

COLLÈGE DE FRANCE – CNRS  
CENTRE DE RECHERCHE D’HISTOIRE  
ET CIVILISATION DE BYZANCE

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TRAVAUX  
ET MÉMOIRES  
24/2

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Association des Amis du Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance  
52, rue du Cardinal-Lemoine – 75005 Paris  
2020

ORIENT ET MÉDITERRANÉE (UMR 8167) / MONDE BYZANTIN  
COLLÈGE DE FRANCE / INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

## **TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES**

– publication annuelle paraissant en un ou deux fascicules –

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ISBN 978-2-916716-82-4

ISSN 0577-1471

## AVANT-PROPOS

Ce fascicule composé de deux gros dossiers renoue avec la configuration traditionnelle des *Travaux & mémoires*. Les numéros monographiques, tels qu'ils ont été publiés depuis 2002, vont désormais alterner avec des volumes comportant deux ou plusieurs dossiers, éventuellement aussi des *varia*. Conformément à la conception énoncée dès le premier numéro par Paul Lemerle, la priorité sera accordée aux mémoires dépassant les dimensions d'un article, notamment aux éditions de textes. À partir de 2022, une seule parution par an redeviendra la règle et la publication en deux fascicules une rare exception.

Le principal dossier de ce fascicule, consacré à la période du second iconoclasme et du « Triomphe de l'Orthodoxie », a souffert des malheurs du temps (qui sont aussi à l'origine du retard pris par le volume dans son ensemble). Des contributions prévues n'ont pas abouti et un dossier complémentaire sur le même sujet sera publié dans les *Travaux & mémoires* 27, 2023. Les collègues souhaitant participer à ce dossier sont invités à m'adresser leurs propositions et textes qui seront examinés par la rédaction.

Ce fascicule, comme beaucoup de nos publications, a bénéficié de la collaboration de Clive Sweeting pour la révision stylistique des textes anglais. Son nom est souvent cité dans les remerciements des volumes antérieurs. Clive est décédé du cancer le 4 octobre 2020. Nombre de textes publiés ici, revus par ses soins, portent la marque de son fin sens du style et sa parfaite maîtrise du vocabulaire théologique ; son excellente connaissance du grec était un grand atout dans la révision des traductions. Clive corrigeait toujours à la main et je suis devenu expert en déchiffrement de ses notes, portées au stylo lorsqu'il considérait la correction comme indispensable et au crayon lorsqu'il la voyait comme facultative. Les *Travaux & mémoires* ont perdu un collaborateur précieux, aussi savant qu'efficace, dont je salue ici la mémoire. Une notice nécrologique retraçant son parcours lui sera consacrée dans l'annuaire de Merton College, son alma mater, *The Postmaster*.

M. Stepan Stepanenko, MA et désormais PhD, a repris avec verve la tâche de la révision, particulièrement lourde dans ce fascicule où aucun des textes publiés en anglais n'a été rédigé par un anglophone, et au nom des auteurs qui en ont bénéficié je lui exprime notre reconnaissance.

*Constantin Zuckerman*

## ABSTRACTS/RÉSUMÉS

Clément ADOIR, *Inventer un ancêtre : Génésios et son grand-père Constantin l'Arménien* p. 411

This paper proposes a comprehensive examination of the prosopographic “dossier” of Constantine the Armenian, the grandfather of the chronicler Genesisios. A comparative reading of all testimonies sheds critical light on the elaboration of the different stories composing, for a modern scholar, his biography. Some modern compositions are recomposed on the basis of a better assessment of sources, and a new biography of Constantine emerges. However, this is also a case study of a shaping of family memory by an aristocratic lineage in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, serving its reputational and practical goals.

Dmitri AFINOGENOV, Discourse on the exile of the patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople, who is among the saints, and on the transfer of his precious relic, by *Theophanes the Presbyter* p. 325

This contribution presents a new edition of a text, which, in the editor’s view, was composed in the last months of the patriarchate of Methodius I (843–7) and carries eyewitness impressions of the restoration of icon veneration in 843. The author’s flamboyant rhetoric, which gains clarity in the translation, does not dissimulate his excellent awareness of the events described.

Dmitri AFINOGENOV, *The Story of the emperor Theophilos’ pardon* p. 239

For centuries the Byzantines associated the holiday, celebrated by the Orthodox Church as the Triumph of Orthodoxy, with a seemingly legendary plot—a posthumous absolution accorded to the Iconoclast emperor Theophilos. The new edition of the basic text associated with this holiday brings to light the earthly political conditions and relationships that made possible the restoration of the veneration of icons in 843. Unexpectedly, stories that seem to be figments of folklore or literary fiction turn out to be more real than those that we are accustomed to trusting as history.

