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EIRENE DOUKAINA
BYZANTINE EMPRESS AD 1067-1133

by
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A thesis submitted to
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in partial fulfillment of requirements for
the degree of
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ABSTRACT

Eirene Doukaina was born in Konstantinople in the year 1067 into the wealthy aristocratic family of the Doukai. She was destined to become the wife of Alexios Komnenos, emperor of Byzantium from 1081 to 1118, and her descendants remained on the throne until the fall of Konstantinople in 1453.

The eleventh century was a troubled period in Byzantine history, and Eirene's marriage to Alexios formed an alliance between the military faction and the civil aristocracy which gave Alexios the necessary support to restore some of Byzantium's political and economic stability.

Although much has been written about Alexios I and his reign, little has been written about the woman who shared his life for forty years. This thesis begins with a discussion of the sources for the biography of the Empress Eirene and briefly summarizes the historical background of the period. Chapters 1 through 3 follow Eirene's development from a shy, young girl to a powerful, influential empress. Chapter 4 discusses the Monastery of Theotokos Kercharitomene which Eirene founded around 1100 as a place for her and her daughters and granddaughters to retire in after the death of the Emperor Alexios. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 examine Eirene's and Alexios' personalities, their family life, and their last years together.

The thesis concludes with a final look at the Dowager Empress Eirene from 1118 to 1133, during her years of retirement in the palace beside her monastery, and proposes that Eirene's salient characteristics and actions reveal her to be a woman with conflicting feelings about the men in her life, but with a strong protective instinct for her female descendants.

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I am also indebted to Professor R.H. Jordan of Belfast University for allowing me to have a copy of the English version of Eirene's typikon for the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene, which he completed for the Dumbarton Oaks Translation Project, and for his permission to use his translations in the body of this text.

All other translations from the various Byzantine sources, unless otherwise stated, are my own, and are indicated by an atilda (~) before and after the text.

There are a number of important people I would like to thank. To my husband Paraskevas, I am eternally grateful for the many years he has encouraged me and fostered my love of Greece, both ancient and modern. In particular, I thank him for his willingness to visit every Byzantine site, church, or museum that I could find in our travels in Greece and Turkey, regardless of how tired he was.

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This thesis is dedicated to Eirene Doukaina, a woman I have come to know, admire, and deeply respect.

Elizabeth C. Lundy

NOTE ON THE TRANSLITERATION OF GREEK INTO ENGLISH

I have been guided by the Byzantine scholars Alexander Kazhdan, Anne Wharton Epstein, Cyril Mango, Angeliki Laiou, and Demetrios Polemis in choosing a system for the transliteration of Greek into Latin letters.

In order to duplicate most closely the sound of the original Greek, I have adopted the following system whenever possible: to render the Greek beta as v (not b), kappa as k (not c), the diphthongs omikron iota as oi (not oe), alpha iota as ai (not ae), and omikron upsilon as ou (not u), upsilon as u, but occasionally y (as in *typikon*), omikron sigma as os (not us), and epsilon iota as ei (not i). The problematic eta is transliterated as e, and not as i.

Regarding Byzantine names, I have used the same system with the following exceptions: when there is a widely recognized English version of a name, I have chosen this in order to avoid unnecessary confusion, e.g. John (not *Ioannes*), Isaak (not *Isaakios*), Basil (not *Vasilios*), Bryennios (not *Vryennios*), and Byzantine (not *Vyzantine*). Nevertheless, various spellings of the same word have been unavoidable because of the different systems used by the various secondary sources.

The transliteration of all Greek in the text, endnotes, and bibliography was necessitated by typographical constraints. Therefore, a selection from the Byzantine Greek sources which I have translated and used in the text has been included at the end of this manuscript.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used for periodicals and collections of sources:

B	<u>Byzantion</u>
BF	<u>Byzantinische Forschungen</u>
BS	<u>Byzantinoslavica</u>
BZ	<u>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</u>
CFHB	<u>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</u>
CHJ	<u>Cambridge Historical Journal</u>
CSHB	<u>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</u>
DOP	<u>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</u>
GOTR	<u>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</u>
EA	<u>Ekklesiastike Hlethela</u>
EO	<u>Échos d'Orient</u>
IRAİK	<u>Izvestija Russkago Arheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinople</u>
JÖBG	<u>Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</u>
JÖB	<u>Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinistik</u>
MĪ	<u>Mesalonike vivliotheke</u>
MPG	<u>Migne, J.P., Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca</u>
REB	<u>Revue des études byzantines</u>
TRHS	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>
VV	<u>vizantijskij vremennik</u>

INTRODUCTION

A: OUTLINE OF THE LIFE OF THE BYZANTINE EMPRESS EIRENE DOUKAINA

1067 - Eirene was born in Konstantinople, the eldest daughter of Andronikos Doukas and Mary of Bulgaria.

October, 1077 - Eirene's parents, with the help of her grandfather, the Caesar John Doukas, arranged her betrothal to Alexios Komnenos.

October 14, 1077 - Eirene's father died.

January 1078 - Eirene and Alexios were married.

April, 1081 - Alexios usurped the throne from Nikephoros Botaniates.

April 1 or 4, 1081 - Alexios was crowned Emperor.

April 8 or 11, 1081 - Eirene was crowned Empress.

1083 to 1098 - Births of their children

1083 - Anna

1085 - Maria

1087 - John

1091 - Andronikos

1092 or 94 - Eudokia

1093 - Isaak

1095 or 96 - Theodora

1097 - Manuel (died at birth)

1098 - Zoe (died at birth)

1094 - Eirene began to accompany Alexios on military campaigns.

1097 - Eirene's oldest daughter Anna married Nikephoros Bryennios.

1098 - Eirene and Alexios became grandparents when Anna gave birth to her first son, named Alexios.

1100 - Anna Dalassena, Eirene's mother-in-law, retired to the Pantepoptes Monastery.

1103 - Eirene's oldest son, John, married the Princess Prisca of Hungary. (Prisca changed her name to Eirene on becoming Empress.)

1104 - John's wife gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl.

1105 - Anna Dalassena died.

- 1105 - An enamel portrait of Eirene was completed for the Pala d'Oro of St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice.
- Eirene went to Thessalonike with Alexios. There he prepared to face Bohemond in battle.
- 1107 - She accompanied Alexios to Geranion for another battle.
- 1108 - Eirene and Alexios returned to Konstantinople.
- 1110 - The Monastery of Kecharitomene was founded.
- 1108-1118 - This was Eirene's most influential period as Empress.
- 1118 - Alexios died on August 15/16, 1118, after which Eirene retired to the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene.
- 1120 - Eirene attended the wedding of her grandson Alexios Komnenos and Katai, Princess of Georgia.
- 1130-31 - Eirene travelled by sea to somewhere in Asia Minor to bring the body of her son Andronikos back to the capital. Upon her return, Andronikos was buried with all the family in attendance.
- Sunday, February 19, 1133 - Eirene died in her palace beside the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene at the age of 66. She died peacefully, surrounded by the members of her family.

only a few paragraphs, sometimes only a few lines, about the Empress Eirene.

In addition, the foundation charters (typika) written by her sons John and Isaak mention Eirene,¹ but only in the mnemosyna (memorial section) commemorating her death. Other writers including Michael Attaleiates, Zosimos, George Kedrenos, General kekaumenos, Matthew of Edessa, Michael Glykas, and John of Antioch provide only background information.

The most complete Byzantine source for the personal life and career of this Empress is The Alexiad,² written by her daughter Anna Komnena, an extraordinary work of medieval Greek history, despite its flaws. The most interesting source, however, comes from Eirene herself. Unfortunately, we do not have any of her personal letters or her will, but we do have a unique manuscript, the foundation charter (typikon), which has survived almost in its entirety, written to found her Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene.³ It is in fact the best preserved of four extant typika written for monasteries founded by women in Konstantinople from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.

The Typikon of the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene is about sixty pages long in MPG, including the Latin translation. The original manuscript is comprised of 141 folios which were written in two different periods. The first 128 folios were written around 1110, and folios 129 to 141 were written between 1120 and 1130. A portion of folio 137

INTRODUCTION

B: DISCUSSION OF THE SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF EIRENE DOUKAINA

The information for this biography of Eirene Doukaina is taken from numerous and diverse Byzantine sources. It is fortunate that much of what was written about Eirene by her contemporaries has survived. A considerable amount of this material is in the form of speeches, letters, and poems. This material was often commissioned by Eirene, and was written by Michael Italikos, Theodoros Prodromos, Manuel Straboromanos, Nikolaos Kallikles, Nikolaos Kataskepenos, George Tornikes, and Theophylaktos of Achrida. At first glance it appears that there must be a wealth of material to draw from—all of these sources. Unfortunately, this is deceiving. The main reason for this lies in the literary style of Byzantine writers, a style which emphasized form over content, and in which the indirect manner of saying something was preferred over the direct. The end result is often obscure pedantry. Only Prodromos attempted to write in a more direct manner.

The Byzantine chronicles and histories of Michael Glykas, Ephraim, John Zonaras, Niketas Choniates, Skoutariotes, Michael the Syrian, Konstantinos Manasses, and Nikephoros Bryennios also contribute valuable information about Eirene. Often, however, an entire work will contain

and the entire text of folios 138 and 139 are missing. The delineation of the monastery begins on folio 140 and breaks off uncompleted at folio 141.⁵ The typikon is a formal ecclesiastical document modelled on the Euergetis Typikon of 1055, with some chapters copied from it verbatim.⁶ Eirene's typikon was later used as a prototype for typika by other female founders of monasteries.⁷ Typika, in general, do not usually provide much personal information about the founder, but because Eirene's main purpose in founding her monastery was to create a place of retirement for her and her family, she provided many biographical details which give invaluable insight into her character and personal feelings.

It is an advantage for the biographer that the two main Byzantine documents used to compile a biography of this Empress, the Typikon and the Alexiad, were written by Eirene and Anna respectively. It is in these two texts that one can best study the perceptions these women had of themselves in their society. We are fortunate to have these texts because, despite the high degree of literacy of royal women during this period, their extant writings are few. Georgina Buckler suggests that the reason for this is that women inspired men to write but wrote little themselves.⁸ Since most of the sources were written by males, the comparison of the male-female perspectives can only be of benefit in presenting a balanced view of the life of this Empress.

As far as modern sources are concerned, only two twentieth-century writers have attempted biographies of

Eirene Doukaina. Charles Diehl included her in his book Figures byzantines published in 1909, devoting thirty-three pages to her.¹⁰ Joseph McCabe, in The Empresses of Constantinople published in 1913, wrote twenty-one pages about Eirene and her daughter Anna.¹⁰ Both works have some merit. They focused attention on Eirene Doukaina and they used the Byzantine sources, although neither included any notes or bibliographies. Unfortunately, since these authors perceived women in their traditional subservient role to men, their conclusions about Eirene's character and motivation are tainted by this attitude, as we shall see in forthcoming chapters.

In addition to these two works, the Empress is included in the prosopographical studies written by Demetrios Polemis on the Doukai,¹¹ and by Konstantinos Varzos on the Komnenoi.¹² There is only one other book that attempts a biography of Eirene, Sir Walter Scott's Count Robert of Paris.¹³ This book draws on the Alexiad for information, but is a fictionalized account of Eirene and Alexios, from the point of view of a Crusader.

In general, modern scholars have looked at Eirene in her official role as the wife of Alexios I, as the founder of Theotokos Kecharitomene, or as the mother of Anna Komnena and John II, but, for the most part, have given her little personal attention. This may be partly due to the fact that she does not have the notorious reputation of an empress like Theodora, the wife of Justinian in the sixth century.

Nevertheless, Eirene is without doubt a more typical example of a Byzantine Empress than Theodora was. If Eirene has been neglected, her typikon has received a good deal of attention. It is included in a corpus of monastic foundation charter documents to be published by DUF.¹⁷ Also, it has already been translated into French by Paul Gautier, who appended a biographical sketch of the founder.¹⁸

The purpose of this thesis has been to compile the biographical information about Eirene Doukaina from the various Byzantine sources, and to come to terms with the conflicting opinions expressed in both the primary and secondary sources about this Empress. Was she, as Charles Diehl puts it, "apparently unassuming and discreet but in reality a schemer, clever, cunning and consumed by ambition . . ."¹⁹ Or was she the shy, selfless woman who devoted herself to her husband and family, as her daughter Anna wishes us to believe. Both present one-sided views, and this thesis attempts to place these views and others in context in order to construct a more balanced portrait of Eirene based on the evidence available.

To achieve this aim, one must look at the political environment in which Eirene lived and her involvement in political affairs. This thesis does not concentrate solely on Eirene as a political figure, however, since the power she held was indirect and a political focus would center more attention on Alexios than Eirene. To present a more comprehensive character study, therefore, all the aspects of

her life have been examined; her family background, her role as patron of the arts, her relationship with her husband, her role as mother of a large family, representations of Eirene in art, her management of the monastery she founded, the charter she wrote to found it, and her years of retirement spent in the palace complex she built beside her monastery. The decision to examine all of these elements has meant that it was not possible to concentrate as fully as one might like on certain aspects of Eirene's life; Eirene as foundress of the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene, or the complex relationship between Eirene and her son John II, for example. (Both of these subjects are rich areas for further study.) It is hoped, however, that this is more than compensated for by the overall scope of this study, and will provide the reader with a more comprehensive understanding of the aspirations and motivations of the Empress Eirene Doukaina.

INTRODUCTION

1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BYZANTIUM IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Forming the background for a biography of Eirene Doukaina are the complex political events of the eleventh century. These must be considered in order to see Eirene's life in the proper perspective.

From 1025 to 1067, that is, in the forty-two years preceeding the birth of Eirene, there were a total of thirteen rulers on the Byzantine throne. From the time of Eirene's birth to her marriage to Alexios, from 1067 to 1078, the Byzantine throne was occupied by five different rulers: Konstantinos X Doukas 1059-67, Eudokia 1067-68, Romanos IV Diogenes 1068-71, Eudokia (a second time) 1071, Michael VII Doukas 1071-78, and Nikephoros III Botaniates 1078-81. This quick turn-over in rulers from 1025 to 1078 is an indication of the instability of the empire during that period. All of these Emperors and Empresses proved unable to deal with mounting internal problems at a time when enemies were appearing on all sides and threatening the existence of the state.

Under the Macedonian Emperors (842 to 1025), the empire had had two centuries of great expansion and increased power; this period has been called the Age of Conquest. When the

last great Macedonian emperor, Basil II, died in 1025 after reigning for fifty years, he left a strong military empire whose boundaries stretched from the Danube River in the north to Syria in the south, and from southern Italy and the Adriatic Sea in the west to Armenia in the east. A strong military force kept peace on the borders, and a large free peasantry kept the rural economy healthy. According to the historian Michael Psellos, the grand total in the treasury was two hundred thousand talents.¹ In the next fifty-six years after Basil's death, between 1025 and 1081, this situation completely reversed itself and the empire began to disintegrate.

The reasons for this disintegration are many and complex and have been much debated by Byzantine scholars. While this thesis cannot cover the subject in detail, a brief survey will serve to outline the major points. In short, the situation was caused by a military, economic, and social crisis which enveloped the state. To begin with, in the period from 1025 to 1081, the thirteen leaders who succeeded Basil were weak and ill-equipped to cope with the mounting internal problems, especially the conflict between military and civil factions. The Emperors' support for the civil aristocracy resulted in a shift of power from the military to the civil class. Therefore, the organization of the armed forces broke down, making Byzantium defenceless at a time when it was most in need of defence. Foreign mercenaries

were employed, but they were ill-equipped and not as reliable as a strong native militia. The final result was that the Byzantine army was annihilated by the Turks at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, and Asia Minor, which had been Byzantium's main military recruiting ground and source of grain, was eventually lost to the Turks. In the same year, Italy also succumbed to the Normans.

Also, a prolonged economic crisis was accentuated both by the reckless and extravagant spending of the Emperors on the promotion of literature and art,² and by the reduction in revenue through imperial grants to monasteries or individuals.³ The resulting deficit was met by the devaluation of nomisma coinage between 1040 and 1080, after seven centuries of stability. The modern historian P. Grierson thinks Konstantinos IX in particular must shoulder much of the blame for this debasement.⁴

A change in the status of the peasantry also affected the overall situation and contributed to the change in the social fibre of the empire. The system of allelengyon,⁵ under which the wealthy landowners paid the taxes of the poor was not popular with the rich and was enforced only for brief periods. When it was not enforced the free peasantry had to pay their own taxes, which were raised higher and higher in order to deal with the increasing economic crisis. The famous eleventh century Armenian General Kekaumenos writes that in Georgia and Mesopotamia taxes were so high that

people preferred to go over to the Turks rather than pay them.~ Peasants who did not defect and who could not pay their taxes lost their independence, and became feudal tenants to wealthy landowners.

Prominent Byzantine scholars agree that these were the main causes for the state Byzantium was in by 1081.⁷ In addition, Speros Vryonis Jr. stresses that the ethnic and religious problems stemming from the persecution of the Armenian and Syrian Monophysites also played an important role in the loss of Asia Minor. To escape persecution from the Greeks, the Monophysites defected to the Turks.⁸

Cyril Mango, moreover, points out that it may be too easy to place all the blame for the problems in Byzantium on the thirteen Emperors who followed Basil, and suggests that the seed for decline had been planted earlier by the Macedonian Emperors. By extending the boundaries "...over countries and peoples that had neither kinship or sympathy with the government at Constantinople," the state was made vulnerable to further change.⁹ This point is well taken. Basil's conquest of Armenia, for instance, only increased the animosity between the Armenians and the Greeks. Two Armenian writers give interesting testimony to this. Matthew of Edessa (962-1136) writes of the strong hatred between the Greeks and his people, and he comments in particular on the hatred of Alexios and his son John toward the Armenians.¹⁰ Gregory Pakourianos' dislike for the Greeks is evident in the

typikon he wrote in 1083.¹¹ An epigram by Kassia, a Greek nun who wrote in the ninth century, indicates that the hatred between the Greeks and the Armenians was centuries old.¹² It is, therefore, not surprising that the conquest of Armenia did not last long. Left independent, the Armenians, together with the Albanians, Serbs, and Bulgarians might have helped defend Byzantium against its invaders. Instead, these peoples were stripped of their independence, and it was only a matter of time before they rose up against their Byzantine conquerors.

There was also a positive side to the situation: amidst all the political turbulence, there was a dramatic renewal in the arts and culture. In fact, Michael Psellos, in Fourteen Byzantine Rulers,¹³ portrays the Emperors, especially Michael VII, as philosopher kings. Psellos himself was one of the most brilliant scholars of his time. Appointed Head of the Faculty of Philosophy at the newly re-opened state university in 1045, he was largely responsible for spawning an intellectual and artistic atmosphere in which a wealth of literature and art was produced.¹⁴ The chronicle of Skylitzes, however, criticizes Psellos for encouraging Michael VII to busy himself with art and neglect the business of the state.¹⁵ While the artistic renaissance did little to lessen the barbarian threat, it did create a vibrant resurgence in literature, culture, art, and education.

The idea that many of the changes which occurred in the

Byzantine empire between 1025 and 1081 were positive is held by Alexander Kazhdan and Anne Wharton Epstein, who claim that despite the problems Byzantium was indeed alive and well during this period. They refer to the literary, numismatic, and archaeological evidence to indicate that the urban and rural economy was flourishing, although the evidence does not as clearly indicate this in Asia Minor. They contend that the changes taking place in the empire were more the result of the general evolution of the medieval world, including the shift towards feudalism in the west, than of the failures of the Emperors and their armies.¹⁴ Kazhdan concludes "that the traditional opinion of the economic crisis and collapse of Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is far from being true."¹⁵

Even if we accept that the economy and the arts were flourishing, there is still no doubt, however, that when Alexios ascended the throne he had enormous problems to deal with. The problems Alexios faced in 1081 include: a debased coinage, an empty treasury, a decline in tax revenue, an impaired central government, the collapse of the system of military land holdings, the rising power of the civil landowners and the feudalization of the local peasantry, a decline in trade, seriously curtailed military and naval defenses, and constant barbarian invasions on every side. Alexios himself summed up the situation by saying: "It was my misfortune to find the Empire surrounded on all sides by

barbarians, with no defence worthy of consideration against the enemies who threatened it."¹⁴

This brief look at the historical background of the state of affairs of Byzantium in the eleventh century should help us understand the circumstances which brought about the marriage of Eirene and Alexios as well as the problems they faced after they ascended the throne. As Joan Mussey advises, it is, no doubt, unfair to look at the period of 1025 to 1081 as one of perpetual decline and the period of 1081 to 1180 as one of perpetual glory. "I suspect," she says, "that the racy gossip of Michael Psellus...and the exceedingly partial pen of Anna Comnena...have influenced us more than we realize." It is a mistake, she cautions:

...to allow the contrast between the mid-eleventh century rulers and the efficient Comneni to obscure the fact that certain developments which radically altered the history of Byzantium were common to both periods.¹⁵

Alexios Komnenos must, however, be given credit for re-establishing Byzantium as a major power in the Eastern Mediterranean and for leaving his descendants a much more prosperous empire than the one he took over in 1081. When his grandson, Manuel, was emperor between 1143 and 1180, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a traveller who visited the capital in 1168, left this record of what he saw:

The tribute which is collected at Constantinople every year...consisting of silks and purple clothes and gold, fills many towers. These riches and buildings are equalled nowhere in the world....The Greeks who inhabit the country are extremely rich and possess great wealth of gold and precious stones.²⁰

Manuel inherited this legacy because Alexios' military strategy stabilized the eastern frontiers, strengthened provincial governments, and so extended the survival of the Empire for at least another three centuries.

One cannot, however, recognize Alexios' success without acknowledging the important role Eirene played in his achievements. For, as Konstantinos Varzos rightly points out, it was through Alexios' marriage to Eirene that he was given the opportunity to take over the throne and glorify the Komnenoi name.²¹

CHAPTER 1

EIRENE DOUKAINA: ARISTOCRATIC PRINCESS

Despite its political problems, Konstantinople in the eleventh century was a metropolis without equal. It was a Christian city, Roman in organization, and Greek in language and culture, with a multi-racial population of between one-half and one million inhabitants, excluding the suburbs.¹ Located on a promontory which juts out to where the Sea of Marmara meets the Bosphoros Strait, a site which provides one of the best natural harbours in the world and allows control of both land and sea routes between Europe and Asia, the city became one of the richest and most powerful of all time. Although her land fortifications, stretching four miles from the sea to the Golden Horn, comprised her most vulnerable line of defence, her huge walls remained impregnable until the armies of Mehmet II entered the city on May 29, 1453.²

It was here in Konstantinople that Eirene was born in the year 1067³ into the wealthy aristocratic family of the Doukai. She was the eldest daughter of five children born to Andronikos Doukas and his wife, Mary of Bulgaria. Eirene had two older brothers, Michael and John, and two younger sisters, Anna and Theodora.⁴ Although we have no details about Eirene's early life, we do have some information about her family background.

Bryennios claims that the Doukas family was descended from Konstantinos the Great.⁵ But in fact the name appeared only in the middle of the ninth century. It no doubt derived from the military rank of dux, a commander of a remote district. The first Doukas, or Doux in its archaic form, mentioned in the sources is called o tou Doukos, and may have been the son of such a commander.⁶

The persons bearing this name for the first two centuries were, however, not all from the same family. It was not until the eleventh century that a single family with the name Doukas emerged which rose to national prominence and produced an imperial dynasty.⁷ Eirene Doukaina was born into this family and it was she who was called "the light of the Doukai,"⁸ and who raised her family to the heights of its prestige and power. The family name survived to the end of the empire and indeed is still found in present day Greece. However, the male line was probably extinct by the middle of the twelfth century and the name survived only through the female line, and through Eirene Doukaina in particular.⁹

Eirene's family, according to Michael the Syrian, came from the area of Paphlagonia.¹⁰ Their wealth derived from vast estates spread throughout the empire.¹¹ Eirene's father, Andronikos, was the son of John Doukas, the brother of the Emperor Konstantinos X. Andronikos spent his life in the military, and, while serving under the Emperor Romanos Diogenes, he actively assisted his father in plans to

eliminate the Emperor. His withdrawal of troops just before the battle of Manzikert in 1071 contributed to the defeat of the Byzantine army, and it was Andronikos who led the final expedition against Romanos. Consistently loyal to his father, Andronikos was wounded while rescuing him during the revolt of Rousel in 1074.¹² Andronikos temporarily recovered but his health was permanently undermined, and he finally died on October 14, 1077.¹³ It must have been around 1060 that Andronikos married the princess Maria, since their first child Michael was born c.1061.¹⁴

According to Bryennios, Eirene's mother Maria traced her paternal lineage back to the Bulgarian King Samuel; on her mother's side she was descended from the noble Byzantine families of Kontostephanos, Avallantes, and Phokas, all known for their immense wealth.¹⁵ Maria is described as "the most beautiful of all women, whose exterior beauty only added to her interior beauty, and whose intelligence surpassed other women."¹⁶ She died on November 21, sometime during the reign of her son-in-law Alexios.¹⁷

The influence of Andronikos and Maria Doukas on their daughter's early years can be glimpsed from Eirene's statement that:

...my life had its beginning in a pious family and one naturally suited to virtue; and with regard to my upbringing and education my instruction was under the

finest laws and among my habits, let envy and the unpleasantness of boasting be kept away, none that I possessed was acquired in a slovenly way or was hard to inculcate.¹⁶

It is not surprising that Eirene received a good education, since examples of well-educated aristocratic women abound throughout Byzantine history. As Angeliki Laiou puts it, "Learning had become an acceptable virtue for the upper class female."¹⁷ During the Byzantine period, girls did not attend formal schools, but were apparently privately tutored at home.¹⁸ Unfortunately, there are few details about what this education consisted of. Anna Komnena, however, does provide some information about what she herself was taught. In her Preface to the Alexiad, she says:

I devoted the most earnest study to the Greek language . . . having read thoroughly the treatises of Aristotle and the dialogues of Plato, and having fortified my mind with the Quadrivium of sciences.¹⁹

Later in the book she adds the subjects rhetoric, poetry, and history, which she probably studied at a later date, to the above list.²⁰ Both Anna's parents encouraged her to study as much as she wanted,²¹ but it was her mother who chose her tutors.²² There were two subjects, however, that her parents,

especially her mother, disapproved of, and these were grammar and poetry. George Tornikes, an intimate friend of the family, suggests that Alexios and Eirene felt grammar and poetry to be insidious because they were devoid of Christian morals.²⁵ Anna, it seems, was determined to study them anyway and managed to do so by convincing her tutor to work with her in secret without her parents' knowledge.²⁶

Judging from Eirene's guidance and encouragement of her daughter's education, as well as by her own reading habits,²⁷ Eirene enjoyed a thirst for knowledge. Indeed, a contemporary praised her for this very quality,²⁸ which Eirene passed on to her daughter. Although Anna's vast knowledge, so evident in the Alexiad, outstripped her mother's, nevertheless the general tone of Eirene's typikon is that of an aristocratic, cultured, knowledgeable, and intelligent woman. Eirene's position, of course, gave her the opportunity to be well-informed. She must have had access to the royal private library, which, if we can judge from information concerning the size of private libraries, must have been quite large.²⁹ It is possible that Eirene herself, who was known to be an enthusiastic reader, had a private library; however there is no evidence for this. Considering that Eirene read a great deal and that throughout her life a large volume of correspondence passed through her hands, the quality of her signature which appears on the typikon, the only signature of Eirene's to survive,³⁰ poses

some questions (see Appendix III⁴).

Although the large clear writing of Eirene's signature is strong, in comparison with the hand who wrote the charter, it has an awkward, childlike appearance. Repeated letters are not always formed the same way, and the spacing is clumsy. In the original you can see that Eirene went over some of the letters a second time because her pen was running out of ink. In addition, the first two lines of Eirene's five-line signature appear at the bottom of folio 128, and the next three appear at the top of folio 129, with the separation after the first two letters of the word vasilissa. Since this is an important document, one would expect Eirene to have been more careful about the spacing and to have used her best handwriting. On the other hand, this may be her best effort. Unfortunately, none of the other three copies of the charter²¹ survives to enable us to compare this signature with the others. Perhaps we have the poorest example. The conclusion Gautier makes, on the basis of this copy, is that Eirene was not accustomed to writing.²²

Is it possible that despite her education Eirene never learned to write properly, or disliked writing, or was unaccustomed to writing because she dictated all her correspondence, including her typikon, to someone else? A priest corresponding with the fourteenth century Palaiologan Princess Eirene-Eulogia complained about her bad handwriting.²³ As this princess herself admitted, however,

the poor quality of her writing stemmed from her lack of education.²² Eirene Doukaina on the other hand received a good education, but she still wrote poorly. It leaves one with many unanswered questions about the education of Byzantine women in general and of Eirene in particular.

This is all the more difficult to understand when we examine her appreciation and patronage of the literary arts (see Chapter 3). Eirene's literary salons seem to have been a continuous feature of her life. Even in her retirement there is every indication she increased her patronage to the literati providing funds, encouragement, and a venue for readings by prominent writers in the palace for herself and the members of her family.²³ Perhaps it is a mistake to apply modern standards of literacy to Eirene; we must accept that she read well and appreciated literature, but did not write well. In any case, although her education must have ended before she became betrothed to Alexios, her love of books remained with her throughout her lifetime.²⁴

In addition to the information Eirene herself provides on her early years, the only other details come from Bryennios, who says that at the age of eleven Eirene was "endowed with physical grace and charm and strong moral character."²⁵ Perhaps it was her 'moral character' that made her mother feel she was suitable for the position of wife and possible future Empress for Alexios. Bryennios says, however, that she was chosen because she was the oldest and

her youngest sister had been consecrated to God.³⁴ What he does not say is that the young, ambitious Alexios must have seemed a politically advantageous choice for one of the Doukai daughters.

The idea for the match came from Eirene's mother, Maria, and one gets the impression that Maria was the more forceful personality of Eirene's parents. She apparently urged her husband, the ill Andronikos, to convince his father, the Caesar John Doukas, to become protector for their children and to sanction the betrothal of Eirene to Alexios Komnenos.³⁵ It is possible she took the opportunity during her husband's illness to make this suggestion because Alexios' previous fiancé, the daughter of a wealthy landowner, had just died.³⁶ When the Caesar John Doukas agreed to the match, Andronikos was so happy he almost forgot his illness, and one day when Alexios was visiting he took him aside and asked him if he wanted a wife.³⁷ Alexios accepted on the condition that his own mother also approve of the match.³⁸

John Doukas agreed to Maria's proposal for specific reasons. First, his son Konstantinos had died in 1074 and Andronikos was fatally ill. Without male heirs, it was clear that the family needed a strong protector among the military nobility competing for power, and Alexios Komnenos was a good candidate. Second, the marriage would help resolve the ill feelings that existed between the two families.³⁹

The marriage proposal apparently upset the court. The Emperor Michael VII, Eirene's second cousin, was anxious because he did not want a Komnenos in the family, and his brother objected because he wanted Alexios to marry his sister Zoe. Nor was Anna Dalassena, Alexios' mother, enthusiastic because she had a grudge against the Caesar and his family. Maria, however, was determined and apparently used her money to make sure that the proposal was accepted. McCabe interprets this to mean that Maria resorted to bribery to bring about the marriage, but he does not suggest who Maria may have bribed. It seems more probable that the money refers to Eirene's dowry. In any case, all the obstacles finally were overcome, the engagement was announced, and Andronikos died full of the hopes that he placed in his darling daughter. This marriage was to be the first to take place between the leading families of the civil and military aristocracy which had been traditional rivals for some time. According to the modern historian Michael Angold, "Power was now in the hands of an alliance of aristocratic families, all united by close marriage. . . . Architect of this alliance was Caesar John Ducas and was kept together by his [John's] enemy Anna Dalassena." The information given by the byzantine historian Bryennios, however, indicates that Eirene's mother Maria is more deserving of the title of architect of the marriage than John Doukas.

There is no suggestion in any of the extant sources that it was Alexios' own idea to marry Eirene. Marrying into the ruling Doukas family, however, served Alexios' political ambitions. Assuming that Alexios had his sights set on the throne at that time, it must have been clear to him that an alliance between the Doukai and the Komnenoi would provide him with the necessary support. Alexios was also beholden to the Caesar John, who had forced Michael VII to abdicate and helped arrange the marriage of the Empress Maria to Botaniates, thus preparing the way for Alexios' future plans.²⁰ The alliance of the Komnenoi and the Doukai created by the marriage of Eirene and Alexios was to help each family regain some of the prestige they were losing in the latter part of the eleventh century. It is interesting to note at this point that although the Byzantine historians Nikephoros Bryennios and Anna Komnena had much to say about the origin of the Doukai,²¹ they say nothing whatsoever about the origin of the Komnenoi; it is tempting to speculate the Komnenoi family were not as distinguished as the Doukai, despite Isaak I Komnenos' (Alexios' uncle) two years on the throne (1057-59). If the Doukai prestige was stronger than that of the Komnenoi, Alexios' need for Doukai support was all the more necessary. Alexios, in fact, continued to court the favour of various members of the Doukas family even after marrying Eirene. He promised Empress Maria, after the death of her husband Michael VII and her marriage to Nikephoros

Botaniates, that if he gained the throne, he would ensure her son's succession rights.²² Alexios and his brother Isaak also convinced Maria to adopt Alexios as her son to strengthen his cause.²³ It was also rumoured that Alexios was having an affair with her.²⁴

The betrothal, therefore, had something to offer both families. If Eirene was used as a pawn in the matter, there is no indication she resented this. She was brought up in a society in which arranged marriages were customary. Indeed, marriage to a possible future Emperor offered her a prestigious position in life which most girls of her time would envy.

Although the exact date of the marriage of Eirene and Alexios cannot be ascertained, a probable date is early in 1078.²⁵ Three years later, they became Emperor and Empress of the Byzantine Empire.

CHAPTER 2

EIRENE DOUKAINA: EMPRESS OF THE ROMANS

THE EARLY YEARS

When Eirene was married to Alexios early in 1078, she was only eleven years old. Although Eirene was young by modern standards and a few months younger than the legal age for marriage, Byzantine girls usually married at an early age because of the high infant mortality and low life expectancy common during the middle ages.¹ There is evidence, however, which implies that surviving to old age was not unknown in the eleventh century,² but the legal age of marriage for girls remained at twelve. Eirene was not yet twelve when the marriage took place, but under Byzantine law she was considered to be so.³ It is worth noting that, after her marriage, she retained her family name, as was usual during that period.⁴

Although her exact birth date is unknown, according to Anna, the author of the Alexiad, Eirene was fifteen years old (pentekaidekaton) when Alexios seized the throne.⁵ A few pages later in the same chapter, Anna says Eirene's fifteenth year had not yet been completed (oudepo ton pentekaidekaton paradegramekei chronon).⁶ The reader will notice that if Eirene was born in 1067, and married in 1078, this would make her fourteen and not fifteen years of age in 1081. A word of

explanation is, therefore, in order regarding the difference between the Byzantine and the modern North American method of calculating age. Anna, when she says that her mother was fifteen years old, means that Eirene was between fourteen and fifteen years of age. We would say that Eirene was fourteen years old. When Anna says Eirene's fifteenth year had not yet been completed, she means that Eirene had not completed the year between her fourteenth and fifteenth birthday. We would say that Eirene was not yet fifteen years old.⁷

The information on Eirene's husband Alexios' birth date is also confusing. According to Zonaras, he was seventy years old when he died.⁸ This places his year of birth in 1048. But, according to his daughter Anna, he was born in 1057.⁹ Anna's later date is substantiated by three other sources, Bryennios, Attaleiates, and Skylitzes.¹⁰ According to this date, Alexios would have been twenty-one when he was married, and twenty-four when he usurped the throne from Botaniates. As Paul Gautier points out, "The fact that almost all chroniclers emphasize his youth is important."¹¹ For these reasons, the date of 1057 seems the most acceptable. To recapitulate, Eirene was eleven years old at the time of her marriage, and Alexios twenty-one years of age. Besides their age difference (not unusual in that period), and Eirene's youth, there are other reasons to believe that their marriage was not immediately consummated.¹²

There are numerous reasons to support the theory that

Alexios and Eirene were married in name only, possibly until 1082 or 1083. Eirene's position at court was weak; her mother-in-law Anna Dalassena disliked the Doukai and thus was openly hostile to Eirene.¹² Also, it was rumoured that Alexios was carrying on an affair with the Empress Maria, wife of Nikephoros Botaniates,¹³ and it was Maria, not Eirene, who was living in the upper palace Alexios moved to after his coronation.¹⁴ Finally, Eirene did not begin having children until December 1083, at the age of seventeen, but after that date had no difficulty in conceiving. She gave birth to nine children during the next fifteen years (see Appendix I). It is possible that Eirene did not begin her menses until she was sixteen, but this is impossible to ascertain.¹⁵

The insecurity of Eirene's position as Alexios' wife is emphasized by the following event. The distinguished general George Palaiologos, who was married to Eirene's sister Anna,¹⁷ joined Alexios in 1081 in his revolt against Botaniates. Anna relates that Palaiologos convinced the royal fleet to surrender to Alexios¹⁸ and, in so doing, prevented Botaniates' retreat to Asia and ensured the success of the Komnenoi. Upon his arrival with the fleet in the harbour of the capital, Palaiologos began to acclaim his new sovereigns, Alexios and Eirene:

...the party of the Comneni leaning over the ramparts

tried to silence him from above, bidding him not to link the names of Irene and Alexius in a common acclamation. He was extremely angry. "It was not for your sakes," he cried, "that I won so great a victory, but because of the Irene you speak of." And at the same time he ordered his sailors to acclaim both together Irene and Alexius.¹⁷

The actions of the Komnenoi supporters must reflect Alexios' own attitude concerning his young wife; his indifference to her is reinforced by the fact that he was crowned alone on either April 1, or April 4, 1081.¹⁸ Anna leaves no doubt that Eirene's future was in jeopardy:

...his wife, fifteen years old at the time, he left in the 'lower' palace with her sisters and mother and the Caesar [John Doukas] . . . Alexius himself, with his brothers, his mother and his close relatives went up to the higher palace . . . Many people were suspicious when the empress [Maria] stayed on there and they suggested in an underhand way that the new emperor intended to marry her. The Ducas family believed no such thing (they were not carried away by chance rumours) but they knew that the mother of the Comneni had for a long time been undisguisedly hostile to themselves. Their suspicions made them fearful, as I myself have often

heard them sayThe Caesar John Ducas [Eirene's grandfather] . . .wanted to expedite the Empress Maria's departure and drive her from the palace, in order to free the public from their unjustified suspicions Meanwhile Alexius was crowned alone by the Patriarch Cosmas . The thought that the empress was still not considered worthy of the imperial crown frightened the Ducas family more than ever; however, they insisted that the Empress Irene should be crowned.²¹

One can sense the intrigue going on at court. Despite Anna's protestations to the contrary, the following evidence indicates that Alexios, feeling secure in his position and deciding that the Doukas family was less valuable to him, considered divorcing Eirene . It was the custom for an Emperor and his Empress to be crowned together; Alexios was crowned alone on April 1 or 4, 1081.²² An Emperor's wife and her family and attendants were assigned to quarters in the palace where the Emperor resided; Alexios moved into the upper palace of the Boucoleon and sent Eirene to live in the lower palace . Furthermore, he moved the ex-Empress Maria into the upper palace, suggesting he intended to make her his Empress . Finally, it is obvious from Anna's account quoted earlier that the Doukas family believed that Alexios was considering discarding Eirene and they exerted all their influence to prevent this from happening . Their first step

towards this goal was to drive the Empress Maria from the palace.²³ Next they had to convince Anna Dalassena to agree to Eirene's crowning. Fortunately, the Patriarch Kosmas, whom Anna Dalassena was eager to replace with a monk called Eustratios, was among the Doukas family supporters because he had been appointed to his position by Michael Doukas in 1074.²⁴ Kosmas refused to retire and leave gracefully unless Eirene was crowned.

Considering Anna Dalassena's feelings towards the Doukai, it seems surprising that she gave in to Kosmas' demands and agreed to Eirene's crowning. Nevertheless, Kosmas' firm stand and the power of the civil nobility who supported Eirene must have forced Anna Dalassena to reconsider her position. Regardless of how she felt towards the Doukai, the mother of the Komnenoi knew she would have endangered Alexios' position if she had refused to accept Eirene. As a result, with her mother-in-law's assent, Eirene was duly crowned "on the seventh day after the public proclamation of Alexios' accession . . .,"²⁵ (April 8 or 11, 1081). According to Konstantinos Varzos, Alexios was thus saved from making a terrible political mistake.²⁶

The circumstances in which Eirene lived during the first few years of her marriage indicate they were difficult years. She had been married to a man chosen by her family for political gain, who showed more interest in other women than in her, and understandably relations between her and Alexios

were strained. Moreover, her mother-in-law was a domineering woman who had tried to prevent Eirene's crowning and disliked Eirene and her family. According to Zonaras, however, this situation gradually changed:

^The advancing time dulled the Emperor's fiery arrows of passion [for other women], and turning his love and concern towards the Augusta, he showed all his affection to her, and could hardly detach himself from her. And so, therefore, after this, the Empress became powerful for she had the affection and physical love of the king.^47

It seems reasonable to suggest that it was at this time that the marriage was consummated.

We do not know what occurred to bring about such a change in their relationship, but some of the following should be considered. On the practical side, when Alexios was looking for money in order to mount a campaign against the Normans after the loss of Dyrrachion (October, 1081), Eirene was the first to contribute:

The empress, my mother, took the lead. All that she had inherited from her father and mother was offered, in the hope that by doing this she might inspire others to follow her example....Afterwards there was a spontaneous

and eager offering of available gold and silver of all the more loyal friends of the two rulers.²⁰

Despite what Anna says here, Eirene still had a considerable fortune of her own.²¹ Although Alexios still did not have enough money for the campaign and was forced to expropriate church property, an action which was regarded legal under certain circumstances, Eirene's generous offer could only have strengthened her position with her husband.

