Ilias Anagnostakis and Titos Papamastorakis

Ἐκμανὴς νέος Βάκχος
The drunkenness of Noah in medieval art

An anonymous text, dated to the fourth or fifth century AD, takes the god Dionysos without his retinue of satyrs to a temple in the Persian court, has him recognise his defeat, when a new Saviour is born to Hera-Pege-Urania-Myria-Mary, and confess: «The era in which we ruled is at an end, the power and the glory has been taken from us. Henceforth one alone shall be revered.»[1] According to this account, the Magi then left Persia to offer their gifts to the new born Saviour, though a middle fourth-century mosaic in Cyprus was still disputing the object of their veneration. A mosaic in the House of Aion at Paphos shows Dionysos in the arms of Hermes, surrounded by Ambrosia, Nectar and Theogonia, while the nymphs and Tropheus hold out their arms like the Three Kings, offering their services (fig. 1). The whole arrangement recalls the iconography of the Adoration of the Magi. In all likelihood both are heirs to the same artistic tradition. At Paphos again, in the House of Dionysos, we find another mosaic depicting the story of Ikarios, the first mortal taught by Dionysos how to produce wine. It features two men designated by inscription as

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1 *Διήγησις περὶ τῶν ἐν Περσίδι γενομένων*, PG 10, 97–108, esp. 104B. The text, with the title *Ἐξήγησις τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν Περσίδι*, was edited by E. Bratke, *Das sogennante Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sassaniden* (Leipzig, 1899). On the nature of the text — a theological discussion at the Sassanid court — see A. Karpozelos, *Βυζαντινοὶ Ἱστορικοὶ καὶ Χρονογράφοι*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1997), 94–5, and vol. 2 (Athens, 2002), 569–70. The *Διήγησις* contains the earliest exegesis on the Virgin as Zoodochos Pege or Life-giving Source, by explaining the identification of Myria-Mary (the Virgin) with Pege (the Source) who «having only one fish, who with the hook of divinity caught the whole world and whom, though he was in the sea, she fed from her own flesh» (*Διήγησις*, PG 10, 100C–101A).

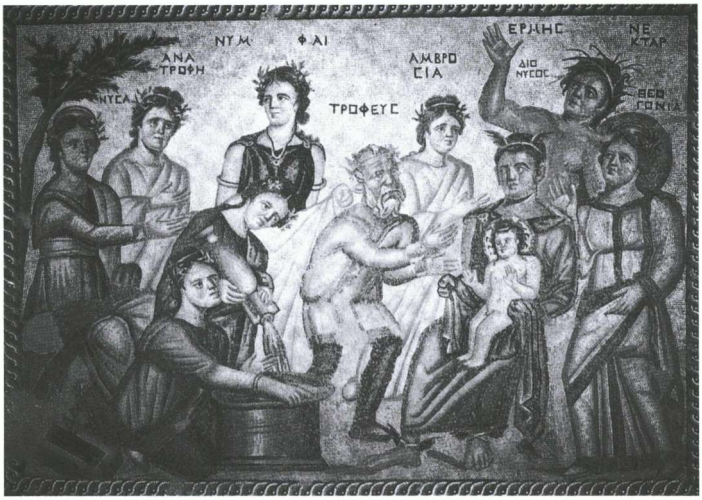

Fig. 1: Cyprus, Paphos, the House of Aion. Floor mosaic :
The holy infant Dionysos in Hermes' lap.

Fig. 2: Cyprus, Paphos, the House of Dionysos. Floor mosaic:
Icarios and the first to have drunk wine.

«the first to have drunk wine» (*οἱ πρῶτοι οἶνον πιόντες*); one of them lies on the ground overcome by the experience (fig. 2).[2]

A kind of defeat of Dionysos was already noted by Julius Africanus, Asterios of Amaseia and Eusebios of Caesarea, who dissociated Dionysos the son of Semele from his homonym, the mortal viticulturist, stressing the similarities of the former with other gods, such as Attis or Sabazios, and especially Osiris, the discoverer of the vine and teacher of agriculture.[3] Despite such euhemeristic conceptions and Dionysos' admission of defeat, the rivalry between the old god of the vine and Christ seems to have continued. Although he exhibited obvious affinities with Dionysiac behaviour and in the Bible story of Flood he is the first to cultivate the vine and drink wine, Noah is rarely involved in it. For about half a millennium «the celebrants of Dionysos» (*οἱ τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τετελεσμένοι*), faced an official «Dionysos Prohibition» until in the eleventh century Psellos refers kindly to the «distinguished drinkers» who are his wine-sodden friends.[4] One might argue that as early as the tenth century this prohibition was being relaxed and that it was gradually lifted as time went by. But for the preceding centuries simply calling on the name of Dionysos was banned by the Synod in Trullo[5] and it would seem that, as far as the peasants were concerned, the god of wine was still very much alive and pulsating during the grape harvest. Naturally

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2 W. A. Daszewski and D. Michaelides, *Guide to the Paphos Mosaics* (Nicosia, 1988), 40, 63–71, 72–3 (bibliography) and fig. 46; H. Maguire, «Christians, pagans and the representation of nature», in *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im spätantiken Ägypten* (Riggisberg, 1993) = *Rhetoric, Nature and Magic in Byzantine Art* (Aldershot, 1998), pt. VI, 147–8. Cf. Chr. Kondoleon, *Domestic and Divine: Roman Mosaics in the House of Dionysus* (Ithaca, 1994).

3 Asterios of Amaseia, *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους μάρτυρας*, ed. C. Datema, *Asterius of Amaseia, Homilies I–XIV* (Leiden, 1970), Homily X, 9, 1,2. On the connection between Attis and Dionysos, see Eusebius of Caesarea, *Preparatio evangelica* = *La préparation évangélique*, *livres II–III*, éd. É des Places (SC 228; Paris, 1976), II.3.29, III.11.15–21 and 13.14; on the connection between Sabazios and Dionysos, op. cit., II.2.6; on the connection between Osiris and Dionysos, see *Preparatioevangelica* = *La préparation évangélique*, *livre I*, éd. J. Sirinelli and É. des Places (SC 206; Paris, 1974), I.9.3, *livre X*, éd. G. Schroeder and É. des Places (SC 369; Paris 1991), X.8.4, *livre II–III*, II.1.4–43, 2.1–15. The fragments on Dionysos from the non-extant *Chronography* of Julius Africanus and from Eusebius are known by George Synkellos, ed. A. Moshammer, *Georgii Synkelli, Ecloga Chronographica* (Leipzig, 1985), 179.25–6, 184.16–18, 185.3–5, 190.8–24.

4 On this, see I. Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», in *Οἶνος στὴν ποίηση* (Athens, 1995), vol. B1, 11–18, 65, 81–5, vol. B2, 16–8, 32-3.

5 Canon 62, ed. P. P. Joannou, *Discipline générale antique (IIe–IXe s.)*, *Pontificia* I.1: *Les canons des conciles œcuméniques* (Rome, 1962), repr. with corrections by Sp. Troianos, *Η Πενθέκτη Οικουμενική Σύνοδος και το νομοθετικό της έργο* (Athens, 1992), 92.

the Christian Empire had its own biblical models to promote: the sober New Testament model of Christ as vine and wine, and Noah the prefiguration of Christ, the True Vine.

In what follows we intend to explore the similarities, coincidences, convergence and variations in the three traditions: Greek for Dionysos, Jewish for Noah and Christian for Christ the True Vine. Eventually, the central representatives of the three traditions were mixed to create a Byzantine Bacchus. The earliest evidence for this comes from the eleventh century, when the Early Christian model for Noah reappeared and the patriarch was depicted as Bacchus, in the form of a phallic viticulturist and drunken progenitor of man; then in the twelfth century Noah was finally identified with Dionysos.

According to Genesis, after the flood «Noah became a husbandman and planted a vineyard. And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he lay uncovered within his tent. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without» (Gen. 9.20-22). Then, the two brothers took a cloak and, walking backward not looking at their father's nakedness, they covered him up. But Noah, awakening «from his wine... knew what his younger son had done unto him... And he cursed Ham and his descendants and condemned them to become servants to the other two brothers» (Gen. 9.23-25). The drunkenness, the nakedness, and whatever unmentionable thing the younger son had done were thought from quite early on to be veiled and obscure. Judaeo-Christian tradition tried to interpret and comment on this passage either symbolically or rationally. Some midrashic accounts have Ham castrating Noah and joyfully announcing what he had done to his brothers; in others it is Ham's son Canaan, the progenitor of the wine-loving and sexually depraved Canaanites, who does the deed. The myth of Noah's emasculation and of the virtual parricide committed by Canaan has been connected with Mesopotamian, Hittite and Greek parallels. It has also been interpreted as an implicit justification of the occupation of the land of Canaan and the subjugation of the sodomite Canaanites to the Jews. This interpretation relies on the Bible and especially on midrashim, but it was also suggested by the Christian hermeneutic commentaries on this passage.[6]

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6 On the midrash, see R. Graves and R. Petai, *Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis* (New York, 1963), chap. 21, and Gr. transl. *Οι Εβραϊκοί Μύθοι* (Athens, 1991), 109-13. See also L. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden, 1968). The misdrashic account accuses Ham of sodomy and Canaan of castrating his grandfather

However, when speaking about wine-drinking, Eusebios of Caesarea does not mention Noah, and though Clement of Alexandria gives over a whole chapter in his *Pedagogue* to the side effects of wine and drunkenness, with a full complement of biblical, Christological and ancient Greek references, he avoids bringing the most prominent story of drunken misconduct, that of Noah, into the argument.[7] And yet Clement takes care to mention the Noah episode at the end of the chapter as if what has gone before can be understood to refer to it. Clement explains Noah's peccadillo by saying that this incident was included in the Bible as a cautionary tale because it gave God an opportunity to praise those who covered up the ugliness of drunkenness.[8]

The Church Fathers naturally stress Noah's righteousness and devoutness,[9] his power of prophecy through blessing and cursing mankind, the prefiguration of salvation in Christ, and the symbolic and allegorical nature of the account.[10] Like Clement of Alexandria, they attempt to interpret it anagogically, to justify or play down the drunkenness and the «unintentional» nakedness of Noah — after all it happened «in his own home and was not seen by many people». To this end they employ a fundamental argument: as the first wine drinker, Noah was not accustomed to it and did not know the consequences of drinking wine. Finally, they gloss Noah's ordeal (*πάθημα*), his humiliation, as a prefiguration or

with Noah's vine-pruning knife. For the rabbinic tradition of Noah's castration, see J. Deremble, «La nudité de Noé ivre et ses relectures typologiques et iconographiques médievales», in *Mariage et sexualité au Moyen Âge: Accord ou crise?,* (Paris, 2000), 149 and n. 10.

7 Eusebius of Caesarea, *PreparatioEvangelica = La préparation évangélique livres XII–XIII*, ed. É. des Places (SC 307; Paris, 1983), XII.25; Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, ed. C. Mondésert and H.-I. Marrou, *Le Pédagogue*, vol. 2 (SC 108; Paris, 1965), II, 19–34.

8 Clement of Alexandria, op. cit., 34.3–4. The description of the sleeping drunkard (ibid., II, 27.1–2) or of the winebibbers (IX, 79–81), with quotations from the *Book of Proverbs*, probably intends to conjure up the image of the misdemeanour of Noah.

9 Eusebius of Caesarea, *PreparatioEvangelica = La préparation évangélique livre VII*, ed. G. Schroeder and É. des Places (SC 215; Paris, 1975), VII, 8.16–8; Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Historia Religiosa*, ed. P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Histoire des Moines de Syrie* (SC 257; Paris 1979), II, 31.16.

10 Origen, *Contra Celsum*, ed. M. Borret (SC 150; Paris, 1969), vol. IV, VII, 7.28; Cyril of Alexandria, *Γλαφυρῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν*, PG 69, 60A; cf. Diodoros of Tarsus, PG 33, 1572A. On this issue see Deremble, «La nudité de Noé», 147–55. On Noah's prophetic gift, see H. Buschhausen, «Die Deutung des Archemosaiks in der Justinianischen Kirche von Mopsuestia», *JÖB* 21 (1972), 68–71 and n. 57; cf. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood* (cit. n. 3, above), 103 ff.

Fig. 3: Turkey, Antakya, Hatay Archaeological Museum. Sleeping Silenus.

type of the Passion of Christ.[11] Moreover, just like the ark, they consider Noah's vineyard a prefiguration of the spiritual vineyard, i.e. the Church, which had borne fruit many times in the Old Testament through the prophets and had brought forth in the New Testament Christ, the spiritual vine, who brought new wine and sober intoxication.[12]

Despite the commentators' attempts to dissociate Noah from bibulousness and drunkenness, the few early depictions of the patriarch represent him as vine-grower and drunkard, as the first wine drinker, overcome by wine and lying on the ground. Furthermore, Noah bears the full range of Bacchic features from Dionysiac iconography. Reposing and sleeping off the drink — the very name Noah translates as «repose» —,[13] Noah is depicted like a reclining or sleeping Silenus or Priapus. The reclining posture of Hellenistic or Late Antique representations of sleeping drunkards, symposiasts, heroes, such as the first wine drinkers of the Ikarios story, the drunken Herakles, satyrs, Silenuses or Priapuses, and other members of the Dionysiac retinue (figs. 2–5), has been used

11 Cyril of Alexandria, op. cit., 73–8, *Περὶ τῆς γυμνώσεως τοῦ Νῶε καὶ τοῦ Χάμ*, argues that Noah was drunk because he was unaccustomed to the wine and that he remained unseen in the privacy of his own home when unintentionally he lay naked. This early Christian interpretation was, probably, common in the Judeo-Hellenic circles. On this see also Deremble, «La nudité de Noé ivre», 148–50.

12 Cyril of Alexandria, op. cit., 60BC; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Προκατήχησις*, PG 33, 356A, 381A, and *Κατήχησις 17. Φωτιζομένων*, 989BD–992A.

13 Cyril of Alexandria, op. cit., 9–73, esp. 52AB, 68C and 60CD–61C, where Noah (repose) is understood to refer to the life and repose in Christ. However, according to Byzantine Lexica, the name Noah derives from *νῶ, τὸ κολυμβῶ* (to swim): *Suda*, ed. A. Adler, *Suidae Lexicon* (2nd

Fig. 4: Tunis, El Djem Museum. Floor mosaic. Bound Silenus.

