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ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ

The Representation of Virgin and Child on a “Thokos”
on Seals of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchs (pl. 54-61)

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THE REPRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN
AND CHILD ON A 'THOKOS' ON SEALS
OF THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN PATRIARCHS
(Pl. 54-61)

Historians of Byzantine art have often profited by the contribution of numismatics to the history of ideas, iconography and matters of style. Coins have been used extensively, but seals have suffered from a comparative neglect. Perhaps this is so because a large number of seals still remains unpublished, hidden in private collections, or because seals are considered « crude » objects with no stylistic value. The latter statement is of relative merit, because many seals are not « crude » objects; they can stand stylistic comparisons and therefore stylistic contributions are possible. Even if their stylistic value is relative, their great importance to matters of iconography can hardly be emphasized enough. In this paper we intend to explore the iconographic value of post-iconoclastic seals of Constantinopolitan patriarchs bearing the representation of the *Virgin and Child on a 'Thokos'*, an iconographic type that will be defined shortly. First we shall try to determine the chronological termini of this representation on the patriarchal seals and then to discuss its possible, direct iconographic sources and investigate the relation of the seals to these sources. It is to be hoped that the evidence presented here, observations made, and conclusions drawn, are of some significance for the student of Byzantine art.

I should like to record my debt to Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, Washington, D.C. for permitting the study of seals in their collection, and for all help given to me in many ways. More particularly I wish to thank: Prof. E. Kitzinger for valuable criticism; Mr. M. Ross for helpful suggestions; Father V. Laurent for supplying information generously about certain patriarchal seals (see Appendix); Drs. M. Chatzidakis, Director of the Byzantine Museum at Athens, and I. Varoucha-Christodouloupoulos, Director of the Numismatic Collection of the Archaeological Museum of Athens for permitting the study of seals in these collections and for other many kindnesses to me. Naturally for interpretations and conclusions I am responsible.

I

After the iconoclastic controversy and until the fall of Constantinople the patriarchal throne was occupied by seventy four patriarchs¹. We were able to study the iconography of the seals of thirty eight patriarchs found in published or unpublished collections. The evidence, therefore is not complete, but as the Checklist in the Appendix shows the gaps are such, as to suggest that a change in this evidence, although not impossible, seems rather unlikely.

The earlier known post-iconoclastic seals belonged to the patriarch Ignatius who had impressed upon them a figure of *Christ* standing and Christ in a bust form. Beginning with Photius's second ascent to the patriarchal throne (26 Oct. 877)² the patriarchal seals show on the obverse the Virgin of the *Standing Hodegetria* type, holding the Child Christ in her left arm³. In addition to this type Photius uses for his seals the Virgin of the Blachernitissa type, whereas Michael Cerularius a representation of St. Michael, his patron saint. Moreover it must be noted that Alexius's known seals bear the image of St. John the Baptist, for whom he had special devotion, since John was the patron saint of the monastery of Stoudion, where Alexius was abbot before his ascent to the patriarchal throne.

Beginning with Constantine III (1059-1063) and his successor John VIII (1064-1075) the patriarchal seals bear a representation of the *Virgin and Child on a Thokos*⁴. Apart from reproductions appear-

1. For the patriarchs of Constantinople and related problems see M. G e o n, *Πατριάρχιστοι Πίνακες* (Constantinople, 1890); cf. C. D. C o b h a m, *The Patriarchs of Constantinople* (Cambridge, 1911). V. L a u r e n t, *Le titre de patriarche oecumenique et la signature patriarchal*, *Revue des études byzantines*, 6 (1948), 5-26. See also Appendix for fuller bibliography and for abbreviations of works hereinafter cited.

2. L i k h a c h e v, *Byzantion* (1936), 480; L a u r e n t, *Studi e Testi* (1946), 374 ff., fig. 2; G r a b a r, *Iconoclasme*, p. 189, fig. 59.

3. Likhachev thought that he had recognized a seated Hodegetria on a seal of the patriarch Nicholas I or Nicholas II. This cannot be proved on the basis of the photograph published by Likhachev; see L i k h a c h e v, *Izvestia* (1924), 223, n. 1; id., *Ist. Značenie*, p. 121, fig. 271, pl. VI, 8; id., *Byzantion* (1936), 480.

4. A seal in the Numismatic Collection of the Archaeological Museum at Athens depicting the Standing Hodegetria had been wrongly attributed by Konstantopoulos to the patriarch Nicholas Grammaticus (1084-1111); see Konstantopoulos, p. 7, no 17. Schlumberger [REG (1891), 114] had correctly attributed it to Nicholas I Mysticus (901-907, 912-925), or to Nicholas II

ing in various publications I had the opportunity to examine and study actual seals some of which exist in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. The following observations are the result of this examination. Mary having the Christ Child in her lap is seated on a backless seat, a *thokos*. Her right hand is on Christ's right shoulder and her other hand is stretched down; in other instances, as in the reproduced example, the position of the hands is reverse (fig. 1). Mary's left foot appears in high relief emphasized as well by the diagonal pleats of the drapery on the other foot. Probably by this difference in planes the artist intended to show that Mary's left foot was forward. The *thokos* is high, frontally represented and with columnar legs consisting of one or two series of a bead-like ornament; in some instances the legs obtain the form of thin columns connected by small arches. In every case the overall impression is that of a light, or « airy » piece of furniture which is equipped with one cushion.

The last certain example with this iconographic type unaltered belonged to the patriarch Theodore II (1216). But it is possible that the seal of Methodius II (1240) bore the same type also¹. It is in this period, i.e., the period of the Latin conquest, that one of the patriarchs converted the backless seat of Mary into a high throne, representing thus an *Enthroned Virgin and Child* (fig. 2). The first known seal with this new representation belonged to a patriarch Germanus who must be either Germanus II (1222-1240), or Germanus III (1265-1266)². The short period between these two patriarchs makes the correct attribution of this particular seal very difficult. Likhachev was inclined to attribute it to Germanus II and the same opinion was held by Bees³. It seems that their point of view can be supported by

(979-991). The title « oecumenical patriarch » does not appear on this seal and therefore it must be dated from the time before Michael Cerularius ascended to the patriarchal throne (1043-1058); see Laurent, *Studi e Testi* (1946), 373-396.

1. The seal of Methodius II is known from a very poor and probably inaccurate drawing of Schlumberger. In my opinion the position of the Child cannot be determined and therefore Professor Grabar's opinion (*Iconoclasm*, p. 188) that the seal shows the Virgin Nikopoia is open to question. See also Appendix n. 48.

2. The description of the seal of Manuel I, the predecessor of Germanus II is incomplete in its details and it is not certain whether the Virgin sits on a *thokos*, or on a high throne; see Appendix n. 46.

3. Likhachev, *Trudi* (1899), 52, 53, pl. III, 2. Bees is quoted by Regling, *BZ* (1923), 106.

another seal bearing the same name, now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. A comparison of the Dumbarton Oaks seal to the one published by Likhachev, insofar as this is possible, shows that both seals bear the same iconographic type, but they are not products of the same die. The lower part of the throne in the Dumbarton Oaks example resembles that on the seals of the patriarch Joseph I (1266-1275, 1282-1283), the immediate successor of Germanus III, and of the patriarch Athanasius I (1289-1293, 1303-1309). It is more reasonable, then, to attribute the Dumbarton Oaks example to Germanus III and as far as the other examples are concerned to accept Likhachev's attribution. This means that the Enthroned Virgin and Child had appeared on the patriarchal seals by the time of Germanus III. This representation remained in use until the second half of the fourteenth century, when it gave its place once again to the representation of the *Virgin and Child on a Thokos*.

