

question of whether his vita was written by Humbert (H. Tritz, *StGreg* 4 [1952] 246–72) or not (H.-G. Krause, *DA* 32 [1976] 49–85) is under discussion.

LIT. A. Garreau, *Saint Léon IX, pape alsacien* (Paris 1965). L. Sittler, P. Stintzi, *Saint Léon IX, le pape alsacien* (Colmar 1950). Gay, *Italie* 477–500. E. Petrucci, "Rapporti di Leone IX con Costantinopoli," *StMed* 14 (1973) 733–831. D. Nicol, "Byzantium and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century," *JEH* 13 (1962) 1–20. H. Houben, "Il papato, i Normanni e la nuova organizzazione ecclesiastica della Puglia e della Basilicata," *ASitCal* 53 (1986) 15–32. —A.K.

LEO GRAMMATIKOS. See SYMEON LOGOTHETE.

LEONARD OF CHIOS, Dominican eyewitness to the fall of Constantinople; born Chios 1395/6, died probably Genoa, 1459. After studies in Italy, Leonard became archbishop of Mytilene (1 July 1444), where he enjoyed close relations with the GATTILUSIO lords of Lesbos, as reflected in his *De vera nobilitate* (On True Nobility [Avellino 1657]). He joined ISIDORE OF KIEV and a papal delegation at Chios and arrived with them at Constantinople on 26 Oct. 1452 to realize ecclesiastical union. Although captured by the Turks in the conquest, he managed to escape to Chios, whence he dispatched a report to Pope Nicholas V (16 Aug. 1453) that describes the conquest in a fashion hostile to the Byz. and Venetians but favorable to the Genoese. It survives in the Latin original and a Venetian (G. Lanuschi, *Excidio e presa di Costantinopoli*, ed. G.M. Thomas, *SBAW* 2 [1868] 1–38) as well as a vernacular Greek translation (ed. G.Th. Zoras, *Chronikon peri ton Tourkon Soultanon* [Athens 1958] 79.17–94.3; cf. Gy. Moravcsik, *BZ* 44 [1951] 428–36). Leonard returned to Italy ca.1458 to work for a counteroffensive against the Turks and probably died there.

ED. L.T. Belgrano, *Documenti riguardanti la colonia Genovese di Pera* (Genoa 1888) 233–57. PG 159:923–41. Excerpts with Ital. tr.—Pertusi, *Cadula* 1:125–71. Tr. Jones, *Siege of CP* 11–41. —M.McC.

LEONTIOS, (Λεόντιος), Eastern usurper; born Dalisandos, Isauria, died at the fort of Papyrios (Paperon), Isauria, 488. A military commander (*magister militum*), whom Emp. Zeno sent to oppose the rebellion of ILLOS in 484, he was persuaded to join the rebels. Leontios was crowned at Tarsos on 19 July 484 by the empress VERINA, who claimed

the right to nominate the emperor. The rebels were defeated by Zeno's troops at Antioch in Sept. 484 and were besieged at the fort of Papyrios. After a four-year siege they were betrayed and executed.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:397f. *PLRE* 2:670f. —T.E.G.

LEONTIOS, presbyter of Constantinople and homilist; fl. 5th or 6th C. He is to be distinguished from the 6th-C. theologian LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM as well as from Leontios the monk who lived sometime between the 6th and 8th C. and wrote a homily on the birth of John the Baptist (C. Datema, P. Allen, *Byzantion* 58 [1988] 188–229). Nothing is known of the biography of Leontios the presbyter, although Datema and Allen lean towards placing him in the mid-6th C. In the MS tradition 11 homilies are attributed to him; the editors assign another three to his pen on the basis of stylistic and lexical arguments. His homilies were written for specific feast days, on such topics as Job, the birth of John the Baptist, Palm Sunday, and Pentecost. He wrote in a vivid style, making use of monologues and dialogues; his vocabulary is rich and varied, including numerous rare or unattested words. His works are distinguished more by their rhetorical skill than for their theological subtlety.

ED. *Homiliae*, ed. C. Datema, P. Allen (Turnhout-Leuven 1987).

LIT. L. Perrone, *DPAC* 2:1931. —A.M.T.

LEONTIOS, emperor (695–98); died Constantinople 15 Feb. (?) 706. A *patrikios* of Isaurian origin, Leontios was appointed *strategos* of Anatolikon, apparently by Constantine IV. In 686 Justinian II sent him against the Arabs in Armenia and Georgia, where he campaigned effectively but with great cruelty. In 692 Justinian imprisoned him in Constantinople, perhaps as punishment for Arab victories in Asia Minor. In 695 he was released and appointed *strategos* of Hellas but, aided by the Blue FACTION, whose extermination Justinian was rumored to be plotting, and Patr. Kallinikos I (693–705), he seized the throne. Byz. sources call him Leontios but his coinage and references in Western sources indicate that he ruled officially as Leo. Little is known of his activities as emperor. When the Arabs cap-

tured Carthage in 697, he dispatched a fleet under JOHN PATRIKIOS to recapture North Africa. He was clearing Constantinople's Neorion harbor of debris in 698 when the bubonic plague struck. He was overthrown that year by TIBERIOS II, who mutilated his nose and imprisoned him in the DALMATOU monastery. After retaking Constantinople in 705, Justinian II paraded Leontios through the city and beheaded him in the Hippodrome.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:24–26, 69–87. —P.A.H.

LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM, theologian; died ca.543. Establishing his biography depends on a series of identifications: one of them, as LEONTIOS OF JERUSALEM, is now rejected; another, as a collaborator of St. SABAS who traveled with his teacher to Constantinople in 531 and from whom Sabas separated when he learned of Leontios's Origenist inclinations, is strongly supported by Evans (*infra*). Scholars differ in their judgment of the doctrine of Leontios: traditional opinion is that Leontios was a staunch supporter of the Chalcedonian creed, whereas Evans views Leontios as a follower of ORIGEN and esp. EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS. The focal point of Leontios's theology was the search for a solution to the problem of the two natures and two hypostases in the incarnate Christ: in his book *Against the Nestorians and Eutychians*, Leontios rejected both the Nestorian and the Monophysite concepts. Even though his search for a philosophical definition of relation and substance harked back to Origen and Plato (A. de Halleux, *RHE* 66 [1971] 983–85), Leontios's perception of Christ differs from that of Evagrius: in Evagrius the intellect is not united with flesh in essence, in Leontios the person is the ontological principle of union of both natures (S. Otto, *BZ* 66 [1973] 97). Leontios frequently used the term *enhypostatos*, "existing in an hypostasis," to characterize the status of the natures of Christ, saying, "There is no nature that is not hypostatized." For Leontios the being-in-hypostasis is not a relation (as in Evagrius) but a reality.

Leontios also wrote two treatises, *Solution of the Arguments of Severos* and *Thirty Chapters*, which attack SEVEROS of Antioch. A pamphlet entitled *Against the Forgeries of the Apollinarians* is of disputed authenticity. The tract *On Sects*, ascribed in some MSS to Leontios, has also been attributed

to THEODORE OF RAITHOU and to THEODORE ABU-QURRA.

ED. PG 86:1185–2016.

LIT. D.B. Evans, *Leontius of Byzantium: An Origenist Christology* (Washington, D.C., 1970). S. Rees, "The Literary Activity of Leontius of Byzantium," *JThSt* n.s. 19 (1968) 229–42. S. Otto, *Person und Subsistenz: Die philosophische Anthropologie des Leontios von Byzanz* (Munich 1968). M. van Esbroeck, "La date et l'auteur du *De Sectis* attribué à Léonce de Byzance," in *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History* (Louvain 1985) 415–24. —B.B., A.K.

LEONTIOS OF JERUSALEM, ecclesiastical writer; born ca.485, died ca.543. Leontios used to be confounded with his contemporary, LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM, but is now generally recognized as a separate person. It is probable that this Leontios, a moderate Chalcedonian monk, attended as spokesman for his fellow Palestinian brethren the meeting convoked at Constantinople ca.532 by Justinian I in search of reconciliation with SEVEROS of Antioch and the Monophysites. He was also present in the same capacity at the council of 536 in the capital that anathematized Severos, Anthimos, and other Monophysite leaders. He is now acknowledged to be the author of two tracts, *Against the Nestorians* and *Against the Monophysites*; these are the works of a neo-Chalcedonian whose Christology was frequently expressed in the language of CYRIL of Alexandria and also of moderate Monophysites.

ED. PG 86.1–2:1399–1901.

LIT. C. Moeller, "Textes 'monophysites' de Léonce de Jérusalem," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 27 (1951) 467–82. Richard, *Opera minora* 3: no. 59, 35–88. K.P. Wesche, "The Christology of Leontius of Jerusalem: Monophysite or Chalcedonian?" *SVThQ* 31 (1987) 65–95. —B.B.

LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS (on Cyprus), bishop; 7th-C. hagiographer. His dates of birth and death are unknown. Leontios penned both a Life of St. JOHN ELEEMON (in 641–42), based on materials collected by John MOSCHOS and SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem, and one of St. SYMEON OF EMESA; another biography, that of the Cypriot saint Spyridon, is lost. A conflated text of the Lives of John by Moschos-Sophronios and Leontios was used by SYMEON METAPHRASTES. Leontios's professed intention in the Life of John was to stress items omitted by Moschos and Sophronios, also to provide an account in a Greek style plain enough for

uneducated readers to understand. Some notice is taken of secular events of the time, although Mango (*infra*) warns against using it as a historical source. The chief importance and pleasure of the Life is its information on everyday life in Egypt in the 7th C. Also preserved are some fragments of his *Speech Against the Jews* (PG 93:1597–1609), in which veneration of icons is shrewdly upheld by appeal to Old Testament texts against Jewish objections (L. Barnard in *Iconoclasm* 8, 11).

ED. *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, L. Rydén (Paris 1974), with Fr. tr. Life of John—Eng. tr. in Dawes-Baynes, *Three Byz. Sts.* 199–262.

LIT. C. Mango, "A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontios of Neapolis," in *Byz. und der Westen* 25–41. H. Gelzer, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* (Leipzig 1907) 1–56. L. Rydén, *Bemerkungen zum Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* (Uppsala 1970). —B.B.

LEONTIOS SCHOLASTIKOS, 6th-C. author of about 24 epigrams (some individual ascriptions are uncertain) in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY via the Cycle of AGATHIAS. There has been much speculation over the precise identity and career of Leontios (Λεόντιος), rendered largely fruitless by the plethora of Leontioi in the period; a sample possibility is to equate him with the lawyer Leontios who helped TRIBONIAN in the compilation of Justinian's *Digest*. His short poems (six lines at most), unremarkable in language and meter, mirror various aspects of Byz. society, esp. what have been called the permitted pleasures of BATHS, CHARIOTEERS, and MIMES; only one epigram is erotic. His descriptions of works of art include important testimony on PORTRAITS of officials, for example, an EPARCH of Constantinople and a KOU-BIKOULARIOS (bk.16, nos. 32–33). Al. and Av. Cameron (*JHS* 86 [1966] 15) take the Peter of one poem (bk.7, no.579) to be PETER PATRIKIOS; if this identification is correct, Leontios provides an account of that dignitary's death from a fatal fall in the theater.

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Leontius Scholasticus and his Poetry," *BS* 40 (1979) 1–12. R.C. McCail, "The Cycle of Agathias: New Identifications Scrutinised," *JHS* 89 (1969) 91f. —B.B., A.C.

LEO OF CATANIA, bishop and saint; born Ravenna; feastday 21 Feb. The dates of his life are unclear; one version of his vita makes him contemporary with the joint rule of Constantine IV

and Justinian II (681–85), another with Leo IV and Constantine VI (775–80). Leo's vita must have been written before the 10th C., when a summary of it was included in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. The vita, which is preserved in several versions, is a unique text in Byz. hagiography. Its core is not the pious exploits of Leo, but the story of his antihero, a certain Heliodoros, who with the help of a Jewish magician sold his soul to the Devil and became a mighty sorcerer. He instantaneously transported an official to Constantinople from a bathhouse in Catania; he transformed stone and wood into gold and silver; he used a staff to draw a "ship" on the sandy beach and then traveled on this contraption to the capital. Finally, Leo used his *omophorion* to tie up Heliodoros, thus depriving him of his magic power; when Leo stepped with him into a fire, the sorcerer burned to a cinder while the bishop remained unharmed. This legendary story was rewritten in verse (preserved in a MS of 1307).

ED. V. Latyšev, *Neizdannnye grečeskie agiografičeskie teksty* (St. Petersburg 1914) 12–28. D. Raffin, "La vita metrica anonima su Leone di Catania," *BollBadGr* 16 (1962) 33–48.

LIT. *BHG* 981–981e. A. Amore, *Bibl.Sanct.* 7 (1966) 1223–25. Beck, *Kirche* 799. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 205–08. K.G. Kaster, *LCl* 7:390f. —A.K.

LEO OF CHALCEDON, a prelate who, between 1081 and 1091, opposed the secularization and the melting down of church treasures by Alexios I Komnenos. Leo's opposition forced the emperor to back down temporarily (1082). The resumption of confiscations and the leniency of the patriarch and other bishops toward imperial policies led Leo to break communion with the patriarchate (1084). In 1086 the synod indicted and deposed him. The emperor published a decree (*semeioma*) justifying the secularization (*Reg.* vol. 2, no.1130). Eventually, Leo was reconciled with the church at the local council of Constantinople of 1094, held at Blachernai (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

The debates of the case involved the decree of the Second Council of Nicaea (787) about "worship" (*latreia*) due to God alone, and the "relative veneration" (*proskynesis schetike*) due to images. This "veneration" was seen as ultimately directed to the "prototypes," not the materials out of which

images were made. Leo maintained, however, that a secular use of the material was equivalent to blasphemous disrespect for the image, and therefore the prototype. By assuming a body, the Logos had assumed a "form," represented materially on an icon. The "form" was thus integrated in his divine person. Leo finally accepted the position that since "worship" was not addressed to the material image, the urgent needs of the state could be met at the expense of church treasures.

ED. Letters—ed. Alexander Lavriotes, *EkAl* 24 (1900) 403–07, 414–16, 445–47, 455f.

LIT. A. Glabinas, *He epi Alexiou Komnenou (1081–1118) peri hieron skeuon, keimelion kai hagion eikonon eris* (Thessalonike 1972). *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 940–41, 955, 967–68. P. Stephanou, "Le procès de Léon de Chalcédoine," *OrChrP* 9 (1943) 5–64. Idem, "La doctrine de Léon de Chalcédoine et de ses adversaires sur les images," *OrChrP* 12 (1946) 177–99. —J.M.

LEO OF CONSTANTINOPLE, APOCALYPSE OF, text written in the tradition of DANIEL and preserved in late MSS (from the 14th C. onward). One MS (Venice, Marc. gr. II,101) identifies the author as Patr. Leo Stypes (1134–43), whereas another calls him the priest Leo. The *Apocalypse of Leo* reflects the views of a monastic milieu—the monks are the only social group that as a whole will enter paradise. Maisano (*infra*) distinguishes two versions of the *Apocalypse*: one of the 9th C., another of the 12th C. (he denies the authorship of Leo Stypes). The first version is anti-Iconoclastic, but at the same time very critical of Empress Irene, whose pious successor Constantine was not her son but a newcomer from Arabia. The second version contains some anti-Bogomil polemic (e.g., the rejection of their view of Enoch and Elijah as emanations of the Old Testament God). It remains questionable whether the first version was in fact a 9th-C. work.

ED. and LIT. R. Maisano, *L'Apocalisse apocrifa di Leone di Costantinopoli* (Naples 1975), rev. A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 38 (1977) 231–33. —A.K., J.I.

LEO OF OHRID, 11th-C. polemicist. A former *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, he became autocephalous archbishop of OHRID after 1025. He was the spokesman of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS in debates between Byz. and Latin clergy in southern Italy, giving the controversies a universal dimension. In a letter

(1053) sent to the Italian bishop John of Trani, but addressed "to all the bishops of the Franks and to the most respected pope," Leo for the first time shifted the religious estrangement between East and West toward liturgical and disciplinary issues, basing his attack either on Scripture (the Latins were eating strangled meat, with blood, contrary to Acts 15:20), or on the canons of the Council in TRULLO (fasting on Saturdays), or on simple differences of usage (chanting Alleluia during Lent). His major argument, however, was directed at the Latin use of AZYMES in the Eucharist. Two other letters of Leo expand on the same issues. Transmitted to Rome, the first letter of Leo provoked a sharp answer, written by Cardinal HUMBERT, initiating a whole series of exchanges, including the fateful mission of Humbert to Constantinople, and mutual anathemas (1054).

ED. *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae graecae et latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant*, ed. C. Will (Leipzig-Marburg 1861; rp. Frankfurt 1963) 52–64. *Kritičeskie opyty po istorii drevnejšej greko-russkoj polemiki protiv Latinjan*, ed. A. Pavlov (St. Petersburg 1878) 146–51. *EkAl* 9 (1886) 421–27; 10 (1886–87) 150–62.

