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*Perceptions and Literary Interpretations of Statues
and the Image of Constantinople*

Σκοποῦντι δὲ καὶ ξυγγένειάν τινα
πρὸς ποιητικὴν ἔχειν ἢ τέχνη
εὐρίσκεται καὶ κοινὴ τις ἀμφοῖν
εἶναι φαντασία¹.

The statues of Constantinople have been the subject of many studies². They offer various approaches and stress various Byzantine interpretations of statues: how they were perceived and what they symbolized; how they were re-evaluated in the context of different historical and cultural expressions; how they nourished the imagination of the common people as well as of Byzantine intellectuals.

In the present study I will attempt to reframe old questions regarding the Byzantine perceptions of statues and devise new ones from the point of view of two selected texts written in high style. My focus will be the literary descriptions, *ekphraseis*, of statues of Christodorus of Koptos and Nicetas Choniates. Direct attention will be paid to the vocabulary and style, the literary conventions used, and the historical themes which are intertwined with the statues of Constantinople. I am not concerned with the identification of specific statues and their location. I am concerned only with the statues' symbolism.

References to the Greco-Roman past are necessary in order to discern what was new in Byzantium or how the old tradition was reshaped. In this respect strict chronological classification of the themes and of perceptions of statues does not offer great assistance in the investigation of most of the aspects of the subject. For example, the belief in the prophetic or supernatural power of the statues is attested already in the early Byzantine period and sometimes even

1. Philostratus the Younger, *Imagines*, Prooemium. 6.

2. R. M. Dawkins, "Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople", *Folk-Lore. Transactions of the Folk-Lore Society* 35/3 (1924) 209-248; C. Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder", *DOP* 17 (1963) 55-75; R. Stupperich, "Das Statuenprogramm in den Zeuxippos-Thermen. Überlegungen zur Beschreibung durch Christodoros von Koptos", *IstMitt* 32 (1982) 210-235; A. Cameron and J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, Introduction, Translation and Commentary, Leiden 1984; G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des "Patria"*, Paris 1984; A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Bonn 1988; S. Guberti Bassett, "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople", *DOP* 45 (1991) 87-96; idem, "Historiae custos, Sculpture and Tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos", *AJA* 100 (1996) 491-506.

earlier in the pagan tradition. It is hoped that the focus on the links between Christian and pagan spirituality with reference to the supernatural power of the statues will offer a new perspective in the discussion, as it has been shaped by earlier scholarly works, in particular that of C. Mango. In this study what will become apparent is that the old themes are reshaped in the works of the two selected authors, Christodorus of Koptos and Nicetas Choniates, separated by several centuries, but they were used by each author for a different aim in response to the historical conditions of the time. Thus periodization will be useful only because it offers a framework with which the study will be articulated and evolution and change will be explained.

The major issues which will be addressed are the following:

I. The historical memory of Constantinople embodied in the statues and the historical message conveyed in the poem of Christodorus of Koptos. Particular emphasis will be placed on the vocabulary of esthetics and the conventions of the genre.

II. The development of interest in the "mirabilia" and the miraculous power of the statues; the evolution from the "rational" to the "marvelous" in the medieval sense of the word. This symbolically charged approach defines a new esthetic. An analysis of the tradition of the statues' miraculous power will be needed in order to understand the cultural background of Choniates' *De Signis*.

III. The lament of the statues by Nicetas Choniates: the vocabulary of power and the historical message re-invented.

I. The ekphrasis of the statues in the Baths of Zeuxippus

The emperor Constantine enlarged and renovated the Severan Baths of Zeuxippus, located near the Great Palace and by the Hippodrome. He decorated them with a collection of antique statuary in 330 on the occasion of the inauguration of Constantinople. The collection contained eighty-one statues, known from a poetic *ekphrasis* of Christodorus of Koptos, "Ἐκφρασις τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον γυμνάσιον τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Ζευξίππου"³. The statues of gods, a total of thirteen, represented nine divinities⁴. The

3. Anth. Gr. II (ed. H. Beckby, München 1957, vol. I; the English translation from the ed. Loeb by W. R. Paton will be used). Cf. A. Cameron, "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt", *Historia* 14 (1965) 470-509; F. Baumgarten, *De Christodoro Poeta Thebano*, Bonn 1881; T. Viljamaa, *Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine Period*, Helsinki 1968, 29-31, 56 ff.

4. Amymone with Poseidon (vv. 61-68), three statues of Apollo (vv. 72-77, 266-270, 283-287)

group of mythological heroes was the largest, the majority of which was related to the Trojan cycle⁵. There were also portraits of famous Greek and Roman political figures⁶ and philosophers⁷, and numerous portraits of poets and historians⁸. There was also a statue of a Wrestler (vv. 228-240). More statues were added later, as that of a doctor, the chief physician of the capital, a certain Jacob nicknamed "the Cooler" dedicated in 467⁹. The collection included pieces of original classical Greek statues as indicated by the fragment of a colossal head discovered in the excavations¹⁰. There were also Roman

and Aphrodite (vv. 78-81, 99-101, 288-290), Hermaphroditus (102-107), Heracles (136-138), Auge (vv. 138-143), Hermes (vv. 297-302), Artemis (vv. 306-310).

5. Deiphobos (vv. 1-12), Calchas (vv. 52-55), Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, (vv. 56-60), Chryses (vv. 86-91), Aeneas (vv. 143-147), Creusa (vv. 148-154), Helenus (vv. 155-159), Andromache (vv. 160-164), Menelaus (vv. 165-167), Helen (vv. 168-170), Odysseus (vv. 171-175), Hecuba (vv. 175-188), Cassandra (vv. 189-191), Pyrrhus (vv. 192-194), Polyxena (vv. 195-208), Locrian Ajax (vv. 209-214), Oenone (vv. 215-218), Paris (vv. 219-221), Dares and Entellus (vv. 222-227), related to the Trojan war by Virgil, Charidemus (vv. 241-242), Panthous (vv. 246-247), Thymoetes (vv. 248-250), Lampon (vv. 251-255), Clytius (vv. 254-255), Telemonian Ajax (vv. 271-276), Sarpedon (vv. 277-282), Achilles (vv. 291-296). Other heroes were also represented: Amphiaraus (vv. 259-262) and his son the seer Alcaion (vv. 393-397), Aglaus (vv. 263-265), Melampous (vv. 243-245), Amphitryon (vv. 367-371), Polyeidus (vv. 40-44).

6. Alcibiades (vv. 82-85), Julius Caesar (vv. 92-96), Pericles (vv. 117-120), and Pompey (vv. 398-406), consul of the East in 501.

7. Aristotle (vv. 16-22), Palaephatus (vv. 36-37), Anaximenes (vv. 50-51), Plato (vv. 97-98), Pythagoras (vv. 120-124), Democritus (vv. 131-135), Pherecydes (vv. 351-353), Heraclitus (vv. 354-356). In the remaining statuary from Roman baths the philosophers are poorly represented: only three are listed in the list compiled by H. Manderscheid, *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen*, Berlin 1981, Figs. 162, 185, 327; M. Marvin, "Freestanding Sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla", *AJA* 87 (1983) 378. However, there are some examples of particular interest from the early Byzantine period. The baths behind the northern colonnade of the Embolos in Ephesos were restored by the Christian lady Scholastica in the end of the fourth century. The surviving portraits which decorated the baths are identified as Socrates, the poet Menander and a sixth-century dignitary: A. Bammer, R. Fleischer, D. Knibbe, *Führer durch das archäologische Museum von Selçuk-Ephesos*, Vienna 1974, 13, 68, 83 ff. Also in Miletus in the early sixth century the Christian lawyer and historian Hesychius reconstructed a public bath decorated with statues of muses and gods, including two Aphrodites. The statues were ancient but they were maintained by Hesychius: *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Milet, 1/9*, Berlin 1928, 168 ff.

8. Aeschines (vv. 13-16), Demosthenes (vv. 23-31), Euripides (vv. 32-35), Hesiod (vv. 38-40), Simonides (vv. 44-49), Sappho (vv. 69-71), Erinna (vv. 108-110), Terpander (vv. 111-116), Stesichorus (vv. 125-130), Isocrates (vv. 256-258), Apuleius (vv. 303-305), Homer (vv. 311-350), Cratinus (vv. 357-360), Menander (vv. 361-366), Thucydides (vv. 372-376), Herodotus (vv. 377-381), Pindar (vv. 382-387), Xenophon (vv. 388-392), Homer of Byzantium (vv. 407-413), Virgil (vv. 414-416). In the list of statues from Roman baths compiled by Manderscheid, *Skulpturenausstattung*, only Sappho (Fig. 147) is listed and this without certainty.

9. *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn 1832, I, 595 B.

10. Cf. S. Casson, D. Talbot Rice and D. F. Hudson, *Second Report upon the Excavations Carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928*, London 1929, 41-42, Figs. 48-49.

statues, such as those of Julius Caesar and Virgil, and copies of original Greek statues, such as the *Sandalbinder* (vv. 297-302), the type of the Melian Aphrodite (vv. 78-81), and Achilles in the posture of Doryphoros (vv. 292-296)¹¹. Such copies are known from various sites in the Roman Empire; they were reproduced in great numbers beginning in the Hellenistic period.

During the Nika revolt the Baths were destroyed by fire, but they were rebuilt by Justinian¹². The Baths are mentioned as functioning in 713¹³ and later were used for other purposes¹⁴. In the excavations early this century two statue bases with inscriptions were discovered, one of Hecuba and the other of Aeschines¹⁵.

Scholars looked for a programmatic coherence in the collection of statues in the Baths of Zeuxippos. R. Stupperich suggested that the central theme of the collection was the Trojan war and that the intention of the collection was symbolically to represent Constantinople as New Troy¹⁶. Sarah Guberti Bassett suggested that the program expressed Constantine's image of his new capital: through the ancient culture, myths and religion, intellectual achievements and history, Constantinople was linked with the Greco-Roman past. While traditionally the Roman baths exhibited portraits of important figures of the city, local benefactors and renowned citizens, in the Baths of Zeuxippos the portraits depicted predominantly ancient Greek historical figures and literati. The connection with the ancient Greek and Roman past was obvious. The collection suggested continuity with the culture which would give dignity and prestige to the new foundation¹⁷. The two interpretations are not mutually exclusive¹⁸. It seems that the collection did not express a single idea, but interweaving themes. It provided exemplars of human values shown through the medium of myth but not exclusively; it offered images of cultural esthetic; it underlined the heroic character of all represented figures, in particular the heroes are praised as a holy race (ἡρώων ἱερὸν γένος; v. 89).

The collection of the Baths of Zeuxippos continued an established Roman

11. Cf. Guberti Bassett, "Zeuxippos", 496-500.

12. Procopius, *Bell. Pers.* I.xxiv. 9; *Buildings* I.x.3.

13. Theophanis *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1883-85, 383.9.

14. Cf. W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul*, Tübingen 1977, 51.

15. Casson, Talbot Rice and Hudson, *Second Report upon the Excavations*, 18-21. Cf. also C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*, Copenhagen 1959, 37-41; R. Guiland, "Études sur la topographie de Byzance. Les Thermes de Zeuxippe", *JÖB* 15 (1966) 261-271.

16. Stupperich, "Zeuxippos", 232-235.

17. Guberti Bassett, "Zeuxippos", 505-506.

18. Cf. also the remarks of J. Delaine, "Recent research on Roman baths", *JRA* 1 (1988) 26.

tradition of imperial or municipal bathing establishments¹⁹. In order to evaluate the collection in the Baths of Zeuxippus it is important to remember that Roman baths as well as the Baths of Zeuxippus were assigned various other functions apart from bathing. The earlier Roman baths contained libraries; the baths of Zeuxippus were also used as a hall for public debates²⁰ and court proceedings²¹. Therefore, it becomes clear that the statues were not meant to be viewed only by the bathers, but also by state dignitaries conducting state business in its halls. In the context of the new capital the collection of statues in the Baths of Zeuxippus maintained a Roman tradition, thus conveying a message of continuity with the Greco-Roman historical, political and cultural past. One is left with the impression that the vision of Constantinople was that of present and future glory modelled after the Greco-Roman political and cultural tradition.

It has been suggested that the poetic *ekphrasis* of Christodorus of Koptos is preserved incomplete: a *proemion* and a conclusion appear to be missing²². It is possible that descriptions of more statues were originally included in the poem²³. The epigrams have different length: they range from two lines up to thirty-nine lines, the lengthiest being dedicated to Homer. Most of the epigrams are dedicated to single figures, but some to pairs. The poem looks more like a series of ecphrastic epigrams, but it appears that it was treated by the Byzantines who compiled anthologies as one *ekphrasis*²⁴.

Christodorus attempts and succeeds in explaining how and why the viewer was attracted by each of the statues, in poetic language. He is less interested in describing the physical characteristics of the statues. Instead he focusses on the emotional experience and the intellectual activity of the represented figures. It is the inner life, the moral qualities and the intellectual achievements, rather than the exterior form that attracts the poet's attention. Therefore, in the *ekphrasis* each statue represented an intellectual prototype and/or esthetic satisfaction. It is well established that in early Byzantine literature and art ancient myths were used to express moral prototypes, while with an artful re-evaluation and elaboration of the ancient myths, the pagan religion was deprived of its immoral aspects²⁵.

19. Cf. Manderscheid, "Skulpturenausstattung"; Marvin, "Sculptures", 347-384.

20. Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.9.

21. There took place the trial of Isocacius who was accused of paganism during the reign of Leo I: Chronicon Paschale, 596 (a. 467); Malalas, 370; Theophanes, 115.

22. Guberti Bassett, "Zeuxippos", 495.

23. The Palatine manuscript omits vv. 61-64, 222-224, 380.

24. A. Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes*, Oxford 1993, 147.

25. Cf. W. Liebeschuetz, "Pagan Mythology in the Christian Empire", *International Journal of*

In his description Christodorus uses familiar techniques appropriate to the genre of *ekphrasis*²⁶. Predominant is the *topos* of imitation of nature by the artist, repeated in numerous variations. The statues are praised for their superb realism: they were so perfect that they almost moved (the statue of Homer, for example, seemed alive)²⁷; the qualities of each one of the portrayed persons were so well depicted that they appear as being about to act. For example, the statue of the seer Deiphobus, first in the poem:

“... and his furious hand was even on the point of transpiercing his adversary, but the nature of the brass would not let it serve his rage” (vv. 10-12).

the statue of Aristotle:

“... not even in the voiceless bronze was his mind idle, but he was like one deliberating...” (vv. 18-19).

the statue of Demosthenes:

“Fain would he have let escape in his anger the torrent of his speech, endowing his dumb statue with voice, but Art kept him fettered under the seal of her brazen silence” (vv. 29-31).

that of Hesiod:

“Hesiod of Ascrea seemed to be calling to the mountain Muses, and in his divine fury he did violence to the bronze by his longing to utter his inspired verse. And near him stood another prophet, Polyidus, crowned with the laurel of Phoebus, eager to break into prophetic song, but restrained by the gagging fetter of the artist” (vv. 38-44).