The latter reappeared on the patriarchal seals sometime between the years 1355/1376-1379. These termini cannot be further narrowed down at the present. The last two examples representing the Enthroned Virgin and Child belonged to the patriarchs Callistus I (1350-1353, 1355-1363) and Philotheus (1353-1354, 1364-1376). Since these two patriarchs ascended the patriarchal throne twice, it cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy whether the same iconographic type was used by them in both periods. One seal of Callistus can be dated in the year 1350 on account of the document to which it is still attached. But concerning the extant seal of Philotheus it is not known whether it belonged to the period 1353-1354, or to the period of the years 1364-1376. Nevertheless it is certain that the first example of the revived representation of the Virgin and Child on a Thokos appears on a seal of the patriarch Neilus (1379-1388) dating from the year 1383 on account of the document to which the seal is attached (fig. 3). Neilus's successors used the same type (two excellent examples are in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection) and the last known to me example belonged to the patriarch Maximus III (1476-1481/82).

In comparing this revived representation to the earlier one certain differences may be observed and should be pointed out. In addition to the abbreviations MP-ΘY for Mother of God, there appear the abbreviations IC-XC and what is most notable is the rendering of the thokos. The thokos has been lowered, it appears to have greater solidity and greater bulk. The columnar, spindly legs with the bead-like ornament, or the openings that existed in the earlier period and the

impression of lightness have now disappeared. The width of the legs has been increased and in section they would have looked square, or rectangular. The chief ornament of the legs consists of an oval in the centre and four dots in the corners all enclosed in a rectangle. On top of the seat there are two cushions instead of one. The ends of these cushions point upwards, as if to indicate the bodily heaviness of Mary who is seated on them.

Subsequently, in the sixteenth century, when the church of Hagia Sophia was no longer the patriarchal see but a mosque, the representation of the Virgin and Child on a thokos on the patriarchal seals was replaced by the *bust* of the *Virgin Hodegetria*¹.

II

Since no parallel can be produced to show that iconographic types on seals are new creations, the problem of the iconographic sources of the seals must be discussed. The importance of determining the prototypes of seals has been pointed out elsewhere²; it is often through such an investigation that the seals contribute to a better knowledge of their prototypes.

Types on seals are, as a rule, either copies of works of monumental art, or of objects in one of the minor arts, more specifically of icons, as Kondakov and Likhachev have demonstrated³. In this particular case there is no cogent reason for suggesting a minor object as a prototype and the question must be confined between an icon and a monumental composition. But significant icons on the whole have special names or attributes neither of which appears on our seals. On the contrary the letters MP-ΘY suggest a monumental composition, since they are normally found there. Naturally representations of the Mother

1. For post-Byzantine seals of the patriarchs of Constantinople see Regling, *BZ* (1923), 106, 107; Likhachev, *Izvestia* (1924), 222 ff.; Dölger, *hl. Berg*, p. 122.

2. See *infra*, n. 3.

3. N. P. Kondakov, *Iconografija Bogomateri* (St. Petersburg, 1914-1915), esp. II; Likhachev, *Ist. Značenie*; id., *Materialy dlja istorii vizantijskoi i russkoi sfragistiki*, *Akademiia nauk SSSR. Musei paleografii, Trudi*, 1 (1928); G. Galavaris, *The Mother of God 'Stabbed with a Knife'*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), 229-233; id., *The Mother of God of the Kanikleion*, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 2 (1959), 177-182; cf. id., *Seals of the Byzantine Empire*, *Archaeology*, 12 (1959), 264-270, and A. Grabar, *Martyrium* (Paris, 1946), II, pp. 348 ff.

of God with the Christ without any qualifying adjective or attribute occur in icons as well, but then the depicted types are common and it is difficult to think that the patriarchs would have impressed on their seals an ordinary type existing in an ordinary icon which had no particular significance. What is even more suggestive of a monumental composition, is the fact that panels depicting this distinctive type and antedating its appearance on the seals are scarce. This type seems to be associated especially with monumental art. On this point the evidence of a miniature is not without significance. In this miniature — a frontispiece of a twelfth century Constantinopolitan manuscript containing the liturgical edition of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus, now in Mt. Sinai (cod. 339) — the illustrator has included the representation of an apse of a Byzantine church decorated with the Virgin and Child of this particular iconographic type¹. For all these reasons the prototypes of our seals must be sought in monumental art.

At this point one can pose the following question. If the type occurs in monumental art, and its examples in Byzantine churches are more than one, how can one possibly suggest a specific example as the immediate source of the representation on seals? The answer to this question is not so difficult. Parallels produced elsewhere show that there is a relationship not only between the owner of the seal and the chosen device, but also often between him and the place where the model for his device is located. This means that the monumental model of the seals must be sought probably in a church with which the owners of the seals were closely connected.

In fact the representation of the Virgin and Child on a Thokos on the patriarchal seals recalls two mosaics in the church of Hagia Sophia. More particularly the seals of the period 1059-1216/1265 recall the mosaic of the southern vestibule (fig. 4)². There Mary placed

1. The miniature has often been reproduced. A good reproduction is to be found in A. J. Nekrasov, *Les frontispices architecturaux dans les manuscrits russes...*, L'art byzantin chez les Slaves, Recueil T. Uspenskij (Paris, 1932), II, pl. XXXVIII. For a detailed discussion see A. Ξυγγοπουλος, 'Η προμετωπίς τοῦ Σιναΐτικοῦ κώδικος 339, ΕΕΒΣ, 16 (1940), 132 ff. See also N. P. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures* (Paris, 1891), II, pp. 97 ff.; V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Sinaiticorum* (Oxford, 1886), p. 72; V. Beneshevitch, *Catalogus codicum...* (St. Petersburg, 1911), I, p. 199.

2. A detailed description of the mosaic is to be found in T. Whittemore, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul, Second Preliminary Report 1933-1934 (The Mosaic of the Southern Vestibule)* (Oxford, 1936), cited as Report.

between two emperors and with the Christ Child in her lap sits on a thokos that is high, narrow, frontally viewed and equipped with one cushion. Mary's left foot is forward, a detail observed on the seals as well. One must not seek more similarities; yet one cannot refrain from pointing out that the thokos has two at least columnar legs, one on either side, perhaps of polygonal section, with vertical, window-like openings and crowned with two spherical ornaments. These two columnar legs seem to be joined to the rear part of the seat (the right side shows this) by means of two, thin, horizontal, connecting bars. Between them openings are left that create the impression of an « airy » seat. On the other hand the representation on the seals of the years 1355 and later in its details resembles the present mosaic in the apse of the same church (fig. 5)¹. There, too, Mary appears seated on a low, wide thokos with two cushions. In the case of the mosaic another detail is notable: the thokos is depicted as if it were viewed from above. Furthermore the thokos, just as on the seals, gives the impression of greater solidity and greater bulk. Curiously enough the ornament of the legs (it should be noted that the legs are not columnar in this case) brings to mind the ornament appearing on the seals.

The similarities between the representation of the Virgin and Child on a Thokos on the patriarchal seals and that in the mosaics of Hagia Sophia, and the fact that the church was the patriarchal see and therefore directly related to the patriarchs suggest that the mosaics of Hagia Sophia may well be the sources of the patriarchal seals. The patriarchs, then, must have been using as their official device an iconographic type that was in their own church.

This observation would not have been of further consequence had these two mosaics been definitely dated. But this is not so. Students of Byzantine art have suggested dates from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, for the mosaic of the southern vestibule², and a wider span

1. The report of the Byzantine Institute on the apse mosaic has not been published, but the mosaic is known through publications of photographs. See T. Whittemore, *The unveiling of the Byzantine Mosaics in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 46 (1942), pls. I - V, and the Byzantine Institute, *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul*, Album (Boston, 1950), pls. 24 - 29.

