

A COMPANION TO BYZANTIUM

Edited by

Liz James

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Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK
The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

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Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| List of Figures | ix |
| List of Maps | xiii |
| Notes on Contributors | xv |
| Acknowledgments | xix |
| Some Relevant Dates | xxi |
| List of Byzantine Rulers | xxv |
| List of Abbreviations | xxix |
| 1. Byzantium: a Very, Very Short Introduction <i>Liz James</i> | 1 |
| 2. Writing Histories of Byzantium: the Historiography of Byzantine History <i>F. K. Haarer</i> | 9 |
| Part I Being Byzantine | 23 |
| 3. Economics, Trade, and “Feudalism” <i>Peter Sarris</i> | 25 |
| 4. Byzantium = Constantinople <i>Paul Magdalino</i> | 43 |
| 5. Provinces and Capital <i>Catherine Holmes</i> | 55 |
| 6. Insiders and Outsiders <i>Dion C. Smythe</i> | 67 |

| | | |
|---|--|------------|
| 7. | Young People in Byzantium <i>Cecily Hennessy</i> | 81 |
| 8. | The Good, the Bad and the Ugly <i>Myrto Hatzaki</i> | 93 |
| 9. | The Memory Culture of Byzantium <i>Amy Papalexandrou</i> | 108 |
| 10. | Emotions in Byzantium <i>Martin Hinterberger</i> | 123 |
| 11. | Having Fun in Byzantium <i>Shaun Tougher</i> | 135 |
| Part II God and the World | | 147 |
| 12. | Byzantine Views of God and the Universe <i>Mary Cunningham</i> | 149 |
| 13. | Giving Gifts to God: Aspects of Patronage in Byzantine Art <i>Vasiliki Dimitropoulou</i> | 161 |
| 14. | Orthodoxy and Northern Peoples: Goods, Gods and Guidelines <i>Jonathan Shepard</i> | 171 |
| 15. | Christology and Heresy <i>Andrew Louth</i> | 187 |
| 16. | Beyond Byzantium: the Non-Chalcedonian Churches <i>Niall Finneran</i> | 199 |
| Part III Reading Byzantine Texts | | 225 |
| 17. | No Drama, No Poetry, No Fiction, No Readership, No Literature <i>Margaret Mullett</i> | 227 |
| 18. | Rhetorical Questions <i>Mary Whitby</i> | 239 |
| 19. | Text and Context in Byzantine Historiography <i>Roger Scott</i> | 251 |
| 20. | Byzantine Narrative: the Form of Storytelling in Byzantium <i>Emmanuel C. Bourboubakis and Ingela Nilsson</i> | 263 |
| 21. | Byzantine Book Culture <i>Judith Waring</i> | 275 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Part IV Some Questions in Material Culture | 289 |
| 22. Archaeology <i>James Crow</i> | 291 |
| 23. Makers and Users <i>Anthony Cutler</i> | 301 |
| 24. The Limits of Byzantine Art <i>Antony Eastmond</i> | 313 |
| 25. Icons and Iconomachy <i>Leslie Brubaker</i> | 323 |
| 26. The Rise and Fall of the Macedonian Renaissance <i>John Hanson</i> | 338 |
| 27. Late and Post-Byzantine Art under Venetian Rule: Frescoes versus Icons, and Crete in the Middle <i>Angeliki Lymberopoulou</i> | 351 |
| Bibliography—Primary Sources | 371 |
| Bibliography | 384 |
| Index | 443 |

CHAPTER TEN

Emotions in Byzantium

Martin Hinterberger

Joy, sorrow, fear, envy, anger, and similar features of human life are all what we term as emotions. Interest in the study of the emotions has intensified continuously over the last decades. Psychology, philosophy, and medicine seek to address the question of what exactly the emotions are; sociology and the economic sciences are concerned with the meaning of the emotions in the context of human actions and interactions; and last, but not least, the cultural-historical disciplines increasingly realize the significance of the emotions for the study of past cultures (Oatley and Jenkins 1996; Griffiths 1997; Solomon 2003 and 2004; Manstead et al. 2004; Turner and Stets 2005). Although these different disciplines offer various and contrasting views about the nature of the emotions, they all agree that emotions are composed in a complex manner: they consist of thoughts and judgments about the world (a cognitive component) and also have a neurophysiologic side (processes in the brain and the remaining body); they are experienced and expressed internally and they initiate actions (Merten 2003: esp. 9–34; Berry et al. 2002: esp. 185–8). While colloquially the word “emotion” is often identified with *feeling*, this represents only one aspect of the complex entity, namely internal experience. For the present study, it is of particular importance to note that emotions are not a human constant, but that they differ depending upon culture and epoch. Substantial deviations can therefore be determined by both a synchronous and a diachronous comparison (Stearns 2000 with further bibliography). Additionally, the variability of emotions particularly affects their culturally determined expression, referred to as *display rules*, and to a lesser degree their culturally shaped experience, *feeling rules* (Merten 2003: 125–36; Oatley and Jenkins 1996: 52–60). This means that we need to appreciate that both the Byzantine perception of emotions and the emotions themselves differ from the current concepts of emotions and the experiences thereof.