LIT. L. Bréhier, *Le Schisme oriental du XIe siècle* (Paris 1899) 93–102, 118f, 151–53. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, vol. 2 (Paderborn 1930) 123–37, 282–94. S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Cambridge 1955) 41f, 46f. E. Petrucci, "Rapporti di Leone IX con Costantinopoli," *StMed* 14 (1973) 751–69. —J.M.

LEO OF SYNADA, metropolitan, *synkellos*, diplomat, and writer; born ca.940. His biography is known only from his letters. These are addressed to the emperor (Basil II), whom Leo calls the Scythian and "antarctic" (ep.54.12), alluding to his Bulgarian campaigns, and also to various church and secular officials (ep.13 is addressed to the *kanikleios* who is at the same time *strategos*, i.e., to Nikephoros OURANOS). Darrouzès dates the letters to the 990s, but if his identification of the addressee of Letter 25 with CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE is valid, then some of the letters must be later. Mild humor and sarcasm fill the letters and esp. Leo's will, written at the age of 66 (in which he calculates the number of his sins at 48,180). The most important part of Leo's correspondence describes his embassy in 996–98, together with a certain Kalokyros, to Rome, where in his own view Leo acted boldly in support of the antipope (whom Leo calls Philagathos), although he despised him personally. In his letter to Patr. Sisinnios (996–98), he boasts that Rome is now in the

hands of the "great emperor" (ep.11.18–19). Leo mentions also his mission to "Frankia" (Aachen, according to Schramm) to negotiate a political marriage. One letter to the emperor (ep.43) is valuable for his description of agriculture in the SYNADA region, where neither olive trees nor grapes grew, and instead of wheat the soil produced barley.

ED. *The Correspondence of Leo, Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus*, ed. M.P. Vinson (Washington, D.C., 1985), with Eng. tr. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 165–210.

LIT. P.E. Schramm, "Neun Briefe des byzantinischen Gesandten Leo von seiner Reise zu Otto III. aus den Jahren 997–998," *BZ* 25 (1925) 89–105. —A.K.

LEO OF TRIPOLI (Arabic names Rasiq al-Wardāmi and Ghulām Zurāfa), probably a MARDAITE from Attaleia, who was taken captive by the Arabs, converted to Islam, and became a commander of the Arab fleet. In 904 Leo set off against Constantinople. The suggestion that he captured Attaleia en route to Constantinople is an error arising from Arab sources' confusion of Thessalonike and Attaleia. After taking Abydos, Leo diverted from his original goal and led his fleet toward Thessalonike; after a three-day siege in July (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 71 [1978] 302), he sacked and pillaged the city. In 912 Leo and another Arab admiral, Damian, annihilated the fleet of HIMERIOS; in 921/2 Leo headed again for the Aegean Sea and devastated Lemnos, but was defeated by John Radenos, *patrikios* and *droungarios* of the fleet.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:163–81, 214, 249. H. Grégoire, "Le communiqué arabe sur la prise de Thessalonique (904)," *Byzantion* 22 (1952) 373–78. —A.K.

LEO SAKELLARIOS, addressee of two letters from the Anonymous TEACHER (R. Browning, B. Laourdas, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 161f) whose student he was; died before 943?. Browning (*Studies*, pt.IX [1954], 434) suggests that the last datable letter in the collection is of 931, but C. Mango (*infra*) dates the letters to Leo shortly after 940. Mango identifies him as Leo, *patrikios*, *praipositos*, and *sakellarios*, the patron of the illuminated BIBLE in the Vatican (Vat. Reg. gr. 1). The MS is a very large (41.0 × 27.0 cm) codex with 18 full-page miniatures intended as frontispieces to the books of



LEO SAKELLARIOS. Leo Sakellarios offering a Bible to the Virgin Mary. Prefatory miniature in the Leo Bible (Vat. Reg. gr. 1, fol.2v). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Genesis through Psalms; some are, however, misplaced, and Canart (*infra*) has stressed the lack of overall planning and the uneven relationship between the miniatures, illuminated initials, and text. Each of the miniatures is enclosed in a border containing epigrams referring to the scene within. T.F. Mathews (*OrChrP* 43 [1977] 94–133) sees a close theological relationship between the epigrams and the miniatures, some of which are related to pictures in the PARIS PSALTER and the OCTATEUCHS. The dedication miniatures show Leo, a eunuch, presenting his book to the Virgin (fol.2v), as well as a *kathegoumenos*, Makar, and Leo's brother Constantine, founder of the monastery for which the Bible was most likely intended, in *proskynesis* before St. Nicholas (fol.3r).

LIT. *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo*, introductory vol. by S. Dufrenne, P. Canart (Zurich 1988). C. Mango, "The Date of Cod. Vat. Reg. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance,'" *ActaNorv* 4 (1969) 121–26. —A.C.

LEO THE DEACON, historian; born ca.950 in Kaloe at Tmolos (Asia Minor), died after 992 or 994. Leo received his education in Constantinople and became a palace deacon. His *History* encompasses 959–76 and includes some episodes from the beginning of Basil II's reign, e.g., the disastrous expedition against Bulgaria in 986 in which Leo participated. His sympathies lie with NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS: quite possibly Leo, like SKYLITZES, used a chronicle of the Phokas family that is now lost. The *History* criticizes BASIL II (S. Ivanov, *VizVrem* 43 [1982] 74–80), whereas an *enkomion* of Basil attributed to Leo is full of flattering phrases (M. Sjuzumov, *ADSV* 7 [1971] 138f); the difference can be explained either by the conventions of genre, by a change in Leo's attitude, or by the existence of two homonyms at Basil's court.

Leo's worldview in the *History* is pessimistic: Providence determines success and righteousness, TYCHE is made responsible for failures and injustice. Antiquity interests Leo: his paradigm is AGATHIAS rather than THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR. His ethnography is archaic: the empire of the Romans seems to him surrounded by Huns, Scythians, Mysians, even Troglodytes, and the Rus' are descendants of Achilles. Leo is bold enough not merely to compare his heroes to ancient personages but to equate them: Nikephoros II is a new Herakles, John I a new Tydeus. Leo rejected the contrast of the hero and villain. Three major personae of his story—Nikephoros, John, and SVJATOSLAV—are not embodiments of either virtue or evil but courageous warriors who nonetheless have their failings. The narrative is not a survey of sequential events but a unity of momentous episodes graphically presented. Leo tends to describe not only the actions but also the physical appearance of his major heroes. His history concentrates on men's affairs; women, even THEOPHANO, are pushed to the background.

ED. *Historiae libri X*, ed. C.B. Hase (Bonn 1828). Germ. tr. F. Loretto, *Nikephoros Phokas "Der bleiche Tod der Sarazenen" und Johannes Tzimiskes* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1961). I. Sykoutres, "Leontos tou Diakonou anekdoton enkomion eis Basileion ton B'," *EEBS* 10 (1933) 425–34.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:367–71. N. Panagiotakes, *Leon ho Diakonos* (Athens 1965). A. Kazhdan, "Iz istorii vizantijskoj chronografii X v. 2," *VizVrem* 20 (1961) 106–28. —A.K.

LEO THE KOUROPALATES. See PHOKAS, LEO.

LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, or Leo the Philosopher, scholar; born ca.790, died Constantinople? after 869. After years of education (on Andros) and travels, Leo became a teacher in Constantinople. He came to prominence due to the interest of the caliph MA'MŪN in his studies; although invited to Baghdad, Leo remained in Constantinople. He constructed a system of BEACON lights to carry messages about Arab raids (V. Aschoff in *Deutsches Museum, Abhandlungen und Berichte* 48.1 [Munich 1980] 1–28). The cousin (or nephew) of the Iconoclastic patriarch JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS, Leo was elected metropolitan of Thessalonike (840–43). After the defeat of Iconoclasm, he taught at the MAGNAURA school; CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER may have been one of his pupils (I. Ševčenko, *AHR* 79 [1974] 1533).

Leo assembled a library of which we know partly from his epigrams, partly from his notes on several MSS (Ptolemy, Archimedes, Plato); he encouraged the study of ancient MATHEMATICS and philosophy. V. Laurent proposed Leo as the author of a homily on the Annunciation that is full of antiquarian details (*ST* 232 [1964] 281–302). The central episode of the homily, however, the healing of a deaf-mute Jewish girl by the Virgin and St. DEMETRIOS (whom she recognized since she had seen their icons displayed in a baptistery [p.301.146–49]), is inconsistent with Leo's role as an Iconoclast bishop. Legends preserved by GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, SYMEON LOGOTHETE, THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, and others present Leo as an astrologer able to predict the future who knew how to raise abundant crops, played a significant part in the surrender of AMORION in 838, and built the AUTOMATA adorning the imperial palace. Contemporaries regarded Leo as a "Hellene." The attribution of the work of Leo and his namesakes, LEO VI and LEO CHOIROSPHAKTES, is sometimes difficult.

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 79–84. Lemerle, *Humanism* 171–204. Lipšic, *Očerki* 338–66. —A.K.

LEO THE PHILOSOPHER. See LEO THE MATH-EMATICIAN.

LEO THE PHYSICIAN, medical encyclopedist; traditionally dated to 9th C. but possibly as late as 12th–13th C. (cf. R. Renehan, *DOP* 38 [1984] 159, n.5). Leo is known for two works, *Epitome on the Nature of Man*, culled from a similiar tract by MELETIOS THE MONK, and *Epitome of Medicine*, a rather good summary in seven books of medical theory, therapeutics, and surgery (cf. Bliquez, “Surgical Instruments” 190f). Only occasionally does one detect Hippocrates and GALEN in the latter work, and information is reduced to an extremely clipped format.

ED. *Epitome on the Nature of Man*, ed. and tr. R. Renehan (Berlin 1969). *Conspectus medicinae*, ed. F.Z. Ermerins, in *Anecdota medica graeca* (Leiden 1840; rp. Amsterdam 1963) 79–221.

LIT. R. Renehan, “On the Text of Leo Medicus. A Study in Textual Criticism,” *RhM* 113 (1970) 79–88. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:305. —J.S.

LEO TUSCUS, official translator (*imperatoriarum epistolarum interpres*); fl. between 1160 or 1166 and 1182. A Pisan, brother of the theologian and author Hugo ETERIANO, Leo was in Constantinople during Manuel I’s controversy with DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE. While accompanying Manuel on campaign in Bithynia and Lykaonia (ca.1173–76) Leo sent his brother his translation of the dream book of ACHMET BEN SIRIN. About 1173–78, Leo translated the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom with texts from the HOROLOGION and the Apostolos for the use of the Aragonese envoy Ramón de Mon(t)cada; he intended to make the Orthodox service comprehensible to the Western visitor.

ED. A. Jacob, ed., “La traduction de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome par Léon Toscan: Edition critique,” *OrChrP* 32 (1966) 111–62.

LIT. A. Dondaine, “Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan,” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 19 (1952) 67–134. A. Strittmatter, “Notes on Leo Tuscus’ Translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom,” in *Didascaliae: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda*, ed. S. Prete (New York 1961) 409–24. —C.M.B.

LEPROSY (λέπρα, *ieprà nósos*). PAUL OF AEGINA (bk.4.1–2) presents the fullest Byz. account of “leprosy,” although his description includes psoriasis and related skin diseases as well as what modern medicine would call leprosy. Often be-

lieved by clerical writers to be punishment for sins (esp. for visiting brothels), leprosy was widely thought to be engendered by sexual lust (e.g., John Moschos, PG 87:2861C). Paul refers to leprosy as *elephas* (elephantiasis), deriving his description from Aretaeus of Cappadocia (fl. ca.98–117) and agreeing with his Roman predecessor that *elephas* is incurable. Paul notes that even Hippocrates had classed this ailment as incurable, and its causes were both black bile and yellow bile in excess and overheated. Yet patients in the early stages could be cured, and Paul details treatment for those who retained fingers and toes, who had foul ulcers on their faces only and not covering the body, and those who did not exhibit the hard pustules characteristic of late stages of the disease.

The Byz. fear and loathing of leprosy is reflected in depictions of the healing of lepers in the New Testament (Lk 17:12–19) and the more frequent representation of the cleansing of the single leper (Mt 8:1–4), which is commonplace among the MIRACLES OF CHRIST. (Images of lepers vary from spotted nudes to figures shrouded in long tunics.) Still, the Christian Byz. viewed lepers more sympathetically than did their pagan forebears (cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, PG 35:865A); the term *hiera nosos*, which meant epilepsy in ancient Greek, came to refer to leprosy by the 4th C. Numerous leper hospitals were founded, of which the best known were the leprosarium of St. Zotikos, founded by Constantius II, and the one established by John II Komnenos as part of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople (A. Philipsborn, *BZ* 54 [1961] 359–61). Byz. pharmacy did not know chaulmoogra oil (from the seeds of *Hydnocarpus heterophyllum* Kurz.), long known in Chinese medicine and the only effective herbal cure for leprosy; Arab physicians were apparently far more concerned with the disease than were their Byz. counterparts.

LIT. A. Philipsborn, “*Hiera nosos* und die Spezial-Anstalt des Pantokrator-Krankenhauses,” *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 223–30. —J.S., A.M.T., A.C.

LEPTIS MAGNA (Λεπτίμαγνα, also Lepcis Magna; mod. Lebda east of Tripoli in Libya), city on the north coast of Africa. The leading city of TRIPOLITANIA, Leptis maintained its prosperity until attacks by the nomadic Austuriani (see MAURI) ca.363–78 and the negligence of the *comes Africae*,

Romanus, sent it into slow decline. During the 5th C. the city endured the encroachment of sand dunes, heavy winter flooding, and the destruction of its walls by the VANDALS. In 523 Leptis was sacked by the tribe of Leuathai. When Byz. forces entered the city in 533 it was partially covered by sand dunes and virtually depopulated. Justinian I made Leptis the seat of the *dux* of the *limes* of Tripolitania and constructed a new defensive wall that enclosed the port and old forum quarter. He is also credited with rebuilding the “palace” of Septimius Severus, probably the Severan forum, dedicating a church to the Mother of God (undoubtedly the 6th-C. church erected in the Severan basilica), and constructing four smaller churches (one of which is perhaps the 6th-C. church on the north side of the circular piazza, another the church erected in an early 2nd-C. temple). It was at a banquet at Leptis that the *dux* Sergios slew the chieftains of the Leuathai, precipitating a second major conflict between the Byz. and Mauri (543–48). As part of the reorganization of the prefecture of AFRICA (ca.585–91), Tripolitania, including Leptis, was attached to the diocese of Egypt. The subsequent history of Leptis is unknown, although it was perhaps abandoned by the time of the first Arab invasion of Tripolitania (643), since it is not mentioned in any accounts of the Muslim conquest.

LIT. A. Demandt, “Die Tripolitanschen Wirren unter Valentinian I.,” *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 333–63. Lepelley, *Cités* 2:335–68. Pringle, *Defence* 208–12. R.G. Goodchild, J.B. Ward-Perkins, “The Roman and Byzantine Defences of Lepcis Magna,” *BSR* 21 (1953) 42–73. —R.B.H.

LESBOS (Λέσβος), island in the northeastern AEGEAN SEA; its major cities were Mytilene (also Mitylene, a name also used for the entire island) and Methymna. Archaeological evidence reveals that in late antiquity Methymna had shrunk and shifted from the seashore to a position near the walls of the acropolis. In 802 the empress Irene was exiled to Lesbos, where she died. An important point on the sea lanes to Constantinople, Lesbos served as the gathering place for the fleet of THOMAS THE SLAV (*TheophCont* 55.20–21). Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De them.* 17.24, ed. Pertusi, p.83) considered Lesbos part of the theme of the Aegean Sea; in the 11th C. it was under the command of the *kourator* of the *dioikesis* of Mytilene (An.Komn. 2:110.18–19). TZACHAS

occupied Mytilene, but Methymna remained a base for resistance against him. In the 12th C. the Venetians plundered Lesbos several times. After 1204 it was granted to BALDWIN OF FLANDERS. Reconquered by John III Vatatzes after 1224, the island was in 1354 given to the Genoese corsair Francesco GATTILUSIO, whose descendants ruled Lesbos until 1462. Archbishops of Mytilene and of Methymna are listed as autocephalous (*Notitiae CP* 1.51, 1.58, etc.); Mytilene was raised to metropolitan status by the early 10th C. (7.678) and Methymna by the 12th C. (13.785).

Lesbos is esp. rich in the remains of churches from late antiquity: S. Charitonides (*ArchDelt* 23 [1968] 10–62) recorded some 54 individual churches from this period. The castle of Mytilene is largely Byz. in date (B. Petrakos, *ArchDelt* 31 [1976] 152–65).

