in the fifth century, the bishops of Gaul in a letter to Leo I (ed. Gundlach), p. 18, l. 29, refer to S. Trophimus, the disciple of S. Peter and first bishop of Arles, in order to win special privileges. On legends concerning apostolic foundations in Italy, all linked to S. Peter, see O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington D. C., 1960), pp. 30-2.
8. See above, p. 175 — 182.
9. See E. Mioni, 'Gregorio di Siracusa', pp. 202-3.
10. *VP*, p. 705 , ll. 14-15.

sources, namely a short *Life*, canons by the hymnographers Joseph and Theodotus, and the *Synaxarion*, all of them late, concur in making him a native of Nicaea who accompanied S. Paul on his journey to Rome as far as Reggio, where he was ordained and exercized his episcopal ministry before dying a martyr.[11]

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11. *Acts* of S. Stephen of Reggio, *PG* 105, coll. 317-18. Joseph the Hymnographer, *Canon in Sanctum Stephanum Episcopus Rhegii Calabriae et Socios Martyres*, ed. Schirò, *AHG* xi (Canones Iulii), canon vi, pp. 59-72. Theodotus, *Canon in Sanctum Stephanum Episcopum Rhegii Calabriae et Socios Martyres*, ed. Schirò, *AHG* xi (Canones Iulii), canon vii, pp. 73-81 (on Theodotus, see n. 19, p. 103). *Synaxarion* (ed. Delehaye) p. 800. E. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 580, states that the *Acts* of S. Stephen are not earlier than the end of the ninth century, but either this text or a predecessor in the same tradition must have existed earlier to form a basis for Joseph the Hymnographer's canon.

The mainstream tradition has a biblical basis, in that S. Paul is recorded as having stopped at Reggio on his way to Rome (*Acts* 28:13), but note that this is also true of Syracuse (*Acts* 28:12). It is interesting that legends based on the reference in *Acts* did not develop in Syracuse (until the seventeenth century), and that its tradition of its origins had other inspiration.

A piece of antique column associated with a miracle of S. Paul is preserved in the Cathedral at Reggio above the following inscription,

Ave columna nobilis
electro et auro ditior
illaque Mosis ignea
columna fortuntior

quod ore Paulus praedicat
te fulgurante comprobat
te conflagrante Rhegium
Christi fidem complectitur

ergo columna regia
haebreos et israelitica
in terrae opina transtulit
tu nos in castra ducito

The name of S. Beryllus, the first bishop of Catania, is first found in the *Life* of S. Leo of Catania,[12] where S. Leo is referred to as a successor of S. Beryllus. The texts concerning this saint which give biographical details, namely, canons of the hymnographers Joseph and Theophanes, and the *Synaxarion*, do not pre-date the ninth century. They present him as a disciple of S. Peter from Antioch sent by him to be the first bishop of Catania, where he converted many from idolatry and worked miracles.[13]

We will now examine the *VP* in the context of these other legends.

We have noted that, despite the similarity of the origins of S. Pancratius and S. Marcian and Evagrius' stress on the harmony between the two saints and the honour our author shows to the Syracusan bishop, S. Pancratius is consistently presented as the dominant figure of the two. Granted the priority of the Marcian

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12. The reference to S. Beryllus occurs in the *Life* of S. Leo in the version in Latin tr. in *AASS* (Feb. iii), 223-225 (c. 2, p. 224), but not in that ed. by B. B. Latyshev, '*Неизданные Греческіе Агіографическіе Тексты*' pp. 12-28. On the date of this text, see p. 390, n. 29 .

13. Joseph the Hymnographer, *Canon in Sanctum Beryllum*, (ed. Schirò) *AHG* vii (Canones Martii), canon xxv, pp. 229-240. Theophanes Siculus, *Canon in Sanctum Beryllum* (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Θεοφάνης Σικελός', *BZ* ix (1900), pp. 370-78). *Synaxarion* (ed. Delehaye) 551. On the different forms of the name, see *AHG* vii (Canones Martii), pp. 392-3.

tradition, it seems likely that the *VP* was written to provide Taormina's answer to it. Inspired, or goaded, by the Syracusan tradition, Evagrius has made Taormina's bishop equal to S. Marcian as to the origins of his episcopate, and has then presented him as being a little superior in his ministry and in eccelesiastical exchanges where both are involved.

We have noted that the *VP* differs from the general tradition concerning S. Stephen of Reggio. Evagrius knows the name of the saint, so some tradition concerning him must have been in existence.[14] Although the sources associating S. Stephen with S. Paul are all late, their nature and concurrence suggests that it is reasonable to assume that this tradition existed earlier and was the principal one concerning the saint, and that the account in the *VP* is peculiar to it and probably Evagrius' particular invention. Evagrius' version manages to establish the precedence of Taormina over both Reggio and Ravenna at once. This is particularly clear in the case of Reggio. Before S. Stephen's arrival, S. Pancratius is said to be responsible for all of Calabria and the appointment of clergy there. Taormina clearly takes precedence over Reggio and all Calabria. Had the tradition associating S. Stephen with S. Paul been used, this priority would

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14. A letter of Gregory the Great may refer to a church dedicated to S. Stephen. See above, p. 112.

not have been as clear. I do not know of any other source in which S. Peter's travels are said to have taken him to Ravenna.[15] Even the S. Apollinaris legend has the ordination taking place in Rome, and there is no subsequent visit. Evagrius must have had some purpose in making his statement. If the S. Apollinaris legend was known in Sicily,[16] this reference to S. Peter's passage through Ravenna, even granted that S. Apollinaris is not mentioned and, at least in the written tradition,[17] he is meant to have been ordained in Rome, would have alluded to the legend of Ravenna's origins, and shown that the foundation of the church of Taormina pre-dated the foundation of that of Ravenna.

So, Evagrius not only claims that Taormina was founded by a disciple of the apostles, but asserts its early primacy over neighboring dioceses and shows it to be the most important see in

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15. Different traditions, most of them very late, assert that S. Peter landed at Pisa, Pozzuoli, Taranto and Gallipoli. See F. Lanzoni, *Le diocesi*, I, p. 312.
16. It seems unlikely that the details of the affair would have remained unknown in Sicilian ecclesiastical circles, not only if the submission was made in Syracuse, but because Sicily and Ravenna were both subject to Rome and the granting of autocephaly seems to have provoked some debate, according to the notices of the *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*.
17. Evagrius may have had only a general knowledge of the S. Apollinaris legend, and assumed his ordination took place in Ravenna, so that the reference to S. Peter's passage through Ravenna may be quite a direct allusion to the S. Apollinaris legend.

the Byzantine West.

This gives us some indication of why it was written. It seems likely that the *VP* was commissioned in Taormina to put forward Taormina's claims, advance its prestige and interests, and promote its pretensions to superiority and priority in an era in which apostolic foundation was especially valued, and specifically in response to the claims of other sees in the Byzantine West.

The story of S. Beryllus contributes to our picture of the sequential effect of the claims being advanced. It is probable that it developed later than the writing of the *VP*. The legend seems to be derived from that of S. Pancratius and S. Marcian, with S. Beryllus being another Antiochene disciple of S. Peter. Evagrius does not mention Catania, although it was an important see, and, lying between Taormina and Syracuse, would have been a more appropriate rival in the affair of Epaphroditus. This suggests that the legend of S. Beryllus was not yet in circulation, and that Evagrius' source and inspiration was the Marcian tradition. Catania later produced its answer to the claims of its neighbouring dioceses.

Ravenna's tradition was publicized for a specific purpose. This was followed by Syracuse, whose tradition of the ordination of its first bishop taking place in the East before S. Peter reached Rome gave it a certain priority. This tradition was followed by Taormina, then Catania. It is in the context of this development that the *VP* and its motivation should be seen. This also provides us with a co-ordinating indication of its date, as the development of the tradition of S. Pancratius seems to lie between that of S. Marcian in the second half of the seventh century and of S. Beryllus, first attested in the late eighth century. In

addition, the motivation we have suggested for the composition of the *VP* implies that the text was semi-official, and perhaps had episcopal rather than monastic sponsorship.

If the concept of competition between Sicilian cities and rival claims to primacy and apostolicity seems strange, then a comparison with the state of affairs in Sicily in the early eighteenth century may help to put this in perspective by offerring a parallel case. Domenico Scinà, in his history of Sicilian letters in the eighteenth century,[1] relates in some detail the dispute which arose in Sicily over the apostolic origins of various cities following a provocative paper presented in Palermo to the *Accademia del Buon Gusto* on 31 August, 1732, by Domenico Di Leo, priest of Castelmola near Taormina. Di Leo presented an argument, which he later published,[2] to the effect that only one bishop, S. Pancratius, was dispatched to Sicily by S. Peter,. and that the other churches of Sicily were only founded between the third and fifth centuries. The Palermitan Canon Antonio Mongitore

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1. D. Scinà, *Prospetto della Storia Letteraria di Sicilia nel secolo decimottavo*, I (Palermo, 1824), pp. 165-68.
2. *Discorso storico del M. R. Signor D. Domenico Di Leo Sacerdote Tavorminese dell'Introduzione della Santa Catolica Fede in Sicilia, e di qual de' Santi l'avesse portata in questo Regno, detto nell' Accademia del Buon Gusto della città di Palermo a 31 agosto 1732* (Genoa (actually Naples), 1733), cited by D. Scinà, *Storia Letteraria*, p. 166, n. 1.

was present at the meeting, according to Scinà as the guest of Taormina's famous son Canon Giovanni Di Giovanni. He left in a rage, and proceeded to defend the apostolicity of Palermo in a series of essays under the name 'Filalete Oreteo'.[3] Di Leo continued to defend his position,[4] and others joined the fray.[5] As the debate gathered momentum, champions of two other cities, Agira[6] and Syracuse,[7] produced essays claiming apostolicity for their own cities.

The world of the lettered ecclesiastics of Sicily in the eighteenth century is far removed from that of the author of the *VP*, but it is interesting, and perhaps instructive, to chart the course of a debate, something similar to which could explain the development of legends of apostolicity in Sicily in the seventh to ninth centuries, in which context the production of the *VP* should be seen.

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3. E.g., *Discorso Apologetico di Filalete Oreteo intorno all' origine e fondazione della Chiesa Palermitana del Principe degli Appostoli S. Pietro* (Palermo, 1733), cited by D. Scinà, *Storia Letteraria*, p. 166, n. 2.
4. *Riposta di Domenico Di Leo Tavorminese all' Apologia di Filalete Oreteo* (Venice, 1735 (actually Naples, 1736)), cited by D. Scinà, *Storia Letteraria*, p. 167, n. 1.
5. See D. Scinà, *Storia Letteraria*, p. 167, n. 2.
6. B. Attardi, *Lettera scritta ad un suo amico, in pruova che S. Filippo d'Agira fu mandato in Sicilia dal principe degli Apostoli S. Pietro* (Palermo, 1738), cited by D. Scinà, *Storia Letteraria*, p. 168, n. 1.
7. C. Gaetani, *Dissertazione istorico-apologetico-critica intorno all' origine e fondazione della Chiesa Siracusana dal principe degli Apostoli S. Pietro* (Rome, 1748), cited by D. Scinà, *Storia Letteraria*, p. 168, n. 2.

Bishop Crescens

Evagrius mentions the ordination of Crescens by S. Paul and his dispatch to the West, to Gallia or Galatia. Crescens' passage to Gallia or Galatia is recorded by S. Paul himself.[1] The best manuscript witnesses have the reading 'εἰς Γαλατίαν' and are followed in this by the majority of patristic writers. The reading 'εἰς Γαλλίαν' is found in some manuscripts of the New Testament, as well as in Eusebius[2] and Pseudo-Epiphanius' *Index* of the Apostles,[3] in both of which, however, it is clear that the author understands 'Γαλλία' to refer to Galatia. I have preserved the reading 'Γαλλία' in the text, rather than adopting the reading 'Γαλατία' of C, as it appears that Evagrius' source had this reading, without further geographical indications understandable by Evagrius, thereby causing our author to assume that it referred to Gaul proper, and that Crescens was a bishop sent to the Western part of the Empire.

It is tempting to suggest that Pseudo-Epiphanius' *Index* was the source of the *VP*, which mentions the ordination of five bishops by S. Peter, one of them an apostle of the second order, and a council of apostles. However, while its subject matter is

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1. 2 Tim. 4:10.
2. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii, 4, 8 (ed. Bardy) I, p. 101.
3. *Index* of the Apostles (ed. Schermann) p. 120, ll. 5-9.

similar in some respects, the *Index* does not have a 'Marcian' among the Seventy, nor record the ordination by S. Peter of Pancratius, Marcian, Maximus, Stephen or Evagrius, so it is unlikely to have been an immediate source.

The form of 'Syracuse'

The name of the city of Syracuse appears in the text in both the singular and the plural. In the second half of the seventh century, the singular form 'Συράκουσα' began to appear for the plural 'Συράκουσαι' which had previously been standard, the first example being the privilege of Constans II for the church of Ravenna,[1] after which it is used regularly.[2] The retention of the plural form, is, then, something of an archaism in the *VP*.

VP, p. 38, l. 13

Church decoration

See above, pp. 136 – 142.

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1. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, I (Munich and Berlin, 1924), no. 233. See above, p. 184, n. 3.
2. See S. Borsari, 'L'amministrazione del tema di Sicilia', *Rivista storica italiana* lxvi (1954), pp. 154-5.

VP, p. 35, l. 14.

The δισκοποτήριον

The δισκοποτήριον is a *diskos* and chalice set. The word is not cited in Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, although it is found earlier than our text, for example, in the seventh century *Life* of S. Theodore of Sykeon.[1]

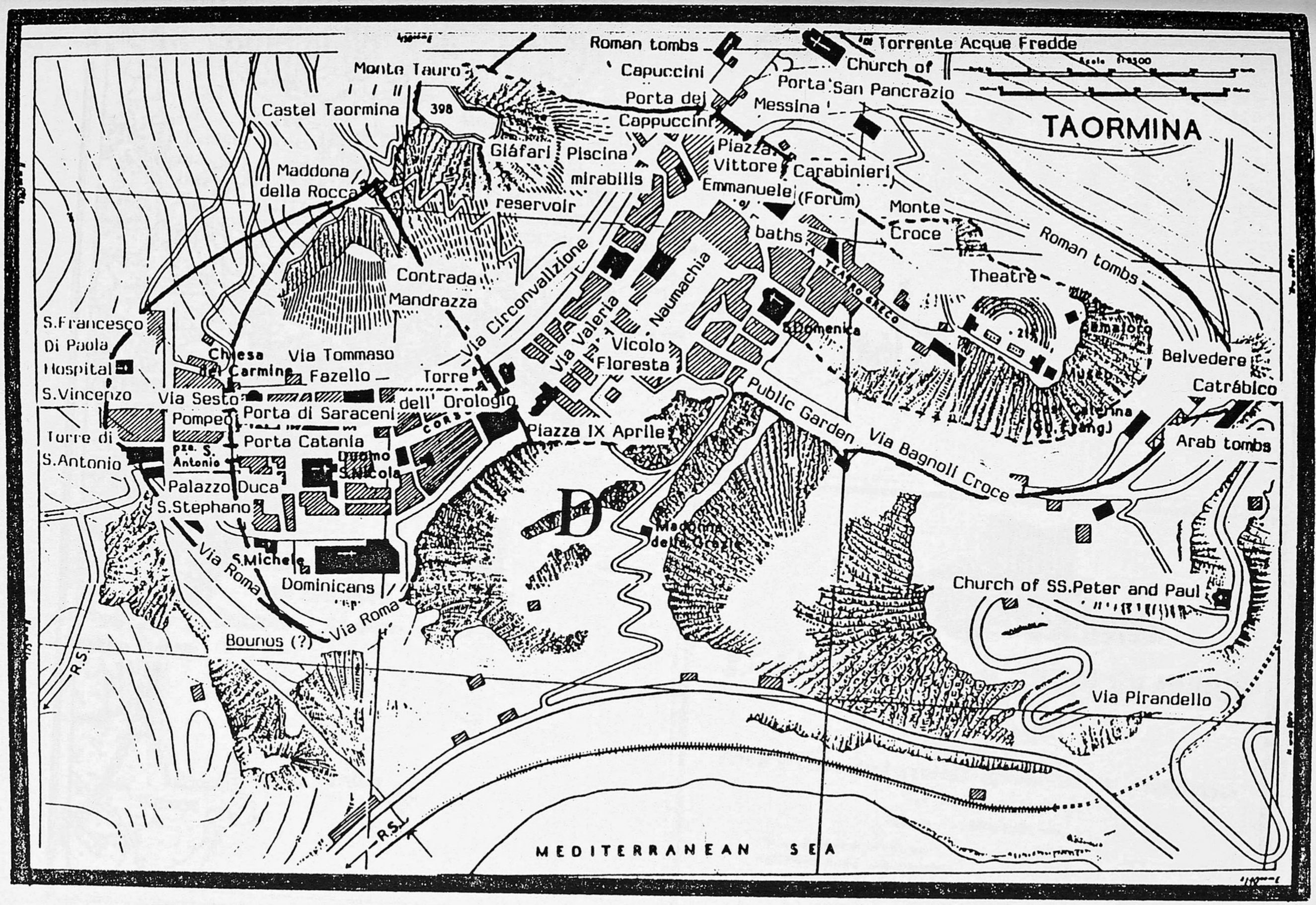
VP, p. 40, l. 7.

The topography and monuments of Taormina

A number of monuments and topographical features are mentioned in the *VP* as the scene of various events. An attempt at identifying them is important not only for the elucidation of the text, but as a means of determining whether or not it is of local provenance by establishing the extent to which our author knew the region and expected local credibility.

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1. *Life* of S. Theodore of Sykeon (ed. Festugière) cc. 42 and 54.


Roman tombs
Monte Tauro
Capuccini
Torrente Acque Fredde
Church of
Porta San Pancrazio
Castel Taormina
398
Porta dei
Messina
Cappuccini
TAORMINA
Piazza
Vittore
Carabinieri
Giáfari
Piscina
mirabilis
Maddona
della Rocca
reservoir
Emmanuele
(Forum)
Monte
Croce
baths
Roman tombs
Theatre
Contrada
Mandrazza
Via Circonvallizione
Naumachia
Via Valeria
S.Francesco
Di Paola
Hospital
Chiesa
del Carmine
Via Tommaso
Fazello
Vicolo
Floresta
Belvedere
S.Vincenzo
Via Sesto
Pompeo
Torre
dell' Orologio
Porta di Saraceni
Public Garden
Catrábico
Torre di
S.Antonio
Porta Catania
Piazza IX Aprile
Via Bagnoli Croce
Arab tombs
p.za S.
Antonio
Duomo
S.Nicola
Palazzo Duca
S.Stephano
Madonna
della Grazie
S.Michele
Dominicans
Via Roma
Via Roma
Church of SS.Peter and Paul
Bounos (?)
R.S.
Via Pirandello
R.S.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Castel Mola

Spisone

Taormina

Mazzaró

Capo S. Andrea

Isola Bella

Capo Taormina

Torrente Sirina

Villagónia

Torrente San Giovanni

Giardini - Church of S.Pancrazio

Monte Falco

Capo Schisó

Naxos

M A R E I O N I O

TAORMINA E DINTORNI

Scala 1:25.000

Edita a cura dell'Azienda Autonoma di Soggiorno

Segni Convenzionali

- Strade Statali
- Altre strade rotabili
- Strade secondarie
- Mulattiere
- Sentieri
- Ferrovie
- Itinerari turistici
- Limiti di Comune

L'equidistanza delle curve è di m. 25

The walls[1]

The walls of Taormina are mentioned in the descriptions in the *VP* of Taurus' foundation of the city and of the attacks of both Aculini on it. Reconstruction of the walls of Taormina in the Byzantine period is difficult. Surviving remains of walls range between several sections to the North which may date from the earliest period of the settlement of Taormina, to mediaeval walls which may, but do not necessarily, represent the position of earlier walls.[2] However, by perhaps rashly assuming the survival of the earlier walls and the existence of predecessors to the later ones, a tentative and approximate reconstruction can be suggested on the basis of the remains. It is well to remember that the formidable terrain of Taormina does not offer much latitude for any relocation of walls. There were probably three stretches of wall to the North and three to the South, which, together with the natural barriers of Monte Tauro and the escarpment below Taormina, formed the city's system of fortification. To the North,

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1. I am indebted to two works, M. Santangelo, *Taormina e dintorni* (Rome, 1950), pp. 50-58, and F. Cipolla, *Taormina ed il suo territorio* (Palermo, 1983), pp. 131-139, for guidance as to the location of the remains of the walls and for the reconstructions they offer of their courses.
2. It must be remembered that the city probably reached its greatest size in the Roman period, so that the mediaeval walls may have followed its contraction.

an outer wall ran from the 'Belvedere', including the Greek theatre and the Serapion (now the Church of S. Pancrazio)[3] and the tombs below the monastery of the Cappuccini, as far as the Torrente Acque Fredde, ending at the North base of Castel Taormina. A second wall fortified the section between the precipice beneath the Public Garden and the precipice of Catrábico beneath the 'Belvedere'.. A third, inner wall passed from Monte Croce, the hill immediately to the West of the theatre, to Castel Taormina, following the course of the present walls, into which the Porta Messina and the Porta dei Cappuccini open. The Forum and the cisterns of the Giáfari district were within this inner fortification. To the South, there were three circuits of walls. The outer wall followed the escarpment from the Piazza IX Aprile, along the Via Roma to the Torre di S. Antonio (built in 1400 and destroyed in 1943), then ended at the Sanctuary of the Madonna della Rocca, passing outside the present Hospital of S. Vincenzo and the church of S. Francesco di Paola.[4] The second wall

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3. A section of the wall near this church has recently been rediscovered. See P. Pelagatti, 'Tauromenium, Taormina', *Fasti Archaeologici*, xxii (Florence, 1971), no. 2968. Other remains can be seen parallel to the North section of the Via Pirandello. On the construction of the walls as they existed at the end of the nineteenth century, see E. A. Freeman, *The History of Sicily*, IV (published posthumously by A. J. Evans, Oxford, 1894), pp. 109-110.

4. M. Santangelo, *Taormina*, p. 56, states that this wall survived to the Byzantine period, but gives no evidence to support her statement.

probably followed the course of the substantial mediaeval remains[5] which indicate a wall extending from the Sanctuary of the Madonna della Rocca to the Porta Catania, then past the Palazzo Duca S. Stephano, which was built into the wall, to join the outer wall at the Via Roma. A second gate, the Porta di Saraceni, opened into this wall at the end of the Via Sesto Pompeo. A third wall extended from the Sanctuary of the Madonna della Rocca to the Torre dell' Orologio, which dates from 1100, but has greco-Siculan masonry at the base, and joined the outer South wall beneath Piazza IX Aprile.[6]

In addition to the general references to walls in the *VP*, there are two references to specific sections of the walls. S. Pancratius is said to go through the μολικὸν χάσμα to the walkway of the wall and up onto a hill in order to invoke God to drown his Jewish protagonists as they attempt to escape to Syracuse.[7] The Jews probably embarked to the North of Taormina,[8] but were sailing to the South, so a position near either the North or South walls is possible for the hill in question. To

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5. The arms on the Porta Catania indicate that it was built (or rebuilt) by Peter IV of Aragon.
6. There are some mediaeval remains near the intersection of the Via Circonvallazione and the Via Tommaso Fazello.
7. *VP*, p. 261, ll.6 - 7 . I am not able to offer an identification for this toponym.
8. See below, p. 214-215.

the North, it is possible that S. Pancratius is seen as having gone along the inner wall and climbed Monte Croce, but it does not really correspond to the description of the saint's vantage point as a 'βουνός'. To the South, a hill extends from the course of the walls following the present Via Roma, and perhaps this is the hill that is intended.

The second reference to a particular section of walls occurs in regard to the burial of the two virgin martyrs, who are said to have been buried, and an oratory constructed at the Βαράγδου τεῖχος.[9] The principal burial areas in Roman times were between the outer and inner lines of fortification to the North. Remains of a number of tombs indicate a burial area to the North of the monastery of the Cappuccini,[10] and another between the theatre and the northern outer wall from the Porta Messina to the 'Belvedere'.[11] The location of the Byzantine cemetery which yielded a number of artefacts now in the Museo Nazionale in Syracuse has not been established.[12] The substantial Arab (?)

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9. *VP*, p.250 , l. 9.
10. Tombs were noted in this area by J. P. D'Orville, *Sicula* (Amsterdam, 1764), p. 268 and J. Houel, *Voyage Pittoresque des Isles de Sicile, de Lipari et de Malte*, ii (Paris, 1783), p. 49.
11. A number of tombs survive here. See F. Cipolla, *Taormina*, pp. 145-7. One tomb, known as 'La Guardiola', is large enough to have been used as a house. Another of similar size near the Porta Messina was known to D'Orville, *Sicula*, p. 267 and Houel, *Voyage Pittoresque*, p. 48, with plate opp. p. 47. The position of these cemeteries argues for the existence of the inner wall to the North in the Roman period.
12. See P. Orsi, *Sicilia bizantina*, I (Rome, 1942), p. 159 with fig. 75.

cemetery between the 'Belvedere' and the church of SS. Peter and Paul *extra moenia*, of which a wall of tombs, visible along the Via Pirandello, has survived the building of this road, may occupy the site of an earlier cemetery.[13] Neither the martyrium nor any trace of the place name has survived.

The water supply

Taurus is said to have provided the city with aqueducts and huge reservoirs, in addition to the walls, at the foundation of the city. The contemporary Aculinus is later said to have taken possession of the sources of the city's water.

Water was brought to Taormina, the elevation of which made water supply difficult, from the sources of the R. Letoianni in the region of Monguiffi-Melia, approximately 16 km. North of Taormina, by aqueducts, which brought the water into huge cisterns within the city.[14] Two aqueducts ended in reservoirs in the Giáfari district North of Taormina, one of which, the so-called 'Piscina

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13. See F. Cipolla, *Taormina*, p. 76.
14. See F. Cipolla, *Taormina*, pp. 123-30.

mirabilis',[15] is still in use, the other of which is ruined. The third aqueduct entered the city near the monastery of the Cappuccini, where some remains are visible, and terminated in the reservoir called the 'Naumachia'.[16] A fourth aqueduct to the South brought water from the source of the R. Sirina, under Castel Mola to a reservoir, of which there are some remains beneath Castel Taormina.[17] Thus, our author's picture of Taurus'

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15. So-called because of its marvellous proportions, which were noted, among others, by T. Fazello, *De rebus Siculis Decades Duae* (Palermo, 1560), p. 53 and J. Houel, *Voyage Pittoresque*, pp. 50-1, with plates opposite p. 47 (a plan of the reservoir) and p. 50 (a scene of the inside). Built of brick, it is barrel-vaulted and divided by eight pilasters into two aisles. See M. Guido, *Sicily*, p. 210 and P. Pelagatti, *Fasti Archaeologici* xxii, no. 2968. Some remains of the aqueduct, described by Houel, *Voyage Pittoresque*, p. 51, as bringing water from far away, survive.
16. The name derives from the erroneous belief that it was used for staging mock naval-battles. J. P. D'Orville, *Sicula*, p. 266 with plate opp., to whom this belief was known, reconstructed the outer wall as part of a hippodrome. The reservoir itself, described by D'Orville, *Sicula*, pp. 266-7 and Houel, *Voyage Pittoresque*, pp. 51-54, has been built over, and only the outside wall is visible, made of brick with eighteen apsidal niches alternating with rectangular niches, the purpose of which is still uncertain. A conduit left the 'Naumachia', bearing water down to Villagónia. Some remains of this system have been found. See P. Pelagatti, *Fasti Archaeologici* xxii, no. 2968. A further reservoir has been discovered in the Vicolo Floresta near the 'Naumachia'. It is vaulted with three pilasters dividing it into two aisles, and measures 12.75 x 7.75 m., and is 7 m. high. See P. Pelagatti, *Fasti Archaeologici* xxii, no. 2968.
17. In the Contrada Mandrazza. F. Cipolla, *Taormina*, p. 127, gives an estimate of the total capacity of the reservoirs of Taormina as 10,819,19 m^3.

civic institutions corresponds to the reality of arrangements in the city. Aculinus seems to be seen as having surrounded Taormina from the North and cut off the water supply from the aqueducts, as the Arabs later did in their siege of Taormina in 902.

Temples

The existence of temples and shrines in the city is mentioned in connection with S. Pancratius' anti-idolic activity, and the appendix to the text conveniently enumerates those mentioned specifically, namely, of Falcon on the shore, of Lysson in the Tetrahippion, of Zeus in the household of Elidus with the idol Scamander, and of the goddess the daughter of Hero near the descent of the waters.[18]

The location of Falcon is more significant in its function as a landing place, and will be discussed later.

The god Lysson inhabits the Tetrahippion. There are no surviving remains of a hippodrome at Taormina, and its topography hardly allows for one. Perhaps the suggestion of F. Cipolla[19] that the toponym 'Villagónia' is derived from 'ἀγών' and that games were held there, below Taormina to the South, has

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18. *VP*, p. 445, 6 - 7.
19. F. Cipolla, *Taormina*, p. 129.

some merit, yet our author seems to see the Tetrahippion as being *higher* than the oratory, and the description of the god's attendant snake being dragged over rocks and cast into the sea suggests a certain elevation which is hard to reconcile with the lack of suitable land at such a level. The description of the events at the Tetrahippion is compatible with their having taken place in the famous theatre at Taormina, which has the appropriate elevation, but it seems inconceivable that the function of a theatre could be mistaken in this period. It is strange, however, that the theatre is never mentioned in the text.

The temple on which the church of S. Pancrazio is built was dedicated to Serapis,[20] but it does not appear to correspond to any temples in the *VP*.

The 'descent of the waters', the location of the temple of the daughter of Hero, is also mentioned when S. Pancratius is said to accompany Epaphroditus as far as this point as the priest begins his journey towards Syracuse. In antiquity, Taormina was traversed by the Via Valeria, which followed the present path from the shore at Spisone to the Porta Messina, then passed through the city along the course of the main street, Corso Umberto I, through the Porta Catania, then descended from the position

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20. The evidence for the dedication has been assembled in R. Koldeway and O. Puchstein, *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sizilien*, I (Berlin, 1899), pp. 185-6.

formerly occupied by the Torre di S. Antonio to the sea at Villagónia. The present road from Capo Taormina to Taormina, the Via Pirandello, was built in 1825-30. Epaphroditus' journey must have taken him along the Via Valeria to the South, so that the 'descent of the waters' probably refers to the Torrente Sirina. This provides a co-ordinate for the position of the temple. In this vicinity there was a renowned Aphrodision. Appian records the following concerning Octavian.

> ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Ταυρομένιον προσέπεμψε μὲν ὡς ὑπαξόμενος αὐτό, οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν φρουρῶν παρέπλει τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν 'Ονοβάλαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ 'Αφροδίσιον καὶ ὡρμίσατο ἐς τὸν 'Αρχηγέτην, Ναξίων τὸν θεόν, ὡς χάρακα θησόμενος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποπειράσων τοῦ Ταυρομενίου.[21]

Its renown is further substantiated by the following entry in the *Paroemiographi Graeci*,

> Γέρρα Νάξια· Γέρρα Σικελοὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἀνδρεῖα καὶ γυναικεῖα αἰδοῖα. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῇ Σικελικῇ Νάξῳ τέμενος ἐπιθαλάσσιον 'Αφροδίτης, ἐν ᾧ μεγάλα αἰδοῖα ἀνέκειτο.[22]

and by a scholion on Lucian's *Anacharsis*.[23] K. Ziegler[24] suggests

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21. Appian, *Civil Wars* (ed. Gabba), v.454. The R. Onobalas is almost certainly the R. Sirina. See A. Holm, *Geschichte Siziliens im Altertum*, I (Leipzig, 1870), p. 339. The location of the altar of Apollo Archegetes is not known, but it must have been in the area of Naxos (Thucydides, vi.3.1). K. Ziegler, *PW* xvi.2, col. 2078, s.v.'Naxos(4)', rightly rejects Holm's romantic assumption that the statue of S. Pancratius at Giardini (see below, n. 31) occupies the site.
22. *Paroemiographi Graeci*, c. 72 (ed. Leutsch-Schneidewin) I 390.
23. *Scholia in Lucianum*, c.32 (ed. Rabe) p. 170, l. 15. Cf. Nonius, *De Conpendiosa Doctrina* (ed. Lindsay) I, p. 170.
24. K. Ziegler, *PW* xvi.2, col. 2078, s.v. 'Naxos(4)'.

that the place names 'Monte Venere (Veneretta)' and the 'Torrente S. Venera' derive from this Aphrodision. It is possible that a memory of this temple lies behind the temple of the 'daughter of Hero' and that this obscure, periphrastic expression refers to Aphrodite.[25]

Other civic monuments

The Forum of Taurus

The Forum of Taormina, which was built on a Greek agora, occupied the site which is now the Piazza Vittore Emanuele. A number of official inscriptions found in this area in 1700 and now in the Museum of the theatre at Taormina, indicate the existence of public buildings there.[26] The name given to the Forum of Taormina in the *VP*, the 'Forum of Taurus', is surely derived from the name of the city and the legend of Taurus and does not indicate any familiarity on the author's part with the Forum of Taurus at Constantinople.

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25. See below, p. 249.
26. P. Pelagatti, 'Tauromenion', *Fasti Archaeologici* xvii (Florence, 1965), no. 4924 with fig. 93; M. Santangelo, *Taormina*, pp. 80-1.

The Praetorium

There is insufficient information given to identify where our author located Bonifatius' residence. Evagrius seems to regard it as a two-storey construction, as Bonifatius converses with Lycaonides in an upper room (ἔν τινι ὑπερῴῳ) and goes to an upper turret (ἐν τῷ ἀνωτέρῳ πτερυγίῳ) to address petitioners below.[27]

The baths

In the course of the building of barracks for the Carabinieri in 1965, a large city bath structure was found, dating from the Roman Imperial period. It is thought to have reached as far as the Forum to the South.[28] It is probably this to which our author alludes in the account of the activities of Elidus. Remains of a smaller bath structure, probably private, have been found near the church of S. Pancrazio.[29]

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27. *VP*, p. 50 , l. 6 ; *VP*, p. 9 , l. 52 .
28. P. Pelagatti, *Fasti Archaeologici* xxii, no. 2968 and *Fasti Archaeologici* xvii, no. 4924.
29. M. Santangelo, *Taormina*, p. 75. The meaning of 'διπαγινός' in this context is unclear to me, so I have obelized it in the text.

The school

There is a reference in the *VP* to a church school, and in this connection, it should be mentioned that remains of a building which contained a library, and perhaps a Gymnasium, have been discovered on the Via Bagnoli Croce. Pieces of plaster with inscriptions containing the names of authors, which probably labelled niches holding papyri, have been found there.[30]

The Jewish quarter

The houses of the Montanists and Jews are seen as occupying a particular area. There is no archaeological evidence concerning the location of the Jewish quarter, but the present Vico Ebrei and Via del Ghetto, near the Palazzo Duca S. Stephano, immediately inside the second wall to the South, probably preserve the memory of its position. The Jews were ordered to move from this area in 1455, following a recommendation from Pope Callistus III inspired by complaints from the Dominicans of Taormina concerning the noise from the Synagogue causing

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30. P. Pelagatti, *Fasti Archaeologici* xxii, no. 2968. Concerning the school, see below, p. 315 ~ 318.

disturbance to their services.[31]

Landing points to the North and South

Falcon and the plain of Simonides

In the *VP*, Falcon is described as a 'ὁρμησία τις', a mooring place rather than a harbour. It is the site of a shipyard, near the plain used for the levy and reached by foot or mule by a descent from Taormina. The shore immediately below Taormina is unsuitable for mooring ships, and landing must have taken place to the North, in the vicinity of Spisone, or to the South, along the shore between Villagónia and Capo Schisó. The church of San Pancrazio at Giardini purports to mark the place where S. Pancratius landed. Outside it there is a statue of S. Pancratius erected by the Tribune of the Spanish Military Praesidium of Taormina, Joannes Romano et Dente, in 1691.[32] The church has

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31. See the letter, written in reply to a letter of King Alfonso of Naples dated 31 December, 1455, of the viceregent in Palermo, dated 31 March, 1456, published by B. and G. Lagumina, *Codice Diplomatico dei Giudei di Sicilia*, v (Palermo, 1888), pp. 578-9.
32. See Plate 1. The statue has the following inscriptions.
(front)

D. O. M.
SISTE PAULULUM VIATOR DEFIGENDA DIRIGE ERECTO
HUIC SIMULACRO LUMINA. STATUA CERNIS INDUSTRI
EXPRESSAM SCALPRO? VENERANDO DIVI PANCRATII
NOMINI SACRATUM EDISCAS. ILLUMQUE PRIMUM
HUIUS URBIS, TOTIUSQUE TRINACRIAE EPISCOPUM
AB APOSTOLORUM PRINCIPE CONSECRATUM ANNO
SALUTIS XL PRIMAS SICULAE FIDEI IANUAS, APOSTOLICIS
USUM CLAVIBUS APERUISSE. URBEMQUE ISTAM
NE DUM FIDE DIGNIS COLLUSTRASSE PORTENTIS
SED ETIAM CRUENTA MARTIRII LAUREA
PURPURASSE SCIAS

been rebuilt after being damaged in World War II, but the original church was built after the erection of the statue, so that there is no evidence for a tradition connecting the site with S. Pancratius before the end of the seventeenth century. However, the existence of a Monte Falco inland from the statue, and the conformity of the site with the characteristics given in the text, suggest that Falcon was indeed South of Taormina in this vicinity, which has been a natural mooring place since the early settlement of Naxos.[33]

(R. side)
QUI DIGNUM SPECTAS D. PANCRATII SIMULACRUM
PRODIGIA. SOLI VETUSTATI CIRCUMSPECTA RECE
NTIORA MEMORABIS HIC CHRISTI ASSECLA IN
PRIMUM CATHOLICAE FIDEI TROPHAEUM SANCTAE
CRUCIS VEXILLUM LOCAVIT: QUO AD IDOLORUM
RUINAM ERECTO DAEMONES CONTREMISCENTES AETERNAM
AB URBE CARPSERE FUGAM FALCONI NUMINI DICATUM A FUN
DAMENTIS RUIT DELUBRUM LOQUAX SISONIS SIMU
LACRUM VERECUNDO CONTICUIT HORRORE SCAMANDRI
SUPERSTITIO MANIFESTA PERIIT FIDEI VERITATE CENTU
PLICIAQUE IDOLATRIAE CAPITA SUB EADEM MAR
TIRIS BIPENNE RECISA IMGEMUIT AVERNUS
(L. side)
NE TEMPORUM VARIETATE VETUSTAT[IS] MEM[ORI]A
POSTERITATI DEFICERET VENERANDA TANTI HER[OIS]
MONUMENTA MARMOREAM HANC TAUROMENIEN[S]
PATRONO EFFIGIEM NOMENQUE STATUENS ILL:D:
IOANNES ROMANO. ET DENTE MILITARIS PRAESIDI
HUIUS URBIS TRIBUNUS AETERNITATI TRADENDA
CURAVIT. QUOSQUE CULTUS URBS HAEC PER PLURA
DEBUERAT SECULA, UNUS PLURIUM ANNORUM AC
URBIUM OBSEQUII FERVOREM COMPLECTENS HAC
DIE PERPETUO DURATUROS DEVOVIT, DEBITAM TOTIUS
ORBIS TERRARUM VENERATIONEM ASSECUTURUS
ANNO DOMINI 1691.

33. A. Holm, *Geschichte*, ii, p. 438.

Near to Falcon is the plain of Simonides, where the army of Bonifatius is mustered after descending from the city. The army passes over a torrent bed to reach another plain, where there are water courses. This level area must lie to the South of Taormina, towards Naxos, as the land to the North, the end of the Peloritan range, cannot be described as having 'plains'. The level area to the South is crossed by two major rivers, the Torrente Sirina and the Torrente S. Giovanni, and their tributaries. The proximity of the plains to the point proposed as Falcon is further support for the identification of both.

The Φιλικὸς τοπίσκος

It is difficult to reconcile the different notices concerning the Φιλικὸς τοπίσκος, nor is it clear exactly what sort of topographical feature it was. The soldiers of the second Aculinus stood there between landing and taking the sources of the water supply. It is probable that our author would have presented them as landing to the North, the natural point for an expedition coming from Calabria,[34] and on the same side of the city as the

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34. For example, it is clear from the account of Appian, *Civil Wars* (ed. Gabba) v 409 (451), that Octavian followed this route from Leucopetra (= Capo dell'Armi). See G. M. Columba, 'Il mare e le relazioni marittime tra la Grecia e la Sicilia nell' antichità', *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, n.s., xiv (1890), pp. 315-61.

aqueducts. Had he landed to the South, there would surely have been some mention of Falcon. When S. Pancratius serves a Liturgy at which miracles take place, the unbelievers stand at the φιλικὸς τοπίσκος, from which the miracles are visible and which is at the top of the city. Taormina has two acropoleis, Monte Tauro and the hill of the theatre, either of which is possible here. The acropolis of the theatre was taken by Dionysius,[35] and bearing in mind the manoeuvres of Aculinus' army, this seems the more likely candidate, although the φιλικὸς τοπίσκος may not be an acropolis in the formal sense, but merely a high point. It is more difficult to reconcile the statement that the Jews passed through the φιλικὸς τοπίσκος in order to reach their boats.

Churches

The εὐκτήριον and the shrine of S. Pancratius

A number of co-ordinates are given in the *VP* for the location of S. Pancratius' oratory. He indicates the site on which it is to be built by going from the Praetorium to the highest part

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35. A discussion of the acropoleis of Taormina and the sense of the 'μία ἀκρόπολις' taken by Dionysius in Diodorus Siculus, xiv 88 can be found in E. A. Freeman, *History*, IV, app. iv, pp. 503-8.

of the city and pointing out a position near the city wall and facing the sea to the East, this point of the coast being called the shore of Dioscorides. It is said to be outside the gates, and the description of movements to and from the oratory indicate that it was necessary to go *up* to the city, *down* to Falcon and *across* to the temple of the daughter of Hero at the head of the waters. The location of the shrine of S. Pancratius is indicated in relation to the oratory. S. Pancratius is placed by his murderers in a crevice, which is visible opposite the oratory. His relics are then moved to a καταβάσιον approximately fifty-six metres deep near the crevice, which is conceived of as some sort of pit or trench. The relics are then raised up, the pit filled, and a shrine built between the two resting places, founded over a chasm.

Granted that our author indicates that both the oratory and the shrine of S. Pancratius are still identifiable, it seems reasonable to suppose that, if our author has aspired to local credibility, the churches referred to in it are not inventions, but that existing buildings have been given origins in the time of S. Pancratius. The vagaries of Taormina's history suggest that it is unlikely that such churches would have survived, but we will nevertheless look for candidates among the present churches in the city.

It is tempting to see a candidate for identification as the oratory in the present church of San Pancrazio outside the Messina gate, a church built on the remains of a Hellenistic temple, given its dedication and position outside the gate. However, not only does its position not correspond to the specifications in the *VP*, in that it is to the North of the city, does not face the sea, and is within the outer walls of the city,

but nothing except the Hellenistic masonry gives any indication of being earlier than the seventeenth century.[36] Had there been a church converted from a temple at Taormina at the time the text was written, some reference to this might be expected in the text.

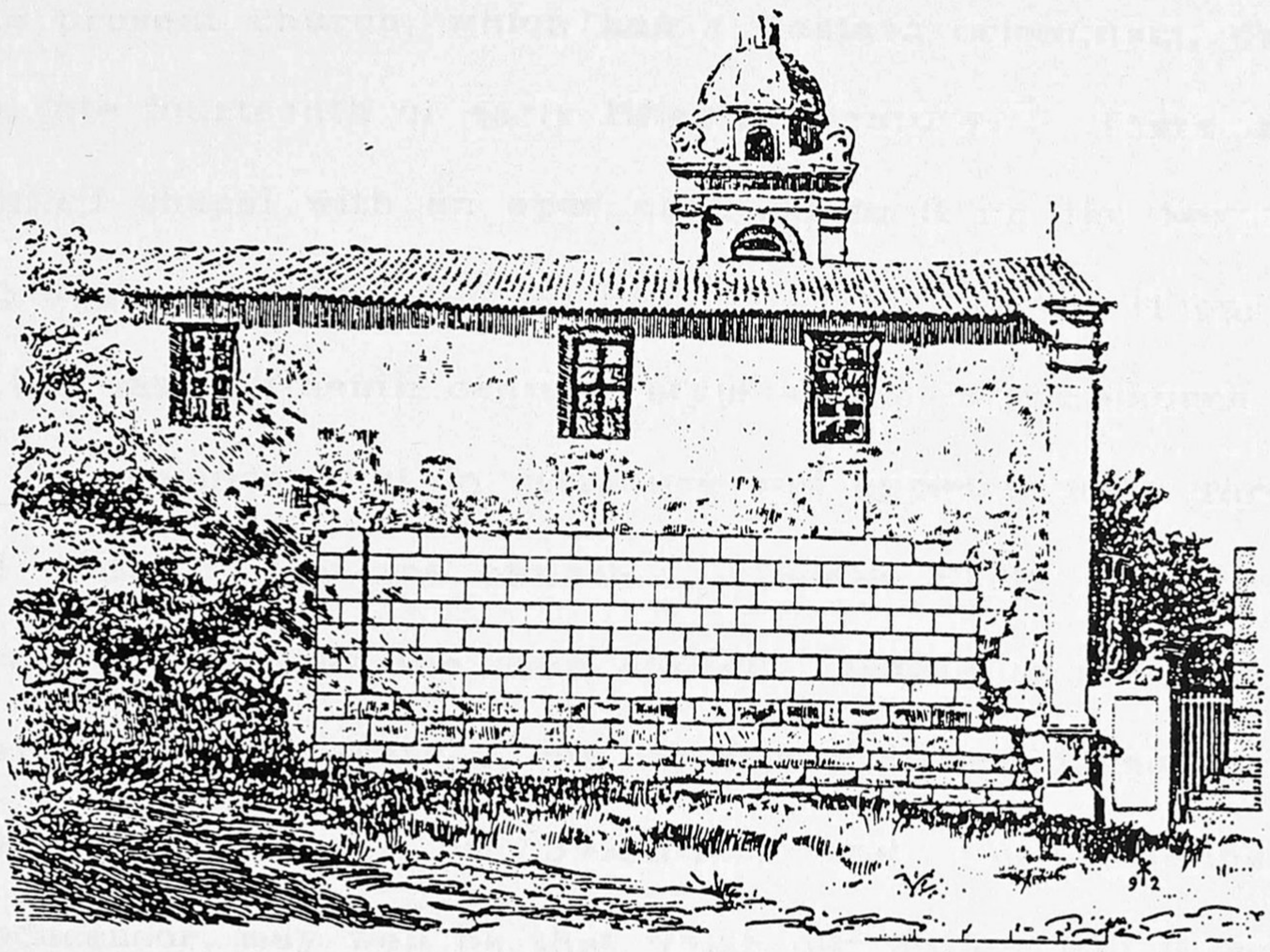


Abb. 164. S. Pancrazio von Süden, mit der Wand des Serapistempels. 1:150.

The Church of San Pancrazio at Taormina

(R. Koldeway and O. Puchstein, *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sizilien*, I (Berlin, 1899), fig. 164, p. 185).