Byzantinists have paid little attention to the study of the emotions. This is particularly surprising, considering that numerous Byzantine texts are rich in emotional episodes (that is to say narrative units that describe emotions) and that Byzantine

historians acknowledge emotions as constitutive factors in human action (Kazhdan 1980: 297–8; Ljubarskij 1992: 183; Hinterberger 2003: 162–6). Above all, historiographical texts, the subject of research in many other contexts, often talk about emotions. The very fact that emotions appear so frequently in Byzantine texts, especially when compared to modern historiographical writings, as well as the obvious part they play in the sequence of actions, immediately provides evidence for changes in the meaning of emotions that occurred from the Byzantine period up to modern times, changes that separate Byzantine culture from the Western modern world. Further, certain Byzantine emotions, such as *katanuxis* and *akédia*, do not have modern equivalents, and others, like *plthonos* or *mnésikakia*, played a bigger role in Byzantine society than their modern counterparts, envy and resentment, appear to do now. (*Akédia* translates as “flagging” and “lethargy in the quest for God, accompanied by despair.” Roberts 2003: 245–7; Sorabji 2000: 368–9; Talbot 1991; Harré and Finlay-Jones 1986; Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971: 84–90. *Katanuxis* is discussed in more detail below). These cases of cultural emphasis on certain emotions are known as hypercognized emotions (Oatley and Jenkins 1996: 44). On the other hand, some characteristic emotions of modern life (stress and guilt, for example) are completely absent in Byzantium, while others, such as romantic love, romantic jealousy, and disgust, play only minor roles.

This underlines that a hermeneutic danger lies in ignoring the historical dimensions and changeability of the emotions of past cultures and applying our own expectations and experiences to the studied subject matter instead: for example, in speculating upon the type of emotions a Byzantine person might have experienced in a given situation. A strict definition of the emotions is needed, together with a study of typical emotional episodes, in which the nature of specific emotions is clearly evident; we also need to avoid associating the presence or, more frequently, the absence of specific emotions with certain value judgements. It is important to be aware that one’s own emotional world is just as historically conditioned as the Byzantine one (and that of every other culture, present or past), and has no general validity. Consequently, the objective of the analysis of emotions in Byzantium is not the identification of timeless truths, but the capture of the historical dimension of emotions on the one hand and their social functions at a given time on the other hand.

The fact that emotions have not received great attention as a theme of Byzantine historiography, and that their investigation in Byzantine studies remains underdeveloped, has much to do with culturally conditioned partiality, that is to say with deep-rooted prejudices against the so-called “irrational impulses” of humans and against the “soft” facts, considered irrelevant for understanding and describing the course of history. In particular, historians tend to pay special attention to “rational” decisions and to “hard” facts, and therefore focus on the history of events, institutions, diplomacy, warfare, and the like. The fact that emotions have traditionally been ascribed to “the feminine sphere” has further limited their research (Böhme 1997: 532; Kasten et al. 2002b: 9). Philology too is concerned with emotions only when they form the specific topic of texts or groups of texts, as, for instance, with love as a constituent of the romantic novel (Cupane 1992; Smith 1999: 183–94).

Art and literature do provide some access to the world of Byzantine emotions. In the case of art, the display of emotions is limited to those that can be clearly expressed in pictorial terms, through gesture, facial expression or other visible physical symptoms (Maguire 1977 on sorrow). In this context, we need to be particularly aware of not making immediate parallels with our own experiences but rather considering what we know of Byzantine emotions. Textual sources make it very clear that Byzantine emotions are not always connected with the physical symptoms characteristic of their current equivalents: blushing, for example, usually accompanied shame or embarrassment, but could also express joy (Mark the Deacon, *V. Porph.* 42, 14–16). Tears may be a sign of mourning or contrition, but also one of anger (Hinterberger 2006: 42–3). Here, however, I will concern myself exclusively with information extracted from texts.

