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AUTOUR
DU *PREMIER HUMANISME BYZANTIN*
& DES *CINQ ÉTUDES SUR LE XI^e SIÈCLE*,
QUARANTE ANS APRÈS PAUL LEMERLE

édité par
Bernard FLUSIN
&
Jean-Claude CHEYNET

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édité par Bernard Flusin

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AVANT-PROPOS

Le colloque « À la suite de Paul Lemerle : l'humanisme byzantin et les études sur le XI^e siècle quarante ans après », qui a eu lieu à Paris du 23 au 26 octobre 2013 et dont le volume que voici est issu, a été organisé avec l'aide du Collège de France, de l'Institut universitaire de France, de l'UMR Orient et Méditerranée et de l'université Paris-Sorbonne.

L'idée de réunir un colloque, ou plutôt deux colloques parallèles autour de deux œuvres majeures de Paul Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, et les *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin*, est venue pour nous deux de constatations communes. Il s'agissait de rendre hommage à celui qui, par son enseignement, par ses travaux, par ceux aussi de ses élèves, par les institutions qui lui doivent leur naissance, a façonné les études byzantines en France telles que nous les connaissons. Il s'agissait aussi, pour tous deux, de l'expérience d'un enseignement, historique ou philologique, qui s'était appuyé pendant plusieurs décennies sur ces œuvres. Étaient-elles encore actuelles? Quels correctifs leur apporter? Comment, au cours des quarante ans et plus qui s'étaient écoulés, les questions évoquées dans ces deux ouvrages fondamentaux avaient-elles évolué? Il n'a pas été difficile de trouver, à l'étranger ou en France, des collègues qui, familiers eux aussi avec l'œuvre si influente de Paul Lemerle, ont accepté de nous rejoindre à Paris dans les locaux du Collège de France, et d'apporter leur contribution à cet hommage et à cette recherche.

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Peu de livres ont eu et ont encore, pour les études byzantines, peut-être surtout littéraires, autant d'importance que *Le premier humanisme byzantin*. Pour ouvrir ce maître livre, qu'il publie en 1971, Paul Lemerle, avec la clarté qui lui est habituelle, pose la question à laquelle il va apporter ses réponses : « Quant au problème lui-même [...] une simple constatation suffit à en indiquer la nature et l'importance : on a copié très peu de manuscrits grecs, et peut-être aucun manuscrit littéraire, depuis le VI^e, sinon le V^e siècle, jusqu'au IX^e; tout a failli périr, et beaucoup en effet a péri; ce que nous possédons a été sauvé aux IX^e-X^e siècles à Byzance, par Byzance. Pourquoi? Comment? Pour tenter de répondre, c'est d'abord de cette interruption de la culture hellénique pendant plusieurs siècles qu'il faut prendre exactement conscience. »

On voit ainsi, derrière le rôle attribué à Byzance dans l'histoire générale de la culture, se profiler la grande silhouette de la « culture hellénique », qui a failli disparaître, et que la « première renaissance » qu'il entend étudier – sans laquelle la « deuxième renaissance » n'aurait pu voir le jour – a sauvée. La question rejoint presque l'histoire des textes et la courbe générale de l'histoire culturelle à Byzance se modèle explicitement sur celle de la production des manuscrits : tarissement dès le VI^e siècle, en particulier pour les « manuscrits littéraires », renouveau à partir du IX^e. On voit se former avec toute sa netteté et sa puissance la périodisation qui gouverne le livre : les siècles obscurs marquent une

césure, puis, au IX^e siècle, vient la renaissance, tandis que le X^e siècle, soupçonné d'avoir fait périr des textes autant qu'il en a sauvé avec ses « entreprises encyclopédiques », marque la fin de cette première renaissance et fournit un terme légitime parce que ces entreprises « correspondent déjà à d'autres besoins et à une autre mentalité ».

« Premier humanisme », « première renaissance », cette dernière s'opposant à la « deuxième renaissance » byzantine, celle des Paléologues, qui alimentera à son tour la Renaissance occidentale : on peut se demander quel sens exact le grand historien a donné à ces termes. Il choisit sur ce point de rester dans un certain flou : « Je n'ignore pas les débats [...] sur les termes d'"humanisme" et de "renaissance", et sur l'ambiguïté de ces concepts. Sans entrer dans cette discussion, j'emploie ces mots dans leur sens commun et dans leur acception large, parce qu'il est difficile de s'en passer et parce qu'ils évoquent bien l'originalité que, dans sa précocité, Byzance présente en face de l'Occident. » Les concepts employés, comme aussi celui d'encyclopédie, ont ainsi deux versants : d'un côté, ils renvoient à l'histoire de la culture en Occident, à laquelle ils sont empruntés, de l'autre, ils s'élargissent à Byzance, à laquelle ils sont appliqués, mais dont on revendique l'originalité. La référence à l'Occident, à sa Renaissance et à son humanisme, présente à l'arrière-plan, est visible dans l'importance accordée aux textes ou quand le « domaine par excellence de l'humanisme » est défini comme « celui de la philologie ». Et peut-être cette référence occidentale à une certaine idée de l'humanisme est-elle l'un des facteurs qui conduisent Lemerle à écarter de la recherche les textes proprement chrétiens pour se concentrer sur le savoir et la culture profanes.