LIT. Miller, *Essays* 313–53. I.D. Kontes, *Lesbiako Polyptycho* (Athens 1973) 136–75. H.G. Buchholz, *Methymna* (Mainz 1975) 232–43. I.G. Kleombrotos, *Synoptike historia tes ekklesias tes Lesbou* (Mytilene 1984). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:573–81, 622f, 646–48; 3:127f, 133. —T.E.G.

LESNOVO MONASTERY. See GAVRIIL OF LESNOVO.

LESSER ARMENIA. See CILICIA, ARMENIAN.

LETTER. See EPISTOLOGRAPHY.

LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS, an iconodulic Greek text that has survived in several MSS, the earliest of which is in uncial script of the 9th C. (Patmos 48). A lemma to this letter states that it was compiled by Christopher of Alexandria (805–36), Job of Antioch (813/14–844/5), and Basil of Jerusalem (820–45, other dates have also been suggested) and sent to Emp. Theophilos in Constantinople; it was supposedly written in Jerusalem during a major council in Apr. 836 attended by 185 bishops, 17 *hegoumenoi*, and 1,153 monks and was devoted to the question of icon worship. In the 10th-C. *Narration on the Image of Edessa*, the *Letter* is mentioned but the names of the patriarchs are confused: Job is said to be “of Alexandria,” Christopher “of Antioch.” The authors of the *Letter* claim the apostolic origin of holy icons created earlier than the Gospels and describe miracles worked by a mosaic of the Adoration of the Magi in Bethlehem (ed. Duchesne,

infra 283f) and by icons in Alexandria, Cyprus, Constantinople, and on Lemnos.

The improbably large number of alleged participants in the council of 836, the unrestrained praise of the victorious emperor Theophilos (Iconoclast though he was), and the overly expressed desire to reunite the patriarchates with Byz. (all three being under the authority of the caliph) make the authenticity of the *Letter* dubious. It was probably a political document created in the 9th C., after Theophilos's death (when a tendency to rehabilitate him emerged), at a time when several victories over the Arabs contributed to the illusion of an imminent reconquest of the lost eastern provinces. EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA was not familiar with the *Letter* but spoke instead of an epistle sent to Theophilos by Sophronios I, patriarch of Alexandria (836–59).

ED. L. Duchesne, "L'iconographie byzantine dans un document grec du IX^e siècle," *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 (1912–13) 222–39, 273–85, 349–66, with Ital. tr.

LIT. BHG 1386–87. A. Vasiliev, "The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa," *Byzantion* 16 (1942–43) 216–25. Griffith, "Apologetics in Arabic" 173–78. R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (New York-London 1985) 121–24. —A.K.

LEVIATHAN, mythical sea-monster defeated by Yahweh and thrown to the sharks; according to Psalm 73(74):14, it was many-headed; in Job (41:13–29), fire issues from the mouth of this scaly, insuperable monster. Origen, referring to Psalm 103:26, explains that Leviathan means "dragon" in Hebrew, and HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM (PG 93:1241D), commenting on Psalm 73, notes that the dragon, or sea-monster, designates any hostile power, in part because of its lethal venom, in part because of its role in original sin. Even though Hesychios identifies the dragon-Leviathan with the Serpent of Paradise, he links it with the sea-monster, while adding that Christ crushed the heads of dragons "in the water" during his baptism.

Illustrations of Psalm 73:14 in several marginal PSALTERS depict a fire-breathing Leviathan beneath the Baptism and in one instance link it with the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea. The mortal struggle of Leviathan and Behemoth (Job 40:15–24) was given an eschatological interpretation and represented, according to Drewer (*infra*), in the battle between the crocodile and ox on the ceiling of the Church of St. CATHERINE at

Sinai and in the floor mosaics of both synagogues and churches of the 5th and 6th C.

LIT. O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (Berlin 1962) 140–52. J.L. McKenzie, "A Note on Psalm 73(74):13–15," *TheolSt* 11 (1950) 275–82. L. Drewer, "Leviathan, Behemoth and Ziz," *JWarb* 44 (1981) 148–56. —A.K., A.C.

LEWOND, or Leontios, Armenian historian; fl. late 8th C. Nothing is known of him save that he was an eyewitness of events after 774 and wrote a *History* covering the period 632–789. It was commissioned by the BAGRATID Sapuh, son of Smbat, governor of Armenia 761–75. Although the *History* concentrates on Muslim control over Armenia, it also contains valuable information on the Byz.-Arab conflict in the 7th–8th C. The *History* includes a long letter, supposedly sent by Emp. Leo III to the caliph 'UMAR II, which defends the Christian faith. This version of the letter is an Armenian composition added later (Gero, *Leo III* 153–71).

ED. *Patmuf'wn*, ed. K. Ezean (St. Petersburg 1887). *History*, tr. Z. Arzoumanian (Wynnewood, Pa., 1982). —R.T.

LEX AQUILIA (Ἀκουίλιος νόμος), a plebiscite initiated by a certain Roman tribune, Aquilius, probably in the 3rd C. B.C., which in the course of time developed into a comprehensive law regarding injury to things (including animals and slaves) and, eventually, bodily injury to free men. The (private) ACTION based on the Lex Aquilia was aimed at simple compensation or, when the perpetrator denied the charge, double compensation (*Institutes* 4.3; *Digest* 9.2; *Cod. Just.* 3.35; *Basil.* 60.3). Special regulations applied in cases where the injury was caused by a slave or an animal (see NOXAL ACTIONS). Although the "Akouilios" (as the Lex Aquilia came to be known) was maintained in learned legal literature, in the rural sphere liability for the injury or death of animals was regulated differently and varied according to the case (see esp. FARMER'S LAW).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:437–39. Simon, "Provinzialrecht" 102–16. —L.B.

LEX FALCIDIA, a law of the Roman republic (40 B.C.) that was intended to secure for the HEIR or heirs a certain portion of a testator's property. To this end the encumbrance of the deceased's

estate with LEGATA was permitted only to the extent of three-quarters of the value of the inheritance, so that one-quarter remained for the heirs. If the testator had encumbered this quarter as well, all *legata* were proportionately reduced. As "heirs" in the legal sense, they were considered the heirs instituted by the testator in a WILL. Following the dissolution of Roman family order from the 3rd C. onward, increasingly only children, parents, and siblings were still accepted as heirs. At the same time the limitations on the arrangements of the testator were gradually extended to all arrangements "in case of death," that is, besides the *legata*, mainly to FIDEICOMMISSA and gifts *mortis causa*. The *quarta Falcidia* thereby became a legitimate portion. Justinian I regulated the law of legitimate portion thoroughly and thereby increased it for children (*Nov. Just.* 18, 115). It is unclear whether the legitimate portion for parents was to remain one-quarter and whether the portion for siblings was to be maintained at all.

Later sources deal almost exclusively with the legitimate portion for children, which was practically the only important inheritance portion, now called *ho Phalkidios*; it amounts to a third of the parental estate if there are up to four children; if five or more, half of the parental estate is divided. The net fortune (*kathara ousia*) serves as a basis for calculation. The portion of the property that comes under assessment (1/3 or 1/2) is divided according to the number of children. If the testator had undertaken many arrangements, difficult problems of calculation could occur, for which Byz. legal literature has left a series of special treatises, most of them still unedited.

LIT. K. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Ho Phalkidios nomos en to byzantino dikao* (Athens 1912). Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:514–23 (§290). F. Sitzia, "Un trattatello giuridico bizantino in versi," *BullIstDirRom* 18 (1976) 143–53. —D.S.

LEXICON VINDOBONENSE. See LOPADIOTES, ANDREW.

LEXIKA, lists of Greek words, often rare or unusual, with explanation of their meanings. The earliest Byz. *lexikon*, falsely attributed to CYRIL of Alexandria and probably compiled in the 5th/6th C., exists in many different recensions (M. Naoumides, *ICS* 4 [1979] 94–135). It includes words

from classical literature and biblical words, and was primarily intended for use in the teaching of RHETORIC.

The 9th-C. revival of learning led to the compilation of the earliest ETYMOLOGIKA and the *Lexikon* of PHOTIOS, which drew both on commentaries on classical texts and on the debris of *lexika* from classical antiquity. These latter were of three main types: (1) descriptive lists of rare words or meanings occurring in classical literature (e.g., the *Lexikon* of HESYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA); (2) prescriptive lists of "correct" words or meanings drawn up by Atticists such as Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, Phrynichos, and Moiris; and (3) etymological lists explaining the true meanings of words by their supposed derivation, based on the assumption that the structure of language reflects that of the universe. Byz. lexicographers used all three types. The SOUDA is a combination of *lexikon* and biographical dictionary compiled from a wide variety of classical and later sources. The longest Byz. *lexikon* and the most frequently used and copied—more than 100 MSS survive—is that of pseudo-ZONARAS, compiled in the first half of the 13th C., perhaps by Nikephoros BLEMMEDES, for educational use. The renewed classicism of the late 13th and early 14th C. stimulated the compilation of new prescriptive Atticist *lexika*, one attributed to Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, the other by THOMAS MAGISTROS.

In addition to general *lexika*, the Byz. used and compiled short specialist *lexika* (e.g., botanical, geographical), as well as a *Lexikon of Synonyms* by pseudo-Ammonios, which distinguished between words of similar meaning. Byz. *lexika* are of interest both for their information on Byz. attitudes and for the fragments of lost classical and later works which they contain.

ED. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:273–454.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:33–50. Lemerle, *Humanism* 263–65, 343–45. A.B. Drachmann, *Die Überlieferung des Cyrillglossars* (Copenhagen 1936). W. Böhrer, "Zur Überlieferung des Lexikons des Ammonios," *Hermes* 100 (1972) 531–50. R. Tosi, "Prospettive e metodologie lessicografiche," *RSBS* 4 (1984) 181–203. —R.B.

LEX RHODIA. See RHODIAN SEA LAW.

LIBADARIOS (Λιβαδάριος, fem. Λιβαδαρέα), a family considered by Pachymeres as one of the greatest in the mid-13th C. Their connection with

the Libadas family, one of whom, Demetrios, was an official (in the department of the *megas logariastes?*) in 1186 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1:92–94), is unclear. The Libadarioi held high court and military posts. A certain Libadarios, related to the MOUTZALON family, was appointed *pinkernes* by Michael VIII, and his daughter married Michael's son, Theodore PALAIOLOGOS. Another Libadarios, *megas chartoularios* and *strategos* of TRALLES, was defeated by the Turks ca.1280. A different Libadarios was *protovestiarites* and later *megas stratopedarches* and governor of NEOKASTRA near Smyrna ca.1295; he fought successfully against Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS. Some Libadarioi were patrons of monasteries: Libadarea, wife of a *megas stratopedarches*, founded a nunnery in Thessalonike before 1326; ca.1300 Theodore Komnenos Libadarios established a monastery dedicated to the Virgin, which Manuel PHILES praised, and also commissioned the painted decoration of a monastery of St. George near Servia. The Libadarioi should probably be distinguished from the Limpidares/Limpidarios family, known as commanders of the army and fleet in the 14th C. (*PLP*, nos. 14940–41).

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 14856–62.

–A.K.

LIBADENOS, ANDREW, ecclesiastical and imperial official in Trebizond and writer; born Constantinople between 1308 and 1316, died after 1361. After schooling in Constantinople, Libadenos (Λιβαδηνός) had the opportunity at age 12 to serve as undersecretary on an embassy to the Mamluk sultan in Egypt (sometime before 1328). During this journey he also made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. At some point after his return to Constantinople he was appointed *apographeus* of the island of Tenedos. About 1335, motivated by the desire to study ASTRONOMY, he went to Trebizond, where he spent most of his remaining years in the service of the metropolitan (as *chartophylax*) and of the Grand Komnenoi (as a notary). His career was troubled by bouts of ill health and the civil strife that plagued the Trapezuntine Empire. Libadenos is last mentioned in 1361.

The primary source for his life history is the autobiographical *Periegesis* (Geographical Description), which relates events down to 1355. He also composed an *enkomion* of St. Phokas, verses to the Virgin, and a HOROSCOPE for the year 1336. His

writings reveal some familiarity with ancient authors and abound in citations of the Old Testament, New Testament, and church fathers.

ED. O. Lampsides, *Andreou Libadenou bios kai erga* (Athens 1975). Horoscope—ed. F. Böll, *CCAG* 7 (1908) 152–60.

LIT. O. Lampsides, "Symbolai eis ton bion kai ta erga Andreou tou Libadenou," *ArchPont* 29 (1968) 162–279. *PLP*, no.14864. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:518; 2:252. Beck, *Kirche* 794.

LIBANIOS (Λιβάνιος), rhetorician and teacher; born Antioch 314, died Antioch ca.393. Libanios was educated at ANTIOCH and Athens. After brief professorial tenure in Athens, Constantinople, and Nikomedeia, he returned in 354 to an official teaching post in Antioch for the rest of his life. He accepted an honorary praetorian prefecture from Theodosios I in 383. Nostalgic for what then passed as classical culture, he clung to paganism and was devastated by the premature death of Emp. JULIAN, about whom he wrote sympathetic orations. Libanios preferred coexistence to confrontation and taught and mixed with men of both faiths, including BASIL THE GREAT, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Outside the political mainstream by choice, he championed many an individual and municipal cause in 64 speeches (the first was his autobiography) and 1,600 letters. He was an eloquent spokesman for the material and cultural aspiration of the curiales, but also a critic of social oppression. More pedagogical are his school declamations and similar model exercises. Libanios tried to write in pure Attic, with results that are now viewed as tortuous but were much admired by Byz. stylists.

ED. *Opera*, ed. R. Foerster, 12 vols. in 13 (Leipzig 1903–27; rp. Hildesheim 1963). *Selected Works*, ed. A.F. Norman, 3 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1969–77), with Eng. tr. *Libanios' Autobiography* (*Oration 1*), ed. A.F. Norman (Oxford 1965), with Eng. tr. *Briefe*, ed. G. Fatouros, T. Krischer (Munich 1980), with Germ. tr.

LIT. J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972). P. Petit, *Libanios et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV^e siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 1955). *Libanios*, ed. G. Fatouros, T. Krischer (Darmstadt 1983). G. Fatouros, T. Krischer, D. Najock, eds., *Concordantiae in Libanium* (Hildesheim–New York 1987).

–B.B.

LIBELLESIOS (λιβελλήσιος or λιβελλίσσιος), according to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS a subaltern official in the department of the QUAESTOR.

Bury (*Adm. System* 77) thought that the *libellesios* was a successor of the late Roman *libellensis*, who performed secretarial functions in the *scrinium libellorum* and in other bureaus (A. von Premerstein, *RE* 13 [1927] 24–26). In the 10th C. the term *libellos* designated a document connected with assignment of a KLASMA (e.g., *Prot.*, no.5.37) and it is probable that the *libellesios* had specific notarial duties: a seal of the 11th C. belonged to a certain John, *libellesios* and imperial notary (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.210). Dölger (*Diplomatik* 63) hypothesized that the *libellesios* made notes on petitions addressed to the emperor, while Ljubarskij (*Psell* 275) surmised that he composed imperial acts; neither of these theories has any substantive basis. The *libellesios* played a role in palace ceremonial, serving as the mouthpiece of the AUGUSTA (*De cer.* 418.20–22). There were also provincial *libellesioi*-notaries: for example, Nicholas, *libellesios* and *symbolaiographos* in 897 (*Lavra* 1, no.1.34); Nicholas, *kouboukleisios* and *libellesios* of Thessalonike in 982 (*Ivir.* 1, no.4.79); Stephen, *libellesios* and *primikerios* of the *taboullarioi* in Thessalonike in 1097 (*Lavra* 1, no.53.42). In contrast to this evidence, the anonymous *libellesios* addressed by Psellos (Sathas, *MB* 5:451.26) was a high-ranking functionary of the civil administration. Peter Libellisios, a well-educated inhabitant of Antioch in the second half of the 11th C., mastered both Greek and Arabic learning, but it is not clear whether *libellesios* was his job or his family name.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 322.

–A.K.

LIBER DIURNUS (lit. "day book"), anonymous collection of papal letter formulas and documents from the 6th to 8th C. preserved in three slightly distinct MS versions from the early 9th and 10th C. Many formulas recur wholly or partially in letters of contemporary and later popes, and the formulation and topics of the letters shed much light on ecclesiastical affairs of Byz. Italy and relations between the PAPACY and Constantinople. Much like the DE CEREMONIIS, the *Liber diurnus* includes a list of addresses and subscriptions appropriate to papal correspondence with the emperor and high officials of Constantinople and the provinces (ed. Foerster, *infra* 181f). A number of the documents reveal the local historical situation, reflecting for instance the care of bishoprics

disorganized by enemy action (82f), or procedures for petitioning the emperor (112f) or the EXARCH (113–21) for confirmation of papal elections, as well as attesting local bishops' anti-MONOTHELETISM and loyalty to the emperor (136f; cf. 138) or prayers for his triumph (e.g., 164).

ED. *Liber diurnus romanorum pontificum*, ed. H. Foerster (Bern 1958).