Statements about emotions can be found in a great variety of texts. Historical research on emotions concentrates on the investigation of “ego-documents,” any kind of self-statement, but in particular autobiographies, diaries, and letters. These writings are differentiated from those that are concerned with the representation and specifically the propaganda of correct and incorrect behavioral standards, such as behavioral guidelines or sermons; indeed, any type of literature (including fiction) can basically convey such norms. The first category of texts allows conclusions about the emotions experienced by individuals to be drawn, while the latter are restricted to emotional conventions (emotionology: Stearns and Stearns 1985; Stearns 2000). A clear separation, however, is not really possible, for even autobiographies follow literary conventions, especially in Byzantium. Further, the separation of the personal and private sphere, if it even existed in Byzantium, followed different rules than today: for example, over the appropriate conscious public display of emotions. Byzantine autobiographical texts are very rare and only contain information about some emotions of the author. These are, in general, the socially accepted emotions, such as mourning for the deceased, love for children or joy over an experience of God (Hinterberger 1999 on autobiographical texts, esp. 77 on the “note-book” of a civil servant mourning for a dead child, and 277 on the love of a mother for her child). Symeon the New Theologian describes his longing for God vividly, with a wide range of emotive vocabulary (*epithumia*, *erôs*, *ponos endotatos*, *theïos pothos*—the love of God, *chara*, *hêdonê*—joy—over the experience of divine light. Symeon the New Theologian, *Katech.* 16, 13. 24–8. 78–82). Sermons, catechisms and morally didactic literature all have a distinct normative character that also applies to various florilegia, whose chapters are dedicated in large parts to emotions. In the ninth- to tenth-century *Loci Communes* of Pseudo-Maximos the Confessor, for example, the following passions are dealt with: anger; greed; children’s respect for their parents and the parents’ love for their children; fear; gluttony; mourning and dejection; vanity; envy; resentment; and self-love (For emotions in the eleventh-century “Patmos florilegium,” Sargologos 1990: 35–48).

These texts make largely theoretical statements about emotions. More descriptive statements, particularly emotional episodes, succession of events, that are typical for certain emotions or that constitute emotions are found mainly in historiographical and hagiographical texts. In the following, I will present Byzantine theories and

general opinions concerning emotions, some of which I will examine more closely. Disregarding the general normative character of all statements, it has constantly to be remembered that we are not dealing with actual experiences, but with the representation of emotions in texts (Benthien et al. 2000: 10).

In Byzantium, the theoretical engagement with emotions takes place primarily in context of theology. Human existence was always seen in relationship to God (see Cunningham in this volume). In this respect, emotions were understood mostly as a problem for the relationship between humans and God and, at times, as a prerequisite for the functioning of this relationship. The theoretical picture of emotions was shaped in particular by the church fathers of the fourth century, including Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzos, and by the theoreticians of monasticism, Evagrius Pontikos and John Klimakos among others, and expanded by the later theologians Maximos the Confessor and John of Damascus (Knuuttila 2004: esp.127–44). Basil and Gregory wrote comprehensive treatises on certain passions, in which they also considered the physiological symptoms and social component (Basil of Caesarea, *Hom.* 10, 2–3, 356C–360D: appearance and behavior of the angry; *Hom.* 11, 5, 380D–385B: appearance and behavior of the envious; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carm.* 1, 2, 25, 94–144: appearance and behavior of the angry; Oberhaus 1989: 78–95). Ephraem the Syrian, also writing in the fourth century, dealt in various treatises with the passions in the context of monastic communal life (Ephraem, *De virt. et vit.*). In the tenth century, Symeon Metaphrastes and Theodoros Daphnopates composed treatises that consisted exclusively of extensive quotations from works of Basil and John Chrysostom (Rudberg 1964; Durand 1993: 61–2), with a focus on the discussion of passions. Among the 24 collections of passages from Basil there are the excerpts with the titles: vice and virtue (1); love of God and your neighbor (3); greed (6); sorrow and dejection (12); patience and forbearance (13); gluttony (16); anger and enmity (17); envy (18); chastity and licentiousness (19); humility and vanity (20). Included among the 47 extracts from Chrysostom are love (1), humility (7), gluttony (12), greed (15), pride and vanity (16), envy (17), hatred and enmity (18), sorrow and dejection (19), anger/wrath (20), patience (22), vice and virtue (26), resentment (29). Other authors viewed passions almost exclusively in terms of their meaning for the relationship between humans and God.

The Byzantine term that is the closest equivalent of emotion is *pathos*. This word essentially means “that which happens to someone (or that which befalls someone);” “happens” and “happening” in the sense of event is meant in the general sense of the word. This is usually a negative event, a misadventure, an accident, an illness. Strictly speaking, *pathos* is also “that which befalls the soul,” a passion of the soul. The generally negative connotations of the word also apply here, for it indicates predominantly a suffering or illness of the soul. In comparison with the modern term “emotion,” Byzantine passions additionally comprise human impulses that are nowadays defined as driving forces, such as the desire for food or the sex drive (John of Damascus, *Expo. Fid.* 27, 9–20; Maximos Confessor, *Quaest. ad Thalass.*, Introd. 275–92), as well as forms of human behavior such as *gastrimargia* or gluttony, *polulogia*, loquaciousness, and *loidoria*, rudeness.

Passions were seen as typically human characteristics, since God is *apathês*, passionless (John of Damascus, *Expo. fid.* 1, 22–4 and 70, 3–9; Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971; 100). Angels, on the other hand were, in principle, believed capable of experiencing passions, since pride and envy were considered the causes for the fall of Lucifer, the “bringer of light,” and the angels subject to him (Heiser 1976: 238–9). Christ also took on passions with his Incarnation, but only the natural and pure passions (*phusika kai adiablêta pathê*), which is why he felt the fear of death (John of Damascus, *Expo. fid.* 70 and 64, 22–7).

