L

LABARUM (λάβαρον, perhaps derived from Celtic *llafar*, "eloquent," or rather *laureum* [*vexillum*], laurel standard), Christian military standard first attested by Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *VC* 1.31) and characterized as a "cross-shaped sign." This may have been the standard devised by Constantine I prior to the battle of the MILVIAN BRIDGE, as ambiguously described by Lactantius (Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 44.4–5; see Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 306, n.146). The colossal statue of Constantine in the Basilica of Maxentius may have held the labarum (Eusebios, *HE* 9.9.10 and *VC* 1.40.2; see A. Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* [Oxford 1948] 42). In later representations the labarum was generally shown as a standard with CHRISTOGRAM, or, as held by Honorius on an ivory diptych (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.1), with an inscription alluding to Constantine's victory.

LIT. J.-J. Hatt, "La vision de Constantin au sanctuaire de Grand et l'origine celtique du labarum," *Latomus* 9 (1950) 427–36. H. Grégoire, "Encore l'etymologie de 'labarum,'" *Byzantion* 12 (1937) 277–81. M. Green, J. Ferguson, "Constantine, Sun-Symbols and the Labarum," *Durham University Journal* 80 (1987) 9–17. –T.E.G., A.C.

LABIS. See SPOONS.

LABOR (πόνος, also ἐργόχειρον) was ambivalently viewed by the Byz. On the one hand, it was considered suffering or punishment for the ORIGINAL SIN of their ancestors; on the other hand, those who labored were blessed by Christ. Two main perceptions of labor were developed in Byz.

1. Labor was considered an ascetic discipline, as a means of self-subjugation and as a path to spiritual enlightenment. Monastic communities—in the rules of Basil the Great and Theodore of Stoudios, in monastic *typika*, in hagiographical writings—praised labor from this viewpoint. We can question whether such an attitude toward labor was actually characteristic of monks—at any rate, criticism of monks for their idleness is not infrequent in Byz. literature (e.g., Eustathios of Thessalonike)—but such was the theoretical view.

2. A "rationalistic" perception was elaborated by such writers as Michael Choniates and Eustathios of Thessalonike. For Michael Choniates, labor is valuable not in itself but for its results; the beauty is in creation or in gain but not in the work itself. Eustathios speaks of labor as the natural condition of mankind, satisfying both bodily and spiritual needs; men work to avoid the hunger which is the reward of idleness, yet this same labor is pleasing to God. St. PHILOTHEOS OF OPSIKION, he stresses, happily worked with his own hands and considered "noble toil" as a worthy pursuit for man. In the aristocratic ideal of behavior, however, there was a place for war, hunting, games, and cultural pleasures, but not for work.

LIT. T. Teoteoi, "Le travail manuel dans les typika byzantins des XIe–XIIIe siècles," *RESEE* 17 (1979) 455–62. H. Dörries, "Mönchtum und Arbeit," *Forschungen zur Kirchengeschichte und zur christlichen Kunst* (Leipzig 1931) 17–39. *Spiritualità del lavoro nella catechesi dei Padri del III–IV secolo*, ed. S. Felici (Rome 1986). A. Quacquarelli, *Lavoro e ascesi nel monachesimo prebenedettino del IV e V secoli* (Bari 1982). Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 162f. –A.K.

LABOR DISPUTES can be divided into two categories: (1) broadly, the collective actions of workers as a pressure group and (2) in a narrower sense, disagreements between an employer (*ergodotes*) and his contractors (*ergolaboi*), who in the 10th C. were equated with *technitai*. Examples of pressure groups are the *fabricenses* of imperial FACTORIES in the 4th C. who were politically very active (L.C. Ruggini, *SettStu* 18 [1971] 163–76). In later centuries the workers in state factories were also sometimes used as a political force, as when imperial weavers helped to foil the usurpation of the *kouropalates* Leo Phokas in 971 (Leo Diac. 146.20–147.3).

The second kind of labor dispute involved arguments over the quality of the work performed (the worker was responsible for defects caused by his incompetence or negligence), work stoppages

(contractors had to pay a fine for the suspension of work), poor working conditions, and esp. WAGES. Since a portion of the wages could be advanced, some contracts (e.g., P.Grenf. II, 87, a.602) required that the advance payment be returned with INTEREST if the workers did not complete the given task. Conflicts were to be resolved through the expertise of arbitrators (*Bk. of Eparch*, ch.22.2), but in case of a deadlock workers used strikes as their last resort. An inscription from Sardis of 459 testifies to such a strike of construction workers. An 11th-C. historian (Attal. 204.5–6) mentions that the MISTHIOI in Rhaidestos demanded a salary increase during the inflationary period under Michael VII. An ordinance by Emp. Zeno of 483 prohibited contractors and workers in Constantinople from organizing a boycott of an employer; this law was extended by Justinian I to the provinces in 531 and later included in the *Basilika*; the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* also punishes work stoppages.

LIT. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Trudovye konflikty v Vizantii," *VizOč* (Moscow 1971) 26–74. W.H. Buckler, "Labour Disputes in the Province of Asia," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to W.M. Ramsay* (Manchester 1923) 27–50. B. Hemmerdinger, "Marx et Engels sur une grève à Constantinople," *Belfagor* 27 (1972) 478–80. –A.K.

LACHANODRAKON, MICHAEL, general; died Markellai 20 July 792. Appointed *strategos* of the Thrakesion theme in 766/7 by Constantine V, Lachanodrakon (Λαχανοδράκων) actively supported ICONOCLASM and esp. persecuted its monastic opponents. In 771, "imitating his teacher" Constantine (Theoph. 445.3–4), he summoned to Ephesus monks and nuns from his theme and threatened to blind and exile those who refused to marry. In 772 he confiscated all monastic property in the Thrakesion and gave proceeds from its sale to Constantine, punished those who possessed relics, and ultimately prohibited anyone in the theme from being tonsured. Lachanodrakon was a talented general. In 778 he commanded a multi-theme army (including the troops of TATZATES) that invaded Syria and besieged Germanikeia, although Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 451.19–20) says that Lachanodrakon was bribed by the Arabs to withdraw. In 780 he ambushed an Arab army in the Armeniakon and in 782 destroyed at Darenos in the Thrakesion one-third of the army of HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. His Iconoclastic sympathies may have led Irene to remove him as *strategos* (Bury, *LRE* 2:485). Lachanodrakon was a close adviser to Constantine VI and in Dec. 790 helped him depose Irene by securing the support of the Armeniakon army. As a *magistros* (Theoph. 468.1) Lachanodrakon died at the battle of MARKELLAI while campaigning with Constantine against the Bulgarians.

LIT. Gero, *Constantine V* 125f, 154. –P.A.H.

LACTANTIUS, more fully Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius, Latin Christian writer and teacher; born probably in Africa ca.240, died ca.325. A pupil of Arnobius, Lactantius was appointed by DIOCLETIAN to teach rhetoric at Nikomedeia. Already a Christian when the persecution of 303 began, he lost his position, leaving ca.305 to spend some years in Gaul or Africa. When very old he was asked by Constantine to tutor his son Crispus, a post that gave Lactantius some court influence. Of his two most important extant works the *Divine Institutes* seeks to persuade men of letters of the moral superiority of Christianity; it is the earliest systematic account of Christian morality in Latin. The other, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, covers the period from Nero to Galerius and Maximinus Daia. Its extreme celebration of divine vengeance is new to classical literature, while its combination of secular narrative and praise of God is reminiscent of 2 Maccabees (J. Rougé, *StP* 12 [Berlin 1975] 135–43). The work, chronologically sound and sometimes citing imperial edicts verbatim, is a particularly important source for the period 303–13. Lactantius's essays, *The Workmanship of God* and *On the Wrath of God,* also survive. Perhaps he wrote the poem *Phoenix*. Ten books of letters and some possibly pagan pieces—*Symposium*, *Grammaticus*, and a verse account of his trip from Africa to Nikomedeia—are lost.

ED. *Opera omnia*, ed. S. Brandt, G. Laubmann, 3 vols. in 2 (Vienna 1890–97). *Minor Works*, tr. M.F. McDonald (Washington, D.C., 1965). Tr. eadem, *The Divine Institutes, books 1–7* (Washington, D.C., 1964). *De mortibus persecutorum*, ed. J.L. Creed (Oxford 1984), with Eng. tr.

LIT. M. Perrin, *L'homme antique et chrétien: L'anthropologie de Lactance, 250–325* (Paris 1981). R.M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford 1978). *Lactance et son temps*, eds. J. Fontaine, M. Perrin (Paris 1978). O.P. Nicholson, "The Source of the Dates in Lactantius' *Divine Institutes*," *JThSt* n.s. 36 (1985) 291–310. –B.B.

LAGOUDERA, in the Troodos mountains of CYPRUS, site of the Church of the Panagia tou Arakos. This structure of three bays, a central dome, and a single apse follows a plan common among the small mountain churches of the island. The pointed arches suggest a construction date in the second half of the 12th C.; the narthex and heavy protective roof are not part of the original structure. The first phase of the fresco decoration includes a Virgin and Child and two registers of frontal bishops in the apse and the lower fragments of a figure enthroned between angels on the south wall of the nave. The second phase includes the rest of the sanctuary and all of the nave (the group on the south wall was overpainted). Dedicatory inscriptions indicate that the second phase was completed in December 1192, through the patronage of Leo tou Authentou (or tou Authentos). Leo's special veneration for the Virgin is evident not only in the dedicatory verse accompanying the fresco icon of the Theotokos tou Arakos, but also in the emphasis on her life in the decoration of the nave. On the basis of a fragmentary inscription and stylistic traits, Winfield identified the painter of the second phase of decoration as Theodore APSEUDES. These frescoes exhibit the stylistic characteristics of late 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING.

LIT. D. Winfield, C. Mango, "The Church of the Panagia Arakos, Lagoudera: First Preliminary Report," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70) 377–80. Idem, "Reports" 262–64. A.H.S. Megaw, "Background Architecture in the Lagoudera Frescoes," *JÖB* 21 (1972) 195–201. D. Winfield, *Panagia tou Arakos, Lagoudera* (Nicosia, n.d.). –A.J.W.

LAITY (pl. λαϊκοί from *laos*, people), term denoting the nonclerical element of the Christian community, in contrast to its CLERGY. Unknown in the New Testament, the term was used by Clement of Alexandria, and in the 3rd C. the laity was differentiated not only from the clergy but also from the ordinary faithful: they formed an elite of males married only once who were allowed to baptize and officiate in the absence of clergy. When the monastic movement started, the monks were at first considered laymen. Some ministerial functions (esp. those of ANAGNOSTES) were assigned to the laity. In the 4th–5th C. the distinction between the laity and clergy became sharper. First, the monks formed a special category separate from the laity; then the formal rite of ordination drew a stronger line of demarcation between the clergy and laymen: the latter received a special place in church and were prohibited from entering the sanctuary; they were forbidden to baptize and discouraged from teaching. Gradually, all groups of Christians except the clergy and monks were subsumed into the category of laity.

The differentiation between the laity and clergy in Byz. remained less sharp than it was in the West: CELIBACY was a requirement only for the higher clergy; the consecrated wine was never forbidden to the laity; country *klerikoi* were barely distinguishable from PAROIKOI in terms of their social status. The church prohibited the clergy from performing military service and from fulfilling state offices, but the ban was often ignored in practice. On the other hand, some imperial dignitaries held ecclesiastical offices, while laymen, as *charistikarioi* and *ktetores,* exercised authority over ecclesiastical institutions.

LIT. A. Faivre, *Les laïcs aux origines de l'Église* (Paris 1984). G. Tabancis, *Die "Laien" in Kirche und Offentlichkeit nach griechischen Zeugen des 4. Jhs, besonders des Johannes Chrysostomos* (Münster 1977). I. de la Potterie, "L'origine et le sens primitif du mot 'laic,' " *Nouvelle Revue théologique* 80 (1958) 840–53. –A.P., A.K.

LAKAPENOS, GEORGE, writer and grammarian; fl. ca.1297–1310/11, died before 1315. Lakapenos (Λακαπηνός) was probably a pupil of Maximos PLANOUDES and was active in literary circles in Constantinople under Andronikos II. About 20 of his letters survive, accompanied by EPIMERISMS and addressed to Andronikos and John Zarides, Michael GABRAS, and the physician JOHN AKTOUARIOS. This collection was preserved in a number of MSS because it was used for instructional purposes. He also prepared a selection of 264 of the letters of LIBANIOS, and wrote grammatical notes and commentary on books I and II of the *Iliad* and on the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus.

ED. *Georgii Lacapeni Epistulae X priores cum epimerismis editae*, ed. S. Lindstam (Uppsala 1910). Idem, *Georgii Lacapeni et Andronici Zaridae epistulae XXXII, cum epimerismis Lacapeni* (Göteborg 1924).

LIT. S.I. Kourouses, "To epistolarion Georgiou Lakapenou kai Andronikou Zaridou," *Athena* 77 (1978–79) 291–386. Idem, "Ho aktouarios Ioannes Zacharias paraleptes tes epistoles I´ tou Georgiou Lakapenou," *Athena* 78 (1980–82) 237–76. *PLP*, no.14379. –A.M.T.

LAKEDAIMON (Λακεδαίμων), ancient name applied by Byz. authors to both the region of La-

konia (Lakonike) in the southern PELOPONNESOS and to its capital, ancient Sparta (A. Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou, *LakSp* 4 [1979] 4–6). The extensive expanse of Roman Sparta was contracted in late antiquity and a limited area (ca. 650 × 300 m) was fortified; the foundations of three churches of this period have been found (Ch. Bouras, *JÖB* 31.2 [1981] 621f), as have various objects, including clay lamps of the 6th C. (A. Oikonomou, *LakSp* 9 [1988] 286–92). The *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 647.8) lists Lakedaimon as the "metropolis of Lakonike."

The CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA (ed. Dujčev, 12.95–96) is the only text that reports that the Lakones (variant Lakedaimonitai) left their city under pressure of the Slavic invasions and settled in Sicily; Nikephoros I rebuilt the *polis* of Lakedaimon and had a "mixed population"—Thrakesioi, Armenians, and the enigmatic Kapheroi (*ibid.*, 22.196–99)—settle there. The early history of the bishopric of Lakedaimon is puzzling: the first known bishop, Hosios, is attested in 458; then, in 681, when the city was supposedly abandoned, a bishop "of the *polis* of Lakedaimonioi" is mentioned (Mansi 11:674C). In the notitiae the bishopric of "Lakedeon" in the Peloponnesos (*Notitiae CP* 3.744) appears ca.800, and the later *Synodikon of Lakedaimon* begins probably ca.843 (R. Jenkins, C. Mango, *DOP* 15 [1961] 236).

The vita of the 10th-C. saint NIKON HO "METANOEITE," who lived in Lakedaimon, provides rich information about the city and its environs, including the existence of a Jewish community and pagan Slavs; it is, however, not certain whether the evidence of the vita can be taken at face value. At any rate, the identification of a church excavated in Sparta with one built by Nikon is probably incorrect (P. Vocotopoulos in *Praktika tou A' Diethnous synedriou Peloponnesiakon spoudon* [Athens 1976] 273–85). The 12th-C. geographer al-IDRĪSĪ described the city as large and flourishing. A new bridge in the *kastron* of Lakedaimon is mentioned in an inscription of 1027 (D. Zakythenos, *Hellenika* 15 [1957] 99.4–5), a bath of the 11th–12th C. has been excavated in Sparta (Ch. Bouras, *ArchEph* [1982] 99–112), and coins of Constantine VII and polychrome ceramics have been found on the acropolis (A. Stauride, *Peloponnesiaka* 15 [1982–84] 186). Lakedaimon was elevated to the status of metropolis on or about 1 Jan. 1083 (V. Laurent, *REB* 21 [1963] 136–39).

In the early 13th C. the Franks took Lakedaimon, apparently without any difficulty, and it came under the control of the principality of ACHAIA; William II Villehardouin spent the winter of 1248–49 there and in 1249 began construction of the castle at MISTRA, west of the city. Lakedaimon remained the urban center until warfare beginning in 1263 caused the inhabitants to flee to the greater safety of Mistra. Lakonian frescoed churches include St. George at Longaniko, dated 1375 (A. Orlandos, *EEBS* 14 [1938] 461–81), and St. Nicholas at Agoriane, built ca.1300 (M. Emmanouel, *DChAE*[4] 14 [1989] 107–50) and painted by Kyriakos Phrangopoulos (as attested by an inscription). According to the *Chronicle of the Morea*, Lakedaimonia was a large town with towers and a good city wall. Under the Franks there was a Catholic bishop, last attested in 1278, when he was forced to flee, just as the Orthodox bishop of Lakedaimon moved his residence to Mistra.

LIT. Bon, *Péloponnèse* 60, 68. P. Ch. Doukas, *He Sparte dia mesou ton aionon* (New York 1922) 433–599. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:478–82, 624f. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

LAKHMIDS, the Arab dynasty that flourished in ḤĪRA on the lower Euphrates for three centuries before the rise of Islam. Through their clientship to Persia, the Lakhmids became involved in the Byz.-Persian wars and in those of the various Arab FOEDERATI who were clients of Byz. One of their 4th-C. kings, Imru' al-Qays, went over to Byz. and was installed in the province of Arabia; another, al-Nuʿmān, visited St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder in Syria ca.413–20. His son, Mundhir, fought against Byz. in the Persian war of 421–22. Toward the end of the 5th C. al-Nuʿmān's operations against Byz. served as a prelude to the Persian war (502–05) of Anastasios I. It was ALAMUNDARUS, however, who posed the greatest threat to Byz. for some 50 years (503–54); ca.530 Justinian I centralized federate GHASSĀNID power in the Orient to rival him. Alamundarus's successors sent embassies to Justin II and Tiberios I in Constantinople. Originally pagans, by the end of the 6th C. the Lakhmids had become Nestorians. The dynasty ended ca.600, and Ḥīra fell to Muslim arms in 633.

LIT. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Ḥīra* (Berlin 1899; rp. Hildesheim 1968). J.C. Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in the Pre-Islamic Times* (London–New York 1979) 188–202. –I.A.Sh.

LAKONIA. See LAKEDAIMON.

LAMB OF GOD. Sheep and lambs figure among Christianity's earliest symbols. In 3rd-C. funerary art, they represent believers or believers' souls: pastoral images of Paradise inherited from antiquity and Christ's designation of his followers as sheep together served to make sheep a widespread image of the Christian's desire to be a lamb in Christ's celestial fold. Common symbols by the 4th C., sheep sometimes act out biblical scenes in works of the 4th–6th C. Because Christ himself had been likened by John the Baptist to the sacrificial "Lamb of God" that takes away the sins of the world (Jn 1:29) and was the Lamb of the Apocalypse (Rev 14–21), he, too, is shown as a lamb from the 4th C. onward. Signifying the eternal triumph achieved through his sacrifice, the image of Christ as the Lamb of God is first found below triumphal scenes like the TRADITIO LEGIS or Christ acclaimed by the Apostles; the Lamb stands on the mount of Paradise flanked by apostle-lambs, forming a symbolic, celestial counterpart to the figural scene above. Slightly later, as the focus of larger cycles, the Lamb of God appears enclosed in the wreath of eternal triumph. In Western art from the 5th C. onward, Christ as lamb is incorporated into Apocalyptic imagery. In Byz. art, the Lamb of God is rarer and adheres to the passage in John. It vanishes after the 7th C., presumably because the council in TRULLO explicitly proscribed it. (See also AMNOS.)

LIT. F. van der Meer, *Maiestas Domini: Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien* (Vatican 1938) 29–174. F. Gerke, "Der Ursprung der Lämmerallegorien in der altchristlichen Plastik," *ZNTW* 33 (1934) 160–96. –A.W.C.

LAMBOUSA TREASURE. See CYPRUS TREASURE.

LAMIA (Λάμια), ancient city in southern Thessaly, whose name still survives in Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.42, ed. Pertusi, p.88). Some remains of the late antique city (a basilica, coins, and an inscription of the 4th C., a marble slab of the 7th C., etc.) were found on the acropolis and in its vicinity; the remains of city walls on the acropolis are thought to be Justinianic. But already at that time Lamia was in decline, and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* does not mention it. The bishopric of Lamia, suffragan of LARISSA, is known from 431 onward.

Occupied by the Slavs, Lamia reappears from the 9th C. under the name of Zetounion, probably of Slavic origin (from *žito*, "grain": Vasmer, *Slaven* 105). Lamia-Zetounion was an important fortress guarding the approach to Thermopylai: Basil II chanced to observe there the traces of a bloody battle between Nikephoros OURANOS and SAMUEL OF BULGARIA (Skyl. 364.76–78). In the 12th C. Benjamin of Tudela counted 50 Jewish families in Zetounion. After 1204 the Templars temporarily held the city and rebuilt its ramparts. By 1259 it was again in Greek hands, but in 1318 the city was seized by the Catalans, who seem to have retained it until 1391. The ACCIAJUOLI dominated Zetounion for several years, but BAYEZID I demolished it in 1394. In 1403–26 the Byz. held the fortress, then the Turks recaptured it. A short chronicle (*Kleinchroniken* 1:251, no.49) says that in 1444 Constantine (XI) Palaiologos captured Thebes and attacked Zetounion.

LIT. *TIB* 1:283f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 141–43. –A.K.

LAMPS. Ceramic lamps of essentially ancient type are attested in considerable number from the 4th to 7th C. These were generally mold-made, of oval shape, with a filling hole for OIL in the center top and a wick hole at one end opposite the handle. The surfaces of the lamps were commonly decorated, normally with simple motifs, but occasionally with Christian symbols and scenes: crosses, Christograms, David and Goliath, or Christ trampling the beasts (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 352, 471). Until the 7th or early 8th C. clay lamps represented the most common LIGHTING device (C. Mango, *JÖB* 32.1 [1982] 254f) in both private houses and cemeteries, where they have been found in abundance. Lamps were often left on TOMBS, either as part of the burial ceremony or as votives that were left burning. They were widely exported, above all from North Africa (A. Ennabli, *Lampes chrétiennes de Tunisie* [Paris 1976]). Lamps from Asia Minor, Attica, Palestine, and Sicily did not travel as far, but all were imitated by local workshops; molds, too, were exported and also

LAMPS. Lamp and lampstand; bronze, 6th or 7th C. Benaki Museum, Athens.

made from imported lamps. In addition to shapes, even the marks of foreign potters were reproduced (K.S. Garnett, *Hesperia* 44 [1975] 173–206).

In the 8th C. the ancient tradition of lamp-making died out and lamps of a different type became predominant. These were either hung by a cord or equipped with a stand, in which case the lamp was a simple open cup, pinched at one end for the wick, placed on a ceramic stand, usually conical or cylindrical, sometimes with a drip cup below; these lamps/lampstands were usually glazed.

Glass lamps were also popular but, being very fragile, have left little trace in the archaeological record. Lamps of bronze and silver were used in wealthy households and esp. in churches (see LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL).

LIT. O. Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps* [*Corinth* 4.2] (Cambridge, Mass., 1930) 122–26, 292–96. J. Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora, 7. Lamps of the Roman Period, First to Seventh Century After Christ* (Princeton 1961). H. Williams, *The Lamps* [=*Kenchreai* 5] (Leiden 1981). N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, "Lamps paléochrétiennes de Samos," *BCH* 110 (1986) 583–610.
–A.C., T.E.G.

LAMPSAKOS (Λάμψακος), ancient city on the eastern shore of the HELLESPONT facing KALLIPOLIS. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 4.29, ed. Pertusi, p.69) names it among the notable *poleis* of OPSIKION, but this is evidently anachronistic. Lampsakos was a bishopric suffragan to KYZIKOS and perhaps an emperor's EPISKEPSIS (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 198); it left no trace in secular history, however, until the 13th C., when John III Vatatzes, after reconquering this district from the Latins, constructed a harbor in Lampsakos. The Latins and the empire of Nicaea fought over the city, but in 1235 John III firmly established Greek authority there. The Turks seized it, but in 1359 the papal legate Peter Thomas destroyed the fortress of Lampsakos with Venetian and Rhodian galleys and Greek assistance.