In addition, the former Empress Maria had retired to a monastery after the coronation of April 1081,²² an indication that perhaps her alleged affair with Alexios was over. Alexios' mother, Anna Dalassena, however, was to remain at court until 1100. It is said that she wore monastic styled robes, but nevertheless she was still the most powerful woman in Byzantium.²³ After having seen her son attain the throne, it is possible she may have softened in her attitude towards her daughter-in-law. However, there is no specific evidence for this, and the fact that Eirene's most prestigious period as Empress began only after Anna Dalassena retired from court in 1100, argues against any change for the better in Anna Dalassena's attitude to Eirene. McCabe's contention that, "Very probably Irene, as she grew to womanhood, resented the older woman's restraint and piety and insisted on her removal," is not substantiated by any of the evidence.²⁴

Both Zonaras and Anna Komnena claim that Anna Dalassena was

the real power behind the throne,²⁰ but this is a subject that needs to be more fully examined. It is safe to say, however, that the relationship between Eirene and her mother-in-law was not a congenial one.

Perhaps the most pressing reason for Alexios and Eirene to live together as husband and wife was the fact that, once established on the throne, there was an obvious need for royal heirs. It was only after they began having children that their relationship improved, and Alexios slowly became closer to his wife.

Unfortunately, we hear very little about Eirene from the sources during the first fifteen years of Alexios' reign which might help us trace her development from an insecure girl to a strong-willed Empress. Our main source, her daughter Anna, is, for the most part, silent about this period, but she does tell a curious story about her mother which suggests Eirene had strength of character even at seventeen. Eirene went into labour for her first child in December 1083, two days before Alexios returned from the battlefield:

...making the sign of the Cross over her womb [she] said, "Wait a while little one, till your father's arrival." Her mother...reproached her soundly: "What if he comes in a month's time? Do you know when he'll arrive?" she said angrily. "And how will you bear such

pain?" So spoke her mother; but her own command was obeyed....

Anna uses this story to show how dutiful she was even in the womb, but it is Eirene's determination that leaves the stronger impression. Since we hear little else about her, we must assume she was leading a quiet life behind the scenes. With her mother-in-law acting as regent and playing a leading part in court ceremonies, Eirene's life no doubt revolved around her family. With a pregnancy almost every year, her growing family no doubt occupied most of her time, and she took little part in political events.

If Alexios was neglectful of his wife during the first years of their marriage, there is nothing to suggest that he otherwise treated her badly. This was, after all, an arranged political marriage; in other words, it was a typical royal Byzantine marriage. As Alexios worked to fulfil his role as Emperor, dealing with matters of state, Eirene was fulfilling her role as his Empress and imperial consort.

CHAPTER 3

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF AN EMPRESS

"The aristocratic woman emerged as the most important element in the society and politics of the empire in the late eleventh century." This was due not only to the personal involvement of remarkable women, according to Angeliki Laiou, but also to "...the increased interference of a whole class of women in public life."¹ Even if she began as a shy young Empress, such an environment must have influenced Eirene and accounted for her increasing power at court.

The Byzantine sources use a variety of titles for Eirene. As Empress of the Byzantine empire, she was called Augusta Eirene (Empress Eirene), Vasilis or Vasilissa (Queen), or just plain Kyra (Lady).²

The Vasilissa had her own gallery in the church of St. Sophia,³ and she travelled in a "litter borne by two mules and over it the imperial canopy...."⁴ First and foremost, she was the complete mistress of the gynaikeion, the luxurious women's quarters of the palace:

According to a twelfth century Byzantine record, the empress's winter apartments in the Great Palace at Constantinople were built of Carian marble, its floors were of white Proconesus marble and the walls adorned

with mural paintings of a religious character . In contrast, the Pearl Pavilion, designed for use in summer, had a marble mosaic floor which, in the words of a contemporary, resembled 'a field carpeted with flowers'; its bedroom walls were faced with slabs of porphyry, green marble from Thessaly and Carian white, while those in other rooms displayed hunting scenes executed in glass mosaic.²

It should be noted that the idea that royal women lived a life of seclusion in the gynaikeion is, for the most part, a misconception, and bears no truth as far as the lives of Eirene and her daughters are concerned. Anna Komnena says she accompanied her mother and father outside of the palace most of the time and that she "...did not live a sheltered pampered existence."³ Although little is known about the management of the gynaikeion, its existence suggests a closer link to eastern than western cultures. Unlike the eastern empires, however, Byzantium was Christian and monogamy was practised. Further study in this area might reveal more information on the subject, but at the moment it is unclear what parallels may be drawn between the harems in the east and the gynaikeions in the eastern Roman Empire . In Byzantium, the Emperor's female family members, the royal children, and all their attendants lived in the women's quarters in the palace. There is no information on whether

an Emperor's mistresses and illegitimate children, if they existed, also lived in the same section.

The overseer of the gynaikeion was traditionally the Emperor's official hostess, which could be his wife, sister, mother, daughter or other female relative, or a former Empress. Although it was customary for the reigning Empress to be in charge of the gynaikeion, in Eirene Doukaina's case, her mother-in-law exerted a stronger influence over Alexios than she did. Anna Dalassena, therefore, probably ran the gynaikeion until her retirement in 1100. Eirene's mother Maria, however, may also have had some influence in the women's quarters, particularly if Anna Dalassena was more interested in political than domestic matters. Nevertheless, it is obvious from the numerous detailed provisions Eirene made in her typikon for the administration of the convent, which will be looked at in Chapter 4, that she had first-hand experience in business administration and management techniques, experience which she could only have gained from running her court and properties. At some time, perhaps around 1100, she took over the management of the gynaikeion's large staff, including comptrollers for the financial positions and chamberlains for the ceremonial jobs (traditionally eunuchs), and the ladies of the court appointed to special jobs.⁷ Eirene probably also managed the properties and other fortune she was given in her dowry (proika), and controlled other investments outside of her

dowry (exoproika).¹⁰ The evidence indicates that upper class women had enormous control over what they owned, since a significant amount of legal literature is concerned with this topic.¹¹ Eirene herself controlled the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene which she founded and endowed with income from her own property and holdings.

Augusta Eirene also had other duties besides managing her monastery and the gynaikeion. She was indispensable for the running of the imperial court, and she was obliged to carry out certain royal court duties and appear at state functions. Unfortunately, we do not know specifically what the court duties were, as they were not defined by law.¹²

In the absence of the Emperor Alexios, however, Kyra Eirene acted as his Regent. Since he was often away on military campaigns, she must have acted in this capacity many times, although presumably only after Anna Dalassena had left court. This was not simply an honorary position, but carried serious responsibilities. Eirene apparently called on her son-in-law Nikephoros Bryennios when she was in need of help on some major matter, a fact which did not please her son John.¹³

Although Eirene was never given a chance to exercise her legal right to nominate a successor to the throne in the absence of a legal or adult Emperor,¹⁴ she did, however, exert her influence on appointments of people to certain positions. Michael Italikos, Archbishop of Philippopolis,

owed his appointment as teacher of medicine in the patriarchal school in Konstantinople to the Empress.¹⁰ She also had the power to relieve someone from a position, as indicated by a letter to Eirene from the monk Nikolaos Kataskepenos, in which he begs her to forgive him for what he has done and to reinstate him.¹¹ Her answer, unfortunately, has not survived.

Along with her ceremonial and political duties and the management of her court and personal affairs, Eirene also had the obligation of philanthropia. In Konstantinople in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the extent to which philanthropia was practiced was unmatched by any city at any time. The capital was famous for its hospitals, orphanages, and hostels, and the wealthier citizens regularly donated food and money for the poor. Born into an aristocratic Greek Orthodox family, Eirene was brought up to believe in the Byzantine concept of philanthropia. This concept is best summed up by her husband's own advice written to his son:

~Even if God gives you the best things of the world, take care not to be contemptuous of a poor man, a relative of yours (through his humanity), but rather help him as much as you can, so that God may have you in his grace, and may increase your honour.~¹²

Philanthropia was the duty of the aristocracy, and it

accounts for the large number of monasteries founded by members of the royal family. Alexios, Eirene, and their children founded four of them, and their typika¹⁴ instructed the monasteries to give regularly to the needy. In her charter, Eirene states:

It is obligatory that a distribution take place at the gate each day of loaves of a third of a modius of grain...[and]...the leftovers from the table must also be distributed each day....¹⁵

The mnemosyna specified extra distribution to the poor of bread, money, and sometimes wine to mark the anniversaries of the deaths of royal family members.¹⁶ Eirene's actual contacts with the poor may not have been numerous, but there were occasions in her travels when she came face to face with them. Her daughter Anna writes:

She took what money she had in gold or in other precious metal and certain other possessions when she left the capital. Afterwards, on a journey, she gave liberally to all beggars, clad in goat-hair cloaks or naked, no one who asked went away empty-handed. And when she arrived at the tent set apart for her and went inside, it was not to lie down at once and rest, but she opened it up and all the mendicants were allowed free access.

To such persons she was very approachable and showed herself ready to be both seen and heard. Nor was it money alone that she gave to the poor; she also dispensed excellent advice....No circumstances deterred her from such good work....this empress every day could be seen mixing both food and drink with pity for others.¹⁹

Prodomos joined Anna in praising her mothers' compassion for the poor:

~She, Eirene, the most eminent of all queens, the most celebrated among women, the inexhaustible giver of donations, who honoured her crown with virtue, mistress of the earth and of compassion too.²⁰

Her greatest act of philanthropia was the founding of the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene. Since, however, she included within the grounds a palace for herself to retire in, perhaps this cannot be considered a totally unselfish act. We must also not forget that part of the reason for founding a monastery was to ensure one's own salvation and entrance into the kingdom of heaven. Eirene's words to the Virgin Mary were:

Receive my offering with favour, and do not thrust away

my oblation, nor turn away your face from your child,
but add a happy ending to an auspicious beginning.²¹

There was also another aspect of her position as Empress that Eirene seemed to derive a great deal of satisfaction from, her role as benefactor of the arts. During her lifetime, she commissioned many works, including funeral orations, speeches, and poems. She ordered scholars to write a history of Alexios' deeds,²² and Bryennios acknowledges in the preface to his history that he was commissioned to write it by the Empress.²³ Theodoros Prodromos wrote a poem to console Eirene on the death of her son Andronikos in 1130,²⁴ and Eirene is mentioned in much of his poetry.²⁵ Nikolaos Kallikles wrote a poem for Eirene which was engraved on the back of a wooden cross,²⁶ and Manuel Straboromanos was commissioned to write both a funeral oration for Michael Doukas, Eirene's brother, which seems to have been read in her and Alexios' presence, and a poem written on Eirene's behalf to St. Demetrios.²⁷ In fact, many commissioned works were meant to be recited in front of her and her family, and it is likely a discussion followed.²⁸ It is interesting to note that while the commissioned artists were all men, the audience was made up mostly of women. The literary arts seem to have been exclusively practised by men during this period, men who depended greatly on the patronage of noble women for their livelihood.²⁹ Michael Italikos, for instance, was a

frequent participant in the literary salons at the Palace beside the Kecharitomene Monastery. The following epilogue of a speech he wrote to Eirene between 1118 and 1138 clearly states Eirene's role as patron:

~An impromptu speech to the Empress Lady Eirene Doukaina delivered at her request.

You have appointed me, oh my most learned mistress among all queens and the one who values speeches more than anyone, to deliver an improvised speech to a most erudite audience. But in the matter of delivering such speeches and of using a most elevated style the Milesians were once incomparable; this type of speech once saw great success when rhetoricians like Nicetas, Alexander, Dion, and other orators such these made the art famous. But now the art of eloquence has been seized by drought. ~20

It is difficult for the modern reader to appreciate the literary value of Italikos' writing style, but educated Byzantines favoured such flowery language. As Mango puts it, "We appreciate originality, while they prized cliché."²⁰ It is also important to stress that Eirene commissioned such works to encourage intellectual stimulation, not for the sake of amusement.

There is no doubt that Eirene Doukaina played a vital role as patron of the literary arts during this period, providing artists with both money to create with and a venue to perform in. Even if much of the literature produced is considered inferior by modern scholars, this judgement cannot be applied to such works as the Alexiad by Anna Komnena. Eirene may not have commissioned work from any women scholars, but she did provide the intellectual environment which gave her daughter the opportunity to develop her considerable literary talents.

In comparison with other Byzantine Empresses, the energy and commitment Eirene put into her role as patron was unique. The roles of patron of the arts, practitioner of philanthropia, and overseer of the palace household, in addition to her state court duties, were traditional ones for the wife of the leader of the state. It was Eirene's role as founder and administrator of the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene, however, that set her apart from the traditional consort. It was in the monastery that she was able to rule absolutely in her own right. Notwithstanding that her domain was a small one compared to her husband's, she took great care to manage it well and provide for its future.

CHAPTER 4

THE MONASTERY OF THEOTOKOS KECHARITOMENE

The Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene was Eirene's home and refuge for the last fifteen years of her life. Its management was her profession.

Situated in the north-east area of the city, about four kilometers from the Great Palace, the monastic and palace complex lay on a gentle hill which sloped down to the banks of the Golden Horn. In spite of the fact that Eirene's description allows us to draw up only a partial plan (see Appendix II), it seems that the palace buildings must have been divided into two main compounds. The inner compound had "the more sumptuous buildings," and was large enough to be transformed into gardens and parks for additional rental income if the family died out and their property was turned over to the convent. The outer compound "was once used as a vineyard but was changed into a compound,"¹ probably for the lesser members of the family and their servants. Eirene lived in great comfort in the palace for fifteen years, and after her death it continued to be used by her descendants, presumably until the capture of Konstantinople by the Turkish forces in 1453.

The literary evidence confirms the continued use of Kecharitomene. The Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta visited

the city in 1335 and commented on the large number of monasteries that existed.⁴ Eirene's monastery was included among those referred to by Battuta since it was listed in the Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani of 1399.⁵ A Russian monk named Zosimos also mentions the monastery, which he visited some time between 1419 and 1421.⁶ Finally, a portion of an inventory from Kecharitomene Monastery still survives.⁷ The original inventory (vrevion) initially existed in quadruplicate,⁸ and regular inventories were kept afterwards.⁹ The only surviving inventory dates from the fifteenth century and shows a total income of about one hundred nomismata. Gautier feels that the original needs of the monastery could not have been met by such an income, and concludes that it had experienced a serious decline by this period.¹⁰

Unfortunately, after the fifteenth century, the monastery is not mentioned in any of the literary sources. The mosque of Odalar Djami, in Istanbul, has, however, been identified by scholars Benedetto Palazzo and Alfons Maria Schneider as the converted Christian church of the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene.¹¹ The evidence for this identification, although circumstantial, is convincing. The date of the foundation of Theotokos Kecharitomene and the date of the second building phase of Odalar Djami are the same.¹² This agrees with the fact that Eirene built Kecharitomene on the foundations of an earlier church.¹³ Palazzo says these were

the ruins of the ninth century church of Theotokos Petra,¹⁴ but this seems doubtful.¹⁵

The Byzantinist R. Janin suggests the possibility that the ruins of Odalar Djami that have been identified as Eirene's monastery could actually be the Monastery of Theotokos Kellaraia on the grounds that there are vast funerary chapels under the church; Kellaraia was the place of burial for the Kecharitomene nuns, because Kecharitomene had no space for burials.¹⁶ Janin also adds that the case for the ruins being identified with those of Kecharitomene is "an acceptable hypothesis, but difficult to prove."¹⁷

The proposal that the mosque of Odalar Djami and Kecharitomene are one and the same is strengthened by the fact that a church believed to belong to Alexios' monastery of Philanthropos and now restored can be seen today lying about fifteen meters from the mosque of Odalar Djami. Finally, the Kecharitomene church that became Odalar Djami was consecrated to the Virgin Mary throughout its existence as evidenced both by the frescoes recovered¹⁸ and by the conversion of the church to the Dominican Church of St. Mary in 1475. The church was retained by the Dominicans until it was turned into a mosque in 1636.¹⁹ The possibility of the acceptance of this mosque as the church of Kecharitomene is, therefore, an attractive one. Certainly it is easy to see why this particular location would have been chosen by Alexios and Eirene for their companion monasteries. The city

walls nearby offered it safety. It was in an area where there were many other monasteries, including Chora which was founded by Eirene's mother. It was far enough from the city centre to offer solitude and yet close enough for the royal family members to keep in contact with their friends and relatives and to receive visitors. As Alice Mary Talbot points out, "the norm for female monastic life was an urban, cenobitic monastery..."¹⁰

The general setup for religious establishments was still based on Justinian's Novels, which had been little altered by the councils of the church.¹¹ In addition, the ninth century reforms of St. Theodore had created an hierarchy of administrative positions within the monasteries.¹² Monastic typika generally followed these guidelines. As a result, a number of the chapters in Eirene's typikon draw freely from the typikon of Euergetis, founded by her brother Isaak Doukas in 1055.¹³ There are two main aspects of Eirene's charter however, that differ from her brother's charter. The Kecharitomene nuns, despite the urban environment of the monastery, lived a much more secluded life than the monks of Kosmosoteira did.¹⁴ Secondly, Eirene's monastic complex was founded mainly as a retreat for the female members of her family, while Isaak's was founded as a monastery in which the monks' duty was to serve the sick and needy in body and soul. Despite the fact that the setup of convents had to follow ecclesiastic tradition, there was great variation from

convent to convent. Eirene Doukaina established a pattern of life inside kecharitomene that suited her own very specific needs and ideas.

It is not possible to analyze in detail all of the aspects of Eirene's typikon in this thesis, but an examination of the more important ones, in particular those which reflect on the personality of the Empress, should be included.

There are three important and unique characteristics of this foundation charter . First, in the area of administration the typikon is the most detailed of any of the surviving typika for both male and female monasteries.²³ Second, the Empress Eirene was the most adamant of any monastic foundress about keeping men out of the monastery and about insisting that the royal overseer be a female member of her family. Third, Eirene assumed a high degree of literacy and competency in the women who carried out the administration of the monastery, especially with regard to the office of egoumene (the mother superior, who had overall control of every aspect of the monastery's affairs).²⁴ These aspects will be discussed in detail below.

Efficient administration of the monastery was important because it was founded as an independent institution, it was self-governed, and it was not subject to government control.²⁵ Despite this, monastic property was sometimes appropriated by the state . In order to ensure the

independence of her monastery, therefore, Eirene stated:

I do not wish my convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomene to be administered and managed by anyone at all, but remain forever independent and under its own control as has been settled above in more detail....to be independent from simply everyone.²⁴

She further guaranteed the autonomy of Kecharitomene by placing it under the protection of a female member of her family forever.

The fact that women founded and administered their own monasteries was unique in Byzantine society; these institutions were the only ones which women managed by themselves. Furthermore, the charters provide valuable information on the economic, religious, and everyday life of the women who lived there. Sheltered from the world, the nuns were able to escape certain traditions and restrictions imposed on women in Byzantine society. These were replaced by their duty to God, but, nevertheless, the nuns were not relegated to a segregated section of the church as women generally were, and their voices could be heard in song and prayer in their own churches. They were also naturally exempt from the duties of wives, mothers, and daughters. In effect, monastic life offered one of the few alternatives for women outside of the traditional role society allowed them.

Within this environment, Eirene planned the life of the nuns and the administration of Kecharitomene with such meticulous detail that, in this regard, her charter is the most informative of the four extant typika for women's monasteries founded in Konstantinople between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.²⁷ Moreover, it served as a prototype for other foundresses.²⁸

Not all the chapters on administration, however, are original. As stated earlier, some clauses were copied from other typika. In one of these clauses, Eirene forbids the sale of immovable property while she allows the sale of movable property if the convent were in need of money for the repair of damages due to "...foreign attack or fire or earthquake..."²⁹ But even in this clause, she took the liberty of inserting her own explanation as to why she wanted this policy followed:

...income from immovable property is able to help the convent to a much greater extent, and because with the help of immovable property it is possible sometimes to acquire movable property, but the opposite is difficult.³⁰

Laiou remarks that this comment reflects the attitude of a conservative landlord.³¹ The same attitude is evident in her orders to the nuns to economize and to buy their personal

needs when the items are "plentiful and sold very cheaply,"²² a piece of advice also peculiar to Eirene's typikon.²³

The fact that Eirene exhorted her nuns to economize probably reflects more on her practical nature than necessity. The incomplete fifteenth century register shows that the convent had rental income from vineyards, houses, and shops, taxes from a factory, and taxes from springs which may have been public bathhouses.²⁴ This may in fact be the same immovable property,²⁵ which Eirene originally provided to the monastery for income "...at great personal expenditure and cost..."²⁶ It seems reasonable to assume that Eirene was as thorough in ensuring a sufficient endowment for the convent as she was in setting up its charter. It is also possible that the nuns' production of cloth items brought in some revenue to the convent as well²⁷ (see Appendix II).

In general, Eirene's approach to the administration of the monastery can be described thusly:

Nothing was left unclear; no detail was overlooked as a very strong-willed and capable woman tried to ensure that everything in her convent would be run her own way, even after her death.²⁸

Second, Eirene Doukaina in her typikon is the most careful of all foundresses in keeping men out of the convent:

For my majesty specified that this [the monastery] be untrodden by any men and be forever barred to them.... For I have a fear that some harm from an attack of the devil might come to those who are married to the Holy Bridegroom, and for this reason I think it appropriate that men be barred from all entry, and so I command it.³⁰

She did, however, concede to allow eunuchs as priests,³¹ or stewards,³² and a doctor, who if not a eunuch, had to be an old man.³³ She also allowed a confessor,³⁴ the right to enter the monastery when necessary.³⁵ She followed tradition by hiring a male steward and assistant steward to collect rents and other income from the properties of the convent, to look after repair of buildings, to oversee the transportation of crops to the convent and to keep accurate accounts; but they were to do this under the supervision of the mother superior.³⁶ Her stipulation that they be eunuchs and her extremely lengthy outline of their job responsibilities, however, are unparalleled by any other typikon.³⁷ Eirene's insistence on the hiring of eunuchs seems to have been a particular idiosyncrasy of hers. Two other women, Theodora Palaiologina and Theodora Synadene, foundresses of Lips and Vavaia Elpis respectively, were more lax in this regard. In fact, the epnoros (overseer) of Lips was not an eunuch, and he and the ruling Emperor and his

nobles were allowed to enter the monastery.³⁷ Laiou suggests that the reason for Eirene's strong stand on this may be "a reaction to the rather lax conditions of the eleventh century at which time Michael Psellos was able to visit his mother at a convent, without any difficulties."³⁸

Another possibility worth considering is that Eirene specified eunuchs exclusively because they were, by tradition, the only men who were allowed to work in the gynaikeion; they could travel freely in and out of the women's quarters without arousing suspicion of illicit sexual behaviour. It is natural to assume that Eirene would have wanted the same protection for the women in her monastery. Eirene does recognize, however, that even eunuchs could provide a danger to the morals of the nuns.³⁹

The only other men who worked for the convent were labourers chosen by the steward and the mother superior. Eirene requested they be reputable and experienced in husbandry, but not necessarily eunuchs. It should be noted, however, that the labourers worked outside of the convent walls.⁴⁰ The only exception she made for the entry of men into the convent was if any of her male children, sons-in-law or descendants "...wish to enter the convent through a desire for us or because of some matter necessary for the convent . . .," they could enter the church only after the liturgy has been completed, in the company of the mother superior and two or three of the oldest nuns; after stating

their business and venerating the icon of the Virgin Mary, they had to leave.²¹

Eirene was equally clear in her stipulations about who should be in charge of the ephoreia (oversight) of the monastery after her death:

. . .for my majesty wishes her daughters and granddaughters and so on, as long as the female line continues, to oversee the convent of my Mother of God Kecharitomene, the one who is the eldest....²²

Moreover, she made provisions, in case the female line of her daughters died out, to pass on the ephoreia to the daughters-in-law of Anna Komnena. If there were no daughters or daughters-in-law living, another female descendant was to be selected by the nuns of the monastery and their abbess.²³

The understanding was that the female ephoros would live in the palace beside the Monastery of Kecharitomene. On the other hand, Eirene had no objections if the ephoros wished to take monastic vows and live in the convent. She even granted her descendant special privileges if she found the simple life of a regular nun difficult to cope with after her "customary very luxurious way of life."²⁴

The typikon makes it very clear that the ephoreia could not leave the female members of the family and pass to a male. Eirene stipulates, "this will be maintained like this

for ever."⁵⁵

The last characteristic of the typikon to be considered is the fact that the monastery was to be managed by educated women. In the list of positions outlined by the foundress, it is absolutely clear that Eirene's confidence in the nuns' abilities to carry out her requirements is without question. She never considered their inability to do so.

The nuns chosen to be egoumene, mother superior, should "excel in learning and good sense and are wiser and more skilled than others in the leading and tending of souls."⁵⁶ The officials who were named to work under the mother superior's supervision were as follows:

- a skeuofylakissa and a chartofylakissa (sacristan and archivist) - the former in charge of the sacred vessels, cloths and candles used in the church; the latter in care of the documents concerning the ownership of the convent.⁵⁷

- two docheiariai (treasurers) - one in charge of registering all the income and expenses of the monastery, and the other in charge of receiving, storing and distributing all clothes and linen.⁵⁸

- an oinochoa (wine stewardess) - who received, recorded and issued all wine.⁵⁹

- an oreiaria (grain stewardess) - who received, stored and disposed of the crops.⁶⁰

- an diakonetria (provisions supervisor) - who purchased, recorded, and distributed all the food for the

monastery.⁴¹

- an eklesiarchissa (church supervisor) - who looked after the items used in the church, which were given to her by the skeuofylakissa, for daily use and special feasts.⁴²

- a trapezaria (dining room steward) - who was in charge of the refectory.⁴³

- an epistemonarchissa (staff captain?) - who was in charge of discipline in the monastery.⁴⁴

- two ergotriai (workshop supervisors) - in charge of the production of items by the nuns.⁴⁵

- a pyloros (gate keeper) - an old woman who held the keys of the gate and kept account of all those who entered and left the convent. She lived in the gate house and it seems she was not a nun.⁴⁶

It was these women who carried out the economic policy of the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene, a policy which reflected both Eirene's desire to ensure the sound management of the convent and her belief in the hierarchy of authority.

As detailed as the Eirene's typikon is, it does not, unfortunately, contain any information regarding nuns as scribes, calligraphers, hymnographers, makers of tapestries or fine embroidery, icon painters, artists, or scholars. Nor does it have any provisions for a library.⁴⁷ This is true of all the typika for women's monasteries. There is, however, some encouragement of their intellectual pursuits urged by Eirene and other founders in typika. Theodora Synadene urged

ner egoumene to instruct the nuns "...in the pious teaching of philosophy according to God,⁷⁰⁰ and the nuns to spend their spare time reading in their cells."⁶⁹ The founder of Daionia, Neilos Damilas, stressed the importance of reading the scriptures and patristic literature.⁷⁰ Eirene Doukaina ordered a public reading by a chosen nun both in the dormitory and in the refectory during meals,⁷¹ but says nothing about individuals reading privately. She also instructs the nuns to act as teachers and to educate the two orphan girls who lived in the monastery and were being prepared for the veil.⁷² Despite the fact that the typika say little more than this, it is clear that the Empress Eirene and other foundresses certainly involved themselves in intellectual pursuits.

As already discussed, Eirene sponsored literary salons and commissioned books to be written, and we can be quite certain she had an extensive personal library in her palace. She also ordered a number of works of art to be produced. Four folios, probably belonging to the original vrevion, but mutilated when re-used in the fifteenth century, describe gifts given to the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene by the Empress.⁷³ They include a wooden cross decorated with gold and containing a piece of the true cross inside; an unidentifiable item with gold and silver in the middle; a chest of silver and gold with smaller chests inside; some silver and some gold-plated covers; an icon; and an item

snowing Christ crucified, down from the cross, entombed, and raised from the dead.⁷⁴ A cross Eirene commissioned⁷⁵ may be one of the items included in this list.

Other aristocratic foundresses in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were also patrons of the arts, and pursued various intellectual interests. Some also became known as scholars.⁷⁶ Theodora Synadene's typikon contains an interesting series of illustrations of the members of her family and the nuns of the convent.⁷⁷ Is it possible these could have been drawn by a woman?

Since very little is understood about the structure and conditions of the workshops in general and of the monastic workshop in particular in which the anonymous Byzantine artist worked,⁷⁸ it is unfortunate that Eirene's almost complete typikon, and other surviving fragments of typika, do not offer any concrete evidence of women as artists, despite the fact that there are examples of women scribes and calligraphers in Byzantium.⁷⁹ Perhaps no women artists existed, but considering that in western Europe there were many women artists between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries,⁸⁰ the reason for their absence in the Byzantine east is unclear.

The tradition of self-governed women's monasteries has continued into modern times; one example is the Monastery of Pasărea in Roumania.⁸¹ The nuns at this monastery have managed all the administrative affairs of the institution

since its founding in 1813. They have also been actively involved in the preservation of the paintings and icons at Pasărea, as well as in the production of artistic items, and it is possible this too follows in the tradition of the Byzantine women's monastery.²²

The fate of Theotokos Kecharitomene on May 29, 1453 is not recorded, but we can speculate about it. When the Turks entered the city through the Gate of Charisios early one Monday morning, they were very close to Eirene's monastic property (a fifteen minute walk today). The soldiers passed close by kecharitomene to get to the Monasteries of Petra and Chora, which they plundered. If the identification of Odalar Djami with kecharitomene is correct, it seems that it escaped this fate by chance, but the occupants of the monastery no doubt fled. Meanwhile, the Turks continued down the main street leading to the great Church of St. Sophia. Doukas, the fifteenth century chronicler, related that the citizens of Konstantinople, including monks and nuns, were running ahead of the Turks. Within an hour of entering the city the Turks were breaking the gates of the great cathedral with axes. They left "...the temple desolate and naked; absolutely nothing was left behind." The citizens were taken as captives and, "The lovely nun, who heretofore belonged only to one God, was now seized and bound by another master."²³

The fate of the nuns from the monasteries was varied.

Some escaped by ship; some were taken captive.⁴⁴ About one hundred of them were ransomed by the Despot of Serbia.⁴⁵

Some of the monasteries were occupied by Turks and their families and others left desolate. Whether plundered or not, one must assume that the order of nuns established by the Vasilissa Eirene Doukaina left Kecharitomene on that fateful day, never to return. Eirene once wrote:

For there is something I wish, I wish very much; I wish that the coenobitic way of life and constitution to remain in the convent unaltered and unchanged for as long as this whole world exists...⁴⁶

On May 29, 1453, this world ended.

CHAPTER 5

A PORTRAIT: EIRENE AND ALEXIOS IN ART AND LITERATURE

There are only two surviving portraits of Eirene and Alexios together. Both were engraved on the obverse side of Byzantine coins; one was a billon nomisma coin, and the other one was a gold coin.¹ W. Wroth dates these coins to c. 1092, and says they were struck to commemorate the year John II was elevated to the throne.² Both coins bear the sovereigns' names and show Alexios on the left and Eirene on the right, facing front. They wear long gowns, probably coronation robes, and crowns, and hold a cross between them. Eirene wears a crown similar to her husband's on the gold coin, but on the billon coin she wears a crown with the pointed arches commonly found on other Empresses' crowns.³ Unfortunately, the stylization and limitation of coin portraiture make it difficult to comment on the physical appearance of the monarches.

They were also portrayed separately in two enamels, placed in the bottom row of the altarpiece called the Pala d'Oro in St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice (see Appendix III.). Alexios' portrait probably disappeared during the recomposition of the altarpiece around 1209. His portrait was replaced by that of the Doge of Venice, Ordelaaffo Falier, to demonstrate the sovereignty of Venice over the Byzantine

Emperors .~ Eirene's enamel bears the inscription Eirene Eusevestate Auguste (Eirene most revered Augusta) . Her portrait executed in gold cloisonne enamel with paste inlay, is situated in that part of the altarpiece which is dated to 1105 .² The portraits of the Emperor and Empress were commissioned by Ordelaaffo Falier,³ when he was alive, perhaps as a gesture to honour the Byzantine rulers for the generous trading rights which Venice enjoyed in Konstantinople.

This is the present order of the plaques:

I	Inscription	I	Doge	I	The	I	Eirene	I	Inscription	I
I		I	of	I	Virgin	I	Doukaina	I		I
I		I	Venice	I	Mary	I		I		I

This is the original order as suggested by Hahnloser:⁷

I	John II	I	Alexios I	I	The	I	Eirene	I	Doge	I
I		I		I	Virgin	I	Doukaina	I	of	I
I		I		I	Mary	I		I	Venice	I

In her portrait, Eirene is holding a scepter in her right hand, while her left hand rests on the lower part of her breast. Over a silk tunic, of which only the hem is visible, she wears a robe (himation) richly embroidered with lancet-like motifs and white dots on a dark blue background. Her round collar is ornamented with pearls and precious stones. Over this garment is a long piece of embroidery (orbiculus), with a circular opening for the head. It has a yellow

background and is ornamented with stones and pearls. The back panel (thorakion) is pulled up in front and has azure crosses and purple stripes, two dotted with pearls, and is trimmed with purple. Her crown is mounted by three triangles, each topped by a pearl cross. There is an azure stone in the centre of the base with a diamond in the middle encircled by rubies and sided by two turquoise rectangles. On each side of her face, a string of pearls (pendilium) descends from her crown, which is partly hidden by the Empress's black hair. Her halo is turquoise with a red border, and her slippers are red.^a

Although there have been contentions that this portrait is not Eirene Doukaina but Eirene, the wife of John II, this cannot be so. The two known portraits of this other Eirene, a mosaic in St. Sophia in Istanbul and an ivory plaque, both show a woman with light-coloured braided hair and a full round face. These two portraits closely resemble each other. Neither, however, bears any similarity whatsoever to the woman shown in the Pala d'Oro portrait.^v In addition, the Pala d'Oro portrait can be favourably compared with the most complete physical description we have of Eirene Doukaina, by her daughter Anna:

The Empress Irene, my mother, was at that time [April 1081] only a young girl....She stood upright like some young sapling, erect and evergreen, all her limbs and the other parts of her body absolutely symmetrical and

in harmony one with another....There were rose blossoms on her cheeks, visible a long way off. Her light-blue eyes were both gay and stern: their charm and beauty attracted, but the fear they caused so dazzled the bystander that he could neither look nor turn away.... For the most part her lips were closed and when thus silent she resembled a veritable statue of Beauty, a breathing monument of Harmony. Generally she accompanied her words with graceful gestures, her hands bare to the wrists, and you would say it (her hand) was ivory turned by some craftsman into the form of fingers and hand. The pupils of her eyes, with the brilliant blue of deep waves, recalled a calm, still sea, while the white surrounding them shone by contrast, so that the whole eye acquired a peculiar lustre and a charm which was inexpressible. So much for the physical characteristics of Irene....¹⁰

Although Anna's tendency to eulogize seems excessive to the modern reader, one can still glimpse the real woman that emerges from this description. This description is added to by Italikos who says that Eirene wore no make-up or jewellery.¹¹ The literary description does not conflict with the portrait in the Pala d'Oro. The enamel shows a tall, slim, well proportioned, aristocratic looking woman with strong, yet calm, deep blue eyes. Her face is oval-shaped, her lips small and tight-looking. Her clothes are richly

embroidered and ornamented, but they are traditional robes identical to those shown in royal portraits of Empresses in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹¹ There is no make-up evident in the portrait, and except for the required royal crown, she wears no jewellery. Surely this must be Eirene Doukaina.

There is also an ascetic air about her in the enamel portrait that is borne out by the literary sources, and reflected in her preference for theological subjects. Anna recalls seeing her many times with a book in her hands after dinner. "Inquiries into the physical nature of things did not interest her so much as the study of dogma, for she longed to reap the benefits of true wisdom." Anna, upon finding the same book too difficult to read, once asked her mother, "How could you of your own accord aspire to such sublimity?" And her mother answered, smiling:

Your reluctance is commendable, I'm sure, and I myself do not approach such books without a tremble. Yet I cannot tear myself away from them. Wait a little and after a close look at other books, believe me, you will taste the sweetness of these.¹²

Anna depicts Eirene as a private woman with an austere side to her character. Her love of literature, both religious and secular, seemed to provide her with an escape from the demands of her public life:

Her natural inclination would have been to shun public life altogether . Most of her time was devoted to household duties and her own pursuits - reading the books of saints....Whenever she had to appear in public as empress at some important ceremony, she was overcome with modesty and a blush at once suffused her cheeks.... The Empress, my mother, the image of majesty ...was unwilling that even her voice should be heard by strangers. Her modesty was really extraordinary.¹⁷

If she was this modest and uncomfortable in public, the reason probably lies in her inherent shy nature and in the strong personalities that surrounded her . After all, both her mother and mother-in-law were strong forceful women, and at the young age of eleven she had been married to a ambitious and strong-willed man in his early twenties. Furthermore, for some years, her position at court was shaky, and most of her youth was spent in the process of giving birth to nine children . It is, therefore, not surprising that she felt insecure and was uncomfortable at formal palace functions, where, as Empress, she would have been on display. But she felt comfortable with the common people, and as Anna writes, "she was very approachable and showed herself ready to be seen and heard."¹⁸ When she was forced to make public appearances, she undertook them in a dignified manner, and would not tolerate any frivolity . As George Tornikes

remarks, "...not only did she not say anything humorous or unnecessary, but she would not have others around her speaking in such a manner either."¹⁶ One concludes from this that Eirene undertook her public role with great seriousness, and expected, perhaps demanded, that the members of her court would do likewise.

Varzos feels that Anna presents her mother as a woman:

"with an expressionless face, measured, with a lack of daring, and a little secretive; a character who was squeezed for many years between her husband who didn't care very much about her and an enemy, her mother-in-law."¹⁷

I cannot agree with Varzos that Anna's view of her mother is such a narrow one. Although reserved in nature, many of Anna's anecdotes reveal the generous and compassionate side of Eirene. In one story, Eirene returned the luxurious home of the condemned conspirator John Solomon, which had been confiscated and presented to her by her husband, directly to John's disgraced wife without concern for her own personal gain.¹⁸ In another story, Michael Anemas, the instigator of the conspiracy John Solomon had been involved in, was seen and pitied by Anna and her sisters as they watched him being paraded through the agora on his way to being blinded. After Anna convinced her mother to come and witness this event, Eirene, feeling compassion for Michael,

"ran to the emperor and pleaded with him again and again to stop the public executioners and save Michael's eyes." Alexios, moved by his wife's pleas, reduced the sentence.¹⁷ Both anecdotes also suggest that Alexios had some warm feelings for his wife.

Varzos' narrow view of Eirene has echoes of Charles Diehl's appraisal:

She does not appear to have been pretty....And in view of the fact that she cared little for dress, and that she used no artifice to enhance her looks, and that the art of cosmetics...seemed to her both useless and vain, one can well believe that Alexius Comnenus, flighty by nature, had no particular inducement to stay faithful to his wife, and that notwithstanding the seven children, three boys and four girls he had by her, he was more or less indifferent to her, and consoled himself in numerous love affairs that strongly aroused her jealousy.²⁰

Eirene may not have been a raving beauty, but she was an attractive, graceful, and intelligent woman. Italikos praises her for beauty in all respects.²¹ Her preference for a simple appearance is a very admirable quality in her, despite Diehl's and Varzos' appraisals. After all, as a wealthy aristocrat, she could have afforded to indulge herself in anything she wanted. Make-up, fancy hair styles,

costly jewellery, and elaborate clothing, however, seemed frivolous to her, symbolic perhaps of feminine weakness. She placed more importance on self-discipline, knowledge, Christian compassion, and inner spirituality. Her contemporaries praised her for these characteristics. Her real beauty, Michael Italikos says:

~does not shine with gold tassels, but shines from virtue... For as Plato says, the beauty of the soul comes from bravery, clemency, and common sense, the latter being greatest of virtues.~

Eirene is also praised for her fairness in giving judgement, the strength of her thoughts and her sound opinions.²² These comments must have pleased Eirene. It is certainly these qualities which are evident in the rules and regulations of the typikon, which, as discussed in chapter 4, are concerned with every aspect of the nuns' lives in the monastery, as well as the future management of the monastic property.

The overall picture one gets of this Empress from both the artistic and literary sources is of an intelligent, thoughtful woman, more interested in spiritual than physical things, but also very conscious and proud of her privileged aristocratic position in life. If her husband did not appreciate Eirene's good qualities in the beginning of their marriage, his attitude towards her changed as time passed.

Perhaps it would be fairer to say that as Eirene and

Alexios began to know each other better, their attitudes towards each other changed. Eirene grew to understand and admire the man she had married. This may not have been easy since Alexios appears to have been a complicated man with a somewhat secretive nature:

Both of them [Alexios and his brother Isaak], and Alexius in particular, had an art of concealing their secret thoughts and private designs behind assumed expressions.²⁷

This may have been a good characteristic for a politician but it was one which irritated his wife.²⁸ Nevertheless, Alexios also had many admirable qualities, which Eirene herself seems to acknowledge in the mnemosyna section of her typikon:

For it is necessary that the person [Alexios] who is special among mankind should gain special commemoration.²⁹

Alexios' education was no doubt broader than his wife's.³⁰ He was trained in Greek language, philosophy, grammar, classics, history, rhetoric, and biblical studies. He was also an expert soldier, having begun his military career in 1073 when he was about seventeen years of age.³¹ Physically, he was not a particularly handsome man; he was short, broad-shouldered and stocky. (It is interesting to

speculate whether Eirene may have been taller than Alexios.)