It was a cause for controversy as to whether the passions belonged to the inherent nature of humanity (Ware 1989). Those authors, who regarded them as a natural human component, such as Abbas Isaias and Theodoret of Cyrrihus, differentiated between the natural and unnatural workings of passions. Such workings that were not directed toward God were opposed to true nature. In this context, passions had, in principle, a positive and negative potential. For instance, if eagerness, *zêlos*, was directed toward the acquisition of virtues, it corresponded to its nature; however, if it turned into jealousy of your neighbor, it became *phthonos*, envy, and thus unnatural. Similarly, anger was naturally directed at the devil; if, however, anger was directed at fellow men, it too became an unnatural impulse (Ware 1989. Also Basil of Caesarea, *Hom.* 10, 5, 365B–C; John Chrysostom, *De inani gloria* 69, 835–48).

Most authors, however, largely excluded the positive side of passions in their deliberations; when speaking of *pathê*, they always implied negative *pathê*. Since God is passionless and since humans are created according to his image, passions could not have been a component of the original human nature. Passions only developed after the violation of God’s commandment, and may even have played a substantial role therein. The turning away from God (the love of God) and the turn to oneself (self-love, *philautia*) and the sensuous world (the fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil) was regarded as the initial passionate act by Maximos the Confessor. From this, all further passions developed. According to Maximos, all passions derived from this self-love, insofar as they represented either the pursuit of desire—the satisfaction of self-love in the form of gluttony, pride, vanity, and the like—or a reaction to its injury in the shape of anger, envy, and hate. (Maximos Confessor, *Quaest. Ad Thalass. Intr.* 209–90).

Early Byzantine Christian authors adopted ideas regarding the categorization and conception of the workings of passion that were common at the time and that can be traced back to the theories of various philosophical schools, above all (Neo-) Platonic and Stoic influences. The soul itself was said to have three components (or forces, *dunameis*): the reasonable; the thymic/spiritual; and the covetous part (*logikon*, *thumikon* and *epithumêtikon*. Basil of Caesarea, *Against anger* 5, 365D–368D; John Chrysostom, *De inani gloria* 65; Evagrius Pontikos, *De cognit.* 17; John of Damascus, *Expo. fid.* 26). Dorotheos of Gaza localized these three parts of the soul in different regions of the body: the *epithumêtikon* in the liver, the *thumikon* in the heart and the *logikon* in the chest (Dorotheos of Gaza, *Instr.* XVII §176). *Thumikon* and *epithumêtikon* together represent the “passionate” part of the soul (endowed with passion, *pathetikon*) shared by animals. The task of the *logikon* was to guide the two

other parts of the soul or the passions in general and to provide them with direction (Basil of Caesarea, *Hom.* 10, 5, 365A–B; Gregory of Nyssa, *De creat. hom.* 14, 2–4). Some authors assigned different specific emotions to these three parts of the soul (Louth 1984); in the eleventh-century author, Niketas Stethatos, the three basic passions that are assigned to the *logikon*, the *thumos*, and the *epithumia* are pride (*uperêphanicia*), love of money (*philarguria*), and love of lust (*philêdonia*) (*De anim.* 56). John of Damascus, following the fifth-century theologian Nemesios of Edessa, knew of four basic emotions: lust (*hedonê*); pain (*lupê*); fear (*phobos*); and rage (*thumos*). Pain could be further divided into four sub-categories, fear into six, and rage into three (John of Damascus, *Expo. fid.* 27–30, 80–82; Nemesios, *De nat. hom.* 17–21).

Some authors referred to the necessity of passions for the approximation to God. Maximos the Confessor, for example, regarded the love of God as *makariston pathos*, blessed passion (Maximos Confessor, *De carit.* III 71). Although the differentiation into positive and negative orientations of fundamentally neutral passions is found in the theoretical analyses of the topic of passion, these generally emphasized the struggle with the negative characteristics, so that *pathos* mostly meant bad *pathos* and was considered an illness of the soul, rather than the strife for positive passions, which were perhaps tacitly presupposed.