A Latin survey of Lampsakos composed in 1218–19 gives a detailed description of the town, the categories of its inhabitants, and the taxes they paid to their Venetian lords. According to this survey there were 173 households in Lampsakos—60 urban and 113 peasant; the urban households paid only 24 percent of all land taxes; in addition they probably paid taxes for mills, salt pans, boats, and fishing nets. Nothing is known of manufacturing in Lampsakos; Islamic sources testify to its export of ceramics (Vryonis, *Decline* 13, n.60).

LIT. G. Litavrin, "Provincial'nyj vizantijskij gorod na rubeže XII–XIII vv.," *VizVrem* 37 (1976) 17–29. Angold, *Byz. Government* 110, 222f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:255f.
–A.K.

LAMPSAKOS TREASURE, dated to the 6th or 7th C. and found ca.1847 at LAMPSAKOS on the Dardanelles. Now divided among museums in Istanbul, London, and Paris, it is composed of 25 silver objects and two pieces of gold jewelry. The formation of this treasure of domestic silver PLATE over the period of a century is indicated by the six objects dated by SILVER STAMPS: a lampstand (527–65) similar to one in the MYTILENE TREASURE, a *polykandelon* (577), and four bowls (613–30) akin to the set in the SUTTON HOO TREASURE.

The bowls bear the monogram of a certain Menas, probably a late owner of the treasure. The find included silver furniture revetments (table rim and stool, the latter similar to one in the CONCEŞTI TREASURE), a large niello-inlaid plate decorated with a personification usually said by scholars to be of India but probably that of Africa, and two sets of spoons: one with names of the Apostles and another, of elegant design, with quotations from Vergil inscribed in Latin as well as the "Sayings of the Seven Sages" and witticisms, in Greek.

LIT. O.M. Dalton, *British Museum: A Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*[2] (London 1921) 175. A. de Ridder, *Catalogue sommaire des bijoux antiques* (Paris 1924) nos. 2049–50.
–M.M.M.

LAND LEASE (ἔκδοσις), agreement by which a lessor (a private individual, an institution, or the state), usually in return for RENT, conveyed immovable property to a lessee. H. Comfort collected data on 163 land leases from Egypt between 425 and 658, which dealt primarily with arable land. Among the documents that indicate conditions of the lease, 60 are of limited term, 25 at the lessor's pleasure, while only two are leases for life. Later documents on land lease are rare (e.g., *Xénoph.*, nos. 6 [a.1303] and 7 [a.1306]), though three examples are included in a collection of FORMULARIES (Sathas, *MB* 6:620–23). The usual terms are *ekdoterion engraphon*, *tes ekdoseos engraphon*, or *aktos ekdoseos*; the term *ekdosis*, however, could also designate a donation, as in *Xerop.*, no.9A.66–67 (a.1270–74), that reflects a confusion between a long-term lease and a complete alienation of property. The *Ecloga* 13:1 established that a land lease, whether oral or written, could not exceed 29 years. Byz. law preserved the Justinianic norms allowing the cancellation of the land lease if the lessee stopped paying rent for two years (three years in canon law—I. Konidares, *To dikaion tes monasteriakes periousias* [Athens 1979] 199). The formularies recommend as rent for a vineyard 1/2 the wine produced, for a CHORAPHION 1/3 the harvest, and for a garden a cash payment at the end of each six-month period plus a weekly payment (*opsonia*) in vegetables. (See also MISTHOSIS.)

LIT. H. Comfort, *Studies in Late Byzantine Land-Leases* (Haverford, Pa., 1939). J. Lefort et al. in *Ivir.* 1:107f. Ch. Maltezou, "Ho horos *metacherissi* stis agrotikes misthoseis tes benetokratoumenes Kretes," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985—86) 1135–47.
–M.B.

LAND ROUTES. Both Asia Minor and the Balkans were traversed by a number of major routes that formed a communications network used by the army, the *demosios* DROMOS (public post), traders, and travelers. Smaller ROADS led to the major routes. In the Balkans, there were two major routes, one from Belgrade to Niš (Naissos) and then either through Sofia and Philippopolis to Constantinople or through Skopje to Thessalonike. The other major route was the Via EGNATIA, running from Dyrrachion to Ohrid to Thessalonike and eventually to Constantinople. With minor variations, these were the routes taken by the Crusaders. According to al-IDRĪSĪ, it took six days to travel from Dyrrachion to Ohrid and seven days from Ohrid to Thessalonike. In the 10th C., a leisurely journey from Thessalonike to Belgrade took eight days (*De adm. imp.* 42.15–18).

The major Asia Minor routes ran from northwest to southeast, while secondary roads ran from north to south. The most important military road led from Nicaea to Malagina to Dorylaion to Saniana, where it divided into three branches, eventually leading to Tarsos, Nikopolis and Koloneia, Theodosioupolis, and Melitene. The second traverse road went from Malagina to Dorylaion to Ikonion to the Cilician Gates. While these routes were of great military importance, those leading from north to south were also significant for TRAVEL and COMMERCE. (See also SEA ROUTES and SILK ROUTE.)

LIT. A.P. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni Vizantii xi–xii vv.," *VizOč* 2 (1971) 174–76. Vryonis, *Decline* 30–33. Hendy, *Economy* 602–13. L. Dillemann, "La Carte Routière de la Cosmographie de Ravenne," *BJb* 175 (1975) 165–70. K. Gagova, "Pŭtna sistema v Severna Trakija prez XIII–XIV v.," *IstPreg* 39.1 (1983) 89–100. P. Schreiner, "Städte und Wegenetz in Moesien, Dakien und Thrakien nach dem Zeugnis des Theophylaktos Simokates," in *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Kultur Bulgariens zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Vienna 1986) 25–35. Koder, *Lebensraum* 62–75. F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna 1977). D. Winfield, "The Northern Routes across Anatolia," *Anatolian Studies* 27 (1977) 151–66.
–A.L.

LANDSCAPE AND BUCOLIC IMAGERY. Compared to those of Roman wall paintings and FLOOR MOSAICS, early Byz. landscapes present fragmented images of reality. On silver PLATES of

the 6th and 7th C. the countryside is divided into discrete planes, while the GREAT PALACE pavement juxtaposes pastoral and urban scenes without division. From the 6th C. landscape no longer existed for its own sake, but as the context for sacred events; thereafter mountains are either terraced massifs or series of *coulisses*, and rivers are controlled by personifications or angels, as in the Miracle at CHONAI, but not by gravity. Conventional rocks and trees serve as framing devices, while serried ranks of improbable plants decorate rather than characterize a panorama. In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II identical caves represent the grotto of the NATIVITY and that of the SEVEN SLEEPERS of Ephesus. Even in such secular MSS as the pseudo-OPPIAN in Venice, a quickly drawn tree and a serpentine groundline serve to indicate the setting of a hunt; vegetation tends to grow above or below but rarely out of the features of a landscape. The bucolic miniatures in illustrated copies of the homilies of JOHN OF EUBOEA and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS likewise subscribe to these formulae and lack the paradisiacal connotations that such imagery had in the CATACOMBS or on sarcophagi. In late Byz. monumental and miniature painting, mountains become more precipitous and vegetation even more unearthly. Carrying such tendencies to the extreme, in the Pantanassa at MISTRA the human presence is dwarfed by landscapes, just as in ritual and domestic settings it is overwhelmed by fantastic architecture.

LIT. H. Brandenburg, "Überlegungen zum Ursprung der frühchristlichen Bildkunst," 9 *IntCongChrArch*, vol. 1 (Vatican 1978) 331–60. P. Angiolini Martinelli, "Realtà e fantasia negli sfondi paesistici ed architettonici delle argenterie paleobizantine del Museo dell'Ermitage di Leningrado," *CorsiRav* 20 (1973) 49–62. D. Stutzinger, ". . . anbiguis fruiter veri falsique figuris. Maritime Landschaften in der spätantiken Kunst," *JbAChr* 30 (1987) 98–117.
–A.C.

LAND SURVEY (γεωδαισία). In the late Roman period the measurement (*metresis*) of land was the basis for imperial tax assessment and for the determination of land ownership and yield capacity. Professional *geometrai*, chiefly from Egypt whence comes most of our preserved evidence, are abundantly attested in papyri and *ostraka* (e.g., *SB* I 5174.19 [dated 512] and *SPP* III 83.2). They sometimes worked at public expense (*demosios geometres*) and in tandem with the tax assessor (*gnoster: P.Cair. Pres.* 8.3–4 [dated 323]); customary payments by surveyors to the tax collector (*pagarches*) are also attested (*P.Ant.* II 96.4–5). Surveyors measured with the same type of rope (*schoinion*) as had been noticed by Herodotus (bk.2, ch.6), and with a square quadruple-plumb-bob device, an example of which survives in the London Science Museum (O.A.W. Dilke, *The Roman Land Surveyors* [Newton Abbot 1971] 49). They apparently worked less according to the theoretical treatises of the *agrimensores* than by rules of thumb for adding up measured fractions of an area to give a total area (U. Wilken, *Griechische Ostraka* [Munich 1899; rp. Amsterdam 1970] 1:774–80). Results survive in two papyrus CADASTERS from the 4th C. and one from the 6th C. According to Justinianic law (*Nov.Just.* 128.4), the measurements (*demosiai apographai*) determined the amount of tax liability, which was transferable with the land.

The Byz. did not continue to use the Roman system of precise measurement of land: even though Heron's treatise on geodesy was known in Byz., the work of John PEDIASIMOS shows how poorly Heron was understood. To measure the borders of an allotment, the Byz. used either a rope (*schoinion*) made of hemp or a *kalamos*, an instrument of reed or wood. Neither had a standard size: the *schoinion* could be of 10 or 12 ORGYIAI, while the *kalamos* varied in length from 6 to 14 imperial SPITHAMAI. The application of different measures depended on local traditions and, in theory, on the character of the land under survey (arable land, vineyard, etc.). Lefort calculates, on the basis of the survey of RADOLIBOS in 1103, that correct estimates of the area of allotments occurred in only 16 percent of the cases. Two principal methods were used by ANAGRAPHEIS. In the first system, called *en katatomais*, the land was divided into a series of smaller parcels, each of approximately regular form. The sides of each were calculated in *schoinia*, and the result was calculated by the formula (a + c)(b + d)/8 where *a* and *c* are upper and lower boundaries, called *kephale* (head) and *pous* (foot), respectively, and *b* and *d* side boundaries (*pleurai*). The individual results were then totaled, giving the area in modioi. Another method was *kata to hologyron*, in which the entire length of the boundary was measured, and 1/10 was subtracted from the total; the remainder was divided by 4, and the quotient multiplied by itself. Lefort's observations show that only square parcels/allotments could be measured correctly.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 83–87. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 233–48. J. Lefort, "Le cadastre de Radolibos (1103)," *TM* 8 (1981) 269–313. G. Litavrin, "Nalogovaja politika Vizantii v Bolgarii v 1018–1185 gg.," *VizVrem* 10 (1956) 101–03.
–A.K., L.S.B.MacC.

LANGUAGE. The later Roman Empire was a multilingual society. LATIN was both the vernacular and the official language in the West, though pockets of non-Latin speech survived in the Pyrenees and elsewhere. In the East the situation was more complex. The imperial administration and the army used Latin. Greek was the vernacular tongue in most regions and was, in general, the language of culture and civic administration. In Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia, Syriac, Aramaic, and Arabic were widely spoken, and in Egypt, apart from Alexandria, Coptic (see COPTIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE) was spoken by most people. On the fringes of the empire other languages such as Armenian, Arabic, and Berber were spoken. Bilingualism was common. With the loss of most of the Western Empire to Germanic states in the 5th C., the role of Latin steadily diminished in the East, until by the early 7th C. Greek had replaced it as the imperial language. A generation later the Arab conquests removed most of the Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic speakers, and eventually the Latin speakers of North Africa, from Byz. control and left Greek as the dominant language in all domains of public and private life. Byz. society was never monoglot, however. In Constantinople and other cities Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac, Slavonic, and Arabic and, in the later period, Italian, French, and other western tongues were heard. Armenia, annexed in the 10th–11th C., retained its own language (see LANGUAGES, NON-GREEK).

Byz. Greek, like other languages of high culture, functioned at different levels. The language spoken by all classes in informal situations, and by the uneducated majority in all situations, was, like other spoken languages, subject to slow but continuous change. Many of the patterns of Modern Greek phonetics and phonology, morphology, and syntax were already established by the late 6th C., and most of them by the 10th. On the other hand, all official, public, or written communication, including LITERATURE, was in an archaizing, imitative, and fossilized form of Greek, which owed its prestige to its classical and patristic models and was maintained by a highly conservative educational tradition. In principle literary Greek had two levels: one a version of the KOINE Greek of the Roman Empire, often used in technical writing, the other an imitation, successful to varying degrees, of either the language of Attic literature of the 5th/4th C. B.C. or of the ATTICISM of rhetoricians of the SECOND SOPHISTIC (the two models were not always clearly distinguished). A recent study (I. Ševčenko, *JÖB* 31.1 [1981] 289–312) proposes a threefold classification of Byz. literary language. Ability to use archaizing Greek, esp. its atticizing variety, was a mark of both intellectual and social distinction. Clearly the uneducated only partly understood much of this Byz. literary Greek, often because of the content and style as well as the linguistic form. However, the communication gap must not be exaggerated. VERNACULAR and literary Greek were varieties of the same language, not different languages.

The principal changes in spoken Greek during late antiquity and the early Middle Ages may be divided among four main categories.

1. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY: loss of many distinctions between vowel phonemes and of distinctions of vowel length; development of voiced and aspirate plosives into voiced and unvoiced fricatives; and supersession of tonal accent by stress accent. In addition traditional ORTHOGRAPHY, which ignored these changes, became historic rather than phonetic.
2. MORPHOLOGY: restructuring of consonant-stem noun paradigms as vowel-stem paradigms; restructuring of personal pronouns; fusion of middle and passive voices; loss of the optative mood and of the perfect and pluperfect tenses; replacement of the future tense by periphrastic constructions; some restructuring of personal endings of verbs; and loss of the dual number in nouns and verbs.
3. SYNTAX: replacement of the dependent infinitive by subordinate clauses; growth of parataxis as an alternative to subordination; construction of all prepositions with the accusative case; loss of the dative case; and development of a range of compound prepositions.
4. Vocabulary: development of new derivational

suffixes and obsolescence of many in earlier use; proliferation of new compound nouns, adjectives, and verbs, including types of compound infrequent or absent in earlier Greek; loss of many older vocabulary items; adoption of many loanwords, initially from Latin and later from Italian and French as well as occasional borrowings from Arabic, Slavic, etc.

The conservative purpose of Byz. language teaching by GRAMMATIKOS and rhetor emerges from treatises on orthography and prosody, from the extensive commentaries on the *Grammar* of DIONYSIOS THRAX, from the EPIMERISMS on Homer and on the Psalms, and from prescriptive LEXIKA of "Attic" words, as well as from the critical observations of Byz. writers. Photios in his *Bibliotheca* regularly censured writers who in his view were insufficiently "Attic." Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos criticized a work on court ceremony because the writer's knowledge of Greek was inadequate. Patr. NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON suppressed a Life of St. PARASKEVE, arguing that it was written "in vulgar language by some peasant." SYMEON METAPHRASTES organized the rewriting of many earlier saints' Lives in archaizing language for liturgical use. Nikephoros CHOUMNOS proclaimed imitation of ancient models—among which he included the works of the church fathers—as the only path to literary excellence. Writers who used a less than rigorously purist Greek often defended their choice on the ground that they were addressing uneducated readers, that their subject was not sufficiently elevated, that their work was for private use or that they themselves had not had a literary education. Examples are LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS in his Life of St. John Eleemon, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in his *De administrando imperio*, Theophanes CHRYSOBALANTES in his medical encyclopedia, Michael PSELLOS in his introductory treatises in 15-syllable verse, KEKAUMENOS in his *Strategikon*, PHILIP MONOTROPOS in his *Dioptra*, and John KANANOS in his narrative of the siege of Constantinople in 1422.

From the 13th C. educators increasingly emphasized the importance of archaizing and imitative Greek. New textbooks and commentaries on classical authors and new prescriptive *lexika* were composed. A new and critical interest was displayed in the linguistic and literary heritage of ancient Greece. At the same time, however, some earlier literary texts, such as the *Mirror of Princes* of AGAPETOS and the Histories of Anna KOMNENE and Niketas CHONIATES were paraphrased in a level of language closer to the spoken Greek of the period. More significantly, for the first time a body of literature, mostly anonymous, appeared in a language which eschewed ARCHAISM and reflected, though neither faithfully nor systematically, the speech of the urban society of the empire. It is mostly literature of entertainment—ROMANCES, pseudohistory, animal allegories, ANIMAL EPICS, popular moralizing and devotional works—and is almost exclusively in 15-syllable POLITICAL VERSE, for which no classical model existed. All serious literature and most prose was the preserve of the archaizing literary tongue. A reading—or listening—public that no longer valued archaism must have existed, however. These two apparently contradictory tendencies, purism and the use of the vernacular, were part of the reaction of Byz. intellectuals and Byz. society to the dismemberment, impoverishment, and humiliation of the empire after the Fourth Crusade. They represent a new emphasis on Hellenic identity and culture in the face of the growing power of Westerners and Turks (see HELLENISM).

Within the general framework of Byz. Greek diglossia, professional and other groups had their own special languages, sometimes marked by extensive lexical borrowing from other languages (see BORROWING, LINGUISTIC). Thus, long after serious knowledge of Latin had become rare, lawyers used many fossilized words and phrases of legal Latin. Sailors in the late Byz. period evidently took over many Italian maritime terms and so laid the foundation of the post-Byz. lingua franca. Medical writers of the 14th–15th C. often interlarded their texts with Arabic and Persian loan words, thus reflecting the growing prestige of Muslim medicine. Local DIALECTS existed, but little is known about them in the Byz. period.

In spite of the obsession with linguistic purism shown by teachers and writers from the 9th C. onward, inscriptions in churches and other public places and on the personal seals of lay and ecclesiastical officials, as well as both official and private documents, often display gross errors of orthography and grammar. Atticism was the concern of men of letters. Men of power could dispense with it.

LIT. R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*[2] (New York–Cambridge 1983). P.S. Costas, *An Outline of the History of the Greek Language, with Particular Emphasis on the Koine and the Subsequent Stages* (Chicago 1936). Zilliacus, *Weltsprach.* Dagron, "Langue." C. Fabricius, "Der sprachliche Klassizismus der griechischen Kirchenväter," *JbAChr* 10 (1967) 187–99. H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 139–70. Browning, "Language." E. Kriaras, "Diglossie des derniers siècles de Byzance," 13 *CEB* (Oxford 1967) 283–99. H. and R. Kahane, *RB* 1:345–640. G. Matino, *Lingua e pubblico nel tardo antico: Ricerche sul greco letterario dei secoli IV–VI* (Naples 1986). –R.B.

LANGUAGES, NON-GREEK, were important in the polyethnic late Roman Empire. LATIN was not only spoken throughout the western Mediterranean but remained the language of bureaucracy in Constantinople until the 6th C. and of the army even later. Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Georgian had their areas of indigenous population, and bilingualism remained a common phenomenon. In the 7th C., when the Syriac- and Coptic-speaking provinces were lost to the Arabs, and most Latin-speaking regions in the West passed from Byz. control, the use of Latin in administration was abandoned. At the same time Slavic settlers occupied most of the northern Balkans and much of mainland Greece. The Slavs in Greece were largely hellenized by the 10th C., but those further north retained their linguistic separateness even after these regions were reincorporated in the empire. Armenian immigration into Asia Minor and Constantinople became massive after the Arab conquest of Armenia in the mid-7th C. and continued for centuries. Yet the idea of the superiority of the Greek language remained dominant, and non-Greek languages were often treated as barbaric. Unlike western Europe, however, Byz. never embraced the concept of an exclusive language.

Literature in non-Greek languages was written in Byz. territory, and the Byz. church permitted the use of Slavonic, Georgian, Syriac, and other tongues in the liturgy. Certain ethnic and religious groups (Jews, Italians, and others) lived dispersed among the Greek populace but retained their languages within their communities. Knowledge of foreign languages by educated Greek speakers was more common in frontier zones, such as Cherson, Thessalonike, and Antioch, than in Constantinople; despite the boasting of John TZETZES, his knowledge of Latin, Persian (Turkish), Scythian (perhaps Cuman), Alan, Arabic, Slavic, and Hebrew was very poor. Some revival of the knowledge of foreign languages is evident from the 11th C. Latin was studied in law schools and by diplomats. Several scholars studied and translated Arabic, Syriac, and Persian, and professional INTERPRETERS participated in embassies and in the receptions of foreign potentates at the court of Constantinople. (See also TRANSLATION: Other Languages into Greek.)

LIT. P. Charanis, *Studies in the Demography of the Byz. Empire* (London 1972). Mango, *Byzantium* 13–31. J. Koder, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1984) 135–50. Dagron, "Langue." H. and R. Kahane, *RB* 1:227–640. J. Kramer, *Glossaria bilinguia in papyris et membranis reperta* (Bonn 1983). –R.B., A.K.

LANX. See PLATES, DISPLAY.

LAODIKEIA (Λαοδίκεια), name of two cities in the eastern Mediterranean region, one in Anatolia, the other on the coast of Syria.

LAODIKEIA IN PHRYGIA, city at a strategic road junction near modern Denizli in Turkey, made capital of PHRYGIA Pacatiana in the early 4th C. Laodikeia was a major center of textile production and seat of a council in 380. Inscriptions and a sparse archaeological record suggest continuity through the late 6th C. Laodikeia, a city of the THRAKESION theme, was taken by the Seljuks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. It became an important frontier post after its recapture by the Byz. in 1096 and was the goal of frequent, sometimes successful, Turkish attacks. John II Komnenos retook it in 1119 and built new walls; at the time of the Second Crusade in 1148 it was isolated in territory controlled by the Turks and administered by a *doux*. When Manuel I recaptured it in 1160, the city was not densely populated or well fortified, but spread out in villages (Nik.Chon. 124.13–15). The Third Crusade of 1190 found Laodikeia surrounded by the Turks; it was the last Byz. outpost on the road east or south. Laodikeia was apparently the capital of the ephemeral theme of Meander, mentioned in 1198 and 1203. In 1206 it was taken by Manuel MAUROZOMES, ally of the Seljuk sultan, and remained under Turkish control until 1256, when it was surrendered to Byz., which held it only a few years. Laodikeia was the ecclesiastical metropolis of Phrygia "Kapatiane" (Byz. form of Pacatiana).

LIT. Ramsay, *Cities* 1:15–25. Foss, "Twenty Cities" 484. –C.F.

LAODIKEIA IN SYRIA (Ar. al-Lādhiqīyah [or Lattakia]), seaport in northern Syria; Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 14.8.8) lists Laodikeia, Apameia, and Seleukeia as the most prosperous cities in Syria. It was famous for its linen industry, book production, and the skill of its charioteers. Justinian I separated Laodikeia from Syria I and made it the capital of the province of THEODORIAS. Bishops of Laodikeia are known from the 3rd C. onward; by the 5th C. it was an autocephalous metropolis, but even after Justinianic reform it remained under the ecclesiastical administration of Antioch. Prokopios (*Buildings* 5.9.31) mentions the city's Church of John the Baptist, rebuilt under Justinian.