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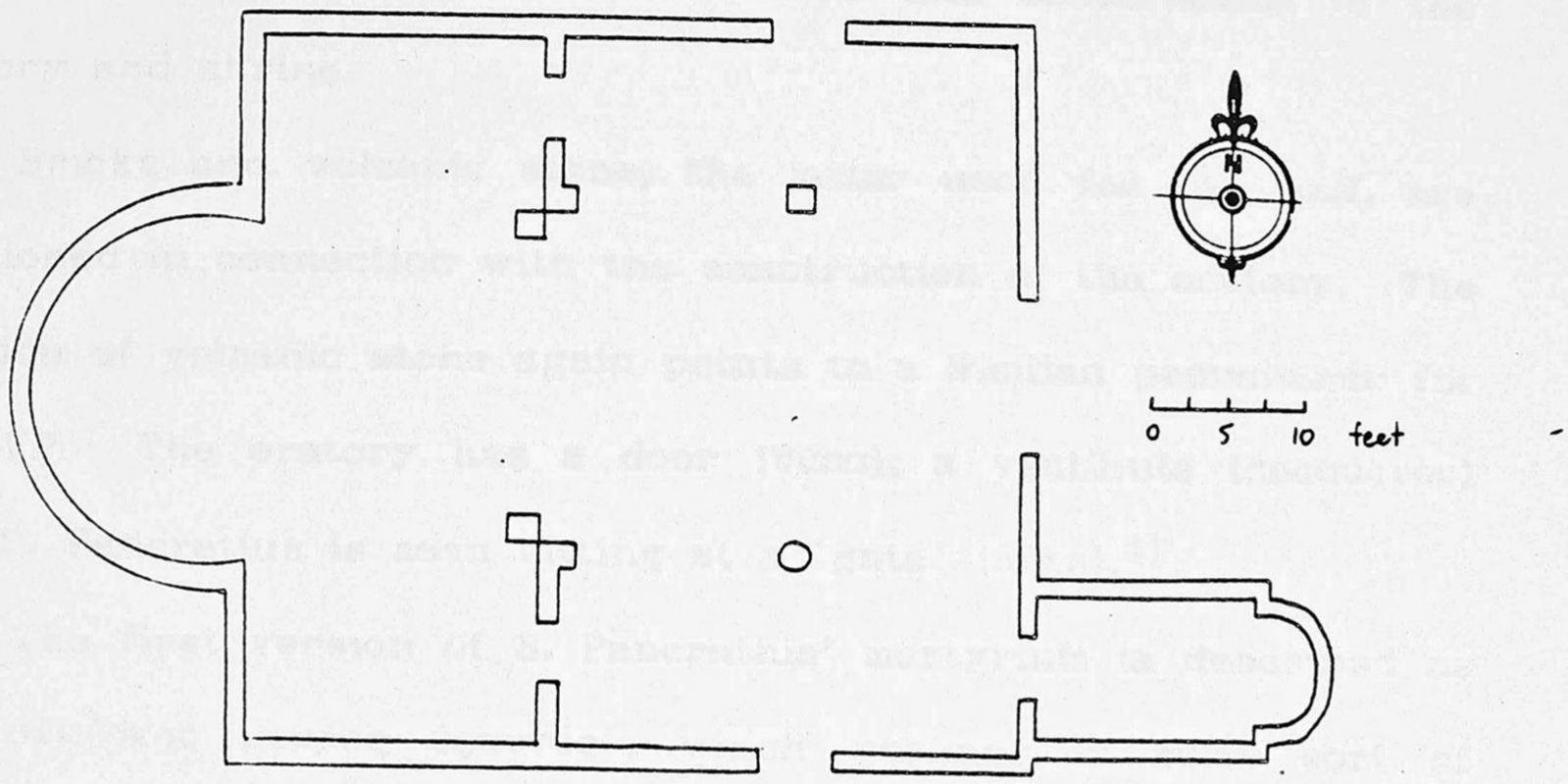
36. See fig. 2 and Plate 2, and R. Koldeway and O. Puchstein, *Die griechischen Tempel*, pp. 185-6. It does not appear in the list of temples converted or rebuilt as churches provided by F. W. Deichmann, 'Früchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtürmen', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* liv (1939), pp. 103-36.

Another candidate for identification as the oratory is the Church of SS. Pietro e Paolo on the Via Pirandello. Its position seems appropriate, as it is to the East of the city, facing the sea, and conforms to the other co-ordinates outlined above. The dedication to S. Peter is further support for the identification. The present church, which has a Western orientation, dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.[37] There is a small, vaulted chapel with an apse attached to it on the North side of the West end, which has an Eastern orientation.[38] It has frescoes of the same fifteenth century style as the larger church, but has no resemblance to it in structure and appears quite unrelated to the main body of the church. It seems likely that this smaller structure predates the main church. Dating is hazardous as the chapel is much reworked, but its size and form do not exclude the possibility that it is Byzantine, and this building, or a predecessor, may well be that which our author had in mind when referring to the oratory.

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37. The church has three naves, separated by two pointed arches supported by mis-matched columns, some with carved capitals. Each nave has an apse decorated with fifteenth century frescoes. In addition to the main door, set in an eighteenth century facade, a door on each side of the church, one of which has lion-head corbels, has been blocked. The arch above the central apse and arches above internal doorways are constructed of alternating blocks of stone and lava.

38. The present building dates from 1640. F. Cipolla, *Taormina*, pp. 583-4, offers some arguments for a pre-existent church on the basis of a dubious exegesis of an Arab geographer and local legends concerning the chapel.



The Church of SS. Pietro e Paolo *extra moenia* at Taormina.

If the church of SS. Pietro e Paolo *extra moenia* is identified as the oratory, then the shrine, in order to be seen from it, must have been on the face of Monte Tauro, near the present Sanctuary of the Madonna della Rocca. Perhaps it was the predecessor of this sanctuary.[39] The only independent evidence for the

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39. See Plates 3 and 4.

existence of such a shrine is the account of the visit of S. Elias the Younger (823-903) written in the *Life* of that saint,[40] but the exact location is not specified.

Few details are given of the form and construction of the oratory and shrine.

Bricks and volcanic stone, the latter used for the roof, are mentioned in connection with the construction of the oratory. The mention of volcanic stone again points to a Sicilian provenance for the *VP*. The oratory has a door (θύρα), a vestibule (προαύλιον) and S. Pancratius is seen sitting at a 'gate' (πύλη).[41]

The first version of S. Pancratius' martyrium is described as an 'οἰκίσκος μικρὸς ὑφαντός', which perhaps is some sort of wicker building. Sappers and carpenters, potters and stonemasons using 'hewn Lacedaimonian stones' are brought in to build the permanent shrine, which, in addition to the main church, the 'οἶκος', had a vestibule (προαύλιον), some small rooms (οἰκίσκους μικρούς) and a reception room or building for pilgrims to the shrine (πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τῶν προσεδρευόντων ἐν τῷ τιμίῳ ναῷ).[42]

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40. The *Life* of S. Elias the Younger, c. 49 (ed. Rossi Taibbi). This *Life* was written between 930 and 940, the pilgrimage having taken place in 880. See below, p. 393.
41. *VP*, p. 164 , l. 5.
42. *VP*, P. 442 , ll. 4 - 5 .

The shrine of the virgin martyrs

This is discussed in connection with the function of the deaconesses, but it is important to notice that again, we are told that the church is still in existence.

The attempts at identification offerred above are at best tentative and speculative. Their purpose has been to show that the topographical scheme in the *VP* is not unreasonable. Had it been so, the local provenance of the text would be called into question.

VP, p. 280, l. 6

Menia and Taurus.

See below, pp. 331 - 337.

VP, p.

Gifts.

See above, pp. 173 - 174.

VP, p. 49, l. 1.

Civil and military administration

In the course of his narrative, Evagrius gives a number of indications of the secular structure of the society in which he imagined his subject to have lived. In particular, he presents a number of details concerning civil and military administration and agrarian life. We will analyze his image of the society of S. Pancratius' day with a view to assessing the value of the *VP* as an historical source for the world of Evagrius' time and the importance of his representation of secular matters for establishing the date of the text. In doing so, we must bear several factors in mind. It must be remembered, in considering the value of the *VP* as a source for the time of the text's composition, that Evagrius does not claim to represent his own world, but is attempting to reconstruct society at the time of the apostles. In addition to this, his reliance on the model provided by earlier texts, notably the *Acts* of the Apostle John, and perhaps more generally the martyr *Acts*, undoubtedly gives an unfounded impression of antiquity to the *VP*. The purpose of promoting and exalting the city of Taormina, which we have observed elsewhere, must be taken into account as having probably led to exaggerations in Evagrius' representation of the importance and power of Taormina and its officials.

Nevertheless, our enquiry is potentially useful in that, even if Evagrius intended to reproduce faithfully the image of antiquity in the *Acts* of the Apostle John, and perhaps other similar

sources, it is likely that he will also have introduced material reflecting his own experience and circumstances, and this may be of assistance in dating. While he may have preserved archaisms, he cannot have introduced institutions not yet in existence. An attempt should be made to recognize such elements amidst the derivative and fanciful. At least, our analysis will help us to define further Evagrius' image of the past, and the identification of the potential sources of his presentation of the administrative system of S. Pancratius' Taormina will indicate something of the sources of that image and his method in reconstructing the past.

The period with which we are concerned saw a major change in the administration of Sicily with the establishment of the theme of Sicily, and any debate on the administrative system in the *VP* and its value for dating the text must depend on attempting to identify elements of thematic administration in the *VP*, in particular, titles introduced with the themes and the merging of civil and military powers and the transformation of the army through the localization of the settlement, recruitment and administration of troops which were characteristic of it. This is not the place for an extended discussion of the origins of the themes.[1] It is only necessary here to determine as far as

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1. There is an extensive literature on the origins of the themes, in which substantially different conclusions are reached. Summaries of the principal theories can be found, for example, in A. Pertusi, 'La formation des thèmes byzantins', *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958) I, pp. 1-16; J. Karayannopoulos, *Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung* (Munich, 1959), pp. 5-24 and R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* (Munich, 1976) p. 287, n. 1.

possible the date of the establishment of the theme of Sicily,[2] as Evagrius' experience seems to have been geographically limited.

A number of theories have been advanced as to the date of the creation of the theme of Sicily. The earliest reference to a στρατηγός of Sicily in Greek sources is a notice in Theophanes concerning Sergius, "ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Σικελίας" in the year 717/18.[3] An earlier *strategos* is attested in Latin

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2. The principal discussions on this question are those of Ch. Diehl, 'L'origine du régime des thèmes dans l'Empire byzantin', in *Études d'histoire du moyen âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris, 1896), pp. 52-3; H. Gelzer, 'Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung', *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* xviii/v (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 26-9; J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395 A.D. to 800 A.D.)*, II (London, 1889), pp. 345-51; A. Pertusi, *Costantino Porfirogenito. De Thematibus* (*ST* 160) (Vatican, 1952), pp. 178-80; W. Ensslin, 'Zur Verwaltung Siziliens vom Ende des weströmischen Reiches bis zum Beginn der Themenverfassung', *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di studi byzantini*, Palermo, 1951, I (=*Studi bizantini e neoellenici* vii (1953)), pp. 355-64; S. Borsari, 'L'amministrazione', pp. 133-39; N. Oikonomides, 'Une liste arabe des stratèges byzantins du VII^e^ siècle et les origines du Thème de Sicile', *Rivista di Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s., i (1964), pp. 121-30.

3. Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 398, ll. 7-8; cf. Nicephorus, *Breviarium* (ed. de Boor), p. 54, l. 20-1, "ὁ πατρίκιος ὁ τῆς Σικελίας στρατηγὸς". See also the reference to Sergius' successor, Paul, appointed by Leo III, Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 398, l. 13, on which text, see F. Dölger, *Regesten* I, no. 282.

sources,[4] namely Theodore, who was dispatched by Justinian II against Ravenna in 709/10, and is called '*monostraticus*' in this context in the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*,[5] '*patricius et stratigos*' in the *Liber Pontificalis*[6] and '*patricius et primus exercitus insulae Siciliae*' in the same text.[7] Sigillographic evidence provided by a seal inscribed, "Θεοφυλάκτῳ βασιλικῷ κουβικουλαρίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ Σικελίας", may provide an earlier date of *circa* 700, if Laurent's identification of this Theophylact with the Sicilian who became exarch in 701 is correct.[8]

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4. Ch. Diehl, 'L'origine', pp. 52-3, based his theory that the theme of Sicily was created by the middle of the seventh century on a reference to a "Dorotheus patricius Ciliciae (or Siciliae)" in the *Martyrdom* of S. Martin (*PL* 87, col. 113D) in 653, but this evidence must be dismissed. It is not established that the reading of 'Siciliae' is to be preferred, and the title of patrician does not necessarily imply the existence of a corresponding theme. The failure of a local *strategos* to be advanced following the death of Constans and the absence of a theme of Sicily in the *iussio* of Justinian II of 687 (see below, p. 226, n. 12) both indicate that there was no theme in existence by 653. The evidence of the *Martyrdom* of S. Martin has been dismissed by S. Borsari, 'L'amministrazione', pp. 133-4 and N. Oikonomides, 'Une liste arabe', p. 126, n. 1, following H. Gelzer, 'Die Genesis', pp. 28-9.
5. *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, c. 137 (ed. Holder-Egger), p. 367, l. 17. Agnellus does not name Theodore, but the context indicates that he is the figure concerned.
6. *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), I, p. 390. Theodore is mentioned in the context of Pope Constantine's passage through Sicily on the way to Constantinople.
7. *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), I, p. 389.
8. V. Laurent, *Les Sceaux byzantins du Médaillier Vatican* (Vatican, 1962), no. 114, pp. 120-1. See also N. Oikonomides, 'Une liste arabe', p. 127.

N. Oikonomides[9] has deduced an earlier date, a *terminus ante quem* of 695, from an analysis of a reference in the Arabic geographer Ibn Khordādhbeh, who copied a list of the commanders of themes from the earlier writer, al - Djarmi, which mentions, "le patrice de la Sicile (Sikellia), grand île et vaste royaume en face d'Afrīḳija".[10] Because of the absence of the theme of Hellas, first attested in 695, Oikonomides concludes that the list depends on a source produced before this date.[11] A *terminus post quem* is provided by the absence of the theme of Sicily in a *iussio* of Justinian II of 687, which refers only to an *exercitus Italiae*.[12] Oikonomides' proposal is strengthened, and a probable *terminus post quem* of 692 established, by the plausible reasons he proposes for the creation of the theme of Sicily, namely, the need to counter-balance the power of Ravenna following the rupture in relations between the exarchate and the central government in 692,[13] and the need for a strong military presence in Sicily in the

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9. N. Oikonomides, 'Une liste arabe', *passim*.
10. Fr. tr. in H. Gelzer, 'Die Genesis', p. 85.
11. N. Oikonomides, 'Une liste arabe', p. 123.
12. A *divina iussio* of Justinian II to Pope Conon dated to 687 (F. Dölger, *Regesten* I, no. 254), which enumerates, "quosdam de Christo dilectis exercitibus", includes the forces of Italy ("exercitus Italiae"), Sardinia and Africa, but no *exercitus Siciliae* (*PL* 96, col. 427).
13. In 692, the inhabitants of the exarchate resisted the envoy of Justinian II who came to Rome to arrest Pope Sergius. The mission of Theodore (above, n. 6) is an example of the role of the new theme of Sicily and its forces in Byzantine Italy.

face of the Arab threat from North Africa.[14] If Oikonomides' theory is accepted, we have a *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of the theme of Sicily of 695; if it is not, we have firm textual evidence in Latin sources for a date of 709/10, and in Greek sources of 717/18. All of these dates fall within the period under consideration for the date of the composition of the *VP*.

A general picture of Evagrius' understanding of the administrative system in use in Sicily at the time of S. Pancratius may be gathered from scattered references.

At its head is Bonifatius, who is responsible for all military and civil matters, including the judiciary. He is described as the ἡγεμών and also as ὕπατος and τοποκτίστης, and the honorific terms 'λαμπρότατος' and 'κύριος' are used of him. The insignia of his office are the consular mantle, the cloak of governorship and the Founder's staff.[15] He is based in Taormina, apparently without limitation of tenure, and lives in a πραιτώριον. Subordinate to him is a πολιτάρχης, a position filled by the Canaanites Aurelian and Elidus. The πολιτάρχης is appointed by the ἡγεμών and acts in his place in carrying out the civil administration of the city when Bonifatius is absent. There are also τοπάρχαι, referred to both generally and specifically in the case of Melamphorus, who seem to

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14. See N. Oikonomides, 'Une liste arabe', pp. 128-9.
15. *VP*, p. 278 , ll. 12 - 13.

administer districts within Bonifatius' province. Taormina has a Senate, which acts as a consultative body for Bonifatius and as a court. Other prominent members of society are mentioned without indication of their function, and are called τριβοῦνοι, μεγιστᾶνες, δυνατοί and πρῶτοι.

The organization of the army will be discussed later, but Bonifatius' role in it should be considered together with his civil function. He is in command of the army, which he leads against τύραννοι in Sicily, barbarians abroad, and in defence of Taormina itself. He is responsible for mustering troops from the city and surrounding area, and for their provisioning, donatives and the distribution of the spoils of war.

We may ask whether the functions outlined above correspond to any recognizable figures in the pre- or post-thematic Byzantine administrative system, and if not, whether elements of known offices can be detected and the sources of the presentation of the officials in the *VP* determined.

The association of both civil and military powers in the hands of a single official is characteristic both of the provincial governors before the reforms of Diocletian, and of the *strategoi* after the establishment of the themes. In this respect, Evagrius may either have preserved an archaism through reliance on earlier sources or, writing under the thematic system, have introduced an element of his own world by describing the past in terms of his own experience. The introduction of elements not characteristic of the provincial governor argues in favour of the latter explanation, but it must be remembered that it suits Evagrius' purpose to give Bonifatius, S. Pancratius' obedient disciple, power and pre-eminence in all spheres, and that he only needs one figure of

authority for his hagiographic purposes, so that any conclusions on the date of the *VP* on the basis of the merging of military and civil authority are insecure. It also should be noted that the administration of the exarchate of Ravenna had much in common with the thematic system which it preceded.[16] While it appears that before the establishment of the theme, Sicily was subject to the Italian exarchate in military matters, there is also evidence that the civil administrative system, which disappeared elsewhere in Italy, was preserved in Sicily.[17] Nevertheless, Evagrius' representation of Bonifatius may owe something to a familiarity with the affairs of the Italian exarchate.

The term 'ἡγεμών' was generally used of a provincial governor, significantly of the governor in the *Acts* of the Apostle

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16. See Ch. Diehl, *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'Exarchat de Ravenne (568-751)* (Paris, 1888), pp. 81-123 and G. Ostrogorsky, 'L'Exarchat de Ravenne et l'origine des thèmes byzantins', *Corsi di Cultura sull' arte Ravennate e Bizantina* vii/1 (1960), pp. 99-110.

17. While there seems to have been an administrative relationship between Sicily and the Italian exarchate from the time of Justinian, in the seventh century the activities of the exarchs in Sicily seem to have been limited to military matters (see below, p. 248 , n. 58). In civil matters, an affair involving the rector of the Roman patrimony under Pope Conon (686-7) (*Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), I, p. 369) reveals the existence of a *iudex provinciae* who answered to Constantinople, and in the *Life* of S. Zosimas of Syracuse, dated to the middle of the seventh century, there is a *populi defensor* (= *defensor civitatis*). See S. Borsari, 'L'amministrazione', p. 137 with n. 7. During Constans' sojourn in Syracuse, Sicily seems to have been subject to his administration, at least in fiscal matters.

John.[18] It was also used, even as late as the eleventh century, of the *strategos* of a theme.[19] In this usage, the term had a *general*, and probably also an archaizing character. We will see that this *generality* is characteristic of Evagrius' terminology in describing officialdom. A vague idea of the past is reflected in vague and general descriptive terms.

Bonifatius' second title is 'ὕπατος', 'consul'.[20] The Roman republican system of consuls was imitated in the Byzantine empire until Justinian I assumed the title of perpetual consul, and the consulate of the Emperor was still used for dating purposes at the Trullan Council of 680.[21] In addition to the imperial consulate, there was an honorary consulate, first recorded in the fifth century, by which people who had never been consuls were given that status. The terms 'ἀπὸ ὑπάτων' and 'ὑπατικός' are often

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18. The *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 61, ll. 2-3.
19. Michael Attaliotes, *Historia* (ed. Bekker), p. 33, l. 22. On the term 'ἡγεμών', see R. Guilland, 'Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. Les termes désignant le commandant en chef des armées byzantines', EEBΣ xxix (1959), p. 35.
20. On the function of the term 'ὕπατος', see especially E. Stein, 'Post-consulat et Αὐτοκρατορία', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* ii (1933-34), pp. 869-912; C. Courtois, 'Exconsul. Observations sur l'histoire du consulat à l'époque byzantine', *Byzantion* xix (1949), pp. 37-58; R. Guilland, 'Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin : le consul, ὁ ὕπατος.' *Byzantion* xxiv (1954), pp. 545-578; P. A. Yannopoulos, *La société profane dans l'empire byzantin des VII^e, VIII^e et IX^e siècles* (Louvain, 1975), pp. 55-7.
21. E.g., Mansi, xi, 209A.

used in this sense, as well as 'ὕπατος'. The title was an elevated one in the sixth century, but declined in importance in the seventh century. Examples of figures bearing the title in the second half of the seventh century give some idea of its status. In 656, Paul, an honorary consul, was sent by Constans II to accompany Pope Martin to Reggio[22] and as the emperor's emissary to S. Maximus the Confessor.[23] The Acts of the Council of 680 mention a number of honorary consuls, most of them also patricians and holding important posts.[24] Seals provide evidence of further bearers of the name.[25] The title seems to have been conferred on much the same level in the eighth century, but gradually declined in frequency and importance.[26]

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22. The *Acts* of S. Maximus the Confessor, c. 24, *PG* 90, col. 159D. See F. Dölger, *Regesten* I, no. 228.
23. The *Acts* of S. Maximus the Confessor, c. 2, *PG* 90, col. 137A.
24. See R. Guilland, 'Le consul', p. 556 with n. 5 and A. Christophilopoulos, Ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ Βυζαντινὸν κράτος (Athens, 1949), p. 107, n. 3. Most of the examples are associated with high offices, but the location of the Council in Constantinople may have weighted the evidence.
25. See R. Guilland, 'Le consul', pp. 562-3. The additional titles on the seals are less exalted than at the Trullan Council, as for example, a seal of a consul who is otherwise only entitled a 'δρουγγάριος'.
26. Three letters of Theodore the Studite are addressed to consuls (*Ep.* 148, *PG* 99, col. 1461; *Ep.* 149, *PG* 99, col. 1464; *Ep.* 173, *PG* 99, col.1541). The *Acts* of the Council of 787 still refer to the title (see R. Guilland, 'Le consul', pp. 556-7 and A. Christophilopoulos, Ἡ σύγκλητος, p. 108, n. 1), but in the *Life* of S. Philaret the Merciful (ed. Fourmy and Leroy), p. 151, ll. 8-16, the acceptance of the title is not regarded as incompatible with saintly humility. See R. Guilland, 'Le consul', pp. 557-8.

So, by Evagrius' time, the title was still an important one and would have been appropriate for a provincial governor - a *strategos* or duke, much as Bonifatius is portrayed, like Theodore, duke of Naples, and Theodotus, duke of Sardinia in the eighth century.[27] It is certainly regarded as elevated by Evagrius, and it is clear that he intends us to regard Bonifatius as a powerful figure. It is also possible that the word comes from the common stock of information about the past provided by the martyr *Acts*, or some such source, where consular dating appears.

The third title borne by Bonifatius is 'τοποκτίστης', a curious title which seems to have been introduced because of the comparison made between Bonifatius and the legendary Taurus, representing the awkwardness of our author in drawing parallels between the legendary foundation of Taormina and the Taormina of S. Pancratius' time and his tendency to conflate the two periods and to introduce fantastic elements into his presentation of Taormina in the apostolic era.

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27. On Theodore, duke of Naples, see J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile 1er jusqu' a la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071)* (Paris, 1904), p. 17, and on Theodotus, duke of Sardinia, see V. Leontovitsch, 'Verbindungslinien zwischen den. öffentlich-rechtlichen Institutionen des mittelalterlichen Sardiniens und dem öffentlichen Recht des Byzantinischen Reiches', *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di studi bizantini*, Palermo, 1951 (= *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* viii (1953)), p. 341.

The words 'λαμπρότατος' and 'κύριος' indicate Bonifatius' nobility, but these honorific titles cannot be associated with any precise administrative function.[28]

We have noted Bonifatius' insignia of mantle, cloak and staff. The ninth century *Cletorologion* indicates that the consul received a diploma,[29] the cloak being reserved for higher ranks, but earlier evidence seems to point to more extensive insignia.[30] A belt and cloak seem to have been worn by the *strategos*,[31] and this reinforces the impression that Evagrius had based his image of Bonifatius on the *strategos* (or perhaps the duke). It is probably fruitless to analyze the insignia too carefully, as Evagrius' purpose is surely to present Bonifatius as splendidly as possible, bearing a good range of the possible insignia. However, it does suggest that Evagrius had a source which was familiar with these terms representing things which must have rarely been seen in Sicily, and therefore perhaps dealt with imperial and court matters. Perhaps we have a reminiscence here of the Emperor

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28. See P. A. Yannopoulos, *La société profane*, pp. 74-6.
29. *Cleterologion* (ed. Oikonomides), p. 89, ll. 12-13, "ἐγγεγραμμένος χάρτης".
30. The consular insignia received by Clovis from Anastasius I in 506 included a diploma, a tunic and a staff (Cassiodorus, *Variarum* I, i).
31. In Genesius' description (ed. Lachmann), p. 7, ll. 1-5, of Leo V's accession, Leo is said to have removed the belt and cloak of a *strategos* before entering the palace, implying that, at least in 813, the insignia of a *strategos* included these items.

Constans' sojourn in Sicily.

Bonifatius, in his civil role and his activities as head of the army, as well as in the titles he is given, seems to correspond in function and status to a *strategos* of a theme, or perhaps a duke. Taormina was not the capital of Sicily until after the fall of Syracuse to the Arabs, nor was there a subdivision of the theme on the island itself,[32] so that Evagrius' purpose in exalting Taormina is clearly at work, in that he has made it the centre of a province, usurping Syracuse's function. Despite this exaggerated status for the city, however, it is also possible to get a glimpse of something which must approach closer to reality in images like that of Bonifatius sitting and having breakfast with a couple of friends and the reception of a merchant as a major event.

The Senate of Taormina is specifically referred to as a gathering. It is not just a matter of the existence of people of senatorial rank in Taormina.[33] There was, of course, no Senate

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32. There are several seals of turmarchs of *Sicily*, which implies that the island itself was not divided into smaller units, but that the theme of Sicily had three parts; the *turma* of Sicily and the dukedoms of Naples and Calabria. See S. Borsari, 'L'amministrazione', p. 147 with n. 3.

33. The Senate as a functioning body must be distinguished from the senatorial class. On the Byzantine Senate, see H.-G. Beck, 'Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel' *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte* 1966, h. 6 and A. Christophilopoulos, Ἡ σύγκλητος. The Senate was particularly influential in the reign of Constans II.

outside Constantinople (and earlier, Rome).[34] It appears that Evagrius' exalted view of Taormina's past importance was sufficient for him to liken it to the imperial capital and to attribute aspects of government of the capital to provincial Taormina. Once again we are in the imperial ambit, with implications for the sources of the *VP*. The relationship of Bonifatius to his own Senate, parallel to that of the Emperor to the Byzantine Senate, leads to the suspicion that one image which has contributed to the figure of Bonifatius is that of the Emperor; that Evagrius has reinforced his image of a *strategos* or governor with elements taken from the figure of the emperor. Bearing in mind that Bonifatius may represent Constans in his activities against the Lombards and Avars, it is possible that he may be identified with the Emperor in other ways, and that this may account for his supreme power, and maybe his title of 'ὕπατος'

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34. The Roman Senate did not survive into the seventh century. It may nevertheless have been the model for Taormina's senate through an intermediary source. It is possible that Evagrius has in mind a municipal council, a βουλή, or σύγκλητος τῆς πόλεως, a survival of the old curial system. However, the fact that its members are given senatorial rank, which local βουλευταί would not have had, and even the styling of Taormina as a πόλις, a term usually reserved for Constantinople or larger cities, suggests that Evagrius' model is Constantinople. On the municipal administration of cities, see M. Dendias, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'administration locale dans l'Empire byzantin', Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ'. Διεθνοῦς βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, Thessalonic$^{a}_{i}$, 1953, ii (='Ελληνικά ix (1956)), pp. 343-65.

and some of his insignia.

The terms 'πολιτάρχης' and 'τοπάρχης' are general, functional terms, rather than technical terms for specific functionaries, as is characteristic of the *VP*. The term 'πολιτάρχης', which may correspond to the *protonotarios*,[35] responsible for civil matters under the *strategos*, is also the general word for a civic magistrate in earlier times, and, again significantly, is used in the *Acts* of the Apostle John.[36] In the *VP*, the politarchs Aurelian and Elidus, through their hostility to the saint, take on some of the characteristics of the persecuting officials of the martyr *Acts*, which the governor himself has escaped. The word 'τοπάρχης' is used of the ruler of an ill-defined area outside the standard administrative system, as it was of the rulers of isolated areas of Sicily which remained in Christian hand under the Arabs.[37]

The local people of importance are referred to as τριβοῦνοι, μεγιστᾶνες, δυνατοί and πρῶτοι. Of these, only the presence of presumably civic tribunes is noteworthy. This is an early

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35. For a seal of a *protonotarios* of Sicily, see S. Borsari, 'L'amministrazione', p. 150, n. 3.
36. The *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 11, ll. 4-5.
37. The ninth century *Life* of S. Philaret the Younger records that an expedition against the Arabs was organized in Constantinople after a request ὑπὸ τοῦ ταύτης τοπάρχου (*AASS* (Apr. i), p. 608), that is, by some sort of autonomous ruler within the Byzantine sphere of influence. See S. Borsari, 'L'amministrazione', p. 151 with n. 4. An early example is provided by Procopius, *Wars* I.ii.12 (ed. Haury) i, p. 205, ll. 1-2, in relation to Abgar of Edessa.

function, which may be derived from the *Acts* of John,[38] and was also a feature of the administration of Italy under the exarchate.[39]

A number of features of the administrative system in the *VP*, then, are distinctive. The city of Taormina is promoted at least to the dignity of a provincial capital, with some characteristics even of Constantinople being added. The figure of Bonifatius seems to be a composite derived from a number of sources. In function and the title of 'ήγεμών' he seems to correspond either to the early governor of a province, perhaps through the mediation of the *Acts* of John or the body of information provided by the martyr *Acts*, with some additions, or to the *strategos* of a theme, or to represent the administrative arrangements of the exarchate. These sources are not mutually exclusive. A legendary element has been introduced into his presentation, and it is possible that a source dealing with the emperor, or at least his court, has also contributed to it. The Senate has been adopted from central Constantinopolitan administration, and the rest of the titles are general and functional.

The *VP* also provides details about military arrangements in Taormina, especially concerning the mustering of troops carried

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38. The *Acts* of the Apostle John (ed. Zahn), p. 5, l. 9.
39. See Ch. Diehl, *L'administration*, pp. 112-23.

out by means of an *adnoumion*. Bonifatius conducts an *adnoumion*, both in connection with an expedition and for its own sake, by sending out messengers to the city, where most of the soldiers are stationed, and horsemen to the provinces. The numbers raised are said to be two hundred thousand, and later, five hundred thousand. The area from which they are drawn is not altogether clear, but it is probably the area around Taormina bounded by adjoining mountains.[40] Each soldier arrives with full

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40. The area from which Bonifatius' army is drawn is described in the *VP*, p. 214 , ll. 5 - 6 , on which passage I offer the following notes.
τῶν Μυλικῶν ... ὀρέων. There are two possible interpretations of this toponym. 'Μύλαι' is the ancient name for the modern Milazzo, a name which survived through to the Norman period, as in the church of S. Theodore τῶν Μύλων in the diocese of Messina (see P. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye*, p. 14, quoting a Norman document). However, this is some distance from Taormina, considerably further than Mt. Etna, the next co-ordinating point given, and it seems odd for Milazzo, being on a peninsula and not specifically associated geographically with a mountain range, to have given its name to describe the Peloritan range which is nearest to it. It is also possible that the toponym is reflected in the present Castel Mola, which is much closer to Taormina than Mt. Etna, but may have been thought to include various neighbouring peaks.
τῶν ... Αἰτνικῶν ὀρέων. Mt. Etna. The plural form may have been formed by analogy with the previous toponym. The secure identification of this toponym gives some credibility to the other points of reference.
ἐκ τῆς παραλίου Τίτου. To my knowledge, no trace of this toponym remains in Sicily. If the hypothetical identification of the next co-ordinate is correct, then it would probably be a stretch of the shore to the South of Taormina.
καὶ τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ τέρμονος κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τοῦ Ἄγοντος τόπου. This toponym may be reflected in present Villagónia, South of Taormina. The boundary shared with the 'Shore of Titus' indicates a coastal position.

armour, of which shields, spears, belts, helmets and greaves are specifically mentioned. The officers, named as χιλίαρχοι, ἑκατοντάρχοι and πεντηκοντάρχοι, at least, have their own horses. Each soldier has his own tent and camps at the plain where the muster is carried out. In addition to the muster, they are given provisions and gifts, and later, booty. They are blessed by the bishop. The purpose of the army is to defend the city as well as to conduct expeditions against enemies at home and abroad.

In addition to this force, there is a small company of παῖδες numbering two hundred, under the command of a παιδιτάρχης, which is used for the suppression of civic disorders.

There is an early reference in a letter of Gregory the Great to an enlistment of soldiers in Sicily, but this is an isolated case and probably refers to the existence of *limitanei* in Sicily in that period.[41] The word 'ἀδνούμιον' is really only relevant to the

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Thus only one toponym, Mt. Etna, can be firmly identified. Evagrius may have had in mind the entire North-east corner of Sicily from Milazzo to Etna, or a smaller area consisting of Taormina and the mountains immediately inland from it, an undefinable stretch of the coast to the South and Mt. Etna further afield. The former possibility is probably more likely in view of the scale envisaged for Bonifatius' operations, and the position and extent of the territory of his enemies in Calabria.

41. The letter, *Ep.* II.38 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann) i, p. 137, records a visit to the Roman church's estates in Sicily by *scribones* "qui ... tyrones colligunt". This reference to recruitment, for which there is no contemporary parallel, is thought by J. F. Haldon, 'Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c. 550-950 : A Study on the Origins of the *Stratiotika Ktemata*', *Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte*, 357. Band (Vienna, 1979), p. 21, n. 5, to refer to *limitanei* in Sicily or a local or temporary conscription.

organization of the military after the establishment of the themes with soldiers distributed and settled in the provinces, although the points of similarity with arrangements in the exarchate should be noted. The term '*adnoumion*' is not found before the creation of the themes.[42] The means of recruitment in the themes and the exact nature of the soldier under the theme system, in particular, whether he was a full-time soldier, what his means of support were, to what extent he supplied his own needs, and whether he owned lands, is a subject of much debate which cannot be entered into here,[43] and we will restrict our discussion to those aspects for which the *VP* supplies some evidence, or where available evidence explicates the text, assuming that Evagrius' account of the *adnoumion* does to some extent bear a relation to reality, especially as localization of the army must have made military

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42. The reading 'ἀδνουμιάζειν' in Scheffer's edition of Maurice's *Strategicon* (VII.2, p. 138; cf. 'τοῦ ἀδνουμίου' cited in the apparatus to *Strategicon* I.2.11, p. 54, in the ed. of Mihăescu) is found only in inferior manuscripts and is rejected by the modern editors Mihăescu and Dennis. Leo's *Tacticon*, ix.4 (ed. Vári) p. 210, does refer to the *adnoumion*. Before the creation of the themes, there was an annual cavalry manoeuvre, attested in the *Miracles* of S. Anastasius the Persian, c. 9 (ed. Usener), which may be the same as the Scythian manoeuvre of Maurice's *Strategicon*, VI.1 (ed. Dennis), p. 218, but is not really a muster in the sense of the later *adnoumion*.

43. See the summary of the debate, for example, in P. Lemerle, 'Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance : les sources et les problèmes', *RH* ccxix (1958), pp. 70-73, ccxx (1958), pp. 43-70.

affairs a greater part of community life and more accessible to non-military people.

First, we are unfortunately told nothing of the means of support of the soldiers, or whether they had other occupations or family support or land, so that the *VP* adds nothing to debate on this issue. Some soldiers are settled in the provinces, but most are in the city, perhaps representing a local garrison. The *VP* does give evidence of what the soldiers were expected to provide. They brought their own armour,[44] and in some cases horses, with them to the muster. The list of weapons is incomplete, no doubt, but the items in it are otherwise attested in the panoply of

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44. Among the evidence for thematic soldiers supplying their own equipment, see especially the *Ecloga* of the Isaurians Leo III and Constantine V, XVI,2 (ed. I. and P. Zepos), pp. 50-1, and the discussion of the text by J. Mossay and P. Yannopoulos, 'L'Article XVI,2 de l'Éclogue des Isauriens et la situation des soldats', *Byzantion* xlvi (1976), pp. 48-57; Leo's *Tacticon* VI.1, VI.3 (ed. Vári) pp. 98-99, pp. 101-102 (where this provision is interpolated into the passage of Maurice's *Strategicon*, I.2.3, on which it is based); and the *Life* of S. Philaret the Merciful (ed. Fourmy and Leroy), pp. 125, l. 34 - 127, l. 28. See also J. F. Haldon, 'Recruitment', p. 72, n. 127.

Byzantine infantry,[45] and this inspires confidence. Again, this supply of armour by the soldiers themselves is only relevant to the organization of the army under the thematic system,[46] as before this, equipment was supplied centrally from the State. The evidence of the *VP* corroborates evidence from other sources on this point.

The soldiers, on the other hand, are provisioned by Bonifatius. The extent to which soldiers provisioned themselves is

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45. The shields, spears, helmets and greaves (but not the belts) are all mentioned in the lists of weapons of the Byzantine infantry supplied by Procopius, *Wars* i, I.9-15 (ed. Haury) i, pp. 6-7; by the anon. treatise περὶ Στρατηγικῆς, xvi (ed. Köchly and Rüstow), pp. 100-104; and Maurice's *Strategicon*. There do not appear to have been major changes in the type of equipment used until the ninth century, although the Isaurian *Ecloga* (see above, p. 241, n. 44), implies that the thematic soldiers, supplying their own weapons, were not always well equipped. See J. F. Haldon, 'Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries', *BMGS* i (1975), pp. 11-47. There is a reference in the *VP* to ἅρματα. It is clear that this must mean armour or military equipment, not chariots or carts, as it is ludicrous to suggest that every infantry soldier went to battle with his own cart. This is perhaps clearer in other texts, where the confusion of breathings on 'ἅρμα' and 'ἅρμα' has led to some misinterpretations. See J. F. Haldon, 'Recruitment', p. 68, n .121.

46. See J. F. Haldon, 'Byzantine Military Technology', p. 42 with n. 139. It is probable that the tagmatic troops were still provided with equipment by the state. See H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IX^{e} - XI^{e} siècles', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* lxxxiv (1960), p. 25 and J. F. Haldon, 'Recruitment', p. 69, n. 123.

unclear in the sources,[47] and the account in the *VP* is useful in that Evagrius assumes that at least some of them must be centrally provisioned. There is mention also of δονατίβα and booty,[48] as we would expect, but not of any salary.

The *adnoumion* is not only conducted before an expedition, but also as a matter of routine, and this conforms to other evidence that troops were regularly mustered for the purpose of checking them and their equipment.[49]

The account in the *VP* is consistent with the well-known incident in the *Life* of S. Philaret the Merciful,[50] a text of the early ninth century, in which the soldier Mousoulias' horse dies as

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47. There appears to have been a distinction between the soldiers who provisioned themselves and those provisioned by the State. For example, S. Luke the Stylite took his provisions from his father's house and "οὐκ ὀψώνιον ἤτοι βασιλικὸν λαμβάνων σιτηρέσιον, ὡς ἔθος τοῖς στρατευομένοις δίδοσθαι." *Life* of S. Luke the Stylite, c. 6 (ed. Delehaye), p. 201, ll. 15-17. Ibn Khordādhbeh thought the Byzantines were responsible for their own provisions. See H. Gelzer, 'Die Genesis', p. 115. On this question, see J. F. Haldon, 'Recruitment', p. 45 with n. 73 and P. Lemerle, 'Esquisse pour une histoire agraire', pp. 70-73.

48. On the distribution of spoils, see A. Dain, 'Le partage du butin de guerre d'après les traités juridiques et militaires', *Actes du VI^e Congrès international d'Études Byzantines*, Paris, 1948, i (Paris, 1950), pp. 347-54. Unfortunately, the *VP* gives little detail about the process.

49. See J. F. Haldon, 'Recruitment', p. 63.

50. The *Life* of S. Philaret the Merciful (ed. Fourmy and Leroy), pp. 125, l. 34 - 127, l. 28. The *Life* was written in 821/22 (*Life* of Philaret, p. 165, l. 28), and refers here to an event taking place between 780 and 788, and probably between 782 and 788.

he is called for an *adnoumion*.[51] The imperial representative sent to the local garrison carries out the muster through officers, the χιλίαρχοι, ἑκατοντάρχοι and πεντηκοντάρχοι, and the case of Mousoulias indicates that each soldier had his own horse and armour.

The χιλίαρχοι, ἑκατοντάρχοι and πεντηκοντάρχοι, commanders of one thousand, one hundred and fifty respectively, are not commonly found officers, but the three levels of command are found, as we have noted, in the *Life* of S. Philaret.[52]

The absence of the terms usually associated with the thematic system, like 'στρατηγός' and 'δρουγγάριος', should not concern us. The *Life* of S. Philaret, which uses the same terminology, certainly represents the thematic system, and once again, Evagrius has chosen to use general terms descriptive of function rather than technical terms. It is also true that old terminology survived in

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51. The *Life* of Philaret, like the *VP*, uses both the forms 'ἀδνούμιον' and 'ἀδνοῦμις'.
52. The *Life* of Philaret (ed. Fourmy and Leroy), p. 127, ll. 1-2. The *Miracles* of S. Demetrius (ed. Lemerle), p. 230, l. 20, refer to πεντηκοντάρχοι. Ibn Khordādhbeh (H. Gelzer, 'Die Genesis', p. 118) has kontarhīn in charge of forty men, which may be ἑκατονάρχοι or πεντηκοντάρχοι (cf. Leo, *Tactica*, iv.13 (ed. Vári), p. 56, where 'κένταρχος' = 'ἑκατονάρχης'). I have not included the military tribune of S. Pancratius' second miracle in this discussion, as he is not presented as part of this system, and is probably derived from the *Acts* of John. On the military tribune in the pre-thematic army, see R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 145-50.

general use for some time after the creation of the themes.[53]

The company of παῖδες is an unusual element. The use of slaves in the army is only found early and exceptionally,[54] so that it is unlikely that Evagrius has such a practice in mind, unless it is a simple invention. It is more likely that the παῖδες correspond to *buccellarii*, of whom the term 'παῖδες' is used in historians of the sixth century.[55] Although they are said to be experienced in war, they are not part of the regular army, but assist and attend Bonifatius, and have a policing role. I do not know of another

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53. E.g., H. Gelzer has shown ('Die Genesis', pp. 40-2, 64-72, 127-33) that the term 'ἔπαρχοι' survived after the creation of the themes.

54. There are early examples of slaves being used in the army in exceptional circumstances (see R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, p. 199), but this is forbidden by the *Codex Theodosianus* (ed. Mommsen-Meyer), VII 13.8; 11; VII 18.9 and *Codex Justinianus* (ed. Krueger), XII 43.2; XII 33.6, although cf. *Codex Justinianus* 12.33.7. See J. F. Haldon, 'Recruitment', pp. 26-7 and J. Karayannopoulos, 'Contribution au problème des thèmes byzantins', *L'Hellénisme Contemporain* x (1956), pp. 455-502. The word 'παῖς' is found, although rarely, of slaves in some papyri and Byzantine texts. See A. Hadjinicolaou-Marava, *Recherches sur la vie des esclaves dans le Monde Byzantin* (Athens, 1950), pp. 116-7.

55. The *buccellarii* are referred to as 'παῖδες' in Agathias, *Histories* iii 16.8 (ed. Keydell), p. 105, l. 22, and in Latin trans. as '*pueri*' in the *Chronicle* of Fredegar ii, c. 62 (ed. Krusch) p. 86, l. 29. On the function and qualities of the *buccellarii* see A. Pertusi, 'Ordinamenti militari, guerre in Occidente e teorie di guerra dei Bizantini (secc. VI-X)', *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo* xv/2 (1967), pp. 634, 665. Pertusi, p. 665, estimates that there were three hundred to six hundred *buccellarii* attached to a *strategos*.

attestation of the term 'παιδιτάρχης', and it seems that this is another example of a term descriptive of a function being used by Evagrius. In this case, it is likely that it is his own invention, analogous with the 'ἑκατονάρχης' and 'πεντηκοντάρχης', and this suggests that it is probably true of some of Evagrius' other terms for offices, so that we need not concern ourselves about identifying sources for such terms, even if they are attested elsewhere. The παῖδες mentioned elsewhere in the text are probably military servants.[56] It is also possible that the term 'παιδιτάρχης' arose from a confusion between 'παῖδες' and '*pedes/pedites*', meaning 'foot soldiers'.

A legendary and fantastic element is certainly present in Evagrius' description of military organization, as in the wild estimate of the numbers involved,[57] but on the other hand, it seems likely that it reflects a knowledge of current practice, in that it is consistent with other evidence we have of Byzantine

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56. On παῖδες as military servants, see Leo's *Tactica*, vi.15 (ed. Vári), pp. 108-9, where it is said, "τοὺς δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων ἄρχοντας ... ἀναγκάζεσθαι χρὴ παῖδας ἑαυτοῖς ἐπινοεῖν δούλους ἢ ἐλευθέρους".

57. On probable numbers in the Byzantine army see, e.g., A. Pertusi, 'Ordinamenti militari', p. 636 and R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 328-9.

military arrangements. It corresponds to circumstances under the theme system, even if some of the terms associated with that system are not used. Evagrius, then, probably was writing after the introduction of thematic organization in Sicily. We have seen that the establishment of the theme of Sicily can be dated definitely before 709/10, and probably before 695. The beginning of localization of troops may not have exactly coincided with the formal creation of the theme, and Evagrius must also have been writing at least a short time after its introduction to have assumed its existence and presented it as existing in antiquity, but it remains that the description of the *adnoumion* provides a fairly specific *terminus post quem* of the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth century. This increases the probablility that the figure of the *strategos* (or duke) has contributed substantially to the figure of Bonifatius.

It is still possible that a familiarity with the military arrangements in the exarchate is responsible for the depiction of the army in the *VP*, but there is no evidence that this system extended to Sicily before it became a theme. We have noted the survival of civil administration there. It appears that the army of the exarchate, rather than local troops, were brought in to deal with defence needs on the island in the second half of the

seventh century.[58] If the administration of the exarchate was Evagrius' inspiration, it was as a foreign, not a local phenomenon, and apart from his one reference to Ravenna, he does not show any special familiarity other than with the South of Italy.

VP, p. 49, l. 13.

The Praetorium

See above, p. 210.

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58. E.g. the repulse of the Saracens by Olympius in 653 (*Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne) I, p. 338) and the arrival of the *exercitus Italiae* in Sicily after the death of Constans in Syracuse in 668 (*Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne) I, p. 346).

VP, p. 79, l. 9.

The gods in the *VP*

Most of the gods in the *VP*, like Apollo, Artemis and Zeus are part of the standard pantheon of gods favoured by hagiographers, and as such need no comment, but several more unusual cases do appear in our text.