2. C. R. Morey [*The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia*, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin*, 2 (1944), 205 - 206] accepts a ninth century date. Whittemore (*Report*, pp. 30 - 31) inclined to accept a tenth century date. This date is followed by V. N. Lazarev [*Istorija vizantijjskoi zivopisi*

of time for the apse mosaic whose dates range from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries¹. As long as the dating of these mosaics and more particularly of the latter has not been settled, but it still remains a problem, our observations become significant. For, if indeed, the seals depend on the mosaics of Hagia Sophia, then, as dated or datable objects, can make a contribution towards a possible solution of this problem. Therefore our investigation must continue and the relationship of the seals to the two mosaics must be defined more clearly.

First it must be determined whether the patriarchs copied on their seals first one mosaic and then the other, or whether the seals have derived from one of the two. For it is possible to deduce from the iconography of the seals that the patriarchs either copied the Virgin and Child of the vestibule mosaic from 1059 to 1216/1265 and

(Moscow, 1947), p. 88; cited as History], A. Frolov [La mosaïque murale byzantine, *Byzantinoslavica*, 12 (1951), 192], S. Bettini [I mosaici di Santa Sofia a Costantinopoli e un piccolo problema iconografico, *Felix Ravenna*, 50-51 (1939), 5-25, esp. 9, 10], G. Soteriou [Ἡ ζωγραφικὴ τῆς Σχολῆς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, per. 4, 1 (1959), 19] and D. T. Rice [The Art of Byzantium (London, 1959), p. 319]. A. Grabar [L'empereur dans l'art byzantin (Paris, 1936), pp. 109-110], and J. Beckwith [The Art of Constantinople (London, 1961), pp. 97-98], suggest an eleventh century date. The same date is followed by P. Schweinfurth [Die byzantinische Form (Mainz, 1954), pp. 63-73], C. Cecchelli [Mater Christi (Rome, 1946-1954), I, p. 238] and E. Weigand [see his review of Whittemores Report, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 38 (1938), 467-471]. G. Galassi [Roma o Bisanzio, II (Rome, 1953), pp. 307 ff.] hesitates between the eleventh and twelfth century.

1. T. Whittemore, On the Dating of Some Mosaics in Hagia Sophia, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin*, 5 (1946), 44-45; Lazarev, *History*, pp. 84 ff.; Frolov, *Byzantinoslavica* (1951), 189-190; A. Grabar, *Byzantine Painting*, Skira ed. (Geneva, 1953), p. 94; id., *Iconoclasm*, pp. 189 ff.; Schweinfurth, *op.cit.*, p. 191. These scholars are of the opinion of assigning the mosaic to the ninth century. Morey [*Mediaeval Art* (New York, 1942), p. 107] had originally suggested a late date but revised his opinion on behalf of a ninth century date (Metropolitan Museum, 1944). A fourteenth century date is suggested by Beckwith (*op.cit.*, pp. 63, 145). O. Demus [*The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1950), p. 383] favours an early tenth century date. G. Galassi [Recenti ricuperti a Santa Sofia e le date dei mosaici, *Felix Ravenna*, 56 (1952), 27-60 and *Roma o Bisanzio*, pp. 307 ff.] suggests two dates for the mosaic, the first of which is the early eighth century. On the question of dating see also C. A. Mango, *Documentary Evidence on the Apse Mosaic of St. Sophia*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 47 (1954), 395-402; cf. Soteriou, *op.cit.*, pp. 17 ff., and Rice, *op.cit.*, pp. 310-311.

that they turned to the apse from 1355 to the end of the fifteenth century, or that they have copied the apse mosaic during both periods.

The first possibility has to be excluded because the theme of the apse is more important and thus the more likely to be copied. Furthermore, the vestibule mosaic is closely associated with the cult of the emperor from whose authority the patriarchs struggled to free themselves¹; in the light of this struggle the possibility of the patriarchs' choosing the vestibule mosaic as the model for their seals is unlikely. It would seem more probable to assume that the patriarchs had always copied the apse mosaic, and that the seals had not derived from the vestibule mosaic.

Since it is unlikely that the seals copy the vestibule mosaic, one may conclude that the two phases of the representation of the Virgin and Child on a Thokos appearing on the seals reflect two phases in the history of the apse mosaic. That is to say the representation on the patriarchal seals in use after 1355 must be related to the present apse mosaic, while the one on the seals of the period 1059 and after must be related to an earlier decoration in the apse. In other words the present apse mosaic is a replacement of an earlier one². This replacement according to the evidence of the seals must have been made between the years 1355 and 1379. It is very probable that it was on the occasion of the dedication of the new mosaic that the patriarchs decided to adopt once again, the Virgin and Child on a thokos on their seals, after having abandoned it, during the period of the Latin conquest.

This conclusion drawn upon the evidence of the seals can be strengthened by other evidence. The date of the suggested replacement, i.e., the year 1355, is very close to the year 1346 when the eastern part of the church was seriously damaged³, and to the years

1. For the true position of the basileus see G. Ostrogorsky, *Das verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Byzanz*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 4 (1931), 121-132; id., *Die Byzantinische Staatenhierarchie*, *ibid.*, 8 (1936), 41-61.

2. The theory that the present mosaic is a replica of an earlier one was suggested on stylistic grounds by Morey; see *supra*, p. 160, n. 1.

3. Cantacuzenus, *Ἱστορίαι* (Bonn, 1829-1832), III, pp. 29 ff.; Gregoras, *Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία* (Bonn, 1829-1855), II, pp. 694 ff.; short chronicles in *codd. Athos*, Dionysiou 219, fol. 173v, and Venice, Marc. 408, ed. by S. Lampros, *Βραχέα Χρονικά, Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας* (Athens, 1932-1933), I, pp. 31, 88, 89; see also G. Downey, *Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity*, *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 596-600; cf. P. Charanis, *Les Brachea Chronica source historique*. *Byzantion*, 13 (1938), 345-346; I. Sev-

1354 or 1356 when the ensuing repairs ended¹. This is not mere coincidence, but supports the view that an earlier mosaic was replaced at that time by the present one owing to the damages to the decoration of the church.

The source of the patriarchal seals of the period 1059 and after, that is to say the earlier apse mosaic would have been mounted in the apse before the year 1059. How much earlier one does not know. It can only be said that the copying of this earlier mosaic could have begun neither immediately, nor too long after its completion, and it seems rather unlikely that this mosaic existed in the apse prior to the beginning of the eleventh, or the very end of the tenth century. As a matter of fact, the latter date seems very plausible, since possibly the lengthy repairs carried out in Hagia Sophia after the big earthquake in 989² provided the occasion to replace a still older mosaic which existed in the apse prior to the earthquake. Whether there was any other reason necessitating the replacement, one cannot tell.

III

The investigation of the iconographic sources of the patriarchal seals has produced new evidence concerning the date of the apse mosaic in the church of Hagia Sophia. According to this evidence and its chronological coincidence with the textual evidence the present apse mosaic is a fourteenth century (early part of the second half of the century) replacement of an earlier one depicting the same iconographic type, i.e. the Virgin and Child on a Thokos. This conclusion must be taken into consideration by those who will have the final word on the problem of the date of the apse mosaic, an accomplishment that cannot be achieved unless every possible evidence has been discussed and its validity has been tested. Here our task must be confined only to testing the possibility of this conclusion on independent

Čenec, Nicolas Cabasilas' 'Antizilot' Discourse: a reinterpretation, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 167, n. 164. A reexamination and careful interpretation of these texts is badly needed.