The idea that the movement, the emotions or intellectual action of the represented individual was restrained by the bronze or stone or the art of the artist is repeated with variations. Christodorus follows the established tradition of the genre. In his *Imagines* Philostratus the Elder could smell the

the Classical Tradition 2 (1995) 193-208.

26. On the influence of rhetoric on poetry cf. Viljamaa, *Greek Encomiastic Poetry*, esp. 10 ff., 70 ff.; on the use of rhetorical techniques in ecclesiastical hymns cf. V. Limberis, *Divine Heiress. The Virgin Mary and the creation of Christian Constantinople*, London and New York 1994, 85-97.

27. ἔμφρονα χαλκὸν Ὅμηρος ἐδείκνυεν: v. 311.

fragrance of the painted flowers²⁸, could hear the music of the painted flute²⁹, the words of the represented figures³⁰, could catch the blood of a wounded painted figure³¹. Philostratus the Younger made a further step by stressing that the art of painting reveals the inner life of the represented individuals³². The realism of the art object has become a commonplace and in it we recognize the extension of the tradition that J. J. Pollitt has called “popular criticism” of Antiquity³³. Descriptions stressing the realism of art also have been identified as a means for expressing “emotional vividness” and arousing an emotional response in the listeners or readers. The spiritual content of the art was conveyed by a spiritual and emotional response to it. This was achieved through the literary means of the *ekphrasis*³⁴. The teachers of rhetoric were advising the writers of *ekphraseis* to elaborate on the emotions of the individuals depicted in painting or represented in statues. Nicolaus of

28. I.2.4: “and assert that they are painted fragrance and all”; I.6.1: “Do you catch aught of the fragrance hovering over the garden, or are your senses dull? But listen carefully; for along with my description of the garden the fragrance of the apples also will come to you” (transl. A. Fairbanks, ed. Loeb).

29. I.2.5: “Do you not hear the castanets and the flute’s shrill note and the disorderly singing?”; I.6.2: “Their (of the Cupids) wings, dark blue and purple and in some cases golden, all but beat the very air and make harmonious music”.

30. II.5.5: “if we care to listen attentively, perhaps it will speak in Greek”. Cf. also Callistratus, Descriptions 1.5 (transl. A. Fairbanks, ed. Loeb).

31. I.4.4: “Let us catch the blood, my boy, holding under it a fold of our garments; for it is flowing out, and the soul is already about to take its leave, and in a moment you will hear its gibbering cry”, also I.23.2. Cf. also Callistratus, Descriptions 8.2: “for though it was really bronze, it nevertheless blushed, and though it had no part in life, it sought to show the appearance of life and would yield to the very finger-tip if you touched it, for though it was really compact bronze, it was so softened into flesh by art that it shrank from the contact of the hand”; II.2: “Though not endowed with breath, it yet began to breathe”; II.4: “Though it was motionless, this youth seemed to possess the power to move and to be making ready to dance”.

32. Imagines, Prooemium.3: “For he who is to be a true master of the art must have a good knowledge of human nature, he must be able to discern the signs of men’s character even when they are silent, and what is revealed in the state of the cheeks and the expression of the eyes and the character of the eyebrows and, to put the matter briefly, whatever has to do with the mind. If proficient in these matters he will grasp every trait and his hand will successfully interpret the individual story of each person - that a man is insane, perhaps, or angry, or thoughtful, or happy, or impulsive, or in love, and, in a word, will paint in each case the appropriate traits” (transl. A. Fairbanks, ed. Loeb).

33. J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents*, Cambridge, et al. 1990, 6.

34. Cf. L. James and R. Webb, “To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places: Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium”, *Art History* 14 (1991) 1-17. On the connection between art and rhetoric cf. H. Maguire, “Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art”, *DOP* 28 (1974) 111-140; idem, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, Princeton 1981; idem, “Originality in Byzantine Art Criticism”, in: A. R. Littlewood, ed., *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music*, Exeter 1995, 101-114.

Myra, the rhetorician of the fifth century (ca. 430-post 491) explains in his *progymnasmata* that such descriptions help create clarity: "It is necessary, especially when we describe statues or images or anything else similar to these, to try to add the thoughts (λογισμούς) of the painter or sculptor about the statue or painting, such as for example, either that the painter depicted it angry for such a reason, or rejoicing, or we should talk about some other "pathos" which occurs in the story about the described art object; in other subjects also reasoning (λογισμοί) contributes greatly to clarity"³⁵. Among the *progymnasmata*, the *ekphraseis* of statues and paintings by Nicolaus of Myra stress such emotions, as pain, passion, inspired frenzy, rage, and anger³⁶. This rhetorical *topos* has become very elaborate in the *ekphraseis* of late antiquity. Also in Christian literature as in art the emphasis is placed on expressing the spirituality of the described person³⁷.

In Christodorus' poetic *ekphrasis* this commonplace is connected with expressions designating the anger or fury of the represented individuals. The Greek terms used are: *μανία*, *μαινόμενος*, *λύσσα*, *χόλος*, *κοτέω*. The figures described as angry are both mythological and historical: Deiphobus (vv. 6, 10), Demosthenes (v. 29), Hesiod (v. 39), Helenus (vv. 155, 156), Hecuba (v. 179), Cassandra (v. 190), Oenone (vv. 215, 217) and Entellus (v. 226). The mythological figures of this group are directly related to dramatic stories and thus their anger is perfectly appropriate to the heroic temper. The two literati of the group, Demosthenes and Hesiod, are known for their reactions to established attitudes of their times and their efforts to bring about change. Therefore, anger naturally expresses their intellectual preoccupations. Descriptions of anger have a particular place in the poetry of the time of Christodorus³⁸. The attention to anger became an important element in describing the

35. Nicolai Progymnasmata, ed. J. Felten, Lipsiae 1913, 69.4-11: Δεῖ δέ, ἥνίκα ἂν ἐκφράζωμεν καὶ μάλιστα ἀγάλματα τυχόν ἢ εἰκόνας ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, πειράσθαι λογισμούς προστιθέναι τοῦ τοιοῦδε ἢ τοιοῦδε παρὰ τοῦ γραφέως ἢ πλάστου σχήματος, οἷον τυχόν ἢ ὅτι ὀργιζόμενον ἔγραψε διὰ τήνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἢ ἡδόμενον, ἢ ἄλλο τι πάθος ἐροῦμεν συμβαῖνον τῇ περὶ τοῦ ἐκφραζομένου ἱστορίᾳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁμοίως πλείστα οἱ λογισμοὶ συντελοῦσιν εἰς ἐνάργειαν. Cf. also p. 70.2-4: ἡ ἐκφρασις... παραλαμβάνουσα τὰ ἐργαζόμενα τὴν ἐνάργειαν καὶ ὑπ' ὅσων ἡμῖν ἄγοντα ταῦτα, περὶ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι, καὶ μονοῦ θεατὰς εἶναι παρασκευάζοντα.

36. C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, I, Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1832, 399.5: ὀδύνη; 400.12, 406.1, 8: πάθος; 405.15, 18, 406.14: μανία; 406.5, 14: λύσσα; 413.5: ὀργή.

37. Theodoret of Cyrhus, *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, Paris, 1977-79, proem. c. 3.16-21: Ἡμεῖς δὲ βίον μὲν συγγράφομεν φιλοσοφίας διδάσκαλον καὶ τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολιτείαν ἐξηλωκότα ζωγραφοῦμεν δὲ οὐ τῶν σωμάτων τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, οὐδὲ τὰ τούτων ἐκτυπώματα τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν ἐπιδείκνυμεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀοράτων ψυχῶν τὰς ιδέας σκιογραφοῦμεν, καὶ πολέμους ἀθεάτους καὶ συμπλοκάς ἀφανεῖς ἐπιδείκνυμεν.

38. Cf., for example, D. G. Piccardi, *Metafora e poetica in Nonno di Panopoli*, Firenze 1985, 90-

physiognomy of members of the upper class in the early Byzantine period. And, as P. Brown noted, depicting physiognomies of such individuals was “most appropriate to an age of personal power”. Its parallel in historiography is best illustrated by Ammianus Marcellinus who particularly stresses the anger of the ruling class. His readers could contrast such tempers with those of the educated, self-restrained traditional figures of the urban upper class³⁹.

In the *ekphrasis* of the statues of Zeuxippus, another conventional theme known from ancient rhetorical theory and its application in literature is that of *kallos*, beauty⁴⁰. Admiration for the beauty of the statues is reserved only for some of them. Among the gods Aphrodite’s statues are each described as beautiful in a different way. In one the goddess was “shedding drops of beauty on the bright bronze” (vv. 78-79); in the other “on her breasts rested the twisted cestus, and in it beauty swam” (vv. 289-290). Apollo “beautiful to see” (v. 284), stands out for “the lovely beauty of a god was manifest in him, adorning the bronze” (vv. 285-286). Hermaphroditus “showed features of the beauty of both sexes (v. 107). Among the demigods the statues of Helen and Polyxena deserved a special elaboration of the theme of beauty by the poet. Christodorus expresses his personal admiration for Helen’s beauty: “I marvelled at her lovely image, that gave the bronze a grace most desirable, for her beauty even in that soulless work breathed warm love” (vv. 168-170). Polyxena’s beauty incites the poet to reflect on beauty’s tragic consequences: “nor did the arrows of thy beauty save thee - thy beauty which once entrapped his father (Pyrrhus), leading him of his own will into the net of unexpected death” (vv. 202-205). Finally, not surprisingly, of the historical persons only Alcibiades’ statue is praised as beautiful. He “had interwoven with the bronze the rays of his beauty” (vv. 82-83). In a few cases the poet describes as beautiful only some parts of the represented figures⁴¹.

But beauty was not a mere physical quality. It was also transcendent and

92: expressions and terms of anger. On the passion of anger in ancient experience and literature cf. J. Fillion-Lahille, *Le De ira de Sénèque et la philosophie stoïcienne des passions*, Paris 1984.

39. P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire*, Madison, Wisconsin 1992, 59-60. Choricus of Gaza praises the mild character of dux Aratius and archon Stephanus: R. Foerster, E. Richtsteig, *Choricij Gazaei Opera*, Lipsiae 1929, *Oratio* 3, c. 7 (p. 51.9: ἡμερον ἦθος), c. 8 (p. 51.11-16: φύσει μὲν οὖν ἀλλήλοις πραότης τε καὶ θυμὸς δοκεῖ διαμάχεσθαι... παρ’ ὧμιν δὲ λύει τὴν ἔριν ἄμφω καὶ διαλάττεται).

40. Cf. H. Saradi, “The *Kallos* of the Byzantine City: The Development of a Rhetorical *Topos* and Historical Reality”, *Gesta, The International Center of Medieval Art* 34/1 (1995) 37-56.

41. Deiphobus (v. 1: “on a well-carved pedestal”), Aphrodite (v. 104: “fair-bosomed”), Apollo (v. 283: “fair-haired”), Homer (vv. 329-330: “his beard... weaving an ornament for his naked bosom and his loveable face”).

characteristic of superior values. The beauty of some exemplary figures derived from their moral qualities as, for example, Aeneas whose “wise modesty redolent of beauty is shed on thy eyes” (vv. 145-146). Other figures whose beauty reflected a superior personality are Isocrates (“For thou adornest the bronze”: vv. 256-257), Telamonian Ajax (“the bloom of his native beauty all his ornament”: vv. 272-273) and Homer (“his beard... weaving an ornament for his naked bosom and his loveable face”: vv. 329-330).

The *topos* of beauty expresses the author’s esthetic appreciation of the art objects. It also highlights moral values. It is intimately connected with the *topos* of realism, defined both as a representation of nature and as emotional vividness arousing an emotional and spiritual response. In a rhetorical exercise of Choricus of Gaza, for example, we find a rational explanation for the connection between beauty and imitation of nature. The exercise had as subject the arguments of a Spartan against Phidias who modelled a statue of Aphrodite after his mistress Phryne. We do not know whether Phidias made such a statue of Aphrodite for Sparta. It is possible that Choricus borrowed the story referring to Cnidian Aphrodite for the purpose of his rhetorical exercise⁴². Choricus explains that the statue of a god should be excessively beautiful in order to approach the true image of the god and immitate it as much as possible⁴³. An example of imitation is the representation of Zeus at Olympia by Phidias. The great sculptor depicted him following Homer’s description of Zeus. Even at his time, Choricus states, the spectator looking at the statue of Zeus recalls Homeric Zeus who raises his dark eyebrows and moves his hair rapidly here and there⁴⁴.

Apart from the beauty of the represented figures two other elements attract Christodorus’s interest and are worthy of mention: the naked figures and the expression of their eyes. While for most of the representations of naked figures the poet makes plain statements⁴⁵, he elaborates on the significance of

42. R. Förster, “Der Praxiteles des Choricus”, *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 9 (1894) 1895, 170.

43. Foerster, *Choricii Gazaei Opera*, Decl. 8.39 (p. 325.4-6): τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ κάλλους ἅπασαν ὥραν νικῶντος ἢ μείζων εὐπρέπεια τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐγγυτέρω γίνεται τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πλείονα φέρει τὴν μίμησιν.

44. Ibidem, c. 40: τὸν Φειδίαν ἀκούομεν, ὅτε τὸν Ὀλυμπίασι Δία προσετάχθη ποιεῖν, ἐργάσασθαι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα πρὸς Ὀμηρικὸν ἀγαλμα τοῦ Διός, οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπινον εἶδος, καὶ νῦν ὁ τὸν Δία τοῦ Φειδίου θεώμενος εἰς ἔννοιαν τὸν Ὀμήρου λαμβάνει τὸν νεύοντα κυανέαις ὄφρῦσι καὶ τῆδε κάκεισε σοβοῦντα τὴν κόμην (Il. I.528). Comparison between Homer’s Zeus and that of Phidias is found also in the Life of Apollonius IV.7. Cf. also Dio of Prusa, *Or.* XII.62-83.

