

BYZANTINE IMPERIAL CORONATIONS.

A GOOD deal has been done in the last ten years for the study of Western Coronations, and especially of the English rite, chiefly by the publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society¹. It may not be inopportune or uninteresting, at a moment when our minds are naturally directed to the subject in general, to recall the longest and most august of all series of coronations—that of the Roman Emperors of the East. I have not found that any one has ever been at the pains to put together in any connected form the history of the Byzantine coronations, or even to collect the details of it for any particular period or moment². I do not aspire to fill the gap, but only to collect and arrange some of the accessible notices by way of sketching in outline the history of the ceremonial and indicating its character in successive periods.

A coronation rite is ideally the process of the creation of the monarch, even though in course of time, through a change in the theory of succession, it may come to be rather the ratification of an accomplished fact than the means of its accomplishment. Accordingly, it embraces a great deal more than the act of crowning and its immediate accessories; and the developed Byzantine ceremonial order includes elements practically covering the whole process from the election onwards. The Roman Empire from first to last in theory, and under normal conditions in fact, was elective; and the later ceremonial was directly descended from and perpetuated the inauguration of the early

¹ C. Wordsworth, *The manner of the coronation of King Charles I*, H. B. S. 1892; J. Wickham Legg, *The sacring of the English Kings in Archaeological Journal*, 1894; *Missale Westmonasteriense*, iii pp. 1434 sqq., H. B. S. 1896; E. S. Dewick, *The Coronation book of Charles V of France*, H. B. S. 1898; J. Wickham Legg, *Three Coronation orders*, H. B. S. 1900.

² Since this was written Prof. Bury has kindly called my attention to an article by Sickel, *Das byzantinische Krönungsrecht bis zum 10ten Jahrhundert*, which unfortunately I have not seen.

Principate. Accordingly, the rite has a continuous history of nearly 1500 years, during which it was developed, by successive accretions, out of the elections of the first century into the great ceremony of the fifteenth century.

The history of this ceremony may be conveniently distributed into five periods: (I) that of the Principate until Diocletian; (II) the new Empire during the fourth and fifth centuries, in which some new ceremonial adjuncts and insignia were originated; (III) from the end of the fifth till the end of the sixth century, marked by the addition of a religious sanction and the beginnings of an ecclesiastical rite; (IV) from the seventh to the twelfth century, in which the investitures are performed in church and a definite rite emerges; and (V) from the twelfth century to the end, in which the unction of the sovereign forms a new element in the rite, co-ordinate with the imposition of the crown.

I. In the period of the Principate, there are four points to be noticed, the bearing of which, if not in all cases obvious at once, will become evident in the sequel.

(1) The Election. And here we are not concerned with the constitutional order or with the theoretical significance of the procedures which went to the making of the emperor, about which there are some differences of view. Our purpose will rather be served by the practical working of things as illustrated by a few examples of elections, normal or tumultuous, belonging to the mature stage of the Principate in the second and third centuries; and we may choose those of Tacitus and Pertinax and the elder Gordian as variously typical.

The election of Tacitus is described by Vopiscus, writing not very long after, with some picturesqueness of detail¹. After the death of Aurelian in 275 there was an interregnum of eight months, during which the Senate and the Army deferred to one another, each resigning the election to the other. At length 'on the twenty-fifth of September, when the most honourable order had taken its seat in the Curia Pompiliana, Velius Cornificius Gordianus, the consul, said, "We refer to you, conscript fathers, what we have already oftentimes referred. An emperor must be chosen: the army cannot well go on longer without a *princeps*, and the necessity is urgent. For the Germans are said to have

¹ *Hist. Aug.* Vopiscus, *Tacitus*, 3-9. Cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xii *init.*

broken through the line of the Rhine" [and he goes on to explain the condition of the frontiers]. "Well, then, conscript fathers, nominate a *princeps*: the army will either accept your choice, or, if they refuse it, they will make another." Then, when Tacitus, who was the consular with the right of first opinion, rose to give—no one knows what opinion—all the Senate acclaimed, "Tacitus Augustus, the gods preserve you: you are our choice, you we make *princeps*, to you we commit the care of the republic and of the world! Take up the Empire by the Senate's authority: the honour you deserve befits your rank, your life, your character! A *princeps senatus* is rightly created Augustus; one with right of first opinion is rightly created Augustus! And who makes a better emperor than a man of grave character? and who makes a better emperor than a lettered man? Be the event good and auspicious and salutary! Too long you have been in private station! You know how you ought to rule, who have endured other *principes*! You know how you ought to rule, who have formed your judgement of other *principes*!" But he said, "I am astonished, conscript fathers, that you should wish to make a man of my years *princeps* in place of so stout an emperor as Aurelian. . . . Do you suppose the soldiers will accept an old man? Look to it that you are not deceived in the character of the *princeps* you would fain give to the republic, and that this one fact—that you have unanimously chosen me—be not the beginning of my misfortunes." Thereupon these were the acclamations of the Senate: "Trajan, too, acceded to the Empire as an old man" (ten times). "And Hadrian acceded to the Empire in his old age" (ten times). "And Antoninus acceded in his old age" (ten times). "You too have read *Incanaque menta regis Romani*" (ten times). "And who is a better emperor than an old man?" (ten times). "It is an emperor, not a soldier, we are making you" (twenty times). "Do you give orders, let the soldiers fight" (thirty times). "You have prudence and an excellent brother" (ten times). "Severus said it is the head that reigns, not the feet" (thirty times). "It is your mind, not your body, we are electing" (twenty times). "Tacitus Augustus, the gods preserve you!" Then the votes of all were taken: and, further, the consular Metius Falconius Nicomachus, the senator who sat next after Tacitus, spoke' on the wisdom of the Senate's

choice, and urged Tacitus to think of his country before his family. 'By this speech Tacitus was deeply moved, and the whole senatorial order was much struck; and immediately the acclamation arose, "All, all." Then they went to the Campus Martius, and there Tacitus mounted the comitial tribunal¹; and there the prefect of the city, Aelius Cesetianus, spoke as follows: "You have here, *sanctissimi milites et sacratissimi Quirites*, the prince whom the Senate has elected, in pursuance of the vote of all the armies; I mean the most august Tacitus—so that he who has hitherto helped the republic by his votes will now help it by his commands and decrees." The people acclaimed, "Most happily the gods preserve you, Tacitus!" and the rest which it is customary to say. . . . Then he set out for the armies: there also, so soon as he mounted the tribunal, Mesius Gallicanus, the praetorian prefect, discoursed as follows: "The Senate, *sanctissimi commilitones*, have given you the prince you asked for: that most noble order has deferred to the commands and will of the soldiery. I may not address you further in the presence of the emperor. Be pleased, therefore, to listen to the words of him whose duty it is to protect us." Then Tacitus Augustus said, "Trajan also acceded to the Empire in old age; but he was promoted by one man; but as for me *sanctissimi commilitones*, first you who know how to estimate the merits of princes, and then the most honourable Senate, adjudged me worthy of the name. It shall be my care, my effort, my achievement, that there be not wanting to you, I will not say brave deeds, but at least counsels worthy of you and the emperor." Then, in accordance with custom, he promised pay and a donative.'

Again, on the murder of Commodus (Dec. 31, 192), the conspirators who had procured his death induced Pertinax to accept with reluctance the accession, and hurried him to the camp of the Praetorians, at the same time taking measures to spread the report of the death of Commodus and arouse the people to enthusiasm at their liberation from his tyranny². 'And when they came to the camp, Laetus and Eclectus entered with Pertinax, and calling the soldiers together Laetus addressed them. . . . And while Laetus was speaking, the people did not

¹ This forms a connecting link between the earlier formal procedure of the *Comitia* in conferring the *tribunitia potestas*, and the later informal acclamations of the people.

² Herodian, ii: cf. *Hist. Aug. Capitolinus Pertinax*, 4 sqq.

restrain themselves, though the soldiers hesitated, but proclaimed Pertinax Augustus, and called him father, and honoured him with acclamations. Whereupon the soldiers also, not with the same enthusiasm, but under constraint of the people (for they were wholly encompassed by the people, and were few and unarmed, as on a festival), joined in their shouts, and acclaimed Pertinax Augustus, and took the accustomed oaths of allegiance to him. . . . Accordingly at daybreak Pertinax betook himself to the Senate-house, allowing neither the lights to be carried before him nor any of the imperial insignia to be displayed, until he knew the decision of the Senate. But when as soon as he appeared all with one accord acclaimed him and addressed him as Emperor and Augustus,' he first refused the burden, and endeavoured to secure the elevation of Glabrio. But when Glabrio refused, 'all constraining and imploring him, with hesitation and reluctance he mounted the imperial throne, and addressed' the Senate. 'With such words he lent support to the decision of the Senate; and being acclaimed by all, and receiving all honour and reverence, he was sent to the temple of Jove and the other sanctuaries, and having celebrated the sacrifices for the Empire he returned to the palace.'

Once more, in the spring of 238, on the outbreak of the revolt in Africa against the tyranny of Maximin¹, after the assassination of the procurator, the insurgents rushed to the house of M. Antonius Gordianus, the proconsul, and overpowering the doorkeepers, burst in and found him resting on his couch after the labours of the day, 'and standing round him, they invest him with the purple and salute him with the imperial honours.' While they overcome his reluctance, the report gets abroad, and all the population of Thysdrus assemble and acclaim Gordian Augustus. Accepting the situation, Gordian removed to Carthage and assumed the imperial state—the bodyguard, the laurel-wreathed fasces, and the processional lights—and wrote to the Senate, relating what had happened and asking for the Senate's confirmation and promising a large donative to the soldiers and corn to the people. On receipt of the news the Roman people broke into a fury of enthusiasm, and the Senate declared Gordian and his son Augusti.