The god Σκάμανδρος is not a common pagan god in Byzantine writings, but is found, for example, in the *Martyrdom* of SS. Photius and Anicetus.[1]

The god Λύσσων is not, to my knowledge, found elsewhere. The name may have arisen through the transformation of an attribute of a god, derived from 'λυσσόω', into the name of the god itself.

The identity of the goddess 'ἡ θυγάτηρ Ἥρωνος' is obscure to me. I suggest tentatively that Aphrodite may be the goddess concerned, both because this provides a reason for the periphrastic name and because of the association of Hero with Aphrodite, if in fact the reference to Hero is a reminiscence of the Hero of Greek mythology.

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1. *Martyrdom* of SS. Photius and Anicetus (ed. Latyshev), p. 98, l. 1.

The source of the god Φάλκων is likewise obscure to me, as is the nature of the πάρεδρος attendant upon the god.

It is perhaps surprising that Evagrius, writing at the beginning of the eighth century, has so little knowledge of the pagan cult. The more animistic cult renounced by Epaphroditus' converts may be the sort of pagan survival with which he was more familiar.[2]

VP, p. 85, l. 1

The Liturgy

See above, p. 130 - 135.

VP, p. 87, l. 3

The use of illustrations during the reading of the Gospel.

See above, p. 137.

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2. *VP*, p. 309, ll. 4 - 9.

VP, p. 130, l. 2

The Tetrahippion

See above, p. 206 - 207.

VP, p. 140, l. 2

The Consecration of Churches

See above, p. 128 - 129.

VP, p. 140, l. 14

<u>The *bistorikos oikiskos* (?)</u>

The meaning of 'βιστορικός' is unknown to me, so I have obelized it in the text.

VP, p. 152, l. 7

<u>A pun</u>

Evagrius embellishes his narrative with a play on words at

this point. Bonifatius refers to divine (θεία) providence. The people of Taormina think that he speaks of a goddess (θεά).

VP, p. 150, l. 10.

The gods in the *VP*.

See above, p. 249 – 251.

VP, p. 177, l. 3.

The serpent's vertebrae

Each of the bones weighed approximately 19.2 kg.[1] The serpent, then, is of fantastic proportions.

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1. 1 *litra* = c. 320 g.. See E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, Index, s.v. 'λίτρα'.

VP, p. 180, l. 5.

The Book of Isaiah

See above, p. 167.

VP, p. 181, l. 10.

The Jews and Montanists

S. Pancratius' chief adversaries in the *VP* are said to be the Jews and the Montanists.

There is considerable evidence of the existence of Jewish communities in Sicily, although none relates specifically to Taormina. The letters of Gregory the Great refer to Jewish tenants on Papal estates in Palermo, Agrigento and Messina at the end of the sixth century.[1] Epigraphic evidence from different periods points to communities of Jews in many of the major cities

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1. Pope Gregory I, *Ep.* VII, 41 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann) i, p. 489 (Messina); *Ep.* VIII, 25 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann) ii, p. 27 (Palermo); *Ep.* IX, 38 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann) ii, p. 67 (Palermo); *Ep.* VIII, 23 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann) ii, p. 24 (Agrigento).

of Sicily.[2]

There is a substantial body of evidence in hagiography produced in Sicily, where incidents involving Jews are a regular feature. Thus, in the *Life* of S. Zosimas of Syracuse, Jews are refused permission to build a synagogue by S. Zosimas, the bishop of Syracuse.[3] The *Life* of S. Leo of Catania is principally concerned with the exploits of a Hebrew magician called Heliodorus, evidence of the association of Jews and magic in the Sicilian mind.[4] In the *Life* of S. Alphius and the martyrs of Lentini, there is an elaborate incident involving the conversion of Jews, which mentions a Jewish quarter of the city and the stoning outside the city by the Jews of their own apostates after the governor had consulted with the Jewish elders and given them permission to apply their own law among their own people.[5] In an addition to the *Life*, a leprous Jew, Samuel, is converted and ordained to the priesthood.[6] The appearance of Jews as

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2. See S. Calderone, 'Per la storia dell' elemento giudaico nella Sicilia imperiale', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, ser. 8 (1955), *Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* x, pp. 489-502 and J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, i (Vatican, 1936), nos. 650-54.
3. The *Life* of S. Zosimas of Syracuse, *AASS* (Mar. iii), c.19, p. 842. See the commentary in J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204* (Athens, 1939), no. 4, pp. 86-87.
4. The *Life* of S. Leo of Catania, (*AASS* Feb. iii), *passim*.
5. The *Life* of S. Alphius and the martyrs of Lentini, *AASS* (Maii ii), c. 6, p. 546.
6. The *Life* of S. Alphius and the martyrs of Lentini, AASS (Maii ii), Appendix, p. 548.

S. Marcian's adversaries in the *Encomium* of the saint may be derived from the *VP*, but the perpetuation of this role is significant.[7] The Jews, then, were a real element in Sicilian life, as well as a common feature in hagiographic texts concerning Sicily. It is not surprising to find them as S. Pancratius' enemies in the *VP*.

There is no specific evidence of the existence of Montanists in Sicily. By the time of the earliest possible date for the composition of the *VP*, evidence concerning this sect is restricted entirely to the Eastern parts of the empire, the last reference to the existence of the heresy in the West being a letter of Gregory the Great to the bishops of Spain on the reception of heretics.[8] It is unlikely, then, that Evagrius' choice of Montanists, referred to by him as 'Μοντανοί', as malefactors was related to contemporary circumstances in Sicily. Furthermore, he does not appear to have any knowledge of the nature of the heresy, although it continued to be described well into this period. He seems to look on it as a form of paganism with erotic

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7. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 3.
8. Pope Gregory I, *Ep.* XI, 52 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann) ii, p. 325 (Catafrigae). The only sources associating Montanism with Italy are Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita*, IX, c. 39, *PL* 69, col. 1156 (tr. Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII.18.12 (ed. Bidez) p. 329) and a notice of action taken by Pope Innocent, *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne) i, p. 220. See P. de Labriolle, *La crise Montaniste* (Paris, 1913), pp. 477-9.

preoccupations, so that it seems likely that Evagrius had only the name as a source, and his imagination.

In 721/22, Leo III issued a decree to bring about the forced baptism of Jews and Montanists,[9] and it has been suggested[10] that Evagrius' choice of these two groups was made in response to the imperial edict. No other material in the *VP* is derived from such a source, and in general, imperial legislation is not a regular source of inspiration for hagiography. For example, in the episode concerning the Jews in the *Life* of S. Zosimas, it is possible to infer the legislation which was being acted upon from the description of the incident, but an intention to illustrate the legislation itself is not apparent. In addition, had Evagrius been fully aware of the imperial edict, one would have expected him to have realized that Montanism was a heresy of more general

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9. Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 401.
τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἠνάγκασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἑβραίους καὶ τοὺς Μοντανοὺς βαπτίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπροαιρέτως βαπτιζόμενοι ἀπελούοντο τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ ἐσθίοντες μετελάμβανον τὴν ἁγίαν δωρεὰν καὶ ἔχραινον τὴν πίστιν. οἱ δὲ Μοντανοὶ διαμαντεύσαντες ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ὁρίσαντες ἡμέραν εἰσῆλθον εἰς τοὺς ὡρισμένους οἴκους τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν καὶ κατέκαυσαν ἑαυτούς.
Cedrenus (ed. Bekker) I, 793, puts the events in the following year. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia* (ed. Bekker), p. 179, states that Leo forcibly baptized Jews who were then called Montanists. See F. Dölger, *Regesten* I, no. 286. Shortly after this, the *Ecloga* of Leo III and Constantine IV, XVIII, 52 (ed. I. and P. Zepos), p. 61, states that Manichees and Montanists were to be killed by the sword, but does not mention the Jews. See F. Dölger, *Regesten* I, no. 304.
10. A. N. Veselovksij, 'Из истории', p. 67, followed by É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 588.

significance than is implied in his treatment of it in the *VP*.

The name of the Montanists continues to appear in Byzantine literature well after the period with which we are concerned, often in repetitions of earlier references in canonical and anti-heretical literature,[11] or in lists of miscellaneous heretics, contexts which do not suggest derivation from historical circumstances involving the Montanists. Thus Montanus figures in a list of heretics, beginning with the Jews, in the *Life* of S. Stephen the Younger.[12] At the Council of 814, iconoclasm is said to have made the Jews rejoice again and the Montanists resume their place.[13] Ignatius the Deacon's reference in his *Life* of S. Nicephorus to the Patriarch's hostility to Jews, Manichees and Phrygians[14] also reflects the continued association of Jews and Montanists as objects of odium. Leo's edict itself is evidence of the hostility to the Jews and Montanists and the association of the two groups in

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11. Thus the Quinisext Council (Mansi xi, 984) repeats a pseudo-canon of the Second Oecumenical Council, and Patriarch Germanus, *Ad Anthimum* IV-V, *PG* 98, col. 44, and S. John Damascene, *De haeresibus* lxxxvii, *PG* 94, coll. 705-8, repeat earlier descriptions of the heresy.
12. The *Life* of S. Stephen the Younger, *PG* 100, col. 1110.
13. Mansi xiv, 120.
πάλιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι χαίρουσι ... πάλιν Μωνταναὶ χώραν ἔλαβον.
14. Ignatius the Deacon, *Life* of S. Nicephorus (ed. de Boor) pp. 158-9. Manichees often appear with Montanists, fulfilling the same sort of function.

the Byzantine mind.[15]

It seems more likely, granted that there is a pattern of reference to Jews and Montanists unrelated to historical circumstances in Byzantine literature, that the source of the appearance of the Montanists in the *VP* is the general Byzantine stock of villainous groups worthy of opprobrium, in which the Montanists continued to remain even into the ninth century, and the Jews had a permanent place, rather than a specific piece of imperial legislation or historical circumstance. At least, there is sufficient likelihood that this is the case to preclude dating the *VP* on the basis of Leo's edict.

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15. It has been suggested by A. Sharf, 'The Jews, the Montanists and the Emperor Leo III', *BZ* lix (1966), pp. 37-46, that Jews who fell under the influence of the false Messiah Severus (or Serenus) who appeared *circa* 720 in Syria came to be called Montanists, and that the existence of this group within Judaism explains the association of Jews and Montanists in the Isaurian legislation and other sources. Whatever the merits of Sharf's suggestion, it is very unlikely that it is relevant to the *VP*. While Jewish messianism and Christian involvement in it is not unknown in Sicily, as evidence provided by Gregory the Great in the sixth century indicates (*Ep.* III, 37 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann), I, pp. 194-5), the area of Severus' activity in the early eighth century is far removed from Sicily and his influence is unlikely to have reached that far. Moreover, had Evagrius been at all familiar with a Jewish sect called 'Montanists', we would expect him to have been able to present a more accurate picture of the relationship between Judaism and Montanism, and of Montanism itself, than the simple accusations of complicity and lewdness we find in the *VP*.

VP, p. 184, l. 15

Menia

See below, p. 331 - 335.

VP, p. 194, l. 1

Deaconesses

A number of women who are deaconesses play an important role in the narrative of the *VP*, and in connection with these figures, Evagrius gives a limited indication of their status and function.

The deaconesses are also nuns, having asked for the rank of deaconess and the holy *schema*,[1] and live in a community (συνοδία) which includes virgins and widows who are not deaconesses.[2] The

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1. The acts of becoming a nun and of becoming a deaconess are clearly seen as separate, in that the virgins ask for a 'double grace', *VP*, p. 212, ll. 11-12.
2. The younger sister is left unordained, yet lives in the community, and there is no mention of ordination for the many virgins and widows who joined the community.

superior of this community, Paulina, is described as a πρωτοδιάκονος. S. Pancratius builds a cell (κελλίον) for them in the church where they are to remain during the morning and evening offices and the Liturgy. Later they are installed in a dwelling (οἶκος) at the grave of the two martyred virgin sisters of their community. Two functions only are ascribed to them; the adorning or cleaning (καλλιεργία) of the church on Saturdays and attendance at services. They are ordained (χειροτονεῖν or χειροτονία) by the bishop and there is an unspecified lower age limit for ordination, on the grounds of which the younger of the two sisters later martyred is rejected.

These details can be compared with information from other sources. A case which provides a number of parallels is that of the deaconess Olympias in Constantinople in the late fourth century.[3] This young widow became a deaconess and was

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3. The *Life* of S. Olympias the Deaconess (ed. *AB* xv (1896), pp. 409-423), written after 450, is based on passages in Palladius' *Dialogue* and *Lausiac History*. In addition, there is information concerning S. Olympias in Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, VIII.9.1-3 (ed. Bidez), pp. 361.19 - 363.6; VIII.24.4-7 (ed. Bidez), p. 382.1-21. See especially the *Life* of S. Olympias, c.6 (ed. *AB* xv (1896)), p. 414, ll. 4-9.

> τῇ οὖν θείᾳ βουλήσει χειροτονεῖται διάκονος τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, καὶ κτίζει μοναστήριον εἰς τὸν μεσημβρινὸν αὐτῆς ἔμβολον· πάντα γὰρ τὰ οἰκήματα τὰ παρακείμενα τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργαστήρια τὰ εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον μεσημβρινὸν ἔμβολον ὄντα αὐτῇ διέφερον· καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν ἄνοδον τοῦ αὐτοῦ μοναστηρίου εἰς τὸν νάρθηκα τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας.

Cf. the installation by Patriarch Cyriacus of his sister, a deaconess, in the church of the Diaconissa, recorded in the *Patria*, III, c. 102 (ed. Preger), p. 250.

superior of a monastery which included other deaconesses, members of her family, at the Great Church at Constantinople. She was a disciple of the Patriarch, S. John Chrysostom, much as the deaconesses in the *VP* were disciples of their bishop, S. Pancratius. There are many other examples of deaconesses being monastic superiors,[4] and in the Greek East it seems to have been the rule that deaconesses were monastics.[5] It remained, however, an honour which not all female monastics attained.[6]

It is not clear what Evagrius has in mind when he refers to a κελλίον built for the nuns in the church. A special area in the narthex of Hagia Sophia reserved for the deaconesses is recorded

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4. See R. Gryson, *Le ministère des femmes dans l'église ancienne* (Gembloux, 1972), pp. 146-49; E. D. Theodoros, ''Η «χειροτονία» ἢ «χειροθεσία» τῶν διακονισσῶν', Θεολογία xxv (1954), pp. 458-9 and A. G. Martimort, *Les diaconesses. Essai historique* (Rome, 1982), pp. 133-37.
5. Already, in the case of Olympias and her successors, we have an example of deaconesses assigned to a cathedral forming a monastic community, of which not all members were ordained, with their own abbess, a deaconess, and a degree of autonomy. See A. G. Martimort, *Les diaconesses*, p. 136.
6. E.g., in Mark the Deacon's *Life* of S. Porphyrius, c. 102 (ed. Grégoire and Kugener), p. 78, ll. 1-7, a young woman is given only τὸ κανονικὸν σχῆμα and entrusted to the superior, τὴν διάκονον, Manaris. The forty-eighth canon of the Trullan Council decrees that the wife of a man who becomes a bishop, at his ordination must enter a monastery, and, if she proves worthy of it, may become a deaconess (εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀξία φανείη καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς διακονίας ἀναβιβασθήσεται ἀξίωμα. Mansi xi, 965)

in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De ceremoniis*,[7] and granted that women as a whole were segregated in church, it is not remarkable that we should find an area assigned for deaconesses earlier. It seems that in the *VP* the deaconesses are seen as being divided from the laity by some form of barrier.

I do not know of other evidence for the role of deaconesses in cleaning or beautifying the cathedral church, but this reference may provide evidence of a function fulfilled by a small, provincial women's community.

The words used to describe the ordination of the women are 'χειροτονία' and 'χειροτονεῖν', terms familiar in this connection

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7. On Great Saturday, it is reported that the Emperor,
διέρχεται διὰ τοῦ γυναικίτου νάρθηκος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν συνήθη στάσιν κέκτηνται αἱ τῆς αὐτῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας διακόνισσαι
...
Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis* i, c. 44 (35) (ed. Vogt) i, p. 171, ll. 9-11. There is a reference to a special place for deaconesses in the North part of the church in the *Didascalia Arabica* xxxv, 17 (ed. Funk) ii, p. 125, ll. 18-20.
"Presbyteri et diaconi et reliquus clerus, si fieri potest, sint in ecclesia, diaconissae autem sint in loco septemtrionali ecclesiae ..."

from the fifth century.[8] The deaconesses are called both 'διακόνισσαι' and 'διάκονοι', the former term being in use since the First Council of Nicaea.[9]

The minimum age for deaconesses is described in canonical and legal sources variously as being forty, fifty or sixty years,[10] and this is hardly compatible with the implication that the two

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8. There is disagreement among scholars as to the significance of the terms used to describe the ordination of deaconesses. Some canonists, following an apparent distinction made by Zonaras between the terms 'χειροτονία' and 'χειροθεσία', have argued that there is a significant difference in the use of the two words, the former being appropriate only to the higher orders of male clergy, from the level of deacon. For the argument in favor of this distinction, see N. Milach, Τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δίκαιον τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἀνατολικῆς ἐκκλησίας (Athens, 1906), p. 380 and P. de Meester, *De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam byzantinam. Statua selectis fontibus et commentario instructa* (Vatican, 1942), p. 238. For the argument against a significant difference in the use of the two words, see J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια de l'église byzantine* (Paris, 1970), p. 88, n. 1 and J. Cotsonis, 'A Contribution to the Interpretation of the 19th Canon of the First Ecumenical Council', *REB* xix (1961), pp. 189-97. In the period with which we are concerned, the canons of the Trullan Council use the former term for the ordination of deaconesses and clergy down to the level of subdeacon, and the Barberini *Euchologion* (ed. Goar), pp. 218-9, also uses this word in the Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ Διακονίσσης.Whatever the later developments in terminology, the *VP* shows no sign of any distinction in the words used for the ordination of different levels of clergy, but uses the terms 'χειροτονία' and 'χειροτονεῖν' for all levels of clergy, including deaconesses.

9. The term 'ἡ διακόνισσα' rather than 'ἡ διάκονος' is first introduced at the Council of Nicaea in 325 (Mansi ii, 677).

10. Forty years: Council of Chalcedon, c. 15 (Mansi vii, 364); Justinian, *Novels* 123, 13 (ed. Schoell-Kroll), p. 604; Trullan Council, c .14 (Mansi xi, 949). Fifty years: Justinian, *Novels*, 6, 6 (ed. Schoell-Kroll), p. 43. Sixty years: *Apostolic Constitutions* III, I, 1-2 (ed. Funk) i, p. 183, ll. 3-9; *Codex Theodosianus* xvi, II.27 (ed. Mommsen-Meyer), p. 843.

virgins are both quite young and marriageable. The case of Olympias[11] shows that exceptions were made, but we should also not expect of our author complete consistency.

Evagrius' representation of the deaconesses, then, is quite credible and conforms to a considerable degree with information from other sources. It offers no assistance in dating the text, as deaconesses are attested into the twelfth century,[12] but gives confidence that Evagrius' presentation of ecclesiastical arrangements is not as imaginary as other elements in the *VP*.

VP, p. 202, l. 1.

Liturgy

See above, p. 130 - 135.

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11. Olympias was not yet thirty years old. See Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII.9.1 (ed. Bidez), p. 361, "καίπερ νέαν χήραν γενομένην, ... διάκονον ἐχειροτόνησε ...", ll. 22-3.
12. See A. G. Martimort, *Les diaconesses*, pp. 171-74.

VP, p. 204, l. 12

The Φιλικὸς τοπίσκος

See above, p. 214 - 215.

VP, p. 214, l. 5

Toponyms near Taormina

See above, p. 249.

VP, p. 231, l. 6

Another pun

Evagrius attempts a second play on words when he suggests that Elidus' name, the meaning of which is unclear to me, should be '῎Ονειδος', meaning 'Disgrace'.

VP, p. 231, l. 11

Scamander

See above, p. 249.

VP, p. 231, l. 15

The Montanists

See above, p. 253 – 259.

VP, p. 238, l. 13

Paulina

The deaconess Paulina is introduced as a major participant in events in the *VP* without any explanation of her background. Perhaps this was a name associated with the S. Pancratius legend, or already honoured in Taormina, which Evagrius was compelled to mention. Paulina appears where we would expect Benedicta, of whom we henceforth we hear nothing. Perhaps Evagrius forgot the name he allocated to this figure and substituted 'Paulina' for 'Benedicta'.

VP, p. 240, l. 10

The two orphaned sisters - Sergia and Susanna (?)

The manuscripts C and Y record the names of the two

martyred sisters as 'Σεγία' and 'Σουσάννα' or 'Σωσάννα'.[1] The manuscripts X and S name one sister 'Σεῖα', but leave the other unnamed. The manuscript V and the manuscripts of the second recension do not have either name,[2] but have 'τὴν νέαν' in the place of the 'Σεῖαν' of X and S.

The *Canon in Sanctum Pancratium Episcopum* of Elias the Hymnographer has both names, in the forms 'Σεργία' and 'Σωσάννα' in Vallic. Gr. E 55 and 'Σεγία' and 'Σουσάννα' in Crypt. Δ.γ.III. The two saints appear in the *Synaxarion* on the sixth of June as ''Ευσεβεία' or ''Εσία' and 'Σωσάννα'.[3]

The appearance of the two names in the *Canon* of Elias indicates that the names were in the text in Sicily by the middle of the ninth century. It is possible that the names were in the original text, and were lost through the progressive corruption of 'Σεργία', first to 'Σεγία', then 'Σεῖα', and from the increasingly nonsensical name, 'ἡ νέα', this development perhaps being assisted by increasing distance from the area where the saints

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1. Both C and Y have both forms of the name.
2. The manuscript Z also omits both names, but it is so heavily abridged that this does not have much significance.
3. *Synaxarion* (ed. Delehaye), 733 (June 6).
   Καὶ ἄθλησις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων γυναικῶν Εὐσεβείας καὶ Σωσάννης, μαθητριῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Παγκρατίου ἐπισκόπου Ταυρομενίου.
The manuscript Par. Gr. 1587 has the reading ''Εσίας' for 'Εὐσεβείας' and the Venetian *menaea* commemorate the martyrs as Αἰσία and Σωσάννη on June 7.

were venerated. The progressive corruption of the name of Sergia does not, however, explain the loss of the name 'Susanna'.

It is also possible that the two names were introduced into the tradition as a gloss, perhaps attempting to identify the virgin martyrs with locally venerated saints, and from this entered the text of the branch of the tradition represented by C and Y, upon which Elias the Hymnographer seems to have based his *Canon*.

The latter possibility has been preferred, with some hesitation, in establishing the text at this point, both on the basis of the general appraisal of the merits of C and Y and because the inclusion of a gloss seems a more likely development than the loss of the two names.

VP, p. 236, l. 5.

The Bath

See above, p. 210.

VP, p. 250, l. 9.

Toponyms in Taormina

See above, p. 203.

VP, p. 270, l. 2.

The Avars and Slavs

Evagrius refers to an expedition made by Bonifatius against Avars in the vicinity of Durazzo and Athens, in which Avars are captured and brought back to Taormina. They are described as an abominable race, speaking a foreign tongue, and through interpreters they say that they venerate four-footed animals, fire, water and their swords, and refer to having temples with gods in them. The Taorminians declare that they will make the captives speak Greek and Latin and become Christians. After baptism, which miraculously bestows on them the gift of the Greek tongue, they are distributed amongst the provinces. We will consider this incident together with the reference to the dwellings of the Slavs[1]

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1. *VP*, p. 355, l.8. It is interesting that the passage concerning the settlement of the Slavs is omitted from the Old Slavonic translation. The word used in the *VP* for the inhabitants of this settlement is 'Σκλάβοι'. This term has generated considerable debate, as there are examples of its meaning both 'Slav' and 'slave'. F. Dölger, 'Ein Fall slavischer Einsiedlung im Hinterland von Thessalonike im 10. Jahrhundert', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 1952, i, pp. 19-28, has shown, controverting the earlier claims, especially of some Greek historians, that the latter use is not found before the early twelfth century, and his conclusions are accepted here. The texts

which, according to Evagrius, were said by the 'historians' to be situated near Syracuse.

It may well be that this episode is a product of Evagrius' imagination; that he has taken the name of the Avars and certain commonplaces about barbarian peoples and constructed an event to serve his hagiographic purpose by extending the missionary efficacy of S. Pancratius into the sphere of the barbarians as well as that of the pagans, and by recounting another example of the miraculous power of icons and of baptism. The Slavic dwellings may have been included to add a barbarous note to the aposchistic settlement at Syracuse. If this is the case, they have no historical value, and only contribute to our understanding ofEvagrius' mind and method.

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in which Σκλάβοι are Slavs have other terms, such as 'δοῦλος' or 'οἰκέτης' for slaves. The passage in the *VP* itself, in which the meaning 'Slavs' is clearly more appropriate, especially given that Evagrius uses the term 'παῖδες' for slaves, is further support for Dölger's argument. The form 'Σκλάβοι', which is already found in Malalas (ed. Dindorf), p. 490, l.7, is thought to have developed from the form 'Σκλαβηνοί' being considered as adjectival. This, in turn, is a Greek form from '*slověne', into which κ (or sometimes θ) was inserted by reason of the initial 'sl' being foreign to Greek. The Latin forms '*Sclavini*' and '*Sclavi*' are derived from the Greek. On this question in respect of the *VP* itself, see M. Capaldo, 'Un Insediamento slavo presso Siracusa nel primo millennio D. C.', *Europa Orientalis* ii (1983), pp.9-10. In Byzantine texts after the seventh century, the terms 'Σκλάβοι' and 'Σκλαβηνοί' refer to all Slavs, not just a group of them. See I. Sorlin, 'Slaves et Sklavènes avant et dans les miracles de saint Démétrius', App. iii, pp. 219-34, in P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius*, ii (Paris, 1981).

It must be acknowledged that some elements of the Avar episode should be attributed to Evagrius and seem to have been introduced here from other episodes in the *VP*. The context of the *VP* demands that the incident be associated with Bonifatius, and therefore placed in the apostolic period. The reference to the Taorminians having earlier captured Persians and Macedonians belongs in the realm of the aetiological excursus and is a further example of Evagrius' intention of advancing the historical importance of Taormina. By casting the confrontation with the Avars in a parallel manner to the later confrontation with Aculinus and S. Marcian's challenge to the pagans as regards the power of the weapons of Christianity against paganism, Evagrius has had to introduce temples and idols. The purpose of the miraculous gift of the Greek tongue is obvious. Once these elements are discarded, and the episode is removed from its context, we are left with an incident in which an expedition from Taormina takes Avar prisoners at Durazzo and Athens, brings them back, Byzantinizes and Christianizes them, then settles them, and with brief ethnographic notices about their language and religion.

The Avaro-Slavic incursions into Greece and the Balkans must have been a subject of some concern in Sicily. P. Charanis[2] has

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2. P. Charanis, 'On the Question of the Hellenization of Sicily and Southern Italy during the Middle Ages', *AHR* lii/2 (1946), pp. 74-86 and 'The Chronicle of Monemvasia and the Question of the Slavonic Settlements in Greece', *DOP* v (1950), pp. 139-166. Charanis is right to point out that evidence of immigration to Sicily from the Eastern Mediterranean, the usual explanation for

suggested, on the basis of the evidence of the so-called *Chronicle of Monemvasia*,[3] that these incursions caused the massive influx of Greek-speakers which should be pre-supposed as the basis of the Hellenization of Sicily and South Italy. Even if this hypothesis is regarded as too extravagant a development of the evidence, the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*, if its witness is accepted, shows that refugees from the Avaro-Slavic incursions into Greece made their way to Val Demone[4] in North-east Sicily, not far from Taormina,

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the Hellenization of Sicily (see **below,** p. 292.), is limited to a few cases of individuals, but his own theory itself is based on a reference to the displacement of two communities to limited areas in Sicily and Calabria. Other destinations of emigration are mentioned in the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* and should be taken into account, and the geographical extent of the settlement of the refugees in Sicily called into question, as well as the chronological co-ordination of the Slavic incursions and the Hellenization of Sicily.

3. The conclusions of P.Lemerle, 'La chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie : le contexte historique et légendaire', *REB* xxi (1963), pp. 5-49, concerning the disputed *Chronicle of Monemvasia* are accepted here, that is, that it is a trustworthy source, compiled in the ninth century, in which three sections can be recognized; the first, concerning the Avars in the Balkans, dependent on known sources; the second, concerning Avars in the Greek peninsula, based on an unknown source; and the third, the account of the reconquest and Byzantinization of Patras, probably derived from oral tradition. Lemerle has summarized the controversy concerning this text in an appendix to his article, pp. 45-9, entitled 'La chronique et les historiens modernes'.

4. The *Chronicle of Monemvasia* records that the Laconians settled in Sicily in a place called Demenna (ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Δέμεννα, *Chronicle of Monemvasia* (ed. Lemerle), ll. 42-3), where they were called 'Δεμενῖται', an abbreviated form of 'Λακεδαιμονῖται' (l. 43), and preserved their Laconian dialect (l. 44). M. Amari, *Storia*, I, p. 10, n. 4, has collected the references to this place in Arab and Norman sources, the first attestation of the toponym being the Arab writer Ibn al - Aṯîr in 902, and concluded that it is in

and to Reggio Calabria. Admittedly, this occurred some generations before the earliest possible date for the *VP*, but a memory of it must have persisted if the community of former inhabitants of Patras could still be recognized in Reggio in order to be repatriated in the early ninth century.[5] The Avar incident in the *VP* may be a memory of the reaction and ambitions of these refugees. It is clear, even without the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*'s evidence of refugees from Greece making their way to Sicily, that Greece was in the frame of reference of Sicilians in the period we are considering. S. Willibald of Eichstätt's well-known pilgrimage to the Holy Land included a journey from Syracuse to Monemvasia in 722.[6] The terrible plague of 745-7 recorded by Theophanes originated in South Italy, then passed to the Peloponnese on its

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North-east Sicily. See L. Vasi, 'Notizie Storiche et Geographiche della città e valle di Demona', *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, n.s., x (1885), pp. 1-15 and C. Filangeri, 'Ipotesi sul sito e sul territorio di Demenna', *Archivio Storico Siciliano* ser. iv, iv (1978), pp. 27-40. On the etymology of the toponym, see M. Amari, *Storia*, I, p. 610 with n. 2 and P. Lemerle, 'La chronique', p. 14 with n. 16. The *Chronicle of Monemvasia* (ed. Lemerle), ll. 39-40, records that the inhabitants of the city of Patras moved to Reggio Calabria.

5. *Chronicle of Monemvasia* (ed. Lemerle), ll. 64-69.

6. The *Life* of S. Willibald of Eichstätt, c. 4 (ed. O. Holder-Egger), p. 93, ll. 11-13.

> venerunt Saracusam urbem in ipsa regione; et inde navigantes, venerunt ultra mare Adria ad urbem Manafasiam in Slawinia terrae;

way to Constantinople.[7] Sicilian pottery has been found at Athens.[8] In a later period, in the reign of Nicephorus, the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*, as we have noted, records the repatriation of the inhabitants of Patras to their homeland from Reggio Calabria.[9] The account in the *Life* of S. Joseph the Hymnographer[10] of the saint's early travels with his parents from Sicily to the Peloponnese, then to Thessalonica, should perhaps be co-ordinated with the repatriation of Nicephorus. The alliance of the Avars (Bulgars) with the Lombards in S. Italy[11] may also have kept them in the Sicilian mind. So, the reference to the Avars may be the product of the memory of the displaced populations, or reflect the impact on the Sicilian mind of the Avaro-Slavic

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7. Theophanes (ed. de Boor), pp. 422, l. 29 - 423, l. 1.
   Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει λοιμώδης θάνατος ἀπὸ Σικελίας καὶ Καλαβρίας ἀρξάμενος οἷόν τι πῦρ ἐπινεμόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν Μονοβασίαν καὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας νήσους ἦλθε δι' ὅλης τῆς ιδ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ...
8. See H. A. Thompson, 'Athenian Twilight : A.D. 267-600', *JRS* xlix (1959), p. 71.
9. See above, p. 273.
10. The *Life* of S. Joseph the Hymnographer (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus); c. 2, p. 2 (Sicily); c.2, p. 3 (Peloponnese); c. 3, p. 3 (Thessalonica). The reason for their emigration may have been the Saracen attacks on Sicily (c. 2, pp. 2-3) rather than the resettlement of Greece, but the route they took is still evidence of the relationship between Sicily and the Greek mainland.
11. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, iv, 24 (ed. Berthmann and Waitz), p. 125. See F. Hirsch and M. Schipa, *La Longobardia meridionale (570-1077)* (Rome, 1968), p. 42. On the significance of the involvement of Agilulf with the Avars, see below, p. 329.

invasions of Greece and the Balkans.

However, there are indications that the source of Evagrius' notice is literary. First, in our examination of Evagrius' presentation of the Montanists,[12] we have seen that when he is left with a name and his imagination, he is apt to diverge wildly from the realm of the historical. The Avars are never attested in the vicinity of Durazzo or Athens,[13] and in addition have largely disappeared from the Byzantine scene by the time of Evagrius, following their attack on Constantinople in 626. However, certainly near Durazzo,[14] and probably near Athens,[15] both literary and archaeological evidence indicates the presence of Slavs. The confusion of the two groups in Byzantine historical sources is notorious,[16] but it may generally be said that when the author of a text has some first hand knowledge of the barbarians involved,

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12. See above, p. 253 - 259.
13. There is no evidence of an Avar presence at Durazzo or Athens. See V. Popović, 'La descente des Koutrigours, des Slaves et des Avars vers la mer Égée : le témoignage de l'archéologie', *CRAI* (1978), esp. map, fig. 6, p. 609. After their unsuccessful siege of Constantinople in 626, well before the date of the *VP*, they ceased to be an important factor in Byzantine affairs.
14. Procopius, *Wars* VII.29 (ed. Haury), p. 423, records that the Slavs caused devastation through all Illyricum as far as Epidamnus (= Dyrrachium, Durazzo, Durres). His notice is corroborated by archaeological and toponomastic evidence. G. Stadtmüller, *Forschungen zur albanischen Frühgeschichte*, ed.[2] (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 148-50, has identified Slavic place names in the interior of Epirus Nova (but see the criticism of S. Anamali, 'La nécropole de Kruje et la civilisation du haut Moyen Âge en Albanie du Nord', *Studia Albanica* i (1964), p. 164). Excavations at Kruje, inland from Durazzo, have revealed evidence of Slavic settlement dated to the sixth to the seventh century, in the form of earrings and fibulae which are arguably, but perhaps not exclusively, Slavic. See V. Popović, 'Aux origines de la slavisation

des Balkans : la constitution des premières sklavinies macédoniennes vers la fin du VI^e siècle', *CRAI* (1980), p. 254. On the fibulae, see J. Werner, 'Neues zur Frage der slawischen

Bügelfibeln aus südosteuropäischen Ländern', *Germania* xxxviii (1960), pp. 114-20, and on the Kruje excavations, S. Anamali, 'La nécropole de Kruje'; M. Čorović-Ljubinković, 'Les Slaves du centre balkanique du VI^e - IX^e siècle', *Balcanoslavica* i (1972), pp. 43-54 and V. Popović, 'La descente', esp. p. 640 with n. 172, and the map, fig. 31, p. 647. There is no evidence that Durazzo itself fell to the Slavs at any point. Its bishop was among the addressees of a letter of Gregory the Great of 597 (*Ep.* VIII, 10 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann), p. ii, p. 12), and while the see was not represented at the Council of 680, it was at that of 692 (Mansi xi, 989). See G. Ostrogorsky, 'Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages', *DOP* xiii (1959), pp. 55-7.

15. The question of Slavic incursions into mainland Greece and settlement there has caused a now legendary controversy and generated a massive bibliography, an extensive analysis of which would distract us from our principal enquiry. Archaeological evidence from Athens indicates a devastation of the city, dated by related finds of coins to the 580's. See, among others, M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, II (Princeton, 1954), pp. 3-4; D. M. Metcalf, 'The Slavonic Threat to Greece *circa* 580 : Some Evidence from Athens', *Hesperia* xxxi (1962), pp. 134-157 and T. L. Shear, Jr., 'The Athenian Agora : Excavations of 1972', *Hesperia* xlii (1973), pp. 395-8. Following this there was limited habitation in a restricted area to the time of Constans II, then very little indication of habitation. See the summary of H. A. Thompson, 'Athenian Twilight', pp. 61-72. A second devastation may have occurred in the 630's. See T. L. Shear, Jr., 'The Athenian Agora', p. 396. The archaeological evidence for Corinth indicates a similar pattern of habitation there. See G. R. Davidson, *Corinth* XII (Princeton, N.J., 1952), pp. 5-6 and R. L. Scranton, *Corinth* XVI (Princeton, N.J., 1957), pp. 27-8. However, evidence that Athens itself remained in Byzantine hands is regularly quoted, such as the description in the *Life* of S. Stephen of Sourozh, c. 1 (ed. Vasilievskij), p. 73, of philosophers and rhetoricians debating there in the eighth century, the birth of the Empress Irene in Athens in 752 and the lack of total interruption of coin circulation. See A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu' en 1204* (Paris, 1951), pp. 51-4. As in the case of Durazzo, this is not inconsistent with the notice in the *VP*, which only states that the Avars were *near* Athens. The withdrawal of the population within the inner fortifications suggests an ongoing threat, and the toponomastic evidence assembled by M. Vasmer, 'Die Slaven in Griechenland', *Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 1941, xii, pp. 120-127, indicates Slavic settlement in Attica. It is conceivable that the reference to Athens in the *VP* is a commonplace, representing an unspecific notion of a location across the Adriatic. Elsewhere in the *VP* (p.344), the term 'Athenians' has a very general connotation. If Evagrius' evidence of barbarians at Athens is dismissed, then, it is not necessary to reject his evidence entirely.

16. E.g. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c.29, ll. 14-44 (ed. Moravcsik), pp. 123-4.

he is able to distinguish the Slavs as the group in question. Thus, in the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*, the author, when dependent on written sources, uses the term 'Avars' when it is clear that it must be Slavs that are meant, but refers to Slavs when apparently dependent on oral sources.[17] The redactor of the *Miracles* of S. Demetrius knows that he is dealing with Slavs.[18] There is a marked similarity in the ethnographic account of Evagrius, not so much in detail as in presentation, to those in Procopius,[19] who writes of the Slavs' animistic religion and their language, and in Pseudo-Maurice,[20] who refers to the barbarity of their language. This similarity again suggests a literary source.

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17. The first two parts of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* refer to Avars, but in the third part, based probably on oral tradition, the barbarians are called 'Σθλαβηνοί'. On the significance of this, see P. Lemerle, 'La chronique', p. 17+21.
18. *Miracles* of S. Demetrius (ed. Lemerle), *passim*.
19. Procopius, *Wars* VII.14 (ed. Haury), pp. 357, l. 15 - 358, l. 1.
    θεὸν μὲν γὰρ ἕνα τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν ἁπάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ βόας τε καὶ ἱερεῖα πάντα· εἱμαρμένην δὲ οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε ἄλλως ὁμολογοῦσιν ἔν γε ἀνθρώποις ροπήν τινα ἔχειν, ἄλλ' ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ἤδη ὁ θάνατος εἴη, ἢ νόσῳ ἁλοῦσιν ἢ ἐς πόλεμον καθισταμένοις, ἐπαγγέλλονται μὲν, ἢν διαφύγωσι, θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτίκα ποιήσειν, διαφυγόντες δὲ θύουσιν ὅπερ ὑπέσχοντο, καὶ οἴονται τὴν σωτηρίαν ταύτης δὴ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἐωνῆσθαι. σέβουσι μέντοι καὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ νύμφας καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα δαιμόνια, καὶ θύουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἅπασι, τάς τε μαντείας ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς θυσίαις ποιοῦνται.
20. Maurice, *Strategicon* xi.4 (ed. Dennis), p. 374, ll. 53-56, referring more to their battle-cry. Cf. *Miracles* of S. Demetrius, I.12.102, I.12.110, I.14.138 (ed. Lemerle), pp. 125, 127 and 148.

An incident in which Byzantine forces from Sicily take Avar or Slav captives near Durazzo and Athens is otherwise unattested, but Evagrius' account is not altogether far-fetched, and this in itself inspires confidence in it. Durazzo was under threat from the Slavs, but was kept free. It was strategically important, being at the end of the Via Egnatia, and in other events in history it was both a threat to South Italy when in the wrong hands and an object of Italy's military ambitions.[21] The Avars are said to have been near Durazzo and Athens, which we know was probably the case. The reference to their being *near*, rather than *in* these cities is another convincing detail. The description of their language, and of their religion, once the temples and idols are ignored as having a hagiographic function, and the weapons as a reflection on their warlike character, as animistic, is

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21. See N. G. L. Hammond, *Migrations and Invasions in Greece and Adjacent Areas* (Park Ridge, N. J., 1976), p. 69 with n. 55, who lists as examples of the Eastward attacks, the Romans, the Normans of the First Crusade and the Fascists in 1939, and of the Westward, Alexander the Molossian and Pyrrhus.

reasonably accurate, if limited.[22] The account of their assimilation into Byzantine society is the opposite of the procedure adopted by Nicephorus, who settled Christians among the barbarians, but represents the same principal of mingling Christians with pagans to bring about the assimilation of the latter, and is similar to other accounts we have of the Byzantine approach to this procedure.[23]

Evagrius actually attributes his notice about the dwellings of

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22. Slavic sources concerning the religion of the pagan Slavs support Procopius' characterization of it as animistic. There is evidence of Slavic veneration of water and fire (see L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave*, II, *La civilisation* (Paris, 1926), p. 129), the worship of the latter being especially attributed to the Slavs by Arab chroniclers (Niederle, *Manuel*, II, p. 134) and of animals (Niederle, *Manuel*, II, p. 135). On the archaeological evidence for the cult of the Slavs, including the existence of temples and idols, see Niederle, *Manuel*, II, pp. 154-160. On the sources for Slavic religion in general, see E. V. Ančikov, Язычество и древняя Русь (St. Petersburg, 1914). The religion of the Avars is discussed by A. Kollautz and H. Miyakawa, *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes. Die Jou-Jan der Mongolei und die Awaren in Mitteleuropa*, 2 vols. (Klagenfurt, 1970), esp. II (Die Kultur), pp. 122-163 and 252-307.

23. Nicephorus I, according to Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 486, and the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* (ed. Lemerle), ll. 61-76, attempted to re-Byzantine Greece by settling Christians from throughout the Empire among the Slavs and by a reorganization of the church hierarchy. On the co-ordination of these two sources, see P. Charanis, 'Nicephorus I, The Savior of Greece from the Slavs (810 A.D.)', *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* i/1 (1946), pp. 75-92. The account in the *VP* is parallel to the activity in this respect of Justinian II, who forced the Slavs captured in his campaign of 688/9 to resettle as στρατιῶται in the Opsikion theme (Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 364) and other Slavs to settle in the Strymon area (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus*, c. 3 (ed. Pertusi), pp. 88-9). Cf. the assignation as serfs of Slavs defeated at Patras under Nicephorus, as reported by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 49 (ed. Moravcsik), p. 230.

the Slavs near Syracuse to a written source, the ἱστοριογράφοι. It is possible that this has no foundation and is merely an authenticating technique. However, once again his description has parallels in other sources. The redactor of the *Miracles* of S. Demetrius, who had reason to know of the nature of Slavic habitations, refers to them with the words 'κάσα' and 'σκηνή',[24] and Paul the Deacon describes their settlements as 'castra'.[25] Archaeological evidence shows that these descriptive terms correspond well to the actual form of Slavic dwellings.[26] There is no record of Slavs near Syracuse in written sources or in

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24. *Miracles* of S. Demetrius, iv.279 (ed. Lemerle), p. 220, ll. 26, 29 (κάσα); v.290 (ed. Lemerle), p. 229, l. 13 (σκηνή). Cf. the eleventh century Athonite document edited by F. Dölger, 'Ein Fall', p. 7, in which is found the expression (ll. 12-13), 'παρὰ τῶν ἐνσκηνωθέντων ἐκεῖσε Σκαλάβων Βουλγάρων.' On the nature of Slavic settlement, as seen by the Byzantines, see Maurice, *Strategicon*, xi.4 (ed. Dennis), p. 382, ll. 165-72.

25. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* iv.44 (ed. Berthmann and Waitz), p. 135, ll. 3-4, "venientes Sclavi cum multitudine navium, non longe a civitate Seponto castra posuerunt". Once again, the Slavic settlement is reported as being *near* a non-Slavic settlement. Cf. the Slavic settlement reported at Litê, near Thessalonica, in the *Miracles* of S. Demetrius, iv.280 (ed. Lemerle), pp. 220-21.

26. Excavations of Slavic settlements South of the Danube have revealed the standard dwelling to be a small, semi-subterranean, wooden hut, for which the 'σκηνή' of the *Miracles* of S. Demetrius or the 'σκήνωμα' of the *VP* are apt descriptive terms. See V. Popović, 'Note sur l'habitat paléoslave', App. iv, pp. 235-41 in P. Lemerle, *Miracles de saint Démétrius*, II, and Z. Kurnatowska, 'Structure sociale des Sclavènes à la lumière d'une analyse de l'habitat', *Balcanoslavica* i (1972), pp. 87-96.

toponomastic evidence[27] and such a settlement is unlikely. The Slavs did conduct raids by sea with the intention of settling, reaching the islands of the Aegean, Crete[28] and the South Italian mainland occupied by the Lombards,[29] but the South-east coast of Sicily is some distance beyond their known field of operations in this period, even allowing for the possibilty that the settlements in the Lombard territory were a base of operations. It is possible that this notice, which Evagrius is careful to attribute not to first hand knowledge, but to the 'historians', has been transferred

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27. I do not know of any toponyms in Sicily which can securely be said to be of Slavic origin. See the rejection by G. Alessio, 'L'elemento greco nella toponomastica della Sicilia', *Bollettino del centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani* iv (1956), p. 346, s.v. 'Sclàfani', of a derivation relating to Slavs for 'Sclàfani' in Northern Sicily. On this question see also M. Capaldo, 'Un Insediamento slavo', pp. 10-11.

28. The maritime expeditions of the Slavs to Crete and the Aegean islands in the early seventh century are recorded by Thomas Presbyter (a.934 = a.d. 623, *ap.* A. A. Vasiliev,
BB v (1898), p.640), "Cretam ceterasque insulas invasere;" and the *Miracles* of S. Demetrius, i.179 (ed. Lemerle), p. 175.

> Ἐγένετο τοίνυν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐν ὁσίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ ἐπισκοπῆς Ἰωάννου, τὸ τῶν Σκλαβίνων ἐπαρθῆναι ἔθνος ... καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὁπλισαμένους, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Θετταλίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν νήσους, καὶ τὴν Ἀχαΐαν πᾶσαν, τήν τε Ἤπειρον καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ μέρος τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκπορθῆσαι, καὶ ἀοικήτους, ὡς εἴρηται, πλείστας πόλεις τε καὶ ἐπαρχίας ποιῆσαι, βουλεύσασθαί τε ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ κατὰ τῆς εἰρημένης ἡμῶν φιλοχρίστου ταύτης πόλεως παρατάξασθαι καὶ ταύτην ὡς τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκπορθῆσαι.

Those to South Italy in the middle of the seventh century are recorded by Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* iv.44 (ed. Berthmann and Waitz), pp. 134-5.

29. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, iv, *passim.* See A. Guillou, 'Migrations et présence slaves en Italie du VI^e^ au XI^e^ siècle', ***Зборник радова Византолошког института*** xiv/xv (1973), pp. 11-16.

from another geographical context.