In this negative sense, passions represented sins and obstacles on the way to God, while *apatheia*, passionlessness, was the condition for the view of God (*theôria*). This view is particularly apparent in the writings of Evagrius Pontikos (Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971: 98–112; Géhin et al. 1998: 11–23; Sorabji 2000: 360–62). Significantly, many of the stages on the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimakos, one of the most influential of all ascetic texts, are passions, or the strife to overcome them (John Klimakos, *Scala*: 8 the absence of wrath; 9 resentment; 13 *akêdia*, listlessness; 16 greed; 20 cowardice; 21 vanity; 22 pride). Passions were seen as initiated by the sensual world. Since the hermit had withdrawn himself from that world, he needed to fight its thoughts and memories, the *logismoi* (Evagrius Pontikos, *Prakt.* 48). In this sense, *logismoi* corresponded to *pathê*, according to Evagrius Pontikos, and other authors followed him (Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971: 55–6; Sorabji 2000: 362–4). These thoughts only initiated passions, but they became sins if they lingered in the soul with its agreement (*Prakt.* 6). The Western doctrine of the seven capital sins developed from the group of eight compiled by Evagrius in this context: *pathê/logismoi* of gluttony, fornication, avarice, distress, anger, listlessness, vainglory, pride (*gastrimargia*, *porneia*, *filarguria*, *lupê*, *orgê*, *akêdia*, *kenodoxia*, *uperêfanian*. Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971: 63–94. Sorabji 2000: 358–9).

Since the (bad) passions were the cause of the fall of Satan and also of man's expulsion from paradise, and moreover since they represented substantial obstacles for humans on their way to God, they were considered tools of Satan and of the demons, and accordingly identified with demons (Bravo Garcia 2000: 203–12). For Evagrius, the words "demon" and "thought" or "passion" were interchangeable, and later Byzantine literature repeatedly referred to passions as demons. Just as passions were obstacles in the natural human effort to reach God during the earthly existence, so too they hampered the ascent of the soul to heaven after death, in the form of tax stations (*telônia*) demanding tolls on the way (Lampakis 1982: 56). Niketas Stethatos

explained that passions did not constitute natural attributes of the soul. If, upon leaving the body after death, the soul still coalesced with passions, Satan would recognize it by these and pull it down into the underworld (*De anima* 15, 68–9).

As one would expect, hagiographical texts are dominated by a predominantly negative consideration of passions. The fight against passions represents a fixed point in biographies of monks. Saints' *Lives* repeatedly describe the struggle of the saint against passions or against humans driven by evil passions. Many of these texts can be understood as guides for the correct handling of passions or as a treatise about certain passions. Thus the central topic of the *Life* of Nikephoros is not his martyrdom, but rather the overcoming of resentment felt against him by a former friend. This story is consequently also equipped with the sub-title *kata mnésikakias*, "against bearing malice" (Efthymiadis 1991). On his way to God, the monk also had to overcome passions that otherwise possessed a positive character. A frequently discussed problem was the expected withdrawal of the monk from any emotional connection with his family in a society that valued family cohesion highly. The *Life* of Symeon Salos describes, for instance, how Symeon fought against his affection for his mother, and how his companion Ioannes struggled against love for his wife (Leontios of Neapolis, *VSym* esp. 59, 28–60, 15 and 64, 7–18. Also Symeon the New Theologian, *Catech.* 7, esp. 292–431. Hinterberger 1999: 216, n. 190). Contact with relatives was nevertheless allowed in monastic rules, but with the observation of strict regulations (Hinterberger 1999: 221).

The monastic-ascetic ideal shaped the Byzantine world beyond the hermitages and monasteries and is paralleled by a generally negative image of emotions in this broader context. The general validity of ascetic behavioral standards is apparent from imperial acts of contrition (*katanuxis*) exhibited on various public occasions (Hinterberger 2006: 35–8). Nevertheless, certain passions were sometimes depicted in a positive light in historiographical texts, as, for example, when Nikephoros Bryennios reported that the young Alexios Komnenos was torn between the *pathé* of mother love and the desire to fight (Nikephoros Bryennios, *Hist.* I, 12 [105, 6–8]), both of which were undisputed virtues for Bryennios. In this context, to what extent the evaluation of passions might differ between types of texts and genres is another crucial issue that has barely been examined. Independent of the assessment of passions, everyday life in Byzantium (as *not* described in theological-hagiographical texts) was far from the ideal of *apatheia*. Human actions, and thus the course of history, appeared to the Byzantines to be dominated by the passions to a great extent. The representation of emotions in historiography is increasingly apparent from the ninth century onwards. In the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, fear and mourning are prominent (Ljubarskij 1992, 183). The section on the emperor Leo V and Michael II in the tenth-century text of Theophanes Continuatus is defined by the fear and wrath of the protagonist (Theophanes Continuatus I, 22–4. See Hinterberger 2004 for this in the context of Michael Attaleiates, and Kazhdan 1981 for John Kantakuzenos).

I will now move to consider in greater detail a number of emotions that seem of special interest.