1. Cf. Cantacuzenus, loc.cit., Gregoras, op.cit., III, pp. 201-202; E. M. Antoniadès, 'Ἐκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας' (Athens, 1907-1909), III, pp. 237-239. See A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1932), II, p. 306.

2. Leo Diaconus, 'Ἱστορίαι' (Bonn, 1878), pp. 175-176; Downey, *Speculum* (1955), 599; Antoniadès, op.cit., III, p. 205.

evidence. If this conclusion can be further strengthened, not only the relationship of the seals to their possible sources will be drawn into sharper focus, but the evidence of the seals will thereby gain greater authority.

In fact our conclusion can be further supported by other evidence. Although the iconographic type of this representation has been known since the sixth century¹, its use in churches definitely connected with the capital, insofar as extant evidence shows, has appeared only since the eleventh century². In its development the type presents the same two phases and the same chronological relationships as exist between the seals and the mosaics of Hagia Sophia. That is to say the early examples in time bring to mind the seals of the years 1059 and after and the vestibule mosaic as well, while a later example recalls the type as it appears on the seals of the last period and in the present apse mosaic. From the early instances only three are mentioned here: the apse of the church of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonica³, that of the

1. The earliest known example of the Virgin and Child on a Thokos appears in the apse of the Basilica of Parenzo, see: M. van Berchem, E. Clouzot, *Mosaiques chrétiennes du IV au X siècle* (Geneva, 1924), pp. 174 ff.; B. Molajoli, *La Basilica Eufrosiana di Parenzo*, 2nd ed. (Padova, 1943), p. 40, figs. 50, 51 (here older bibliography); E. W. Anthony, *A History of Mosaics* (Boston, 1935), pp. 114 ff., n. 71. Cf. C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1952), pp. 172, 173.

2. Recent studies have brought to light texts showing the existence of an « enthroned » Virgin in the church of Blachernae in Constantinople as early as the year A. D. 473. Unfortunately no specific details as to the exact iconographic type of the Virgin and Child are known; see A. Wenger, *Notes inédites sur les empereurs Theodose I, Arcadius II, Léon*, *Révue des études byzantines*, 10 (1952), 47-54; Grabar, *Iconoclisme*, pp. 22, 23. The Virgin of the now destroyed frescoes of the Odalar Djami was also « enthroned » and moreover the suggested seventh century date is very questionable; see P. Schazmann, *Die Grabungen an der Odalar Camii in Konstantinopel*, *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 50 (1935), 511 ff., fig. 2; id., *Des fresques dans les fouilles a Odalar Camii, Istanbul*, *Atti V Congr. inter. di studi bizantini*, Rome 1936, II, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 6 (1940), 372-386.

3. C. Diehl, M. Le Tourneau, *Les mosaïques de Sainte Sophie de Salonique*, *Monuments Piot*, 16 (1909), 39-60; M. Kalligas, *Die Hagia Sophia von Thessalonika* (Wurzburg, 1935), p. 37; review of Diehl's book by D. Ainalov in *Vizantijski vremennik*, 15 (1908), 535-541; E. Diez, O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 97 hereinafter cited as Diez-Demus; for fuller bibliography see Lazarev, *History*, pp. 72, 297, n. 37.

catholikon of the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phocis¹, and that of the catholikon of the monastery of Daphni in Attica (figs. 6-8)². All three, whose particular connections with Constantinople cannot be doubted³, show in the apses the Virgin and Child on a Thokos resembling in its details the earlier type appearing on the earlier seals and on the vestibule mosaic: i.e., the Virgin sits on a narrow, high, frontally viewed thokos covered with one cushion.

The first of these examples — that of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonica — is particularly instructive. Diehl and Tournéau assigned it to the year 787 which is incorrect⁴. Today it is generally believed that the composition of the apse belongs to the first decades after the restoration of the images in 843, when the cross of the eighth century decoration was replaced⁵. Some authorities — among whom the leading figure is Ainaloff — find stylistic similarities with the mosaic of the cupola and believe that both the apse and the cupola mosaics are of the same date, i.e., that they all date from the ninth century.

1. C. Diehl, *L'église et les mosaïques du couvent de Saint-Luc au Phocide* (Paris, 1899); id., *Les mosaïques du monastère du Saint-Luc, Études byzantines* (Paris, 1905); R. N. Schultz, S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phocis* (London, 1901); Diez-Demus, pp. 37 ff., n. 88.

2. G. Millet, *Le Monastère de Daphni* (Paris, 1899), pp. 105 ff.; Diez-Demus, p. 46; A. Xyngopoulos, *Tò ψηφιδωτὸν τῆς Πλατυτέρας ἐν τῇ μονῇ Δαφνίου, Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 73 (1934-1935), 132-140.

3. Thessalonica has always been in close connection with the capital. The monastery of Hosios Loukas according to its documents was built by Romanus II (959-963), who sent « architects, plans and decorators ». The documents have been collected by G. P. Kremos, *Προσκυνητάριον τῆς ἐν Φωκίδι μονῆς τοῦ Ὁσίου Λουκά τοῦ πικλήν Στειριώτου* (Athens, 1874-1880), II and III. See also G. A. Soteriou, *Νεώτεραι ἐπιγραφαὶ περὶ τῆς τεχνικῆς τῶν μωσαϊκῶν τοῦ Καθολικοῦ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκά, Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, 6 (1920-1921), 177-189, esp. 181-182. The monastery of Daphni was probably an imperial foundation also. The figure of the emperor crowned and dressed in the loros and holding a scroll with the imperial offering to the monastery, which was discovered by Lampakis in the narthex in 1888, is indeed post-byzantine. Millet, however, has suggested that it confirmed an existing tradition according to which Daphni was an imperial foundation. Millet brought also as additional evidence the typicon of the monastery which parallels those of imperial foundations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; see Millet, *op.cit.*, pp. 21, 22, 24.

4. See *supra*, p. 163, n. 3.

5. See *supra*, p. 163, n. 3.

Others have disputed the ninth century date for the cupola decoration, suggesting instead a date c. 1000¹.

Whether or not the apse mosaic was done at the same time as the decoration of the cupola, the fact is that the ninth century date can no longer be maintained for the entire composition of the apse. The physical appearance of the mosaic presents evidence which does not permit one to accept the same date for both Mother and Child. The features of Christ are more refined, contrasting with the sharp style of Mary's. The color of Mary's lap is brownish, although it should have been blue, since this is the color of the mantle. The lines of the folds between the right hand of the Virgin and the big fold on the opposite side have no sequence, and it seems as if this section were a filling intended to patch whatever existed there before. These peculiarities can now be explained by the observations of Professor Xyngopoulos reported by Dr Kalligas². These observations furnish us with the proof of a later alteration of the ninth century mosaic.

Professor Xyngopoulos who had the opportunity to examine the actual mosaic itself, discovered in it traces of the foot of another Child which must have existed there before it was replaced by the present Child. The traces of that foot indicated that the previous Child was in a reclining position³. Dr Kalligas, reporting these observations, suggested that the alteration centering on the Child was the work of the mosaicists of the cupola, implying an eleventh century date for the present Christ⁴. Whether the present Christ is connected with the mosaics of the cupola or not, the fact is that an alteration took place after the ninth century — in all probability in the eleventh century —⁵ for which no explanation has been offered. It can now be explained as an alteration resulting from the desire of the people in charge of the decoration of the church of Thessalonica to conform with the type that had just been introduced in the cathedral of the Empire. In other

1. C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1926), II, p. 521.

2. M. Kalligas, 'Εργασίαι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 1941-1944 (Athens, 1947), pp. 42-52.

3. Cf. a seated Virgin with a reclining Child in the church of St. Anargyroi in Kastoria, see S. Pelekanides, *Καστοριά* (Thessalonica, 1953), pls. 6, 6b.

