

The Terms ἐγκόλπιον and τενόντιον and the Conversion of Theophilus in the *Life of Theodora* (BHG 1731)

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IN VIVID AND DRAMATIC DETAIL *The Life with Encomium of the Blessed and Holy Empress Theodora* (BHG 1731) recounts the deathbed conversion of the iconoclast emperor Theophilus.¹ The conversion scene is suspect, and the sources reflect the dubious authenticity of this event.² In Genesisius, for example, it is clear that Theophilus remained an iconoclast to the end, for Theodora is portrayed as actively resisting the restoration of Orthodoxy out of loyalty to her late husband's

¹ The *editio princeps* was published by W. REGEL, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (St Petersburg 1891–98: hereafter 'Regel') iii–xix (introduction) and 1–19 (text); the conversion scene at 10. More recently, a new edition with introduction and commentary has been published by A. Markopoulos, "Βίος τῆς αὐτοκρατείας Θεοδώρας," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 249–85; the conversion scene at 264. In addition, a version of the *Life*, which Regel (x) called "la seconde rédaction" was published by F. Combefis in *Historia haeresis monothelitarum sanctaeque in eam sextae synodi actorum vindiciae* (Paris 1648) 715–50; the conversion scene at 723. I thank A. M. Talbot of Dumbarton Oaks for providing me with a copy of this text.

² E.g. J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London 1912) 149 with n.5, rejects the story of Theophilus' conversion out of hand. C. Havice has kindly pointed out to me that the visual evidence is as contradictory as the literary sources. For example, in a miniature from the *Chronicle of Manasses* (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, cod. slav. II fol. 155v), Theodora is represented as standing at the head of Theophilus' deathbed with her hand on his shoulder, while at his feet stands a group of five courtiers, one of whom holds out to the emperor a small square icon. No icons are present, however, in the representation of the death of Theophilus found in the Madrid Scylitzes (Biblioteca Nacional, vitr. 26-2, fol. 61v), where Theodora leans down from the side of the bed to embrace her husband as he lies dying surrounded by courtiers, one of whom kisses his feet. See B. Filov, *Les miniatures de la Chronique de Manassès à la Bibliothèque du Vatican (cod. vat. slav. II)* (= *Codices e Vaticanis selecti* 17 [Sophia 1927]) no. 56; S. Cirac Estopañan, *Skyllitzes Matritensis I: Reproducciones y Miniaturas* (Barcelona 1965) no. 157.

memory.³ Moreover, even when it is alleged that Theophilus died orthodox, his conversion is represented as grudging or incomplete. For example, in the *Narratio de Theophili imperatoris absolutione*, Theodora makes Theophilus venerate an icon as he lies dying, but he does so "unwilling and not wanting to" (Regel 21). Again, in the *Acts of David, Symeon, and George* Theophilus in the end becomes "repentant, although not entirely."⁴ More convincing is the conversion reported by Theodora in Theophanes Continuatus.⁵ Here, Theophilus "asked for and kissed with ardent soul these [images]," which the empress put in his hands. One notes, however, that Theodora volunteers this piece of information only after Methodius refuses to grant Theophilus absolution, the condition she had set for the restoration of Orthodoxy.

In the *Life of Theodora*, on the other hand, Theophilus is deliriously thrashing about on his deathbed when he sees a religious image worn by Theoctistus, his canicleius and logothete of the drome. The emperor seizes the image and places it to his lips, whereupon his delirium immediately subsides. Unlike the other accounts, where the instrument of Theophilus' conversion is simply an unspecified εἰκόνα or the even vaguer ταύτας (sc. εἰκόνας) of Theophanes Continuatus, here the image is found on an object variously described as (τὸ) ἐγκόλπιον, τὸ τοῦ ἐγκολπίου τενάντιον, and τὸ τενάντιον. It is precisely this detail, or rather, the specific terminology used to express it, that distinguishes the account in the *Life of Theodora* from the others and gives an air of authenticity to what is in all probability a fictitious event. Unfortunately, the exact meanings of ἐγκόλπιον and τενάντιον in this context are uncertain; also unclear is the exact relationship between these terms and the objects they represent. As these terms contribute significantly to the credibility of the conversion scene in the *Life of Theodora*, a precise definition of ἐγκόλπιον and τενάντιον can increase understanding of not only Byzantine philology but also religious practice in the iconoclastic period.