45. vv. 59 (Pyrrhus, son of Achilles), 66 (Poseidon), 74 (Apollo), 79 (Aphrodite’s bust), 100 (another Aphrodite), 194 (Pyrrhus), 213 (Locrian Ajax), 271 (Ajax), 280 (Sarpedon), 292 (Achilles). Cf. also Nicolaus of Myra, ed. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, I, 395.3 ff., 405.14 ff., 409.19 ff., 410.13.

Apollo's naked figure:

"In the bronze he was naked, because Apollo knoweth how to make naked to them who enquire of him the true decrees of Fate, or because he appeareth to all alike, for King Phoebus is the Sun and his pure brilliancy is seen from far" (vv. 73-77).

The need to explain all aspects of representation of gods in antique statues on the basis of some specific attributes is attested even before the early Byzantine period. In the *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* of Porphyry⁴⁶, the Neoplatonic philosopher of the third century, all characteristics of the statues of the Greek pantheon are interpreted allegorically. Thus, for example, Zeus was represented seated suggesting his firmly based power. He was shown naked in the upper part of his body because he was conspicuous in the spiritual and celestial parts of the universe; but he was depicted covered in the lower part because he was invisible. Such interpretations were based on the notion that the invisible powers of the gods were marked on their visible images and some specialists possessed the knowledge of relating the attributes of the gods from their statues as from books (*καθάπερ ἐκ βιβλῶν*: c. 1). They were aiming at rationalizing the ancient myths⁴⁷. Often artificial etymological interpretations wrapped in philosophical concepts and vocabulary offered convenient explanations of ancient myths⁴⁸. This was a very strong trend attested also among the

46. Vie de Porphyre le philosophe néo-platonicien avec les fragments des traités *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* et de *regressu animae*, Gand Leipzig 1913, repr. Hildesheim 1964, app. I.

47. See, for example, Callistratus' analysis in the Descriptions 6.4: "... with a deeper perception of art (*σὺν αἰσθήσει τεχνικωτέρᾳ*), knew how to track down the marvels of craftsmen, applied reasoning to the artist's creation (*καὶ λογισμὸν ἐπέχε τῷ τεχνίματι*) explaining the significance of Opportunity (*τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ δύναμιν*) as faithfully portrayed in the statue".

48. For example, Vie de Porphyre, c. 7 (p. 9*.17-19): ὁ δὲ κύων αὐτοῦ [Πλούτωνος] δηλοῖ τὴν κῆρσιν τῶν καρπῶν εἰς τρία διηρημένην, εἰς τὴν καταβολὴν καὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάδοσιν; c. 8 (p. 13*.18-14*.1): Τῆς δ' αὖ χορευτικῆς τε καὶ ἐγκυκλίου κινήσεως, καθ' ἣν τοὺς καρποὺς πεπαίνει, ἡ πυρὸς δύναμις Διόνυσος κέκληται, ἐτέρως ἢ ἡ τῶν ὑγροποιῶν καρπῶν δύναμις, ἡ παρὰ τὸ δινεῖν, ἡ διανύειν τὸν ἥλιον τὴν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν περιφορᾶν; (p. 14*.17-18): (Ἀθηνᾶ) ἔστι γὰρ τῆς φρονήσεως σύμβολον, Ἀθηνᾶ τις οὖσα. On allegorical interpretations of ancient myths cf. P. Lénègue, *Aurea catena Homeri. Une étude sur l'allégorie grecque*, Paris 1959. On the symbolism of the statues cf. also V. Fazzo, *La giustificazione delle immagini religiose dalla tarda antichità al Cristianesimo, I: La tarda antichità (con un Appendice sull'Iconoclasmo bizantino)*, Napoli 1977, 195 ff. Allegorical interpretations of an etymological nature are also found in the *Ὀμηρικὰ προβλήματα* of the first-century A.D. Heracleitus: *Héraclite. Allégories d'Homère*, ed. F. Buffière, Paris 1962, c. 7, 19.8 (on Athene followed by Porphyry), 44 etc. Also John of Antioch, *Ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχείως ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφεισιν τῶν μυθευομένων* with Christian interpretations of some myths. Allegorical interpretation of pagan myths was also written by Fulgentius who is identified with the bishop of Ruspe (507-532): *Mythologiarum Libri III*, ed. R. Helm, Leipzig 1898. For the poetry of the early Byzantine period cf. also Viljamaa, *Greek Encomiastic Poetry*, 83.

common people⁴⁹. By the time of Christodorus of Koptos they had become a commonplace in literary texts. Often they were arbitrary, offering the author an opportunity to elaborate on his subject. For example, Thucydides' raised hand is interpreted by Christodorus as suggesting "that he once sang the bitter struggle of Sparta and Athens, that cut down so many of the sons of populous Greece" (vv. 374-376).

One of the physical characteristics on which Christodorus focusses is the expression of the eyes, which introduces us to the portraiture of late antiquity. Attention to the eyes of figures represented in painting or statuary is found in art critics of the third century. Philostratus the Elder analyses the expression of the eyes of the tragic figure Pantheia, as depicting her psychological state: "As for the eyes, my boy, let us not consider them for their size, nor ask if they are black, but let us consider the great intelligence there is in them, and by Zeus all the virtues of the soul which they have absorbed; for though their state excites pity, yet they have not lost their look of gladness, and though they are courageous, yet they show the courage of reason rather than of rashness, and though they are aware of death, they have not yet departed from life. Desire, the companion of love, so suffuses the eyes that it seems clearly to drip from them"⁵⁰. Philostratus the Younger offers similar analysis of the expression of the eyes of statues⁵¹. Nicolaus of Myra in the *ekphraseis* of his

49. See, for example, in the Life of Apollonius IV.28 the interpretation of the statue of the athlete Milo of Croton at Olympia by the people of the area: they thought that the fillet on his head, so common in Archaic statues, was a symbol of temperance and sobriety. Apollonius interpreted it as a symbol of priesthood. But as J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome c. 753 B.C.-A.D. 337, Sources and Documents*, Cambridge, London, New York et al. 1966, repr. 1986, 214 rightly remarks, it might have indicated a victorious athlete. Apollonius also interpreted a disk beneath the athlete's feet, probably an Archaic plinth, as a shield which together with the position of the extended fingers of his right hand suggested to him a posture of prayer. It is clear therefore that both the common people and the *literati* were searching for allegorical interpretations of statues and were attracted to mystic symbolism ignoring historical, artistic and cultural explanations. Occasionally we also find an analysis based on art historical observations: the rendering of the fingers and feet of Milo's statue, attached to each other without spaces, is interpreted by Apollonius as a stylistic characteristic of Archaic art.

50. Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines*, II.9.6; cf. also I.14.1; 16.1 (the look of the eye is so intelligent); 23.4; II.1.3; 2.4; 5.5; 17.9; 18.4; 19.3; 21.2; 23.3; 31.2; 34.3.

51. Philostratus the Younger, *Imagines*, 11.2 (transl. A. Fairbanks, ed. Loeb): "The maiden [Medea] shows in her face a certain desperation of mind, for while her eyes filled with tears gaze towards the land, she is frightened at the thought of what she has done and is preoccupied in planning for the future, and she seems to me to be turning over her thoughts all to herself as she beholds in her mind each detail and has the gaze of her eyes steadfastly fixed upon the hidden secrets of her heart (πεπηγυῖα τὰς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν βολὰς ἐς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπόρρητα). Cf. also I.3; 2.2; 5.3; 7.1, 3; 8.1; 9.2, 3, 5; 10.4; 11.2, 4, 5; 12.2; 13.1 (Why do you fix your eyes upon the ground? Since I for one do not know whether it is because you are now collecting your thoughts, or because

progymnasmata recommends that the orator elaborate on the eyes of the represented figures⁵². The eyes of the statues offer an insight to the figures' personalities. They express the emotions and the internal spiritual life of remarkable individuals. Christodorus of Koptos describes the expressions of the eyes of twelve figures: Deiphobus (vv. 7-8), Aristotle (v. 22), Pyrrhus, son of Achilles (vv. 59-60), Amymone (vv. 63-64), Pythagoras (vv. 23-24), Aeneas (vv. 145-146), Oenone (vv. 216-217), Dares (vv. 223-224), Apollo (vv. 269-270), Sarpedon (vv. 281-282), another Apollo (vv. 286-287), and Achilles (vv. 295-296). From this group the heroes Deiphobus and Achilles, are in combat situations, thus their eyes express the stress and emotions of the imminent attack; the expression of the eyes of the portraits of philosophers not unexpectedly suggests contemplation and intense spiritual activity: Aristotle's "mobile eyes revealed his collected mind". Pythagoras "was measuring Heaven alone". His eyes are described as "pure" (ἀχράντοισι ὀπωπαῖς), an adjective with moral and religious connotation, designating his spirituality for which he was very much esteemed by the early Byzantines. Similarly the prophetic power could be expressed by the eyes, as in the two statues of Apollo. The figures' personalities were also revealed by the expression of their eyes: Aeneas' eyes expressed "wise modesty redolent of beauty", and Dares' "the hot breath of valour". The eyes of Sarpedon and Aeneas suggested their noble origin, while Amymone's and Oenone's the personal emotions of love and jealousy, appropriate to these mythical figures.

Similar attention to the eyes is found in the literary works of late antiquity. The eyes express tension in moments of confrontation⁵³, impulsiveness of the temperament⁵⁴, or contemplation of philosophers⁵⁵. In statuary the new em-

you are awe-stricken at the presence of the goddess); 14.4, 5; 15.1, 5, 6; 16.1; 17.1. Cf. also Callistratus, *Descriptions* 3.2; 5.1 (and its glance did not express unmixed exultation nor yet pure joy, for in the nature of the eyes art had put an indication of grief, that the image might represent not only both Narcissus but also his fate; 5.4; 7.2; 8.5; 10.2; 13.3; 14.1, 5.

52. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, I, 403.20-22; 405.27-406.2 (ὄφθαλμοὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ μὴ φρονεῖν καθεστήκασιν ἔλεγχος, πῶς γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑποφαίνεται, καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον τρέπεται χῶρον, καὶ οὕτως ἢ τοῦ πάθους εἰκῶν καταφαίνεται); 413.3.

53. See also L. de Lannoy, *Flavii Philostrati Heroicus*, Leipzig 1977, c. 10.2, 33.40-41, 34.5, 35.2, 48.2, 54.4.

54. Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, ed. Loeb, transl. W. C. Wright, c. 552: "his eyes gave out a brilliant gleam (χαροπὴν τε ἀκτίνα) which betrayed his impulsive temperament (ὀρμῆς ἦθος)."

55. See, for example, Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists*, c. 473: "the very pupils of his eyes were, so to speak, winged... and his glance revealed the agile impulses of his soul... one could hardly endure the swift movements of his eyes...; 481; 502: "his eyes testifying that the soul within him was leaping and dancing around the opinions that he expressed". In a metaphor the philosophers' spiritual life is defined as the eyes of the soul (τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμματα): *Damascii vitae Isidori reliquiae*, ed. C. Zintzen, Hildesheim 1967, *Epitoma Photiana*, c. 32 (p. 56.5), fr. 72 (p. 57.3); a detailed description of

phasis on the eyes of the portraits appeared in the third century A.D. and as has been noted, this trend coincided with the popularity of Neoplatonism in an age of profound crisis, when the classical forms of art started to dissolve under the pressure of a new trend focussing on spiritual and internal life. The eyes are given the impression of gazing into the future. Usually the pupil of the eyes was deeply drilled and three circles were clearly marked. From a period closer to the time of Christodorus this trend is best represented in the portraits of philosophers from Aphrodisias (late fourth to fifth century)⁵⁶. The emphasis on this treatment of the eyes is also accompanied by deep lines on the forehead and prominent eyebrows to suggest profound thought. This characteristic is stressed in Christodorus' description of Homer's portrait: "his eyebrows prominent, and not without reason, for his eyes were sightless. Yet to look at he was not like a blind man; for grace dwelt in his empty eyes. As I think, the artist made him so, that it might be evident to all that he bore the inextinguishable light of wisdom in his heart" (vv. 332-338). Although most of the statues in the collection were not late antique, Christodorus' description was expressing what an early Byzantine viewer was expected to see in the portraits: an intense internal spiritual life appropriate to great heroes, philosophers and prophets⁵⁷. Thus the viewers were expected to respond to the images as if they were late antique, and to recognize cultural affinities even if they were not represented on the art objects. It is significant that the description of the eyes as reflecting the internal spiritual life was also applied to Christian portraits. The eyes were showing the calm of the soul of holy men; the latter could see with the eyes of their soul⁵⁸. Agathias in an epigram on an image of the Archangel stresses that "the eyes stir up the depths of the spirit"⁵⁹.

the expressions of Isidorus' eyes: Epitoma Photiana, c. 16 (p. 16.4-12) with the conclusion that the eyes were the accurate images of the soul and of the divine spirit (ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν, ἀγάλματα ἦσαν ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐκεῖνοι τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκριβῆ, οὐ μόνως γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐνοικουμένης αὐτῇ θείας ἀπορροῆς: p. 16.10-12).

56. R. R. R. Smith, "Late Roman philosophers", in: *Aphrodisias Papers. 2. The theatre, a sculptor's workshop, philosophers, and coin-types*, ed. R. R. R. Smith and + K. T. Erim, Ann Arbor 1991, 144-158, esp. 146 (Pindar), 148 (Alexander), 153-155 (Old philosopher); idem, "A new portrait of Pythagoras", *ibidem*, 159.

57. Cf. J. Onians, "Abstraction and Imagination in Late Antiquity", *Art History* 3 (1980) 1-24; J. Trilling, "Late Antique and Sub-Antique, or the 'Decline of Form' Reconsidered", *DOP* 41 (1987) 469-476. See also the reflections of A. Cutler, "The Right Hand's Cunning: Craftsmanship and the Demand for Art in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages", *Speculum* 72 (1997) 975-976, 981 for "a technical explanation" of the abstract trends in art.

58. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, IV.10.10-11: ἱκανοὶ δὲ οὗτοι [ὀφθαλμοί] τεκμηριῶσαι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν γαλήνην; IX.2.7: τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀπτικόν.

59. Transl. W.R. Paton, *Anth. Gr.* I.34.7: ὄμματα δ' ὀτρύνουσι βαθὺν νόον.

It appears that the descriptions of the last few statues in the poem are arranged to create a crescendo. The description of the portrait of Pompey, the third from the end of the poem, connects the viewer with the imperial family and contemporary events: Anastasius had one nephew and two grandnephews by the name of Pompeius and, as it has been suggested, this was also the name of his father. The verses on Pompey were meant to glorify Anastasius and his victories over the Isaurian rebels (492-498) by alluding to similar victories of the great Roman general and to the synonymy of Anastasius' father⁶⁰. Christodorus had also written an epic poem on this subject.