¹ Herodian, vii : cf. *Hist. Aug. Capitolinus Gordiani*, 7 sqq.

Here then we have the elements of the election; a formal process in the Senate, the acclamation of the emperor, in accordance with tradition, by the soldiers, and the consent of the people, on occasion in more or less formal comitia, signified also by acclamation; and in the three possible varieties of order, according as the Senate, the soldiers, or the people take the initiative.

(2) Though the Principate was an elective magistracy, yet the emperor tended to influence, if not to determine, the succession, by securing the investiture of a colleague of his own choice, generally a son, real or adoptive, or other kinsman, with some of the marks or functions of the imperial dignity. This was the case from the first: Augustus made several attempts to found a dynasty, and in the end succeeded in securing the succession of Tiberius. At the same time the colleague was dependent, not co-ordinate, possessing generally no *imperium* of his own, but only on occasion exercising by delegation the proconsular *imperium* of the emperor as his representative, unless, like Tiberius in 11 or 13 A. D., he received an independent *imperium* by a special law¹. The emperor could also create his wife Augusta².

(3) Some of the imperial insignia are marked in the extracts above. The distinctive badge was 'the purple,' that is the *paludamentum* of the general in the field, which the *princeps* appropriated as concentrating the supreme military authority in himself, in the same way as he appropriated exclusively the title of emperor, the laurel wreath, and the right of triumph³. Though he did not possess the *imperium militiae* in Italy, he might, and more and more did, wear 'the purple,' even in the City. And as we have seen in the case of Gordian, the investiture with 'the purple' became the symbol of inauguration; and, in fact, at this date such phrases as 'to assume the purple' came to be used to express accession to the throne⁴. Other insignia than the purple and the laurel wreath may be noticed summarily, as having some relation to the future, though not altogether distinctive of the emperor, but only used by him more habitually

¹ Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii p. 1146; Bury, *Roman Empire*, p. 54; appendix to Gibbon, i p. 454.

² Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii pp. 821, 822.

³ *Ibid.* i p. 348.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 349, n. 2.

than by other dignities. He might appear in public always in the magisterial purple-striped tunic and toga (*clavus, praetexta*), and on high festivals in the triumphal gold-wrought purple tunic and toga (*tunica palmata, toga picta*); and he wore the senatorial red shoes, which in course of time assumed a distinctive form in his case. He was attended by twelve lictors, with laurel-wreathed fasces, and by processional lights¹, and protected by a bodyguard. His official seat, the 'imperial throne' mentioned in the account of Pertinax, was the *sella curulis*, placed between those of the consuls².

(4) The promise of a largess to the soldiers, and occasionally to the people, became a standing institution in the inauguration of the princeps. The tradition was begun by Claudius in 41, and the claim to it was exhibited in its extreme extravagance in 193, when the praetorians put up the empire to auction³.

So far, then, the elevation to the empire is by election, involving a formal process in the Senate, with the acclaimed assent of the soldiery, purchased or rewarded by a largess, and that of the people, and admitting to a dignity outwardly marked by certain ceremonial adjuncts and insignia, and in particular by the purple, in which the emperor could procure the association with himself of a consort or consorts.

II. For the second period the inaugurations of Julian, Valentinian I, and Gratian will serve as types. When the flower of Julian's army was ordered by Constantius in 360 to leave Gaul for service in the East, they mutinied and proclaimed Julian emperor at Paris, and, setting him on the tribunal, acclaimed him. When Julian resisted, implored, reproached, conjured, and promised, 'there arose a clamour on all sides, all and every one striving with one and the same eagerness; till by the din of their insistence, mingled with abuse and reproaches, the Caesar was

¹ Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i p. 346. I have not noticed reference to the imperial lights in later periods; but the prefects of Italy and of Illyricum had them in the fifth and sixth centuries (*Notitia dignitatum*, ed. Seeck, Berlin, 1876, pp. 8, 107), and the emperor's picture was escorted with lights and incense in the eighth century (Labbe-Cossart, *Conalia*, viii 705); and of course the lights became part of the insignia of bishops.

² On the insignia, see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i pp. 294 sqq., Bury, *Roman Empire*, p. 21.

³ Bury, *Roman Empire*, pp. 232, 491; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. v (ed. Bury, i p. 105).

constrained to assent. And placed on an infantry buckler and hoisted on high, while no tongue was silent, he was proclaimed Augustus and bidden to produce a diadem. And when he said he had never possessed one, his wife's necklace or her fillet was demanded. And when he insisted that it was incongruous to begin his reign by being dressed in woman's gear, a horse's headband was asked for, that he might be crowned with it and display some sort of sign of his superior authority. But when he persisted that that also was disgraceful, one Maurus by name, afterwards Count, . . . took off the torc he wore as standard-bearer, and boldly set it on Julian's head; and he, pushed to the last necessity, and by this time realising that he could not avoid immediate danger if he persisted in refusing, promised them all five gold pieces and a pound of silver each¹. Afterwards, at Vienne, 'he wore a gorgeous diadem, set with flashing gems, since at the first assumption of the Principate he was encircled with a wretched crown, and appeared like an empurpled xystarch².'

Valentinian, 'without a discordant vote, by the inspiration of the heavenly deity, was elected' by the conclave of generals at Nicaea in February, 364. When he arrived from Ancyra, 'the whole soldiery being gathered together, Valentinian proceeded to the *campus*, and being permitted to ascend a tribunal constructed of considerable height after the manner of the *comitia*, with the wholly favourable wish of all present, as a man of grave character he is declared ruler of the Empire. Then he is clad in the princely habit and crown, and named Augustus with profuse acclamations.' Then he addressed the soldiers and promised them a donative³.

In 367, at Amiens, the same emperor, Valentinian, 'was meditating decorating his son Gratian, now very near adult age, with the insignia of the Principate. And when all had been prepared for it, and the soldiery settled to accept it with ready mind, when Gratian came and, proceeding to the *campus*, mounted the tribunal, encompassed with the splendour of noble officers, Valentinian, taking the boy by the hand, led him forth into the midst and commended him to the army in a set

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus xx 4.

² *Ibid.* xxi 1 § 4.

³ *Ibid.* xxvi 1 § 5; 2 §§ 2, 3: according to Philostorgius viii 8 he was elevated on the buckler.

speech as destined emperor. . . . His words were listened to with glad assent, and the speech not yet finished, the soldiers, each according to his place and feelings, each eager to anticipate his neighbour, as all sharers in the profit and joys of the event, declared Gratian Augustus, mingling the joyous din of arms with loudest blare of trumpets. Seeing this, with greater confidence Valentinian exultingly embraced his son, decked with the crown and vestments of the supreme fortune, and now conspicuous with its splendour, and addressed his listening ears' in a charming allocution¹.

In these instances, taken in combination, we have both the old and the new elements of the imperial inauguration. The election, the acclamations, the assumption of the insignia, the speech and the promise of a donative, remain as before, except that in these elections in the field we hear nothing explicitly of the Senate, now reduced to a shadow of itself, or of the people. But there are two new elements in the ceremonial. (1) *The Elevation on the Buckler*. This, it is well known, was a Teutonic method of inauguration of leaders², and was evidently learnt by the Roman troops in their campaigns on the northern frontier and the line of the Rhine, if it was not in Julian's case actually due to the German auxiliaries in his army. As will appear, it became a standing element in the Byzantine ceremonial. (2) *The Diadem*. In the earlier Principate the distinctive head-dress of the emperor was the laurel wreath: but Diocletian³, if not Aurelian before him⁴, assumed the diadem—the jewelled fillet which was recognised as the distinctive ensign of royalty⁵—and Constantine wore it habitually⁶. Its assumption marked the character of the new Empire as no longer a magistracy but an absolute monarchy, and went along with the adoption of a more

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus xxvii 6.

² See Tacitus, *Hist.* iv 15; Gregory of Tours, *H. F.* ii 40; iv 52; vii 10; Cassiodorus, *Epp.* x 31; Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Langob.* vi 55; Jornandes, *de rebus Get.* 60.

³ So Gibbon, ch. xiii (ed. Bury, i p. 382), but neither Aurelius Victor nor Eutropius seems to say so.

⁴ Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* 50; Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, i p. 345, n. 6) holds the evidence to be insufficient: Prof. Bury (Gibbon, i pp. 315, 382) accepts it.

⁵ *Βασιλείας ἡνώρισμα*, Lucian, *Piscator* 35: 'insigne regium,' Tac. *Ann.* xv 29. Its earlier form may be seen on the coins of Constantine and his successors in the fourth century.

⁶ Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 60 'caput exornans perpetuo diademate.'

formal court ceremonial, more sumptuous imperial vestments, and the 'adoration' of the monarch by prostration¹.

For the ninety years between the elevation of Gratian and that of Leo I in 457, there seem to be no records in detail of the inauguration of the emperors. But among the chapters appended to the first book of the *de Caerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus are several which preserve graphic accounts of inaugurations at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries, said to be the work of Peter the Patrician in the reign of Justinian, and having every appearance of being based on contemporary reports². The first of them (c. 91) relates to the inauguration of Leo I. As here described, this inauguration is a purely civil function, to which the Patriarch Anatolius contributes nothing but his presence. Accordingly it belongs to the second period, and might be quoted here at length as representing the form which the ceremonial had taken at the date of Leo I's accession. But since, so far as it goes—apart, that is, from the ecclesiastical element—it is practically identical with that of Anastasius I, which belongs to the next period and will be quoted at length below, it is needless to repeat it here, and any peculiar points of detail it presents can be noted as we proceed with the account of Anastasius.