La puissance de la démarche et la clarté de la construction que propose Paul Lemerle dans son grand livre ont contribué et contribuent encore à dessiner, ou même à imposer avec une autorité impérieuse, l'image que nous nous faisons de Byzance et de sa culture. Mais nous savons bien que l'importance d'une œuvre se mesure, autant qu'aux résultats qu'elle expose, à la fécondité des voies qu'elle ouvre et des recherches qu'elle suscite. C'est dans cet esprit qu'ont été conçus le colloque réuni autour du *Premier humanisme* et le présent recueil, qui en est le résultat. Presque un demi-siècle après la parution de ce livre fondamental, que sont devenues les questions qu'avait abordées Paul Lemerle ? Les études rassemblées ici concernent des notions, des institutions, quelques-uns des grands acteurs du renouveau culturel et des domaines où il se manifeste. Le regard s'est porté aussi sur les voisins et les marges de l'Empire : Arménie, monde syrien, Sicile. La période envisagée a été limitée : alors que le *Premier humanisme* traitait des premiers siècles de l'Empire, ici, sauf exception, l'Antiquité tardive est laissée de côté.

Dans les contributions que nos collègues ont généreusement apportées, le lecteur pourra trouver des compléments pour des questions que Paul Lemerle n'avait pas évoquées, ou sur les avancées de la recherche durant les décennies qui ont suivi la publication de son livre. Peut-être sera-t-on sensible aussi à des inflexions. Les VII^e et VIII^e siècles perdent une part de leur obscurité. Le début du renouveau culturel est situé maintenant avant les « premières grandes figures » auxquelles le *Premier humanisme* avait donné tant de relief, et ce changement est lié à la prise en compte d'autres textes que les œuvres profanes qui avaient été privilégiées. Les termes de renaissance, d'humanisme, d'encyclopédie, sont considérés avec prudence et l'« originalité » de Byzance, la spécificité d'une culture où l'héritage antique se combine de façon nouvelle avec le christianisme, et dont la qualité ne se mesure pas à la fidélité à cet héritage, apparaissent peut-être avec plus de netteté.

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L'œuvre de Paul Lemerle s'étend à toute la durée de l'Empire byzantin, ce qui la rend exceptionnelle. L'historien a toutefois privilégié l'époque des Macédoniens et de leurs épigones immédiats. Ses études sur la société rurale et les institutions macédoniennes ont profondément modifié les perspectives sur l'évolution de Byzance, contribuant à corriger l'image du XI^e siècle, et ont largement influencé les générations suivantes de chercheurs. Le demi-siècle qui s'étend de la mort de Basile II à l'avènement d'Alexis Comnène était considéré jusqu'alors, notamment à la suite des travaux de Georges Ostrogorsky, comme le début de l'irrésistible décadence de Byzance, fruit de l'accaparement par une aristocratie foncière égoïste et imprévoyante des ressources de l'État et de l'insouciance d'empereurs qui dilapidèrent les ressources de l'Empire pour leurs constructions fastueuses aux dépens de l'armée nationale des thèmes, remplacée par des mercenaires coûteux et à la fidélité incertaine. Certains chercheurs considéraient même que ce siècle témoignait d'un déclin démographique et économique de l'Empire.

Paul Lemerle, par ses *Cinq études* et par le colloque qu'il organisa avec les meilleurs spécialistes du temps, dont plusieurs étaient ses disciples, et qu'il publia dans la série des *Travaux et mémoires* fondés par lui-même, a offert un état de la recherche sur l'Empire au cours du XI^e siècle. Il avait choisi d'arrêter le XI^e siècle à l'avènement d'Alexis Comnène, sauf pour le dernier chapitre « Byzance au tournant de son destin », mais certaines contributions du colloque supplémentaire incluaient le règne de ce dernier, car la coupure de 1081 est certes très importante sur le plan politique, mais se justifie moins à propos de l'évolution de l'administration, de la fiscalité et plus généralement de la société. Quarante ans après, plusieurs des cinq études gardent toute leur pertinence, celles qui portaient sur l'analyse des textes, le testament de Boïlas, la *diataxis* d'Attaleiatès ou du *typikon* de Pakourianos. De même, la réévaluation de l'œuvre des ministres réformateurs a conduit les chercheurs à approfondir certains aspects de ces innovations, comme l'ouverture « méritocratique » du Sénat. Ces dernières décennies, de nombreux travaux ont été consacrés à l'historiographie du XI^e siècle et à son représentant le plus éclatant, Michel Psellos, à l'évolution économique et fiscale de l'Empire, et aux transformations sociales, grâce aux progrès considérables des études prosopographiques.

Les contributions de ce volume montrent le caractère stimulant des hypothèses et des conclusions émises par Paul Lemerle et les participants au colloque de 1973, tout en invalidant certaines d'entre elles. Elles ne répondent pas systématiquement à celles du maître et de son équipe, car il était impossible de reprendre tous les aspects abordés alors. En revanche, elles portent sur quelques aspects un peu négligés auparavant, les rapports de l'Empire avec le monde extérieur.

Le lecteur sera sans doute frappé par la différence d'appréciation sur Alexis Comnène, « faux Deus ex Machina » sous le règne duquel « l'idée même d'une armée nationale semble avoir disparu » ou « l'économie aurait été cassée » de manière irrémédiable et la société « bloquée ». Aujourd'hui, les facteurs extérieurs sont pris en compte, car Alexis Comnène fut le premier à affronter une violente attaque provenant du monde latin, celle de Robert Guiscard, qui explique son retard à mener l'offensive contre les Turcs. S'il fallait faire un reproche à cet empereur, c'est de ne pas avoir montré de grandes compétences militaires, sinon de l'obstination à refaire ses forces. Le mercenariat, qui progressa principalement

sous les grands empereurs militaires, n'est plus rendu responsable des échecs impériaux. L'économie n'a pas été affectée aussi fortement et durablement par les dévaluations et le traité avec Venise. En résumé, comme le rappelait Paul Lemerle, il ne faut pas « se représenter Byzance comme immuable », mais ses mutations sont moins rapides que le contraste proposé entre un premier demi-siècle d'essor et de prospérité opposé à un troisième quart où, « en quelques années, tout chancelle ».