LIT. L. Santifaller, *Liber diurnus: Studien und Forschungen* (Stuttgart 1976). J.M. Sansterre, "La date des formules 60–63 du *Liber diurnus*," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 226–43.

–M.McC.

LIBERIUS, pope (from 17 May 352); died Rome 24 Sept. 366. The pontificate of Liberius coincides with the upsurge of Arianism supported by CONSTANTIUS II. The Arians required Liberius to condemn ATHANASIOS of Alexandria. After a long struggle Constantius achieved this condemnation at the Council of Milan in 355; since Liberius refused to submit, he was exiled to Berroia and replaced by Felix II (355–65). Liberius finally yielded and after a time was allowed to return to Rome as Felix's colleague—the witty Romans exclaimed that they now had two parties and two colors, as in the circus (Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 2.17.5–6). The death of Constantius in 361 allowed Liberius to retreat and find common ground with the HOMOIOUSIANS, who leaned toward a slightly revised formula of the creed of the Council of Nicaea. Liberius was popular in Rome, esp. as founder of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. In the hagiography of the 6th C., however, he is presented as a traitor, while Felix II is depicted as a firm supporter of Orthodoxy.

LIT. Caspar, *Papsttum* 1:166–95. M. Goemans, "L'exil du pape Libère," in *Mélanges offerts à Mademoiselle Christine Mohrmann* (Utrecht–Anvers 1963) 184–89.

–A.K.

LIBER PONTIFICALIS (Pontifical Book), prime source on Byz., the PAPACY, and Italy that records pontificates from Peter to the late 9th C. The initial section was compiled in the 6th (Duchesne) or early 7th C. (Mommsen), relying on general historical sources whose value ranges from poor (down to GELASIUS I and from VIGILIUS to Benedict I) to excellent (Anastasios II to Silverius). The *Liber pontificalis* consistently drew from papal archives information on munificence by and under each pope from SILVESTER onward, whence

splendid data on Byz. monuments of ROME (H. Geertman, *More veterum* [Groningen 1975]) and imperial grants from Constantine I to Constantine V (*Reg* 1, no.310). From Pope Honorius I, biographies were composed by contemporaries in the papal entourage (e.g., ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS) and even published during the subject's lifetime. While the structure of each biography remains essentially the same (name, geographical origin, parentage, length of reign, writings, significant historical events, constructions, gifts, death, burial), the length, detail, focus, and reliability vary greatly from life to life (e.g., O. Bertolini in *La storiografia altomedievale* [= *SettStu* 17] [Spoleto 1970] 387–455) or even within different parts or recensions of the same life. Thus one recension of the Life of GREGORY II pays more attention to Byz. than the other, supplying details on the future pope's theological discussion with Justinian II (ed. Duchesne, *infra* 1:396.8–11), Byz. cooperation with the LOMBARDS, and the usurpation of Tiberius Petasius (*ibid.* 407.19–409.3). Countless later historians of religious institutions, such as AGNELLUS and the deacon JOHN OF NAPLES, took the *Liber pontificalis* as their model. The continuations from Pope JOHN VIII to Urban II, the so-called *Liber pontificalis* of Pierre Guillaume (ed. J.M. March [Barcelona 1925]), rarely touch on Byz.

ED. *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris 1886–1957). Partial ed., *The Book of the Popes*, tr. L.R. Loomis, vol. 1 (New York 1916).

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 58f, 455–62. C. Vogel, "Le 'Liber pontificalis' dans l'édition de Louis Duchesne: Etat de la question," in *Monseigneur Duchesne et son temps* [= *Collection de l'École française de Rome* 23] (Rome 1975) 99–127. —M.McC.

LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE (Λιβίστρος καὶ Ῥοδάμνη), an anonymous romance (about 4,500 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, in the longest of several discrepant MSS). Because both Theodore MELITENIOTES (died 1393) and MAZARIS (*Journey to Hades*, ca.1415) refer to the poem, it must be dated to the 14th C. *Libistros and Rhodamne* is formally the most sophisticated of the Byz. "popular" verse romances of chivalry: a first-person narrative by Klitobos, traveling companion to Libistros, starts *in medias res* and covers both the adventures that Libistros describes to him and also the hazards he and Libistros experience to-

gether as they seek for Rhodamne. Although written within the tradition of the novels of late antiquity and those of the 12th C., *Libistros and Rhodamne* has much in common with KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE and BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA including elaborate EKPHRASEIS of buildings, witches, and magic horses as well as Latin princes and Frankish hairstyles that reflect a mixed Frankish-Greek society, such as that of the MOREA.

ED. *Le Roman de Libistros et Rhodamné*, ed. J.A. Lambert (Amsterdam 1935). *Libistro e Rodamne: romanzo cavalleresco bizantino*, tr. V. Rotolo (Athens 1965).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 122–28. M.K. Chatzigiakoumes, *Ta mesaionika demode keimena: Symbole ste melete kai sten ekdose tous* (Athens 1977) 31–165. —E.M.J., M.J.J.

LIBRA. See LITRA.

LIBRARY (βιβλιοθήκη). Libraries underwent a substantial change during late antiquity: municipal libraries disappeared and the public libraries organized by Constantius II (THEMISTIUS, *Orationes* 1:84–87) and Theodosios II were state institutions. Byz. libraries could be imperial (such as the one in 15th-C. Constantinople described by Pero TAFUR), patriarchal, monastic, or private. As Wilson (*infra* 281) stresses, "the university of Constantinople has left no trace of a central library," though Constantine IX's foundation charter for the School of Law makes provision for one. Some libraries had inventories, several of which (e.g., the catalog of the library of the monastery on PATMOS) have survived. The BOOKS had shelf-marks (e.g., at the library of the Great LAVRA on Athos) and were placed on shelves accordingly. Some libraries had their own SCRIPTORIA and professionals to repair and bind books (L. Politis in *Wandlungen* [Waldsassen-Bavaria 1975] 285–92). Data concerning the size of libraries are rare: in the early 13th C. the Patmos library had approximately 330 books; the library of Lavra possessed about 960 MSS. Most libraries, esp. private ones, were much smaller (e.g., the library of Eustathios BOILAS in the late 11th C. contained 81 books).

The contents of libraries differed significantly: a 6th-C. papyrus list of ten books given to a monastery contains a chronicle and biblical, patristic, and hagiographical texts (R. Dostálová, *Byzantina* 13.1 [1985] 535–47); the inventories of

later monastic libraries were similar. The library of the patriarchate of Constantinople reportedly possessed a special chest of heretical books. The private library varied according to the individual: men like Libanius read widely in classical poets and rhetoricians (A. Norman, *RhM* 107 [1964] 158–75); the bibliophile ARETHAS OF CAESAREA acquired primarily secular classics. John Komnenos Synadenos (late 13th C.), son-in-law of Michael VIII's brother and uncle of John VI Kantakouzenos and Andronikos III, collected religious books. George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (mid-15th C.) owned a library at Kalavryta that included Herodotus and Prokopios. (See also MOUSEION AND LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA.)

LIT. N. Wilson, "The Libraries of the Byzantine World," in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 276–309. K. Manaphes, *Hai en Konstantinoupolei bibliothekai* (Athens 1972). B. Fonkič, "Biblioteka Lavry sv. Afanasija na Afone v X–XIII vv.," *PSb* 17 (1967) 167–75. P. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jahrhundert," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 412–15. E. Gamillscheg, "Zur Rekonstruktion einer Konstantinopolitaner Bibliothek," *RSBS* 1 (1981) 283–93. J. Bompaire, "Les catalogues de livres-manuscripts d'époque byzantine (XIe–XVe s.)," in *Mél.Dujčev* 59–81. O. Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien* (Munich 1955). —A.K., R.B.

LIBRI CAROLINI (Books of Charles), treatise containing a violent theological attack on the Second Council of NICAIA of 787 and the cult of ICON veneration, prepared ca.790–93 in the name of CHARLEMAGNE by his entourage, particularly Theodulf of Orleans. The *Libri Carolini* was evidently revised and then abandoned because of the reluctance of Pope HADRIAN I to condemn the council. The aggressively formulated refutation of the Byz. council survives in the original MS (Vat. lat. 7207) and still bears in the margins what may be notes of Charlemagne's oral comments (A. Freeman, *Speculum* 46 [1971] 608–12). The *Libri Carolini* expresses polemical outrage at the relics of the IMPERIAL CULT embedded in Byz. etiquette and official jargon (1.1–4) and assails the role of imperial PORTRAITS in Byz. public life (3.15). The treatise was motivated in part by imperfect Latin translation of the original Greek acts (*latreia* [worship] of God and PROSKYNESIS of icons were both rendered as *adoratio*, whence the charge of idolatry) and in part by political and military competition with Constantinople, perhaps aggravated by a perceived rapprochement between the

PAPACY and Constantinople (G. Arnaldi in *Culto cristiano, politica imperiale carolingia* [Todi 1979] 61–86; cf. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI*, vol. 1 [Munich 1978] 163–65, 185f).

ED. H. Bastgen, *MGH Concilia* vol. 2, supp. (1924).
LIT. A. Freeman, "Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*," *Viator* 16 (1985) 65–108. S. Gero, "The *Libri Carolini* and the Image Controversy," *GOThR* 18 (1973) 7–34. —M.McC.

LICARIO (Ἰκάριος of Greek sources), Italian adventurer in the service of MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS; dates of birth and death unknown. From a Veronese family that settled in NEGROPONTE (Euboea), Licario incurred the displeasure of the Lombard rulers of the island through his liaison with a noble widow and fled to a castle near Karystos. The chronology of his career is uncertain; Loenertz (*ByzFrGr* I 558–70) has proposed the following sequence of events: in 1271 Licario offered his services to the Byz., became an imperial vassal, and seized several castles on Euboea. After taking Karystos in 1276–77, he was rewarded by Michael VIII with the whole island as a fief and with a noble Greek wife. He eventually conquered all Euboea except for Chalkis and restored to Byz. control a number of Aegean islands: Skopelos, Skyros, Skiathos, Amorgos, Keos, Santorini, and Lemnos. In 1276 Licario was appointed *megas konostaulos*, the next year *megas doux*. In 1279/80 he captured John I de la Roche, duke of Athens, and Giberto da Verona, triumvir of Euboea, and brought them triumphantly to Constantinople. Thereafter he disappears from the sources.

LIT. J. Koder, *Negroponte* (Vienna 1973) 47–50. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 235–37, 295–300. *PLP*, no.8154. E. Branopoulos, "Ho hippotes Likarios," *Archeion Euboikon Meleton* 7 (1960) 127–33. —A.M.T.

LICINIUS (Λικίνιος), more fully Valerius Licinianus Licinius, augustus (308–324); born Dacia ca.265, died Thessalonike spring 325. Friend and perhaps praetorian prefect of GALERIUS, he was named augustus at the Conference of Carnuntum in 308 and held power in the East. In the succeeding civil wars Licinius allied with Constantine I and married his half-sister Constantia in 313. He proclaimed toleration of Christians in his territory at an early date (see EDICT OF MILAN), and the struggle with MAXIMINUS became a contest

between monotheism and polytheism. Just before going into battle Licinius had his men recite a prayer to the "Great Holy God"; he was then victorious. After May of 313 Licinius was supreme in the East as Constantine was in the West. By 316 relations between the two emperors had deteriorated and there was open war in the Balkans. From this time onward Licinius sought the support of pagans and openly harassed Christians in his domain. War broke out again in 324. Licinius was defeated, first in Thrace, then at Chrysopolis in Bithynia on 18 Sept. Licinius abdicated the next day. He was sent into exile in Thessalonike, where he was subsequently executed.

LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 43f. M. Fortina, "La politica religiosa dell'imperatore Licinio," *Rivista di classica* 7 (1959) 245-65; 8 (1960) 3-23. F. Corsaro, "L'imperatore Licinio e la legislazione filocristiana dal 311 al 313," *Studi Cesare Sanfilippo* 3 (Milan 1983) 155-86. -T.E.G.

LIFE EXPECTANCY. The evidence of skeletal material from archaeological excavations suggests a mean age at death of about 35 years for the Byz. population. Women usually died earlier than men, primarily because of the higher mortality associated with childbirth and, possibly, poorer food. The anthropological findings are corroborated by the evidence of funerary epitaphs (Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 95-100) and *praktika* (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 296). Byz. longevity was comparable to that of Iron Age Greece and lower than that of classical Greece, when the mean age at death was 45 years for men and 36 for women. Nevertheless, the Byz. definition of old AGE (*geras*) was similar to the modern conception; it began about 60. Anyone living into his 70s was considered to have exceeded the allotted biblical life span of 70 (Ps 90:10) and to have entered "extreme old age." Literary evidence indicates that many Byz. did have long lives. Thus, the average life span of the Komnenian emperors was 61, of the Macedonian 59, and of the Palaiologan 60. Scholars also tended to live into their 60s or 70s (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 116f). Saints reputedly lived longest, often into their 80s or 90s; in fact there seems to be a correlation between old age and sanctity.

LIT. A.M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 267-78. -A.M.T.

LIGATURE, term used in PALAEOGRAPHY and EPIGRAPHY. It describes the linking together of letters to save space and time. Gardthausen (*Pa-*

Epigraphy	Minuscule MSS
Ϡ = OY	Ϡ = ov
Ϡ = TP	Ϡ = êκ
Ϡ = TH	Ϡ = δι
	Ϡ = ετλ
	Ϡ = ερ

LIGATURE. Sample ligatures.

laeographie 2:53) classifies ligatures into primary, secondary, and tertiary examples. In primary ligatures, letters are combined but preserve their essential elements; in secondary ligatures two letters are united so that they share a common element; in tertiary ligatures three letters are joined. In epigraphy there are examples of eight letters combined together. Occurring relatively infrequently in uncial MSS, ligatures became common in cursive and minuscule script.

-A.M.T., A.K.

LIGHT (φῶς). Byz. terminology for light can be classified into two distinct areas: liturgy and spirituality, which of course are interdependent. From the time of Justin the Philosopher and Ignatius of Antioch baptism was designated primarily as "illumination" (*photismos*). EPIPHANY, the preferred day of baptism, bore the name "Festival of Lights" or "Lights" (J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology* [Nijmegen 1962] 157-78). The light (the Sun) is naturally Christ, as expressed in the thanksgiving hymn of the eucharistic liturgy (PHOS HILARON) and in Christmas hymns. Every weekday should be concluded with a thanksgiving for the light. The illumination of spiritual man through Christ is the favorite theme of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE and SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN. JOHN KLIMAX (*Scala paradisi* 26, PG 88:1020D) described the angels as the light of the monk, and monastic life as the light of all men, while Gregory PALAMAS incorporated the vision of the (transfigured) light in his doctrine of ENERGIES and assigned it first rank in spiritual life.

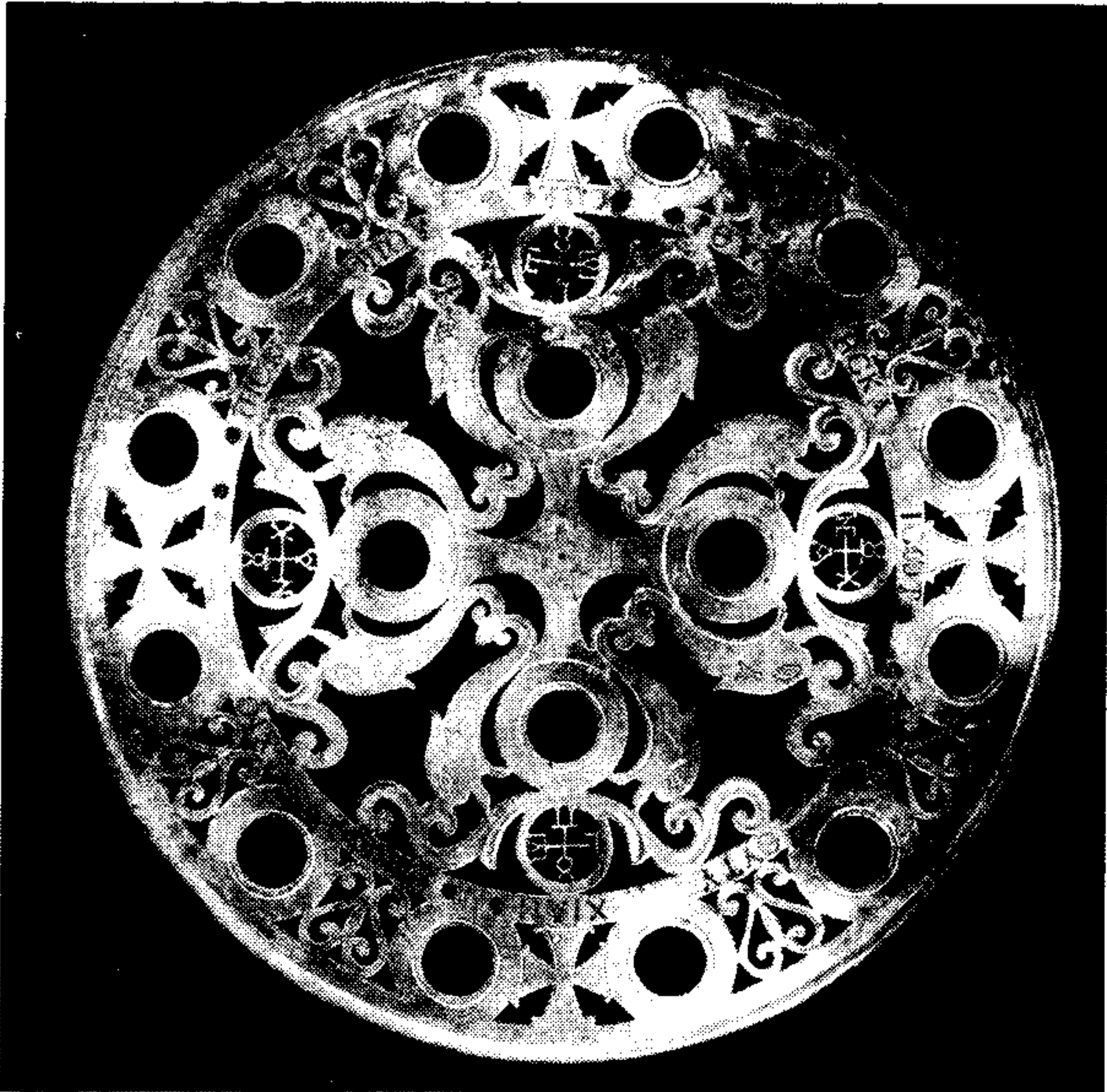
Light in Art. In the visual arts light is not so much the medium of visual perception as a token of sanctity or majesty. Illumination is almost always an emanation from a divine source, created by God (Gen 1:3) or projected by a sacred figure.