III. In relating the accession of Leo I, Gibbon says: 'His nomination was unanimously ratified by the Senate; and the servant of Aspar received the imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch or bishop, who was permitted to express by this unusual ceremony the suffrage of the Deity'; and he adds in a note: 'This appears to be the first origin of a ceremony which all the Christian princes of the world have since adopted, and from which the clergy have deduced the most formidable consequences³.' This assertion rests on the evidence of Theodore the Reader and Theophanes, who say summarily that Leo was

¹ Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 39 'qui primus ex auro ueste quaesita serici ac purpurae gemmarumque uim plantis concupiuerit . . . namque se primus omnium Caligulam post Domitianumque dominum palam dici passus et adorari se appellarique uti deum.' Eutrop. ix 26 'adorarique se iussit, cum ante eum cuncti salutarentur: ornamenta gemmarum uestibus calceamentisque indidit; nam prius imperii insigne in chlamyde purpurea tantum erat, reliqua communia.'

² On the structure of the *de Caerimoniis* see Bury's Gibbon, vi p. 516.

³ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xxxvi: so also Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i 228.

crowned by Anatolius¹. But, on the other hand, the account of Peter the Patrician referred to above is a detailed relation of the whole procedure and has every appearance of being based on a contemporary report, and, as has been said already, in this account the patriarch takes no active part. In the account of the inauguration of Leo II², Leo I's grandson, in the last year of his grandfather's life, the Patriarch Acacius does intervene, and recites the prayer before the imposition of the diadem: and possibly there has been some confusion between the two cases. But the question is of no importance: the beginning of the new period is marked either by the coronation of Leo the Great or by that of Leo the Younger. From this point onwards there is an ecclesiastical element in the procedure. And in the development of this ecclesiastical element, the first stage extends to the end of the sixth century, in which, so far as appears, the procedure remains as it had been, except that the Patriarch of Constantinople is an officiant.

From the younger Leo (473) down to Maurice (582) the ceremony was performed either in the Hippodrome or in the atrium of the Palace; and except in the cases in which the new emperor was crowned in his predecessor's lifetime and therefore at his predecessor's hands³, the crown was imposed by the patriarch⁴. The procedure is well illustrated by the picturesque accounts in the *de Caerimoniis* (i 91-95) of the inaugurations of Leo I (with the qualifications already mentioned), Leo II (473), Anastasius I (491), Justin I (518), and Justinian (526), and by the elaborate description of the coronation of Justin II (565) in the *de laudibus Iustini minoris* of Corippus. Of these we may select for quotation the accounts of Anastasius and Leo II.

On the evening following the death of Zeno (491) the people and the soldiery gathered in the Hippodrome and shouted. The magistrates, the senators, and the patriarch, who had met in the

¹ Theodorus Lector, *H. E.* ii 65; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, i p. 170 (ed. Bonn).

² Const. Porph. *de Caer.* i 94.

³ Leo II by Leo I (Const. Porph. *de Caer.* i 94), Zeno by Leo II (Theophan. i p. 185), Justinian by Justin I (Const. Porph. *de Caer.* i 95), Maurice by Tiberius II (Theophylactus Simocatta, i 1).

⁴ For Anastasius by Euphemius (below, p. 371), Justin I by John II (Const. Porph. *de Caer.* i 93), Justin II by John Scholasticus (Theophanes, i p. 373), Tiberius II by Eutyclus (*ibid.* p. 384).

portico before the Great Triclinium, thought it desirable that the Empress Ariadne should go and address the people in the Hippodrome¹. Accordingly she proceeded thither in the usual state, and stood in the *kathisma*² with a few *cubicularii* and the patriarch—the rest of the court standing below or in the tiers. As soon as she appeared she was acclaimed. Then she addressed them through a *libellensis*, complimenting them on the preservation of order (acclamation), and explaining that she had commanded the notables to elect an emperor—a Christian and a Roman of integrity (acclamation). ‘And that the judgement may be uncorrupt and pleasing to God, we have commanded the most glorious magistrates and the sacred Senate, with the concurrence of the vote of the most noble armies, with the holy Gospels exposed in the midst, in the presence of the most holy patriarch of this imperial city . . . that the election be made in such wise that no one have regard either to friendship or to enmity or to ulterior motive or to kindred or to any other private interest, but with his conscience pure and wholly submissive to the Lord God.’ And since the matter is serious, she exhorts them to refrain from further measures till after Zeno’s funeral (acclamations, including ‘Out with the thieving Prefect of the City!’). She congratulates herself on having so far anticipated their wishes as to have already chosen Julian as prefect of the city (acclamations). Having exhorted them to keep good order, she retires to the Augustaeum. The notables, getting seats placed before the Delphax, sat down to discuss the situation. The *praepositus*³ Urbicius recommended them to put the election into Ariadne’s hands; and the Senate agreeing desired the patriarch to go in and request her to choose whom she would. She immediately chose Anastasius the Silentiary, and the magistrates, approving, sent for him and had him lodged in the consistory till after the funeral of Zeno. The funeral having taken place, ‘the next day all came forth in white *chlanidia*⁴, and were received

¹ On the topography of the Hippodrome see Grosvenor, *The Hippodrome of Constantinople*, Lond. 1889.

² Τὸ κάθισμα, the imperial box.

³ I. e. the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, the chief of the eunuchs.

⁴ These are well illustrated by the figures of Justinian’s suite in the great mosaic in S. Vitale at Ravenna, and by those in the mosaics of the chapel of S. Venantius in the Baptistery of S. John Lateran.

by Anastasius in the consistory . . . , and the patriarch came, entering as usual by the *balnearia* ; and after receiving them all, according to the custom, Anastasius went up into the portico before the Great Triclinium and stood in the middle of the portico, and all the magistrates and the senators went in and joined him ; and they required him to take an oath to all that he nurses no grievance against any one with whom he had a quarrel, and that he will administer the empire in all good conscience.' We may insert here, what is recorded elsewhere¹, that the patriarch also required of him a written oath that he would maintain the faith entire and introduce no novelty into the holy Church of God ; and this document was delivered to Macedonius, the keeper of the sacred archives. 'After taking the oath, he went up to the Hippodrome and entered the Triclinium, where at race-times the senators are accustomed to adore the emperor, and put on a gold-striped *divitesion* and a belt and gaiters and imperial buskins, and went into the *kathisma* bareheaded. And the soldiery stood below in the *stama*², and kept the *hastae* and the standards lying on the ground ; and the people stood in the tiers and acclaimed. So Anastasius was hoisted standing on the buckler, and a *campiductor* of the lancers mounted and placed his own torc on his head. And immediately the standards were raised, and he was acclaimed by the soldiers and the populace. Then he descended from the buckler and went again into the Triclinium, where he put on the regalia ; and there the patriarch made a prayer, and the *Kyrieleison* was said, and he put on him the imperial *chlamys* and the jewelled crown. And returning, he mounted again into the *kathisma* and saluted the people, and all shouted, "Auguste Σεβαστέ." And he addressed the soldiers and the people ; for a *libellarion* was handed to him, and he handed it to the *libellensis*, who stood on the tribunal and addressed them . . . as follows. "It is plain that human sovereignty depends on the nod of the most high Glory." (All shouted, "Abundance for the world ! As thou hast lived, so reign ! Pure rulers for the world !" and such like.) "Forasmuch, then, as it is I, albeit unworthy and hesitating, that the most serene

¹ Evagr. *H. E.* iii 32 ; Theod. Lect. *H. E.* ii 6 ; Theophanes, i p. 210 (ed. Bonn).

² I. e. the part of the area immediately below the imperial box, extending to the north end of the *spina*.

Augusta Ariadne, with the judgement of the most noble magnates and the most glorious Senate, the choice of the powerful armies and the consent of the sacred people, have promoted to undertake the charge of the Empire of the Romans, under the guidance of the clemency of the divine Trinity"—(all shouted, "Kyrie eleison! Son of God, do Thou have mercy on him! Anastasius Augustus, tu vincas! God will keep a pious emperor! God gave thee, and God will keep thee!" and such like)—"how great the burden is that is laid on me for the sake of the common safety, I am not ignorant"—(all cried, "Worthy of the empire, worthy of the Trinity, worthy of the city! Out with the informers!" and so on). "But I entreat Almighty God that what ye hoped me to be in making this common choice, such ye may find me in the conduct of affairs" (all shouted, "He in Whom thou believest, He will save thee! As thou hast lived, so reign! Thou hast lived religiously: reign religiously! Ariadne, thou conquerest! Many be the years of the Augusta! Do thou uplift the army, thou uplift the hosts! Have mercy on thy servants! Like Marcian, so reign!" and many like things besides). "In consideration of the happy festival of our empire, I will give you five gold pieces and a pound of silver per head (καταβούκλον)." (All cried, "God will preserve a Christian emperor! These are common prayers! These are the prayers of the world! Lord, help the pious! Holy Lord, uplift Thy world! The fortune of the Romans conquers! Anastasius Augustus, thou conquerest! Ariadne Augusta, thou conquerest! God has given thee, God will keep thee!") "God be with you!" And after they had been so addressed, he was escorted down, and departed to the Church [S. Sophia] and entered by the narthex, first putting off his crown in the mutatorium¹. And the *praepositus* took it, and handed it to him, and he deposited it in the sanctuary. And the emperor offered the gifts, and went into the mutatorium and assumed the crown, and returned and going in gave effect to the promotion of the prefect of the city, and dismissed the concourse (ἔδωκε μίσσας), and entertained the magistrates at a banquet.