Then follows the praise of a second statue of Homer. According to Christodorus this was not the great epic poet, but Homer of Byzantium. The identification was not certain, since Christodorus states that he *thought* (ὄλω: v. 408) the statue was the Byzantine Homer. It becomes clear that the accuracy of the description was not important. The literary treatment of the subject was what mattered. It is not unlikely that the identification with the Byzantine Homer suited Christodorus' literary aim: to enlarge his topic from a praise of the collection of the Baths of Zeuxippus to that of the city of Constantinople. This literary device fitted the purpose of ceremonial poetry and rhetoric of the early Byzantine empire⁶¹. Byzantine Homer was the son of the Byzantine Moero who was nurtured by the Muses and became an epic poet. He himself was a tragic poet "adorning by his verses his city Byzantium" (κοσμήσας ἐπέεσσιν ἔην Βυζαντίδα πάτρην: v. 413)⁶². Thus Constantinople had her poet who adorned her as Homer adorned Troy and Virgil Rome.

The connection with Rome becomes immediately apparent in the praise of Virgil who is the last figure of the list (vv. 414-416). The vocabulary of the three last verses praising Virgil makes clear the intention of the poet, what the poet wished to see and describe. Virgil is praised for his eloquence and in a metaphor he is referred to as "the clear-voiced swan" (v. 414). The swan being associated through Augustan art with Augustus, this reference may be understood as an allusion to Augustan art and literature and the golden age of Rome. In an elaborate formulation of Byzantine patriotism, Virgil is pre-

60. Cf. A. Cameron, "The House of Anastasius", *GRBS* 19 (1978) 259-263, and p. 263: "even though the reference was plainly to Pompeius Magnus, was bound at the same time to remind the contemporary listener of the emperor's father - and to suggest that pleasing possibility of his descent from so great a Roman".

61. Like the sophists who had special interest in monuments and were attracted to ancient local tradition "and were prepared to invest it with literary dignity and belletristic décor": G. Anderson, *Philostratus. Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D.*, London, Sydney, Dover, New Hampshire 1986, 253.

62. On this literary *topos* cf. Saradi, "Kallos", 40-41, 43.

sented as having been nourished by his native Echo of Tiber to become another Homer (ὄν ποτε Ῥώμης θυμβρίας ἄλλον Ὅμηρον ἀνέτρεφε πάτριος Ἥχώ: vv. 415-416). At the same time we recognize the *synkrisis*, comparison, a familiar element of the rules of the *enkomia*⁶³. The reader is artfully lead to the parallel of Rome-Constantinople. New Rome was the echo of the Old. The symbolism of Constantinople's role in history becomes obvious. This theme has been recognized as central also in contemporary poetry, such as the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos of Panopolis⁶⁴. At the same time the undisputable superiority of Homer by comparison with Virgil, as presented in the last verses, may imply the ultimate superiority of the New Rome versus the Old. Virgil is also connected in other ways with the statues of Zeuxippus. Apart from Aeneas, three other statues in the Baths of Zeuxippus represented figures connected with the Aeneid: Dares, Entellus (vv. 222-227), Creusa (vv. 148-154).

We can unlock the *ekphrasis*' symbolism "by assuming that it [the text] invites us to employ techniques we already possess to work on things we already know"⁶⁵. Regardless of the possibility that an epilogue is missing, the last three verses dedicated to Virgil may have meant much more to the contemporary readers of Christodorus' poem. They could have been understood as an allusion to the new religion of New Rome. We know that the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil had been interpreted by Christian Fathers and other writers as prophesying the advent of Christ. A messianic interpretation of the Fourth Eclogue is offered by Eusebius in the *Life of Constantine* in a Speech by the first Byzantine emperor. The speech is not preserved in its Latin original but in Greek⁶⁶. It incorporates translations of several verses of the

63. Hermogenes, Προοιμνάσματα, L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, II, Lipsiae 1854, 13.3-4, 14-15; Menander, Περί Ἐπιδεικτικῶν, *Menander Rhetor*, ed. D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, Oxford 1981, 92. The laudatory poems of the early Byzantine period follow the rules of rhetoric: L. B. Struthers, "The Rhetorical Structure of the Encomia of Claudius Claudian", *HSCP* XXX (1919) 49-87.

64. Cf. P. Chuvin, *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques. Recherches sur l'oeuvre de Nonnos de Panopolis*, Clermont 1991, 23-26, 314. Other similarities have also been discerned in the works of Nonnos of Panopolis and Christodorus of Koptos in the metre, words and expressions: Viljamaa, *Greek Encomiastic Poetry*, 37.

65. M. Turner, *Death is the mother of beauty. Mind, Metaphor, Criticism*, Chicago and London 1987, 11.

66. I. A. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke* 1, Leipzig 1902, 183-186 (c. 19-21); Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.32. On the messianic interpretations of Virgil's Bucolics cf. A. Bolhuis, *Vergilius' Vierde Ecloga in de Oratio Constantini ad Sanctorum Coetum*, Ermelo, 1950; P. Courcelle, "Les Exégèses chrétiennes de la Quatrième Éclogue", *REA* 59 (1957) 294-319; S. Benko, "Virgil's Fourth Eclogue in Christian Interpretation", *ANRW* 2.31.1, Berlin 1980, 646-705; J. Fontaine, "La conversion du christianisme à la culture antique: la lecture chrétienne de l'univers bucolique de Virgile", *BullBudé*

Fourth Eclogue in Greek hexameters with a messianic interpretation. This text offered guidelines for similar interpretations of other Christian texts. For example, in the *Passio* of St. Artemius who died in 362, Virgil's *Bucolics* are placed by the emperor Julian next to the prophesies of Sibyl and of Apollo⁶⁷. There is plenty of evidence that Virgil was read in the East, from the papyrus of Nessana found in a Christian monastery, and from those of Egypt⁶⁸. Comparison of the allegory of the mosaic scenes of the imperial palace at Constantinople with Virgil's poems has been drawn⁶⁹. Church mosaic pavements copying scenes of manuscript illuminations of the *Bucolics*⁷⁰ may have conveyed a messianic symbolism: Virgil predicted the advent of Christ and should be included in the Christian literature and studied by Christians. The *Oratio Constantini* is even more daring in the messianic interpretation of Virgil's *Aeneid*: verse 36 is interpreted allegorically as alluding to Christ (Achilles) and to the *oikoumene* (Troy)⁷¹. To accommodate old myths in new

1978, 50-75. Cf. also S. McCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry. Vergil in the Mind of Augustine*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1998, 22 ff.

67. *Passio S. Artemii*, in: *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, ed. B. Kotter, V, Berlin, New York 1988, 228 (c. 46): Τὸν Χριστὸν ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται προκατήγγειλαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς κρεῖττον ἐπίστασαι. Καὶ πολλαὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας αἱ μαρτυρίαι καὶ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν σεβομένων θεῶν καὶ τῶν χρησμάτων αἱ προαγορεύσεις τὰ τε Σιβύλλεια γράμματα καὶ ἡ τοῦ Βιργιλίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ποίησις, ἣν ὑμεῖς Βουκολικὴν ὀνομάζετε, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ παρ' ὑμῖν θαυμαζόμενος Ἀπόλλων ὁ μαντικὸς τοῦτον δὴ τινα περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐξεφώνησε λόγον... Cf. also at the end of the fifth century, Fulgentius, *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae* who allegorizes Virgil: F. Zanlucchi, *Fabio Planciade Fulgenzio. Expositio Virgilianae continentiae*, Padua 1972.

68. B. Baldwin, "Vergilius Graecus", *AJP* 97 (1976) 361-368 (= idem, *Studies on Late Roman and Byzantine History, Literature and Language*, Amsterdam 1984, no. XVII); idem, "Vergil in Byzantium", *AntAb* 28 (1982) 81-93 (= idem, *Studies*, no. XLVI); Cameron, "Wandering Poets", 495-496. Cf. also P. Courcelle, *Lecteurs païens et lecteurs chrétiens de l'Énéide. I. Les témoignages littéraires*, Paris 1984; Corippus' epic *Iohannis*, probably written in 549 is influenced in the form of its structure by Virgil's *Aeneid*: J. Blänsdorf, "Aeneadas rursus cupiunt resonare Camenae: Vergils Epische Form in der *Iohannis* des Corippus", in: *Monumentum Chilonense* (Festschrift E. Burck), ed. E. Lefèvre, Amsterdam 1975, 524 ff.

69. J. Trilling, "The Soul of the Empire: Style and Meaning in the Mosaic Pavement of the Byzantine Imperial Palace in Constantinople", *DOP* 43 (1989) 27-72, esp. 58, 60-63 and his conclusion in p. 63: "...the Palace mosaic was conceived as a counterpart to the *Georgics* in occasion as well as theme, and created to honor Heraclius on his return to Constantinople in 628". The mosaic, however, has been now dated to an earlier period: cf. W. Jobst, "Architecture and Mosaic Art of the 'Great Palace' of Constantinople", *DOP* (forthcoming).

70. M. Spiro, "Vergil in Albania: An Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavement at Arapaj", in: *Οι Αλβανοί στο Μεσαίωνα*, Athens 1998, 131-168.

71. *Oratio Constantini* XX.9: Τὸν μὲν Ἀχιλλεῖα χαρακτηρίζει τὸν Σωτῆρα ὁρμώντα ἐπὶ τὸν τρωικὸν πόλεμον, τὴν δὲ Τροίαν τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν. Ἐπολέμησε γοῦν ἄντικρυς τῆς ἀντικειμένης δυνάμεως πονηρᾶς, πεμφθεὶς ἐξ οἰκείας τε προνοίας καὶ παραγγελίας μεγίστου πατρὸς: ed. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke*, I, 185.19-23.

circumstances was an established technique of the literary style⁷².

We do not know whether Christodorus was a Christian, but poets of his time could equally use pagan or Christian themes and vocabulary⁷³. It may very well be that the poet deliberately chose to end the *ekphrasis* with the portrait of Virgil⁷⁴. This would function as an allegory which was recognized by the early Byzantine literary critics as the shortest way (τὴν σύντομον ὁδεύοντα) to reveal the truth⁷⁵. In this case the last verses dedicated to Virgil could function as the epilogue which, according to the rhetorical manuals, leads on to the deductive proofs which had been presented earlier, summing up the accounts, the ἦθη and the πάθη stated above⁷⁶. The epilogue is also defined as a commonplace (κοινὸς τόπος) which contains a general statement on the subject and magnification (αὔξησις)⁷⁷. Teachers of rhetoric also suggested the inclusion of a religious note to the epilogue of the *enkomiastion*, such as a prayer⁷⁸. This technique has been recognized in the poetic praises of Claudius Claudianus⁷⁹. All this is accomplished in the last verses on Virgil: Greek literature as represented by Homer shines superior to the Latin, Constantinople is alluded to as New Rome, and valued for its religion which is now linked with the glorious period of the Augustan Age through Virgil. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the *ekphrasis* was written for an official occasion. If we understand Christodorus' poetic *ekphrasis* as suggested, the entire work may be regarded as a metaphor which, it has often been acknowledged, "is the nerve or heart of all poetic creation"⁸⁰. On the other

72. Cf. Julian, *Or.* VII.226D, ed. G. Rochefort, II, 1, Paris 1963: ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν μῦθος, μῦθός ἐστι παλαιός, ἐφήρμοσας δὲ αὐτόν σὺ πράγμασιν ἑτέροις, ὅπερ οἶμαι ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ τῆ τροπικῆ ἡρώμενοι τῶν νοημάτων κατασκευῆ.

73. Cf. Cameron, "Wandering Poets", 472-477; P. Chuvin, *Chronique des derniers païens. La disparition du paganisme dans l'Empire romain, du règne de Constantin à celui de Justinien*, Paris 1990, 118-119; G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, Ann Arbor 1990, 43-44, 63 ff.

74. Cf. B. Baldwin, *An Anthology of Byzantine Poetry*, Amsterdam 1985, 27 suggests "Christodorus' decision to round off with Virgil may reflect either his own enthusiasm or general Byzantine taste"; idem, "Vergil in Byzantium", 83; idem, "Vergilius Graecus", 368: "The poet is Vergil himself, raised to Homer's level, which is trite enough, but the Roman bard is strikingly chosen to terminate the poem".

75. Julian, *Or.* VII, 227B.

76. Nicolai *Progymnasmata*, p. 5.6-10: ἐπίλογος δὲ ἐστὶ λόγος ἐπὶ προειρημέναις ταῖς ἀποδείξεσιν ἐπαγόμενος, ἀθροισμὸν πραγμάτων καὶ ἠθῶν καὶ παθῶν περιέχων· ἔργον δὲ καὶ τούτου, φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, τὸ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς τοῦς ἀκούοντας ὑπομῆσαι τῶν εἰρημένων.

77. *Ibidem*, 36-37.

78. Menander, ed. Russell and Wilson, 94: ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐχὴν ἐρεῖς αἰτῶν, παρὰ θεοῦ εἰς μῆριστον χρόνον προελθεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν, διαδοθῆναι εἰς παῖδας, παραδοθῆναι τῷ γένει.

79. Cf. Struthers, *The Rhetorical Structure*, 85-86.

80. D. G. James, "Metaphor and Symbol", in: L. C. Knights, B. Cottle, eds., *Metaphor and Symbol*, London 1960, 100.

hand it is not impossible that the statues were indeed arranged to be viewed in a way to end with Virgil's portrait⁸¹, and Christodorus wrote his epigrams following the order of the displayed statues. In Roman public space it appears that the position of the statues conveyed the desired message⁸². Even in private space collections of Roman statues displayed various themes, and their originality lay in their arrangement⁸³. This could still have been possible in the early fourth century. Apparently in the baths of Zeuxippus the statues were not arranged to form homogenous groups, i.e. groups of gods, heroes, philosophers, etc., but esthetic considerations and the arrangement and function of the rooms may have dictated their sequence.

In Christodorus' poem the collection of statues in the Baths of Zeuxippus became the vehicle symbolizing the destiny and historical role of Constantinople as it was understood by contemporary educated Byzantines. Poetry kept alive these interpretations and helped to remind people how to respond to these statues. The past has been transposed into the present place and time. It has been harmoniously integrated into the history and culture of Constantinople through the messianic message of Virgil. The duality of the tradition of the New capital has been reconciled.