The question which must now be addressed is the nature of the hypothetical source on which Evagrius may have based his account. Our sources record very little of Byzantine reprisals against the Avaro-Slavic invasions in the Balkans and Greece from the earliest period of their activity within the Empire until the reconquest of the territory by Nicephorus I in the ninth century which was preceded marginally by the Empress Irene.[30] In this period, however, Theophanes records of the Emperor Constans in 658,

> ἐπεστράτευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Σκλαυινίας καὶ ᾐχμαλώτευσε πολλοὺς καὶ ὑπέταξεν.[31]

He supplies the minimum of detail, failing to record where the Avars were taken captive or the originating point of the expedition, and it has been assumed that he probably was acting against the Avaro-Slavic presence in Thrace which threatened the capital.[32]

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30. Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 486 (Nicephorus); pp. 456-7 (Irene).
31. Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 347, ll. 6-7.
32. But see K. M. Setton, 'The Bulgars in the Balkans and the Occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century', *Speculum* xxv (1950), p. 522 with n. 153 and 'The Emperor Constans II and the Capture of Corinth by the Onogur Bulgars', *Speculum* xxvii (1952), pp. 351-62, and the reply of P. Charanis, 'On the Capture of Corinth by the Onogurs and its Recapture by the Byzantines', *Speculum* xxvii (1952), pp. 343-50. Whatever the assumptions of modern scholars, it should be remembered that Theophanes does

Constans' progress to the West and his long residence in Sicily, where he virtually made Syracuse the capital of the Empire from 663 to his death there in 668, are well-known. He also is known to have spent a winter in Athens,[33] and to have passed through Reggio coming from Rome,[34] and all this, together with his campaign against the Lombards,[35] must have had a considerable impact on Sicily and South Italy, but has left very little trace in

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not actually define the area he means by 'Σκλαυινία'. The reminder of P. Lemerle, *Miracles de saint Démétrius*, II, p. 190-3, that in recording the campaign of Constantine V against the Slavs, Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 430, ll. 21-2, indicates the theatre of operations as being Macedonia, may be significant. See also G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, ed.[3] (Munich, 1963), Eng. tr., J. M. Hussey, *History of the Byzantine State*, ed.[2] (Oxford, 1968), p. 117.

33. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, v.6 (ed. Berthmann and Waitz), p. 146; *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 186, l. 8. On the so-called 'Bulgar' belt buckles associated with the army of Constans found at Athens, see, among others, A. Frantz, 'From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens', *DOP* xix (1965), p. 198. The Bulgar origin and Byzantine use of these buckles and the problems associated with them are discussed by V. Popović, 'La descente', p. 636 with n. 154. One of these buckles has been found at Taormina. See P. Orsi, 'Byzantina Siciliae', *BZ* xxi (1912-13), p. 203 with fig. 24. On the possibility that a building at Athens was renovated for the use of Constans in Athens, see T. L. Shear, Jr., 'The Athenian Agora', pp. 397-8.

34. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *On the Lives of the Roman Popes*, lxxvii (Muratori, *RIS*, iii), p. 141.

> Huius temporibus venit Constantinus Augustus de regia urbe per litoraria in Athenas, & exinde Tarantum, inde Beneventum, & Neapolim per indictionem 6.

See also John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum* (ed. Pertz), p. 9, l. 54.

35. See F. Hirsch and M. Schipa, *La Longobardia meridionale*, pp. 39-43.

Byzantine sources.[36] An expedition of the sort described in the *VP* conforms to circumstances in Sicily during Constans' residence there, in that imperial forces were present to carry out such an assault, and this emperor is known to have attempted reprisals against the Slavs and taken captives. It is possible that the *VP* preserves genuine evidence of a raid by Constans from Sicily to Greece and the Balkans in which prisoners were taken, a later expedition parallel to that of Constans recorded in Theophanes.[37] It is also possible, although unlikely, that it is the same incident as that to which Theophanes refers, but that Theophanes has placed it in the wrong year[38] in a characteristically compact form with the omission of geographical details.

It is not unreasonable to suspect that Constans' period in Sicily would not have remained unchronicled in Sicily, nor that a chronicle of his stay there might have been available to a

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36. Some evidence of the impact of Constans' stay in Sicily is recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 344.
37. The archaeological evidence shows a marked decline in the settlement of the cities of Athens and Corinth after the passage of Constans through them. See the articles cited above, p. 276, n. 15..
38. J. Kaestner, *De imperio Constantini* III *(641-668)* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 74-75, has argued that Constans' campaign took place after 659, the date of the Emperor's peace with the Arabs, on the grounds that only then would Constans have been free to campaign against the Slavs, and taking into account that Elias of Nisibis (ed. Brooks), vii, 64, dates the campaign to a.d. 659/60. G. Ostrogorsky, *History*, p. 117, n. 2, defends Theophanes' date against both Kaestner's later date and the earlier date of 649 proposed by S. Stanojević.

hagiographer. The existence of local chronicles has been shown by the evident use of one such source by the author of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*,[39] also, like Evagrius, an ecclesiastic,[40] and there are minor chronicles, some of them local chronicles, extant.[41] Most of these are late, but the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* had a similar source dealing with events of the sixth to the ninth centuries, and chronicles of Sicilian origin exist from the time of the Saracen invasions.[42] Such a source might also account for other elements in the *VP*. If it was in the popular form of a chronicle, then S. Peter's summary of world history might have

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39. A local chronicle has been suggested as the source of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* (see P. Lemerle, 'La chronique', pp. 24-5), the *Scholion* of Arethas and the *Petition* of Metropolitan Cyril of Monemvasia to Patriarch Joseph II, written by Isidore of Kiev in 1429, which gives further details of the immigration to Sicily.

> Οἳ δ' αὖ ἐτύγχανον ἐμπορικὸν ἄγοντες ἐπιτήδευμα, φθάσαντες παρὰ τὸ Γύθειον· ἐπίνειον δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐκεῖνο· γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις πληρώσαντες τὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν ναῦς, παρὰ Σικελίαν ἔθεον· προσοκείλαντες δὲ εἰς Μεσσήνην, ᾤκησαν ἐκεῖσε, καὶ Δεμενίτας αὐτοὺς ὁ μακρὸς εἶπε χρόνος, βαρβαρίσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὔνομα·

(in P. Charanis, 'The Chronicle of Monemvasia', pp. 158-9). The considerable amount of information given about Sicily in these texts suggests that their source may have dealt with Sicily almost as much as Greece, and even have had a Sicilian provenance.

40. P. Lemerle, 'La chronique', pp. 21-2.

41. Ed. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1975, 1977, 1979).

42. The Sicilian chronicles in the *corpus* of Schreiner are Chronicle 45 (ed. Schreiner), I, pp. 331-40 and Chronicle 46 (ed. Schreiner), I, pp. 341-42. The earliest of the minor chronicles in Schreiner's collection, Chronicle 1 (ed. Schreiner), I, pp. 40-45) deals with the years 477-750.

come from it, as well as the military details in the *VP* and even, perhaps, the aetiological excursus. Evagrius' source may equally have been a collection of *excerpta* concerning Sicilian history.[43]

It is possible, then, that in the incident concerning the Avars in the *VP*, once it has been removed from the historical context in which Evagrius has placed it, and extraneous material connected with Evagrius' hagiographic concerns has been stripped from it, and allowing for some confusion of detail, such as, perhaps, a conflation of Constans' stay in Athens and his activities against the Slavs, we have an account of a real, and not altogether unreasonable expedition made by Constans from Sicily against Slavs in the Balkans, and perhaps mainland Greece, and maybe even a co-ordinating piece of evidence for the notice in Theophanes. It should not unduly concern us that there is, if the identification with the notice in Theophanes is discounted, no other evidence in Byzantine sources of such an event. As P. Lemerle has pointed out in his editions of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* and the *Miracles* of S. Demetrius, the events recorded in these two texts are not otherwise attested, yet they have been accepted on the grounds of an assessment of the value of the

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43. For an example of such a collection of *excerpta* in the seventh century, see the Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας (ed. Cramer).

sources and the likelihood of such events having taken place. The reference to the Slavic settlement must be regarded with this analysis in mind. While its existence seems improbable, and maybe its transference from another site accounts for the reference, perhaps the *VP*'s evidence should not be totally discounted.

The similarity of the episode in the *VP* and Theophanes' notice concerning Constans' reprisals against the Slavs may be accounted for in another way. It is possible that both are dependant on the same source, in which Constans' expedition was not launched from Sicily, but Evagrius adapted the incident for his own purposes, removing it, as he may have the reference to the Slavic settlement at Syracuse, from its original geographical context, and placing it in Sicily, attributed to Bonifatius.

We have attempted to make sense of Evagrius' reference to Avars and Slavs and to show that there is some possibility that it is historically trustworthy, but it must be admitted that it remains most probable that Evagrius' imagination has been at work, or at least that the episode has been transferred from elsewhere.

Whatever the derivation of the passage, it is a useful piece of evidence of the Byzantine attitude to barbarians and the way in which they regarded them as an *ethnos*, and understood their language and religion, with Evagrius conflating their animism with elements of Greek paganism. It also represents an attitude towards the method of assimilating them, with its simplistic solution to the language problem, with interpreters at the ready and the miraculous acquisition of Greek, and assimilation achieved by distribution among the populace. It gives further definition to our understanding of Evagrius' historical sense. The past is seen

as a large reservoir of information, and he can quite happily delve into it and place side by side material from the time of the apostles and events probably of the seventh century, hardly preceding his own time, and at least not before the sixth century, without any sense of inconsistency or incongruity.

VP, p. 271, l. 2.

The Sicilian Language Question

There are two references in the *VP* to Greek and Latin bilingualism. The Avars captured by Bonifatius are told that they will be taught Greek and Latin, the need for the acquisition of both languages being explained by Evagrius, who tells us, with a momentary lapse from maintaining his *persona*, that in those days both languages were spoken in Taormina. When the Avars emerge from the font with the miraculous gift of an intelligible language, however, they have only acquired one language, namely, Greek.[1] The second case in which a knowledge of Greek and Latin is

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1. *VP*, p.272 , ll. 3 - 4 ; *VP*, p.274 , ll. 9 - 10.

mentioned is Evagrius' description of the deacon Neophytus as a clerk who was able to write and translate in Greek and Latin.[2] To this must be added the evidence provided by the character of Evagrius' own language and the extent to which it includes Latinisms.[3]

The question of the language spoken at different periods in Sicily's history has been the subject of much debate, which can only be summarized here. The letters of Gregory the Great[4] concerning Sicily suggest that at least the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the island was Latin-speaking in the sixth century, although other evidence, particularly that provided by inscriptions, points

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2. *VP*, p. 291, ll. 2 - 3.

3. The Latinisms in the *VP* are largely connected with military matters, as for example, 'ἀδνούμιον', 'κουστωδία', 'τριβοῦνος' and 'δονατίβα', or are commonplaces, like 'πραιτώριον', 'σέκρετον' and 'σίγνα'. The preponderance of Latin names, like 'Bonifatius', 'Benedicta', 'Aurelian' and 'Paulina' should be noted. A similarly high number of Latin names is found in Greek epigraphic sources from Sicily.

4. These letters, which number about two hundred, are not only written in Latin, but largely have addressees with Latin names, except for a few cases in which those mentioned are probably either merchants or imperial officials. See the analysys of L. White, 'The Byzantinization of Sicily', *AHR* xlii (1936/7), pp. 1-2. Pope Gregory was writing to administrators and officials, and this being the case, his letters are not incompatible with the continued existence of a stratum of hellenophones at a lower level of society.

towards the survival of Greek through this period.[5] From the beginning of the seventh century, there are signs that Sicily underwent a process of rapid Hellenization. Bishops with Greek names appear.[6] Greek monasteries are attested, sometimes changed from the Latin rite.[7] Known literary figures from Sicily

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5. The evidence for the continuity of Greek in Sicily from the pre-Roman period has been put forward by G. Rohlfs in a number of books and articles. See especially *Griechen und Romanen in Unteritalien* (Geneva, 1924); 'Autochthone Griechen oder byzantinische Gräzität?', *RLR* iv (1928), pp. 118-200; *Scavi linguistici nella Magna Grecia* (Rome, 1933); 'Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Unteritalienischen Gräzität', *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, 1962, v, and other works listed in the Bibliography. On the epigraphic evidence, see also S. L. Agnello, *Silloge di iscrizioni palaeocristiane della Sicilia* (Rome, 1953). Rohlfs does admit that the Greek element was greatly reduced before the Hellenization of the seventh century. See *Scavi linguistici*, p. 134.

6. The best-known is Gregory, bishop of Agrigento. The possession of a Greek name is not necessarily decisive, as in the case of bishop Theodore of Messina, whose name may be associated with the monastery of S. Theodore, known to have been at Messina as early as Gregory the Great (*Ep.*, I.39 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann), i, p. 52). See V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*. v. *L'Église*. 1. *L'Église de Constantinople*. A. *La Hiérarchie* (Paris, 1963), no. 899, and below, p. 295, n. 20.

7. A letter of Maximus the Confessor, *PG* 91, coll. 111-32, to the clergy and laity of Sicily, dated between 646 and 648, implies the existence of hellenophone monks there. The monastery of S. Peter at Baias, near Syracuse, had a Roman abbot, Caesarius, in 597, but its abbot in 681 was Theophanes, who became Patriarch of Antioch. A Greek monastery of S. Lucia near Syracuse is known from the *Life* of S. Zosimas, c. 1, *AASS* (Martii iii), pp. 839-40. Other examples are given by A. Guillou, 'Grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile au moyen âge : Les moines', *MEFR* lxxv (1963), pp. 81-83.

write in Greek rather than Latin.[8] The Greek rite is used in Sicily.[9] The linguistic transformation of Sicilian society seems to have been largely complete by the middle of the seventh century, although there is evidence of the survival of a very limited Latin element at least to the end of the seventh century.[10] It is generally agreed that there was a substantial use of Latin to the end of the sixth century, and that Sicily became essentially Greek in language and culture in the course of the seventh century, but there is disagreement over the source of the Hellenization which occurred during the seventh century and the proportion of Greek

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8. Several individuals of Greek culture are known from Sicily in the seventh century. For example, Gregory of Agrigento wrote a commentary on *Ecclesiastes*; the hymnographers George and Gregory of Syracuse were active in this period; Theophanes of the monastery of Baias was a polemicist as well as an ecclesiastic; Cosmas, the teacher of S. John Damascene, is described as coming from Italy (ἐξ Ἰταλίας ὁρμώμενος, *Life* of S. John Damascene, *PG* 94, col. 441A), which may mean Sicily or South Italy. See J. Irigoin, 'La culture grecque dans l'Occident latin du VII^{e} ay XI^{e} siècle', *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo* xxii/1 (1975), pp. 429-30.
9. There is evidence that there were Greek practices in Sicilian liturgical use in the fifth century (see the letters of Leo I, *PL* 54, col. 696 and Gelasius I, *PL* 59, col. 52), although Gregory the Great in 598 states that the Roman rite was used there (*Ep.* IX.26 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann), ii, pp. 59-60). Lancia di Brolo, *Storia*, p. 21, associates the introduction of the Greek rite with Constans' stay in Sicily, but there is insufficient evidence to establish such a precise date. The existence of a Greek translation of the Roman rite of the late seventh century is significant. See P. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye*, p. xi. On this question, see L. White, 'The Byzantinization of Sicily', pp. 5-6.
10. On the archaeological evidence for the Hellenization of Sicily, see A. Guillou, 'Grecs d'Italie', p. 82, n. 4.

and Latin used in different periods.[11] G. Rohlfs[12] has argued for a continuous use of Greek through the Roman period, while acknowledging that this was strengthened by a population influx in the Byzantine period. His arguments have been widely, although not universally accepted.[13] The source of the influx of population which is generally pre-supposed, whatever the extent to which it is held responsible for the linguistic change, has also been debated, being attributed to refugees fleeing from the Arab and Persian invasions in the East,[14] or from the Avaro-Slav

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11. Rohlfs attributes the present dialects of Sicily to the Latin of the Norman period, but the existence of very limited survivals of Latin in the Hellenized period is claimed by N. Maccarrone, *La vita del latino in Sicilia fino all'eta normanna* (Florence, 1915) and L. White, 'The Byzantinization of Sicily', p. 2. Epigraphic evidence of the survival of Latin is presented by A. Ferrua, 'Dal greco al volgare', *Civiltà Cattolica*, i (1942), pp. 207-16. See also S. L. Agnello, *Silloge*, pp. 417-44 and G. Rohlfs, *Das Fortleben des antiken Griechentums in Unteritalien* (Cologne, 1933), p. 14. On the evidence of seals, see below, p. 295 , n. 20.
12. See the works of G. Rohlfs cited above, p. 290 , n. 5 and S. Caratzas, *L'origine des dialectes néo-grecs de l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1958).
13. See the outline of the controversy provided by S. Caratzas, *L'origine*, pp. 17-25 and E. Sestan, 'La composizione etnica della società in rapporto allo svolgimento della civiltà in Italia nel secolo VII', *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo* v/2 (1958), p. 652, n. 6.
14. See **above,** p. 123.. As Rohlfs, *Scavi linguistici*, pp. 146-7, among others, has pointed out, this theory is based on a very few known examples.

invasions in Greece,[15] or from persecution by heretics,[16] or to the advent of the Emperor Constans in Sicily.[17] It is rarely pointed out that these reasons are not mutually exclusive.

The *VP* contributes to the discussion of this question by giving a rare indication of how the 'Sicilian Language Question' was seen by a *Sicilian* writer probably of the early eighth century. It is clear that bilingualism was not the common practice in Sicily[18] in Evagrius' time. He declares specifically that this

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15. P. Charanis, 'The Hellenization of Sicily', pp. 74-86. On this theory, see above, p. 271-272.
16. Monotheletism is thought to have been responsible for the large Greek representation at the Roman Council of 649, but this is evidence more of the ecclesiastical position of Rome than of the existence of a substantial body of refugees in the West, and does not immediately concern Sicily. F. Lenormant, *La Grande-Grèce* (Paris, 1881), II, p. 380 ff., suggested that the iconoclast persecutions were responsible for the influx of population, but these came too late to account for the Hellenization of Sicily, and it has been shown that the number of such refugees was not substantial, even in Rome. See C. Mango, 'La culture grecque', pp. 714-15.
17. Such was the theory of Lancia di Brolo, *Storia*, II, c. 1, but again, the advent of Constans is too late to account for Sicily's Hellenization, which was in progress at least twenty years before. Without the existence of a Greek base, the coming of Byzantine administration did not, in itself, bring about Hellenization, as can be seen in the case of Ravenna, which always preserved its Latin character. See C. Mango, 'La culture grecque', p. 684.
18. The question of bilingualism in Sicily must be distinguished from that in Rome, where the existence of a distinct Greek community in a Latin environment maintained the cultural tension necessary for the survival of bilingualism and the production of translations. See H. Steinacker, 'Die römischer Kirche und die griechischen Sprachkenntnisse des Frühmittelalters', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Osterreichische Geschichtsforschung* lxii (1954), pp. 28-66; A. Siegmund, *Die Uberlieferung der griechischen*

was the case in the *past*. The baptismal miracle of the Avars shows us what linguistic equipment Evagrius *really* considered necessary for a Christian, despite the offer of a bilingual education he earlier has the Taorminians offer their captives. Evagrius' own language does not have more Latinisms than one would expect from a Byzantine writer. All this suggests that whatever our evidence for some persistence of the Latin language through the period of Hellenization in Sicily, this was not an important element in contemporary Sicilian culture as seen by our author. It would be unrealistic to conclude from Evagrius' notice firm proof of a period of real bilingualism in Sicily, but it is important to note that Evagrius at least does know, at the beginning of the eighth century, that Latin was spoken at one time in Taormina.

The description of Neophytus' abilities adds to our understanding of Evagrius' linguistic world. The skill which is attributed to him is purely notarial; the capacity to write and translate is required of him, such as might have been required by

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christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert, and C. Mango, 'La culture grecque', pp. 703-14. In Sicily, it was a case of thorough Hellenization at every level. The one Sicilian Pope said to have been bilingual, Leo II (682-83, *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 359, "greca latinaque eruditus". See below, p. 396. n. 4), may have acquired this skill in Rome. Cf. the bilingual Gregory III (731-41, *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 415).

an episcopal chancellery. This skill was rare even in the time of Gregory the Great,[19] and while, like everyone in the *VP*, Neophytus is a figure of the past, it is significant that this function was still within Evagrius' purview. This provides further evidence on the date of the text. While Sicily was still jurisdictionally subject to Rome, the sigillographic evidence shows that Latin continued to be used in episcopal chancelleries in Syracuse, Messina and Catania, well after Greek had been established as the language of Sicily. A seal inscribed in Latin from Messina seems to be the product of a Greek-speaker, probably a cleric with the sort of linguistic talents Evagrius ascribes to Neophytus.[20] After Sicily was placed under the

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19. The letters of Gregory the Great indicate that in his time bilingual notarial skills were rare and imperfect in Rome (*Ep.* X.21 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann), ii, p. 258) and equally rare in Constantinople (*Ep.* VII.27 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann), i, p. 474). In Ravenna at the end of the seventh century, a qualified clerk was difficult to find, and bishop Theodore finally found a youth who could be employed for this purpose (Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, c. 120 (ed. O. Holder-Egger), p. 356). See H. Steinacker, *Griechischen Sprachkenntnisse*, pp. 28-66.

20. V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, no. 899. The seal is inscribed, "Dei Genetrix | aiuba Theodoru episc(opu) Mess(anae)". Laurent, who dates the seal to the seventh century, has pointed out that the form 'Theodoru' and the invocation 'Dei Genetrix aiuba', which is equivalent to 'Θεοτόκε βοήθει' indicate that it was produced in a Greek-influenced milieu. Two other seals inscribed in Latin are dated to the second half of the seventh century, at which time Sicily's Hellenization seems, from other sources, substantially complete. These are the seals of bishop George, who represented Catania at the Council of 679 (Mansi xi, 179C), and whose name is inscribed, "Georgii episc(opi) s(an)c(t)ae Eccl(esiae) Cat(anensis)" (Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux* v/1, no. 893) and of Maurice, bishop of Syracuse, dated by Laurent to the very end of the seventh century and inscribed "+ Ma[u]ricii ep(is)c(opi) eccl(esiae) Sur(acusanae)" (Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, no. 884).

jurisdiction of Constantinople and answered to a Greek patriarch and a Greek Emperor, the need for bilingual notaries must have ceased. Certainly the seals of Sicilian bishops after the transfer are all in Greek.[21]

The *VP* contributes to our knowledge of the linguistic history of Sicily, then, by providing an internal view of an early eighth century Sicilian on the question of the languages used there. To him, Latin is not considered a current element of Sicilian culture, but is a phenomenon of the past, except perhaps for a limited use for notarial purposes. Yet he is aware that Latin was spoken in Sicily in the past. His own language does not show signs of any unusual knowledge of Latin.

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21. Seals of Sicilian bishops dated after Constantinople's annexation of Sicily are invariably in Greek. The earliest is probably that of archbishop Marcianus of Syracuse, inscribed "+ Μα(ρκ)ιανῷ ἀρχηεπισκ(όπῳ)", who may have been the first hierarch of the city after the transfer of jurisdiction (Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, no. 885). Cf. seals in Greek from Syracuse, Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, nos. 886, 887 (c. IX); Catania, Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, no. 894 (c. VIII), nos. 895, 896 (c. IX); Taormina, Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, nos. 897, 898 (c. VIII) and Messina, Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, nos. 900, 901 (c. VIII), no. 902 (c. IX-X).

VP, p. 275, l. 14.

Books

See above, p. 166 - 169.

VP, p. 278, l. 8.

The Forum of Taurus

See above, p. 209.

VP, p. 278, l. 10.

The Throne of Taormina

See below, p. 341.

VP, p. 279, l. 2.

The Senate

See above, p. 234 - 235.

VP, p. 286, l. 6.

The Consecration of Churches

See above, p. 128 - 129.

VP, p. 286, l. 20.

Writing materials

See above, p. 163 - 166.

VP, p. 291, l.2.

Bilingualism

See above, p. 288 - 298.

VP, p. 294, l. 15.

The location of Epaphroditus' mission

A number of toponyms are recorded in connection with Epaphroditus' mission to the South. His destination is indicated in S. Pancratius' vision as being in the region of Torakinea (ἐν τοῖς

μέρεσι Τορακινέας) to the South of Taormina. After three days on a donkey, Epaphroditus reaches this area. It is clearly near Syracuse, as the accusations of ecclesiastical infringement made by S. Marcian indicate, as well as the familiarity which the farmer converted by Epaphroditus has with Syracuse as the nearest centre for transacting business. The absence of the toparch Melamphorus, who had sailed to Malta, provides a further general co-ordinate for the locality. When Epaphroditus indicates that his converts must be prepared to go six, ten or even thirty *stadia* to church services, it is not clear whether the church he has in mind is at Syracuse, or is his own foundation, so that these figures cannot be used for determining the location of Melamphorus' toparchy, but it could not have been too far away from Syracuse, as Epaphroditus can be fetched there apparently easily when necessary. The region is further defined as being at the head of waters which come forth at a stream near Syracuse. This stream is called 'Κερνήδολος' by the experts (ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν) and the area near its source cultivated by the farmer is called 'Κλοζόνοι'. Finally, the area to which Epaphroditus' message penetrated is defined in the following way,

> περιῆλθεν δὲ ἡ ἀκοὴ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον ἐκείνην ἀπὸ Μελαμφόρου τοπάρχου ἕως Πετρονίκης Παλλαδίου τῆς τρυφερᾶς παραλίου, καὶ κατερχομένου + τῆς ἄλσοτης τῆς πλατάμου τοῦ χειμάρρου καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε ἅπαντα πτερύγια τὰ ὑψηλώτατα.[1]

Mention is also made of the toparchs τῶν Μαζικῶν καὶ τῶν Λιβυτῶν.

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1. *VP*, p. 318 , ll. 4 - 8.

All the toponyms associated with Epaphroditus' mission have proved elusive and I cannot offer a single identification.

The description of the location of Κλοζόνοι at the head of waters called 'Κερνήδολος' flowing into the sea near Syracuse indicates that a position inland from Syracuse is intended. However, several rivers, among them the R. Anapo and the R. Cavadonna, join together to flow into the sea near Syracuse, and any of them is a possible candidate. They originate in the elevated region inland from Syracuse which also provides a number of possibilities for identification as the 'lofty peaks'. The 'gentle shore'[2] is far from being a precise co-ordinate, especially as there are a number of beaches answering to that description in the Gulf of Noto. The remaining co-ordinate has been obelized in the text as its sense is obscure to me.[3]

In this area, I can find no toponyms which might represent

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2. Several toponyms in Calabria are derived from 'τρυφερός', as well as one in Sicily. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario Toponomastico e Onomastico della Calabria* (Ravenna, 1974), s.v. 'Trifari' and G. Alessio, 'L'elemento greco nella toponomastica della Sicilia', *Bollettino del centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani* iii (1955), p. 258, s.v. 'Trifirò', nos. 3194 and 3195.

3. I have suggested a tentative emendation, 'τῷ ἄλσει τῆς πλατάνου', that is, 'the grove of plane trees'. It is also possible that the reference is to 'τῆς ἄλσοτης (= ἄλος) τῆς Πλατάμου', that is, 'the sea (shallows) of Platamus', also a toponym unknown to me.

Torakinea, Kernêdolos, Klozonoi or the 'rocky (?) Palladium (?)'.[4] I am not at all sure of the meaning of the last of these.

The reference to the toparchs τῶν Μαζικῶν καὶ τῶν Λιβυτῶν brings us to North Africa. The term 'τῶν Λιβυτῶν' must be formed from 'Λιβύη', and 'τῶν Μαζικῶν' should be related to the same area of North Africa, in which the toponym 'Μαζάκιλα' or 'Μαζάκουλα' is referred to, for example, by Ptolemy.[5]

By these references, Evagrius has further extended S. Pancratius' sphere of influence and given us an added indication of his own geographical horizons. The remaining secure point is the journey of Melamphorus to Malta (ἐν τοῖς · μέρεσι Μελίτου). Again, Evagrius' horizons are given definition by this reference.

The most that can be concluded, then, is that Epaphroditus' mission was carried out inland from Syracuse, in the elevated regions in which the sources of rivers running to the coast near Syracuse are located.

It is strange that none of these toponyms can be identified, whereas we have had some success in locating the toponyms near Taormina and in Calabria. It is possible that the vagaries of time,

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4. The proper name 'Palladius' has generated a place name in Sicily. See G. Alessio, 'L'elemento greco III', p. 339, s.v. 'Pallàdio'.

5. Ptolemy, *Geographia*, IV, 5, 29 (ed. Nobbe), p. 256. Cf. 'Maxalla', Pliny, *Natural History*, V, 37 (ed. Desanges), p. 63, with the commentary of Desanges, n. 24, pp. 408-9.

in this very remote region, have obliterated all traces of the toponyms, especially as some refer to minor features. It is also possible that the text is hopelessly corrupt here. There is a third possiblity; that Evagrius has created a fabulous location for the affair of Epaphroditus. The unlikely forms 'Κερνήδολος' and 'Κλοζόνοι' in particular support this contention. The incident has clearly been included to illustrate canonical principles, probably in connection with some dispute about which we will never know, and if it was intended as a general example, perhaps a specific, recognizable location was not called for and would have particularized the dispute too sharply. It is possible, too, that Evagrius was not especially familiar with this area and fell back on invention where knowledge failed.

VP, p. 298, l. 12.

The πλάκωμα of Melamphorus

The word 'πλάκωμα' must be derived from 'πλακόω' and refer to a paved area. It is not associated in the text with a dwelling, nor with any specific function, yet is connected with an individual, Melamphorus. The significance of this feature is unclear to me.

VP, p. 299, l. 3.

Agrarian conditions

The affair of the priest Epaphroditus and the farmer provides some indication of agrarian conditions in Sicily. While we should expect imprecision in Evagrius' description, it is likely that it reflects his own experience to some extent.

The farmer encountered by Epaphroditus is referred to as a γεηπόνος. At harvest time he is said to employ (ἐμισθωσάμην)[1] about twenty-four workers, variously called δρεπανισταί, θεριστaί, ἐργάται,[2] and by the farmer himself, ἄνδρες γεηπόνοι.[3] The harvest, described as the ἄμητος, must be some sort of grain.[4]

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1. Workers for wages are called μίσθιοι in Leontius' *Life* of S. John the Almsgiver, i (ed. Gelzer), p. 5, l. 5, and μισθωτοί in the *Farmers' Law*.
2. For ἐργάται as workers for wages, see Leontius' *Life* of S. John the Almsgiver, xx (ed. Gelzer), p. 37, l. 19.
3. It is strange that the same word is used of the employees as of the employer, but perhaps the expression 'ἄνδρες γεηπόνοι' has been introduced by analogy with other formulae of the same type, using the word 'ἄνδρες', found in the *VP*.
4. The term 'δρεπανιστής' implies a reaping operation. Sicily was a major producer of grain, being an important supplier of Rome in the time of Gregory the Great, as is reflected in his letters, and of Ravenna in the time of Archbishop Maurus (Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, c. 111 (ed. O. Holder-Egger), p. 350. See also J. L. Teall, 'The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire 330-1025', *DOP* xiii (1959), app. C, pp. 137-8.

The farmer is sufficiently prosperous to be able to offer permanent hospitality to Epaphroditus and build him a house of his own; yet the establishment is sufficiently small for the farmer's wife to have the duty of bringing food on a donkey to the harvesters and for the γεηπόνος himself to be supervising, and perhaps even participating in the harvest. A toparch, Melamphorus, is mentioned, but his function must be administrative. The γεηπόνος seems to be the proprietor of his own estate, much like the γεωργοί of the roughly contemporary *Farmers' Law*.[5] The description in the *VP* is too superficial to add much to our knowledge of Byzantine agrarian conditions, but it does provide another example of a farmer operating above subsistence level, yet not a great landed proprietor; able to employ at least at harvest time, but taking part in at least the supervision of the work; a prosperous, middle-grade farmer.[6]

The existence of a linen workshop, operated almost as a cottage industry by three generations of women with a female proprietor, in a country area, should be noted for the evidence it provides for establishing the economy of rural areas, and of flax production in Sicily.

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5. Ed. W. Ashburner, 'The Farmer's Law', *JHS* xxx (1910), pp. 85-108 (text); xxxii (1912), pp. 68-95 (trans. and commentary).
6. For other examples of this group, see P. Yannopoulos, *La société profane*, pp. 172-87.

Other evidence of agrarian life at a higher level is provided by the description of S. Pancratius' own extensive household in the East. He is said to have had slaves and estates of fields, orchards and vineyards, but the *topos* of the great wealth renounced by a saint is so common, and the legendary element in S. Pancratius' possessions so intrusive,[7] that the details provided cannot safely be used as evidence of the continued existence of large estates.

VP, p. 304, l. 11.

The portable icon

See above, p. 143.

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7. Evagrius refers not only to the possession of agricultural holdings, but to gold, silver, brass, iron, pearls and textiles. See below, p. 341.

VP, p. 319, l. 3.

τὰ κατὰ τὸν στόμαχον μόρια κρεμασθέντα

Presumably *genitalia* (?).

VP, p. 323, l. 2.

The Church of Peace (?)

The word 'οἶκος', used in the *VP* of Epaphroditus' foundation and of those consecrated by S. Pancratius in the provinces, is a standard term for a church building.[1] From the simple reference to an Οἶκος Εἰρήνης, it is not possible to determine decisively whether the church was regarded as being dedicated to S. Irene or to Holy Peace.[2] The absence of the

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1. E.g. *Apostolic Constitutions* 2.57.3 (ed. Funk), p. 159; *Miracles* of S. Demetrius, 229 (ed. Lemerle), p. 197, l. 15.
2. The difficulty of determining the dedication of the five churches of S. Irene in Constantinople is discussed by R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*. I. *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*. 3. *Les églises et les monastères*, ed.[2] (Paris, 1969), p. 102.

epithet 'ἁγία', the lack of special veneration for S. Irene in Sicily, the irrelevance of the saint to the Pancratius story and the absence of dedications to saints in the churches mentioned in the *VP*, suggest that the dedication was probably to Holy Peace. It this is the case, it should be noted that the practice of dedicating churches to the attributes of God is a very early one, as it is represented in the churches of Constantinople, S. Irene (Constantine), S. Sophia (Constantius ?) and S. Dynamis (pre-Justinianic ?).[3]

An uneven legacy of Byzantine remains, consisting mainly of small, provincial churches, has been left by the Arabs, but none of the remaining Byzantine churches in the vicinity of Syracuse is known to have had this dedication.[4]

VP, p. 324, l. 3.

The Liturgy

See above, p. 130 – 135.

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3. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, I/3, pp. 102-9 (S. Irene); pp. 455-70 (S. Sophia); p. 101 (S. Dynamis).
4. See P. Orsi, 'Chiese Bizantine del territorio di Siracusa', *BZ* vii (1898), pp. 1-28.

Relations between the dioceses of Taormina and Syracuse

We have noted that there are signs of some degree of rivalry between Taormina and Syracuse in the way in which S. Pancratius is presented as somewhat superior to S. Marcian. The incident concerning the priest Epaphroditus results in a triumph on the part of Taormina in canonical matters. The issue in question is the intrusion of a cleric ordained in Taormina into the diocese of Syracuse, a violation of the apostolic decree that each bishop must restrict his activities to his own diocese. S. Pancratius, although he has clearly transgressed this decree, is able to justify his actions as a special, divinely-inspired case.

This incident seems to indicate the existence of rivalry between Syracuse and Taormina, and it is tempting to speculate that it was inspired by a specific incident involving the two dioceses, the writing of the *VP* affording an opportunity for Evagrius to establish an authoritative canonical precedent for relations between the two dioceses. No evidence survives of any such incident, but there is evidence on which to base a general outline of ecclesiastical administration within Sicily which may give some indication of the circumstances in which such a feeling of rivalry might have been appropriate.

While under the jurisdiction of Rome, the hierarchs of both Syracuse and Taormina had the title of 'bishop' and answered

directly to the Pope.[1] Sigillographic evidence suggests that upon Sicily's transfer to the jurisdiction of Constantinople, the bishop of Syracuse was given the title of 'archbishop', although there is nothing to show that he acquired jurisdiction over the rest of Sicily at this point or was more than an autocephalous archbishop.[2] It is likely that there was some prelude to Syracuse's elevation, especially following the increase in the city's importance resulting from Constans' residence there. In the exchange of letters between S. Pancratius and S. Marcian, both have the title 'bishop'. This may reflect an attempt on Evagrius' part to represent an earlier state of affairs, but Evagrius'

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1. See below, p. 363. In two seals dating from the sixth and seventh centuries, the title 'bishop' is given to the incumbent of Syracuse. See V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, nos. 883 and 884.
2. The seal of Marcianus, probably the first incumbent after the transfer (Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, p. 694), gives him the title 'ἀρχιεπίσκοπος' (Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, no. 885). From the ninth century, the title 'ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Σικελίας' is used (Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, nos. 886 and 887), but the first evidence of a Metropolitan structure is the *Notitia*, 4.485 (ed. Darrouzès), p. 260, the *Acts* of the Council of 787 and a letter of Patriarch Tarasius of 790 (see below, p. 364) suggesting that metropolitan organization did not yet exist. In two seals of the eighth century, the title of 'bishop' is given to the hierarch of Taormina (Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, no. 897, '+ Λέοντ(ος) ἐπισκόπο(ου) <τ>οῦ Ταυρ<ομε>νί<ου>', no. 898, '+ Νικήτᾳ ἐπισκό(πῳ) Ταυρομεν(ίου)'). The title of 'bishop' was used at Catania (see Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, no. 893 (c.VII) and no. 894 (c.VIII)) until the ninth century, following the fall of Syracuse to the Saracens. Messina also remained a simple bishopric in this period (see Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux*, v/1, no. 899 (c.VII) and no. 900 (c.VIII)).

presentation of the episode seems more appropriate to a context in which there was tension in Sicilian ecclesiastical circles as Syracuse increased in importance, leading to its ultimate elevation, but before the title of 'archbishop' was actually conferred.

The incident is further indication that the intention of promoting Taormina's prestige was a factor motivating our author.

VP, p. 334, l. 11.

S. Marcian's caves

In the *VP*, S. Marcian is said to live in a cave in a conspicuous place near the sea and the Jews.[1] The *Encomium* of S. Marcian gives more details of the location of his dwelling. In the *Encomium*, he is said to have lived in some caves at an acropolis called Pelopia, opposite the synagogue which lay to the South of the caves near the sea. The encomiast adds that his grave was venerated there in his own day, and in describing the activities of Bishop Theodosius, mentions a subterranean network

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1. *VP*, p.334 , ll.11 - 12.

leading from Pelopia to a church of S. Marcian.[2]

There is a tradition, for which Gaetani[3] must be held responsible, that the present basilica of San Marciano, which has a crypt with a purported tomb of S. Marcian and adjoins the catacomb of S. Giovanni, should be identified with the church in the *Encomium*. A. Amore[4] has described the church and crypt and shown that the tradition does not antedate Gaetani, and that it does not correspond to the topographical co-ordinates given in the *Encomium*.

Amore has argued that the caves were on the island of Ortygia,[5] and there is much to recommend his position. The existence of a Jewish community in Syracuse is attested by epigraphical and hagiographical evidence. Only two Hebrew inscriptions have been found in Syracuse,[6] but three Greek inscriptions, one from a synagogue, are generally believed to be

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2. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 3, ll. 7-13; c. 9, ll. 26-41.
3. O. Gaetani (Caietanus), *Vitae SS. Siculorum*, Animad., p. 8; *Isagoge ad historiam sacram Siculam* (Palermo, 1707), p. 133.
4. A. Amore, *San Marciano*, pp. 1-12 (description of the crypt); pp. 61-68 (description of the basilica); pp. 50-60 (analysis of the tradition).
5. A. Amore, *San Marciano*, p. 57.
6. G. Calderone, 'Per la storia', pp. 489-502, has concluded that in addition to these, a gold plate from Syracuse with a Hebrew inscription came from the Jewish community of Syracuse of the early third century.

of Jewish provenance.[7] In the *Life* of S. Zosimas of Syracuse,[8] the saint is approached by Hebrew immigrants who want to build a synagogue, theirs having been destroyed by the Vandals. S. Zosimas refuses their request, thereby depriving us of topographical indications. So, there must have been a Jewish sector, but the only possible indication of its position is the street name 'Via Giudecca' on Ortygia. This position co-ordinates with the reference to proximity to the sea, and there are known to be caverns and underground passages in the area.[9] 'Pelopia' is not otherwise identified. As for the grave and church, which Evagrius either did not know of, or chose not to mention, these may have appeared after the writing of the *VP*, and may also have been destroyed by the Arabs.[10] Their position also cannot be

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7. J.-B. Frey, *CIJ*, I, nos. 651, 652, 653. The first two inscriptions are sepulchral. The third is probably a synagogue inscription, the metrics indicating a Byzantine date.

ὡς ἂν τὸ βῆμα σεπτὸν [ἦ], Ζαχαρίας
κέκλεικε τοῦτο μαρμάροις εὐσυνθέτοις.

G. Castello, *Siciliae et obiacentium insularum veterum inscriptionum nova collectio* (Palermo, 1769), p. 66, no. 8, reports of it, "Marmor effossum in veteri Judaeorum Regione, misit Caesar Comes Cajetanus V.C.", but fails to define the position.

8. The *Life* of S. Zosimas, *AASS* (Mar. iii), c. 19, p. 842. See the commentary on this passage in J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204* (Athens, 1939), p. 87, no. 4.

9. A. Amore, *San Marciano*, p. 58.

10. The *Letter* of Theodosius to Leo the archdeacon on the destruction of Syracuse in 878 refers to a church, which seems to have been on Ortygia, being destroyed by the Arabs. See Theodosius the Monk's Letter to Leo, archdeacon of Syracuse (ed. Gaetani), pp. 255-66. The relics of S. Marcian were not reported in Syracuse after the Arab invasion. See O. Gaetani, *Vitae SS. Siculorum*, p. 3.

identified, so that the *Encomium* does not really bring us beyond the topographical indications of the *VP*. It certainly seems likely, however, in that the *Encomium* refers to current veneration and is written for Syracusans, that the grave and church existed, and that the encomiast is not just developing the *VP* at this point. The agreement of the two sources, bearing in mind the Syracusan provenance of the *Encomium*, suggests that there were caves associated with S. Marcian in Syracuse, and shows that Evagrius had some topographical knowledge of the city.

VP, p. 340, l. 9

The font

The font in which S. Marcian baptized his converts is seen as some sort of natural formation rather than as a man-made receptacle built for the purpose.[1] The font appears as an object

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1. *VP*, p. 355, l. 2. ἐν τῷ θεοκτίστῳ κολυμβήθρᾳ. Cf. the 'God-built' church, a cave used as a church, in Cyril of Scythopolis' *Life* of S. Sabas, c. 18 (ed. Schwartz), p. 102, l. 3. The font in the *VP* is only a font, we are told, 'so to speak' ('δίκην').

of veneration in the *Encomium* of S. Marcian,[2] but without indication of its structure. A pool associated by legend with S. Marcian may lie behind the references in the *VP*, but insufficient information is given to determine its location. There is at present a large antique marble *kratêr* in the Cathedral at Syracuse[3] which purports to be this font, but an object of this sort does not correspond to the description in the *VP* either in size or nature, and the identification of it with the font of S. Marcian is not found earlier than Gaetani.[4]

VP, p. 335, l. 8.

The Slavic settlement near Syracuse

See above, p. 279 – 282.

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2. *Encomium* of S. Marcian (ed. Amore), c. 4, ll. 28–31,
καὶ προσευχόμενοι ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ μέχρι νῦν σεβασμίως προσκυνουμένῃ κολυμβήθρᾳ
3. See Plate V. It is described by A. Ferrua, 'Nuovi studi nelle catacombe di Siracusa', *RAC* xvii (1940), pp. 74–81, who analyzes its inscription to show that it is pagan, not Christian.
4. O. Gaetani, *Isagoge*, p. 135 with fig. 13 and *Vitae SS. Siculorum*, Animad., p. 8. See A. Amore, *San Marciano*, pp. 57–8. A. Ferrua, 'Nuovi studi', pp. 75–81, has traced the course of critical attitude to it since Gaetani.

VP, p. 357, l. 9.

Shorthand

See above, p. 169.

VP, p. 359, l. 5.

The school

S. Pancratius comes out to greet S. Marcian on his arrival at Taormina "μετὰ τῶν παίδων τῶν μαθητευομένων εἰς τὴν σχολὴν τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων". The reference is brief, but provides some details which may indicate something of the education system at Taormina in Evagrius' day.

The boys are pupils at the elementary level. The term 'τὰ γράμματα' is a standard description of the educational content of the primary stage of Byzantine education, with 'ἱερά' frequently added because early knowledge of letters was based on sacred

texts.[1] The boys, then, are probably aged between six and nine.[2] We are not dealing with an education which is specifically religious or intended for the professional formation of clerics, nor is there any question of the school being a monastic school for novices.

The expression 'σχολὴ τῶν γραμμάτων' is found in the *Life* of S. Stephen of Sourozh[3] for a public elementary school. Unfortunately, the *VP* tells us nothing of the teacher at the school.

The relationship of the school to the church and the bishop is unclear. It appears that the school is not entirely independent of the bishop, in that S. Pancratius has sufficient interest in the pupils and influence to bring them with him to meet S. Marcian.

There is some evidence for bishops having some

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1. Cf. the *Life* of S. Stephen of Sourozh, c. 1 (ed. Vasilievskij), p. 72,

> γονέων εὐσεβῶν καὶ θεοφιλῶν παῖς γενόμενος ἐπεδόθη παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα ἐκμανθάνειν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε συνηλικιώτας καὶ προκαθημένους ἐν τῇ σχολῇ τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπερηκόντισε.

Cf. also the *Life* of S. Stephen the Younger, *PG* 100, col. 1081B-C,

> οἱ μὲν οὖν γονεῖς τούτου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου παιδὸς, κατανοήσαντες τοῦτον τὴν τῶν παίδων ἡλικίαν ὑπερβάντα καὶ ἑξαετῆ ἐληλακότα χρόνον, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὀφείλοντα τοῖς μαθήμασι λοιπὸν ἐνασχολεῖσθαι, παραδιδόασιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν Γραμμάτων μάθησιν προπαιδείας.

See P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), pp. 99-100.

2. See P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, p. 100.
3. See above n. 1.

responsibility for education. In Sicily, the *Life* of S. Gregory of Agrigento[4] records that the saint's parents took him, at the age of eight, to their local bishop, Potamion of Agrigento, who agreed to educate the boy, and handed him over to a layman, Damian, to be taught τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἱερὰ γράμματα. His secondary education, after he entered the ranks of the clergy, was entrusted to the archdeacon and librarian of the Cathedral, Donatus. The episcopal responsibility for education evident in this case is not incompatible with the presentation of the school in the *VP*. This responsibility of the bishop for education may be a peculiarity of Byzantine Italy and Sicily, derived from Western models, episcopal schools having been in existence in the West since the sixth century.[5] Yet there are other examples of bishops involved in education before the eleventh century, the period usually credited with the beginning of church schools in the Byzantine world.[6] S. George of Amastris was educated by the bishop of Amastris in person,[7] and S. Peter, bishop of Argos in the tenth century,

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4. The *Life* of S. Gregory of Agrigento, cc. 3-5, *PG* 98, coll. 554-558. See the analysis of this text, and of education in Byzantine Italy, by A. Guillou, 'L'école'.
5. See P. Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'Occident chrétien de la fin du V^e siècle au milieu du XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1979), pp. 40-41.
6. See P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, p. 103.
7. The *Life* of S. George of Amastris, cc. 8-9 (ed. Vasilievskij), pp. 14-17.

taught boys both the liberal arts and useful skills for their work in the fields.[8]

It is significant also, in trying to determine the relationship of the church to the school, that in all the apostolic ordinances in the text, nowhere is there any mention of founding a school, nor of teachers among the clerical officials attached to the cathedral of Taormina.