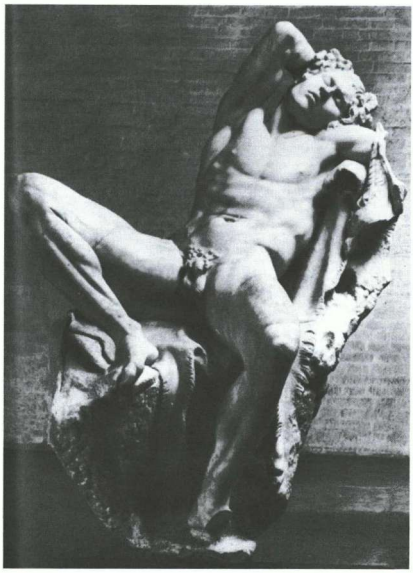

Fig. 5: Munich, Glyptothek. The Faun Barberini.

Fig. 6: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. Theol. Gr. 31 (the «Vienna Genesis»). The drunkenness of Noah.

in or has lent certain features to the depiction of reclining or drunken biblical figures, e.g. Jonah and, of course, Noah.[14] This can be seen in the earliest examples representing the drunkenness and nakedness of Noah in the sixth century *Vienna Genesis* and in surviving fragments of the *Cotton Genesis* manuscripts, of the late fifth or early sixth-century (fig. 6).[15] In the composition in the *Vienna Genesis* a vine loaded with grapes takes pride of place. Noah is

ed.; Stuttgart, 1967), 531, s.v. *Νῶε*, and *Etymologicum Magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford (Oxford, 1848; repr. Amsterdam, 1965), s.v. *Νῶε* 681,1. Cf. also, R. Stichel, *Die Namen Noes, seines Bruders und seiner Frau* (Göttingen, 1979).

14 K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951), 48; id., «The survival of mythological representations in Early Christian and Byzantine art and their impact on Christian iconography», *DOP* 14 (1960), 45 ff. For another instance of syncretism, see J. B. Friedman, «Syncretism and allegory in the Jerusalem Orpheus mosaic», *Traditio* 23 (1967), 1–13.

15 H. Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna, 1931), 78 and fig. 48; K.Weitzmann and H. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (Princeton N.J., 1986), 38–40, 67–8. For the depiction of Noah in Early Christian art, see A. Grabar, *Les voies de la création en iconographie chrétienne* (Paris, 1979), 12, 14, 18, 35; see also the bibliography in Buschhausen, «Die Deutung des Archemosaiks», 57–71. For the origins of the biblical iconography, see K. Weitzmann, M. Bernabò and R. Tarasconi, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (Princeton N.J., 1999), 299–312, and M. Bernabò, «Gli Ottateuchi bizantini e la ricerca delle origini dell'illustrazione biblica», *Bizantinistica*, 2nd s., 3 (2001), 25–46

shown, inebriate, inside his house and his two sons, alerted by their younger brother, are walking backwards, covering his nakedness with a garment. The depiction of Noah's drunken uncovering allows only a glimpse of the male organ and merely hints at what the Jewish and Christian commentaries on the episode suggest that «his younger son had done unto him». If we accept the link that scholars have shown between this representation and other Bacchic scenes, especially depictions of the drunken Herakles, Silenus and Priapus, this can be seen as the first instance of a convergence leading towards an implicit identification of Noah with Dionysos. Noah's pose in the *Vienna Genesis*, with cloak lying open so as to reveal his chest, his belly and his genitals, reproduces that of the drunken Silenus in Antioch Museum (fig. 3).[16]

The connection between Noah and drunken ancient gods and heroes, as witnessed in these early images, can be detected in another form in ancient Phrygia as early as the third century BC.[17] As a result of Hellenistic and Roman syncretism, the gods Sabazios and Attis, though not identical, were confused or connected with Dionysos and Sabaoth, just as the Jewish god Sabaoth-Jahweh was identified with Sabacchos Dionysos.[18] The biblical story of Noah found its way into the culture of the highlands of Asia Minor, aided by the presence of Hellenised Jews and abetted by coincidences in names, mythological themes and religious beliefs between the local and Jewish traditions, such as the great flood in Phrygia and the existence of a town with the name *Kivotos* (Ark). According to a local tradition, reported by Julius Africanus and repeated by George Synkellos, Noah's ark landed on the Mountain of Apameia in the district of

16 C. Vermeule, «The sculpture of Roman Syria», in Chr. Condoleon (ed.), *Antioch. The Lost Ancient City* (Princeton N.J., 2000), 96 fig. 8.

17 See the papers in P. E. McGovern et al. (eds.), *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine* (3rd ed.; Amsterdam, 2000). See also E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire. Studies in Geography and Ethnography of the Ancient Near East, Edited from the Posthumous Papers by G. Walser* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 201–3 (§167. «The mountain of Noah's Ark»), 247–58 (Ch. XI: «The spreading of mining and viticulture from Asia Minor», §§ 202–10).

18 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Preparatio evangelica = La préparation évangelique livres II–III* (cit. n. 3, above), II.2.6, 3.29; III.11.15–21, 13.14; see also Th. Drew Bear and Chr. Naour, «Divinités de Phrygie», in *ANRW* 18.4 (1990), 1907–2044. For the Christianisation of ancient rites in Asia Minor and especially in Phrygia, see C. Mango, «St. Michael and Attis», *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἑτ.* 12 (1986), 39–62; F. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370–529* (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1995), vol. 1, 98 ff., 293–4, 312–14, vol. 2, 96–120, 175–81; P. Herz and J. Kobes (eds.), *Ethnische und religiös Minderheiten in Kleinasien vor der hellenistischen Antike bis in das byzantinische Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden, 1998).

Kelainai in Phrygia.[19] Therefore Phrygia was considered the first land to cultivate the grape and discover wine, and in Greek mythology Dionysos set out from Phrygia to go to Thebes «leaving behind the golden fields of Lydia and Phrygia».[20] Thus already in pre-Christian and early Christian times Dionysos and Noah were found in the mountains and fields of Phrygia and Lydia. Consequently, the rituals involving the dismembering of fruits, above all the grape, the drunkenness, the nakedness and the phallic rituals that go with them, the emasculation or mutilation of the genitals of Noah and ancient fertility gods, brought the patriarch closer to Dionysos and other related Asia Minor divinities.[21] Indeed the effect of wine on the body and the swelling of the phallus leading to unbridled sexuality are common features of almost all fertility cults. This is particularly stressed by the Church Fathers when condemning the *calor genitalis*,[22] the intemperate wine drinking and the loose (*λυαῖος*) sensuality of Dionysos and his retinue: what «Aphrodite called pleasure, Dionysos drunkenness and the union of the two Priapus; the union of pleasure with drunkenness creates swelling (*ἔντασις*) in the genitalia.»[23] Yet they do not mention the

19 Julius Africanus, PG 10, 68; George Synkellos, *Chronographia,* ed. Mosshammer, 22.6–8. Cf. E. Babelon, «La tradition phrygienne du Déluge», *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 23 (1891), 114–83, 165–74. On the Phrygian syncretism and Noah, see A. Reinach, «Noé Sangariou. Étude sur le déluge en Phrygie et le syncrétisme judéo-phrygien», *Revue des Études Juives* 65 (1913), 161–80, and 66 (1914), 1–43, 213–45. On Phrygian coins with the representation of the Ark, see A. Grabar, «Images bibliques d'Apamée et fresques de la synagogue de Doura», *CahArch* 5 (1951), 13; id., *Les voies de la création* (cit. n. 15, above), 26–7; Buschhausen, «Die Deutung des Archemosaiks» (cit. n. 10, above), 67 and n. 48. For Kelainai, see K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien* (Vienna, 1990), 188–9.

20 Euripides, *Bacchai* vv. 13–14; cf. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, ed. P. Canivet, Théodoret de Cyr, *Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, vol. 1–2 (SC 57; Paris, 1958), vol. 1, ch. 1.22.

21 For the castrated Attis, Osiris, Dionysos, see Eusebius of Caesarea, *Preparatio Evangelica = La préparation évangélique, Livre II–III* (cit. n. 3, above), II, 3.29; for the castration as a symbol of harvest, and Silenus, Priapus, the bacchantes, and satyrs as symbols of movement, strength and sexual urge, see ibid., III, 11.10–21. On phallic gods, see Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, ed. Canivet, vol. 1, ch. 1, 111–14; ch. 7, 11–12; ch. 8, 24; ch. 10, 39. On the depictions of Priapus, see ibid., vol. 2, ch. 3, 84.

22 P. Brown, *The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), 417–23.

23 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, ed. Canivet, vol. 1, ch. 1,112. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* (cit. n. 7, above), II. 19.3–4, refers to the «saintly vine», which bore the prophetic grape, the *μέγας βότρυς*; ibid., II 20.4, he further incites the flock to reject that *φάρμακον* (sc. poison), the wine.

similarities with the Jewish tradition of Noah's drunkenness and sexuality, apparent in the *Vienna Genesis*. From what we know to date, we shall have to wait until the eleventh century for an explicit link between sensual Noah and Bacchus. In the meantime attempts to dissociate Noah from any Bacchic connotations and the condemnation of Dionysos would take priority.

In the sixth century, Malalas presents the Christianized euhemeristic interpretation that is usually seen as the death knell of the god of wine.[24] Following Eusebios of Caesarea, he strips Dionysos of his divine nature making him into a historical personage:[25] Dionysos was a wise man, who taught «about the vine and husbandry in general and who in the grape found food for mankind» who made him a god. Furthermore, Malalas treats wine-making as a natural process and therefore saw nothing magical or miraculous in its discovery through the production of grapes grown for eating.[26] Likewise John Lydos summarises the various ways in which the god of wine was identified, a god who «according to the poets is a fivefold Dionysos»,[27] but criticises those who believed that the Jewish Sabaoth was «Dionysos on account of the grapes» that decorated the hangings in the temple of Jerusalem, which was thought to be a temple of the ancient god.[28] Pseudo-Nonnos and sixth- and seventh-century commentaries on Gregory Nazianzenos, as well as the *Account of Events in Persia* further undermined the Dionysiac myth. Amongst others, these texts would preserve the views of the Church fathers on the myths and the depictions of the Byzantinized Dionysos in the centuries to come.[29] Drunkenness would be

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24 John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Dindorf (CSHB; Bonn, 1831), 41.4-45.10; cf. S. W. Reinert, The Image of Dionysus in Malalas' Chronicle», *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina* 4 (1985), 1–41.

25 Reinert, op. cit., 10, 20–2, 26–7.

26 Malalas, *Chronographia*, 42.1–3; Reinert, op. cit., 8, 34 and n. 31.

27 John Lydus, *De Mensibus*, ed. R. Wuensch (Stuttgart, 1967), 106.16–111.7, 176.26–177.15. I. Anagnostakis, «Όταν το κρασί γίνεται πάγος», in *Αμπελοοινική Ιστορία στο χώρο της Μακεδονίας και της Θράκης, Ε΄ Τριήμερο Εργασίας* (Athens, 1998), 208–9.

28 Lydus, op. cit., 109.18–111.15. On the views of Livy, Plutarch and Tacitus, which are reproduced by Lydus, see P. Lekatsas, *Διόνυσος. Καταγωγή καὶ ἐξέλιξη τῆς διονυσιακῆς θρησκείας* (Athens, 1971), 204–5, and bibliography 253–68.

29 Ps.-Nonnus, *In IV Orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni Comentarii*, ed. J. Nimmo Smith with S. Brock and B. Coulie (CChr, ser. gr. 27, Corpus Nazianzenum 2; Turnhout, 1992). On the commentary of Ps.-Nonnus, see D. Accorinti, «Sull'autore degli scoli mitologici alle orazioni di Gregorio di Nazianzo», *Byzantion* 60 (1992), 5–24, and J. Nimmo Smith, «Nonnus and Pseudo-Nonnos: The poet and the commentator», in C. Constantinides et al. (eds.), *Φιλέλλην, Studies in Honour of Robert Browning* (Venice, 1996), 281–99. On the commentary by Kosmas the Melode, PG 38, 504–5 (on Dionysos), 516 (on Noah and Deucalion), see A. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature. 650–850* (Athens, 1999), 118–26.

equated with eroticism, envy, and demonic practices (*ἔρως, μέθη, ζῆλός τε καὶ δαίμων ἴσα*). In some cases this thinking was supported by citing Prov. 20.1 «wine is a mocker and heavy drinking is raging» (*ἀκόλαστον οἶνος καὶ ὑβριστικὸν μέθη*).[30]

In 691, the Quinisext Council decreed that any «tares» left over from the Greeks or the Jews must be eradicated. The canons of the Council forbade laymen to call on the name of Dionysos in tending their vines; giving grapes with Holy Communion, as was the practice in some churches, was banned; any images that corrupted the mind and excited shameful pleasures were forbidden.[31] In other words, the Council declared alien to the Christian way of life not only the invocation of the name of Dionysos and sensual depictions of feasting, of nakedness and eroticism, but also any kind of mingling of biblical with ancient Greek morals and motifs whether the grape of the Eucharist or images of nudity, which suggested sexuality.

Indeed, early Byzantine conceptions — reproduced in the mid-Byzantine period — made of Dionysos a mortal who discovered viticulture, who arrived in Attica after the Deucalion flood.[32] Grape and wine, whether with reference to Noah or to Deucalion, whether first cultivated in Parthia, Phrygia or Attica, were a post-deluvian affair and unconnected with Dionysiac rituals and Greek mythology, which were definitively condemned. The Christian vine is the only true vine and the wine is Eucharistic, the blood of Christ, and Davidic in as far

30 P. Odorico, *Il Prato e l'Ape: Il sapere sentenzioso del monaco Giovanni* (Vienna, 1986), 67.23; Niketas David, *Ἑρμηνεία τῶν τετραστίχων Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου*, PG 38, 824–5; Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B1, 49, 60, 138–9. For the «rout out of the body' marking the end of Antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Ages, see Brown, *Body and Society*, 441. See also B. Zeitler, «Ostentatio genitalium: Displays of nudity in Byzantium», in L. James (ed.), *Desire and Denial in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1999), 185–201.