Laodikeia was taken ca.640 (?) by a lieutenant of Abū ʿUbayda al-Jarrah, sent from Emesa (Donner, *Conquests* 154). The inhabitants had to pay a fixed tax and retained their church. In 718/19 a Byz. fleet attacked Laodikeia and burned it. Nikephoros II Phokas seized the city in 968. Basil II appointed a certain "Karamaruk" governor of Laodikeia in 980, but he was captured by the Muslims and beheaded in Cairo. Michael Bourtzes suppressed a Muslim revolt in the city. At the end of the 11th C. the Seljuks occupied Laodikeia, but in 1098 it fell to RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, who delivered it to Alexios I Komnenos (Ljubarskij, *VizVrem* 23 [1963] 49f). It changed hands several times thereafter; in the treaty of DEVOL (1108) TANCRED handed over Laodikeia to Byz. Throughout the 12th C. the city was the object of contention between Crusaders and Muslims. From 1197 to 1275 it remained in the hands of the Franks and then fell under Egyptian rule.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 12 (1925) 715–18. N. Elisséeff, *EI*^{2} 5:589–93. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:381–84. G. Saadé, "Exploration archéologique de Lattaquié," *AnnArchSyr* 26 (1976) 9–36. J. Sauvaget, "Le plan antique de Laodicée-sur-Mer," in *Mémorial J. Sauvaget*, vol. 1 (Damascus 1954) 101–45.
–M.M.M.

LAPARA (Λάπαρα), a place in Cappadocia (identified [in *TIB* 2:224] as LYKANDOS). According to Skylitzes (Skyl. 319.89), it took its name from the Greek word "fertile" (*liparos*). Lapara was the site of a battle between the armies of BASIL II and the rebel Bardas SKLEROS late in 976. When Skleros revolted, the *strategos* Sachakios BRACHAMIOS took his side, headed toward Lapara, and seized it in three days. (N. Adontz improperly identified this *strategos* with a Sachakios who was an official under John I [*Études* 149f].) The *stratopedarches* Peter, eunuch and former slave of a Phokas (cf. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:172f), besieged Lapara, and Skleros also moved his troops there. The latter employed a ruse to win victory: he pretended to arrange a meal for his army, so that Phokas also ordered his men to be fed. Unexpectedly Skleros attacked, routed the imperial army (Michael BOURTZES was the first to retreat), and took the adversary's camp. Peter fell in the battle. –A.K.

LAPITHES, GEORGE, Cypriot writer and opponent of Gregory PALAMAS; fl. ca.1340–49. Lapithes (Λαπίθης), whose name was said to derive from the river Lapithos, was a wealthy property owner who used some of his personal fortune to ransom Christian prisoners from the Turks. He knew Latin and, seeking to refute Catholic doctrine, engaged in theological debate at the court of Hugues IV de Lusignan (Greg. 3:27–38). He was a versatile writer, with interests in astronomy, theology, philosophy, and ethics. Among his few works that have survived is a lengthy poem in political verse on man's duty toward the state, society, and his family.

Although geographically separated from the protagonists in the Palamite controversy, Lapithes used the power of his pen to support Nikephoros GREGORAS, Gregory AKINDYNOS, and other anti-Palamites. He also corresponded with BARLAAM OF CALABRIA, to whom he addressed a series of philosophical questions or *aporiai* (R.E. Sinkewicz, *MedSt* 43 [1981] 151–217).

ED. Poem—PG 149:1009–46.
LIT. E. Tsolakes, "Ho Georgios Lapithes kai he hesychastike erida," *Hellenika* 18 (1964) 84–96. A. Hero, *Letters of Gregory Akindynos* (Washington, D.C., 1983) 376–87, 412–15. *PLP*, no.14479. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:119, 165. Beck, *Kirche* 717, 722. –A.M.T.

LARGESS (λαργιτίων from Lat. *largitio*), the ceremonial distribution of gifts, esp. by the emperor. The term *largitio* designated every kind of generosity. A law of Constantine I of 321 (*Cod.Just.* V 16.24) mentions an object received by a wife due to the *largitio* of her husband. The term was expanded to imperial PHILANTHROPY in general, and a special department of largess was created under the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM. This department dealt with the distribution of coins among the populace, and special coins with the legend *liberalitas Augusti* (on a coin of Constantius II and one of Magnentius the legend reads *largitio*) were minted. On the occasion of the emperor's succession to the throne, birthday, or TRIUMPH, the emperor or his officials distributed coins (the ceremony of *sparsio*) to the public; sometimes largess was tossed from a chariot to people in the streets or in the Hippodrome. Special silver LARGITIO DISHES might also be handed out by the emperor on special occasions; they are attested from the 4th to 7th C. At the new year, consuls distributed SYNETHEIAI of ivory DIPTYCHS and silver vessels containing gold solidi. Gradually the church assumed the function of care for the needy, although some traces of state largess remained: thus, in the 11th C. CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (ed. E. Kurtz, no.30.23–26) proclaims that the bronze *phalara* on an eparch's horse reflect the generosity of the man who hands out bronze and gold among the poor. Imperial largess was confined primarily to the palace and its officials, however; the patriarch, clergy, senate, and army were granted presents at coronations and other feasts.

Representation in Art. Depictions of ceremonies of *largitio* and *sparsio* have a long tradition in Roman imperial art and continued to be used from the 4th to 6th C. On the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome, in one of the contemporary frieze scenes facing the Forum Romanum, the emperor is shown handing out coins to senators assembled around him. The people receive their allotment from government officials. There are also two gold solidi, one of Constantius II (ca.355) and the other of Valentinian I (364), that represent the *sparsio*: the emperor riding in a chariot scatters coins that are shown falling from his right hand. Consular distribution of largess to the populace is suggested by the sacks of gold coins shown on 5th-C. diptychs; on 6th-C. examples slaves pour such sacks into the arena where the consular games took place. Later Byz. art does not depict scenes of public largess but represents the emperors' gifts to God, that is, the church. On two mosaics in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, for example, the emperors Constantine IX Monomachos and John II Komnenos appear holding a money bag and offering it to Christ and the Virgin, respectively (for ill., see JOHN II KOMNENOS).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 12 (1925) 835f. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 228–30. R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven 1963) 170–73. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen* 66–70. –A.K., I.K., A.C.

LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER, type of object manufactured by or for the state for distribution as LARGESS by the emperor on certain state occasions. By law, at imperial accessions, from at least 360 until 527, each soldier received five SOLIDI and one pound of silver, the latter being in the form of INGOTS or dishes, both of which could bear imperial SILVER STAMPS. *Largitio* dishes were decorated with the name and/or image of the emperor whose accession, anniversary, or victory was being celebrated. Surviving examples include several series of up to six identical plates or bowls made for Licinius in five different cities (see also MUNICH TREASURE) as well as various dishes issued by Constantius II, Valentinian I, and Theodosios I. Among the two bearing the image of this last emperor is the "Missorium" (dated 388), now in Madrid, which is thought to have been made in Thessalonike. While no imperial *largitio* dishes survive from the 5th–6th C., their distribution—like that of MEDALLIONS—continued, as

LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER. *Missorium* of Theodosios I (388); silver. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. Theodosios is shown handing a codicil to an official. To the emperor's right sits his son Valentinian II, to his left his son Arkadios.

is witnessed by CORIPPUS (ed. Av. Cameron, 4.105–12, 142–47, 186–90) in connection with Justin II's consulship of 566. Silver plates celebrating the consulships of Flavius Eusebius (347 or 359) and Ardabur Aspar (434) (*PLRE* 1:308; 2:135; *DACL* 4.1, fig.3784 [cols. 1189–90]) have also been found. The sizes and, to a certain extent, weights of the DAVID PLATES correspond to those of *largitio* dishes, and they may have been distributed by Herakleios ca.630 to celebrate his victory over the Persians in 628.

LIT. Baratte, "Ateliers." Kent-Painter, *Wealth* 20–25, 104–12. R. Delmaire, "Les largesses impériales et l'émission d'argenterie du IVe au VIe siècle," in *Arg. rom. et byz.* 113–22. –M.M.M.

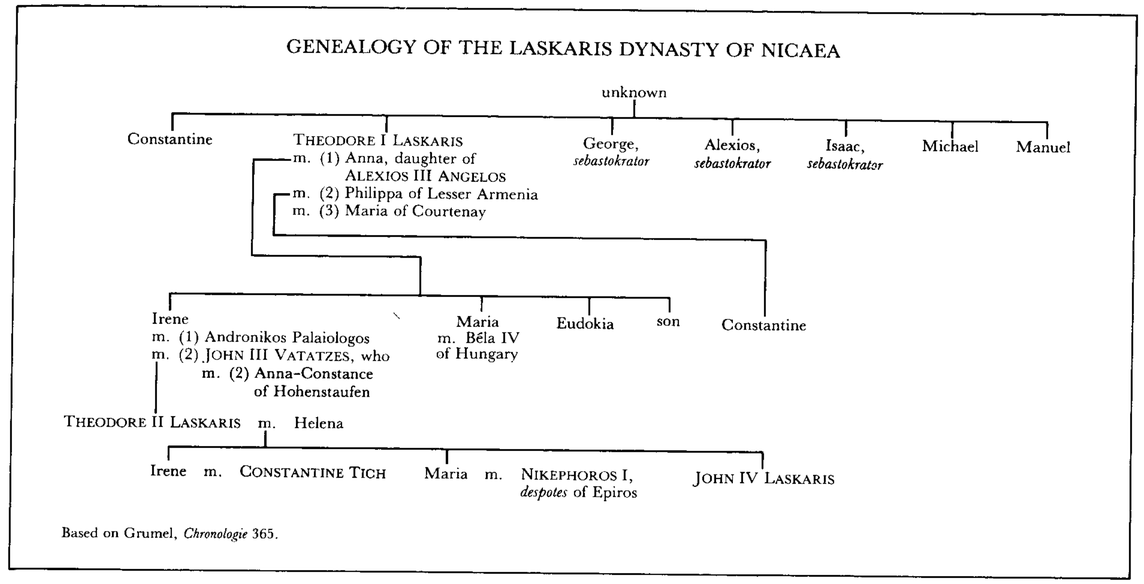
LARISSA (Λάρισσα), administrative and ecclesiastical center of THESSALY, located on the right bank of the Peneios River, at the junction of major Thessalian routes. The city suffered from an attack by the Ostrogoths at the end of the 5th C. but was rebuilt under Justinian I. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.41, ed. Pertusi, p.88) lists Larissa as one of 17 *poleis* in the *eparchia* of Thessaly; in the 8th–9th C. it functioned as the metropolis of Hellas (*Notitiae CP* 2.40). In the 10th C. it fell victim to Bulgarian attacks; in 986 Samuel captured Larissa and carried away to Prespa the relics of St. Achilleios (allegedly the first bishop of Larissa). An inscription of 1006/7 mentions the *patrikios* Gregory, *strategos* of Macedonia and Larissa; G. Litavrin (in Kek. 415) thinks that Gregory administered Hellas and Macedonia, whereas Oikonomides (*Listes* 358) relates this evidence to another Larissa, a *tourma* of SEBASTEIA in Cappadocia. Larissa was involved in the rebellion of 1066; in 1082/3 Bohemund besieged Larissa but failed. After 1204 Boniface of Montferrat gave the city to the Lombards; a rebellion there in 1209 was quelled by Emp. Henry of Constantinople. After 1204 Larissa was seat of a Latin archbishop, but by 1222 a Greek, Kalospites by name, was elected Orthodox bishop; Patr. Manuel I Sarantenos, residing in Nicaea, did not acknowledge the election by the local clergy. In the 13th C. Larissa belonged to the despotate of Epiros, but by 1393 it had fallen to the Turks.

Larissa on the Peneios should be distinguished from Larissa Kremaste in Phthiotis, near the sea, which became an episcopal see named Gardikion. A Byz. castle has survived on the ancient acropolis; nearby is Frankekklesia, with remains of a Latin church of the 13th C. (F. Stählin, *RE* 12 [1925] 840–45). (For Larissa in Syria, see SHAYZAR.)

LIT. *TIB* 1:198f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 191–95. –A.K.

LASKARIS (Λάσκαρις, fem. Λασκαρίνα), a family name known from the mid-11th C.; also called Tzamantouros (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:91.21). The most probable etymology of Laskaris is from a Persian word meaning "warrior" (F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* [Marburg 1895; rp. Hildesheim 1963] 183), but the first known members of the Laskaris family, mentioned in the will of Eustathios BOILAS (1059), were simple peasants. In 1180 Michael Laskaris was one of the most influential inhabitants of Thessalonike (M. Goudas, *EEBS* 4 [1927] 215, no.8B.2); another Michael Laskaris, perhaps his descendant, conspired in 1246 in Thessalonike against DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS (Akrop. 1:79.26). The connection of these individuals, of both rural and urban background, with THEODORE I LASKARIS is unclear. The Laskarid dynasty reigned from 1208 to 1258 over the empire of Nicaea, but in fact JOHN III VATATZES was Theodore I's son-in-law, not a direct heir. Naturally, Theodore I's brothers played an important role: Constantine, who in 1204 was considered a candidate for the throne, probably perished in 1211; his brothers George, Alexios, and Isaac were granted the title of *sebastokrator* (B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 11 [1968] 171–74). Other brothers, Michael and Manuel, exiled by John III, regained their influence at the court of Theodore II; later the *protosebastos* Manuel was imprisoned by Michael VIII Palaiologos, but Michael Laskaris retained the new emperor's favor and even received the nominal title of *megas doux* (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:548). In 1234 or 1249 a certain Constantine Laskaris was *doux* of Thrakesion (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 145).

In the 14th–15th C. their role diminished, although Manuel was *domestikos* of the Western *scholae* ca.1320 and Alexios *megas hetaireiarches* in 1369/70; more frequently members of the Laskaris family appear as local governors, imperial courtiers, and great landowners. Neither their role in ecclesiastical administration nor their cultural contribution was significant: John Pegonites Laskaris was a composer (see LASKARIS, JOHN); the writers John Ryndakenos Laskaris and Constantine Laskaris were active in Italy in the second half of the 15th C. The funerary portrait of a late member of the family, Manuel Laskaris Chatzikis, is found in an arcosolium in the narthex of the Pantanassa at MISTRA, dated by inscription to 1445. He is shown full-length, wearing a SKIADION (G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* [Paris 1910] pl.152.4; idem, *BCH* 23 [1899] 138–40, no.XXXV). (See genealogical table; see also BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF: Empire of Nicaea.)



Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 365.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 14487–556. E. Trapp, "Downfall and Survival of the Laskaris Family," *Macedonian Studies* 1.2 (New Delhi 1983) 45–49. –A.K., A.C.

LASKARIS, JOHN, composer and musical theorist; fl. Crete first half 15th C. Venetian archives yield some biographical details about Laskaris: he was born possibly in Constantinople and trained there as a singer, but moved to Crete (probably between 1410 and 1420), where he maintained a school and taught singing to young boys. Laskaris also wrote a short theoretical treatise entitled *The Interpretation and Parallage of the Art of Music*, which discusses the Byz. modal system. Although he was not a prolific composer, his works were copied in MSS down to the 19th C.

LIT. M. Velimirović, "Two Composers of Byzantine Music: John Vatatzes and John Laskaris," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. J. LaRue (New York 1966) 818–31. C.J. Bentas, "The Treatise on Music by John Laskaris," *SEC* 2 (1971) 21–27. *PLP*, no.14535. –D.E.C.

LAST JUDGMENT (κρίσις), the main event of the Second PAROUSIA or Second Coming of Christ. Although Byz. theology emphasized the THEOSIS (deification) of redeemed man rather than reward for ethical behavior, it elaborated—in polemics against STOICISM and GNOSTICISM and their concept of self-salvation—the idea of cosmic judgment at the end of time. This idea, however, created problems of correlation with individual judgment after death, esp. from the 7th C. onward: thus, ANDREW OF CRETE (PG 97:1289C) states that it is beyond our capacity to investigate the status of the soul after its separation from the body.

The Last Judgment presupposes the resurrection of all men in their body and their reward in accordance with their sins or virtues: those who have followed the divine way are united to God in their adopted sonship and will dwell in PARADISE, whereas sinners are doomed to HELL. Some Greek authors (ROMANOS THE MELODE, Gregory

the hagiographer of BASIL THE YOUNGER) depicted the second *parousia* as a *dies irae*, emphasizing the punishment and the suffering of sinners, whereas others expressed the expectation that God's mercy would forgive at least some of our sins: thus Anastasios of Sinai (PG 89:1112–16) believed that a sincere and tearful repentance on the deathbed could redeem even a robber. Gregory of Nazianzos stressed that a man was condemned not by an external authority but by his own sins (PG 35:944D–945A). Christ will be the judge whose terrifying visage will urge all to tell the truth; apostles will assist him; the judgment is to take place in the valley of Josaphat, between the Temple and the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. Manifold portents will precede the judgment and when the dead are resurrected the angelic trumpets will summon them to the tribunal. Based on the heavenly ledgers, the deeds of each person will be evaluated, and souls will be weighed on the balance scales. Then the sheep will be separated from the goats, and the righteous will enjoy eternal bliss while sinners are condemned to eternal suffering. The image of the Last Judgment is evidently derived from real judiciary proceedings; its resemblance to public trials was adduced, for example, by John Chrysostom (PG 58:554.53).

In patristic and Byz. literature the Last Judgment is sometimes represented as preceded by the PSYCHOMACHIA, the struggle between the demons and angels for the soul of the deceased. According to Cyril of Alexandria (PG 77:1073C–1076A), the soul passes five *teloneia* (tollhouses) and gives account for its sins to the *phorologoi* (tax-collectors), that is, demons; at the same time, angels are supplicating for the man's exemption from trial and condemnation (pseudo-Athanasios, PG 27:665C). Accordingly, Gregory of Nyssa buried his parents next to the tombs of the Forty Martyrs, hoping that these saints would intervene with God on their behalf on the day of resurrection (PG 46:784B).

The artistic representation of the Second Coming and the Last Judgment was considered instrumental for conversion, since it prompted in viewers a fear of eternal damnation (*TheophCont* 164.8–16). A variety of routes and dates have been proposed for the development of this iconography in art. Its evolution was essentially complete by the 11th C., when it appears in the Paris FRIEZE GOSPEL (B.N. gr. 74, fol. 51v) as well as in mosaic and fresco decoration (PANAGIA TON CHALKEON, Thessalonike).

LIT. J. Rivière, *DTC* 8 (1925) 1765–1804. P. Adnès, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 1577–80. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung* 28–103. D. Stiernon, "La vision d'Isaie de Nicomédie," *REB* 35 (1977) 30–36. B. Guerguiev, "Le Jugement dernier et le Triode du Carême," *Cahiers balkaniques* 6 (1984) 281–88. –G.P., A.C.

LAST SUPPER. See LORD'S SUPPER.

LÁSZLÓ I, also known as Ladislas (Βλαδίσλαβος in Kinn. 9.24), king of Hungary (from 1077); Catholic saint; born Poland 1046/7, died Nitra 29 July 1095; feastday 27 June. Having acquired military laurels as a duke under his brother King Géza I, László was elected king and soon thereafter had to deal with the insurrection of his young cousin, Salamon. The latter found support first in Germany and then with the Cumans; defeated and forced to resign, Salamon participated in a Pecheneg expedition against Byz. in the spring of 1087. László fought successfully against the Cumans and acquired a popular image that was, in many aspects, influenced by that of Byz. military saints. His annexation of old Croatia (down to the Adriatic Coast) in 1089, after the death of the Croatian king, brought László into contact with Byz. Dalmatia was temporarily rescued from Hungarian expansion because, in 1091, Alexios I urged the Cumans to invade Hungary, so that László had to return from the south. In that same year an attack of the Norman fleet, encouraged by Alexios I and under the command of Gottfried of Melf, occupied Cetina and Krk in Dalmatia. Synods held under László strengthened Roman observances in the Hungarian church. Kinnamos mistakenly speaks of Álmos and István II as László's sons—Álmos was the brother and István the son of Kálmán (Coloman), László's nephew and successor. Kinnamos also relates that László's daughter Piroska (Irene) married John II and praises her virtue. She was regarded as the founder of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople.

LIT. T. von Bogyay, J. Bak, G. Silagi, *Die heiligen Könige* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1976) 122–65. Gy. Moravcsik, *Szent László leánya és a Bizánci Pantorkrator-monostor* (Budapest 1923). I. Kapitánffy, "König Ladislaus und Byzanz," in *Homonoia* (Budapest 1979) 73–96. –J.B., A.K.

LATERAN SYNOD, convened by Pope MARTIN I in Rome's Lateran Basilica in October 649 to denounce MONOTHELETISM. The synod's Latin acts bear the signatures of 106 bishops who condemned the EKTHESIS and the TYPOS OF CONSTANS II. Riedinger has shown, however, that the Latin acts were translated from the Greek original. This suggests the acts were essentially a fraud prepared in Rome, probably in the circle of the Greek-speaking pope Theodore I (642–49) and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR; the Latin acts were presumably presented to the synod for ratification by Theodore's successor Martin I as an attack on the patriarch of Constantinople and, indirectly, CONSTANS II.

ED. R. Riedinger, *ACO*^{2} 1.
LIT. R. Riedinger, "Die Lateranakten von 649—ein Werk der Byzantiner um Maximos Homologetes," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 517–34. –M.McC.

LATERCULUS. See POLEMIUS SILVIUS.

LATIN was in late antiquity the language of the army, law, and central administration throughout the Roman Empire as well as the vernacular in the western provinces and in the Balkans northwest of a line running from the Adriatic near Dyrrachion to the Danube delta. The foundation of Constantinople as the new capital brought many Latin speakers to the East and made the study of Latin for a time an attractive alternative to a Greek literary education and a path to an official career. THEODOSIOS II established public professorships of Latin in Constantinople. Refugees from Ostrogothic Italy and Vandal Africa strengthened the Latin element in Constantinople in the late 5th C. The grammarian and poet PRISCIAN, the historian MARCELLINUS COMES, and the poet CORIPPUS all belong to this Constantinopolitan Latinity.

As the Western world passed out of Byz. control, however, knowledge of Latin became less relevant and rarer in the East. Though the CODEX JUSTINIANUS and DIGEST were published in Latin, most of Justinian's NOVELS are in Greek, and Greek translations of the *Codex* and *Digesta* were made for teaching purposes in his lifetime. Herakleios in the early 7th C. abandoned Latin for Greek in the imperial titulature. Lawyers preserved some knowledge of Latin, often superficial, from the 8th to 11th C., and Constantine IX's novel establishing a law school in Constantinople prescribes the teaching of Latin. From the 11th C. onward, closer, if sometimes hostile, contact with the West led to increasing knowledge of Latin in leading Byz. circles; Romanos III spoke Latin and PSELLOS claimed some knowledge of it. Still, cultural arrogance usually marked Byz. attitudes to the West and its language.

The Fourth Crusade and the division of the empire between Western powers strengthened Greek antipathy to Western culture. A few intellectuals and statesmen, however, began to see that Byz. had something to learn from the West. Maximos PLANOUDES translated works of Cicero, Ovid, Augustine, and Boethius, and Demetrios and Prochoros KYDONES in the later 14th C. translated the two summae of Thomas AQUINAS. Latin inscriptions occur widely in illuminated MSS of the 13th C., although the best known of these have been linked to a LECTIONARY of 1298 rather than to the period of the Latin conquest of Constantinople as previously supposed. Latin incipits of the Gospels appear on codices held by Evangelists depicted in a number of 13th-C. books (Chatzinicolaou-Paschou, *CBMG* 2, no.5). Bilingual Gospel books and a richly illustrated psalter (C. Havice, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 26 [1984] 79–142) are also preserved. By the 15th C. some knowledge of Latin was common in Constantinople and widespread in regions under Western rule such as Crete, Cyprus, Chios, Attica, and the Ionian islands, but religious dissension and bitter historical memories precluded deeper understanding except among a limited group of Byz. intellectuals.