Anna Komnena describes Alexios as having:

...beauty and grace and dignity and an unapproachable majesty. When he came into a gathering and began to speak, at once you were conscious of the fiery eloquence of his tongue....²⁷

Bryennios, Alexios' son-in-law, adds that Alexios was also a polite man of good humour, who did not get angry easily.²⁸

Although one must again recognize Anna's and Bryennios' tendency to eulogize, the picture of Alexios which emerges from their descriptions does not conflict with Zonaras' opinion. As usual, however, Zonaras provides some interesting details:

~The man was...not naughty or arrogant but neither was he too soft in his anger. He was not a slave to money nor was he greedy, and when he died there was much money in the state treasury. He was average in his morals and very approachable. He was not a big eater or drinker and he honoured decent people. In fact he spoke easily to everyone, joking with them as if they were on the same social level. So they were not fearful of him.²⁹

Eirene, Zonaras continues, as befitting her character, did not approve of Alexios' conduct and apparently made a point

of rebuking those who spoke to the king as an equal. When the Queen was present, therefore, they did not talk to the king in this manner.²⁴ In this instance, Zonaras supports Eirene's attitude for he felt that a King should act like a King at all times, and not like one of the common people.²⁴

In general, the Byzantine sources are favourable in their analysis of Alexios. Even the Armenian Matthew of Edessa says that Alexios was "a virtuous and wise prince, courageous in war, benevolent towards his own subjects, but not to our nation which he hated."²⁵

Alexios had his critics too, of course. John, the Patriarch of Antioch, complained to Alexios, "To be truthful, oh Emperor, your relatives have become the greatest pest upon the empire and upon all of us."²⁵ This refers to Alexios' practice of consolidating his position by placing family members and close friends in positions of authority throughout the empire, and granting them privileges and income. Anna admits that the Doukas family promised rewards, gifts, and honours to those who would support Alexios' claim to the throne.²⁶ Zonaras provides details on how Alexios fulfilled these promises:

"To his relatives and favourites Alexios distributed the public goods by wagon loads; he granted to them sumptuous annual revenues. The great wealth with which they were surrounded and the retinue which was assigned to them were more becoming to kings than to private

individuals. The homes which they acquired appeared like cities in size and were no less magnificent than the imperial palace itself.²²

Since the state was bankrupt when Alexios ascended the throne, the obvious question is where did all these riches come from? The answer is that the confiscated property Alexios seized from both monasteries and individuals was redistributed to his supporters. With regard to monastic property, he appointed a layman to manage an individual monastery and its lands and take the profits, while the monastery retained the ownership.²⁴ Cyril Mango is critical of Alexios' generosity towards his family and friends. Although he credits him for having a vision of a more powerful and economically stable state, he remarks that this vision:

was narrow and reactionary It is perhaps a wonder that the Comnenian State managed to survive for a century and even nourish dreams of glory, and it did so by becoming largely a family concern.²⁵

While Alexios' vision and methods may be criticized, there is no disputing that only a skillful administrator, politician, and military leader could have managed to remain on the throne for almost forty years and stabilize the state as well as he did:

Once he had taken over the leadership of the Romans, being always the man of action, he at once became immersed in matters of state. At sunrise he entered the palace, and before shaking off the dust of battle and resting his body, he applied himself immediately and totally to the consideration of the military position."

Alexios worked hard for his achievements. To solidify his position, Alexios took advantage of the strong family unit he had married into by soliciting their cooperation and support and eventually by creating a new family dynasty which carried both the blood of the Doukai and the Komnenoi. It was the job of his wife, the most revered Augusta Eirene, to bear this new family.

CHAPTER 6

EIRENE DOUKAINA: ROYAL MOTHER

In general, women in the eleventh and twelfth centuries enjoyed great security in Byzantine law; it was as wives and mothers that the laws most protected them. This reflects the importance Byzantine society placed on the traditional role of wife and mother; the indication is that women saw themselves as functioning primarily in the family, where they were protected and respected.¹ The active role Eirene played in the lives of her children, her fight for Anna's throne rights, her protection of her daughters, and the preparations she made for them at kecharitomene suggest the main focus of Eirene's life was her family.

It seems Eirene was healthy most of her life. She had nine pregnancies, giving birth to seven healthy children, Anna, Maria, John, Eudokia, Theodora, Andronikos and Isaak, all of whom lived to adulthood. The last two pregnancies were difficult ones, her eighth child, Manuel, was stillborn in 1097 and her ninth, Zoe, in the following year (see Appendix I). The death of Eirene's last child coincides with the birth of her first grandchild when Anna and Bryennios (married in 1097) had a son named Alexios in 1098.² Eirene was then only thirty-one years old.

If she herself enjoyed good health most of her life,² it would have helped her cope with Alexios' poor health, as well

as a number of other family problems. One of these was her daughter Eudokia's unhappy marriage to Michael Iassites, who, unfortunately:

~...did not treat his wife like the daughter of an Emperor, but he spoke and treated her as if he was superior. And he went against the Empress, his mother-in-law, many times. Therefore, because she was indignant against him, and her daughter was sick, she cut off her daughter's hair and threw Iassites out of the palace.~

Varzos suggests that Eirene bequeathed the monastery she founded to Eudokia in compensation for her unhappy marriage.² Unfortunately, Eudokia died in her mid-thirties (between 1129 and 1131), and so Eirene appointed in her place her oldest daughter, Anna, as ephoros of the monastery.⁴

Eirene was also troubled about her youngest daughter Theodora's second marriage. Theodora was widowed sometime before 1118⁷ and married again about 1122 to a very handsome man named Konstantinos Angelos.⁸ Eirene Doukaina accepted this love match with great difficulty, possibly because the man was not from an aristocratic family.⁹ In the memorial section of her typikon Eirene names Theodora after all her other daughters and daughters-in-law. The amount distributed to the poor in memory of each of these women is five modii of grain and six billion nomismata, with the exception of

Theodora, for which the amount is only three modii of grain and nothing in money .¹⁰ It can be inferred from this demotion that Eirene was less than pleased with Theodora's choice of husband.

Without question, her favourite child was her first-born, Anna; whereas Alexios:

was closer to John than all of his other children, and for that reason, having decided to leave him as his successor, handed him the purple sandals and took care that he was proclaimed Emperor. But the mother, Empress Eirene, showed every favour for her daughter Anna....¹¹

Parental preference for a certain child is common enough, but in this royal family, it had the added element of creating a struggle for the throne.

Eirene's hopes for Anna to rule began shortly after her daughter's birth when Anna and the young Konstantinos, son of Michael VII and the Empress Maria, were acclaimed by Alexios as his successors. This acclamation stood until four years later (1087), "...a boy was indeed born to them, an event immediately followed by great rejoicing...." Anna writes that her parents:

...wanted to promote the little one to the rank of Emperor, and leave to him the empire of the Romans as

his heritage; in the great church of God, therefore, he was honoured by the rite of holy baptism and crowned.¹²

Although Anna is explicit that both Eirene and Alexios wanted to name John successor, it seems this was not the case. "She [Eirene] did not love her son King John but gave all her feelings to her first daughter and her son-in-law Bryennios."¹³ "...And she tried with all her power to change the King's decision...."¹⁴ Eirene's preference for Anna is substantiated by Tornikes who says that, "The sun never saw the Queen without her daughter, and they were separated only by sleep."¹⁵

While Alexios' decision to name John heir embittered Eirene and Anna, Alexios probably acted solely for political considerations, since, when John was born, his daughter's betrothal was no longer needed to ensure the succession of his family on the throne. Polemis points out, however, that it is reasonable to assume that it was because of the birth of John that Alexios deprived Konstantinos of his rights to the throne.¹⁶ On the other hand, Bryennios writes that Konstantinos had a serious disease which prevented him from taking over the throne.¹⁷ The fact, however, that Konstantinos lived for at least six more years after John's birth, throws doubt on this claim; Alexios may have used a minor illness as an excuse to name John his heir.¹⁸ In any case, although disinherited, Konstantinos remained loyal to Alexios, who showed him continued favour until the young

man's death.¹² Whatever his reasons, Alexios remained resolute about his decision to make John his heir, despite his wife's insistence to the contrary:

Alexios understood everything about his wife's mother instinct (for her daughter). Sometimes feigning he had urgent matters to occupy his mind with, he pretended he did not entirely pay attention to what she was saying, and other times he contended that her suggestions were under consideration, or that her petition would be ignored. Sometimes, not able to control himself, he addressed her as follows: "Oh wife, companion of my bed and my kingdom. You are not going to stop advising me [to do] the things that are pleasing to your daughter, and so come to your senses, trying to destroy a laudable harmony and order as if God has blinded you? Instead let us talk together and find out who, from all the past Roman Emperors, had a son fit to rule, and put him aside and chose his son-in-law. If that has ever happened, we are not going to regard such a rare occurrence as law. Besides, all the Romans will laugh loud and clear at me, and they will judge I have lost my brains, if the throne which I did not seize in a praiseworthy manner but by spilling kindred blood and by using methods alien to Christian institutions, when I must decide who will be my successor, I should leave out my own flesh and blood and put a Macedonian on my throne?" By this he meant

Bryennios because he came from Orestias, one of the largest and wealthy and important cities of Macedonia.²⁰

Whether he actually spoke these words or not, Alexios' case is argued here very eloquently. Eirene and Anna, however, never lost hope that Alexios might change his mind. These hopes were not unprecedented after all. As discussed earlier, one of the legal roles for women in Byzantine society was the transference of property,²¹ including succession rights.²² Alexios had initially given Anna this right, but then withdrew it. Was it her feelings for Anna that made Eirene act so negatively towards John? Choniates quotes Eirene as saying that John was "reckless, unethical, and of poor character."²³ These may seem like good reasons to support Eirene's view that he was not fit to rule; however, none of the reasons appears to have been true. John is praised by Choniates as being "...a man who governed the empire excellently and who lived a pious life."²⁴ It is, therefore, difficult to explain Eirene's strong dislike for her eldest son, although it cannot be disputed.

This difference of opinion between Alexios and Eirene concerning the succession of the throne divided the family into two camps with Andronikos supporting his mother and Anna and Isaak supporting his father and John.²⁵ Presumably the daughters Maria, Eudokia, and Theodora also chose sides, and, although we have no information on their views, it is likely

they supported their mother and Anna.²⁶

It may, therefore, seem surprising that the overall evidence indicates that despite this conflict over the succession, Eirene and Alexios's relationship settled into one of mutual respect, and, as Anna's Alexiad would have us believe, love.

CHAPTER 7

EIRENE AND ALEXIOS: LAST YEARS TOGETHER

It is not unreasonable to suggest that the succession controversy may have strengthened rather than weakened Alexios' and Eirene's relationship. Certainly, as time went by, Alexios sought his wife's companionship more and more. Eirene, in turn, became closer to Alexios, more secure as Empress, and overcame some of her natural shyness. As Anna says:

her innate modesty kept her inside the palace...[but] her devotion to him and burning love compelled her, however unwillingly, to leave her home.¹

Alexios was ill during the last decade of his life and his need for Eirene was practical, because:

... he suffered excruciating pain from his gout and my mother's touch was what he appreciated most, for she understood him perfectly and by gentle massage relieved him of the anguish to some extent.²

From 1105 to 1118 Eirene travelled extensively with Alexios as his advisor, nurse, and companion. In September

1105, she accompanied him to Thessalonike where he was preparing to face an invasion by Bohemond." Then in November of 1107, they left the capital again to go to Thessalonike for another campaign against Bohemond. It was during this trip that Aaron and Theodoros, brothers who claimed descent from the Aronii dynasty in Bulgaria, planned a conspiracy against the life of the Emperor. Eirene's mother was, of course, a Bulgarian princess, and, according to Anna, there were insinuations that Eirene was also involved in the conspiracy. When these were proven unfounded, she was completely exonerated and the guilty men punished.²

A third trip was made by Eirene and Alexios to Thessalonike in 1108. Eirene may also have gone to Achrida in Bulgaria to visit Archbishop Theophylaktos; before he died (c. 1108), he wrote a letter to her expressing his gratitude for her visit during his illness.³

Around 1110, Eirene and Alexios founded companion monasteries: Eirene the Monastery of Theotokos kecharitomene for women, and Alexios the Monastery of Christos Philanthropos for men. An interesting aside here is that while Alexios built a tomb for himself in his monastery,⁴ Eirene constructed a luxurious palace beside her monastic complex for her retirement. They seem to have been planning different futures.

Nothing is recorded about Eirene's travels between 1110 and 1114. In November 1114, she probably accompanied Alexios

to Philippopolis.' For 1116 Anna mentions that Eirene was residing at Prinkipo, an island in the Sea of Marmara close to Konstantinople, where she awaited news of Alexios' campaign against the Turks. When Alexios reached Aer he sent for her.¹³ Less than three days later, word came of a Turkish attack at Nicomedia. Eirene stayed with Alexios until the enemy came very close. At that time:

Alexius immediately gave her permission to return to Byzantium, and she although distraught concealed her fear; there was no sign of it in word or manner. She was a brave and resolute woman. . . .And although she parted from him reluctantly and often turned round to look at him, she pulled herself together and with great effort, much against her will, she left him.¹⁴

Due to rough seas, however, she was unable to reach the capital, and anchored off Helenopolis (in Asia Minor), where Alexios met her after winning the battle with the Turks. After his return to Nicaea and his subsequent battles with the Turks, he sent for Eirene again.¹⁵

Time and time again, during his campaigns in Thrace and Asia Minor, Alexios sent for Eirene. It is obvious that he grew to rely on his wife for spiritual and physical comfort and companionship. Although ill, he was forced to deal with constant military campaigns, various conspiracies, and the

mounting problems of state. The support of his wife helped him cope with the situation:

A multitude of conspiracies sprang up against him and it called for great vigilance . . . who had then a better right to be at his side than his natural adviser? Who rather than the empress would keep stricter watch over him or regard with more suspicion the plotters? . . . It was for these reasons that my mother was all in all to the emperor. By night she was the unsleeping eyes, by day his most conspicuous guardian, the good antidote to the perils of the table and the salutary remedy against poisoned food. These were the reasons that thrust aside her natural reserve and gave her courage to face the eyes of men.¹²

Considering Alexios' dependence on Eirene at this time,¹³ it is natural to assume that she took on a more conspicuous political role. The suggestions have been made by Diehl that Eirene was a scheming woman consumed by ambition and that perhaps Alexios brought Eirene along with him on campaigns because he did not trust her alone in Konstantinople; he suspected that if he left her behind, she would plot against their son John.¹⁴ The Byzantine sources do not bear out this information. Even Choniates, who is the most critical of Eirene's treatment of her son John, specifically says she did

not plot against him, and that she had no knowledge of the conspiracy planned by Anna and Bryennios against John soon after he became Emperor in 1118. Furthermore, when Eirene discovered the plot, she harshly reprimanded Anna saying:

~It is not necessary to seek for a king when one is already there, nor to push out the present one. For what kind of pain were the butchers going to give my son, pain stronger than the pain of giving birth, which at least creates life, pain which descends to Hades and which would affect me forever.~¹⁵

Ephraim, in corroborating Anna's version adds that Eirene did not repudiate her son, but she considered him unworthy to rule and favoured Anna and Bryennios. When she found out what they plotted: "...she delivered an impressive speech, a wise and intelligent opinion, that it was not necessary to seek the kingship by indirect methods."¹⁶

It seems highly unlikely that if Eirene had instigated the plot against John all the Byzantine writers would agree to be silent about it. We can conclude, therefore, that Eirene did not conspire to overthrow John II. She did, however, seek to disinherit him legally while his father still lived. To this end, she never stopped trying to persuade Alexios to change his mind about the succession, even after John was married and had had twins (in 1104)¹⁷ to

further ensure the dynasty. According to Choniates, Alexios continued to encourage Eirene's hopes. The Emperor would present his argument against Anna and Bryennios as his heirs, and then:

...he would once again behave as though he has no objections and divert the woman by pretending to be deliberating. He was, beyond all others, a dissembler, deeming secretiveness a clever thing and never saying much about what he intended to do.¹⁶

Until the moment of Alexios' death therefore, Eirene, fueled by Alexios' ambiguous attitude, never gave up hope that she might be successful in putting Anna and Bryennios on the Byzantine throne.

It is certain that Eirene exerted more political influence during the years between 1110-1118, than during any other period. She became more dominant after Anna Dalassena had left the court¹⁷ and Alexios' health began to deteriorate. The determined, strong-willed Empress revealed in the typikon of Theotokos Kecharitomene was finally sharing some responsibilities and political power with her husband the Emperor by 1110. Perhaps because of these new responsibilities, she expressed concern that future generations should know about Alexios reign, and therefore instructed scholars to write a history about him.¹⁸ Alexios

voiced some objections to this, but one senses in Anna's words on the matter that the objections were half-hearted, and that he was really pleased with Eirene's initiative.²¹ After forty years of married life together, it does not seem surprising that there would be a strong bond between Eirene and Alexios. An example that there was also mutual affection is revealed by Anna. At the arrival of a messenger to the palace bearing news of Alexios' victory against the Turks, Anna writes: "The Augusta, highly delighted, received him outside the door of her bedroom...." After hearing the news, Eirene: "was quite overcome with joy."²² In another instance, Anna informs us that Alexios, when admitting to Eirene how much pain his illness was causing him, said:

"And there's something else I must tell you, darling, for you share my troubles and plans. I often have fits of yawning which interrupt my breathing when I inhale and cause me awful pain. If you have any idea what this new trouble is, please tell me." When the Empress heard these words and understood what he was suffering, she was very upset.²³

Less than eighteen months after returning to Konstantinople from the Turkish campaigns of 1117, Alexios became very ill. At first, he seemed to recover, but within six months it was obvious his illness was fatal.²⁴ According

to Anna, Eirene was distraught.

I have often seen my mother spending the whole night with him...seated behind him on his couch, holding him up in her arms, encouraging him somehow to breathe. ...nobody could do justice to the hard work she endured as she nursed him, changing his position again and again, arranging and re-arranging the bedcovers to make him comfortable. But nothing whatever availed to give him the slightest ease; the malady tightened on him like a noose...²⁵

It was not an easy death. K. Alexandrides persuasively argues that the initial gout which led to arteriosclerosis caused major myocardiac damage and terminal heart insufficiency and eventually caused his death.²⁶

Both Zonaras and Choniates claim that Eirene used her strong position during Alexios' last illness in order to strengthen her daughter's bid for the throne and prevent John from becoming emperor. Part of her strategy included refusing John entry to his father's bedroom.²⁷ This does not mean, however, that Eirene's devotion to Alexios at this time was completely uncaring. She nursed him for many weeks, and when the moment came when she thought he had died, she threw herself on the bed crying and beating her breasts:

Then, although he was on the point of death and racked by overwhelming pain, the emperor like one who masters his own mortality... was distressed because of her and tried with one of his daughters to lessen her anguish.... [Maria then gave him some water] Then in a firm, manly voice, he gave the empress some advice - his last counsel: "Why," he said, "why do you give yourself up so to grief at my death and force us to anticipate the end that rapidly approaches? Instead of surrendering yourself to the flood of woe that has come upon you, why not consider your own position and the dangers that now threaten you?"²⁰

These last words certainly point to the uncertainty of Eirene's position at court after Alexios' death and no doubt reflect her lack of support for John's accession. They also show that Alexios' last thoughts were for his wife of forty years, warning her to look after herself, and hinting that life without him could be more dangerous for her. Soon after he died, and:

...in the depths of her despair she emitted a loud, piercing shriek....she laid aside her empress's veil and with a razor cut off her lovely hair close to the skin.²¹

In the account of Alexios' last days by his daughter Anna, it is obvious she does not tell the complete story. The same account as told by Zonaras and Choniates includes many additional details which indicate that the principals involved in the succession dispute became more and more desperate. Zonaras, as private secretary to Alexios was close to the events although he did not witness them himself; much of his material, however, is based on Anna Komnena's Alexiad. Zonaras' account is as follows:

^And the queen, seized by strong emotions, gathered her daughters. The larger part of the day had passed and the sun's position was not above one's head, in other words, at a vertical position, but had taken its course towards the west, but by a bit, when the news came to Alexios' son and emperor that his father was breathing his last. Without the Queen knowing, he entered the room where the dying father lay, not with the intention to grieve for his departing father but to witness himself that his father was actually dying. And having personally seen him, he immediately came out and, mounting his horse, left the Palace of Mangana with his followers. And on the way out, others joined him. As soon as he left the courtyard, he met with the men from Abasgia; these were sent to accompany the maiden from Abasgia who was to wed the eldest son of the Caesar. As

soon as they were in his presence they raised a cry and prostrated . They say it was then that the Queen, becoming very emotional, announced to the dying king their son's departure.

But he said nothing, either because he didn't want to or he was not able to; but he raised up his arms, perhaps trying to pray or to curse his son. Others say that the dying emperor didn't raise up his hands, being unable to do so since he was dying . And the queen screamed many times, saying: "Your son left with the intention of depriving you of your kingdom while you are still alive ." And he gave a small, brief, barely noticeable smile, either because he was laughing at what his wife was saying to him if she thought he was more concerned about the kingdom than he was about dying and leaving behind earthly things, or that he was showing his own feelings about [his son's] actions. Moreover, others, as well as his son, the porphyrogenitos emperor himself, said, that he [John] entered the palace with his father's consent, and his exit was made possible by means of a ring which he received from his father and used as a password. These things they say occurred when the queen was not present and had no knowledge that they happened.

When he [John] left, the news about what had happened went around quickly so that the relatives, many

military leaders, and the senators came to see the [new] King.⁷⁰⁰

This is Choniates' version, written in the early part of the thirteenth century.

When Alexios approached the end of his life and lay in the splendid complex of the Monastery of Mangana, John, seeing his father at death's door and his mother's heart hardened against him, and his sister courting the empire, consulted with his relatives, chief among whom was his brother Isaakios, who supported his cause, as to the course of action to be taken. Undetected by his mother, he entered his father's bedchamber and, while embracing him as though in mourning, secretly removed the signet ring from his finger. Some say that he did so at his father's behest, which seems to be borne out by what shall be described shortly. Immediately thereafter, John gathered together his counselors and, announcing the action, took up arms, mounted his charger, and hastened toward the Great Palace. Both the Monastery of Mangana and the streets of the City were crowded with his supporters, and the assembled citizenry, having heard rumors of the events taking place, acclaimed him emperor.

John's mother, Empress Irene, was taken by

surprise by the turn of events. She summoned her son and exhorted him to desist from his actions. As John was in complete charge of events and paid no attention whatsoever to his mother, she incited Bryennios to seize the throne with her support. But when she saw that Bryennios did nothing, she approached her husband who lay prostrate on his bed and whose only sign of life was his gasping for breath. She threw herself over his body and cried aloud against their son, shedding tears even as a fountain of dark water, that while Alexios was still among the living, John was stealing the throne with acts of rebellion. Alexios, however, did not respond to her accusation, in all likelihood giving his thoughts to more serious matters, such as his imminent departure from this life, and directing his gaze upon the angels who would lead his soul to the next world. While the empress was pleading with Alexios, vehemently protesting their son's actions, Alexios briefly forced a smile and raised his hands to heaven, perhaps rejoicing over the news and offering thanks to God, saying that it was but to mock and laugh at him that his wife should rant about his successor at a time his soul was taking leave of the body and when he should be atoning before God for whatever sins he may have committed. The woman, convinced that her husband was gloating over her protestations, and with all her hope denied, the victim

of false promises, sighed deeply and spoke: "O husband, in life you excelled in all kinds of deceits, gilding your tongue with contradictory meaning, and even now as you are departing this life you remain unchanged from your former ways."²¹

According to Choniates' account, Eirene confronted John after he had taken the ring and declared himself Emperor, a fact not mentioned either by Anna or Zonaras. Furthermore, Choniates claims she tried to convince John to give up the throne. When John refused, she tried to make Bryennios 'seize the throne with her support'; Bryennios, in turn, also refused. Eirene then turned to Alexios one last time and Choniates quotes her last bitter words to him. Eirene's despair rings out clearly in those words; the hope that Anna might succeed her father on the throne, a hope which Alexios had let Eirene hold on to for many years, was finally and irrevocably destroyed.

Zonaras and Choniates do agree on many points, however, indicating that one of Choniates' sources was probably Zonaras. Choniates seems to have had access to the archives of Agia Sophia, but not those from the imperial archives.²² Removed from the actual events he is describing by almost one hundred years, but determined to be truthful,²³ Choniates may be more reliable a source than the earlier Zonaras. What his account stresses is that during the last few hours of

Alexios' time, Eirene was desperate in her attempts to convince Alexios to change his mind about the succession. Considering that this was something she had been fighting for for thirty-five years, it is most likely that Choniates' account is closer to the truth than either Zonaras' or Anna's.

Another source, Tornikes, mentions in his eulogy for Anna Komnena, that after John had left the palace of Mangana and Alexios had died:

~Anna with her children and her husband having forgotten about the name of kingship, mourned together with her mother and queen; with shorn heads they sat alone on the floor, around the king's body, instead of being surrounded by the staff of his bed chamber, the members of the hetaireia and the multitude of bodyguards; for all the relatives and the citizens gathered together for the new emperor.~

The impression is that Tornikes wanted to stress the fact that only Eirene, her daughter, Anna, and Bryennios had not abandoned the dead body of Alexios in order to counteract any criticisms of their actions during the events.

We can hear the grief and despair in Eirene's words spoken at Alexios' deathbed:

Let everything be abandoned . . .the diadem, empire, authority, all power, and thrones and principalities. Let us begin the funeral dirge.¹⁰²

With the death of Alexios, Eirene had indeed lost all of these things. She exchanged her purple dress and shoes for black ones and put a simple dark veil over her head.¹⁰³ It was August 15 or 16, 1118. Eirene was fifty-one years old and had been Empress of the Romans for thirty seven years.

CHAPTER 8

EIRENE'S YEARS IN RETIREMENT

Although Eirene retired from the court to her palace beside the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene soon after Alexios' death,¹ she was not isolated from public life. It has been assumed, however, that Eirene became a nun upon her retirement because of the evidence from two sources. Theodoros Skoutariotes mentions that Eirene: "longed for monastic status,"² and Italikos writes that she turned from the world towards her groom [Christ].³ Italikos gives the longest description of what happened to Eirene following her husband's death:

~she left behind all earthly and material care and makes little use of this [maternal world] and....except for benefactions and kindnesses, and having involved [herself] in two types of life, she adorned both of them, like an amphibious animal which lives best on both land and water. This life with its many waves, (I mean the much churned sea of life), she spent well and royally, and after this she changed over to another one, more beautiful and higher, and having shaved her worldly hair and cut off all the world, like a gold-winged eagle, flies through the air toward the heavenly abode.~~

Two points, however, argue against Eirene having become a nun. She did not change her name as was usual when women entered monasteries, and she did not make provision for herself to be buried in the exonarthex of the church of Kecharitomene as she did for her daughters, daughters-in-law, and granddaughters who had taken monastic vows.²⁵

Even if she did become a nun, however, we must not be deceived into thinking that she led the austere and cloistered life of a nun. Although she may have had some regrets when her role as consort to the Emperor ended upon Alexios' death, she may also have felt some relief in being able to lead a calmer life, away from public scrutiny. In any case it is likely her personal lifestyle did not change all that much, just the location of her domicile, and this new domicile was anything but austere. It was a splendid palace separated from the monastery by walls²⁶ and probably surrounded by gardens.

Eirene lived in the Kecharitomene palace surrounded by her children, their families, and their servants.²⁷ She also maintained her social connections in the capital by inviting the literati of the day to her palace to give readings there.²⁸ These readings provided the intellectual stimulation she craved. The fact that she enjoyed philosophical discussions and often voiced her own opinions is indicated in a letter sent to her by Italikos in which he apologizes for a disagreement.²⁹

Despite her change in status, it may be assumed that Eirene was still highly respected as Dowager Queen and was free to come and go as she wished. As the Emperor's mother, she must have been obligated to leave the monastery to attend certain royal functions.¹⁴⁰ We know that she attended the weddings and funerals of her children and grandchildren. In 1122 she was present at the wedding of her grandson Alexios, son of Anna and Nikephoros Bryennios, to Katai, daughter of the King of Georgia.¹⁴¹

In 1130/31 she travelled to some place in Asia Minor to bring back to Konstantinople the body of her son Andronikos who had died of an unknown illness accompanied by high fever.¹⁴² Italikos says Eirene went with an entourage of imperial ships to retrieve the body. A tremendous storm arose and it was with great difficulty that the ship carrying Andronikos's body arrived safely in the capital. Andronikos' funeral was a grandiose affair. He was carried by his nephews and by the high officials of the country including senators, clergy, and members of the military. Andronikos' body was surrounded by the members of the royal family including his brother the Emperor John, his mother Eirene, and his sisters Anna, Maria, and Theodora, who were all crying as they followed the bearers of the corpse.¹⁴³

Prodromos wrote a poem for Eirene on the death of her son Andronikos in which he says that first Eirene lost her husband, then Andronikos, then her son-in-law Bryennios, then her daughter-in-law (Andronikos' wife), her grandson Alexios

and finally her daughter Eudokia. He also mentions that her son Isaak was lost somewhere in the East.¹³³ Although Isaak supported John's right of succession, in 1130 he conspired to take the throne for himself. When his plot was discovered, he fled to the East.¹³⁴ According to what Prodromos says, it seems that the death of Andronikos and Isaak's escape occurred in the same year, so Eirene effectively lost two of her sons in 1130/31. Isaak returned to Konstantinople only in 1143, when he was recalled and pardoned by his nephew, the Emperor Manuel.¹³⁵ By then his mother was dead.¹³⁶ After 1130/31, Eirene was left with four children living in the capital, three of whom, Anna, Maria, and Theodora, had family residences in the palace complex beside the Theotokos Kecharitomene Monastery.¹³⁷

Part of Eirene's duties while she lived in her palace complex included supervising the construction of the "more sumptuous buildings newly built in the convent by my majesty"; after her death, Eirene provided in her typikon that Anna:

...should have and occupy without hindrance, while she lived, not only all the cells in which she resided while I was alive, but also all the buildings in the convent of Kecharitomene, that is all those which were in use by my majesty and our children, our servants both men and woman, together with the outer compound to the more sumptuous buildings.¹³⁸

Since Eirene states that these sumptuous buildings cost a great deal of money¹¹⁰ and are politelesteron (more luxurious), and since it appears she only began their construction after her retirement to the monastery, she may have been involved with supervising the work until the time of her death. Her last years certainly were devoted to her family, providing them with intellectual stimulation in her literary salons, and preparing the palace and grounds for their future use after her death.

Eirene died at Theotokos Kecharitomene, but because of the conflicting evidence in the primary sources, there is some controversy concerning the exact year. In the typikon for Kosmosoteira Monastery written by her son Isaak, her death was commemorated on February 19th in the first indiction, meaning the first year of the indiction.¹¹¹ This could be calculated as either the year 1123 or the year 1138. The first date is unacceptable since we know Eirene was alive when her son Andronikos died in 1130/31. However, 1138 is not acceptable either, since she is spoken of as already being dead in the typikon of Pantocrator Monastery written by her son, the Emperor John, in October 1136.¹¹²

If she died in 1138 then, this date, while agreeing with the date implied in Isaak's typikon, would conflict with the date given by her son John. Several scholars assume the difference is due merely to a copyist's error. Chalandon proceeds to correct the first indiction to the eleventh

indiction, which yields the year 1133.²² Paul Gautier, on the other hand, suggests that the unskilled copier of the Kosmosoteira charter (the original copy does not survive),²³ could have confused the abbreviation for indictiona with that of emera (day), so that it was the first day and not the first year of the indiction, although he admits this is not a normal way of designating Sunday in Greek. Nevertheless, following this idea, it is interesting to note that the date of February 19 falls on a Sunday only in the year 1133.²⁴ Although the evidence is confusing, the fact that John speaks of his mother as being dead in 1136 strongly supports the 1133 date, and this date does not contradict the implication of Isaak's typikon that his mother was dead by 1152.

There is another piece of evidence which seems to confirm the 1133 date. Prodomos, who began writing for the Emperor John II instead of Eirene in the early 1130's, indicates that his change of patron was brought about by Eirene's death.²⁵ The February 19, 1133 date, therefore, seems the most reasonable date for the death of the Empress. She would then have outlived Alexios by fourteen years, six months and four days.

When Eirene wrote the second half of the Kecharitomene typikon between 1120 and 1130,²⁷ she was making her final arrangements for the future of her family and of the monastery she had founded. She also mentions that she intended to write further instructions regarding new buildings in the former vineyard.²⁸ If these instructions

were written, they do not survive. And if they were never written, this may imply that she wrote this section of the typikon just before she became ill and died before she was able to complete them.

A cross, which is now preserved in St. Mark's Church in Venice, and which was probably donated by Eirene to the church, has this poem on the back:

~And this I offer you in the last part of my life, at an hour when I have come to the same Gates of Hades.~³⁷

It is possible this poem may have been written during Eirene's fatal illness.

Although Isaak could not have been present at his mother's deathbed since he was in disgrace in the East, according to his typikon she died peacefully, surrounded by the members of her family, and had a clear mind up to the last moment:

~She (oh what a miracle) closed her own eyes with her own hands at a time of her death in front of all her relatives, with no other person putting his hands to her eyes....And she departed to the Lord in a holy manner.~³⁸

Varzos adds that she was as cool-headed when she was dying as she had been when she was living.³⁹ Unfortunately, Varzos,

echoing some of Diehl's and McCabe's bias against Eirene,³² suggests that this act proves how cold-blooded she was. Surely there can be a more positive interpretation to Eirene's last act. The qualities of self-control and self-reliance deserve to be as admired in a woman as they would be in a man.

According to Skoutariotes, Eirene was buried beside her husband in the Monastery of Christos Philanthropos.³³ Konstantinos Manasses adds that her tomb was made of marble,³⁴ and that myron, a sweet-smelling substance, sprung up from her grave as proof from God of Eirene's goodness.³⁵ Although the location of her grave is not confirmed by any other sources, Eirene's burial by the side of Alexios can probably be assumed. Varzos, however, assumes instead that she was buried at Theotokos Kellaraias, the burial place for the nuns of Theotokos Kecharitomene.³⁶ She did not, however, make preparations for herself to be buried either there or in the exonarthex of the church of Kecharitomene where her female descendants who had become nuns could be buried.³⁷ Eirene Doukaina was probably laid to rest in her marble tomb beside that of her husband's at the Monastery of Christos Philanthropos.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Eirene Doukaina, aristocratic princess, Empress of Byzantium, wife, mother, patron of the arts, and founder of the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene was a woman as complex as the Byzantine era in which she grew up. It is not surprising that both the primary and secondary sources hold varying opinions about her.

The Byzantine writers Italikos, Kallikles, Prodrornos, Straboromanos, Theophylaktos, Zonaras, and Tornikes were generally favourable in their comments about the Empress. This is, for the most part, due to the long established tradition that authors close to the court eulogize the royal family. In spite of this, these Byzantine authors' real opinions about Eirene can usually be discerned. Zonaras, for instance, left the impression that he did not always get along with the Empress.¹ Italikos admitted he had philosophical disagreements with her.²

Eirene's daughter Anna and son-in-law Bryennios were unanimous in their praise of her, as one would expect. There can be no doubt, however, that Anna's love and respect for her mother was genuine, and that her husband Bryennios admired his mother-in-law very much.

The thirteenth century chronicler Choniates was very critical of both Eirene's treatment of her son and of her

political ambitions.³ Since he never knew Eirene, it could be suggested that he was more objective than earlier writers. The fact that he is very partial towards the Emperor John, however, may have influenced his opinion of John's mother Eirene.

The opinions of twentieth century scholars also vary. McCabe has nothing good to say about Eirene. Diehl, although critical of her cool nature, her lack of interest in personal adornment, and her political ambitions admitted that:

She offers an interesting example of the Byzantine Princesses of the twelfth century, women at once lettered and political, grave and austere, but of impeccable moral behaviour and endowed with a solemn grace that is not without beauty.⁴

Polemis also credits her for being:

...a cultured woman, a true representative of her times, a patron of learningPerhaps no other Byzantine Empress or princess had a greater impact on contemporary literature than Eirene.⁵

Varzos agrees she was a cultivated woman who inspired more authors than perhaps anyone else in her time,⁶ but he presents her as a woman whose early humiliating years in the palace forced her to become a cold, calculating Empress

driven by ruthless ambition.

In Laiou's appraisal of Eirene, however:

She is powerful, intelligent, learned to a greater or lesser degree, a manager, an economic conservative. She has great pride of birth, and a great concern for her family; she is fully conscious of her privileged position, and does not quite relinquish it when she enters religion. She is austere, strict, not overly ascetic, and has a complex relationship with men."

Weyl Carr also describes Eirene as: ". . . a taciturn, intelligent and literate person."² Scholars like Morris and Talbot,³ whose work concentrates on Byzantine women and monastic life, see Eirene as a prime representative of a society, which, although admittedly patriarchal, allowed aristocratic women some political power as well as a measure of responsibility for themselves and their families. Perhaps because all of these scholars included Eirene in more general Byzantine studies, their analysis of her, while valuable, tend to be superficial.

Eirene was not a woman who revealed herself easily; the evidence presented in this paper indicates that despite her quiet reserved manner, she was torn by inner conflict. On the one hand, she was a very private person with a strong need for spiritual peace. Brought up in a court where intrigue and subterfuge was the order of the day, she sought refuge in

her Greek Orthodox faith and hid her turmoil behind a cool exterior. As Italikos put it, she "...steered herself away from the excesses of human behaviour....."¹⁴

On the other hand, she was forced to contend with the public demands of her position as well as with the private demands of her husband and family. It was only through her determination and self-discipline that Eirene was able to cope with her responsibilities as Empress, and the effort it took made her appear cold and humourless. But to those who knew her, to her family and friends, as well as to the poor who came into contact with her, she was able to be more natural and to show her warm and generous side. Besides her religious faith, her family was the single most important element in her life. Her family satisfied Eirene's deep maternal instincts and, in return, she demonstrated a fierce love and loyalty to them which never wavered. In particular this manifested itself in her indulgence to her daughters and granddaughters.

Eirene's feelings for her son John, however, were very negative; she disliked him and disapproved of him as Alexios' heir. We will probably never know exactly why she felt this way, but her sincerity in showing her real feelings towards him, and her acceptance and defence of his position after he became Emperor reveal that she was not a devious person.

It is significant that the question of the succession to Alexios' throne sparked the most passion from Eirene, and perhaps this provides the best clue for understanding this

reclusive woman . If we take into consideration Eirene's salient actions and characteristics, we become aware of a basic ambivalence in them. First, Eirene greatly disliked her son John, continually supported her daughter Anna's claim to the throne, and exhibited preferential treatment of the women in her family. Second, she preferred spiritual matters over physical matters; she loved religious books, was modest, and disdained cosmetics and clothes used to attract the male. Third, she was married to a man reputed to be a womanizer in his youth and to whom she bore nine children. Finally, of all foundresses of monasteries, she was the one who most insisted on keeping men out of its affairs at almost every level and ensuring that the women were in charge . It is clear that Eirene had strong and conflicting feelings about her own sexuality and about her attitude towards men. There is no indication that Eirene was a sensual woman . Notwithstanding the fact that she had nine pregnancies, her relationship with Alexios was at its strongest when he later needed her as companion, advisor, and nurse; it was only during Alexios' and Eirene's last years together that she assumed some political power.

During this period in which she exerted political power, Eirene also consciously advocated the legal rights of all her daughters, granddaughters and female descendants. Her strong sense of identity with her women kin was a tradition carried on by her descendants.¹¹ Perhaps Eirene's support of Anna's claim to the throne and her consideration for all her female

descendants, stemmed more from a deep sense of family loyalty than from a general advocacy of women's rights. Nevertheless, she was definitely more partial to the female members of her family. The reason for this may be due to the fact that she knew that the men were better able to provide for their own future. After all, they still held most of the power in Byzantine society. Women, even royal women, were second-class citizens. Within the walls of the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene, however, Eirene provided the necessary resources and the environment for herself, her daughters, and their daughters after them to have some control over their lives and some measure of political power. Her independent spirit is revealed in the preface to her typikon:

I wish that the convent of my Lady the Mother of God Kecharitomene set up by me and administered and managed in whatever manner I myself wish while I am preserved in this life through the grace and fervent intercession of the same lady, and after my death....be administered in accordance with what will be expressly laid down here by me.¹²

The Empress Eirene Doukaina's greatest legacy to Byzantium was her family. Her descendants kept the Turkish army at bay for more than three hundred years, (see Appendix IV). The literacy legacy she left to the modern world

comprises both her charter, the most complete of its kind to survive, and the work of her daughter Anna, whose Alexiad was inspired by Eirene.¹² Surely the scope of these accomplishments rivals Alexios' political and military successes.

If Eirene's elusiveness makes it difficult for us to fully understand her, we must appreciate that she lived in a period that, as she herself described it, was: "...turbulent and very stormy."¹³ In such an era she was prudent to be guarded in her behaviour and careful with whom she was intimate with, and she was also wise to provide for her own future. If she was not an open, friendly woman who endeared herself to all she met, she was nevertheless respected by most. She strongly believed that an Empress should always be aware of her special, high status in life, and so she reserved her emotions for her family and friends. Her pride in her birth, her belief in duty and in family solidarity, her capable management of her affairs, her self-discipline, her piety, her generous patronage of the arts, and her grace under pressure were qualities which earned her well-deserved admiration from her contemporaries.

The years Eirene Doukaina ruled her small kingdom of Theotokos Kecharitomene seem to have been happy ones for her, and she richly deserved the peace and contentment of her final days there.

NOTES FOR PAGES 3 TO 8

B: DISCUSSION OF THE SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF EIRENE DOUKAINA

1. Isaak Komnenos, "Typikon du Monastère de la Kosmosoteira près d'Aenos (1152)," ed. L. Petit, IRAIK 13 (1908), 17-75, (hereafter cited as Isaak Komnenos).
John II Komnenos, "Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," trans. Paul Gautier, REB 32 (1974), 1-131, (hereafter cited as John Komnenos).
2. Anna Komnena, The Alexiad of Anna Komnena, trans E.R.A.Sewter (London: Penguin, 1969. Reprint. 1985), (hereafter cited as Komnena, Sewter); MPG 131.
3. Eirene Doukaina, "Typikon tes Sevasmias Mones tes Uperagias Theotokou tes Kecharitomenes," MPG 127, 985-1127, (hereafter cited as Doukaina).
Doukaina, col. 1006C, ch. 3, mentions Eirene's will.
4. Theodora Palaiologina, [Typikon of Lips], ed. H. Delahaye, Deux typica byzantins de l'époque de Paléologue, Tome 13 (Brussels: 1921), pp. 106-140, (hereafter cited as Theodora Palaiologina).
Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, Typikon of Christos Philanthropos Soter, ed., Ph. Meyer, BZ 4 (1895), pp. 48-49, (hereafter cited as Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina).
Theodora Synadene, [Typikon of Vavaia Elpis], ed. H. Delahaye, Deux typica byzantins de l'époque de Paléologues, Tome 13 (Brussels: 1921), pp. 18-96, (hereafter cited as Theodora Synadene).
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6. Doukaina, Gautier, pp. 14-15.
7. Ibid., p. 15 notes that the fragment surviving of Christos Philanthropos typikon of 1312 is a reproduction of chapters 2 of the Theotokos Kecharitomene typikon.
8. Georgina Buckler, "Women in Byzantine Law About 1100 A.D.," B 11, 2 (1936), p. 415, (hereafter cited as Buckler).
9. Charles Diehl, Figures byzantines, vol. 2, (Paris, 1909. Reprint. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965).
10. Joseph McCabe, The Empresses of Constantinople (Boston: Gorham Press, 1913), (hereafter cited as McCabe).
11. D.I. Polemis, The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography (London: The Athlone Press, 1968), (hereafter

cited as Polemis, Doukai).