4. Kalligas, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

5. Grabar (*Iconoclasm*, pp. 194-196) accepts a restoration of the Virgin of the apse in the eleventh century, but denies a retouching of the Child.

words, this alteration took place when the representation of the Virgin seated on a narrow, frontally viewed thokos, covered with one cushion, and holding the Christ Child in a seated position, became fashionable in Constantinople and began spreading to the provinces that were under her influence.

From the later period a good example of the Virgin and Child on a Thokos appears at Mistra which had constant relationships with the capital since its foundation¹. In the apse of the Peribleptos, there was set up in the second half of the fourteenth century a Virgin and Child seated on a thokos (fig. 9)². The type recalls in its details not the earlier representation in the cathedral of Constantinople, but the present apse mosaic which on the evidence of the seals was placed there in the early part of the second half of the fourteenth century: i.e., the Virgin of the apse of the Peribleptos sits on a wide thokos that is viewed from above and equipped with two cushions³. Although the

1. For the history of Mistra see D. Zakynthinos, *Le despotat grec de la Morée* (Paris, 1932), I (Athens, 1953), II. Today the best book on the monuments and art of Mistra is M. Chadzidakis, *Μυστράς*, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1956) (here the older bibliography). For plates consult G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Album (Paris, 1910).

2. Chadzidakis, *op.cit.*, pp. 23 ff.

3. The feature of the two cushions, on which Christ or Mary sit, appears before the fourteenth century but in the early examples it does not seem to be connected with the iconographic type of Mary and Child on a Thokos. Christ appears seated on two cushions in the mosaics of the Capella Palatina, Martorana and Monreale; O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1950), pls. 39, 46, 76 A. One of the earliest examples known to me which shows the two cushions applied to Mary is to be found in the eleventh century Egberts psalter cod. Gertrudianus, Cividale, Mus. Arch., fol. 41r; in this example, however, the Virgin sits on a lyre-back throne; see A. E. G. Haseloff, *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts von Trier* (Trier, 1901), pp. 176, 184, pl. 46; cf. the late twelfth century apse mosaic of the cathedral of Monreale, Demus, *op.cit.*, pl. 63; also the fresco of Mary with the Christ-Child in a shield in the apse of St. Sophia, Ochrid, and the fragment from an apse which is now in the same church. Two cushions appear on the thokos of Mary in the apse of the church of St. George at Curbinovo, but the iconographic type of the Virgin is the seated Hodegetria. The mosaic in the narthex of the church of St. Marco in Venice with the Virgin and Child on a Thokos covered with two cushions (the Virgin sits between St. John the Evangelist and St. Marc) that reminds of the apse decoration of Hagia Sophia, has been entirely restored in the nineteenth century, and one cannot know how closely the present mosaic reproduces the original one, which was there either in the last part of the twelfth century or in the thir-

names of the noble donors of the monastery have not been preserved¹, there can be no doubt that like the other monasteries, Peribleptos had connections with the nobility of Constantinople², if not with the imperial family itself, and that the iconographic type used was a direct import from the capital.

The monumental examples outside Constantinople of the early and later periods confirm the evidence of the seals. The early instances follow the earlier type of the representation of the Virgin and Child on a Thokos used in the church of Hagia Sophia; this representation was no longer there in the second half of the fourteenth century, when the Peribleptos was decorated. Instead there was the present apse mosaic that probably furnished the model for the representation of the Virgin and Child in the apse of the Peribleptos, just as it had furnished the model for the seals of the last period.

teenth; see A. Venturi, *La Madone* (Paris, 1902), p. 11; N. P. Kondakov, *Iconografija Bogomateri* (St. Petersburg, 1914-1915), II, pp. 339-340; Likhachev, *Ist. Značenie*, p. 93; cf. Lazarev, *History*, pp. 150 ff. Professor Demus, who kindly communicated to me his opinion, favours a late twelfth century date. However, the motif of the two cushions becomes very common in the east during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; see N. P. Kondakov, *The Russian Icon* (Oxford, 1927), pls. XXIII, XLVI, XLVII. In this late period it appears also in representations of the Annunciation; see Lazarev, *History*, pls. 308, 321. But more important than the motif of the two cushions — and this must be emphasized — is the angle at which the seat itself is represented and which has been described as «viewed from above». This is a feature of the Palaeologan period. It would be instructive for the reader to compare the various seats in general and more particularly those of Christ in the mosaics of Kahrie Djami [Th. Schmit, «Kahrie Djami», *Bulletin de l'institut archéologique russe de Constantinople*, 11 (1906), 218 ff., pls. I, LVII; cf. also some of the frescoes in the Parecclesion of the same church, P. A. Underwood, *Second Preliminary Report on the Restoration of the Frescoes in the Kariye Camii at Istanbul by the Byzantine Institute* 1955, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 175-220], or the fourteenth century mosaic showing the Virgin and Child in the chapel of St. Isidore in St. Marc's in Venice, if the restorations have not altered the details of the original mosaic [S. Bettini, *Mosaici antichi de San Marco a Venezia* (Bergamo, 1944), p. 27, pl. CXIV; cf. O. Demus, *Die Mosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig* (Vienna, 1935), p. 74].

1. Chadzidakis, *op.cit.*, pp. 28, 73.

2. *Ibid.*, *loc.cit.*, cf. p. 81.

IV

The question, however, should be raised, whether one can produce stylistic evidence as well in support of the drawn conclusion. The stylistic problem involved has been recently summarized by Professor D. T. Rice and one cannot but wonder at the wide range of chronology with which this monument has been endowed by the stylistic discussion¹. The great difference of opinion is in itself very indicative of how often matters of style can be subjective. This means that the evidence of style, at least in this case, is inconclusive and therefore of relative value. Considering this and leaving aside verbal statements favouring a fourteenth century date, the fact that some scholars have, on the basis of the style alone, assigned this mosaic to the fourteenth century, is not insignificant. C. R. Morey had originally suggested a late date for the mosaic and had considered it to be a copy of a ninth century original². Very recently, John Beckwith suggested a fourteenth century date on the basis of stylistic comparisons with the work done in the Kahrie Djami in Constantinople³. In addition to Beckwith's comparisons, mostly referring to the treatment of the drapery⁴, in the opinion of this writer, the tender, delicate, very human face of the Virgin, her melancholy mood, and the morphology of the Child's head point to works of the Palaeologan times. If these opinions are accepted, then, obviously the conclusion drawn in this paper can be supported stylistically as well.

The conformity of the evidence of the texts with that of the seals, additional iconographic and stylistic evidence (the value of the latter is relative) has supported the conclusions concerning the sources of the discussed representation on the patriarchal seals and has defined the relationship of the seals and their models better. That is to say the appearance of the representation of the Virgin and Child on a Thokos on the patriarchal seals of the period 1059 and after followed the appearance of this theme as a decoration in the apse of Hagia Sophia possibly sometime towards the end of the tenth century⁵. A

1. D. T. Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* (London, 1959), pp. 310-311; see also *supra*, p. 160, n. 1.