LIT. Zilliacus, *Weltsprach*. Dagron, "Langue." H. and R. Kahane, *RB* 1:345–640. Idem, "Decline and Survival of Western Prestige Languages," *Language* 55 (1979) 183–98. H. Mihăescu, *La langue latine dans le sud-est de l'Europe* (Bucharest 1978). B. Baldwin, "Latin in Byzantium," in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium* (Prague 1985) 237–41. –R.B., A.C.

LATIN CHURCH IN CONSTANTINOPLE. See DOMINICANS; FRANCISCANS; LATIN EMPIRE; THOMAS MOROSINI.

LATIN EMPIRE, name conventionally applied to the political successor of the Byz. state founded at Constantinople on 13 Apr. 1204 by the LATINS

of the Fourth Crusade; it lasted until 25 July 1261. Contemporaries called it ROMANIA or Imperium Constantinopolitanum. The Latin Empire claimed sovereignty over all former Byz. territory. While it sought to control its vassal states established in Greece (the kingdom of THESSALONIKE, the principality of ACHAIA, the duchy of ATHENS), it rarely exercised authority outside of Bithynia and eastern Thrace.

After the capture of Constantinople, a committee of 12 electors (six Venetian, six others) chose as emperor BALDWIN OF FLANDERS; when he vanished into a Bulgarian prison (1205), his brother HENRY OF HAINAULT became regent, then (once Baldwin's death was known) emperor. The most capable of the Latin rulers, Henry secured the allegiance of Thessalonike, Athens, and Achaia and conciliated his Greek subjects. Upon his death (1216), the barons selected PETER OF COURTENAY, husband of Henry's sister YOLANDE, but Peter, captured (1217) by Theodore Komnenos Doukas, perished in an Epirote prison. Yolande ruled until her death in 1219. She was eventually succeeded by her son ROBERT OF COURTENAY (1221–28). His successor was his brother BALDWIN II; because Baldwin was too young to rule, JOHN OF BRIENNE became emperor (1231–37). As emperor, Baldwin II (1240–61) had to spend much of his time in western Europe in quest of assistance. (See table for a list of rulers of the Latin Empire.)

The Latin Empire retained many Byz. institutions. Wearing purple boots, the emperor was crowned in Hagia Sophia according to a modified Byz. ritual. He bestowed Latin versions of Byz. titles, such as *cesar, sevastocrator*, and *protovestiarius,* along with Western dignities such as seneschal and constable (B. Hendrickx, *Byzantina* 9 [1977] 187–217). In reality, the Latin Empire was a feudal state. Three documents formed a "constitution," which each new emperor was required to uphold: a treaty between the Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders (Mar. 1204) that provided for election of a Latin emperor and division of the spoils; the PARTITIO ROMANIAE (Sept./Oct. 1204); and a treaty (Oct. 1205) that regulated the Venetians' relations to the emperor. A council of Venetian and other barons had an effective veto over the emperor's actions.

To succeed, the Latin Empire needed to reconcile the Greek population to its rule. Constantinople and the smaller towns were for the most part inhabited by Greeks, who initially welcomed the Crusaders. A few Byz. nobles joined the Latins: briefly, MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, before leaving to found his state in Epiros; permanently, Theodore BRANAS, influenced by his relationship with AGNES OF FRANCE. Emp. Henry won the affection of the Greeks. The fairness of his decisions was celebrated. He appointed Branas ruler of Didymoteichon and Adrianople and tolerated Orthodoxy. His Greek subjects even fought for him against Byz. armies. Later emperors ignored the Greeks; Baldwin II vigorously repudiated the charge of having any Greek members in his council. The emperors relied on their Western vassals—chiefly French, who owed military service for their holdings—and on mercenaries.

Within the Latin Empire, VENICE occupied a special position. Although entitled to extensive territories, Venice concentrated its rule on the islands and principal ports. A substantial portion of Constantinople belonged to Venice, which regained all the rights and exemptions it had enjoyed under Byz. Thus, the Venetians paid no commercial taxes, although those who held fiefs were obligated to the usual feudal duties. The Venetians were governed in Constantinople by a podestà and council who, with the leading barons, formed the emperor's council. The Venetians' power to veto imperial actions was reinforced by their near-monopoly of commerce and their control of the only fleet that could provide naval support for the Latin emperors. The podestà was closely controlled by the government of Venice.

Under the preconquest agreement of Mar. 1204, whichever party, Venetian or non-Venetian, did not gain the office of emperor was entitled to choose the patriarch of Constantinople. Thus, in 1204 the Venetians designated their own clerics to form a cathedral chapter for Hagia Sophia; the clerics then elected THOMAS MOROSINI as patriarch. Pope INNOCENT III presently approved this election and granted papal recognition (previously denied) to Constantinople as a patriarchate. He and his successors sought to loosen Venetian control over the church in the Latin Empire, and until 1261 most later patriarchs were designated by the pope. Although the higher clergy was Latin, the parish priests largely remained Greek. Many refused to recognize the Latin patriarch but turned to the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople re-established at Nicaea. The FRANCISCANS and DOMINICANS won some converts and sponsored some church decoration, notably a cycle of the life of St. Francis at KALENDERHANE CAMII.

In its early decades, the principal foes of the Latin Empire were to its west. When the Bulgarian KALOJAN offered alliance to the victorious Crusaders, the Latins arrogantly rejected him. Kalojan defeated and captured Baldwin I, then killed Boniface of Montferrat in battle. Kalojan's death allowed Emp. Henry to maneuver among the rival Bulgarian claimants BORIL, Slav, and Strez; Henry married his illegitimate daughter to Slav and ca.1213 or 1214 himself married a daughter of Boril. The Greek rulers of Epiros were usually rivals, sometimes allies, of the Latin Empire. In 1224 Theodore Komnenos Doukas took Thessalonike, only to fall victim to the revived Bulgaria of JOHN ASEN II. The latter appropriated most of the Latin Empire's European territories and boasted in an inscription at Tŭrnovo that the empire survived only by his permission.

Initially, the Crusaders despised the Byz. state re-created at Nicaea; they repeatedly defeated Theodore I Laskaris. But after John Asen's death (1241), John III Vatatzes acquired the territory the Bulgarians had taken from the Latin Empire; his domains enveloped the Latins to the east and west. Only transfusions of funds from western Europe, papal support, and the Venetian fleet preserved Constantinople. Unable to hire sufficient knights, the Latin Empire became so debilitated that even Pope INNOCENT IV was prepared to accept a Byz. recovery of Constantinople if Vatatzes would acknowledge papal supremacy. When in July 1261 the Venetian fleet departed for an expedition in the Black Sea, the army of MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS was admitted to Constantinople by the citizens. Constantinople again became the Byz. capital, and Baldwin II fled to the West, where the empty title of Latin Emperor lingered through most of the 14th C.

LIT. A. Carile, *Per una storia dell' Impero latino di Costantinopoli*[2] (Bologna 1978). J. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris 1949). Gerland, *Geschichte*, vol. 1. B. Hendrickx, "Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 85–154. Idem, "The Main Problems of the History of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," *RBPH* 52 (1974) 787–99. Idem, "Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204–1261/1272)," *Byzantina* 14 (1988) 7–221. R.L. Wolff, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London 1976). –C.M.B., A.C.

Rulers of the Latin Empire

Ruler	*Reign Dates*
BALDWIN OF FLANDERS	1204–1205
HENRY OF HAINAULT	1206–1216
PETER OF COURTENAY	1217 (–1219?)
YOLANDE	1217–1219
ROBERT OF COURTENAY	1221–1228
JOHN OF BRIENNE	1231–1237
BALDWIN II	1240–1261

LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM, established by the Crusaders in 1099 because the Orthodox patriarch Symeon II had fled. Westerners regarded the patriarch as the primate of the kingdom, subject to the pope's supervision, rather than as an independent patriarch in the Eastern tradition (Y. Katzir in *Crusade and Settlement* [Cardiff 1985] 169–75). A line of Orthodox patriarchs of Jerusalem continued at Constantinople. Orthodox monasteries, notably St. SABAS, survived in Palestine. By ca.1164, as a result of Manuel I's alliance with the kingdom of JERUSALEM, Orthodox clerics reappeared at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre beside the Latin canons (H.E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* [Stuttgart 1977] 406f). That they outlasted Manuel's death is doubtful. After the Third Crusade, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem resided at Acre.

LIT. H.E. Mayer, *Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem* (London 1983) pt.VI (1978), 188–92. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London 1980). –C.M.B.

LATIN RITE, conventional denomination of the religious usages, liturgical, canonical, monastic, etc., of the Roman Catholic churches, fully Latin only when the gradual shift from Greek to Latin was completed in Rome in the second half of the 4th C. Rome had a more pluralistic liturgical policy than the Byz. church, and there were several Latin rites besides the Roman, which originally prevailed only in the area around Rome, in southern Italy, and the islands (Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica). The rest of Italy had distinct local uses, not only in metropolitan sees like Milan (the Ambrosian rite) and Aquileia but also in over 40 other

centers. Roman uses gradually came to predominate throughout Europe in the 8th–9th C. under the Carolingian and Ottonian emperors.

Within the territory of the Byz. Empire the Latin church predominated in Byz. Italy (except for the very south), in North Africa west of Cyrenaica up to the Arab conquest, and in Pannonia, Illyricum, and Thrace. There were Latin churches in Constantinople and environs, Latin monasteries in Jerusalem, even an Amalfitan monastery on Mt. Athos. The Latin rite continued in peaceful coexistence with the BYZANTINE RITE until the 11th C., when the Norman descent into Byz. Italy and the Crusades, esp. the imposition of a LATIN EMPIRE and church at Constantinople in 1204–61, made the Latin rite a threat to the Byz. (C.A. Frazee, *BalkSt* 19 [1978] 33–49). But even in times of tension, Latin churches had usually remained open at Constantinople and Catholics and Orthodox were admitted to communion in each others' churches right through the 12th C. Eastern clergy in Palestine, Italy, and Cyprus submitted to Latin jurisdiction, and Latin priests could be ordained by Greek bishops even after 1204 (PG 119:959–64).

The Byz., more concerned with ritual uniformity than the Westerners, first impugned Armenian and Roman uses at the council in TRULLO: for example, Saturday FASTING (par. 55—Mansi 11:969 AB). The dispute over the FILIOQUE arose in the 9th C., but more acrimonious still was the controversy over AZYMES in the time of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. Michael induced Bp. LEO OF OHRID to write a letter to Bp. John of Trani fiercely attacking such Latin practices as Saturday fasting, azymes, and not singing alleluia in Lent (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.862). In a letter to Patr. Peter of Antioch, Keroularios expanded the list of accusations: the Latins shave, they eat strangled things, their monks eat meat, they sing the Great DOXOLOGY wrongly, they add the *filioque* to the Creed, they allow two brothers to marry two sisters, they put salt in the candidate's mouth at baptism, they impose clerical celibacy, their bishops wear rings, etc. (ibid., no.866). To all this one can add the dispute over whether salt should be used in baking the eucharistic bread (Latins yes, Byz. no [PG 120:837BC; 126:233D, 236A; 155:265]). The azyme dispute remained alive until the end of Byz., providing a large corpus of Byz. polemical writings (J.M. Hanssens, *Institutiones Liturgicae de Ritibus Orientalibus*, vol. 2 [Rome 1930] 141–56).

In the 14th C. a new dispute arose, over whether the formula of the eucharistic consecration in the ANAPHORA was the Words of Institution ("This is my body, this is my blood") or the EPICLESIS. Though a far graver issue, this dispute provoked much less polemical writing than had the azyme controversy. It was dealt with by Mark Eugenikos (PO 17:426–34), Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:733–40), and, most masterfully and objectively, by Nicholas KABASILAS in *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, chs. 29–31. But in spite of the polemics, contacts between the two rites were frequent, and Latins studied, translated, and even adopted Byz. liturgical texts for their own use (S. Gero, *GOrThR* 23 [1978] 81f).

Actually, the differences between the rites were more those of language, form, and ethos; more of ceremonial and its mystagogic interpretation than of substance. Both rites had Eucharist—but the Latin rite anaphora had no consecratory epiclesis to the Holy Spirit, and the Latins used azymes, did not add ZEON to the chalice, from the 12th C. refused the chalice to the laity, and then gradually abandoned giving communion to infants. Both rites celebrated the other SACRAMENTS—but the Latins admitted baptism by aspersion and pouring, whereas the Byz. required triple immersion. The Latin rite also separated confirmation from baptism, did not marry by crowning, did not have seven priests to celebrate UNCTION, ordained to more minor orders, etc. Both had the full cycle of hours, but the Latin rite office had a monastic stamp, centered on the recitation of the PSALMODY, where the Byz. hours had received a massive infusion of liturgical poetry in the period after the first phase of Iconoclasm. The Latin rite is viewed as extremely sober and conservative (cf. E. Bishop, *Liturgica historica* [Oxford 1918] 1–19); the Byz. rite underwent far more development and change. Whereas the Byz. rite had undergone theological enrichment as a result of the early dogmatic controversies over the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit and had a decided Trinitarian thrust (L. Gillet, *Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* 9 [1924] 81–90), the Latin rite remained more Christological in its orientation.

LIT. T. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy* (London 1969). C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy* (Washington, D.C., 1986).

–R.F.T.

LATINS (Λατῖνοι, *Latini*). *Latini* was a term originally describing ethnic origin (the inhabitants of Latium) that was adopted by Roman law to designate certain groups of people with restricted legal rights; thus Junian *Latini* were manumitted slaves who were free during their lifetime but reverted to slavery at death, so that their property went to their patrons as PECULIUM. Justinian I abolished the status of *Latini* in 531 (A. Steinwenter, *RE* 12 [1925] 922).

The Greek term *Latinos*—in a different meaning—reappears in Byz. sources from the 11th to 12th C.: absent from Theophanes or Skylitzes, it is found frequently in Anna Komnene, John Kinnamos, and Niketas Choniates. A patriarchal decision of July 1054 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.869) normally uses the phrases "Italian language" and "Italian characters," and only in a section translated from Latin does the term *Latinos* appear. *Latinoi* became a generic appellation for Western peoples. The introduction of the term in Byz. Greek reflects a new Byz. perception of the unity of the Western world that had been treated in earlier centuries as a conglomeration of *ethne*, tribes, each having its place within the empire. The granting of Byz. court titles (see DIGNITIES AND TITLES) to foreign princes (Western, Slavic, Caucasian, etc.) symbolized this worldview. The assumption of the imperial title by CHARLEMAGNE in 800 signaled the first crack in the concept of the universal Roman Empire; first the emperors of the Franks, then the rulers neighboring the Byz. (Germans, Bulgarians) came to rival the *basileus*, and the popes asserted their PRIMACY over the ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

Late Roman ideology cherished the image of a united MEDITERRANEAN, even though an economic and cultural breach began to develop as early as the 4th C., and by the 7th C. the linguistic unity was totally disrupted. Contacts between East and West continued in the form of embassies and pilgrimage, whereas commercial, literary, and artistic exchange became sporadic. Only in a few regions (primarily in Italy) did the two cultures meet on a regular basis.

In the 11th and 12th C. the interconnections between Byz. and the "Latin" world intensified. The colonies of Italian merchants on Byz. soil became sizable. Eustathios of Thessalonike counted 60,000 Latins in Constantinople (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 34.2–3); they received concessions more significant than those the Rus' had enjoyed in the 10th C. Western MERCENARIES occupied an important position in the Byz. army, and the NORMANS (as well as the English and Germans) replaced contingents from Rus'. Matrimonial connections between the Byz. and Latins became more frequent: the genealogical tables published by Grumel (*Chronologie* 363f), although incomplete, demonstrate a drastic difference between the matrimonial policy of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056) and that of the Komnenoi (1081–1185). In the first table only two foreign marriages are recorded—with a Bulgarian and a Kievan ruler. The second table has 15 foreign marriages, of which only one (the earliest) is with an eastern princess (from the Caucasus). The others are with Latins: six with nobles from the Crusader states, three with France (and Montferrat and Montpellier; the two marriages of AGNES OF FRANCE are counted as one), three from Hungary, one each from Germany and Austria. Cultural exchange also became regular, esp. in the sphere of theology that contributed so much to the definition of "national" identity. Literary interchange is less evident: however, the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS was known in the West, and the mutual influence of Western and Byz. erotic ROMANCES is plausible. In the realm of art, Byz. impact on the West intensified from the 10th C. on, esp. in the period of the Crusades (see ART AND THE WEST).

After the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Fourth Crusade (the Norman invasion of 1185 prepared the way), the era of a peaceful, if unstable, balance of power ended. The Latins came to be viewed as oppressors of the Byz. From the Latin viewpoint, Byz., which in the 12th C. had seemed to be a country of great wealth, was perceived from the 14th C. onward as impoverished and unable to pay its debts. Byz. was an easy prey for bold invaders or even discontented mercenaries such as the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY. The divergency in religious belief and practice, focusing more and more on questions of rite, increased. A *modus vivendi* with the Latins could not be reached despite individual attempts to relieve tensions; the cohabitation of Greeks and Latins and emergence of mixed population groups (e.g., GASMOULOI) in areas such as the MOREA; the active literary interaction that resulted in such works as the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA, the CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO, and Greek chivalric romances; and an urgent

need for Western military assistance against the Ottoman invasion.

The stereotype of the Latins as it was established by 1204 included such features as religious divergence (esp. with regard to the FILIOQUE and AZYMES but also differences in vestments and haircut of the clergy, fastdays, etc.), arrogance and greed, military prowess, and disdain for literacy. A few Byz., however, were sufficiently enlightened to distinguish the "good" Latins from the "bad" ones, and in the 14th C. a strong current of pro-Latin sentiment developed in some cultural circles (e.g., around the KYDONES brothers).

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, *RB* 1:126–69. F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Darmstadt 1964). P. Lamma, *Oriente e Occidente nell'alto medioevo* (Padua 1968). Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 167–96. K. Setton, *Europe and the Levant* (London 1974), pt.II (1966), 388–430. J. Koder, "Zum Bild des 'Westens' bei den Byzantinern in der frühen Komnenenzeit," in *Deus qui mutat tempora,* ed. E.-D. Hehl et al. (Sigmaringen 1987) 191–201. –A.K.

LATOMOU MONASTERY. See HOSIOS DAVID.

LATRINES (sing. *ἀφεδρών*). The building of latrines, together with the installation of PLUMBING, such as sewers, gutters, and water pipes, was subjected to strict regulations that were introduced to ensure public and private amenities. The legend of ARIUS described his death in a latrine (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 38 [1968] 105–11), in some versions in a public toilet. John MOSCHOS (PG 87.3:2897) relates that the archbishop of Thessalonike, Thalelaios, also died in a latrine, and his partisans found him with his head down the hole (*solen*). The legend of the building activity in Constantinople of the architect EUPHRATAS portrayed him as concerned with sewage systems. According to a vita of Constantine I (*AB* 77 [1959] 87.30–36), a system of sewers was built in Constantinople through which was channeled "the waste from latrines and slaughterhouses."

Legal texts give evidence that in private homes latrines were built in the courtyard and each was provided with drain pipes and gutters. Harmenopoulos in the *Hexabiblos* (Harm. 2:4.78), repeating the building regulations of JULIAN OF ASKALON (cf. Ja. Sjuzjumov, *ADSV* 1 [1960] 3–34), described two types of cesspool (*koprodocheion*): one with thick stone walls; the other simply dug out of the earth. The first type had to be at least 3 ells (PECHEIS) distant from a neighbor's wall; the second no less than 6.5 ells. Washing facilities (*christeria*) could be constructed in a courtyard, provided they caused no harm to neighbors (Harm. 2.4.79). In crowded apartment houses sanitary conditions were poorer. The law (Harm. 2:4.71) forbade throwing human waste from upper floors, yet John TZETZES, who was living on the second floor of a three-story building, complained that the 12 children and the pigs of a deacon who lived upstairs "urinated so much that they produced navigable rivers" (ep.18, p.33.5–16). For chamber pots the Byz. used special vessels (*amis*, etc.) made of clay, glass, and even silver and gold (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:76). Dreams about latrines occupy an important place in the *Oneirokritikon* of ACHMET BEN SIRIN (pp. 30.11–28, 62.3–63.21): images of urinating or evacuating one's bowels in various places were interpreted as portents of good or bad fortune.

Archaeological Evidence. The large public latrines of Roman and late Roman date continued in use until the 6th–7th C., but apparently not beyond (Scranton, *Architecture* 68). At Corinth a private house of the 6th–7th C. had a latrine located immediately off the main room (ibid. 19–21), while simple unlined pits, probably in courtyards or behind houses, have been identified as Byz. latrines. Latrines are frequently found in towers and under stairs of fortifications, and elaborate arrangements were often made for them in CRUSADER CASTLES (e.g., at Saranda Kolones in PAPHOS).

LIT. A. Karpozilos, "Peri apopaton, bothron kai hyponomon," in *He kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio* (Athens 1989) 335–52. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:309–11. –Ap.K., A.K., T.E.G.

LATROCINIUM. See EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF: "Robber" Council.

LATROS (*Λάτρος*), anc. Latmos, monastic center in Caria, northeast of Miletos. Its numerous forts, fortified monasteries, and hermits' caves were located on islands in the lake of Herakleia (Bafa) and immediately to the east on the slopes of Mt. Latros (Beşparmak); most remain anonymous. The early history of Latros is obscure. According to local tradition, Latros was settled in the 7th C. by monks fleeing the Arab invasion of the Sinai. The *hegoumenos* Isidore attended the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. When the monk Paul, later called PAUL OF LATROS, came to the region in the early 10th C., three monasteries already existed there: Kellibara, the Savior, and Karya. Paul founded the Stylos (named probably in honor of the apostle Paul, the "pillar" of the church), which was dedicated to the Theotokos. Leo VI granted the monastery a *proasteion* and other lands (MM 4:324.11–15). A fragment of the Latros cartulary containing about 15 documents from 987 to the mid-13th C. has survived (MM 4:290–329; B. Pančenko, *IRAIK* 9 [1904] 142–45). These acts deal with the monastery's land holdings; especially important is the case of the peasants of the village of Sampson (MM 4:290–95, a.1217—see *Reg* 3, no.1693), which sheds some light on the institution of MORTE.

In the 11th C. CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS was *hegoumenos* of Stylos as well as PROTOS of Latros's monastic confederation. Latros flourished during the empire of Nicaea; in 1222, 11 monasteries were under the authority of its *kathegoumenos* and ARCHIMANDRITE (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1231), a title disputed between the superiors of Stylos and Kellibara. By the end of the 13th C., however, Latros was in decline as a result of Turkish encroachment; Kellibara with only nine monks was merged with Michael VIII's new foundation of St. Demetrios in Constantinople. By the 14th C. Latros disappears from the sources.

Restle (*Wall Painting* 3, pls. 542–43) has assigned a mid-9th-C. date to the wall paintings in the so-called Pantokrator Cave. Painted Gospel cycles in a cave chapel at Yediler—probably to be identified with Kellibara—and in the Stylos have been variously dated in the 11th–13th C. The Stylos also contains scenes of the funeral of Paul and other scenes from the saint's life.

LIT. T. Wiegand, *Der Latmos* (Berlin 1913). P.A. Vokotopoulos, "Latros," *EEBS* 35 (1966–67) 69–106. Janin, *Églises centres* 216–40, 441–54. Restle, *Wall Painting* 1:78–81; 3, figs. 542–51. G. Schiemenz, "Die Malereien der Paulus-Höhle auf dem Latmos," *Pantheon* 29 (1971) 46–53. –A.M.T., A.J.W.

