

POLITICAL THEOLOGY IN BYZANTIUM AS SEEN BY 20TH CENTURY HISTORIANS

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The 73 pages of bibliography¹ about political theology in Byzantium – most probably just a fragment of what historians have written in the last century about political thought – show sufficiently well the importance which this field of research represents in our culture. As a theocratical autocracy, the Byzantine empire provided European culture with a complete model of absolute power, that is the political form against which western European culture reacted from XVIII century up to our days, not without some nostalgies and some exotical whims, suggested by the gorgeous court ritual which surrounded the earthly life of the man appointed by God to the salvation of the world, the θεοστεπτος *theosteptos* crowned by God, not a god himself but a saint emperor who, with the words of VI century deacon Agapetus – who Sevchenko, Cavarra and Riedinger² have proposed to our reflection in the last thirty years – “in the reality of his body is like every man but as for the dignity he is a similitude of God above all (chap. 21 of his booklet *Expositio capitum paraeneticorum*). The “imitation of God”, according to the text of the Saint Sophia deacon about 527 (chap. 1), from XV century on will be evocated in the ottoman title of the sultan “shade of God on the earth” in the retorical and ideological continuity of divine majesty which for the first time in the Roman world was adopted by Stoicism and quoted by Seneca in his *de clementia*³. Transmitted by Hellenistic culture to late Roman world, in the theories of Gregory of Naziance and of Basil of Cesarea, quoted word by word by Agapetus, this theory projected the imperial dignity into a sacral sphere of action of divinity in the created world: “as the eye is a part of the human body, so the emperor is harmonically an integral part of the world, given by God in order to work with him in the realisation of the good” (chap. 46).

The world of Byzantium is in our culture characterized by two features, which for Stein, Barker and Zakythenos⁴ are survival of Roman political tradition and of Hellenistic civilisation during a millennium in the eastern half of the Roman empire and moreover

retrogression and contraction in secular and religious fields, each field following its own rhythm. In the secular field the retrogression was from the *pax romana* into a balkan-aegean national Greek unity reduced at last into Constantinople as the city state on the sea, in the hopes of Nikiphoros Gregoras (XIV century). In the religious field the supra-national outlook of catholic church made way to a series of religious conflicts which marked the triumph of a State religion that Toumanof (1983)⁵ views as the return to the more ancient psychology of the city cult, which Spengler (1918)⁶ considered dead in the third century as a feature of an ending culture; according to Toumanoff and to Ahrweiler too, the chosen people of Byzantium shared the widespread firm belief that a particular community is in some way a manifestation of the divine, that is a theophany.

According to this picture, continuity and retrogression, the historians have focused their attention to the emperor cult as if it was the all-inclusive world-view, the total ideology of the Byzantine empire, more or less unaware of the changes of mentality produced by the evolution of the eastern Roman society in the different phases of its existence. In this view most important is the concept of centre, that is the imperial city Constantinople New Rome as the centre of the world, or of the theophanic segment of space in which the king appears or better "arises", in the solar metaphor pointed out by Kantorowicz⁷. Byzantine man's consciousness of self is bound with the consciousness of belonging to a group, which alone is sacred and wholesome, so that according to Kazhdan⁸ the byzantine man suffers by the anguish of loneliness in front of the absolute power of the king. The rebuilding of Rome in Constantinople New Rome – though Doelger thinks that the double name is not an official one and enters in use some years after the foundation⁹ – is the recapturing of the freshness of creation, according to Paul Alexander¹⁰, through a ritual repetition of cosmogony in any creative act which introduces into the theophanic microcosm of the community, the holy city progressively concentrated through the temples and relics of saints into the imperial city of Constantinople (Kaplan)¹¹. Eusebius called the empire the messianic kingdom of Israel so that the empire had to last till the end of time. The pseudo-Methodius in the VII century announced the end of the world as coincident with the abdication of the last roman emperor in favour of God¹².