31 Canons 28, 62, 95, 100, ed. Joannou in Troianos, *Η Πενθέκτη Οικουμενική Σύνοδος* (cit. n. 5, above); cf. Canons 62, 95, 100. The commentaries of Zonaras and Balsamon on Canon 62, in G. G. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1852; repr. 1966), 448–52. On this issue, see also I. Rochow, «Zu 'heidnischen' Bräuchen bei der Bevölkerung des byzantinischen Reiches im 7. Jahrhundert vor allem auf Grund der Bestimmungen des Trullanum», *Klio* 60 (1978), 483–7; F. Trombley, «The Council in Trullo (691-692): a study of the canons relating to paganism, heresy, and the invasions», *Comitatus* 9 (1978), 1–18; id., *The Survival of Paganism in the Byzantine Empire during the Pre-Iconoclastic Period. 540–727* (Los Angeles, 1981); J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), 237-337.

32 Synkellos, 179.25–6, 184.16–8, 185.3–5, 190.8–24. On Synkellos' account of the Phrygian tradition of the Deluge, ibid., 22.6–8.

as it gladdens the heart of man. In this system of thought, the pagan Dionysos had no place; instead, he became the symbol of any bacchanalian, non-Christian attitude. Photios, however, tried to understand matters differently.

According to Photios, the god himself did not «act in a frenzied fashion» (*οὐκ ἐβάκχευε*) nor was he «beside himself with wine» (*οὐκ ἐμαίνετο*), but he was simply accompanied by bacchantes. Nevertheless, he continues, «it is better and more blessed not to be like Dionysos».[33] Furthermore, the good wine is connected with Noah-Christ, and the bad wine, which produces wicked drunkenness, with the Sodomites and Dionysos. Therefore, no Dionysiac parallels could be related to the drunkenness of the righteous Noah, mocked by wine.[34]

In the *Amphilochia* Photios considers how Ham, Noah's son, is judged a parricide; why Noah cursed Canaan, Ham's son, while it was the father who was at fault; and finally why Noah, though righteous, had been dishonoured by drunkenness but not condemned. Photios reiterates the earlier assessments and attempts to justify the patriarch's drunkenness as the result of drinking undiluted wine and ignorance. Since the side effects of wine were not yet known, there was no law against drinking, concludes Photios; and if no law exists there is no sin, he argues after Paul (Rom. 5,13).[35]

Until the time of Photios Noah had been considered to have been beguiled by wine, and no parallel was drawn between him and Dionysos. However, some decades later, at the turn of the tenth century, Dionysos crept back as the representative of relaxed drunkenness and joy, making a first attempt at a convergence between him and Noah possible.

The first instance of a binary description of Dionysos is to be found in Theophanes Continuatus. The wine god's characteristics: soft, tender and giver of graces (*χαρίδοτος*) are used here to render the licentious manners and the instability of Michael III, the «drunken» emperor, who was otherwise characterised with all the negative Dionysian commonplaces employed by ninth- and tenth-century authors in their polemics.[36] Consequently, Michael appears to imitate

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33 Photios, *Epistula* no 277, ed. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani, Epistulae et Amphilochia*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1984), 227–9. See also B. E. Perry, «An Aesopic fable in Photius», *BZ* 46 (1953), 308–13; N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), 113–14. Cf. also, Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B1, 99, 147–8.

34 Photios, *Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Henry (Paris, 1967), vol. 5, 129, 137–8.

35 Photios, *Amphilochia*, ed. L. G. Westerink, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani, Epistulae et Amphilochia*, vol. 6/ 1 (Leipzig, 1987), nos. 256, 257, 297.

36 I. Rochow, «Der Vorwurf des Heidentums als Mittel der innenpolitischen Polemik in Byzanz», in M. Salamon (ed.), *Paganism in the Late Roman Empire* (Cracow, 1991), 133–56; H. Maguire,

the loose, voluptuous, undisciplined nature of the giver of graces, but also his cruel, sober and immensely powerful aspect. The unbridled drinking sent the emperor out of his mind and made him cruel, turning the comic all-night sessions into tragedy.[37] Thus, Michael's description comes closer to the dark aspect of the wine-god: the emperor is turned into «a reclining, sleeping slave, wine-sodden and dozing in a thick haze of wine fumes», the traditional iconography of drunken satyrs and silenuses.[38] In another case, Michael III is said to have been followed by unbridled satyrs, the devotees of Dionysos, staging drunken parodies of the liturgy in the palace.[39] The whole picture had, however, to be stamped with a biblical seal: «not even gentle David, meek and mild» (a king himself and well known for his relationship with wine) would not have put up with such «a disgraceful drunkard».[40] Noah is not mentioned in this text, and it is noteworthy that in other works of the Porphyrogenitus' cycle the patriarch is presented according to mainstream tradition as a model of piety and obedience to God.[41]

Tenth-century epistolography marks a further step in Dionysos' rehabilitation. He is mentioned without any negative characteristics, as a synonym for wine and a reminder of the pleasures, feasting and general lack of moderation of the wine-bibbing life.[42] In a letter to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Theodore Daphnopates, on a trip to the country, describes the grape harvest and the work of the wine-press as a libation to Dionysos.[43] In another letter Daphnopates presents the wine-press as the one place where all the senses are stimulated and

«Images of the Court», in H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, exhib. cat., (New York, 1997), 186. See especially Arethas, *Μισογόης*, ed. L. G. Westerink, Arethae, *Scripta Minora*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1968), no 21, 204–5, and the commentary of P. Karlin-Hayter, «Arethas, Choirosphactes and the Saracen Vizir», *Byzantion* 35 (1965) = *Studies in Byzantine Political History* (London, 1981), pt. IX , 472 n. 3.

37 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia,* ed. I. Bekker (CSHB; Bonn, 1838), 251.8–13. See J. Ljubarskij, «Der Kaiser als Mime: zum Problem des byzantinischen Kaisers Michael III», *JÖB* 37 (1987), 39–50, and Karpozelos, *Βυζαντινοὶ Ἱστορικοὶ καὶ Χρονογράφοι*, vol. 2 (cit. n. 1, above), 371–3.

38 Theoph. Cont., 252.5-9.

39 Theoph. Cont., 200.15–7.

40 Theoph. Cont., 252.20–2.

41 *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, vol. 1, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (Berlin, 1906), no. 1, 157.1–7; cf. Karpozelos, *Βυζαντινοὶ Ἱστορικοὶ καὶ Χρονογράφοι*, vol. 2, 298.

42 J. Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1960), V 33.3, VII 3.55–6, IX 35.2–3.

43 J. Darrouzès and L. G. Westerink, *Théodore Daphnopatès Correspondance* (Paris, 1978), no.12.5–8.

every delight awakened: a whole world of sensations in microcosm.[44] A sense of pleasure never before experienced in a Byzantine context pervades both descriptions. Touch, taste, hearing and smell are excited, a restless gaze surveys the wonders of nature, yet the writer steeps himself in ancient tradition, imitating ancient texts which contrast the delights, the indolence and ease of an idealised countryside with the imprisonment of the scholar's study. Harvesting the grapes, reaping the crops, hunting and fishing are a source of instant gratification, of fabulous pleasure and delight. The scholar who does not take part in these labours consoles himself that for him the grape he harvests is the grape of wisdom, which once crushed, will produce the sweet wine of delight throughout his life, because for scholars learning is the air they breathe, their daily meat and drink.[45]

In the tenth century, the Dionysiac iconography reappears in art on ivory caskets and other artefacts. Even when the figure of Dionysos himself is missing, the joy-bringing spirit and playfulness of the laughing, generous god is ever present. A callipygian Dionysos is depicted on the glass bowl in St. Mark's Treasury, participating in the atmosphere of relaxation that only wine can create.[46] On the Veroli casket a naked Dionysos reclines in a chariot drawn by two panthers, a naked figure dives into a basket, and the Dionysiac, comic tenor continues on other plaques of the casket with naked cupids kissing or performing fellatio upon the beasts.[47] Absent since the seventh century, a satyr is represented amongst warriors on a tenth-century bone casket.[48] A reclining, drunken Herakles or Silenus is depicted on Byzantine-influenced ivory caskets in the West.[49] Various naked gods, heroes or simple warriors in bacchanalian encounters are turned into decorative putti by artists in an attempt to moderate the sensuous quality of the classical nude and to make it acceptable to a

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44 Ibid., no 37.5–45.

45 Ibid., no 37.124–30; cf. Chr. Angelidi, «Αισθήσεις, σεξουαλικότητα και οπτασίες», in *Ανοχή και καταστολή στους Μέσους Χρόνους* (Athens, 2002), 220–9.

46 A. Cutler, «The mythological bowl in the Treasury of San Marco at Venice», in D. K. Kouyumjian (ed.), *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* (Beirut, 1974) = *Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art* (London, 1992), pt. IX, 235–54, fig. 5.

47 A. Cutler, in Evans and Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium* (cit. n. 36, above), no. 153.

48 Cf. P. A. A[gapitos], A. K[azhdan], A. C[utler], «Satyr», *ODB*, vol. 3, 1847.

49 K. Weitzmann, «Abendländische Kopien byzantinischer Rosettenkästen», *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1934) =*Art in the Medieval West and its Contacts with Byzantium* (London, 1982), pt. VII, 92–8.

essentially Christian culture.[50] Nonnos' *Dionysiaka* inspired artists and scholars; the miniatures illustrating Pseudo-Nonnos' Commentary on the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus present a Birth of Dionysos in Byzantine style.[51] Late Antique tradition and its early-Byzantine version offered a wide range of motifs. This tradition was an inspiration to be used eclectically, and not just decoratively, in a continuous effort on the part of artists and writers to express themselves until it was partially assimilated in the eleventh century.

This period, with its acknowledged tendency towards more individuated attitudes, saw the rise of a new sensibility in respect of the evaluation of material reality and a post patristic spirituality developed in Symeon the New Theologian.[52] In this climate of change, while Symeon sees in Noah the prefiguration of Christ, Christopher Mitylenaios and Michael Psellos offer some important examples of a new approach to the topic. In these two writers, one senses a greater interest in tangible human reality and personal choice. Poetic works, whether epigrams or *encomia* on wine and feasting, or on the wine harvest and vineyards bear witness to a new attitude towards revelry. Both Mitylenaios and Psellos confess to having drunk nectar like gods in the company of their friends: merchants, lawyers, professors, priests and deacons. They have known, associated with or even clashed with great drinkers and debauchees from all levels of society, from bacchanalian monks to aristocrats and high-ranking officials. They have received wine, grapes and figs as gifts, were in a position to appraise, compare and choose between them and ultimately to record their preferences. The joys of feasting and relaxed drunkenness are no longer the sole domain of disgusting Bacchus, nor are they equated with the devil. And, when speaking of

50 Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology* (cit. n. 14, above), 182; id., «The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and their Impact on Christian Iconography», *DOP* 14 (1960) = *Classical Heritage in Byzantine and Near Eastern Art* (London, 1981), pt. VI , 51–2; id., «The character and intellectual origins of the Macedonian Renaissance», in H. L. Kessler (ed.), *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (Chicago-London, 1971), pt. 8, 176–223.

51 On Dionysos and bacchic themes in Byzantine art, see Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, 46 ff., 182; id., «The survival», 45–68, esp. 51–3. On Dionysos in Ps.-Nonnus, see Nimmo Smith, «Nonnus and Pseudo-Nonnos» (cit. n. 29, above), 281–99.

52 These issues are discussed by A. Kazhdan and G. Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantines Studies* (Washington DC, 1982) and A. Kazhdan and A. Wharton-Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1985).

the wine and the grapes, they both make didactic comparisons between Adam, Noah and Dionysos.[53]

To a friend who sent him figs from the country, Mitylenaios explains why he thinks that the vine is superior to the fig tree. His basic arguments are taken from the New Testament reference to the withered fig tree (Mat. 19,19-21), the Eucharistic wine and the vineyard with its vines, which gave their names to Christ and to his disciples. In another epigram to the same friend, when he sent him grapes, Mitylenaios writes another *synkrisis*, employing arguments from the Old Testament, supporting the superiority of the fig tree over the vine:

«You, of course, give me grapes, but I like figs. I prefer the fig tree to the vine because I remember the good things it has brought forth, just as I remember the trouble the grape has brought. The fig tree clothes my nakedness, while the grape strips me naked even when I am clothed. The one (the fig tree) covers my original shame, the other (the grape) overpowers me and shames me in the midst of revelry. Our forefathers bear witness to this, first Adam and then Noah. Therefore delight me with figs and not with grapes, for I judge the fig tree to be better than the vine.»[54]

These pieces may be considered as rhetorical exercises; however, they bear witness both to traditions maintained and the changes, which had occurred by the eleventh century. For the first time, Noah's nakedness, and the shame that the grape has brought him are selected from the biblical account. The patriarch is exclusively connected with the bad effects of the vine (*τὰ κακὰ τῆς ἀμπέλου*), with the wine that strips one naked even when clothed, overpowers and shames one in the midst of revelry (*θριαμβεύει καὶ καταισχύνει*). In contrast to the approach of Symeon the New Theologian, Noah is not presented as the prefiguration of the Passion, but as the protagonist of a cautionary tale about the shameful thirst for wine and power.

The same views are reiterated in others poems, in which Mitylenaios tells of the ambitious, thirsty persons who come from the ignorant plebs and intrude themselves «naked» into the hierarchy; as for example the drunken clerics who intrude indecently and subversively in Saint Sophia.[55] These men were previously petty crooks, small-time baders merchants, peasants, and artisans; they

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53 On wine and symposia in Mitylenaios and Psellos, see Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός» (cit. n. 4, above), vol. B2, 22–44, and commentary 190–5.

54 E. Kurtz, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios* (Leipzig, 1903), 55–6, nos. 87, 88.

55 Kurtz, *Die Gedichte*, no. 63; cf. Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B2, 30–1.

had nothing in common with the aristocratic culture of the symposium's nectar, nor with the exchanges of vinous presents between friends. Through this social critique a picture emerges of the aggressive stance of the upwardly mobile, lower classes, triumphant (*θριαμβεύει*) in revelry, but continuing to behave badly, in their indecent, contriving thirst for wine and power, undermining the order of things. These poems reflect everyday factual and social realities that coincide with the poet's personal perception of the world. Mitylenaios, a prominent functionary at the court of Constantine IX, was extremely sensitive to the inequities. In his poems a didactic tendency coexists with a new concern for humanity; his bitter sarcasm is rare in Byzantine literature.[56] In fact, far from offering any anagogical interpretation, physiological explanation or justification, these poems link Noah's drunkenness with the human condition in the same way that Kekaumenos does in his *Advices and Admonitions* or *Strategikon*.