LAUGHTER (*γέλως*) was defined by MELETIOS THE MONK (PG 64:1137B) as "agitated movement of the facial muscles or a broadening of [the same] muscles caused by the motion of internal organs." While antiquity accepted laughter as a positive emotion and considered it a proper quality of Homeric gods, the church fathers, esp. JEROME and BASIL THE GREAT, rejected laughter. Laughter, for Jerome, was a sign of ungodliness and would be punished on the Day of Judgment. According to Basil (PG 31:961C), it was incompatible with a Christian vocation—Christ, he said, never laughed. More tolerant of laughter was JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, who distinguished between permissible and excessive laughter. Monastic communities were particularly hostile to laughter. The church fathers, however, accepted laughter as an expression of spiritual joy and as derision of the pagan world and of mundane objects.

Despite all these invectives against laughter by the ecclesiastical establishment, the Byz. enjoyed a good laugh at their banquets (with professional MIMES as entertainers) and elaborated such genres of HUMOR as SATIRE, PARODY, and PUNS. They believed that laughter possessed magic power; for example, late Byz. vernacular literature depicted the dance of laughter as a magical means against death. Thomas Magistros includes the expression "broad laughter" (i.e., not thundering) in his *Lexicon* (*Ecloga vocum atticarum* [Hildesheim–New York 1970] 293.4).

LIT. N. Adkin, "The Fathers on Laughter," *Orpheus* 6 (1985) 149–52. F. Dölger, "Lachen wider den Tod," *Pisciculi* (Münster in Westfalen 1939) 80–85. –A.K.

LAUSIAC HISTORY. See PALLADIOS.

LAUSIAKOS (*Λαυσιακός*), a hall (*triklinos*) in the GREAT PALACE constructed under Justinian II. It was located near the TRIKLINOS OF JUSTINIAN and the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS and was connected by a bronze gate with the kitchen, situated probably under the private chambers of the emperor. The *aristeterion*, the emperor's private dining room, was also located nearby. The connection of the Lausiakos with the banquet-kitchen area suggests that the OIKEIAKOI of Lausiakos were involved in the organization of banquets. The Lausiakos played a role in the palace ceremonies as a place through which various processions passed. Some emperors (Leo V, Theophilos) used it for administrative meetings and theological discussions. Manuel I is said to have restored and adorned the Lausiakos.

LIT. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:154–60. –A.K.

LAVRA (λαύρα), a type of MONASTERY. The word originally meant a narrow lane or an alley in a city (Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 25:764B); Eustathios of Thessalonike, who was often critical of monasticism, adds that the word *spodesilaura* (lit. "streetwalker") meant a whore (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 152). EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS (*HE* 1:21, ed. Bidez-Parmentier, 29.24–25) defines a *lavra* as a monastery in which everyday life (*diaita*) is individual, but social life (*politeia*) is directed to the common purpose of loving God.

In a *lavra* a group of dispersed monastic cells (KELLIA) was associated with a central complex containing a church, refectory, common hall, and various outbuildings (storerooms, stables, bakery). The monks lived as solitaries during the week, occupied with prayer and manual labor, but owed obedience to a *hegoumenos* and assembled on weekends at the *lavra* to attend services together and to obtain food and materials for their handwork. A *lavra* thus represented a compromise between eremitic and cenobitic monasticism.

CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, when describing Palestinian monasticism, usually contrasts the *lavra* and the KOINOBION, although he sometimes notes the transformation of a *lavra* into a *koinobion* "in accordance with God's will" (p.58.29). By the 8th C., however, the difference between the terms seems to have disappeared. In later centuries, on Mt. ATHOS, the term *lavra* was applied to the larger monasteries (Great Lavra, Iveron, and Vatopedi) and to Karyes. *Lavrai* were almost invariably established in remote rural locations, but on rare occasions the sources refer to urban and suburban monasteries as *lavrai*, e.g., the *lavra* of Kaisarios in 9th-C. Rome (*AASS* Nov. 4:662F) and the monastery of St. Michael at Anaplous, referred to as *he tes lavras tou archistrategou mone* (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:203.6).

LIT. D. Papachryssanthou, "La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantins du VIIIe au XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 166–80. Meester, *De monachico statu* 7, 72, 100. J.M. Sansterre, "Une laure à Rome au IXème siècle," *Byzantion* 44 (1974–75) 514–17. –A.M.T., A.K.

LAVRA, GREAT (ἡ μεγίστη Λαύρα), also called the Lavra of Athanasios, monastery located near the southeastern tip of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS. It was founded by ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS in 963, with the financial assistance of the general and future emperor Nikephoros (II) Phokas, who intended to retire to the Holy Mountain. Although called a LAVRA, the monastery was really a KOINOBION with which a limited number of hesychasts were associated. Athanasios's *typikon* permitted only five monks to live in KELLIA outside the Lavra. As soon as the *ktetor* Nikephoros became emperor, in July 963, the Lavra obtained the status of an imperial monastery. In 964 Nikephoros issued three chrysobulls on behalf of Lavra, guaranteeing its independence from ecclesiastical authorities, limiting the number of monks to 80, and providing it with an annual grant (SOLEMNION) of 244 gold pieces and a quantity of wheat. Athanasios supervised the construction of a large monastic complex, including a Church of the Theotokos, cells, a kitchen, refectory, hostel, and waterworks.

The number of monks soon increased to 120, and by mid-11th C. reached 700. In 1045 the *typikon* of Constantine IX Monomachos specified that the *hegoumenos* of Lavra had precedence over all other *hegoumenoi*, even the *protos*; Lavra retained this primacy in perpetuity. Lavra remained an imperial monastery: in 1052 the monks of Lavra asked Constantine IX to appoint an influential patron to the monastery in order to protect it from any new fiscal burdens (*kainotomiai*, EPEREIAI) that might be imposed by local *archontes* (*Lavra* 1, no.31.24–25). In response the emperor sent a *praipositos*, the chief of the *koiton*, and the *kanikleios* John to carry out the mission.

The increase in Lavra's estates, which were significant in the 11th–12th C., came to a halt under Latin rule. After the mid-13th C., however, the monastery continued to acquire further property: in 1259 Michael VIII confirmed all the properties of Lavra and added the village of Toxompous; Andronikos II was even more generous to the monks. At the same time Patr. Athanasios I attempted to put Lavra under the control of the patriarchate. Lavra was evidently involved in the political and religious conflicts of the second quarter of the 14th C., having as its *hegoumenoi* such luminaries as PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS and Gregory PALAMAS. On the other hand, some dissident elements penetrated into the monastery, although the information about their activity is obscure: thus Andrew Palaiologos, one of the Zealot leaders, ceded a portion of his property to Lavra; the Latinophile Prochoros KYDONES was connected with the monastery; and in the 1360s the case of a certain Moses Phakrases (a favorite of Philotheos Kokkinos) shook the community and required the patriarch's intervention; unfortunately, we do not know the basis of the charges against him. The internal problems were aggravated by military threats: the raids of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY were followed by the Serbian occupation of Mt. Athos, and then the brief establishment of Ottoman authority in 1387. In the early 15th C. Manuel II still had some prerogatives over Lavra and levied a third of the *charatzion* (the Turkish tax *harac*). In 1430, Thessalonike and all of Mt. Athos were finally conquered by the Ottomans.

The rich library of Lavra contains over 2,000 MSS, of which about 800 are of Byz. date. The archives of Lavra are also a precious resource for the Byzantinist, since they contain 172 acts dating before 1453.

SOURCES. P. Lemerle et al., *Actes de Lavra*, 4 vols. (Paris 1970–82). Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 101–40. *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, ed. J. Noret (Turnhout 1982).

LIT. P. Dumont, "L'higoumène dans la règle de Saint Athanase l'Athonite," *Mill. Mont-Athos* 1:121–34. Spyridon Lauriotes and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Lavra on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), with add. by Panteleemon Lauriotes, *EEBS* 28 (1958) 87–203. –A.M.T., A.K.

Architecture of the Lavra. The KATHOLIKON of the Lavra, begun in 962/3, consists of a cross-domed core enlarged into a triconch by the addition of apses to the cross-arms. The naos is covered by a dome on piers. Two PAREKKLESIA flank a deep narthex that, in 1814, replaced the original inner and outer narthexes. The church's bronze doors were made in Constantinople ca.1002 (Ch. Bouras, *JÖB* 24 [1975] 229–50). The exterior of the church is rather austere with little embellishment. Directly in front of the church and sharing its axis is a PHIALE and, further away but still on the same axis, the refectory or TRAPEZA. The CHURCH PLAN TYPE used here for the first time, and called the Athonite type by some scholars, was emulated in later monastic churches in northern Greece and the Balkans.

LIT. F.W. Hasluck, *Mount Athos* (London 1924) 180–85. P.M. Mylonas, "Le plan initial du catholicon de la Grande-Lavra au Mont-Athos et la genèse du type du catholicon athonite," *CahArch* 32 (1984) 89–112. Idem, "La trapéza de la Grand Laura au Mont Athos," *CahArch* 35 (1987) 143–57. –M.J.

Art Treasures of the Lavra. The Lavra possesses the richest collection (about 30) of icons of Byz. date on the peninsula: outstanding are panels of St. Panteleemon of the first half of the 12th C. and an early 14th-C. mosaic icon of John the Evangelist (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, no.18). A double-sided icon of the Anastasis and Pentecost is now in Leningrad (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 3, no.473). The monastery's collection dates back at least to the early 11th C., when Kosmas, a former *ekklesiarches* of the Lavra, ordered a portrait of St. Athanasios from the Constantinopolitan painter PANTOLEON. The treasury also contains a silver cross supposedly donated by Nikephoros II Phokas (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 19 [1969] 99–125), the so-called Phokas lectionary (K. Weitzmann, *SemKond* 8 [1936] 83–98), and a gold paten of THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ. The luxurious late 11th-C. *evangelion* in the Lavra treasury or *skeuophylakion* (K. Weitzmann, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* [London 1980] pt.XI [1936], 83–98) has full-page miniatures of three of the Great Feasts within wide ornamental borders. It may have been an imperial gift, though not, as tradition has it, from Nikephoros II Phokas. The Lavra library includes many other illustrated Gospel books and *evangelia* of the 11th and 12th C.

LIT. *Treasures* 3:12–117, 217–61. M. Chatzidakis, "Anciennes icônes de Lavra d'après un texte géorgien," in *Rayonnement grec* 425–29. Idem, "Chronologemene byzantine eikona ste mone Megistes Lavras," in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:225–41. –A.C., N.P.Š.

LAVRATON. See PORTRAITS AND PORTRAITURE: Imperial Portraits.

LAW, CANON. See CANON LAW.

LAW, CIVIL, the totality of the laws and rules of the empire; it comprised private law (the law of persons, things, succession, obligations) as well as criminal law and public LAW. Justinian I (*Institutes* 1:2.1) distinguishes *jus civile*, as a system of laws established in a particular state, from the *jus naturale* that is common for all mankind; the idea of natural law was not disregarded by the Byz., but their major categories were civil law and CANON LAW.

The foundation of Byz. civil law was the Justinianic CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, which summarized the achievements of Roman jurisprudence. Written mostly in Latin, the *Corpus* was paraphrased in Greek by the ANTECESSORES, and their translations were used in the later legislative books EPANAGOGE, PROCHIRON, and BASILIKA. Another set of legislative works diverged to some extent

from the *Corpus*—thus the ECLOGA introduced a new approach to the laws of marriage and to criminal law, and the NOVELS OF LEO VI tried to change regulations that were obsolete and contradicted contemporary reality. The legislators of the 10th C. (Romanos I through Basil II) tackled problems arising from the contemporary situation in the countryside. Later emperors dealt with new issues, such as the marriage of slaves (Alexios I), or tried to reorganize legal procedure.

The works of jurists stayed mostly within the framework of the *Corpus*: they produced indices (*synopseis*) to the *Basilika* (e.g., TIPOUKEITOS), excerpts, treatises on specific questions (e.g., DE PECULIIS, DE ACTIONIBUS), and general surveys (HARMENOPOULOS). Some jurists, however, illustrated the general principles of the *Basilika* with examples drawn from their own practice (PEIRA) or described their cases at length (Demetrios CHOMATENOS, John APOKAUKOS).

Unlike Western countries, Byz. had very few texts devoted to customary law (see CUSTOM): to this category belonged the FARMER'S LAW and the BOOK OF THE EPARCH as well as miscellaneous texts regulating fiscal and administrative activity (treatises on TAXATION, TAKTIKA). Byz. customary law is reflected primarily in documents, such as CONTRACTS and purchase deeds, in monastic TYPIKA, in WILLS, in the decrees of emperors and their officials, in patriarchal charters, etc. The scarcity of available information means that literary sources, such as patristic texts, later romances (P. Pieler, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 189–221), or hagiography (G. Bourdara, *To dikaia sta hagiologika keimena* [Athens 1987]), assume a considerable importance.

The study of Byz. civil law has hitherto focused on the Justinianic *Corpus*; later legal texts are used primarily to fill in gaps in the *Corpus* tradition or to clarify difficult passages. The analysis of Byz. civil law as actually practiced is still rudimentary, and the legal significance of surviving documents has been appreciated only for the papyri and the acts from Byz. Italy (M. Amelotti in *SBNG* [Galatina 1983] 184). The general assumption, then, has been that the Byz. regulated their lives by the norms of Roman law, an assumption that is supported by the tendency of the Byz. themselves to treat both the *Basilika* and the *Corpus* as valid legislative collections. However, under the cover of Roman law some more or less substantial changes were taking place in the following areas:

1. Emphasis was put on the decisive role of the state and the emperor as its representative. The emperor was proclaimed not only "the living law" (as early as Justinian I) but also the sole source of all administrative authority (thus the scholion to *Basil.* ser. B, 9:3833, abrogating *Basil.* 60:46.1). He acquired supreme right to the land so that any parcel that he entered could be declared imperial property (PG 114:1156A).

2. The principles of public law prevailed over those of private law. Thus, ownership came to be treated as an accessory to the tax payment, and freedom interpreted as exemption from taxation.

3. The role of the church increased. Its rules became moral obligations, esp. as civil law began to converge with canon law. Its right to succession was confirmed, and the church was granted—like the state—a third of an intestate inheritance (ABIOTIKION). The *Epanagoge* even suggested the concept of two equal powers, that of emperor and patriarch; at any rate, the patriarchal court was given the right of appeal over civil court decisions.

4. The bonds of MARRIAGE were strengthened, and the formality of MARRIAGE RITES increased.

5. SLAVERY was moderated: not only did the church encourage MANUMISSIONS, but the family of a slave was given legal status.

6. The rights of neighbors were developed—both as PROTIMESIS and as a responsibility for the taxes of the neighboring allotments; the Roman principle *superficies solo cedit* ceased to exist. At the same time various forms of PARTNERSHIP were encouraged.

7. Elements of semifeudal law were introduced—in the division of property (PRONOIA, CHARISTIKION) and in the status of the dependent peasantry (PAROIKOI).

8. The written form of contract tended to replace the oral form; STIPULATIONS degenerated into a vague kind of written guarantee; the number of WITNESSES deemed necessary increased.

9. Legal procedure lost its flexibility, and rigid lists of PENALTIES were introduced.

10. Many subtleties of Roman law were forgotten, and its strict terminological distinctions obscured; jurists repeated traditional Roman legal terms often without understanding their significance.

The history of Byz. civil law can be tentatively divided into several periods: from the 4th to the early 7th C. Roman law dominated; in the 7th to early 9th C., the period of the *Ecloga* and the *Farmer's Law*, there were attempts to attach some customary, biblical, and Near Eastern rules to the remnants of Roman law; the mid-9th–10th C. was the period of encyclopedism and "accumulation"—"pure" Roman law was restored in the *Basilika* and similar legislative books, and numerous treatises were issued to regulate court life, military organization, trade activity, and the fiscal system; during the 11th–13th C. there was a revival of legal activity in the form of commentaries on normative texts—the most independent legal minds of the period were Eustathios ROMAIOS, BALSAMON, and CHOMATENOS—and the need for scrutinizing practical cases was appreciated. In the final period, the tendency toward systematization again prevailed.

LIT. P. Pieler in Hunger, *Lit.* 2:341–480. Van der Wal-Lokin, *Historiae*. S. Troianos, *Hoi peges tou byzantinou dikaiou* (Athens 1986). Idem, "He metabase apo to romaiko sto byzantino dikaio," 17 *CEB, Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 211–35. Zachariä, *Geschichte*. B. Biondi, *Il diritto Romano cristiano*, 3 vols. (Milan 1952). D. Simon, "Die Epochen der byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte," *Ius Commune* 15 (1988) 73–106. –A.K.

LAW, PUBLIC. The 6th-C. principle, "public law is that which concerns the affairs of the Roman state, private law that which concerns the interests of individuals" (*Digest* 1.1.1.2 = *Basil.* 2.1.1), was a distinction made in the law schools with few theoretical or practical implications; nor can a requirement for a legal-theoretical clarification of the relationship of public law and private law that is of any significance be established for the following period. The lack of such reflection is explicable from the circumstance that the precise demarcation of public law from the entire mass of norms is only considerable when consequences are connected with it, that is, with regard to legislative competence, jurisdiction, justiciability, and the friction of private law and public law. As long as every legal norm drew its legitimacy from the emperor, and he was not restricted with regard to the composition and execution of norms—as was the case in the entire Byz. period—then any division of Byz. law into public and private law was artificial. A consideration of Byz. law with regard to the existence of public law can therefore make use of no concepts that are specific to the Byz. period but can employ only the terminology in use since modern times. The latter understands by public law: (1) the law of state organization, that is, the distribution of the areas of supreme command (taxation, police, army, jurisdiction, economic control, etc.) among certain "organs" of the state; (2) administrative law, that is, the rules governing the execution of laws through these designated organs.

If the fundamental principles of both these areas are laid down in law, this definition is called a "constitution." In these areas the late Roman period up to and including Justinian I was legislatively the most productive. Book 1, titles 14–57, and books 10–12 of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, as well as approximately half the NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I, are concerned with the subject of public law. This legalization of political measures, which is based on the motto *(armis et) legibus gubernare* and relies on the efficiency of the administrative apparatus executing the law, did not persist in Byz.: the emperors increasingly renounced the legislative regulation of state organization and administration. Notable legislative undertakings are represented by the BOOK OF THE EPARCH and titles 2–11 of the EPANAGOGE (which remained an experiment). For the rest, apart from sporadic legislative attempts in the area of public law, only jurisdiction remains of lasting interest.

The diminishing legislative activity in the area of public law does not mean that Byz. had no normative notions concerning good state government and state administration. Such concepts are rather to be reconstructed from sources such as the MIRRORS OF PRINCES, the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM and the TAKTIKA, the DE CEREMONIIS and DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO as well as the admittedly rare deliberations of jurists such as Chomatianos. Whether the normative concepts transmitted in this matter should be entitled an (unwritten) "constitution" is still under discussion.

LIT. P. Pieler, "Verfassung und Rechtsgrundlagen des byzantinischen Staates," 16 *CEB* (Vienna 1981) 213–31. D. Simon, "Princeps legibus solutus," in *Gedächtnisschrift für Wolfgang Kunkel* (Frankfurt am Main 1984) 449–92. Beck, *Jahrtausend* 33–86. –M.Th.F.

LAW, ROMAN, heavily oriented towards practice, was determined and developed first by professional jurists and later increasingly by the legal statements of the imperial chancery. By the order of Justinian I this law was made definitive in the so-called CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. Both this *Corpus*

and the Novels of Justinian I make claim—at least in the sphere of private law—to reproducing a uniform law of the empire that is firmly bound to Roman tradition and that in principle recognizes neither regional nor time-specific peculiarities. This conservative and exceedingly reverent attitude toward Roman law was assumed by later Byz. emperors in their legislation and by jurists in their composition of law books. In spite of certain deviations from the Roman tradition—sometimes conscious, sometimes involuntary (e.g., the regulation of customs by Leo VI or the creation of really new law through the agrarian legislation of the 10th C.)—there never ensued any fundamental criticism of Roman law. On the contrary, efforts can be observed to reappropriate this temporarily (esp. in the 7th and 8th C.) forgotten or neglected law.

The discrepancy between "official" Byz.-Roman law and the law as practiced is most obvious during the last two centuries of Byz. The charters reveal that fundamental concepts of Roman law had over the course of time either become virtually meaningless (e.g., servitus) or were misunderstood or reinterpreted (e.g., ownership, possession). Roman law lived on as a theoretical claim and in its terminology, but with the changed conditions of life and the disappearance of a highly professional class of jurists, the original meaning of its terminology and the specifically juristic thinking in these categories was largely lost.

Reception of Roman Law. The reception of Roman law is an expression that designates the discovery and revision of Roman law—in the form of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*—in the states of western Europe from the 12th C. onward, as a result of which Roman law became the basis of their legal system. There was no comparable reception of Roman law in this sense in Byz., where it had never been entirely lost and was assumed to be continuously present and valid. Nevertheless, a kind of "reappropriation" of Roman law, which had been translated into Greek in the 6th C., did take place, in two significant steps: first, through the *anakatharsis ton palaion nomon* (Schminck, *Rechtsbüchern* 33–38, 65f), that is, the preparation of the complete text in the Basilika; and second, through a substantial reworking of the content, particularly in the 11th C. The latter was achieved through a decision-making practice reflecting Roman legal dogma (Peira); through reinforced use of the oldest available law texts, namely the writings of the Antecessores, which were inserted as scholia to the *Basilika* text; through the transmission of the Latin juristic language in teaching (Psellos) and in Latin-Greek legal *lexika* (glossae—*Lexica juridica byzantina*, ed. L. Burgmann et al. [= *FM* 8 (1990)]); as well as through the systematic presentation of the rules of Roman law in treatises (De peculiis, Meditatio de nudis pactis, Tractatus de creditis).

lit. F. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science*² (Oxford 1953). W. Kunkel, *Introduction to Roman Legal and Constitutional History*² (Oxford 1973). H.F. Jolowicz, J.K.B.M. Nicholas, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law*³ (Cambridge 1972). Buckland, *Roman Law*. Kaser, *Privatrecht*. –M.Th.F.

LAW, VULGAR, an expression coined by the legal historian E. Levy to characterize the law of the late Roman Empire in the West. The expression refers not only to the formal elements of a legal principle (its outward, linguistic form) but also to its substance (the consistency and precision of the regulation). It derives its notional content as a "low level of style" from a notional opposition to a "higher level of style," initially that of classical Roman law. The expression has been extensively adopted by legal/historical scholarship and serves to characterize varying phenomena. Thus, it is used to contrast rural provincial phenomena of a linguistic or material kind from the legal standard of the capital ("provincial law": e.g., the law of the Byz. provinces in Italy); to designate special ethnic law ("folk law": forms of law of the Slavs and Armenians living on Byz. territory) as opposed to state and imperial law; to contrast simply structured reflections on law with the complex works of more exacting, educated men (e.g., the Synopsis Minor versus the Synopsis Basilicorum); and to compare different levels of legal culture (e.g., the Ecloga versus the law of Justinian I). Since the term *vulgar* is both vague and, as a rule, used in a perjorative sense, its application should be accompanied by a statement of the criterion for evaluation and an exact description of the related phenomena.

lit. D. Simon, "Marginalien zur Vulgarismusdiskussion," in *Festschrift für Franz Wieacker zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen 1978) 154–74. Idem, "Provinzialrecht." M. Talamanca, "L'esperienza giuridica romana nel tardo-antico fra volgarismo e classicismo," *La trasformazione della cultura nella tarda antichità* (Rome 1985) 27–70. –D.S.