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ABSTRACTS/RÉSUMÉS

Luisa ANDRIOLLO & Sophie MÉTIVIER, *Quel rôle pour les provinces dans la domination aristocratique au XI^e siècle?* p. 505

Although he has drawn famous portraits of Byzantine aristocrats in a number of studies, Paul Lemerle did not explicitly address the relation with the provincial territories as an important factor in creating a Byzantine aristocratic identity. The issue was first explicitly raised by Hélène Ahrweiler, who pointed to the progressive detachment of Byzantine aristocrats from their provincial bases during the eleventh century and to their subsequent “Constantinopolisation.” In later years, scholars, such as Jean-Claude Cheynet, Alexander Kazhdan and John Haldon, have further scrutinized the importance of provincial bonds as a source of social power and political influence.

The authors of this paper provide a fresh look at long-debated questions by reconsidering Byzantine aristocratic attitude toward the eastern regions of the empire on the eve of the Turkish invasions. Evidence related to the physical presence of prominent individuals and families in the eastern provinces has been collected in an updated prosopographic table, which takes into account both the ownership of properties and the performance of public functions in Asia Minor. The interpretation of the available sources sheds new light on a complex network of relations connecting the elites in the capital and a stratified provincial society. The symbolic power of provincial family memory is also examined through the prism of hagiographic literature. The Lives of Dositheos the Young and of Niketas Patrikios showcase the alleged provincial connections of two important lineages, the Genesioi and the Monomachoi, and point to their implications for family prestige and social legitimacy.

Theodora ANTONOPOULOU, *Emperor Leo VI the Wise and the “First Byzantine humanism”:
On the quest for renovation and cultural synthesis* p. 187

The study offers a comprehensive re-evaluation of the literary personality and works of the emperor-author Leo VI the Wise. Although he nowadays emerges as a pivotal figure in the revival of letters of the ninth and tenth centuries, Leo is nearly absent from P. Lemerle’s classic book on the “First Byzantine humanism.” After suggesting an explanation for this apparent paradox and briefly reviewing subsequent scholarship on the emperor, the present author, building on her previous work, attempts to disprove the hesitance with which Leo is still approached when it comes to his literary output, and to highlight those issues which indicate and stress two themes that run through it: renovation and cultural synthesis. In particular, the article examines the following issues: Leo’s culture, classical and Christian, on the basis of mainly internal evidence; his hagiographical metaphrases and other works to which rewriting and reworking applied and which reveal his realization of the need for literary and cultural renovation and the ways in which he dealt with it; certain aspects of his personality as traced mostly, but not exclusively, in his own works; his role as a “Christian humanist” within the cultural phenomenon of the “First Byzantine humanism”; and, finally, some remarks on the influence his literary works exercised, as illustrated by their Byzantine reception. An epilogue sums up the results of this investigation, which underlines the emperor’s significant literary achievement and contribution to the revival of his time.

Isabelle AUGÉ, *Les Arméniens et l'Empire byzantin (1025-1118)*

p. 789

The Byzantine Empire has seen numerous migrations of Armenians and maintained long standing relations with Armenia. The conquest of its territory in the 11th century enhances the flow of migrants. The first part of this article attempts to present the role of the Armenians—active or passive parties—in the conduct of events of the empire's oriental border in the years 1025–1118. While the territories of the northeast are annexed and placed under direct Byzantine administration, Armenians participate in the defense against the Seljuk Turks in the region of Antioch. The key figure here is Philaretos Brachamios. The second part of this article focuses on the Armenian communities within the Byzantine Empire, in terms of location and numbers. The sources are varied but concentrate on the aristocracy, leaving in the dark lower social ranks. Finally, this article presents religious disagreements in matters of faith, which are always underlined by sources. The emperors and the ecclesiastical hierarchy try, more or less, to convert all the Armenians to the Chalcedonian faith.

Dominique BARTHÉLEMY, *L'aristocratie franque du XI^e siècle en contraste avec l'aristocratie byzantine*

p. 491

In the eleventh century, the aristocracy of the Byzantine Empire, considered as a whole or in part, has sometimes been called “feudal” by assimilation with that of Western Europe during the same period. A comparative study may reveal some analogies, but the inventory of differences seems even more interesting: the ways of combining birth and merit or of fighting social ascensions of subordinates differ widely, and in feudal France, or even elsewhere in the West, there are a series of codes which oblige kings and princes to use a great deal of clemency towards their “rebel” vassals, and when the latter are fighting each other, they treat each other with some sort of respect, from which classical chivalry rises around 1100.

Béatrice CASEAU & Marie-Christine FAYANT, *Le renouveau du culte des stylites syriens aux X^e et XI^e siècles? La Vie abrégée de Syméon Stylite le Jeune (BHG 1691c)*

p. 701

The article offers an analysis of the 10th century Byzantine reconquest's impact on the two Symeon Stylites monasteries in northern Syria. The two saints share many characteristics besides their common name and their two monasteries were in competition since the end of late antiquity, but Symeon Stylites the Younger monastery located on the Wondrous Mountain, close to Antioch gained an advantage from being in relatively close proximity with the ruling elites sent from Constantinople, where one also notes a renewed interest for the two Syrian saints. In the early 11th century, Symeon Stylite the Younger monastery has become an economically prosperous and intellectually very lively center. It is a place of writing and translations of hagiographic texts. The ancient *Life* of the saint is either paraphrased or abridged. The authors analyze what is considered worthy to be mentioned in the middle Byzantine short versions of the saint's *Life* and the interest of these choices for the historian. A translation of this abridged *Life of Symeon Stylite the Younger* (BHG 1691c) is proposed by M.-Ch. Fayant.