³ Genesius, *Regum libri quattuor*, edd., A. Lesmüller-Werner and H. Thurn (Berlin 1978) 57=Bonn ed. 80.

⁴ I. van den Gheyn, "Acta Graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis, et Georgii," *AnalBoll* 18 (1899) 244.

⁵ Ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838) 153; see also 651 for a similar account in Ps.-Symeon Magister.

The passage in question is as follows:

Θεόκτιστος δέ, ὁ καὶ κανίκλειος, δραμῶν περιεβάλλετο, διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃ εἶχεν ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἐγκόλπιον· ἀπορία δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ... βλέπει τὸ τοῦ ἐγκολπίου τενάντιον ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα τοῦ Ὑψίστου ἐμφέροντος⁶ ... τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπλησίασε, μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἀποκρύψαι τὸ σέβας ... καὶ τῶν μὲν νομισάντων ὅτι τὰς τρίχας αὐτοῦ τῖλαι κελεύει, ἐνέβαλον αὐτὰς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ... καθήψατο ὁ δάκτυλος τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ τενάντιον πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ χεῖλος τοῦτο ἐφέλκων· καὶ δὴ τεθέντος τοῦ τεναντίου ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ θεοῦ εἰκόνα, τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ σεβασμίαν φέροντος ... προσῆλθον καὶ ἠνώθησαν τὰ χεῖλη αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἑκατέρων διεστῶτα.⁷

Of the two terms under discussion, ἐγκόλπιον is by far the better attested.⁸ The substantive τὸ ἐγκόλπιον derives from ἐγκόλπιος, -ον, which literally means "in or on the chest."⁹

⁶ Reading ἐμφέροντος (Combefis) for ἐμφαίνοντα (Regel and Markopoulos).

⁷ "Then Theoctistus, who served as canicleius, hurriedly put on an *encolpion* that he had been keeping hidden out of fear of the emperor. The emperor was in great distress ... he saw the *tenantion* of the *encolpion* bearing the holy and unchanging image of the Most High on his [Theoctistus'] neck.... He [Theoctistus] approached the emperor, unable to cover up the sacred object. Some people thought the emperor was asking to tear out his [Theoctistus'] hair, so they put strands of it in his hands ... the emperor touched the *tenantion* with his finger and drew it to his lips.... Now when the *tenantion*, which bore the holy and venerable image of our Savior and God, had been put to his lips and mouth ... those lips of his which had gaped wide apart came together and were closed." The Greek text is that of Markopoulos 264.16-32, with the exception noted (*supra* n.6). The translation is my own.

⁸ See e.g. H. Gerstinger, "Enkolpion," *RAC* 5 (1962) 322-32, and K. Wessel, "Enkolpion," *RBK* 2 (1971) 152-64, which emphasize the literary and material evidence respectively. One should note that in both instances ἐγκόλπιον is used as a generic term for a wide variety of religious objects, pagan as well as Christian, which are known by many different names. See also S. Campbell and A. Cutler, "Enkolpion," *ODB* 1 (1991) 700.

⁹ The adjective is cited by LSJ⁹ 473 and G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961) 402; both adjective and substantive appear in E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (New York n.d.) I 416; the substantive alone is cited by Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyon 1688) 345f. Both here and *s.v.* τενάντιον (1544), Du Cange cites the *Life of Theodora* under the title *Oratio in festum τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας seu restitutionis imaginum* from the edition of Combefis. To the Greek references one should add Petron. *Sat.*, where the masculine form of the adjective serves as the proper name of the narrator Encolpius; for a discussion of the significance of the proper name in the