12. Konstantine Varzos, E Genealogia ton Komnenon, Tomos A, Byzantina (Thessalonike: Center for Byzantine Studies of the School of Philosophy, University of Thessalonike, 1984), (hereafter cited as Varzos).

13. Sir Walter Scott, Count Robert of Paris (London: Adam & Charles Black, Toronto: The Copp, Clark Co. Ltd., 1897).

14. The corpus will include fifty-four extant typika from the Byzantine period 800-1400. DQP has sponsored English translations of these manuscripts and will publish them under the editorship of Professor John Thomas. Publication date at this time is not known.

15. Doukaina, Gautier, pp. 6-9.

16. Charles Diehl, Byzantine Empresses, trans. Harold Bell and Theresa de Kerpely (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. Reprint. 1963), p. 200, (hereafter cited as Diehl, Empresses).

NOTES FOR PAGES 9 TO 16

C: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BYZANTIUM IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

1. Michael Psellus, Fourteen Byzantine Rulers, trans. E.R.A. Sewter (London: Penguin, 1953. Reprint, 1984), p. 45, (hereafter cited as Psellos). This figure of 200,000 talents is difficult to calculate in modern money.

2. Psellos, pp. 182-186.

3. A.A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, Vol. 2 (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958. Reprint, 1976), pp. 567-572, (hereafter cited as Vasiliev), discusses imperial grants: Pronoia is an imperial grant, usually land; exkoussieia is imperial immunity granted to individuals or monasteries which gave them the right to collect state revenues from these properties for themselves.

4. P. Grierson, "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century," BZ 47 (1954), p. 382, 386.

5. Vasiliev, p. 349.

6. Kekaumenos, Cecaumeni Strategicon, eds. B. Wassiliewsky and V. Jernstedt (St. Petersburg, 1896. Reprint. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965), Ch. 50, p. 18.

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A. P. Kazhdan and Anne Wharton Epstein, Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 73, (hereafter cited as Kazhdan and Epstein).

John Hussey, "The Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh Century," IRHS 32 (1950), pp. 71-85, (hereafter cited as Hussey, "Byzantine Empire"); and The Byzantine World (New York: Harper & Row, 1961).

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8. Vryonis, "Byzantium," p. 159.

9. Mango, Byzantium, p. 58.

10. Matthew of Edessa, Chronique de Mathieu d'Edesse (962 a 1136), trans. E. Dulaurier (Paris: A.Durand, 1858), p. 300, (hereafter cited as Matthew of Edessa).
11. Gregory Pakourianos, "Le Typikon de sebasto Gregoire Pakourianos," trans. Paul Gautier, REB 42 (1984), pp. 5-145, an Armenian general whose dislike for the Greeks is obvious in his typikon.
12. C.A. Trypanis, Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. Reprint. 1964.), p. 43.
13. Psellos, pp. 248-249, 310, 332, 369, and passim.
14. Hussey, " Byzantine Empire," p. 71. While conceding that Psellos was a brilliant scholar, Hussey also feels he was corrupt.
15. Kedrenos, George, Historiarum-Compendium, vol. 2, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB 35 (1839), p. 725.
16. Kazhdan and Epstein, pp. 31-56, 73.
17. A. Kazhdan, "Two Notes on Byzantine Demography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," BF 8 (1982), p. 121, (hereafter cited as Kazhdan, "Two Notes").
18. Komnena, Sewter, p. 185.
19. Hussey, "Byzantine Empire," p. 72.
20. Benjamin of Tudela, The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, vol. 1, trans. A. Asher (New York: Hakesheth Publishing Co., 1840-1), pp. 54-54.
21. Varzos, p. 27.

NOTES FOR PAGES NO. 17 TO 27

CHAPTER 1 - EIRENE DOUKAINA, ARISTOCRATIC PRINCESS

1. Steven Runciman, Byzantine Civilization (New York: The New American Library, 1956), p. 147, uses the one million figure, while R.J.F. Jenkins, "Social Life in the Byzantine Empire", Vol. 4, pt. 2 in The Cambridge Medieval History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, pp. 80-103), p. 81, states that "not less than half a million persons dwelt within it, and perhaps as many as eight hundred thousand."
2. Dimitri Obolensky, The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500-1463 (London: Sphere Books, 1974. Reprint. Crestwood, New York: Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), pp. 31-33.
3. It is assumed that Eirene was born in Konstantinople since it is not otherwise stated by any sources, and her parents lived there.
4. Polemis, Doukai, p. 58.
5. Nikephoros Bryennios, Nicéphore Bryennios Histoire, trans. Paul Gautier, CFHB 9 (1975), p. 67, (hereafter cited as Bryennios, Gautier).
6. Polemis, Doukai, p. 4.
7. Ibid.
8. Nikolaos Kallikles, Carmi, trans. Roberto Romani (Naples: University of Naples, Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana No. 8, 1980), p. 81, poem no. 6, line 6, (hereafter cited as Kallikles).
9. Polemis, Doukai, p. 2-4.
Although the name Doukas does figure prominently in the ninth century epic of Digenes Akrites (the hero's mother is named Eirene Doukaina, and his wife Eudokia is the daughter of a Doukas general), and may reflect some historical reality, the persons named cannot be based on any persons known to have lived.
Ibid., p. 11. A number of descendants of Eirene Doukaina adopted the Doukas name.
10. Michael the Syrian, Chronique, vol. 3., ed. and trans. J.B. Chabot (Paris: 1899-1901), p. 169.
11. Polemis, Doukai, p. 10.
12. Polemis, Doukai, pp. 55-57. See also Michael Attaleiates, Historia, eds. W. Brunet de Presle and I.

Bekker, (Bonn: CSHB 50, 1853), pp. 1-8, (hereafter cited as Attaleiates).

13. Doukaina, col. 1094C, Ch. 71; and "The Typikon of Kecharitomene," trans. Robert Jordan, DOP photocopy, p.49, (hereafter cited as Jordan).

14. Polemis, Doukai, p. 63.

15. Bryennios, Gautier, p.219.

16. Ibid.

17. Doukaina, col. 1095A, ch. 71; Jordan, p.49.

18. Doukaina, cols. 993D and 996A, Preface; Jordan, p. 2.

18a. Doukaina, col. 1036, ch. 19; Jordan, p. 22.

Ibid., cols. 1038C-D, ch. 20-22, and 1040A, ch. 23; Jordan, p. 23-24.

Ibid., cols. 1040B-C-D, ch. 24; Jordan, p. 24.

Ibid., col. 1061D, ch. 63; Jordan, p. 34.

In these sections Eirene appointed nuns to the positions of 1) sacristan and archivist, 2) provision mistresses, 3) treasurers, and 4) mentioned that there is to be a reading during every meal by a nun. It is assumed that all the nuns knew enough reading, writing and accounting to be able to carry out their duties, and Eirene never considered the possibility that some of the nuns might be illiterate.

19. Angeliki Laiou, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," (Vienna: XVI International Byzantinistenkongress, Akten I/1 (1981) = JOB 31.1), p. 253, (hereafter cited as Laiou, "The Role of Women"), adds, "The existence of a number of highly educated women in twelfth-century Constantinople is as well known as it is interesting a phenomenon."

20. Vern L. Bullough, The Subordinate Sex, A History of Attitudes Towards Women (New York and Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1974), p. 127.

21. Komnena, Sewter, p. 17.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 7th edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982. Reprint. 1984), pp. 843 and 1148, (hereafter cited as Concise Oxford Dictionary). The quadrivium was a mediaeval course of studies in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, studied after the trivium which consisted of grammar, logic, and rhetoric. Since the quadrivium and trivium formed a three-year university course, Anna's education was at least equal to a modern BA, perhaps closer to an MA.

N.H. Bayes and H. St. L.B. Moss, eds., Byzantium (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948. Reprint. Oxford: Oxford

- University Press, 1969), p. 205.
22. Komnena, Sewter, p. 496.
23. Ed. Kurtz, "Unedierte Texte aus der Zeit des Kaisers Johannes Komnenos," BZ 16 (1907), p. 99, (hereafter cited as Kurtz).
24. George Tornikes, Lettres et Discours, trans. Jean Darrouzès (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1970), p. 263, (hereafter cited as Tornikes, Darrouzès).
25. Tornikes, Darrouzès, p. 243.
26. Ibid., p. 245.
27. Komnena, Sewter, p. 178.
28. Italikos, Gautier, p. 95.
29. Eustathios Boilas, "The Will of a Byzantine Magnate," trans. S. Vryonis, Jr., DOF 11 (1957), pp. 268-270. Euthathios Boilas, a wealthy eleventh century landowner, bequeathed a collection of eighty books to a private church.
30. Doukaina, col. 1108C, ch. 78.
31. Ibid., cols. 1103B-C, ch. 77; Jordan, p. 53.
32. Doukaina, Gautier, p. 11.
33. Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, A Woman's Quest for Spiritual Guidance, trans. Angela C. Hero (Brookline, Mass., Hellenic College Press, 1985), p. 58, (hereafter cited as Eirene Palaiologina, Hero).
34. Eirene Palaiologina, Hero, p. 27
35. Italikos, Gautier, p. 151.
36. Komnena, Sewter, pp. 178-179.
37. Bryennios, Gautier, p. 221.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid. Most scholars, when referring to this passage of Bryennios, refer to Argyros' daughter as the wife of Alexios. Varzos, p. 87, says Alexios married the daughter of Argyros around 1076. Paul Gautier interprets sunarmostheisa as fiancée. After discussing the meaning of this word with a

number of Greek scholars in Athens, I feel Gautier's translation is the more acceptable.

41. Ibid.

42. Michael Angold, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 (London and New York: Longman Group Ltd., 1984), pp. 102-103, (hereafter cited as Angold).

43. Bryennios, Gautier, p. 223.

44. Ibid., p. 129. Bryennios explains that at the beginning of the reign of Botaniates, Anna Dalassena has been accused of corresponding secretly with the deposed Emperor Romanos Diogenes, with whom she was related by marriage. As a result she appeared at a tribunal, was convicted and exiled to the Isle of Prinkipos.

45. Ibid.

46. McCabe, p. 199.

47. Bryennios, Gautier, p. 223.

Kazhdan and Epstein, p. 202, state that according to Nikephoros Bryennios' Memoirs, Alexios and Eirene had to overcome "many obstacles set in their way by their families". Finally, "the comliest youth wedded the comliest girl". (Bryennios 2235)

48. Angold, pp. 102-103.

49. Ibid., p. 104.

50. Ibid., p. 102.

51. Bryennios, Gautier, p. 67; Komnena, Sewter, p. 110.

52. Komnena, Sewter, p. 77.

53. Ibid., p. 74.

54. Ibid., p. 105.

55. D.I. Polemis, "Notes on Eleventh-Century Chronology (1059-1081)," BZ 58 (1965), pp. 68-69.

Doukaina, Gautier, Intro., p. 7.

Bryennios, Gautier, p. 235, n. 5.

Both Polemis and Gautier date the marriage to early in 1078. This date is based on information from Bryennios, Gautier, p. 235, which refers to the Caesar John Doukas demanding that his granddaughter Eirene be married immediately after John Bryennios raised the siege of Konstantinople. Attaleiates, p. 257 says that Bryennios left camp after January 7, 1078.

NOTES FOR PAGES NO. 28 TO 37

CHAPTER 2 - EIRENE DOUKAINA: EMPRESS OF THE ROMANS
THE EARLY YEARS

1. Laiou, "The Role of Women," p. 236.
2. Kazhdan, "Two Notes," p. 117, says that a study of fifteen Byzantine literati shows they died at the average age of seventy-one years. On p. 121, he states that the data "...indicate an unexpectedly long life expectancy in the twelfth-century Byzantium."
Alexios Komnenos, ed. P. Maas, "Die Musen des kaisers Alexios I," BZ 22 (1913), p. 354. Alexios himself says "...with difficulty will you find someone over sixty now still living." Even the age of sixty however, seems remarkable for the period.
3. Edwin Hanson Freshfield, trans., A Manual of Eastern Roman Law. The Procheiros Nomos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), p. 59. This section regarding marriage states that, "a man must have reached the age of puberty and a woman must be competent for a husband. That is to say he must be fourteen years old and she twelve....A woman married under twelve years old becomes the lawful wife of her husband so soon as she has attained the age of twelve years."
4. Polemis, Doukai, p. 3, n. 2, "...a married woman did not necessarily assume her husband's surname. Of those empresses before the thirteenth century whose full names are recorded, the wife of Alexios I (1081-1118) was always called Eirene Doukaina and never Eirene Komnena."
5. Anna Komnena, MPG 131, col. 256C, (hereafter cited as Komnena), and Komnena, Sewter, p. 105.
6. Komnena, col. 268C; Komnena, Sewter, p. 110. The Greek actually says that Eirene had not yet completed her fifteenth year because in the Greek system of calculating age, the year between the age of fourteen and fifteen is considered to be the fifteenth year. In North America, on the other hand, one is considered to be fourteen until the actual day of the fifteenth birthday.
7. As a note of interest, a solar chart drawn up by Ms. Astrid Robinson, a professional astrologist, based on the available information of Eirene's life, indicates a birthday of c. April 15.
8. John Zonaras, Epitomae Historiarum, vol. 3, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, CSHB 46 (1897), p. 764, (hereafter cited as Zonaras 3).

9. Komnena, Sewter, p. 31.

CHART COMPARING ALEXIOS' AGE BASED ON THE TWO SOURCES

Alexios Birth Year	Battle of Manzikert 1071	Marriage 1078	Emperor 1081	Death 1118
Zonaras 1048	23	30	33	70
Komnena 1057	14	21	24	61

10. Bryennios, Gautier, p. 147.² notes that Alexios did not have facial hair in 1077.

Attaleiates, p. 289.³, notes Alexios was young in 1077.

John Skylitzes, E Synecheia tes Chronographias tou Ioannou Skylitse, ed. E.T.Tsolakis (Thessalonike: Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1968), p. 161.¹⁷, remarks that Alexios was very young in 1074/5.

11. Doukaina, Gautier, p. 7, n. 4.

12. McCabe, p. 204, "Within a week of the coronation of Alexis the second coronation took place, and Irene began to share the bed and the throne of her husband." I believe, however, that the facts argue against Eirene sharing Alexios' bed at this time.

13. Komnena, Sewter, pp. 104-105.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. There are no studies I am aware of which discuss the topic of girls' menses in the Byzantine period. It seems logical, however, that the legal marriage age of twelve years for girls was chosen to coincide with the average age they began their menses, since the purpose of marriage was procreation.

17. Polemis, Doukai, p. 74.

18. Komnena, Sewter, pp. 98-99.

19. Ibid., pp. 105-106.

20. Ibid., p. 108.

21. Ibid., p. 105. According to Anna Komnena, both the upper and lower palaces were called Boucoleon, and it appears that both had separate women's quarters.

22. Deno John Geanakoplos, Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 27. "In order to be accepted as legitimate, the emperor had to be crowned by the patriarch....the very elaborate ceremonial also included the coronation of the empress...."

23. Komnena, Sewter, pp. 105-106.

24. Ibid., p. 106, 108.

25. Ibid., p. 109.

26. Varzos, p. 98.

27. Zonaras 3, p. 747.

None of the Byzantine sources gives any particulars regarding Alexios' involvement with other women except for the ex-Empress Maria. It is unknown, therefore, whether or not these other women lived in the palace gynaikeion.

28. Komnena, Sewter, p. 157.

29. Doukaina, col. 1116A, ch. 79; Jordan, p.60. Eirene mentions the large amount of money she spent on the palace she built for herself beside the monastery.

Ibid., col. 996A, ch. 1; Jordan, p. 2. Eirene thanks the Mother of God for "flooding my life on all sides with human prosperity...."

Ibid., col. 1109C, ch. 79; Jordan, p. 56. Eirene describes her luxurious palace.

30. Zonaras 3, p. 733.

31. Ibid., p. 731.

32. McCabe, p. 207.

33. Zonaras 3, p. 731 states that Alexios gave his mother no official titles, but that despite this she had the same authority as her son.

Ibid., p. 733 states that Anna Dalassena signed all the chrysobulls after Alexios' signature.

Komnena, Sewter, p. 116, says that Alexios signed a chrysobull granting his mother complete executive power.

Ibid., p. 120, says that in theory Alexios was emperor, but his mother had all the real power.

34. Komnena, Sewter, p. 196.

NOTES FOR PAGES NO. 38 TO 47

CHAPTER 3 - THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF AN EMPRESS

1. Laiou, "The Role of Women," p. 250.
2. Steven Runciman, "Some Notes in the Role of the Empress," Eastern Churches Review, 4 (1972), p. 119, (hereafter cited as Runciman).
3. Ibid., p. 122.
4. Komnena, Sewter, p. 376.
5. Tamara Talbot Rice, Everyday Life in Byzantium (London: B.T. Batsford, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1967), p. 211. This passage refers to the Great Palace in Konstantinople. Eirene Doukaina also had apartments in the Palace of Blacharnae in the north-east end of the city, and the Palace of Boucoleon overlooking the Sea of Marmara.
6. Komnena, Sewter, p. 459.
7. Runciman, pp. 121-122. The highest position held by a woman, usually a relative of the Empress, was Mistress of the Robes.
8. Laiou, "The Role of Women," pp. 237-240.
9. K.E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, Jus Graeco-romanum. Vol. 4. Peira (Leipzig: 1956-84. Reprint. Athens: George Fexis Cie., 1931. 1962), pp. 9-260. This is a collection of law cases compiled by Eustathios Romanos probably to serve as a textbook at the newly opened law school in Konstantinople in 1045. Buckler, pp. 393 and 408. She comments that in the Peira, out of a total of 1038 cases, 260 deal with women. Of these 260 cases, 108 deal with women's dowries and 63 with items related to business - deposits, pledges, mortgages, legacies, bequests, gifts, and purchases.
10. Runciman, p. 122.
11. Zonaras 3, pp. 738-739.
12. Ibid., pp. 123-124. Runciman says, "It is clear that in default of an Emperor, or even of an adult Emperor, the Empress had the power to transfer the Empire to the man of her choice, particularly if she married him....It might therefore be said that in such cases the imperial power was lodged in the Empress until she nominated an Emperor...[And if she] chose not to nominate an Emperor, she was probably legally entitled to exercise the supreme power. [The Empress

therefore]...enjoyed a right in determining the imperial succession such as no other consort of a western monarch ever enjoyed."

13. Italikos, Gautier, p. 209, and p. 97, n. 16.

14. Nikolaos Kataskepenos, "Nikolaou Monachou Kataskepenou Epistolai kai Stichera meta ton tou Symeon Logothetou tou Mataphrastou," Archeion Ekklesiastikis Istorias 1 (1911), pp. 70-72.

15. Alexios Komnenos, "Alexiou Komnenou Poiema Parainetikon," Carmina Graeca medii aevi, ed. W. Wagner (Leipzig: Teubner, 1894), p. 23.

16. Eirene Doukaina - Typikon of Theotokos Kecharitomene
Alexios Komnenos - Typikon of Christos Philanthropos
John Komnenos - Typikon of Pantokrator
Isaak Komnenos - Typikon of Kosmosoteira

Alexios' typikon has not survived.

17. Doukaina, col. 1081D, ch. 64; Jordan, p. 44.

18. Ibid., cols. 1090B, ch. 71 and 1096C, ch. 71; Jordan, pp. 47-49.

19. Komnena, Sewter, pp. 377-378.

20. Throdoros Prodomos, Theodoros Prodomos, Historische Gedichte, ed. Wolfram Hörandner (Wien: Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, Band 11, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), pp. 383, lines 37-41, (hereafter cited as Prodomos, Hörandner).

21. Doukaina, col. 997D, Preface; Jordan, p. 3.

22. Komnena, Sewter, p. 505.

23. Bryennios, Gautier, p. 71; Komnena, Sewter, p. 220.

24. Prodomos, Hörandner, pp. 185-188.

25. Ibid., p. 383, a poem composed around 1120/2 on the death of Eirene's grandson's wife Theodora.

26. Kallikles, p. 81.

27. Manuel Straboromanos, ed. Paul Gautier, "Le Dossier d'un haut Fonctionnaire d'Alexis Ier Comnène, Manuel Straboromanos," REB 23 (1965), pp. 195-200, 201, (hereafter cited as Straboromanos).

28. It would be a mistake to assume that Eirene's literary

salons were similar to those organized by women in eighteenth century France. While the invited artists in both cases may have been only men, the invited audiences were not. As mentioned in the text, Eirene's audiences were comprised of family members, mostly females, living in the palace beside the Monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene; the audience in the French literary salons was made up of the hostess and her invited guests, usually all men.

29. Kazhdan and Epstein, pp. 131-132.

30. Italikos, Gautier, pp. 146-147.

31. Mango, Byzantium, p. 234.

NOTES FOR PAGES 48 TO 64

CHAPTER 4 - THE MONASTERY OF THEOTOKOS KECHARITOMENE

1. Doukaina, col. 1108C-1112B-C, ch. 79; Jordan, p. 55-57.
2. Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1929. Reprint. 1957), p. 162.
3. Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani, eds. F. Miklosich and J. Muller, Vol. 2 (Vienna: 1968), p. 299. In this Register of the Patriarch of Konstantinople under the date of August 1399, it is written "the priest Athanasios who sings in the most holy church of Kecharitomene got the order to bless [in marriage] George and Eirene."
Doukaina, col. 1085C, ch. 70; Jordan, p. 46. Eirene decreed that a lay priest be assigned to Kellaraias, the monastery dedicated to Kecharitomene for the burial of nuns, as the singer of psalms for the funerals.
4. Zosimos, "Vie et Pelerinage du moine Pecheur Zosime (1419-1421)," ch. 8 in Itinéraires russes en Orient, trans. B. De Khitrowo (Geneva: 1889. Reprint. Osnabruck: Otta Zeller, 1966), p.204.
5. Doukaina, cols. 1121-1128. The folios of this fifteenth century inventory were re-used in such a way that the original text was left intact, upside down to the new text.
Doukaina, Gautier, Intro., p. 9 argues that the folios belonged to the original Kecharitomene vrevion and dates the paper from its watermark to the second quarter of the fifteenth century.
6. Doukaina, col. 1103B-C, ch. 77; Jordan, p. 53.
Doukaina, Gautier, Intro., pp. 16-17.
7. Doukaina, col. 1040B, ch. 24; Jordan, p. 24.
8. Doukaina, Gautier, Intro., p. 12.
9. Benedetto Palazzo, Deux anciennes églises dominicaines à Stamboul. Odalar Djami et Kefeli Mesdjidi (Istanbul: Guler, 1951), p. 25, (hereafter cited as Palazzo).
Alfons Maria Schneider, Byzanz (Berlin: 1036, Amsterdam: A.M. Makkert, 1967), p. 63.
10. Mamboury, A., "Autour d'Odalar-Djamissi, à Stamboul," EQ 19 (1920), pp. 69-73.
T.F. Matthews, The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul. A Photographic Survey (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), p. 220.
11. Doukaina, col. 991-992, Intro.; Jordan, p. 1. Eirene says the monastery was "...newly built from its

foundations..."

Ibid., col. 1096D, ch. 73; Jordan, p. 50 mentions the 'restored' narthex.

12. Palazzo, p. 25.

13. Doukas, Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks, trans. H. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975), p. 225, (hereafter cited as Doukas). This fifteenth century chronicler reports that the Turks plundered the monasteries of Petra and Chora, but does not mention Kecharitomene. (As far as I am aware, although his name is Doukas, he was not related to Eirene's family.)

14. R. Janin, Les Églises et les Monastères, Vol.3. In Le Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, 2nd ed. (Paris: Institut français d'Etudes byzantines, 1969), p. 188, (hereafter cited as Janin, Les Églises).
Doukaina, col. 1085B, ch. 70; Jordan, pp. 45-46.

15. Janin, Les Églises, pp. 190-191.

16. Alpatov, M., "Die Fresken der Odalar Djami in Konstantinopel," BZ 26 (1926), pp. 373-379.
Palazzo, p. 25.

17. Palazzo, pp. 5-9.

18. Alice-Mary Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experiences of Byzantine Men and Women," GOIR 30, No. 1, 1985, p. 4.

19. N.H. Baynes and H. St. L.L. Moss, eds., Byzantium (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948. Reprint. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 146-147, (hereafter cited as Baynes and Moss).

20. Baynes and Moss, pp. 148-150.

21. Doukaina, Gautier, Intro., pp. 15-16. Gautier points out that chapters 12, 13, 47, 48, 56, and 78 were copied verbatim from the Euergetis typikon, and that a number of other sentences and sometimes whole paragraphs were borrowed from it, a common Byzantine practice at the time.

22. Angeliki Laiou, "Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women," BF 9 (1985), p. 80, (hereafter cited as Laiou, "Observations"). "The male monastery, at least in the twelfth century, was more of a public institution than was the female one."

Ibid., p. 89. Laiou remarks that the fourteenth century typika are more explicit about the social divisions between the nuns than Eirene's typikon was, reflecting the fact that Kecharitomene was more isolated from society than the later

monasteries.

23. Laiou, "Observations," p. 80. Eirene's sons John's and Isaak's typika for Pantocrator and Kosmosoteira respectively, also included many provisions for the administration of the monastery, but they are not as lengthy or as specific as their mother's typikon was.

24. Isaak Komnenos, ch. 39, p. 40, acknowledges that there could be both literate and illiterate officers for the Kosmosoteira monastery. Eirene's typikon does not consider the possibility of illiteracy among her nuns.

25. John Thomas, "The Rise of Individual and Self-Governing Monasteries," GOTR 30, no. 1 (1985), pp. 22-30.

26. Doukaina, col. 1001C, ch. 1; Jordan, p. 1. In this passage, Eirene further forbids anyone to take control of the monastery "...whether he be an emperor, or an patriarch, or some other person of the clergy or of the senate..."

27. The other three typika were for Lips, Christos Philanthropos Soter, and Vevaia Elpis. See Introduction B: note no. 4 for complete bibliographic information.

Two other women's monasteries for which fragments of typica survive were founded by men. They are:

Neilos Damilas. [Typikon of Daionia], ed. S. Petrides, IRAIK 15 (1911), pp. 92-111, (founded circa. 1400), (hereafter cited as Neilos Damilas).

Leo of Nauplion, [Typikon of Areias], ed. Miklosich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, vol. 5, (Vienna: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1968), pp. 178-190, (founded 1143).

28. Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, Typikon, pp. 48-49. The surviving fragment of this typikon is a copy of chapter two of Eirene Doukaina's typikon, entitled "Concerning the Necessity for those following the monastic way of life in the convent of Kecharitomene to pursue the coenobitic way of life..."

29. Doukaina, col. 1017A-B, ch. 10; Jordan, p. 13.

30. Ibid., col. 1017B, ch. 10; Jordan, p. 13.

31. Laiou, "Observations," p. 84.

32. Doukaina, col. 1073A-B, ch. 52; Jordan p. 39.

33. Laiou, "Observations," p. 85.

34. Doukaina, cols. 1121-1128.

Laiou, "Observations," pp. 98-99. Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina and Theodora Synadene also both generously endowed their monasteries.

35. Doukaina, col. 1028B, ch. 14; Jordan, p. 18. Eirene speaks about "...the immovable property belonging to the convent both inside and outside the capital."

Ibid., cols. 1121-1122 include the rental property of Zoodochos Pege which may be connected with the present property bearing the same name, outside the Gate of Silivri in Istanbul. In my estimation, this lies about an hour's walk away from the presumed site of Kecharitomene.

Freely, p. 281 says that the Greeks still go to this site each year on August 15, the feast day of the Virgin.

36. Doukaina, col. 116A, ch. 79; Jordan, p. 58.

37. Ibid., col. 1045D, ch. 27; Jordan, p. 27.

Laiou, "Observations," p. 83 says that the work "consisted of cloth-making, whether that meant weaving, or sewing, or both".

38. Laiou, "Observations", p. 79.

39. Doukaina, col. 1032C, ch. 17; Jordan, p. 20.

Ibid., col. 1101A, ch. 75; Jordan, p. 52.

40. Doukaina col. 1029B-C, ch. 15; Jordan, p. 19.

It may not have been customary for eunuchs to become priests, but all of the typika for women's monasteries use eunuch priests, except for the Monastery of Lips. Their numbers may have been small, however, since Eirene comments that if there was a shortage of eunuch priests, the monastery should use virtuous eunuchs instead.

Papayianne, E., "Oi Klerikoi ton Byzantinon Gynaikeion monon kai to Avato," Byzantiaka 6 (1986), p. 81, n. 17. Papayianne states that the existence of eunuch priests does not go against the principle which forbids eunuchs into the clergy because the church canons (canons 21 to 24 of the Apostles) and the First Ecumenical Synod make an exemption for those who had been castrated against their will, either by hostile action or illness.

Komnena, Sewter, pp. 112-113. Anna remarks that Eustratios Garidas, the priest sponsored by Anna Dalassena who became patriarch after Kosmos resigned, was a eunuch.

41. Doukaina, cols. 1025D-1029B, ch. 14; Jordan, pp. 17-19.

42. Ibid., col. 1077C-D, ch. 57; Jordan, p. 42.

43. Ibid., col. 1029D, ch. 16; Jordan, p. 19.

44. Ibid., col. 1117B, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 59. "...we decree that the convent is to be completely untrodden by men and continuously closed even to eunuchs themselves."

45. Ibid, cols. 1026D-1029B, ch. 14; Jordan, pp. 17-19.

Theodora Synadene, p. 48. In her typikon for Vavaia Elpis, the oikonomos was a woman and not a man.

46. Laiou, "Observations," p. 81.
47. Ibid., p. 87.
48. Ibid.
49. Doukaina, col. 1117B, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 59.
50. Ibid., col. 1049A, ch. 31; Jordan, pp. 28-29.
51. Ibid., co. 1117B, ch. 80; Jordan, pp. 59-60.
52. Ibid., cols. 1001C-1004C, ch. 1; Jordan, pp. 5-6.
Ibid., co. 1116C, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 59.
53. Ibid., col. 1116D, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 59.
54. Ibid., col. 1008D, ch. 4; Jordan, p. 8.
55. Ibid., col. 1116C, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 59.
56. Ibid., col. 1020A, ch. 11; Jordan, p. 13.
57. Ibid., col. 1036B-1038A, ch. 19; Jordan, pp. 22-23.
58. Ibid., col. 1040A, ch. 24; Jordan, p. 24
Ibid., col. 1045C, ch. 28; Jordan, p. 27
59. Ibid., col. 1037D, ch. 21; Jordan, p. 23.
60. Ibid., col. 1040A, ch. 23; Jordan, p. 24.
61. Ibid., col. 1037C-D, ch. 21; Jordan, p. 23.
62. Ibid., col. 1038B, ch. 20; Jordan, p. 23.
63. Ibid., col. 1041A-1044B, ch. 25; Jordan, p. 25.
64. Ibid., col. 1044C-1045B, ch. 25; Jordan, p. 26.
65. Ibid., col. 1045B, ch. 27; Jordan, p. 27.
Laiou, "Observations," p. 8 suspects that the activities of the ergocheiron varied from one convent to another and could refer to spinning, weaving or embroidery.
Ibid., p. 83, states that at Kecharitomene this probably consisted of weaving or sewing cloth or both.
66. Doukaina, col. 1045B, ch. 29; Jordan, p. 27.
67. Alice Mary M. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," Harvard Ukrainian

Studies 7 (1983), p. 614, (hereafter cited as Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns"), points out that, "...Palaiologan convents did possess small libraries, primarily of liturgical books and patristical works. Some of the manuscripts were two to three hundred years old, others were of contemporary manufacture, commissioned especially by the founders or other donors. Books by ancient authors were only rarely found in convents, usually as the bequest of a founder with antiquarian interests."

68. Theodora Synadene, ch. 24, p. 32.

69. *Ibid.*, chs. 55-56, pp. 48-50.

70. Neilos Damilas, pp. 107, 109.

71. Doukaina, col. 1052C, ch. 32; Jordan, p. 30.
Ibid., 1061A, ch. 40; Jordan, p. 34.

72. *Ibid.*, col. 1012C, ch. 5; Jordan, p. 10.

73. Doukaina, Gautier, Appendix B, pp. 152-155.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

75. Frolow, A., La Relique de la vraie Croix: Recherches sur le Développement d'un Culte (Paris: Institut français d'Etudes byzantines, 1961), hereafter cited as Frolow), pp. 308-309.

76. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns," pp. 605-606. "Theodora Raoulaina, a wealthy widow who founded the Monastery of St. Andrew in Krisei ca. 1284... was not only a scholar, book collector and patron of the arts, but also a scribe and hagiographer."

77. I. Spatharakis, The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts (Leiden: E.J. Brill Pub., 1976), pp. 48-49.

78. Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Women and Monasticism in Byzantium: Introduction from an Art Historian," BZ 9 (1985), p. 4, (hereafter cited as A. Weyl Carr, "Women and Monasticism"). "...the social and economic structure of the Byzantine workshop is not understood, and it is by no means clear what kind of person produced art under what circumstances."

79. A. Weyl Carr, "Women and Monasticism," pp. 5-7. Four known women scribes are Anna and Maria, both nuns; Eirene (also a calligrapher), daughter of Theodore Hagiopetrites; and Theodora Raoulaina.

Catafygiotou, Topping, Eva, "Women Hymnographers in Byzantium," Dipticha 3 (1982/3), pp. 98-111 discusses four Byzantine women hymnographers Theodosia, Thekla, Kassia, and a

Palaiologina princess (name unknown).

80. A. Weyl Carr, "Women Artists in the Middle Ages." Feminist Art Journal 5 (1976), pp. 5-9.

81. The Monastery of Pasărea is located about twenty km east of Bucharest in Rumania. It was founded by Father Timotei in 1813 for the female members of his family. Continuing in the tradition of this monastery, the nuns take part in the daily religious services, farm the land, produce priests habits, make cross pendants and enamel medallions, as well as paint icons and various other church objects for income. They also maintain a small museum which includes an impressive number of Byzantine paintings, icons and manuscripts of church music. These valuable items are looked after by a nun with considerable expertise in Byzantine art, restoration and conservation methods. The two churches on the property are painted in the neo-Byzantine style and all the paintings consist of the Virgin Mary and female saints.

When I visited Pasărea in the summer of 1981, I was unable to locate any written material on this monastery. After many inquiries, the historical information was provided by the Father Superior of the Lucia Dumbrava Monastery, based on documents in the monastery's archives, and given to Elena Filipou of the Canadian Embassy in Bucharest, who kindly translated it for me.

82. Talbot, "Comparison," p. 8. Frescoes of female saints usually adorned female Byzantine monasteries.

83. Doukas, pp. 229-221.

84. Ibid., p. 240.

85. Ibid., p. 245.

86. Doukaina, col. 1076D, ch. 55; Jordan, p. 41.

NOTES FOR PAGES 65 TO 78

CHAPTER 5 - A PORTRAIT: EIRENE AND ALEXIOS
IN ART AND LITERATURE

1. Hugh Goodacre, "Irene Doukaina, Wife of the Emperor Alexius I," Numismatic Chronicle 19 (1939), pp. 105-111, (hereafter cited as Goodacre).
W.Wroth, Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum, Vol. II (London: 1908), p. 544, nos. 23-24, (hereafter cited as Wroth).
A billon coin is made up of an alloy of gold or silver with a predominating amount of base metal. See Concise Oxford Dictionary, p. 89.
2. Wroth, p. 544.
3. Goodacre, pp. 108-109.
4. H.R. Hahnloser, ed., La Pala d'Oro, Vol. 2 of Il Tesoro di San Marco (Florence: G.C. Sansoni editore, 1965), pp. 7-9, (hereafter cited as Hahnloser).
5. Ibid.
6. M.E. Frazer, "The Pala D'oro and the Cult of St. Mark in Venice," 16th International Byzantine Congress Acts, Vol. II, 15, pp. 273-279, (hereafter cited as Frazer).
7. Hahnloser, p.9.
8. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
9. Charles Diehl, Manuel d'Art byzantin (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1910), p. 349, rightly points out that the ivory plaque looks like the same woman in the mosaic, that is Eirene, wife of John II.
A. Grabar, L'Empereur dans l'Art byzantin (Paris: Publications de la Faculte des Lettres de Universite de Strasbourg, 1936), p. 21, says the enamel in the Pala d'Oro could be either Eirene.
Otto Demus, "Zur Pala d'Oro," JÖBG 16 (1967), p. 273, contends that the portrait in the altarpiece is of John's wife Eirene.
Frazer, p. 277 agrees with the identification of Eirene Doukaina as the woman in the Pala d'Oro.
Polemis, Doukai, p. 74 agrees that it is Eirene Doukaina's picture in the Pala d'Oro.
Paulos Lambros, Leukoma Byzantinon Autokratoron (Athens: 1930), plate 66, describes the portrait in the Pala d'Oro as Eirene Doukaina.
10. Komnena, Sewter, pp. 110-111.

11. Italikos, Gautier, pp. 148-149.
12. Robin McCormack, Writing in Gold (London: George Philip, 1985), p. 192, (hereafter cited as McCormack). In a set of enamel plaques sent to Hungary from Konstantinople in the eleventh century, Zoe and Theodora are depicted wearing the same style of clothing and crown as Eirene in the Pala d'Oro.
13. Komnena, Sewter, pp. 178-179.
14. Ibid., pp. 374-375.
15. Ibid., p. 378.
16. Tornikes, Darrouzès, p. 237.
17. Varzos, p. 102.
18. Komnena, Sewter, p. 384.
19. Ibid., p. 386.
20. Diehl, Empresses, p. 201. When Diehl wrote that Eirene had seven children, he neglected to include the last two who were stillborn.
21. Italikos, Gautier, p. 149.
22. Ibid., pp. 149-150.
23. Ibid., p. 94.
Komnena, Sewter, p. 512. Anna also calls her mother "an intelligent woman".
24. Ibid., p. 77.
25. Niketas Choniates, Historia, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn: CSHB), vol. 46, 1835, pp. 10-11, (hereafter cited as Choniates).
26. Doukaina, col. 1089C, ch. 71; Jordan, p. 47.
27. Komnena, Sewter, p. 113. Anna writes that her father "...enjoyed a good education from his earliest years."
28. Ibid., pp. 31-32.
29. Ibid., pp. 109-110.
30. Bryennios, Gautier, p. 87; Nikephoros Bryennios, MPG 127, I, 6, p. 48, (hereafter cited as Bryennios).
31. Zonaras 3, p. 765.

32. Ibid., pp. 765-766.
33. Ibid., p. 766.
34. Matthew of Edessa, p. 300.
35. John of Antioch, trans. Paul Gautier, "Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis Ier Comnène," REB 28 (1970), p. 41.
36. Komnena, Sewter, p. 90.
37. Zonaras 3, p. 767. Translation in text by P. Charanis, "Byzantine Empire," p. 216.
38. Doukaina, Col. 1002C, 1004C. ch. 1; Jordan pp. 5-6. It is interesting to note that Eirene forbid the granting of her monastery to any person or institution under any circumstances. See Introduction C, n. 3.
39. Mango, Byzantium, pp. 58-59.
40. Komnena, Sewter, p. 106.

NOTES FOR PAGES 79 TO 85

CHAPTER 6 - EIRENE DOUKAINA: ROYAL MOTHER

1. Buckler, p. 393; Laiou, "The Role of Woman," pp. 234-235.
2. Dalven, p. 15.
3. McCabe, p. 211.
4. Zonaras 3, p.739.
5. Varzos, p. 256. See also Doukaina, col. 1005, ch.3, where Eirene refers to her daughter as a nun.
6. Doukaina, col. 1116C, ch. 80.
7. Komnena, Sewter, p. 513. Anna mentions Theodora was a widow when her father died. Her words are, "She had long suffered widowhood herself."
8. Choniates, p. 126.
Varzos, p. 261.
9. Zonaras 3, p. 740.
Choniates, p. 126..
10. Doukaina, col. 1093, ch. 71.
11. Choniates, p. 8.
12. Komnena, Sewter, p. 198.
13. Michael Glykas, Annales, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn: CSHB, 1836), p. 622, (hereafter cited as Glykas).
14. Choniates, p. 8.
15. Tornikes, Darrouzès, pp. 257-258.
16. Polemis, Doukai, p. 62.
17. Bryennios, Gautier, pp. 65-67.
18. Polemis, Doukai, p. 62.
Zonaras 3, p. 738 suggests it was Konstantinos' death which ended the betrothal, but this cannot be true since he died in 1094, and John was born in 1087.
19. Komnena, Sewter, pp. 280, 286.
20. Choniates, p. 8.

21. Laiou, "The Role of Women," pp. 237-239.
22. Runciman, p. 123.
23. Choniates, p. 8.
24. McCormack, p. 194 translates from Choniates, pp. 62-63: "He (John) was a man who governed the empire excellently and who lived a pious life. In morals he was not lax and licentious. He was generous in his donations and contributions, as his distributions to the citizens show, and as do the beautiful and great churches which he founded."
25. Zonaras 3, p. 748, notes that Andronikos was not on the king's side.
Komnena, Sewter, p. 485. Anna calls Andronikos "dearest of my brothers," an indication he supported her succession rights.
26. Rae Dalven, Anna Comnena (New York: Twayne Pub. Inc., 1972), pp. 88-89, suggests that Anna praised the husband of the sister she was closest to, i.e. Maria, and that her indifferent attitude towards Eudokia and her silence about Theodora may indicate they did not support her bid for the throne, or at the very least remained neutral in the family argument.
Komnena, Sewter, p. 511. Anna calls Maria "my beloved sister."
Tornikes, Darrouzès, p. 309, says Anna turned to her favourite sister (Maria) on her deathbed.
All these statements suggest that Maria in particular supported Anna in her bid for the throne, but at the same time they do not eliminate the possibility that Eudokia and Theodora were also on Anna's side.