Reinhart CEULEMANS & Peter VAN DEUN, *Réflexions sur la littérature anthologique de Constantin V à Constantin VII*

p. 361

This article surveys and reflects upon compilation activities from the 8th to the 10th century. Attention is paid to spiritual florilegia as well as to the influence of the monumental compilation ascribed to John Damascene. An appendix focuses on the ending of one of the anthologies treated in the article, the so-called *Coislin Florilegium*.

Jean-Claude CHEYNET, *La société urbaine*

p. 449

Studies on Byzantine society have multiplied over the last forty years, renewed by the contribution of archeology and even more of sigillography. Many unknown seals have been published and old editions have been corrected and seals better dated. As a result, the aristocracy remains the most studied social

group. While Constantinople is still the vital center of the Empire, the rise of provincial cities, notably Antioch, Edessa, Melitene, Adrianople and Thessalonica, has highlighted the local elites whose relations with the capital have largely determined the fate of the Empire. The “Queen of Cities” itself has a mix of “ethnicities,” a diversification of civil and military functions within the most important families, and an increase in the number of literate officials who worked in the administrations and entered the Senate with the consent of emperors concerned with their popularity in the capital. The coming to power of Alexis Comnenus changed much less these transformations than the upheavals engendered by the invasion of Asia Minor by the Turks. Of all these works published since the fundamental studies of P. Lemerle, the result is a less pessimistic view of the eleventh century which, without the enemy incursions in both European and Asian provinces, would have witnessed a strengthening of the economy and a greater cohesion of society.

Muriel DEBIÉ, « *La science est commune* » : sources syriaques et culture grecque en Syrie-Mésopotamie et en Perse par-delà les siècles obscurs byzantins p. 87

Along the lines of a reappraisal of the so-called Byzantine “Dark Ages,” this contribution addresses the question of the re-emergence of classical culture in Byzantium in the 9th century and how Syriac sources can throw some light on the continuation and yet transformation of late antique teaching and scholasticism. The continuous work by Syriac scholars on Greek scientific and philosophical texts in the 7th–10th centuries shows the availability of Greek manuscripts in the East, even beyond the Roman-Sasanian border. Syriac literature can help understand the transformation of Hellenism and the constitution of a cultural koine in other languages than Greek. A Christian as well as more specifically Syrian Hellenism blended the cultural idioms of Greek and “oriental” culture. Not only did Greek culture survive, but it spread in the Arabic polity and ultimately re-emerged in Byzantium from the shelves of the Byzantine libraries. Oblivion of classical “pagan” literature was parallel to the transmission of a new canonised knowledge in Syriac and then Arabic but was ultimately reversed: not so much thanks to the “return” of Greek manuscripts and texts from the East however as from a competition over the appropriation of ancient Greek culture beyond Christianity.

Stéphanos EFTHYMIADIS, *De Taraise à Méthode (787-847) : l'apport des premières grandes figures, une nouvelle approche* p. 165

This study is a response to, and update of, chapter 5 of Paul Lemerle’s *Premier humanisme*, which covers the period between the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (787) and the restoration of the veneration of icons (843). Taking into account scholarly surveys as well as editions and studies of texts that have appeared in recent decades, it revalues those generations of the Byzantine literati, whether active in the patriarchal or the monastic milieu. It shows that, as a result of such concurrent factors as pursuing an education shared by iconoclasts and iconodules alike or an expanded care for copying books, Byzantium had experienced a cultural revival already by the beginning of the ninth century. This revival, however, must be measured and interpreted with the standards and priorities of Byzantine society and not those of the classical world.

Raúl ESTANGÜI GÓMEZ & Michel KAPLAN, *La société rurale au XI^e siècle : une réévaluation* p. 531

Since the *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* by Paul Lemerle (1977), the way in which the Byzantine empire countryside and its rural economy have been interpreted has evolved. Studies over the past two decades have shown that, far from being a cause of “blocking,” the growth of the large estate has favored growth, thanks to the ability of large landowners to invest. One notes the same trend in Byzantium as in the rest of Europe and the Mediterranean world. However, too great a role was accorded to the domanial framework, at the expense of the role played by the village society, which remained relatively rich and dynamic and seemed co-responsible for the economic take-off of the Byzantine countryside at that time.

The documents in the Athonite archives show a highly mobile rural society, taking part in the dynamic of growth, where peasants working on a large estate become members of a village community, improving their legal and social status. It would appear that after a period of crisis in village societies in the 10th century, changes in taxation (the end of village solidarity, the introduction of a personal tax) enabled the peasantry to improve its situation and benefit from the economic growth of the Byzantine Empire, of which the eleventh century is a strong moment, and which continues at an even faster pace in the following century.

Bernard FLUSIN, *Aréthas de Césarée et la transmission du savoir* p. 309

Paul Lemerle dedicates a chapter in his book on the “First Byzantine humanism” to “Arethas of Patras,” and while he judges unfavorably the person, he dwells on the exceptional interest of his case. Here we seek to show that Arethas, far from being a mere bibliophile, played a crucial role in the transmission of knowledge, as a teacher and also because of his awareness of the stakes involved in the copying of books. The knowledge he transmitted was to a large extent pagan, yet revised and sorted out, as was often the case in late antiquity, in the light of Christianity.

Valérie FROMENTIN, *La mémoire de l'histoire : la tradition antique, tardo-antique et byzantine des historiens grecs, v^e siècle avant-x^e siècle après J.-C.* p. 339

This paper aims to reassess the role played by the “first Byzantine Renaissance” in the textual transmission of Greek (pre-Christian) historians. It seeks to demonstrate against the current prevailing point of view that the making of the *Excerpta Constantiniana* did not prevent the integral works from being copied simultaneously, from either private or imperial initiatives, the two undertakings (excerpting fragments, editing complete *Histories*) both having helped preserve this textual heritage.