The typical form of the inauguration of an emperor in his

¹ The *μουτατόριον* or *μητατόριον* was a chamber or series of chambers in the upper story of S. Sophia, accessible both from the narthex and from the sacristy (*σκευοφυλάκιον*); see Reiske on *de Caer.* i 1 (ii p. 110).

predecessor's lifetime is supplied by the account of Leo the Younger's coronation by his grandfather, Leo I¹. When the latter fell ill he was besought to make the Caesar emperor. Accordingly, 'the people and the ambassadors,' who happened to be in the city, 'assembled in the Hippodrome, and all the soldiers with the standards in the stama, and they shouted, the people in Greek, the soldiers in Latin, urging the emperor to come up. He came, escorted by the Senate; while the Caesar remained within in the Triclinium . . . and the patriarch Acacius with him. And the emperor stood before the sella and so began to address the soldiers and the people; but they all cried, "Please be seated!" So he saluted the people and sat down, and they cried, "Augustus!" And again many voices arose praying him to crown the emperor. . . . Then they shouted to send the *magister* and patricians to fetch the Caesar . . . And they went and brought the Caesar and set him on the emperor's left hand, and the patriarch with him. And the patriarch stood on the emperor's right and recited a prayer, and all responded the *Amen*. And the *praepositus* handed the emperor a crown, and he set it on the Caesar's head. And they cried, "Εὐτυχῶς εὐτυχῶς εὐτυχῶς." And the patriarch withdrew, and the emperor Leo sat down. And the young Leo saluted the people, and all cried, "Augustus!" And the prefect of the city on the left and the Senate came and brought him a *μοδίολον* or crown of gold, according to the custom, and the emperor addressed the soldiers, accepting their allegiance, and promised to give each as usual five gold pieces and a pound of silver as largess (*ἀγουστιακά*).'

Here then we have a formulated procedure, in which we can discern the old elements. At the same time these old elements are in a measure modified, and there is a definitely new element, religious and Christian—partly in the shape of a new tone and colour suffusing the whole ceremonial, partly the addition of substantive religious ceremonies. The election retains its old form; it is made by the Senate and assented to by the soldiery and the people. But it has some new elements. The Christian sanction is represented by the exposition of the Gospels and the

¹ Const. Porph. *de Caer.* i 94. In c. 95 the inauguration of Justinian is described as 'proceeding in the like form' (*κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον σχῆμα*), except that it was in the Delphax, not in the Hippodrome.

presence of the patriarch in the senatorial conclave. And there is the beginning of the requirement of oaths on the part of the elect. So far they seem to be only occasional and exceptional. Perhaps the civil oath was not perpetuated at all. But the ecclesiastical oath, which in Anastasius' case was occasioned by his reputation for unorthodoxy, if it was not continued from this time onwards, reappears later, and at last became a regular part of the procedure. It was certainly required by Cyriac of Phocas in 602¹, by Germanus of Leo III in 716², by Nicephorus of Michael I Rhangabe in 811³, and, though perhaps not taken in this case, of Leo V the Armenian in 813⁴; but whether so far these were only exceptional cases, and at what date it became a standing requirement, I have not discovered⁵. In shape, when it was imposed, it continued to be, as in Anastasius' case, a promise to maintain the Church inviolate, and presumably, though this is not always mentioned, a confession of orthodoxy.

The military assent is marked by the elevation on the buckler, the imposition of the torc, the raising of the standards, and the acclamations. The elevation on the buckler is not mentioned in the account of Leo I, who only mounts the tribunal in the *campus*; nor perhaps is it recorded in any case between Valentinian and Anastasius⁶. But Anastasius, Hypatius (the bubble emperor of the Nika riot under Justinian)⁷, and Justin II were all hoisted. The coronation with the military torc, which was accidental in Julian's case, either survived or was revived, and is recorded of Leo I, Anastasius, Justin I, Hypatius⁸, and Justin II; but I do not know of any other case. In the case of Justin II, Corippus represents the torc as placed upon his neck

¹ Theophanes, i p. 447 (ed. Bonn).

² Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. miscell.* xx (Migne, *P. L.* xcvi 1075 A).

³ Zonaras, xv 17 § 1.

⁴ Finlay, *History*, ii p. 113 note.

⁵ Prof. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii p. 390, considers that the form used in the fourteenth century, and quoted below, is in substance as old as the seventh century; and Finlay, *loc. cit.*, speaks of 'the customary general declaration of orthodoxy contained in the coronation oath' at the date of Leo V's accession (813).

⁶ Claudian has 'sed mox cum solita miles te uoce leuasset' of Honorius; and ἐνωίπευ is used of Marcian in 450 and of the western Maximus in 455 (Suicer, *s.v.* ἐνωίπευ).

⁷ Zonaras, xiv 6 § 23.

⁸ Procopius, *de bello Persico*, i 24.

and left there¹. Possibly Corippus misunderstood the action; or perhaps we are to conclude that in all cases the collar, after being placed on the head, was lowered on to the neck and remained there. Leo received also a second torc in his right hand; and perhaps this is to be identified with, or regarded as equivalent to, the *μοδίολον* or second crown of gold given to the younger Leo after his coronation². I do not know whether there is an accepted interpretation of this second crown: if not, it may be conjectured that it is an investiture with authority to crown consorts in the Empire. The reversal of the standards (*signa, labara*) before the acclamation, and their elevation at the acclamation, is noticed in the cases of Leo I, Anastasius, and Justin I. The lowering presumably meant mourning for the vacancy—*le roi est mort*; the elevation, joy in the new reign—*vive le roi*. The acclamations of soldiers and people, it will be noticed, have assumed a definitely Christian colouring.

We have also in these coronation records a very complete account of the imperial insignia (*σχήμα*)—the tunic with its gold *clavi*, the belt, the gaiters and buskins, the purple and the diadem, all of which may be seen figured in the great mosaic of Justinian and his court in the choir of S. Vitale at Ravenna. The tunic (*σιχάρην διβητήσιω αὐρόκλαβον*, i. e. *tunica divitensis auriclava*) was white, and when girded with the belt reached to the knees³. The belt (*ζωνάριον*) was a cincture of

¹ Corippus, *de laudibus Iustini*, ii 130 sqq.

Armati manibus sacrati circulus auri
impositus collo imperium sublime dicavit:
quod faciens ter, ter dextram cum munere tendens
'Augusti, Iustine, locum tibi confero' dixit.

² See *Du Cange*, s.v. *Μοδίολον*. The *modiolon* seems to be the hat-like crown sometimes figured on the heads of empresses in later miniatures: cf. Theophanes contin. *Leo Arm.* p. 18.

³ Corippus, ii 100 sqq.

Egreditur tunicaque pius inducitur artus,
aurata se ueste tegens, qua candidus omnis
enituit lumenque dedit . . .
substrictoque sinu uestis diuina pendit
poplite fusa tenus, pretioso candida limbo.

As reaching only to the knees, it would seem to be a more or less military tunic, and akin to the later *σκαραμάγγιον*. A longer and more austere auriclave tunic may be seen on the great angels in the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo or on the central figure of the apse of S. Vitale. On *διβητήσιον* see Bury's *Gibbon*, vi p. 80 note.

gold and jewels¹: the gaiters (*ρουβλα*), purple hosen: and the buskins (*καμπάγια*) were of crimson with golden embroideries and rosettes². The purple, a great *paludamentum*, a long cloak reaching to the ankles, adorned with a quadrangular apparel of gold halfway down the edge, and fastened on the right shoulder with a large jewelled fibula or morse with pendants³. The diadem is no longer a mere fillet or ribbon, but a broad jewelled circlet of gold with pendants over the ears.

The investiture is not yet part of the public ceremonial. Anastasius assumed the tunic, girdle, gaiters, and buskins before ascending the *kathisma*, and retired to the Triclinium after the elevation to assume the rest. Leo I and Justin I assume all together after the elevation, under cover of a *testudo* formed by the soldiers with their shields. Here, except in Leo's case, the patriarch recites the coronation prayer, *Kyrieleison* is said by the bystanders⁴, and the patriarch imposes the diadem. There is no record of the contents of the prayer, but the first of the two prayers quoted below may well belong in point of style to the fifth or sixth century, and perhaps better to the fifth than to the sixth. In the coronation of a consort, the patriarch still recites the prayer, but the derivative character of the new imperium is symbolised by the emperor himself crowning his colleague; and to judge from the instance of Leo II, the coronation is public, before the people. After his crowning—and in Justin II's case after seating himself in the Triclinium, making the sign of the cross, and delivering an allocution to the Senate⁵—the emperor appears again before the people, arrayed

¹ Corippus, *de laud. Iustini*, ii 114 sq.

Nobilibus gemmis et cocto lucidus auro
balteus efulgens lumbos praecinxit heriles.

² *Ibid.* 104 sqq.

Purpureo surae resonant fulgente cothurno,
crueraque puniceis induxit regia uinclis.

³ *Ibid.* 118 sqq.

Caesareos humeros ardenti murice textit
circumfusa chlamys, rutilo quae ornata metallo
principis exserta uincebat lumina dextra.
aurea iuncturas morsu praestrinxit adunco
fibula et a summis gemmae nituere catenis.

⁴ I suspect that the *Kyrieleison* means the deacon's *ektene* or litany with its responses.