Penthos translates as "mourning," particularly mourning for a deceased human being (Müller 2000; Hunt 2004; Hinterberger 2006). The embodiment of *penthos*

was the mourning of a mother for her deceased son. Based on the statement from the Sermon on the Mount, “Blessed are those who mourn” (Matthew 5.4), a special mourning cult developed in early Byzantine monasticism (possibly influenced by the Egyptian cult of Isis-Osiris: Müller 2000: 106–11). In this mourning cult, the faithful, and above all the monks, shed tears over their sins and those of mankind. It was said that those tears cleansed the soul, just as baptism washed away the dirt of sin, and thus prepared it for the kingdom of heaven. Because it cleansed and led to God, this form of *penthos* was also called a “joyful sorrow” (*charmolupê*) and created the need for methods that could evoke tears. In particular, thoughts of the divine judgment or mankind’s expulsion from paradise and the resulting alienation (*xenitcia*) of man in the world were considered suitable themes to bring about tears (Neophytos, *Pentckont.* 19). Katanyctical texts were composed, among them hymns that inspired the faithful to cry. Nikolaos Kataskepenos, writing in the twelfth century, reported how a monk literally cried himself to death through excessive mourning, supported, among other things, by a collection of stimulating texts (Nikolaos Kataskepenos, *VCyril* 42, 9–11). Since tears of contrition could be shed only by the grace of God, tears were considered the visible sign that God accepted the regret and contrition of a human being; they could therefore also be used politically. The contrite tears that the emperor Leo VI shed publicly over his fourth marriage at Christmas 906 were meant to illustrate that God had accepted his repentance and that the patriarch and the synod now needed to waive the punishment of his exclusion from the church community (Hinterberger 2006: 36–7). For the communicative function of emotions in general, Althoff 2000). As a ritual of cleansing, contrition and mourning could also usefully be used by the emperor as an effective sign in battle (Hinterberger 2006: 38–40).

Envy (*phthonos*, or frequently *baskania*, more rarely *zêlos*) is defined as “sorrow over the well-being of somebody else” (Basil of Caesarea, *Hom.* 11, 1 (372A); John of Damascus, *Expo. fid.* 28). Envy was usually directed at a socially close person, especially a neighbor or colleague, and the typical behavior of the envious person lay in accusation, calumny, and defamation (*diabolê*, *sukophantia*, and *katalalia*). Many episodes of envy, particularly in historiographical texts, exhibit a similar pattern: a man is distinguished by courage, special skill, high education, and the like, and thereby wins the favor of the emperor. The emperor rewards him with high honors, extraordinary presents, and other signs of affection, and elevates him above his colleagues (mostly generals or civil servants), thus exciting their envy. The envious person creates mistrust in the emperor through intrigues, causing the emperor to doubt his former favorite’s loyalty, and thereby eventually bringing about his fall. A typical example was the rise of the emperor’s private secretary (*epi tou kanikleion*) Theodoros Styppaiotes to become the confidant of Manuel I, leading to plotting against him by his colleague John Kamateros, and his subsequent fall (Hinterberger 2004: 300–3). The victim of envy *par excellence* whose existence was destroyed in this way was the victorious military leader, personified in Justinian’s general, Belisarios. His fate became the myth and timeless symbol for the treachery and the destroying power of envy in the form of the “history of Belisarios” (Bakker and van Gemert 1988).

A further attribute of envy was self-destruction. Envy made the envious person blind to his/her own well-being in order to deprive the envied person of an

advantage. “*Phthonos* does not know advantage” is stated in various texts. A characteristic report by Michael Attaleiates (*Hist.* 37, 21–39, 18; Hinterberger 2003, 64) describes how, during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55), there was a battle between the Byzantine army and the Pechenegs. Since the governor of Bulgaria, the eunuch Basil Synkellos, envied the commander-in-chief, Michael Akolouthos, the success that a victory would bring him, he removed his troops from battle. The consequence was that the Byzantine army suffered a devastating defeat and Basil himself was killed in the general confusion.

The fact that envy was closely associated with the devil, as were arrogance and pride (*alazoneia* and *uperéfania*), played a decisive role in the Byzantine perception of envy. It was the devil who “invented” these passions, and they had a crucial role in his history (Photios, *Hom.* 12, 123, 34–124, 5). He was cast into the underworld for his disdain and arrogance; out of envy he enticed Adam and Eve to disregard God’s divine commandment. Thus the devil was also simply known as the “envious” or the “envious demon.” Satan’s envy of humans, and in particular of the virtuous and saints, illustrated the destructive side of this passion, seeking to destroy that which appeared enviable without gaining it for oneself. This is not envy in the modern sense, for Satan was not perceived as wanting to be in the place or to possess the virtues of the envied one; rather, he despised their virtue, for he was also the *misokalos*, the one who hates the Good and wishes to destroy it. These aspects of *phthonos* and particularly the satanic *phthonos* are generally underestimated and wrongly reflected in translations. Envious humans were considered tools of Satan, used to pursue humans with his envy.

This diabolical connotation of envy is probably related to pre-Christian perceptions of a superhuman evil power, but it also relates to social conditions in Byzantium, which were particularly favorable for the emergence of envy. The Byzantine administration and the army were strictly hierarchized. This hierarchy, however, was not constant; there was no such thing as a fixed and hereditary affiliation to a social class in Byzantium. Since it was possible for anyone to ascend the social ladder, competition and rivalry were an everyday phenomenon, further strengthened by the absolute power of the emperor and his complete freedom to decide on promotions. Ecclesiastical hierarchies were similarly constructed to foster envy. Symeon the New Theologian described envy in connection with the election of the abbot in the monastery (Symeon the New Theologian, *Katech.* 18, 21–3). Theodoros Agallianos depicted a patriarchal clergy full of envy (Hinterberger 2004: 306–9). The satirist Mazaris (58, 20–60, 1) illustrated Byzantium as a society where, even in death, envy incessantly caused men to forge plots against each other.