2. See *supra*, p. 161, n. 2.

3. See *supra*, p. 160, n. 1.

4. Cf. also *supra*, p. 166, n. 3.

5. Naturally this conclusion implies that before the end of the tenth cen-

fourteenth century restoration of this earlier apsidal decoration caused the reappearance of this iconographic type on the patriarchal seals of the period 1355 to the end of the fifteenth century.

tury there was another decoration in the apse of the church of Hagia Sophia. The theme of this decoration cannot be discussed here. It can only be pointed out that an examination of the iconographic sources of the seals of this still earlier period, may produce some evidence; for it may be that these seals may reflect an apsidal decoration in the church of Hagia Sophia. It so happens that the principal theme of these seals, the Standing Hodegetria, coincides with documentary evidence brought forth by Dr Mango in an important article. Dr Mango has shown that Photius refers to the apse mosaic in a homily of his and according to the words he uses, the type of the Virgin depicted in the apse after the restoration of the images, was not the Virgin seated on a thokos. Mango has suggested that the iconographic type of the Virgin in the apse was a standing Hodegetria. It may be that the conformity of this documentary evidence with the pictorial evidence of the seals of this period is not a coincidence. See C. A. Mango, *Documentary Evidence of the Apse Mosaic of St. Sophia*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 47 (1954), 395-402. Cf. S. Der Nersessian, *Le decor des églises du IX siècle*, *Actes du VI congr. inter. des études byzantines*, Paris 1948, (Paris, 1950-1952), II, pp. 315-316. Dr Mango's interpretation has been questioned by Prof. Grabar (*Iconoclasm*, p. 191).

A P P E N D I X

This appendix is no more than a checklist whose purpose is to record the material and information available to me concerning the patriarchal seals and to make clear the extant gaps. It covers the period from Methodius I (843-847) to Gregory III Mammias (1443-1450), and contains the names of the patriarchs, their chronology, the known seals and their pertinent bibliography. For the chronology I have followed Grumel. For seals nos 35, 46, 55 and 65 I am very grateful to Father V. Laurent who most kindly brought them to my attention and supplied me with detailed descriptions. Whenever there are doubts as to the sufficiency of the available information, use of question marks has been made. In the attribution of unpublished seals I have faced the problem that anyone faces in attempting to attribute seals to patriarchs of the same name. The problem is not so difficult when a long period of time separates one patriarch from the other. But one becomes an easy prey to error when patriarchs bearing the same name have occupied the patriarchal throne during the same century, or when the period that separates one from the other is not very long. This is the case, for example, with the seals of the patriarchs Anthony and Nicholas; they may belong to either Anthony II and Nicholas I or to Anthony III and Nicholas II. There are also seals that are identical and have been attributed by their editors to two different patriarchs. In such cases I have had to make a choice, whenever possible, of one of them. My criteria for the choice have been type, lettering and style.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Acta = F. Miklosich - J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, VI, (Vienna, 1825).
- de Foville, RN (1903) = J. de Foville, « Sceau d'Athanase, patriarche de Constantinople », *Revue numismatique*, 4s., 7 (1903), 285 - 286.
- D.O. = Dumbarton Oaks, Research Library and Collection.
- Dölger, hl. Berg = F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges*, (Munich, 1948).
- Ebersolt, RN (1914) = J. Ebersolt, « Sceaux byzantins du Musée de Constantinople », *Revue numismatique*, 4s., 18 (1914), 207 - 243; 377 - 409.
- Grabar, Iconoclasme = A. Grabar, *Iconoclasme byzantin*, dossier archéologique, (Paris, 1957).
- Grumel, REG (1945) = V. Grumel, « Le titre de patriarche oecumenique sur les sceaux byzantins », *Revue des études grecques*, 58 (1945), 212 - 218.
- Iverites = J. Iverites, « Μολυβδόβουλλον οίκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἡσαΐου 1323 - 1324 », *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 10 (1917), 833 - 835.
- Karger, Sbornik (1945) = M. K. Karger, « K'istorii vizantiskii sfragistiki », *Vizantiiskii Sbornik*, (Moscow, 1945), pp. 260 - 264.
- Konstantopoulos = C. Konstantopoulos, *Βυζαντιακά μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου*, (Athens, 1917).
- Laurent, EO (1928) = V. Laurent, « Sceaux byzantins », *Echos d'Orient*, 27 (1928), 417 - 439.
- Id., Studi e Testi (1946) = id., « Le titre de patriarche oecumenique et Michel Cerulaire à propos de deux sceaux inédits », *Studi e Testi*, 123 (Miscellanea G. Mercati, III), (1946), 373 - 396.
- Id., Orghidan = id., *Documents de sigillographie. La collection C. Orghidan*, (Paris, 1952).
- Lemerle = P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumusi* (Archives de l'Athos; II), (Paris, 1945).
- Lenormant, RN (1864) = P. Lenormant, « Deux bulles de plomb byzantines », *Revue numismatique*, 9 (1864), 268 - 274.
- Likhachev, Trudi (1899) = N. Likhachev, « pecati patriarchov Konstantinopol'skich », *Trudi Moskoskago Numismatices Obscestva*, 2 (1899), 43 - 61.
- Id., Sbornik (1911) = id., « Nekotorye starejšie typy pečateji vizant. imperatorov », *Numismatičeskij Sbornik*, 1 (1911), 533.

- Id., Ist. Značenie = id., Istorischeskoe značenie Italo - grečeskoj ikonopisi, izobrazenija bogomateri, (St. Petersburg, 1911).
- Id., Izvestia (1924) = id., « Datierovanie vizantiiskij pecati », Izvestia rossiskoi akademii istorii materialioj Kulturi, 2 (1924), 220 - 224.
- Id., Annuaire (1935) = id., « Le sceau du patriarche Ignace », Annuaire de philologie et d'histoire Orientales, 3 (1935), 303 - 310.
- Id., Byzantion (1936) = id., « Sceaux de l'empereur Léon III l'Isaurien », Byzantion, 11 (1936), 479.
- Miliarakes, JIN (1899) = A. Miliarakes, « Μολυβδόβουλλον Δοσιθέου Πατριάρχου », Journal international d'archéologie numismatique, 2 (1899), 213 - 218.
- Mordtmann = A. Mordtmann, « Μολυβδόβουλλα », 'Ο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, 6 (1871 - 1872), 108 - 112.
- Omont, Bulletin (1898) = H. Omont, « Diplomes originaux de patriarches de Constantinople », Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1898, 297 - 308.
- Povstenko, Annals (1954) = O. Povstenko, The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev, The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S., III - IV, (1954), 25.
- Sabatier, Iconographie = J. Sabatier, Iconographie d'une collection choisie de cinq mille médailles..., II, (St. Petersburg, 1847).
- Id., RA (1858) = id., « Plombs, Bulles et sceaux byzantins », Revue archéologique, 15, 1 (1858), 82 - 100.
- Schlumberger, Sigil. = G. Schlumberger, Sigillographie d'Empire byzantin, (Paris, 1884).
- Id., REG (1891) = id., « Sceaux byzantins inédits », Revue des études grecques, 4 (1891), 111 - 142.
- Id., MA = id., Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine, (Paris, 1895).
- Id., REG (1900) = id., « Sceaux byzantins inédits », Revue des études grecques, 13 (1900), 467 - 492.
- Regling, BZ (1923) = K. Regling, « Byzantinische Bleisiegel III », Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 24 (1923/24), 103 - 107.
- Id., (1929) = id., « Bleisiegel Josephs, Patriarchen von Konstantinopel 1268 - 1275, 1282 - 1283 », Berliner Münzblätter, 49 (1929), 415ff.
- Whittemore = Th. Whittemore, « An unpublished Seal of the Patriarch Ignatius », Byzantina Metabyzantina, 1, I (1946), 261 - 266.