The *taxis*, society and its order, are symbolised as analogues to the *cosmos* and its order, of which god and the king are the warrants so that the microcosm of political world is conceived as an image of heaven, at the sacred centre of the universe, while the surrounding outside is barbarism and wickedness¹³. The imperial city is an *omphalos*, that is a link between the microcosm and the *cosmos*. And the king is the concentrate of communal theophany with the monopol of the divine origin, as the embodiment of the theo-

phanic microcosm, which puts him in a special relation to God, becoming the link between earth and heaven. The custom of dating with regnal years is the expression of the new era which brings about a new springtime, as Pertusi pointed out in the acclamations of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (X century)¹⁴. The king, as the true representative of the divine, enjoys the wisdom, symbolised by the church of Hagia Sophia and by the throne of Solomon, which connected the world order of the empire to the cosmic order, as being both created together with all things by the Wisdom of God; Hagia Sophia was not far from the *omphalos* of the City, the true connecting point between heaven and earth. The empire was the kingdom of heaven brought to earth through the renewal of Constantine, so that it was the orthodox empire, in a supernatural polity, a *corpus politicum mysticum*, as Otto Treitinger¹⁵ named it, in a christian reshaping of an ancient pagan belief. The empire was a sign of victory of God over sin and unbelief that marks the *Outside*¹⁶: hence the difficulty to represent the disasters that befell the empire, from Manzikert to the turkish conquest of Constantinople. According to Corippus in the VI century the empire belonged to God; whilst in the VII century George of Pisidia styled God as commander in chief of the byzantine army having the emperor as the second commander. In VI and VII centuries texts like in George of Pisidia God, Christ and the Virgin are represented fighting for the empire.

Doelger in its *familia Regis*¹⁷ outlined the theory of the emperor as secular head of the christian rulers in a kind of Commonwealth, where the emperor was the father and the other rulers were his sons or younger brothers.

The emperor was in time the providential man by a special designation by God (Jenkins) in "an autocracy tempered by the legal right of revolution", which is the mirage that the historians of the last century inherited from Mommsen, who first one joked about "the legal right of revolution"¹⁸. They named revolution every expression of disagreement, and they have believed that the byzantine political theory was to be completely absorbed into the imperial cult: but what have we to say about the theory of the VI century dialogue, attributed by Pertusi to the *patrice* Peter and consider anonymous by the editor Mazzucchi¹⁹? The author fixed at 57 years of age the time of reign of an emperor who had to be chosen by a dozen names proposed by the Senate: the God's choice was to be made through drawing. The power of the emperor had to be shared with twelve major senators chosen for the government of the *respublica*. The fact is that in all the byzantine history there is, in parallel with the imperial cult, an aristocratic line of control of the imperial power, usually shared with the highest members of the hierarchy: the task of the research is to outline this aspect of the byzantine government, after the catalogue of the

so called rebellions made under the label *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance*²⁰. An important source of disagreement are the lives of the saints with the *topos* of the fear *phobos* made to the emperor, in order to reduce the imperial arbitrary acts against aristocrats as well as the acts of repentance by the emperor²¹. We meet in the byzantine historians a line of *Kaiserkritik*, which Tinnefeld has reduced to a rhetorical repertory of common places, which means the effective limitation of this absolute power and the aspiration to a legalised share in the government by some class of citizens: a picture of the inside life of the empire very far from the praises of the imperial *laudes* and the official consent of the court ritual.

The praises and acclamations directed to the emperor were no flattery but a sign of legitimacy. In space the emperor was a *cosmocrat*, that is a single emperor on earth corresponding to one God in heaven. With the words of Jenkins "Heaven is a single kingdom, ruled by a single, eternal and imprescriptible monarchy. It was God's will and decree that the whole mundane sphere should be governed in exactly the same way...: that is, in unity, by one single monarch, who was the roman emperor of the day". The imperial iconography of the emperor inside the shield, the *clypeus*, expressed the assertion of the solar cosmocracy of the emperor. Corippus expressed lively in the VI century the cosmological aspects of kingship:

*Adsistit in clypeo princeps fortissimus illo
Solis habens specimen; lux alta fulsit ab urbe.
Mirata est pariter geminos consurgere soles
Una favens eademque dies*²².

The imperial court is the heaven and foreign ambassadors, on being received in audience, *credunt aliud romana palatia caelum*²³.