In propounding the doctrine of self-control, Kekaumenos castigates the symposia and uses Noah's story in a uniquely didactic way. For him Noah, even when deadly drunk (*ἀναισθήτως*), should have been aware of what his sons were doing around him: similarly, no one should underestimate his master and think that he can cheat him.[57] As Kazhdan has pointed out, the didactic tendencies of the eleventh century evolved along with a revival of interest in the human condition. In this context, as far as the dramatisation of the intoxicated condition is concerned, the figure of a triumphantly drunk Noah comes in as *ἐκμανὴς νέος Βάκχος* (a new frenzied Bacchus) in a state of phallic shame, borrowing features from both the Late Antique repertoire of Dionysiac themes and everyday reality.

Psellos, in his *Encomium on Wine* — written as a rhetorical thank-you present to a friend who had sent him some wine — is more explicit.[58] Here, Psellos associates Dionysos with Noah, in terms of their contribution to humanity — the first instance of an unambiguous, positive convergence. He notes that none of

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56 Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein, *Change*, 95–6, 209–10.

57 Kekaumenos, *Strategikon*, ed. G. G. Litavrin, *Sovety i Rasskazy Kekavmena* (Moskow, 1972), rp. in *Κεκαυμένος, Στρατηγικόν*, transl., introd., and comment. by D. Tsougarakis (Athens, 1993), 39–41. On Kekaumenos' reference to Noah, see the commentary by C. Galatariotou, «Open space/closed space: the perceived worlds of Kekaumenos and Digenis Akrites», in M. Mullett and D. Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos*. I. *Papers* (Belfast, 1996), 315.

58 Michael Psellos, *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν οἶνον*, ed. A. R. Littlewood, *Michaeli Pselli, Oratoria minora* (Leipzig, 1985), no. 30, 110–16.

the foodstuffs we have been given «by nature or God himself, who also created nature, is better or more necessary than wine save bread.» He explains why wine, that distinguishes sapient man from the beasts, was not given straight away to Adam and Eve: wine was given as gift to Noah after the Flood because it was not worth giving it to the unworthy and wicked people who were going to drown.[59] Thanks to wine, «Dionysos is revered as a god by the Greeks, and illustrious Noah by us.» Psellos continues his argument by saying that Noah can dispute the primacy of Adam, and that in fact he was superior to him. Both of them «discovered» the tree (Adam the tree of knowledge and Noah the vine); however it was Adam and Eve who bequeathed the harmful and fatal tree to mankind, while Noah gave us the «useful and life-giving» vine.[60] Unlike Mitylenaios, Psellos does not mention Noah's drunkenness or his nakedness. Indeed he dissociates wine drinking from drunkenness: «no one would suppose that wine should be condemned on account of drunkenness.»[61] After producing a list of ancient wine-lovers (poets, philosophers, heroes) and giving numerous citations from the Bible, Homer, Euripides, and Athenaios, Psellos concludes that «it has been clearly demonstrated… that of all the things that are useful for living wine is the foremost and makes everything easier.» It only remains to examine and to praise the wine he has been sent as a present and which, he says, is «superior to any other wine.»[62] After exploring the necessity of mentioning the Greek beliefs about nectar or the Epicurean teachings, Psellos acknowledges triumphantly: «there is nothing better than wine or to equal it, for it is God's blood in the performance of the sacred rituals, the purifier of sins, and the salvation of all the world.»[63]

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59 Ibid., 111.14–24.

60 Ibid., 111.24–112.29: *διὰ τοῦτον Διόνυσος τιμᾶται θεὸς τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀοίδιμος Νῶε δι' αὐτὸν οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τὸ πιστευθῆναι τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ παντὸς γένους σῴζουσαν ζῴπυρον, ὃν κἂν τῷ προπάτορι φαίη τις τῶν πρωτείων ἀμφισβητεῖν, ἢ μᾶλλον οὐχὶ παραχωρεῖν· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ξύλον ἡμῖν ἐφεῦρον, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐπιβλαβὲς καὶ θανάσιμον, ὁ δ' ἐπωφελὲς καὶ φυσίζωον.* The *ἀμφότεροι* in question are Adam and Noah, not Noah and Dionysos; *pace* Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B2, 84, 193–4

61 Psellos, *Ἐγκώμιον*, 113.77–8.

62 Ibid.,114.115–115.118; the wine that was presented is appreciated as «*τοὺς μὲν ἡδεῖς τῷ εὐώδει τῇ δὲ ἡδύτητι τοὺς εὐώδεις νικῶν*» and «*πρωτιμητέος καὶ ὑπερεπαινετέος τῶν ἄλλων οὗτος καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἄξιος*» (115.119–29), and thus «*τὸ δῶρον ἐπαινετὸν καὶ ὁ διδοὺς ἀξιέπαινος*» (115.143–4).

63 Ibid.,115.134–40.

The encomium ends with an amusing anecdote, which brings us back to earth and to the everyday charms of convivial feasting.[64] Psellos tells his friend: «an important personage was so intoxicated in my house by your wine that he asked whether the wine was given to me by Dionysos as a courtesy for entertaining him (an implicit reference to the Ikarios story). And I replied,» goes on Psellos, «that you gave it to me, when I cured your tooth, which suddenly began to ache when you were drinking that same wine. And the guest said to me: I would rather all my teeth fell out, for they only get in the way of this precious wine flowing abundantly into my mouth, than deprive myself of such a wine. Let's hope the teeth of your friend will start aching again, so that we may enjoy his wine.»[65]

This was apparently the sort of jocularity commonly caused by wine drinking, something like a purgative offering,[66] which drives away sorrow or, in this case, the preceding rhetorical seriousness of the encomium. Humour and charm are directly linked with descriptions of bacchanalian scenes that only joy-bringing Dionysos can create. The eminent cultured man, who attended the meal, is described as a heavy drinker and a follower of Dionysos. After dining in company and drinking such a special wine, nothing could prevent him from getting up, starting to dance like a satyr and, as Psellos says, crying out in bacchanalian fashion, calling upon the son of Zeus and Semele.[67] Starting with praise of the art of viticulture and continuing with a description of the «graces of the symposium», Psellos attempts in this encomium not only to combine but also to reconcile the ancient Greek tradition with the Bible, Dionysos with Noah.

We believe that Psellos' endeavour has an artistic parallel in Vaticanus Graecus 747, an illustrated Octateuch dated to the third quarter of the eleventh century and attributed to the court of Michael VII Doukas, a student of Psellos'.[68] In the miniature on f. 31v, Noah is shown on the left drinking the wine

64 Ibid.,115.146.

65 Ibid.,116.156–66.

66 On the medical and religious use of the term *καθάρσιον* in the *Encomium*, see Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός» (cit. n. 4, above), vol. B2, 193.

67 Psellos, *Encomion*, 115.147–116.148: *Ἀνήρ τις τῶν οὐ πάνυ ἀσυνήθων οὔτε τὸν λόγον ἀηδὴς οὔτε πρὸς πότον ἀφυής, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τετελεσμένος*, and 116.153–4: *ἀναστὰς ὠρχεῖτο σατυρικῶς τὸ «εὐοῖ» βακχικῶς ἐκβοῶν καὶ τὸν Διὸς καὶ Σεμέλης ἀνευφημῶν*.

68 I. Hutter, «Paläologische Übermalungen im Oktateuch Vaticanus graecus 747», in H. Hunger and M. Restle (eds.), *Festschrift für Otto Demus zum 60. Geburtstag =JÖB* 21 (1972), 140–2, 144, fig. 3; Weitzmann, Bernabò and Tarasconi, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (cit. n. 15, above), 57, fig.151.

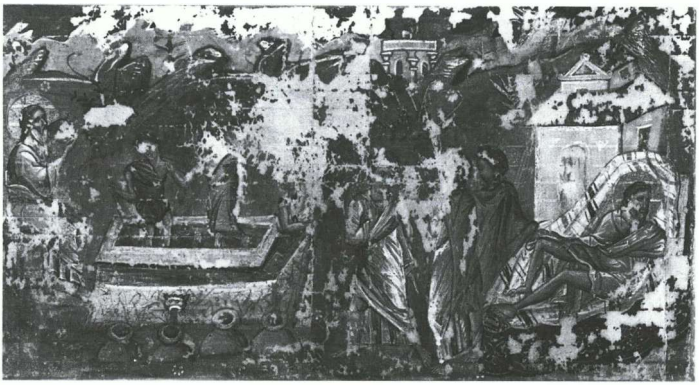

Fig. 7a: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 747 (Octateuch), f. 31v. The drunkness of Noah.

as it comes out of a wine press, where two young men are treading the grapes (figs. 7a–b).[69] On the right-hand side Noah lies in a drunken sleep. The lower part of his garment is raised leaving his thighs bare and uncovering his fully erect penis. At the end of the bed stand his three sons. Ham, who had seen him uncovered, tells his brothers about their father's nakedness. The latter, averting their eyes, in order to avoid the sight of their naked progenitor, bring a garment to cover him up.

The scene has already been compared with late antique Dionysiac sarcophagi and mosaics in which Dionysos, satyrs, silenuses, and especially Pan are shown naked or semi-naked in an identical pose to that of Noah.[70] As already noted, the reclining pose of the drunken followers of Dionysos was employed

69 The depictions of Noah as husbandman and of Noah's drunkeness on the Salerno Antependium ivories, are dated to approximately the same period (i.e. before 1085): Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (cit. n. 15, above), 22–3, figs. 133, 140; R. P. Bergmann, *The Salerno Ivories: Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge Mass, 1980), 29–30, figs. 11–12. The depiction of the barrel, of the mode of viticulture and of Noah as husbandman is commented on by I. Anagnostakis, «Βυζαντινά οινοβούτια, βουτζία και οι Βουτζαράδες του Αράκλοβου στην φραγκοκρατούμενη Ηλεία», *Οἶνον ἱστορῶ* 1. *Αμπελοοινική Ιστορία και Αρχαιολογία της ΒΔ. Πελοποννήσου* (Athens, 2001), 90–108.

70 The depiction of the wine press also comes from the Late Antique period: Weitzmann, Bernabò and Tarasconi, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, 56–7.

Fig. 7b: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 747 (Octateuch), f. 31v.
The drunkness of Noah (detail).

from very early on in depicting other biblical characters, such as Jonah and Noah himself. In the earliest known depiction of Noah, the sixth-century *Vienna Genesis*, the patriarch's thighs remain covered and he is naked from the pubes up (fig. 6). In contrast, the miniature in Vaticanus Graecus 747 shows him naked from the thighs to just above his genitals. The pose and the movements of the two brothers who are attempting to cover their father up recall the *Vienna Genesis* manuscript directly.

What can be characterised as innovative in the eleventh-century manuscript is the phallic nature of Noah. Neither the reclining Dionysos from the Dionysiac sarcophagi nor the reclining Noah of the *Vienna Genesis* show an erection and we know of no similar depictions from the early Byzantine period. In the Late Antique representations, only drunken Pans, satyrs, Priapuses and Silenuses are «phallic». Consequently, the miniature of the Vatican manuscript seems to have

borrowed from depictions of the phallic companions of Dionysos where the phallus is raised like another *thyrsos*, a symbol of drunkenness and fertility. Furthermore, we believe that the scene in Vaticanus Graecus 747 is related to two Psellos' texts in which he refers to two of his opponents, the monks Savvaïtes and Jacob, who had criticised him for leaving the monastic life on Mount Olympos in Bithynia, because they said he had failed to find his Olympian gods there.[71]

In describing Savvaïtes, Psellos adopts the traditional vocabulary of criticising and/or condemning an opponent:[72] Savvaites is described as Telchin, Typhon, Priapus, or a satyr, someone who had gone from being a small-time crook to a preacher,[73] exactly like the drunken and indecent priests of Saint Sophia described in epigrams by Mitylenaios.

In the satirical *Canon against Jacob* Psellos describes the monk Jacob as another Bacchus who prefers wine-skins (*ἀσκοί*) full of wine to performing his duty (*ἄσκησις*) as an ascetic monk (*ἀσκητής*).[74] Psellos exploits in unique fashion the phonetic and etymological relationship between the words for ascetics and wineskin; the latter being the source of comedy and tragedy and, of course, satire. Jacob's body is a «new well-contrived wineskin» and all the celebrated wines of Antiquity gush out from all over his body: his eyes, his eyebrows, his nose, his mouth, his skin, and his arse.[75] All his senses, the five spiritual ones and the five physical ones have been baptised (lit. drowned) in this unalloyed potion.[76] Dressed in deerskin, with garlands of vine leaves in his hair, grapes dangling from his ears, wine-skins hung around his neck[77] and with laurels on his head, and a *thyrsos* in his hand Jacob yells out the bacchanalian cry to Dionysos: *Εὖ ὗις ἄτ[ις], βρόμιε βοτρυοῦχε, ληνοβάτα*.[78] Such a «new wineskin», a second wine-sodden Bacchus naturally cannot stand up. «His pose», Psellos tells us, «is that of Jonah and of the *anapeson*,» as if to help us

71 Michael Psellos, *In Sabbaitam*, ed. L. G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli, Poemata* (Leipzig, 1992), 258–69; id., *In Iacobum monachum*, ibid., 270–6. See also the commentary on the *In Iacobum* in Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B2, 34-41.

72 Rochow, «Der Vorwurf des Heidentums' (cit. n. 36, above), 133–56.

73 Psellos, *In Sabbaitam*, ed. Westerink, 265.187: *Τελχίν, Τυφών, Πρίαπε, Σατύρου θέα*, and 267.253: *ὁ χθὲς κάπηλος σήμερον θεηγόρος*.