Andreas GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Administrative structures of Byzantium during the 11th century: officials of the imperial secretariat and administration of justice* p. 561

In this paper traditional and modern research views concerning officials of the 11th century who belonged to (e.g. *protoasecretis*) or are assumed by scholars to be associated with the imperial secretariat (e.g. *mystikos*) and who are known (e.g. *droungarios of the vigla*, *kritai of the velum* and *kritai of the hippodrome*) or thought to have been judicial officers (e.g. *mystographos*, *mystolektes*, *thesmophylax*, *thesmographos*, *exaktor*, *kensor* and *praitor*) are approached critically, and some new interpretations and suggestions based on the information of the primary sources and the conclusions of our research over the past decade are proposed.

John HALDON, *L'armée au XI^e siècle : quelques questions et quelques problèmes* p. 581

It is generally assumed that the defeat of the imperial army under Romanos IV at the battle of Mantzikert in 1071 was the result of a combination of several factors, including a long-term decline in military effectiveness within the empire, reflected in the demobilisation of provincial thematic forces, on the one hand, and the government's reliance on foreign mercenary soldiers, on the other; and the incompetence or poor leadership of military commanders, including the emperor Romanos IV himself. While these reasons reflect the tendencies and agendas of the sources, this paper will question some of the assumptions underlying them, and propose rather that the empire's armies continued to be effective, coherent and disciplined for much of this time, and that Romanos IV was a competent and able strategist. The picture that currently prevails is far from entirely inaccurate, but there is no doubt that some assumptions can be challenged and that greater precision can be achieved in certain respects.

James HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Procès aristocratiques de la Peira* p. 483

Roughly a quarter of the judgements and opinions collected in the *Peira* by an admirer of Eustathius Romaios, a high court judge of the early eleventh century, concern the aristocracy. The selection of criminal cases (picked out because of the points of law they raised) reveals the seamy side of the exercise of power by the “powerful,” their use of retinues to prey upon their inferiors and the “poor” (or worse). Civil suits concerning inheritance, debts and dowries cast light on the households, wealth and attitudes of what was evidently a ruling class, conscious of its status. What is most striking is the commitment of the courts to the upholding of the law, even when it went against the interests of the “powerful.” The convictions of several members of the powerful family of the Skleroi are highlighted in the text, as are the occasions when higher courts overruled the judgments of lower courts where they had been swayed by local influence. It looks as if the justice system was successfully defending the traditional, peasant-based social order of Byzantium in the first half of the eleventh century.

David JACOBY, *Byzantine maritime trade, 1025–1118* p. 627

Despite its importance for the empire’s economy, maritime trade has not been the subject of a recent synthesis. It benefited from the general dynamism of the Byzantine economy, which raised the standard of living of the urban population. The Greeks were largely engaged in these activities, not only in the very active cabotage, long underestimated, but also in the distant trade. The Black Sea, where one of the spice routes ended up until the beginning of the eleventh century, remained a preserve. Then the Byzantine merchants supplied themselves with spices in Fatimid Egypt, where they sold silks and wood. The ships occasionally carried more and more pilgrims to the Holy Land. Amalfi and Venice were engaged in trade with the empire, which had already largely opened its ports before 1082, but their impact was rather modest and the treaty of 1082 effects were only slowly felt.

Johannes KODER, *Remarks on trade and economy in eleventh-century Asia Minor: an approach* p. 649

The territorial reconquest in the East since the end of the 9th century was important for a temporary economic and demographic stabilization in central and western Asia Minor in the 10th and the first half of 11th century. Remarkable are the structural changes of political and economic power, in part to be explained with the dominance of the new land owning aristocracy, which on the other hand was conducive for the loss of a great part of Asia Minor in the decade after 1071. This paper discusses aspects of the general conditions of economy, traffic and settlement structures, with reference to the western part of Asia Minor, where the settlement density was relatively high.

The proximity to Constantinople strengthened the economy and the transregional trade, in particular along the coastal regions and in the harbour towns, which had reduced agricultural functions, but served as seaports for the provisions, which came from the extended hinterland to be shipped to the capital. During the two centuries of prosperity, this territory of some 200,000 km² may have had some 3 million inhabitants. The major part of them lived not in the fifty (or a little more) cities, but in rural settlements, in villages, as independent farmers or as *paroikoi*. This landscape had a fully developed economy and was densely populated, but not “urbanized.”

Dimitris KRALLIS, *Historians, politics, and the polis in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* p. 419

By tracing the elusive image of the Byzantine city in the work of historians who wrote in the period from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, this paper outlines the place of urban centres in the politics of the Medieval Roman polity. Off-hand references and small vignettes are all the reader usually gets in Byzantine histories when it comes to the empire’s urban centres. And yet, however limited, such information gathered on the actions and opinions of urban populations and their leaders allow for the reconstruction of a world where cities, large and small, rise up as active political agents. Cities are therefore by no means politically passive in Byzantium. Their populations are accustomed to making

choices in the context of internal political rivalries and rebellions, while regularly negotiating with imperial authority in order better to serve their interests. On occasion, concern for their city's well being even forced urban populations into deals with the empire's political enemies. Approached from this perspective the work of Byzantine historians, though normally focused on war, statecraft and the actions of emperors, reveals when carefully read, a world of urban agency and political activity. As recent scholarly work has once more directed our attention to Byzantium's living, breathing body politic, the empire's cities can emerge from the pages of medieval histories and chronicles as loci for the articulation of vibrant politics.