Zélotupia is strongly connected to *phthonos*. As a technical term, it refers to the jealousy between spouses or siblings more specifically. (Hinterberger 2009; for the modern term “jealousy” and its distinction from “envy:” Parrott 1991; for the cultural history of jealousy in modern times: Stearns 1989). While envy was clearly hypercognized in Byzantium, jealousy hardly played a part, compared to today, least of all in the form of jealousy between partners. This relates to a completely different understanding of interpersonal relations and the relationship between spouses in particular. John Chrysostom nevertheless depicted jealousy as one of the great evils of married life, in view of which it was not advisable to get married. He indicated a

specific behavior, a man's mistrust of his wife, or vice versa. There was a crucial difference between them, however, for the wife could never limit her husband in his freedom of movement to the same extent that he could her, and she could never encourage others to spy on her husband (John Chrysostom, *Virg.* 52). Only a small number of cases are referred to in literary texts. For example, Palladios in the fifth century reports that Evagrios Pontikos in Constantinople had had an affair with a married woman and that he fled to Palestine out of fear of the jealous husband (Palladios, *Hist. Laus.* 38, 3–7). There are hardly any reports of marital homicides as a result of jealousy. A jealous mistress of Manuel I tried to kill a rival with poison (Krumbacher 1894, 452). Michael Psellos described in detail the jealousy between the two daughters of Constantine VIII, the future empresses Zoe and Theodora (Michael Psellos, *Chron.* 5, 34 and 6, 62, 9–12), as well as Zoe's jealousy of the mistress of her husband, Constantine IX (6I 49). Jealousy plays a role in the conclusion of Theodoros Prodromos's twelfth-century novel *Rodanthe and Dosikles*, when Myrilla, in love with the hero Dosikles, tries to kill the heroine Rodanthe out of jealousy. But, overall, jealousy was simply not a major topic. This may also be because, in Byzantium, certain forms of what we nowadays call jealousy, like the competition for the acknowledgement of a third party, appear as facets of rivalry and envy between competitors, for example, over the favor of the emperor.

Finally, anger or wrath (*orgê* and *thumos*): these two terms are largely synonymous (*orgê* is sometimes considered as a form of *thumos*: John of Damascus, *Expo. fid.* 30, 7). In ancient Greek, the meaning of the word *thumos* was narrowed down from "a power that lends energy and propels to action" to "rage, anger/wrath" (Blösser 1998). In Byzantine texts, one can find both meanings. Although the Byzantines considered God in principle as *apathês* or passionless, they were aware that the Bible, notably the Old Testament, regularly mentions the wrath of God; disasters that befall mankind were regularly attributed to the wrath of God. Indeed, the term *theomênia*, literally "the wrath of God," also meant "natural disaster." Different authors tried to solve this contradiction by referring to the wrath of God as a metaphor and a misunderstanding of God's actions on the part of humans (Gregory of Nazianzos, *Carm.* 1, 2, 25, 371–98; Oberhaus 1991: 150–51; Photios, *Hom.* 4, 1, 40, 1–11).

The wrath of the all-powerful emperor was considered as particularly devastating, and the ideal of self-control by the ruler was developed in *Mirrors of Princes*, advisory texts for rulers, where special weight was placed on the control of anger (Agapetos Diakon. 36 and 55; Photios, *Ep.* 1, 1019–34 (letter to Tsar Boris); Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Basil. And.* 34–48; Prinzing 1988). The angry or wrathful ruler was nevertheless a common topic in literature. The emperor Basil I was depicted as an angry ruler even by sympathetic historians (Theophanes Continuatus V, 70 [312, 3–11]). Theodore Laskaris was described as particularly irascible (George Akropolites, *History, Hist.* 63, esp. 130, 6. 23–6). The emperor Theodosios I, enraged by an act of disobedience by the city of Thessalonike, executed 7,000 (or even 15,000) of its citizens in 390 (Karpozilos 1997, 190–192). As a result of this, he issued a law making provision for a 30-day period from the decree to execution of the capital punishment in order to provide the emperor with the opportunity to alter his judgment. The validity of this law, intended to protect the emperor, as well as his subjects,

from his uncontrolled anger was confirmed by the emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates (1078–81), who reinstated it after it had fallen into oblivion (Michael Attaleiates, *Hist.* 223, 13–225, 11; Pérez Martín 2002: 339, n. 129 and 130).