II. The Supernatural power of statues

The concept of the miraculous nature of statues was imbedded in ancient Greek religious⁸⁴ and Roman beliefs⁸⁵ and especially in the philosophical

81. Baldwin, *Anthology*, 27.

82. S. Gregory, "'Powerful Images': responses to portraits and the political uses of images in Rome", *JRA* 7 (1994) 86. In the Roman baths the evidence is too fragmentary to allow one to draw conclusions about specific programmatic coherence: Manderscheid, *Skulpturenausstattung*, 14-16. The usual themes expressed by the statues of gods and heroes were those of health, physical well-being and pleasure. Statues of emperors and of local magistrates and benefactors were also usually included.

83. E. Bartman, "Sculptural Collecting and Display in the Private Realm", in: E. K. Gazda, ed., *Roman Art in the Private Sphere. New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula*, Ann Arbor 1991, 71-88, esp. 79 ff.

84. According to the ancient Greek tradition Daedalus created statues which could walk and even speak: Euripides, *Hecuba*, 838; Philostratus, *Imagines* I.16.1; Callistratus, *Descriptions* 3.5; 8.1; 9.3. Cf. also F. Poulsen, "Talking, Weeping and Bleeding Sculptures. A Chapter of the History of Religious Fraud", *Acta Archaeologica* 16 (1945) 178-195 on the devices used by the ancient Greeks to make statues talk and on a bust of Epicurus to the hollowed interior of which a pipe could be attached through which speech could be transmitted; the bust was apparently reused in late antiquity and assigned to another mystic philosopher. Cf. also C. A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses. Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual*, New York - Oxford 1992.

85. Cf. V. Basanoff, *Evocatio. Étude d'un rituel militaire romain*, Paris 1947; J. le Gall, "Evo-

tradition of the late Roman Empire⁸⁶. In Byzantium this concept was accorded a central place in Christian culture. The marvelous, the miraculous and the supernatural were a natural expression of the Christian psychè, since the miracle concept was embodied in Christian tradition and literature from the New Testament to Hagiographical texts⁸⁷. However, as long as paganism was perceived as a threat to the new religion, Christian theologians insisted on the material nature of statues and their lack of sensation⁸⁸.

In Neoplatonism, theurgy was the engagement with the divine, not just its theory. It included divination, sacrifices, Chaldaean astrology and miracles. Pythagoras⁸⁹ and Apollonius of Tyana were the greatest theurgists. Theurgy was part of Neoplatonic philosophy. The Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus (205-270) believed that gods could manifest themselves in statues⁹⁰. Porphyry (233-ca. 306) placed greater emphasis on theurgy than Plotinus. He pushed this view even further in his *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων*. Theurgy according to Porphyry could lead the lower soul to salvation. Thus theurgy is incorporated into Neoplatonism as a means of communion with the divine⁹¹. In Egypt there was also an ancient practice of animating statues through religious ritual⁹².

Such attitudes could have been easily accepted by Christian thinkers and common people. They were accommodated by generally accepted views about

catio", in: *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine. Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon*, Paris 1976, 519-524; N. Berti, "Scipione Emiliano, Caio Gracco e l'evocatio di 'Giunone' da Cartagine", *Aevum* 64 (1990) 69-75; S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, London, New York 1984, 8-9, 21, 116, 121, 191-205.

86. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951, 283-311; idem, "Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism", *JRS* 37 (1947) 55-69 (*The Greeks and the Irrational*, app. II); B. Nasemann, *Theurgie und Philosophie in Jamblichs De mysteriis*, Stuttgart 1991, 277 ff.; G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind*, Cambridge, London, et al. 1986, 126 ff.; Fazzo, *Immagini religiose*, esp. 235 ff.; P. Athanassiadi, "Dreams, Theurgy and Freelance Divination: The Testimony of Iamblichus", *JRS* 83 (1993), 115-130, esp. 122-123.

87. Cf., for example, L. Cracco Ruggini, "Il miracolo nella cultura del tardo impero: concetto e funzione", in: *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés IVe-XIIe siècles. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979)*, Paris 1981, 161-204. For the importance of the miracle in the early Byzantine art as a parallel to the pagan tradition cf. T. F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, Princeton, New Jersey 1993, 54-91.

88. Cf. A. A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture*, Atlanta, Georgia 1988, 126 ff., 202-204.

89. On the theurgic divinising of statues by Pythagoras cf. Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life. Text, Translation, and Notes*, ed. J. Dillon, J. Hershbell, Atlanta 1991, c. 151.

90. Ennead IV.3.11.

91. Cf. A. Smith, *Porphyry's Place in the Neoplatonic Tradition. A Study in Post-Plotinian Neoplatonism*, The Hague 1974, 127 ff.

92. Cf. *Corpus Hermeticum* II, Asclepius 37-38, ed. A. D. Nock - A.-J. Festugière, Paris 1945.

the central place of the miracle in Christian culture and literature. Similarities between Christian holy men and pagan wise men, experts in theurgy, could have been easily found. Such parallels go back to the early Christian centuries: a striking resemblance between the Life of Apollonius by Philostratus and Christian Gospel narratives has been discerned⁹³. Thus attitudes about the miraculous power of statues were naturally nourished in early Byzantine culture. In some cases we also find that miraculous attributes of statues were given to Christian icons⁹⁴.

In the fifth century the Neoplatonic philosopher Proclus (410 or 412-485) speaks of the theurgic power of statues in a more direct way. The theurgic power is the greatest of all human wisdom and knowledge⁹⁵. The *telestai* were able to make the statues become alive and move⁹⁶. Such passages indicate how deeply “magic” had been incorporated into the philosophical thought of Neoplatonists. The relation between image, god and symbol led to the concept of the spirituality of the divine image. However, even in the philosophical texts of the early Byzantine period a subtle distinction is often made between communion with the divine nature through *nous* to which is still reserved a superior place, and revelation through material means⁹⁷. In the *Lives of the Sophists* by Eunapius we have other references to philosophers’ theurgy: for example, Maximus was able to make a statue of Hecuba smile and light the torches in her hands⁹⁸.

93. G. Petzke, *Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament*, Leyden 1970; M. Tasinato, *Figurata malia. Il taumaturgo e la phantasia tra paganesimo e cristianesimo*, Pordenone 1988.

94. Cf., for example, S. D. Imellos, “Εἰκόνες ἁγίων δεσμευόμεναι”, *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἑρεῦνης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφίας* 24 (1975-1976), Athens 1977, 60-64.

95. Theol. Plat. (Proclus) I. 25: διὰ τῆς θεουργικῆς δυνάμεως, ἡ κρείττων ἐστὶν ἀπάσης ἀνθρωπίνης σωφροσύνης καὶ ἐπιστήμης συλλαβοῦσα τὰ τε τῆς μαντικῆς ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰς τῆς τελεσιουργικῆς καθαρτικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τῆς ἐνθέου κατακοχῆς ἐνεργήματα.

96. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ οἱ τῶ ὄντι τελεσταὶ δρῶσι, διὰ χαρακτήρων καὶ ὀνομάτων ζωτικῶν τελούντες τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ζῶντα καὶ κινούμενα ἀποτελοῦντες: Proclus, in *Timaeus* IV, 240 A; καὶ ὡσπερ ἡ τελεστικὴ διὰ δὴ τινῶν συμβόλων καὶ ἀπορρήτων συνθημάτων τὰ τῆδε ἀγάλματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπέικαζε καὶ ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν θείων ἐλλάμψεων: *Comm. in Cratilo* I, 21-22.

97. *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, ed. G. Kroll, II, Lipsiae 1899, c. 39 (p. 68). Cf. also the analysis of A. Sheppard, “Proclus’ Attitude to Theurgy”, *CQ* 32 (1982) 212-224 who distinguishes three categories of Proclus’ theurgy: “pure ritual ‘white magic’, theurgy which uses some kind of ritual and raises the soul to the level of the intellectual and to the lowest point of the intelligible, and finally theurgy which is not really ritual at all but brings about a union of the ‘one in the soul’ with the higher intelligibles and with the First Hypostasis” (p. 224). Cf. also Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists*, c. 474.

98. Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists*, c. 475. Cf. also Damascii, *Vitae Isidori*, fr. 174 (p. 147, 1-8) regarding the Neoplatonist Heraiscus.

The description of statues in the *Chronicle* of Malalas helps us understand the function of such descriptions in Byzantine texts of the middle Byzantine period, such as the *Patria*. Malalas followed the Roman historiographical tradition where references to monuments and statues have a prominent place: building activities of emperors were recorded by Roman historians and biographers, for they were regarded as the emperors' achievements. They became necessary elements of praise. The theme of the marvel (θαῦμα) attested not very frequently in the Roman imperial period, became quite common in the Byzantine epigrams of constructions⁹⁹. Malalas' *Chronicle* incorporates numerous accounts of buildings and statues: they refer to the construction, restoration and ultimate fate of monuments¹⁰⁰. In such descriptions Malalas does not ignore the esthetic value of the monuments. Thus, for example, "Constantine adorned the hippodrome with statues and with ornamentation of every kind", also "from the entrance to the palace up to his forum he built two splendid colonnades decorated with statues and different kinds of marble"¹⁰¹.

The other literary genre which Malalas followed in his *Chronicle* is the *Patria*, which combined the historical account with legend and local tradition. As Suda in the entry on πατρώων explains, this genre incorporated accounts of customs, traditions, mysteries and festivals (πάτρια δὲ λέγουσι τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τὰς ἑορτάς). One of the authors of *Patria* was Christodorus of Koptos who wrote such accounts for Constantinople, Nacle, Miletus, Tralles and Aphrodisias¹⁰². This genre apparently responded to the antiquarian taste of the early Byzantines, which was shaped by the desire to preserve the antique traditions of the cities in a more and more uniform empire and in a rapidly changing culture. The *Patria* were connected with legends of foundations of cities, cults and festivals.

Malalas also records the statues' destruction by earthquakes or other calamities. But in such passages we can discern the literary techniques of the author who used a popular theme to enhance and strengthen his narrative. In

99. L. Robert, "Les inscriptions", in: *Laodicée du Lycos. Le nymphée, Campagnes 1961-1963*, ed. J. des Gagniers et al. Laval, Québec, Canada, Paris 1969, 343.

100. On the information and attitudes of Malalas toward the statues cf. A. Moffatt, "A Record of Public Buildings and Monuments", in: *Studies in John Malalas*, eds. E. Jeffreys, B. Croke and R. Scott, Sydney 1990, 87-109.

101. *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, transl. by E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott et al., Melbourne 1986, XIII.7; XIII.8.

102. Suidas s.v. Christodorus. On the city chronicles cf. B. Croke, "City Chronicles of Late Antiquity", in: G. Clarke et al., eds., *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, Rushcutters Bay, Australia 1990, 165-203.

such contexts, destruction of statues is embodied with political and historical symbolism. For example, a cross replaced the collapsed statue of Julian the Apostate in the harbor of Julian, and it clearly symbolized Christianity's ultimate triumph¹⁰³. In the account of the natural disasters which occurred at the end of the reign of Justinian, the destruction of statues is invested with prophetic meanings, forecasting the city's misfortunes. The earthquake of 554 is described in these words: "In the month of August of the second indiction there occurred a tremendous earthquake and many houses, baths and churches suffered and also parts of the walls at Byzantium. During this shock the spear, which the statue in the Forum of Constantine was holding, fell and drove itself into the ground to a depth of three cubits. Many were trapped in the rubble"¹⁰⁴. The damage of the statue is naturally incorporated into the narrative and it is designed to arouse the emotion of the reader. The description of the damage of the earthquake is reduced to a mere statement of "damage". Thus the symbolism of the statue's destruction emerges powerfully. The old technique of minimizing the description of emotions in cases of major distress in the narrative (epic and historiography) is adjusted by Malalas to the interest of the contemporary reader¹⁰⁵. But the description of another earthquake in December 557¹⁰⁶ is more emotional with specific references to the nature of the destruction and the people's sufferings. The column in the Secundianai and the statue on top of it collapsed. If this was a statue of Justinian who built that palace, it is understandable why Malalas avoids any reference to the identity of the statue and focusses on the human suffering¹⁰⁷.

In sections of his *Chronicle* referring to Antioch, Malalas records the statues which were made by Apollonius of Tyana as talismans to avert misfortunes and natural calamities. There is no criticism of such superstitious beliefs. However, he recognizes the political motivation behind some statues erected by emperors and he is surprisingly explicit. Thus for example, both the emperors Tiberius and Trajan placed a statue of Remus and Romulus suckling the she-wolf, the one above the eastern gate of Antioch, the other above the Middle Gate "showing that the wall that had been added to Antiochus' city was of Roman construction"¹⁰⁸, and "so that it should be

103. XVIII.82 (a. 533/4).

104. XVIII.118.

105. Hermogenes, Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος c. XXXIII (Περὶ τοῦ τραγικῶς λέγειν): τὰ μεγάλα τῆ βραχύτητι τῆς ἐρμηνείας φυλάττει μεγάλα, τῆς συντομίας τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῖς διασωζούσης; Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, II, Lipsiae 1854, 453.7-8.

106. XVIII.124.

107. Procopius, *Buildings* I.11.16-17.

108. X.10.

recognized that the building was Roman¹⁰⁹. While Malalas recorded and did not question the superstitious beliefs about statues, he gave rational interpretations of the political symbolism which statues were intended to convey. Such passages indicate that educated Byzantines of the sixth century could understand that statues such as those displayed in the hippodrome of Constantinople were charged with political and historical meaning.

Decline in the production of statuary, documented with certainty from ca. 450¹¹⁰, may have played a role in enhancing such attitudes in the following centuries. Changes in the artistic taste and expression of the people as well as the influence of Christianity have been proposed as causes of the sudden decrease in production of statues. Only statues commemorating emperors, magistrates and charioteers continued to be made, as epigrams in the *Anthologia Graeca* indicate. Collections are not recorded after the sixth century, although we hear sporadically in the sources that later Byzantine aristocrats owned some statues¹¹¹. But these are no longer presented as collections on the scale of those of the early period. Emperors were also depicted preferably in paintings¹¹². These developments could have affected perceptions of statues. They were increasingly regarded as remnants of a past culture, as symbols of antiquity; they were often given a Christian reinterpretation¹¹³; although their artistic value was always manifested in the Byzantine sources¹¹⁴, beliefs in their supernatural power predominated in the following centuries. Those statues expressed the marvelous from an "ethnographic" point of view¹¹⁵.

109. XI.9.

110. B. Kiilerich, "Sculpture in the Round in the Early Byzantine Period: Constantinople and the East", in: *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium. Papers Read at a Colloquium Held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul 31 May-5 June 1992*, ed. L. Rydén and J. O. Rosenqvist, Stockholm 1993, 85-97; C. Mango, "Epigrammes honorifiques, statues et portraits à Byzance", in: *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Νίχο Σβορώνο*, I, Rethymno 1986, 23-35.