74 Psellos, *In Iacobum*, ed. Westerink, 276.149–54.

75 Ibid., 275.113–18, 131.

76 Ibid., 275.40–4.

77 Ibid., 276.118 and 155–8.

78 Ibid., 274.101–4.

understand the picture by relating it to similar images in the Christian repertoire. But he anticipates at the same time the spread of the image of Christ *Anapeson*, the reclining True Vine who has brought the sober potion.[79] The specific pose of drunkenness, nakedness and the humiliation associated with Noah, has been compared, from as early as Cyril of Alexandria and Saint Augustine, with the nakedness, the humiliation and the passion of Christ, a favourite subject in the medieval West, where it was exploited artistically.[80] In ode III of the *Canon* Psellos goes on to say: «Lying supine on your bed, your chest bare and your thighs uncovered (right up) to your genitalia, you are drinking constantly, and probably farting, Jacob.»[81] This supine Jacob resembles depictions of Noah, and in particular the reclining Noah of Vaticanus Graecus 747. It is indeed the very image of a Priapus or a satyr, as Psellos notes, when criticising Jacob's double, Savvaïtes.

Scenes of wine-sodden, reclining and sleeping figures are known from the Hellenistic period and from Late Antiquity (fig. 5), and it is probable that Psellos refers to them. It is also likely that he had in mind some similar depictions of Noah, created before the sixth and probably reproduced in the eleventh century, when it has been suggested the archetype of the Octateuchs was created.[82] Psellos does not mention Noah by name, but just as the other odes of the *Canon against Jacob* recall mostly Dionysiac themes and motifs, Odes III and IV exploit biblical themes and especially Noah's story. Moreover, these two Odes represent the literary equivalent of Noah's depiction in Vaticanus Graecus 747 and could even have functioned as a commentary on it. Ode III corresponds exactly to the nakedness episode; Ode IV with its contrasting hyperbole — «without cultivating a vineyard... you have harvested a good

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79 Ibid., 271.29–30: *Ἰωνᾶς μείζων, πάτερ, νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῖν γέγονας / μένων τῆς ζωῆς σου τὸν χρόνον ἐν τῇ τοῦ πίθου γαστρί* and 271.33: *Ἀναπεσὼν ὕπτιος*. Christ *Anapeson* is already depicted in the 9th century Utrecht Psalter: E. T. Dewald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton-London-Leipzig, 1932), pl. XL; see also Br. Todić, «Anapeson. Iconographie et signification du thème», *Byzantion* 64 (1994), 134–65.

80 Cyril of Alexandria, *Γλαφυρῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν, Λόγος Δεύτερος: Περὶ τῆς γυμνώσεως τοῦ Νῶε καὶ τοῦ Χάμ*, PG 69, 76–7; see also Deremble, «La nudité de Noé' (cit. n. 6, above), 147–55.

81 Psellos, *In Iacobum*, ed. Westerink, 271–2, ll. 33–6: *Ἀναπεσὼν ὕπτιος ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης σου καὶ γυμνώσας στῆθος καὶ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἄχρι τῆς αἰδοῦς, πίνεις ἀνενδότως, ἴσως καὶ πέρδεις, Ἰάκωβε.*

82 J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs. A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (University Park Pa., 1992), 82–3; Weitzmann, Bernabò and Tarasconi, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (cit. n. 15, above), 6–7.

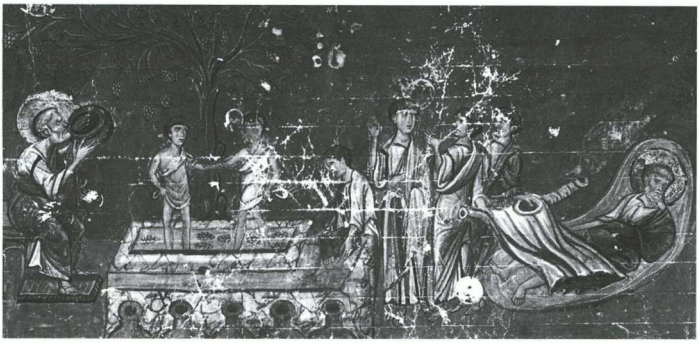

Fig. 8: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 746 (Octateuch), f. 58r. The drunkness of Noah.

deal, without crushing a [single] grape... you have drunk whole wine-presses [dry]» — goes beyond a simple depiction of Noah harvesting the grapes,[83] and hints at the exaggerated behaviour of Jacob. In contrast to Noah, Jacob laughs intemperately drinking unmixed wine day and night, does not recognise the drooping of the eyelids, nor give the stomach repose (*ἀνάπαυσις*), an obvious reference to the Greek translation of Noah's name.[84] On the basis therefore of the literary and artistic evidence, we would argue that the eleventh century created a new and Byzantine frenzied Bacchus, either in laudatory or satirical form,

In the twelfth century the episode of Noah's drunkenness and nakedness was illustrated in the Seraglio (=Topkapi Museum) Octateuch, the Smyrna Octateuch (no longer extant), and in the Vaticanus Graecus 746 Octateuch (fig. 8),[85] as well as in the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina (1140) (fig. 9)[86] and of

83 Psellos, *In Iacobum*, ed. Westerink, 272.57–273.60. This is exactly what Octateuchs and mosaics show: Noah harvesting and crushing the grapes and boys are treading them with their feet. Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (cit. n. 15, above), 67, consider that the scene borrows from illustrations in the treatises on husbandry, such as those on viticulture by Cato and Varro.

84 Psellos, *In Iacobum*, ed. Westerink, 273.63–8. For further word-play on the name Noah *ἐπαναπαύεσθαι* (rest upon) or *καταπαύειν* (come to rest, to cease), see M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch. A New English Edition* (Leiden, 1985), 231, 322.

85 Weitzmann, Bernabò and Tarasconi, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (cit. n. 15, above), 57, and figs. 152, 153, 154.

86 O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), fig. 32a

Fig. 9: Palermo, Cappella Palatina. The drunkenness of Noah.

Monreale (1180) (fig. 10) in Sicily.[87] In the miniatures of the three manuscripts the left-hand side of the composition, with the wine press and Noah drinking the wine, does not differ essentially from the earlier depictions of Vaticanus Graecus 747. The left-hand side of the two mosaics shows either Noah himself pressing a bunch of grapes, freshly cut from the heavily laden vine in front of him, or his sons cutting grapes. However, in all the twelfth-century examples and in contrast to Vaticanus Graecus 747, on the right-hand side the artists chose to show the moment immediately following the nakedness of Noah, that is his covering up by his sons. Noah is represented reclining, with his clothes drawn up to his stomach, but the garment held by his two sons, who avert their eyes, hides his genitals.[88] The covering up of the naked father is an integral part of the biblical

87 E. Kitzinger, *I mosaici del periodo normanno in Sicilia,* vol. 5. *Il Duomo di Monreale. I mosaici delle navate* (Palermo, 1996), figs. 93, 95–7.

88 In the examples cited, Noah is depicted after the illustration of Vatic. gr. 747. Minor differences are presented in the disposition of the legs: in Vatic. gr. 746 and the Smyrna Octateuch, Noah's feet are apart; in the Cappella Palatina mosaics he has his legs crossed; in Monreale they are together.

Fig. 10: Monreale, Sicily. The drunkenness of Noah.

episode, but the shift from the eleventh-century nakedness to the representation of the already covered Noah, denotes, in our view, a conscious choice. This leads us to formulate a hypothesis about the social and artistic background behind this choice. Just like Psellos' writings in the eleventh century, literary evidence from the twelfth century provides important information about changes in attitudes.

Twelfth-century theologians interpret the Noah's episode anagogically, and contemporary intellectuals proceeded to the purification/rehabilitation of Dionysos. Their attitudes provide some explanation for the abandonment of the bacchanalian Dionysos-Noah and the covering of his nudity in the contemporary Octateuch manuscripts.

The eleventh-century Vaticanus Graecus 747, with the bacchanalian Noah is attributed to the environment of the emperor Michael Doukas, a student of Psellos'. The twelfth-century Octateuchs were also produced under the Comnenian patronage of the highest order. The Seraglio manuscript is connected to the Kokkinovaphos Master and linked to the patronage of Isaac Komnenos, the sixth child of Alexios I. The same date, the second quarter of the twelfth century,

is also accepted for the Smyrna Octateuch and the Vaticanus Graecus 746.[89] It is possible, but not proven, that the artists modelled the scene of Noah's covering on a now lost archetype from the middle of the eleventh century.[90] However, art historians have noted an extensive comnenian revision of the Octateuch's cycle: a courtly atmosphere with elegant details replaces the dramatic tone of Vaticanus Graecus 747.[91] Thus, the decision to cover up Noah's nakedness in twelfth-century artistic production can be seen to reflect the modesty and the manly virtues of the Comnenian military aristocracy. Indeed, the Comnenians reacted in various ways to what they considered the indolence of their predecessors, their supposed promotion of «Hellenic excess» and heresies, and lavish support for the arts and scholarship — in the case of Michael Doukas — or their extravagant court life style — in the case of Constantine Monomachos.[92] The most eloquent, and official, expression of this attitude is to be found in the Edict of 1107, issued by Alexios I, which aims to «correct» the clergy, to eradicate dissent and to help any simple-minded Orthodox souls in moral danger.[93] An emperor has to cultivate imperial virtue (*ἀρετή*) and correct failings through piety (*εὐσέβεια*). Imperial piety and virtue do not allow manifestations of vulgar paganism or any bacchanalian behaviour especially amongst the clergy.

Faithful to the spirit of the Edict, the commentaries of John Zonaras and Theodore Balsamon on the canons of the Council *in Trullo* associate the indecent practices in honour of Pan and of Dionysos, which were still flourishing in their day, with country people and peasant farmers, but also with ignorant clerics and other «vulgar» people. Balsamon considers these practices to have been introduced to religious ritual in the tenth century by the patriarch Theo-

89 J. C. Anderson, «The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master», *DOP* 36 (1982), 83–114; Weitzmann, Bernabò and Tarasconi, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (cit. n. 15, above), 325, 334–7

90 Anderson, «Seraglio», 83-114; Lowden, *Octateuchs* (cit. n. 82, above), 82–3; Weitzmann, Bernabò and Tarasconi, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, 6-7, 301, 304.

91 Weitzmann, Bernabò and Tarasconi, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, 324–5.

92 M. Angold, «Alexios Komnenos: An afterword», in Mullett and Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos* (cit. n. 57, above), 415–6. See also id., *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (Cambridge, 1995), 173–5.

93 P. Gautier, «L'édit d'Alexis Ier Comnène sur la réforme du clergé», *RÉB* 31 (1973), 165-227; P. Magdalino, «The Reform edict of 1107», in Mullett and Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos*, 199-218.

phylact, the son of Romanos Lecapenus,[94] and both canonists condemn the tenth-century Dionysos' «renaissance», and the vulgar, phallic rituals which they attribute to the immorality and indolence of the former rulers, and to the ignorance of the common people.

Far from Constantinople, Nikolaos Mouzalon encountered a case of an orgiastic, coarse Bacchus, in the person of the drunken bishop of Cyprus: another Bacchus, immoral and frenzied (*ἄσεμνος, ἐκμανὴς Βάκχος νέος*). The crude description of this celebrant of Dionysos (*βοῶν τὰ Διονύσου*) is in explicit contrast with Psellos' description of the «important and well-educated» celebrants of Dionysos in his *Encomium of Wine*. «The bacchic bishop is not a man of dignity and importance», Mouzalon tells us, «he is illiterate, insignificant, indecent, lustful, surrounded by satyrs.»[95] In another text, a speech addressed to Patriarch Nicholas III, Mouzalon describes himself as amongst the sober guardians (*νήφων φύλαξ*) of Orthodoxy appointed by the patriarch to drive away the traffickers of sanctity (*λαὸν ἱεροκάπηλον*), who transformed the holy festivals into «malicious meetings similar to those of the drunken, indecently dancing, and orgiastic Dionysos' celebrants.»[96]

In this atmosphere of *φύλαξις* and *διόρθωσις*, Tzetzes was probably the first to break new ground, in identifying Noah with the sober Dionysos and Osiris. Tzetzes goes on to develop his argument: he believes that Dionysos, Osiris and Noah represent a single historic person, a king of some kind (*Δεύννσσος, δεῦνος καὶ ἄναξ Νύσσης*), who had different names according to the different traditions, whether Greek, Egyptian, or Jewish.[97] In the linear narration of world history presented by the chroniclers, Noah has been considered a central historical figure. This tradition was followed by the twelfth-century chroniclers Zonaras, Manasses and Glykas. However, in Manasses' *Historical Synopsis* — dedicated to the Sebastocratorissa Irene, wife of Andronikos Komnenos — events are

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94 Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα* (cit. n. 31, above), vol. 2, 448–52 (Canon 62 and commentaries); cf. Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B2, 212–13.

95 Nicholas Mouzalon, *Paraitesis*, ed. S. I. Doanidou, «Ἡ παραίτησις Νικολάου Μουζάλωνος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Κύπρου. Ἀνέκδοτον ἀπολογητικὸν ποίημα», *Ἑλληνικά* 7 (1934), 123.397–414. See also, Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B2, 50–5 and 196–8; P. Karlin-Hayter, «Alexios Komnenos: not in the strict sense of the word an emperor», in Mullett and Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos*, 142–3; Magdalino, «The Reform edict of 1107», 212–13 n. 35.

96 J . Darrouzés, «L'éloge de Nicolas III par Nicolas Mouzalon», *RÉB* 46 (1988), 51.

97 John Tzetzes, *Ἱστορίαι ἢ Χιλιάδες*, ed. P. A. M. Leone (Naples, 1968), Chil. V Hist. 1 l. 208: *Ὅσιρις Διόνυσος, ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ Νῶε* and ll. 204, 236, 258; Chil. V Hist. 26 ll. 791–7, Chil. VIII Hist. 211 ll. 577–80, Chil. X Hist. 335 ll. 484–5, Chil. XII Hist. l. 130.

interwoven with didactic discourses, but an account of the cultivation of the vine, Noah's drunkenness and subsequent shame is significantly absent.[98] Like Manasses, Tzetzes had elevated patrons at the Comnenian court, was a teacher of members of the aristocracy and imperial family, and worked for his keep by presenting his student patrons with a decent and purified version of ancient literature. Tzetzes interpreted Homer allegorically; he enjoyed Aristophanes' style but his notes on the comedies provide evidence of his annoyance at the obscenity of some lines in *The Frogs*, spoken by Dionysos, apparently believing that the poet might have been drunk when composing them.[99] Consequently, on the one hand Tzetzes identifies the historical Noah with Dionysos, a noble individual, a king and teacher of agriculture, and on the other he distinguishes the mortal Dionysos from the mythical, obscene god of the Thebans. In fact, Tzetzes states that the historical Dionysos was not the coarse, «scabby shit» (*χεζοκαρκάλης*) and weirdo (*ζαβοσκουτέλης*) that many writers, both ancient and modern, «believed in as god and hero».[100] These vulgar adjectives are employed to qualify both the mythical Bacchus-Dionysos of the orgies and probably the vulgar heroes of popular rituals of his time, mentioned also by Zonaras and Balsamon. Thus, in distinguishing between a degenerate Dionysos, considered by writers as a god and hero, and a pure, historical Dionysos, identified with Noah, the discoverer of viticulture and first farmer, Tzetzes is in accordance with the Comnenian spirit of decency and virtue.