As in the narthex mosaic of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, the enthroned Christ often carries an inscription identifying him as the Light of the World (Jn 1:9) and he is invariably treated as a source of light, even if this is conveyed by reflections from his skin and brilliant vestments. The SUN AND MOON, when represented, rarely cast light, although an arc of heaven, inhabited or not, frequently illuminates the upturned face of a holy man (e.g., in the *Menologion of Basil II* [Cutler-Nesbitt, *Arte* 230]). Recipients of sacred light are shown blinded (St. PAUL), bowled over (the apostles in the TRANSFIGURATION), or, like the face of MOSES, reflecting the glory of God. The marked 14th-C. interest in the depiction of light has been connected with Palamite vision.

Formally, light is as often a decorative device spun over the surfaces of objects as an element contributing to their substantiality. In mosaic and fresco its impact is registered by the liberal use of white; on silver and ivory its effects are heightened by burnishing. In sacred pictures light normally descends from above, illuminating the upper surfaces of the faces and limbs of figures. But there is no suggestion of a specific source, and the various parts of an image are lit independently. The play of light and shade is determined more by conventional means of suggesting PLASTICITY than by the search for a consistent effect. During and after the 11th C. the drapery of sacred figures is enlivened with chrysography (see ILLUMINATORS), brilliant splashes of GOLD emitting rays over adjacent surfaces of the fabric. The highlights on faces, hands, and drapery in early Palaiologan painting are later broken into short parallel strokes; vestments seem to crackle electrically. This is part of an apparent effort to give physical form to radiance, an attempt most palpable in images of the Ascent of Elijah and of the Transfiguration.

LIT. P.-T. Camelot, *DictSpir* 9 (1976) 1149-58. G. Podskalsky, "Gott ist Licht," *Geist und Leben* 39 (1966) 201-14. V. Lossky, *Essai sur la théologie mystique de l'Eglise de l'Orient* (Paris 1944) 215-34. P. Plank, *Phos hilaron: Christushymnus und Lichtdanksagung der griechischen Christenheit* (Würzburg 1986). Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 35f. G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London 1963). V.V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika* (Moscow 1977) 99-101. -G.P., A.C.

LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL (φωταΐα, λυχναιΐα). Associated with the symbolic values of LIGHT, church lighting, beyond its practical pur-



LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL. *Polykandelon*; silver, ca.550-565. From the Sion Treasure. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

pose, often carried a wide range of connotations (G. Galavaris, *BMGS* 4 [1978] 69-78). Though the church fathers tried to restrict the lavish display of lights in churches, it is evident from accounts in the *Liber pontificalis* that by the late 4th C. ecclesiastical lighting had become remarkably elaborate. A novel of Justinian I of 538 (67 pr.) stressed the importance of providing revenues for the maintenance of lighting in a church. Textual evidence and dedicatory inscriptions show that many lighting fixtures were the votive offerings of both church officials and laymen.

Polykandela with glass lamps were the dominant lighting devices before the 8th C. The earliest types are crown-shaped with dolphin-brackets supporting glass lamps (*Greece and the Sea* [Amsterdam 1987] no.150). Three other sorts of silver *polykandela* are found in the SION TREASURE: circular, cross-shaped, or in the form of a rectangular tray. Openwork silver lamps (*kaniskia*) were employed in churches along with lamps of solid metal; the altar was illuminated with floor candelabra and lampstands as well (Mango, *Silver* 96-101). In Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, cross and disk-shaped *polykandela* are recorded, along with boat-shaped lamps and tree-shaped chandeliers (PAUL SILENTIARIOS).

From the 9th C. onward, ecclesiastical lighting

increasingly relied on CANDLES. *Polykandela*, some of them in silver, continued in use. In the 12th C. the *choros*, a polygonal structure carrying *polykandela* or lamps and candles, was introduced in domed churches. Floor candelabra in pairs (*manoualia*) were employed in front of votive icons, sometimes furnished with disks with extra candleholders for the major feasts. Metal beams carrying candleholders (*lamnai*) were employed over the **TEMPLON** epistyle and **ICON FRAMES**. Oil lamps with one or more lights (*kandelai*) were suspended before votive icons of Christ and the Virgin, under the dome, over the holy altar, and before the bema doors. Lanterns enclosing as many as ten lamps were employed for the illumination of open spaces around the church during processions. A number of monastic **TYPIKA** provide explicit instructions for the lavish illumination of churches on major feasts and the anniversaries of the deaths of the founders.

LIT. L. Bouras, "Byzantine Lighting Devices," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 479–91. T. Gerasimov, "Rannovizantijski srebrni sveščnici ot Sadovec," *IzvBulgArchInst* 30 (1967) 200–05. —L.Ph.B.

LIGHTING IN EVERYDAY LIFE. Private houses were illuminated by small **WINDOWS** (*photagogia*) by day, and lighting devices (*lychnia(i)*) after dusk. *Lychnia*, along with a couch and table, were considered the most essential furnishings of a house (vita of Basil the Younger, ed. Vilinskij, 1:300.32–33). In the late Roman period, the **LAMP** (of clay, metal, or glass) remained the major lighting device. Even though literary texts continue to mention lamps through the entire Byz. period, archaeological evidence shows that clay lamps practically disappeared after the 7th C. They were replaced by **CANDLES**. Certainly palaces and rich houses were brightly illuminated, esp. during banquets. Monastic authorities disapproved of candles in cells—thus Lazaros of Mt. Galesios regarded a monk who lit a candle in his cell as dead in the eyes of God (AASS Nov. 3:549AB); John Moschos tells the legend of a monk who did not need artificial light because he was able to read in the dark (PG 87:2908A).

Streets in large cities of the 4th–6th C. had artificial lighting: KYROS, the prefect of Constantinople, installed lighting devices on major thoroughfares of the capital after 437, and Theodosios II imposed a tax on houses and shops in the

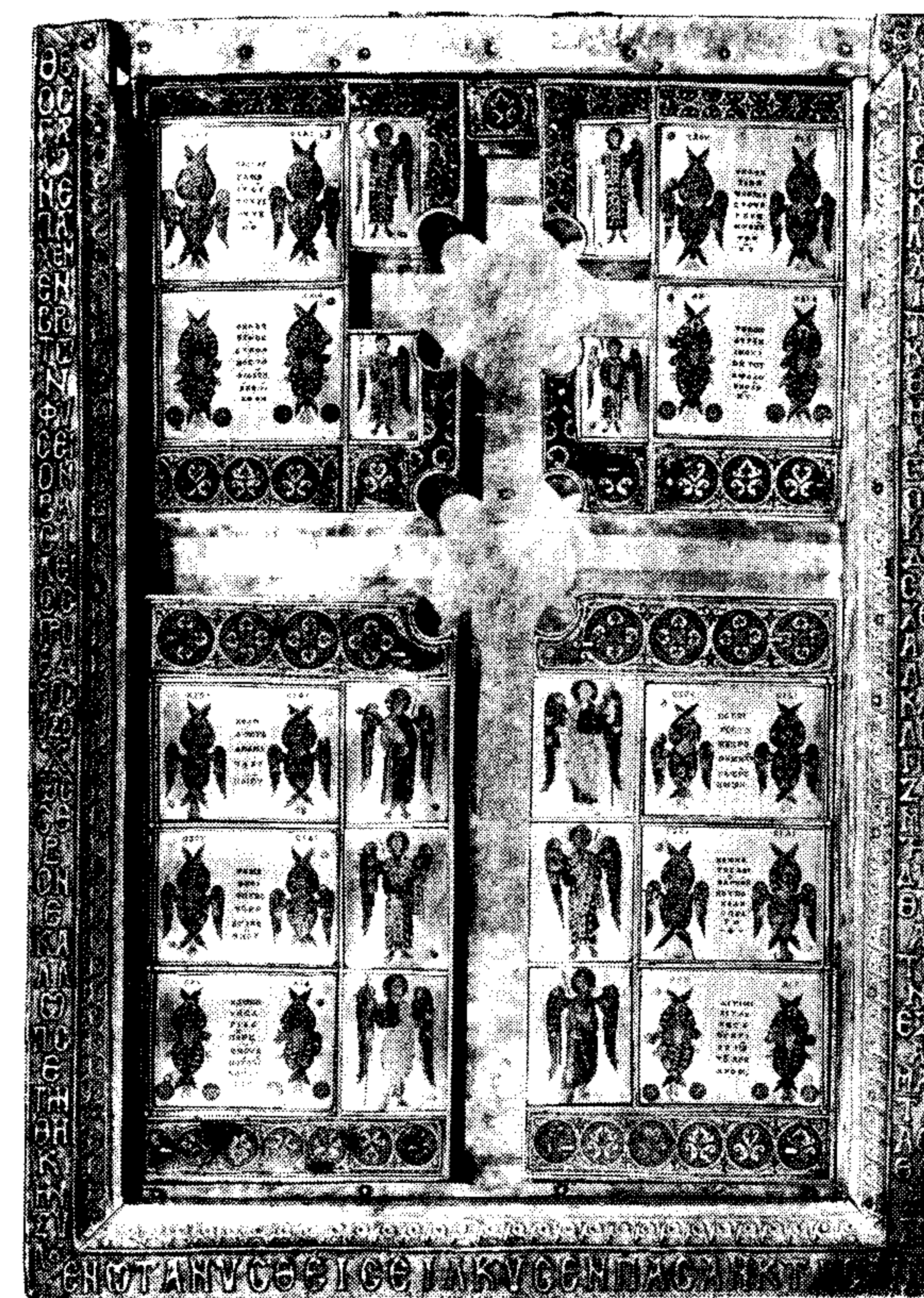
area of the Baths of Zeuxippos to maintain the *luminaria* (Cod. Just. VIII 11.19). Apparently, the system fell into decay even in Constantinople: the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (Synax. CP 231.35–39) records that near Hagia Sophia it was so dark that people needed a torch to walk at night. The *Book of the Eparch* (Bk. of Eparch 19.3) required shopkeepers to switch off lighting devices (*lebetia*) in the evening; legend has it that Leo VI was arrested and beaten by a watchman when he decided to walk at night. Yet lights were used in public buildings (bathhouses, amphitheaters) and in special situations—in lighthouses, on boats, for optical signals (see **BEACONS**), and in warfare.

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 132f. C. Mango, "Addendum to the Report on Everyday Life," *JÖB* 32.1 (1982) 254–57. —A.K., L.Ph.B.

LIKANDOS. See **LYKANDOS**.

LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY, the most resplendent extant example of a Byz. *stau-rotheke*, that is, a container for a fragment of the **TRUE CROSS**. It consists of two chronologically distinct parts unified, however, by the common use of silver-gilt, **ENAMEL**, and gems. The front displays images of the **Deesis**, developed to include the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the 12 apostles and military saints, as well as an inscription in which **BASIL THE NOTHOS** is given the title of *proedros*, thus indicating a date after 963. Basil claims responsibility for the work in verses that relate its splendor to the beauty of Christ who died on the wood contained in the **RELIQUARY**. In the same spirit, the back is decorated with a foliate cross. The relic itself was set within an inner, cruciform compartment, surrounded by seraphim, cherubim, and other heavenly powers represented on the lids of compartments labeled for relics of Christ (such as the towel with which he washed the apostles' feet), of the Virgin, and of St. John the Baptist. An inscription on the frame for the Cross names two emperors, Constantine (VII) and Romanos (probably I, but possibly II). They are said to have crushed the barbarians as Christ shattered the gates of Hell. In 1207 the reliquary was brought from Constantinople to the West by the Crusader Heinrich von Ulmen.

LIT. Frolov, *Relique*, no. 135, pp. 233–37. Frolov, *Reliquaires* 96. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IX–XII vv.*



LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY. Interior of the box with the setting for the cross reliquary and compartments for various other relics. Cathedral Treasury, Limburg an-der-Lahn.

(Moscow 1978) 28–32. J. Rauch, "Die Limburger Staurothek," *Das Münster* 8 (1955) 201–33. J.M. Wilm, "Die Wiederherstellung der Limburger Staurothek," *ibid.* 234–40. W. Michel, "Die Inschriften der Limburger Staurothek," *Archiv für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 28 (1976) 23–44. —M.E.F., A.C.

LIMES, a Roman term designating the boundary, esp. the system of frontier fortifications that was developed in Britain, Upper Germany, **RAETIA**, the Danubian provinces (**PANNONIA**, **SCYTHIA MINOR**), the eastern provinces (**SYRIA**, **PALESTINE**), and **AFRICA** from the 2nd C. onward. Different in different areas and periods, the fortifications of the *limes* have not yet been properly categorized. Their major elements include palisades, earthen walls, ditches, wooden towers, and forts. Under Diocletian (or earlier) appeared the *castella*, or *quadriburgia*, of the so-called Diocletianic type—

relatively small forts, square in plan, with square angle- and interval-towers that saddle the curtain walls (J. Lander in *Roman Frontier Studies*, ed. W.S. Hanson, L.J.F. Keppie, vol. 3 [Oxford 1980] 1051–60). On the Middle Danube, Valentinian I organized active construction of new fortifications but, after the catastrophe at Adrianople in 378, the *limes* was restructured: forts became smaller, while towers of smaller size were abandoned and replaced by larger ones (S. Soproni, *Die letzten Jahrzehnte des pannonischen Limes* [Munich 1985] 98f). Attempts to fortify the frontier took place again under Anastasios I and Justinian I; among the new forts and walls erected at this time were the **LONG WALL** in Thrace and the fortification in southwestern Crimea. New forts were constructed on the Lower Danube in the second half of the 10th C.

From the 4th C. onward, the settled garrisons of **LIMITANEI** were placed along the *limes*. Farming communities were transplanted to the *limes* to guarantee the upkeep and provisioning of forts (M. Gichon in *StMilRoms* 1 [1967] 191f). Eventually, the *limitanei* themselves became settled farmers. The *limes* was also a factor in the increased activity of artisans in the frontier districts (A. Rădulescu in *StMilRoms* 2 [1977] 387–92).

LIT. E. Fabricius, *RE* 13 (1927) 572–671. J. Garbsch, *Der spätromische Donau-Illyr-Rhein-Limes* (Stuttgart 1970). *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan*, ed. S.T. Parker (Oxford 1987). G.W. Bowersock, "Limes Arabicus," *HStClPhil* 80 (1976) 219–29. —A.K.

LIMISA (Ksar Lemsa), site of one of the best-preserved Byz. *quadriburgia* (four-towered forts) in North Africa. Its position on the Oued Maarouf along the southeastern slope of the Tunisian dorsal served to guard against **MAURI** incursions into the province of **AFRICA PROCONSULARIS**. The fort itself is undated. Diehl (*L'Afrique* 205–10) proposed a Justinianic date. Pringle (*infra*), drawing attention to an inscription referring to the construction of a *turris* in the reign of Maurice and found 1 km east of Ksar Lemsa, suggested that inscription and fort belong together (in which case *turris* would refer to the fort itself). P.-A. Février (*Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 35 [1983] 35), however, rejected the link between the two on the grounds that the inscription refers to a singular *turrim*, unlikely to be anything more than an isolated tower. Apart from a reference to

an *episcopus Limmicensis* at the council of 646, nothing else is known of the settlement's history.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 43, 212–14, 330 Inscr.36. K. Belkhodja, "Ksar Lemsā," *Africa* 2 (1968) 313–47. —R.B.H.