The most that can be said on the basis of the passage in the *VP* is that it suggests, if it is derived from Evagrius' own experience, that at the time he wrote, there was probably an elementary school in Taormina, not actually run by the clergy of Taormina, but in which the bishop took an interest and perhaps had some influence over and responsibility for, probably in the manner of bishop Potamion of Agrigento, who was roughly contemporary with the author of the *VP*.

VP, p. 374, l. 4.

The legendary excursus

The legendary founders of Taormina, Taurus and Menia, are introduced into the narrative of the *VP* at a number of points. The first instance is in connection with Falconilla, the mother of the mythical boy Falcon, the statue of whom, that had become an

8. The *Life* of S. Peter of Argos, c. 12 (ed. Cozza-Luzi), p. 8.

idol, S. Pancratius destroys just after his arrival at Taormina. Falconilla is said to have been a descendant of Menia, the wife of Taurus.[1] Later, when mention is made twice of the wealth of metals in Bonifatius' Taormina, the origin of this wealth is attributed to Menia, described in the second instance as "a Macedonian of the descent of Alexander the king of the Macedonians, experienced in all metallic skill".[2] Finally, as the background to the attack of Aculinus on Bonifatius' Taormina, S. Pancratius asks that the story of Aculinus of ancient times, whose defeat in the past is currently being avenged by the second Aculinus, be read aloud. In the course of this, the story of Taurus and Menia, and of Remaldus and Aculinus, is told.[3]

The legend in which these figures have a role is an integral part of the text and cannot be a later interpolation. There is no evidence of a textual tradition lacking the episode; Taurus and Menia themselves are introduced at four different points and the lengthy relation of the legend is firmly embedded in the general narrative of the *VP* by the analogy drawn between the current attack and its precedents. In addition, as we will see, this element of the *VP* has had a pervasive effect on the whole text.

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1. *VP*, p. 40 , l. 11.
2. *VP*, p. 185 , ll. 1 - 2.
3. *VP*, p. 374.4 395.8.

Three of the references to Taurus and Menia imply the pre-existence of the legend in written form. Evagrius' description of Falconilla claims to be based on information given in "the historians". In the second case, Menia's metal-working skills are said to be recorded "in the historical books", and finally, the extensive narrative is ordered to be read from a book containing this and other, unspecified legends. This may be merely an authenticating device,[4] but, on the other hand, the slightly more elevated style of the legendary excursus may be attributable to its having been excerpted, or at least adapted from a written source, rather than to its different subject matter. If there was a written source, it has not survived independently of the *VP*.

The sources of this rather curious legend are difficult to determine, especially as it appears to owe as much to folklore motifs as to literary sources, and it is clearly local in character, so that the materials to study its development are unlikely to have survived in full.

It is also not clear how much Evagrius has adapted the legend for his own purposes, further complicating the question of the sources by introducing uncertainty as to the form in which he received it.

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4. Cf. the use of this device in the reference to the Slavs near Syracuse and the reservations expressed above, p. 280.

We would expect, by analogy with other sources of the genre of the Romance, that historical events lie behind it, at some degree of remove from the time of its composition, and perhaps substantially altered, but nevertheless reflected in its narrative structure and principal players, however dimly. It is unlikely that it is totally fantastic, with no relation whatsoever to historical realities. The identification of such historical events is more difficult than the assumption of their existence.

The name of Menia's first husband and Taurus' sometime master, Remaldus (Ῥέμαλδος) supplies an important indication of the direction our enquiry should take. He is described as being of the 'fair race' (ἔθνος ξανθόν). This description is found already in Pseudo-Maurice's *Strategicon*,[5] applied to Franks and Lombards. Further examples of such a usage for the Byzantine West are supplied by the roughly contemporary *Apocalypse* of Andrew the Fool,[6] which uses the description of Germanic peoples

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5. Maurice, *Strategicon* xi.3 (ed. Dennis), p. 368. Πῶς δεῖ ἁρμόζεσθαι τοῖς ξανθοῖς ἔθνεσιν, οἷον Φράγγοις, Λαγγοβάρδοις, καὶ λοιποῖς ὁμοδιαίτοις αὐτῶν.

6. The *Apocalypse* of S. Andrew the Fool, l. 134 (ed. Rydén), p. 207 (861A), τὰ ξανθὰ γένη. On this text and the preceding, see C. Mango, 'The Life of St. Andrew the Fool Reconsidered', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* ii (1982) (= *Miscellanea A. Pertusi*), pp. 306-7. Mango also discusses the later developments by which the term came to apply to Slavs and Russians.

near Rome, and by the ninth century *Apocalypse* of Daniel,[7] where, granted the date and Sicilian provenance of this text, it must refer to the Lombards.

Given Evagrius' Sicilian perspective, it is evident that he too must consider Remaldus to be a Lombard, and that the use of the description 'ἔθνος ξανθόν' of him would have been understood in this way.

The Greek form of the name appears in different forms in the manuscript tradition. The South Italian tradition has the form ''Ρέμαλδος', in which the Lombard name 'Romuald' is apparent. The Vienna manuscript (and also the second recension), representing the non-Sicilian tradition, has the variant ''Ρέμινδος'. This is perhaps the result of the lesser familiarity with South Italian affairs of the redactor of this recension, but nevertheless may indicate an attempt to represent a Lombard name terminating with the suffix '-mund' (e.g. 'Raimund'). In either case, it is certainly neither a Greek nor a Latin name, and taking into account the reference to the ἔθνος ξανθόν, its Lombard origin is secure.

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7. The *Apocalypse* of Daniel (ed. Vassiliev), p. 36.
καὶ ἄλλους ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ ἀποστελεῖ εἰς τὰ ἐνδότερα μέρη τῆς 'Ρώμης καὶ ἡμερώσει τὰ ξανθὰ ἔθνη καὶ ὁμοῦ διώξουσιν τὸν 'Ισμαήλ.

Romuald is not an uncommon Lombard name,[8] but only a powerful and important figure can be expected to have been transformed into a legend. In this category, two figures are candidates for identification as the historical figures behind our Remaldus, namely the Beneventan Dukes Romuald I and Romuald II.

We will outline in summary form the careers of the two Romualds, insofar as they are relevant to our enquiry.[9]

Romuald I governed the dukedom of Benevento as the vicar of Grimoald from the year 662, and in his own right from 671-87. It was in this period that the only serious reversal of Lombard fortunes in Italy was brought about by a Byzantine attack, when the Emperor Constans carried out a nearly-successful expedition against them, landing at Taranto and attacking the Beneventans, but the Emperor finally agreed to a negotiated peace with Romuald. Another attack was launched by Constans from Naples, but this time Romuald was victorious, defeating the army of Constans near Salerno. Taking advantage of Arab pressure on the

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8. See L. Bertini, *Indici del Codice Diplomatico Longobardo* (Bari, 1970) (relating to L. Schiaparelli, *Codice Diplomatico Longobardo* (Rome, 1929-33)) and J. Jarnut, *Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Langobardenreich in Italien (568-774)* (Bonn, 1972), p. 209.
9. More detailed accounts of the rules of the two Romualds, with citation of the sources, can be found in F. Hirsch and M. Schipa, *La Longobardia meridionale*, pp. 39-45 (Romuald I) and pp. 49-65 (Romuald II).

Byzantines, Romuald later attacked Byzantine possessions in the *original* Calabria, winning control of Taranto, Brindisi and most of old Calabria.

Romuald II ruled from 706-31. He made a number of incursions into Byzantine provinces, notably making conquests in Campania, then, in 710 and 711, openly attacked Ravenna. The *strategos* of Sicily, Sergius, who deserted Leo the Isaurian in 717/8, putting forward Tiberius as a candidate for the imperial throne, when defeated by Leo's representative Paul, took refuge with the Calabrian Lombards in 718. In the early part of the reign of Luitprand, who seems to have planned a united Lombard Italy and the final expulsion of the Byzantines from Italy, Romuald was in alliance with him.

Neither of these Romualds is known to have attacked Sicily, nor is any Lombard attack on the island attested. The Lombards never even penetrated as far South as the area defined in the excursus as their territory in the new Calabria,[10] nor is there any evidence of Byzantine action against them originating in Sicily. In addition, it is difficult to find internal divisions in either reign which could correspond to the rivalry of Remaldus and Aculinus, nor a candidate for identification as Aculinus. In

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10. See below, p. 356.

other words, there are no historical circumstances which *exactly* correspond to the legendary events in the excursus in the *VP*. However, in the course of the transformation of history to Romance, considerable alteration and confusion of events and circumstances frequently occurs, so that the identification of the events generating legends and Romances can depend on only a few elements.

Bearing this in mind, the first Romuald seems more likely to have been the historical figure behind the legendary Remaldus. The period in which he ruled is a factor in favour of this identification. It is difficult to say with certainty how long it takes for an historical person to pass into legend, but Romuald II's *floreat* brings us very close to our *terminus ante quem* for the *VP*, and for that reason alone is an unsatisfactory possibility. Romuald I was more active in *South* Italy than his later namesake. Constans' attack on him represents a *unique* Byzantine victory over South Italian Lombardy, providing thereby the only possible prototype for Taurus' and Bonifatius' defeats of the two Aculini, if it is the case that Taurus and Bonifatius represent the Byzantines against the Aculini representing the Lombards. The offensive of Constans must have had considerable impact in South Italy, and is the sort of event we might expect to have passed into local myth. The second attack of Constans from Naples may have reinforced the impression of Byzantine offensive action. In addition, the threat from the Lombards was intense during his rule. It is important to note that Constans carried out his first expedition in the *original* Calabria. The *VP*'s placement of Lombard operations in the *new* Calabria may be a geographical displacement of events resulting from the use of a source which

referred to the *original* Calabria by an author who understood the term in the new sense.[11] Equally, it may be the case that the exact location of the action was forgotten, and was brought closer to the area where the legend developed. It is also possible that the legend reflects a penetration of Lombards into Calabria which is unattested in other sources, although this is very unlikely. A major battle is placed at Taranto. It is said to have taken place between the Macedonians and the adherents of Taurus, but nevertheless is part of the legendary past and the victories of Taurus, and is soon followed by a reference to the people of Calabria, so that it may contain a reminiscence of Constans' offensive against Remaldus, the point of disembarkation for which was Taranto.[12] One of the purposes of Aculinus' attack is said to

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11. See below, p. 358.
12. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* v, 6 (ed. Bethmann and Waitz), p. 146. The Middle-Greek prose Alexander Romance (ed. Veselovskij), p. 40, contains a reference to Alexander at Taranto.

καὶ ἦλθες καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀγρίδαν καὶ εἰς τὰ Τάραντα κοντὰ εἰς τὸν τόπον μου ἐπάτησες μὲ τοὺς ἀτιμωμένους τοὺς βυμπαραίους τοὺς Μακεδόνας.

This text, based on Pseudo-Callisthenes, recension γ, was edited by Veselovskij from Vind. Theol. Gr. 244. In this form, it has been dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century. See F. Pfister, 'Alexander der Grosse in der Byzantinische Literatur', in *Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*, III (Berlin, 1960), pp. 127-8. However, two references to the Emperor Heraclius (ed. Veselovskij, p. 11 and p. 62) suggest that the kernel of it should be dated to the early seventh century. See H. J. Gleixner, Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner (Diss. Munich, 1961), pp. 67-9. The work also

be the unification of Sicily and Calabria, an object ultimately brought about by Taurus, with Sicily, rather than Calabria, in the dominant role. It is certain that the two areas were administered together after the establishment of the theme of Sicily,[13] in the period in which Evagrius was probably writing, when Calabria was a Dukedom of the theme of Sicily, but it appears that this was also the case earlier. The first evidence for this is found during the sojourn of the Emperor Constans in Syracuse,[14] and it is very possible that this administrative change should be co-ordinated with his presence in Sicily. We have seen in connection with the

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refers to Sicily (ed. Veselovskij), p. 29.

> τότε τὸν ἀπάντησαν ὅλοι οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀφέντες τῆς Ταρσίας καὶ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας καὶ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τοῦ Μωρέως (ὅλων) καὶ τῆς Πούλιας ὅλον τὸ ῥηγάτον καὶ οἱ Γότθοι ὅλοι.

There is a reference as well to the taking of Athens (ed. Veselovskij), pp. 23-5. It is possible that the battle at Taranto in the *VP* is part of the tradition concerning Alexander's activities in this area which ultimately found expression in the Middle-Greek prose Alexander Romance. This illustrates the difficulty of attributing sources to elements of our legendary excursus, granted its disparate origins.

13. See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus*, c. 10 (ed. Pertusi), pp. 94-96, and the commentary of Pertusi, pp. 178-80; S. Borsari, 'L'amministrazione', pp. 140-1, and above, p. 234.

14. The reference in the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 344, to the oppressive measures of Constans when he was in Syracuse suggests that under Constans, Calabria was subject to Sicily, rather than to the Exarchate, in financial matters. It states,

> "tales afflictiones posuit populo seu habitatoribus vel possessoribus provinciarum Calabriae, Siciliae, Africae vel Sardiniae ...".

See S. Borsari, 'L'amministrazione', p. 140-41.

episode of the capture of the Avars that it is possible that the *VP* reflects the impact on Sicily and its legends of Constans' stay there, and that Bonifatius may represent Constans in at least some respects.[15] Perhaps in the legend of the wars of Taurus and Bonifatius and the two Aculini we have a reminiscence of some of Constans' other activities.

The Remaldus of the excursus in *not* the chief enemy of Taurus and is absent from the attack on Bonifatius' Taormina. The role which corresponds most closely to that of the historical Romuald is that of Aculinus ('Ακυλῖνος), who is described as the 'king of Calabria' (βασιλεὺς Καλαβρίας). The name 'Aculinus' presents difficulties. It appears to be a Hellenized form of the Latin name 'Aquilinus', but in the context of the legend, a Lombard origin must be suspected. His title of 'ἄνθων'[16] supports such a belief. While meaning 'flower', it has also the sense of 'golden' or 'yellow' associated with it, and thus may refer, like 'ἔθνος ξανθόν' to the Lombard complexion. Several Lombard names, such as 'Aculo', 'Agilulf', 'Agelmundus' or 'Ago', could have been represented in this way. Identifying a historical figure

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15. See above, p. 282 - 287.
16. A. N. Veselovskij, ('*Изъ истории*'), p. 126, associates the name with Florent, the successor of Agolan in the mediaeval French epic *Aspremont*, and adduces other examples of similarly derived names in mediaeval French literature.

behind Aculinus is more difficult. A possible hypothesis is that the figure of Aculinus really represents Romuald, and the name 'Aculinus' has been substituted arbitrarily for the displaced 'Romuald'. Its source is perhaps a memory of Agelmundus, the first Lombard king,[17] or perhaps Agilulf.[18] Other figures with

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17. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, iii, c. 14 (ed. Bethmann and Waitz), p. 54, ll. 13-4, "Regnavit igitur super eos primus Agelmund".

18. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, iii, c. 30 (ed. Bethmann and Waitz), p. 110, ll. 8-9, "Erat autem tunc ibi inter ceteros Langobardorum duces Agilulf, dux Taurinensium civitatis." It should perhaps be noted that it was Agilulf who was in league with the Avars (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, iii, c. 24, p. 125). The connection with Tauriana may be significant. See below, p. 339., n. 41. The name appears in the form 'Acquo' in the *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, c. 6 (ed. Waitz), p. 5, l. 22, "Et regnavit Acquo annos 6." A. N. Veselovskij, '***Изъ исторіи***', pp. 122-6, raised the intriguing possibility that there is a survival of our legend in the mediaeval French poem *Aspremont*. The topographical knowledge of the poem's author suggests a first hand knowledge of Calabria, and it is possible that the legend could have been transmitted in the multi-lingual environment of Norman Calabria. It is recognized that historical figures lie behind the characters in Old French epics. See A. Adler, *Epische Spekulanten. Versuch einer synchronen Geschichte des altfranzösischen Epos* (Munich, 1975), esp. p. 20, some of whose observations are relevant to the justification of our search for historical figures behind our legend. The historical context of *Aspremont* has long been debated. The course of this debate is summarized by the most recent editor, A. de Mandach, *Chanson d'Aspremont* (Geneva, 1980), pp. 12-34. The possibility of a Germanic origin for the name of the heroes Agolant and Eaumont has been suggested by at least one scholar. See R. Van Waard, *Etudes sur l'origine et la formation de la Chanson d'Aspremont* (Groningen, 1937), pp. 24-38. If this is the case, then our Aculinus and Agolant may have the same source, as Veselovskij suggests. Veselovskij, '***Изъ исторіи***', pp. 127-8, also notes a reference to S. Pancratius in the mediaeval

suitable names are difficult to find among those prominent in South Lombard affairs. If Aculinus *does* represent Romuald, then the appearance of the two Aculini may be significant. As we have pointed out, there are two possible Romualds under consideration for identification as Remaldus; one considerably earlier than the *VP* and one roughly contemporary with it. Perhaps the existence of two Romualds, one in the past, in the period which, as we have suggested, had already developed a legendary character for Evagrius, and one representing a contemporary threat, provided the inspiration for the device of introducing two Aculini, one in the remote past and one in the, admittedly apostolic, present. Evagrius says that, following the example of the first Aculinus, all the kings of Calabria were called Aculinus. To an early eighth century Sicilian observer, living in the time of Romuald II and conversant with the now legendary Romuald I, this may well have seemed true of the name 'Romuald'. If this is the case, the date of Romuald II's rule, 706-31, provides a chronological co-ordinate for the writing of the *VP*. A fearful Sicily, threatened by an

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German epic *Wolfdieterich* (ed. Holtzmann), p. 88, 570.

Sie hiesz im an daz schiff zu hilfe tragen me
Sant Jergen hembde daz gute wisz also der sne.
Sant Pangracien heiltum darin versigelt was,
daz half im in den strite daz er harte wol genas.

(cf. p. 188, 1219). He gives no argument for identifying this S. Pancratius with our S. Pancratius, and it seems more likely that the eponymous Roman martyr (*BHG* 1408-9), being a military saint and considerably more widely venerated, is the saint in question.

agressive Romuald, may well have provided the circumstances necessary for the generation of a myth of a Lombard attack and defeat by their own forces. It is also possible that the name of the first Duke of Benevento, Ageimundus, generated the name 'Aculinus', and that 'Remaldus/Romuald' was introduced either as a convenient common Lombard name with which to label a character in the plot, or as the name of the contemporary Lombard ruler. It remains likely, however, that the appearance of the two Aculini is a literary device whose function is merely to provide a link between the legendary excursus and the story of S. Pancratius, and that the legendary excursus is purely a reflection of past events.[19]

The name 'Menia' appears in Lombard genealogies,[20] and it may be this name which brought about the association of the Lombard legend with the origins of Taormina, the similarity of the name to the termination of the city's name, at least in the

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19. A case with some parallels to the *VP* in the replication of the characteristics of one legendary figure in another within one work is the poem *Digenes Akrites*, where Digenes follows his father, Mousour-Ioannes, in carrying off a bride, bringing his mother to live with him in his second home, in his qualities as a warrior and in being 'twyborn'. See G. L. Huxley, 'Antecedents and Context of *Digenes Akrites*', *GRBS* xv (1974), pp. 318-9.

20. *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, c. 5 (ed. Waitz), p. 9, ll. 13-14, "Mater autem Audoin nomine Menia uxor fuit Pissae regis."

comparatively rare form 'Tauromenia',[21] having been noticed. Menia is credited with the introduction of metal-working to Taormina. A. N. Veselovskij[22] has suggested an ingenious source for this, associating her with several local Sicilian legends. If his hypothesis is correct, this is evidence of the influence of local

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21. The more common form of the city's name in the early period is 'Ταυρομένιον'. The form 'Ταυρομενία' is found in the *Life* of S. Elias the Younger, c.36, l. 736 (ed. Rossi Taibbi), p. 54, and regularly in sources of the tenth and twelfth centuries. On the different forms, see G. Alessio, 'L'elemento greco III', p. 350, s.v. 'Taormina' and the commentary of Rossi Taibbi on the *Life* of S. Elias, p. 159. The form used *may* reflect a belief concerning the etymology of the word, or at least the change in form may have followed a change in etymological hypothesizing. For example, Latin writers, such as the author of the *Life* of S. Willibald of Eichstätt, c. 4 (ed. Holder-Egger), p. 93, l. 7 and Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, iii, 32 (ed. Bethmann and Waitz), p. 112, l. 5, use the form 'Reggia' or 'Regia' for Reggio, suggesting a change from earlier etymologies based on 'ῥήγνυμι' (see below, p. 348) to the concept of a connection with '*regia*'.

22. A. N. Veselovskij, ***Изъ исторіи***, pp. 115-18, has put forward elaborate and ingenious evidence for the association of Menia with a mythological figure connected in Sicilian legend with mining and metal-working skills, in the vicinity of Taormina, whose existence he deduces from toponomastic indications, a philological analysis of the name and an examination of local folklore. It is possible that the source of the name 'Menia' is not Lombard (see above, p. 331 , n. 20), but that a mythological figure with the characteristics outlined by Veselovskij, with a name suitable for providing the second element of the toponym 'Tauromenia', has been introduced, perhaps in place of another name in the principal legendary excursus; that is, that the legend is a composite synthesized from a number of folk legends. The extent to which Evagrius himself may have been responsible for such a synthesis remains an unanswered question. The statement of the Arab geographer Edrisi that there was a gold mine near Taormina is important evidence that traditions concerning mining are likely to have existed at Taormina. See Veselovskij, ***Изъ исторіи***, p. 112 with n. 2

myth on the development of her characterization. Her association with Falconilla is tenuous, and may have been fabricated to provide an opportunity to introduce Menia into the text at an early stage.

Menia is said to have been a Macedonian, descended from Alexander the Great, and this alerts us to the likelihood that the Alexander Romance has contributed to the formation of the legend of Taurus and Menia. Pseudo-Callisthenes, the ultimate source of all the mediaeval Alexander Romances, recounts that Alexander the Great went to Sicily and Italy, where he subdued various enemies.[23] It is not surprising, then, that Pseudo-Callisthenes, copies of whose work we know to have existed in Sicily,[24] would

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23. Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Kroll), p. 26, ll. 15-17.

καὶ συνθύσας τοῖς ἐκεῖ στρατηγοῖς διεπέρασεν ἐπὶ Σικελίαν καὶ τινὰς ἀπειθήσαντας αὐτῷ ὑποτάξας διαπορθμεύεται ‹εἰς› τὴν Ἰταλίαν χώραν.

24. A number of aspects of the transmission of Pseudo-Callisthenes suggest the existence of the text in Sicily, although not as early as the date of the *VP*. A manuscript of the α recension, Leidensis Vulcanius 93, is a paper manuscript of the fifteenth century of Sicilian origin. See W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes)*, i (Berlin, 1926), pp. v-vi. A Hebrew version based on recension γ was composed in South Italy in the thirteenth century. See M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology*, ii (London, 1925-8), pp. 828-78. D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus. A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature* (London, 1963), p. 54, has suggested that an antique picture cycle, applied to the *Historia de Preliis*, entered Western Europe from Byzantium through South Italy in the first half of

have generated an Alexander tradition there. The *VP* seems to reflect a Sicilian tradition developed in response to Pseudo-Callisthenes' account of Alexander' successes in Sicily, in that it reports the victories of the Taorminians over the Macedonians. We should not expect to find the Sicilian version of the Alexander Romance which has contributed to our excursus extant in written form, but we may expect it to have had some similarities with Pseudo-Callisthenes.[25] A number of motifs present in Pseudo-Callisthenes are in fact found in the excursus in the *VP*, reinforcing the impression of a debt to this text or a version of it. Thus, in Pseudo-Callisthenes, there are exaggeratedly large numbers of troops,[26] an episode of single

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the thirteenth century, in the reign of Frederick II, and probably had an antique text of Pseudo-Callisthenes as its model, implying the existence of such a copy in South Italy (and probably Sicily) at that time at least. The Alexander Romance of Leo the Presbyter of Naples (ed. Pfister) is irrelevant to this subject, as it depended on a Greek manuscript which the author himself says he copied in Constantinople at a date later than the composition of the *VP*.

25. Pseudo-Callisthenes is the basis of all Mediaeval Alexander Romance literature. See D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, p. 5. It is impossible to tell how much Evagrius' variations and adaptations are his own, or were already in the version before him.

26. Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Kroll), p. 26.

combat between two heroes,[27] a founder of a city,[28] a huge shield,[29] a comparison of a hero with a lion,[30] the exaction of tribute[31] and, significantly, the worship of a 'higher providence', parallel to Menia's religion.[32]

The name of Taurus is probably derived from the name of the city to provide the necessary first element for the aetiological myth, being given, in its turn, its own etymology from 'ταῦρος' (= 'a bull). The sources contributing to the figure of Taurus are difficult to assess. Like the family of Aurelian in Evagrius' time, he is a Canaanite. This may reflect local legends concerning the Eastern origins of much of the population of Eastern Sicily. Such

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27. Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Kroll), p. 102. Porus accepts the challenge because Alexander is smaller, but is nevertheless defeated, like Aculinus in the *VP*, whose gullibility in falling for this claim from Taurus is remarkable in the light of Taurus' reputation as a giant. This in itself suggests the composite nature of our legend. Note the possible biblical source of the incident, below, p. 336 , n. 37. Again, a number of possible sources present themselves for a single incident.
28. Namely, Alexander, the Founder of Alexandria.
29. Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Kroll), p. 49, l. 25.
30. Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Kroll), p. 14, l. 2.
31. Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Kroll), p. 65, l. 10.
32. Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Kroll), p. 43, ll. 4-5, ἡ δὲ ῥοπὴ τῆς νίκης ἐκ τῆς ἄνω προνοίας γίνεται. Cf. p. 47, l. 14; p. 72, l. 21; p. 105, l. 14; p. 106, l. 1.

legends are mentioned by Appian,[33] who records that North-east Sicily was inhabited by Palestinians. In keeping with his Palestinian origins, many of Taurus' characteristics seem to be related to Old Testament legends. First, he is said to be descended from Nimrod of the book of Genesis.[34] The figure of Nimrod was developed in Byzantine mythology,[35] and his role in local Sicilian legend may be reflected in the Nebrodi range of mountains in North-east Sicily. The Syrians and the story of Taurus' exile are further Old Testament motifs, as is the loss of strength brought about by a woman, parallel to the story of Samson and Delilah,[36] and his success with the sling in single combat, parallel to the story of David and Goliath.[37] Veselovskij[38] has associated Taurus with Italus, who was also said to be descended from Nimrod. A bull (ταῦρος) is called 'Italus' in

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33. Appian, *Civil Wars* v, c. 117 (ed. Gabba), pp. 200-1. After recording Octavian's bivouac within earshot of Mt. Etna near Mt. Myrconium, it is said,

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστηνῶν γῆν ἔκειρε, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ συνήντετο σιτολογῶν, καὶ Μεσσήνῃ παρεστρατοπέδευον ἀμφότεροι.

The word 'Παλαιστηνῶν' is suspected of being a corruption. See the note of E. Gabba, *Appiani Bellorum Civilium. Liber Quintus* (Florence, 1970), p. 200. A. Holm, *Geschichte*, i, p. 91, presents some rather eccentric evidence for the Semitic influence on N. E. Sicily.

34. Gen. 10:8-10.

35. Note, for example, the elaboration of the Genesis account in the *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. Dindorf), i, p. 50.

36. Judg. 16.

37. 1 Sam. 17.

38. A. N. Veselovskij, '*Изъ исторіи*', pp. 119-20.

Apollodorus.[39] There is much to recommend the identification, but it is still possible that the similarity with Italus reflects less the derivation of Taurus from Italus than the role of Nimrod in legendary genealogies.

There are also a number of folklore motifs in the legendary excursus. Among these are; the jealousy (of Menia) of a lover's mother; the pining of a son (Taurus) at the death of his mother; the resting of a man's head in a woman's lap; the warlike character of Taurus - he is a giant, successful in contests, immeasurably strong, able to overcome strong animals, with a voice like a lion and the swiftness of a deer; the association of virginity with strength; the assorted paraphernalia - Remaldus' ring, belt, sword, shield and magical spear, Aculinus' prophetic belt and Taurus' huge bow, spear and shield; the single combat of Taurus against Aculinus - the challenge, the victory, supposedly of the smaller combatant (!); and the aetiology of

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39. Apollodorus, *The Library*, II.V.10 (ed. Frazer), i, pp. 214-16, states that Italy was named after a bull (ταῦρος) called ''Ιταλὸς' which escaped from Hercules' herd.

> ἀπὸ 'Ρηγίου δὲ εἰς ἀπορρήγνυσι ταῦρος, καὶ ταχέως εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμπεσὼν καὶ διανηξάμενος <εἰς> Σικελίαν, καὶ τὴν πλησίον χώραν διελθὼν [τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν 'Ιταλίαν (Τυρρηνοὶ γὰρ ἰταλὸν τὸν ταῦρον ἐκάλεσαν),] ἦλθεν εἰς πεδίον Ἔρυκος, ὃς ἐβασίλευεν 'Ελύμων.

The escape of the bull is also associated with the etymology of Reggio (from 'ἀπορρήγνυμι'). The *VP* lacks Classical reminiscences, but this further example of a tradition associating a bull/Ταῦρος with South Italy and Sicily may be significant.

metal-working. It is futile to try to trace the origins of such motifs.[40] A curious aspect of the excursus is the introduction of the aqueducts and baths; probably features of the town of Taormina.

The legendary excursus, then, appears to have a number of sources. Its basic narrative structure and the figures of Remaldus and Aculinus are derived from historical events in the confrontation between Byzantines and Lombards in South Italy, perhaps conditioned by Evagrius' own preoccupations. Local traditions, for example the legend of Palestinian settlement in Sicily, have also contributed to its form. The characteristics of the central figures and a number of episodes can be attributed to the influence of the Alexander Romance, Old Testament motifs and patterns of folklore. It is difficult to distinguish which elements come from which sources, as they are far from mutually exclusive.

The role of the context in which these legends are presented must not be forgotten, especially the influence of Evagrius' need to emphasise parallels between the legend and his 'present' circumstances. Even if Evagrius had the legend before him in written form, it is likely that he adapted it to his own needs. In

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40. These folklore motifs can be traced with the index of S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, 6 vols. (Bloomington, Ind., 1955-58).

attempting to determine Evagrius' influence on its form and role in its adaptation, it is important to note that, with the exception of the *Life* of S. Fantinus of Tauriana,[41] which at this point may be derived from the *VP*, the legend of Taurus and Menia did not pass into the mainstream and did not become established as the

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41. There are two S. Fantini, and confusion has been created by the appearance only of S. Fantinus the Younger in the *Synaxarion*, the earlier eponymous saint appearing only in South Italian sources. On this question, see A. Basile, 'Fantino Seniore e Fantino Juniore di Tauriano', *ASCL* xii (1942), pp. 79-94, 143-152; F. Halkin, 'Bulletin d'hagiographie italo-grecque', *AB* lxvi (1948), pp. 290-1 and E. Follieri, 'Un canone di Giuseppe Innografo per S. Fantino «il Vecchio» di Tauriana', *REB* xix (1961), pp. 130-1. The Latin trans. of Gaetani of the ninth century *Life* of the Elder S. Fantinus of Tauriana by Peter 'bishop of the West' is rpt. in the *AASS* (Iul. v), pp. 556-67 (*Vita altera*). After a discussion of the name of the R. Metaurus, the *Life* continues (c.I, 10, p. 558),

> Etenim Taurus quidam exstitit urbis fundator, qui ipsius amore captus, eam pro suo nomine Taurianum indigitavit, haud certe ignobilem, imo vero quam illustrissimam:

Tauriana was situated in the present district of Travianu, near Palmi. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.vv. 'Taureana' and 'Travianu'. Metaurus is represented now by Gioia Tauro. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Gioia Tauro'. It is very possible that the legend of the founder Taurus was originally, even in the version used by Evagrius, associated with Tauriana rather than Taormina. The *VP* itself credits Taurus with the foundation of 'Ταυριάνα μικρά'. This would account for the reference in the *Life* of S. Fantinus, where similar signs of a memory of the legend are lacking for Taormina. Gregory the Great refers to Tauriana as 'Tauri civitas', *Ep.* I. 39 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann) i, p. 51. Note also the association of Agilulf, first king of the Lombards and a possible candidate for identification with our Aculinus, with Tauriana, above, p. 329 , n. 18.

accepted version of the origins of Taormina.[42] This has implications both as regards the question of Evagrius' sources and the originality of his own contribution, and of the influence of the *VP* locally in subsequent generations.

We will turn now from the question of the sources of the legend to the question of its influence on the text of the *VP*.

A number of parallels are drawn between the legend and the 'present'. We have already noted the two Aculini, both attackers

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42. The name of the city of Taormina has been given a number of derivations. Diodorus proposed an etymology from 'Ταῦρος' and '-μένων', saying, with reference to Sikel refugees from Syracuse in 396 B.C.,

> καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ μεῖναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ἀθροισθέντας Ταυρομένιον ὠνόμασαν.

(Diadorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 14,59 (ed. Vogel), iii, p. 274, ll. 5-7). The tradition which has persisted to our times, as reflected in the city's coat of arms, is first found in the 'Εκλογὴ ἱστοριῶν ed. by J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis*, ii (Oxford, 1839), dated by internal evidence to a. 889. See Cramer's introduction, p. 165. This credits Minotaurus with the foundation of Taormina.

> Εὐσεβὼν μετὰ 'Ιεφθάε κρατεῖ τοῦ ἔθνους, ἔτη ζ'· ἐν οἷς χρόνοις Μινώταυρος ὁ Μίνωος καὶ Πασιφάης παῖς κτίζει Ταυρομένειον ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

('Εκλογὴ ἱστοριῶν (ed. Cramer), p. 194). On the indo-european origin of the toponym, see F. Ribezzo, 'Carattere mediterraneo della più antica toponomastica italiana', *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* iv (1920), p. 70 [228] and P. Kretschmer, 'Die protindogermanische Schicht', *Glotta* xiv (1925), pp. 314-5. The derivation proposed in the *VP* is found later only in local texts which are consciously dependent on the *VP*, like the *Encomium* of Gregory the Pagurite and the *Homily* of 'Theophanes Cerameus'. As in the case of the etymology of 'Reggio' (see below, p. 347), there is no trace of standard Classical explanations, but local suggestions seem to predominate.

of Taormina. There are parallels also in the characterization of the defenders of Taormina, Taurus and Bonifatius. Bonifatius sits on Taurus' golden and bejewelled throne. Both are called 'governor', 'consul' and 'founder'. The centre of Bonifatius' city is still called the 'Forum of Taurus'. In the face of attack, Bonifatius is subject to the same threat as Taurus, namely, that he will be killed by his own subjects because of their fear at being outnumbered by the enemy. The extraordinary numbers commanded by Bonifatius are more appropriate to the context of the legend and are in the same range as the numbers found there. Bonifatius' bravery, his qualities as a warrior and such attributes as his golden shield should also perhaps be seen as derived from this source. The enormous wealth of Taormina in Evagrius' and S. Pancratius' day is compared directly with its past riches and credited to Menia's metallic skills. Traces of the influence of this motif may perhaps be found also in the enumeration of S. Pancratius' own inherited wealth, the "gold and silver, brass and iron, costly pearls and clothing", as well as in the general abundance of precious items, like S. Pancratius' father's cross and the thrones of the gods. In the religious sphere, Menia's monotheistic worship of the 'higher providence' seems to prefigure the worship of the good pagans in Evagrius' Taormina and their acceptance of Christianity. A further example of this tendency can be found in the statement that the family consisting of Artagarus, Elidus and Aurelian are all Canaanites, like Taurus. In all these cases, the characteristics of the legendary period and its principal figures, themselves derived from local traditions, folklore motifs and elements of the Alexander Romance and the Old Testament, have been transferred to the

period professed as contemporary with Evagrius. In the case of Taurus' titles of 'governor' and 'consul', the transfer seems to have been effected in the opposite direction, although this is perhaps the work of a redactor of the legendary excursus.

A number of motifs in the text of Pseudo-Callisthenes appear in the *VP* outside the excursus and the parts of the *VP* derived from the Alexander Romance through the excursus. If we attribute them to the Sicilian Alexander Romance we have postulated, then we must assume that Evagrius had access to a more extensive version than the one he presents to us. The most important of these are found in the account of S. Marcian's experiences in Syracuse, which we will analyze later, but perhaps the serpent attendant on Lysson, some aspects of the pagan cult, like the 'image of a maiden', the divinations and the taking of lots in an urn, and the references to Lacedaimonia,[43] and perhaps Athens and Armenia, have this as a source. Again, it must be noted that these are not found only in Pseudo-Callisthenes.

The influence of folklore on the narrative of the *VP* is also evident. The events in the second Aculinus' attack on Taormina,

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43. Again, this is hardly the only possible source of the reference to Lacedaimonia in the *VP*. It could come from familiarity with the name of a neighbouring province, or from the presence of settlers from that province near Taormina. See above, p. 272.

like the miraculous darkness in which the attackers kill each other, and perhaps even the magical powers of the icons in this context, are probably introduced from folklore. The account of the building of the aposchists at Syracuse which fell down after they were afflicted with garrulity may be a development of the Old Testament story of the Tower of Babel.

All these parallels make it clear that Evagrius, although he has made a *narrative* distinction between the legendary past of the first Aculinus, Remaldus, Taurus and Menia, and the 'contemporary' present of Bonifatius, S. Pancratius and the second Aculinus, has in fact fused the two periods in his characterization of the figures involved and his presentation of their environment. Many of the attributes of the legendary period have been introduced into the apostolic period and combined with material derived from other sources, like the *Acts* of the Apostle John. This tells us much about Evagrius' historical sense and his perception of the apostolic period in Taormina which he is attempting to reconstruct for us. The past to him seems to be a space into which elements from disparate periods can appropriately merge together. He is not able to separate material chronologically. The period of the apostles is in the realm of legend in which material of a fabulous nature can properly be used, giving a novelistic, fantastic impression to the *Life*.

The experiences of S. Marcian at Syracuse provide a further example of the pervasiveness of the legendary element in the *VP*, and the amalgamation of material from different sources and periods.

Several elements have parallels in the Alexander Romance. The rulers Seleucus and Gordius are reminiscent of Alexandran

matters. Seleucus has a part. in Pseudo-Callisthenes[44] and other Alexander traditions, and the name 'Gordius' may recall the Gordium of the Gordian knot, a tale which is not part of the mainstream development of the Alexander Romance, but may have been transmitted in some form.[45] The account of the Medes in their tower sending fire across the water to burn S. Marcian in his row-boat may also be derived from this source, as both the device and the Medes are in Pseudo-Callisthenes.[46] This may have been reinforced from contemporary experience, or, on the other hand, may owe its appearance to logical extrapolation from

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44. Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Kroll), p. 142, l. 2.
45. The story of the Gordian knot is not part of the tradition of the Alexander Romance, but is only known from the earlier historians of Alexander. For the relevant sources, see C. A. Robinson, Jr., *The History of Alexander the Great*, ii (Providence, R. I., 1963), cat. xxviii, pp. 73-4. These sources were not popularly known in the Byzantine period, but only rarely, by learned authors. On the knowledge of these historians in the Byzantine period, see H. J. Gleixner, Das Alexanderbild, pp. 23-51. It is possible, however, that the word 'Gordium', transformed into a proper name, filtered through in the complex transmission of Alexander-related material.
46. Alexander orders Lacedaimonians to leave,

ὥστε ἀπόβητε τῶν νηῶν ἑκόντες, ἵνα μὴ τὸ πῦρ ὑμᾶς καταφλέξῃ.

(Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Kroll), p. 71, ll. 26-7). They take no action,

ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν μαχομένους τοῖς ὅπλοις καταπεσεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ καταφλεχθῆναι.

(Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Kroll), p. 72, ll. 2-3). For a reference to the Medes, see Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Kroll), p. 75, l. 6.

contemporary warfare. The prototype of 'Greek fire' was called 'Median oil' in Ammianus Marcellinus[47] and Procopius,[48] and Greek fire itself is referred to as 'Median fire' in Leo the Deacon.[49] The Medes may have been invented to dispense the deadly weapon as the logical corollaries of the epithet applied to it, their association with Zoroastrian fire-worship and towers, deriving from the Alexander legends, and reflected in their πυροφόροι θεοί and πύργος being used to fill out their characterization. It certainly seems that the description of the dispensing of the fire owes something to contemporary warfare, especially in the use of the

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47. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* xxiii, 6.37 (ed. Fontaine) iv, p. 108, "In hac regione oleum conficitur Medicum". The oil is used for incendiary arrows.

48. Procopius, *Wars* viii, c. 11 (ed. Haury), ii, p. 541, ll. 15-19.

ἀγγεῖα δὲ θείου τε καὶ ἀσφάλτου ἐμπλησάμενοι καὶ φαρμάκου, ὅπερ Μῆδοι μὲν νάφθαν καλοῦσιν, Ἕλληνες δὲ Μηδείας ἔλαιον, πυρί τε ταῦτα ὑφάψαντες, ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς τῶν κριῶν ἔβαλλον, ἅσπερ ὀλίγου ἐμπιπράναι πάσας ἐδέησαν.

Again, this is used for incendiary missiles.

49. The term 'Μηδικὸν πῦρ' is also used after the introduction of 'Greek fire', for example, by Leo the Deacon, *Histories*, ix, c. 10 (ed. Hase), pp. 155, l. 24 - 156, l. 3,

Ῥωμαίους δὲ παραχωρῆσαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀπόπλου, καὶ μὴ ἐναγομένοις ἐπιτεθήσεσθαι μετὰ τῶν πυροφόρων νεῶν (ἐκτόπως γὰρ ἐδεδίεσαν τὸ Μηδικὸν πῦρ, δυνάμενον καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἀποτεφροῦν).

and Cinnamus, *Epitome*, vi, 10 (ed. Meineke), p. 283, ll. 11-13,

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἐδίωξαν, ἐγγίσαντές τε αὐτοῖς, περί που τὸν Ἀβύδου γεγονότες πορθμὸν Μηδικῷ πυρὶ φλέξειν διενοοῦντο.

σίφων or tube.[50] Greek fire in this form was first used in 678 in the battle of Cyzicus.[51] Sufficient time has elapsed for its use to have been absorbed into the realm of the legendary, and Evagrius' attitude to it is important as a reflection of the impact of this method of warfare on the Byzantine imagination, in this case, maybe of one who had never seen it in use. So, again, layers of history and disparate sources have been compressed by Evagrius into a single, composite *stratum*.

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50. Although incendiary devices had long been known in the ancient world (see M. Mercier, *Le feu grégeois* (Paris, 1952), pp. 2-13), the use of the σίφων to dispense fire, as in the *VP*, was an innovation in 678 (see below, n. 51). The word 'σίφων' can refer to a pump, as in the *Life* of S. Stephen the Younger, *PG* 100, col. 1176C,

> καὶ εἰσδραμὼν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ ἱσταμένους ὑδροστάτας τῶν ἐμπρησμῶν, οὕσπερ σίφωνας καλοῦσιν·

See J. R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 15-16 and J. Haldon and M. Byrne, 'A possible Solution to the Problem of Greek fire', *BZ* lxx (1977), p. 93. The word appears to refer to the whole dispensing apparatus, much as it seems to in our text, in Leo's *Tactica*, xix, 6, *PG* 107, col. 992,

> Ἐχέτω δὲ πάντως τὸν σίφωνα κατὰ τὴν πρώραν ἔμπροσθεν χαλκῷ ἠμφιεσμένον, ὡς ἔθος, δι' οὗ τὸ ἐσκευασμένον πῦρ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀκοντίσαι.

The fire was generally dispensed from ships, called 'σιφωνοφόροι' (Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 353), but was also, rarely, used on land. In our example, the tower of the Medes takes the place of a ship. 'Greek fire' was used effectively against small boats, as in 941 against the monoxyles of the Russians. See the sources in H. R. Ellis Davidson, 'The secret weapon of Byzantium', *BZ* lxvi (1973), pp. 61-74.

51. The event was recorded in Theophanes (ed. de Boor), pp. 353-4. Cf. Nicephorus, *Breviarium* (ed. de Boor), pp. 32-3. As has been pointed out, this method of warfare was an innovation at this time, and the reference to the σίφων in our text implies that the incident in the *VP* relates to the device of 'Greek fire', not to its predecessors.

VP, p. 375, l. 4.

The territories of Remaldus and Aculinus in Calabria

The limits of the territories occupied by Remaldus and Aculinus are described in the legendary excursus in some detail in the following passage.

> Ῥέμαλδος καὶ Ἀκυλῖνος διακατέχοντες ἀπὸ τῆς παραλίας, καὶ κατέρχεσθαι διὰ Ῥιγίου, τόπου κρυώδους οὕτω καλουμένου, καὶ Πελλούρου τὸ ἀνανεῦον, καὶ Κάστρου τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ Τραφικῆς καὶ Τυρικοῦ ὕδατος, Ἐπταδέλφου δὲ Κάρρου τὰς ὑψηλὰς καὶ ἕως τῆς αὐτῆς παραλίας τὴν Σαλινῶν· ἅπαντα ταῦτα διεκατεῖχεν ὁ ποτὲ Ῥέμαλδος ... ὁ δὲ Ἀκυλῖνος ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς πάνυ πλῆθος τόπων καὶ λαῶν διακατέχων καὶ πόλεις ἰσχυράς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς παραλίας ἕως Πριονικῶν ὀρέων καὶ Σιλονικῶν καὶ ἕως Τυροπόλεως
>
> <καὶ> χειμάρρου Κογχύλου.

To the evidence provided by this passage should be added the description of Aculinus' fruitless search for Remaldus.

> δοκῶν δὲ ὅτι ἐν ἑνὶ τῶν κατάλσων ὀρέων ἐστίν, ἀπῆλθεν ἅπαντα τόπον Καλαβρίας ἀναζητῶν Ταῦρον μέχρι μηνὸς ἑνὸς ἀπὸ παραλίας Σαλινῶν ἕως Κογχύλου χειμάρρου καὶ τέρμονος καὶ τῶν ὀρέων Τυροπόλεως καὶ ἕως τῆς μικρᾶς καὶ ἁλιμενεύτου θαλάσσης.

Only a few of the toponyms provided can be identified with any certainty and most present difficulties. Several can be seen as possible antecedents of a number of current toponyms in Calabria. In some cases, where the toponyms are formed with the qualitative suffix '-ικός', it is difficult to tell whether they function merely as descriptive terms rather than as toponyms as such. It is possible that the toponyms in the legendary excursus are

fictitious. However, an attempt is made here to make sense of them, faith in the whole scheme being given by those which are identifiable.

Map references are to the map published by the Touring Club Italiano with the scale 1:250,000.