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CHAPTER 7 - EIRENE AND ALEXIOS' LAST YEARS TOGETHER

1. Komnena, Sewter, p. 375.
2. Ibid., p. 376.
3. Ibid., p. 374-377.
4. Ibid., p. 376.
5. Ibid., p. 395-398.
6. Ibid., p. 404.
7. Theophylaktos of Bulgaria, MPG 126, col. 469B. Alchrida, Bulgaria was part of the Byzantine empire in 1108. It is now Ohrid in southern Yugoslavia.
8. Skoutariotes, Theodoros, Synopsis Chronike, ed. Konstantinos Sathas, MB 7 (Venice, Paris: 1894), p. 186. Choniates, p. 12.
9. Komnena, Sewter, p. 462.
10. Ibid., p. 473.
11. Ibid., p. 473-474.
12. Ibid., p. 474-476.
13. Ibid., p. 376.
14. Diehl, Empresses, p. 204.
15. Choniates, p. 17.
16. Ephraim, Ephraemii monachi Imperatorum et Patriarcharum Recencus, trans. A. Maio CSHB (1840) p. 161.
17. Komnena, Sewter, pp. 379-380.
18. Niketas Choniates, Q City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), pp. 5-6, (hereafter cited as Choniates, Magoulias).
19. Anna Dalassena retired voluntarily to the Monastery of Pantepoptes, which she founded in 1100 and died there in 1105. Komnena, Sewter, p. 195 and Dalven, p. 51.
20. Komnena, Sewter, p. 505.

21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p. 457.
23. Ibid., p. 507.
24. Ibid., p. 506.
25. Ibid., p. 508.
26. K. Alexandrides, "Über die Krankheiten des Kaisers Alexios I Komnenos," BZ 55 (1962), pp. 74-75.
27. Zonaras 3, p.758.
28. Komnena, Sewter, p. 511.
29. Ibid., p. 513.
30. Zonaras 3, pp. 761-763.
31. Choniates, Magoulias, p. 6.
32. Ibid., p. xvii.
33. Ibid., p. xvi.
34. Tornikes, Darrouzès, p. 269.
35. Komnena, Sewter, p. 512.

NOTES FOR PAGES 102 TO 109

CHAPTER 8 - EIRENE'S YEARS IN RETIREMENT

1. McCabe, p. 215, is mistaken when he says that Eirene changed her name to Xene when she retired after Alexios' death, and assumed a monastic name. According to Eirene (Doukaina, col. 1095C, ch.71), it was her mother who became Xene when she retired to a monastery after her husband died. No Byzantine source says Eirene became Xene. Moreover, McCabe's contention on p. 216 that Eirene was forced to adopt the monastic life she planned for her nuns cannot be accepted. His evidence is Eirene's appearance in nun's habit at the wedding of her grandson Manuel, which took place in 1142, after her death.
2. Skoutariotes, p. 186.
3. Italikos, Gautier, p. 149.
It should be noted that when Eirene travelled, certain members of her court must have accompanied her. Unfortunately, there is no information given in the sources regarding this.
4. Italikos, Gautier, p. 150-151.
5. Doukaina, col. 1001D, ch. 76; Jordan, p. 52.
6. Doukaina, col. 1109A, ch. 79; Jordan, p. 55.
7. Doukaina, col. 1120B, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 60.
8. Italikos, Gautier, p. 250, mentions the literary circle at the court of Eirene at Theotokos Kecharimene, and includes the princesses and the Caesar [Bryennios].
9. Ibid., pp. 92-97.
10. Eirene Palaiologina, Hero, p. 77. Information in a letter written by the Princess Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina between 1332 and 1338 to her spiritual adviser explaining why she does not leave her convent, may also be relevant to Eirene Doukaina's position:
Since I am closely related to the emperor, as you are well aware, if I ever went out, it would be absolutely necessary to attend imperial weddings and funerals and royal gatherings whether I wished it or not. This would require quite a number of attendants as well as a corresponding number of horses, and how would my fortune < suffice > for a royal retinue and household?
If Eirene Palaiologina could not afford such a royal retinue, Eirene Doukaina certainly could.
11. Prodrornos, Hörandner, p. 399. In this poem written to

celebrate the marriage of Alexios and Katai, Prodromos speaks of Eirene as, "Mother, mother of queens, the best. Who will ignore Eirene Doukaina the Empress?" He does not mention Alexios. The implication, therefore, is that Eirene was alive and Alexios was dead.

F. Chalandon, Jean II Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180), vol. 2 of Les Comnènes. Etudes sur l'Empire byzantin aux XIe et XIIe siècles (Paris: Burt Franklin, 1900. Reprint. N.Y.: Lennox Hil Pub., 1971), p. 5, (hereafter cited as Chalandon), dates the marriage to 1122.

Alexander Kazhdan, Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 93-94, suggests that the marriage could have taken place in 1118 and Alexios could be included amongst the 'grandparents' who were present. Since the Empress Eirene is specifically mentioned, however, would Alexios not be mentioned by name as well if he were alive and present?

12. Paul Gautier, "L'obituaire du typikon du Pantocrator," REB 27 (1969), p. 251, (hereafter cited as Gautier, "L'obituaire"), gives the 1130/31 date as the most likely date for Andronikos' death.

Varzos, p. 231, agrees with the 1130/31 date.

Kurtz, p. 86, says that Andronikos died in 1122; his conclusion is based on accepting the 1123 date for Eirene Doukaina's death.

13. Italikos, Gautier, pp. 87-88.
Varzos, pp. 231-233..

14. John Komnenos, p. 41, states that Bryennios was already dead by October of 1136.

Komnena, Sewter, pp. 19-20, says Bryennios died after John's military expedition against Antioch, which has been dated to 1137/38. Since Anna is sometimes vague about battles, however, this information may be misleading.

Gautier, "L'obituaire," pp. 251-252, suggests a date between 1136/38.

Chalandon, p. 17, suggests Bryennios died before John went to Antioch, in 1136-37.

Prodromos, Hörandner, p. 186 gives 1130/31 as the date for Bryennios' death.

Most secondary sources have accepted the later date for Bryennios' death. In light of the information provided by Prodromos, however, the earlier date of 1130/31 seems more certain.

15. Choniates, p. 28.
Gautier, "L'obituaire," pp. 249-250.

16. John Kinnamos, Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus, trans. Charles M. Brand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 34.

17. McCabe, p. 216, indicates that Eirene was present at the wedding of her grandson Emperor Manuel with another Eirene, but this cannot be possible because the marriage took place in 1142, after Eirene Doukaina's death.

Polemis, The Doukai, p. 72, notes that a reference to the Emperor Alexios' wife by Kinammos, Ioannis Cinnami Epitome Rerum ab Ioanne et Alexis Comnenis Gestarum, rec. A. Meineke (Bonn: 1836), p. 36 is misleading because it actually refers to the brother of Emperor Manuel named Alexios, who had been crowned by his father John II, but never ruled as Emperor. This could account for McCabe's error.

18. Doukaina, col. 1109A, ch.79; Jordan, p. 55.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., col. 1116A, ch. 79; Jordan, p. 58.

21. Isaak Komnenos, ch. 95, p. 65.

Harry Tutledove, The Chronicle of Theophanes (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), Introduction, p. 23. An indiction was originally a fifteen-year cycle used in reassessing taxes. Though this use was obsolete long before the twelfth century, it survived to become a Byzantine means of calculating time. An event was therefore dated by saying that it took place in, for example, the sixth year of the indiction, or usually shortened to the sixth indiction.

22. John Komnenos, p. 41.

23. Chalandon, p. 15, n.2.

24. Varzos, p. 106, n. 159 mentions that the extant copy we have of the Typikon of Kosmosoteira is not original.

25. Doukaina, Gautier, Intro., p. 9.

26. Kazhdan, Studies, pp. 97-98.

27. Doukaina, Gautier, Intro., p. 14.

28. Doukaina, col. 1109B, ch. 79; Jordan, p. 55.

29. Frolow, p. 315.

30. Isaak Komnenos, ch. 95, p. 65.

31. Varzos, p. 107.

32. Two examples of Varzos biased attitude are: on p. 105, he describes Eirene and Anna as "ambitious women who in a

crisis exploded in madness and illogical fury~; on pp. 106-107, ~she (Eirene) died in an totally peaceful environment, in garish contrast to the noisy scene of the dying moment of her husband.~

33. Skoutariotes, p. 186;

Choniates, p. 12, also says Alexius' corpse was brought to Christos Philanthropos.

34. Konstantinos Manasses, "Logos Epikedeios tou Philosophou Konstantinou tou Manasse pros ton apoichomenon eis ton epi ton deiseon Kyron Nikiphoron ton Komnenon ton ekgonou tou Kaisaros," trans., E. Kurtz VV 17 (1910), p. 306, (hereafter cited as Manasses).

35. Manasses, p. 306.

Isaak Komnenos, p. 65, para. 95, also mentions the myron which sprung from Eirene's grave.

36. Varzos, p. 112.

37. Doukaina, col. 1101D, ch. 76; Jordan, p. 52.

William Holden Hutton, Mediaeval Towns, Constantinople (London:J.M. Dent & Co., 1909), p. 265. Hutton gives some curious evidence to argue against Eirene's burial alongside her husband. He says that the tombs of Alexios and his daughter Anna, located in Agia Maria Pammakaristos: "...were destroyed when Murad III turned the church into a mosque" in 1586. He doesn't mention Eirene's tomb. Nor does he mention the source for his information.

NOTES FOR PAGES 110 TO 116

CHAPTER 9 - CONCLUSION

1. Zonaras 3, pp. 761-763, 765.
2. Italikos, Gautier, pp. 92-97.
3. Choniates, p. 8.
4. Diehl, p. 225.
5. Polemis, p. 72.
6. Varzos, p. 107.
7. Laiou, "Observations," p. 87.
8. Weyl-Carr, "Women and Monasticism," p. 11.
9. Rosemary Morris, "Monasteries and their Patrons in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," BF 10 (1985), pp. 177-231.
Alice Mary Talbot, "Blue Stocking Nuns," pp. 604-618.
10. Italikos, Gautier, p. 147.
11. Doukaina, col. 1116C, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 59. Eirene's granddaughter was known by her maternal grandmother's name.
12. Ibid., col. 1001C, ch. 1; Jordan, p. 5.
13. Komnena, Sewter, pp. 18-19. Anna says she wrote the history of her father's reign to complete the task begun by her husband Bryennios, who had been ordered to do so by the empress Eirene Doukaina.
14. Ibid., col. 1001A, Intro; Jordan, p. 4.

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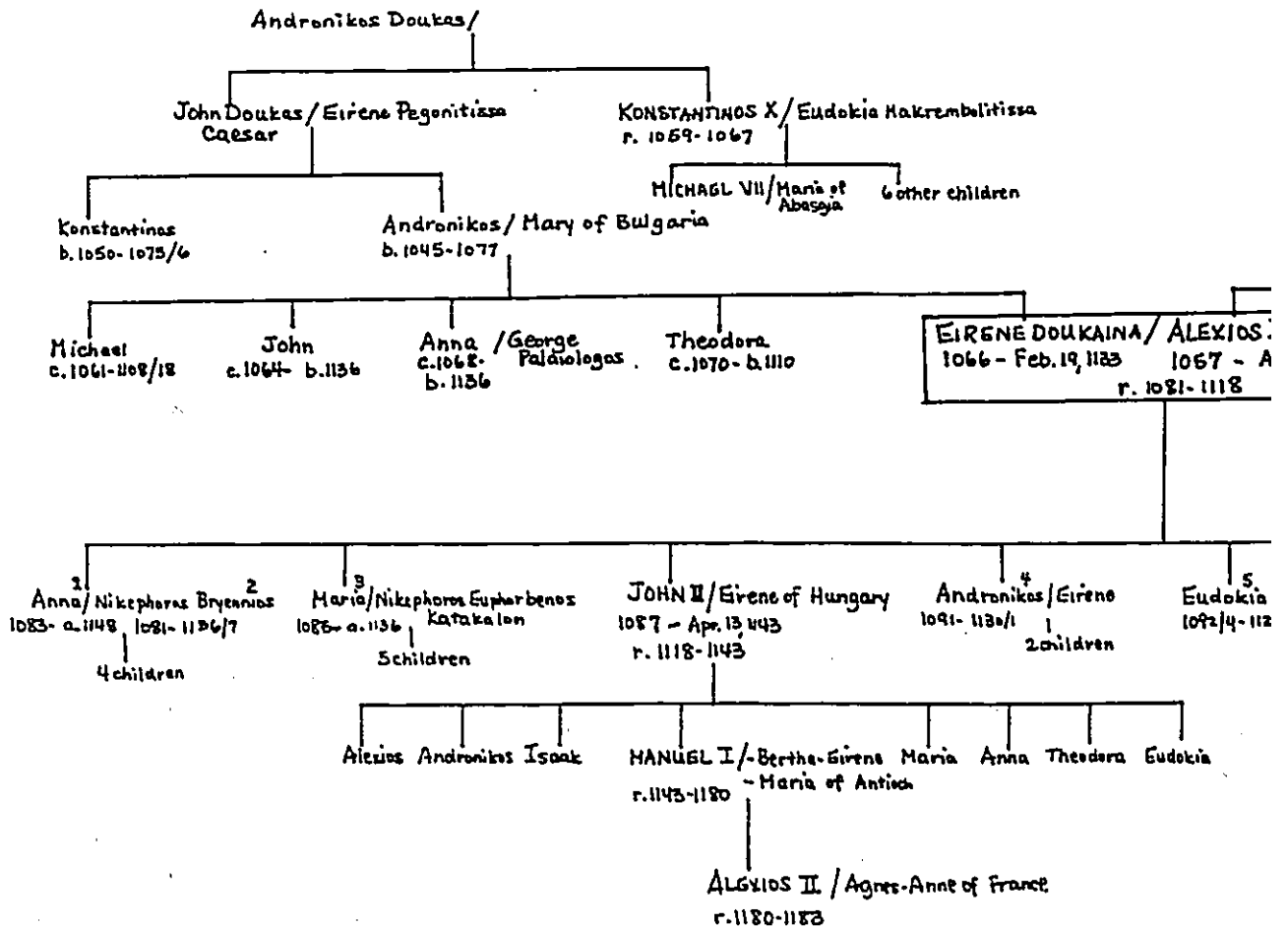
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GENEALOGICAL CHART OF EIRENE DOU

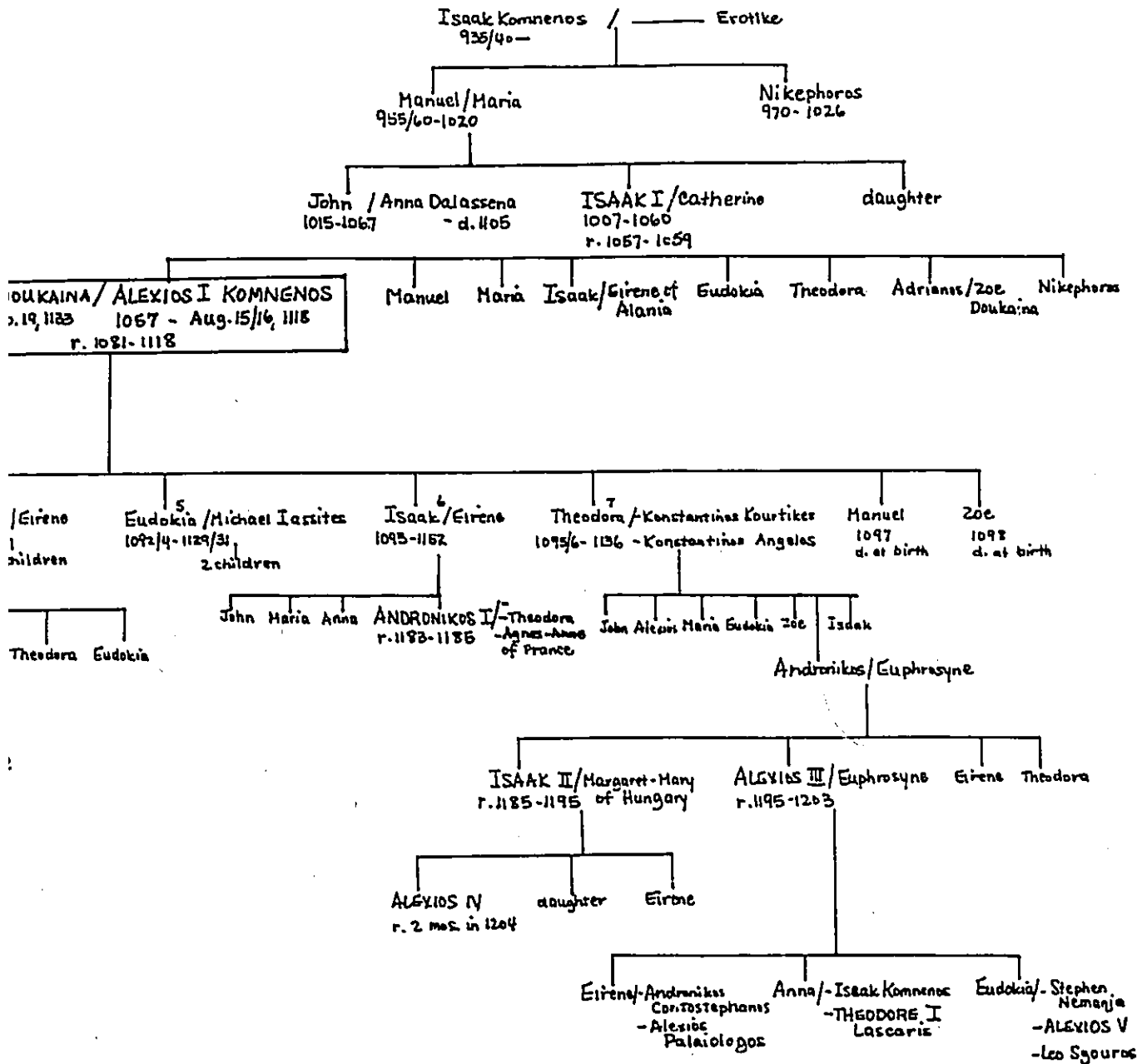


ABBREV.
 a. after
 b. before
 c. circa
 d. died
 r. reigned

Eirene Doukaina's husband, son, grandsons and descendants ruled the Byzantine Empire for 372 years, until the Turks captured Konstantinople on May 29

THE DOUKAINA AND ALEXIOS KOMNENOS

APPENDIX I



ruled the Byzantine
 Constantinople on May 29, 1163

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NOTES

1. Komnena, Sewter, p. 196. Anna says she was born on Saturday, December 1, in the seventh indiction (1083).
Varzos, p. 176, writes that Anna died between 1148-55.
Polemis, p. 135, says Anna died a little after 1148.
Tornikes, Darrouzès, p. 220, no. 1. Darrouzès says that Tornikes wrote his Funeral Oration for Anna in 1154-55.
2. Varzos, p. 207, writes that Bryennios was born in 1081.

Komnenos, pp. 251-252, mentions that Bryennios was dead by 1136.

Komnena, Sewter, pp. 19-20. Anna says that her husband Bryennios died in 1137/38.

Gautier, p. 252, places his death between 1136-38.

3. Varzos, p. 207, writes that Maria died after 1136.

Tornikes, Darrouzès, p. 309, mentions that on Anna Komnena's deathbed, she turned to her favourite sister.

Ibid., p. 308, n. 96. Darrouzès accepts that this sister was Maria.

Komnena, Sewter, p. 511. Anna calls Maria "my beloved sister".

The indication is that this favourite sister was Maria and that she was still alive when Anna died. A date for Maria's death should, therefore, be considered after Anna's death.

4. Polemis, p. 74, writes that Andronikos was born in 1098. Kazhdan, p. 236, states that Andronikos was born in 1091.

Varzos, p. 229, agrees that Andronikos was born in 1091.

The latter date seems more acceptable if one takes into consideration that Zoe was born in 1098.

5. Polemis, p. 74, says that Eudokia was born c. 1092.

Kazhdan, p. 236, states Eudokia was born in 1094.

Varzos, p. 254, agrees that Eudokia was born in 1094, and adds that she died c. 1129.

6. Varzos, p. 238, records that Isaak was born in 1093.

Kazhdan, p. 236, agrees that Isaak was born in 1093.

Polemis, p. 74, says Isaak was born in 1100.

The 1093 date seems more reasonable since it is doubtful that Eirene had any more pregnancies after 1098.

7. Varzos, p. 259, mentions that Theodora was born in 1096 and died after 1136.

Kazhdan, p. 236, also says that Theodora was born in 1096.

Polemis, p. 74, says that Theodora was born c. 1095.

8. Tornikes, Darrouzès, p. 305, n. 90. Darrouzès says Eirene died in 1133.

Chalandon, p. 15, n. 2, writes that Eirene died in 1133.

Kurtz, p. 74, picks 1123 as the year Eirene died.

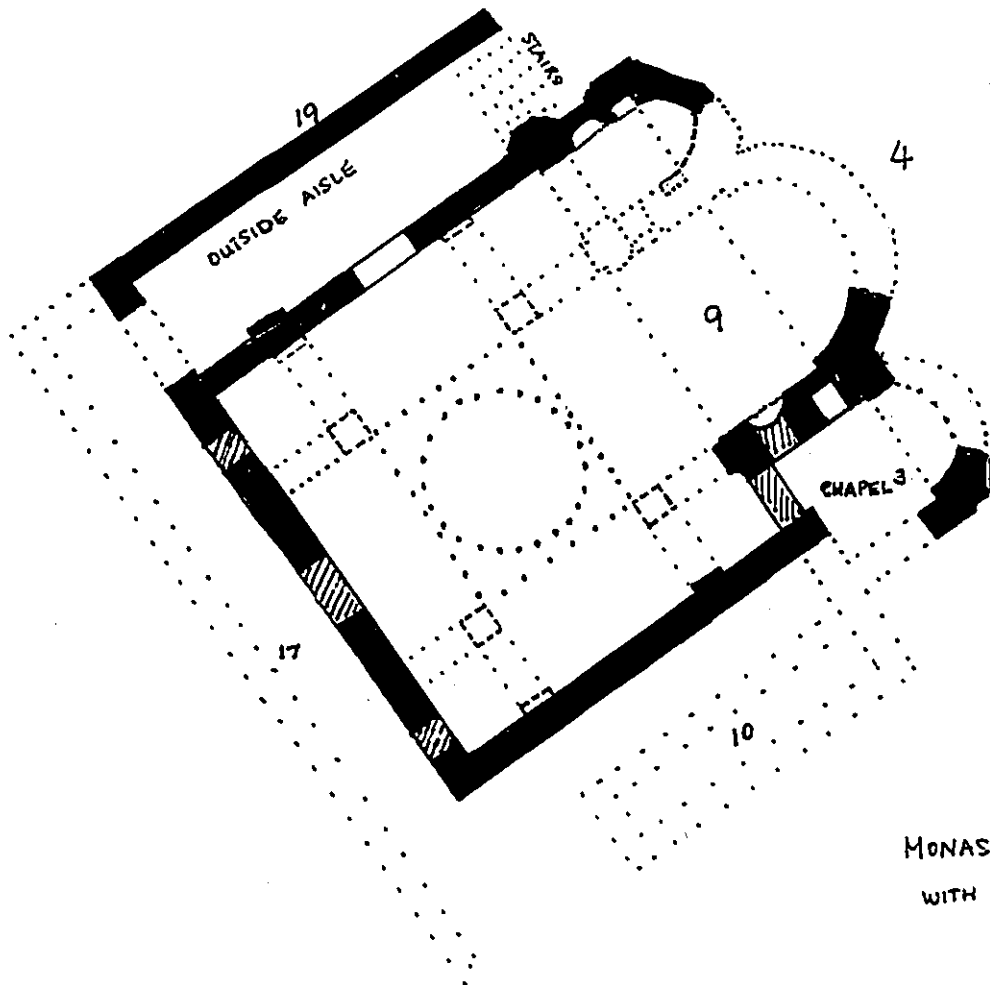
Gautier, pp. 245-247, says the most likely date for Eirene's death is 1133.

Polemis, p. 71, also chooses 1123 as the year for Eirene's death.

NO INFORMATION ON NORTH WALL ¹⁸

APPROX. 500 M.
SOUTH-WEST LIES
THE GATE OF
CHARISIOS ⁸

CHURCH ²



OUTSIDE
ICONOSTASIS ¹⁵

COLONNADE
OF THE
CHURCH ¹⁶

MONASTERY BUILDINGS
WITH OAK BALCONIES

WALL DIVIDING
KECHARITOMENE AND
PHILANTHROPOS
MONASTERIES

PRESENT SITE OF KASHI AKA
HESLIDI MOSQUE IDENTIFIED
WITH PHILANTHROPOS

DESCRIPTION IN
MANUSCRIPT BEGINS
HERE

INFIRMARY
CELLS ¹⁶

ENTRY
GATE ¹²

PUBLIC ROAD

ST. ANNE DEUTERON LOCATED ACROSS FROM PUBLIC ROAD ¹³

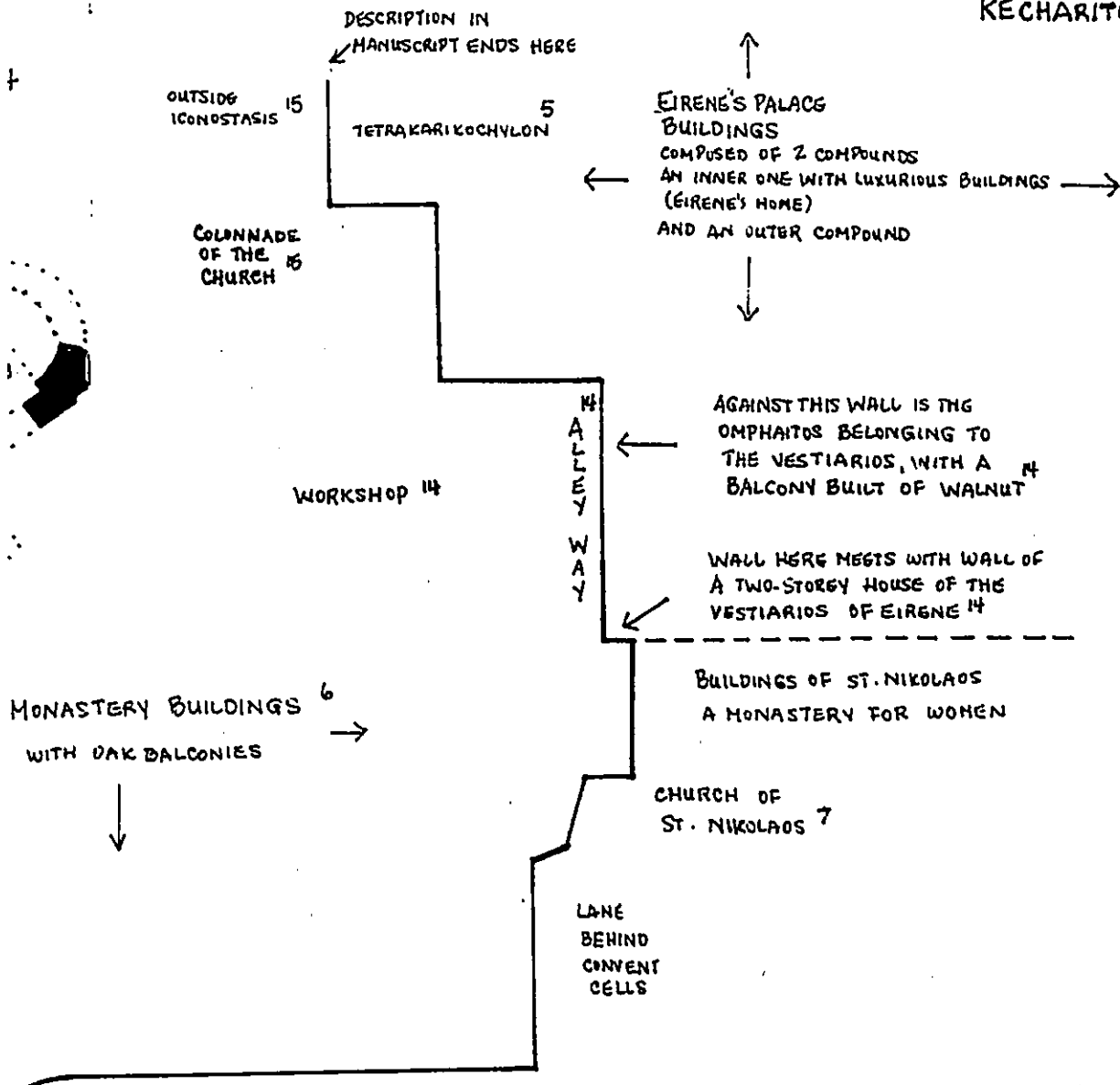
SCALE: 6 cubits = approx. 6 feet
= 2.0288 meters



- WALL DESCRIBED IN TYPICON
- - - PRESUMED WALL OR COLUMN
- RECONSTRUCTION
- ==== EXISTING WALL

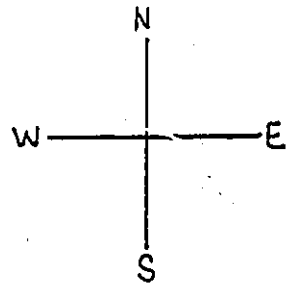
APPENDIX II

DELINEATION OF
THE MONASTERY
OF THEOTOKOS
KECHARITOMENE¹



FROM PUBLIC ROAD 13

THE MONASTERY OF THEOTOKOS KECHARITOMENE IS LOCATED AT THE TOP OF PETRA VALLEY ON A SLOPE DESCENDING FROM THE AETIOS CISTERN AND SOUTH-WEST FROM THE CHURCH OF CHORA 8



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-

NOTES

1. The basic information on the description of the monastic property is taken from Doukaina, col. 1108C-1116A, ch. 79; Jordan, pp. 55-58.

The small size of the property is confirmed by Eirene who writes that the area was a 'confined' one, not large enough to provide for burial grounds for the nuns. Doukaina, col. 1085B/C, ch. 70; Jordan, pp. 45-46.

2. The plan of the church is a composite of Brunov's two plans: on page 354 there is a plan of the existing walls in 1926, and on page 355 there exists his reconstruction of the church. Brunov used different scales for each plan which differ from the scale used in my plan. I have attempted to adapt them as accurately as possible.

Janin, p. 141, says that in 1622 the church had a ceiling

with paintings on the cupola.

The problems of the identification of this church with the church of Kecharitomene have been discussed in chapter 4. Since the site now has new buildings covering most of the remains of the church, it is unlikely any further examination will be possible. Of the four archaeologists who studied the site, Mamboury made only preliminary observations; Brunov investigated it more thoroughly drawing the only existing plan; Alpatov reported on the chambers in the substructure of the church and the frescoes; Schazmann partially excavated the site and surveyed the substructure. Schazmann discovered earlier foundations which he dated to the seventh century AD, and reported that although the chambers were built for structural purpose, they had been used for burials and were once decorated with frescoes. See Matthews, p. 25.

3. This was a private chapel for the use of the founder.

Alpatov, pp. 373-379 describes frescoes in the chapel which depicted the life of the Virgin Mary.

4. Mamboury, p. 73, describes the substructure of the building on the north-east side as having fifteen small chambers with cupolas, which were connected with each other and covered in dark blue frescoes.

Janin, p. 141 discusses the three levels of the substructure of the church: first, the sixteen funerary chambers; second, the crypt with paintings; and third, the lowest level without paintings.

5. Doukaina, col. 1120C, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 61. The purpose of this building is not known.

6. Ibid., col. 1012C, ch. 5; Jordan, p. 10. Eirene specified that twenty-four nuns should normally live in the Monastery, and never more than forty. This did not include the mother superior and two girls (orphans?) who were to be raised and educated there.

7. Doukaina, col. 1120A, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 60.

Palazzo, p. 13, identifies St. Nikolaos as the present mosque of Kefeli Mesdjidi. If we compare the present location of Kefeli Mesdjidi, however, with the location of St. Nikolaos mentioned in Eirene's typikon, we find that it is situated north-east of the present site of Kecharitomene. According to Eirene's typikon, it should lie south-east of the Monastery of Kecharitomene..

8. During my trips to Istanbul in Sept/Oct 1987, I visited the location of the mosque of Odalar Djami, thought to be the Church of Kecharitomene, and attempted to match the information given in the typikon and the secondary sources with the modern site. Unfortunately, much of the structure has been obliterated by modern buildings, and as far as I could see, only the wall of the west entrance to the church

still stands. The remains of the church close to the west wall, believed to belong to Christos Philanthropos, form the foundation of the Mosque of Kasim Aga Mescida. It is interesting that the modern street named Odalari now lies where the outside aisle of the Church of Kecharitomene was located on the map, and the street block is built around the foundations of both churches. The site is on the north-east side of the Aetios cistern, now a football stadium, and eight or nine blocks from the Gate of Charisios, now called Edrini Gate, meaning Victory Gate, since it is from here that the Turks first entered the city on May 29, 1453. From this gate the Turks continued South on the main street now named Fevzi Pasa, which leads to St. Sophia and the Great Palace. A main street going north-east from the Gate leads to the Palace of Blachaernae. The site, situated at the top of a small hill which slopes towards the Golden Horn, is within a forty minute walk from the following churches:

Chora - (Kariye Djami)
originally founded by Eirene Doukaina's mother, Mary of Bulgaria, between 1077-1081, and rebuilt by Eirene's son Isaak Komnenos c. 1120. Mathews, p. 41

Christos Pantocrator and Theotokos Eleousa -
(Keyrek Djami)
founded by John II Komnenos and his wife Eirene in 1136. Mathews, p. 71.

Theotokos Pammakaristos - (Fethiye Djami)
founded in the twelfth century by a John Komnenos, an unknown descendant of Eirene Doukaina. Mathews, p. 36.

Christos Pantepoptes - (Eski Imaret Djami)
founded by Anna Dalassena, Eirene's mother-in-law.

9. Palazzo, p. 2 mentions that an anonymous description from 1623-1640 describes an icon of the Virgin Mary in the Dominican Church of St. Mary, the church that became the mosque of Odalar Djami in 1640.

Palazzo and Raineri, p. 38 state that this icon was brought to the Dominican Church of St. Peter from the Church of St. Mary when it was closed in 1636.

It is interesting to speculate that this eleventh century icon may have been the icon mentioned by Eirene (col. 1117B, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 60) which was in the Church of the Monastery of Kecharitomene.

10. Brunov, p. 358, suggests this may have been another cistern.

Mamboury, p. 70, describes a covered cistern with twenty columns.

Doukaina, col. 1084D-1086A, ch. 69; Jordan, p. 45, mentions "two cisterns of equal capacity have been constructed", one for the imperial houses, and one for the monastery.

Freely, p. 223, describes the same covered cistern, but there is no trace of it visible today.

11. Doukaina, col. 1109B, ch. 79; Jordan, p. 55. This wall is described as beginning at the entry gate and situated between the two monasteries.

12. The double-barred section is, I believe, the section of wall which can be seen today behind the Kasim Aga Mescidi Mosque.

13. Doukaina, col. 1117D, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 60.

14. Doukaina, col. 1120B, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 60.

15. Doukaina, col. 1120C, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 61.

16. Doukaina, col. 1117D, ch. 80; Jordan, p. 60

17. Doukaina, col. 10 , ch. 73; Jordan, p. 50.

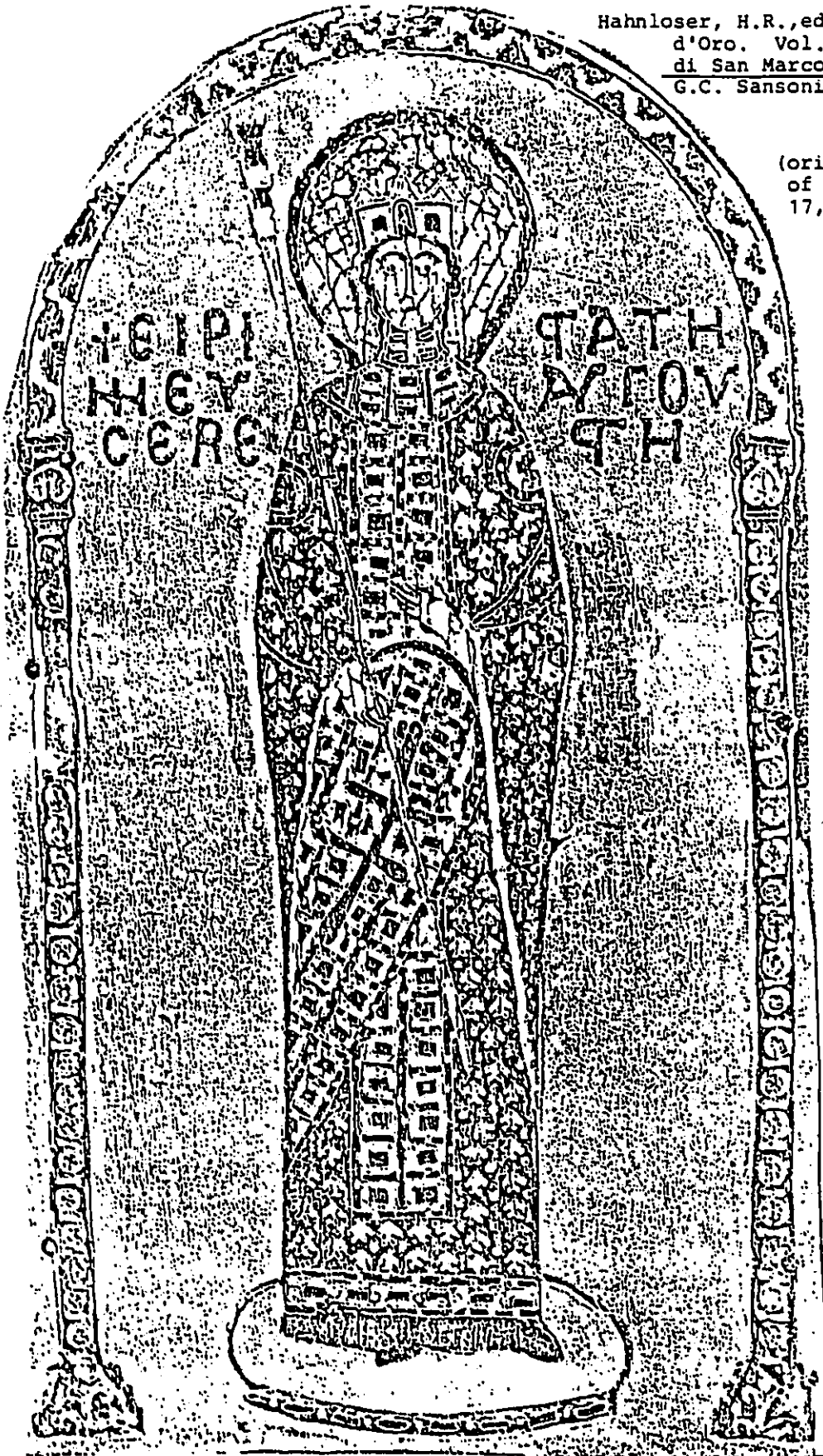
The church had an narthex and exonarthex as Eirene states: "...and I still remaining in this life have completed all the buildings of the convent, transforming it the divine church itself, restoring the very beautiful narthex, and adding an exonarthex of walnut wood and have built the whole convent to reach this form and state that I have decided...."

18. Doukaina, col. 1109B, ch. 79; Jordan, p. 55. In this passage Eirene says that Anna should have: "...the church of St. Demetrios, with two bathhouses and a third of the spring water that is brought into the bathhouses of the convent, that is, just as they are occupied by me..." These buildings could have been either on the north side of the convent or on the east.

19. The north wall of the outside aisle is, I believe, the section of the wall which exists today facing Odalari Street.

Hahnloser, H.R., ed. La Pala
d'Oro. Vol.1, Il Tesoro
di San Marco. Florence.
G.C. Sansoni, 1965, Fig.2.

(original size
of enamel -
17,4 x 11,3 cm.)



ΕΙΡΗΗΡΗΕΝΧΩ
 ΩΘΩΠΙΓΗΒΟΥ
 ΣΤΑΥΡΟΥΡΩ
 ΜΑΩΝΗΣΘ
 ΚΑΝΑ

Ειρήνη εν Χριστώ

Τῷ Θεῷ Πιστῇ

Βασίλισσα Ῥωμαίων

Ἡ Δούκαινα

Facsimile of Eirène Deukaina's signature.