The emperor came to be thought of as an image of Christ, in the sense of an image of God, so that in twelfth century for the archbishop of Ochrida Theophylact God and the emperor exercised a *symbasileia*, so that the emperor is the god of the world. Tumanoff is of a different opinion from Doelger and from Jenkins: the latter ones thought that the roman cult survived in byzantine time whilst the first one thought that the terms of divinity attributed to the emperor in court ceremonial were just empty formulas of courtesy. Sacred Palace and Hippodrome were the chief sanctuaries of the imperial cult and the influence of the imperial pomp on the church ceremonies and on the vestements of the Byzantine bishops is a matter of fact. The veiled hands were reserved into the church to the blessed sacrament and into the court to the emperor.

The basileus' functioning as an individual human being is identified with the functioning of the cosmos and basileus' victory, that is force, fertility and good luck, guarantee men and land. If the king fails, he has lost his imperial saintliness, connected to the elevation to the throne, a fact strictly connected with the strifes against the ecclesiastical dogmes, as for the monophysite emperors or the iconoclastic ones, whom the Orthodox Church still includes into the catalogue of the church persecutors: Constant I and Constance II (337-361); Constantine IV and Constant II (642-668); Leo III, Constantine V, Leo V (813-820), Michael II (820-829), Theophile (829-842). The imperial *specula* catalogue the virtues which show the imperial saintliness or its contrary the «tyranny» (chap. 65). If the emperor bears «the crown of piety» (chap. 15), «the crown of self-restraint... if he wears the purple of justice...» (chap. 18), the emperor is «the image of piety, made by God» (chap. 5) and he becomes an instrument of saintliness «... a clean mirror...» which «shines of the divine rays» (chap. 9), a recipient of divine saintliness, who must imitate God «through deeds» (chap. 45), into the limit of misericorde, philanthropie, and charity: «in this he can imitate God at his best, thinking that nothig is more precious than misericorde» (chap. 37), «a robe which does not become old is the mantle of charity, incorruptible robe is the love for the poors» (chap. 60).

The imperial ceremonies and iconography underline that the imperial saintliness and the Christ's divinity are connected together. Christ is represented with the purple like the king of kings, the saintliness of the Theotokos is represented through the image of an empress on the throne with purple and crown. The excellence symbol of the imperial garments symbolises in general the saintliness of the saints (like Saint Agnès with crown and *loros* in the roman mosaic of 625-638²⁴. The saintliness gives to the emperor the iconological signs of giantism, *chvarena/aureola*. The *christomimesis* is always present in the court ceremonial: Leo III, proclaimed emperor on 18 april 716, waited 25 mars 717 for the crowning (the day in which the archange Gabriel announced to the Theotokos the conception of the Christ) and in 718 he fixed the baptism of the future Constantine V on 25 december, naissance of Christ, king of kings. The mummies of the emperors, clad in purple, are associated to the relics of the Twelve Apostles in the imperial mausoleum which Mahomet II the Conqueror, when conquered in 1453 Constantinople New Rome, transformed into Fatih Camii and his own mausoleum (*turbe*).

Toynbee (1973)²⁵ preferred to analyse the palace as a centre of power whilst Runciman pointed out to the constitutional aspects of the imperial power, and insists on the fact that the emperor's autocracy was limited: he recognised his obligation to respect the fundamental laws of the roman people and in some way there lingered the idea that

sovereignty was people's. Justinian in the *Lex de imperio* states that the people had only delegated their power to the emperor. In 811 the dying emperor Stauracius, amidst the quarrels of his wife and his sister for the succession, threatened to give the empire back to the *demes*, which probably means the growing importance of the merchant class and of the working classes in the resistance against the Arabs. The same phenomenon happened in XI century during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos, who opened the senate to representative of the merchant class.