1. διὰ Ῥιγίου τόπου κρυώδους οὕτω καλουμένου

This can be securely identified as Reggio Calabria. The toponym ''Ρήγιον' is usually given an etymology from 'ῥήγνυμι' (= 'break asunder'). That is, the origin of the name is related to the supposed breaking off of Sicily from the mainland. This attempt at an etymology is the most common in ancient authors, and is that of the *Etymologicon Magnum*.[1] Strabo[2] also attempts a derivation from '*regnum*' (= 'kingdom'), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus[3] mentions an eponymous hero. A derivation from 'ῥῖγος' (= 'cold' or 'frost'), as suggested in our text, seems to be otherwise unattested, and is probably a local interpretation of limited circulation. As in the case of the etymology of 'Taormina', there is an absence of Classical reminiscences. I have preserved

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1. *Etymologicon Magnum* (ed. Gaisford), 703, 25-7
   Ῥήγιον : Πόλις πλησίον Σικελίας· ἐπειδὴ σεισμοῦ γενομένου ἀπετελέσθη τὰ ἐκεῖ, ῥαγέντος τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου.
2. Strabo, *Geography* VI.i.6 (ed. Sbordone), ii, p. 292.
3. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, XIX.2.2 (ed. Cary), vii, p. 342.

the less common form ''Ρίγιον' in the text as it is consistent with the proposed etymology.

2. καὶ Πελλούρου τὸ ἀνανεῦον

This toponym should be identified with Pt. Péllaro, on the coast South of Reggio (52 D1-2). The word is derived from 'πέλωρος' (= 'monstrous' or 'huge'), the name of the giant who gave his name to the ancient Capo Peloros (now Capo di Faro) on the Sicilian shore opposite, from which the Calabrian cape probably in turn received its name.[4] The form 'Πελλουρου' is attested in an eleventh century document.[5]

3. καὶ Κάστρου τοῦ παλαιοῦ

E. Patlagean[6] identifies this as Castelvetere, which is located near Gerace (52 5C). However, this name was given only in 1860 to what was believed to be the site of Kastellon Veteron, a toponym attested in the form 'καστέλλον βέτερον' or 'castrum vetus' in late mediaeval documents.[7] However, the word 'παλαιός' is more likely to be reflected in a toponym in a form such as 'paglia',

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4. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Péllaro' and G. Alessio, *Saggio di Toponomastica Calabrese* (Florence, 1939), no. 2990, s.v. 'πέλωρος'.
5. See G. Sola, 'Una carta greca di Gerace del 1067', *ASCL* i (1931), p. 535.
6. É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 587, n. 17.
7. F. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* (Naples, 1865), pp. 152, 253, 397, 399, 558; D. Vendola, *Rationes decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV* (*ST* 84) (Vatican, 1939), 3453-3467; G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 817, s.v. 'castellum'.

'pala', 'pagga', 'palio', 'palo' or 'paleo'.[8] A number of toponyms in Calabria are in fact derived from 'παλατόκαστρον'.[9]. This makes the problem of identification difficult. However, as the limits given for the extension of the territory of Remaldus seem to be Reggio and Palmi, the strongest possibility is Pagliecastru, or Palecastro, near Samo (52 4D).

4. καὶ Τραφικῆς

This toponym is probably formed from '*trabe*' (= 'beam' or 'rafter'). Toponyms with this root are common in Calabria.[10] The situation of the Vallone Travo near Caulonia (52 6B), being not beyond the limit of the furthest point given for Remaldus' territory, suggests that it is the most likely location out of a number of possiblities.

5. καὶ Τυρικοῦ ὕδατος

É. Patlagean's[11] identification of this toponym with the R. Torbolo is not acceptable, as the latter has quite a different derivation, namely from '**turbulus*' (= 'turbid').[12] A possible derivative

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8. G. Alessio, *Saggio*, nos. 2847-2855.
9. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Pagliócastro'; G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 2851, s.v. 'παλατόκαστρον'.
10. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Trava'; G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 3947a, s.v. 'trabilis', no. 3948, s.v. 'trabs, -abe'.
11. É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 587, n. 19.
12. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.vv. 'Túrboli', 'Tórbido'; G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 4020, s.v. '*turbŭlus'.

toponym is 'Túrići', near Molochio.[13] The variant offered by V, 'τοῦ ῥοικοῦ' (= 'crooked'), should not be dismissed categorically, although it seems more likely that a toponym should have been corrupted into a descriptive term, especially in a manuscript not of South Italian origin, than that the opposite process should have taken place.

6. 'Επταδέλφου δὲ Κάρρου τὰς ὑψηλὰς

There is a common place name in the provinces of Reggio and Catanzaro, namely, 'Carra', derived from the Greek '*καρρᾶς' (= 'oak wood').[14] Again, the frequency of the toponym makes identification difficult, but if the list given here represents a demarcation of the territorial limits in geographical order, then the Carra (52 3C) near Seminara, and close to the final limit given, the 'Σαλῖναι', is most likely. The sense of ''Επτάδελφος' is not clear. There is a Sette Frati near Santa Severina,[15] but this is not related to the area with which we are concerned. However, the word '*frater*'[16] and the numeral 'seven'[17] do appear in

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13. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Túrici'; G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 4024, s.v. 'Turĭcus' and G. Alessio, 'Raccolta toponomastica di Molochio (Reggio Calabria)', *ASCL* iv (1934), p. 69, no. 441, s.v. 'túric'i'.
14. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Carrá'. Note the form 'carro' (='a species of oak') in the dialect of Bova. See also G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 1835, s.v. '*karro' and articles cited there.
15. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Sette Frati'.
16. See G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 1464, s.v. 'frater'.
17. See G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 3620, s.v. 'sĕptem', and articles cited there.

Calabrian toponyms, so that it is conceivable that such a term was used, even if traces of it no longer can be found in this particular case.

7. καὶ ἕως τῆς αὐτῆς· παραλίας τῶν Σαλινῶν

The name 'αἱ Σαλῖναι' was applied especially to the marshy area around Gioia Tauro and Palmi (42 F4, 52 E2). The tenth century *Life* of S. Elias the Younger[18] refers to the Σαλῖναι where the saint founded a monastery. It must be admitted, however, that the toponym is found elsewhere as well.[19] The area is considered to be within Remaldus' territory, as Taurus and his mother live "ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ τῶν Σαλινῶν". Within this region, Taurus is said to have founded Ταυριαναί.[20] This probably corresponds to the modern Taureana, a village near Palmi, which is the ancient Taurianum.[21] The toponym has also generated 'Travianu',[22] a district South of Gioia Tauro. The toponyms 'Gioia Tauro'[23], which should be identified with the ancient 'Metauros' and

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18. *Life* of S. Elias the Younger (ed. Rossi Taibbi), c. 30, p. 44; c. 38, pp. 56 and 58; c. 39, p. 58; c. 55, p. 86; c. 56, p. 86; c. 65, p. 102; c. 74, p. 118.
19. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Saline'; G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 3530, s.v. 'Salīna'.
20. *VP*, p. 395, ll. 2 - 4.
21. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Taureana'; G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 3877, s.v. 'Taureānum'.
22. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Travianu'; G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 3877, s.v. 'Taureānum'.
23. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Gioia Tauro'.

'Taormiti',[24] a district of San Roberto, the form of which is abbreviated from '*Taorminiti' (= 'of Taormina'), should also be noted. The foundation legend of Tauriana, as it is found in the *VP* and in the *Life* of S. Fantinus of Tauriana, is discussed elsewhere.[25]

8. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς παραλίας

From the general orientation of our author, as determined from the analysis of his description of Remaldus' territory, and from the identification of the other toponyms given below for Aculinus' territory, it would seem most likely that the West coast of Calabria is intended here.

9. ἕως Πριονικῶν ὀρέων καὶ Σιλονικῶν

The word 'Πριονικῶν' is formed from the Calabrian Greek 'πριονία' (= 'serrated ridge of hills', Gk. 'πρίων', Lat. 'serra').[26] The frequency of Calabrian toponyms with this root makes the identification of the mountains in our text difficult, but the proposal of É. Patlagean[27] that it is the Serre range, South of the Sila range, that is intended, has merit, granted their proximity to

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24. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Taormiti'.
25. See above, p. 339.
26. See G. Alessio, 'Calchi linguistici greco-latini nell' antico territorio della Magna Grecia', *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di studi bizantini*, Palermo, 1951 (= *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* vii (1953)), p. 285, s.v. 'πριονία'.
27. É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 588, n. 21.

the Sila mountains with which they are associated in the text. The Σιλονικοί mountains should be identified with the central Calabrian ranges, Sila Grande, Sila Piccola and Sila Greca.[28]

10. καὶ χειμάρρου Κογχύλου

The word 'κογχύλιον' (= 'mussel') has generated the place name 'Κοχύλι' in Greece. The present R. Coscile (42 F5-6), a tributary of the R. Crati, and probably the ancient R. Sybaris, is also derived from 'κογχύλιον', as the dialectal form 'Cuχile' and the thriteenth century form 'Cochili' confirm.[29] The position of the R. Coscile and its contiguity with the R. Tiro, with which it is associated in the text, support this identification.

11. ἕως Τυροπόλεως

There is a R. Tiro (42 F5), which is a tributary of the R. Coscile. The name is attested also in the *Etymologicon Magnum*.[30] Lungro is the major city on the river, its name being derived from 'Hungarus' (= 'Hungarian').[31] Perhaps, as E. Patlagean[32]

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28. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Sila'; G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 3662, s.v. 'Sīla'.
29. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Coscile'. G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 1067, s.v. '*Cossīlis', derives 'Coscile' from a putative form '*Cossīlis', itself derived from 'Cos(s)a' or perhaps '*coscus'.
30. *Etymologicon Magnum* (ed. Gaisford), 475, 26-7, Τίρος, ὄνομα ποταμοῦ. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Tiro'; G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 3933, s.v. 'Τίρος'.
31. See G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario*, s.v. 'Lungro'; G. Alessio, *Saggio*, no. 1655, s.v. 'Hungărus'.
32. É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 588, n. 23.

suggests, this is the city in question, and 'Τυρόπολις' was its designation before the appearance of the name 'Lungro' or its antecedents. This cannot be determined with certainty, but the appropriate position of the R. Tiro, running into the R. Coscile, makes it likely that a city situated on it is intended. The North boundary of Aculinus' domain, then, is the R. Coscile to the point where it is joined by the R. Tiro (that is, not the northern reach of the former river), then the latter river until an unidentifiable city on it.

The manuscripts of the second recension omit 'Τυρόπολις', replacing it with 'ἕως πόλεως Ταράντου'. It seems more likely that the name of the large city, Taranto, has been substituted for the obscure 'Τυρόπολις', rather than, as A. N. Veselovskij suggests,[33] that both were originally in the text, as Taranto, although at times administratively part of Calabria, cannot practically be included within the limits set out in the text. The battle fought there in the legendary past and mentioned in the *VP* does not force us to include the city within the territories of Remaldus and Aculinus.[34] In the description of Aculinus' search, the city is associated with mountains. These are most likely the Catena Costiera of Paola, in

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33. A. N. Veselovskij, '*Изъ исторіи*', p. 96, n. 12
34. *VP*, p. 222, ll. 7 - 9. See above, p. 326.

view of the location implied.

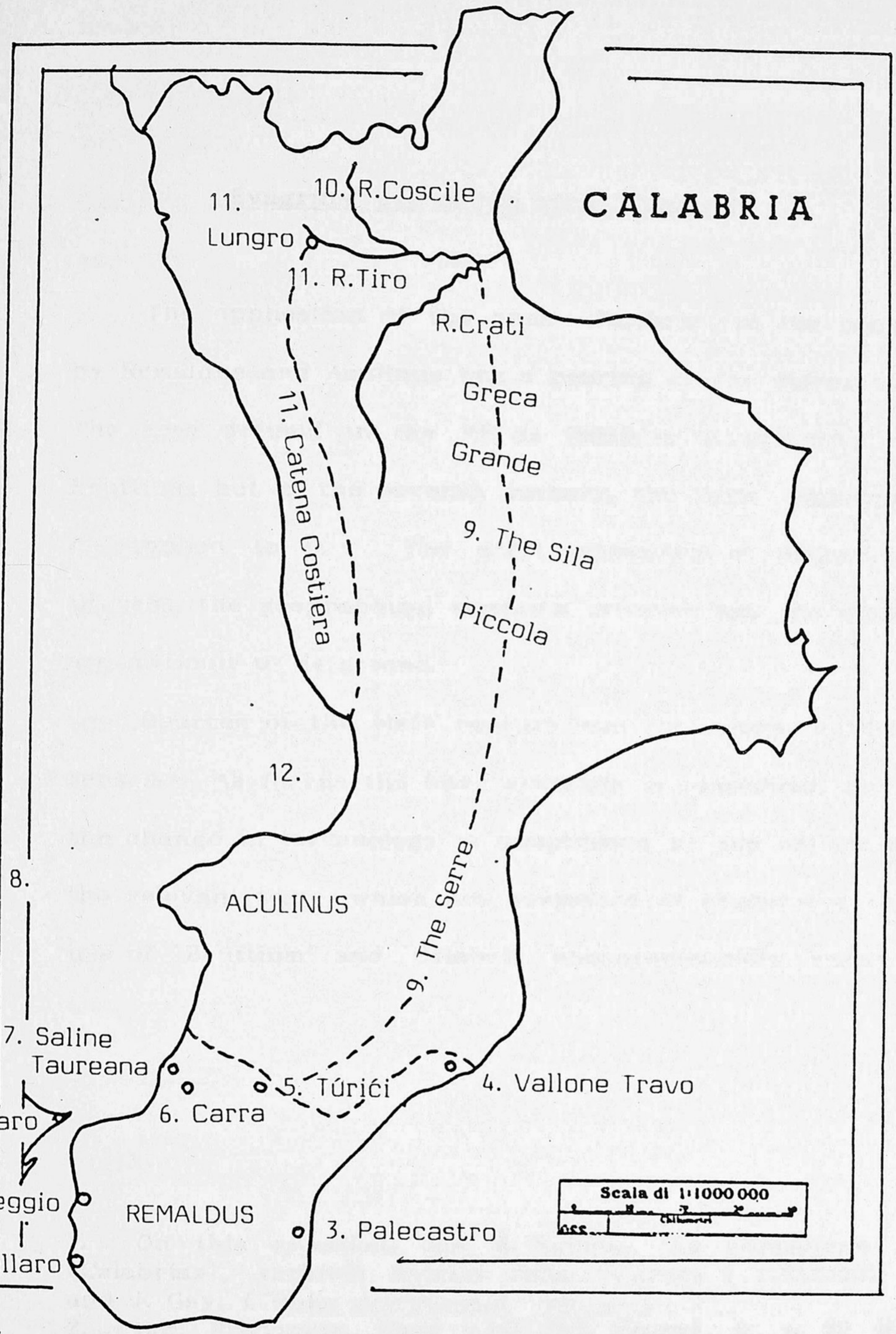
12. ἕως τῆς μικρᾶς καὶ ἀλιμενεύτου θαλάσσης

This description could well be applied to either the Gulf of S. Euphemia on the West coast of Calabria, or to the Gulf of Squillace on the East coast.[35] Evagrius does not seem to include the area to the East of the central mountain ridge in his understanding of the territory to be defined as 'Calabria', so that the former possibility is to be preferred.

It seems, then, that the territory occupied by Remaldus was the southern part of the Calabrian peninsula, from Reggio around the coast to Samo, as far North as Caulonia, and West to the area around Palmi; that is, essentially the Aspromonte. The territory occupied by Aculinus seems to have been the area West of the central Serre and Sila ranges, from the Palmi region to the South to the boundary formed by the R. Coscile and the R. Tiro to the North.

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35. See Naval Intelligence Division, British Admiralty, *Italy* i (Geographical Handbook Series) (1944), pp. 106-7 (Gulf of S. Euphemia), pp. 114-5 (Gulf of Squillace).


CALABRIA
10. R.Coscile
11. Lungro
11. R.Tiro
R.Crati
Greca
Grande
9. The Sila
Piccola
11. Catena Costiera
12.
9. The Serre
8.
ACULINUS
7. Saline Taureana
5. Túrici
4. Vallone Travo
6. Carra
Pt. Faro
1. Reggio
REMALDUS
3. Palecastro
2. Pt. Péllaro
Scala di 1:1000 000

Evagrius' use of the term 'Calabria'

The application of the name 'Calabria' to the area occupied by Remaldus and Aculinus has a bearing on the dating of the text. The area defined in the *VP* as Calabria in antiquity was called Bruttium, but in the seventh century, the name 'Calabria' came to be applied to it.[1] The exact chronological sequence of this process, the geographical locations involved and the reasons for it are difficult to determine.

Sources of the sixth century use the names in their original senses.[2] As far as the later evidence is concerned, the dating of the change in terminology is complicated by the nature of many of the relevant texts, which are suspected of preserving the antique use of 'Bruttium' and 'Calabria' anachronistically, either by

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1. On this question, see M. Schipa, 'La migrazione del nome «Calabria»', *Archivio Storico della Calabria* i (1912/13), pp. 7-24 and J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 5-7.
2. E.g. Procopius, *Wars* v.I.8 (ed. Haury), ii, p. 39 (Bruttium); v.I.15 (ed. Haury), ii, p. 79 (Calabria); Justinian, *Novels*, xxvi (ed. Zachariae a Lingenthal), ii, p. 365.

reproducing the terminology of their sources,[3] or by conscious archaizing,[4] even as late as the eighth century.[5]

Because of this, it is difficult to establish a *terminus post quem* for the word 'Bruttium' ceasing to be applied to modern Calabria in general use. The *terminus post quem* of the change can only be surmised from reflection on the reasons for the change. Ch. Diehl[6] suggested that it came about following Constans II's disastrous campaign in 663 to recapture the territory taken by the Lombards, after which, with the loss of the ancient Calabria (which was ultimately called 'Longobardia'),[7] the remaining territories were consolidated as a new Calabria, but there is no decisive textual evidence to resolve speculation on this point, plausible as it is that Lombard encroachment was the ultimate cause.

However, two sources of the seventh century do provide us with evidence for a *terminus ante quem* for the change. The

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3. E.g. Anon. of Ravenna, *Cosmography*, iv.29 (ed. Pinder and Parthey), p. 248, a Lat. trans. of a late seventh century Greek text which depends on sources probably of the early seventh century, and similarly Guido, *Geography*, c. 67 (ed. Pinder and Parthey), p. 503, which also ultimately has sources of the early seventh century. See M. Schipa, 'La migrazione', p. 9.
4. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* (ed. Bethmann and Waitz), ii.17 (Bruttium), ii.21 (Calabria).
5. Namely, Paul the Deacon.
6. Ch. Diehl, *L'administration*, pp. 33-4.
7. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio, c. 27 (ed. Moravcsik), p. 112, Περὶ τοῦ θέματος Λαγουβαρδίας.

notice concerning Pope Sergius I (687-701) in the *Liber Pontificalis*[8] refers to a basilica, which in a letter of Pope Gregory the Great is located in Bruttium, as being in Calabria, so that the change must have already taken place. More detailed evidence is given in the list of bishops at the Council of 680.[9] From this it appears that the name 'Bruttium' was restricted to the North part of its original territory, North of Squillace and the Gulf of Euphemia,[10] and that Calabria was considered to comprise the remainder of the former Bruttium, as well as Taranto and Terra d'Otranto.[11] The term 'Bruttium' later seems to have fallen out of use, and 'Calabria', as in our text, came to denote the whole of the present Calabria, which remained in Byzantine hands.

A definite *terminus post quem* for the change would also provide us with a *terminus post quem* for the *VP*, but as this cannot be firmly established, beyond stating that it does not pre-date the seventh century, we can only conclude that the area designated 'Calabria' in the *VP* corresponds closely, both in what it includes under that name and in what is excluded, to that which we know was referred to as Calabria from the late seventh

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8. *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, pp. 375 and 397.
9. Mansi xi, coll. 297-316.
10. The bishops of the diocese of Bruttium (Mansi xi, coll. 299-301) are those of Cotrone, Squillace, Tempsa (near Nocera ?) and perhaps Cosenza (Lat. text only).
11. The bishops of the diocese of Calabria (Mansi xi, coll. 300, 301, 304) are those of Locri, Terra d'Otranto, Taranto, Turii, Tauriana, Tropea and Vibona.

century. This indication can be co-ordinated with other methods of dating.

VP, p. 377, l. 11.

The Straits of Messina

The captain of the ship bearing Remaldus and his mother appears to have been unable to continue his journey to Rome because of a South-west wind (λίψ), so put in at Reggio before sailing through the Straits of Messina, referred to here as the Στενωπόν τοῦ Φάρου.[1] Evagrius' description of the treacherous 'battle-ground (?)' (μαχικόν) of the two seas where they meet in the straits is quite an accurate observation on the dangerous currents there.[2] This suggests familiarity on his part or that of a source with the passage between Sicily and the mainland.

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1. The toponym 'Φάρος' refers to the North-east point of Sicily. See G. Alessio, 'L'elemento greco III', p. 324, s.v. 'Faro'. On the Latin sources which use the form 'Pharus' (or 'Farus') in place of the ancient 'fretum Siculum', see R. van Waard, *Aspremont*, pp. 11-12.
2. On the currents of the Straits of Messina, see Naval Intelligence Division, British Admiralty, *Italy* i (Geographical Handbook Series) (1944), p. 108; *Italy* iv (1945), p. 307.

VP, p. 394, l. 13.

Taurus' shield

The measurement of the shield is given as four ὀργυιαί, that is, about 750 cm..[1] Once again, we are in the realm of heroic proportions.

VP, p. 405, l. 14.

S. Peter at Ravenna

See above, p. 189.

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1. See E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, s.v. 'ὀργυιά'.

VP, p. 411, l. 9.

Ecclesiastical arrangements in Sicily

Jurisdiction over Sicily

The injunction given to Evagrius by S. Pancratius that he go to *Rome* to be ordained bishop of Taormina, and the form of church organization it implies, may have some bearing on the problem of dating the text. There was a change of practice as regards ordinations in Sicily during the period in which the *VP* should be located, and if the text can, on the basis of this passage, be placed in relation to the change, and the change itself dated, a useful *terminus* can be established.

The change in practice occurred when the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Sicily passed from Rome to Constantinople during the eighth century.

Before this transfer of jurisdiction, the date of which will be discussed below, the evidence we have indicates that candidates for the see of Taormina went to Rome for ordination.[1] That is,

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1. This was the case under Gregory the Great. See *Epp.* I.18; IV.11; XIII.14 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann), i, pp. 23-24, 243-45; ii, pp. 381-2.

whatever the nature of any 'primacy' of Syracuse within Sicily,[2] ordinations were performed by the Pope in Rome, not in Sicily. Unlike Italy and Illyricum, Sicily, in its ecclesiastical organization, does not seem to have had an established Metropolitan structure, but seems to have been governed by a group of suffragan bishops.[3]

After Constantinople assumed jurisdiction over Sicily, there are few records of its administrative contact with Sicily.

In 790, the Patriarch Tarasius wrote a letter to all the bishops in Sicily, with the form of address, "ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς πᾶσι τοῖς ὁσιωτάτοις ἐπισκόποις τῆς φιλοχρίστου Σικελίας", in which he also refers to an annual synod held there.[4] This is not incompatible with the continued organization of Sicily as a group of suffragan bishops.

A later incident, however, concerns the very issue of the right to ordain the bishop of Taormina. It is recorded in connection with the controversy over the deposition of the bishop of Syracuse, Gregory Asbestas. Gregory Asbestas is known for

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2. See above, p. 308 - 310.
3. See, for example, the letter of Pope Gregory addressed to various Illyrian and Italian metropolitans, such as the bishops of Thessalonica, Durazzo and Milan, but to "omnibus Siciliae episcopis". *Ep.* VIII.10 (ed. Ewald-Hartmann), pp. 12-13.
4. *Letter* of Patriarch Tarasius to the bishops of Sicily (ed. Pitra), ii, pp. 309-313.

his opposition to Patriarch Ignatius and support of Photius at the time of the Photian controversy. At some point, almost certainly during the Patriarchate of Ignatius and probably in 847,[5] he was deposed, and, as this had a bearing on the standing of Photius, in whose ordination he had taken part, notice of it appears in several sources.

Most of these sources are concerned only with the fact of his deposition and do not give the reason for it.[6] Anastasius Bibliothecarius records that he was condemned, "propter diffamata et publicata nonnulla crimina in sacerdotio vitae", which he was not able to defend, but does not specify the nature of the transgression.[7] Similarly, Metrophanes of Smyrna speaks of a condemnation "ἕνεκα ἐγκληματικῶν ὑποθέσεων".[8] Nicetas, in the *Life* of Ignatius, refers to some accusations and a condemnation for acting uncanonically.[9] It is only Symeon Magister who gives a specific reason, namely, the irregular ordination of a certain

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5. See below, p. 366 , n. 12.
6. E.g., Pope Nicholas' letters to the Emperor Michael, *Ep.* xcviii, *PL* 119, coll. 1041-45, and to the clergy of Constantinople, *Ep.* civ, *PL* 119, coll. 1067-89; Pope Leo IV's letter to Patriarch Ignatius, *MGH, Epp.* vi, p.500.
7. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Preface* to the Eighth Synod, *PG* 129, col. 10A. This passage occurs after his notice of the elevation of Patriarch Ignatius.
8. Metrophanes of Smyrna, at the sixth session of the Eighth Council, Mansi xiv, 353BC.
9. Nicetas, *Life* of Ignatius, *PG* 105, col. 511BC.

Zacharias[10] as bishop of Taormina.

> [Γρήγοριος τῆς Συρακούσης 'Εκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος] καθῄρητο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Μεθοδίου διά τε πολλὰ ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὸ παρ' ἐνορίαν χειροτονῆσαι Ζαχαρίαν τὸν τοῦ πατριάρχου Μεθοδίου πρὸς 'Ρωμαῖον ἀποσταλέντα πρεσβύτερον[11]

The text is not without problems,[12] but the fact that it states a specific charge argues for its authenticity, and it is compatible with the other notices and with the circumstances surrounding the case.

If the ordination of the bishop of Taormina was 'παρ' ἐνορίαν' to the bishop of Syracuse at this time, it is unlikely that earlier bishops of Syracuse exercised this right. Sicily seems to have kept its confederate organization, so that the ordination of

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10. Zacharias was later deposed (*Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), ii, pp. 154-55), but, like other partisans of Gregory Asbestas, must have been reinstated under Photius, as he appears again in 860 as an envoy to the Pope. See V. Grumel, *Les Regestes* I.ii, no. 464.
11. Simeon Magister, *Annales, De Michaele et Theodora*, c. 31, *PG* 119, coll. 732C-733A.
12. Simeon Magister places the deposition under the Patriarch Methodius, which has caused, for example, F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism, history and legend* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 21, to dismiss his evidence. However, Grumel, *Les Regestes*, I.ii, no. 441, has argued convincingly that 'Μεθοδίου' should be emended to ''Ιγνατίου' here. Further support for placing the deposition under Ignatius comes from the Anti-Photian collection composed in 892 or 893 (Mansi xvi, 452A), from which can be deduced a date for the condemnation of 847 or 848. This is in accord with the suggestion of an early disagreement between Ignatius and Gregory Asbestas in the *Life* of Ignatius, *PG* 105, 511BC. See Grumel, *Les Regestes*, I.ii, no.445. The letter of Pope Leo IV to Ignatius "Ex quo unigenitus", *MGH, Epp.* vi, p. 500, implies a letter from Ignatius concerning his *own* condemnation of Gregory. It is, in addition, the only interpretation suitable for the circumstances at the time.

the bishops of Taormina was first the responsibility of the Pope in Rome, and then, after the change of jurisdiction in Sicily, of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The *Life* of S. Nicon[13] provides an example of an ordination (by the bishop of Cyzicus) after the transfer of jurisdiction when the responsibility for ordination rested with Constantinople. The case of Taranto may be cited as a parallel example. A ninth century letter of Pope Stephen V refers to the necessity of a Greek bishop of Taranto being consecrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople.[14]

The date of the change of jurisdiction in Sicily from Rome to Constantinople has been the subject of considerable debate.

Extant Papal correspondence with Sicilian bishops ends with a letter of Pope Vitalian to George, bishop of Syracuse, in 655,[15] but several Sicilian bishops attended by Synod at Rome which preceded the Sixth Oecumenical Council (680) and signed Pope Agathon's letter to it,[16] and the Sicilian (and Illyrian) members of

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13. See below, p. 389.

14. *Letter* of Stephen V, *MGH, Epp.* vii, pp. 343-44. See V. von Falkenhausen, 'Taranto in epoca bizantina', *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, ix/1 (1968), p. 136.

15. Mansi xi, 19. Note that it concerns a bishop in Crete, part of E. Illyricum.

16. Mansi xi, 285-98. Among the signatories was Peter of Taormina.

the Council itself attended as representatives of the Pope.[17] In 680, then, Sicily was still subject to Rome.

The first surviving correspondence of the Patriarch of Constantinople with his new bishops is the letter of S. Tarasius in 790 mentioned above.[18]

At some point between these *termini*, the transfer occurred.

It has generally been considered,[19] by inference from certain events and circumstances recorded in Theophanes, that the change should be placed in 732/33 as one of the punitive measures taken by Leo III against Pope Gregory II following the Pope's opposition

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17. There are no Sicilian bishops as signatories at this Council, but the hieromonk and hegumen Theophanes of the monastery of Baias and the Illyrian bishops appear as Papal representatives. See, for example, session 1, Mansi xi, 189.
18. See above, p. 364.
19. This was the position accepted by G. Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 170-71; F. Dölger, *Regesten* I, no. 301 and others. It has been argued and restated by M. V. Anastos in several articles, namely, 'The Transfer of Illyricum, Calabria and Sicily to the Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 732/3', *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* ix (1957) (= *Silloge bizantina in onore di S. G. Mercati*), pp. 14-31; 'Iconoclasm and Imperial Rule, 717-842', in *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, ed.^{2}, iv/1, pp. 61-104; 'Leo III's Edict against the Images in the Year 726-27 and Italo-Byzantine Relations between 726 and 730', *Byzantinische Forschungen* iii (1968) (= *Polychordia. Festschrift F. Dölger*), pp. 5-41.

to Leo's iconoclastic measures. Against this, Grumel[20] has argued for a later date, considering the transfer to have occurred after, and as a result of the Papacy's change of orientation from Constantinople to the West and its period of foreign domination.

A number of sources are relevant to the question. Four passages in Theophanes are important. The first of these occurs in Theophanes' account of the beginning of iconoclasm.

> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἤρξατο ὁ δυσσεβὴς βασιλεὼς Λέων τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων καθαιρέσεως λόγον ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μαθὼν τοῦτο Γρηγόριος, ὁ πάπας Ῥώμης, τοὺς φόρους τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ῥώμης ἐκώλυσε γράψας πρὸς Λέοντα ἐπιστολὴν δογματικήν, μὴ δεῖν βασιλέα περὶ πίστεως λόγον ποιεῖσθαι καὶ καινοτομεῖν τὰ ἀρχαῖα δόγματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων δογματισθέντα.[21]

There is no reference here to a transfer of sees. However, while the connection between Leo's iconoclastic pronouncement and the Papal action may come only from Theophanes' pre-occupation with the evils of Leo's reign, the evidence he gives of a Papal

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20. V. Grumel, in a series of articles, argued for a much later date, between 752 and 757, under Pope Stephen II. See especially, V. Grumel, 'Le vicariat de Thessalonique et le premier rattachement de l'Illyricum oriental au Patriarcat de Constantinople', *Annuaire de l'école des législations religieuses, Institut Catholique de Paris* (1950-51) (Paris, 1952), pp. 49-63 and 'L'annexion d'Illyricum oriental, de la Sicile et de la Calabre au Patriarcat de Constantinople', *Recherche de science religieuse* xl (1951-52), pp. 191-200.
21. Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 404, ll. 3-9.

initiative against the Emperor in the form of the prohibition of tax-payments to Constantinople from Italy and Rome is significant for our question.

Theophanes, in describing the Pope's attitude to Leo's dismissal of the Patriarch Germanus, states the following.

> ἀπέστησε Ῥώμην τε καὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἑσπέρια τῆς τε πολιτικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὑπακοῆς Λέοντος καὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν βασιλείας ... καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἀπέστησεν.[22]

The transfer of jurisdiction cannot fit into the situation described here, as, according to Theophanes' general statement, Sicily would have followed Rome in its breach with Constantinople as a dependent province. In addition, it is likely that this state of affairs came into being considerably later,[23] but has been attributed to Leo by a hostile Theophanes.

Theophanes gives an account of Leo's response to the action

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22. Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 408, ll. 23-25.
23. Concerning Roman-Byzantine relations in this period and the changing orientation of the Papacy, see, e.g., D. H. Miller, 'The Roman Revolution of the Eighth Century : A Study of the Ideological Background of the Papal Separation from Byzantium and Alliance with the Franks', *Mediaeval Studies* xxxvi (1974), pp. 79-133; J. T. Hallenbeck, 'The Roman-Byzantine reconciliation of 728 : Genesis and significance', *BZ* lxxiv (1981), pp. 29-41.

of the Papacy.

> ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐμαίνετο κατὰ τοῦ πάπα καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας, καὶ ἐξοπλίσας στόλον μέγαν ἀπέστειλε κατ' αὐτῶν Μάνην, τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Κιβυραιωτῶν, κεφαλὴν ποιήσας εἰς αὐτούς. ᾐσχύνθη δὲ ὁ μάταιος ναυαγήσαντος τοῦ στόλου εἰς τὸ Ἀδριακὸν πέλαγος. τότε ὁ θεομάχος ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκμανεὶς Ἀραβικῷ τε φρονήματι κρατυνόμενος φόρους κεφαλικοὺς τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει Σικελίας καὶ Καλαβρίας τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπέθηκεν. τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα πατριμόνια τῶν ἁγίων καὶ κορυφαίων ἀποστόλων, τῶν ἐν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ τιμωμένων ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἔκπαλαι τελούμενα χρυσίου τάλαντα τρία ἥμισυ τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ τελεῖσθαι προσέταξεν, ἐπεπτεύειν τε καὶ ἀναγράφεσθαι τὰ τικτόμενα κελεύσας ἄρρενα βρέφη, ὡς Φαραώ ποτε τὰ τῶν Ἑβραίων.[24]

Here the initiative is taken by the Emperor against the Pope, with punitive measures involving Sicily specifically. There is no mention of a confiscation of sees, but nevertheless, the situation recorded here does provide a possible context for this. Measures were being taken against Papal interests in Sicily, so perhaps the confiscation of the sees, although unrecorded, occurred at this time. Theophanes does not specify that the Papal patrimonies in question were in Sicily, but the context, and the evidence of letters of complaint from later Popes, suggests that they probably were. If so, this act of confiscation must have significantly reduced Papal interests in Sicily, perhaps preparatory to, or in

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24. Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 410, ll. 4-16.

connection with the removal of Sicily from Rome's sphere of influence altogether. In connection with Theophanes' earlier notice on taxation, it would seem to have been useless to increase taxes in an area committed to the non-payment of taxes by a Papal injunction, which was clearly still in force if Leo still had to enact these measures. This suggests either that the transfer had already been made, or that the Pope had, if not officially, at least in reality, lost control over Sicily, a situation in which the jurisdictional transfer could easily have been made.

Finally, this passage occurs in Theophanes' summing up of Leo's reign.

> καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς κακὰ Χριστιανοῖς συνέβη περί τε τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν διοικήσεων αἰσχροῦ κέρδους καὶ φιλαργυρίας ἐπινοίᾳ κατά τε Σικελίαν καὶ Καλαβρίαν καὶ Κρήτην[25]

The addition of Crete to Sicily and Calabria is important. It is probable that Illyricum was transferred from Roman to Constantinopolitan jurisdiction at the same time as Sicily and Calabria. The two events are not associated chronologically in the sources, but there is also no evidence of a separate transfer. Crete was ecclesiastically part of Illyricum, and its appearance

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25. Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 413, ll. 4-7.

here may indicate that Illyricum was subject to the same fiscal measures as Sicily and Calabria, and that similar arguments may be applied to it.

Theophanes, then, provides us with a context in which the jurisdictional transfer is possible as a measure with both punitive and fiscal justification. Following Pope Gregory's prevention of tax-payment, Leo confiscated the patrimonies and increased taxes. Both acts had good economic reason; to increase revenue after the tax withdrawal. The confiscation of patrimonies also hurt the Pope, by reducing his interests in Sicily, as would a confiscation of sees from his jurisdiction. The tax increase was made in an area where the Emperor *could* do such a thing, that is, an area not sufficiently under the control of the Pope to be obedient to his anti-imperial demands, either because it was no longer subject to him, or ceased to be in the course of the Papal-Imperial exchange, or because its sympathies were strongly towards Constantinople, an orientation which provided a situation ready for a change of administrative allegiance.

A second body of evidence consists of two Papal letters. The first, a letter of Pope Hadrian I, is no longer extant, but is mentioned in a letter written by the same Pope to Charlemagne in defence of the Second Council of Nicaea, when he refers to a request made in a letter he had written previously to Constantine VI and Irene about the Holy Images, for the return of patrimonies and sees taken from the Papacy by the first iconoclasts.

> Dudum quippe, quando eos pro sacris imaginibus erectione adortavimus, simili modo et de diocesi tam archiepiscoporum, quam et episcoporum sanctae catholicae et apostolicae Romane ecclesiae, quae tunc cum patrimoniis nostris abstulerunt,

quando sacras imagines deposuerunt, commonentes, restituere eidem sancte catholicae et apostolicae Romane ecclesiae quaesivimus, et nec responsum qualibet exinde dederunt. Et in hoc nimis palam ostenditur. quia ex uno capitulo ab errore reversi sunt ex aliis duobus in eodem permanent errore. Si enim ubique Christianorum ecclesiae canonice intactas suas possident dioceses, quanto amplius sancta catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia, que est caput omnium Dei ecclesiarum, sua diocesi, videlicet archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, immo et patrimonia pro luminariorum concinnatione atque alimoniis pauperum inrefragabili iure et tenere et possidere modis omnibus debetur.[26]

Pope Hadrian does not specify the location of the sees, but his association of the loss of the dioceses with that of patrimonies, the date of which we know from Theophanes, and his location of these losses at the time of the first iconoclasts, supports the date of 732/33. The Pope sees these losses as measures taken against an unwilling Papacy, not as changes which occurred as a result of Rome's inability to communicate with and control the areas in question because of physical circumstances. This again argues for the 732/33 date rather than the later date advanced by Grumel. The essential difference between the competing dates lies in the *reason* for the change. If it was an Imperial action against an unwilling Papacy, the earlier date is more appropriate. If it came about naturally because of a change in the physical circumstances

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26. There is evidence that the section of Pope Hadrian's letter about Roman rights of jurisdiction in South Italy was omitted when read before the Second Council of Nicaea (Mansi xii, coll. 1055-75). See G. Ostrogorsky, 'Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die Bilderverehung', *Seminarium Kondakovianum* vi (1933), p. 73-87.

and orientation of the Papacy, then the later date is more likely. Pope Hadrian was writing some time after 787, but may be expected to have had access to archives on the case.[27]

The second Papal letter is that of Pope Nicholas II to Michael III written in 860, in which he requests the return of Illyrian sees, then of "Calabritanum patrimonium Siculumque", and finally states,

> Inter ista et superius dicta volumus, ut consecratio Syracusano archiepiscopo nostra a sede impendatur, ut traditio ab apostolis instituta nullatenus vestris temporibus violetur.[28]

The patrimonies are specified as being in Sicily and Calabria. Pope Nicholas refers only to dioceses in Illyricum, but the inclusion of the see of Syracuse suggests that his claims were also to Sicilian jurisdiction. Again, the confiscation of sees is associated with that of patrimonies, and the Pope again see it as a question of *confiscation*. The amount of detail included, even at this late date, suggests the Pope had access to documentary sources.

It was only later, and in sources written without access to

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27. *Letter* of Hadrian I to Charlemagne, *MGH, Epp.* v, p. 57, ll. 5-16.
28. *Letter* of Nicholas I to the Emperor Michael III (860), *MGH, Epp.* vi, pp. 438, l. 25 - 439, l. 11.

Papal archives, that the idea that the Sicilian bishops moved to the jurisdiction of Constantinople because barbarians controlled Rome arose, an interpretation supported by Grumel.

This is found in the ninth century *Notitia Basilii*. Referring to a number of metropolitan[29] sees in Illyricum, Calabria and Sicily, including Syracuse, the monk Basil says,

> οὗτοι προσετέθησαν τῇ συνόδῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν κατέχεσθαι τὸν πάπαν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης.[30]

It has been argued that the monk Basil is referring only to a certain re-orientation of the Papacy in the West, and that this was the situation in 732/33 and explains Basil's interpretation.[31] However, it seems more likely that by this period, a distorted perspective on the past has caused the author to suggest a causal relationship between the Papal re-orientation or foreign domination, which occurred much later, and the earlier event, the ecclesiatical loss of Sicily.

The position of the *Notitia Basilii* is followed by Anastasius

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29. Basil of Ialimbana refers to Syracuse as a metropolitan see, which seems to contradict the other indications we have noted. It has been shown, however, that Basil did not have complete documentation on Western areas of the Empire. See V. Laurent, *Études byzantines* i (1943), p. 61.
30. *Notitia Basilii*, 4.485 (ed. Darrouzès), p. 260.
31. M. V. Anastos, 'The transfer', p. 28.

Bibliothecarius in his preface to the *Acts* of the Council of 869,[32] but the level of his ignorance of papal sources is clear from the fact that he does not know at all of Rome's objections to the loss.[33] By 873, when he came to translate the *Acts* of the Second Council of Nicaea, he must have known the archives better, as he is able to refer to the deletion of parts of Pope Hadrian's letter at the Council.[34]

The evidence on this question is sparse and incomplete, but that which we do have is consistent with a reconstruction of events which places the transfer of jurisdiction in 732/33. This conclusion cannot be secured because of the incompleteness of the evidence, but remains only a matter of probability.

Granted that the date of the transfer remains in doubt, let us consider now only the chronological relationship of the *VP* to the change; the question of whether it was written before or after this event.

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32. Mansi xvi, 10B.
33. Mansi xvi, 2B.
34. Mansi xii, 1071-72. On this question, see G. Ostrogorsky, 'Rom und Byzanz', p. 75-8.

The thesis of E. Patlagean

The thesis has been advance by E. Patlagean[1] that the *VP* is part of a cycle of hagiographic texts written in order to promote the jurisdictional claims of the Papacy and its authority in dogmatic and canonical matters following the change in jurisdiction outlined above.[2] The other texts comprising this cycle are said by her to be the *Acts* of S. Alphius and the martyrs of Lentini, the *Life* of S. Philip of Agira, and the related *Lives* of S. Gregory of Agrigento and S. Gregentius of the Himyarites.

We will examine the characteristics of each text individually, taking into account relative dates and provenances, in order to determine whether these texts can really be said to form a cycle with a unity of intent and a common polemical position. The nature of the *VP* in comparison with the other texts will especially be considered.

The martyrdom of S. Alphius and his companions[3] is recorded in great detail, but it is the continuation of the account after the death of the martyrs which has a bearing on our question. It is

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1. É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIII^{e} - IX^{e} siècles)', *Studi medievali*, ser. iii, v/2 (1964), pp. 579-602.
2. É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 579.
3. Vat. Gr. 1591, foll. 110^{r} - 216^{v}.

recounted that S. Agathon,[4] bishop of Lipari, during a later persecution, fled to the East coast of Sicily, where he made a certain Neophytus a bishop. The Apostle Andrew, with the martyrs of Lentini, appears to Neophytus to make him a bishop subject to ratification by the apostles in *Rome*, and the Apostles Peter and Paul do later appear to the Pope to ratify the Apostle Andrew's act of consecration. Agathon, in announcing their departure for Rome, declares a principle of the universal necessity of consecration of bishops by the Roman Pope in the words,

> οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει ἡ κατάστασις τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὅτι, ἄνευ τοῦ τὸ πρῶτον θρόνον ἐπέχοντος ἁγιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ πάπα, οὐ δύναται ἐπίσκοπος γενέσθαι.[5]

The people of Lentini appeal to Rome for an episcopal see and a church there is dedicated to S. Peter. The emphasis on the jurisdictional authority of Rome is so great in this text that even a converted Jew, Samuel, must go to Rome to be made simply a village priest.

The *Acts* of S. Alphius and the martyrs of Lentini, then, with their express statement of claims to universal Roman jurisdiction, the pre-eminent position of S. Peter and the association of the Apostle with the reigning Pope, and the necessity indicated that a bishop, and even a village priest, must go to Rome for ordination,

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4. Vat. Gr. 1591, foll. 153^{v} - 165^{v}.
5. Vat. Gr. 1591, fol. 185^{v}.

seem to be strongly pro-Roman and may well have been written with the intention of validating Roman jurisdictional claims.

However, the text is *Roman* in origin, not Sicilian. The author himself claims to be a Roman *hegumen*, and the geographical knowledge and physical perspective[6] also indicate a Roman provenance. There is a significant difference between claims for Roman jurisdiction originating in *Rome* and in Sicily, and this must be taken into account before the *Acts* of S. Alphius and his companions and the *VP* are declared to be parallel in intention. In addition, the *date* of this text is difficult to determine, the internal evidence being inconclusive, other references to the saints appearing only in the ninth century,[7] and dating by content being imprecise. Granted that the text cannot be dated specifically, it is difficult to co-ordinate it with the *VP* or even to locate it precisely within the span of the controversy over the Isaurian confiscation. Again, it is difficult to accept claims of similarity for texts which may well come from considerably different periods. Moreover, the Roman element in the *Acts* of S. Alphius and his companions is more pronounced and

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6. The text refers to the Vatican basilica, the church of S. Andrew *apud S. Petrum* and an unknown monastery, the *Augusteion*, but does not have a commensurately detailed knowledge of Sicily.
7. See É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 589, n. 29.

different in character from that in the *VP*. There is nothing in the latter text to parallel the elaborate visions of the former text, nor its clear dogmatic statements about Roman claims, nor the circumstances surrounding the ordination of Samuel.

The second text cited by Patlagean is the *Life* of S. Philip of Agira.[8] S. Philip, born of a Thracian father and a Roman mother, speaks only Syriac. On pilgrimage in Rome, after S. Peter in pontifical vestments has saved him from shipwreck, he is miraculously given the gift of the Latin tongue by the Pope. The Pope then sends him to Agira on a mission of exorcism, which S. Philip carries out in the name of S. Peter. A second version exists[9] which gives a different account of his parentage, but includes the above details. The *Life*, as Patlagean acknowledges,[10] cannot be specifically dated, but is probably a late work, and cannot securely be associated with the *VP* chronologically. The provenance is unclear, but it may be the monastery of S. Philip at Agira.[11] A certain Roman orientation does seem evident in the attitude to Rome as a place of pilgrimage, the respect for the

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8. *AASS* (Maii iii), *1-*7 (Lat.).
9. The second version is attributed to S. Athanasius of Alexandria. *AASS* (Maii iii), pp. 26-36.
10. É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 583.
11. É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 583. As it would then be dated after the foundation of the monastery, it cannot be earlier than the second half of the ninth century. See Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 594 with n. 44.

Pope, the confusion of the Pope and the Apostle Peter and the pre-eminent position given to S. Peter. However, there is no mention of episcopal appointments, and the mission given to S. Philip is not really one of ecclesiastical authority, so that it is difficult to see in it an indication of specific jurisdictional claims by the Roman church.