Both forms are post-classical. The adjective is first attested in the *Allegoriae* or *Quaestiones Homericae* (39) of Heraclitus (1st c. C.E.).¹⁰ The substantive does not seem to be attested before the first quarter of the ninth century, when it appears in the letter of the Patriarch Nicephorus I to Pope Leo III in 811.¹¹ Sophocles defines the substantive as an "amulet, phylactery." Du Cange is more specific, identifying it as a "theca sanctorum reliquias, aut vivificae crucis particulas continens." One should note, however, that an ἐγκόλπιον is not necessarily the same thing as a reliquary, for Anna Comnena clearly distinguishes between an ἐγκόλπιον and a θήκη.¹² Encolpia may be cruciform

Roman tradition as well as the epigraphical evidence see S. Priuli, *Ascyltus. Note di onomastica petroniana* (=Collection Latomus 140 [Brussels 1975]) 47–50, 64ff.

¹⁰ F. Buffière, ed., *Héraclite, Allégories d'Homère* (Paris 1962) 46. Heraclitus is cited by LSJ and Gerstinger (*supra* n.8: 322) after the older edition of F. Oelmann, *Heracliti Quaestiones Homericae* (Leipzig 1910) 57. Then a gap of several centuries appears in the record, as the earliest citations produced by a search of the *TLG* (1992 edition) come from the fourth century Cappadocian fathers, Gregory of Nazianzus (*Ep.* 88.1 [=P. Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, Lettres I* (Paris 1964) 109], 202.6 [=P. Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Lettres théologiques* (=SC 308 [Paris 1974]) 88]; *Carmen de se ipso* 88 [=Migne, *PG XXXVII* 1440]), and Gregory of Nyssa (*Life of Moses* 2.303 [=J. Daniélou, *Grégoire de Nysse, La vie de Moïse*³ (=SC 1 ter [Paris 1968] 312))). All but the first are cited by Lampe.

¹¹ *Epistula ad Leonem pontificem maximum*, *PG* C 200; Gerstinger (*supra* n.8: 325f) suggests a possible connection with the second phase of Iconoclasm. On this point see the important discussion of Nicephorus' letter by A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis. The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986: hereafter 'Kartsonis') 118f and further below. The reference to the *Life* of St John the Almoner, cited by A. Frolow (*La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un cult* [Paris 1961] 188f no. 52) and dated to 614–619, is problematic. There are two versions of the *Life*, each independently derived from a seventh-century *vita* by Moschus and Sophronius: H. Delehay, "Une vie inédite de saint Jean l'Aumônier," *AnalBoll* 45 (1927) 5–74; E. Lappa-Zizicas, "Un épitomé de la Vie de s. Jean l'Aumônier par Jean et Sophronios," *AnalBoll* 88 (1970) 265–78, esp. 266–73 for the relationship between these two texts and their common source. The term ἐγκόλπιον appears only in the version edited by Delehay (11, p.24), leading to the suspicion that it was not found in the earlier original.

¹² *Alexiad* 3.10.7, ed. B. Leib, I (Paris 1937) 135. Similarly, the inventory of the monastery of St John the Evangelist on Patmos (C. Astruc, "L'inventaire dressé en septembre 1200 du trésor et de la bibliothèque de Patmos. Édition diplomatique," *TravMem* 8 [1981] 15–30) lists *encolpia* under the separate headings of "Images" (20.5, 21.15, 17) and "Relics" (21.20). For a partial translation of this text, based on the *editio princeps* by C. Diehl ("Le trésor et

or circular in design and sometimes bear figural representation, either Christ, as in the *Life of Theodora*, the Theotokos, or both.¹³ Encolpia are often made of gold and other precious materials such as crystal and pearls.¹⁴ They are small enough to be carried in a pocket or worn around the neck.¹⁵ In addition to