LIMITANEI (from Lat. LIMES), late Roman Empire frontier soldiers, as opposed to the mobile army of the COMITATENSES. The origin of *limitanei* is unclear: the HISTORIA AUGUSTA (ed. Hohl, 1:298.5–6) asserts that Severus Alexander (222–35) assigned conquered land to the *limitanei*, but O. Seeck (*RE* 2.R. 1 [1920] 917) rejects this statement as a forgery. A 6th-C. historian (Malal. 308.17–19) says that Diocletian built fortresses on the eastern frontier and stationed *limitanei* there. The term *ripenses*, or *riparienses*, was used between 325 and 400 for frontier soldiers on the Danube, from Scythia to Pannonia Secunda, but from 363 onward (*Cod.Theod.* XII 1.56) the term was replaced by *limitanei*. Cavalry and infantry *limitanei* formed units under the command of a *dux* (see Doux), with normally two legions in each province, while auxiliary troops were under the command of the governor of the PROVINCE. Less privileged than *comitatenses*, the *limitanei* had to serve 25 years; they received ANNONA in kind for nine months a year and money for three months; from the second half of the 4th C. the entire *annona* was commuted to cash. Officers tried to secure most of the pay for themselves and, according to THEMISTIOS (ed. Schenkl, Downey, 1:207.1–19), urged soldiers to make their living by plundering the vicinity. *Limitanei* were peasant soldiers, and Justinian (*Cod.Just.* I 27.8) describes their duty as "defending the castles and towns of frontier districts and tilling the soil." Enrollment in the border troops was hereditary, from father to son. By the 6th C. the *limitanei* grew inefficient, and PROKOPIOS (*SH* 24.12–13) reports that Justinian deprived them of the "name of warriors." The system disappeared after the old *limes* was overrun by barbarians, and the last mention is probably for 586.

LIT. D. van Berchem, *L'armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne* (Paris 1952) 19–32. Haldon, *Recruitment* 21–28. —A.K.

LINCOLN COLLEGE TYPIKON. See BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY.

LINE AND CONTOUR, the essential means by which form is defined in the artistic theory of the church fathers and later Greek writers. Eusebios of Caesarea (PG 20:1545C) objected to the making of holy images on the grounds that delineations (*skiagraphiai*) and the COLORS added thereafter are inanimate; John Chrysostom (PG 51:247.43) describes the creation of imperial portraits in terms of white lines sketched around their figures. "Shadowy outline" (*apokrisma*) was, for Andrew of Crete (PG 97:1213C), the first step that painters took before applying color. According to Ignatios the Deacon in his vita of TARASIOS (418.10–14), additions were the work of the master and his companions after the master had drawn the black sketch that "announced the design." These views accord with practice. A standard technique of MOSAIC decoration was the outlining of figures with courses of tesserae; wall painters imitated this method. Ivory craftsmen defined carved figures with contours before cutting away superfluous material, while the technique of ENAMELING called for both contour and interior lines. This emphasis on linearity militated against PLASTICITY and substituted for the classical aesthetic a manner that was characteristically Byz.

LIT. V.N. Lazarev, "Les procédés de la stylisation linéaire dans la peinture byzantine des X–XII siècles et leurs sources," 25 *Congrès International des Orientalistes* [= *Doklad na XXV Meždunarodnom kongresse vostokovedov*] (Moscow 1960) 1–18. F. Angiolini Martinelli, "Linea e ritmo nelle figure umane ed animali sugli argenti dell'Ermitage di Lenigrado dei secoli V–VII," *CorsiRav* 20 (1973) 19–47.

—A.C.

LINEAGE. The nuclear FAMILY became the cornerstone of Byz. society by the 8th C.; even earlier the Roman concept of *gens*, with its inner links and family NAMES, was in a state of decline. The extended family, living together in a single household (e.g., the three-generation family of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL) continued to exist, but on the other hand there is no evidence of the concept of lineage as a community based on kinship and mutual support. So far as can be judged by the history of the Heraklian dynasty in the 7th C., family links were considered dangerous and burdensome rather than supportive. The reappearance of lineage can be dated to ca.1000; after this date family names are abundant in sources; certainly some lineages (Skleros, Phokas, Doukas) were established a century earlier.

From the end of the 11th C., lineages became the basis of political organization and, unlike the 7th-C. emperors, the Komnenoi and later Palaiologoi were supported by an expanded network of kinship. The Byz. lineage of the 12th–15th C. remained, however, a loose social grouping: it was not strictly patrilinear—the relatives on the maternal side were not excluded from the lineage; it had no common property; the tracing of lineage to a common ancestor (going back to the traditional heroes of Greek legends or Roman aristocratic families) and not to mythical founders of the particular lineage was in an incipient phase. The concept of princely rule as the "property" of a lineage (the principle of the Merovingians or Kievan Rus') was never developed in Byz. —A.K.

LINEN. Even though the cultivation of flax is hardly mentioned in the *Geoponika* (2.40.3), it played a significant role in Byz. agriculture: stored in the *proasteion* of Baris, for example, in 1073 were wheat, barley, beans, and flax seeds, or *linokokkoi* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.119–20), a term that frequently appears in later documents (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.11.27; P. Schreiner, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 219.27). The seeds were processed in special *ergasteria*, called *linelaiotribika* (*Lavra* 3, no.168.4–5), and made into OIL (*linelaion*). A chrysobull of 1088 distinguishes the seeds from the *linarion*, or flax fibers (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.55), whereas a chrysobull of 1086 considers *linarion* as a kind of seed (*Lavra* 1, no.48.41–42).

The fibers of flax were used to produce TEXTILES. In the late Roman period Egypt was the traditional center of the linen industry: the spinning of linen thread was often a household industry there (e.g., PALLADIOS, *Hist.Laus.*, ed. Butler, 21.19–20, 86.10–12). The linen thread was then given to linen weavers, *linoxyphoi* (e.g., T. Nissen, *BZ* 38 [1938] 367.27–28). After Egypt fell to the Arabs in the 7th C., linen cloth was imported to Constantinople primarily from Bulgaria and the regions of Strymon, Pontos, and Kerasous. The linen merchants, *othoniopratai* (also called *mithaneis*), purchased the linen cloth and resold it to either VESTIOPRATAI or any would-be purchaser on condition that the linen would not be sold yet again. The *othoniopratai* also dealt in *bambakina* (cotton?) tunics. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.g) distinguishes the *othoniopratai* from linen

weavers, who were prohibited from selling their wares in *ergasteria* but had to carry them around "on their shoulders" to peddle them. The profession of linen merchant was evidently held in some contempt—a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 484.63) was indignant that some of these merchants (along with money changers) were granted noble titles.

Linen cloth was used primarily for tunics and burial shrouds but could be of varied quality and function. Some fine linen was used to make tablecloths (*TheophCont* 200.1–2); a court decision of 1384 lists various objects used in a bedchamber, including a red linen pillowcase (*linokoukoulon*) whose value was estimated at 4 hyperpers (*Dochear.*, no.49.29); Niketas Choniates (74.43–44) mentions "gold-laced" linen produced in Thebes. In the 9th C. the widow DANELIS reportedly brought various textiles from the Peloponnesos: among them were *linomalataria* (fine fabrics) and plain soft linen as well as tissues "finer than cobwebs," each of which could be folded and fit inside a bulrush (*TheophCont* 318.15–18).

The place where flax was worked was called *linobrocheion*, and it is possible that in the 13th–15th C. the use of the lord's *linobrocheion* became a coercive obligation, a BANALITY.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 34–36. *Bk. of Eparch* 190–202. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 224f. —A.K.

LIONS (sing. λέων) were rare in Byz., esp. after the loss of the southern provinces in the 7th C. In the early centuries they were exhibited in the Hippodrome, and tame lions performed in street shows (John Chrysostom, PG 54:591.35–40), earning money for their keepers; in the later period we hear of lions with iron collars kept in cages (Nik.Chon. 349.94–95). The taming of a lion was a typical subject of early hagiography: lions were represented not only as caring for holy men and women in the desert, but even digging a hermit's grave after his solitary death (*Deux versions grecques inédites de la Vie de Paul de Thèbes*, ed. J. Bidez [Gand 1900] 28–33).

Despite its rarity, the lion, "the fierce and imperial beast" (PG 54:699.10–11), played an important role in Byz. imagery. Although it is doubtful that the Byz. actually hunted lions after the 7th C., the HUNTING and slaughter of lions were standard topics in imperial iconography, a tradi-

tion that joined with David's killing of the lion (1 Sam 17:34–36) to produce the perennial theme of the Old Testament shepherd-king protecting his flock: one of the DAVID PLATES and much PSALTER illustration are the best-known examples of this confluence. The victories over lions (or panthers?) by Digenes and his father, described in the *Digenes Akritas*, have rather legendary features. Traditional proverbs and sayings based on the Bible, Aesop, and other texts present the lion as a mighty beast that, however, could suffer from a mosquito or whose fangs could be broken. The Byz. perception of the lion was ambivalent: on the one hand, it was the symbol of Christ and the *basileus* as powerful victors; on the other hand, it was a roaring beast, the symbol of impurity, particularly associated with the Iconoclast emperors, Leo III and Leo V. In the DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON Zoon the lion, as the ruler of the animal kingdom, is the protector of predators.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:422f. –Ap.K., A.K., A.C.

LIPARI (Λίπαρις), main island of the Aeolian archipelago, port on the route from Sicily to Rome. According to archaeological material (ceramics, coins, inscriptions), the island seems to have been quite well populated until the end of the 5th C. The lack of later material may be attributed to the partial desertion of the island following the eruption of the local volcano in the late 7th or 8th C. The Arabs conquered and devastated the island in 835–38. Seat of a bishop, suffragan of the metropolitan of SYRACUSE, Lipari was a famous place of pilgrimage because of the relics of the apostle BARTHOLOMEW, venerated there from the 6th C. onward. It was also a place of banishment for political exiles from late antiquity to the early 9th C. No Byz. monument survives in Lipari.

LIT. L. Bernabò-Brea, *Le isole Eolie dal tardo antico ai Normanni* (Ravenna 1988). –V.v.F.

LIPARITES (Λιπαρίτης), a family name of Iberian (Georgian) origin. The founder of the family, Liparit IV, duke of Trialeti, was the chief Caucasian ally of Byz., who in 1048/9 commanded the Iberian troops that fought together with the Byz. army against the Seljuks. Taken captive, Liparit was soon released by TUGHRUL BEG. After long involvement in Georgian feuds, he was en-

couraged to leave Georgia, went to Constantinople, took the monastic habit under the name of Antony, and died between 1062 and 1064. His sons Ivane and Niania served the empire (Niania died in Ani, whereas Ivane returned to Georgia), but later some descendants of Liparit joined the Seljuks. One branch of the Liparites family, however, remained in Byz.: in 1177 Basil Liparites was a judge; an anonymous 12th-C. epigram mentions Bardas Liparites; according to Laurent (*Coll. Orghidan*, no.248), Constantine Liparites served as *kommerkiarios* in the 11th C.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskie Liparity," *Vizantinovedcheskie etjudy* (Tbilisi 1978) 91f. Guiland, "Curopalate" 208.

–A.K.

LIPS (Λίψ, lit. "the southwest wind"; also Libes/Libas [on a seal]), the last name or a sobriquet of a 10th-C. family of Constantinopolitan dignitaries. There is considerable confusion about the biography and chronology of the best-known member of the family, Constantine Lips. According to the chroniclers, Constantine was a contemporary of Leo VI and restored a monastery in Mardosangaris (a region of Constantinople) near the Church of the Holy Apostles. A legend has it that he invited the emperor to the inauguration (ENKAINIA) of the monastery, but a "wind called *lips*" blew up, destroying houses and churches and forcing the guests to scatter (Leo Gramm. 280.7–14). The monastery restored by Constantine has been identified as Fenari Isa Camii (see LIPS MONASTERY), whose 10th-C. church preserves a fragmentary verse inscription stating that a certain Constantine dedicated the church to the Mother of God. C. Mango and E. Hawkins (*DOP* 18 [1964] 299–301) supplied the additional words "*hetaireiarches Lips*" in their conjectural reconstruction of one of the fragments. The traditional date of the inauguration, 907/8, is arbitrary, based on the fake chronology of pseudo-Symeon Magistros. Constantine participated in the revolt of Constantine Doukas in 913 and fell in the battle at Achelous in 917.

Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 43.42–76) describes a Constantine, the son of Lips, who was *protospatharios* and *domestikos* of the *hypourgia* (an assistant of the *epi tes trapezes*) and (by 952?) *anthypatos* and *megas hetaireiarches*; he went at least three times as an envoy to the Armenians and

married his daughter to an Armenian notable who bore the Arabic name of Abu Ghanim. Mango (*supra*) argues that Constantine Porphyrogennetos has erroneously made this man his own contemporary and that the passage refers to the Constantine Lips of the early 10th C.

According to the *Patria of Constantinople*, the Lips who was *patrikios* and *droungarios* of the fleet founded a monastery and a *xenon* during the reign of Romanos I and Constantine VII; Mango again suggests that the patriographic tradition is in error and that this refers to the events of 907.

The *patrikios* Bardas, the son of Lips, conspired against Romanos II in 962 (Skyl. 250.65–66). Thereafter the name disappears.

LIT. S. Runciman in *De adm. imp.* 2:162f. Adontz, *Études* 222–25. Guiland, *Institutions* 2:188f. Janin, *Églises CP* 307.

–A.C., A.K.

LIPSANOTHEK, a conventional term applied to a small number of surviving objects thought to have contained RELICS, thus functionally indistinguishable from RELIQUARIES. The word is most frequently used of a late 4th-C. (?) ivory box in Brescia (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.107), the lid and sides of which are carved with scenes from the Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha. Neither its form nor iconography requires that it was originally used for relics. A smaller box in Venice (*ibid.*, no.120), with liturgical scenes, has perhaps a better claim: from the 4th C., the Eucharist was celebrated over relics kept under the altar. This box was found, with relics, below the altar of a church at Samagher, near Pola. A composite icon, formerly known as the Stroganov Lipsanotek (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 2, no.538), was equipped in the 11th C. and later with scenes of the Passion in enamel, portraits of saints in gilded silver, and now-empty compartments, inscribed with the names of St. John Prodromos, John Chrysostom, and others, intended for relics.

LIT. J. Kollwitz, *Die Lipsanotek von Brescia* (Berlin-Leipzig 1933).

–A.C.

LIPS MONASTERY (Fenari Isa Camii), founded in the Lycus valley in the western part of Constantinople probably by Constantine LIPS; it is traditionally believed to have been inaugurated in June 907. Whether the 10th-C. monastery was for monks or nuns is not known. The sophisticated church of 907, dedicated to the Virgin, is related

in design to the NEA EKKLESIA. Its cross-in-square naos (see CHURCH PLAN TYPES) has five domes (the main one supported on now-missing columns), and lateral chapels. Fragmentary inlaid icons found at the site may have served in the additional chapels of the upper story. The interior was decorated with mosaic (now lost), glazed tile, and some of the most important surviving examples of 10th-C. SCULPTURE—the apse mullions, cornices, corbels, etc. Some of these employed "orientalizing" motifs in relief on marbles, of which many are SPOLIA (reused tombstones, etc.).

The Dowager Empress Theodora Palaiologina (died 1303), widow of MICHAEL VIII, restored the monastic complex, attaching a second church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, to the south side of the 10th-C. church, as a mausoleum for the Palaiologan family, including Theodora herself, her mother, a daughter, and a son (ANDRONIKOS II). This church is wider than the 10th-C. building and boasts a much more ornate exterior, its multifaceted apses adorned with round-headed niches and decorative brickwork. Its interior has been much altered, but the dome, supported on piers at the corners of the naos with intervening pairs of columns, and 16 ARCOSOLIA survive. The graves are distributed through the naos, the narthex, and the groin-vaulted ambulatory that wraps around the south flank of the newer church and connects it at the west to that of Lips. This pretentious complex was built to emulate the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY, the mausoleum of the Komnenoi.

The *typikon* of Theodora (composed between 1282 and ca.1300), which survives in a deluxe MS (London, B.L. Add. 22748), indicates that the 13th-C. monastery was designed to house 50 nuns. Sphrantzes (Sphr. 34.22–24) notes that in the late 14th C. Lips was one of the larger nunneries in Constantinople. Theodora and her mother endowed the convent with substantial properties in Asia Minor (near Pergamon and Smyrna), Thrace, Macedonia, and Constantinople itself, with certain revenues specified for the upkeep of an attached, 12-bed HOSPITAL with a staff of 21, including a priest, three doctors, and three pharmacists.

SOURCE. H. Delehay, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels 1921) 106–36.

LIT. T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," *DOP* 18 (1964) 249–315. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 309–12.

–A.C., A.M.T.