Anger was often caused by an insult or defamation. Such episodes of anger are particularly informative in the context of Byzantine conventions of good behavior. The omission of due greetings and appropriate signs of respect, for example, clearly constituted a severe insult, to which the victim reacted with violent anger. This relates, above all, to adherence to the order among dignitaries at the imperial court and the respect that the inferior owed to those of higher standing in the hierarchy. The *parakoimomenos* Damianos provoked the wrath of Bardas, the *Caesar* and uncle of emperor Michael III, by not rising when he passed close by (Symeon Magister, *Chron.* 131, 31; Hinterberger 2006, 42). Likewise, Eirene Rhaoulaina, the wife of Constantine Palaiologos and second-highest woman at the court of Andronikos II, reacted with violent anger because Strategopoulina, an old lady, did not rise at her arrival (George Pachymeres, *Hist.* VIII 19 [III 173, 11–25]).

Many treatises on anger described how human wrath was initially expressed through insult, then argument, before anger progressed to violent confrontation. In the worst-case scenario, this could even lead to murder (Basil of Caesarea, *Hom.* 10, 3. 357D–360A; Gregory of Nazianzos, *Carm.* 1, 2, 25, 315–17; also see the compilation of excerpts from the writings of John Chrysostom by Theodoros Daphnopates: Durand 1993). Many surviving but infrequently preserved court decisions named anger as the crucial motive in murder cases, and denounced it as such (Macrides 1988, 522–5). At the same time, anger could be used as a mitigating circumstance. In the thirteenth century, Demetrios Chomatinos judged a case of homicide mildly, taking into account two mitigating circumstances: the anger/wrath of the perpetrator; and the state of satiation after lunch that had further intensified his anger (Demetrios Chomatinos, *Ponem. Diaph.* 118, esp. 383, 2–6. 22–4).

Following this discussion, several general characteristics of Byzantine emotions can be affirmed. Byzantine emotions were closely entwined with Christian religion and with the value system of Byzantine society. The fact that the emotions differ in many aspects from the equivalent modern emotions shows to what extent they are influenced by the society and culture to which they belong. Compared to today, it is noticeable that the contradiction of reason and emotion was less pronounced then. To the Byzantines, it was more important whether emotions were good or bad. In their view, emotions had a strong element of action, being both motivation and action. The study of Byzantine emotions will not only contribute to our understanding of Byzantine culture and its texts, but will also make us aware that the modern experience of emotions is only one of several possibilities.

FURTHER READING

Medievalists have shown some interest in the study of emotions for some time now, and scholars of medieval literature have started to devote themselves to the theme: see, for example, Walker Bynum 1997; Rosenwein 1998, 2001, 2002 and 2006; Jaritz 2003; Kasten et al.

2002a; Benthien et al. 2000. Especially useful from a philological point of view is Eming 2007. Byzantinists have not really tackled the subject, though see Kazhdan and Cutler 1991; Kazhdan 1991; Uthemann 1991. Also see Dihle 1966. On Evagrius and the passions, see Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971. Althoff 1998 says more on the general topic of the wrathful ruler.

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Index

- Page numbers in italics indicate figures.
- nobriopoliata* 171, 210, 309, 325 (see also relics)
- Adam and Eve 131, 155–58, 348
- Adamán 326
- afertile (see also Heaven, Hell) 101–2, 110, 128–29, 153–55, 162–65
- Agathias 253
- Aghamar 216, 316
- agriculture 15, 26, 29, 38
- Alsum 208, 211
- Alexandria 34, 43, 50, 201–02, 308
- Alexind* (see also Anna Komnene) 8, 70, 76–9, 84, 94–5, 97, 104, 106, 253, 260–62, 267–68, 371
- Alexios I Komnenos 84, 94, 260–61 (see also *Alexind*)
- Alexios III 143
- al-Jāhiz 307
- al-Marwazi 310
- al-Qazwini 307, 311
- Anastasios I
- Anastasios of Sinai 285, 325, 327
- Anastasios 155
- Andrew and his dog 144, 251–2
- Andrew of Crete 249
- Andrew the Fool, Saint 101
- Andronikos I Komnenos 98, 104, 106, 114–15, 143
- Andronikos II Palaiologos 244, 245
- Andronikos III Palaiologos 106
- angels 127, 154
- anger 127, 132–33
- animals, attitudes to (see also chariot-racing) 143–45
- Anna Komnene (see also *Alexind*) 72
- Antioch 34, 50, 62, 63, 136–38, 210–11
- Anthony, Saint 157, 203, 212, 247, 269
- Aphthonios 241–44
- Apollinaris, Bishop 190–91
- Arab conquests 34, 43, 58–59, 62, 194–95
- archaeology 14, 25, 29, 47–9, 180, 185, 205–8, 220–21, 291–300
- Arculf 326
- Arctas 116
- aristocracy 26–7, 33, 35, 37–9, 40–2, 60, 162, 167, 169
- Arius 189, 202
- Artakdos 50, 253
- Armenia 214–16, 316