la bibliothèque de Patmos au commencement du 13^e siècle," *BZ* 1 [1892] 488–525), see C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs [N.J.] 1972) 238f. For *encolpia* that do contain relics see *PG* C 200 (True Cross); Maximus Planudes, *Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova*, ed. E. Cougny, III (Paris 1890) 359 no. 422 (St Stephen the Protomartyr); Manuel Philes 130 (= ed. E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina* II [Paris 1857] 164f: various relics, including the True Cross). The notion that ἐγκόλιον is synonymous with reliquary should be attributed to Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who added the following gloss to his Latin translation of the Acts of the Council of 869–870 (Mansi XVI 79=Migne, *PL* CXXIX 79): *moris enim Graecorum est crucem cum pretioso ligno vel cum reliquiis sanctorum ante pectus portare suspensam ad collum, et hoc est quod vocant encolpium*. See also the discussion by Frolov (*supra* n.11) 226, and the example illustrated in PLATE 1 (below); cf. R. Rudolf, *A Golden Legacy: Ancient Jewelry from the Burton Y. Berry Collection at the Indiana University Art Museum* (Bloomington 1995) 283 no. 82.A.

¹³ Cruciform: Genesis 63; Anna Comnena *Alex.* 2.5.7 (=I 78 Leib); circular: Patmos inventory: 20.5 Astruc; Theotokos: Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. A. van Dielen (Berlin 1975) 451 (=Bonn ed. 494); Nicephoras Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, edd. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, I (Bonn 1829) 462. The Patmos inventory lists *encolpia* with representations of the Crucifixion (20.5), Theotokos and Child (20.5, 21.15), and the Dormition (21.17). The *encolpion* discussed by M. C. Ross ("A Byzantine Gold Medallion at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP* 11 [1957] 247–61) contains images of the Theotokos and Child, Nativity, and Visit of the Magi on one side and the Baptism on the other. The *encolpion* described by Nicephorus I (*PG* C 200) has unspecified decoration; cf. also *PG* C 433D. See also the silver chain with pectoral cross illustrated in PLATE 2 (below), with Rudolf (*supra* n.12) 309ff no. 96.

¹⁴ *PG* C 200; cf. C 433c; Anna Comn. *Alex.* 3.10.7; Planudes (*supra* n.12); Manuel Philes 45 (=Miller II 85f). C. W. Solt, "Byzantine and Gothic Reliquaries," *Byzantinoslavica* 45 (1984) 215, mentions a "gold Byzantine *encolpion* with Greek inscriptions," contained within a French panel reliquary at Charroux; R. Maxim-Alaiba, "Un *encolpion* bizantin descoperit la Șuletea, județul Vaslui," *Arheologia Moldovei* 13 (1990) 161–64, describes a small bronze reliquary cross, which displays a representation of the Virgin on the front and the Crucifixion on the back; Fig. 1 provides a particularly clear illustration of both the hinge for opening the *encolpion* and the bail for suspending it on a chain.

¹⁵ Nicetas David Paphlagon, *Vita S. Ignatii*, *PG* CV 525B; Choniates (*supra* n.13). Cf. also Regel 28f, where the Empress Theodora addresses a company of bishops after ἐξενεγκούσα ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτῆς τὴν ... εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ... τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς καὶ ἐπ' ὄψει πάντων προσκυνήσασα. *Encolpia* could, however, be rather large by modern standards: H. Hlaváčková, "Ki-

their intrinsic worth, ἐγκόλπια also have a special value as objects of personal religious devotion and serve as tokens of esteem on the part of rulers and bishops.¹⁶ For example, ἐγκόλπια are included among articles of clothing sent by patriarchs of Constantinople to the pope or his emissaries. The emperor's own ἐγκόλπιον guarantees immunity to suspected enemies of the state.¹⁷ An ἐγκόλπιον may even mark a betrothal.¹⁸

This survey of the various forms and functions ascribed to ἐγκόλπια clearly demonstrates that the term is well attested throughout Byzantine literature. It is, however, striking that so large a cluster of the literary evidence belongs to the ninth century. The significance of this literary evidence is further heightened by a group of reliquary crosses dating from the early decades of the ninth century and probably originating in Constantinople, which not only corroborate the testimony of the two earliest written sources but also establish a link between the use of ἐγκόλπια and opposition to Iconoclasm.¹⁹ In fact, this combination of literary and material evidence indicates that, beginning with the first post-Iconoclastic period (787–815) and continuing through the second phase of Iconoclasm (815–842), image-bearing ἐγκόλπια emerged as a vehicle for expressing iconophile practice and belief (Kartsonis 119f).