Like Eros, a sovereign, the lord of order in the Comnenian novels, and for Tzetzes a fully developed youth, Dionysos was an ambivalent figure that the intellectuals of the time tried to rehabilitate. Their «Hellenism» was somehow purified and was even equated with decent social and family life.[101] Yet even rehabilitated, neither Dionysos nor his immoral and sensuous retinue had any

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98 John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, ed. L. Dindorf (Leipzig 1868), vol. 1, 21–2; Constantine Manasses, *Breviarium Chronicum*, ed. O. Lampsides (CFHB 36/1; Athens 1996), vv. 385–443. For Manasses, see P. Magdalino, «In search of the Byzantine courtier: Leo Choirosphaktes and Constantine Manasses», in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington D.C., 1997), 141–65.

99 John Tzetzes, *Notes on Aristophanes' Frogs*, ed. W. J. W. Koster (Groningen-Amsterdam, 1962), ll. 25, 358, 422, 1144; see also, Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (cit. n. 33, above), 193–4.

100 Tzetzes, *Ἱστορίαι ἢ Χιλιάδες*: *χεζοκαρκάλην*, Chil. V Hist 26 l. 797; *ζαβοσκουτέλης* Chil. VIII Hist. 211 ll. 577–80. For vernacular epithets for Dionysos, see Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B2, 204–8.

101 Tzetzes, *Ἱστορίαι ἢ Χιλιάδες*, Chil. V Hist. 11 l. 502. See also, P. Magdalino, «Eros the king and the king of *Amours*: Some observations on *Hysmine and Hysminias*», *DOP* 46 (1992), 197–204; id., *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos. 1143-1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 400–1; C. Cupane,

place in the artistry and decoration of artefacts of the time.[102] Irene Komnena commissioned a gold cup to be decorated not with bacchantes but with Virtues, as an epigram in the codex Marcianus gr. 524 tells us: «A Gold Cup: But where are Dionysos' bacchantes? They flee away because there is no drunkenness here. The daughter of Sophia, Eirene Komnena ordered the Virtues to be displayed here about.»[103] Could this rhetoric reflect the secular decency that distinguished in many respects the Comnenian aristocracy?

A joyful but decent Dionysos is presented in Theodore Prodromos' romance *On Rhodanthe and Dosikles,* probably dedicated to Nikephoros Bryennios, Anna Komnena's husband.[104] Prodromos describes Gobrya's cup like an archaeological artefact, on which a playful Dionysian band was depicted: Dionysos, the protector of the vine harvest, was represented seated in an elegant way on a storage jar with the bacchantes and the satyrs dancing and playing in an amusing but decorous fashion round the wine-press, while the vintage goes on.[105] Dionysos, like Noah, has just cut some grapes and is described as being dressed in the same outfit as all the men working on the vine harvest. Everything is decent, even the carnal desire, seen as acceptable only in marriage. Throughout the romance the expression *σεμνός, καὶ τἆλλα σεμνά* is constantly repeated and drunkenness needs either some explanation or some justification.[106] There is no

«Metamorphosen des Eros: Liebesdarstellung und Liebeskurs in der byzantinischen Literatur der Komnenenzeit», in P. A. Agapitos and D. R. Reinsch (eds.), *Der Roman der Komnenenzeit. Stand der Forschung und weitere Perspektiven* (Wiesbaden, 2000), 25–54.

102 However, Balsamon provides contradictory evidence for some residences: Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 2, 545–6 .

103 Sp. Lampros, «Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ 524», *NE* 8 (1911), no. 238; cf. Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B2, 56 and 198 (commentary).

104 On Comnenian artistry, see Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos,* 396–7; E. M. Jeffreys, «A date for Rhodanthe and Dosikles?», in Agapitos and Reinsch (eds.), *Der Roman der Komnenenzeit*, 127–36; P. A. Agapitos, «Poets and painters. Theodoros Prodromos' verses of his novel to an anonymous Ceasar», *JÖB* 50 (2000), 173–85.

105 Theodore Prodromos, *Τὰ κατὰ Ροδάνθην καὶ Δοσικλέα*, ed. M. Marcovich, *Theodori Prodromi de Rhodanthe et Dosiclis amoribus libri IX* (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1992), IV, ll. 344–71.

106 Theodore Prodromos, ibid., Index, s.v. *σεμνός*; cf. L. Garland, «*Be amorous but not chaste*. Sexual morality in Byzantine learned and vernacular romance», *BMGS* 14 (1990), 62–120. Prodromos gives interesting explanations for drunkenness as well as for the riotous behaviour it entails a) of Bareas: *Εἰς Βαρέαν*, ed. W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte* (Vienna, 1974), no. 59, 473–88 (on which see the commentary by Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 390–1), and b) of Nausikrates' drunkenness at the feast of Dionysos in *Τὰ κατὰ Ροδάνθην καὶ Δοσικλέα,* III, ll. 1–52, and IV, ll. 344–71 (on which see the commentary by Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ Βυζαντινός», vol. B2, 200–1).

excess in the description of the retinue of Dionysos; the satyrs or Selinuses betray no «upright, engorged» symbols of lust.[107]

In the *Life of St Meletios*, one of the rare saints' lives written in the twelfth century, Theodore Prodromos, relates three monastic stories, which form a narrative sequence and provide further information about the perception of Bacchus and Noah in the twelfth century. All three are set, far from the capital, in the region associated with the immoral Dionysos, the scabby god of the Thebans, according to Tzetzes. The first story, a hagiographical topos adapted to the vinous but virtuous climate of the twelfth century, takes place in the vineyards on the slopes of Mount Kithairon, where a peasant woman afflicted with madness sexually accosted a monk from Saint Meletios' monastery, who had come out looking for wine. The manic woman (*μεμηνὸς γύναιον*) was behaving like the maenads scattered in the area, but the virtuous monk succeeded in rising above the temptation.[108] However, another monk, Noah, who was also living a monastic life on Kithairon, that region of bacchantes and maenads,

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107 Speaking about his old age and about the cold weather that necessitates his being snugly wrapped up, Manganeios Prodromos asserts that he himself is like a Silenus the treader of grapes, who has no a wine-press anymore, but has also lost his thyrsos, his phallic symbol. He is growing cold in his nakedness, has become unrecognizable as the fellow who throbbed with sexual urges; his upright, engorged and passionate symbols have gone limp and useless... he is even without a hovel in which to take refuge and cover himself up and get warm again: ed. S. Bernardinello, *Theodori Prodromi, De Manganis* (Padua, 1972), II ll. 24–7, IV ll. 20–2.

108 Theodore Prodromos, *Life of Meletios of Myoupolis*, first ed. V. Vasilievskij, *PPSb* 6.2 [17] (1886), 1–66; we refer to the edition of the text by Chr. Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ μοναχικοῦ βίου ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, vol. 2. *Ὁ ὅσιος Μελέτιος ὁ Νέος (περ. 1035–1105)* (Athens, 1935), 67–91 (the three stories §§14–17, p. 82–7). On Comnenian patrons and the aristocratic connections of Meletios, see P. Armstrong, «Alexios Komnenos, holy men and monasteries», in Mullett and Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos* (cit. n. 57, above), 219–31.

It has been argued that the representation of Salome dancing reproduces depictions of maenads and Agave holding the head of Pentheus: Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology* (cit. n. 14, above), *passim*; cf. A. Katsiote, *Οι σκηνές της ζωής και ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος του Αγίου Ιωάννη Προδρόμου στη Βυζαντινή Τέχνη* (Athens, 1998), 124.

For a commentary on the two stories of the monks of Hosios Meletios, see I. Anagnostakis, «Μέγαρα και Βυζάντιο. Αμπελοοινική ιστορία της Μεγαρίδος κατά τους Μέσους Χρόνους (4ος–13ος αι.)», in G. A. Pikoulas (ed.), *Οἶνον ἱστορῶ* II. *Μεγαρίς. Ἡ ἀμπελοοινική της ἱστορία* (Athens, 2002), 55-71. For the theme «temptations in a vineyard», see A. Guillou, «Οι επίμεπτοι της λαϊκής συνειδήσεως», in Chr. Maltezou (ed.), *Οι περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens, 1993), 38–9; Angelidi, «Αισθήσεις, σεξουαλικότητα και οπτασίες» (cit. n. 45, above), 225–6; cf. Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B2, 147.

reacted in a different way to temptation. The monk Noah's castration story follows the maenad's incident and comes right after the prophecy of Meletios to *hikanatos* Bardas, the governor of the Peloponnese, and the miracle concerning the military man Leo Nikerites, «that general among eunuchs, and eunuch among generals.»[109] Prodromos relates that the monk Noah left Constantinople,[110] abandoning behind him the fleshly Noah (*τὸν σαρκικὸν Νῶε*) and the city of cataclysm, in order to meet the spiritual Noah in his ark, that is Meletios in his retirement. There «he was received and blessed by the Father, like Japheth was blessed by Noah, and he looked correct, decent and pious like Japheth, but in reality he tried to cover up the Ham that he was.» Prodromos qualifies the monk Noah as manic (*μανείς*), an adept of John Italos' doctrines (*τὴν Ἰταλικὴν κόρυζαν ἐπαγόμενος*), the devil's plaything, a disciple of Lucifer. The monk Noah, bearing a name that recalls both the drunkenness and the sexual uncovering of his homonym, as well as his virtue and repose, took extreme measures in his ambition to be God's equal. Guided by Lucifer, he amputated his genitals all by himself, yet even when castrated he remained as fleshly as he was before.[111]

It would be tempting to see the fleshly monk Noah as a heretic of the time and to understand the city of cataclysm as an allusion to the Comnenian prophecies about the Day of Judgement. We believe that the story of the monk Noah reflects two important twelfth-century attitudes which Prodromos shared. First, the conviction that Constantinople would soon be submerged by an apocalyptic cataclysm and that Alexios Komnenos or his heirs were to be the last Roman Emperors.[112] Second, the rejection of the «Hellenic» and/or heretical beliefs of the eleventh century, which Prodromos condemns in the person of the monk Noah, an adept of John Italos' «drivel» (*κόρυζα*), whose teaching Prodromos explicitly criticises.

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109 Theodore Prodromos, *Life of Meletios*, ed. Papadopoulos, § 17, p. 87. On the Bardas and Nikerites stories, see the comments of Armstrong, «Alexios Komnenos», 229–30.

110 Prodromos, *Life of Meletios*, ed. Papadopoulos, §17, p. 86–7. Another evil Noah, from Constantinople and active around 1030–1040 at Demetrias in Thessaly, is mentioned in Kekaumenos, ed. Litavrin in *Κεκαυμένος, Στρατηγικόν* (cit. n. 57, above), 125.

111 Prodromos, *Life of Meletios*, ed. Papadopoulos, §17, p. 86–7.

112 For the depiction of the Last Judgement in the Great Palace by Alexios I and for the Comnenian prophesies, see P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, «The emperor in Byzantine art of the twelfth century», *ByzF* 8 (1982), 124–6; P. Magdalino, «The history of the future and its uses: prophecy, policy and propaganda», in R. Beaton and Ch. Roueché (eds.), *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* (Aldershot, 1993), 26-7; id., «The Reform edict of 1107» (cit. n. 93, above), 203.

Furthermore, we would suggest that the account of the monk Noah is an indirect reference to the Bogomil resurgence in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. In the *Dogmatic Panoply* of Euthymios Zigabenos, commissioned by Alexios I, Massalians and Bogomils are condemned not only for their dualist teaching, but also for their ritual practices. They, we are told, permitted castration as an act of salvation, rejected the cult of the Cross, taught indecent doctrines about the tree of Paradise, the «progenitor» Noah, the vine, the bread and wine of the Eucharist.[113] It is interesting to note that when deploring the castration of the monk Noah, Prodromos employs the wording of Zigabenos, and that Anna Komnena is probably referring to the carnal beliefs and practices of the Bogomils, when she wrote that her sex and imperial status do not permit her to speak of certain doctrines; a full account, she says, can be found in Zigabenos' treatise.[114]

By accusing the carnal monk Noah of castrating himself, Prodromos establishes a direct parallel with the fleshly, ambitious Ham, and castigates any mutilation of the genitals given to man by God. His position is made all the more clear when compared to the lesson drawn from the other two stories in the *Life of St Meletios*. The only acceptable and honourable attitude is that of the monk attacked by the demonic maenad in the vineyards; in contrast, the portrait of the self-mutilated Nikerites is less than flattering.[115] Prodromos' attitude is quite different from that of Nicholas of Methone, who had composed another version of the same Life some years earlier. Nicholas does not mention any of the three stories in his text, a text known to Prodromos who «made fun of it».[116] In fact the two versions reflect the two tendencies of the time: as a puritan Nicholas prefers to ignore the indecent stories, while Prodromos uses them for didactic purposes and gives them an important place in the narrative.

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113 Euthymios Zigabenos, *Panoplia Dogmatike*, PG 130, 1239b, 1305, 1313.

114 Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis (CFHB 40/1; Berlin, 2001), XV 9,1. For the Bogomils in the Alexiad, see D. Smythe, «Alexios I and heretics: the account of Anna Komnene's Alexiad», in Mullett and Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos* (cit. n. 57, above), 232–44.