APPENDIX IV

A LIST OF BYZANTINE EMPERORS AND EMPRESSES
FROM ISAAK I KOMNENOS TO THE LAST RULING DESCENDANT
OF EIRENE DOUKAINA AND ALEXIOS KOMNENOS
1057 TO 1453 AD

Isaak I Komnenos / Catherine
1057-1059

Doukas
Dynasty

Konstantinos X Doukas / Eudokia Makrembolitissa
1059-1067
Eudokia Makrembolitissa - Regent / Michael VII Parapinaces
1067-1078
Romanos IV Diogenes / Eudokia Makrembolitissa
1068-1071
Eudokia Makrembolitissa
1071
Michael VII Doukas / Maria of Alania
1071-1078
Nikephoros III Botaniates / Maria of Alania
1078-1081

Komnenian
Dynasty

Alexios I Komnenos / Eirene Doukaina
1081-1118
John II Komnenos / Eirene of Hungary
1118-1143
Manuel I Komnenos / Berthe-Eirene
1143-1180 / Maria of Antioch
Maria of Antioch - Regent / Alexios II Komnenos
1180-1182
Alexios II Komnenos / Agnes-Anne of France
1182-1183
Andronikos I Komnenos / Agnes-Anne of France
1183-1185 / Theodora

Angelos
Dynasty

Isaak II Angelos / Margaret-Mary of Hungary
1185-1195
Alexios III Angelos / Euphrosyne
1195-1203
Isaak II Angelos and Alexios IV Angelos
1203-1204
Alexios V Doukas Murtzuphlos / Eudokia Angelou
2 mos. in 1204

Lascard
Dynasty
 (ruled
 from Nikaia
 during
 Latin
 conquest
 1204-1261)

Theodore I Lascaris / Anna Angelou
 1204-1222
 John III Doukas Vatatzes / Eirene Lascari
 1222-1254
 Theodore II Lascaris Vatatzes
 1254-1258
 Michael VIII Palaiologos - Regent / John IV Doukas
 1258
 Vatatzes

Palaiologan
Dynasty

Michael VIII Palaiologos / Theodora Palaiologina
 1258-1282
 Andronikos II Palaiologos / Anna of Hungary
 1282-1328 / Eirene of Montferrat
 Andronikos III Palaiologos / Anne of Savoy
 1328-1341
 Anne of Savoy - Regent / John V Palaiologos
 1341-1347
 John VI Cantacuzene
 1347-1355
 John V Palaiologos
 1355-1376
 Andronikos IV Palaiologos
 1376-1379
 John V Palaiologos
 1379-1390
 John VII Palaiologos
 1390
 John V Palaiologos
 1390-1391
 Manuel II Palaiologos / Helen
 1391-1425
 John VIII Palaiologos / unknown
 1425-1448 / a princess of Trebizond
 Konstantinos X Dragases
 1448-1453

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Β 2. Τῷ ἄνακτι Ἀλεξίῳ τῷ Κομνηνῷ υἱοὶ τρεῖς καὶ θυγατέρες τέσσαρες ἐγενήθητο. ἦν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ὁ Ἰωάννης κατὰ γένεσιν προφερέστερος, πρωτογενῆς δ' ἀπάντων τῶν ἐξ ὄσφους τῆ Ἀλεξίου ἢ θυγατρὸς Ἄννα καθωρῶτο, ἥτις εἰς λέχος τῆ Βρυέντιο Νικηφόρου συνέζευκτο, τιμηθεῖσα Κμισά-5 ρισσα. ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖνον καὶ τοκεὺς Ἀλέξιος μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων καίδων τῆ Ἰωάννη προσέκειτο. ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τοῦτον ἐπικρίνας τῆς βασιλείας διώδοχον καταλείψειν θρυσθροῦ τέ οἱ κεδίλου μεταδίδωκε καὶ βασιλείῳ ἐδεδόκει ἀναγορεύεσθαι. ἦ δὲ μήτηρ καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἐιρήνη τῆ θυγατρὶ Ἄννη, τὴν πᾶσαν ἰο-10 ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου χαρίζομένη ἔσκη ἔκ ἀνίας παρὰ τῆ συλλέ-
 Cκτρον Ἀλεξίῳ τὸν Ἰωάννην. ἐνδιαβάλλουσα, πρᾶκτεν τοῦτον ἀποκαλοῦσα, καὶ ὄργον τὸν βίον ἐπιτωθάζουσα, παλιταρο-
 φόν τε τὰ ἥθος καὶ μηδαμῆ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ἔχοντα, καὶ τιθε-
 μένη διὰ παντὸς ἀσχολίας πάσης ἀνώτερον σπουδασμα ὅπως 15
 V. ἢ μεταδοίτο τὴν γνώμην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν εἶχεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κυρω-
 σάμενος. ἄναχον δὲ καὶ λόγον πρόφασιν τὸν Βρυέντιον πα-
 ρεισφύρουσα, παντοίοις αὐτὸν ἐπαινοῖς κατίστεφεν ἄτε εἰπεῖν
 ἰκνωτάτον καὶ ἐνὶ ἐλαττονα διαπρυξασθαι, καὶ μαθημάτων
 ἐλευθερίων μεταλαχόντα, εὐθμιζέιν τε ἥθος εἰδόντων καὶ πρὸς 20
 βασιλείῳν ἀδαιλώβητον οὐ βραχέα συναιρομένων τοῖς ἀρχεῖν
 μέλλουσιν. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξιος ταῦτα ἐνωτιζόμενος καὶ τὸ μητρῶον φιλ-
 Διτρον ἐπιστάμενος, πῆ μὲν ἄλλοις ἐκ τοῦ σχεδὸν κατεπαίγουσι
 πρῶγμασι χαρίζεσθαι τὸν νοῦν πλαττάμενος οὐδὲ προσέχειν
 ὅλας τοῖς λογομένοις προσέκειτο, πῆ δ' ἐς σκέψιν ἀπολύων τὰ 25
 9. ἐνδύκει Α. 14. ἔχοντα οα. Α.

ἰσηγούμενου μὴ ἂν τὴν αἴτησιν αὐτῆς παραβλέψασθαι ἰσχυ-
 ρεῖτο. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι παθηνύμενος εἶρηκεν „ὦ
 γύναι, κοινὸν μοι λέχος καὶ βασιλείας, οὐ τὰ πρὸς χάριν
 πύση τῆς σῆς ἐποτιθιμένη μοι θυγατρὸς, ἀρμονίαν τε καὶ
 5 ἐμὴν ἐπιχειροῦσα λύειν ἐπαινετήν, ὡς εἶπερ θεοβλαβείας με-
 τίσχηκας; βῆλλ' ἔς. τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἢ μᾶλλον δεῦρο κοινῆ
 συνδιασκεψόμεθα, καὶ γνωσόμεθα τίς ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν προῶν
 τὰ Ῥωμαίων σῆπτερον παρεληφότεων, υἱὸν ἔχων ἀρμόδιον εἰς
 ἀρχήν, τοῦτον μὲν παρεβλέψατα γαμβρὸν δὲ ἀνθελετο; εἰ
 10 δὲ ποτε καὶ τοιόνδε τι συμβέβηκεν, οὐ νόμον ὦ γύναι τὸ
 σπάνιον ἠγησόμεθα. ἔκ' ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ μάλα καλυρὸν γελάσει 9.5
 τὸ Πενρωμαίον, καὶ τῶν φρενῶν κριθείη ἀποπεσῶν, εἰ τὴν
 βασιλείαν οὐκ ἐπαινετῶς. εἰληφῶς ἄλλ' αἵμασιν δημογενῶν καὶ
 μεθύοις, Χριστιανικῶν ἀφιστιμέναις θεσμῶν, δεῖσαν ταύ-
 15 τῆς ἀφεικίνας διαδόχοι, τὸν μὲν ἐξ ὄσφους ἀποπεμψαίμην,
 τὸν δὲ Μακεδόνα εἰσακισαίμην,“ τὸν Βρυέντιον οὕτω λέγων,
 ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐξ Ὀρειτιάδος ὤρηκτο μία δ' αὐτῆ τῶν εὐδαιμό-
 των καὶ κρατίστον παρὰ Μακεδόσιν πόλειον. τοιαῦτα πρὸς
 τὴν βασιλισσάν. Εἰρήνην ἐμβριθῶς ὁ Ἀλέξιος φάμενος, ὅμως
 20 καὶ πάλιν τὸν μηδαμῶς ἀπειπόντα ὑποκρινόμενος, διῆγε τὴν
 γυναῖκα σκηπτόμενος αἰεὶ τὸν σκεπτόμενον. ἦν γὰρ, εἰ Β
 καὶ τίς ἄλλος, κρυψίνους ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, καὶ σοφὸν ἠγού-
 μενος αἰεὶ τὸ περίεργον, μηδὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἐξαγγελτικὸς τοῦ
 ποιητέου δεικνύμενος. ἐγγίζοντας δὲ οἱ τοῦ τέρατος τῆς
 25 ζωῆς ὁ μὲν ἔπειτο πνέων τὰ λοιόδια ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν

μονήν τῶν Πλαγγάνων λαμπροτάτοις οἰκοδομήμασιν, ὃ δὲ
 καὶς Ἰωάννης τὸν πατέρα ὄρων τῇ τελευταίῃ πλησιάζοντα, καὶ
 τὴν μητέρα εἰδὼς ὑποστέργουσαν καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ τὴν βασι-
 λείαν μενομένην, κοινοῦται τὸ ποιητέον τοῖς ἐκ τῆς συγγενεί-
 ας ἐκείνη φίλα φρονούσιν, ὧν τὰ κράτιστα ἦν ὁ ἀδελφός 5
 Ἰσαάκιος. καὶ δὴ λαθῶν τὴν μητέρα εἰσεῖσι τὸν κοιτῶνα τὸν
 πατρικόν, καὶ προσπεσὼν ὡς δῆθεν θρηνησῶν ὑφαιρέσκει
 λάδρα τῆς ἐκείνου χειρὸς τὸν σφραγιστήρα δακτυλίον. εἰσι
 C δ' οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν φασὶ τόδε πεποιηκέναι,
 ὡς εἰδῶσιν ἐννοεῖν τὰ μετὰ βραχὺ ῥηθησόμενα. αὐτίκα τοῖ- 10
 νυν δ' Ἰωάννης τοὺς ἀπίστορας ἠθροικῶς καὶ τὸ πραχθῆν
 ἠγγέλκως ἐπὶ κέλτος μεθ' ὄκλων πρὸς τὸ μέγιστον ἀρχαῖον
 ἐξώρησε, κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Πλαγγάνων μονὴν καὶ τὰς
 ἀγυιάς ὁμοίως τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ κλήθους τοῦ σύμφρονος καὶ
 τῶν κατὰ φήμην τῶν δρωμένων σφραγιζομένων ὠστυπλόων 15
 βασιλεὺς αὐτοκράτωρ ἀνεστημιόμενος. ἡ βασιλὶς δὲ Εἰρήνη
 καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰωάννου πρὸς τῶν οὕτω γινομένων ἐκθιμμβη-
 θείσα στείλασα μεταπέμπετο τὸν υἱὸν, καὶ παρήγει τῶν ἐν
 χερσὶν ἀποσχέσθαι. ὡς δ' ἦν ὄλος τῶν δρωμένων ὁ Ἰωάν-
 νης καὶ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον τῆς μητρὸς ἀπεστρέφετο, τὸν 20
 D Βενέτιον ἐπιρρώωνυσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ συναρρηούσης
 αὐτῆς. ὡς δ' οὐδ' οὕτω τὰ κατὰ σκέψιν ἑώρα προβαίνοντα,
 πρόσσισι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ κλήτης ἐρριμμένῳ καὶ βραχίαις ἀνα-
 προαῖς τὸν ζῶντα ὑποσημαίνοντι, καὶ βαλοῦσα ἑαυτὴν τῷ

9. τόδε πεποιηκέναι | τὴν τῆς χειρὸς ὑφαιρέσθαι σφραγίδα Ἀ.

σώματι καταβοῶται λαμπρῶς τοῦ υἱός, ὡς κρήνη μελύν-
 θρος τὰ δάκρυα χέουσα, ὅπως αὐτοῦ τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐτι συντακ- V. 5
 τούτων τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτος κλωπεύει, εἰς ἔργα βλέψας νεώ-
 τερα. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν τι πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπεκρίνατο, ἄλλοις
 βλασητέροις, οἷα εἰκός, τὸ τῆς ζωῆς βραβεύων λιπόμενον,
 τῆς τε μετ' οὐ καλῶ ἐκδημίας φροντίζων καὶ τοῖς ψυχαιωτοῖς
 ἀγγέλοις ῥέπων τὰ ὄμματα. ἀγκυμμένης δὲ λιπαριστέρας τῆς
 βασιλίδος καὶ μὴ ἐνεγκεῖν ὄλος ἀχούσης τὰ παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς
 γινόμενα, βραχὺ τι παρεμφήνας καὶ βεβιασμένον μειδιάμα δ
 10 Ἀλέξιος τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέσχεν εἰς οὐρανόν, ἵσως μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς P. 6
 ἀφηγηταῖσι διαχρυσίς καὶ θύμῳ ὑπὲρ τούτων θιγῶ χριστιή-
 ρια, εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ κέρτομον καὶ σεσηρὸς τῇ γυναικὶ ἐνιδῶν
 ὡς λόγους ἀνακινούσῃ περὶ ἀρχῆς ὅσα ψυχῆς ἐφειστήκει διά-
 στασις ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, ἢ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐξιλαιούμενος ἐφ' οἷς
 15 περὶ καὶ παρεσφόρη τοῦ θεόντος. ἡ γυνὴ δ' οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ἀναμ-
 φιλέτου χάρειν οἰηθείσα τὸν ἄνδρα δι' ὅσα παρ' αὐτῆς
 ἠρώταστο, ὡς ἦδη τῶν προτέρων ἐλπίδων διεψευσμένη παν-
 τάπασι καὶ διασφαλεῖσα τῶν ὑποσχέσεων, βύθιον στενύζασα
 εἶρηκεν „ὦ ἄνερ, καὶ ζῶν παντοίαις μεθοδεῖαις ἐπέκυσσ,
 20 ἀντιφθογγὸν τὴν γλῶτταν πλουτῶν τοῖς νεήμασι, καὶ νῦν δὲ
 ὡσαύτως τοῦ βίβου ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἀμεταπώτως ἔχεις οἷς καὶ B
 πρώην προσέκυσσ.“ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐφέρετο τῇδε, ὃ δὲ γε
 Ἰωάννης κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἀρχαῖον γενόμενος οὐχ εὗρισκε βαδί-
 αν τὴν εἰσοδὸν, οἷα τῶν φυλάκων μὴ πρὸς μόνην ὑπενδιδῶν-
 25 τικ τὴν τοῦ δακτυλίου ἐπόδειξιν, ἀλλὰ προσεπιζητούντων
 καὶ ἄλλο τι τεκμήριον τοῦ κατὰ κέλτους πατρικῆν ἐκείσε

παρυγένεσθαι. αἱ πύλαι τοίνυν τοῦ πυλατίου χαλκείαις
 φύβδοις πλατεΐαις θύετρα τῶν ἄκρων μεταωρισθεῖσαι βρω-
 χύ τι κατὰ γῆς βύλλονται, κύντεῦθεν αὐτός τε μετὰ ἑα-
 σταίης εἰσεληλυθει καὶ συνεισῆι τὰ δπλοφόρον καὶ συγγε-
 νίς· οὐ βρωχεῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ξύγκλυθος ὄχλου 5
 συνομαρτούντων ἔνδον εἰσῆρρησαν, οἳ καὶ διαρπάξαι τὸ προα-
 Cτυχόν ἐπεβάλλοντο. τῶν δὲ πυλῶν αὐθις ἐπικλεισθεισῶν οἳ
 τ' ἄκτος τοῦ ἐπιεσρέειν ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ τὰ εἰσφορηκὸς ἐξίεναι
 μὴ συγχωρούμενον ἐφ' ἡμέρας συχρῶς ἐκείσε τῷ βασιλεῖ συν-
 διέτριβεν. ἦγε μὲν οὖν τότε πέμπτην καὶ δεκάτην δ' Ἀύγου- 10
 στος μῆν· νυκτός δ' ἐπιούσης ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξιος τοῦ ζην
 ἀπενήνεκται, ἄρξας ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ ἡμι-
 σὺν μηνὸς σὺν τοῖς τέσσαρσι. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑω εὐθὺς μετα-
 στίλλεται ἡ μήτηρ τὸν Ἰωάννην εἰς τὴν τοῦ πατρικοῦ στή-
 νους ἐξίεναι πομπαίαν προόδον, αὐτίκα μάλᾳ ἀρθροσμένου 15
 τε καὶ ἀρθροσμένου εἰς ἣν ἐκείδος ἐδείματο Χριστῷ κῆ φ-
 Dλανθροῶν μονῆν. οὐκ εἶχε δ' αὐτῇ καὶ παιδόμενον, ἀλλ'
 ἦν πρὸς τὴν μετέκλησιν ἀναεῦων, οὐ θέσμια μητρός παρο-
 ρῶν ἢ τὴν πατρικὴν τιμὴν ἀπωθούμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ γασπα-
 γίς ὑπεβλέπετο τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιζήλους ἐδειδεί θεμ- 20
 μόν ἐτι ἐγκυμονοῦντας τῆς βασιλείας τὸν ἔρωτα. ὅθεν αὐ-
 τὸς μὲν ὡς οἱ πολυπόδες τῶν πετρῶν ἐξείχεται τῶν ἀρχαίων,
 τὸ δὲ πλείστον τῆς μεθ' ἐκευτοῦ συγγενείας διαφῆκεν εἰς τὴν
 προόδον τοῦ πατρός.

5. Ἡμερῶν δὲ συχρῶν διαγενομένων τὴν εἰς τὰ ἀρχαία 25

8. εἰσφορηκὸς A. 23. πλῆθος A.

πρόδοι τε καὶ ἔξοδον ἀνῆκε τῷ βουλομένῳ παντί, τῶν τε
 καιῶν πραγμάτων ἐρήπτετο καθάπερ ἤρατο, ὡς ἦδη ἐν τῷ
 ἀραλεῖ καθιστώ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ γένους καὶ οἰκειώσεως
 αὐτῷ προσεγγίζουσι κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον αὐτοῖς προσφερόμε-
 νος ἀρμοδίως ἐκάστη ἀπένεμε τιμὰς, τῷ γε μὲν Ἰσαακίῳ
 τῷ καινῷ προσετικῶς συμφοῆς καὶ δμόπρους ἐδείκνυτο,
 καὶ ὡς φιλοῦντι μὲν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, μάλιστα δ' ὡς τῷ πάν-
 το ἢ τῷ κλειῶ εἰσενέγκαντι πρὸς τὴν ἐπίβασιν τῆς ἀρχῆς· P. 7
 ποῦτον γὰρ καθισταμένης ἐτι τῆς βασιλείας καθάδρας τε καὶ
 κωρακίης δὲ ἴσον κοινωνὸν παρελάμβανε, καὶ μετεδίδου τῆς
 ἀπορρησεως, ὅποια ἐπιπρακῆς τῷ τοῦ σιβαστοκράτορος ἀξιώ-
 ματι, ἢ πρὸς τοῦ πατρός Ἀλεξίου τετίμητο Ἰσαάκιος. καὶ
 φροντιστάς δὲ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων προβάλλετο ἐκ τοῦ V. 6
 καὶ αἱμα οἱ προσεγγιζόντων τὸν Κομνητὸν Ἰωάννην, ὃν καὶ
 εἰσὶν τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου τετίμητον ἀξιώματι, καὶ τὸν Ταρω-
 νίτην Γρηγόριον ὄντα πρωτοβεστιάριον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὅτι μὴ
 τῷ δεκτύλῳ τὸ πᾶν διαπέπτεται, σοφειῶν προφαίνων ὄφρον
 καὶ φρονηματώδης ὡς οὐ τις ἄλλος δεκτύμενος, τὸν φροντι- 8
 στήν τῶν κοινῶν ἀπεφορτίσαστο τάχιον· ὁ δὲ Γρηγόριος τῆς
 παρακοιμμένης ἐχόμενος, μηδὲ μακρὰ βιβὰς ἢ γοῦν ἐκτεινῶν
 πώδας ὑπερβαθμίους, μονιμοτέρας ἰσχύος μεταίληχε. παρε-
 ζήθη δ' ἐς ὕστερον τουτωῖ καὶ τις Γρηγόριος ἕτερος, ἢ
 Καματηρὸς ἢ ἐπίκλησις. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐλλόγιμος μὲν, τὸ
 δὲ γένος οὐκ εὐπρεπῆς οὐδ' ἐπίπαν εὐπάρυφος, τῷ βασιλεῖ
 εἰς δὲ προσληφθεὶς Ἀλεξίῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπογραμμυτευομένοις κατα-

5. τὰς τιμὰς A. 8. εἰσενεγκόντι A.

λαγείς τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἀμφεποιῶτο, καὶ τοῦ τάσσειν φόρους ταύταις πλοῦτον τιθαιβώσων βαδὲν ἠγάσθη κατὰ κῆδος βασιλεὶ συναφθῆναι. οὐκοῦν καὶ προσπλακίς μὲ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν λεγομένης τῶν σεκρέτων προυβέβλητο. Ἰσχυρὸς δ' ὑπὲρ πάντας παρὰ τῶν βασιλεὶ καὶ τὰς πρώτας ἐκαρ- 5 ποῦτο τιμὰς δ' Ἀξούχος Ἰωάννης. ἦν δ' οὗτος Πέρσης τὸ γένος, τῆς δὲ Βιθυνῶν προκαθημένης πόλεως Νικαίας. τῆς τῶν Πέρσων δυναστείας ἀπαλλαγίσης, ὅτε Βαϊμούνδος τῆς ἐς Παλαιστίνην πορείας εἶχετο, συνέχεται καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶ βασιλεὶ Ἀλεξίῳ ὄψων παρέχεται. ἤλιξ δ' ὢν Ἰωάννη 10 τῶ βασιλεὶ συμπαίστωρ αὐτῷ προσεληπτο, καὶ τῶν εἰκιδίων καὶ προκοίτων δ' προσφιλέστατος κρίνεται. ἔπει δ' ἀπέβη τῆς βασιλείας, πᾶσαν ὑπερανέβη προεβυτέρων παραδυναστευσίαν, μέγας τιμηθεὶς δομώστιπος, ὡς καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐρικύμων κατὰ γένος βασιλίων ἀποβαίνειν τοῦ Ἰσκου καὶ τοῦ- 15 τῶ ἀποπέμψειν προσκύνησιν κατὰ συγκυρίαν ὑπαντιάζοντας. ἦσαν δὲ τῶ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ εὐ μόνον χεῖρας δεδιδωγμέναι πρὸς πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς εὐποιαν τῶν δεομένων ἔξεταί τινες καὶ εὐκίνητοι. αἰτάρ τὸ εὐγενὲς τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἀλευθέριον τὸ μὴ ἔχον οὕτω τοῦ γένους τὰ πολλὰ συνεσπίαζε, καὶ πο- 20 θαιρὸν παρὰ πῶσι τὸν Ἀξούχον ἀπειργάζετο.

Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἑμαυτὸς ἀκριβῶς τῷ βασιλεὶ διεγύνητο, καὶ κατῆναι τούτῳ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ γένους ἀπιβουλή, καθ' ὃν οὐκ

1. τὰς — συγγενῶν] καὶ κατὰ κῆδος αὐτῷ συναφθεὶς ὡς μὲ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν προσπλακίς P. 7. τῆς Νικαίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσπερίων ἀλούσης ταγματίων, ἔνθα τῆς ἐς Παλαιστίνην πορείας εἶχετο PW.

ἔχει τις τρόπον εἰπεῖν, κατ' αὐτοῦ βαρυνηγιῶντων καὶ ὅμα οἱ ἐπιρριπτόντων βάσανον. ἀμίλει τοι καὶ σύστρεμμα τεκτῆραντες πονηρὸν καὶ πῶταις δόντες ἀλλήλοισ τῶ Βρυεννίῳ πάντες προστιθενται, καὶ παραχωροῦσι τούτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ὡς λογικῶν μετόχῳ παιδείσεων καὶ εἶδος τυραννικὸν προφαινόντι καὶ κατὰ κῆδος προφρεσιτέρῳ βασιλικόν. ὡς γὰρ φθάσαντες εἶπομεν, τῆ ταῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῆ τῆ Καισαρίσση Ἄννη συνέζευκτο, ἥτις δὴ τῆς τῶν ἀπιστημῶν πασῶν ἐπόχην φιλοσοφίας ἐδεικνυτο μέλημα καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν 10 ἐδρῶμιστο μάθησιν. τῆχα δ' ὢν καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπέθοντο μεθ' P. 8 ἀπλων τῶν φονουργῶν πύλιζομένη τῶ βασιλεὶ κατὰ τὸ μικρὸν ἀποδεν τῶν χερσαίων πυλῶν ἐπηλάτων Φιλοπάτιον. ὄψεως προδιαφθείραντες. ἀδρόεις τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰσόδων τῆς πόλεως, εἰ μὴ τὸ εἰωθὸς ὑπάνωθρον καὶ χαλαρὸν πρὸς βα- 15 σιλείας ἐπίθουσι τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἐπαυσα τὸν Βρυέννιον, αὐτὸν τε μένειν κατὰ χώρον παραβιάσαν τῶν ξυνηκῶν λιθῶ- μινον, καὶ κατασβέσαν τὸ θηρμὸν τῶν συνελθόντων φρόνη- μα, ὅτε καὶ λέγεται τὴν Καισαρίσσην Ἄνναν πρὸς τὸ χαῦ- 20 τον τοῦ τυτῆς ἀνδρὸς δυσχεναίρουσαν ὡς πάσχουσαν δεινὰ διαπρέσθαι καὶ τὴν φύσιν τὰ πολλὰ ἐπιμέμφεσθαι, ὑπ' αἰτίαν τιθεῖσαν οὐχὶ μικρὰν ὡς αὐτῆ μὲν ἐνδιασχούσαν τὸ Β ἄφθρον καὶ ἐγκοιλάνουσαν, τῶ δὲ Βρυεννίῳ τὸ μόριον ἀποτείνουσαν καὶ σφαιρώσαν. φωραθέντων δ' ἡμέρας τῶν ὁμο- τῶν οὐδίνες μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ σῶμα διελαβήθησαν ἢ κυ- 25 θυπεβλήθησαν μάλιστα, τῶν δὲ οὐσιῶν ἐστέρηται ἀπύξυ-

21. διασχούσαν A. 22. ὑποτείνουσαν A.

παντες. μετὰ δὲ τινα καιρὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν
 ἀπεδόθησαν, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πρωτεργατίδος τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς Ἀν-
 τῆς τῆς Καισαρίσσης τοῦ βασιλέως ὑρεσμένου φιλανθρωπεύ-
 σθαι. ἀρχὴν δ' ἔσχε τοιάνδε τὰ οὕτως γεγονός: τὴν ἐν
 V. 7 χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ πλούτῳ παντοδυνῶ καὶ ποικίλοις ἐσθῆ-5
 μασιν οὐσίαν τῆς Καισαρίσσης καθ' ἕνα δόμον συνειλεγμέ-
 νην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης ἀπιστῶς ἔδεικτο, καὶ μὴν καὶ εἰπὼν
 C ὡς „ἦ τάξις ἐστὶ ἐμοὶ πως ἀντέστραπται· τὸ μὲν γὰρ συγ-
 γενὲς πολέμιον εὐρεῖται, τὸ δ' ἄλλότριον φίλιον· καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο χρεῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πλούτου πρὸς τοὺς φιλοῦντας με- 10
 ταρρῶναι.“ πάντα εἰληφέναι τὸν μέγα προσετατάχει δομέ-
 ατικόν. ὁ δὲ εὐχαριστήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις τῷ βασιλεὶ φιλοδω-
 ρίαν μεγίστην μεταδιδόντι, ἤτησεν ἐνδοθῆναι οἱ τὰ εἰκότα
 διαλεχθῆναι. ὡς οὖν ἔλαβε τὸ ἐνδοσίμον, „εἰ καὶ βιαίων“
 ἔφη „πραγμάτων καὶ πολλῆς ἀδικίας γεμότων ἤρξην ὃ βα- 15
 σιλεὺς ἢ σὴ ἀδελφῆ καὶ ἔργοις αὐτοῖς τὸ συγγενὲς ἀπωμόσα-
 το, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως κλήσιν καθάπερ καὶ
 τὴν σχέσιν ἀπεβάλετο. ἀγαθοῦ τοίνυν βασιλέως εἰσέτι κασί-
 D γνητος μένουσα ἐκ μετανοίας τὸ φίλτρον ἀδῆς ἀνακαλέσται,
 ὃ νῦν ἐκ παρανοίας ἀπώλεσε, τῇ φύσει χρησαμένη συλλή- 20
 πτορι φαῖσαι οὖν ὃ δέσποτα τῆς τῆ σὴ κράτι προσκεκρου-
 κίας ὁμογενοῦς, καὶ κόλασον τῇ φιλανθρωπῇ λαμπρῶς ἦδη
 τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἠτῶσθαι ὁμολογοῦσαν· δὸς δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ
 κατ' ὄψιν προκειμένα, οὐχ ὡς ὄφλημα δίκαιον ἀλλ' ὡς δῶμα
 15. εἶπε Ἀ.

ἔπειτα „ἵκει καὶ δικαιότερον ταῦτα ἐμοῦ κτήσασθαι, κληρον
 ὄντα πατρῶν κῆρὶ τὸ γένος ἀδῆς διαβησόμενα.“ τούτοις ὁ
 βασιλεὺς κειθεῖς, ἢ ἕλθῆναι εἰπεῖν αἰδέσθαι, σὺν προ-
 θυμῷ περατὰ τὴν παραίφασιν, φάμενος ὡς „εἴην ἀνύξιος τοῦ
 S ἔρχην, εἰ σὺ περὶ τὸ γένος τοῦμόν κριθείης φιλανθρωπύ-
 τος καὶ κέρδους περικοῦ καὶ προχείρου ἀνώτερος.“ ἀμέ-
 ληται καὶ δίδωσι πάντα τῇ Καισαρίσση καὶ σπένδεται. Εἰ-
 ρῆν δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ βασιλῆς κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἐλήλυκται
 τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μετέχουσα κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ· μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν
 10 ἀπέλασε καὶ σαφὸν τι λόγιον γνωματεῦσαι λέγεται, „μιθοῦσα P. 9
 τὸ μελετώμενα, ὡς δεῖ βασιλέα μὲν οὐχ ὑπὸντι ζητεῖν,
 παρόντα δὲ μὴ μετακινεῖν, καὶ ὡς „ὅσας μοι τὰς δύννας οἱ
 σφαγῆς ἐχάλικον τοῦ υἱοῦ, δριμυτέρας δὴπουθεν ὧν ἐν τῷ
 αἵματι. ὁδῶν κενεράμα, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς φῶς αἱ μὲν κα-
 15 ἔστησαν τὸ κενερούμενον, αἱ δ' ἐξ ἄδου κενυμένων διὰ
 μένου μου τῶν ἐκλόγμων χωροῦσαι λυκεῖν ἀθάνατα ἡμελ-
 λω.“

4. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς Πέρσας ὄρων παρ' οὐδέν τιμέ-
 νους τὰς πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα ξυνηθῆκας, καὶ παμπληθεῖ
 20 τῶν πέλων καταδίοντας ὁπόσαι περὶ Θρυγίαν καὶ ποταμὸν
 τὸν Μαιάνδρον ἴδονται, ἕαρος ἐπιστάντος ἔξιει κατ' αὐ-
 τῶν, καὶ συμβαλὼν μάχαις πολλάκις ἐμάχησε, τὴν τε Λαο- B
 θικῶν χειρωσόμενος τείχεσι περιέβαλε, καὶ τὸν Ἀλιχαρὰν
 μεταπέστην ἔδεικτο, ὃς τὴν ταύτης φρουρὰν ἐπεπίτευτο. καὶ
 25 τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς τὸ δέον καταστησάμενος νόστου ἐμνήσασθαι, καὶ

2. εἶπε Ἀ. 9. κατὰ om. A. 12. ὁδῶν A.

ποτέ ἐστι, λιμώξειεν ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς· οὐχ εὐρήσει γὰρ ὕλην τροφῆς ἐν
 Ἀνδρονίκῳ, τῇ πάντων καθαρωτάτῃ καὶ κεκαθαρμένη ψυχῇ. Ἀστὴρ γὰρ
 ἦν ἐκεῖνος περιφανέστατος καὶ πᾶσι μὲν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀμφὶ μητέρα καὶ
 βασιλίδα¹². Οἶσι γὰρ αὐτῷ μέλει τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ἢ φροντίζειν, εἴ τις
 5 ἐν οὐρανῷ φαίνοιτο καταλάμπων ἀστὴρ; Ἡλιος μὲν γάρ, φησὶν, δαδου-
 χεῖτω τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ καὶ σελήνη νυκτὸς ἀυγαζέτω, ἕωσφόρος
 ἐσπέριος ἄλλος ἄλλοτε. Ἡμῖν δὲ ὁ μέγας παμφαινέτω Ἀνδρόνικος. Νυνὶ
 δὲ ἀποσβεσθέντος ἐκεῖνου, ἐρρίφθω τὰ πάντα, λέγουσιν, ἠφανίσθω, λελύ-
 10 θῶ· οἴχεται Ἀνδρόνικος· τὸ σύμπαν ἀπόλωλεν· οἶος μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις
 τὴν δεξιάν, οἶος δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἐν συμβουλαῖς, ὀποδαπὸς δὲ τὴν ὀρμὴν τῆς
 ψυχῆς; Τίς οὕτω κινήσει καὶ στήσει φάλαγγας ἐμπειρότατος καὶ ἀμφιστό-
 μους ἢ ἑτεροστόμους¹³ συντάξει καὶ σχηματίσει παντοδαπῶς καὶ ἐξελιγμῶς
 εἰδέναι ποικίλους, τὸν Μακεδόνας, τὸν Λάκωνος, καὶ ὀπόσους ἄλλους αἱ
 15 περὶ ταῦτα δεινοὶ γινώσκουσιν; Ἀναπείθει γάρ με τὸ ποικίλον τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς καὶ μακρότερον λέγειν καὶ τὸν τῆς μονωδίας νόμον καινοτομεῖν καὶ
 προάγομαι περιττότερον φαίνεσθαι τοῦ προσήκοντος. Τίς οὖν ἢ προεξορ-
 μῆσαι τῆς φάλαγγος τολμηρότερος ἢ κατὰ μέτωπον στήναι καὶ προσστήναι
 τῆς παρατάξεως ἀσφαλέστερος; Τίς πορθῆσαι μὲν πόλεις εὐμηχανώτατος,
 ἵνα μὴ καθέκαστον λέγω, τὰς μηχανὰς ἀφηγούμενος, τὰς ἐλεπόλεις, τὰς
 20 χελώνας ἢ τὰς πετροβόλους σφενδόνας, ἐπὰν δὲ πορθῆσῃ, φιλανθρωπότα-
 τος; Ὡ τὰ τείχη τῶν πόλεων ἐν τῷ σῶ δόρατι ἐνιδρύων ὡς τὰ τῆς Σπάρτης
 οἱ Λάκωνες, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα πᾶν ἐμψυχῶν καὶ ἀπονεκρῶν τοῖς ἀμάχοις
 στρατηγήμασι τὸ ἀντίθετον. Εἶτα, τοσοῦτου καταρραγέντος ἀπόπτου
 25 κίονος καὶ συγκατενεγκόντος τὸ πᾶν, πῶς οὐ σεισμὸς ἐξαισιος τὴν οἰκου-
 μένην κατέληψε καὶ σύγχυσις τῶν στοιχείων καὶ ἀνάκρασις ἐγεγόνει
 ὡσπερ εἰς τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέους σφαῖρον¹⁴ τῶν ὄλων ἀναλυθέντων καὶ τοῦ
 παντὸς ἀνακύκλῃσις, ἢ τί μὴ ἔξεδροι γεγονότες ἀστέρες εἰς γῆν κατηνέ-
 χθησαν, ὡσπερ καὶ πάλαι ἱσθόρηται, ἢ γέγονε μὲν τις καινοτομία, τηλικαύ-

4 οἶσι dubie B 14 δεινός B 17 τολμηρότερον B || προσστήναι
 supra lineam : προσθῆναι prima manu B 28 ἀτίθετον B

26 EMPÉDOCLE, *Carmina* : Müllach (*Fragmenta philosophorum graecorum*, I, Paris, 1860), p. xvi. 28 PLATON, *Politique*, 269e.

12. Le cercle des amis de l'ex-basilissa Irène Doukaina dont Italikos faisait aussi partie ; cf. Discours 43, p. 269.

13. Deux manœuvres décrites par Elie le Tacticien ; cf. A. DAIN, *Histoire du texte d'Elie le Tacticien*, Paris 1946, p. 105, nos 23-24. Sur la formation de la phalange dite « amphistomos » et « hétérostomos », voir *ibidem*, p. 94-96, et du même auteur, *Syllogé tacticorum*, Paris 1938, p. 65.

14. C'est le titre d'un poème de 168 trimètres iambiques, faussement attribué à Empédocle, qui est une description du monde des étoiles fixes et des signes du zodiaque. L'édition et le commentaire en ont été faits par F. WIECK, *Sphaeram Empedoclis quae hactenus recensuit et dissertationem adiecit*, Dissert. Greifswald 1897.

της ψυχῆς ἀποπτώσεως, ἔλαθε δὲ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τοῦ πάθους ἀποκρυπτομένης τὴν συμφορὰν ; Τεκμήριον δὲ ἀλλὰ τάχα με διὰ τὸ πάθος καὶ τραγωδῶν ὑπολάβετε.

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχὴ¹⁵, ζάλη τις αὐτίκα
 5 Funéraires et deuil universel ἐξαισίος καὶ στρόβιλοι τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
 καταγιγίζουσι καὶ ὄμβροι πυκνοὶ τε καὶ συνεχεῖς
 τὸν ὑπὸ σελήνην κόσμον καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ συνεπελάμβανε λαμπρὸς
 ἄνεμος, ὡσπερ τοῦ παντὸς συνθρηνοῦντος καὶ συγκατηφιῶντος ἡμᾶς, καὶ
 10 μάλιστα τοῦ σκῆνους τεθέντος ἐπὶ τῆς νεώσ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ναυτικεῦ
 περιπεμπέοντος καὶ παραπέμποντος ἀπὸ τῆς περαιᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλίδαν
 πύλιν τὸ σῶμα¹⁶. Τότε γὰρ δὴ τότε μονονουχί μάχη τις ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι
 καρτερὰ τῆς τε μητρὸς καὶ βασιλίδος καὶ τῶν στοιχείων αὐτῶν, τίς τὸν
 Ἀνδρόνικον ἔξει φιλονεικούντων, τῆς μὲν ἀγαπούσης ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν πολυάνδ-
 15 ριον τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ παιδός, τῶν δὲ μαχομένων τιμηθῆναι τῇ ταφῇ τοῦ
 σεβαστοκράτορος. Ἡ γῆ μὲν γὰρ ἀπογείοις πνεύμασι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέ-
 μινε τε καὶ ἐξετάραττεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ σῶμα τῇ ἀντιπέραν παραπέμψει
 πύλει, ἀλλ' ἴν' ἔχη ἐν ἑαυτῇ, μέγα ἐπὶ τούτῳ κομπάζουσα. Θάλασσα δὲ
 πρὸς τὴν σκηνοφόρον ἐπηγεῖρετο ναῦν καὶ δεινῶς ἐπωρεύετο, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπουσα
 20 τρεῖς τινὰ τῷ βασιλέως ναυτικῷ τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπάγειν,
 τίχα λέγουσα· « Ποῖ ἄγετε τὸν πεζομάχον ; ποῖ φέρετε τὸν ἄριστον
 στρατιώτην ; ποῦ τὸν θούριον ἄνδρα λαβόντες ἀπάγετε ; Μόνη ἐγὼ τῶν
 τούτου ἀνδραγαθημάτων ἀγέραςτος λέλειμμαι. Δότε μοι τοῦτον ἀντ' ἄλλου
 πνυτός. Οὐκ ἐκβράσω τοῖς κύμασιν· οὐ κλύσω τοῖς ρεύμασιν· οὐ δώσω τοῖς
 25 ἰχθύσι βορὰν καθάπερ τὸν Ἰωνᾶν· οὐκ ἐξαγάγω καθάπερ τὸν μυθευό-
 μενον Πόντιον Γλαῦκον¹⁷ ἐν περιόδοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νάμασιν αὐτὸν περιπτύ-
 ξομαι καὶ περιβαλῶ καὶ τάφος αὐτῷ παράδοξος ἔσομαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄλμην
 δεδύκατε μὴ τι παραλυμήνη τοῦ σώματος· μεταβαλῶ καὶ ταύτην εἰς πότιμον
 ῥεύμα, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς καταγλυκανῶ τὸ πευκεδανὸν τῆς ποιότητος, παν-
 30 ταχοῦ τῶν κυμάτων φορούμενος ». Δοῶ γὰρ μοι ταῦτα τὴν θάλασσαν
 πρὸς τὰς βοᾶς ἀντηχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξενίκημεν ἡ μήτηρ καὶ βασιλῆς, δορυφο-
 ρούντος τῷ σκῆνι τοῦ καίσαρος¹⁸, καὶ οὗτος ἄγεται καθάπερ τις φόρτος

2 τεκμήριον δὲ > supplēvi 8 συγκατηφιῶντος ἡμᾶς supplēvi 12 μητρὸς
 καὶ supplēvi (cf. lin. 30) 13 < πολυάνδριον supplēvi 28 πευκεδανός B

15. La date de sa mort est inconnue, mais on peut la fixer par conjecture aux alentours de 1131 ; voir P. GAUTIER, L'obituaire, *REB* 27, 1969, p. 249-250.

16. Andronic est donc mort quelque part en Asie.

17. Pêcheur d'Anthédon en Béotie qui se jeta dans la mer et fut transformé en dieu marin. Cette légende a été étudiée par R. GAUTHIER, *Glaukos der Meereshott*, Dissert. Göttingen 1859.

18. Le César Nicéphore le jeune, beau-frère du défunt. Sur la date de sa mort, voir P. GAUTHIER, L'obituaire, *REB* 27, 1969, p. 251-252.

Ὑσπεσίος ὁ νεκρὸς τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος. Τὰς δὲ βασιλίδας καὶ ἀδελφὰς
 Ἡλιάδας ἂν εἶπεν τις ἰδῶν ὕλοφυρεμένας Φαέθοντα καὶ δακρύων προβαλ-
 λομένας πηγὰς. Εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπήγγυτο δάκρυον καὶ λίθος ἐγίνετο, καινὴν
 5 ἂν εἶχομεν ἤλεκτρον ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν¹⁹.

Ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτά σοι ἐσπέισαντο, θειότατε σεβαστοκράτηρ,
 τὰ ἐναγίσματα. Ἐγὼ δὲ τούσδε τοὺς λόγους καθάπερ τινὰς περαινῶ χυῖας,
 τῆς ἡμερότητος τῆς σῆς μεμνημένους καὶ ἰλαρότητος, ἀντιτιμᾶν σε τούτοις
 οἷς ἐτίμας αὐτὸς προελόμενος.

2 τις : δὲ B 6 περαινῶ B 7 ἀντιτιμᾶν B

2 *Puroemiographi*, I, p. 416-417 ; NICÉTIAS CHONIATÈS, Bonn : p. 50¹.

19. Les princesses Anne, Marie et Théodora — Eudocie était déjà décédée — qui pleuraient leur frère, comme les Héliades, dont les larmes furent changées en grains d'ambre, pleurèrent Phaethon, le fils du Soleil ; cf. TZETZÈS, *Chilades* ; Leone, p. 141.