LAW IN ITALY, BYZANTINE. With the Sanctio pragmatica of the year 554 (Appendix 7 to the Novels of Justinian I [= CIC 3:799–802]), the validity of the Roman-Byz. law contained in the Corpus Juris Civilis was extended to the reconquered Italian regions. In the course of the later history of southern Italy and Sicily the continued existence of Byz. law is documented in various types of sources. The Byz. origin of the material is most evident in the Prochiron legum, which was produced on Italian soil. Whether other law books, esp. the *Ecloga ad Prochirum mutata*, also originated in Italy is disputed. Nevertheless, that many Byz. legal texts were at least known in medieval Italy is attested by the large number of legal MSS of southern Italian provenance. The use of Byz. law by the Greek-speaking population of southern Italy is indicated by the fact that the documents share a set of institutions (e.g., hypobolon, theoretron, protimesis) with the law of the Byz. Empire. Other institutions used both in Byz. and in southern Italy and Sicily may merely have a common basis in Roman law. As for Norman-Staufen legislation, both the Assises of Ariano of 1140 (L. Burgmann, *FM* 5 [1982] 179–92) and the constitutions of Melfi of 1231 (cf. T. von der Lieck-Buyken, *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II.* [Cologne-Vienna 1978]) are based on Roman law, but the latter esp. shows clear traces of post-Justinianic Byz. law (e.g., nose-cutting as punishment for adultery; the prohibition against the acquisition of land by monasteries; formal regulations for marriage).

lit. M. Amelotti, "Per lo studio del diritto bizantino in Italia," *Studi bizantini e neogreci* (Galatina 1983) 183–99. A. d'Emilia, "Il diritto bizantino nell'Italia meridionale," in *L'Oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà* (Rome 1964) 343–78. G. Cavallo, "La circolazione di testi giuridici in lingua greca nel mezzogiorno medievale," *Scuole, diritto e società nel mezzogiorno medievale d'Italia*, vol. 2 (Catania 1988) 87–136. D. Liebs, *Die Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien 260–640 n.Chr.* (Berlin 1987) 124–26, 195–282. –M.Th.F.

LAW IN SLAVIC COUNTRIES, BYZANTINE. Byz. law was introduced into Slavic lands along with Orthodox dogma and liturgy in the wake of Byz. missionary work in the area. In Great Moravia part of the Synagoge of Fifty Titles was translated into Slavonic by Methodios himself. The Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem may date from the same time, even if its place of origin remains controversial. Bulgaria and later the Slavic monasteries on Mt. Athos must have played a large role as centers for the translation of legal literature. From the 11th C. onward, most texts were reaching Rus', where they were assembled in collections such as the Kormčaja kniga and supplemented in time by additional translations. The Byz. legal literature available there ultimately included the commentaries of the canonists of the 12th C., the *Pandektai* of Nikon of the Black Mountain, numerous novels, synodal acts and treatises (esp. on marriage law), the so-called Mosaic Law, and, from the sphere of secular law, the Ecloga, the Prochiron (*Zakon gradskij*), and the Farmer's Law (*Zemledel'českij zakon*). Under Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, who proclaimed himself "Tsar of the Serbs and Greeks," Byz. legislation was imitated in Serbia and translations were made of the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares as well as of the short compilation of civil law known as the "law of Justinian."

lit. A. Soloviev, "Der Einfluss des byzantinischen Rechts auf die Völker Osteuropas," *ZSavRom* 76 (1959) 432–79. M. Andreev, "La reception du droit byzantin dans le droit des peuples balkaniques," *Actes du IIe Congrès international des études du sud-est Européen* (Athens 1981) 299–309. M. Andreev, Gh. Cronţ, *Loi du jugement: Compilation attribuée aux empereurs Constantin et Justinien* (Bucharest 1971). Ja.N. Ščapov, "Le droit romain oriental en Russie jusqu'au XVIe s.," *Popoli e spazio romano tra diritto e profezia* (Naples 1986) 487–95. –L.B.

LAW IN THE EAST, BYZANTINE. A part of early Byz. canon law survived among the Eastern churches after their separation from the church of Constantinople in the 5th C. But with the exception of Georgia, where an adaptation of the Nomokanon of the Fourteen Titles was made in the 12th C., the new post-Chalcedonian canons were received in the East only with great reservation. The oldest Syriac translations of Byz. secular law texts likewise stem primarily from pre-Justinianic sources, namely the Syro-Roman lawbook and the *Sententiae Syriacae*, two collections of Roman provincial law of Eastern origin dating from the 5th C.; the Greek originals are lost. The Syro-Roman lawbook was widely disseminated in the Christian East in several languages. Moreover, Byz. legal texts of secular content were received almost everywhere. At the end of the 12th C., Nersēs of Lambron made an Armenian translation of the Ecloga with its Appendix as well as the Nomos Stratiotikos and the so-called Mo-

saic Law. Coptic ecclesiastical law collections of the 13th and 14th C. contained, among other things, the *Ecloga* with Appendix and the Prochiron; the date of composition of the Arabic translations is uncertain, as is the possibility that they were transmitted via the Melchites.

lit. C.A. Nallino, "Libri giuridici bizantini in versioni arabe cristiane dei sec. XII–XIII," *Rendiconti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei: Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 1 (1925) 101–65. H. Kaufhold, "Zur Übernahme byzantinischer Rechtsbücher durch die Armenier," *HA* 90 (1976) 591–614. –L.B.

LAW SCHOOLS. The system of private education in law typical of the early Roman Empire was replaced, during the late Roman Empire, by a system of state universities. Theodosios II, in the constitution of 27 Feb. 425, prohibited legal education "within private walls" and organized a law school in Constantinople supported by the state. There was another reputable law school in Berytus. Some professors of these law schools are known by name: Theophilos, Dorotheos, Thalelaios, and so on. The program of legal education, as prescribed by Justinian I, included a year for the study of the Institutes, three years more for the Digest, and the fifth year for the Codex Justinianus. Since knowledge of Latin was declining in Constantinople, the teachers (antecessores) suggested the *Indices*—Greek adaptations—and translations of these texts provided with *protheoriai* (examples or digressions); *paragraphai*, or notes; and finally interpretation of "the books themselves," paraphrased in Greek. The method of erotapokriseis was widely used.

From the 7th C. onward, this elaborate system was abandoned, even though some scholars (e.g., W. Wolska-Conus, *TM* 8 [1981] 531–41) claim uninterrupted continuity of legal education. The *Book of the Eparch* refers to nomikoi and teachers within the framework of a corporation of notaries. While knowledge of law was often claimed to be something every Rhomaios had to possess, and professional lawyers are known at least in the 11th and 12th C., jurisprudence remained an element of general (primarily urban) culture rather than professional erudition. The state-sponsored schools in Constantinople (those of John [VIII] Xiphilinos and Michael Psellos in the mid-11th C.), probably parts of the so-called University of Constantinople, appear to have been short-lived, connected with an individual scholar, rather than with an institution.

lit. Scheltema, *L'enseignement*. I. Medvedev, "Pravovoe obrazovanie v Vizantii kak komponent gorodskoj kul'tury," in *Gorodskaja kul'tura*, ed. V. Rutenburg (Leningrad 1986) 8–26. W. Wolska-Conus, "Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin Monomaque," *TM* 6 (1976) 223–43. P.I. Zepos, "He byzantine nomike paideia kata ton 7′ aiona," in *Festschrift Stratos* 2:735–49. –A.K.

LAWYER (*συνήγορος*, Lat. *advocatus*). *Advocati* (sometimes called scholastikoi) acted as legal advisers, while nomikoi drew up contracts. In the late Roman Empire, *advocati* formed associations in major cities (Constantinople, Alexandria, etc.). The membership in these colleges was limited; thus, Leo I decreed (*Cod.Just.* II 7.17) that the prefecture of Illyricum should have 150 lawyers. Their honorarium was fixed in Diocletian's Price Edict as 250–1,000 denarii. Ammianus Marcellinus wrote an angry tirade against *advocati* who "sow the seeds" for all sorts of quarrels and "sharpen their venal tongues to attack the truth" (Amm.Marc. 30.4.9–19), underscoring not only the rivalry between lawyers but their clashes with judges. It has been conjectured (by R. Taubenschlag in *Festschrift Fritz Schulz* [Weimar 1951] 192) that the role of lawyers was reduced as that of judges grew.

From the 11th C. onward, however, Greek texts again often mention lawyers. Constantine IX's novel on the law school in Constantinople prescribes the formation of two categories of jurists—notaries (*taboularioi*) and *synegoroi*; Balsamon states that *synegoroi* are organized into a college led by a *primikerios* and receive their salary (*siteresia demosiaka*) from the state (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 1:160.15–21). A novel of Manuel I expresses indignation at the endless speeches in court of *synegoroi*, which delay the proceedings (R. Macrides, "Justice" 126.54–59); the same novel calls for *synegoroi* to be assigned to the courts (138.217–26, 180, n.208). Sometimes there was rivalry between lawyers and canonists (M.T. Fögen in *Cupido legum* 65). The term *nomotriboumenoi* in Chomatenos apparently refers to those who are experts in legal knowledge.

lit. D. Simon, "Nomotriboumenoi," in *Satura Roberto Feenstra oblata* (Freiburg 1985) 273–83. T. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* (London 1981), rev. F. Millar, *JRS* 76 (1986) 272–80. –A.K.

LAZAR, prince of Serbia (from 1371); born Prilepac near Novo Brdo ca.1329, died Kosovo Polje 15 June 1389. Son of Pribac Hrebeljanović, *logothetes* of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, Lazar married Milica, a descendant of Stefan Nemanja's son Vukan, and gained control over northern Serbia following the death of Stefan Uroš V. Using diplomacy, dynastic marriage, and military force (in alliance with the Bosnian *ban* Tvrtko), Lazar expanded his principality to Braničevo, Niš, Kruševac, and Novo Brdo, gaining control also over the mines of Rudnik. These victories, however, made him a vassal of Hungary. In 1375 reconciliation with the Byz. church in Constantinople was achieved over the matter of the separate Serbian patriarchate, which had been proclaimed at Peć in 1346. Lazar refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Hungary in 1382 and attacked and plundered Belgrade, which was under Hungarian control. He had, however, to avoid a confrontation with Sigismund of Hungary when the Ottoman threat to Serbia worsened. Murad I invaded Serbia and defeated Lazar in 1389 at the battle of Kosovo Polje, in which both rulers lost their lives. As a result the Ottomans gained suzerainty over Serbia.

The cult of Lazar as martyr commenced shortly after his death. In Serbian popular tradition, the historical prince Lazar and the legendary martyr of Kosovo are intertwined. The Kosovo cycle glorifying the victory of the heavenly over the earthly kingdom is the finest of epic poetry. Lazar built St. Stephen's church (Lazarica) at Kruševac (ca.1375) and the Ravanica monastery (1381) as his mausoleum. His best preserved portrait is in the Ljubostinja monastery, the foundation of his wife.

lit. *O knezu Lazaru: Naučni skupu Kruševcu 1971* (Belgrade 1975). D.J. Trifunović, *Srpski srednjovekovni spisi o knezu Lazaru i Kosovskom boju* (Kruševac 1968). R. Mihaljčić, *Lazar Hrebeljanović, istorija, kult, predanje* (Belgrade 1984). Fine, *Late Balkans* 387–89. –J.S.A.

ŁAZAR OF P'ARPI or Łazar P'arpec'i, Armenian historian; born in P'arpi below Mt. Aragats, fl. second half of the 5th C. Brought up with Vahan Mamikonean in Georgia after the suppression of the Armenian revolt of 450/1, Łazar later wrote a *History of Armenia* dedicated to Vahan, who in 485 was appointed governor (*marzpan*) of Armenia by the shah of Iran, Balāsh.

Łazar presents his work as the "third" history of Armenia, following those of Agathangelos and pseudo-P'awstos Buzand. It falls into three sections: the life and work of Mesrop Maštoc', a version of the war against Persia parallel to the account of Ełiše, and the career of Vahan Mamikonean from the Armenian defeat of 451 to his appointment as *marzpan* in 485—the prime source for this period.

The original version is extant only in fragments, the complete surviving text being a revision of uncertain date. A letter addressed to Vahan (of uncertain authenticity) describes Łazar's Greek education.

ed. *Hayoc' ew T'ułt' ar Vahan Mamikonean*, ed. G. Ter-Mkrtč'ean, S. Malxasean (Tbilisi 1904; rp. Delmar, N.Y., 1985). *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, tr. V. Langlois, vol. 2 (Paris 1869) 253–368.

lit. K.N. Juzbašjan, "Lazar Parpeci," *IFŽ* (1983) no. 4, 179–93. G. Garitte, "La Vision de S. Sahak en grec," *Muséon* 71 (1958) 255–78. C. Sanspeur, "Trois sources byzantines de l'*Historie des Arméniens* de Lazare de P'arpi," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 440–48. Idem, "Note sur l'édition du fragment de l'*Histoire* de Lazare de P'arpi, découvert dans le MS. A 82 de Leningrad," *HA* 94 (1980) 13–22. –R.T.

LAZAROS, painter, a Khazar according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 147); saint; died Rome after 28 Sept. 865, although Janin (*infra*) questions this date; feastday 17 Nov. The entry in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 231–34) describes Lazaros as a monk and painter from an early age; a defender of images, he became a victim of Iconoclast persecution when he was punished by having his hands burned. Released at the behest of Empress Theodora, he fled to the monastery of the Prodromos tou Phoberou where he painted an icon of John the Baptist. After Theophilos's death he painted the icon of Christ Chalkites, according to Theophanes Continuatus (*TheophCont* 103.19–21). A supporter of Patr. Ignatios, Lazaros played the role of diplomat: he participated in a mission to Pope Benedict III (855–58). According to the *Synaxarion*, he died during a second mission to Rome. J. Raasted (*Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin* 37 [1981] 124–38) identified him with a certain Lazaros, who sent a letter (after 858) to his "spiritual lord master." The attribution by M. Ščepkina (*Miniatjury* 297–99) to Lazaros of the illustrations in the Khludov Psalter lacks any documentary support.

LIT. C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP* 19 (1965) 144f. R. Janin in *Bibl.Sanct.* 7:1152f. –A.C., A.K.

LAZAROS, patriarch of Jerusalem; died after Apr. 1368. Soon after his election to the patriarchate (date unknown), Lazaros left for Constantinople to have his appointment confirmed by ANDRONIKOS III. In his absence, however, the monk Gerasimos slandered him and succeeded in having himself elected patriarch. When Andronikos died, the matter had not yet been decided. Nevertheless, during the Civil War of 1341–47 that followed, Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS recognized Gerasimos. For his part, Lazaros favored Kalekas's opponent, JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, and was responsible for crowning him emperor (21 May 1346) in Adrianople (Kantak. 2:564.10–18). After Kantakouzenos's victory, Lazaros was recognized (sometime between May and Aug. 1347) as the lawful incumbent. Still, only in the second half of 1349, when Gerasimos was expelled from Jerusalem, was Lazaros able to take possession of his see.

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym.* 425–34. P. Wirth, "Miszellen zu den Patriarchaten von Konstantinopel und Jerusalem," *JÖB* 9 (1960) 47–50. Idem, "Der Patriarchat des Gerasimos und der zweite Patriarchat des Lazaros von Jerusalem," *BZ* 54 (1961) 319–23. –A.P.

LAZAROS OF MOUNT GALESIOS, saint; baptismal name Leo; born near Magnesia on the Meander, died Mt. GALESIOS 7 Nov. 1053. His birthdate, usually calculated as ca.972, is questionable: MS Moscow, Hist. Mus. 369/353, fol.220, indicates that Lazaros died at age 72 and thus would have been born ca.981. Lazaros was born to a peasant family; after completing his elementary education, he fled to Attaleia, where he took the monastic habit, and then to the Lavra of St. SABAS in Palestine. After his return he founded three monasteries at Mt. Galesios near Ephesus, where he lived atop a pillar. His community was based on individualistic principles, with the cell being the center of monastic activity; monk-craftsmen were allowed to earn a private income (*AASS* Nov. 3:566A–D).

Lazaros's disciple, the *kellarites* Gregory, recorded his biography; it has few supernatural miracles but many vignettes rich in everyday details: the young Lazaros escaped sexual seduction in the house of a girl whom he accompanied to Chonae; Lazaros's corpse, with the help of the monk Cyril, signed the *diatyposis* for the monks; many thefts and quarrels, travels, and visits are described. Gregory focuses on local events, while Constantinople is depicted as a remote city teeming with danger. GREGORY II OF CYPRUS reworked the vita.

SOURCE. *AASS* Nov. 3:508–606.
LIT. *BHG* 979–980e. I. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.VI (1979–80), 723–26. O. Lampsides, "Anekdoton keimenon peri tou hagiou Lazarou Galesiotou," *Theologia* 53 (1982) 158–77. E. Malamut, "A propos de Bessai d'Ephèse," *REB* 43 (1985) 243–51. –A.K.

LAZARUS SATURDAY, a FEAST celebrated on the Saturday before PALM SUNDAY in commemoration of the raising of Lazarus (Jn 11:1–45). Together with Palm Sunday, Lazarus Saturday separates LENT from HOLY WEEK. EGERIA describes a procession on this day leading from Jerusalem to Bethany with two stations: one at a church on the road, where the bishop's procession is met by the monks and people, and the second at Lazarus's tomb in Bethany. Surprisingly, neither the lections at these stations nor Egeria herself make reference to the actual raising of Lazarus. Talley (*Liturgical Year* 176–89, 203–14, 234) argues convincingly that this theme on Lazarus Saturday in Constantinople cannot be traced to Jerusalem, but probably originated in Alexandria instead.

On Lazarus Saturday, the emperor and his court went to the Church of St. Demetrios, where the emperor gave out palms and silver crosses (*De cer.* 170f). In the 14th C. he celebrated the feast at the monastery of St. Lazarus instead (pseudo-Kod. 246:13–20). Teachers in the Patriarchal School of the 12th C. delivered *enkomia* of the patriarch on this day.

One of four occasions for BAPTISM in Constantinople, Lazarus Saturday was characterized by a complete baptismal liturgy performed in Hagia Sophia (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:62–65). At the conclusion of *orthros* the reading of Acts began and the patriarch descended to the baptistery where he baptized the candidates and anointed them with chrism. Then a psalmist intoned Psalm 31 and led the neophytes into the church to the chant of the psalmody, for the continuation of which he mounted the ambo. At a signal from the deacon the psalmody was broken off and the reading resumed with Acts 8:26, after which the liturgy began with the ANTIPHONS.

Representation in Art. The standard Byz. composition of the Raising of Lazarus first emerged in the 6th C. (ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol.1r): with Lazarus's sisters Mary and Martha at his feet and disciples behind him, Christ is shown gesturing toward the shrouded corpse of Lazarus, which stands at the mouth of a cave or small building (*aedicula*) at the right, surrounded by onlookers. One, holding his nose against the stench, supports Lazarus while another holds the sarcophagus lid. This composition displaces an earlier one—showing a youthful Christ waving a thaumaturgic wand toward a shrouded corpse in an *aedicula*—that recurs more than 100 times in funerary art of the 3rd to 5th C. The Byz. composition underwent some modifications: 11th- through 12th-C. versions may show an embroidered hood over Lazarus's head or a sarcophagus at Lazarus's feet, and the noseholder may be shown unwrapping Lazarus; some 13th-C. examples show Lazarus sitting or lying in the sarcophagus; and 14th-C. renditions combine Lazarus in his sarcophagus with cave and *aedicula*. In some 11th- through 12th-C. MSS and mural paintings, Lazarus appears as a bishop, reflecting the legend that he became bishop of Kition in Cyprus (C. Walter, *REB* 27 [1969] 197–208). The TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH of Constantinople calls Lazarus "friend of Christ," and homilies present him as proof of the rewards to be had from friendship judiciously conferred.

LIT. T.J. Talley, "The Origin of Lent in Alexandria," *StP* 17.2 (1982) 594–612. Millet, *Recherches* 232–54. M. Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106 et sa contribution à l'iconographie* (Brussels 1966) 22–27. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

LAZIKA (Λαζική), at first the southwest region of ancient Colchis lying along the east shore of the Black Sea and including the mouth of the PHASIS RIVER; Lazika hence has often been confused with Tzanika. In the 4th C., the Lazes extended their suzerainty northward toward ABCHASIA and Svaneti (SUANIA) to form a kingdom, with Archaiopolis as capital, which commanded some of the Caucasian passes. Lazika then came to the attention of Byz. and trade was initiated; the Laz kings received their regalia (see INSIGNIA) from Byz. even though they paid no tribute (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.15.2). Increasing Byz. interference in the region and the building of the fortress of Petra on the coast of Lazika provoked the Persians to invade the country in 542 and capture Petra. The protracted Lazic war (549–56) ended with the reestablishment of Byz. control in the area under the terms of the Peace of 562 (MENANDER PROTECTOR, fr.6.1, ed. Blockley, 80.474); the Laz tribes gradually moved southwestward, however, so that the toponym Lazika was increasingly identified with the southeast shore of the Black Sea as far as TREBIZOND. Byz. maintained control of Lazika until the revolt of the *patrikios* Sergios in 697 opened the way for the Arab invasion of Lazika early in the 8th C., their capture of Archaiopolis, and the islamization of the previously Christian Lazes. The diocese of Trebizond was officially named that of "entire Lazika" through the 14th C. (*Notitiae CP* no.20.33).

LIT. A. Bryer, "Some Notes on the Laz and Tzan," *BK* 21–22 (1966) 174–95; 23–24 (1967) 161–68. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 191–98. Bury, *LRE* 2:113–23. –N.G.G.

LEAD (μόλυβδος), probably from Trebizond, Macedonia, and northern regions of the Balkans, was broadly employed in Byz. In a list of craftsmen supplementing Constantine I's law of 337 (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 4.2, *Cod.Just.* X 66.1) are mentioned workers in lead (*plumbarii*) that in the Greek translation is rendered *molybdourgoi*, even though *ploumarioi* (*sic*) are named as well (*Basil.* 54.6.8). Lead was added to copper alloys to improve their casting properties (B. Iatrides, *Archaiologia* 1 [Nov. 1981] 73f). The metal's low melting temperature also allowed simple lead objects to be produced domestically: thus in Cherson in the 9th and 10th C. fishermen made weights for their nets at home, and lead blanks were found in several other houses (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyj Chersones* [Moscow-Leningrad 1959] 322–25). The softness of lead made it a perfect material for SEALS, and its weight lent itself to carpenter's plummets. Scribes used it to make RULING PATTERNS on MSS.

Lead was used for ROOFING to protect domes and vaults (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 59.33–34) from rain and for manufacturing water pipes. It strengthened the piers of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.1.53). Lead sarcophagi with Christian motifs were produced in Syria/Palestine from the 4th C. onward, continu-

ing an older industry based in Sidon. Lead was used by goldsmiths in repoussé work and for the production of cheap AMULETS and CROSSES (Harrison, *Saraçhane,* nos. 621–23) as well as for pilgrimage AMPULLAE (Ch. Bakirtzes, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 523–28).

LIT. K.B. Hofmann, *Das Blei bei den Völkern des Altertums* (Berlin 1885). R.J. Forbes, "Silver and Lead in Antiquity," *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'* 7 (1940) 489–524. Idem, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 8 (Leiden 1964) 193–245. –M.M.M., L.Ph.B., A.C.

LEARNING. Erudition was divided in Byz. into two categories: "our" *paideia,* that is, Christian doctrine; and "outside" (*exo, thyrathen*) *sophia,* the classical (pagan, Hellenic) erudition. Attitudes toward EDUCATION were ambivalent. On the one hand, church fathers and authors of saints' vitae in high style disparaged secular wisdom, and writers such as Symeon the Theologian contrasted the knowledge attained through reading with the revelation granted by God, and were suspicious even of knowledge of the Holy Writ (Kazhdan, "Simeon" 37). Knowledge was not included among the four basic virtues that should adorn the ideal emperor, according to the BASILIKOS LOGOS; its place was taken by good sense (*phronesis*). On the other hand, the same ecclesiastics who criticized secular wisdom tried to show their familiarity with that wisdom; learning also formed an essential part of the system of secular values, and higher education was often a prerequisite for an administrative career.