1.	Methodius I (843-847)	—	—
2.	Ignatius (847-858, 867-877)	Christ —Bust —Standing	Likhachev, Annuaire (1935), 303-310; Grumel, REG (1945), 213; Whittemore, 261-266; Grabar, Iconoclasme, 188, fig. 57.
3.	Photius (858-867, 877-886)	Hodegetria Blachernitissa	Likhachev, Trudi (1899), 60, pl. III, 1; id., Sbornik (1911), 533, fig. 69; id., Ist. Značenie, fig. 270; id., Annuaire (1935), 309; id., Byzantion (1936), 480; Regling, BZ (1923), 104; Grumel, REG (1945), 213; Laurent, Studi e Testi (1946), 375; Grabar, Iconoclasme, 189, figs. 58, 59.
4.	Stephen I (886-893)	—	—
5.	Anthony II (893-901)	Hodegetria	D.O. unpublished.
6.	Nicholas I (901-907, 912-925)	Hodegetria	Sabatier, Iconographie, pl. II 21; id., RA (1858), 96, pl. 332, 7. Schlumberger, Sigil. 124, 731; id., REG (1891), 114, 34; id., MA, 218; Likhachev, Trudi (1899), 58, 59, 61, figs. 11-14; id., Ist. Značenie, 121, fig. 271, pl. VI, 8; id., Izvestia (1924), 223, n. 1; id., Byzantion (1936), 480-481; Konstantopoulos, 7, n° 17.
7.	Euthymius I (907-912)	—	—
8.	Stephen II (925-927)	—	—

9.	Tryphon (927-931)	—	—
10.	Theophylactus (933-956)	—	—
11.	Polyeuctus (956-970)	—	—
12.	Basil I (970-974)	—	—
13.	Anthony III (974-979)	—	—
14.	Nicholas II (979-991)	—	—
15.	Sisinius II (996-998)	—	—
16.	Sergius II (?) (1001-1019)	Hodegetria	D.O. unpublished.
17.	Eustathius (1019-1025)	—	—
18.	Alexius (1025-1043)	St. John the Baptist	Schlumberger, Sigil., 126; Likhachev, Trudi (1899), 57; id., Ist. Značenie, 99, fig. 223; Regling, BZ (1923), 104; Grumel, REG (1945), 213, 217.
19.	Michael I (1043-1058)	Hodegetria St. Michael	Likhachev, Ist. Značenie, 115; Grumel, REG (1945), 214-218; Laurent, Studi e Testi (1946), 375. D.O. unpublished.

20.	Constantine III (1059-1063)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Konstantopoulos, 283, no 17a ¹ ; Regling, BZ (1923), 104; Likhachev, Izvestia (1924), 222, 223 n. 1; Grumel, REG (1945), 213, 216, 217.
21.	John VIII (1064-1075)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Likhachev, Ist. Značenie, pl. VIII, 15; id., Izvestia (1924), 223; Ebersolt, RN (1914), 390 no 462; Regling, BZ (1923), 105; Grumel, REG (1945), 216, 217; D.O. unpublished.
22.	Cosmas I (1075-1081)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Likhachev, Trudi (1899), 52, pl. III, 2 ² ; id., Ist. Značenie, pl. VIII, 22; Regling, BZ (1923), 105; Grumel, REG (1945), 214; D.O. unpublished.
23.	Eustratius (1081-1084)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Ebersolt, RN (1914), 382 no 461, pl. VIII, 10; Likhachev, Izvestia (1924), 223, n. 1. Karger, Sbornik (1945), 261 - 264; Grumel, REG (1945), 216, 217; Povstenko, Annals (1954), 25; D.O. unpublished.
24.	Nicholas III (1084-1111)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	D.O. unpublished; Acta, 32; Grumel, REG (1945), 215, 217; Dölger, hl. Berg, 321.

1. Konstantopoulos had erroneously attributed this seal to Constantine IV. The error was corrected by Regling.

2. Likhachev had attributed this seal to Cosmas II. In my opinion the attribution to Cosmas I by Father V. Laurent, who kindly communicated his view to me, is the most probable one.

25.	John IX (1111-1134)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Schlumberger, Sigil., 125 ¹ ; Likhachev, Trudi (1899), 49, fig. 4; id., Ist. Značenie, 98, fig. 218; Regling, BZ (1923), 105; Dölger, hl. Berg, 321.
26.	Leon (1134-1143)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	D.O. unpublished.
27.	Michael II (1143-1146)	Virgin and Child on a thokos(?)	Likhachev, Izvestia (1924), 223, n. 1.
28.	Cosmas II (1146-1147)	—	—
29.	Nicholas IV (1147-1151)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Likhachev, Ist. Značenie, 97, fig. 215; id., Izvestia (1924), 223.
30.	Theodotus II (1151-1153)	—	—
31.	Neophytus I (1153-1154)	—	—
32.	Constantine IV (1154-1157)	—	—
33.	Lucas (1157-1170)	—	—

1. Schlumberger had attributed this seal to John X; but a comparison with the seal of his successor, the patriarch Leon, leaves no doubt that the attribution of Likhachev is the correct one. Schlumberger [REG (1900), 487-492] has published another seal of a patriarch John without illustration; the lack of illustration prohibits any attempt for correct attribution. On the basis of Schlumberger's description the candidacy of John VIII has to be excluded.

34.	Michael III (1170-1178)	Virgin and Child on a thokos (?)	Likhachev, Trudi (1899), 52; id., Izvestia (1924), 223, n. 1; Reg- ling, BZ (1923), 105.
35.	Chariton (1178-1179)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Dölger, hl. Berg, pls. 80-81.
36.	Theodosius I (1179-1183)	—	—
37.	Basil II (1183-1186)	—	—
38.	Nicetas II (1186-1189)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Schlumberger, Sigil., 125; Likha- chev, Ist. Značenie, 97, fig. 216; Regling, BZ (1923), 105; Grumel, REG (1945), 214.
39.	Leontius (1189)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	D.O. unpublished.
40.	Dositheus (1189-1191)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Miliarakes, JIN (1899), 213; Li- khachev, Trudi (1899), 50, fig. 6; id., Izvestia (1924), 222; Schlum- berger, Sigil., 730; Konstantopou- los, 8, no 21; Laurent, EO (1928), 419, 1; id., Orghidan, 183, pl. XLV, 360; Grumel REG (1945), 214.
41.	George II (1191-1198)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Lenormant, RN (1864), XII, 1; Mordtmann, 110-111; Schlumber- ger, Sigil., 124; Likhachev, Trudi (1899), 48; id., Ist. Značenie, 98, fig. 217; Konstantopoulos, 8, no 22; Regling, BZ (1923), 105, Lau- rent, EO (1928), 420, II; Grumel, REG (1945), 214.

42.	John X (1198-1206)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Schlumberger, Sigil., 124; Likhachev, Ist. Značenie, 98, fig. 219; Konstantopoulos, <i>ι</i> , 8, no 18 ¹ .
43.	Michael IV (1208-1214)	—	—
44.	Theodore II (1214-1216)	Virgin and Child on a thokos	Fogg Museum of Art; unpublished ² .
45.	Maximus II (1216)	—	—
46.	Manuel I (1217-1222)	Virgin and Child enthroned(?)	V. Vasilevskago, «Epirotica saeculi III», Vizantiiskii vremennik, 3 (1896), 269.
47.	Germanus II (1222-1240)	Virgin and Child enthroned	Likhachev, Trudi (1899), 52, 53, pl. III, 3; Regling, BZ (1923), 106.
48.	Methodius II (1240)	Virgin and Child(?) on a thokos	Schlumberger, Sigil., 126; Likhachev, Trudi (1899), 51, fig. 7; Regling, BZ (1923), 106; Grabar, Iconoclasm, 188.
49.	Manuel II (1244-1254)	—	—
50.	Arsenius (1255-1259, 1261-1265)	—	—

1. This is Schlumberger's attribution and although I have doubts about it, I have no better alternative to suggest.

2. It is interesting to note that a seal belonging to the patriarch Theodore II before his ascent to the patriarchal throne, published by Konstantopoulos [Βυζαντινά μολυβδόβουλλα, Συλλογή Σταμούλη (Athens, 1930), p. 25] depicts the Virgin and Child flanked by two military saints.