111. Mango, "Antique Statuary", 67-70; Theodore Balsamon, Scholion in Canon 100 of the Quinisext Council (692), in: G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, II, Athens 1852, 546. On Byzantine collections cf. M. Mundell-Mango, "Art Collecting in Byzantium", *Etudes Balkaniques, Cahiers Pierre Belon* 2 (1995) 137-160.

112. Mango, "Antique Statuary", 71 and n. 96; P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, "The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century", *ByzF* 8 (1982) 123-183; A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris 1936, repr. London, 1971.

113. On the Christian reinterpretation of ancient works of art in the middle and late Byzantine periods cf. C. Mango, "L'attitude byzantine à l'égard des antiquités gréco-romaines", in: *Byzance et les images*, Paris 1994, 95-120, esp. 109 ff.; H. Saradi, "The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archaeological and Literary Evidence", *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3, 4 (1997) 395-423.

114. Cf. H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries", *DOP* 44 (1990) 47-61, esp. 50 ff.

115. "The humanly strange and monstrous, what is left over and left out from a given cultural

The marvelous and miraculous action of statues in Byzantine texts may be classified as follows:

1. apotropaic; 2. magical; 3. prophetic; 4. edifying function by the embodiment of moral symbolism¹¹⁶.

1. The apotropaic function of statues is attested in ancient Greek culture. Apollonius of Tyana was the great expert of antiquity in creating images of the evil and destructive elements of nature to avert their destructive acts on humans¹¹⁷. Malalas records that Apollonius made talismans for Constantinople, one for the storks, one for the river Lykos which runs through the middle of the city, one for the tortoise, and one for horses, as well as other miraculous things¹¹⁸. This belief is associated with enchantment (κατάδεσις): binding and burying a statue representing an enemy or hostile element of nature neutralized its nature¹¹⁹. This belief continues to be documented until the later Byzantine centuries. On the Xerolophos there was a statue enchanted for Symeon, the Bulgarian king. Romanus Lecapenus was persuaded by a certain astrologer John to cut off its head. At the same time Symeon died in Bulgaria¹²⁰. The three heads of a statue in the hippodrome were cut off in the belief that it had been enchanted in the name of one of the three leaders of a barbaric nation¹²¹.

2. The belief that statues were magical, that is, animated, was very strong in Byzantium in all periods of its history and it is documented in various texts: statues could move and sweat¹²², these being divine signs. Several such

system... symbolically impure. It is a sign of something out of place within a cultural system": D. Biow, *Mirabile Dictu. Representations of the Marvelous in Medieval and Renaissance Epic*, Ann Arbor 1996, 6-7.

116. Cf. also the remarks of L. James, "Pray not to Fall into Temptation and Be on your Guard: Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople", *Gesta* 35 (1996) 12-20.

117. Cf. M. Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History*, transl. P. Pieńkowski, Roma 1986.

118. Malalas, 264.

119. It is reported that during the reign of Constantius, when Valerius was governor of Thrace, three statues made of silver were found buried. They depicted barbarians inclining towards the North and their hands were bound. This was done following an ancient rite (ἐξ ἀρχαίας τελετῆς ἀνδριάντας ἐν αὐτῷ ἀφιερῶσθαι) and the aim was to defend Thrace. Constantius gave Valerius permission to remove them. A few days later the Goths invaded Illyricum and Thrace: Olympiodorus c. 27. On the ancient Greek practice cf. C. A. Faraone, "Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Defensive Use of 'Voodoo Dolls' in Ancient Greece", *Classical Antiquity* 10 (1991) 165-205; idem, *Talismans and Trojan Horses*, 74-93.

120. Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838, 411-412.

121. Ibidem, 650; Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. A. van Dieten, Berlin 1975, 558, 643-644, 649.

122. The sweating of statues has a long literary tradition: cf. a passage of the Aeneid II.172-77 describing Troy's Palladium.

accounts are recorded in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* and in the *Patria*¹²³. But the line which separated the divine from the magical in the Byzantine sources is often blurred. Even Psellus did not question such divine signs, but he considered them expressions of higher elements¹²⁴.

3. The prophetic power of statues is also recorded in ancient texts. For example, the destruction of a portrait in a dream was interpreted as a sign of an accident about to occur to the portrayed individual¹²⁵. In Naples parts of the mosaic picture of Theoderic collapsed at times. This was interpreted as signs of his death, and of the death of his grandson Atalaric and of his daughter Amalasontha. Finally when the last and lower part of the image fell down, it was interpreted as a sign that the Byzantine army would win over the Goths¹²⁶. In Byzantine literature the fall of statues was connected with pagan and Christian traditions. When Constantine entered Rome after his victory at the Milvian bridge, the pagan priests reported to him that the day the sign of the cross appeared to him, many idols fell and were broken¹²⁷. While the religious symbolism of the information is clear, statues were also interpreted as symbols of the rulers and their accidental fall as omens of their own fall¹²⁸.

Anna Comnena offers a rational dismissal of such interpretations. She reports that when the statue of Constantine fell from his porphyry column in a storm in 1106, the event was interpreted by most people as an omen for the life of the emperor Alexius Comnenus. This was especially the belief of the emperor's enemies, she explains, who circulated the rumor that the event

123. See the examples cited by Mango, "Antique Statuary", 60-61.

124. E. Fischer, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes hagiographicae*, Stuttgart and Leipzig 1994, or. 4 (On this text cf. G. T. Dennis, "A Rhetorician Practices Law: Michael Psellos", in: A. E. Laiou, D. Simon, eds., *Law and Society in Byzantium, Ninth-Twelfth Centuries*, Washington, D.C. 1994, 196); *Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora*, ed. E. Kurtz, Milano 1936, I, or. 27 (p. 248.10-12); *Epist.* 187, C. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, Athens - Venice - Paris 1872-94, V (1876), 474.

125. *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V*, ed. A. Pack, Leipzig 1963, V.3.

126. Procopius, *Gothic Wars* V.24.22-27.

127. Histoire Néstorienne, ed. A. Scher, *PO* 4, 3, p. 268. Another account of collapse of pagan statues in *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, transl. by R. H. Charles, London, Oxford 1916, LXXIX.1-5: according to this story when Theophilus, the future patriarch of Alexandria, as a child was brought by a domestic slave to the temple of Apollo and Artemis at Memphis, the idols fell to the earth and were broken. The tradition can be traced to the New Testament in the story of the fall of statues in Egypt upon the arrival of the Holy Family: *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica. Cantica Genuina*, ed. P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis, Oxford 1963, new ed. 1997, c. 3.17.5-6; 16.3.1-2.

128. For examples from Roman history cf. Gregory, "Powerful Images", 88. The legend of the fall of statues also refers to Egypt: Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V.21; M. Guidi, "La omelia di Teofilo di Alessandria sul Monte Coscam nelle letterature Orientali", *RAL* ser. 5, 26 (1917) 381-390, esp. p. 383. For the Byzantine sources cf. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 127 ff., esp. 143-150, 320 ff.

forecast the emperor's death. Alexius' reaction was formulated in Christian terms: the emperor could not believe in such ideas, since he believed that the master of life and death was only one, God. So, he added, every time that a Phidias, for example, or any other sculptor makes a statue by chiseling the stone, will he raise the dead and produce living creatures? And if this is the case, then what would be left for the Creator of the universe? He had said: "I am bringing death and life". And Anna concluded that thus the emperor was placing everything into the hands of Divine Providence¹²⁹. Alexius ingeniously refuted the omen by placing it at the level of anti-Christian beliefs. Our source clearly indicates that such interpretations were politically motivated, and this might be true in many cases.

4. According to the Byzantine sources a careful observation of the statues' supernatural manifestations could reveal their edifying message. In the *Patria* a statue of Aphrodite revealed the adultery committed by the empress Sophia, wife of Justin II¹³⁰. In literature the term ἄγαλμα/ἄγάλματα assumes a profound symbolism which aims at edifying the reader or listener. In the introduction of the *Life of Constantine the Jew* (+ post 886) we find an elaboration of the statues' symbolism which offers the anonymous hagiographer a convenient literary device to praise the Saint. Constantine was born to a Jewish family and converted to Christianity. The hagiographer states that statues honor excellent men, first because the different material from which they were made elevates the prototype to a more magnificent status; second because virtue is commemorated through the statue, receiving an elevation (ἀνάρρησιν) and stirs up the viewer to observe the issue more zealously. For those viewers who have outstanding virtues, their nature desires to imitate the good which they see. The hagiographer would compose the statue of the Saint with words (τὸν ἐκ λόγων ἀνδριάντα). Then he elaborates on a comparison of the art of statuary with that of a writer¹³¹. The latter proves to be superior: statuary has limitations, since it cannot even represent all the details of the form of the body, while the λόγος, the literary work, could depict as in a painting the beauty of the soul, the origin, the ethos and the upbringing and all the excellent achievements of the person¹³². The assumption that images were

129. Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib, Paris 1937-45, XII.4.4.

130. I. Preger, *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, Leipzig 1901-07, II, c. 65 (p. 185 ff.). Another similar case: c. 179 (p. 271).

131. There was a long tradition of this theme. See, for example, Dio of Prusa, Ὀλυμπικός, *Or.* XII.70.

132. *Vita S. Constantini*, AASS Nov. IV, 628.

more suggestive than the spoken word is an old one¹³³. In Christian literature, however, the importance is reversed. In this hagiographical text the *topos* which is also found in other similar texts takes on a particular significance, given the Jewish origin of the Saint.

The idea that statues elevate and honor the represented person is also old. The ancient Romans were masters of exploiting the impression which portraits made on their contemporaries. There is also the element of edification which has a long tradition, namely, that images of important individuals incite the imitation of their acts¹³⁴. In Christian literature this concept received particular attention and priority: the process of edification is achieved through commemoration of the prototype's, that is the Saint's, virtues. The definition of statues as an embodiment of memory is also found in the works of ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as the notion of the statue being *memoria virtutis*¹³⁵.

III. The "De signis" of Nicetas Choniates

Destruction of architectural monuments and statues was turned into a distinct literary genre, the lament. It could be incorporated in broader literary works. This tradition is traced back to the early Byzantine period. From the Suda M 120 we learn that the sophist Malchus in his historical account from the rule of Constantine to that of Anastasius, lamented major destructions of monuments such as the burning of the public library and of the Augusteum: "In it he describes the events of the reigns of Zeno and Basiliscus, the burning of the Public Library and of the statues in the Augusteum and other happenings. He laments these things in a dignified and tragic manner" (διεξέρχεται μάλα σεμνῶς καὶ τραγωδίας δίκην ἀποθρηνηῶν αὐτά)¹³⁶.

The *De Signis* of Choniates is a work with a similar purpose¹³⁷. The author

133. D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago 1989, 50.

134. Cf. the sources discussed by Gregory, "Powerful images", esp. 91.

135. Cf. D. Kinney, "Rape or Restitution of the Past? Interpreting *Spolia*", in: *The Art of Interpreting*, ed. S. C. Scott, *Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University*, IX (1995) 52-67. In other Byzantine sources the term ἄγαλμα defines any monument, figurative or other, as, for example, inscriptions: B. Baldwin, "Anthologia Palatina 9. 686", *BZ* 79 (1986) 263.

136. Malchus, *testimonia* 2, ed. R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, Liverpool 1983, II, 404, 405.

137. *De signis Constantinopolitanis*, in: *Historia*, I, 647-655. On this text cf. V. Grecu, "Autour du *De signis* de Nicetas Choniate", *REB* 6 (1948) 58-66; A. Cutler, "The *De Signis* of Nicetas Choniates. A Reappraisal", *AJA* 72 (1968) 113-118; E. Mathiopulu-Tornaritu, "Klassisches und klassizistisches im Statuenfragment von Niketas Choniates", *BZ* 73 (1980) 25-40; E. Degani, "Il 'De

laments the destruction of the statues of Constantinople by the Latins in the siege of 1204. Choniates is not a detached observer, a cold reporter. He starts his account with tragic pessimism for the sadness which Constantinople's fall caused¹³⁸. He selects and arranges his material skillfully in order to create a steady crescendo in the description of the statues. While for some of the statues the description is brief, he elaborates on the esthetic value, especially naturalism¹³⁹, and the symbolism of others. The literary style of the work is highly classicizing with a rich selection of words, expressions and especially adjectives from various ancient texts¹⁴⁰.

The first statue mentioned, the bronze statue of Hera in the Forum of Constantine, is admired for its great size. It was melted for coins and the head was brought into the palace. Then comes the statue of Paris with Aphrodite offering him the golden apple. The statue so-called the Anemodoulion is admired for the variety of represented scenes from the animal world (ποικιλία)¹⁴¹. Choniates pays particular attention to the Erotes, naked and playful with their sweet smiles, a popular theme in the literature of the twelfth century¹⁴². The statue of a horseman in Tauros is praised as most beautiful (περικαλλέστατον)¹⁴³, the represented figure heroic and of admirable size (ἡρωϊκὸν τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἀξιόγαστον)¹⁴⁴. The statue was identified either with Joshua or with Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus. Choniates here alludes to the Homeric description of Perseus¹⁴⁵. According to an old tradition, under the horse's left hoof was buried a male statue, which was a talisman against one of the enemies of the Romaiοi, either a Venetian, a Bulgarian, or another enemy. The Latins, believing in the rumor, destroyed the statue of the horseman, found the talisman and threw it into a fire¹⁴⁶.

signis Constantinopolitanis' di Niceta di Chone", *CorsiRav* 26 (1979) 29-40.

138. p. 647.1-2: "Ἴνα δὲ μὴ μακροτέρα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ χρεώμενοι πολυπλοκωτέρας ἐντεῦθεν τὰς λύπας κτώμεθα.

139. On passages of appreciation of the naturalism of the art of these statues cf. Mathiopulu-Tornaritu, "Statuenfragment", 29 ff.

140. *Ibidem*, esp. 31 ff.

141. p. 648.47.

142. On the particular interest in the Eros in the literature and art of the twelfth century cf. P. Magdalino, "Eros the King and the King of *Amours*: Some Observations on *Hysmine and Hysminias*", *DOP* 46 (1992) 197-204.

143. p. 649.58.

144. p. 649.60.

145. Reference to the *Il.* 6. 507, 15. 264; Cutler, "De Signis", 118.

146. J. Vereecken, "Le sort de l'Empire dans le sabot d'un cheval. Le cavalier-gardien de Constantinople", in: *La spiritualité de l'Univers byzantin dans le Verbe et l'Image. Hommages offerts à Edmond Voordeckers à l'occasion de son éméritat*, Turnhout 1997, 355-369.