Margherita LOSACCO, *Photius, la Bibliothèque, et au-delà : l'état de la recherche, l'usage des classiques et les préfaces du corpus*

p. 235

This article is divided into four parts. The first one (I. Biography and books: general considerations) provides a selected literature survey regarding Photius' biography, along with a brief mention of the books which allegedly belonged to his personal library. The second one (II. Photius' corpus, a memorial of books of other writers: history of the printed editions, translations, and commentaries) focuses on the editorial history of Photius' main works, before and after 1974, that is to say, before and after the publication of Lemerle's *Premier humanisme* (respectively, sections II.1 and II.2). A sub-section is devoted to the issue of Photius' classical quotations in his *Letters* and *Amphilochia*, with an examination of three case-studies (II.2.2). The editorial history of Photius' *Library*, and a general survey of the relevant philological issues, will be the object of an independent section (II.3). The third part (III. Ἀρχαιολογία of Photius' *Library*) recalls the much-debated questions regarding the composition and the chronology of the *Library* and its preface, the so-called *Letter to Tarasius*. The fourth part (IV. Photius' prefaces: beyond his *Library*) provides a commentary on Photius' prefaces to: *Against the Manichaeans* (IV.1), with a note on the chronology of its fourth book (IV.1.2) and a survey of the *topoi* of this preface (IV.1.3); *Amphilochia* (IV.2); *Lexicon* (IV.3); *Mystagogia* (IV.4); the *Letter to Tarasius* is considered in the broader context of the other prefaces (IV.5). An intertextual reading of Photius' prefaces is therefore suggested (IV.6), both within Photius' work and in the long-lasting perspective of the "topics of the exordium" (Curtius). In conclusion (IV.7), it is suggested that Photius' prefaces shape a narrative frame around its huge, composite, and often untidy works, in order to give them a more profound and consistent unity.

Paul MAGDALINO, *Humanisme et mécénat impérial aux IX^e-X^e siècles*

p. 3

This article is concerned with the social dynamics of the written production that Paul Lemerle characterised as the first Byzantine humanism. It considers the role of patronage from the top, as compared with peer complicity and competition among writers, in stimulating literary activity in non-religious genres. Although the last phase of Greek classicism in antiquity, in the early 7th century, had been shaped by imperial and patriarchal patronage, the revival of high-style literature from the end of the eighth century was initially more diffuse. During the ninth century the patriarchs overshadowed the emperors as the leading sponsors of literature, but the exceptional figure of Photius dominated the scene as much by his own output as by his patronage of other writers. The same was true of his pupil Leo VI, with whom imperial sponsorship took the lead: the literature that appeared under Leo's name was more voluminous than the works explicitly written for him. The notion—or fiction—of imperial authorship was maintained under Leo's son Constantine VII, but at the same time Constantine appears more clearly as the patron of "encyclopaedic" projects executed by others, as well as the addressee of encomiastic rhetoric. After Constantine's death (959), his projects and cultural style were continued for a generation by the quasi-imperial "prime minister" Basil the Parakoimomenos. However, Basil's removal from power in 985 revealed the fragility of imperial patronage, and suggests that this was not indispensable for the existence of Byzantine humanism.

Jean-Pierre MAHÉ, *L'âge obscur de la science byzantine et les traductions arméniennes hellénisantes vers 570-730*

p. 75

Paul Lemerle had rightly assumed that the Armenian “hellenizing” translations of the liberal arts shed light on the so-called obscure age of Byzantine science. In 1982 Abraham Terian showed that most of these translations were made between 570 (Dionysius Thrax) and 728 (various translations by Step‘anos Siwnec‘i). The Armenian version of the *Organon* dates to the end of the sixth century. A former disciple of Olympiodorus the Younger, David the Invincible, to whom are ascribed most of the commentaries, may well have been an Armenian Christian and have taken part in the Armenian translation of his own writings. As to Ananias Širakac‘i, whose *Autobiography* had been studied by Lemerle, Constantin Zuckerman (2002) convincingly fixed the chronology: 632-640, Ananias learns mathematics and liberal arts in Trebizond at the school of Tychikos. Meanwhile Tychikos also welcomes Greek students sent by the patriarch of Constantinople.

Several years after 667 (death of the Armenian patriarch Anastasius), Ananias compiles his *K‘nnikon* (a textbook concerning the Quadrivium and derived arts).

Athanasios MARKOPOULOS, *L'éducation à Byzance aux IX^e-X^e siècles : problèmes et questions diverses*

p. 53

The current paper re-examines four key issues relating to the educational process in Byzantium during the ninth-tenth century: i) The presence of schools of *enkyklios paideia* in Constantinople, such as the school of the Nea Ekklesia, the school of the Anonymous Professor and the school where Athanasios of Athos studied, though this begs all manner of questions; ii) The revival of the institution of the *magister liberalium litterarum*, an ancient institution with a long tradition both in late antiquity and the early Byzantine period. An examination of the sources indicates that the institution in question reappeared during the ninth century; as two highly representative examples make clear (Leo the Mathematician and Niketas David), however, this was entirely at the behest of the emperor; iii) The existence of a “school” at which the future patriarch Photios taught an especially exclusive student body; and iv) The return to prominence of “higher education,” which is borne witness to once again in the latter half of the ninth century with the founding of the Magnaura school by *caesar* Bardas, and during the tenth century with the so-called school of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos.

Jean-Marie MARTIN, *L'Italie byzantine au XI^e siècle*

p. 733

11th-century Byzantine Italy covered two distinct administrative units: the *katepanaton* of Italy (former *thema* of Langobardia) and the *thema* of Calabria. To these one should add the short-lived thema of Lucania created during the 1040s. These two provinces harboured societies with distinctly marked differences: while Calabria was hellenophone and had never left the Empire's bosom, Longobardia had a Latin-speaking, Lombard population of Germanic ascent. In Longobardia, while Lombard law was applied, a normal local administration was established, mainly staffed by members of the local elite, sometimes distinguished with honorary titles, but usually without extensive landed patrimonies. In order to strengthen the frontiers, the imperial authorities built new towns in Basilicata during the 10th century, and in Capitanata during the 11th century. The two provinces of Longobardia and Calabria also made use of different coinages, the regular imperial coins circulating in the former, while the latter preferred Sicily's gold tari.