115 Cf. Armstrong, «Alexios Komnenos» (cit. n. 108, above), 230.

116 Prodromos, *Life of Meletios*, ed. Papadopoulos, 36–46; cf. Armstrong, «Alexios Komnenos», 224–5 (Armstrong is preparing a new edition of Meletios' Life). On Nicholas of Methone, who authored a treatise to counteract the Bogomil errors regarding Eucharist, see A. Angelou, *Nicholas of Methone, Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology* (Athens-Leiden, 1984), xxix–xxxii.

Fig. 11: Salerno, Museo diocesano: Ivory plaque (detail). The drunkenness of Noah.

The rejection of the fleshly Noah also has its literary and artistic parallels in twelfth-century Sicily, both in mosaics and in the verses of Eugene of Palermo. The scene of Noah's shame has, of course, two divergent models in Southern Italy and France. On the Salerno ivories (ca. 1080) (fig. 11), considered firmly linked to the western members of the *Cotton Genesis* family of manuscripts, Noah is depicted as already covered by his sons.[117] In contrast, the wall paintings at Saint-Savin (ca. 1100) represent Noah naked, while a gloating Ham is gesturing with his fingers making horns over the naked body of his father.[118] The iconography of the latter may derive either from the Judeo-Christian exegesis that castigates Ham either from popular, heretical commentaries on the sexual licence of the patriarch and his castration. However, in the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina (1140), approximately contemporary with the Octateuch ma-

[117] Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (cit. n. 15, above), 22–3, figs. 133, 140; Bergmann, *The Salerno Ivories* (cit. n. 69, above), figs. 11–12.

[118] For the symbolism of the frescoes of Saint Savin, see Deremble, «La nudité de Noé» (cit. n. 6, above), 152–5, figs. 2 and 3.

nuscripts, and of Monreale (1180) the only scene from the biblical account chosen to be depicted was that of the already covered Noah (figs. 9–10). In the second half of the twelfth century, Eugene of Palermo, a high-ranking dignitary at the Sicilian courts, repeated in his verses *On Gluttony* the *topos* of the effects of drunkenness and linked this with coarse Greek Bacchuses and satyrs. Moreover, Eugene poses a rhetorical question invoking Noah's drunkenness and shame, with the emphasis on his being covered: «What else but the intemperance of drinking uncovered Noah's shame, which was covered by his pious son.»[119] Eugene's question: *Τίς ἐκκαλύπτει τοῦ Νῶε τὴν αἰσχύνην*, may be adapted to the purpose of our study: what finally (un)covered Noah's shame in twelfth-century representations? Eustathios of Thessaloniki and John Kastamonites may provide some answers to this question.

By contrast with Eugene, other interpretations, and the iconography of the bible story, Eustathios aligns himself with Theodoret and Photios, and argues that Noah («my Noah», *ἐμὸς Νῶε*) cannot be considered a drunkard, and cannot be used as a cautionary example for the ill effects of wine drinking. Eustathios believes that Noah was unaccustomed to heavy drinking: «as soon as the wine began to go to his head he lay down on the ground solid as a rock, not jumping up, nor falling down nor overcome by the temporary power of the wine.»[120] Thus, Noah's Passion is presented as a prefiguration of Christ's own, and Noah is not just any common drunkard, but solid as a rock. On the other hand, Kastamonites, one of the most prominent *didaskaloi* of the late twelfth century, gives yet another example of the Comnenian anagogical approach to the Noah story. Noah's «Passion» (i.e. the drunkenness, the uncovering, Ham's derision and any other humiliation his younger son may have inflicted on him), is interpreted as a prefiguration of Christ's Utmost Humiliation (i.e. the Man of Sorrows). Kastamonites was convinced (*πέπεισμαι*) that the biblical account has this precise mystical symbolism: prefiguring the true grape pressed (*οἴνου ἀπόθλιψις*) on the Cross, giving the immortal wine, and prefiguring Christ's humiliation by the Jews who mocked him as if he were an ugly wine-drinker without form or beauty (*ὡς οἰνοπότης ἀπεσκώφθη καὶ ὡς μὴ ἔχων εἶδος μηδὲ κάλλος*).[121] Probably the last representative of the monastic reform of 1107,[122]

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119 *Eugenii Panormitani, Versus Iambici*, ed. M. Gigante (Palermo, 1964), no. III, ll. 26–7, 47–9.

120 T. L. Tafel, *Eustathii Opuscula* (Frankfurt, 1832; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), 67 ll. 19-54.

121 John Kastamonites, *Διδασκαλία* VI, in V. Katsaros, *Ἰωάννης Κασταμονίτης. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ βίου, τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς του* (Thessalonike, 1988), 231.

122 Katsaros, *Ἰωάννης Κασταμονίτης*, 163–209, esp. 179; Magdalino, «The Reform edict of 1107» (cit. n. 93, above), 205, 209, 215.

Fig. 12: Kastoria, Byzantine Museum, bilateral icon. *Akra Tapeinosis*.

Kastamonites follows the spirit of the Edict. In fact, Alexios' stressing of the humiliation of Christ created a new monastic fashion. For Alexios and John Komnenos, piety and humility were necessary virtues for an emperor wishing to help Christ and his followers, that is the Empire humiliated and suffering at the hands of its enemies. Piety and humility would be the most effective imperial weapons in the struggle against the empire's enemies, if the emperors were to «extend the vine over all the earth» producing «an abundance of wine». Such indeed is the wording employed in encomia inspired by the Bible, and praising Comnenian «imperialism» and the continuing growth of the dynasty.[123]

This emphasis on Christ's humiliation and suffering was a monastic fashion that produced a series of new iconographies, such as the *Akra Tapeinosis* or «Man of Sorrows» (fig. 12). Both Alexios I and Manuel Komnenos were compa-

123 Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos* (cit. n. 101, above), 419–23; cf. Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B2, 71–5, 201–2.

red with the Man of Sorrows and their behaviour was described as the imitation of the Utmost Humility of Christ.[124] Manuel Komnenos, whose name recalls Christ's name Emmanuel, was the subject of literary deification and, in fact, Gregory Antiochos compared the emperor with Christ Crucified and his struggles against his enemies with the Passion.[125]

In her prefatory remarks to the *Alexiad*, Anna Komnena gives an important example of the link created between Alexios I Komnenos and Christ's Passion or its prefiguration, Noah's Passion. Anna refers to Noah and seems to ask herself if she really ought to cover or uncover all her father's deeds. If she brings to light some actions of her father, she fears the mocking laughter of those who will charge her with Ham's behaviour, charges likely to be levelled by people guided by envy and malice.[126] By means of this device, «no less rhetorical than the image of the emperor»,[127] Alexios, already linked with Christ's Passion by virtue of his piety and humility, is also connected with Noah's Passion.

The testimony of Kastamonites is well adapted to this image created for and promoted by the Comnenian family. In line with the early Fathers, he believes that Noah's Humiliation is made manifest in the hidden mystery of Christ's Utmost Humiliation, (*διαλευκαίνεταί μοι κἀντούτῳ τὸ τοῦ μυστηρίου βάθος*). The connection of Noah's *πάθημα* (humiliation) with *πάθος* (passion) led to the identification of Christ's *θλίψις* (sorrow) with the *θλίψις* (pressing) of the true grape, which underlies the representation of the *Akra Tapeinosis*.[128] In the Western medieval world, this series of parallels created the iconography of the Man of Sorrows, and the anagogical interpretation of Noah's drunkenness may

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124 Angold, «Alexios I Komnenos: An afterword» (cit. n. 92, above), 413 (referring to Gautier, «L'édit d'Alexis Ier»); D. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus—das Bild* (Munich, 1965), 197–289.

125 Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, 481–8.

126 Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, vol. I, Prol. 2.2, 6.34–7.7. The whole passage uses words relating to vision, covering/uncovering and to Noah's story: *τῆς σωτῆς ἀποσβέννυται σκότος, καθάπτεσθαι, φιλοσκώμμων, ἐποφθαλμιῶν, καθορῶν, βασκανία, φθόνος, ἀναίτιον.* For *βασκανία, βάσκανον* linked with Noah's shame, cf. *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica*, ed. P. Maas and C. A Trypanis (Oxford, 1963), no. 40: *On Noah*, 321 l. 19.

127 Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, 488, on Manuel I.

128 *Geoponica*, ed. H. Beckh (Leipzig, 1895), chs. 6.11.3, 9.19.8: *θλίψις ἐλαίου, τὰς σταφυλὰς ἀποθλίβειν*; Darrouzès and Westerink, *Théodore Daphnopatès Correspondance* (cit. n. 43, above), no. 12.7, no. 37.30: *ἀποθλιβόμενον γλεῦκος*; Kastamonites, see Katsaros, *Ἰωάννης Κασταμονίτης*, 231: *οἴνου ἀπόθλιψις*. See also the constant use of *θλίψις* and *ταπείνωσις* in John Oxites' speech to Alexios I: P. Gautier, «Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis 1er Comnène», *RÉB* 28 (1970), 19–49; cf. H. Maguire, «The depiction of sorrow in Middle Byzantine art», *DOP* 31(1977), 161.

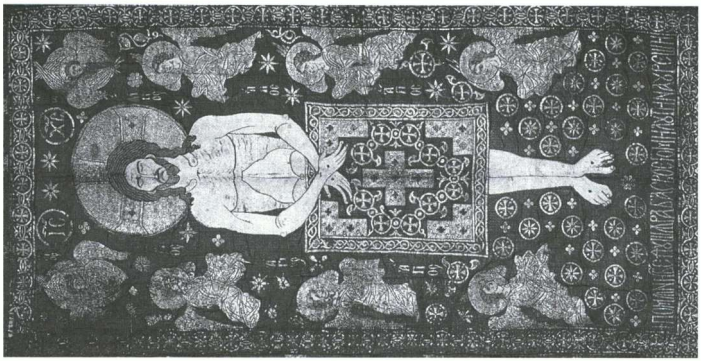

Fig. 13: Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church:
The epitaphios of the king Stefan Milutin.

be detected in the representation of the Crowning with Thorns or of Christ in the Wine-Press.

By the late twelfth century, a new type of decoration was introduced for the *Aër*, the veil used in the liturgy to cover the Holy Gifts. In this new iconography, Christ-*Amnos* is represented lying naked, with his genitals covered by an *aër* and his hands crossed over the pubic area, source of life (fig. 13).[129] This specific representation aimed to veil the Gifts offered by Christ with the mystery of Passion, the bread and wine, to veil Christ's naked, suffering body in blood. Thus, to cover the simultaneously asleep and awake Man of Sorrows (Noah or Christ) was to veil and respect the mystery of the Passion and the Eucharist, to cover Christ himself as, according to the Church Fathers, Shem and Japheth did Noah, with respect. Covering is also to believe the mystery of the holy gifts, that bread and Wine are the body and blood of Christ. This covering also showed respect for the *Epitaphios* ritual, paying to the dead body the utmost respect, shrouding the body of God in his utmost humiliation, with Christ dead but unbowed, erect

[129] Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung Christi*, 251–9; H. Belting, «An image and its function in the liturgy: The man of sorrows in Byzantium», *DOP* 34 (1980–81), 1–16.

as the Life in very death, in glory but yet utterly humiliated and with the cross still behind him.[130]

The imperial Virtue of the twelfth century was conceived in reaction against the eclectic pursuit of «Hellenic» themes and motifs as seen in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This new attitude castigated the bacchic aspect of Dionysos/Noah, and presented a purified version, glorified as the prefiguration of Christ, respectfully covered with the «Veil of Faith» in miniatures and monumental art. Thanks to Alexios' autocratic conservatism, the Comnenian dynasty established in social life and in artistic expression a strict code of behaviour, in a conscious effort at disassociating itself from the extravagance, indolence, and immorality of the eleventh-century regimes.[131] Moreover, Byzantine intellectuals of the twelfth century generated a kind of «puritanism», when describing Dionysos merely as a decorative theme or by deleting his picture from the decorative repertoire.[132] However, in romances and rhetorical exercises the pervasive presence can be detected of iconographic borrowings from mythology or images of Late Antiquity with their implicit or explicit erotic allusions.[133] In the thirteenth century Niketas Choniates would continue the Byzantine invective against Dionysos, seeing in the over amorous Andronikos Komnenos the son of Semele, accompanied by Thyades, Sobades, maenads and bacchantes.[134] In the twelfth century, the condemnation of immoral drunkenness and vinous excess as deviant attitudes is omnipresent, despite the virtual dissociation of wine and drunkenness from debauchery and sin. But above all one can sense an aristocratic, conservative and moralistic approach to the sensual pleasures

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130 A cross, allegedly made out of wood of the «first vine planted by Noah after the Deluge», was displayed in the Nea Ecclesia: G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris, 1996), 217; cf. K. Ciggaar, «Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais», *RÉB* 34 (1976), 218, 246.

131 P. Magdalino, «Innovations in government», in Mullett and Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos* (cit. n. 57, above), 161, 165.

132 On the terms «purge», «puritanism», and «purity of Orthodoxy», see Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, 383–7.

133 Besides the erotic scenes in the novels, see the *Progymnasmata* of Nicephorus Basilakes, especially that on Pasiphaë and the Bull: ed. A. Pignani, «Alcuni progimnasmi inediti di Niceforo Basilace», *RSBN* 8/9 (1971–72), 306–8; cf. H.-G. Beck, *Das literarische Schaffen der Byzantiner* (Vienna, 1974), 22. For a «voyeurist» intrerpretation of the nude depictions in Byzantium and for Noah's depictions, see Zeitler, «Ostentatio genitalium» (cit. n. 30, above), 197–8.

134 Niketas Choniates, *Chronike Diegesis*, ed. I.-A. van Dieten (CFHB, 11/1; Berlin-New York, 1975), 321, commented on by Anagnostakis, «Οἶνος ὁ βυζαντινός», vol. B2, 106–7, 213–14.

offered by a wine-bibbing life. Thus, the priority seems to have been to avoid, both in artistic and literary expression, even the slightest hint of an association between wine drinking and the phallic fertility symbols that were still worshipped in rituals practised by the country people that Mouzalon, Zonaras, Balsamon, and Prodromos condemned.