Notes

- 1 A. CARILE, *Bibliografia sulla ideologia imperiale romea*, Bologna, under print. Here enclosed I show just a selection of major items on political ideology in Byzantium: see Appendix.
- 2 See the items quoted in the appendix.
- 3 See the items of Antonella Borgo and of A. Carile n. 20.
- 4 D. ZAKYTHENOS, *Processus de Féodalisation*, in "L'Hellénisme Contemporain", Athènes 1948, pp. 1-16, reprinted in ID., *Byzance: Etat-Société-Economie*, London 1973, XIII. H. AHRWEILER, *Etudes sur les structures administratives et sociales à Byzance*, London 1971. H. KOEPSTEIN, *Das 7. Jahrhundert (565-711) im Prozess der Herausbildung des Feudalismus in Byzanz*, in *Studien zum 7. Jahrhundert in Byzanz. Probleme der Herausbildung des Feudalismus*, Hrsg. von H. KOPSTEIN und Fr. WINKELMANN, Berlin 1976, pp. 289-301, cfr. p. 29. J. FERLUGA, *Bisanzio. Società e stato*, Firenze 1974, pp. 90-92. P. LEMERLE, *La notion de décadence à propos de l'empire byzantin*, in *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'Islam*, Paris 1957, pp. 268-277; G. WEISS, *Antike und Byzanz. Die Kontinuität der Gesellschaftstruktur*, in "Historische Zeitschrift", 224 (1977), pp. 520-560; D. VERA, *La società del Basso Impero*, Roma Bari 1983; V. VAVRINEK, *The Eastern Roman Empire or Early Byzantium? A Society in Transition*, in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium*, Praha 1985, pp. 9-20; G.L. KURBATOV, *On the Problem of Transition from Antiquity to Feudalism in Byzantium*, in "Byzantiakà", 9 (1989), pp. 151-177.
- 5 C. TOUMANOFF, *Moscow the Third Rome*, in "Catholic Historical Review", 40 (1954/55), pp. 411-447. ID., *The Social Myth*, Rome 1983.
- 6 O. SPENGLER, *Il tramonto dell'Occidente, Lineamenti di una morfologia della Storia mondiale*, Nuova edizione italiana a cura di R. CALABRESE CONTE, M. COTTONE, F. JESI, trad. it. di J. EVOLA, Milano 1981, pp. 277-290.
- 7 *Oriens Augusti – Lever du roi*, in "Dumbarton Oaks Paper", 17 (1963), pp. 117-177.
- 8 On the social fear of Kazhdan cfr. A. KAZHDAN G. CONSTABLE, *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies*, Washington 1982.

- 9 Fr. DOELGER, *Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner*, in ID., *Byzanz und die Europäische Staatenwelt*. Ausgewählte Vorträge und Aufsätze, Ettal 1953, pp. 82-83.
- 10 P.J. ALEXANDER, *The Strength of Empire and Capital as seen through Byzantine Eyes*, in "Speculum", 37 (1962) 339-357.
- 11 See his essay published in *Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance. Textes, Images et Monuments*, Publié par C. JOLIVET-LEVY, M. KAPLAN, J.P. SODINI, Paris 1993.
- 12 A. BRAVO GARCIA, *Fin del mundo y de Constantinopla en las fuentes griegas*, in *Constantinopla 1453. Mitos y realidades*, P. BADENAS DE LA PENA – E. PEREZ MARTIN edd., Madrid 2003, pp. 75-148.
- 13 See A. CARILE nn. 7, 19, 28-31.
- 14 *Insegne del potere sovrano e delegato a Bisanzio e nei paesi di influenza bizantina*, in *Simboli e simbologia nell'Alto Medioevo*, 3-9 aprile 1975, XXIII Settimana di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, II, Spoleto 1976, pp. 481-568.
- 15 O. TREITINGER, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell*. Jena 1938 (reprinted Darmstadt 1969).
- 16 About the ethic signification of *inside* and *outside* in order to exercise the just violence cfr. J. ASSMANN, *Potere e salvezza. Teologia politica nell'antico Egitto*, in *Israele e in Europa*, tr. It. Di U. GANDINI, Torino 2002, pp. 37, 29, 66. A. CARILE, *Potere e simbologia del potere nella Nuova Roma*, in LII Settimana Internazionale di Studio della Fondazione Centro di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, "Comunicare e significare nell'Alto Medioevo", Spoleto 15-20 aprile 2004, Spoleto 2005, pp. 395-441, tavv. XXII, figg. 34.
- 17 Fr. DOELGER, *Die "Familie der Könige" im Mittelalter*. Hist. Jahrb. 60 (1940) (Festgabe für R. v. Heckel) 397-420 (reprinted in: *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* 34-69). ID., *Die mittelalterliche "Familie der Fürsten und Völker" und der Bulgarenherrscher (= Srèdnovekovnoto "semejstvo na vladetelite i narodit" i Bulgarikijat vladetel*. Spisanie na Bulg. Akad. Na Naukite i Izkustava 66/4 [1943] 181-222) (abridge version of the german edition in: *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*. Darmstadt 1964, 159-182).
- 18 See Appendix.
- 19 A. PERTUSI, *I principi fondamentali della concezione del potere a Bisanzio. Per un commento al dialogo, Sulla scienza politica" attribuito a Pietro Patrizio (secolo VI)*. Bullet. Istit. Stor. Ital. Per il Medioevo e Arch. Muratoriano 80 (1968) 1-23. *Menae patricii cum Thoma referendario De scientia politica dialogus*, ed. C.M. MAZZUCCHI, Milano 1982, pp. 136, reprinted Milano 2002.
- 20 A. CARILE, ΦΟΒΩΙ ΚΡΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΝΟΣ. *La paura dell'imperatore*, in Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale della Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini, "Siculorum Gymnasium", 57 (2004), Catania 2004, pp. 5-14.