That the personal religious artifacts denoted by ἐγκόλπιον have a special connection with Iconoclasm, or rather with opposition to Iconoclasm, is further confirmed by a cluster of references from the second half of the ninth century, that is, the decades immediately following the restoration of Orthodoxy.

evan Enkolpia in Prague Collections," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993) 310–13, describes an eleventh-century bronze *encolpion* that is 11 cm. high and 7.8 cm. wide; the height increases to 14.5 cm. if the fastening loop, which appears to have been added later, is included. V. Kovalenko and V. Pucko, "Bronzovye kresty-ēncolpiony iz Knjazhej gory," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993) 300–09, is lavishly illustrated with *encolpia* in a variety of shapes, sizes, decorative images, and techniques.

¹⁶ Rulers: Anna Comnena *Alex.* 3.10.7; George Pachymeres, *De Michaelē Palaeologo* 4.6, ed. I. Bekker, I (Bonn 1835) 265; bishops: *PG C* 200; Theognostus *Libellus*, *PG CV* 860B.

¹⁷ *PG CV* 525B; Genesius 63; Theoph. Cont. 119; Anna Comnena *Alex.* 2.5.7.

¹⁸ John Cantacuzenus, *Historiae* 3.17, ed. L. Schopen, III (Bonn 1832) 108.

¹⁹ Nicephorus I, *Ep. ad Leonem*, *PG C* 200 (written in 811), *Antirrheticus* 3.56, *PG C* 433C–D (written 818–820); Kartsonis 94–125. The passage from the *Third Antirrhetic* clearly discusses *encolpia* without use of the term.

The *Life of Theodora* belongs to this group.²⁰ Three additional references concern Ignatius, whom Theodora appointed to succeed the Patriarch Methodius and whose power struggle with Photius reflects the dynastic as well as theological tensions that surfaced in the post-iconoclastic period.²¹ For example, in Theognostus' *Libellus*, composed in 861, Photius, like Nicephorus before him, sent an ἐγκόλπιον to the representative of Pope Nicholas I to enlist his support.²² Ignatius is given the emperor's own ἐγκόλπιον as a pledge by Theodora's brother Petronas; Ignatius subsequently appears before Theodora's other brother Bardas with the ἐγκόλπιον suspended from his neck (τοῦ τραχήλου ἀπαιωρήσας).²³ An ἐγκόλπιον also marks a turning point in the *Life of St Antony the Younger* (785–865), composed between 877 and 899 by a partisan of the Ignatian faction.²⁴ While still deputy governor (ἐκ προσώπου) of the Cibyrrhaeot theme, Antony entrusts his sister, a nun, with an ἐγκόλπιον as a sign (σημεῖον) of his intention to renounce the world. He later reclaims the "deposit of the *encolpion*" (τὴν παραθήκην τοῦ ἐγκολπίου) and enters religious life after surmounting the obstacle of his impending marriage with the help of his spiritual father.²⁵ The political bias of the *Life* is unmistakable. For example, Ignatius' mother Procopia is singled out for her devotion to the monastic community (213.9–14); Petronas is identified as Antony's spiritual son (216.13f); and even Theophilus is portrayed as a just and humane monarch (209.1–27, 211.19–28).

²⁰ It is generally agreed that the *Life of Theodora* was composed in the second half of the ninth century, during the reign either of Basil I or Leo VI. See Regel xiii; Markopoulos (*supra* n.1) 255; and P. Karlin-Hayter, "La mort de Théodora," *JÖBG* 40 (1990) 208.

²¹ To the Greek sources add the Acts of the Council of 869–870, which deposed Photius and reinstated Ignatius (*supra* n.12).

²² *PG* CV 860B; Kartsonis (119) points out that the elaborate *encolpion* sent to Pope Leo III by Nicephorus I in 811 (*PG* C 200) served as "material proof" of the patriarch's Orthodoxy.