⁵ *Ibid.* 175 sqq.

in the insignia and bearing a shield and a lance, and is acclaimed; and in the case of Leo I the adoration or prostration of the magnates in order is related. The imperial speech, which is a written document read by the *libellensis*, is only a preface to the announcement of the largess to the soldiers, which is uniformly of the same amount as Julian's in the fourth century, viz. five gold pieces and a pound of silver to each man; and the speech concludes with the blessing, 'God be with you!' In the account of Anastasius, the newly crowned emperor immediately visits S. Sophia, offers his crown in the sanctuary, and makes gifts to the Church. This presumably continued to be done until the coronation itself came to be performed in church; and this precedent of Anastasius seems to be quoted in the *de Caerimoniis* (i 92) as a record of the origin, or at least as an early instance, of the procedure described at the end of c. 91, which has there become more elaborate, and includes the visitation of several churches, and obviously belongs to a somewhat later period¹.

IV. The first emperor to be inaugurated in church was Phocas, who was crowned by the Patriarch Cyriac in S. John in the Hebdomon, Nov. 23, 602². His successor, Heraclius, was crowned by Sergius in S. Philip in the Palace, Oct. 7, 610³; and Heraclius II in S. Stephen in Daphne by Heraclius I, July 4, 638⁴. Constans II in 641 was apparently the first to be crowned in the ambo of S. Sophia⁵; and henceforward this became the normal use⁶, except in the case of emperors associated with a reigning emperor, and these during the eighth century were sometimes crowned elsewhere⁷; while the empresses, unless crowned along with their husbands or fathers, were not crowned in church at all⁸.

¹ Gifts to the Church are not unfrequently noticed at the inauguration of later emperors.

² Theophyl. Simoc. viii 10; *Chronicon Paschale*, A.D. 602.

³ *Chron. Pasch.* A.D. 610; Theophanes, i p. 461.

⁴ Nicephorus, p. 30 B; Const. Porph. *de Caer.* ii 27.

⁵ Niceph. p. 35 B.

⁶ Theophilus in 829 was crowned in the Oratory of S. Stephen (Symeon Magister, p. 415); Michael IV in 1034 in the Palace (Zonaras, xvii 14).

⁷ Constantine V in 720 in the Triclinium of the xix Accubiti (Niceph. p. 63 B); Constantine VI in the Hippodrome (Theophanes, i p. 695).

⁸ E. g. Maria, wife of Leo III, and Irene, wife of Leo IV, were crowned in the Triclinium of the Augusteon (Theophanes, i 615, 687), Eudocia, wife of Constantine V, in the Triclinium of the xix Accubiti (*ibid.* 686).

During the seventh and most of the eighth centuries there seems to be no detailed record of a coronation¹; but from the end of the eighth century down to the twelfth we have evidence of a sort we have not met with hitherto: no longer records of what was done in particular cases, but rules of procedure for all cases. To this period belong the two extant patriarchal *Euchologia*, the famous Barberini uncial codex of about 795, and the Grotta Ferrata codex (cod. Crypt. Γβ 1), Goar's *Euchologion patriarchale*, of the twelfth century². These contain the ecclesiastical rite, which is the same in the two books, except in so far as the second differs somewhat in scope, and includes the rubrics of the coronation of an empress. The rite therefore remained constant in form from at least the end of the eighth century down to the twelfth. Besides the *Euchologia*, there is the description of the ceremony in the *de Caerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century³. All we have to do is to combine the accounts of these documents.

But first it falls to be noticed that these sources make no reference to the elevation on the buckler, and it has been concluded that it was not customary in this period⁴. But on the other hand the ceremony scarcely falls within the scope of the documents, belonging as it does to the election, while the *Euchologia* are concerned only with the ecclesiastical rite celebrated in church, and the chapter in Porphyrogenitus professedly describes, not the inauguration generally (*ἀναγόρευσις*), but only the coronation (*ἐπὶ στεψίμῳ*); and the miniature of the inauguration of David in the great Paris *Psalter* of the tenth century⁵, in which he is represented standing on the buckler upheld by a circle of youths, while another sets a diadem on his head, shows that the

¹ That of Constantine VI by Leo IV in Theophanes (i p. 695) is perhaps the fullest.

² Goar gives the text of the coronation, p. 726 (ed. 1730), pointing out the main variations between this and the Barberini text. On the MSS see *ibid.* proem.; and *Liturgies Eastern & Western*, p. lxxxviii sq.

³ This type of coronation is also represented by that of Nicephorus Phocas in 963, described in *de Caer.* i 96—so far as it goes, for there is a lacuna in the text after the investiture with the purple.

⁴ By Reiske in his note on *de Caer.* i 92 (ii p. 442 ed. Bonn).

⁵ Figured in Montfaucon, *Monumens*, i p. xvi, and in Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine*, i p. 283. In *de administ. Imp.* 38 Constantine mentions that the Magyars (*Τούρκοι*) elevated their leaders on the shield in this period.

ceremony was quite familiar in this period, as it was in the preceding and the following periods¹.

It is needless to linger over the procession from the palace², which is of the usual type of imperial progresses as described in the *de Caerimoniis*, except to notice another possible omission. In these processions it was more or less customary to scatter coins among the people by way of largess; and possibly or presumably this was the form which the largess, unnoticed by Constantine, had taken in this period³.

On the arrival of the emperor at the Horologium of S. Sophia, the curtain is raised, and he goes into the metatorion⁴ and there takes off the *scaramangion* and *sagum*, puts on the *divetesion* and the *tzitzakion*, and over them resumes the *sagum*⁵, and so enters with the patriarch, lighting tapers on the way at the Silver Doors [between the narthex and the nave], and entering the nave proceeds to the soleas [the platform before the sanctuary], where he makes his devotions at the Holy Doors [the central doors of the sanctuary], and lights tapers. Meanwhile the imperial purple (*χλαμύς*) and the crown (*στέμμα*) have been deposited on a table⁶ in the ambo. The emperor mounts into the ambo with the

¹ The last recorded case I have noted in this period is that of Phocas in 602, who was hoisted when chosen leader of the mutiny which issued in his accession (Theophyl. Simoc. viii 7).

² *De Caerimoniis*, i 38.

³ See the coronation of Christopher and Nicephorus by Constantine V in Niceph. p. 86, and Reiske's note on *de Caerim.* i. 38 (ii p. 249). Cp. Georgius Monachus, *Basil.* 3 (p. 544).

⁴ See above, p. 372, n. 1.

⁵ See Bury's Gibbon, vi p. 80 note. The *διβηθήσιον* was in this period a long garished state tunic (the gorgeous so-called 'dalmatic of Charlemagne' in the sacristy of S. Peter's, figured in Schlumberger, *Un Emp. byzant.* p. 301 or Bayet, *L'Art byzantin*, p. 218, is, I suppose, a *divetesion* of this period); the *σκαραμάγγιον* a simpler and more convenient tunic; the *σάριον* (*sagum*) a light cloak, military in origin; the *τζίτζάκιον* a mantle (perhaps marked with a flower pattern, Turkish *ishichek* = flower), probably borrowed from the Chazars in the eighth century when Constantine V married a Chazar princess.

⁶ *Ἀντιμίνσιον* (*ἀντί, mensa*). Prof. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii p. 478, in his account of the coronation of Constantine VI, after Theophanes, i p. 695 sqq., wrongly, I think, renders by 'carpet.' The usual technical meaning of *ἀντιμίνσιον* is a consecrated corporal, which can be used as a 'portable altar,' and corresponds with the *tabella* (a small consecrated board or stone used like a western corporal) of other eastern rites; see *Litt. E. & W.* Glossary s.v. Antiminsion. Goar, *Eucholog.* p. 729, supposes the table is here so called as having an *ἀντιμίνσιον* spread upon it (cf. Sym. Thessal. *de s. Templo*, 147); but this seems unnecessary. See Du Cange, *Glossar.* s. v.; Reiske on *de Caer.* i 9 § 6.

patriarch. There while the emperor bows his head, and the deacon recites an *ektene*, the patriarch says the 'Prayer over the chlamys' inaudibly¹. 'O Lord our God, the King of kings and Lord of lords, which through Samuel the prophet didst choose David Thy servant to be king over Thy people Israel; do Thou now also hear the supplication of us unworthy and behold from Thy holy dwelling-place Thy faithful servant *N.* whom Thou hast been pleased to set as king over Thy holy nation which Thou didst purchase with the precious blood of Thine only-begotten Son: vouchsafe to anoint him with the oil of gladness; endue him with power from on high; put upon his head a crown of pure gold; grant him a long life; put in his right hand a sceptre of salvation; stablish him on the throne of righteousness; encompass him with the panoply of Thy holy Spirit; strengthen his arm; subject to him all the barbarous nations; sow in his heart Thy fear, and fellow-feeling with his subjects; preserve him in the unspotted faith; make him a painful guardian of the decrees of Thy holy catholic Church; that he may judge Thy people according unto right, and the poor in judgement, defend the children of the poor, and be made an inheritor of Thine heavenly kingdom. [*Aloud*] For to Thee, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, belongeth the might and to Thee the kingdom and the power [and the glory, now and ever and world without end.]' And after the 'Amen' the patriarch takes the chlamys and hands it to the vestitors, with the fibula, and they invest the emperor. But if it is the emperor's son or daughter or wife that is being crowned, the patriarch gives the purple, not to the vestitors, but to the emperor, who with the help of the *praepositi* invests the elect. The chlamys in this period, as represented in miniatures, is the same in form as in the preceding period—a purple *paludamentum* with a great apparel, fastened with a fibula on the right shoulder and generally drawn up over the left arm². After the investiture with the purple, the

¹ Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 726, ed. 1730.