The statues of the Hippodrome¹⁴⁷ were melted for coins by “these barbarians who do not love the beautiful” (οἱ τοῦ καλοῦ ἀνέραστοι οὗτοι βάρβαροι)¹⁴⁸. The statue of Hercules is described in greater detail and is admired for its marvellous realism upon which Lysippus gave a remarkable psychological insight: the hero was depicted on the basket with which he had cleaned the Augean stables, deploring his destiny and deeply depressed from the labors imposed on him. The subject of Hercules’ labors offers an opportunity for a moral judgement of the Latins (οὐ παρῆλθον ἀκαθαίρετον οἱ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῶν συννόμων ἀρετῶν διστῶντες)¹⁴⁹. The statue of the donkey and its keeper from Nikopolis is valued for commemorating the victory of Augustus in Actium. The statues of hyena and the she-wolf which nourished Remus and Romulus were the revered monuments of the nation (τὰ παλαιὰ σεμνώματα τοῦ γένους)¹⁵⁰. After brief references to the statues of a Nilotic animal and an elephant, and brief descriptions of the statues of the Sphinxes and a galloping horse, the statue of Scylla is discussed evoking the adventures of Odysseus.

The statue of the eagle with the snake which according to tradition was made by Apollonius of Tyana is described in great detail. It was Apollonius’ new craft and an impressive example of his witchcraft (καινὸν μεθόδευμα καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου γοητείας μεγαλοπρεπὲς μαγγάνευμα)¹⁵¹. It was made as a talisman against snakes with the assistance of Apollonius’ lewdness, demons, and all those who represent their orgies (ἀμέλει καὶ συνερίθοις ταῖς ἀρρητουργίαις χρῆσάμενος, ὧν ὑφηγηταὶ δαίμονες καὶ ὅσοι τὰ τούτων πρεσβεύουσιν ὄργια)¹⁵². The choice of vocabulary is careful to indicate Choniates’ belief in the historicity of the tradition and also his contempt for such crafts¹⁵³. This

147. On the statues of the Hippodrome cf. Guberti Bassett, “Hippodrome”. For the symbolism of objects of art exhibited in Rome cf. R. Robert, “Immensa potentia artis. Prestige et statut des œuvres d’art à Rome, à la fin de la République et au début de l’Empire”, *RA* 2 (1995) 291-305.

148. p. 649.80-81. Cf. also the remarks of Cutler, “De Signis”, 116.

149. p. 650.7-8.

150. p. 650.19.

151. p. 651.33-34. A similar vocabulary is used by Malalas, 35.24 in a passage describing Perseus’ telestic ritual over the head of Gorgo: τῆς μυσερῆς μαγγανείας τὴν πλάνην.

152. p. 651.35-37. The word ἀρρητουργία describing an unacceptable form in a literary context is also found in earlier texts: Julian, *Or.* VII.210d.

153. Mango, “Antique Statuary”, 68 and Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople*, 34 interpret the passage as evidence of Choniates’ superstitious beliefs. The opposite view is taken by Mathiopulu-Tornaritu, “Statuenfragment”, 29 n. 18 and her final conclusion, p. 40: “Manche Aussage des Niketas ist ein frühes Beispiel für eine neue, direktere und positivere Betrachtung der antiken Monumente.” Cf. also Cutler, “De Signis”, 117: “The accusation of superstition is particularly unfortunate. Compared to other Byzantine historians Choniates seems a model of enlightenment... Choniates, instead, derides irrational fear of signs and inanimate objects. For example, in his account of the

impression is furthered by Choniates' emphasis on the statue's artistic value, recognized by his contemporaries, rather than on its importance as talisman. He gives a detailed description of the struggle of the snake as it is attacked by the eagle, emphasizing the realism of the art. The view of this statue instilled pleasure into people's souls so that those who were walking past slowed down. The statue was admirable (ἀξιόγαστον) and it was also used as a sundial.

Next comes the lyric description of Helen's statue. Homeric words naturally describe her beauty (καλλίσφυρός τε καὶ δολιχόχειρος)¹⁵⁴. With a series of rhetorical questions Choniates draws a lovable portrait of Helen and brings her closer to the reader. Choniates chooses the ancient version of the myth according to which Helen did not commit adultery, but was lead to Egypt, thus idealizing the figure. The statue is described as alive with an extravagant appearance of beauty:

although she was adorned like an actress, she looked dew-fresh (δρυσώδης ὀρωμένη) even in the bronze¹⁵⁵, and moist for erotic ardor (ὕγραينوμένη πρὸς ἔρωτα) on her chiton (an allusion to ancient Greek philosophical concepts)¹⁵⁶, the veil on her hair, her hairband and the locks of her hair. The chiton was finer than a spiderweb, the veil placed artfully on her head, the hairband was tied around the forehead which was gleaming with its gold and gems, the hair loosened and blowing in the winds was tied at the back and extended long down to her legs. Her lips like calyxes of flowers were about to open so that they looked about to speak; her joyful smile encountering the viewer directly fills him with joy, and the joyful eyes and the arches of the eyebrows and the other structures of the body cannot be described in writing and transmitted to future generations¹⁵⁷.

Choniates passionately sings Helen's beauty, propagator of love (μὸσχευμα

wonder-working image of an eagle used by Apollonius of Tyana there is not the slightest suggestion that Choniates believed in its powers. Rather he discriminates sharply between the people's faith in it and his own aesthetic response to the workmanship of the sculpture".

154. p. 652.58. Cf. also Cutler, "De Signis", 118.

155. p. 652.63-64. We find a parallel expression in Christodorus' poem: shedding drops of beauty on the bright bronze (vv. 78-79: ἔλειβε δὲ νόροπι χαλκῶ ἀγλαΐης ῥαθάμυγας).

156. Porphyry, Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα τῶν νυμφῶν ἀντροῦ, *Porphyrii philosophi Platonici, opuscula selecta*, ed. A. Nauck, Lipsiae 1886, 11.19-20, p. 64.22-25 (διὸ κἀνταῦθα κατὰ τὰς τῆς μίξεως ἐπιθυμίας δίνυρον καὶ νοτερώτερον γίνεσθαι τὸ πνεῦμα, ἀτμὸν ἐφελκομένης δίνυρον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν νεύσεως); Numerius, *Fragments*, ed. I. des Plages, Paris 1973, fr. 30.

157. p. 652.63-74. This description of the statue resembles representations of Venus at the Forum of Caesar in Rome: Cutler, "De Signis", 118, while the language and the esthetic imagery it creates draws on Callistratus' *ekphrasis* of a young Dionysus: *ibidem*, 118 n. 70.

Ἐρώτων) and attentive product of Aphrodite (Ἀφροδίτης τημελούχημα), the best present of nature (πανάριστον φύσεως δώρημα), the prize of Trojans and Greeks (Τρώων καὶ Ἑλλήνων βράβευμα)¹⁵⁸. Where has her unbeatable attraction been (ἄμαχα φίλτρα)? Why didn't she use it now as in the past? It would appear that it was destined to be destroyed by fire so that she would not keep burning viewers in the fire of love. The rhetorical questions and the metaphorical conclusion were devised to lead Choniates to another syllogism: "I would say that the descendants of Aeneas punished you for the destruction of Troy by fire"¹⁵⁹. What would have been a reasonable explanation based on human psychology and the historical prejudices of nations, could not be applied here. Unfortunately it was greed (τὸ χρυσομανές)¹⁶⁰ that motivated the Latins in the destruction of the rarest and most beautiful works of art (τὰ σπάνια πανταχοῦ καὶ καλῶν κάλλιστα ἔργα). The section on Helen's statue is the lengthiest in Choniates' lament. The exalted tone of the narrative concludes with a bitter statement about the Latins' ignorance of Greek literature: "how would uneducated barbarians and completely illiterate men read and learn the epic which has been sung for you"¹⁶¹? Then follows the literary device of μαρτυρία, namely three verses from the Iliad Γ 156-158.

Next in the narrative comes the description of a statue of a female figure holding a horseman with her right hand, and statues of charioteers. Choniates has carefully developed the statues' symbolic and emotional potential. The tone of the narrative is exalted. Techniques with which the author guides the reader are familiar devices of poetry and rhetoric, for example, the selection of and emphasis on relevant details of the statues and the concentration on one aspect of a work of art.

In the last section Choniates breaks the linear style of his narrative and brings the reader full circle back to the theme of Constantinople's destruction¹⁶². By restating the theme of destruction he also redefines it. The last sculpture described by Choniates represents two animals, one like a bull crushing another animal in its jaws. Some Byzantines interpreted the complex as a snake with a shield in its mouth, others as a hippopotamus, a Nilotic bull, with a crocodile. Choniates was not concerned with the accuracy of the representation. He raises the composition to a symbolic representation of the confrontation between Byzantines and Latins. In a series of repetitions and

158. p. 652.75-77.

159. p. 652.81-83.

160. p. 652.84.

161. p. 653.94-95.

162. On this figure of speech cf. Hermogenes, Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, II, 252.

antitheseis he describes the terrifying combat of the two animals from which both appear as winners since each brought about the death of the other¹⁶³. The victory was even but death followed.

This deadly combat becomes a metaphor for the struggle between Byzantines and Latins. Such combats in which each party destroys the other and both are led to death, do not occur only in artistic representations (ἐν εἰκόσι) or among powerful animals. Nations also attack each other and vanish from each other with the power of Christ who scatters abroad belligerent nations (Psalms 67:31), and who does not rejoice in blood¹⁶⁴. In the structure of the last section of his text Choniates adheres to rhetorical techniques useful for formulating powerful persuasive arguments in the epilogue of speeches: *Synkrisis*, *prosopopoeia* and *ethopoeia* are rhetorical devices of the *anakephalaiosis* in the epilogue¹⁶⁵.

The highly classicizing literary style of the text with numerous references to the vocabulary of ancient texts, exalted and lyric tone, and rhetorical techniques, all reinforced the crescendo created by the order of the described statues. The crescendo thus achieved in the reference to the deadly conflict between Byzantines and Latins required a λύσις. Significantly this comes from Christian literature. In the last lines reproducing phrases of the Psalms 91:13 and Luke 10:19, the divine punishment and destruction of the Latins are predicted: "Christ will show the just on a shield and treading on the adder and trampling under foot a lion and a dragon"¹⁶⁶. The structure of the last section follows the rules of rhetoric. We have recognized the *synkrisis* in the last section of the *De Signis*. According to the rhetorical manuals, in the epilogue the theme of a speech should be analyzed as legal or illegal, just or unjust,

163. Similarity has been discerned in the description of the agony of the serpents killed by Heracles in the *Imagines* c. 5 of Philostratus the Younger: Cutler, "De Signis", 118 n. 70.

164. p. 654.60-655.63: ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' ἔθνεσι συχνάκις γίνεσθαι, ὅποια τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡμῖν ἐπεστράτευσε, φονῶντα κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ὀλλύμενα δυνάμει Χριστοῦ τοῦ διασκορπιζόντος ἔθνη τὰ τοὺς πολέμους θέλοντα καὶ μὴ χαίροντος αἵμασιν.

165. Gregory of Corinth, Ἐρμολογίους Περί μεθόδου δεινότητος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως..., Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, VII, 2 (1834), 1226.

166. p. 655.64-65: ὅς καὶ δίκαιον ἐπ' ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον δείκνυσιν ἐπιβαίοντα καὶ λέοντα καταπατοῦντα καὶ δράκοντα. The Psalm has been interpreted Christologically in the Byzantine sources. For example, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica*, c. 49.7.7-11: δύναμιν δίδωμι τῷ υἱῷ μου, ἵν' ὡς ἀδύνατον πατῆ τὸν δράκοντα, ἵνα ἐπιβαίῃ μετὰ παρηρησίας ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν παράδεισον πορεύεται ὃν ἐφύτευσα. In earlier hagiographical texts the Psalm is referred to in passages describing the Satan appearing in the likeness of a lion and threatening the Saint. The latter expressed confidence in God's assistance with the words of the Psalm which successfully made the beast vanish: E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, Leipzig 1939, 96.

beneficial, possible and glorious¹⁶⁷. One of the examples offered by the *scholia* on Aphthonius is that the tyrant must be punished so that none will become tyrant in the future¹⁶⁸. Further, Hermogenes stressed the probatory value of the laws in rhetoric¹⁶⁹. The opinion of the legislator is used as a confirmation of all that has been said earlier¹⁷⁰. The opinion of the legislator is defined as *sententiae* (γνώμη)¹⁷¹. In the lines from the Bible we recognize both the theme of justice and the value of the argument of the law-giver expressed as a *sententia*. Thus the metaphorical meaning and the symbolism of the *De Signis* are based on techniques of argument familiar in rhetoric.

The emotional power of the work cannot be denied. The siege of Constantinople is depicted with the recurring theme of the greed of the Latins¹⁷² and of the struggle between right and wrong, knowledge and ignorance. Choniates handles his subject like an epideictic orator and a patriotic writer. The statues have become a symbolic standard of past greatness and order, an embodiment of memories of the Roman historical past, of Greek values (Heracles), of unsurpassed artistic values and literary tradition (Helen)¹⁷³.

167. Ἄνωνύμου Σχόλια εἰς Ἀφθόνιον, Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, II, 37-39; Doxopatrae, Ὀμιλία εἰς Ἀφθόνιον, 401-404.

168. Ibidem, 39: οἷον δεῖ τιμωρηθῆναι τὸν τύραννον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἕτερος τυραννήσῃ; Doxopatrae, ibidem, 403.

169. Sopatros, *Εἰς τὴν Ἑρμογένους τέχνην*, ibidem, V, 155: περιττὸν αἰ ἀποδείξεις, ὅταν ἔχωμεν νόμους συνηγοροῦντας· εἰκότως οὖν ἐφεξῆς τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου γνώμην ὡς καὶ πιθανωτέραν καὶ μάλιστα πείθουσιν ἐπήγαγε πρὸς τι. Cf. also Maximus Planoudes, ibidem, 305-306.