²³ *Vita S. Ignatii*, *PG* CV 525B; cf. also Nicephorus I *Antirrheticus* 3.56, *PG* C 433C, where reliquary crosses are worn "suspended from the neck and hanging down to the chest."

²⁴ F. Halkin, "Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863," *AnalBoll* 62 (1944) 207f.

²⁵ Ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik* 19.3 (1907) 195.10–14, 200.31ff. I thank L. Sherry of Dumbarton Oaks for this reference.

These references indicate that ἐγκόλπια continued to serve as a tangible symbol of their owners' Orthodoxy even in the post-iconoclastic period. In the context of the continuing political and theological tensions of the late ninth century, the decision to use the specific term ἐγκόλπιον rather than the generic εἰκων in the *Life of Theodora* is thus significant and reflects the author's desire to exploit the special resonance the term ἐγκόλπιον enjoyed among the iconophile faithful. It further seems likely that ἐγκόλπια were specifically associated with the Orthodoxy of the Patriarch Ignatius and his patron Theodora, who was canonized for her rôle in restoring the veneration of icons.²⁶

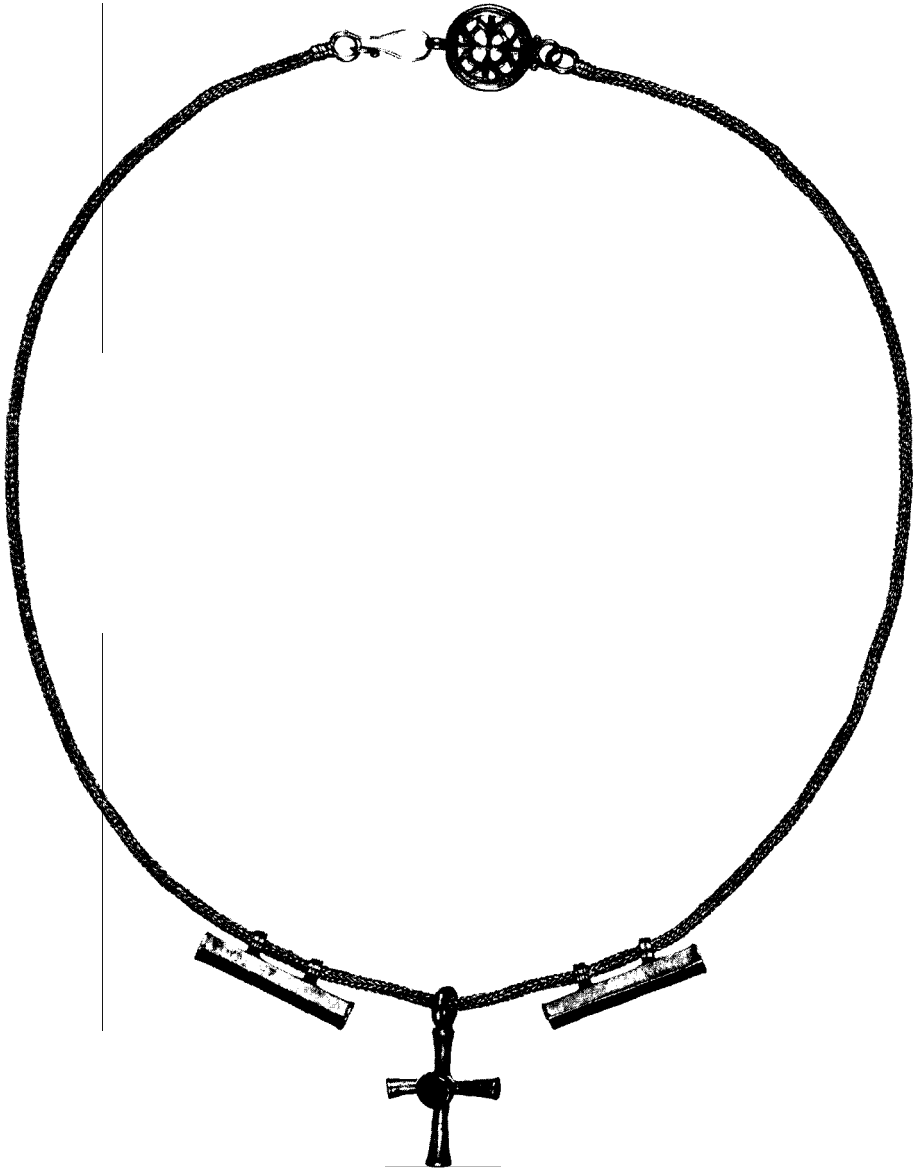
The precise meaning of τὸ τεάντιον, on the other hand, is more problematic. Du Cange (1544) defines τεάντιον as a kind of fibula or pin and derives it from the Latin *tenere*, through either the French *tenant* or the Italian *tenente*. Du Cange cites the passage in question from the *Life of Theodora* as well as a variant reading for Nicetas Choniates, *De Manuele Comneno* Book 3.²⁷ The actual text reads χλαμύδα ἡσθημένος ἀστειοτέραν περὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον περονουμένην and the variant μετὰ τεαντίου ἤτοι πούκλας ἡσφαλισμένην. One may also cite Eust. *ad Il.* 14.180 (=III 609.24–29 van der Valk): Ἐνεταὶ δὲ περόνης εἶδος, χρησιμευούσης κατὰ τὸ ἰδιωτικῶς λεγόμενον τεάντιον, παρὰ τὸ ἐνίεσθαι, ὃ ἔστιν ἐμβάλλεσθαι, τῇ ἀντικειμένη ὀπῇ.²⁸