In the *Life* of S. Gregory of Agrigento,[12] a complex text which exists in three versions, there are several incidents in the narrative which relate to Rome and jurisdiction within Sicily. S. Gregory, a Sicilian by birth, after various travels, including a trip to Constantinople where he is said to have had a role in an anti-monothelite council and earned the admiration of the Patriarch and Emperor, goes to Rome. Already he has been associated with three Roman monks, among them the purported author of the *Life* and future *hegumen* of the monastery of S. Sabas-on-the-Aventine, who had been instructed by SS. Peter and Paul in a dream to care for him. The Roman delegates to the Council commend him to the Pope and he settles in Rome, first in the monastery of S. Sabas, then in that of S. Erasmus. He is chosen, following a miracle in the Vatican basilica, to be bishop of Agrigento, a position which had not been filled because of rivalry between the

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12. The version of Leontius is published in *PG* 98, coll. 549-716.

candidates. Upon first taking up his position, he is accused of immorality, replaced by a heretic and sent first to the papal representative at Syracuse, then to Rome itself. There he is tried. The Pope recognizes that he must refer the matter to the archbishop of Constantinople and the Emperor,[13] but there is no resentment evident in this admission. The bishops of Ancyra, Cyzicus and Corinth, and Constantinus, deacon and *chartophylax*, are dispatched to Rome to assist the Pope in his judgement and express some indignation at the Pope's tardiness in bringing S. Gregory to trial. S. Gregory, on the other hand, refuses to act without the agreement of the Pope. There is considerable confusion as to where authority lies. The saint's innocence is eventually proved by miracles and he goes again to Constantinople for another council, then returns to his diocese and builds a church funded by both the Pope and the Emperor.

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13. S. Gregory first is sent to Syracuse (*PG* 98, col. 658B), then proceeds to Rome. The Abbot Mark advises the Pope on the correct procedure in dealing with him.

> ὁ δὲ μοναχὸς λέγει τῷ πάπᾳ· Ἄκουσόν μου, δέσποτα, καὶ δέξαι συμβουλίαν τοῦ δούλου σου. Ἡμεῖς οὐ δυνάμεθα αὐτὸν κρίναι ἄνευ συμβουλῆς τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν βασιλέως.

(*PG* 98, col. 665B). The Pope follows his advice.

> ἔγραψεν ἀναφορὰν τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ Ἰουστιανῷ κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἁγιώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

(*PG* 98, col. 665C). Constantinople responds by sending representatives (col. 667) who do take part in the trial (coll. 675-82).

The date of this text is important in assessing the Roman element in it, as Patlagean points out.[14] The internal evidence is inconclusive, being the common mixture of the anachronistic[15] and the unidentifiable.[16] There is some evidence to suggest that it belongs at the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century and therefore predates the Isaurian confiscation. The concern with monotheletism, the knowledge of the councils of 680 and 692, the appearance of the monastery of S. Sabas-on-the-Aventine; all these suggest such a date, and it is possible that Gregory's name is a variant of the George of Agrigento who appears in the list of signatories to the Council of 680.[17] However, Patlagean argues convincingly that the *Life* of Gregory of Agrigento is a late document,[18] in particular as it has the characteristics of inexact chronology and general imprecision we expect from a document written much later than its subject. A number of other elements in it suggest a late date. The monastery of S. Sabas did not have an important diplomatic role until the Council of 787. The Pope had recourse to Constantinople

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14. E. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 590.
15. The Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch are Macarius and Eustathius, and the Emperor is Justin.
16. The bishops of Agrigento, Potamion and Theodore are otherwise unknown.
17. Mansi xi, 303.
18. E. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', pp. 589-90.

and does not have sole administrative control, suggesting that the author, in trying to reconstruct an earlier period, retained some elements of his own period. Patlagean suggests[19] that monotheletism was not immediately forgotten, and explains the absence of the issue of icons by placing the text in the period of calm following the Council of 787. Perhaps it would be better attributed to the influence of an earlier recension. Some reservations about her argument must be noted. The exaggeration of the bishop of Agrigento's importance at the Council of 680, where the *Acts* of the Council reveal a low position for his signature, could be explained by the demands of hagiography. The significance of the primacy of the bishop of Syracuse in Sicily must be questioned.[20] In addition, it should be remembered that the Pope *did* have representatives in Sicily before the Isaurian confiscation. The argument that the author presents the *Byzantine* system of legates and attributes them to Rome does not seem more convincing than that the text was written during the period of Papal jurisdiction or that the author had some knowledge of that system. In addition, even if the text is late, it has not been proved, even granted the parallel literature cited, that the purpose of the *Life* was to put forward the Papal claims

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19. É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', pp. 590-1 with n. 33.
20. See **above**, p. 308 – 310.

in Sicily. The image of the Pope is, after all, not entirely favourable. The *Life* was clearly written with a knowledge of earlier documents, such as the *Acts* of the Councils of 680 and 692,[21] and may even be a development of an earlier version, and the role of Rome in Sicily may be derived from this.

Even if the *Life* is later than the Isaurian confiscation, it must be remembered that it was undoubtedly written in Rome, by a *hegumen* of the monastery of S. Sabas, if the text is to be believed on this point, *not* in Sicily or from a Sicilian perspective, as was the *VP*. It may well fit into a pattern with the letters of Popes Hadrian and Nicholas and the writings of Anastasius Bibliothecarius,[22] a pattern with a polemical intent we would expect to find in Rome following the confiscation, but it is more difficult to co-ordinate it with a Sicilian text.

The *Life* of S. Gregentius of the Himyarites[23] relates the life of Gregentius, the first bishop of the Himyarites after the Christian reconquest of them under Justin I. It is not necessary to give here details of the saint's early life. The significant episode is that after a voyage from his native Dardania, he goes to Rome. There S. Peter appears to him and gives him his mission

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21. E. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', p. 590.
22. See above, p. 373- 377.
23. *Life* of S. Gregentius of the Himyarites, ed. Vasiliev, after Sinait. Gr. 541.

to Himyar, the account of which comprises the rest of the text.

The events are placed in the time of Justin I, but many elements in the text do not correspond to circumstances at that time. For instance, Monophysitism in the East is ignored. The *Life* was clearly written some time after the events it recounts. Patlagean[24] dates it to the Second Iconoclastic period on the basis of the iconodule element in it and by co-ordinating the cults of various saints mentioned in it with the first appearance of these cults in other texts. The latter method is problematic, as the first reference to a cult may not necessarily coincide with the appearance of cult, and the *Life* of S. Gregentius itself may well include the first reference to it. Nevertheless, there is no serious evidence to contradict her dating.

The nature of the Petrine element must be examined. It should be noted that the Pope does not play a part. It is the Apostle Peter himself who appears, and S. Paul plays an equally important part in the vision. At different points of the *Life*, the Apostles John and Mark also appear, and the activity of S. Peter must be evaluated in the context of the overall visionary content. Moreover, despite the possible association and confusion of the *Life* with that of S. Gregory of Agrigento, it does not itself

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24. É. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs', pp. 592-93.

immediately concern Sicily and its jurisdiction and does no more than corroborate the witness of the latter text.

It can be seen, then, that the texts adduced by Patlagean do not form a cycle with the *VP* in a strict sense. The nature of the Petrine/Roman element in them differs greatly and is not always related to Sicily. They were written over a long period of time, and cannot in some cases be dated exactly. Particularly important is the difference in provenance. We would expect Papal claims to be promoted and a reaction against the confiscation in texts written in Rome, but it seems far less likely that such an orientation would be found in a text written in Sicily *after* the confiscation.

Patlagean, by her selection of *Lives*, has given a somewhat limited picture of the reaction to the transfer in hagiographic texts. Other texts which show a different relation to the events must also be taken into account in order to provide a fuller spectrum against which to analyze the *VP*.

First, it should be noted that some *Lives* represent Sicily as being under Roman jurisdiction quite naturally, as they were written *before* the transfer. Thus, in the *Life* of S. Zosimas,[25] bishop of Syracuse in the middle of the seventh century, the saint is ordained in Rome. However, as the *Life* is probably also

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25. *AASS* (Mar. iii), pp. 837-43 (Lat.).

of the seventh century,[26] there is no reason to see any polemical intent in this. We would not expect anything else. The text was also probably written in Sicily. Perhaps our Evagrius was a writer of this same pre-transfer mentality, and the *VP* should be seen as part of some sort of cycle preceding the transfer.

In a different series of texts, written *after* the transfer, Constantinople *does* play a part.

In the *Acts* of S. Nicon,[27] the saint leaves his native Naples bound for Constantinople, and it is the bishop of Cyzicus, Theodore, who baptizes him, tonsures and ordains him, and dispatches him to Sicily. It is not the most trustworthy of documents, with its account of S. Nicon and one hundred and ninety-nine monks being martyred under Decius, nor can a precise date be established for it, but it seems to reflect a period when Sicily was oriented towards Constantinople, and when Constantinople, through Theodore of Cyzicus in this case, had ecclesiastical rights in Sicily. In the *Life* of S. Leo of Catania,[28]

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26. Pope Theodore (641-49) makes him a bishop. This co-ordinates with the mention of the stay of the Emperor Constans in Syracuse in 641. Other credible details suggest that at least the source, or the first redaction of the *Life* is of the seventh century.
27. *AASS* (Mar. iii), pp. 442-449 (Lat.).
28. *AASS* (Feb. iii), pp. 222-226 (Lat.).

probably written in the late eighth century,[29] troubles in church life caused by a Jewish magician are referred to Constantinople without question.

These *Lives* seem to be of Sicilian origin and of a late date, undoubtedly after the transfer of jurisdiction. Had the *VP* been written in this area at this time, it might have been expected to show some awareness of Constantinople, and perhaps even to represent the past in terms of present circumstances, namely, being subject to Constantinople.

So, we can see that there is a range in orientation of hagiographic texts dealing with Sicily in the seventh to the ninth centuries. Some have a Roman orientation, which is either insignificant or polemical, depending on whether they were written before or after the transfer. Some, written after the transfer, have a Constantinopolitan orientation, which also may be insignificant or polemical. The *VP* must be seen in the context of this range.

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29. There are two chronological indications in the *Life*. It refers to the faith of the *six* Councils, so was probably, but not necessarily, written between the sixth and seventh councils, and Leo and Constantine are mentioned as 'our' Emperors, so that an eighth century date is likely. It purports to be written by a contemporary. On the date of the *Life*, see G. da Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux VIII^{e}, IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles', *Byzantion* xxix-xxx (1959-60), pp. 90-91, 94-95.

It is possible, then, to argue that the *VP* was written *after* the transfer, and that the passages on the ordination to the episcopate of Evagrius by S. Peter were intended to be polemical. While there is no other evidence of a Sicilian reaction against the transfer, it is possible that there is a trace of such a reaction in the *VP*, and that our author, while making no explicit statement, has justified and argued for Papal jurisdiction over Sicily by showing it to have been established and sanctioned by S. Peter and S. Pancratius, and to have been the early practice.

On the other hand, the *VP* may have been written *before* Taormina was removed from Papal jurisdiction. As we have seen, Evagrius regularly represents the past in terms of present practices, and so it would have been quite normal for him to represent the relationship between the sees of Rome and of Taormina in the time of S. Pancratius in terms of the contemporary position. The situation represented here does fit better the state of affairs before the jurisdictional transfer, and the fact that the *VP* has no sense at all of Constantinople is an argument in favour of this conclusion.

However, there are a number of reasons which are unrelated to the issue of the jurisdictional transfer which could equally explain the form of administration represented here. It may indeed have a polemical point, *not* concerning the transfer from Rome to Constantinople, but rather as part of an attempt to justify, or at least give authority to, present practice by apostolic precedent. Further justification for its inclusion can be seen in the way in which it strengthens Taormina's claims as an apostolic see, with not only the first bishop, but even the second being ordained by S. Peter. There is a definite literary effect and a sense of continuity is given to the episcopate of Taormina in

Evagrius' reception at the end of the *VP* of the treatment given to S. Pancratius at the beginning. In addition, it must not be forgotten that this is a powerful instance of self-verification by the author, who has taken the *persona* of S. Pancratius' successor and now bestows upon himself Petrine ordination. Thus, these passages may be totally irrelevant for dating purposes.

The weight of probability, especially in conjunction with other evidence, does seem to be on the side of dating the text *before* the transfer.

However, as it cannot be decisively determined whether the *VP* was written before or after the change of jurisdiction of Sicily from Rome to Constantinople, and the date of that event itself cannot be securely established, we must acknowledge that this passage does not give a firm date for the *VP*.

VP, p. 415, l. 12

The rebel leader

Bonifatius is compelled to mount an expedition against a τύραννος. This word can be used to describe a rebel,[1] a more appropriate figure in this case than a despot. It is tempting to see in this episode a reflection of the state of affairs in Evagrius' Sicily, with authorites having to deal with sporadic appearances of rebels or brigands.

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1. See Lampe, s.v. 'τύραννος'. Compare, however, the more traditional use of the word to describe Seleucus and Gordius, *VP*, p. 338, l. 8.

VP, p. 424, l. 1.

The relics of S. Pancratius

The *Life* of S. Elias the Younger (823-903), which was probably written between 930 and 940, has the following account of S. Elias' visit to the shrine of S. Pancratius at Taormina, probably in 880.

> χρόνου δέ τινος παρῳχηκότος, ἐπεθύμησαν οἱ ἅγιοι οὗτοι πατέρες τὴν Ταυρομενίαν πόλιν καταλαβεῖν, πρὸς τὸ προσκυνῆσαι τοῦ ἁγίου Παγκρατίου τὸ τίμιον λείψανον.[1]

The relics of S. Pancratius are not heard of again in Taormina, and presumably were lost at the time of the Arab occupation of the city.

F. Cipolla[2] records the existence of this inscription in the basilica of S. Pancratius *extra moenia* in Rome dedicated to the

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1. *Life* of S. Elias the Younger, c. 49 (ed. Rossi Taibbi), p. 74.
2. F. Cipolla, *Taormina*, p. 269. The sanctuary of the Basilica is currently being refaced, and I was unable to find this inscription.

Roman martyr Pancratius.

> Die XI Aprilis MDCXXVI, consecratum fuit
> hoc altare in honorem S. Pancratii
> Martyris in quo pariter inclusum
> Corpus S. Pancratii Episcopi et Martyris.

There is no record of the whereabouts of the relics in the intervening years, and the suspicion remains that they were lost under the Arabs, then miraculously 'reappeared' in the church of the eponymous martyr in Rome upon renewed interest in the saint in the seventeenth century.

VP, p. 438, l. 2.

The topography of Rome

The existence of an important Greek-speaking community in Rome from the seventh century is well-known. A number of individual cases of Greek-speakers fleeing from troubles in the East and ending their flight in Rome are documented beginning in the early seventh century,[1] and the influence of the community

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1. The best known and documented cases are Sophronius of Damascus, John Moschus and Maximus the Confessor. See C. Mango, 'La culture', pp. 697-700.

can been seen in the participation of their members in the Council of 649,[2] in the increasing number of Greek monasteries in Rome from the seventh century,[3] and in the predominance of Greek popes between 685 and 752. A number of these Popes are recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* as being either Sicilian or as having spent time in Sicily in transit from the East, and Sicily is generally known to have been on a route taken by the refugees.[4]

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2. Mansi x, 903A.
3. There were no Greek monasteries in Rome before the seventh century. In the seventh century, there were six. In the eighth century there may have been as many as ten, although one of these may not have existed this early, two may not have been Greek and two more are doubtful on both counts, leaving only five as certain. In the ninth century there were eleven, of which two may not have been Greek. See the 'Chronological list of Roman monasteries and convents', pp. 409-29 in G. Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries* (Vatican, 1957), and his analysis of the sources for each monastery. See also, J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e s. - fin du IX^e s.)*, I (Brussels, 1983), pp. 9-50.
4. All but one (Gregory II, a Roman, *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 396) of the Popes between 685 and 752 are described in the *Liber Pontificalis* as being 'natione Grecus' (John VI (701-705), *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 383; John VII (705-707), i, p. 385; Zacharias (741-752), i, p. 426) or 'natione Syrus' (John V (658-686), *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 366 (Antioch); Sergius (687-701), i, p. 371 (Antioch); Constantinus (708-715), i, p. 389; Gregory III (731-741), i, p. 451) or 'oriundus patre Thraceseo' (Conon (686-687), *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 386). Two of these Popes are associated with Sicily, namely, Conon, of whom the *Liber Pontificalis* says,

> Conon, oriundus patre Thraceseo, edocatus apud Siciliam, postmodum Romam veniens eiusdem ecclesiae militans ad presbyterii honorem devenit.

(*Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 368), and Sergius, of whom

This Greek community is known to have had a literary output, including works of hagiography.[5] Granted these factors, Rome must be considered as a possible provenance of the *VP*. If the iconodule and pro-Papal motives which have been attributed to the *VP*[6] were true, then it would most likely have been written there, because, as we have suggested, it is unlikely that any writer would have written a *Life* of a semi-official nature promoting Papal

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the *Liber Pontificalis* says,

> Sergius, natione Syrus, Antiochiae regionis, ortus ex patre Tiberio in Panormo Siciliae, sedit ann. XIII mens. VIII dies XXIII. Hic Romam veniens sub sanctae memoriae Adeodato pontifice (672-676), inter clerum Romanae ecclesiae connumeratus est;

(*Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 371). In the decade preceding the series of Greek and Syrian Popes, and separated only by the brief pontificate of the Roman Benedict II (684-685), there were two Popes described as 'natione Sicula', namely, Agathon (678-681) (*Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 350) and Leo II (682-683) (*Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 359). A later Pope should be mentioned among those connected with Sicily, namely, Stephen III (786-772), who, according to the following notice in the *Liber Pontificalis*, was a Sicilian who went to Rome when young during the pontificate of Gregory III (731-741).

> Stephanus, natione Siculus, ex patre Olibo, sedit ann. III mens. V dies XXVIII. ... Hic dum a Siciliense insula parvulus in hanc advenisset Romanam urbem, tradidit eum domnus Gregorius sanctae recordationis tertius papa in monasterio sancti Chrysogoni quod tunc noviter fundabat, illicque clericus atque monachus est effectus.

(*Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i, p. 468). On the subject of these Popes, see J. Gay, 'Quelques remarques sur les papes grecs et syriens avant la querelle des iconoclastes (678-715)', *Mélanges offerts a M. Gustave Schlumberger*, i (Paris, 1924), pp. 40-54.

5. See C. Mango, 'La culture', p. 703.
6. See above, p. 378 - 392.

claims and iconodulia[7] in Sicily under iconoclast, Constantinopolitan jurisdiction.

When Evagrius goes to Rome, which is described as a 'μεγαλόπολις', he is met at the gate of the city (τῇ πύλῃ τῆς πόλεως) by S. Peter and his disciples. Evagrius and S. Peter converse in a quiet place (ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ ἡσυχαστικῷ). Then Evagrius is ordained without the location being specified. So, our writer shows no sign of having the least knowledge of the topography of Rome.

A comparison with the knowledge of Rome displayed in two texts produced by the Greek community in Rome is instructive. Both the *Life* of S. Alphius and the martyrs of Lentini and the *Life* of S. Gregory of Agrigento mention the Vatican basilica and various monasteries in Rome. It seems unlikely that if Evagrius were writing in Rome he would have avoided at least providing a setting for his own ordination, granted that he saw it as necessary to record the name of a place two days' mule ride from Taormina, and the reference to the gate of the city suggests that he sees Rome rather as a large version of Taormina in this episode, which is very much derivative from the meeting of

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7. C. Mango, 'La culture', pp. 700, 714-15, has shown that iconoclasm did not bring about a noticeable increase in the Greek population of Rome. Yet the evidence of the probable increase in monasteries and the continued existence of the community shows that immigration must have been steady enough to maintain the Greek presence at Rome, bearing in mind the maxim concerning monks as *gens aeterna in qua nemo nascitur*.

S. Marcian and S. Pancratius, and for which Evagrius probably had no additional written source.

VP, p. 442, l. 7.

Church decoration 136 - 142.

See above, p.

Appendix I

The *Encomium* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

by

Gregory the Pagurite

Appendix

The *Encomium* of S. Pancratius of Taormina by Gregory the Pagurite

1. The Manuscripts

A Codex Messanensis S. Salvatoris 3

Messanensis S. Salvatoris 3, c. XII, parchment, 35.0 x 27.0 cm., II.306 foll., two columns, 26 ll., three hands.

Contents

The manuscript contains a collection of sermons, *encomia* and saints lives from Easter Sunday to the end of August.[1]

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1. The contents are described more fully by S. Rossi, 'Catalogo dei codici greci all' antico Monastero del SS. Salvatore che si conservano nella Bibliotheca Universitaria di Messina', *Archivio Storico Messinese* ii (1902), pp. 28-29. The hagiographic contents have been identified by H. Delehaye, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum monasterii Sancti Salvatoris, nunc bibliothecae Universitatis Messanensis', *AB* xxiii (1904), pp.20-22, and F. Halkin, 'Manuscrits grecs à Messine et à Palerme', *AB* lxix (1951), pp. 241-43. See also A. Ehrhard, *Uberlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* II (*TU* 51) (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 192-94.

The first part (foll. 25^{r} - 215^{v}) contains sermons of SS. John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Antipater of Bostra, Proclus of Constantinople and Leontius of Byzantium, principally for Easter and the following weeks, as well as the *Encomium* of S. George by Andrew of Crete, the *Encomium* of all the martyrs by S. Ephraim, the *Encomium* of S. Pancratius by Gregory the Pagurite (foll. 95^{v} - 103^{v}), the *Encomium* of SS. Peter and Paul by S. John Chrysostom and the *Martyrdom* of S. Panteleimon.

The second part (foll. 216^{r} - 292^{v}) contains a number of sermons of SS. John Chrysostom, Anastasius the Sinaite, Andrew of Crete and John Damascene on the Transfiguration, Dormition and Beheading of S. John the Baptist.

The third part (foll. 293^{r} - 306^{v}) contains S. Gregory of Nyssa's *Life* of S. Macrina.

Colophon (fol. 215^{v})

Ἐτελειώθη ἡ παροῦσα δέλτος διὰ χειρὸς Διονυσίου χθαλμοῦ εἰς τὴν ιγ' μαρτίου μηνὸς ἐν ἔτει ,ϛχμθ' ἰνδ. δ'· εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάντες διὰ τὸν κύριον.

Description

The manuscript consists of three parts. The first (foll. 2b^{r} - 215^{v}) is dated to a. 1141 by its colophon. As it is the part which contains the *Encomium* by Gregory the Pagurite, we will limit the more detailed description of the manuscript to this part. The second part (foll. 216^{r} - 292^{v}) must either be contemporary with or earlier than the first, as the scribe of the first is responsible for some marginalia on it (e.g. foll. 142^{r}, 156^{v},

169^{v}, 198^{v}). The third part consists of a copy of Gregory of Nyssa's *Life* of S. Macrina (foll. 293^{r} - 306^{r}), which is independent of the rest of the manuscript.

Part 1

The quires are all quaternions. The manuscript begins with quire β', from which the first two folia are missing, with loss to the text, and ends with quire κη', from which two folia are absent at the end of the quire, with no loss to the text. The second part of the manuscript begins on fol. 216^{r} with quire ρκθ'. Signatures are marked twice, once at the bottom of the right margin at the beginning of the quire, and once at the bottom of the left margin on the verso side at the end of the quire.

Arabic numerals are placed at the top of the right margin. The extraneous folia at the beginning are numbered 1 and 2, with the manuscript proper beginning at fol. 2 bis. The numbers 21 and 61 have not been used.

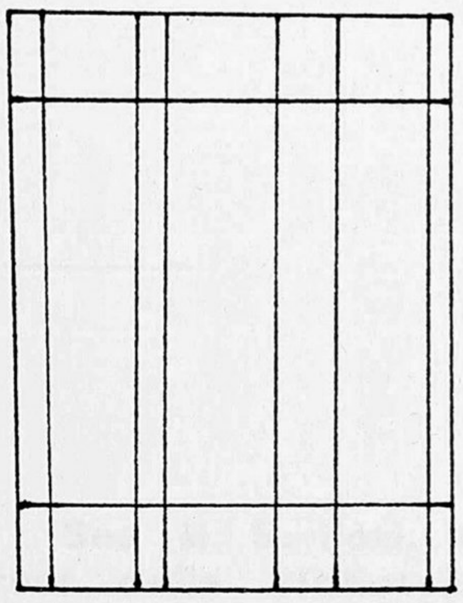


fig. a

The rulings take the following form. In the South Italian manner, some of the vertical rulings have been traced over (e.g. foll. 23^{r}, 194^{v}, 195^{r}). The writing is suspended from the ruled lines.

There are two extraneous folia (foll. 1 and 2) at the beginning of the manuscript. These contain fragments of homilies of S. John Chrysostom from the eleventh century manuscript, Mess. S. Salv. 6, originally of Rossano, which was used in the

sixteenth century to protect other manuscripts.[2]

The hand is of the so - called 'Reggio' style.[3] It is notable for its contrast between capitals and other letters, the predominance of minuscule forms with rounded shape, and distinctive α and μ in Latin form. There is capitalization at the beginning of chapters, with thin, but filled letter $\overset{S}{\wedge}$. The script has neither adscript nor subscript iota, nor final sigma. Breathings and accents are placed on the second of two vowels and *nomina sacra* are unaccented. Diaeresis where used suppresses accentuation. There are no apostrophes after Hebrew words.

Several correctors have contributed to the manuscript. The scribe himself has made some corrections (e.g. foll. 20^{r}, 22^{r}, 71^{r}) and at least three other correctors can be detected, the first, for example, at foll. 47^{v}, 58^{r}, 67^{v}; the second, for example, at foll.59^{v}; and the third, for example, at foll. 163^{v}, 255^{r} and 271^{r}.

The borders, which are South Italian in style, the titles and the initials are rubricated. The number of each work has also been noted in red. A number of *lemmata* have been added by different hands (e.g. foll. 169^{v}, 142^{r}).

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2. See M. B. Foti, *Catalogo dei Frammenti di Codici Manoscritti Greci della Biblioteca Universitaria di Messina* (Messina, 1979), pp. 18-19.
3. P. Canart and J. Leroy, 'Les manuscrits en style de Reggio. Etude paléographique et codicologique', pp. 241-61, in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977).

The parchment is of reasonably good quality, but the manuscript is damaged at the beginning and the end, with the text sufferring some damage. It has a modern binding in brown leather.

History

The scribe Dionysius 'Chthalmus' is not otherwise known. It is probable that 'χθαλμοῦ' in the colophon is a corruption of 'χθαμαλοῦ' (='humble'), so that we are left simply with a scribe 'Dionysius'. The fact that the first part is written in the 'Reggio' style indicates that is was copied in one of the forty monasteries in South-west Calabria or North-east Sicily subject to the monastery of S. Salvatore at Messina, or even at the central monastery itself. The date and circumstances in which the three parts of the manuscript may have come together is difficult to determine. The marginalia by the hand of the first part on the text of the second part indicates these sections must have been in the same place in the twelfth century. A marginal note on fol. 293^{r}, repeated on fol. 306^{v} in Latin, refers to the death of Nyphon, archimandrite of 'our monastery' of S. Salvatore in Messina, in a. 6855 (= a.d. 1347) and may indicate that the third section of the manuscript was in Messina by that date.[4] The

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4. See G. Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d' Italia e di Patmo* (*ST* 68) (Vatican, 1935), p. 178, n. 8.

guarding folia, introduced in the sixteenth century, may give an indication of a date for the final coming together of the three parts, one which coordinates with the decline of the Basilian monasteries in South Italy, if it was the case that parts one and two were brought to S. Salvatore from a dependent monastery, although they may merely have been used to protect the manuscript after it was already assembled. The manuscript was moved from the monastery of S. Salvatore, with its whole library, to the library of the University of Messina in 1872.

B Codex Messanensis S. Salvatoris 26

Messanensis S. Salvatoris 26, c. XII (?), parchment, 30.5 x 26.0 cm., II.202.I foll., two columns, 31 ll., one hand (?).

Contents

The manuscript is an incomplete codex of a collection of sermons, *encomia* and saints' lives for half a year following Easter.[1] It contains a number of sermons of SS. Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Anastasius the Sinaite and Andrew of

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1. See A. Ehrhard, *Uberlieferung* II, pp. 207-08.

Crete, as well as the *Martyrdom* of S. Mark, the *Martyrdom* of S. Barnabas, the *Encomium* of SS. Peter and Paul by S. John Chrysostom, the *Encomium* of S. Pancratius by Gregory the Pagurite (foll.74^{v} - 81^{v}), the *Martyrdom* of S. Panteleimon, the *Martyrdom* of S. Leontius, the *Life* of S. Mary of Egypt, the *Martyrdom* of S. George, the *Encomium* of S. Basileus of Amasia, the *Life* of SS. Constantine and Helen and the *Martyrdom* of S. Charalampius.[2]

Colophon (on the final folio of the manuscript, which has no text)

+ Κτίμον μοναχοῦ τλίμονος Λεοντίου, ὡς τοὺς ἐντειχάννοντας. ἐλειπαρεῖναι λύσιν δοθεῖναι τῶν πολλῶν ἐγκλημάτων. + Μνήσθητι κύριε τοῦ δούλου σου Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτου καὶ συγχόρισον αὐτοῦ πᾶν πλημμέλιμα ἑκούσιον τε καὶ ἀκούσιον.

Description

The quires are all quaternions, with the exception of ιε', from which one folio is missing after fol. 116. Signatures have been placed at the bottom of the right margin on quires β' (fol. 9), ε', ϛ', ζ', η', θ', ι' and ιζ', and are also placed at the bottom of the verso of the last folio of the quire. Trimming of the manuscript has caused the loss or partial loss of some of the

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2. The contents are described more fully by S. Rossi, 'Catalogo', pp. 44-5. The hagiographic contents have been described by H. Delehaye, 'Catalogus', pp. 28-9 and F. Halkin, 'Mss. à Messine et à Palerme', pp. 248-9.

signatures.

Arabic numerals are placed at the top of the right margin. The numbers 149 - 150 are not used, suggesting the possible absence of an entire quire, the contents of which are unknown, and the numbers 50, 117 and 121 have each been used two times.

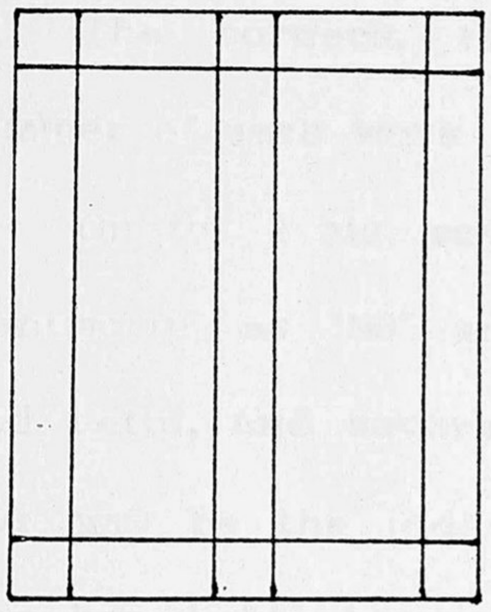


fig. a

The ruling has the following form, and the writing is suspended from the lines.

There are three extraneous folia, two at the beginning of the manuscript with fragments of the metaphrastic *Life* of S. Arethas, and one at the end, with a fragment of the metaphrastic *Life* of S. Demetrius. They are from a lost manuscript with a metaphrastic *Menologium* written in the 'Reggio' style in the twelfth century.[3]

The hand is largely minuscule, but with some use of uncial forms, particularly of δ and π. There is no capitalization, neither subscript nor adscript iota and no final sigma. *Nomina sacra* are unaccented, diaeresis is marked and there are no apostrophes after Hebrew words. Quotation marks in the form › (e.g.

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3. See M. B. Foti, *Catalogo*, pp. 20-1 with n. 19, and P. Canart and J. Leroy, 'Style de Reggio', p. 259.

fol. 121 bis^{r}) are used.

The scribe himself seems to be responsible for one series of corrections (e.g. foll. 15^{v}, 23^{r}). A second corrector has contributed to the manuscript, using the mark ⁂ (e.g. foll. 126^{v}, 128^{r}), a third has used the mark ✳ (e.g. fol. 47^{r}) and a fourth the mark ⁘ (e.g. 49^{r}).

The borders, titles and initials are rubricated and the number of each work has also been noted in red by a later hand.

On fol. 2 bis, several hands have written the number of the manuscript as "NΘ" and references to Gregory of Nyssa in Greek and Latin, and several entries which are no longer decipherable, but may be the indication of ownership on which R. Devreesse has based his statements on the manuscript's provenance. On fol. 9^{r}, a hand has written vertically in the margin, "dixit ... hic ... quam / neque honore ... ". On fol. 117 bis^{v}, there is a small figure of a praying bishop, and three faint entries which appear to be invocations by the scribe.

The parchment is of uneven quality, but the manuscript proper is in good repair. A label on the final endpaper indicates that it was repaired in Palermo in 1981, and the brown leather binding should be attributed to this restoration.

History

The scribe Leontius cannot definitely be identified in other manuscripts, but appears to have been South Italian. According

to R. Devreesse,[4] the manuscript belonged to the library of the monastery of S. Ange de Valle Tuccio (Tucco) in the diocese of Reggio, a monastery which was attached to the S. Salvatore monastery at Messina by Roger II in 1144. The date at which it entered the library of S. Salvatore is unknown, but it is probable that it naturally passed to the monastery of which it was a dependant with the decline of the Basilian monasteries in South Italy. With the entire library of the monastery of S. Salvatore, it entered the library of the University of Messina in 1872.

The Third Manuscript

O. Gaetani states in the 'Animadversiones in Homiliam Gregorii Byzantini' in his *Vitae SS. Siculorum*,

> Orationem hanc Graece exscripsimus ex M. S. codice antiquo Octavij Camerarij Medici Sinopolitani : dein compertum a me est eamdem extare in duobus M. SS. Codicibus S. Salvatoris Messanae. quibus titulus inscriptus, Orationes Panegyricae, latine reddidit Pater Augustinus Floritus Mazariensis e nostra Societate.[1]

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4. R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l' Italie méridionale* (*ST* 183) (Vatican, 1955), p. 15.

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1. O. Caietanus, *Vitae SS. Siculorum*, I (Palermo, 1657), p. 17.

That the manuscripts on which the Latin translation was based were the two Messina manuscripts is confirmed by the Palermo manuscript, Panorm. II.E.8, a sixteenth or seventeenth century manuscript consisting of copies made of various texts for the use of Gaetani. Both copies of the *Encomium* (foll.118^{r} - 127^{r}, foll. 130^{r} - 134^{v}, 136^{r}) are based on Messina manuscripts, the former probably on Mess. S. Salv. 3, the latter on Mess. S. Salv. 26.[2] There is no trace of the copy Gaetani made from the third manuscript, and I have not been able to trace the original codex.

Nevertheless, I have proceeded to edit the text on the basis of the two manuscripts known to me.

The relation between the two manuscript witnesses to the text of the *Encomium* is difficult to determine. There are no errors of omission committed by a single manuscript and no variants which could not be the result of a copying error or of correction or emendation by a scribe. The codices A and B have a number of texts in common, namely, the *Sermon* of S. John Chrysostom on the Nativity of S. John the Baptist, the *Encomium* of SS. Peter and Paul by S. John Chrysostom, the *Encomium* of S. Pancratius by Gregory the Pagurite, the *Sermon* of S. John Chrysostom on the prophets Elijah and Elias, the *Martyrdom* of S. Panteleimon, and the sermons of Anastasius the Sinaite on the

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2. See F. Halkin, 'Mss. à Messine et à Palerme', p. 271.

Transfiguration, of Andrew of Crete on the Dormition and of S. John Chrysostom on the Beheading of S. John the Baptist. All of these texts are found in the first part of A except for the *Sermon* of S. John Chrysostom on the prophets, and the fact that this is in the second part of the manuscript, which we know was with the first in the twelfth century, might seem to argue in favour of sections of B having been copied from A. Both manuscripts contain collections of a similar type of text, and both begin with Easter. However, there are many texts which the two do not have in common, and the period of the year they cover is different, so that neither is a direct copy of the other in total. From the two copies of the text we have, it is not possible to tell whether one was copied from the other, or whether both were copied from the same exemplar. It is quite likely that there was a copy of the *Encomium* in North-east Sicily or South-west Calabria, copies of which were incorporated into these two collections made for the use of the monasteries being established in the twelfth century.

The manuscripts both have standard orthographical errors, such as confusion of ι, ει and η, of αι and ε, and of ο and ω. These have been omitted from the apparatus unless they offer real alternatives to the standardized readings presented in the text.

2. <u>The Date and Provenance of the *Encomium*</u>

These questions are discussed above in the Introduction, pp. 89 – 98.

Sigla

A Messanensis S. Salvatoris 3 c. xii

B Messanensis S. Salvatoris 26 c. xii

Γρηγορίου ταπεινοῦ μοναχοῦ Βυζαντίου γεγονότος μονῆς τοῦ Παγουρίου ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Παγκράτιον.

95[v] 74[v] *Ἤδη πρὸς τὴν πνευματικὴν πανήγυριν πιστῶς ἀθροισθέντες καὶ τοῦ ψυχικοῦ ὄλβου τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐξῳνούμενοι, τῷ ταύτης ἐμπόρῳ τὰ θεῖα ἔδνα προσάξωμεν, οὐκ ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων καὶ μαργαριτῶν συναρμούμενα, οὐδὲ τεχνουργικῇ ἐπιστήμῃ κατασκευαζόμενα ἢ ἐκ βύσσου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ σηρικῶν ἀπαρτιζόμενα τῶν πρὸς μικρὸν λαμπροτάτων καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἀφανεστάτων τῶν φαιδροτάτων ἔργων τὴν ὕλην ἐκ τῶν γηΐνων προσλαμβάνοντα καὶ εἰς αἶσχος μεταποιοῦντα τὴν τοῦ ἔργου ὡραιότητα, ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν ἐπιρρέοντα, καὶ αἰωνίως μένοντα, καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ τῆς θείας χάριτος ἐξυφαινόμενα, τῇ τε κερκίδι τοῦ πνεύματος συντιθέμενα· οὐ γὰρ ὑλικὸς ὁ τὴν προσαγωγὴν δεχόμενος ἵν' ἐξ ὕλης τὰ δῶρα προσδέξηται, ἀλλ' ἄϋλος πάντῃ τῆς ῥευστῆς ἐπιμιξίας πέφηνε. διὸ καὶ ἀΰλως τὴν ὑφασίαν εἰργασάμεθα,*

75[r] *καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικῶς τὸ ἐγχείρημα συμπλέξαι ᾠήθημεν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ | πάσης τοιαύτης τεχνουργικῆς σοφίας ἰδιῶται καὶ ἀτελεῖς ἐσμὲν οἱ πανάθλιοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι, ἀλλ' ὅμως πίστει φερόμενοι τῆς ἀΰλου ἐργασίας τὸ ἀκρώτατον καθηψάμεθα· εἰ γὰρ τῶν κάτω καὶ φθειρομένων ἐραστὴς ὁ*

96[r] *θεσπέσιος οὗτος | γέγονεν, ἀξίως ἂν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων αὐτὸν κατεστέψαμεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων πάντων ἑαυτὸν ἠλλοτρίωσε τοῦ οὐρανίου ὄλβου ἐφιέμενος, καὶ τῶν παθῶν ὑπεράνω γενόμενος, ἀγγελικὴν πολιτείαν ἐζήλωσε, θειώτερον αὐτῷ τὸ δῶρον προσάξωμεν, οὐχ ὡς δεομένῳ παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν τοιαύτην ἐγχείρησιν καὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀφθάρτου πλούτου προσδεχομένῳ αὔξησιν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἡμῖν τοῦ σκοποῦ τὸν μισθὸν ὁ παμπλούτιστος ἀνταμείψηται, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν νοῦν φωτισθῶμεν τρανώτατα· τὰ γὰρ οὐράνια ἐθησαύρισε, καὶ πολιοῦχος τῆς ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἀπήρτισται, τοῦ δὲ θείου θυσιαστηρίου ἱερουργὸς*

4 *συναρμούμενα* A : *συνορμούμενα* B 5 *πρὸς μικρὸν* A : *πρὸς μικρῶν* B 6 *μετ' ὀλίγον* B : *μετ' ὀλίγων* A 11 *ἵν'* nos : *ἣν* A *ἤν* B 22 *ἵν'* nos : *ἣν* A *ἤν* B

πεφηνώς, φοιτητὴς τοῦ παραδείσου ἀναδέδεικται, τὴν τῶν ἀσωμάτων εὐφημίαν δεχόμενος, σὺν αὐτοῖς παραδόξως αὐλίζεται, τοῦ ἀκραιφνοῦς κάλλους τὴν αἴγλην ὑποδεχόμενος· Χριστὸν γὰρ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Παύλου ῥητὸν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐνεδύσατο· "ὅσοι γάρ," φησιν, "εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε," καὶ εἰ Χριστὸν κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεδύσατο, δηλονότι τὸ πνεῦμα περιεζώσατο, καὶ τὸν πατέρα κατεστολήσατο, καὶ εἰ τοιοῦτον στολισμὸν οὐρανόθεν ἐδέξατο, τίς ἂν ἀξίως ἐγκωμιᾶσαι δυνήσηται τὸν καὶ πάντα λόγον ἐγκωμίου ὑπερβαίνοντα καὶ δαψιλῶς ἐν οὐρανοῖς τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχοντα;

75v Τίς δέ ἐστιν ὁ τῆς τοι|αύτης δόξης ὑπερφυῶς κατηγλαϊσμένος τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν αἴγλην τῆς θεότητος ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος

96v ἀνεκλείπτως ὑποδεχόμενος; γνωρίσω ὑμῖν τὴν φερώνυμως | γεγονυῖαν αὐτοῦ ἐπίκλησιν, ἵν' ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ὀνομασίας τὴν ἀμφοτεροδεξίωσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σαφῶς καταμάθητε καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν τοῦ ἔργου μειζόνως θαυμάσητε. Παγκράτιος, ὁ τὸ πᾶν κράτος κατακρατήσας τοῦ πολεμήτορος καὶ τὰ ἠκονισμένα αὐτοῦ βέλη ἀμβλύνας ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ τῆς χάριτος, ὁ τὰς ἀκτίνας τῆς ἄνωθεν φρυκτωρίας τῇ διανοίᾳ δεξάμενος καὶ φωσφόρος νοητὸς τῶν ἐν σκότει τῆς ἀγνωσίας γενάμενος, ὁ τὰ τῆς γῆς τῇ γῇ καταλείψας ὡς ἄχρηστα καὶ τὰ ἄνω ποθήσας ὡς εὔχρηστα, ὁ τὸ τάλαντον λαβὼν τῆς πίστεως καὶ δισσεύσας αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς θερμῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως, ὁ τὰ πάντα αὐτοῦ ἀπωσάμενος, ὁ τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας τὴν ἀργίαν ἀποβαλλόμενος καὶ τοῦ θεϊκοῦ ἀμπελῶνος ἐργάτης δειχθεὶς ἀνεπαίσχυντος, ὁ τὸ ἄχρηστον τῆς φύσεως ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ φύσιν μεταβαλὼν εἰς οἶνον εὔχρηστον καὶ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις εὐφράνας τῷ τῆς καρτερίας πώματι· μέδιμνος γὰρ νοητοῦ ὄμβρου ὑπάρχων λογικώτατος ἁγιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ῥεῖθρον εἰς γλεῦκος μετενήνοχεν οὐράνιον, καὶ πνευματικὴν εὐφροσύνην τοῖς ἄνω καὶ κάτω διῆλθεν ἀκόρεστον, ὁ λόγῳ ἔνδοξος καὶ ἔργῳ εὔφημος, ὁ νικήσας τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς κατασοφήσας τῷ τοῦ πνεύματος γράμματι, ὁ ἐπίγειος

4 - 5 Gal. 3:27

13 ἵν' nos : ἣν A ἣν B 20 αὐτὸ B : αὐτῷ A

97r 76r ἄγγελος καὶ οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ τοῦ κηρύγματος δρομεὺς ὀξύτατος | καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων καθαιρέτης θερμότατος, ὁ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ θείου γάμου καλῶς ἐνδυσάμενος καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων ἐδεσμάτων ἐπαπολαύων τὴν ὄρεξιν, ὁ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ παραδείσῳ τῶν φιλοθέων ὡς ξύλον φυτευθεὶς λογικώτατον καὶ τῶν ζωορρύτων πηγῶν καταρδευόμενος καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης κρατήσας τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνης κριὸς ἐπίσημος καὶ τῆς οὐρανίου ἀγέλης ἀμνὸς ἄκακος, ὁ τῆς πολυχόρδου πνευματικῆς κιθάρας νεῦρον εὔλαλον καὶ τοῦ μυριαύλου θεϊκοῦ ὀργάνου αὐλὸς εὔηχος, ὁ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀμπέλου βότρυς πέπειρος καὶ τῆς θείας χώρας στάχυς ἀμείωτος, ὁ τῆς φθορᾶς δεσμοῖς μὴ δεσμευθεὶς ὡς ὑπεύθυνος, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῆς ἀφθαρσίας σειραῖς περισφιγχθεὶς ὡς πολιοῦχος οὐράνιος.