The Byz. CURRICULUM encompassed primarily the classical language (grammar), eloquence (rhetoric), and philosophy or logic; the QUADRIVIUM included the complementary disciplines of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Psellos (Sathas, *MB* 5:352.6–10) claimed to have studied every science (*mathema*), that is, rhetoric, geometry, music, rhythmic, arithmetic, stereometry (*sphairike*), law, the sacred science (*hieratike*), theology. Prodromos, however, in the vita of MELETIOS THE YOUNGER of Myoupolis (ed. Vasil'evskij 42.16–21), contrasted the study (*paideia*) of Holy Scripture with "unnecessary" disciplines—the "outside" philosophy, rhetoric, physics, astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic. GREGORY II OF CYPRUS distinguished between two major divisions of secular knowledge, logic and physics (PG 142:381A). –A.K., I.Š.

LEASE. See MISTHOSIS.

LEATHER. The processing of leather does not seem to have attained much importance in antiquity. Not only are terms for leatherworkers in Egyptian papyri (Fikhman, *Egipet* 29f) infrequent and of uncertain meaning, but most of the artisans listed by Fikhman as working with leather are in fact furriers, saddlers, and shieldmakers. In Rome of the late 3rd to early 4th C. only a few inscriptions mention the guild of TANNERS—*corarii* (E. Kornemann, *RE* 4 [1901] 458).

In Byz., on the other hand, leather processing and the manufacture of leather products became one of the most widespread artisan professions. Leather was used not only for footgear but also for certain types of cloaks, harnesses, tents and shields (for the army), and PARCHMENT. New words for leatherworkers, such as *skytergates* (PG 92:1377A) and *skytoergos* (PG 37:1235A) appear in the vocabulary of 4th–7th-C. authors. The division of labor was relatively elaborate, comparable only to the complexity of silk production. The Stoudios monastery in the 9th C. had TANNERS (*byrseis*), leather processors (*dermatopoiountes*), SHOEMAKERS (*skyteis* and similar terms), *hypodematorrhaphoi* (sandalmakers?), dyers of footgear (*skytodeusopoiountes*), and makers of parchment (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:412f). The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* strictly distinguishes between harnessmakers (LOROTOMOI), tanners, and *malakatarioi* ("softeners"), but omits shoemakers.

In the Palaiologan period Constantinopolitan Jews played a major role in leather processing. Italian merchants brought hides and furs to Constantinople for processing, and leather goods were produced for export. In the 14th C. Constantinopolitan leatherworkers were allowed to work in Dubrovnik, one of the main centers of trade in cattle and sheep (B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik [Raguse] et le Levant au Moyen-Age* [Paris 1961] 217).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 232f. Matschke, *Fortschritt* 96f. –A.K.

LEBOUNION, MOUNT, site of a battle on 29 Apr. 1091. Lebounion (Λεβούνιον) was a hill located near the mouth of the Marica (HEBROS) River; the plain at its base was the scene of a decisive victory of ALEXIOS I over the PECHENEGS. The CUMANS supported Alexios. When he delayed battle, awaiting the arrival of Western reinforcements, the Cumans insisted on immediate engagement; since Alexios feared a Pecheneg-Cuman alliance, he was forced to fight. The Byz. and Cumans advanced at dawn in a crescent against the Pechenegs, who sheltered themselves and their families behind their covered wagons. At the outset the Pechenegs were weakened by desertion to the Cumans. The conflict lasted much of the day; neighboring peasants brought water to relieve the thirst of the Byz. soldiers. The struggle ended, according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:142f), in a terrible massacre, including women and children, although some prisoners were taken. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:740f) records that the surviving Pechenegs were settled in the MOGLENA theme. Pecheneg power was broken; Anna Komnene reports a fragment of a popular song: "For lack of one day, the Scyths missed seeing May."

LIT. M. Gyóni, "Le nom de *Vlachoi* dans l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène," *BZ* 44 (1951) 241–52. –C.M.B.

LECHAION. See CORINTH.

LECTIONARY, a general term for various LITURGICAL BOOKS containing LECTIONS intended for reading in liturgical services. Most have lists appended indicating the feasts, both fixed and mobile, of the church CALENDAR, with their proper lections. A true lectionary gives the full text of the lections, not just *incipit-desinit* tables (tables of beginning and concluding phrases).

The earliest complete lectionary covering the entire liturgical YEAR is that of Jerusalem, transmitted through the 5th-C. Early Syriac lectionary (F.C. Burkitt, *ProcBrAc* 10 [1921–23] 301–39), the 5th-C. Armenian lectionary (A. Renoux, PO 35–36), the 5th–8th-C. Georgian redactions (M. Tarchnischvili, *CSCO* 188–89), and the 6th-C. Palestinian Syriac lectionary of the Old Testament and Epistle lections (A.S. Lewis, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary* [London 1897]). This Jerusalem lectionary is of major importance for the history of Byz. FEASTS, calendar, and lectionaries. The Byz. calendar, fixed probably before 700, gave rise to a new disposition of lections based largely on the Jerusalem system, rather than the earlier lection system of Antioch (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 1:25–35).

The oldest Byz. lectionary MSS are from the 9th C. The two major types of lectionary were the EVANGELION, which contains Gospel passages, and the PRAXAPOSTOLOS for the other New Testament passages. Other lectionaries were the PROPHETOLOGION for the Old Testament lections; the *apostoloevangelion,* containing both Epistles and Gospel readings; and the *anagnostikon,* a rare book containing all the Old and New Testament lections, found in Philotheou 6, an 11th-C. MS on Mt. Athos (Lampros, *Athos* 1:151, no.1769).

LIT. Y. Burns, "The Historical Events that Occasioned the Inception of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionaries," *JÖB* 32.4 (1982) 119–27. A. Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends* (Münster 1921). A. Rahlfs, "Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche," *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* vol. 1.5 (Berlin 1915) 119–230. Y. Burns, "The Lectionary of the Patriarch of Constantinople," *StP* 15 (1984) 515–20. –R.F.T.

LECTIONS (ἀναγνώσματα), liturgical readings, drawn exclusively from the Bible for the Eucharist, for other services drawn occasionally also from hagiographical (see SYNAXARION of Constantinople) or patristic writings and conciliar decrees. Lections, collected into various types of LECTIONARIES, are a major component of liturgy, esp. of VIGILS. Byz. HOURS had no daily scripture lections; the lections were added on feasts in accordance with Palestinian practice.

Developed lection systems first appear in the 5th-C. lectionary of Jerusalem. The Byz. system, based originally on that of Antioch, later underwent Jerusalem influence. This synthesis took place probably before 700. At first there were lections only for Saturdays and Sundays. Weekday readings were added as Eucharist was extended to weekdays, not earlier than the 7th C., and then only in monastic usage. The TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH still lacks these weekday lessons, and the earliest Byz. lectionaries (9th C.) have no weekday lessons outside the Easter season.

Lections were either "select," that is, chosen for their suitability to the feast—this system was used esp. for the fixed feasts, the MENAION cycle—or "continuous," that is, lessons read day after day more or less in the order in which they occur in the Bible text. This latter system was used for most of the mobile cycle of the church CALENDAR.

In cathedral services, the Gospel was usually

read by the deacon, other lections by the ANAGNOSTES; though on some more solemn occasions (Easter and other solemn vigils; sometimes at LITE), the patriarch or bishop or, in his absence, the priest, proclaimed the Gospel. At monastic hours, readings were done by the monks themselves, most of whom were not ordained.

LIT. P.-M. Gy, "La question du système des lectures de la liturgie byzantine," in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di sua eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro*, vol. 2 (Rome 1967) 251–61. I.M. de Vries, "The Epistles, Gospels and Tones of the Byzantine Liturgical Year," *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 10 (1953–54) 41–49, 85–95, 137–49, 192–95. R. Zerfass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedralofftizium Jerusalems* (Münster 1968). –R.F.T.

LECTOR. See ANAGNOSTES.

LEGAL SCIENCE. In order to speak of Byz. legal science one must allow to be considered as science the production of texts that have as their subject the meaning of legal norms and their relation to each other. There was a legal science of this kind among those individuals attached to LAW SCHOOLS and to the judiciary. Excluded from legal science, on the other hand, are the producers of norms (legislation), the collectors of norms (authors of law books), or the producers of normative models (production of *formulae*: the NOTARIES). Legal science pursued either a pedagogical purpose (teaching) or served the decision-making process (judgments, legal statements). For all the periods of the empire in which such a legal science can be demonstrated (4th–6th and 10th–13th C.), it is characterized by the following methodological features: stringent "philological" commitment to the basic text; a marked use of "juristic logic," that is, deductions that can be reconstructed by formal logic, whose premises are not secured and are susceptible to rhetoric (e.g., analogy and inverted deduction); the use of hermeneutic techniques (etymology, explanation according to significance and object of the norm); and the use of rhetorical figures of speech and models of presentation. Since the legal scholars were also familiar with juristic dogma—understood as the sum of the transmitted and accepted legal statements both legislative and judicial in origin—the differences between these and today's European or Anglo-Saxon juristic techniques are minor. –D.S.

LEGATARIOS (ληγατάριος), subaltern official in several departments both civil and military; neither TAKTIKA nor the *De ceremoniis* define his functions. More is known about the *legatarios* of the EPARCH OF THE CITY who had to oversee the foreign merchants in Constantinople. The attempts to identify the latter *legatarios* with either the SYMPONOS or the LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU (e.g., M. Ja. Sjuzjumov in *Bk. of Eparch* 249) are not correct; these two officials were the emperor's appointees, while the *legatarios* was appointed by the eparch (Oikonomides, *Listes* 314, n.156). The *legatarios* is known also in the *sekreton* of the LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU and under some military commanders.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 90–92. –A.K.

LEGATON (λεγάτον), in contrast to the appointment of an HEIR, was the separate donation of single pieces or portions of the deceased's estate, with the consequence that the heir (or heirs) was charged with the distribution of the legacy. Any heir, including the church and pious institutions as well as such *incertae personae* as "the poor," could be the recipient of a *legaton*. The *legaton* was executed by the legatee at the expense of the heirs by means of a lawsuit. The heirs were protected by the LEX FALCIDIA against the overburdening of the estate with *legata*. In the post-Justinianic period, esp. in practice, exact distinctions were often no longer made between the appointment of an heir and the apportioning of a *legaton*, so that the question of who was to be considered the heir and who the legatee cannot always be clearly answered. A further consequence is that the *Lex Falcidia* and the legal expedients that safeguarded against exclusion from a WILL (the right to a legitimate portion) merge with one another to a great extent. The process of this development has not yet been the subject of detailed research. The term *legaton* also acquired the specific connotation in Byz. of a gift given to manumitted slaves (e.g., *Lavra*, no.1.22 [a.897]) and as such appears in several saints' lives that describe pious acts of MANUMISSION.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:555–62 (§298). –A.K.

LEGES FISCALES, conventional name for a collection of regulations concerning taxes and the rights of holders of adjacent properties. Compiled from the Greek versions of the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, it was divided into five titles, with 233 chapters in all. Apart from the PROCHIRON and the collection of novels by Theodore of Hermoupolis (end of the 6th C.), its immediate sources are uncertain; the *Basilika* were probably not used. The *intitulatio,* which mentions Leo VI and his brother Alexander, offers a trustworthy basis for the dating of the collection to the early 10th C. but does not prove it was an official promulgation.

ED. L. Burgmann, D. Simon, "Ein unbekanntes Rechtsbuch," *FM* 1 (1976) 73–101. –L.B.

LEGES MILITARES. See NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS.

LEGITIMACY, POLITICAL. Roman constitutional vagueness encouraged Byz. inventiveness in justifying the possession of political power, the main themes of which permeate imperial PROPAGANDA. Despite their stability, the weight accorded to each theme changed, reflecting ideology and the POLITICAL STRUCTURE. Six forms of legitimacy proved most enduring.

1. *Legitimacy based on military success* (e.g., TRIUMPHS), reckoned as revealing divine approval, was fostered by political survival and the emperor's original connection with military command.

2. *Civic legitimacy* came from the emperor's political civility (e.g., the ostentatious refusal of minor perquisites of absolute power), as long as Roman republican traditions still carried weight. This legitimacy was transformed in the emperor's role as lawgiver and benefactor, for example, in his PHILANTHROPY.

3. *Historical legitimacy* derived from the Roman character of Byz., combined with the Byz. mentality's attachment to the old and to TAXIS.

4. *Dynastic legitimacy* emerged as aristocratic lineages coalesced. It explains the epithet PORPHYROGENNETOS, commemorative coinage of the Isaurians (*DOC* 3.1:9) or Anna of Savoy, and the use by John III Vatatzes of the DOUKAS surname and his treatment of Andronikos I as his grandfather.

5. *The unique status of Constantinople* made into a source of legitimacy the possession of the capital itself and all that went with it in terms of resources and the legitimizing power of the CEREMONY. For example, failure to take Constantinople doomed the revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV, and Kekaumenos (Kek. 268.8–13) insisted victory belonged to the emperor who controlled the capital.

6. *Religious legitimacy* was indispensable. Divine election justified USURPATION or its repression, and the emperor's personal piety and ORTHODOXY confirmed and allowed his Christomimetic rulership. This development peaked in late Byz. with, for example, the appearance of ANOINTING at the CORONATION.

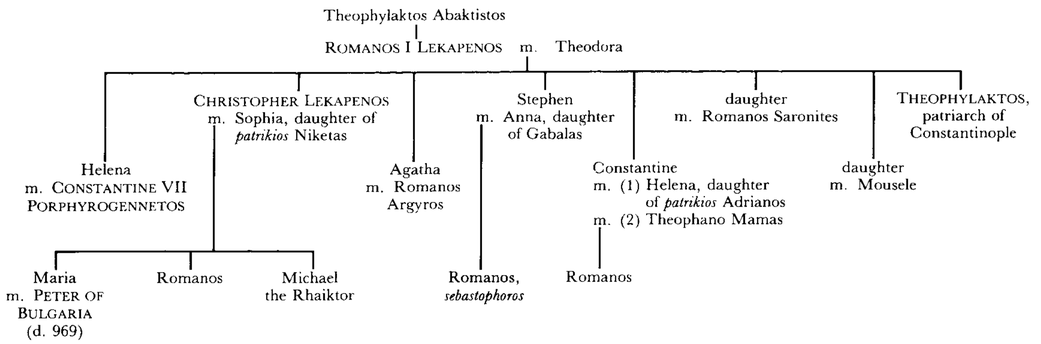
Components of legitimacy often converged: for example, lineage, Romanness, and religion combined when emperors claimed genealogical descent from St. Constantine (e.g., BASIL I) or ancient Roman nobility (e.g., the Doukai, anonymous preface to Bryen. 67.21–69.4).

LIT. F. Dölger, "Johannes VI. Kantakuzenus als dynastischer Legitimist," *SemKond* 10 (1938) 19–30. Av. Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual: the Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*," in Cannadine-Price, *Rituals* 106–36. –M.McC.

LEISURE (σχολή), as a form of philosophical behavior, designated in antiquity both scholarly discussion and scholarly speculation on nature and "origin." Church fathers renounced the ancient concept of philosophical leisure: Basil the Great (PG 29:429A) condemned "the evil leisure of the Athenians" that was still being imitated by his contemporaries, who were trying to invent new concepts and thus fell within the embraces of "dirty and evil spirits." He contrasted this leisure to "a good and beneficial *schole*," which was, in the words of Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 27:216D), "the cognizance of God." *Schole* was thus transformed into an emphasis on contemplation, which became an important part of ascetic exercises. –A.K.

LEKAPENOS (Λεκαπηνός, fem. Λεκαπηνή), or Lakapenos, a family of Armenian stock. Its founder, Theophylaktos Abaktistos or Abastaktos, rescued Basil I in a battle in 872 and was rewarded with a piece of imperial land, perhaps in the region of Lakape that gave the family its new name. Theophylaktos's son became Emp. ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, his sons were proclaimed coemperors, and the youngest, THEOPHYLAKTOS, was appointed patriarch. The oldest brother, CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS, died in Aug. 931; on 16

GENEALOGY OF THE LEKAPENOS FAMILY IN THE TENTH CENTURY



Adapted from S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign* (rp. Cambridge 1988), app. IV.

Dec. 944 Stephen and Constantine deposed their father, but they were in turn arrested on 15 June 945, exiled, and eventually murdered. For several decades the Lekapenoi maintained a leading position: Romanos I's illegitimate son BASIL THE NOTHOS, the *parakoimomenos*, administered the empire during Basil II's youth, and Christopher's son, Michael the Raiktor, gained the high title of *magistros*. Thereafter their role declined: from the 11th C. only a single family member is known—Constantine, whose seal mentions neither his title nor office (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.446). In the 14th C. George LAKAPENOS was a writer, landowner, teacher, and official of a mediocre rank. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Runciman, *Romanus* 63f, 77–79, 232–37. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 11–13. J. L. van Dieten, *RB* 1:1f. –A.K.

LEKAPENOS, GEORGE. See LAKAPENOS, GEORGE.

LEMBIOTISSA (Λεμβιώτισσα), or Lembos, a monastery dedicated to the Virgin, located halfway between Smyrna and Nymphaion. It existed by 787 when Theodore, *hegoumenos* of Lembos, signed the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea; its history thereafter until the 13th C. is obscure. Restored and richly endowed by John III Vatatzes, it flourished until 1307, when it was apparently attacked by the Turks and burned.

A KODIX or cartulary of Lembiotissa survives in a Vienna MS (ÖNB, hist. gr. 125) that preserves copies of about 200 private and official acts dating from 1192 to 1294 (Dölger, *infra* 295) or probably even from as early as 1133 (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 128). This collection permits the establishment of the list of Lembiotissa's *hegoumenoi* between 1223 and 1293 (Dölger, *infra* 302–06) and contains data concerning the topography and administration of the SMYRNA region, the activity of the episcopal chancery, and esp. the structure of the village-estate. The possessions of Lembiotissa were located in Smyrna and in several villages. In no case was Lembiotissa the sole owner of these villages. In the villages can be found properties of various secular and ecclesiastical landowners, independent and dependent peasants (e.g., a *paroikos* who had two masters simultaneously, peasants under *pronoia*); some allotments were tiny (1–3 *modioi*), and many owners held property in several different villages. The *kodix* also provides data about the price of fields and vineyards, taxes, and rent, esp. the EPITELEIA.

SOURCE. MM 4:1–289.

LIT. F. Dölger, "Chronologisches und Prosopographisches zur byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts," *BZ* 27 (1927) 291–320. A. Fontrier, "Le monastère de Lembos près de Smyrne," *BCH* 16 (1892) 379–410. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 24–27, 56–60, 98–100. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie," *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 236–44. D. Angelov, "Prinos kŭm pozemlenite otnošenija vŭv Vizantija prez XIII vek," *GSU FIF* 2 (1952) 3–103. –A.M.T., A.K.

LEMMA (λῆμμα), designation (occasionally attested already in antiquity) of the title usually placed at the head of a work or a chapter. It is often written in characters different from those of the text (i.e., in MINUSCULE MSS the lemmata are often written in UNCIAL, and vice versa) and also in INK of a different color (usually red). Sometimes a scribe forgot to add the lemma (and initial letters) to a text so that the work remained without title (*anepigraphos*) until a later copyist invented a new one.

Normally the lemma contains the author's name (sometimes, however, only in the formula *tou autou*, "by the same," which can be misleading) and details about contents, occasion, and (esp. in the case of letters) the addressee. Sometimes the lemma provides the only information at our disposal about the writer and the historical context of the work, Byz. texts being mostly tacit in this respect. On the other hand the reliability of the lemma is always relative, because it is not formulated by the author himself, except in the case of autographs. Cases of pseudepigraphy occur time and again; they are often due to the attempt to gain a higher price for the MS by means of an attractive author attribution.

LIT. O. Kresten, "Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 207–22. H. Hunger, "Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften im 10.–12. Jahrhundert," in *PGEB* 201–20. –W.H.

LEMNOS (Λῆμνος), island in the northern Aegean Sea that controlled the passage between Constantinople and Thessalonike; its capital was Hephaisteia. In late antiquity it was listed among the cities of the province of ACHAIA (Hierokl. 649.1); by the 9th C. it was part of the theme of the AEGEAN SEA. Ahrweiler (*Mer* 127, n.6) hypothesized that in the 10th C. Lemnos was under the command of the *strategos* of Thessalonike, but her reference to Skyl. 368.78 does not support this view. Neither do we have any proof that Lemnos was an important shipyard: a donation of 1016 (*Lavra* 1, no.20.79) only mentions a certain Andrew, a homeowner or former EPEIKTES of the island, and a purchase deed of 993 identifies the *protospatharios* and *exartistes* ("rigger") Michael as a friend of Athanasios of Athos (*Lavra* 1, no.10.23–25)—his whereabouts are not indicated.

The island was sacked by the Saracens in 902 and remained for several years a focus of anti-Arab naval operations. After 1204 Lemnos was placed under the authority of the Latin Empire but was reconquered by Michael VIII (Greg. 1:98.16). The loss of Asia Minor made Lemnos important as a source of food (monasteries of Mt. Athos had properties on Lemnos), as a political force (the inhabitants of Lemnos supported Andronikos III against Andronikos II—Kantak. 1:150f), and as a prize in the struggle for power (John VI Kantakouzenos gave it first to his brother Manuel, then to his son Matthew Kantakouzenos—Kantak. 3:312.1–8). The island was demanded by Alfonso V of Aragon (1416–1458) as the price of his aid for Constantinople, and offered by Constantine XI to GIUSTINIANI LONGO if he would help to repulse the Turks. After 1453 Lemnos was given briefly to the Gattilusi of Lesbos, then granted as part of an appanage by Mehmed II in 1460 to Demetrios Palaiologos, former *despotes* of the Morea. It was finally conquered by the Ottomans in 1479.

The bishop of Hephaisteia attended the Council of Nicaea in 325. A part of Eastern Illyricum, the island was under the jurisdiction of Rome until the 8th C. Lemnos became an archbishopric in the 9th C. and metropolis during the Civil War of 1341–47. The Latin conquest seems not to have affected the position of the Greek bishops of the island.

LIT. C. Fredrich, "Lemnos," *MDAI AA* 31 (1906) 246f, 249f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:657f, 3:161f. J.F. Haldon, "Limnos, Monastic Holdings and the Byzantine State: Ca. 1261–1453," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine Society* (Birmingham–Washington, D.C., 1986) 161–215. –T.E.G.

LENT (τεσσαρακοστή, lit. "fortieth [day]"), a period, ideally 40 days in duration, of PENANCE and FASTING in preparation for Easter. This period is also called "Great Lent" to distinguish it from the three lesser Byz. lents, those preceding the NATIVITY of Christ, the DORMITION of the Virgin Mary, and the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul on 29 June (the last Lent extends from the Monday following the Sunday after Pentecost until the vigil of the Apostles' feast).

The first sure evidence of Lent occurs in Festal Letter II of ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, from 330. By the end of the 4th C. a prepaschal Lent was in practice almost everywhere, an outgrowth of the preparation for BAPTISM at Easter. Lent later

became also a penitential preparation for the reconciliation of penitents during Holy Week. But growth was not uniform, as evidence from Jerusalem, Rome, and Egypt shows: Egypt, for instance, once had a six-week post-Epiphany fast in imitation of Jesus' postbaptismal fast.