Although τὸ τεάντιον clearly means a brooch or pin used to fasten clothes in the above cited passages from Eustathius and Nicetas Choniates, both the known characteristics of ἐγκόλπια and the particular context of the *Life of Theodora* seem to require that Theoctistus' τεάντιον be a kind of necklace or chain rather than a pin. For example, both the *Life of St Ignatius* and the *Third Antirrhetic* show that ἐγκόλπια are not attached to clothing but instead hang freely from around the neck down to

²⁶ C. Mango, "The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios," and P. Karlin-Hayter, "Gregory of Syracuse, Ignatios and Photios," in A. Bryer and J. Herrin, ed., *Iconoclasm* (Birmingham 1977) 139 and 142 respectively, both question Ignatius' iconophile credentials and Mango, contrasting Photius' vigorous program of church decoration with Ignatius' inactivity in this regard, suggests that Photius made Iconoclasm an issue in the conflict with his rival. If so, then the term ἐγκόλπιον takes on the added significance of showing that Ignatius was not 'soft' on the question of icons.

²⁷ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1835) 142; *supra* n.9.

²⁸ LSJ (1775) cites this passages in defining τεάντιον as a "hook to fasten dress."



Necklace with cross and amulet cases, 5th to 6th centuries A.D.
Length 54.35 cm. Indiana University Art Museum 70.56.11
(Burton Y. Berry Collection)

PLATE 2 VINSON



Silver chain with pectoral cross, 14th century A.D.
Length 60.50 cm. Indiana University Art Museum 70.105.36
(Burton Y. Berry Collection)

the chest (see *supra* n.23). The verb used to describe Theoctistus' movement in putting on his *encolpion*, περιεβάλλετο ("put around"), is more appropriate for a pendant than a pin; if Theoctistus' τεάντιον were in fact a brooch, one might have expected ἐνεβάλλετο, as the passage from Eustathius explicitly suggests. Practical considerations also militate against understanding the τεάντιον in the *Life of Theodora* as a pin or brooch. It is, for example, difficult to understand why Theoctistus would risk being pricked by habitually carrying a sharp-pointed object in his clothes. It is also hard to see how a brooch can be put on "in a hurry" (δραμών). Finally, although Theophilus is close enough to Theoctistus to grab his hair, it would seem easier for him to 'draw' the ἐγκόλπιον/τεάντιον to his lips if it were hanging freely rather than attached to a garment.