LIRIS. See GARIGLIANO.

LITANY (λειτουργία), a series of short liturgical petitions, usually voiced by a deacon, that precede an oration, and to which the congregation replies with a fixed response, most commonly *Kyrie eleison*, one or more times. Litanies first appear in late 4th-C. Greek texts in the region of Antioch. Structurally they are a development of the primitive invitation to prayer (Taft, *East & West* 154–56), in which the diaconal biddings are addressed to the praying community and the prayer to God is the people's response. There are three Byz. litanic types, all known as early as the 4th C.: the *synapte*; the *synapte meta ton aiteσεων* (with demands), which has the concluding "angel of peace" biddings, originally a litany of dismissal, to conclude a service or part thereof; and the *ektene*, or "intensive litany," originally used in stational processions (LITE).

LIT. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:279, 293, 304, 320. Taft, *Great Entrance* 311–49. —R.F.T.

LITE (λήτη), a liturgical procession of clergy and people to a designated church or "station" for the celebration of a FEAST. In Jerusalem, these processions were limited to HOLY WEEK; in Rome they occurred during LENT; in Constantinople they were spread throughout the church year and connected with saints' days and major events in the history of the capital and were accompanied by ANTIPHONS and LITANIES. Initially, *litai* served to combat heresy or plead for some special favor: the remission of sins, cessation of an earthquake, the lifting of a siege, a miracle, or to commemorate the original *litai* on the day when these favors were granted. There is evidence for *litai* in Constantinople as early as the 4th C., when John Chrysostom introduced nocturnal processions to counter those of the Arians (Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours* 171–73).

In the *TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH*, there are 68 *lite* days, with the emperor participating in 17 of them, and the patriarch in 32. These services had a major influence on the development of the Byz. LITURGY (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 43 [1977] 360–69). The term *lite* can also refer to a short service comprising a litany and prayers celebrated during a procession of this kind.

LIT. J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* (Rome 1987) 167–226. —R.F.T.

LITERACY was more widespread in Byz. than in the medieval West, esp. in cities, where elementary EDUCATION was widely available, and in monasteries, where a knowledge of reading was required of choir brothers and sisters. Functional literacy was usually a prerequisite for any administrative or spiritual career. During late antiquity, attitudes toward the BOOK changed drastically: instead of being a vocational necessity, it became a tool of religious education and a symbol of power (G. Cavallo in *L'imperatore Giustiniano* [Milan 1978] 235). Egyptian papyri show more illiterate persons in the 6th than in the 5th C., but the difference is primarily due to the insignificant number of 5th-C. documents (R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 30 [1950] 15). Even some monastic superiors in the 6th C. were unable to sign their names (R. Merkelbach, *ZPapEpig* 39 [1980] 291–94). This explains why Justinian I's novels prohibit an illiterate person from being elected bishop (Beck, *Ideen*, pt.III [1966], 72). Documents from the Athos archives, which sometimes bear crosses instead of signatures, indicate the existence of illiteracy, but a statistical analysis has not yet been done (N. Oikonomides, *DOP* 42 [1988] 167–78). Despite this general esteem for literacy, two emperors (Justin I and Basil I) were reportedly illiterate, and several illiterates climbed high on the bureaucratic ladder: for instance, when Leo VI appointed the brave sailor Podaron *protospatharios* of the *phiale*, the emperor ordered a judge of the hippodrome to assist him, since Podaron was illiterate (*De adm. imp.*, 51.100–102). Especially in the countryside, "where education and knowledge were on a low level," illiteracy created difficulties for the functioning of law and administration; thus Leo VI, in his novel 43, permitted the use of oral testimony in villages to authorize wills.

LIT. R. Browning, "Literacy in the Byzantine World," *BMGS* 4 (1978) 39–54. —A.K.

LITERATURE. The Byz. term closest in meaning to our concept of literature was *logoi*, denoting the totality of texts written in artful language; hence these texts would compose the totality of knowledge, that is, they might include scientific,

legal, medical, and other texts. This perception of Byz. literature as inclusive of all forms of writing (*pis'mennost'*, *Schrifttum* in Russian and German terminology) is retained by the best modern scholars, such as Krumbacher, Hunger, and Beck. Attempts have been made, however, to distinguish between the entire body of writing produced in the Byz. era and literature in the narrower sense (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 1–21; J.-L. van Dieten, *HistZ* 231 [1980] 101–09).

Traditionally, Byz. literature has been divided into three categories: secular works in the "pure" (artificial) LANGUAGE, literature in VERNACULAR, and theological literature. This categorization is illogical, however, because it is based on two different principles (language and contents), and because the distinction between secular and theological literature or between pure and vernacular dialect is often too conventional. For example, the classification of hagiography as a theological genre and the *Digenes Akritas* and *Stephanites and Ichneutes* as vernacular works is debatable. I. Ševčenko (*JÖB* 31.1 [1981] 289–312) suggested a different classification, whose core is the existence of three levels of STYLE (high, middle, and low), reflecting social and educational levels of writers and their public. Ševčenko's levels of style, however, are too close to the levels of grammar, and therefore limited, neglecting questions of imagery, composition, characterization of the hero, etc.; and these levels of style remain static throughout time.

Questions of language, geographical distribution, and chronology also need to be considered in treating Byz. literature. Traditionally, the framework of Byz. literature has encompassed works written in medieval Greek regardless of the place of their creation, that is, including Arab Syria (John of Damascus) and Norman Italy (Eugenios of Palermo). The mid-6th C. is sometimes chosen as a starting point, mainly on the formal and technical ground that 19th-C. textbooks on ancient literature extended their coverage to ca.550. This date does not coincide, however, with the traditional periodization of Byz. history (see BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF) or art. In this article, Byz. literature is defined as having been written between the early 4th and mid-15th C.

Until recently, Byz. literature was considered to have had little aesthetic value and was viewed either as an inferior continuation of its Greco-Roman and patristic or biblical models, or (as far

as vernacular works are concerned) praised for the qualities that made it a predecessor of modern Greek literature. In fact, medieval authors in both East and West did develop new ethical values and aesthetic approaches, for example: (1) "objectivization" of the AUTHOR, whose external MODESTY and avowed lack of cultivation stood in sharp contrast to his proud self-conception as possessing final truth; (2) a shift from the spoken word toward the BOOK, that is, from public oral presentation toward individual reading, that led to the extinction of the THEATER, a predominant genre of classical literature, and the limitation (at least temporary) of RHETORIC; (3) presentation of the *dramatis personae* as allegorical rather than "real" figures, so that the hero became an embodiment of all moral values and the antihero a bearer of all vices; (4) sympathy for humankind, which transformed the author from a dispassionate observer of human deeds and errors, virtues and vices into one deeply involved with human sorrows and sufferings; and (5) the idea of the stability and immutability of the cosmos and man, which was reflected in the preservation of obsolete and artificial language, in IMITATION (*mimesis*), in the consistent relating of the present to the past, so that the events and personalities described were interpreted as reproductions of ancient events, biblical or patristic models. These principles were connected with general trends of Byz. CULTURE. They were neither created in an instant at the beginning of Byz. history, nor did they remain unchanged or unopposed during the thousand years of the empire, but they formed the mainstream of Byz. literature.

Although some ancient GENRES survived, the system of genres was restructured. Ancient drama was criticized for immorality and replaced by the emphatically repetitive world of LITURGY; POETRY, also a predominantly oral form of literature, was either attached to liturgical purposes (HYMN) or remained, at least after the 7th C., at the fringe of literary life, mainly as EPIGRAM. EPIC gradually vanished. The tendency to inculcate official moral and political values fostered the flourishing of genres such as SERMON, HAGIOGRAPHY, GNOMAI, and ADMONITIONS. The sphere of personal human relations remained underdeveloped, and accordingly EPISTOLOGRAPHY was consistently restricted to trivial formulas and standardized situations, and lyrical poetry was limited. HISTORIOGRAPHY,

the other hand, flourished: the Byz. were more interested in clashes of collective forces (Iconoclasts, Turks, etc.) than individuals (AUTOBIOGRAPHY was a rare genre).

Byz. literature can be divided into the following phases of development:

1. Predominance of antique traditions (4th–mid-7th C.), including such genres as lyrical poetry (Gregory of Nazianzos) and epic as well as elements of PAGANISM. Literary works were created in several languages (Greek, LATIN, SYRIAC), and Greeks such as Ammianus Marcellinus or Claudian happened to be the most significant Latin writers of the period, while Romanos the Melode, a Syrian or Jew, made a major contribution to the development of ecclesiastical poetry by using some oriental literary techniques. The major goal of the greatest writers (John Chrysostom, pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, Prokopios of Caesarea) was to express new approaches, a new vision of the universe and man, of society, and expectations for the future in traditional literary forms bequeathed by the glorious past; among others Nonnos of Panopolis (or a contemporary of his) tried to reconcile Christianity with the inherited poetical forms in a poetic paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John. Less spectacular but more innovative were attempts in hagiography and chronicles to produce “modest” stories of miracles and miracle-workers who acted partly in a completely new setting, the desert (APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM), and partly in the traditional milieu of the urban community, whose values, however, they rejected (SYMEON OF EMESA).

2. Period of relative silence, the “dark ages” (mid-7th C.–ca.800), when some significant theologians were still active (Maximos the Confessor, Germanos I), esp. in Syria after the Arab conquest (John of Damascus), whereas hardly any historiography and hagiography were produced.

3. Revival of the 9th–10th C. (see ENCYCLOPEDIISM), starting with the development of MINUSCULE handwriting and the TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS written in uncial. Its first stage (800–850) was predominantly monastic and ecclesiastic, represented by such writers as Theophanes the Confessor, Theodore of Stoudios, Ignatios the Deacon, Niketas of Amnia, and the poet Kassia, even though some figures of the revival such as Patr. Tarasios and Nikephoros I began their careers as lay officials. After George Hamartolos, however,

there was no monastic writer of importance until Symeon the Theologian (ca.1000), and lay and ecclesiastical functionaries dominated the field. The most conspicuous feature of the period is the assembling of the ancient heritage: the edition of old masters such as Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and the tragedians; issuing collections of texts (GREEK ANTHOLOGY) or excerpts (sponsored by CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS), LEXIKA, and bibliographical entries (the BIBLIOTHECA of Photios). Even hagiography was put in order, both externally, by the assemblage of texts for liturgical purposes (Symeon Metaphrastes); and internally, when to the eccentric heroes of early vitae (desert fathers, prostitutes, women in male disguise, holy fools, stylites, etc.), which continued to be read, were added a few new types of hero, such as the generous almsgiver Philaretos the Merciful, the good matron Mary the Younger, and monks and nuns indoctrinating and obediently submitting to monastic discipline (Theodora of Thessalonike, Irene of Chrysobalanton). Theophanes the Confessor attempted to create a new type of historical writing: he adhered to the annalistic principle, and presented history as an eternal conflict between Good and Evil.

4. Period of the 11th–mid-13th C., here conventionally called pre-Renaissance (see RENAISSANCE), seems to be a contradictory period: on the one hand, the literati reacted against the encyclopedistic emphasis on order and were involved in a search for personal and even mystical experience (Symeon the Theologian); on the other hand, ancient tradition was used, not only as a source of excerpts, but as a means for understanding reality (Eustathios of Thessalonike). The idea of expressing the author's personal experience was reborn (Psellos, Prodromos), and writers began to be openly proud of their talents. A new image of man was introduced, as one who united in a single person the positive qualities of the hero and negative qualities of the antihero (Psellos, Niketas Choniates). Topics of SEXUALITY, including love and nudity, were presented (even if rarely) side-by-side with officially sanctioned chastity, and from the 12th C. onward the genre of ROMANCE was revived, following Hellenistic models. A new chivalric ideal was developed, both in official rhetoric (Theophylaktos of Ohrid) and historiography (esp. Nikephoros Bryennios) and in the epic of *Digenes Akritas*. A new type of literati emerged: neither

monk nor bureaucratic functionary, but a professional poet or intellectual, claiming poverty (Prodromos, Tzetzes), or a “university” teacher (Michael Italikos, Eustathios). Vernacular began to be used sparingly as a language of literature. Some old genres, including hagiography, went temporarily out of fashion. The Byz. were becoming less “serious”—mild HUMOR, PUNS, self-mockery on the part of the author are all encountered in the period. Even the problems of artistic creativity were hotly discussed (Michael Choniates).

5. Final period (13th–15th C.) characterized by a revival of hagiography, an increasingly tragic perception of history (Chalkokondyles), a sense of incompetence in comparison with antique predecessors (Metochites), and introduction of the topic of failure and the defeat of the hero (John VI Kantakouzenos). Former confidence in God's perpetual assistance and in final victory over the barbarians was lost. Contacts with Western literature increased: the late Byz. romance was influenced by Western chivalrous literature. The heroes of works produced in regions of Latin domination (Peloponnesos, Epiros, Crete) were Latins or heavily latinized seigneurs (CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA, CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO). A small group of authors, mostly converts to Catholicism, learned Latin and began the TRANSLATION of both ancient and medieval Latin writers into Greek; a few emigrated to Italy, where they taught Greek and encouraged the translation of ancient Greek literature (primarily philosophy) into Latin. The perception of social injustice became sharper (Alexios Makrembolites), esp. in vernacular FABLES. A tendency to bring narrative “closer to the earth” led to the poetization of human weakness and vices (Stephen Sachlikes). On the other hand, the tendency to preserve the “dead” language along with classical stylistics remained quite strong, and the authors of this vein (Plethon, Bessarion) had great influence upon the Italian Renaissance.

LIT. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*² (Munich 1897). H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols. (Munich 1978). Beck, *Kirche* 371–798. Idem, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich 1971). S.S. Averincev, *Poetika rannevizantijskoj literatury* (Moscow 1977). A.P. Kazhdan, S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge-Paris 1984). Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.I (1971), 69–92. —A.K.

LITERATURE, DIDACTIC, works written to instruct or convey facts (rather than to entertain—as in historiography, hagiography, or romance—or fulfill a ceremonial purpose); of necessity a large and diverse group. Categories of writing that can be classed under this heading include handbooks written for use in the schoolroom on, for example, grammar or meter (cf. SCHEDOGRAPHIA, EPIMERISMS, EROTAPOKRISEIS, PROGYMNASTATA, LEXIKA) as well as on music, legal terms, etc.; a number of these were in POLITICAL VERSE (for example, by Michael PSELLOS and John TZETZES) or the rhythms of religious literature (e.g., the grammatical KANONES of Niketas of Serres), presumably as a mnemonic device. Also to be classed as didactic are works written on such subjects as ASTRONOMY, MATHEMATICS, MEDICINE, PHILOSOPHY, and natural science.

LIT. A. Garzya, “Testi litterari d'uso strumentale,” *JÖB* 31 (1981) 272–83. —E.M.J.

LITHOSORIA (τὰ Λιθοσώρια), battle site of unknown location. In Oct. 774 Constantine V learned that the Bulgar khan TELERIG had dispatched an army of 12,000 to capture Berzitia and resettle its populace in Bulgaria. Berzitia's whereabouts and ethnic composition are unknown; the inhabitants may have been Slavs dwelling in Byz. territory. Constantine promptly raised a large army (reportedly 80,000 strong) and fell on the Bulgars at Lithosoria, winning a “great victory” (Theoph. 447.23) and returning to Constantinople in triumph. It is unclear whether the name Lithosoria (“stone piles”) indicated an actual town, a natural landmark, or an artificial marker of the border between Byz. and Bulgaria.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:227–33. V. Beševliev, “Die Feldzüge des Kaisers Konstantin V. gegen die Bulgaren,” *EBalk* 7.3 (1971) 15f. Idem, *Geschichte* 225f. —P.A.H.

LITHUANIA (Λιθβᾶ, τὰ Λιθβαδά) originated as a state in the mid-13th C. It expanded under Gedymin (1316–41) and Olgerd (1345–77) into the principalities of SMOLENSK and KIEV, becoming a rival to Moscow and Tver' for control over Russia, and under Vitovt (1392–1430) expanded further along the lower DNIÉPER to the BLACK SEA. Byz. policy focused on the issue of church organization. Until 1386 Lithuania was officially pagan: Byz. sources refer to its inhabitants and

esp. the king as fire-worshippers (e.g., Greg. 3:514.7-9; MM 2:12.21, 117.32-33), and in 1364 Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS canonized victims of Olgerd. There was, however, an Orthodox population. A metropolis may have been established as early as 1299-1300, although the only well-attested incumbents are Theophilos (ca. 1315-30), Theodoret (1352-54), Romanos (1355-62), and KIPRIAN (1375-81). Such appointments split the see of "Kiev and all Russia," of which Lithuania began to be considered an independent part, characterized in the title of the Polish king as Litborhosia, i.e., Lithuania-Rossia (MM 2:280.22). In an *ekthesis* of Andronikos II it was stated that Andronikos and Patr. John XIII Glykys transformed *ta Litbada*, the district (*enoria*) of "Great Rossia," into a metropolis (*Notitiae CP*, no. 17.83). This action could be seen as antagonistic toward Moscow. In 1386 Lithuania and POLAND came under the sole rule of Jagiello (1377-1432), who converted to Catholicism. Laonikos Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 1:125.3-19) described Lithuania as a vast Catholic country with a distinctive language (Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 96f).