The twelfth century created or chose to represent Noah covered, instead of depicting his nakedness as explicitly mentioned in the biblical account. This option, and especially the representation of the covered Noah as patriarch holding the Ark, would be handed down to the Orthodox world for posterity as far as we can tell from the few Byzantine depictions known from later centuries. Noah harvesting the grapes and his subsequent drunkenness were depicted in the wall paintings of the Monastery of Decani in the fourteenth century in two separate scenes (figs. 14–15).[135] In the first Noah is cutting a cluster of grapes from the vine he has grown, whereas in the second scene he is shown twice: as a wine drinker and as a drunkard. Ham points out what is going on to his brothers and, while averting their gaze, they attempt to adjust their father's clothing so as to cover his thighs.

Throughout the Western Middle Ages and the Renaissance the drunkenness and nakedness of Noah were depicted in art in several of the forms described above. As Weitzmann stated, the *Cotton Genesis* cycle was a source mined throughout the Middle Ages. Fashioned from the text of Genesis, from legend and exegesis both Jewish and Christian, and from the vast reservoir of classical art, the *Cotton Genesis* imagery was extraordinarily rich and sophisticated, and at the same time readily accessible.[136] The impact of these legends and exegesis is observable in some depictions of Noah's Drunkenness and, by introducing their own interpretations, artists developed new compositions. We cite at random two early examples mentioned above, the scene of Noah's covering on the Salerno ivories (c. 1080) and the wall painting at Saint Savin (c. 1100).[137] In the *Millstatt Genesis*, produced in Salzburg or Carinthia between 1180 and 1200 and linked to Carolingian Bibles, Noah is depicted naked, while Ham tells his brothers to cover him.[138] In the thirteenth century the drunkenness and

135 V. R. Petković and Dj. Bošković, *Dećani* (Begrade, 1941), vol. 3, pls. 264.1, 265.1.

136 Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (cit. n. 15, above), 43.

137 Ibid., 22–3, figs. 133, 140; Bergmann, *The Salerno Ivories* (cit. n. 69, above). On the mystical symbolism of the frescoes of Saint Savin, see Deremble, «La nudité de Noé» (cit. n. 6, above), 152–5, figs. 2–3.

138 Klangenfurt, Kärtner Landesarchiv, cod. 6/19, f. 23r: Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (cit. n. 15, above), 23, fig. 139.

Fig. 14: Dećani, monastery of Christ, naos: Noah making the wine.

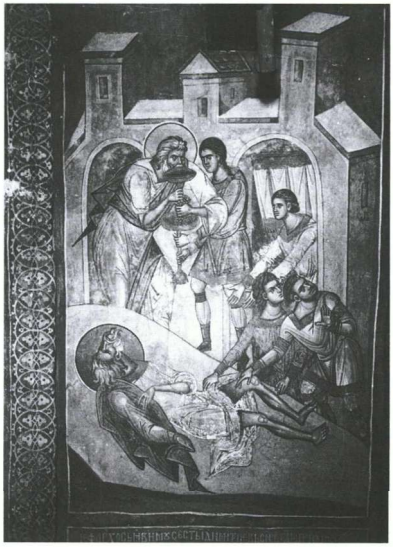

Fig. 15: Dećani, monastery of Christ, naos: The drunkenness of Noah.

Fig. 16: Venice, Saint Mark's cathedral, narthex: Noah drinking the wine.

nakedness of Noah were depicted in two superposed registers in the narthex of St. Mark's in Venice (fig. 16–17).[139] In the first register Noah, having drunk the wine that he pressed with his own hands, lies down drunk and becomes uncovered through drunkenness. His son Ham peers at him and then tells his brothers who, in the next scene, averting their gaze, prepare to cover their father up (fig. 18). In both scenes Noah is depicted completely naked. His total nudity, previously unheard of, and his reclining pose recall the Dionysiac sarcophagi and the pavement mosaics of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, for example the bound silenus reclining on a mosaic at El Djem (now in the Museum at El

139 O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (Washington D.C., 1984), vol. 2. Text, 122–3, vol. 2. Plates, 169–71, and col. pl. 43; Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (cit. n. 15, above), 18–20.

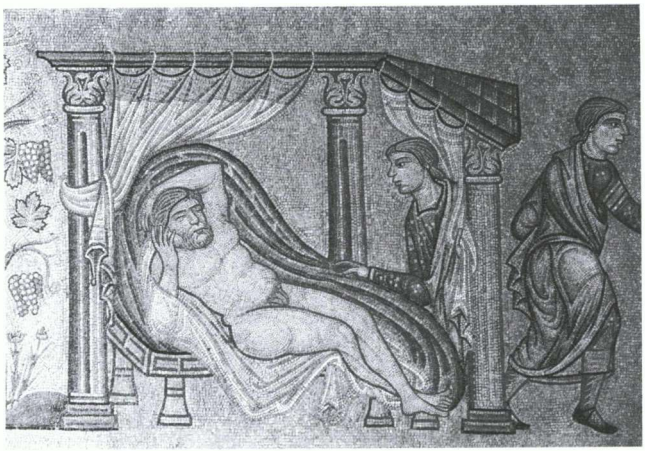

Fig. 17: Venice, Saint Mark's cathedral, narthex: Ham sees Noah naked.

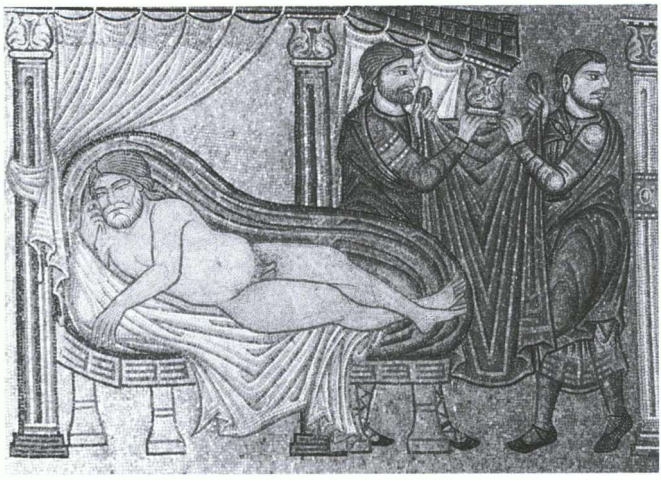

Fig. 18: Venice, Saint Mark's cathedral, narthex: Shem and Japheth covering Noah

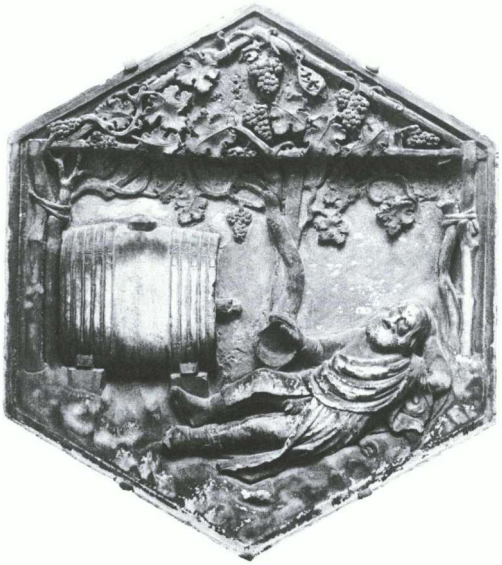

Fig. 19: Florence, Museum dell'Opera del Duomo.
A. Pisano, Relief from the Campanile of he Duomo.The drunkenness of Noah.

Djem, fig. 4).[140] Of special interest to the topic is a prayer-book from the thirteenth century, *The Murthly Hours* most probably created in the 1280s. In two instances readers erased details they found offensive: the face of Cain and the genitals of the drunken Noah.[141] An unusual example is found in a miniature in a Hebrew manuscript of Catalan origin, now in London, (dated to around 1330), which shows Noah naked and lying down, holding his erect member.[142] In one of the sculptures by Andrea Pisano (dated to 1337) on the campanile of the

140 H. Slim, «Dionysus», in M. Blanchard-Lemeé and al. (eds.), *Mosaics of Roman Africa. Floor Mosaics from Tunisia* (London, 1996), fig. 70.

141 The National Library of Scotland MS 21000: J. Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours: Devotion, Literacy and Luxury in Paris, England and the Gaelic West* (London-Toronto, 2000), 234 and fig. 98 (Cain), 235 and fig. 99 (Noah).

142 Deremble, «La nudité de Noé» (cit. n. 6, above), 152–5.

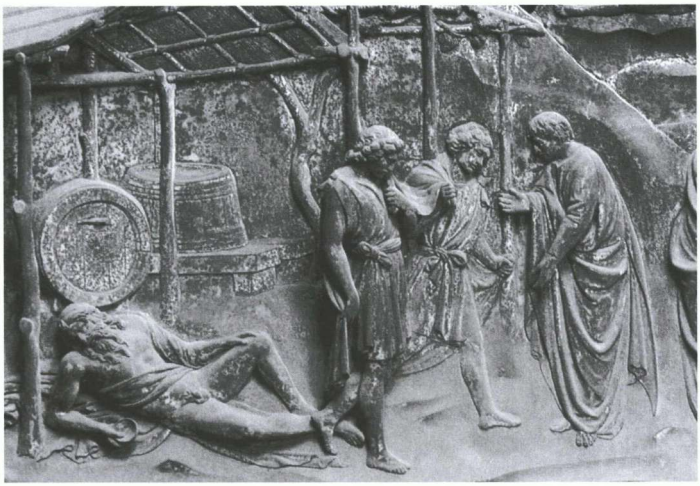

Fig. 20: Florence, Baptistery. Lorenzo Guiberti, The Gates of Paradise (detail): The drunkenness of Noah.

Duomo in Florence (fig. 19),[143] Noah reclines in front of a huge vine next to an equally huge wooden barrel of wine, still holding in one hand his empty cup. The composition limits itself to depicting the drunkenness of Noah. His garment is open at the abdomen and allows a glimpse of an erect penis. In the late fourteenth-century book, *Histoire Universelle* (now in Vienna), scenes like Noah making wine and Noah's drunkenness manifest obvious connections with St Mark's mosaics, whose impact is observable on manuscript art from the early thirteenth century.[144] The figure of Noah that appears on the so-called Gates of Paradise on the Baptistery in Florence (an early fifteenth-century work by Ghiberti) is once again positioned in front of a barrel of wine and holding an empty cup (fig. 20).[145] The stance of the body — especially the legs — and the

143 L. Becherucci and G. Brunetti (eds.), *Il Museo dell'Opera del Duomo a Firenze* (Venice, 1969), vol. 1, 234–7, fig. 55; Gl. Andres, J. Hunisak, and A. Turner, *The Art of Florence* (New York, 1994), fig. 50.

144 Vienna Nationalbibliothek, cod. 2576, fol. 7v: Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (cit. n. 15, above), 20–1, figs. 132, 138.

145 A. Paolucci, *The Origins of Renaissance Art. The Baptistery Doors, Florence* (New York, 1996), fig. 224.

Fig. 21: Padova, Baptistery of the Cathedral: Giusto de' Menabuoi, The drunkenness of Noah (detail).

pose of the sons are strongly reminiscent of the miniature in the Vaticanus Graecus 747. Noah's pose in both these works recalls the drunken faun from the Barberini collection (now in the Glyptothek in Munich, fig. 5).[146] In Menabuoi's painting in the Baptistery at Padua (from the second half of the fourteenth century), the artist depicts the moment when Noah's two sons attempt to cover their father's nakedness, in which the old man's sexuality is evident (fig. 21).[147] In the relief that decorates a corner of the facade of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice (the corner towards the Ponte della Pallia), of the early fifteenth century, the naked Noah, holding his cup in one hand and a bunch of grapes in the other, is being draped from the waist down by his sons.[148]

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146 Fr. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven-London, 1981), 202–5, no. 33, fig. 105.

147 *Padua, Baptistery of the Cathedral, Frescoes by Giusto de Menabuoi* (XIVc.) (Padua, 1994), fig. 4. For the reproduction of the Menabuoi frescoes in the late 14th-c. *Rovigo Bibl*e, produced in Padua, and the connection of both with the *Cotton Genesis*, see Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (cit. n. 15, above), 26.

148 J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture* (5th ed.; London, 2000), 213, fig. 218; W. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica 1300-1460* (Venice, 1976), 173 ff., figs. 172–7, 196.

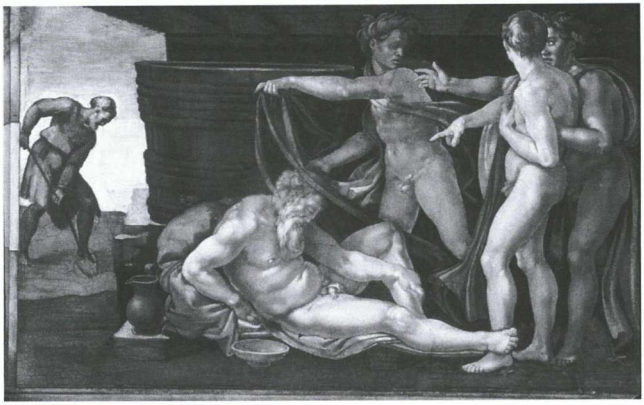

Fig. 22: Vatican City, Capella Sistina: Michelangelo Buonarotti, The drunkenness of Noah (detail).

A century later Michelangelo was to complete the Genesis cycle on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel with the drunkenness and the nakedness of Noah (fig. 22). Here Noah is not sleeping but, exhausted from his drinking session, he is leaning forward with a hand on his leg, trying to stay upright. The authors of the latest edition of the Byzantine Octateuchs think that, before painting the ceiling of the papal chapel, Michelangelo may have consulted, among other things, the Greek codices 746 and 747, which were already in the Vatican Library by the fifteenth century.[149] A few years after the completion of the same artist's Last Judgement in this chapel the then pope gave orders to cover up the intimate parts of all the naked figures in that painting. This, of course, was an entirely different world from that of Byzantium and yet it displayed similarly conservative behaviour, attitudes and sensibilities. Fortunately the naked figures on the ceiling, of which Noah was one, were saved from the cataclysm of «Virtue».[150]

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149 Weitzmann, Bernabò and Tarasconi, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (cit. n. 15, above), 332.

150 Cf. the metaphor of cataclysm in the Fathers of Church, e.g. the «cataclysm of infidelity» in Gregory of Nazianz, *Εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον ἐπιτάφιος*, ed. J. Bernardi, *Grégoire de Nazianze Discours 42–43* (SC 384; Paris, 1992), Discours 43, 70.21.