² See the figures in Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzant.* i pp. 141, 760, ii 349: *Un Emp. byzant.* pp. 185, 191, 285, where both the *divetesion* and the chlamys can be seen. If the mantle worn by Nicephorus III Botaniates in the miniature in Bayet, *L'Art byzantin*, p. 169, is the chlamys, it was apparently sometimes embroidered all over. The chlamys is also commonly represented in figures of the soldier saints; see Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzant.* passim.

patriarch says¹, 'Peace be to all.' [R. 'And with thy spirit.'] And the deacon says, 'Bow down your heads unto the Lord.' [R. 'To Thee, O Lord.'] And the patriarch says the 'Prayer over the crown': 'To Thee, the alone King of men, hath he that of Thee is charged with the earthly kingdom, with us bowed down his neck: and we beseech Thee, Lord of all, keep him under Thine own shelter, strengthen his kingdom, vouchsafe to him alway to do the things that are well pleasing unto Thee; in his time make righteousness to flourish and abundance of peace, that in his serenity we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. For Thou art the King of Peace and the Saviour of souls and bodies, and to Thee we send up glory, [to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end.]' And after the 'Amen' the patriarch takes the crown from the table and holding it in his two hands crowns the emperor, saying, 'In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' And the people shout, 'Holy, holy, holy,' and 'Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace,' thrice. And if there is a prince to be crowned as consort of the Empire, the patriarch takes the second crown and hands it to the emperor, and he imposes it², and the two choirs³ shout 'Worthy!' And after the patriarch has communicated the Emperors in the reserved Sacrament⁴, the halberds and other ensigns, with the banners⁵, standing on either side right and left, and all the senators and the choirs standing at the north-east of the ambo,

¹ Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 727.

² The crown (στέμμα) of this period can be seen in the figures mentioned above in p. 380, n. 2; and in Schlumberger, *Un Emp. byz.* pp. 171, 304, 517, Du Cange, *Familiae byz.* p. 140, Bayet, *L'Art byz.* pp. 195, 295. The most gorgeous specimen is the crown sent by Constantine Monomachus to Andrew I of Hungary in c. 1042. Otherwise the representations are somewhat varied, some being comparatively plain, some more elaborate: but in general form they continue as before—a circlet of gold with jewelled pendants over the ears; and within, a cap can often be distinguished, sometimes apparently with a sort of veil hanging behind.

³ Τὰ δύο μέρη, which apparently are a survival of the old Blue and Green factions, under the leadership of the Criers (κράκται) mentioned below (p. 382), now serving as the official acclamers of the emperor.

⁴ The twelfth-century *Euchologion* has καὶ κοινονεῖ προηγιασμένα simply: the Barberini καὶ ποιῶν προηγιασμένα μεταδίδωσιν αὐτῷ τῆς ζωοποιου κοινωνίας, as if the mass of the presanctified were celebrated. But perhaps the two are equivalent and refer to the essential tract of the rite from the proem of the Lord's Prayer onward.

⁵ Τὰ σκῆπτρα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σκεύη μετὰ τῶν βάνδων. See Du Cange, *Glossar.* s. v. σκῆπτρον, βάνδον.

adore. And the imperial *acta*¹ or *laudes* follow, the criers saying,—

- ‘Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace.’
- ‘Good-will towards men.’
- ‘For God hath had mercy on His people.’
- ‘This is the great day of the Lord.’
- ‘This is the day of the life of the Romans,’

and so on for eighteen more verses, the people repeating each verse, once or thrice, after the leaders. And then—

- ‘Many, many, many.’ R. ‘Many years, for many years.’
- ‘Long years to you, N. and N., autocrats of the Romans.’ R. ‘Many years to you.’
- ‘Long years to you, servants of the Lord.’ R. ‘Many years to you,’—

and so on for five more verses. Then—

- ‘But the Master and Lord of all things’
- ‘Who crowned you with his own hand’
- ‘Multiplies your years with the Augustas and the Princes born in the purple’
- ‘Unto perfect stablishment of the Romans’—

the people repeating each verse. And then ‘the two choirs acclaim and say, “Many be the years of the emperors,” and the rest of the acclamations, and invoke blessings on them, and so go out.’

‘And the emperor, wearing the crown, comes down and goes into the metatorion and takes his seat on the sella, and the magnates (*ἀξιώματα*) come and fall down and kiss his two knees,’ all the ranks and officials doing their homage in an order prescribed in detail. When this is over ‘the *praepositus* says, “At your service” (*κελεύσατε*), and they invoke blessings, “For long and good years,” and so withdraw.’

The *Euchologia*, as we have seen, direct that the new emperor be communicated in the reserved Sacrament before the acclamations. Porphyrogenitus, on the other hand, has no mention of this, but, after the homage, adds, ‘And at the Kiss of Peace and the

¹ *Ἀκτολογεῖν* is the technical phrase for this recitation of prescribed acclamations, called *laudes* in the west.

Communion it is done according to the custom of festivals, and all the rest is carried out as is customary¹—which seems to imply that the ordinary mass follows the homage. But the apparent discrepancy may be explained by supposing that the ecclesiastical rubrics are drawn up on the assumption that the coronation day will not necessarily be a festival with a mass, while the court ceremonial assumes that it will be, or at least provides for the case of its being one².

Both the *de Caerimoniis* (i 40) and the twelfth-century *Euchologion* provide directions for the coronation of an empress apart from that of her husband; but the ritual and ceremonial is substantially identical, *mutatis mutandis*, with that of the emperor's coronation, except in so far as the ceremony takes place, not in the Great Church, but in the Augustalium, and the emperor, not the patriarch, imposes the crown.

V. The unction of the emperor, which had long been in use in the West, was not adopted in Byzantine coronations till at earliest some time in the twelfth century. The description of the coronation of Charles the Great in the *Chronicle* of Constantine Manasses, seems to make it evident that it was quite unknown in the East at the end of the eleventh or early in the twelfth century.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἀμειβόμενος τὸν Κάρουλον ὁ Λέων
ἀναγορεύει κράτορα τῆς παλαιότερας Ῥώμης,
καὶ στέφος περιτίθησιν ὡς οἱ Ῥωμαίων νόμοι.
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ χρησάμενος καὶ νόμοις Ἰουδαίων
ἐκ κεφαλῆς μέχρι ποδῶν ἐλαίῳ τοῦτον χρίει,
οὐκ οἶδα τίσι λογισμοῖς ἢ ποίαις ἐπινοίαις³.

And the rubrics of the twelfth-century *Euchologion*, as we have seen, contain no trace of the unction. The only allusions I have met with in writers before the thirteenth century which might seem to point to an earlier use of unction, are of a kind that are easy to explain. The first prayer of the coronation order already described has the words *χρίσαι καταξίωσον τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῆς ἀγαλ-*

¹ As described in *de Caer.* i 1.

² In ordinary cases of accession the coronation was generally performed at once, festival or no festival: in the case of a consort, when the day could be chosen, it was generally a festival, as is clear from the notices of the historians *passim*.

³ Manasses, *Compend. Chron.* 4513 sqq. (Migne, *P. G.* cxxvii 389). The *Chronicle* goes down to the death of Nicephorus III, 1081: see Bury's *Gibbon*, v p. 509.

λάσεως, and Goar¹, while holding that the unction was not used in Constantinople till after the coronation of Charles the Great, and was in fact borrowed from the West, thinks that these words imply an actual unction. But this prayer is almost certainly older than 800 A. D., and in the absence of any provision for unction in the rubrics, it seems obvious that the clause is only a figurative application of Psalm xlv [xliv] 7. The only other possible allusions I know of are in the title 'the Lord's anointed' (χριστὸς Κυρίου) applied to the emperor², and in a letter of Photius to Basil I (867-886), where he mentions χρίσμα καὶ χειροθεσίαν βασιλείας³. But the familiar use of 'the Lord's anointed' in the Old Testament, combined with the conception of unction and the use of χρίσμα in the New Testament, is quite enough to account for the application of the title to a Christian emperor, and may well mean no more than is implied in the answer to Heraclius' question, 'Whom does he strike who insults an emperor?'—'God, Who made him emperor⁴.' And the step is a short one from this to the use of χρίσμα for the means by which the emperor becomes 'the Lord's anointed,' viz. coronation. And besides, there is no 'imposition of hands' in the imperial inauguration, so that χειροθεσία must be used in the general sense of 'ordination'⁵. And how easy it is to use χρίσμα and χρίειν figuratively may be gathered from two passages in thirteenth-century writers which bear on the matter in hand. Balsamon⁶, in about 1200, commenting on the twelfth canon of Ancyra, mentions a story to the effect that the patriarch Polyeuctes argued that the guilt of the emperor John Tzimisces (969) incurred by the murder of his predecessor Nicephorus Phocas had been remitted by 'the unction of the kingship' (τὸ χρίσμα τῆς βασιλείας), as prebaptismal sin is remitted by the unction of confirmation (τὸ χρίσμα τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος). Writing from the point of view of his own day, when probably the imperial unction had

¹ *Euchologion*, p. 729, note 7.

² Zonaras, xv 25 § 7: cf. Nicetas, p. 477.

³ Photius, *Epp.* i 16 (Migne, *P. G.* cii 765).

⁴ Niceph. p. 7.

⁵ At the same time it must be added that Cyril of Scythopolis describes the part taken by the Patriarch Epiphanius in the inauguration of Justinian (described in Const. Porph. *de Caer.* i 95) as the imposition of hands (*Vita Sabae*, 68); and also that a 'prayer of inclination,' like the second prayer in the coronation, was technically described as a χειροθεσία, though perhaps not at so late a date as that of Photius.