- 21 J.C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 9, Paris 1990, pp. 213-237.
- 22 COR. *In laudem Iustini augusti minoris*, II, 148-151.
COR. *In laudem Iustini augusti minoris*, III, 244. A. CARILE, *Credunt aliud romana palatia caelum. Die Ideologie des Palatium in Konstantinopel dem Neuen Rom*, in *Palatia. Kaiserpaläste in Konstantinopel, Ravenna und Trier*, Herausgegeben von M. KOENIG, in Zusammenarbeit mit E. BOLOGNESI RECCHI FRANCESCHINI und E. RIEMER, Trier 2003, pp. 27-32.
- 23 E. KITZINGER, *L'arte bizantina. Correnti stilistiche nell'arte mediterranea dal III al VII secolo*, (1977), Ed. it. a cura di P. CESARETTI, Presentazione di M. ANDALORO, Milano 1989, n. 187.
- 24 A.J. TOYNBEE, *Constantino Porfirogenito e il suo mondo*, tr. It. di M. STEFANONI, Firenze 1987, pp. 214-219, 547-554, 592 ss.
- 25 J. IRMSCHER, *Rivoluzione dall'alto a Bisanzio?*, in "Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi", s. II, 2(2000), pp. 337-344. A. CARILE, *L'espansione araba nel VII secolo*, in Atti del IX Simposio paolino *Paolo tra Tarso e Antiochia. Archeologia, Storia, Religione*, a cura di L. PADOVESE, Roma 2007, pp. 57-72.

APPENDIX

Short bibliography of Byzantine political ideology

Sigle

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| B Z | "Byzantinische Zeitschrift" |
| RE | Real-Encyklopädie d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft v. Pauly-Wissowa |
| PG | Migne, Patrologia Graeca |
| P L | Migne, Patrologia Latina |
| TM | Travaux et Memoires |
| ZRVI | "Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta" |

Sources

IMPERIAL ACCLAMATIONS

(from Constantine Porphyrogenetos)

P. Maas, *Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner*, B Z, 21 (1912), pp. 28-51.

AGAPETUS DEACON (VI Century)

Critical Edition – but deprived of the in direct tradition that was exposed by R. FROHNE, *Agapetus Diaconus. Untersuchungen zu den Quellen und zur Wirkungsgeschichte des ersten byzantinischen Fuerstenspiegel*, Tuebingen 1985 – AGAPETOS DIAKONOS, *Der Fuerstenspiegel fuer Kaiser Iustinianos*, Erstmal kritisch herausgegeben von R. RIEDINGER, Athenai 1995

Italian translation with in direct tradition: B. CAVARRA, *Ideologia politica e cultura in Romània fra IV e VI secolo*, Bologna 1990; see too the translation of S. ROCCA, *Un tratatista di età giustiniana: Agapeto Diacono*, in “*Civiltà Classica e Cristiana*”, 10, 2 (1989), pp. 303-328. German translation in W. BLUM, *Byzantinische Fuerstenspiegel*, Stuttgart 1981, pp. 59-80.