170. Ibidem, 306: ἡ γὰρ τοῦ νομοθέτου γνώμη, φασίν, ὥσπερ ἐπισφράγισμα καὶ βεβαίωσις τῶν εἰρημένων πάντων ἐστί.

171. Ibidem, 306: γνώμην δὲ νομοθέτου καλεῖ πᾶν τὸ ἐν ῥητῶ εὐρισκόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυριωτέρου, τουτέστιν οὐ μόνον ἐν νόμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ψηφίσματι, ἐν διαθήκῃ καὶ ἐπιστολῇ. On the use of quotations as arguments cf. E. de Vries - van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite. Une réévaluation*, Amsterdam 1987, 185-186. On the use of quotations in Byzantine literature cf. A. R. Littlewood, "A Statistical Survey of the Incidence of Repeated Quotations in Selected Byzantine Letter-Writers", in: J. Duffy and J. Peradotto, *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75*, Buffalo, New York 1988, 137-154.

172. p. 647.19: φιλόχρυσον; p. 648.35-36: οὐδὲ γὰρ φιλοπλουτίας κόρον ὅτε δὴ τὸ βάρβαρον ἴσῃσι.

173. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 146 presents the prophetic and apocalyptic power of the statues as having erased the historical memory they once conveyed ("les monuments ne sont pas des souvenirs historiques, ils illustrent une conception catastrophe de l'histoire"). However, even in "apocalyptic" texts we can discern the desire to maintain the historical memory which was difficult to trace: the stele on the Xerolophos was erected to commemorate Constantinople's siege and occupation by Severus (μὴ εἰς μνήμην τῆς ἀλώσεως ταύτην ἀνέθετο;): G. Dagron, J. Paramelle, "Un texte patriographique. Le 'Récit merveilleux, très beau et profitable sur la colonne du Xerolophos' (Vindob. Suppl. gr. 172, fol. 43v-63v)", *TM 7* (1979) 516 (l. 148). This text is significant precisely because it is placed so far from the literary tradition (ibidem, 491: "Un monstre du point de vue littéraire, une légende tardive du point de vue historique").

The selection embraces various expressions of history and culture, Greek and Roman. As remains of the past, the statues are viewed in a very sentimental manner. But behind the rhetorical magnification of the theme emerges the historical consciousness of the past and the hope that subversion will take place and order and justice will be reestablished¹⁷⁴.

As in the *ekphrasis* of Christodorus of Koptos, the message becomes clear in the last lines of the work. In Choniates' lament the distribution of justice is meant to satisfy the reader, familiar with the conventions of the genre. Convention has been revitalized by invention. In the last lines Choniates indicates to us what we should conclude about this text and how we should react to it. He filtered his attitudes towards the statues through the taste and rationale of his classical education. He used the theme of the prophetic power of the statues not as it was taught by Apollonius and further maintained in the *Parastaseis*, the *Patria* and other Byzantine texts, but dressed in biblical metaphors. Although he expressed his own reservations about the prophylactic power of the statues by Apollonius of Tyana, he presents the statues metaphorically embodied in prophecy, biblical this time. In the *ekphrasis* of Christodorus of Koptos the message was messianic, Choniates' lament was apocalyptic.

Although the sources we have examined are diverse in style and purpose, they invite comparison, which reveals striking similarities. We have concluded that the diversity of meaning of the statues was potentially metaphorical and that the shifting meanings of the statues allowed for abstractions; the interpretations of these texts were clear and credible as in high style rhetoric, while their statements are not of a single approach or attitude. These literary interpretations were possible because statues have been defined in the sources as the embodiment of historical memories, as symbols of past greatness both historically and esthetically.

Two examples will further illustrate this conclusion from interpretations of the columns and the statues of the emperors Constantine and Justinian which symbolized the *renovatio* of the empire from the end of the twelfth century.

The statue of Constantine on the porphyry column became a place of reverence early on¹⁷⁵. Hesychius states that it was shining like the sun (δίκην

174. As, for example, in Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, IX.682-85: Ἄλλα χιλίων ἔσωθεν χρόνων καταλυθήσῃ, / Ὅμως οὐ αἶ καὶ θρηνός σοι, ἀλλὰ χαρὰ ἐσεῖται / Ἵνα μείζων κτισθήσῃ γὰρ καὶ πλεον λαμπρυνθήσῃ, / Καταλυθήσῃ πρὸς καλὸν τοῖς καταλύουσί τε.

175. Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* II.17. Cf. also Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 255-257; C. Mango, "Constantinopolitana", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 80 (1965) 306-

ἡλίου προλάμποντα)¹⁷⁶. Constantine himself had already been associated with sun by Eusebius: like “the radiant sun” he shined on all parts of the empire through his four sons. They were like “the rays of his own brightness”¹⁷⁷. In the tenth century Constantine Rhodius described the statue in similar terms: it was shining like gold upon the entire city (χρυσῶ καταυγάζοντα πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν)¹⁷⁸. The identity of the statue was reshaped in the course of the centuries. The pagan origin of the statue was intentionally obliterated in the early Byzantine sources in an effort to promote the image of the Christian emperor; attention to the rays is paid from the sixth century; it was only in Anna Comnena’s History that it was demystified and identified with a statue of Apollo-Helios¹⁷⁹. Anna’s personal classical education might have played a role, and additionally her effort to dissociate the statue’s fall with any adverse event in her father’s rule. After the true identity of the original statue had been spelled out, Zonaras stressed the Christian essence of the statue by changing the rays into nails from Christ’s cross¹⁸⁰. This legend is also known from apocalyptic texts¹⁸¹ according to which Constantine’s column will be the only part of the capital above the seawaters at the time of the final cataclysm¹⁸².

The description of the famous statue of Justinian by Pachymeres offers a remarkable parallel. Pachymeres in the *ekphrasis* of the Augusteum describes the crown of the statue as a diadem: it was not wide, nor was it round, but the part which touched the head looked like a diadem (στέφανος), circling the

313; idem, “Constantine’s Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St. Constantine”, *Δελτ. Χρυσ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.* 10 (1980-1) 103-110; G. Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris 1974, 37-38; R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals. Topography and Politics*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1983, 62 ff.; G. Fowden, “Constantine’s Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion”, *JRS* 81 (1991) 119-31.

The column traditionally symbolized strength and power: J. Onians, “The Strength of Columns and the Weakness of Theory”, in: *The Art of Interpreting*, 30-51.

176. Hesychius, ap., ed. Preger, 17. For other later references cf. Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 36, 216-217, 219, 243, 263-264.

177. Life of Constantine 3.21. For references of the emperor’s association with the sun and light cf. Av. Cameron, *Flavius Cresconius Corippus, In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris Libri IV*, Bristol 1976, II.145; II.290, 300; IV.99 and note on I.149; S. G. McCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1981, 20, 35-37, 45, 49-50, 167, 251.

178. I. Legrand, “Description des œuvres d’art et de l’église des Saints Apotres de Constantinople. Poème en vers iambique par Constantin le Rhodien”, *REG* 9 (1896) p. 38, v. 69.

179. Anna Comnena, *Alexias* XII.4.5.

180. Zonaras XIII.3.25-26.

181. L. Rydén, “The Andreas Salos Apocalypse, Greek Text, Translation, and Commentary”, *DOP* 28 (1974) 254 with other references.

182. Ibidem, 211 (II. 248-250), 254; Revelations of Methodius of Patara, ed. B. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodija Patarskago*, II: *Vedenija Daniela*, Moskva 1897, 148.9-10.

temples and the forehead evenly. The upper part, however, was extended upwards to a great height, and the feathers turned into gold gleaming on the head (περὰ τῆ κεφαλῆ χρυσαυγῆ γίνεται)¹⁸³. The key word in this passage is the χρυσαυγῆ¹⁸⁴, which here stands as a parallel to the rays of Constantine's statue. It evokes Constantine Rhodius' expression χρυσῶ καταυγάζοντα. The choice of the lyric word χρυσαυγῆς by Pachymeres creates an esthetic vocabulary of imperial power. It emphasizes the celebration of the emperor's image and of his rule which is symbolically elevated to celestial heights¹⁸⁵. The column and the statue of the emperor Justinian had apparently symbolized the *renovatio* of the empire from the end of the twelfth century. The column and the statue of Justinian represented in a miniature of the twelfth century in the Cod. gr. 751 fol. 26r in the Library of Vatican should be understood in this way¹⁸⁶. The column is shown higher than the church of Saint Sophia and extends over the border of the miniature. In the disturbed years before the turn of the century this symbolism of *renovatio* could not be missed¹⁸⁷.

Unlike the place which the concept of the marvelous occupied in the medieval West, the concept of the statues as marvels and embodiments of miraculous power in Byzantium drew on the philosophical theories of Neoplatonism and on the literary tradition of the *Patria*. The way the marvelous with all its expressions functioned is of interest to us not only as a cultural phenomenon, but also from the point of view of its esthetic value in literature¹⁸⁸. J. Le Goff discerned two other functions of the marvelous in the medieval West: "to serve as compensation for the banality and predictability of everyday life" and "the marvelous was one form of resistance to the official ideology of Christianity"¹⁸⁹.

183. George Pachymeres, "Ἐκφρασις τοῦ Αὐγουστεῶνος", *PG* 144, col. 921C.

184. Gold was generally used to designate "everything beautiful and marvellous": Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines* II.17.12.

185. Justinian's statue was regarded by foreigners "as celebrated as the Great Church": Cutler, "De Signis", 115.

186. S. Papadaki-Oekland, "The Representation of Justinian's Column in a Byzantine Miniature of the Twelfth Century", *BZ* 83 (1990) 63-71.

187. On the idea of *renovatio* and the evocation of glories of the past by the literati of the period cf. P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge 1993, 23 ff. with earlier bibliography.

188. Cf., for example, J. le Goff, *L'imaginaire médiéval*, Paris 1985, 21, English transl. by A. Goldhammer, *The Medieval Imagination*, Chicago and London 1988, 30: "the aestheticization of the marvelous, that is, its increased use as ornament. This was a literary and artistic development, a question of style".

189. *Ibidem*, 24 (Engl. transl., 32).

In Byzantium stories about the supernatural power of statues could function as a form of antithesis, but not programmatic reaction to rational antique humanism¹⁹⁰. Such a definition of the marvelous (τὸ θαυμαστόν) is found already in Aristotle's Poetics, where he defines it as based on the "irrational" element (τὸ ἄλογον). He recognizes, however, the esthetic power of the marvel in literature, especially in tragedy. Such stories encompassing marvelous and irrational elements were expected to excite the audience and are enjoyable (τὸ δὲ θαυμαστόν ἡδύ)¹⁹¹. In the *Lives of the Sophists* by Eunapius the inquiries through dialectic are "the only true realities", while the theurgic power of some sophists and miracle-workers was still defined as magic: "the impostures of witchcraft and magic that cheat the senses are the works of conjurors who are insane men led astray into the exercise of earthly and material powers"¹⁹². To the miracle-working of the sophists is contrasted as superior the "purification of the soul which is attained by reason"¹⁹³.

There is no doubt that the marvelous and the superstitious beliefs which it provoked were ultimately placed in the sphere of popular culture by the texts. It should not come as a surprise that in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* and some other texts such attitudes were embraced even by members of the upper class¹⁹⁴. Some Byzantine intellectuals, however, criticized the belief in the supernatural power of statues. Photius in his *Bibliotheca*, in the entry on John Philoponus¹⁹⁵, refers to Iamblichus' belief in the divine nature of the statues, that they were divine (θεῖα τε δεῖξαι τὰ εἰδωλα), full of divine substance (θείας μετουσίας ἀνάπλεα) and that they were extraordinary works and superior to human judgement (ἔργα ὑπερφυῆ καὶ δόξης ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττονα). Photius' criticism¹⁹⁶ is based on a text by John Philoponus against

190. It has been noticed that in the texts of classical antiquity (fifth and fourth centuries B.C.) rationalization concealed superstitious beliefs about statues: Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses*, 114-117. The antithesis of many ancient Greek authors (Plato, Theophrastus, Plutarch, Lucan) to magic and superstition with reference to statues is fully documented: *ibidem*, 11; F. Graf, *La magie dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine*, Paris 1994, 110-112, 140, et passim.

191. 1460a, but he concludes that irrational elements should be avoided in the tragic plot.

192. c. 474 (transl. W. C. Wright, ed. Loeb): ... ταῦτα εἴη τὰ ὄντως ὄντα, αἱ δὲ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀπατάσσει μαγανείαι καὶ γοητεύουσαι, θαυματοποιῶν ἔργα, καὶ πρὸς ὑλικὰς τινὰς δυνάμεις παραπαιόντων καὶ μεμνηότων.

193. c. 475: σὺ δὲ τούτων μηδὲν θαυμάσης, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐγώ, τὴν διὰ τοῦ λόγου κάθαρσιν μέγα τι χρῆμα ὑπολαμβάνων.

194. Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 32. Scholars have reached similar conclusions about Greek and Roman antiquity including the classical period: Graf, *La magie*, 101 and n. 55.

195. cod. 215.

196. πολλὰ μὲν ἀπίθανα μυθολογῶν, πολλὰ δὲ εἰς ἀδήλους φέρων αἰτίας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὀρωμένοις ἐναντία γράφειν οὐκ αἰσχυρόμενος: ll. 17-19.

the *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* of Iamblichus, which he had read. Psellus, however, believed in the prophetic power of the statues expressed by their sweating.

In Byzantium the belief in the supernatural power of the statues could be seen as the antithesis to high culture and high style literature. It was developed in line with the dramatic importance which the marvelous and the miraculous gradually received in the culture, the politics and the intellectual life of the early Byzantine period. But as we have concluded from the analysis of the poetic *ekphrasis* of Christodorus of Koptos and of the lament of Nicetas Choniates, in educated circles it became an elaborate literary theme interpreting Constantinople's historical past and promoting its future image. In this respect the continuation of this tradition is discerned in the account of the petrified emperor¹⁹⁷, the *μαρμαρωμένος βασιλιάς*, which expressed the hope for the recovery of the empire during the centuries under Turkish occupation and it became an elaborate literary theme in works of modern Greek literature¹⁹⁸.

197. Petrification in a different context is attested in earlier texts. Cf. F. Nau, "Le miracle de Saint Michel à Colosses", *PO* 4, 5 (1907) 542-543, 561.7; Malalas, 202.10-12. Petrifications are also attested in modern Greek folktales: R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek Folktales*, Oxford 1953, 230, 240, 381; N. Politis, *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ. Παραδόσεις Β*, Athens 1965, 863 ff.

198. N. Bees, "Περὶ τοῦ ἱστορημένου χρησμολογίου τῆς κρατικῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Βερολίνου (cod. Gr. fol., 62-297) καὶ τοῦ θρύλου τοῦ μαρμαρωμένου βασιλιᾶ", *Πρακτικά τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἐταιρείας* 3, 1 ff.; N. Politis, "Δημῶδεις δοξασίαι περὶ ἀποκαταστάσεως τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους", *Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα* 1, 22 ff.

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