⁶ Migne, *P. G.* cxxxvii 1156.

already been adopted, Balsamon no doubt understood the unction literally. But he goes on to say that it is argued from this instance that sins before episcopal consecration are also remitted by 'the unction of the episcopate' (τὸ χρίσμα τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης), since as kings are called, and are, 'the Lord's anointed,' so also bishops are so called and so are; and the contention is supported by the fact that the prayers recited at the coronation of the emperor and at the consecration of bishops are identical in force, while the imposition of the Gospels and the invocation of the Holy Ghost in episcopal consecrations are a sufficient equivalent for the anointing oil used for kings and high priests under the old law. Here, then, it is explicitly laid down that the phrases 'the Lord's anointed' and 'unction' are only metaphorical phrases as applied to bishops, since in the East bishops are not, and never were, anointed. Again, Nicetas, in relating the accession of Manuel I Comnenus in 1143, explains that the patriarchate being vacant, the see had first to be filled before the emperor could be crowned, and Manuel procured the election of Michael; and he concludes, 'so Michael, being promoted to the patriarchate, at once anoints the emperor who had anointed *him*'¹—where *χρῆω* is used of procuring the consecration of a bishop. It would seem, therefore, that unction was not adopted till at least some way on in the twelfth century, and that apparent evidence to the contrary may be satisfactorily explained². But it still remains difficult to say when the metaphorical use of *χρῆω* passes into the literal, or to be certain that Nicetas means it literally when he speaks of Michael 'anointing' Manuel, or of Alexius III, in 1195, entering S. Sophia 'to be anointed emperor according to custom'³.

And in fact the first instance of the unction in Constantinople which is quite unmistakable seems to be in the coronation of the first Latin emperor, Baldwin I, in S. Sophia on the third Sunday after Easter, May 16, 1204. The details of this coronation are unknown. The statement that Baldwin was hoisted on the buckler, which has been made from Du Cange onwards, seems

¹ Nicetas, p. 70 (Migne, *P. G.* cxxxix 382).

² Cf. Selden, *Titles of Honor*, p. 146 sqq.

³ Nicetas, p. 603 (Migne, *P. G.* cxxxix 829). Presumably the 'unction' of Theodore Angelus, Emperor of Thessalonica, by the Bulgarian patriarch in 1222, is to be taken literally (Niceph. Gregoras, ii 2).

to be only Du Cange's interpretation of Villehardouin¹, who says nothing of the buckler, but only that after the proclamation of his election 'they carried him from the palace, and the Marquis of Montferrat carried him' to S. Sophia. Of the actual coronation, which took place a week after the election, the most particular account is Robert of Clari's. He relates that the bishops and clergy, and all the high barons, Venetians and French, took him from the Bucoleon Palace to S. Sophia, and there into a chamber, where they clad him in the Byzantine insignia, the splendour of which, and of the dress of the potentates generally, seems to be what most impressed the Westerns, as well it might²: 'the marvellous hose of samite' and shoes 'all charged with rich gems,' the 'very rich' tunic covered with buttons of gold behind and before the shoulders and down the breast, the 'pall,' or *loros*, 'very rich and very noble, all charged with rich precious stones,' and the 'very rich mantle all charged with very rich precious stones and eagles of precious stones³, which flashed so that it seemed as if the mantle were illuminated.' They led him, supported by two bishops, before the altar, the Count Louis of Blois carrying the imperial banner, the Count of S. Pol the sword, and the Marquis of Montferrat, supported by two bishops, the crown. The emperor knelt before the altar and they divested him of mantle and pall, and unbuttoned the tunic before and behind, and anointed him on the breast and between the shoulders, western-wise. Then they reinvested him, and all the bishops went to the altar, and took the crown and blessed it, and set it on his head; and then they hung round his neck a 'large very rich jewel,' which the Emperor Manuel had bought for 72,000 marks. Then they set him on a high throne, where he remained while the mass was sung, holding the sceptre and the orb: and 'the ornaments he had on him were worth more than the treasure of a rich king.' When the mass was finished, they conducted him on a white horse to the Bucoleon, where they set him in the

¹ Villehardouin, 137: Du Cange in Buchon, i p. 27.

² Cf. Alberic of Trois Fontaines in Pertz, *Mon.* xxiii p. 884: Ramnusius, *de bello Constantinopolitano*, pp. 139 sqq.

³ The eagles on the imperial chlamys can be seen in the picture of Michael VIII Palaeologus figured in Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 726 (ed. 1730). I do not know whether the Western imperial mantle had the eagles, but the mantle of English sovereigns has them (*Journal of Archaeology*, 1894, plate V).

chair of Constantine, and 'held him for emperor, and all the Greeks that were there adored him as holy emperor. And then the tables were set on and the emperor and all the barons with him feasted at the palace¹.'

The final form of the Greek rite is described in the middle of the fourteenth century in the *History* (i 41) of John Cantacuzene², and in fuller detail at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century in the *de Officiis Constantinopolitanis* (c. xvii), which wrongly goes under the name of George Codinus the Curopalate³. In the first quarter of the fifteenth century the chief points of it are also commented upon theologically, mainly with the view of marking the ecclesiastical character conferred on the emperor by his coronation, in the *de sacro Templo* (144-151) of Symeon, archbishop of Thessalonica⁴. Otherwise there is no properly ecclesiastical document left, so that prayers, hymns, and the *propria* of the Liturgy are unknown. However, so far as the prayers are concerned, there is no reason to suppose that they had been changed from what they were at the beginning of the twelfth century. In summarising the account of the rite, it will simplify things and keep the essential outlines in clearer relief, if we assume that the coronation is of a single emperor, and if accordingly we omit the details of the coronation of his consorts.

Early on the morning of the coronation day, the princes, nobles and magistrates, the army and the populace assemble. At eight o'clock the emperor proceeds to S. Sophia and there delivers to the patriarch, orally and in writing⁵, his profession, to this effect :

¹ Robert of Clari, 96, in Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 73. Mr. Pears in *The Fall of Constantinople*, p. 376, gives several details going to show that the coronation was largely according to the Greek rite; and this is apparently the source of Mr. Hutton's 'strange mixture of Greek and Latin rites' (*Constantinople*, p. 118). But Prof. Bury kindly points out to me that all this rests on D'Outreman, *Constantinopolis Belgica* (1643, iii 8, pp. 247 sqq.), who on the basis apparently of reference to the applauding Greeks, reconstructs the details from the account of Byzantine coronations in John Cantacuzene, 130 years later. For all that appears to the contrary, apart from insignia, the rite was wholly Latin.

² Migne, *P. G.* cliii 276 sqq.

³ *Ibid.* clvii 101 sqq. On the works of 'Codinus,' see Bury's *Gibbon*, vi p. 517.

⁴ Migne, *P. G.* clv 352 sqq.

⁵ It is noticed in Nicetas, p. 603 (Migne, *P. G.* cxxxix 829) that Alexius III wrote the creed in the imperial purple ink, but probably this is only Nicetas' rhetorical way of describing the ordinary use and points to nothing exceptional.

‘I, N. in Christ [our] God faithful Emperor and Autocrator of the Romans, with my own hand set forth: I believe in one God’ and the rest of the creed. ‘Further I embrace and confess and confirm as well the apostolic and divine traditions, as the constitutions and decrees of the seven oecumenic councils and of the local synods from time to time convened, and moreover the privileges and customs of the most holy Great Church of God. And furthermore I confirm and embrace all things that our most holy fathers here or elsewhere decreed and declared rightly and canonically and irreproachably. Likewise I promise to abide and perpetually be found a faithful and true servant and son of holy Church: and in addition to be withal its *defensor* and vindicator, and to be gracious and loving to my subjects as is reasonable and fitting, and to refrain from inflictions of death and mutilation in so far as is possible, and to submit to all truth and righteousness. And all things which the holy fathers rejected and anathematised, I also reject and anathematise. And I believe with my whole mind and soul and heart the aforesaid holy Creed. All these things I promise to keep before the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God. In — month, at — hour, on — day, and indiction of — year. I, N. in Christ our] God faithful Emperor and Autocrator of the Romans, having submitted it with my own hand, deliver this to my most holy lord and oecumenic Patriarch Lord N. and with him to the divine and sacred synod.’

Meanwhile a senator, designated for the purpose by the emperor, standing on the steps of the Augusteōn, flings the largess to the people assembled with the army between the Augusteōn and the Thomaite Triclinium¹; the largess consisting of some thousands of ἐπικόμβια, little parcels of cloth containing each three bezants, three silver pieces and three obols.

Leaving the church, the emperor ascends to the Thomaite Triclinium, and there seated on a buckler is hoisted and displayed to the people below, the emperor-father, if he be alive, and the patriarch holding the front of the buckler, the princes or the higher magistrates holding the sides. The people and the army acclaim, and the emperor descends and is brought again to S. Sophia.

The church has been prepared by the erection of a small

¹ The Thomaite Triclinium was part of the patriarchal palace: Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana*, ii 8 § 1.

wooden chamber, a platform covered with crimson carpets, and side-platforms occupied by the *protopsaltae*, the domestics and the readers, 'who by ancient custom are called criers (κράκται) on such festive occasions' and form the special choirs. And on either side the choirs hold three shafts, each having wooden rings suspended from it and red and white silken streamers round it. On entering, the emperor retires to the chamber and there assumes the imperial tunic and scarf, each first blessed by the bishops. Meanwhile the Liturgy is begun [and the *enarxis* recited and the *prothesis* made]. Before the Trisagion [i. e. at the Little Entrance, and during the singing of the *eisodikon*], the patriarch and the dignitaries mount the ambo, and when silence ensues the patriarch sends to fetch the emperor, who ascends the ambo by the western staircase. The patriarch recites the first prayer; the emperor removes his headgear, all in church removing their own at the same time, and the patriarch anoints him on the head in the form of a cross, saying aloud, 'Holy,' which is repeated by all in the ambo, and by the congregation. The patriarch then imposes the crown (which has hitherto been held by deacons within the sanctuary), saying, 'Worthy,' which is repeated as before. The patriarch recites the second prayer, and the emperor descends from the ambo by its eastern staircase. If there is an empress to be crowned, her coronation follows, not in the ambo, but in front of the soleas.