Οὗτος ὁ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς πολύκλειτος καὶ πολυώνυμος τοῖς χαρίσμασιν, τὸ θεῖον χάρισμα παρὰ Πέτρου τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων κρηπῖδος δεξάμενος καὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ζεύγλην καλῶς ἀναλαβόμενος, ἀπεστάλη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος αὔξησιν καὶ λογικῶν προβάτων ἀνόρθωσιν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ θείου προστάγματος τὴν ὁρμὴν πληρῶσαι γλιχόμενος, ἐπὶ νηὸς ἀνήχθη εὐπλοούσης ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια. αἰσίως δὲ φερομένου τοῦ πλοὸς διὰ τῆς καλῆς τοῦ ἀνέμου ἐπιπνεύσεως, ἀκυμάντως ἐπὶ τὴν Ταυρομενιτῶν πόλιν καθώρμισεν, ᾧ τοῦ θαύματος, ἡ ναῦς τὸν φόρτον
97v ἔφερεν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ φόρτου ἀκιν|δύνως διεφυλάττετο· οὐ τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ σκάφος τὸν ἐπιβάτην ἐκ τῆς τῶν θαλαττίων βλάβης διετήρει ἀλώβητον, ὅσον ἐκεῖνος ἀντέφερε τὸ τῆς ζάλης ἤρεμον καὶ τὴν
76v καλλίστην δι' εὐχῆς | γαληνότητα, ὁ προύχων ὡς ἔμπειρος πηδαλίῳ <...> κατεῖχε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σκάφους κυβέρνησιν, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου κυβερνώμενος ἀκλυδωνίστως καθοδηγεῖτο προσέλευσιν, ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸ σκάφος ἀφίκετο, καὶ τοῖς ταραττομένοις τῇ εἰδωλικῇ μανίᾳ ἀτάραχον γαλήνην θεοσεβείας προσήνεγκεν. δραμόντες δὲ οἱ πολιοῦχοι ὠθισθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος, ἴσως τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς τῆς νηὸς διελέγοντο, ἐπιζητοῦντες εὑρεῖν ἕκαστος τὸ τέρμα τῆς ἰδίας

2-3. cf. Mt. 22:11

10 τῆς (2) bis hab. B 12 περισφιγχθεὶς nos : περισφιχθεὶς AB 13 οὗτος 13 nos : οὕτως AB 20 καθόρμισεν B : καθόρμησεν A 24 γαληνότητα coniecit Mango : χαλινώτητα AB 26 καθοδηγεῖτο nos : καθοδιγήτω A καθοδηγείτω B 26 προσέλευσιν nos : προσέλευθεν AB

ἐφέσεως. "τίνα ἡμῖν χρήσιμον φόρτον ἠγάγετε;" καί, "πόσου τοῦτο πιπράσκεται;" οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεφήναντο, τούτου τὴν δύναμιν ἐκκαλύπτοντες καὶ τὸ σκεῦος τὸ τίμιον πᾶσιν ἐπιδεικνύοντες, "οὐ διὰ ταλάντου ἡ ὤνησις τοῦ ἡμετέρου φόρτου γίνεται, ἀλλὰ διὰ πίστεως ἐγχειρίζεται τὸ διδόμενον. οὐ χρυσίῳ πιπράσκεται τὸ σκεῦος τὸ ἀτίμητον, ἀλλὰ δῶρον τοῖς ποθοῦσι προσφέρεται ἡ βρῶσις ἡ οὐράνιος· οὐ γὰρ τὰ τῶν βροτῶν σώματα κορέννει ἀνείκαστα, ἀλλὰ τὰς ψυχὰς διατρέφει ἀγγελόβρωτον φύραμα." καταφωτίσας δὲ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλος τοὺς τῆς νηὸς ἅπαντας, ἦξεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον τοῦ δοῦναι γνῶσιν τοῖς
98r πᾶσι σωτήριον καὶ λαὸν ἀπολλύμενον ἀνακαλέσασθαι. ἐβρόν|τησε δὲ θᾶττον ὡς ἐξ ὕψους τὰ θεία ἐκ στόματος καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων τὸ πλῆθος ἐθρόησεν. ἤστραψεν ὡς ἐκ νεφῶν διὰ γλώσσης τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ ἄληκτον πυρφόρον δύναμιν καὶ τὸν νοητὸν δράκοντα κατέβαλε. τὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης στέλεχος ἐμιμήσατο καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν
77r κατῄσχυνε. τὸν τὴν | θάλατταν ὡς διὰ ξηρᾶς πεζοπορήσαντα ἐζήλωσε καὶ τοὺς τῶν ψυχῶν πολεμήτορας θᾶττον ἐβύθισεν. τὸν σφενδονιστὴν ἐξομοιώσατο καὶ τὸν νοητὸν ἀλάστορα τῇ σφενδόνῃ τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῇ λιθοβολίᾳ τῆς τρισσονύμου ἁγίας ἐπικλήσεως ἄρδην ἐξώλεσεν· τῇ γὰρ δυνάμει τοῦ ἀνάρχου πατρὸς τὸν τῶν κακῶν γεννήτορα αἰχμάλωτον ἀπέδειξεν, τῇ δὲ ἰσχύϊ τοῦ συνανάρχου υἱοῦ τὰ τῆς ἀπωλείας τέκνα υἱοὺς καὶ κληρονόμους τῆς θείας βασιλείας εἰργάσατο, τῇ δὲ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος τὰ τῆς πονηρίας πνεύματα ἅπαντα ἀπήλασεν· ἥπλωσε γὰρ τῆς εὐσεβείας τὰ δείκτυα, καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ τεχνουργίᾳ τῶν ἀρετῶν τὸ γένος ἐζώγρησεν. ἐξέτεινε τὸν τῆς γλώττης αὐτοῦ κάλαμον, καὶ τὸ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἄγκιστρον σοφῶς εἰς τὴν τοῦ βίου θάλατταν ἐχάλασε καὶ τοῦ βυθοῦ τῆς πλάνης πάντας ἀνείλκυσεν. μαρμαρυγὰς θείας διδασκαλίας ἐξέλαμψε, καὶ τὴν σκοτόμηναν τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀπήλασεν. ἀκτίνας θεοσεβείας ἀπηύγασε, καὶ τὸν τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας
98v | ζόφον διεσκέδασεν. εὐσεβείας νάματα ἐκ τοῦ θεορρύτου αὐτοῦ φρέατος ἀνέβλυσε, καὶ τοῖς διψῶσι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην τῆς

9 τοῖς om. B 10 ἐβρόντησε nos : ἐβρόντισε AB 14 ἐμιμήσατο A : ἐμιμήσαντο B

πίστεως τῷ κράματι ποτήσας, παρευθὺ τὴν δίψαν κατέπαυσεν. ἤρδευσεν ὡς ἀρούρας ῥείθρῳ σωτηρίας τὰς ἀνύδρους γνώσεως τῶν γηγενῶν καρδίας καὶ σταχυφορούσας τῶν ἀρετῶν τὸν σῖτον τῷ οὐρανίῳ βασιλεῖ προσήγαγεν. εἶδε γυμνωθέντα τὰ πλήθη τῆς ἄνω δυνάμεως, καὶ ἀγγελοΰφαντον χιτῶνα ἐνέδυσεν. εὗρεν κατακειμένην
77v τὴν πόλιν ἐν | τῷ βορβορώδει λάκκῳ τῆς πολυθεΐας, καὶ χεῖρα ὀρέξας διδασκαλίας, τοῦ τοιούτου πτώματος αὐτὴν ἀνήγειρεν, καὶ καθάρας τῇ θείᾳ αἴγλῃ ἐλάμπρυνεν. ἔγνω λιμοφθορουμένους τοὺς ἔνδον, τῇ ψυχικῇ τροφῇ καὶ ἄρτῳ οὐρανίῳ διαθρέψας, ἐζωοποίησεν. κορέσας οὖν τὰ τῆς πόλεως πλήθη τὸν γλυκασμὸν τῆς θεότητος καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ λόγου κλίμακος ἀναβιβάσας αὐτὰ πρὸς τὴν οὐράνιον καὶ θείαν ἄνοδον, κατὰ τοῦ νοητοῦ δράκοντος τῷ θυμῷ ὑπερζέσας, τὰ ἀμφότερα εἴδωλα γενναίως ἐξηφάνησε καὶ ἀνίσχυρον τὸν διάβολον ἔδειξεν· τὸν γὰρ προαγορευόμενον Φάλκονα μετὰ τοῦ παρέδρου αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Λύσσονα μετὰ τοῦ παμμεγέθους δράκοντος, οὗ ἦν περιβεβλημένος ὡς ἱμάτιον, τοῦ καὶ τὰς θυσίας δεχομένου καὶ ἀναλίσκοντος, εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν
99r βεβύθικεν καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης πλάνης τοὺς δουλωθέντας ἠλευθέ|ρωσεν. κατείδωλον δὲ οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν θεογνωσίας ἐνέπλησεν, καθαρήσας αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν εἰδώλων προσκυνήσεως· τὰ γὰρ εἰδωλεῖα αὐτῶν ἐκπορθήσας ὡς ἄχρηστα, οἶκον προσευχῆς ἀνήγειρε καὶ θυσιαστήριον τῷ κυρίῳ κατέπηξεν, εἰς ὃ πάντες οἱ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστιν προστρέχοντες τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας λουτρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου ἐδέχοντο καὶ τὸ θεῖον χρίσμα ἐλάμβανον, ὃς καὶ μετεκλήθη ἐν ὑστέρῳ οἶκος τοῦ ἁγίου Λαυρεντίου. τούτων οὕτως περαινομένων, καὶ τῆς θείας ἐργασίας τὴν αὔξησιν ὀπτανόμενος ὁ ἅγιος, οὐκ ἐράσμιον εἶναι τῆς πολιούχου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐκπαίδευσιν, τοὺς δὲ
78r ἀγροί|κους καταλελειπέναι ἀνεπιμελήτους τοῦ χρίσματος διέκρινεν. διὸ καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτον εἰς μέσον ἀγαγὼν διὰ θείας ἐλλάμψεως ὑπάρχοντα πρὸς τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγον δόκιμον, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῇ ἐπιφυτήσει τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος πρεσβύτερον

23 ὃς B : ὡς, corr. ὃς A 24 περαινομένων nos : περεμένων corr. περενομένων A περενομένων B 26 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι B : ἐπιμελήσεται A

ἐχειροτόνησε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγροίκους αὐτὸν ἐξαπέστειλε, τὸν τῆς σωτηρίας λόγον ἐπικηρῦξαι καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτοῖς ἄφεσιν δωρήσασθαι, μεταποιήσας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ κηρυττομένην ἡμερινὴν ἀνάπλασιν. ἡμέρα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λαὸς ἐπληθύνετο καὶ ἐξ ἀσεβείας πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀνήγετο διὰ τῆς τοῦ
99v Παγκρατίου κυβερνή|σεως. ἰδὼν δὲ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ σωτήριον ἐκ τῶν πτωμάτων ἔγερσιν ὁ παγκάκιστος καὶ ἐπίφθονος ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν γενάμενος, Ἀκυλῖνον ὡς σκεῦος ἴδιον κατὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Παγκρατίου βαπτισθέντων ἀνήγειρεν· παμπληθεὶ γὰρ ἐκστρατεύσας ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτὸν κεκινηκότος ὁ τύραννος, εὐδρόμως παρεγένετο πρὸς τὸ ἐκπορθῆσαι τὴν τῶν Ταυρωμενιτῶν πόλιν καὶ ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῦντας ἐργάσασθαι· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ τοιαύτη σκῆψις ὁρμηθεῖσα, οὐκ εἰς ἔργον προβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου τῇ κρείττονι αἰχμαλωσίᾳ ᾐχμαλωτίσθησαν· τὸ πλῆθος μὲν γὰρ θεασάμενοι οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἔνδον ὑπάρχοντες ὑπὸ τῆς δειλίας σκυθρωπάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς προδοῦναι εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀσεβῶν χεῖρας ἐπένευσαν. ὁ δὲ Παγκράτιος τοῦ νίκους τὸ κράτος τῇ ἀηττήτῳ τοῦ
78v θεοῦ δυναστείᾳ κεκτημένος, τὸ ἐχένοιον | ἐβεβαιοῦτο πᾶσιν ἀπολεμήτους τοὺς ὑπεναντίους τροπώσασθαι, καὶ δὴ ἄρας τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτὸν ἀχράντως τεκούσης ἄνευ ἀνδρὸς συλλήψεως, καὶ ἄντικρυς τῶν ὑπεναντίων στὰς κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἄνωθεν τῆς πόλεως, τὸ νῖκος ἄρας, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπημαύρωσεν· ἰδόντες γὰρ οἱ ὑπεναντίοι τὸν ἅγιον, πάραυτα ἀλλοιωθέντες, ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ξίφεσι κατέκοψαν. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ
100r τούτου γινο|μένου τοῦ θαύματος καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὅπλων ὀλεσθέντος τῇ συμποδήσει τοῦ πνεύματος, μόλις τοῦ τοιούτου πτώματος ἀνένευσαν. συνιέντες δὲ τοῦ πράγματος τὴν ἐνέργειαν, τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ἁγίου προσέπεσαν καὶ τοῦ Χριστιανικοῦ χαρίσματος ἠξιώθησαν καὶ μετηνέχθη ἡ ἀσεβὴς σκέ̆ω̂ρία παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα. πάντες οὖν οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἑωρακότες τὴν τῶν ἀσεβῶν

6 *ἰδὼν* B : *εἰδὼν* A 7 *σωτήριον* nos : *σωτηρίου* AB 28 *προσέπεσαν* A : *κατέπεσαν* B 28 *Χριστιανικοῦ* A : *Χριστιανοῦ* B

ταχείαν μετοχέτευσιν ἐπὶ πλείῳ τοῖς τοῦ Παγκρατίου λόγοις μετὰ χαρᾶς προσετίθ[ε]ντο καὶ τὰ τοῦ δράκοντος προβλήματα ὡς οὐδὲν ἀπεκρούοντο. οὕτως οὖν τοῦ πλήθους προστιθεμένου ἐπὶ τὴν ἑδραιωτάτην πέτραν τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἀναγομένου πρὸς ὕψος ἄπτωτον τῆς θείας ἀναβάσεως, δάκνεται τῇ ψυχῇ ὁ τῇ κακίᾳ εὐμήχανος καὶ τρίζει τοὺς ὀδόντας κατὰ τοῦ ἐποδηγοῦντος τοὺς βαδίζειν ἐθέλοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλανεστάτην διάβασιν· μὴ φέρων γὰρ ὁρᾶν τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνιον ἐπαυξόμενον, κακοθανεῖν ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸν ἀληθινὸν
79r ποιμένα εὐμηχανήσατο. διὸ καὶ εἰσπηδήσας εἰς τὴν καρ|δίαν Ἀρταγάρου τοῦ ἄρχοντος, διένυξεν αὐτὸν λιθοβολῆσαι τὸν ἅγιον, καὶ δὴ εἴξας ὁ τύραννος τοῖς τοῦ ἐναντίου βουλεύμασιν, εἰς ἔργον τὸ βούλημα ἀπήρτισται, τοῦ Στεφάνου συνοδοιπόρον τὸν Παγκράτιον ἐργασάμενος· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων λιθοβοληθείς, οὗτος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων τοῦ ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου γέγονεν ἀποκύημα·
100v ἐνδυναμωθέντες | γὰρ ἀμφότεροι ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, μίαν ὁδὸν διώδευσαν καὶ εἰς μίαν πόλιν τὴν ἀχειροποίητον ᾤκισαν, μὴ διαζευχθέντες τῆς ἀΰλου τραπέζης, ἀλλ' ὁμοδίαιτοι τῆς ἀγγελικῆς χοροστασίας γενάμενοι, τῶν ἀκραιφνῶν μυστηρίων κατηξιώθησαν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀρχιδιάκονος προεβέβλητο, οὗτος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου πρωτόθρονος κεχειροτόνητο. ἐκεῖνος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπεστόμιζεν, καὶ οὗτος τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπεφήμωσεν. ἐκεῖνος μοναρχίαν ἀπεσόβει, καὶ οὗτος πολυθεΐαν ἀπέπαυσεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνεῳγμένους εἶδεν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν ἑστῶτα τοῦ πατρός, οὗτος δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν εὐδρομήσας διὰ τοῦ ἐπαινετοῦ πάθους τρανωτέραν αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν θεάσασθαι καὶ κατατρυφῆσαι τὸ θεῖον κάλλος καὶ ἀπρόσιτον, τὰς οὐρανίους δυνάμεις μετ' εὐφροσύνης αὐτῷ ὑπαντώσας καὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῶν πόνων παρεχούσας ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ ἄληκτα.

Φέρε δὴ λοιπὸν τοὺς ἄνωθέν τε καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεδοξασμένους εἰς μέσον ἀγαγόντες, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν πολιτείαν ἐξετάσαντες, τὴν τοῦ

19 οὗτος B : οὕτως A 21 οὗτος B : οὕτως A

θεοεπιλέκτου ἀνδρὸς λαμπρότητα συγκρῖναι πειράσωμεν. Ἀδὰμ χειρὶ
79v θεοῦ πλασθείς, ἀπὸ τοῦ | κρείττονος ἐπὶ τὰ ἐλάττω δι' ἀπάτης
ὑπέρευσεν, οὗτος δὲ γέννησιν σαρκικὴν ὑποστάς, ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρωνος ἐπὶ
101r τὰ κρείττονα ἀνεχέτησεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐν|τολὴν τοῦ δρῶντος μὴ
φυλάξας, καρποῦ θανατηφόρου ἐγεύσατο, ὁ δὲ καλῶς τηρήσας τὰ τοῦ
προστάξαντος ἐντάλματα, παρακοῆς τοῦ φυτοῦ οὐχ ἥψατο, ἀλλὰ τῶν
τῆς ὑπακοῆς γλυκείων καρπημάτων ἀδιαλείπτως τρεφόμενος
ἐλιπαίνετο. Ἄβελ ἐδικαιώθη διὰ τὴν τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτοῦ προσκομιδὴν
εἰλικρινὴν πρὸς κύριον, οὗτος δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως αὐτοῦ
προσαγωγὴν τῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων. Σὴθ τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς κάλλει
κατακοσμηθείς, τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα οὐ κατορθώσατο, ἀπόδεκτος δὲ τῷ θεῷ
γενάμενος, ἀγγέλους τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀπογόνους ὡς ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ
ἀνεπλάσατο, οὗτος δὲ τῷ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας λουτρῷ ἀναγεννηθείς, τὸ κατ'
εἰκόνα ἀνέλαβεν καὶ ἀλώβητον ἕως τέλους διετήρησεν, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ
αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀποκυηθέντας, υἱοὺς θεοῦ καὶ κληρονόμους
εἰργάσατο. Ἐνὼχ μετετέθη τῆς τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου οἰκήσεως καὶ τῆς
τῶν βροτῶν συνοχῆς ἠλευθέρωται, οὗτος δὲ ἐν κόσμῳ ὢν μετετέθη τῷ
πνεύματι πρὸς θείαν μετάβασιν καὶ τῶν παθῶν τὸν ζόφον
ὑπερβαίνουσαν. Νῶε μικρὰν κιβωτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς δίκαιος
πεπίστευτο καὶ ὀλίγου λαοῦ πρὸς τὰ κάτω σωτηριοκύβερνος γέγονεν,
οὗτος δὲ τὴν θεόκτιστον κιβωτόν, ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος πεπίστευτο καὶ
101v ἀπείρου λαοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἄνω ἀπλανὴς ὁδηγὸς ἀναδέδεικται, | καὶ ὁ μὲν
80r πρὸς τὰ ῥέοντα καὶ γήϊνα τοὺς δοθέντας αὐτῷ πάλιν ἀπεκατέστησεν, |
ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄρευστα καὶ οὐράνια τοὺς πιστευθέντας ἐπανήγαγεν. Λὼτ
ἐν Σοδόμοις οἰκῶν ἀνεπίμικτος παντὶ τῆς παρανόμου αὐτῶν ἐργασίας
γέγονεν καὶ τῆς σωματικῆς πληγῆς μόνος σέσωσται, οὗτος δὲ μέσον
ἀσεβῶν συναναστρεφόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἑαυτὸν ἐξ ἀνομίας ἐστέρησε καὶ
τῆς βασιλείας ἔνδον εἰσηγάγετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖστον ὄχλον ἐκ μυσαρᾶς
λατρείας ἐξέωσε, καὶ τοῦ αἰωνίου πυρὸς ἐλευθερώσας, ζωῆς ἀθανάτου
τὴν ἄγκυραν παρείχετο. Ἀβραὰμ φιλόξενος ὢν καὶ τοῖς προσιοῦσιν

8 ἐλιπαίνετο nos : ἐλειπένετο AB 9 εἰλικρινὴν B : εἰλικρινεῖν A 13 οὗτος B : οὕτως A 17 οὗτος B : οὕτως A 17 μετετέθη nos : μετέθη AB 18 πρὸς A : εἰς B 27 συναναστρεφόμενος A : συναναστραφόμενος, corr. -στρεφόμενος B

ἀφθόνους τὰς τραπέζας παρατιθείς, εἰς ἑστίασιν θεὸν ἐξένισεν καὶ ἀντάμειψιν εὗρεν οὐράνιον, οὗτος δὲ φιλόψυχος ὢν καὶ ἀμείωτον τροφὴν ταῖς λιμωττούσαις ψυχαῖς σιτίζων ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος ἐνεργούμενος, τὴν νοητὴν καὶ κυριωτέραν τροφὴν διήσθιεν καὶ ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσιν οὐ μετρίως ἐπίφρανεν. Ἰσαὰκ ὑπήκοος τοῦ πατρὸς γενάμενος, πρὸς θυσίαν ὁλοκαρπώσεως ἤχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτὸν φύσαντος, εἰ καὶ ἡ ἄνω πρόνοια τοῦτο τὸ ἁπηρτισθῆναι ἐκώλυσεν, οὗτος δὲ τὸν διὰ τῆς φρικτῆς κολυμβήθρας αὐτὸν γεννήσαντα ἐκμιμούμενος, θῦμα ἄμωμον εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀπηνέγκατο. Ἰακὼβ τὴν κλίμακα τῆς θείας ἀναβάσεως ἑώρακεν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀρετῶν πολυκινδύνου κλίμακος τὴν βάσιν ἀρξάμενος, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐναντίων
102r κρα|τούμενος κοῦφος ἕως τέλους ἀναβέβηκεν. Ἰωσὴφ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν παρανομίαν ἐνευράμενος καὶ ἀνδρείως ταύτῃ παραταξάμενος, αἰσχύνης οὐκ ἐπλήρωσε δραματούργημα, οὗτος δὲ τὸν πάντων πολέμιον εὑρὼν ἀντιστρατεύομενον, γενναίως ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀγόνων
80v σκάμματι ἀνίσχυρον ἔδειξεν καὶ τὴν ἧτταν αὐτοῦ ἐθριάμβευσεν. | Μωσῆς τῆς σκιογραφίας τὸν νόμον ἐδέξατο καὶ τὸν Ἀμαλὴκ διὰ τῆς τοῦ σταυροῦ προτυπώσεως ἐτροπώσατο, οὗτος δὲ τὴν τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας νομοθεσίαν νοερῶς ἐκομίσατο καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ σταυροῦ τε καὶ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων κατ' ὄψιν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐπιδείξεως τοὺς πολεμίους ἐθήρασε καὶ μετοχέτευσε πρὸς εὐσέβειαν. Ἀαρών, τὸν ἐπίγειον ἀμνὸν διὰ ξίφους ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἔθυσεν καὶ τὸν θεὸν τῇ ἐκχύσει τοῦ αἵματος ἐξιλάσκετο, οὗτος δὲ τὸν οὐράνιον ἀμνὸν διὰ ξιφοτομίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γλώσσης ἔθυσε καὶ εὐδιάλλακτον τοῖς βρωτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐδείκνυεν. Ἰησοῦς τὴν τῆς ἐπαγγελείας γῆν τοῖς ἀγομένοις ἐκληροδότησε καὶ χαρᾶς μεγίστης ἐνέπλησεν, οὗτος δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄφθαρτα τοὺς πιστοὺς ἐχειραγώγησεν καὶ συνομίλους ἀγγέλων ἐποίησεν. Σαμουὴλ ἐκ μήτρας τῷ θεῷ ἡγιασμένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἁγιασμῷ προεγνωσμένος, < ... > Δαυὶδ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καρδίαν ἐγνωρίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, οὗτος δὲ μέλος Χριστοῦ

4 ἐπίφρανεν AB : ἐπεύφρανεν coniecit Mango, fort. recte 13 ταύτῃ nos : ταύτην AB 20 ὄψιν nos : ἔψην AB 23 ἐξιλάσκετο B : ἐξιλάσκεται A 24 εὐδιάλλακτον post θεὸν tr. B 29 post προεγνωσμένος lacunam statui

102v συνηρμώσθη ὑπὸ | τῆς θείας χάριτος. Σολομὼν τῇ σοφίᾳ θαυμάζεται, < ... >Ηλίας ζήλῳ φερόμενος καὶ πρὸς θεογνωσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθεῖς ἐκπαιδεῦσαι. γλιχόμενος τὸν οὐρᾶνιόν ἑκλῄσε καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων κρατήσεως λιμοκτονίαν εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσήνεγκεν, οὗτος δέ, τὸν τῆς πίστεως οὐρᾶνιὸν τοῖς βρωτοῖς ἠνέωξε καὶ τὸν ὑετὸν τῆς χρηστότητος τοῖς ἀκάρποις διειργάσατο καὶ ζωτικοῦ ἄρτου σταχυφορούσας ἔδειξε καὶ ἀθανασίας στέλεχον πεπλήρωκεν. Ἐλισσαῖος τὰ ἀτεκνοῦντα ὕδατα εἰς εὐτεκνίαν μετέβαλεν, οὗτος δέ, τὰς ἀγόνους ψυχὰς πολυγόνους
81r ἀνέδειξεν. Ἰωνᾶς τοὺς Νινευίτας | τῆς ἐπικειμένης αὐτοῖς ἀπειλῆς διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ κηρύγματος ἐλυτρώσατο, οὗτος δὲ τοὺς Ταυρομενίτας τῆς προσδοκουμένης αἰωνίου ὀργῆς διὰ τῆς σοφιστικῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνεκαλέσατο. οἱ τρεῖς παῖδες ἐν τῇ Χαλδαϊκῇ καμίνῳ συγχορευτὴν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ υἱὸν ἐδέξαντο, οὗτος δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν πειρασμῶν καμίνῳ ὑπάρχων τὸν Χριστὸν σύνοικον ἀχωρίστως ἐκέκτητο. Δανιὴλ ἐπιθυμητὴς ἦν τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς προφητείας δέξασθαι, οὗτος δὲ ἐραστὴς ἦν τὴν αἴγλην τῆς τρίαδος τρανῶς κατοπτρίσασθαι.

Διὸ καὶ ἑαυτὸν προκαθάρας, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποτήριον προθύμως πέπωκεν καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐβαπτίσατο καὶ ἀπολαύει τοῦ ἀδύτου φωτὸς
103r τῆς λαμπρότητα τῷ κυριακῷ θρόνῳ παριστάμενος, | ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἄνω ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων στεφηφορούμενος ἐπαγάλλῃ τὴν ἀδιάλειπτον χαρὰν καταπλουτήσας ἱερομάρτυς Παγκράτιε, μηδὲ κάτω ὑπὸ βρώτων τὸ 'χαῖρε' σοι προσαγόμενον ἀπαξιώσῃς κομίσασθαι· λίαν γὰρ εὐσεβὲς σκιογραφεῖν τοὺς κάτω ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσιν. χαίροις Παγκράτιε ὁ νοητὸς ἀστὴρ πεφυκὼς ὡραιώτατος καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἁγίων στερεώματι θεμελιωθεὶς ὡς ἔργον δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ὀψώμενος. χαίροις Παγκράτιε, ὁ ἀμώμητος ἐν ὁδῷ πορευόμενος καὶ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίαν ἀδιαλείπτως ἐξερευνήσας ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου. χαίροις Παγκράτιε, ὁ ἁγιάσας ἑαυτὸν ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι καὶ ἐν ἁγίαις σκηναῖς καταυλιζόμενος· ἀλλὰ θεομακάριστε καὶ χριστομίμητε ἄνερ,
81v παρρησίαν εὑρὼν πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἀνε|παίσχυντον, μὴ παύσῃ

2 post θαυμάζεται lacunam statui 3 ἐκπαιδεῦσαι nos : ἐκπαιδεύεται AB 7 στέλεχον A : στέλεγχον B 9 τῆς ἐπικειμένης : τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις A τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις, corr. τῆς ἐπικειμένης B 16 κατοπτρίσασθαι nos : καθοπτρίσασθαι AB 20 ἀδιάλειπτον nos : ἀδιάκλειπτον AB 22 ἀπαξιώσῃς κομίσασθαι nos : ἀπαξιώσεις κομίσασθαι A ἀπαξιώ σε ἰσκομίσασθαι B 23 σκιογραφεῖν nos : σκιογραφὴν AB 25 ὡς A : εἰς B 27 ἀδιαλείπτως B : ἀδιαλείπτος A 30 παύσῃ B : παύσει A

πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς ποίμνης σου. τὸν θηρευτὴν τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν ταῖς πρεσβευτικαῖς βακτηρίαις σου ὤλεσον. τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ συγκαταβατικὸν μέγεθος ἐκμιμούμενος, ὡς δύο ὀβολῶν λεπτότατον δέξαι τὸ προσαχθέν σοι παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν ἀρεταῖς χηρευόντων εὐτελέστατον ἐγκώμιον, καὶ ἀλώβητον ἡμῶν τὸν βίον διατήρησον, συγγνώμην τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἀμαθείᾳ ἐπιδείξας· οὐ γὰρ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς δι' ὑμᾶς καθηψάμεθα, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν σὲ ποθούντων βιασθέντες καὶ ταῖς σαῖς εὐχαῖς τεθαρρηκῶτες ἐπὶ τῷ δράματι ἤκαμεν.

103ᵛ | βράβευσον εἰρήνην τοῖς δούλοις σου. τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἅπασι γενοῦ καταθύμιον. τοὺς νοσούντας, ἀνείκεστα τῇ ἄνω χειρουργίᾳ ἰάτρευσον. τοὺς πιστῶς σε γεραίροντας καὶ ἐπιτελοῦντας τὴν μνήμην σου ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀλλοφύλων λύτρωσαι. τοὺς πόθῳ σοι προστρέχοντας ἐξ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου διατήρησον. τὰς αἱρέσεις σφενδόνισον. τὸν νέον Γολιὰθ κατάβαλλε. τοὺς πειρασμοὺς διασκέδασον. τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν εἰρήνευσον. τὸν λαόν σου τὸν συναθροιζόμενον εὐλόγησον. ἀπρόσκοποι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον κράτος διὰ τῆς σῆς μεσιτείας ἀξιωθείημεν, ὅπως πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀξίως δοξάσωμεν, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰωνᾶς τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Appendix II

English Summary of the *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

English Summary of the *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina

After the Ascension of Christ, S. Pancratius, who has been living near Antioch, goes, at the age of three, with his parents to Jerusalem. In a city of Judaea they become Christians after seeing Christ himself preaching, then return home. After the death of his parents, S. Pancratius takes up the solitary life, living in a 'tower'. The Apostle Peter, arriving in Pontus, encounters S. Pancratius. The Apostle preaches there, ordains a certain Maximus as bishop of the village and recruits S. Pancratius as his follower. The Apostle Peter transmits to Maximus the rule of the church and builds a church near the 'tower'. S. Pancratius dissolves his estate, and after a Liturgy and the delivery of spiritual advice, the Apostle Peter summons a painter called Joseph who, at his request, paints icons of Christ, the Apostle Peter and S. Pancratius using the encaustic technique and signs them. Following further instructions from the Apostle Peter, Joseph paints representations of Gospel events from the Annunciation to the Ascension. These are made on papyrus leaves, then copied on the walls of the newly-built church, where they are to be venerated. S. Pancratius produces a cross made of gold and precious stones which his father had bought in Jerusalem for five hundred *nomismata* and bequeathed to his son. The Apostle Peter makes a wooden case for it and gives it to Maximus. S. Pancratius says farewell to the tombs of his parents and to his household and departs, taking with him only Evagrius, the author of the *VP*. Twenty *stadia* from the village they reach the sea and embark on a ship bound for Antioch. There they encounter Marcian, a disciple of the second rank who had been

sent from Jerusalem by the Apostles. The Apostle Peter continues to carry out his mission. S. Paul hears that he is in Cilicia and comes to see him. At a gathering of all the Apostles, S. Paul persuades them to send bishops to the West, to Italy and Africa. The Apostle Peter asks Marcian and Pancratius to go to the West, just as Crescens, a disciple of the Apostle Paul, had gone to Gaul, and they are ordained in the presence of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Going down to the sea, SS. Marcian and Pancratius find two ships, whose captains, in response to their questions, say that they are from Taormina and Syracuse. SS. Marcian and Pancratius convert the crew and give the captains new names, calling one, previously Lycaonides, Epiphanius and the other, previously Romullus, Theodulus. SS. Peter and Paul both condemn the Jews for rejecting Christ. S. Peter performs many miracles, preaches a summary of biblical history from Adam to Abraham and gives spiritual advice to SS. Marcian and Pancratius. Each receives from him a Service book, Gospel, Apostle, chalice and *diskos* set, cedar cross and a volume with the patterns for decorating the church with representations of Christ and scriptural events. The Apostle gives special counsel on the conduct appropriate to bishops, on church administration and on the scheme according to which church buildings should be decorated. SS. Marcian and Pancratius embark on the ships and eventually are driven apart. S. Pancratius' boat comes to land at a place called 'Falcon', which is infested with demons. It had been the garden of Falconilla, mother of Falcon, who was descended from Menia, wife of Taurus. Falconilla's qualities were recorded in the historians. The son, Falcon, had died and a stone statue of him had become an idol, to which human and animal sacrifice had come to be offerred. S. Pancratius brings the activities of the demons to a halt.

Lycaonides' shipyard is nearby and S. Pancratius and Evagrius take up quarters there. Despite the warnings of Lycaonides, S. Pancratius approaches the statue of Falcon with the cross, the Gospels, the icons of Christ and the Apostle Peter, the epistles of Peter and the volumes containing the patterns for church decoration. He converses with the familiar spirit resident there and at the saint's command, the familiar spirit and demons cast the statue of Falcon thirty *stadia* into the sea. Lycaonides goes to visit Bonifatius, the governor, in his Praetorium, bearing gifts. He begins to tell the governor about Christ, but is interrupted by a disturbance caused by the pagan priests. Bonifatius puts on his insignia of office and hears from them of the disappearance of Falcon. He sends them away and promises an investigation. Lycaonides narrates his experiences at length. Bonifatius wants to meet S. Pancratius and Lycaonides advises him to hold an *adnoumion* of his troops after which he will meet the saint. Lycaonides tells S. Pancratius of these arrangements. Bonifatius is attended by five hundred soldiers, and a group of two hundred *paides* under a *paiditarchês* is responsible for keeping order in the city. The priests again cause a commotion and are pacified by Bonifatius' representatives, although the lack of enthusiasm shown by the governor for the pagan cult disturbs them. The pagan priests have an ally in the civic magistrate Aurelian, who has, however, been stuck dumb. The meeting takes place between S. Pancratius and Bonifatius, both suitably vested, and Bonifatius is convinced. There is a meal, then a service at which a miracle takes place. Evagrius reads the Gospel of Matthew and S. Pancratius illustrates the narrative with the volumes containing the arrangement for decorating the church. S. Pancratius then expounds a substantial summary of Old and New Testament history

and his own experiences. Bonifatius believes and departs to order the affairs of the city, committing himself and his possessions to God and S. Pancratius. S. Pancratius writes a letter to the god Lysson, the text of which is given in full, and Lycaonides delivers it to the god's shrine at the Tetrahippion. S. Pancratius visits Bonifatius in his Praetorium. There is another confrontation between the pagan priests and Bonifatius, in which Bonifatius is even less sympathetic than previously. S. Pancratius asks Bonifatius to build a church, choses a position for it and the work begins, the purpose of the building being kept a secret. S. Pancratius consecrates the finished church and serves a Liturgy there, causing idols to shatter. Bonifatius is perplexed because he is not given Communion. There is a dedication feast after the service. The pagan priests think that the church is a shrine to Apollo. The sacrifice of Lysson is at hand. The idols in the temple of Zeus are found to be shattered and further disturbances ensue, with increasing hostility between the priests and Bonfatius. The familiar spirit of Lysson informs the pagans of the arrival of a God more powerful than himself. Nevertheless, lots are drawn and Bonifatius is chosen to be sacrificed to Lysson. He informs S. Pancratius, who assures him that he will come to his support. More idols collapse and the pagans' eyes are suddenly opened to see S. Pancratius, whom they believe to be a god. This the saint denies, declaring his real position. A certain Xanthippus, a philosopher and the keeper of the city's medical books, reveals to everyone that he had received a book, which turns out to be a copy of the Gospels, from a stranger, clearly an angel. The pagans bind Bonifatius for sacrifice. S. Pancratius arrives, after having ordained Evagrius to the diaconate, frees Bonifatius miraculously with the aid of the cross and icons and

destroys the demon and his attendant serpent. The people of Taormina are convinced and shatter their idols. Aurelian dies. The people are told to prepare for baptism. S. Pancratius shuts some troublesome demons in a cave. The Jews and Montanists have not converted, and S. Pancratius destroys the idols of the Montanists too. The people of Taormina are baptized and receive Communion, as do many from the provinces. Bonifatius is again disappointed that he is not baptized and S. Pancratius prophesies that his successor as bishop of Taormina will perform the baptism. Bonifatius offers his enormous wealth, ultimately owed to the metallic skills of Menia, to S. Pancratius, who allows the governor to keep it as there are no poor in the city. S. Pancratius preaches and serves another Liturgy. A priestess of the goddess, the daughter of Hero, Chryse, asks S. Pancratius to heal her of leprosy, intending to test him. He heals her, but when she proves to be insincere, brings greater affliction to her. She repents and is baptized and made a deaconess, renamed Benedicta. She takes S. Pancratius to her former temple where she destroys the idols and offers the great wealth there to S. Pancratius. A tribune's widow with a swelling in her throat which has eluded the skills of the doctors is healed by S. Pancratius. There is another baptism, after which the believers receive Communion while the unbelievers witness a miracle from the top of the city. S. Pancratius appears in the form of fire so that the people are afraid to draw near. Back in the Praetorium, S. Pancratius asks Evagrius to read from the Gospels received by Xanthippus, now called Epaphroditus. Bonifatius announces that he intends to go on an expedition to show his bravery and overcome his enemies. S. Pancratius gives him a reluctant blessing but refuses to administer the city himself, and this task falls to Aurelian's son

Elidus. Evagrius is to be ordained priest to go with the expedition. Two orphaned sisters come to S. Pancratius and ask to be made nuns and deaconesses. The older sister is made a deaconess and both are entrusted to Benedicta. The deaconesses are given a cell in the church. A number of virgins and widows join the community. Paulina is mentioned as one of the community. Bonifatius has gathered an army half a million strong from the surrounding provinces, and Bonifatius and S. Pancratius go to the plain where they are assembled. S. Pancratius serves a Liturgy and all the troops are amazed. S. Pancratius returns to the city and the soldiers are brought to him to be baptized. Some of the past exploits of the troops of Taormina at Durazzo and Taranto and against the Macedonians and Aculinus, king of Calabria are mentioned to us. S. Pancratius prepares equipment for Evagrius to take with him and ordains him to the priesthood. After a Liturgy, S. Pancratius tells Evagrius why he has not baptized Bonifatius. The expedition then sails away. Elidus remains in charge. He worships the idol Scamander and is led astray by a Montanist. He conceives a desire for the younger of the orphaned sisters and asks the older for her. Elidus meets the Jews and Montanists at a bath where an orgy takes place and the Montanists produce an erotic book. He confides in them as to his desire for the young orphan. Meanwhile the sisters have gone to Paulina, who has reported the matter to S. Pancratius, who in turn has encouraged them to be steadfast. S. Pancratius ordains Epaphroditus to the diaconate. Elidus meets in the Tetrahippion with the Jews and Montanists and the two sisters are summoned. The younger sister refuses Elidus, then the two are separated. The elder is asked to persuade her, but instead encourages her to be steadfast and is then beheaded. S. Pancratius and the faithful

bury her. The younger sister is also beheaded and buried by the faithful and a festival is celebrated. The Christians want to punish the Jews and Montanists, but S. Pancratius dissuades them. An oratory is built over the martyrs' tombs and the deaconesses are assigned to it. S. Pancratius chastises the Jews. The Jews fear reprisals when Bonifatius returns and set sail for Syracuse. S. Pancratius reassures them, but when they sail against his wishes, he prays that they drown and this transpires. Bonifatius returns with the expedition and is met by S. Pancratius. There is a provisioning and distribution of spoils. Each reports his experiences to the other. A Liturgy is served, accompanied by miracles. The captives are amazed. Bonifatius tells S. Pancratius that his captives are Avars from Durazzo and Athens. They are to be distributed among the soldiers to be Christianized, and are to be taught Greek and Latin, the languages of Taormina at the time. Through an interpreter they tell S. Pancratius about their religion and their experiences in battle. They are to be baptised, again to the disappointment of Bonifatius. At their baptism they receive the gift of the Greek language. S. Pancratius ordains priests for the provinces and instructs them to build churches which he will later consecrate. The necessary books are copied for them and other equipment prepared. Bonifatius summons a court to judge Elidus. When the culprit remains obdurate, he is killed. S. Pancratius goes with Evagrius, Epaphroditus and Lycaonides, now the *skevophylax*, to the provinces to consecrate the churches, regulate church life and apportion donations. A deacon, Neophytus, is taken ill, and to everyone's grief, dies. He had been able to write and translate in Greek and Latin. The group returns early to Taormina. There S. Pancratius hears a voice telling him to ordain Epaphroditus to the priesthood and

send him to the South. Epaphroditus departs and goes where his mule leads him. He is seen by a farmer's wife, who reports to her husband. Epaphroditus converts him and the farmer obtains a baptismal robe from an old woman who makes linen. When the farmer is baptized, Epaphroditus' portable icon seems to reach out and baptize him. The harvesters employed by the farmer, as well as his wife and children, are baptized. Epaphroditus dispatches them with crosses to preach and heal in the surrounding area. Many people, all Hellenes, are brought to Epaphroditus for baptism. Epaphroditus instructs them concerning prayer and attendance at services. They begin to clear a plot for a church. S. Marcian hears of Epaphroditus' mission, and, considering it an infringement of the apostolic ordinance that a bishop should restrict his activities to his own diocese, writes to S. Pancratius a letter, the text of which is quoted in full. S. Pancratius replies, telling S. Marcian of his divine instructions, and dispatches Evagrius with his letter, which is also quoted in full. Evagrius finds S. Marcian, hears his apology and then is told of S. Marcian's experiences. S. Marcian has had trouble from the Jews and Montanists, and also from Median sorcerers. Seleucus and Gordius are in charge of the city. S. Marcian had destroyed the idols in a shrine of Apollo and the Jews had accused him to the pagans because he had baptized some of their number. S. Marcian had challenged the Jews, Medes and pagans. The Medes had responded by asking Seleucus and Gordius to put him in a row-boat so that they could send fire across the water to consume him. They had dispensed the fire, but S. Marcian had turned it back on the Median tower. Seleucus and Gordius and many pagans had been convinced and baptized in a 'God-built' font. A group had revolted against Seleucus and Gordius and had

begun to build a temple of Artemis outside the city and to bury alive a virgin, revered as a goddess. S. Marcian had prayed that their labours be confused and fail, and so it had transpired. The separatists had wanted to kill S. Marcian, but he had challenged them to a contest of strength between their idols and his Christian weapons, that is, the cross and icons, to be decided on the basis of their respective healing power. The idols had been ineffective, but the cross and icons had brought about healing miracles. All the city had believed, but after a little while some Jews and Montanists had gone where there was a settlement of Slavs to sacrifice at tombs and had intended to build a city and temple, but S. Marcian had prevented this. Evagrius goes to visit Epaphroditus and takes down his story in shorthand form. S. Marcian then goes to Taormina with Evagrius and is met at Falcon by S. Pancratius and some schoolboys. They go up to the church and talk. Bonifatius and others come to visit and there is a Liturgy, accompanied by a miracle. The two saints then withdraw to compare their respective versions of the ecclesiastical order which they had received from the Apostle Peter. S. Pancratius pays a reciprocal visit, going to Syracuse with S. Marcian, but while he is there, he has a revelation about the threat of an attack on Taormina by Aculinus, king of Calabria. Epaphroditus is summoned to see S. Pancratius in Syracuse, and receives a letter of commendation. S. Pancratius arrives back in Taormina and warns Bonifatius. He asks the governor to read from the book containing the Life of Taurus. We hear first of the areas occupied by Remaldus and Aculinus in Calabria and then of Taurus. Taurus had been a Caananite, descended from Nimrod, who had, with his mother, been taken captive to Syria, where he had been bought by a trader from Rome. He had later been sold

at Reggio to Remaldus. Remaldus' wife, Menia, had killed Taurus' mother out of jealousy. Taurus had grown up to be a giant and warrior, successful in contests and remaining a virgin. Remaldus had been killed in battle against Aculinus, and Taurus had taken over command and routed Aculinus. The followers of Remaldus had requested that he become Menia's mate. Aculinus had again attacked, and Taurus and Menia and their followers had escaped to Taormina and founded the city, gaining power over the surrounding area. Menia had learned the art of metal-working and made the city very rich. Aculinus had eventually crossed over in pursuit, but after a threatened mutiny by Taurus' adherents, had been challenged and defeated by Taurus in single combat. Taurus had carried out reprisals against Aculinus in Calabria, founding the city of Tauriana. The name of the city of Taormina had been formed from the names 'Taurus' and 'Menia'. S. Pancratius announces that a current Aculinus, king of Calabria, is to attack in order to avenge the defeat of the earlier Aculinus. Aculinus crosses with six hundred thousand men and surrounds the city. The people of Taormina turn against S. Pancratius and Bonifatius and threaten to kill them. S. Pancratius advises Bonifatius to dismiss the people to their homes. S. Pancratius ordains a certain Tatianus to the diaconate and together with him and Evagrius takes up the cross and icons, goes to an elevated position and prays. They hold up the cross and icons and darkness falls on the enemy so that they kill each other. A group of four thousand begs for mercy and they are baptized. Some are ordained to serve in Calabria, which is subject to S. Pancratius until the Apostle Peter, passing through Ravenna, ordains Stephen as bishop of Reggio. The converts say that in battle they had seen suns shining in the darkness and are shown

the cross and icons. Evagrius is sent to report to S. Marcian what has occurred. S. Marcian tells Evagrius that he has consecrated Epaphroditus' 'Church of Peace' and ordered the affairs of his mission. Maximus, the bishop of S. Pancratius' native village, having heard that S. Pancratius was in Sicily, has sent former members of S. Pancratius' household with gifts to find him. An exchange is begun and continues for many years. S. Pancratius tells Evagrius that he is to be his successor as bishop of Taormina, to be ordained by the Apostle Peter in Rome. On his return from Rome he is to baptize Bonifatius. He then announces that a provincial priest has died and dispatches Evagrius and Tatianus to the parish. Bonifatius goes on an expedition against a rebel. After their departure, Artagarus, a Canaanite and the brother of Aurelian, plots against S. Pancratius. S. Pancratius hears a voice warning him. Artagarus, an administrator at the Praetorium, invites S. Pancratius to a meal. S. Pancratius quickly takes Communion, then leaves. The meal degenerates and an idol is produced and destroyed by the saint. Artagarus and his accomplices kill S. Pancratius. This is witnessed by one of the Christians. Evagrius and Tatianus return but are not initially alarmed by S. Pancratius' absence. Bonifatius then returns and sends for the saint. A search is made, and a bright light leads them to a crevice containing the body of S. Pancratius. All are stricken with grief. They bury him secretly, fearing the reaction of the people of the city. Bonifatius makes a gold and silver coffin. The Christian who had witnessed the murder denounces Artagarus and Bonifatius kills him with his own hand. Evagrius sees S. Pancratius in a vision and is told to remove the metal coffin and rebury the body. The body is found to be incorrupt and is moved to a new shrine, with an inscription

on the tomb. Bonifatius and Evagrius set out for Rome, where Evagrius is made bishop of Taormina by the Apostle Peter. On their return, Evagrius baptizes Bonifatius, who resigns the governorship to devote himself to prayer. A church is built at the shrine of S. Pancratius and decorated with Old and New Testament scenes and an icon of S. Pancratius. Many miracles are accomplished at the shrine.

Bibliography

Bibliography

1. Abbreviations

AASS — *Acta Sanctorum*, Antwerp, 1643-

AB — *Analecta Bollandiana*

AHG — *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*

AHR — *American Historical Review*

AJA — *American Journal of Archaeology*

AJPhil — *American Journal of Philology*

ASCL — *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*

BB — ***Византійскій Временникъ***

BBGG — *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*

BHG — F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, ed.3 (Brussels, 1957)

BMGS — *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*

BNGJ — *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*

BZ — *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

CC — *Corpus Christianorum*

CFHB — *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*

CRAI — *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Comptes-rendues*

DOP — *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

DOS — *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*

ΕΕΒΣ — Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν

EL — *Ephemerides Liturgicae*

ÉO — *Échos d'Orient*

GRBS — *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

HTR — *Harvard Theological Review*

JHS — *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

JOBG — *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen*

	Gesellschaft
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MÉFR	*École française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire. Antiquité.*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Hanover, 1826-
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
OCP	*Orientalia Chriatiana Periodica*
PG	J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ser. Graeco-latina, Paris, 1857-
PL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ser. Latina, Paris, 1884-
PW	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encylopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1894-
RAC	*Rivista Archeologia Cristiana*
RÉB	*Revue des Études byzantines*
RÉG	*Revue des Études grecques*
RH	*Revue historique*
RLR	*Revue de linguistique Romane*
ROC	*Revue d'Orient Chrétien*
RQ	*Römische Quartalschrift*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
ST	*Studi e Testi*
TM	*Travaux et mémoires*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*
VP	The *Life* of S. Pancratius of Taormina, ed. vol. 1

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