- Οἱ δὲ γε τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀγροϊκοτέρως ἔχοντες
 γωνίας αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦσι καὶ κλίνης καὶ κόνιν ταύτην
 διδῶσιν καὶ ἀβάκιον καὶ γραμμὰς τὰς οὐδαμοῦ κειμένας
 καὶ κύκλους καὶ τούτους πολλάκις ἐκκέντρος ἢ ὁμοκέντρος καὶ μέτροι
 5 τούτων τὴν ἐνάργειαν αὐτῇ περιγράφουσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα κωφῶν καὶ τυφλῶν
 καὶ μηδαμοῦ χρησιμεύουσιν. Σὺ δὲ δὴ τί παθοῦσα, ὡ τῶν ἀπασῶν γυναικῶν
 ὑπερτέρα καὶ φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ, ἡμῖν τὸν συλλογισμὸν μόνον δέδωκας καὶ
 — κατηγορίας καὶ ἀναλύσεις καὶ τὸν τοῦ κύκλου τετραγωνισμὸν⁴ καὶ τὸ εἰς
 ἄλλα ταῦτα ἐγγράψαι τε καὶ περιγράψαι, κύκλον φημί καὶ τετράγωνον,
 10 καὶ διατὶ δῆτα τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ εἶδος δίδως ἡμῖν καὶ σώματα καὶ μεγέθη
 καὶ τὰ τούτων παθήματα καὶ χρόνον καὶ τόπον καὶ κίνησιν ; διατὶ περὶ
 τὴν τοῦ κενοῦ θεωρίαν καὶ μόνην ἡμᾶς ἡσχολῆσθαι κενῶς καὶ ἀδίκως
 καταδικάζεις⁵ ; διατὶ περὶ φθόγγους ἡμᾶς ἀπορρίπτεις καὶ μέλη καὶ ῥυθμούς,
 καὶ ὅτι ἄρσιν μὲν καὶ θέσιν ἴσμεν ὁμολογεῖς καὶ τῶν φθόγγων τό τε ὑπατοειδές
 f. 230 καὶ τὸ μέσον | γένος καὶ τὸ νητοειδές καὶ ὅτι τὰς διαφορὰ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν
 ἐπιστάμεθα⁶ καὶ, συνελόντα φάναι, τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιστήμας μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων
 ἡμῖν ἀποκληροῖς, περὶ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ γῆινα παντάπασιν ἡμῶν ἀμαθίαν κατα-
 δικάζεις καὶ ὡς πάρεργον ἔχεις φιλοσοφίαν καὶ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον,
 ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης ἡγῆ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐνταῦθα διατριβὴν ;
- 20 **Le savoir universel de Michel Italikos** Καὶ ὅπου μὲν δεῖ περὶ πραγμάτων φροντίζει
 ἢ προσόδων ἢ δαπανῶν, πάρεσιν εὐθύς καὶ τὸ θεῖον
 σῶμα περικυκλοῦσι λογαριασται τε καὶ προνοηται
 καὶ τοιοῦτοι τινες, δριμύτατοι μὲν καὶ βέβηται πραγμάτων — τί γὰρ δὴ
 μὴ τάληθές λέγειν — ἀδαεῖς δὲ ἄλλως καὶ λογιστικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας

3 ἀβάκιον B 17 ἡμῖν difficile legitur 23 δὴ : δεῖ B

2 *Paroemiographi*, II, p. 355. 7 *ARISTOTE, Catégories*, V, 18 ; *Premiers Analytiques*, I, 1, 5. 11-12 *IDEM, Xénophane*, II ; *Physique*, IV, 6-9. 19 *Iliade* XVIII, 104.

4. Ch. MUGLER, *Dictionnaire historique de la terminologie géométrique des Grecs*, Paris 1959, p. 418, sous le mot τετραγωνισμός ; BRUNET-MIELI, *Histoire des Sciences Antiquité*, Paris 1935, p. 399-407 (solutions de ce problème proposées par les anciens).

5. Irène Doukaina n'était pas versée dans les sciences profanes au dire de sa fille Anne Comnène ; sa lecture préférée était celle des Pères (*Alexiade* : Leib, II, p. 38). De cette tournure d'esprit fait également état Georges Tornikès qui dans son éloge d'Anne Comnène nous montre à quel point Irène et son mari se désolaient de la culture profane et comment ils tentaient d'en détourner leur fille : DARROUZÈS, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès*, p. 242-247.

6. Italikos ne manque jamais l'occasion de faire montre de ses connaissances musicales. L'hypate, le son le plus grave, s'accorde par opposition avec le dernier, le plus aigu, qui est celui de la nète ; la mèse est le son correspondant à la corde située à distance d'octave des extrêmes : THÉON DE SMYRNE, *Les lois numériques de la musique*, éd. J. Dupuis, Paris 1892, p. 87-89.

αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς καταλλήλου γεωργικῆς. Ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδα μὲν κάκεινα καὶ εὖκ
 ἐν ἀρνηθείην, καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει καὶ Πλάτωνι θαμὰ συνωμίλησα καὶ τὰς
 τῶν ἀστρῶν περιόδους ἠκριβωσάμην καὶ τοὺς τούτων ποικίλους σχηματισ-
 μούς, καὶ οὐδὲν με διέλαθε, νῆ τὴν ἱεράν σου κεφαλὴν, οὐδ' ὄσα Ἴππαρχος,
 5 οὐδ' ὄσα ὁ σοφώτατος Πτολεμαῖος ἡστρονομήσαντο, οὐδ' ὄσα αὐτὸς ὁ
 μαθηματικώτατος Ἀρίσταρχος συνεγράψατο⁷. Καὶ οὕτως μὲν οὐράνιός
 εἰμι· εἰ δὲ με καταβιβάσεις ἐκ τῶν ἀστέρων, ὡς αἱ Θετταλαὶ τὴν σελήνην⁸,
 οὐδ' οὕτως ἀσυντελής σοι φανήσομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκαιτῶς δίκην καὶ τὰς
 ψήφους κατὰ νόμους ποιήσομαι καὶ τὰς παρ' ἀμφοῖν δικαιολογίας ἀπαραλή-
 10 πτως ἅμα καὶ κατὰ τάχος ὑπαγορευούσας· εἰ μοι ξυμπαθεῖ καὶ ὁ τοῦ
 γράφοντος κάλαμος, τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἀποδοίην ἐνομώτατα, ὡς μὴδ' ἐφέσιμον
 γενέσθαι μῆδε παρακολουθῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Οἶδα δὲ καὶ ὅπως αἱ πρόσδοι
 αὐξηθήσονται καὶ αἱ περιέργοι τῶν δαπανῶν ἐκοπήσονται, ἐξ ὧν ἔστι τὸ
 κλυτεῖν· οἶδα καὶ καιροὺς καὶ τρόπους καὶ πραγμάτων οἰκονομίας, καὶ τί
 15 μὲν τὸν προβατέα, τί δὲ τὸν βούνομον, καὶ πόσον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοσῆδε κατασπο-
 ρᾶς τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ τοὺς προνοητὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπισκέψεων⁹ ἀπαρτί-
 σαιμι, καὶ λογιστεύων τε καὶ λογοπραγῶν εὖ μάλα ἠκριβωσάμην¹⁰, πίσυρος
 ἐπιστήμη καὶ τέχνη λογιστικῆ. Τί δὲ διώξω, τί δὲ προσδέξομαι; Οὐ κακουρ-
 γίη καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ, τοῦτο μὲν βαρύνων τὸν εἰσπραττόμενον λόγους, τοῦτο δὲ
 20 ζημιῶν τοὺς δεσπότας τὰ μέγιστα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ κεντροβαζῆ χρώμενος,
 ἰσάζω καὶ ταλαντεύω τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ποιῶ τὸν ὀφειλέτην ἀποδότην

4 κεφαλὴν : ψυχὴν prima manu B 5 ἡστρονομησάμην B 6 συνεγρά-
 ψατο : διεγράψατο prima manu B 12 al difficile legitur 16 ἀπαρτήσαιμι B

7 PLATON, *Gorgias*, 513a.

7. Il lui arrive souvent de se vanter de sa culture encyclopédique, mais il était surtout fier de ses connaissances médicales et astrologiques. Aristarque de Samos (3^e siècle avant notre ère) fut le premier astronome à émettre l'idée que la terre tournait autour du soleil. Hipparque de Nicée (2^e siècle) étudia surtout les mouvements des astres et leurs distances par rapport à la terre. Claude Ptolémée, célèbre par son traité d'astronomie : CURIST, *Geschichte*, II, p. 279-281. Ces auteurs étaient au programme de l'enseignement encyclopédique. Ils sont aussi énumérés par Michel Psellos dans son épitaphe sur Nicéas, maître de l'école Saint-Pierre : SATHAS, *MB* 5, p. 92. Voir aussi Ph. Koukoulets, *Byzantinien bios kai pollitismos*, I/1, Athènes 1948, p. 113-114.

8. Les magiciennes de Thessalie passaient pour être capables de faire descendre la lune sur la terre par leurs enchantements. Cf. PLATON, *Gorgias*, 513a, et *Anthologie palatine*, xv, 140.

9. Il s'agit de domaines appartenant aux souverains ou à des membres de la famille impériale. Sur le sens de ce terme consulter F. DÖLGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1937, p. 151-152; N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 'Η διανομή τῶν βασιλικῶν « ἐπισκέψεων » τῆς Κρήτης (1170-1171) καὶ ἡ δημοσιονομικὴ πολιτικὴ τοῦ Μανουὴλ Α' Κομνηνοῦ, Πειπραγ. Β' διεθν. Κρητολογικῶν συνεδρίου, III, Athènes 1968, p. 198.

10. Il n'y a pas lieu de corriger cet aoriste qui a une valeur conditionnelle, comme il arrive ailleurs.

Λόγος αὐτοσχεδίως ῥηθεὶς εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα κυρὰν Εἰρήνην τὴν Δούκαιναν¹,
ὅτι ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ ἀποστοματίσαι λόγον

Λόγον αὐτοματίσαι σοι ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου γλώττης ἐν τῷδε τῷ λογιωτάτῳ
θεάτρῳ² προστέταχας, ὡς πασῶν βασιλίδων λογιωτέρα μοι δέσποινα καὶ

B = Baroccianus 131, ff. 332^v-333^r

C = Bononiensis 2412, ff. 73^v-76^r

Titulus : Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ λόγος... C : λόγος αὐτοσχεδῖος ῥηθεὶς εἰς τὴν δέσποιναν
κυρὰν Εἰρήνην B

1 αὐτοματίσαι σοι : αὐτοματίσαιμι B 2 λογιωτέρα : λογιωτάτη B

1. L'ex-basilissa Irène Doukaina, épouse d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène, à laquelle il a déjà adressé la lettre 5. Ce discours improvisé à la demande de la princesse rejoint et confirme les propos tenus par Italikos devant Jean Comnène, à qui il rappellera (n° 43, p. 269¹⁹) qu'il a jadis fait partie de l'entourage de sa mère. Sur cette souveraine, voir D. POLEMA, *The Doukai*, p. 70-74.

2. La petite cour qui fréquentait la basilissa dans le palais qu'elle s'était fait construire dans l'enceinte du monastère de la Kécharitóméné, et qui comptait parmi ses membres éminents, comme il le dit à la fin du même discours, Anne Doukaina et le César Nicéphore Bryennios. On retrouve la même expression dans la lettre 17, p. 154⁹. Hermogène autorise le recours à la fiction de l'improvisation dans le genre encomiastique : WALZ, *Rhetores graeci*, III, p. 422¹⁴⁻¹⁸ (= Rabe, 434⁹⁻⁸).

έόν η πάντες τούς λόγους τιμήσασα³. 'Αλλά τὸ μὲν ἀποπνέειν οὕτω τούς λόγους καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄκρον διατετρηῆσθαι τὴν γλῶτταν ἦσαν ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλῆσιοι· ἦν ποτε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χρῆμα τοῖς λόγοις εὐτύχημα, ἦνίκα Σκοπελιανοὶ τινες καὶ Νικῆται, 'Αλέξανδροί τε καὶ Δίωνες⁴ καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινες τὴν τέχνην ἐκόσμου· νῦν δὲ αὐχμὸς τις κατείληφε τὴν ῥητορικὴν εὐγλωττίαν.

Assurance de l'orateur
devant la basilissa Ἐγὼ δέ⁵ σοι αὐτίκα τεθάρρηκα τὴν δημηγορίαν, πλέρον ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς ἐμπνεόμενος παρουσίας καὶ χάριτος ἢ τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θαρρῶν. Ἐπει καὶ τέττιγες ἔδουσι λιγυρώτερον ἢ λίω παραβαλπόμενοι καὶ χελιδόνες μουσικώτεροι γίνονται καὶ λαλίστεροι ἐφεστηκότες τοῦ ἔαρος, πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκότως θερμότερος γενοίμην εἰς λόγων γονάς⁶, σοῦ μοι τήμερον ἐγνωθεύσης, τῆς ἐμῆς δεσποίνης, τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλίδος, τῆς κηδεμόνος, τῆς μεγάλης προστάτιδος; Σὺ γὰρ καθάπερ ἔαρ νοητὸν ἐπιλάμψασα, εἰς ὠδίνια ἀγαθῶν τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν ἠρέθισας. Τὰς γὰρ ἐκατέρωθεν ἀμετρίας τῶν ἔξεων ἀποκλίνας καὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς καὶ τὰς ἐλλείψεις ἐλλείψασα, εἰς τὴν εὐκρατὸν τε καὶ σύμμετρον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐληλύθεις κατάστασιν· μέσην ἔδον καὶ βασιλικωτάτην ὄντως ὀδεύουσα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἕμιον ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς καρδίας ἐλαύνοντα περιφέρουσα, οὐ λοξὴν τινα καὶ παρεγκλιμένην, ἀλλ' ἀπλανέστατα διαθέοντα, τὰς τῶν ἀπλανῶν κλάστειγας ἰσορρόπους ζυγοστατεῖς. Μὴ γὰρ ἄλλη τραπώμεθα, ἀλλ' ἔσο με αὐτῇ τῷ λόγῳ ὑπόθεσις, ἵν' ὄπερ ἔλαβον ἀντιδοίην· ἔλαβον μὲν γὰρ παρὰ σοῦ καθάπερ ἀπὸ τινος κορυφαίου τὸ τοῦ μέλους ἐνδόσιμον· ἀντιδίωμι δὲ τὰς φωνὰς ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸ μέλος ἀνακρουόμενος.

2 ἐς : εἰς B 3 μιλῆσιοι B | ποτε post χρῆμα transp. B | τὸ om. B
7 δέ σοι αὐτίκα—κόλλους (p. 149⁴) om. B

2-3 *Paroemiographi*, I, p. 249. 18-19 *Malachie* 3, 20.

3. Il y a fort à parier qu'il s'agit là d'une flagornerie de rhéteur. De l'aveu d'Anne Compiègne, sa mère prisait surtout les œuvres théologiques des Pères et notamment de Maxime le confesseur (*Alexiade* : Leib, II, p. 38). D'autre part, Georges Tornikès nous apprend qu'Alexis et Irène s'abstinrent volontairement de favoriser l'instruction de leur fille Anne : ils se défiaient de la sagesse profane, basée sur la grammaire et la poésie, toute pétrie de récits mythologiques inconvenants, tant et si bien que la porphyrogénète fut contrainte de s'instruire seule et en cachette ; cf. DARROUZÈS, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès*, p. 242-245.

4. Skopélien de Clazomène, Nicétas de Smyrne, Alexandre, fils de Numenius, et Dion Chrysostome. De l'éloquence de ces rhéteurs font aussi état Michel Psellus (*Kurtz-Drexl* : *Scripta minora*, II, p. 2⁵ et 53²⁵) et Jean Tzetzes (*Chiliades* : Leone, p. 31-32 et 457). Cf. CHRIST, *Geschichte*, II, p. 361-367, 692 et 929.

5. Ici commence dans le *Baroccianus* 131 une longue lacune (voir apparat) que n'avait pas remarqué Cramer ; le copiste aura vraisemblablement sauté un folio.

6. L'expression est reprise dans la lettre 16, p. 152¹¹.

Embarras de l'orateur Ἄλλὰ τί πρότερον εἶπω τῶν σῶν; Ποῖον δὲ διηγήσομαι δεύτερον; Τὴν συμμετρίαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἅπαντα καλλονὴν ἢ τὴν τοῦ γένους λαμπρότητα, τῆς γνώμης τὸ περιττόν ἢ τὸ σταθιρὸν τοῦ φρονήματος, τοῦ νοῦ τὸ σοφὸν ἢ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ φιλόδωρον⁷, τὴν ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἢ τὴν ἐν τῷ ὕψει ταπεινώσιν⁸, καὶ πότερον τὴν ἀξυμβλητον σωφροσύνην ἢ τὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης στάθμην τε καὶ ἰσότητά, τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀνδρεῖον παράστημα ἢ τὴν εὐβουλίαν ἢ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν ἢ τὴν ἐν ἅπασιν σύνεσιν; Οἶμαι γάρ, εἰ τις ὁμοῦ ῥητορεύων τε καὶ φιλοσοφῶν τοιοῦτόν τι τοῖς σοφισταῖς προῦβάλλετο πρόβλημα, ἐν τίνι ἄρα τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἢ τοῦ λόγου φύσει λαμπρότερα καταφανεῖται, πάντων ἀφεμένους τοὺς τῶν λόγων τεχνίτας εἰς σὲ καὶ μόνην ἀπιδεῖν ἅπαντας, ὡς τὴν ὄλην λαμπρότητα τῷ λόγῳ παρέξουσιν.

Les origines royales de la basilissa Αὐτίκα σοι τὸ γένος ἐκ τριγωνίας βασιλείων⁹. Ἄναποδίζοντες γὰρ καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς τὰς πρώτας ἀρχὰς ἀνατρέχοντες, ἅπαντας ἐφεξῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ βασιλέως καὶ βασιλίδας καὶ καίσαρας ἐφευρίσκομεν¹⁰. κατιόντες δὲ πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ τοὺς ἐπιστήμονας, διὰ βασιλέων χωροῦμεν καὶ στρατηγῶν εἰς σὲ τὴν ἀνωτάτην περιωπὴν¹¹. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ μῦθοι τὰ γένη εἰς Πηλέας τε καὶ Αἰακοῦς τυχὸν ἀναφέροντες, τελευταῖον εἰς τὸν Δία τὴν τοῦ γένους σπειρὰν ἀνάπτουσι κάτωθεν ἀναβαίνοντες, καὶ τὸ τούτων ἄνω πρὸς τὸ τῶν ὄλων ἄνω καθέστηκεν, ἵνατι καὶ παραμίζω φυσικόν τι θεώρημα ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄνωθεν καταβαίνοντες, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀνιμεν, κορωνίδα παντὸς τοῦ γένους ἐφευρηκότες, τὴν θειοτάτην σε βασιλίδα, καὶ ἀπὸ μεγάλων εἰς τὴν μεγίστην ἐρχόμεθα.

Son dédain de la toilette Τὰ δὲ τοῦ γε σώματος, τίς οὕτω γέγονε φύσεως φιλοτίμημα, ἐν μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει καὶ συμμετρίας, ὡς μόνην νομίζεσθαι μὴ ἄλλο τι τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν ἀτενί-

7. La générosité de la princesse est aussi louée par Tornikès (J. DARROUZÈS, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès*, p. 238-241) et surtout par sa fille Anne Comnène (*Alexiade*: Leib, III, p. 63).

8. La souveraine, qui affectait toujours un maintien majestueux et ne transigeait pas sur l'étiquette, n'était pas, ce semble, d'un commerce agréable: J. DARROUZÈS, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès*, p. 236-237.

9. La même formule figure dans la lettre 5, p. 98^a; Irène était en effet apparentée aux empereurs Constantin et Michel Doukas par une branche collatérale.

10. Les princesses Anne, Marie, Eudocie et Théodora; le basileus Jean; le sébastocrator Andronic et le César Isaac, dont nous connaissons maintenant avec précision les dates de naissance; cf. A. KAZDAN, *Die Liste der Kinder des Kaiser Alexios I. in einer Moskauer Handschrift, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben* 2, 1970, p. 233-237. Les deux derniers de la liste, Manuel et Zoé, qui portent à neuf le nombre des enfants du couple impérial, sont inconnus d'autre part.

11. Italikos force un peu la réalité: Irène n'était qu'une petite-nièce du basileus Constantin X Doukas, mais il est vrai que son père, Andronic, fut un général de quelque renom; cf. D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai*, p. 55-59.

ζουσιν ἢ θάμβος καὶ καινὸν θέαμα καὶ ταύτην μόνην δοκεῖν ὄρα̃ν, ἔργον τῶν δακτύλων Θεοῦ, καθάπερ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος δείκνυσιν ; Οὕτως οὖν ἔχουσα φύσεως, οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς ἢ τὰς ὑπογραφὰς¹² εἰς τὴν τοῦ κάλλους αὐγὴν προσελάμβανες ἢ τὸν κάτωθεν πλάστην συνεργὸν βάλεις τῆς ὠραιότητος καθάπερ αἱ θηλύτεραι τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπιτρέβονται ἐφ' ὕβρει τοῦ θείου πλάσματος. Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ ἡ κομμωτικὴ Κλεοπάτρας τέχνη¹³ ματαία σοι καὶ κενόσπουδος¹⁴ — ἦνθει γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦττον ὁ λειμῶν ἠμελούμενος καὶ καταφρονούμενος ἐπεδίδου καὶ μὴ κηπευόμενος ἠΰξανεν — ὅστε εἰ τινες πλοκάμους γυναικῶν ἀνάγουσιν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀστροποιῶσιν ἀποκειρομένας ἐθείρας ὥσπερ ἀνάθημα θαυμαστόν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν δλην αὐτὴν κατηστέρισαν τὴν ἐμὴν δέσποιναν, εἰ καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐγεγόνεισαν ἐθρωποὶ τολμηρότερον ἀστρονομία προσεσχικότες ;

Eloge des quatre vertus royales Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν ἀπὸ τούτων θαυμάζων τὴν ἱερὰν βασιλίδα. Ἡ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ ταύτης κάλλος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπόθετον ὄν εἰς τὸ ἔνδον ἀνάκτορον πεθσαύρικεν, ἐν' ἣ πᾶσα ἡ δόξα τῆς βασιλίδος ἔσωθεν, οὐκ ἐν χρυσωτοῖς χρυσοῖς ἀποστίλβουσα, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀπαστρέπτουσα, καὶ τότε μὲν ὅτε τῆς σαρκὸς ἠμπάζετο καὶ πρὸς τὸν κόσμον ἐπέστραπτο, μάλιστα δὲ νῦν ὅποτε θαμὰ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῆς νυμφίον ὄρα̃ καὶ δπίσω τούτου κεκόλ-

4 αὐγὴν de novo B 18 ἠσπάζετο B

1-2 Psaume 8, 4. 16-17 Psaume 44, 14.

12. Termes techniques de l'art du maquillage qui désignent la peinture des paupières supérieures et inférieures. Cf. GRÉGOIRE DE NAZIANZE, *Oratio xxxvii in Matthaeum*, 19 : PG 36, 392^c ; NICÉTAS CHONIATÈS, Bonn, p. 73^a (à propos de Berthe de Sulzbach).

13. D'après H. Usener (*Vergessenes, Rhein. Museum* 28, 1873, p. 412-413), l'orateur ferait allusion à une collection de brèves recettes cosmétiques, à une sorte de manuel de la toilette. Il en est aussi question chez JEAN TZETZÈS, *Allégories sur l'Iliade*, γ, 7. Cette Cléopâtre doit être Cléopâtre la Savante, l'Alchimiste, auteur présumée d'une chrysope, d'un traité des poids et mesures, d'un livre sur les poisons, en qui les copistes ont vu la célèbre reine d'Égypte, la femme du roi Ptolémée ; cf. M. BERTHELOT, *Les origines de l'alchimie*, Paris 1938, p. 53-64, 111, 129, 139-140, 172-174. Dans certains manuscrits le traité de Cléopâtre porte le titre singulier : Ἐκ τῶν Κλεοπάτρας κομμωτικῶν περὶ σταθμῶν καὶ μέτρων (éd. F. HULTSCH, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae*, Leipzig 1864, p. 233), où le terme *kosmêtikôn* ne correspond à rien. C'est pourquoi Berthelot (*op. cit.*, p. 173-174) fait cette réflexion : « Le mot « munditiis » rappelle les anathèmes de Tertullien contre la parure des femmes et semble s'appliquer à un ouvrage plus étendu dont celui que nous possédons serait le débris ». Signalons enfin que la maladie de l'éléphantiasis est appelée une fois *kléopatira* : *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, éd. A.-J. FESTUCIÈRE, (*Subsidia hagiographica* 48), Bruxelles 1970, I, p. 79, et II, p. 83 et 233.

14. Georges Tornikès raconte la même chose à propos d'Anne Comnène : cf. DARRICÈS, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès*, p. 258-261.

ληται¹⁵. Σωφροσύνη γάρ τὰς ὁποῦδήποτε σώφρονας παρελαύνουσα, ἦν μόνην καλλονὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ Πλάτων φησίν, ἀνδρεία καὶ τὰς ἀρρένων φύσεις ὑπερηκόντισεν. ὡσπερ ἐντεῦθεν μόνην ἀρνησαμένη τὴν φύσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀρρενωπότερον ἀποκλίνασα. Ἡ δικαιοσύνη δὲ τὴν γεωμετρικὴν
 5 ἰσότητά μιμουμένη καταλλήλους καὶ ἀναλόγους πρὸς ἕκαστα τὰς διανεμήσεις ἐπεμερίζετο, ἧ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν βασιλείον ἡγεμονίαν ἐκόσμησε. Τὴν γε μὴν φρόνησιν ἴδοις τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀπασῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίδα πανταχοῦ ταύτης περιχορεύουσαν¹⁶ ἐν λόγοις, ἐν ἔργοις, ἐν ἀποφυγαῖς, ἐν αἰρέσεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ταύτης ὁπαδοῦς, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τὰ μέρη ξυμπαραθέοντα, ἀγγίνοιαν,
 10 εὐβουλίαν, ἀπανθ' ὅποσα τὴν Σολομώντειον γυναῖκα δείκνυσι¹⁷ καί, ἵνα φιλοσοφίαν ῥητορικὴν παραμίξαιμι καὶ τὰ σεμνὰ σεμνῶς ἐρμηνεύσαιμι, ἀπὸ νοῦ ἀρξαμένη τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ πρότερον καὶ νοῦς διαβατικώτατος¹⁸ χρηματίσασα, καὶ τὸν πρακτικὸν ἀπελάμπρυνε νοῦν· μᾶλλον δὲ ταύτης, εἰ δεῖ τᾶληθὲς εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἡ αἰσθησις ὅλη καὶ ὁ φανταστικὸς νοῦς καὶ ἡ
 15 δοξαστικὴ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα γνῶσις ἔνους ἐστὶ καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ νοῦς αὐτόχρημα κατ' ἐνέργειαν γέγονε.

Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τέτρωρον ἄρμα ἑαυτῇ καλῶς καὶ
 Vie monastique ἐπιστημονικῶς ὑποζεύξασα, περιπολεῖ μὲν οὐρανόν,
 περιτρέχει δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα, μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων χορείαν
 20 ἐστήσατο· πᾶν γειρόν τε καὶ ὑλικὸν ἀποπέμπουσα καὶ ὀλίγω τούτῳ χρωμένη καὶ προσανέχουσα, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς εὐεργεσίας καὶ χάριτας, καὶ δυσὶν ὀμύλησασα βίοις ἑμποτέρους ἐκόσμησε¹⁹, καθάπερ τι ζῶον ἀμφίβιον ἄριστα καθ' ἑκάτερον διαζῆσαν· τὸν τε γὰρ πολυκύμονα τοῦτον, λέγω δὴ τὴν τοῦ βίου πολύστρεφον θάλατταν, καλῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς διενήξατο, καὶ
 25 μετὰ τοῦτον εἰς ἄλλον μεταθεμένη καλλίω καὶ ὑψηλότερον καὶ τὴν κοσμικὴν

1 παρᾶλύνουσα om. C 3 ὑπερηκόντησεν B || ἐνταῦθα B || μόνον B
 4 ἀρρενωπότερον B 6 προσμερίζετο B || ἧ : ἡ B ||
 βασιλείον : βασιλικὴν B 7 ἀπασῶν ἀρετῶν B || ἡγεμόνα B 8 ἐν
 λόγοις περιχορεύουσαν B 10 δείκνυσι C 11 καὶ τὰ —ἐρμηνεύσαιμι
 om. B 12 διαβατικώτατος C 13 νοῦν : νῦν B 22 τι om. C 24
 θάλασσαν B

1 Psaume 62, 9. 2 PLATON, *Gorgias*, 506e.

15. Comme sa belle-mère Anne Dalassène, elle avait pris la bure des moniales après la mort de son mari. C'est ce que laisse aussi entendre Théodore Skoutariôtès, (éd. Sathas, *MB* 7, p. 186²⁹⁻³⁰) : τῆς ἀγούστης Εἰρήνης, τῆς αὐτοῦ ὁμοζύγου, καὶ αὐτῆς τὴν μοναχικὴν ἐπιποθησάσης κατάστασιν.

16. L'orateur énumère les quatre vertus impériales traditionnelles, tempérance, courage, équité et sagesse, dont l'éloge ne saurait faire défaut dans un logos basilikos.

17. La femme parfaite, dont les qualités sont décrites dans *Proverbes* 31, 10-31.

18. La même expression sera reprise par l'orateur à l'adresse du patriarche Léon Stypés. Voir le discours 10, p. 120⁶.

19. La vie d'impératrice et celle de moniale.

μετὰ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἀποθρίσασα τρίχα, οἷά τις χρυσόπτερος ἀετὸς
διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος εἰς τὰς οὐρανίους μονὰς ἀνίπταται· μᾶλλον δέ, Δαυιτικῶς
ἀπειν, περιστερεῶς ἀναλαβομένη πτέριγας, τουτέστι φιλανθρωπίας ὠκύπτερα,
καταπαῦσαι ζητεῖ εἰς τὰ ἀνώτατα ἀνάκτορα καὶ ἀκαθέκτως ἔχει τῆς πτήσεως,
ὥστε μὴδὲ συγκρίνωμεν τὴν ἀσύγκριτον· οὐπερ γὰρ ἂν ἐπιδραξαίμεθα
πρὸς ἀντεξέτασιν τῶν πάλαι καὶ νῦν, ἀστρίον ἐστὶ πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ βάνις
πρὸς μέγιστον πέλαγος καὶ κέγχρος ὀλίγη πρὸς ὄγκον ὄρους ὑψηλοτάτου
καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα χωμύδριον.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἐπίπνους αὐτὸς ἐγινόμεν εἰς τόνδε
Epilogue τὸν λόγον, εἰ μὴ μοι ἐνεφορεῖ τῆς βασιλίδος ἢ παρουσίας,
σύμμαχον ἂν προσελαβόμεν καὶ τὴν Σειρήνα τοῦ
καίσαρος²⁰· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλοθεν προσεπιρρεῖσθαι τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμάρas ἀνέχομαι
ἢ παρὰ σοῦ, τῆς μεγάλης πηγῆς· καὶ δεοίμην ἂν μόνων τῶν Εὐξείνου
βουμάτων ἢ Προποντίς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ φέρω τὴν θεαγωγίαν ὄλην, ἀλλὰ
μεστὸς εἰμι λόγων καὶ προθυμίας ἀρρήτου καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν καταπέπνιγμα
ταῖς ἐπιρροαῖς, περιττὸν τὸ προσερανεῖσθαι· τρόπον γὰρ τινα αὐτῇ ἑαυτὴν
ἢ βασιλὶς τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις κατεστεφάνωσε, χορηγοῦσα τὰ ἐνθυμήματα·
ἡμῖν δὲ μόνον καθάπερ ὄργανοις ἐχρήσατο. Ὁ γοῦν ἔδει ποιῆσαι, τοῦτο
δὴ τὸ τῶν γεωμετρούντων, πεποιήται²¹ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄρα καὶ μόνης
ἢ φύσις τοῦ λόγου λαμπρύνονται — λεγέσθω γὰρ τοῦτο μετὰ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν
ἐπιφώνημα — εἰ δὲ καὶ μεταξὺ βητορεύοντες ἐφιλοσοφήσαμεν, ἀλλὰ πῶς
ἂν ἐτέρως ἐπεξῆλθον τὸν λόγον, φιλοσόφου τοῦ ἀκροατηρίου τυγχάνοντος
τῆς μεγάλης βασιλίδος, τῶν ἄλλων βασιλίδων²², τοῦ καίσαρος²³, ὅπου
γε οὐδ' ὁ περὶ τὴν βασιλίδα κύκλος παντάπασιν ἀφιλόσοφος.

1 ἀποθρίσασα B 4 ζητεῖς B | εἰς om. C | ἔχεις B 5 συ-
κρίνωμεν B 6 τῶν : τὸ C 7 κέγχρος B 9 οὖν om. B 12
ἀμάρas C 13 μόνων B 14 οὐδὲ : οὐ B 17 βασιλίσσα B 22
ὑπεξῆλθον C 24 βασιλίδα : βασιλισσῶν C

3 Psaume 67, 14.

20. Anne Comnène, épouse du César Nicéphore Bryennios.

21. Ce verbe a ici le sens de démontrer ; cf. Ch. MUGLER, *Dictionnaire historique de la terminologie géométrique des Grecs*, Paris 1959, p. 350-351.

22. Sans doute les princesses Marie, Eudocie et Théodora Comnène, et aussi Irene Doukaina, fille d'Anne Comnène et petite-fille préférée de l'ex-souveraine.

23. Nicéphore Bryennios.

In crucem ab Irena Ducaena exornatam.

Καὶ τοῦτο γοῦν σοι προσφέρω πανυστάτως
 ἤδη προσεγγίσασα ταῖς "Αἰδοῦ πύλαις"
 τὸ θεῖον ἀνάθημα, τὸ 'ζωῆς ξύλον',
 ἐν ᾧ τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ τεκόντι παρέθου
 5 καὶ τῶν πόνων Ἐληξας οὖς ἐκαρτέρεις,
 οἷς τοὺς πόνους Ἐλυσας, οὖς κατεκρίθην,
 καὶ καρτερεῖν ἔπεισας ἡμᾶς ἐν πόνοις.
 ταύτην δίδωμί σοι τελευταίαν δόσιν
 θνήσκουσα καὶ λήγουσα κἀγὼ τῶν πόνων,
 10 ἡ βασιλὶς Δούκαινα λάτρις Εἰρήνη,
 χρυσενδύτις πρὶν, ἀλλὰ νῦν βακενδύτις,
 ἐν τριχίνοις νῦν ἢ τὸ πρὶν ἐν βυσσίνοις,
 τὰ ῥάκια στέργουσα πορφύρας πλέον,
 35 πορφυρίδα κρίνουσα τὴν ἐπωμίδα
 15 μελαμβαφῆ ἔχουσα, ὡς δέδοκτό σοι.
 σὺ δ' ἀντιδοίης λῆξιν ἐν μακαρίοις
 καὶ χαρμονὴν ἄληκτον ἐν σισωσμένοις.

2 Hom. Od. XIV 156 (Αἶδαο πύλαις) 3 cf. ad 6,5 4 cf.
 Matth. 27,50 al. 9 Septuag. II Ma. 9,18 12 cf. Septuag. Za.

13,4 et gen. 41,42 16 cf. ps.-Dion.Areop. de eccl. hier. VII 2,2 =
 PG III 557 b Modest. Hier. in dorm. virg. 10 = PG LXXXVI 3301 c

INSCR.: I³

TIT.: om.

3 ἀνάθημα Curt.: ἀνάθημα I³ 4 τεκόντι Curt.: τεκοντι (sic)
 I³ 5 Ἐληξας Montf.: ἱαπέας I³ 6 κατεκρίθην Montf.: -ἔθην I³
~~ἔθης Fr.~~ 7 καρτερεῖν Montf.: καρτεῖν I³ 10 Εἰρήνη Montf.:
 εἰρήνη I³ 11 βακενδύτις Montf.: -ἔντε I³ 13 στέργουσα Montf.:
~~σῆνσα I³~~ 14 πορφυρίδα Curt.: -ἔδ I³ -ἔδος Montf. 15 μελαμβαφῆ
 Curt.: μελαμ. I³ 16 ἐν Montf.: ἐ I³.

II. Στίχοι ἡρώοι εἰς τὴν βασίλισσαν κυρὰν Εἰρήνην τὴν Δούκαιναν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος υἱοῦ αὐτῆς

Ὡς ὄφελον, βασίλεια, γέρας μέγα θηλυτεράων,
μή ποτε τάλαιπώρου κληῖδα γαστρὸς ἀνοῖξαι,
μή γλάγρος γλυκεροῖο ἀμολγῆ χεῖλα δεῦσαι
μηδ' ἀνέρα φθάσαι μηδ' ἤβης μέτρον κίεσθαι
6 μηδὲ τεοῦ δαπέδου χρυσῆν κόνιν ἀμφιπατῆσαι·
ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἐκτὸς ἐμιμνα βαρειαῶν ὀδυνάων
οὐ τὰδ' ἐμῆς ὀρόων βαρυσύμφορα πῆματ' ἀνάσσης.
νῦν δέ μοι ἀλλὰ πόνους καὶ διζύας ἐνθετο δαίμων
πένθεισι δεσποσύνοις δοῦλον δάκρυ καρποφοροῦντι.
10 τίς γὰρ ἂν ἀδάκρυτος καὶ ἀπαθῆς ταῦτα παρέλθοι,
εἴ κε βροτὸς τελέθῃσι καὶ οὐ φύσιν ἔλλαχε πέτρης

Ms.: V *Ed.:* ΜΑΪΥΡΙ, Anecdota 541—544

2 cf. Diph. 60, 3 3 cf. Hom. B 471 = Π 643 4 cf. Hes. Op. 132; Hom. A 225; λ 317; σ 217; τ 532; h. Dem. 166. 221 8 cf. Hom. N 2; Ξ 480; θ 529
11—12 cf. L'X a i; Hom. X 126; τ 163

Inscr. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ στίχοι κατ. V 3 ἀμολγῶ ΜΑΪΥΡΙ 6 ἢ V βαρειαῶν V

Gedicht II

- οὐδέ τέ μιν δρυτόμος πελέκει τάμεν, ἐκ δ' ἔλεν ὕλης;
 ὦχετό σοι βασιλεύς, φίλος πόσις, οὐ κλέος εὐρύ,
 οὐ κλέος εὐρύ τέτρασιν ὑπὸ κλιμάτεσσι βίοιο,
 15 σωτήρ Αὔσονίοισιν, ὀλέθριος ἔθνεσι μοῖρα,
 Ῥωμαίοισιν ἄλεξις, Ἀλέξιος ὦχετο κείνος.
 τοῦτό σοι ἀχθοφόρων ἀρχὴ κακοδαιμοσυνάων.
 τῷ δ' ἐπι γαμβρόν δλεσσας ἀγακλυτόν, ἐν δ' ἐθετήσω
 χήρην παῖδα φίλην Νικηφόρου ἄλοχον ἐσθλήν·
 20 τῷ δ' ἐπι Ἀνδρονίκου θάνε παῖς, πρὸ δὲ κάτθαν' ἀκοιτις·
 τοῖς λάβε πορφυρόβλαστον ἐπ' Εὐδοκίην Ἀιδωνεύς.
 οὐ τὰδ' ὁμως, βασιλεία, πικρὴν ἐκόρεσσαν Ἐριννύν,
 ἀλλὰ σοι ἀμφὶ πόνοισι πόνους θέτο, ἄλγεσι δ' ἄλγη
 μοῖρ' ὅλοη συνέκλωσε, νεώτερα πρεσβυτέροισι.
 25 δοιοὺς γάρ τ' ἀπόλεσσας ἄμ' υἱέας, ἄγριε Τελχίν,
 Ἀνδρονίκου βίην, Ἰσαακίου δὲ τε βῶμην,
 οὐ μὲν ἐπ' ἀντολῆς μακρὰ πείρατα πλαζομένοιο,
 ζωοῦ τεθνεϊῶτος, ἰοῦ βαρυσύμφορε μοῖρα,
 οὐ δ' ἄρ' ἐποιομένοιο δύσιν σκοτόεσσαν Ἀΐδου.
 30 οἱ ἐγὼ Ἀνδρονίκου δολιχὸν δόρυ, Ἄρραβες ἵπποι,
 ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι, ἀγακλυτὰ τεύχεα πάντα,
 τίς ποθ' ὑμᾶς περίθοιτο κατὰ κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην,
 ἐκ δὲ τάμησι κεφαλᾶς ἀλλοθρόων ἀνθρώπων,
 ἀμφὶ δὲ κάρτος ἄροιτο καὶ Αὔσοισιν εὐχος ὀπάσσοι;
 35 οἱ ἐγὼ ἠδυέπεια παραιφασίη τε θέμις τε
 βουλή τε ξύνεσις τε, δι' ὧν κανονίζεται Ἄρης,
 τίς δι' ὑμείων ἔσσεται ἐσθλὸς στρατοπεδάρχης;
 τίς δὲ φαλαγγάρχης; τίς δ' ἀντιβίοισιν ὀλεθρος;
 οἱ ἐγὼ εὐδύσμητερ, ἰὼ δυσαριστοτόκεια·
 40 ποῦ ποτέ σοι τὸ μέγιστον ἐν ἄχθεσι πάντεσι γῆθος;
 οἱ ἐγὼ εὐδυσάδελφοι ὀμαίμονες, οἱ σοφὲ καῖσαρ·
 οἶος ἄρα πτολέμοισιν ἐφίξειαι ἠδ' ἐπανήξεις,
 οἶον δ' ἡ βασίλισσα θεήσεται, οἶω ἐνίσπη,
 οἶω ἐπ' αὐχένι δεξιτερὴν περίθοιτο παλάμην,
 45 οἶω καὶ βιότοιο ἐσὺ πρυμνήσι' ἀνάψει.
 ὦ βασιλεῦ Σκυθολοιγέ, μεγασθενές Ἰωάννη,
 ὦλετό σοι σύμβουλος ἀδελφεὸς ἠδὲ μαχητής·

12 cf. Hom. A 86; Π 033 13—14 cf. Hom. α 344; δ 726. 816 16 cf. Et. M.
 Ἀλέξανδρος 17 cf. Mon. in Andr. (Nr. 81) 522. 18 30 cf. Hom. Σ 54
 cf. Mon. in Seyl. (Nr. 86) 22 PETIT; Hom. ι 137; AP XII 159

14 τέτρασιν V

24 πρεσβυτέροισι MAJURI

34 ὀπάσοι V

43 ἐνίσπη V

τριπλᾶ γοῦν ὀλοφύρου, τριττὰ δὲ δάκρυα χεῦε.
 κόσμος ἅπας στενάχθησεν ἐπ' Ἀνδρονίκῳ τεθνεῶτι,
 50 ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε θάλασσά τε καὶ τ' ἐπὶ βορρῆς,
 οἶος ἄρα Σκύθης καὶ ἔθνεα πάντα χόρευσεν,
 ἔνθεν ἀποικομένου κρατεραλκῆος Ἀνδρονίκου,
 ᾧ κείνοι φθινύθεσκον ἀδρού ὑπὸ δουρὸς ἀκωκῆ·
 ὃς γὰρ κῆρα μέλαιναν ὑπ' ἀντιβίοισιν ὄπαζε,
 55 καίνυτο δ' ἐκ κεφαλᾶς ἐχθρῶ γαλκήρει ἔγχει
 καὶ πολᾶων πολίων ὑψίλοφα ρίπτε κάρηνα,
 οὗτος ἀποφθίμενος κάρη κονίησιν ἔμιξε,
 φάλαγξ δ' ἐξεγέλασεν ἀρηιφίλων πολεμίων,
 χερσὶ θ' ὑποκροτάλισσε, καλὸν δέ τε κόρδακα παῖζε.
 60 τόσσα σε, ὦ βασίλεια μακαρτάτη, ἔλλαβε πένθη,
 τόσσα σε ἀμφεκύκλωσε· σὺ δ' ἄλλ' ἔτλης καὶ ἔμεινας·
 ὥς δ' ὅτε τις πέλεκυν σιδηροῦν λάβῃ, ἐν δ' ἀδάμαντα
 ἀφρονέων παίησι, τεμεῖν δέ ἐ θυμὸς ἀνώγει
 καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν εὖ κατὰγοίτο βαρειᾶν ἀπὸ χειρῶν
 65 βριθόσυνός τ' ἀδάμαντα μετεσσύμενος λίθον ἀδρὸν
 τμηξαι δηριάει, ὁ δ' ἀδάμας ἔστι καὶ ἔμπης·
 ὥς καὶ σοί, μέγ' ἀνασσα, σιδάρεα ἔμπησον ἄλγη
 τμηξαι δηριάοντα· σὺ δ' ἄλλ' ἀδαμάντινος ἔσσι.
 τίς τοι ἄρ' εἰκάσειε παλαιγενέας βασιλίσσας,
 70 τίς Νιόβην πολυπενθέα καὶ οἰκτρὴν Ἰοκάστην,
 τίς δ' Ἐκάβην παράθοιτο κακοπραγέα τρισάλαστον;
 πάσας γὰρ παθέεσιν διζύεσιν τε παρῆλθες,
 πάσας δ' εὐσταθείη καὶ κρατερόφρονι θυμῷ.
 ὥς δ' ὀπόταν πόντοιο πέτρη μέσον ἐμπεφυῦτα
 75 ἴσσηται προφανῆς, ῥαχίην δέ τέ μιν καλέουσι,
 κῦμα δέ οἱ προσέκλυσεν ἀμοιβαδὸν ἄλλυδις ἄλλο,
 κὰδ δ' ἐράγη προπεσὸν καὶ ἀλεύατο, ἐκπτυσσε δ' ἀφρόν,
 οὐδέ τέ μιν κατέσεισεν ὑπὸ κρατεροῖσι θεμέθλοισι
 ἰδρυμένην λοίσθοις ποτὶ κευθμώνεσσι θαλάσσης,
 80 ἢ δ' ἐπιμειδιάησι λοεσσαμένη χροᾶ καλὸν
 λουτροῖς ἀμφὶ θαμειοῖς, πλυναμένη τε πρύσωπα,
 κύμασι δ' ἐγγελάει κορδυομένοισιν ἐπ' αὐτήν,
 οὐδέ σφιν μανίη τε καὶ ἡ μάχη οὐποτε λήγει·
 ὥς καὶ σὺ κρατερὴ τε καὶ ἔμπεδος ἔπλευ ἀπάντων,

50 cf. VIII 158; XXVIIa5 55 cf. Hom. γ 282 61 cf. Nic. Eug., Dros. et
 Clur. VI 207 67—68 cf. Mon. in Andr. (Nr. 81) 524, 19—20

50 καὶ τ': ταῖς δ' V: τῶν δ' MAJURI: καὶ MAJURI in app. 56 ῥίπε MAJURI 60 ὦ
 om. MAJURI 62 ἐν: εὖ MAJURI 72 διζύεσι τε V 74 ἐμπεφυκῆ MAJURI

85 ἰσπότε κῶμα πόνων σοι ἐπέσσεται οὐρεῖ ἴσον.
 86 ὄλλ' ὃ θύκασα μάκκιρα, θεοῦδέος ἐκγονε φύτληε,
 εὐπικε εὐπικτέρεα, μέγ' ἔξοχος ἀμφὶ ἀνάσσειε,
 κενῶσι μὲν γε θάνον, βασιλεύς πόσις, υἱέες ἐσθλοῖ,
 θεσμοῖσιν γὰρ ὑπείκασθον ἀρχεγόνουσι θεοῖο,
 90 οἷς θάνατόν τε βίον τε διακριδὸν ἀμφὶς ἔταξεν,
 κ' ἄτ' δ' ἐν λυκάβασιν ἀπειρεσίοισι βιώηε,
 ἐσθλοῖς δ' ἐν ζεφύροισι βίοιο κέλευθα περῶηε,
 πικυῆε νουσαλέηε ἀπόπροθι, κύματος ἐκτός,
 κύματος ἀργαλέοιο βραιάων ὀδυνάων,
 95 περφυρογεννήτοισι θυγατράσιν ἀμφιχερείηε,
 κείσχει τῷ θεῷ καὶ υἱέσι κείσχερος ἐσθλοῖς,
 γαμβροῖς τ' ἠδὲ νουῖς καὶ πάντεσιν, οἷς γενεαρχεῖε.
 ταῦτα κλύοις Προδρόμοιο λιταζομένου, ἀνα Χριστέ.