51.	Nicephorus II (1260-1260)	—	—
52.	Germanus III (1265-1266)	Virgin and Child enthron- ed	D.O. unpublished.
53.	Joseph I (1266-1275, 1282-1283)	Virgin and Child enthron- ed	Konstantopoulos, 284, no 22a; Regling, BZ (1923), 106; id. (1929), 415; Likhachev, Izvestia (1924), 222.
54.	John XI (1275-1282)	—	—
55.	Gregory II (1283-1289)	Virgin and Child enthron- ed	Athens, Benaki Museum.
56.	Athanasius I (1289-1293, 1303-1309)	Virgin and Child enthron- ed	de Foville, RN (1903), 285; Reg- ling, BZ (1923), 103, 108.
57.	John XII (1294-1303)	—	—
58.	Nephon I (1310-1314)	—	—
59.	John XIII (1315-1319)	—	—
60.	Gerasimus (1320-1321)	Virgin and Child enthron- ed	Schlumberger, MA, 252; Likha- chev, Trudi (1899), 51; Regling, BZ (1923), 106.
61.	Isaiah (1323-1332)	Virgin and Child enthron- ed	Iverites (1917), 835; Dölger, hl. Berg, pls. 93, 122, 1.

62.	John XIV (1334-1347)	Virgin and Child enthron- ed	Konstantopoulos, 283, no 18a; Likhachev, Ist. Značenie, 98, fig. 220; Regling, BZ (1923), 105 ¹ .
63.	Isidorus (1347-1350)	—	—
64.	Callistus I (1350-1353, 1355-1363)	Virgin and Child enthron- ed	Likhachev, Ist. Značenie, 99, fig. 221; id., Izvestia (1924), 223; Le- merle, pl. XV; Dölger, hl. Berg, pl. 82.
65.	Philotheus (1353-1354, 1364-1376)	Virgin and Child enthron- ed	Archives of Athos without indic- ation of monastery.
66.	Macarius (1376-1379, 1390-1391)	—	—
67.	Neilus (1379-1388)	Virgin and Child on a thokos covered with two cushions	Omont, Bulletin (1898), 299; Li- khachev, Trudi (1899), 44.
68.	Anthony IV (1389-1390, 1391-1397)	Virgin and Child on a thokos covered with two cushions	Lemerle, pl. 20; Dölger, hl. Berg, 321, n. 3, pls. 84, 95; D.O. un- published.

1. This seal originally was attributed by Konstantopoulos to John X. Later he changed his mind and in a letter to Regling he suggested as possible candidates John IX or John XII. In my opinion Konstantopoulos' second thoughts were nearer to the truth. Stylistic comparisons suggest that the seal must be attributed to John XIV. In fact the seal stylistically resembles the seal of the patriarch Callistus I. This is also the opinion of Father V. Laurent who kindly communicated it to me in a letter.

69.	Callistus II (1397)	—	—
70.	Matthew I (1397-1410)	Virgin and Child on a thokos covered with two cushions	D.O. unpublished.
71.	Euthymius II (1410-1416)	Virgin and Child on a thokos covered with two cushions	Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass.; unpublished.
72.	Joseph II (1416-1439)	—	—
73.	Metrophanes (1440-1443)	—	—
74.	Gregory III Mammas, (1443-1450)	—	—

GEORGE P. GALAVARIS



1. ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM: lead seal of the Patriarch Eustratius (1081 - 1084) (after Ebersolt).
(enlarged)



2. ATHENS. BENAki MUSEUM: lead seal of the Patriarch Gregory II (1283 - 1289) (courtesy of Benaki Museum).
(enlarged)



A



B

3. PARIS, BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE: lead seal of the Patriarch Neilus (1379-1388)

A. actual size (photo courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale).

B. drawing after A.



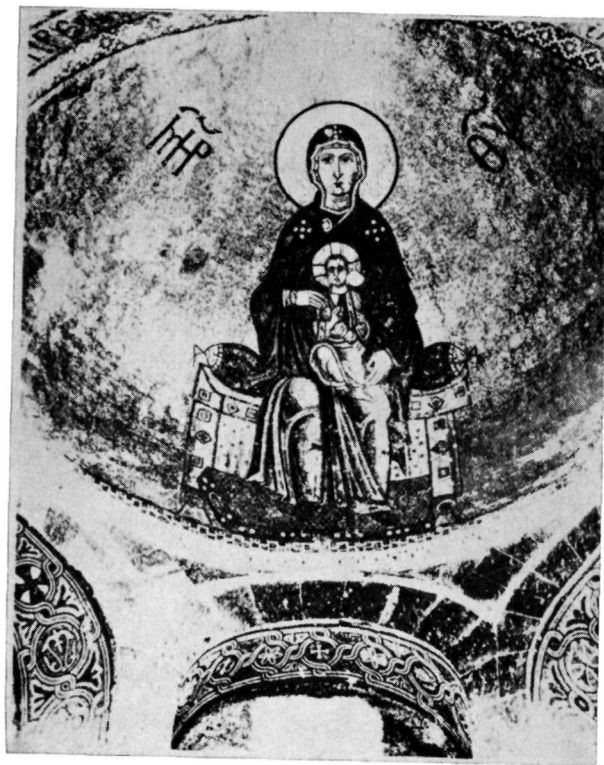
4. CONSTANTINOPLE, ST. SOPHIA: s. vestibule mosaic (after Whittemore).



5. CONSTANTINOPLE, ST. SOPHIA: apse mosaic
(after Whittemore).



6. THESSALONICA, ST. SOPHIA : mosaic.



7. PHOCIS, ST. LUKE : mosaic.



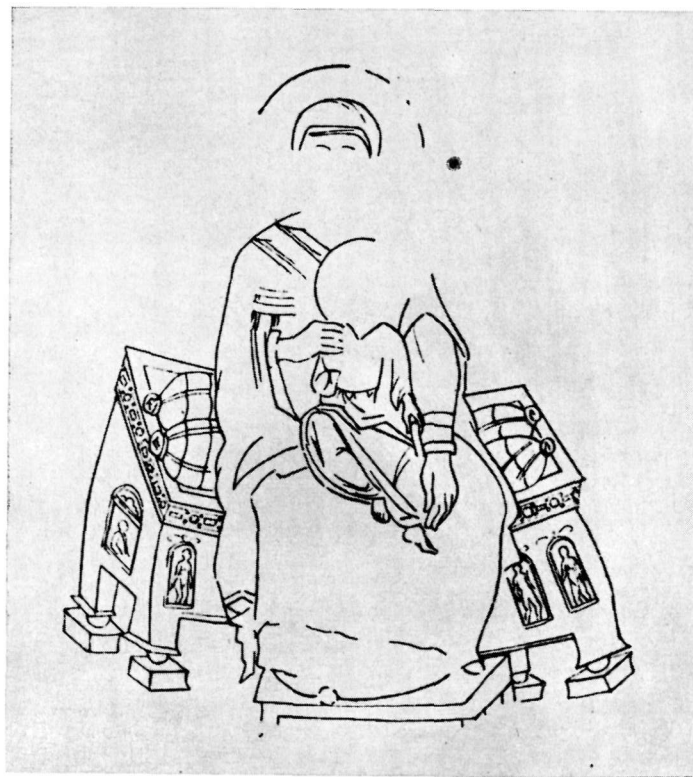
8. ATTICA, DAPHNI: mosaic.

A



(courtesy P. Papachatzidakis, Athens)

B



(after Millet)

9. A, B. MISTRA, PERIBLEPTOS : fresco.