Cécile MORRISON, *Revisiter le XI^e siècle quarante ans après : expansion et crise*

p. 611

This chapter provides firstly an assessment of the various approaches of the eleventh-century economy over the forty years elapsed since Lemerle summoned the international Table Ronde in Paris (20–23.09.1973). The gloomy picture of increasing political, social and economic disintegration then prevailing has been since deeply overhauled. In the 1970's a first phase of research reconsidered more favourably the 1000's–1060's and the 1100's–1160's on either side of the 1070's–1080's undebatable

crisis and accepted the “expansion” perspective introduced by Hendy and Lemerle, although Harvey’s 1989 book of this title did not reckon the importance of the investment by peasants and powerful in the improvement of rural management, as highlighted by Lefort *et al.* The 1990’s–2010’s historiography saw the integration of the enlarged archaeological documentation into the *Economic history of Byzantium* ed. by A. E. Laiou and numerous new studies of rural settlement and trade. The second part focuses on Byzantine money in the eleventh-century and recalls the factual data concerning its metal content and the estimates of the number of coins struck before revisiting the interpretation of the successive phases of gold debasement and offering a partial update of my 1973 (*TM* 6, 1976) too blunt explanation of the process involved in the earlier expanding phase.

Paolo ODORICO, *Du premier humanisme à l’encyclopédisme : une construction à revoir* p. 23

Since its appearance in 1971, Paul Lemerle’s study *Le premier humanisme byzantin* deeply influenced scholarship in the field of Byzantine studies. However, in spite of many qualities, this influential book has several significant flaws, such as the invention of a Byzantine “encyclopaedism”: according to Lemerle, during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos and instigated by the emperor, a group of scholars devoted itself to the creation of encyclopedias, huge repertoires of knowledge with imperial/moral purpose. The aim of the present paper is to place Lemerle’s ideas in their context, to clearly trace a distinction between “compilation” and “syllogè,” and to pay attention to the structure, the function, and the mentality behind the creation of the texts under scrutiny (the *Excerpta*, for example). The conclusion is beyond doubt: a Byzantine encyclopaedism never existed, and a re-evaluation of the “com-positions” unjustly relegated under the label “compilations” is in order.

Mihailo St. POPOVIĆ, *Les Balkans : routes, foires et pastoralisme au XI^e siècle* p. 665

The present article focuses on the economic history of Byzantium as one of the manifold research interests of the renowned French scholar Paul Lemerle. By summarising and reviewing publications by Nicolas Svoronos, Michael Hendy, Michael Angold, Angeliki Laiou, Jacques Lefort, Gilbert Dagron, Cécile Morrisson and Jean-Claude Cheynet the macro-structures and the development of the economy of the Byzantine Empire are addressed and reviewed through the looking glass of their respective interpretations concerning the economic decline of Byzantium in the late Byzantine period.

The second part of the article deals with the fairs in the Balkan peninsula based on the author’s scholarly work on the volume *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 16 (“Macedonia, Northern Part”) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, which represented vivid nodal points of economic activity and local as well as regional transformation. After providing the designation of fairs in the Greek and Slavonic languages (*panēgyris*, *phoros* and *panagjurū*, *panagiri*, *sūborū*, *forū*), an overview is given on the fairs in the historical region of Macedonia. Finally, another aspect of the Byzantine economic activity in the Balkan peninsula is highlighted by collecting and interpreting evidence on pasture economy in the historical region of Macedonia from the 10th until the 16th centuries. Summer and winter pastures as well as seasonal dwellings of the nomads (i.e. Vlachs) are localised and the respective distribution patterns analysed. This approach leads directly to applications deriving from Digital Humanities (especially HGIS and GIScience), which provide the necessary means for the visualisation and more detailed study of this economic phenomenon.

Vivien PRIGENT, *À l’Ouest rien de nouveau ? L’Italie du Sud et le premier humanisme byzantin* p. 129

This article aims to ascertain the possibility that Southern Italy played a role in the so-called Macedonian Renaissance studied by Paul Lemerle in *Le premier humanisme byzantin*. The famous Byzantinist discarded the possibility from the outset but our knowledge of the complex realities of Byzantine Italy has considerably improved since 1971, justifying a reappraisal. The position of the Greek language itself in Italy during the “Dark Ages” is first assessed, focusing on the real impact of the 7th-century migrations. Then, a tentative panorama of the available book resources in 7th–9th-

century Southern Italy is offered. Finally, the author investigates how this cultural patrimony could have impacted the Eastern Renaissance insisting on the Muslim invasions of Sicily and the end of Iconoclasm which resulted in an influx of learned Italians in Constantinople. As a case study, sigillographic evidence are adduced to offer a glimpse on the faction built around Gregorios Asbestas, metropolitan bishop of Syracuse, a key-player in church politics at the onset of the Macedonian Renaissance.