Julien ALIQUOT, Komait ABDALLAH & Olivier CALLOT, *Une église de garnison en Syrie Seconde* p. 501

In 2018, archaeological work carried out by the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums of Syria in the governorate of Ḥamā uncovered the ruins of a Byzantine Christian basilica in the middle of the modern village of ‘Uqayribāt, at the site of an ancient military post named Occariba in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The floors of this building were paved with mosaics inscribed in Greek and richly decorated. The study of the preserved remains reveals that the building has known two different states and that its pavements were donated by soldiers from the *numerus* of the *equites promoti Illyriciani*, who were stationed on the spot in the first half of the fifth century AD. This article presents the documentation available on this garrison church from the civic territory of Apamea in the province of Syria Secunda. It also builds on the epigraphic evidence to place the site of ‘Uqayribāt back in the history of Syria under the reign of Emperor Theodosius II (408–50 AD).

Theodora ANTONOPOULOU, *Preaching in the Second Iconoclasm: Joseph of Thessalonica and his homily on Lazarus and Palm Sunday (with an edition and translation of the Greek text)* p. 377

Confusion still prevails over the homiletic output of St Joseph the Studite, a significant figure of the Second Iconoclasm, despite some light having been shed on his sermons in the past. The purpose of the present study is twofold: first, to establish definitively the admittedly small corpus of the author's sermons, by further clarifying the issues posed by previous scholarship and examining certain aspects of theirs; and second, to offer the first edition of his last homily that has remained unpublished, the one on Palm Sunday, which contains a virulent attack on contemporary iconoclasts, as do Joseph's other homilies. The critical edition is preceded by an extensive study dealing with the structure, sources, dating, delivery and manuscript tradition of the work, is accompanied by the necessary apparatuses (critical and *fontium*) and an English translation, which will make it accessible to a wider audience.

Marie-France AUZÉPY, René-Claude BONDOUX & Jean-Pierre GRÉLOIS,  
*Une version originale du Martyre des XLII d'Amorion : BHG 1212* p. 277

The 42 Martyrs of Amorion were high-ranking officers taken prisoner during the capture of Amorion by Caliph al-Mu'tasim on August 12, 838 and then executed by order of Caliph al-Watiq on March 6, 845. The rich hagiographic file devoted to them is an exception in several aspects. The Church of Constantinople, which theoretically refuses to consider soldiers killed in war as martyrs, makes an exception for them and does not hesitate to make them heroes of Christianity and Orthodoxy facing Islam, even though they were iconoclast, since, from their prison, they had not been able to follow the reversal of 843. There are ten versions of martyrdom that we have described and attempted to classify chronologically. *BHG 1212*, which we edit and translate, is the only one that traces a laudatory portrait of the iconoclastic emperor Theophilus. Several other reasons suggest that this text could be written by someone who would have remained faithful to iconoclasm: not a Constantinopolitan but rather a man from the eastern border who remained familiar with the Christian society of the caliphate, who produced a text of good dress, but unorthodox, in the sense taken by this word in the Empire after 843.

Leah DI SEGNI & Denis FEISSEL, *De Tyr à Jérusalem : six inscriptions d'asylie grecques et latines pour des églises de Phénicie et de Palestine (v<sup>e</sup> s.) = From Tyre to Jerusalem: six Greek and Latin asyilia inscriptions for churches of Phoenice and Palaestina (6<sup>th</sup> c.)* p. 547

The right of asylum of the churches, entered since the 5<sup>th</sup> c. in the imperial legislation, is reflected in the epigraphic documentation of the 6<sup>th</sup> c., in a different way according to the regions. In Asia Minor and Syria, boundary inscriptions briefly refer to the imperial rescript which confirms the right of a particular sanctuary. In the provinces Phoenice and Palaestina, the rescript itself has sometimes been copied onto the stone. Among the six inscriptions gathered in this dossier, three are in Greek and three in Latin, which testifies to a resurgence of Latin epigraphy in the Near East in the first part of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Two new rescripts are published by L. Di Segni, whereas D. Feissel edits the other four with new restorations. Six chapters are ordered from north to south:

I. *Asyilia* of St. Zechariah's Oratory near Tyre (*SEG VIII*, 18). — II. Fragmentary *asyilia* inscription purportedly originating from Western Galilee (by L. Di Segni). — III. A Latin rescript discovered near Tyre (*I.Mus.Beyrouth* 329). — IV. The Latin inscription from Kh. Batya: a rescript of Justinian transmitted by the imperial chancellery (by L. Di Segni). — V. A rescript of Justinian at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (*CIIP I*, 2, 785). — VI. A Latin rescript supposed to come from Judaea (*CIIP IV*, 2, 3972). Many internal references highlight recurring formulas throughout these documents.