See King Louis XIII's translation:

Les precepts d'Agapetus a Justinien, sur une version latine, par le roi Louis XIII, en ses leçons ordinaires, Paris 1612, in- 8°. See . PG 86, (Mighne reprinted the Galland's news), cc. 1155-1160 with a list of editions and translations of Agapetus till the XVII century.

ALEXIUS MACREMBOLITES (XIV Century)

S.I. KOUROUSES, *Hai antipeseis perì ton eschaton tou kosmou*, in “*Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon*”, 37 (1969-1970), pp. 223-240.

I. SEVCHENKO, *Alexios Makrembolites and his Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor*, in ZRVI 6 (1960), 187-228, critical edition and English translation.

E.V. MALTESE, *Una fonte bizantina per la storia dei rapporti tra Costantinopoli e Genova alla metà del XIV secolo: il Logos historikòs di Alessio Makrembolite*, in “*Atti e Memorie della Società Savonese di Storia Patria*”, 14 (1908), pp. 55-72.

ANONIMUS (VI Century) identified in the past with Peter Patritius *Menae patricii cum Thoma referendario De scientia politica dialogus*, ed. C.M. MAZZUCCHI, Milano 1982, pp. 136, reprinted Milano 2002.

ARISTEA

(II Century b. C. but of tradition use in the bizantine high culture). R. TRAMONTANO, *La lettera di Aristeia a Filocrate*, Introduzione, testo, versione e commento; prefazione di A. VACCARI, Napoli 1931.

ATHANASIUS PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(1289-1293, 1303-1310)

A.M. MAFFRY TALBOT, *The Correspondance of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople*, Washington 1975, CFHB, VII, ep. 3

COUNCILS ACTS

J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Ed. novissima Flor. Et Ven. 1759.

Pseudo CODINUS *curopalates* (about 1347-1360)

Codini Curopalatae *de officialis palatii Constantinopolitani et de officiis magnae ecclesiae* liber ex recog. I. Bekkeri (Corpus Scriptorum Hist. Byz.). Bonn 1839. But see the last critical edition in Verpeaux, J. Pseudo- Kodinos, *Traité des offices*. Paris 1966. 420 pp.

FLAVIUS CRESCONIUS CORIPPUS (VI Century)

Flavii Cresconii Corippi Africani Grammatici in *laudem Justinii Augusti minoris libri IV* rec. M. Petschenig, Berlin 1886, 153-217. We dispose now of two critical editions of Corippus: FLAVIUS CRESCONIUS CORIPPUS, *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris libri IV*, Edited with Translation and Commentary by AV. CAMERON, Bristol 1976, and CORIPPE (FLAVIUS CRESCONIUS CORIPPUS), *Eloge de l'empereur Justin II*, Texte établi et traduit par S. ANTES, Paris 1981.

CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS (905-959)

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ECLOGA (726 or 741)

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EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA (260-339 A.C.)

EUS. *de laudibus Constantini*, ed. I.A. HEIKEL, Eusebius Werke, I, Leipzig 1902

EUS. *Triacontaetericon*, 10 (HEIKEL, 223) PG XX, c. 1373

Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum ed. J. Goar, Paris 1647.

ed. Js. Habert, Paris 1676.

PHILOTHEUS

basilikos protospatharios ke atriklinis later eparchos

Kletorologion of Philotheos (text of 1 September 899):

J.B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century. With a revised text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos* (The British Academy, Supplemental Papers I), London 1911, e nuova edizione critica in:

N. OIKONOMIDES, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*, Paris 1972.

EMPEROR JULIAN (361-363)

JUL. *Misopogon*, ed. Bidez; see the fine translation of Augusto Rostagni, back to the year 1920, reprinted in GIULIANO IMPERATORE, *Misopogone o il nemico della barba*, Testo greco e traduzione italiana, Genova 1980, e in GIULIANO L'APOSTATA, *La restaurazione del paganesimo. Scritti politici e filosofici dell'ultimo grande imperatore pagano*, Milano 1988, pp. 237-292.

GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS
(second half of the IV Century)

GREG. NAZ. or. XIV, *peri philoptochias*, in PG 35

BOOK OF THE EPARCH

Legislation about the Constantinople's Corporations emanated under the *eparch* of the imperial city Philotheus, see above.

J. KODER, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, Wien 1991.

LIUTPRAND

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