A way out of this difficulty comes from an unlikely source, the medical writer Meletius the Monk. His *On the Constitution of Man*, usually assigned to the ninth century, contains the following enumeration of the parts of the neck: ὁ τράχηλος τοίνυν λέγεται καὶ τένων καὶ αὐχὴν· τοῦ δὲ τραχήλου, τὸ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, κατακλείδες λέγονται· τὸ δὲ ὀπισθεν, τένων· ἔξ οὗ καὶ τεάντιον.²⁹ This form of τεάντιον is clearly derived from τείνω ("stretch") through τένων ("sinew"), with which it is synonymous in meaning "back of the neck." A derivation from τείνω suits the sense required of τεάντιον by the context of the *Life of Theodora* far better than one from *tenere*. Whether the operative force comes from "sinew," *i.e.*, a cord or thong, or from the more specific "back of the neck," or even some combination of the two, the semantic range for τεάντιον easily accommodates an extended meaning of "necklace." An ἐγκόλπιον strung on a cord or chain is something that one could indeed "sling on in a hurry" (δραμών περιεβάλλετο). A delirious emperor could easily see the "cord with the *encolpion*" (τὸ τοῦ ἐγκολπίου τεάντιον) on Theoctistus' neck and, by synecdoche, draw the cord or necklace (τὸ τεάντιον) to his lips.

The term τεάντιον thus represents two different words which, although identical morphologically, are distinct in etymology, meaning, and usage. The τεάντιον, which comes

²⁹ Meletius the Monk, *De natura hominis*, in J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium* III (Oxford 1836) 91. The same passage is repeated in R. Renehan, ed. and tr., *Leo the Physician, Epitome on the Nature of Man* (Berlin 1969) 44. For the date of Meletius see A. M. Talbot, "Meletios the Monk," *ODB* 2 (1991) 1333.

from *tenere* and means "pin or brooch," clearly represents a colloquial level of usage. Eustathius, for example, is quite explicit in characterizing τεάντιον as a common or vernacular expression for the classical περόνη (κατὰ τὸ ἰδιωτικῶς λεγόμενον). Similarly, the variant reading in Nicetas Choniates is an obvious gloss on the less familiar περονουμένην and explicitly places τεάντιον on the same stylistic level as πούκλα, another foreign loan word. By contrast, the τεάντιον, which comes from τείνω and means "neck or necklace," represents a more formal level of usage. Its appearance in a medical treatise indicates that it is a technical term. The *Life of Theodora* belongs to a similar stylistic level in that it is a representative of the 'high' or classicizing style not only in terms of morphology and diction but genre as well, as it conforms to the conventions of a βασιλικὸς λόγος or imperial oration.³⁰ Hence, for reasons of both style and sense the term τεάντιον in the *Life of Theodora* must mean a kind of necklace.

To summarize, the term ἐγκόλπιον denotes a personal religious object that is small enough to be carried in a pocket but was normally worn suspended from the neck. When the form is specified, it is that of a cross or circle. Encolpia may contain relics, specifically fragments of the True Cross,³¹ or may bear figural representation. During the second period of Iconoclasm and its aftermath, both the object and the term constituted a powerful symbol of Orthodox practice and belief. Further, in the second half of the ninth century, ἐγκόλπια seem to have been particularly associated with the Ignatian party in Constantinople. The term τεάντιον, on the other hand, represents two different words that are morphologically the same. The first comes from the Latin *tenere* and is a popular expression for a pin or brooch used to fasten clothes. The second, from τείνω and a technical term for "back of the neck," also has the extended meaning of necklace. The latter sense

³⁰ For the rhetorical form see D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981) 76–95.

³¹ The emphasis on these particular relics in ninth-century sources (*PG* C 200 and *Mansi* XVI 79=*PL* CXXIX 79) may well represent an iconophile reaction to the promotion of the cult of the Cross by iconoclastic emperors. On this see J. Moorhead, "Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 165–79. See also A. Kartsonis, "Protection Against All Evil: Function, Use, and Operation of Byzantine Historiated Phylacteries," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 20 (1994) 73–102.

applies in the *Life of Theodora*, where τεράντιον denotes the cord or necklace on which the ἐγκόλπιον is suspended.³²

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