Bastien DUMONT, *Édition de l'Homélie sur la Passion du Christ d'Anastase le Sinaïte* (CPG 7754/BHG 416c) p. 3

This article contains a critical edition of Anastasius of Sinai's *Homilia in passionem Iesu Christi*, otherwise unpublished. Being based on four Greek manuscripts, it provides a basis for discussion while not substituting for Karl-Heinz Uthemann's awaited editio major. This homily was probably written ca. 690 in the Palestinian area. It consists of an explanation of Ps 2 asserting the rejection of the Jews by God as a result of Christ's murder and the election of the Church. In the introduction, we argue that this strong anti-judaic orientation is aimed at restating the subordination of Judaism to Christianity and Christ's divinity, thus compensating for the Chalcedonians' lowering status and responding to contemporary Muslim criticisms towards Christian faith.

Denis FEISSEL, *De la Thrace à l'Asie : deux voyages de Théodose II en 443* p. 529

Novel XXIII of Theodosius II, dated from Aphrodisias on May 22, 443, especially mentions the restoration of the city walls and other buildings of Heraclea. Contrary to common opinion, these are not cities of Asia Minor, but two homonymous cities of the province of Europe, Heraclea-Perinthus and Aphrodisias. The emperor had made a vow to come to Heraclea, probably on the occasion of the feast of Saint Glyceria, celebrated on May 13. He then proceeded to Aphrodisias, presumably to inspect the nearby fortifications of the Chersonesian Peninsula, fearing an imminent invasion by the Huns. The following summer, the Chronicles record a journey of Theodosius in Asia and his return to Constantinople on August 27, 443. A new imperial rescript discovered at Ephesus, here restored from its Latin and Greek fragments, appears to be linked to the passage of the emperor in the city. The vocabulary of the inscribed fragments in any case largely agrees with that of contemporary Novels.

Lev LUKHOVITSKIY, *Speaking as an Iconoclast: another's voice in 9<sup>th</sup>-century hagiography* p. 359

The article explores the phenomenon of "another's speech" in ninth-century hagiography taking as a starting point the discrepancies between the languages of the two opposing parties in the iconoclast controversy. Three texts are taken into consideration: the *Life of Stephen the Younger*, the *Life of the Patriarch Nikephoros*, and the *Life of Michael the Synkellos*. The analysis shows that *with most verisimilitude* the iconoclast language is reproduced in the source most remote chronologically from the events it reports, whereas the highest degree of distortion is characteristic of the earliest one.

Lev LUKHOVITSKIY & Olga VARDAZARYAN, *The Letter to the Armenians of Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople* p. 65

The article offers the first commented English translation of the *Letter to the Armenians* (CPG 8001) by Germanos, Patriarch of Constantinople (715–30). The *Letter* is extant only in an early Armenian translation and until now was accessible to non-Armenologists in an incomplete and unreliable 19<sup>th</sup>-century Latin translation. The new translation is accompanied by an introduction, which briefly discusses the polemical program of the *Letter*, its composition, date, intended addressee, conciliar and Patristic background, theological vocabulary, and method of argumentation. A comparison with another treatise attributed to Germanos, *On Councils and Heresies*, allows to discern a strong personal note in the discussion of Monothelitism in the final chapters of the *Letter*. The goal of this section was to dissociate the idea of a church union with the Armenians from negative associations it could have had after Bardanes Philippikos' attempt of Monothelite restoration (712) and reinstate Germanos' reputation as an uncompromising Dyothelite.

Federico MONTINARO, *Photius and the liquidation of Iconoclasm: a reappraisal* p. 345

This contribution reexamines the survival of the Iconoclast issue following the official victory of the Iconophile party in 843. Iconoclasm was surely eradicated, but as late as 870 the Constantinopolitan patriarchate condemned the Iconoclasts time and again. Today's consensus convicts Photius (858–67 and 878–86) of having lent the question undue prominence out of political opportunism in the fight against his contender to the patriarchal throne, Ignatius (847–58 and 867–78), which led to the so-called “Photian schism.” This view must be nuanced, by enlarging the perspective so as to include overlooked aspects of conciliar and political history, and Photius must yet again be rehabilitated.