Jonathan SHEPARD, *Man-to-man, dog-eat-dog, cults-in-common: the tangled threads of Alexios' dealings with the Franks* p. 749

Paul Lemerle's characterisation of Alexios Komnenos as "un réactionnaire borné" is consistent with Anna Komnena's portrayal of her father's resourcefulness and flair for duplicity. The demarches of Alexios towards the West in quest of military aid seem to exemplify this, along with his less celebrated bid to install a cooperative Rus prince on the Straits of Kerch. However, his interest was broader and deeper than the Byzantine or Latin sources might lead one to expect. He had close ties with other members of the de Hauteville family besides Bohemond and, in taking liege homage from the latter in 1097, he was exploiting a quite recent development in the West. Alexios' interest in the Holy Land was informed by earlier imperial policies, and by continuing communications between the Byzantine lands (including Cyprus) and monasteries in Palestine and northern Syria. Besides assigning John the Oxite to the patriarchal see of Antioch, Alexios kept up ties with the patriarch of Jerusalem. At the same time, he networked busily in Norman Apulia, while maintaining links with Count Roger of Sicily. It is contended that Alexios envisaged a Christian consensus, with three patriarchates under his wing and cooperation from a fourth, Alexandria, fostered by his amicable ties with the Fatimids; he might gain a concordat through a general church council, attended by the Roman pope or his representatives. Fantasizing as the scheme looks now, it might have spoken to significant clerical and secular elements in the West. Events, however, turned against him and Bohemond had no scruples about exploiting them to full advantage at Antioch.

Kostis SMYRLIS, *The fiscal revolution of Alexios I Komnenos: timing, scope, and motives* p. 593

The article examines the turn towards the use of land and tax grants to remunerate imperial officials instead of salaries under Alexios I. To determine the timing, scope and motives of this reform, the article studies two measures of that emperor, namely the confiscations that took place after the census of 1088/89 and the concession of estates and fiscal rights to imperial relatives. It is argued that the confiscations were extensive, affecting most great ecclesiastical and lay landowners, and that the lands seized were usually ceded to imperial relatives and state servants. The analysis of the concessions to imperial relatives underlines their scale suggesting that they were as much payment for military and civil services as they were a way to secure the political support of the beneficiaries. It is finally suggested that, rather than being the result of pressure by the powerful, the concession of lands and taxes to imperial relatives and state servants was dictated by considerations of financial efficiency.

Jean-Michel SPIESER, *La « Renaissance macédonienne » : de son invention à sa mise en cause*

p. 43

The expression « Renaissance macédonienne » was not used in the first academic studies about Byzantine art in the second half of the 19th century. But its use was prepared by some comments about the relation between Byzantine art and the classical Greek art. It seems that Charles Diehl used it for the first time in the first edition of his handbook. This notion got a new momentum through the work of Kurt Weitzmann at the end of the 20' and in the 30' of the 20th century. He insists more and more in his later work on the ties, in the 10th century, of the Byzantine art with a "perennial Hellenism." These views on Byzantine art are part of a more general appreciation of the Byzantine Empire as a Greek Empire and of the Byzantines as Greeks, sometime as keeping unconsciously something of the genuine classical Greek mind. This view was supported by many art historians and historians until the second third of the 20th century and is not completely forgotten. Nevertheless, beginning with the

70', art historians and historians like H. Belting, A. Cutler, C. Mango tend towards a new approach of Byzantium, stressing its originality and giving more weight to its internal evolution than to the influence of a supposed Greek spirit.

Jean-Michel SPIESER, *L'art au XI^e siècle : une vue d'ensemble* p. 675

This paper tries to review recent studies on the 11th century's art. The 11th century is itself a flexible notion. It is possible to consider that it starts at some point within the reign of Basil II and ends at the beginning or at the end of the reign of Alexis Ist. It is an important century for the architecture. Many foundations give evidence for the interest of the emperors and the upper class for monasteries. Some architectural innovations belong to this century: if the cross-in-square church remains the most used plan for church building, two new types come up, the so-called Athonite plan and the Greek-cross domed octagon. The origins of both are disputed. It is a common opinion, that both, but principally the Greek-cross domed octagon, have Armenian models, but, if the question remains open, it can be said that neither is a copy of an Armenian known type. In the field of monumental painting, if more monuments are known and published, no important changes in interpretation are offered for the major lines of the stylistic and iconographic evolution. For Greece and Cappadocia, the two areas where the majority of paintings survives, the social origin of the patrons is an important field of study. New interest arises also on the topic of paintings programs, with more balanced answers than that given by O. Demus, whose work remains nevertheless fundamental. For sumptuary arts, we need new syntheses.

Anne TIHON, *Premier humanisme byzantin : le témoignage des manuscrits astronomiques* p. 325

In this paper, the author examines the astronomical manuscripts containing the works of Ptolemy and Theon of Alexandria, in order to determine the level of the astronomical knowledge during the 9th and 10th centuries. The results are rather disappointing: while Byzantine historians suggest a very high level of scientific achievement, one can hardly find in the manuscripts proofs of a real astronomical practice. The beautiful astronomical manuscripts of the 9th century (for example *Vat. gr.* 1594, *Vat. gr.* 190) do not reveal any hints of a reading of the works of Ptolemy and Theon during the 9th and 10th centuries. One can only guess that Ptolemy's *Handy tables* were used for astrological purposes. The most interesting document comes from Palestine (perhaps from Sinai Monastery): the palimpsest *Vat. syr.* 623 which contains a copy of a part of the *Handy tables* of Ptolemy written in uncial script around 800 together with an attempt of Arabic translation of Theon's *Small commentary* and a little Greco-Arabic lexicon giving the names of the winds written by the same hand on a Ptolemy's table. It is certainly one of the most ancient testimony of an Arabic translation of Ptolemy's and Theon's works.

Peter VAN DEUN, *Le commentaire de Métrophane de Smyrne sur la Première Épître de Pierre (chapitre 1, versets 1-23)* p. 389

This article offers the editio princeps of a Byzantine commentary on a part of the First Epistle of Peter (Chapter 1,1-23); this commentary has been written by Metrophanes, who was bishop of Smyrna in the second half of the 9th century and one of the most important opponents to Patriarch Photius. The text has only been preserved in the recent manuscript Athous, Dionysiou 227.