The emperor then ascends the platform and takes his seat on the throne, assuming the cross-sceptre and the 'akakia¹, and is acclaimed by the whole assembly. The Liturgy proceeds, the emperor rising and standing at the Trisagion, the Apostle, and the Gospel. At the opening of the Cherubic Hymn of the Great Entrance, the principal deacons come and summon him, and he descends with them and stands outside the door of the prothesis, where they invest him with a golden *mandyas*² over his tunic and scarf. So clad, and holding the cross-sceptre in his right hand and a wand in his left, in the capacity of

¹ On the 'akakia' see below, p. 392, n. 1.

² The *μανδύας* is a cloak not unlike the Western *pluviale* or cope. It is the present official dress of Orthodox prelates. See it figured in Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 98 (ed. 1730).

his ecclesiastical rank of *deputatus*¹, he leads the procession of the Great Entrance, supported on either side by the whole body of the Varangians with their axes and a hundred young nobles fully armed, and followed by the deacons and priests carrying the sacred ornaments and the Oblation. After compassing the church as usual, arrived at the soleas, the procession halts, and the emperor proceeds alone to the holy doors, where he finds the patriarch. They salute one another with an inclination; and the second deacon, with the censer in his right hand and the patriarchal pallium (*ᾠμοφόριον*) in the other, censures the emperor, and, while the latter bows his head, says, 'The Lord God remember the might of thy kingdom in His kingdom, alway, now and ever and world without end. Amen'; and all the other deacons and priests follow and do the same: and as they pass into the sanctuary they salute the patriarch in like sort.

This done, the emperor salutes the patriarch, and the referendary of the church divests him of the *mandyas*, and he returns to the platform and seats himself on the throne, where he remains until the Communion, rising only at the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Elevation. If he is not prepared to communicate, he sits down after the Elevation, and so remains till the end of the Liturgy. If he is prepared, the principal deacons summon him, and he goes with them into the sanctuary, and taking a censer censures the holy Table crosswise, to the east, south, west, and north; and then, after censuring again eastwards, censures the patriarch, who saluting and taking the censer censures the emperor. Then the emperor removes his crown and hands it to the deacons; and the patriarch, after communicating in the one species, communicates the emperor, delivering a particle into his hands; and after communicating in the chalice, likewise communicates the emperor, holding the chalice while the emperor applies his lips to it, 'like priests do'². After com-

¹ The rank of *δεπούρατος* is a minor office in the church of Constantinople discharging the functions of *nomenclator* and *verger* (i. e. one who carries the virge to clear the way before a procession). See Goar, *Euchologion*, pp. 198, 230. The Western emperor was ordained subdeacon and made a canon of S. Peter's and of the Lateran, and communicated in both kinds.

² Laymen other than the emperor were communicated, as at present, by intinction, i. e. in both species together administered with a spoon.

municating he resumes the crown and withdraws from the sanctuary.

When the Liturgy is finished, and the emperor has received the *antidoron*¹ with the people, and has been blessed by the patriarch and the rest of the bishops, and has kissed their hands, he goes up to the catechumena², where a wooden platform has been constructed, with ordinary thrones, and surrounded with curtains. The choirs sing the *Ἀνατέλατε*³, and then the curtains are withdrawn, and the emperor is acclaimed by all who are in the catechumena. When the acclamation is finished, he descends and returns to the palace, crowned and on horseback, preceded by the six red and white standards, the bearers singing as they go, and escorted by the court on foot; and the banquet follows.

Apart from incidental details and a certain indefinable change of tone, there are three broad differences between this and the rite of the preceding period. First, the public investiture with the purple has gone, in fact the purple has vanished altogether⁴: there is no longer an imperial mantle, but only the tunic (*σάκκος*) and the scarf (*διάδημα*)⁵; which was already an ordinary state

¹ The unconsecrated remains of the oblates, Eastern *εὐλογία*, Western 'blest bread.'

² I. e. the 'triforium' of the church, the galleries over the 'aisles.'

³ I have not discovered what the hymn referred to may be.

⁴ The *chlamys* continued in use till after the restoration of the Greek Empire in 1261, since Michael VIII Palaeologus wears it over the tunic and scarf in the miniature figured in Goar, p. 726.

⁵ The *σάκκος* is I suppose only the *διβητήσιον* under a new name: but as represented in miniatures it is perhaps stiffer and has more the appearance of a real outer garment: according to 'Codinus,' *de Officiis*, vi p. 51 it was 'black,' i.e. apparently of a deep purple colour. The *σάκκος* of Eastern metropolitans is at present to all intents identical with the Western dalmatic. The *λῶρος*, or *διάδημα* as it had come to be called in the fourteenth century ('Codinus,' *de Off.* vi p. 50), is said to be descended from the *trabea* (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i pp. 333, note 3), which was apparently a parti-coloured *toga*, surviving in historical times only as a ceremonial or ritual garment. The dominant lines of some arrangements of the *toga* correspond with those of the later *loros* (see plates 12, 15, 17 in Marriott, *Vestiarium christianum*, or the great angels in S. Apollinare Nuovo). A law of Honorius in 397 (*Cod. Theod.* XIV x 1), made in view of the popularity of barbarian fashions in Rome (Dill, *Roman Society*, p. 247), required senators to wear what we should call an alb and a chasuble, and magistrates in the exercise of their functions also a *toga* (cf. Duchesne, *Origines du culte*, p. 365 sq.). Accordingly in the fifth and sixth centuries the state costume of consuls, as represented in their diptychs, includes an embroidered outer garment which on the one hand seems obviously derived from some form of *toga*, and on the other is evidently the parent of the later *loros*, and is also related to the episcopal *ἠμοφόριον* or *pallium* (see Gori, *Thesaurus diptychorum*, plates: and the ivory in Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, p. 29). The garment becomes narrower and more

costume in the preceding period, but in the inauguration of the emperor, he was invested with the original *paludamentum* or *chlamys*¹. Secondly, the unction has been added, not in the Western form, but only as applied crosswise to the head: and as in existing Russian practice, which was probably borrowed from Constantinople, and as in French and English coronations, the unction was made with the chrism² and not merely with oil. Thirdly, both the unction and the crowning are performed between the two prayers, whereas in the preceding period the crowning followed the second prayer as the investiture with the purple did the first.

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scarflike, and from at least the time of Justinian it appears occasionally on coins as an imperial costume; while in our fourth period, though at his coronation the emperor does not wear the *loros*, yet it was obviously so characteristically a high state costume that emperors and kings of any age are commonly represented in art as wearing it (see Schlumberger, *Un Emp. byz.* pp. 69, 263, 341, 551; *L'Épopée byz.* i 9; Du Cange, *Fam. byz.* p. 140; Bayet, *L'Art byz.* pp. 195, 295). And in our last period 'Codinus,' *de Off.* vi p. 50 lays down the rule *ὅτε γούν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ στέμμα φορεῖ ἕτερόν τι ἔνδυμα οὐ φορεῖ εἰ μὴ τὸν σάκκον καὶ τὸ διάδημα*. (It may be noted that this costume is the attribute of archangels in Byzantine art: which explains the mystery of the figure in Butler, *Ancient Coptic Churches*, ii p. 159.) In form the *lāpos* is a broad jewelled embroidered scarf, sometimes with pendants forming a sort of fringe along its edges, hanging nearly to the feet in front, passing over the right shoulder, down under the right arm, across over the left shoulder, back under the right arm and across to hang loose over the left forearm. Occasionally (as in the ivory of Romanus Diogenes in Bayet, p. 194) it seems to be simplified into a scapulary, the back length of which is brought round under the right arm and thrown over the left arm. In the fourteenth century, if not before, it seems to have been mostly sewn on to the tunic as a trimming with a loose end carried over the left arm.

¹ The *στέμμα* in the last period has become developed, being surmounted by semicircular hoops and sometimes a cross, so as to be hemispherical or more than hemispherical in general effect: see miniatures in Bayet, *L'Art byzantin*, pp. 231, 233; Du Cange, *Fam. byz.* pp. 216, 233, 243; Goar, *Euchol.* p. 726. The other insignia are (1) the sceptre, or 'Cross' (*σταυρός*), a rod terminating in a cross (see all the above miniatures), which seems to correspond to the cross-mounted orb of the west (Byzantine emperors are often represented on coins as carrying the orb, but this seems to be only an iconographic attribute, not part of the actual insignia); (2) the *akakia* (*ἀκακία* and earlier *ἀνεξικακία*), the little purple bag of earth, carried as a reminder of the emperor's origin and a suggestion of humility (Sym. Thessal. *de s. Templo*, 148: cf. 'Codinus,' *de Off.* vi p. 51), frequently to be seen in the left hand in miniature representations (e. g. in most of those referred to above). The wand (*νάρθηξ*, *βάβδος*) which the emperor carries in the Great Entrance seems to be only the virge which he bears as *deputatus*, to clear the way for the procession, answering to the verger's 'poker' and the churchwarden's wand (Sym. Thessal. *u. s.* 149 sq.

² Sym. Thessal. *u. s.* 146 τῷ θεῷ μύρον.