Stéphanos PETALAS, *Du nouveau sur la tradition manuscrite de la chronique du Pseudo-Syméon* p. 483

Our knowledge of the manuscript tradition of the chronicle of Pseudo-Symeon has long been limited to the codex *Parisinus* gr. 1712 (12<sup>th</sup> c.) and to its suspected apograph *Scorialensis* Y.I.4 (16<sup>th</sup> c.). This study produces the definitive proof of this relation between the two manuscripts. In his recent edition of the chronicle of George Kedrenos (2016), Luigi Tartaglia pointed out another, partial copy of the text of Pseudo-Symeon in the codex *Vaticanus* gr. 697 (14<sup>th</sup> c.). Two more partial copies are revealed in this study: *Valllicelanus* F9 (16<sup>th</sup> c.) copied by John Seviros Lacedemonios and *Bononensis* 3628 (16<sup>th</sup> c.), probably copied by Adrianos Spairas. The *in situ* examination of all manuscripts reveals a series of peculiar textual omissions and suggests, for the oldest manuscripts, a common model copied in the 11<sup>th</sup> c., not long after the chronicle's creation in the late 10<sup>th</sup> c. The relations between the manuscripts are resumed in a *stemma codicum*.

Vivien PRIGENT, *Retour sur l'origine et la nature des thèmes byzantins* p. 105

The current consensus on the origin and nature of the famous Byzantine θέματα stresses the anachronistic usage of the *terminus technicus* θέμα in the chronicle of Theophanes. Sigillographical evidence point out that the provincial military commands were named στρατηγία at least until the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, the θέμα itself has been recently identified as the produce of a specific reform enacted by Emperor Nicephorus I (802–10) who imbedded the soldiers more firmly into the fiscal communities of the Empire. New evidence demonstrates however that θέμα was already a technical administrative term in the very first decades of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, that is concurrently with στρατηγία. At the time, a θέμα was most probably an elite cavalry unit detached from the Opsikion and sent in the στρατηγίαι to bolster their military strength. After Constantine V's reform of the Opsikion, these detachments were probably integrated permanently to the στρατηγίαι, ultimately inducing a terminological evolution as θέμα came to designate the provincial military commands.

Jan Olof ROSENQVIST & Dmitri AFINOGENOV, *Theosteriktos, A funeral oration on our holy Father and confessor Niketas: edition of the Greek text with an English translation completed with Slavonic fragments and a short introduction* p. 159

One of the most famous and interesting sources on the history of the Second Iconoclasm, the *Life of Niketas of Medikion*, has only been available in an outdated and largely imperfect edition. This publication offers a Greek text and an English translation prepared by Prof. J. O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala). However, as the *Life* was fully preserved only in the Slavonic translation, Dmitri Afinogenov (Moscow) supplemented the missing parts of the Greek text with the Slavonic and proposed, for the convenience of the Byzantinists, a retroversion of the Slavonic fragments into Byzantine Greek.

Staffan WAHLGREN, *The monk, the logothete, and the Vremennik: a Greek chronicle and its Slavonic translation (George the Monk-Symeon the Logothete Version B)* p. 467

Abstract: Besides existing in several more or less deficient Greek manuscripts, the so-called Version B of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete, together with the Chronicle of George the Monk, is transmitted in the *Vremennik*, a Slavonic world chronicle in translation (perhaps from the 11<sup>th</sup> c.). In this paper the Logothete part of the *Vremennik* is analysed with regard to its stemmatic affiliations with the Greek manuscripts, and the importance of the Slavonic text for the reconstruction of the Greek tradition is demonstrated.

Constantin ZUCKERMAN, *The census of Emperor Nikephoros I and "Dark Centuries" taxation* p. 137

For generations of scholars, the land tax, often identified as *synône*, was the backbone of Byzantium's economic survival during the "Dark Centuries." The article argues that no land tax was levied in Byzantium in this period. The only regular yearly tax was the hearth-tax, *kapnikon*, a multiplication of the basic poll-tax by the number of taxable household members. The "vexations" of Emperor Nikephoros I are examined, with special regard to their military aspects, showing no trace of a major reform. More light is shed on the notion of *chorion*, the basic tax unit in a period when the state did not dispose of a detailed cadaster. A radical reform of the Church land ownership, leading to the creation of "imperial" monasteries and the institution of the tithe, is briefly described.

Constantin ZUCKERMAN, *Three notes on Byzantine sainthood and historiography* p. 437

The first note focuses on the personality and the historical work of Niketas the Paphlagonian, a minor saint and a rare victim of the anathema on books. Niketas' biography is revised, the presumed title of his historical compilation, ἀπόκρυφος ἱστορία, is explained. He is shown to be the author of the fragmentary text now considered to be his hagiography.

The second note explores the metamorphosis of a remarkably poorly written short passage from Niketas' *History*. A story of a modest vision gradually transforms into an extraordinary scene with no parallels in the vast array of Byzantine miracles, a telepathic encounter between two confessors, Abbot Theophanes and Patriarch Nikephoros.

The third note briefly raises some textual issues related to the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Symeon, our main depository of fragments from the *History* of Niketas.



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