87 ἀνάσσειε ΜΑΙΟΥΡΙ

97 γενεῖχαιε ΜΑΙΟΥΡΙ

362.

XXXIX. Ἐπιτάφιοι τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου καί-
 σαρος κυροῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Βρυεννίου, κυρᾶ Θεοδώρᾳ

Οὐκ οἶδα, πῶς νῦν ἐξοδεύσω τὸν λόγον
 καὶ πῶς δραμοίμην τὸν προκείμενον δρόμον
 καὶ τίς γενοίμην ταῖς ἐνεστώσαις τύχαις·
 ἂν ταῖς ἀβύσσοις ἀτενίσω τοῦ πάθους
 5 καὶ τὴν προβάσαν ἐννοήσω ζημίαν,
 ἄλλας ἀβύσσους ἐκμετρῶ θρηνημάτων,
 δάκρυσι κινῶ τὸν κρατῆρα τοῦ λόγου,
 ὀδυρματώδη τὴν ἀφήγησιν πλέκω
 καὶ πρὸς στεναγμούς ἐκκινουῦμαι βυθίους.
 10 ἂν ἐς τὸ μακάριον ἐμβλέψω τέλος
 τῆς νῦν θανούσης καὶ λιπούσης τὸν βίον,
 σκιρτῶ μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφ' ὕψους ταγμάτων
 καὶ μοι γέγηθεν ἀσφαλῶς ἡ καρδία

Hss.: H L N

Ed.: KURTZ, Unedierte Texte 87—93

H N Inscr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιτάφιοι . . . κυροῦ Θεοδώρου L

4 ἐντρανίσω N

5 προβάσαν

10 εἰς L

- καὶ ταῖς ἄνωθεν συγκροτεῖ στραταρχίαις
 15 κοινὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ χαρὰν ποιουμέναις
 τὸ τηλικαύτης προσλαβεῖν ψυχῆς σέλας.
 διγάζομαι γοῦν καὶ μερίζομαι μέσος
 καὶ με τρυτάνη χαρμονῆς καὶ δακρύων
 ἐκεῖθεν ἔνθεν θαμινῶς μετακλίνει.
 20 ὡς γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρις αὐτοῦ τοῦ τέλους
 τὰς σὰς ἐπέλω καὶ διαδράμω τύχας,
 ὦ θήλεος κόσμημα, καλῶν ἐστία
 καὶ δῶρον ὄντως τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου μέγα,
 ἡρωϊκὴ κήπευσις ἐξήνεγκέ σε
 25 καὶ ῥίζα βασιλείου ἐβλάστησέ σε
 τὴν ἡμερίδα τὴν καλὴν καὶ κοσμίαν·
 ἐν τοῦτο καλόν, ἡ γενικὴ σεμνότης·
 ἀλλὰ μετῆρε καὶ μετηνέγκατό σε
 ὁ τῆς προνοίας κοσμαγωγὸς βραχίων
 30 ἐξ εὐτυχοῦς γῆς εἰς τρισετυχεστέραν
 κήποις τε χρυσοῖς ἐγκατερρίζωσέ σε,
 κήποις ἐκείνοις τοῖς βασιλικωτάτοις,
 ἐν οἷς ὑπήνθει μυρίον μὲν τὸ κρίνον,
 ἀπείριτος δὲ τῶν ῥόδων ἡ λευκότης,
 35 πολὺς δ' ὁ κιττός εἶρπεν, ὁ σμίλαξ δ' ὅσος·
 καὶ τὰς φυτουργούς ὡς καλὰς δέδωκέ σοι
 αὐτὴν τε τὴν προῦχουσαν ἐν βασιλίῃ,
 τὴν παμβόητον ἐν γυναιξίν Εἰρήνην,
 τὴν πρὸς δόσεις ἀβυσσον ἀχανεστάτην,
 40 τὴν ἀρεταῖς στέψασαν αὐτὸ τὸ στέφος,
 τὴν τῶν παθῶν δέσποιναν, οὐ τῆς γῆς μόνον,
 καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τοῖς τρόποις,
 τὸ Δουκικὸν θρύλλημα, τὴν σοφὴν Ἄνναν,
 τὸν ἀντικρυς νοῦν, τὴν χαρίτων ἐστίαν,
 45 τὸ λευκέρυθρον πορφυράνθητον ῥόδον,
 κᾶν νῦν μέλαινα τοῦτο καλύπτῃ κάλυξ,
 τοῦ δεσπότη μου — στήθι μοι, ῥοῦς δακρύων,

40 cf. XI 21—30; XIII 43—44 41 cf. Io. Maur. 20, 1 LAGARDE 45—46
 LIV 129—130

16 προσλαλεῖν N 17 μέσος ex μέσως H 20 μέχρις N 21 ἐπέλω N
 26 τὴν ἡμερίδα καὶ N 27 καλό N 28 μετῆρε N 29 βραχίων N 31 ἐγκατερρίζωσέ N
 33 ὑπήνθη N 35 εἶπεν L : εἶρπε δ' ὡς σμίλαξ N 44 τὴν ἀντικρυς L N 46 κα-
 λύπτει N 47—49 τοῦ δεσπότη μου ex τ. δ. μοι H 47 στήθι μου N

W III 237 ὀνομασίαν ἐπισημῶν, τὰ ἐπίσημα λέγον καὶ τὰ ἐπίσημα, καὶ 728
 ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι τρόπον ἐπισημῶν κατὰ τῶν ἐπισημῶν εἰσηγοῦτο, D IV 210

20 καὶ ἐπὶ δ' ἀγῆρητο ἐκ θείων ναδῶν. οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ
 τὸ νόμισμα κεκλιθήμενον πρὸς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ εὐρηκῶς
 χάλκων ἔθιτο, ὡς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκέχρητο ἀναλώματα, 5
 τοὺς δὲ γε φέροντες διὰ χρυσίων δοκίμων εἰσέπραττε, τῇ δὲ
 γε καὶ δι' ἑτέρον, χρυσίων μὲν κικαίνων, ἀλλ' ἡμιχρυσίων,
 D 21 ἔστι δ' οὐ καὶ διὰ τῶν χαλκίων ἐδαρμοσφύρει. ὕθεν χαλκοῦ
 δεόμενος πλείονος τοὺς ὄβολοὺς εἰς νόμισμα μετετέπωσε καὶ
 τὰ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων, τῶν χαλκοσχημάτων φημί, κατα-10
 σπύσας εἰς στατήρας ἀνέκοιτε καὶ νέας δεκάτας ἐκαίνισεν.
 22 Ἐγένετο δὲ θυγάτριον ἢ ἀγούστα τῶ βασιλεῖ, ὅπερ Ἄννα
 ὀνομάσθη διὰ τὴν πατρικήτου, ἐπ' ἣ τὸν τῆς βασιλείας
 Μαρίας υἱὸν Κωνσταντίνου τῆς ἐξ Ἀλανῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμνη-
 23 στεύσατο. ἐκείνου δ' ἐπὶ τῇ μνηστειᾷ τὴν ζωὴν καταλύσαντος, 15
 ὡς ὠραία γάμον ἢ θυγάτηρ ἐγγύονει τῶ ἀνακτι, νυμφίον ἕτε-
 ρον ἐπ' αὐτῇ εἰσηγόσατο τὸν μεῖζον τῶν υἱῶν Νικηφόρου τοῦ
 Βρυεννίου, ὃν ὁ λόγος προέφηγε τῇ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρήσαντα

3 περὶ τῶν (om. E) νομισμάτων (νομίσματος E) CE 12 περὶ τῶν
 θυγατέρων τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν υἱῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θυγατρῶσι γαμβρῶν C

1 λέγων D 2 ἐπισημῶν AEWp Glyc. p. 620, 15, ἀνθρώπων O
 3 δὲ O 3. 4 καὶ τὸ νόμισμα om. C 4 κεκλιθήμενων p*
 5 δοκίμων χρυσίων D 8 οὐ] οὐ B χαλκων D 12 γένετο
 C 13 ἢ A, ὡ R(wp) 16 ἢ θυγάτηρ ante ὠραία (sic, ut B)
 in marg. suppl. C 17 ἀδελφ Di in vitis ARwp τὸν υἱὸν D
 νικηφόρον E τοῦ] τῶν p* 18 βρυεννίου RwpDi, βρυεννίου
 E, βρυεννίου AC προέφηγε] XVIII 19, 2

καὶ ἀλόγιστα καὶ πηρωθέντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. τούτῳ τὴν θυ-24
 γατέρι ταύτην κατεγγυήσας τετίμηκε τὸν ἄνδρα παννυπεροσέβαστον. P II 209 A
 γίνεται δὲ τῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ υἱός, ὃν ἐν τῶ θείῳ τεμένει τῆς τοῦ 25
 θεοῦ λόγου Σοφίας παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου καταξιοθέντα τοῦ
 5 θείου βαπτίσματος καὶ Ἰωάννην κληθέντα αὐτίκα ὁ πατήρ καὶ
 διαδήματι ταινοῖ. γεγύνασι δὲ τῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἕτεροι δύο υἱοί, 26
 Ἀνδρόνικος τε καὶ Ἰσαΐκιος, καὶ θυγατέρες ἕτεροι τρεῖς, Μαρία,
 Εὐδοκία καὶ Θεοδώρα. τῇ μὲν οὐν Μαρίᾳ τὸν τοῦ Γυνρά 27
 ἐκείνου Θεοδώρου τοῦ σεβαστοῦ καὶ μάρτυρός υἱὸν ἐμνηστεύ-
 D IV 241 σατο. εἶτα τὴν μνηστειάν ταύτην λύσας, οὕτω δόξαν αὐτῶ, 28
 ἀκείνον ἀποπεμφάμενος ἕτερον μνηστήρα τῇ θυγατρὶ ταύτῃ
 τὸν τοῦ Φορβηνοῦ υἱὸν τοῦ Κατακαλῶν τὸν Νικηφόρον εἰσ-
 εποίησατο. τῇ δ' Εὐδοκίᾳ τὸν τοῦ Ἰασίου Κωνσταντίνου παῖδα 29 B
 συνέζευξεν ὡς τῇ τε συνεύρῳ οὐχ ὡς βασιλέως ἐκέχρητο θυ-
 15 γατρί, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ κορείττονος ὠμίλει ταύτῃ καὶ προσεφέρετο,
 καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ δὲ πλειστάκις προσκεκρούκει καὶ πενθερῇ,
 ἡπερ αὐτῶ προσοχθίσασα τὴν θυγατέρα νοσήσασαν εὐθὺς ἀπο-30
 κείρει καὶ τὸν Ἰασίτην ἀπελαύνει τῶν βασιλείων. τῇ δὲ γε τε-31

2 κατεγγυήσας ταύτην D κατεγγυήσας C τὸν ἄνδρα] καὶ BD
 3. 4 τοῦ θείου post πατριάρχου O 4 καταξιοθέντος D 8 καὶ]
 v. ad XIII 2, 36 8. 9 τοῦ θεοδώρου D 8 γυνρά
 A, γυνρά RwpDi 9 σεβαστοῦ καὶ μάρτυρος] σεβαστοκράτορος conl.
 W. Fischerus *Mitth. d. Instit. f. öster. Geschichtsforsch.* X
 p. 194 τὸν γηγόριον add. post υἱὸν CwpDi, v. Ann. Comu.
 I p. 417, 17 10 οὕτως B 11 ταύτη om. C 12 φορβηνοῦ
 ARwp, φορβηνοῦ E, φορβηνοῦ DBw (v. XVIII 24, 26); Εὐφορβηνοῦ
 dicit eum Ann. Comu. II p. 11, 11. 15, 7. 35, 20 cet. τοῦ
 κα τὸν D 13 τὸν αἰτίου τοῦ κωνσταντίνου D κων-
 σταντίνου om. C W'o lat. 16 παλλάκις B προσκεκρούκει C
 πενθερῇ R(wpDi), πενθερῇ A 17 προσοχθίσασα w'p in vitis AR
 18 ἀποκείρει E

λευταίη τῶν θυγατέρων συνώμισεν ὁ πατήρ νεανίαν τὸ μὲν
 εἶδος ἀγαλλυμένην, τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἐπιφανῶν.

- 32 Ἐγένετο δ' ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τούτων κλώνος τῆς γῆς ἡρι-
 κωδέστατος κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς νύκτος τοῦ ἐν θαύμασι περι-
 σιωνήμον ἁγίου Νικολάου, ἔφ' οὗ πολλοὶ τε οἰκίαι καὶ ναοὶ κατ- 5
 ἠρέπιαυον καὶ πτοαί, δι' ὧν αἱ τῆς πόλεως ὑπόφρονται ἀτραποί,
 καὶ πλείστοι ἐν τοῖς σιματώμασι ἀνεχρῶσθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον.
 23 Κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους καὶ τοῦ τῶν Πατζινάκων
 ἔθνους συγκλήσεως γέγονεν, ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων ἡθῶν μετανα-
 στεύσαντος εἰς χώραν Ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ τὴν Θρακίαν πῶσαν καὶ 10
 2 τὴν Μικασδονίαν ληζομένον. κατὰ τούτων ἐκστρατεύσας ὁ βα-
 3 σιλεύς, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀλλοθνεομένων, ἀσχυρῶς ἠττητο. εἴ-
 αὐθις ἄπεισι κατὰ τῶν βιουβήμων, ταπεινωθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς
 καὶ τὸ πᾶν τῆς θείας ἐξουσίας ὑπῆς, καὶ προσβάλλει τοῖς
 D 4 πολέμοις. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐξοδον ἐπομείναντες τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ 15
 γῆς ἐρύσσονται καὶ οἰμωγαῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξεκυλοῦντο πρὸς
 5 ἔλκον. οἴλετο μὲν οὖν πολὺ τι τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ
 ἀνελαμβάνοντο καὶ ἦσαν ὑπὸ δεσμοῖς καὶ εἰς δουλείαν οἱ D IV 245
 6 βαρβαρῶτερότατοι αὐτοὺς ἀπέδιδοντο. ὁ δ' αὐτοκράτωρ πλήθος

3 περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου (ε. μγ. om. E) αἰσιμοῦ CE 8 περὶ τῶν Πατζι-
 νάκων καὶ ὑποὶ κατετροπώθησαν (κατετροπώθησαν C) CE, κατὰ γὰρ μὲν
 ἔπαυσι, ταπεινώσει δ' ὑποὶ B_r

1 παίδων BD 3 αὐτοῦ | D 4 προιονόμενον ante ἐν O 5 ἁγίου
 om. C) 7 post σιματ. add. καὶ D 8 συνεχώδησαν E 8 τοῦ
 om. E 9 ἔθνος | τὸ ἔθνος E post ἔθνος add. ἡ Owp Di
 11 τὴν om. D Glys. p. 620, 19 16 οἰμωγαῖς BCwp Di, οἰμωγαῖς
 AK προσκυλοῦντο BD 19 δ' AR, om. w*_p

ἀπολεξίμενος σφριγιόντων καὶ ὁμιαλέων εἰς τὸ τῶν Μογλένων
 θέμα τούτους οὖν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις κατέκλισε καὶ τάγμα
 ταύτους κατέπησεν ἰδιαίτατον· οἱ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο κατὰ 7
 διδοχὰς διαμένοναι, εἰς ἐπίθετον σχόντες τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ
 5 κατοικήθησαν, καὶ Πατζινάκοι Μογλενῖται καλούμενοι. W III 238

Ἐπιβουλῆς δὲ μηνυθείσης αὐτῶ προτουρογὸς ἐχούσης τὸν 8
 Οὐμπεροτόπλον καὶ τὸν Ἀριέβην, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐκ Φραγγῶν εἴλε
 τὸ γένος, ὁ δ' Ἀριέβης ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, καὶ ἄμφω δὲ τῶν ἐπι- P II 300 A
 φρανεστέρων καὶ στρατηγίας ἐφροστηκίτων, ἐκεῖνοί τε συνεσχέ-
 10 θησαν καὶ ὄσοι σιματεῖχον αὐτοῖς τοῦ βουλευμάτος. τοὺς 9
 οὖν τῆς μελέτης ἐξάροχτας δύο ἄνδρας δημεύσει καταδικάσας
 καὶ ἀτίμων θροίμβων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπερορία ἐν τούτοις περι-
 10 ὠρισεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ποινήν· ὅτε καὶ τὸ τῶν Μανιχαίων τάγμα 10
 τῆς στρατείας ἀτήλασεν, ἐκθέσμως μέχρι τότε διη στρατευ-
 15 ὀμενον· στρατεύεσθαι γὰρ τοὺς Μανιχαίους ἀρχαῖος νόμος
 καθάπαξ ἀπέργει. αὐθις δ' ἕτερα κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου 11
 συνίστη ἐπιβουλῆ, ἧς ἐξήρχεν ὁ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐκείνου Διο-

6 περὶ ἐπιβουλῆς κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως (κατ' αὐτοῦ E) μελετηθείσης CE
 16 ἕτερα ἐπιβουλῆ CE

1 ante εἰς add. σκυθῶν Rwp Di 2 μογλαίων A (cf. cod. C Cedr.
 II p. 461, 17. 462, 2. 7. 19, Hierocl. synecd. ed. Burckhardt
 p. 61, 7. 65, 12), μογλέτων Rwp Di Ephraem. 3554 ss. 2. 3 κα-
 τέκλισε καὶ—δεῦρο om. E 3 τοῦ δεῦρο A. τοῦδε Owp 5 πατζι-
 νάκοι O 6 μογλενῖται ARwp, μογλενῖται D Di 7 οὐμπεροτόπλον
 B, οὐμπεροτόπλον D nonnulli P Anu. Comn. I p. 199, 15 cet.,
 v. ad Σ' II 6, 2 8 δὲ om. BD 10 σιματεῖχον C 11 συμμέτοχοι C

12 ὑπερορία ἐπιβουλῆ D 13 τὴν ... | ὄσα καὶ D τὸ
 om. C 14 ἀτήλασεν C, corr. Cw τόγε στατεύμενον (punct.
 not.) D 16 ἀπεργασίαν (-νας D, in B evanuerunt ἀπειρ) Rwp
 κατὰ] καὶ D 17 συνίστη Ewp ἧς ἐξήρ evanuerunt in B

ξασθαι μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο μηδέν, ἢ μὴ μινλίμενον ἢ μὴ δυνά-
 C μινον. διῆσαι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ὑποῦ, οὐκ οὐδ' εἰδ' ὑπερευχόμενον
 20 τοῦ εἰδ' εἴτε μὴν κατενχόμενον. ἔτεροι δὲ φασὶ μὴ τὰς χε-
 ρας διῆσαι τὸν ἀνίσκοντι, μηδὲ γὰρ οἷον εἶναι ἤδη ἐκλεί-
 ποντα, τῆς δὲ βασιλείδος πολλῆς ἀνακαταστάσεως ὡς "ἄπεισον ὁ
 ὁ εἶός σου εἶτε ζῶντί σε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀγαιησόμενος", ἐκεῖνον
 ἐπομειδῆσαι βραχέ τι καὶ ἀμειδῶν, ἢ τῶν λεγομένων κατα-
 γελῶντα, εἰ νομίζουτο περὶ τῆς βασιλείας φροντίζειν ἐκπνέον
 ἤδη καὶ τῶν γειρῶν ἀγιστάμενος, ἢ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τῶ
 21 πρακτομένην διῆθαι ἐπιμετρίοντα. ἔλεγέτο γάρ τοι καὶ παρ' 10
 ἄλλων καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου τοῦ πορηγορευτοῦς ἀτοκράτορος μὴ D IV 257
 γνύμενος ἄτερ πατρικῆς θέσθαι τὴν εἰς τὰ βασιλεια πάροδοι,
 D ἄλλὰ παρ' ἐκείνου ἐπιτετριφθῆναι οἱ τὴν ἔξοδοι καὶ σύνθημα
 ταύτης ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς λαβεῖν τὸν ἐκείνου δακτύλιον· ταῦτα δὲ
 μὴ παρούσης γενέσθαι τῆς βασιλείδος καὶ ἀγνοούσης ὅτι γε- 15
 γύρασι.
 22 'Ο μὲν γὰρ ἄτρηι' τῆς φήμης δὲ κηρυξίσης ταχὺ τὸ πρα-
 χθῆν, τῶ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς προσηῖ καὶ τῶν στρα-
 W III 245 τωτικῶν ἀρχόντων πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλή.

2. 4 διῆσαι O·EwpDi, διάσαι A 2 εἰδ' RwpDi, om. A 3 μὴ
 ARwp, μὴ δὲ BD 4 εἶναι οἱ omisso ἤδη C 5 ἀνακαταστάσεως
 BD ἢ σου om. C ζῶντος B, ζῶντα Bw(?) σε] σου B
 7 ἐπομειδῆσαι Owp, ἀπομειδῆσαι E 8 εἰ] καὶ D αὐτε τῆς
 mhd. τούτου D post φροντίζειν add. καὶ D 9 νεκρῶν w*ρ
 invisit AR, v. ad XVIII 24, 13 μεθιστάμενος Rwp, μεθιστα-
 μένων D, v. ad XIV 3, 5 ἢ om. BD ἐπὶ μὲν D 10 ἄτε-
 ραίοντα D γάρ] μὲν BD παρὰ B 11 ἄλλων D τοῦ
 om. D 12 ἄτερ D τὴν] τὸν D 15 τῆς] τὴν D 17 τὸ
 πραχθῆν ταχὺ κηρυξίσης O

Τῶ δ' ἦν ἡ δομὴ πρὸς τὸ μέγα ἀνάκτορον· ἀπιόντι δὲ 29
 ἀγγέλλεται ὡς οἱ Βάρραγοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐξκουβίτοις διεληφότες
 ἴδιον, ἐνθάπερ τούτοις καὶ ἡ κατοίκησις, ἀπελθεῖν δι' ἐκείνης
 οἱ παρμαχωροῦσά τι οὐδὲ μὴν πληροῖσαι τοῖς βασιλείοις. τοῦτο 2 P II 309 A
 3 εἰς ἀγωνίαν τὸν βασιλέα ἐνέβαλε· καὶ στέλλει πρὸς ἐκείνους
 τινὰ ἐρωτῶντα τί τὸ σφίσι βουλιόμενον. στέλλει δὲ καὶ πρὸς 3
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τεθνάναι λέγων τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ζητῶν
 αὐτὸς εὐφημηθῆναι ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦνυστο 4
 καὶ αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ὁ κληρὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας γνύμῃ καὶ τοῦ
 10 ἰσχυροῦσιν ἀνηγόρευσεν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Βαράγγους ἐσταλ- 5
 μένος ἠρώτα ἐκείνους ὅτου χάριν κωλύουσι τῶ βασιλεῖ τὴν
 εἰς τὰ βασιλεια πάροδοι. οἱ δὲ μήποτε παρμαχωρήσαι τῶν βα- 6
 οιλίων ἐτέρω, ζῶντος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἔφασαν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ
 τεθνηκῆναι διεβεβαίουτο τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ οἱ Βάρραγοι 7
 15 δοκῶ τοῦτον πληρογορήσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπήτησαν. καὶ ὅς ὤμοσαν 8
 ἢ μὴν τεθνάναι τὸν βασιλέα, κάκεινοι ἐνέδοσαν καὶ τῆς παρ- B

1 οἱ οὐκ εἶον οἱ Βάρραγοι εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ παλάτιον καὶ ὅπως αὐτῶ
 παρεχόμενον, καὶ οἱ παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοκράτωρ ἀνηγορεύθη C
 Sequens argumentum cod. C prorsus evanuit.

2 εἰληφότες C 6 In B dimidia fol. 477 pars inferior, cum
 casu quodam membrana abscissa esset, est suppleta; duas
 manus recentiores in hac particula distinxit Meklerus, unam
 quae exstat a p. 763, 14 τεθνηκῆναι usque ad p. 764, 12 ὁμοιον et
 a p. 765, 11 -φορος usque ad p. 767, 1 ἦν, alteram quae fol. 477 r
 paucis in rasura supplevit paulo recentiorem. Has manus se-
 cundum eundem Meklerum littera b significo. 7. 16 τεθνήκῆναι
 Ewp 8 αὐτὸν BD εὐφημηθῆναι w*ρ αὐτοκράτορα BD
 9 αὐτὸν ex αὐτὸς corr. E, αὐτῆν b 10 ἐσταλ-
 μένος bwp 11 κωλύουσ' (sic) b 12 βασιλείω b παρμα-
 χωρήσαι w*ρ 14 διεβεβαίουτο τεθνηκῆναι b 15 τοῦτο CDwpDi,
 τοῦτω b 16 ἢ μὴν ARwp, ἦμεν b, corr. Di καὶ κάκεινοι b
 ἐνέδοσαν w*ρ

18 βασιλεύσαι· ἐπιστέλλοντο γὰρ ἐκείνης παρούσης ἀρχικόν τε καὶ
ἐμφυλίδες ἐνδεικνυμένης ἰδιότητι καὶ τοῖς ἀτακτοῦσιν ἐπιτιμώσης
σφοδρότερον.
19 Ὁ μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτος ἦν, ταῦτα δὲ καλὰ μὲν καὶ πῶς γὰρ
W III 216 οὐδ' ἰδιότης δ' ἀποχωρῶντα πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, οὐ μὴν γε καὶ βίαι-5
20 λέα δεικνύντα τὰ πάντα χρηστόν. οὐ γὰρ αἱ αὐταὶ βασιλείως
καὶ ἰδιότητος γένοιτ' ἂν ἄρεται· ἰδιότης μὲν γὰρ ἀπόχρη καὶ
B μέτρων ἡθὸς καὶ ἐπιείκεια καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἰθιγῶν οὐκ ἐκίνητον
21 καὶ τὸ σφῆρον τὸ πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν. βίαιε δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις
καὶ ἡ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡσυχία καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπηκόων προμήθεια 10
22 καὶ ἡ τῶν παιδαίων ἡθῶν τοῦ πολιτεύματος τήρησις. τῷ δὲ
μέλει μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθῶν γέγονε τῆς πολιτείας ἀλ-
λουίωσις, καὶ τὸ μεταλλάξαι ταῦτα ἔργον ἦν αὐτῶ σπουδαίωτι-
τον, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι οὐχ ὡς κοινοῖς οὐδ' ὡς δημοσίοις
ἐκέχρητο καὶ ἑαυτῶν οὐκ οἰκονόμοι ἦρητο τούτων, ἀλλὰ δε- 15
σπότην, καὶ οἶκον οἰκεῖν ἐνύμυζε καὶ ὠνόμαζε τὰ βουίλεια.
C 23 καὶ τοὺς τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς οὔτε τιμῆς ἢς ἐχοῖν ἡξίου
οὔτε πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐτίθειτο κατὰ τὸ ἀνύλογον, μᾶλλον μὲν-
24 τοι καὶ ἔσπειρε ταπεινώσαι τούτους. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν ἅπασιν τὴν

1 Ἐπιστέλλοντο p* 2 ἐμφυλίδες b ἐνδεικνυμένης Rb³wpDi, ἡ-
δικονόμενος A 3 σφοδρότερον (sic) h 4 καὶ om. bD 5 οὐ] οὐκ h
6 γὰρ om. b αἱ αὐταὶ] αὐταὶ h post αὐταὶ add. καὶ Ewp
11 ἐθῶν R³wpDi 11. 12 δὲ μᾶλλον E 12 θλίψια
D 13 μετατάξαι Ewp 14 οὐχ] οὐδ' Ewp οὐδ'] οὐχ D
15 οὐκ (om. bD) οἰκονόμον AR, οὐ κοινὸν μόνον E, οὐκ οἰκονόμον
μόνον w* p 16 ὠνόμασε bp 17 τοῖς] τὸν E 18 ἐτίθειτο D
19 καὶ om. bD ταπεινώσαι om. C, suppl. Cw πάσι CD, πασι b

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τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν τῆσῶν ἀρετῆν· ταίτης γὰρ ἴδιον τὸ τοῦ
κατ' ἡξίαν ἐκάστη διανεμητικόν· ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀγγενοῖσι καὶ
D IV 260 τῶν θεριπτόντων τισὶν ἡμίξαις ὕλαις παρεῖχε τὰ δημόσια χρη-
ματὰ καὶ χορηγίας ἐκείνοις ἀδράς ἐτησίους ἀπένειμεν, ὡς καὶ
5 πλοῦτον περιβαλέσθαι βαθὺν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀποτάξαι
οὐκ ἰδιώταις, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῦσι κατάλληλον, καὶ οἶκους προσκτη-
σασθαι, μεγέθει μὲν πύλεσιν ἰσοκράτους, πολυτελείᾳ δὲ βασιλείων
ἀπεικνότητος οὐδέν· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τῶν εὖ γεγονότων οὐχ ὁμοίων 25 D
ἐνεδείκνυτο τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἵνα μὴ τι ἕτερον φαῦλον ἐρῶ, φει-
10 δόμενος τοῦ ἀνδρός. βασιλέα μὲν οὖν, ὅλον τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀπαι-26
τεῖ, οὐκ ἔωσι τὰ εἰρημένα ἐκείνον νομίζεσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέντοι
φαῦλον εἴποι τις τὸν Κομνηνὸν αὐτοκράτορα. εἰ δὲ τὴν ἄγαν 27
ἀκρίβειαν ζητοῖ τις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοκράτορα, οὐκ οἶμαι τινα τῶν
• ἀνάκαθεν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβεβηκότων ἡγεμονίας ἐν πᾶσιν εὐδο-
15 κημότα κρηθῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος ἐν τοῖς ἡδεσι
σφῶν καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐκάστη ἡ πολιτεία κεχαριστήριστα.
ἀνέγκλητος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἂν ποτε δόξαι οὐδ' ἀμυγῆς τῆς χειρὸς 28 P II 311A
ἔξεως· θειοτέρας γὰρ τοῦτο μοίρας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης εἶη
ἂν ποτε φύσεως.

1 ἦν om. C ἴδιον R³wpDi, ἴδιοι A τοῦ] οὐ | C Wolfi manu
notatum 2 ἐκάστη BD 3 θεριπτότων] ἀρχόντων C ἀμά-
ξαις O³wpDi, ἀμάξαις AE 4 ἀδράς ARwp, ἀδράς Di ἐτησίαις
BCEwp ἀπένειμε EwpDi, v. ad XIII 1, 5 8 ὁμοίως E
11 δι' ἐκείνον E 13 ἄκραν BD 14 ante Ῥωμαίων add. τῶν O
ἐπιβεβηκότων RwpDi, ἐπιβεβηκότα A 15 πλεονάζοντος p*
16 ἐκάστη BD 17 δόξαι ARwp, corr. Di ἀμυγῆς RwpDi,
ἀμυγῆς (sic) A

9 ὄλον τῷ βασιλεῖ παρεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ ἵππῃσι πρὸς τὰ βασιλείαι
 καὶ ταύτων ἐπὶ τὸς γενοῦσιν, πῶς ἂν χορήγηται τῇ μητρὶ καὶ
 τοῖς ἀπογενοῖσι καὶ τῷ τῶν κληρονομῶν ἐν τῷ Βορνετίῳ μετὰ D IV 258
 10 τῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύετο. ἔτι γὰρ ἐδεδοίκεν ταύτους καὶ οἱ
 ἦσαν ἐν ὑπογίαις ἐλπίζοντι νεωτερίσειν ἴσως αὐτούς. 5
 11 Ὁ δὲ ταύτου πατήρ παρ' ὄλην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐμπνέων
 ἦν καὶ δεσποτικῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐξέλειπε, ζήσας μὲν
 ἐπὶ ἐβδομηκονταίῳ πονεῖν τὰ πάντα ἢ ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω, βασιλεύσας
 δ' ἐκ ταύτων ἐνιαυτοῖς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐπὶ μηρὶ τέσσαρασι
 12 καὶ ἡμέραις τοῖσιν. ἔδωκε δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐξικισχιλιοστὸν ἑξικο- 10
 αιστὸν εἰκοστὸν ἕκτον ἔτος, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν διηνεκῶς εὐτυ-
 13 χῶς, τὸ δὲ γε τέλος οὐχ ὁμοίον ἐσχηκώς. καταλείπειτο γὰρ
 C πρὸς τῶν θεραπόντων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων, ὡς μὴδ' εἶναι τάχα
 τινὲς τοῖς τὸν ἐκείνου νεκρὸν τοῖς λοιποῖσι λουτροῖς ἀπορρο-
 14 γοῖται, καὶ οὔτε κόσμος βασιλείας προσηῖν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν, ἔν' 15
 αὐτῷ τὸ αἶμα κοσμηθῆι βασιλικῶς, οὔτε μὴν ἐκφορῆς ἐτιγε
 βασιλεῖ καταλλήλον, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλοτριον, ἀλλ' εἰς οὖν δια-

6676 a. M. 1118 p. Ch. u.

6 εἰσπληρῆ τῷ βασιλείῳ κερῶ (om. E, v. argum. ad XVIII 16, 31) Ἀλέξιου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ AE

3 βιογενεῖα R(wpDi), βορνετίῳ h, βορνετίῳ AC 5 ἦσαν] ἡ γὰρ h
 7 δεσποτικῶν C 8 ἐπὶ τὰ πάντα ἐβδομηκονταίῳ omisso πονεῖν bCDH'o lat.
 9 δ' om. b καὶ] πρὸς bCD τέσσαρα DE, τέσσαρα b

10 ἐξικισχιλιοστὸν] εἰς D 11 εἰκοστὸν om. D 12 καταλείπειτο C
 13 ὑπὸ BD 14 ἀπορρογγοῖται Ewp 15 προσηῖν] προσεχῆ
 punctis notat D 16 αὐτοῦ BD ἐκ φορῆς D 17 κατα-
 λλήλον] D 17 p. 765, 1 οὖν Ewp 17 δεξαμένου Ewp, δια-
 δεξιμένου D

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δεξιμένον τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ, καὶ οὖν, ὃν ἐκείνος τῆς βα-
 σιλείας ἠξίωσεν. οὕτως οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μόνιμον δὲ δὲ 14
 πύργων οὐδὲ πιστῶν τε καὶ βέβαιων, ἀλλ' ἄπειρα πάντα καὶ κύ-
 βου μῦλλον ἔχον μετατιθέμενα καὶ μεταστροφόμενα.
 15 Ἴν' δ' ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἵνα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐκείνου δηλῶν δεῖξωμεν 15
 τοῖς μετέπειτα καὶ τὸ ἦθος τοῖς ὑψιγόνοις χαρακτηρίσασθαι, D
 οὐδ' ὑπεροπτικῶς τε καὶ ἀλαζῶν οὔτε μὴν δξὺς εἰς θυμῶν,
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ἥτων οὐδ' ἄγαν ἐρασιχορήματος, ὥστε
 βουλεύσασθαι καταχωρῆσαι αὐτὰ καὶ ταμιεύειν, ἔν' εἰεν αὐτῷ θη-
 20 σαυροὶ κεκοιμημένοι καὶ ὑπάγαια χρήματα, ὅθεν οὐδὲ θανάτος
 πλείεστα παρὰ τοῖς ταμείοις εὐρέθησαν, πρὸς ἔλεον εὐκατάφορος, 16
 πρὸς κόλασιν οὐκ ὀξύρροπος, μέτριος τὸ ἦθος, εὐπρόσπικτος,
 D IV 259 πρὸς τὴν διάπαιαν οὐκ ἀκύλαστος, οὐκ οἴνου ἠττώμενος, τοῖς
 ἐναρέτως βιοῖσι προσέχων καὶ ἀπονέμων τιμῶν, λόγους οὐχ
 15 ὡς ἔδει τιμῶν, τέως δὲ γε τιμῶν, ἐπιεικῆς τε καὶ τοῖς περὶ PΠ310A
 αὐτῶν οὐ σοφιστικῶς προσφερόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου σχεδὸν
 ὁμιλῶν τε καὶ χαριεντιζόμενος. ὅθεν κάκεινοις θεορῶν ἐπιγεί 17
 καὶ οὐ μετὰ δέους αὐτῶν παρεστάναι, καὶ μῦλλον ὅτ' ἀπῆι ἢ

5 οἷος ἦν τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὸν τρόπον (τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ τὸ ἦθος C) ὁ Κομνηνός Ἀλέξιος (ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξιος C) CE

1 αὐτοῦ BD οὖν] punctis notat D ὃν RwpDi, ὡν A
 1 τῆς βασιλείας—4 ἔχον om. E 3 ὀπίσθια πάλῃ (punctis no-
 tatum) καὶ D 4 ἔχον om. BD μετατιθεμένων D 5 ἠλο-
 θισμένη BD 6 χαρακτηρίσασθαι Rwp, χαρακτηρίσων D 7 τοῦθ'
 D τε] τις BD 8 χρήματος B 9 βουλεύσασθαι] δύνασθαι C
 θησαυροῦ D 10 κεκοιμημένοι RbwpDi, καὶ κερμύμνοι A
 13 περὶ RbwpDi δαίταν b 14 βιοῖς b 17 τε] τι D
 18 παρεστάναι Ewp ὅτ' ἀπῆι A, ὅτ' ἀπῆν RbwpDi, ὅτι ἀπῆν D



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