The duration of Lent and the ways of calculating it have also varied. Originally the whole period lasted six weeks. Where Saturdays and Sundays were not fast days (except for Holy Saturday), this amounted to only 36 days of fasting in Lent plus Holy Week; thus these days were called "the tithe of the year." Soon literalism and the desire to have 40 actual fast days led in the 6th–7th C. in Constantinople to the addition of another, pre-Lenten *tyrine*, or "Cheesefare Week" of fasting that, with the six weeks of Lent plus Holy Week, makes a total of eight weeks, each with five fast days, 40 in all.

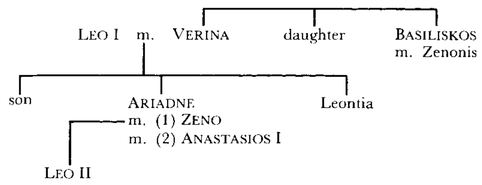
Lenten liturgical legislation first appears in canons 45 and 49–52 of the Council of Laodikeia in 380 (Mansi 2:571CE), and Lenten liturgy is already highly developed in Jerusalem by 384, as the diary of EGERIA reveals; other evidence is provided by the contemporary homilies of CYRIL of Jerusalem and by the 5th-C. Armenian LECTIONARY. Byz. Lenten liturgy, later codified in the liturgical book called the TRIODION, is seen in the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, in later monastic TYPIKA as well as in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS and other ceremonial books (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 28–30; pseudo-Kod. 221–24). Many Lenten sermons have survived: the preacher usually used the season of Lent to expose the vices of his flock and to suggest ways for moral improvement.

LIT. K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aussätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2 (Tübingen 1928) 155–203. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 163–230. –R.F.T.

LEO (Λέων, lit. "lion"), personal name. Although well known in antiquity (W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] [Braunschweig 1863–70] 793f), it was apparently rare in the 4th C.: *PLRE* 1:498 cites only two Leos alongside 24 Leontioi. It became more popular in the 5th C.: in *PLRE* 2:661–66 there are about 12 Leos, but still fewer than Leontioi (30). The relative frequency changed by the time of Theophanes the Confessor, who lists 18 Leos and only two Leontioi. The name reached its peak in Skylitzes, who has 38 Leos, more than THEODORE and BASIL; in the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), Leo is numerous (26), even though here the name is a little behind Theodore (30) and Basil (29); in *Iviron*, vol. 1 (10th–11th C.), Leo (11) is ahead of Theodore (9), but behind Basil (20). In the later period the name lost popularity: in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), Leo is in twelfth place with 31 instances, fewer than Athanasios (35) and Kyriakos (34), and far fewer than fashionable names like JOHN (350) and others of its ilk. The frequency of the name in the acts of Docheiariou is higher: Leo is more frequent than Athanasios or Kyriakos, but far behind Theodore. As an imperial name Leo was popular between the 5th and 10th C. Since the name Leo was borne by several Iconoclast emperors (Leo III–V), their adversaries used the expression "wild beast" to designate a "heretic" emperor; on the other hand, the lion as a royal animal could serve as a symbol or epithet of a "pious" Leo. –A.K.

LEO I, called the "Butcher" (Μακέλλης) or the "Great" (probably not because of his piety but to distinguish him from Leo II, the "Little," his grandson), emperor (from 7 Feb. 457); of Bessian origin, born in Illyrian Dacia ca.400, died 18 Jan. 474. A low-ranking officer commanding a garrison in Selymbria and a personal servant (*kourator*) of ASPAR and his son, he was chosen by Aspar as emperor upon Marcian's death. Aspar saw Leo as a compliant tool through whom he could exercise power. Leo was crowned by Patr. Anatolios (449–58)—the first case of imperial coronation by a patriarch. Leo's reign witnessed natural disasters (a fire in Constantinople in 465, earthquakes) and religious conflicts (TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS in Alexandria, the attempt of PETER THE FULLER to seize the see of Antioch). He was forced to lower taxes and curb official abuses. Aspar defeated the Huns in 468, and the Danubian provinces enjoyed relative prosperity; the situation in the East was quiet. Attempts to control Italy led to military coups when the army, commanded by RICIMER, proclaimed as augusti MAJORIAN, ANTHEMIOS (both Leo's nominees), and Glycerius (whom Leo refused to recognize and replaced with JULIUS NEPOS). The maritime expedition of 468 against the Vandals failed due to the incompetence of its commander BASILISKOS.

THE HOUSE OF LEO I



Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 361, with modifications.

By 468 Leo started to liberate himself from the control of Aspar and the Goths, using the Isaurians under ZENO as a counterweight to them. Leo married his daughter ARIADNE to Zeno. In 471 Aspar and his son ARDABOURIOS were murdered. Orthodox tradition depicts Leo and his wife VERINA as pious sovereigns devoted to the cult of the Virgin. Thus, in a 10th-C. MS (ed. A. Wenger, *REB* 10 [1952] 54f), they are said to have ordered a gold SOROS for a relic of the Virgin's clothing (here *peribole*; see MAPHORION), placing above it an image of Mary enthroned and adored by members of their family. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:314–23. W. Ensslin, *RE* 12 (1925) 1947–61. Kaegi, *Decline* 31–48. A. Kozlov, "Osnovnye napravlenija političeskoj oppozicii pravitel'stvu Vizantii v 50–načale 70–ch gg. V v.," *ADSV* 20 (1983) 29–39. –T.E.G., A.C.

LEO I THE GREAT, pope (from 29 Sept. 440) and saint; born end of 4th C.? in Volterra? Tuscany, died Rome 10 Nov. 461; Greek feastday 18 Feb. Leo contended with barbarian assaults on Italy: in 452 he participated in an embassy to ATTILA and persuaded him to withdraw from Italy; in 455, while PETRONIUS MAXIMUS tried to flee from besieged Rome, Leo negotiated with the Vandal GAISERIC and convinced him to spare the city from fire. Another problem was the growing power of the Eastern churches—Leo joined Constantinople against Alexandria. He opposed NESTORIANISM and in an epistle to Patr. FLAVIAN of Constantinople defended the thesis of the two natures of Christ. The main problem he faced, however, was the relationship of the church to the state: Leo propagated the idea of close collaboration between the two authorities and emphasized the divine principles of the imperial power. He developed the concept that authority and obedience were dialectically interwoven and that the emperor, while obedient to God, was to be the master of his subjects (H. Arens, *Die christologische Sprache Leos des Grossen* [Freiburg im Br. 1982] 698f).

Loyal to Valentinian III, Leo sought the support of Constantinople, where he established his *apocrisiarius* as intermediary between Rome and the emperor. Leo did not approve of the idea of convening the Council of CHALCEDON, but he submitted to the emperor's will and worked supportively; he only required unconditionally that his legates should preside over the council (M. Wojtowytsch, *Papsttum und Konzile von den Anfängen bis zu Leo I.* [Stuttgart 1981] 331f). Leo developed the idea of PRIMACY but supported canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon. The ICONOPHILES respected Leo, and in the 9th C. THEODORE GRAPTOS composed a *kanon* in his honor (E. Bouvy, *EO* 1 [1897–98] 172). His Greek vita, vague in its contents (C. Van den Vorst, *AB* 29 [1910] 400–408), was probably compiled on the basis of a poem in political verse (R. Goossens, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 427–32). Leo's lengthy letter dated 11 June 453 to THEODORET OF CYPRUS where the pope vouchsafes the orthodoxy of Theodoret's views is, probably, a mid-6th-C. forgery produced in the vein of Western reaction to the affair of the THREE CHAPTERS, or a revision of the authentic text (R. Schieffer in *Antidoron. Hulde aan Dr. Maurits Geerard* [Wetteren 1984] 81–87).

LIT. T. Jalland, *The Life and Times of St. Leo the Great* (London 1941). P. Stockmeier, *Leo I. des Grossen. Beurteilung der kaiserlichen Religionspolitik* (Munich 1959). F. Paschoud, *Roma aeterna* (Rome 1967) 311–22. W. Ullmann, "Leo I and the Theme of Papal Primacy," *JThSt* n.s. 11 (1960) 25–51. –A.K.

LEO II, "the Little" (ὁ μικρός), emperor (473–74); born ca.467, died Constantinople 17 Nov.? 474. Since Leo I had no sons, he of necessity looked to his grandson Leo, the child of his daughter ARIADNE and her husband ZENO, to continue his line. In the fall of 473, shortly before Leo I died, he proclaimed his six-year-old grandson as caesar and then augustus. Early the next year, immediately after the death of Leo I, the child emperor crowned his father Zeno in the Hippodrome, with the approval of the senate (Feb. 474); the boy died a few months later. Latin

writers (Victor Tonnensis, Isidore of Seville) accuse Zeno of murdering his son. In any case, after the boy's death a conspiracy developed against Zeno in which Leo I's widow, VERINA, played an active role; she then changed her mind, however, and warned Zeno about the plot.

LIT. A. Lippold, *RE* 2.R. 10 (1972) 157–60. *PLRE* 2:664f. –A.K.

LEO II/I (Arm. Lewon), successor of his brother Ruben III as RUBENID prince Leo II (1187–1198/9), then first king of Armenian CILICIA as Leo I (1198/9–1219). Leo successfully fought the Turkomans and the Seljuks and allied himself with the Crusaders through his successive marriages to Isabel of Jerusalem and Sybil of Cyprus. The consolidation of his principality and the failure of ecclesiastical discussions with Byz. after the death of Emp. Manuel I led him to turn for recognition to the Holy Roman Empire. Although the death of Frederick I Barbarossa and cautious negotiations with Rome toward a union of churches were setbacks, Leo was crowned king at Tarsos on 6 Jan. 1198/9 (the date is still disputed) in the presence of both the local Byz. metropolitan and the archbishop of Mainz; from the latter he received the royal insignia in the name of Emp. HENRY VI of Germany. This investiture was apparently approved by Alexios III Angelos who also sent Leo a crown.

The reign of Leo marked the political apogee of the Cilician kingdom, as he gained the support of the HOSPITALLERS and the Teutonic knights to whom he granted extensive domains. He likewise encouraged Western traders, who enriched the country. Relations with the Crusader states deteriorated, however, as a result of his protracted and vain attempts to secure the princedom of ANTIOCH for his half-Latin grandnephew Raymond-Ruben. Soon after Leo died, the resentful Armenian nobles murdered his Latin son-in-law and forced Leo's daughter Zabel to marry Het'um I, which initiated the new HET'UMID dynasty in 1226.

LIT. Ł. Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique premier roi de Sissouan ou de l'Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice 1888). Boase, *Cilician Armenia* 15–22. –N.G.G.

LEO III, emperor (717–41); founder of the ISAURIAN DYNASTY; born Germanikeia ca.685, died Constantinople 18 June 741. His baptismal name was perhaps Kónon. Some scholars accept Byz. reports that place Leo III's early career in the East, but most believe Theophanes the Confessor's account (Theoph. 391.5–11) that Leo was reared in Mesembria, where his family had been resettled under Justinian II. Theophanes also reports that in 705 he was entitled *spatharios* after donating 500 sheep to Justinian and that he followed Justinian to Constantinople and rose to prominence, being sent to the Caucasus to secure the Alans against the Arab-backed Abchasians (M. Canard, *REArm* 8 [1971] 353–57). Leo was named *strategos* of the Anatolikon by Anastasios II, after whose deposition he joined forces with ARTABASDOS to force the abdication of Theodosios III. Leo entered Constantinople on 25 Mar. 717 and secured his throne by resisting the siege of MASLAMA and suppressing revolts by the Sicilian *strategos* (718) and Anastasios (719).

Throughout his reign, Leo was concerned with the defense, organization, and unity of the empire. He raised taxes to repair the land walls of Constantinople (Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 53, 82, 100). He campaigned against the Arabs in alliance with the KHAZARS and Georgians; his victory at AKROINON in 740 ended their advance in Asia Minor. Leo's administrative actions included the creation of the THRAKESION and KIBYRRHAIOTAI themes, and the droungariate of the AEGEAN SEA; he may also have raised CRETE to the status of theme. His ECLOGA was an important revision of Justinianic law. Possibly raised as a Monophysite, Leo as emperor insisted on Chalcedonian religious uniformity, persecuting Montanists and Jews to the point of forcible conversion. In 726 he inaugurated imperial support for ICONOCLASM (Anastos, "Leo III's Edict" 5–41) and in 730 convoked a *silention* to ratify an edict condemning icons. This provoked Patr. GERMANOS I, whom Leo deposed. It also brought conflict with popes GREGORY II (see EUTYCHIOS, exarch of Ravenna) and GREGORY III. The origins of Leo's Iconoclasm are obscure. There is no evidence that Muslim actions (see YAZĪD II) or Jewish circles stimulated these views, as hostile Byz. writers charged. He had the support of some high clerics, esp. in Asia Minor, but their degree of influence is unknown. He himself referred to biblical prohibitions against images.

Leo increased taxes in Sicily, Calabria, and Illyricum in 732/3; he may have transferred these territories from papal to Byz. jurisdiction (M. Anastos, *SBN* 9 [1957] 14–31), although this more likely occurred under Constantine V (Ostrogorsky, *History* 170, n.1). He also had to subdue a revolt from HELLAS and the Cyclades (Th. Korres, *Byzantiaka* 1 [1981] 37–49). He crowned his wife Maria in 718 and their son Constantine (V) in 720.

LIT. S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III* (Louvain 1973). K. Schenk, *Kaiser Leon III* (Halle 1880). –P.A.H.

LEO III, pope (26/7 Dec. 795–12 June 816); probably of humble origin. Beck refutes the theory that Leo's father Atzupios was a Greek (*Ideen,* pt.VII [1969], 131–37), suggesting the man's Arab origin. Leo scrupulously respected Frankish sovereignty over Italy: he immediately notified CHARLEMAGNE—not the Byz. emperor—of his election and, no later than 798, went beyond HADRIAN I by adding the Frankish ruler's regnal years to his own in dating documents. On 25 Apr. 799 a faction including Hadrian's relatives attacked Leo, who escaped to Charlemagne at Paderborn. Restored by the Franks, Leo crowned Charlemagne *imperator* in St. Peter's on 25 Dec. 800; his action, which perhaps reflected Frankish rejection of Empress IRENE's legitimacy, resulted in the creation of a rival empire in the West with lasting political implications. The ensuing controversy with Constantinople was settled only in 812 when the envoys of Emp. Nikephoros I accepted a new treaty issued jointly by Charlemagne in Aachen and Leo in Rome, and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I was finally allowed to send Leo the customary SYNODIKA. Leo did not act on the suggestion of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS that he convene a council with regard to the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY, but Theodore's biographers credit the pope with a role in its resolution. When ca.807 a dispute about the FILIOQUE arose in Jerusalem between Frankish and Greek monks and Charlemagne's court backed the Franks, Leo accepted the Greek view and sought theological support from the patriarch of Jerusalem. MICHAEL SYNKELLOS was sent to Leo ca.813 by Patr. Thomas of Jerusalem, but the embassy was detained in Constantinople.

LIT. P. Classen, "Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz," in *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben,* ed. H. Beumann (Düsseldorf 1965) 1:537–608. M. Borgolte, "Papst Leo III., Karl der Grosse und die Filioque-Streit von Jerusalem," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 401–27. W. Mohr, "Karl der Grosse, Leo III. und der römische Aufstand von 799," *Bulletin du Cange* 30 (1960) 39–98. V. Peri, "Il 'filioque' nel magistero di Adriano I e di Leone III," *RivStChIt* 41 (1987) 5–25. –M.McC., A.K.

LEO IV THE KHAZAR, emperor (775–80); born Constantinople 25 Jan. 750, died Strongylon 8 Sept. 780. He was the son of Constantine V and his Khazar wife, Irene, and was thus nicknamed "the Khazar." Crowned co-emperor in 751, Leo was married to IRENE in Dec. 769. Soon after his accession Leo crowned their son Constantine VI as co-emperor, prompting a conspiracy in favor of his five half-brothers (including Caesar NIKEPHOROS), which he easily suppressed. Little is known of Leo's reign. He was active against the Arabs, sending campaigns into Syria in 776 and 778 under the command of Michael LACHANODRAKON but could not prevent major incursions into Asia Minor in 776, 779, and 780 (the last by HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD). Leo supported ICONOCLASM but actively persecuted ICONOPHILES only in Aug. 780, when he had a number of court officials beaten, tonsured, and imprisoned. He died of a fever while campaigning against the Bulgarians.

LIT. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI* (Munich 1978) 1:53–103, 2:423–92. Ostrogorsky, *History* 175–77. W. Treadgold, "An Indirectly Preserved Source for the Reign of Leo IV," *JÖB* 34 (1984) 69–76. –P.A.H.

LEO V THE ARMENIAN, emperor (813–20); died Constantinople 25 Dec. 820. He was the son of the *patrikios* Bardas (Genes. 26.75), who was of Armenian descent (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 151). Raised in the Anatolikon theme, Leo served in 803 under *strategos* BARDANES TOURKOS, possibly as *protostrator.* He deserted Bardanes for Nikephoros I, who named him commander of the FOEDERATI and gave him two palaces in Constantinople (Janin, *CP byz.* 137, 331f). Nikephoros later exiled him, perhaps because Leo had enriched himself illegally or perhaps because Leo sympathized with the rebel ARSABER, whose daughter Theodosia Leo had married. Michael I recalled Leo and named him *hypostrategos* of the Armeniakon theme, then *strategos* and *patrikios.*

Leo was acclaimed emperor after the battle of VERSINIKIA and crowned by Patr. NIKEPHOROS I on 22 July in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. The accession of the Bulgarian khan OMURTAG and the death of the ʿAbbāsid caliph HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD permitted Leo to rebuild towns and defenses in Thrace. He restored ICONOCLASM by appointing

a preparatory commission under JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS, deposing Patr. Nikephoros, and convoking, in 815, a local council in Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) that renounced the Council in Trullo and rehabilitated the Council of HIERIA (P. Alexander, *DOP* 7 [1953] 35–66). Because of his Iconoclasm, Byz. sources are hostile to Leo, accusing him, among other things, of stoning the recently restored image of Christ at the CHALKE and thus of emulating Leo III. He was, however, an excellent general and enjoyed a reputation for fairness and honesty. He made competent military appointments, including Michael (II), THOMAS THE SLAV, and MANUEL. He also fortified Constantinople's walls at Blachernai. Leo was assassinated in church on Christmas Day by supporters of Michael II; his body was publicly exposed in the Hippodrome before being buried on Prote.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 196–225. V. Grumel, "Les relations politico-religieuses entre Byzance et Rome sous le règne de Léon V l'Armenien," *REB* 18 (1960) 19–44. Alexander, *Patr. Nicephorus* 125–47. Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy* 159–83. Bury, *ERE* 43–76. –P.A.H., A.C.

LEO VI, co-emperor (from 6 Jan. 870), emperor (30 July 886–912); born Constantinople? 19 Sept. 866 (V. Grumel, *EO* 35 [1936] 331–33), died Constantinople 11 May 912. Second son of BASIL I, Leo was called the Wise or Philosopher (Dölger, *Byzanz* 201, n.13). An educated man who dabbled in literature, he was perceived by the next generation as a prophet and a sage. The officialdom of the capital supported him, his major counselors

LEO VI. Emp. Leo VI the Wise on his deathbed. Miniature from the illustrated manuscript of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes in Madrid (Bibl. Nac. vitr. 26-2, fol.116v); 12th C. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

being ZAOUTZES, the eunuch SAMONAS, and the eunuch Constantine; Leo sought the support of aristocratic families such as PHOKAS and DOUKAS, but also tried to keep them at bay, thus provoking serious conflicts (e.g., the revolt of Andronikos DOUKAS). His ecclesiastical policy was parallel: Leo was supported by patriarchs such as his brother Stephen (886–93), Zaoutzes' nominee ANTONY II KAULEAS (893–901), and Leo's spiritual father EUTHYMIOS, whereas he deposed PHOTIOS and was in conflict with NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, esp. over his fourth marriage. Leo hoped for political reconciliation: he delivered a speech praising his father but at the same time arranged a solemn translation of the body of MICHAEL III to Constantinople. Leo's administration was active in codification and in establishing political "order"; the BASILIKA, the NOVELS OF LEO VI, the BOOK OF THE EPARCH, and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS were published; and under Leo's name a book on military tactics, the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI, was produced. The lack of a male heir and the premature death of his first three wives, THEOPHANO, Zoe (daughter of Zaoutzes), and Eudokia Baiane, undermined Leo's search for stabilization. When finally his concubine ZOE KARBONOPSINA gave birth to CONSTANTINE VII, instead of stabilization a severe struggle over the TETRAGAMY of Leo resulted.

Leo's international policy was more or less unsuccessful: in 896 SYMEON OF BULGARIA defeated the Byz.; in 902 Taormina was lost and in 904 LEO OF TRIPOLI sacked Thessalonike; the Rus' prince OLEG attacked Constantinople in 907; and in 912 the fleet of HIMERIOS was annihilated. Leo did not trust aristocratic generals and preferred to negotiate with his neighbors by sending envoys such as Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES. He was compelled to accept the papacy's intervention into domestic church affairs.

The Madrid SKYLITZES MS richly illustrates the events of Leo's reign (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 242–72). In the Paris Homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.XVI), Leo is portrayed as a youth of about 15 with his mother EUDOKIA INGERINA and brother ALEXANDER. The best known and most controversial image of Leo is over the central door of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, where he appears in PROSKYNESIS at Christ's feet. N. Oikonomides has argued that this mosaic is an image of penitence, set up at the order of Nicholas Mystikos following the council of 920, which posthumously pardoned Leo's tetragamy (*DOP* 30 [1976] 151–72).

ED. PG 107:1–298 (see Ch.Astruc, *AB* 100 [1982] 463–68). A. Vogt, I. Hausherr, *Oraison funèbre de Basile Ier par son fils Léon le Sage* (Rome 1932; corr. Adontz, *Études* 111–23).

LIT. N. Popov, *Imperator Lev VI Mudryj* (Moscow 1892). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:115–216. Vogt, "Léon VI". C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 59–93. J. Irmscher, "Die Gestalt Leons VI. des Weisen in Volkssage und Historiographie," in *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.-11. Jahrhundert* (Prague 1978) 205–24. Spatharakis, *Portrait* 97f, 256f, fig.63. R. Cormack, "Interpreting the Mosaics of S. Sophia at Istanbul," *Art History* 4 (1981) 138–41. –A.K., A.C.

LEO IX (Bruno of Egisheim), pope (from 2 Dec. 1048, crowned in Rome 2 Feb. 1049); born Alsace 21 June 1002, died Rome 19 Apr. 1054. Leo strove to create a strong and independent papacy based on a reformed clergy; among his advisers were Hildebrand (later Pope GREGORY VII), HUMBERT (later cardinal of Silva Candida), and Peter Damiani. A relative of the imperial house, Leo was nominated as pope by Henry III of Germany, but it is unclear how long this collaboration continued; at any rate, Germany did not help Leo against the Normans, and Leo had no choice but to seek the support of Byzantium and the Byz. governor in South Italy, ARGYROS, son of Melo (D. Nicol, *infra* 8). In May 1053 Leo himself led a small expedition against the Normans, but before Argyros could join him the pope was defeated at Civitate (18 June) and captured; the Normans kept him prisoner for 9 months. While in captivity in Benevento, Leo corresponded with Emp. Constantine IX and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, and in Jan. 1054 a Roman embassy left for Constantinople in an attempt to create an anti-Norman coalition. The history of this embassy is obscure and the nature of related Latin documents, including the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE and their Greek translations, is questionable (H.-G. Krause in *Aus Kirche und Reiche: Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf,* ed. H. Mordek [Sigmaringen 1983] 131–58). The mission failed despite Constantine IX's desire to reach an agreement; it is probable that Argyros played a treacherous role by inciting the Byz. authorities against the pope. Leo returned to Rome on 12 Mar. 1054 a broken man, and died before the abrupt end of negotiations (see SCHISM). The