LIT. R. Misiunas, "The Orthodox Church in the Lithuanian State," *Lituanus* 14.3 (1968) 5-28. Meyendorff, *Russia* 55-61, 161-72, 182-99. I.B. Grekov, *Očerki po istorii mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenij Vostočnoj Evropy XIV-XVI vv.* (Moscow 1963) 74-118. —S.C.F.

LITOS (λίτος, "simple"), term applied to a certain category of titled dignitaries. In describing the future emperor Marcian as a *stratiotes litos*, Theophanes (Theoph. 104.2) uses the word in a non-technical sense of "common, plain." In the TAKTIKA of the 9th C. and 10th C. the term appears as a synonym of the APRATOS to characterize a dignitary without function. In descriptions of MSS, the term *litos* seems to describe UNCIAL script.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:153f. —A.K.

LITRA (λίτρα, Lat. *libra*), unit of weight of various sizes.

1. The most important Byz. measure of weight was the *logarike litra* ("pound of calculation"), established by Constantine I in 309 or 310 as the basis of the monetary system: 1 *logarike litra* of gold = 72 SOLIDI or EXAGIA = 12 OUNGIAI = 1,728 KERATIA = 6,912 SITOKOKKA = 1/100 KENTENARION. The exact weight of the *logarike litra* is

disputed; its theoretical norm seems to have been slowly debased from approximately 324 g to 319 g. The *logarike litra* is normally simply called *litra*, but it could also be termed *chrysaphike* (gold) or *thalassia* (maritime) *litra*; sometimes in classicizing texts it is called *mna* or even *talanton*. The *logarike litra* could also be a measure of land: 1 *logarike litra* = 1/40 *thalassios MODIOS*.

2. The *soualia litra* was a special unit reserved for weights of oil or wood = 4/5 *logarike litra* = 256 g; 30 *soualiai litrai* of olive oil = 1 *thalassion METRON*.

3. In regions such as Cyprus and Trebizond, which had regular contact with Islamic lands, a special *argyrike* (silver) *litra* of 12.5 *logarikai oungiai* (= 333 g) existed alongside the other units. It was apparently related to the Arab *ratl* of 337.6 g.

4. In the later period various "pounds" of local circulation were in use, partly of Arab, Italian, or Turkish origin.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 277f. —E. Sch.

LITTLE ENTRANCE (ἡ μικρὰ εἴσοδος), ritual procession that introduces the LITURGY of the Word, in which the deacon, accompanied by the priest(s) and servers, carries the EVANGELION from the altar into the nave and through the TEMPLON back to the altar. It symbolizes Christ's coming as Logos and is a ritual remnant of the entrance of clergy and people into church at what was once the beginning of the liturgy. At first accomplished in silence, this procession was embellished in the 6th C. with a prayer and antiphonal PSALMODY with two refrains, first the TRISAGION, then, under Justinian I, the MONOGENES.

At the solemn pontifical Eucharist, celebrated by the patriarch or a bishop, the Little Entrance remained a true introit procession until at least the 12th C. (Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy" 105-10): the patriarch, waiting in the narthex, recited the introit prayer evoking the vision of the heavenly sanctuary as the Imperial Doors of Hagia Sophia stood open before him and he gazed down the nave. The entrance of the patriarch, accompanied by the chanting of the introit antiphon (Ps 94), sung as the procession moved forward, presaged the appearance among the people of the Heavenly Celebrant himself.

On entering the sanctuary, the patriarch kissed the ENDYTE and revered the altar with candles

and incense while the *Trisagion* was sung; he then went to his throne in the apse for the LECTIONS. When the emperor participated, he joined the patriarch in the narthex and proceeded with him down the nave of the church and into the sanctuary where he offered gifts (*De cer.*, bk. 1, ch. 9, ed. Reiske 64f). An imperial entrance procession of this sort has been depicted in the mosaics of San Vitale in RAVENNA.

Called by Maximos the Confessor "entrance of the people with the bishop" (PG 91:688D) and by Patr. Germanos I "entrance of the Gospel" (*Germanos, Liturgy*, par. 24), it was only later called "Little" Entrance (Diataxis of PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, *Hai treis leitourgiai kata tous en Athenais kodikas*, ed. P. Trempelas [Athens 1935] p. 6) to distinguish it from the GREAT ENTRANCE.

LIT. Mateos, *La parole* 27f, 71-90. Taft, *East & West* 170-77. —R.F.T.

LITURGICAL BOOKS are of two kinds: books that contain liturgical texts actually used in the services, and books that regulate how those texts are to be used. The texts themselves comprise fixed and variable elements.

Books of the "ordinary," or invariable, part of the LITURGY are the *archieratikon* and EUCHOLOGION, for the use of the bishop and presbyter; the *diakonikon*, for the deacon; and the *horologion*, for monks, choir, or *anagnostes* at the liturgical HOURS. Books of the variable, or "proper," parts include the various types of LECTIONARY; anthologies of SERMONS (*panegyrikon*, *meno-logion*); and the SYNAXARION and the Psalter (the *antiphonarion* and *psalter[ion]*, see PSALMODY), used for the eucharistic service and for liturgical hours by deacon, *anagnostes*, and the SINGERS. The OKTOECHOS, TRIODION, and PENTEKOSTARION, books for the mobile feasts of the church CALENDAR, are hymn books for the use of the choir, as is the MENAION for the fixed feasts.

These last four books are the result of liturgical changes in the post-Iconoclastic period, when new texts composed for the developing poetical form, the KANON sung during ORTHROS, supersede older compositions such as the acrostic KONTAKION. The separate liturgical books that contained these older compositions, namely the *kontakarion*, STICHERARION, *tropologion*, and HEIRMOLOGION, were thus rendered obsolete.

The liturgical TYPHKON governs the services and, when the multiple "proprs" conflict, regulates which is to prevail. The DIATAXIS is a book of rubrics, telling the celebrants what to do when, esp. at the celebration of Eucharist. The distinction between liturgical books is often blurred, that is, material in one book may appear in another as well. Other liturgical books are but extracts of those already mentioned (for *leitourgikon*, *hieratikon*, *hagiasmaterion*, see EUCHOLOGION).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 246-62. C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1900) 327-478. —R.F.T.

LITURGICAL DIPTYCHS. See DIPTYCHS, LITURGICAL.

LITURGICAL HOURS. See HOURS, LITURGICAL.

LITURGICAL PLATE. See PATEN AND ASTERISKOS.

LITURGICAL ROLLS. See ROLLS, LITURGICAL.

LITURGICAL VESSELS (σκεύη λειτουργικά) and related objects formed part of the church treasures. From at least the 4th C. onward they comprised several main categories of objects used for the rites of the EUCHARIST (CHALICE, PATEN AND ASTERISKOS, SPOONS, ewers for wine and water) and BAPTISM (basin for water, flask for oil). Other objects (e.g., the RHIPIDION, Gospel BOOK COVER, RELIQUARY, CROSS, CENSER, CHERNIBOXESTON, and LIGHTING fixtures)—often of valuable materials—used in the church were not essential to the performance of the liturgy. Although liturgical vessels are known in glass, precious stones, and marble, they were most often made of precious metal, sometimes gold but mainly silver, the earliest extant set in the latter metal being the 4th-C. Durobrivae Treasure from Roman Britain (K.S. Painter, *The Water Newton Early Christian Silver* [London 1977]). By the 10th-11th C., chalices and patens were also made of tinned copper (e.g., *DOCat* 1, nos. 89-90).

While liturgical vessels and objects of the 4th-7th C. bore dedicatory inscriptions, those made

later often had scriptural legends instead. The most elaborate surviving examples are spoils of the Fourth Crusade, now in the Treasury of S. Marco, Venice. The two 10th-C. chalices inscribed with the name Romanos and a matching paten rank among the remarkable achievements of the Byz. minor arts (M.E. Frazer in *Treasury S. Marco* 129–40, 168–70). The inventory of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, of 1396 still lists chalices of semiprecious stone or rock crystal mounted in gilt silver and several others of repoussé silver (MM 2:566.21–22). Most church inventories refer to more than one set of liturgical vessels (e.g., *Pantel.*, no.7.13, 45). Even though canon law considered liturgical vessels to be inalienable, churches could be coerced (as under Herakleios or Alexios I Komnenos) to give up their treasures in times of extreme political danger.

LIT. J. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung* (Munich 1932). M. Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore 1986). A.A. Glabinas, *He epi Alexiou Komnenou (1081–1118) peri hieron skeuon, keimelion kai hagian eikonon eris (1081–1095)* (Thessalonike 1972) 54–61.

—M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

LITURGICAL VESTMENTS. See ENCHEIRION; EPIGONATION; EPIMANIKIA; EPITRACHELION; OMOPHORION; ORARION; PHELONION; POLYSTAURION; STICHARION.

LITURGICAL YEAR. See YEAR, LITURGICAL.

LITURGY (λειτουργία, lit. “service”), in the New Testament a life of service modeled on Jesus’ self-giving; also, church services (SACRAMENTS, esp. EUCHARIST, BAPTISM; other AKOLOUTHIAI) that memorialize this mystery in obedience to Jesus’ command.

Liturgical ceremonies involve the symbolic use of sensible objects such as BREAD, WINE, water, OIL, salt, CANDLES, INCENSE, ICONS, furnishings (ALTAR, baptismal FONT), vesture (ecclesiastical COSTUME, baptismal robe), edifices (church, BAPTISTERY, *skeuophylakeion*), and ritual GESTURES or actions such as ANOINTING, blessing, signing, bathing or washing, imposition of hands, touching, kissing, dressing or stripping, eating, processions, PROSKYNESIS, KNEELING, and other postures. These objects and signs have an agreed-upon meaning

expressed in the formulas that accompany the ritual. Though rooted in natural symbolism, the prime significance of liturgical symbols derives from their New Testament transformation into signs of God’s saving work in Jesus (e.g., the LORD’S SUPPER, the bath of baptism). Secondary symbols and gestures (e.g., the baptismal anointings) were added later to explicate this core.

The liturgy was usually presided over by a minister in priestly orders (bishop or presbyter) and directed by a deacon who regulated the gestures and posture of the congregation via instructions (DIAKONIKA) and announced the intentions of their prayer (LITANY). The liturgical system of a church, comprising the totality of its particular rites and usages, is also called a “rite” (LATIN RITE, BYZANTINE RITE).

Liturgical ceremonies contain both fixed and variable elements. The “ordinary” is the basic skeleton that remains invariable regardless of the day, feast, or season. The texts of the ordinary express a service’s changeless purpose; for example, VESPERS is always evening prayer. The “proper” comprises those pieces (LECTIONS, HYMNS, PSALMODY, refrains, etc.) that vary with the day, feast, or season. Christmas Vespers is evening prayer in commemoration of the Nativity. The texts of the proper are contained in a variety of different LITURGICAL BOOKS.

In Byz. the term *liturgy* refers specifically to the ritual of the Eucharist, often called the Divine Liturgy (*he theia leitourgia*) of which there were two parallel Constantinopolitan formularies, attributed to JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, who seemingly elaborated an existing anaphora of the Apostles, and to BASIL THE GREAT, who is believed to have authored at least one of the redactions of the anaphora named for him (A. Raes, *REB* 16 [1958] 158–61; G. Wagner, *Der Ursprung des Chrysostomusliturgie* [Münster 1973]). Each formulary comprises 19 PRAYERS (*euchai*), the main one a borrowed Antiochene-type ANAPHORA (Chrysostom’s from Antioch, Basil’s from Cappadocia), elaborated and embedded in a common ritual setting and structure of *diakonika*, lections, psalmody, and CHANTS. Ten of these prayers are later additions common to both liturgies.

The liturgy of Basil predominated in Byz. until ca.1000, when that of Chrysostom took over; the liturgy of Basil was thereafter celebrated only ten times a year (Sundays of Lent; 1 Jan.; Thursday

and Saturday of HOLY WEEK; and the VIGILS of Nativity and Epiphany, the two feasts with *paramone*). Byz. authors claim, dubiously, that this change occurred because the Chrysostom liturgy was shorter.

In its full form, largely complete by the 12th C., the liturgy had four major parts: (1) the PROTHESIS rite, or preliminary preparation of the bread and wine; (2) the *enarxis*, or introductory service of three ANTIPHONS, litanies, and prayers (Mateos, *La parole* 27–90); (3) the Liturgy of the Word, which opened with the LITTLE ENTRANCE and TRISAGION, comprising scripture lections interspersed with psalmody and concluding by litanies and prayers (*ibid.*, 91–173); (4) the Liturgy of Eucharist, which opened with the GREAT ENTRANCE and included the preanaphoral rites, anaphoral dialogue, anaphora, precommunion (including FRACTION, ZEON), COMMUNION, thanksgiving, and DISMISSAL.

The early liturgy, described in the homilies of John Chrysostom at Constantinople in 397–404 (van de Pavard, *Messliturgie* 425–535), was a classical late antique Eucharist whose texts had been marked by the Arian controversy and the definitions of the First Council of Nicaea. In the 5th–6th C., esp. with the construction of HAGIA SOPHIA, the liturgy became “imperial,” acquiring greater ritual splendor. This period witnessed the addition of the Creed and three important chants: Trisagion, MONOGENES, CHEROUBIKON.

In the 5th–7th C. the liturgy was esp. marked by the developing Constantinopolitan system of station services (J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* [Rome 1987] 167–226). In such a system the entire city was “liturgical space,” and the principal liturgy of a feast, held at a predetermined “station” (SYNAXIS), was preceded by a procession (LITE) up to 10 km long. Though frequent in the 6th–7th C., such processions later took place in Constantinople only on certain important occasions. Several elements of the first half of the liturgy, however—the opening of the *synapte* litany, the three antiphons, the *Trisagion* and its accompanying prayer, and the *ektené* litany after the Gospel—derive from these processions.

Other developments include the addition of litanies to cover the priests’ silent recitation of the prayers and, in the 9th–12th C., the evolution of the prothesis rite and the addition of certain formulas to the preanaphoral rites. Much of this later

development was the retroinfluence of mystagogic interpretations of the liturgy as a representation of Jesus’ early life (see COMMENTARIES).

Especially characteristic of the liturgy are the introits, or entrances, which open and symbolize the two major parts of the service. The Little Entrance symbolizes Christ’s coming as Word (Logos); the Great Entrance prefigures his coming in the sacrament of his body and blood. Both these foreshadowings are fulfilled in two later appearances—when the deacon proceeds to the ambo for the proclamation of the Gospel, and when the priest comes out to distribute the consecrated gifts in communion—thus completing the symbolic structure of the liturgy.

As the liturgy underwent increased monastic influence, esp. after Iconoclasm and after the Latin occupation of Constantinople, these ritual processions were gradually compressed; once functional entrances, they were increasingly confined to the interior space of a church and reduced to purely symbolic ritual turns that end where they began. The churches themselves became smaller and smaller, and the ritual more private, retreating into the enclosed sanctuary, as the TEMPLON evolved into the iconostasis. The SYNTHRONON, once elevated so that the clergy could see and be seen, disappeared from the apse; lections and SERMONS became a ritualized formality, and communion, the point of the whole liturgy, became a dead letter as fewer and fewer communicants approached to receive the sacrament.

The STOUDITE TYPIKA introduced into the liturgy some usages from the monastic hours (e.g., the *typika* [see PRESANCTIFIED, LITURGY OF THE] and the *apolytis*, or dismissal); the mid-14th-C. *diataxis* of Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS and the SABAITIC TYPIKA fixed the final ceremonial and use of the liturgy in Byz.

ED. F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western I. Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford 1896). Eng. tr. *The Divine Liturgy according to St. John Chrysostom with Appendices* (New York 1967).

LIT. H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy* (New York 1986). Taft, *East & West*, esp. 167–92. G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (New York 1945; rp. 1982).

—R.F.T.

LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (also Liuzo and other forms), Lombard statesman and historian; born ca.920, died before 20 July 972 (?), certainly

before 5 Mar. 973. Liutprand was raised at the court of Hugh, king of Italy (927–47), became a deacon at Pavia, and served in Berengar II's (950–61) chancery before defecting to OTTO I and probably joining his chapel (958–61; homily delivered there, ed. B. Bischoff, *Anecdota novissima* [Stuttgart 1984] 24–34). Liutprand accompanied Otto to Italy, received the bishopric of Cremona, helped depose two popes, and figured prominently in Otto's service (962–70; cf. his *Book of the Deeds of Otto*). Liutprand knew a surprising amount of Greek (J. Koder, *infra*, against B.S. Karageorgos, *Liutprandos ho episkopos Kremones hos historikos kai diplomates* [Athens 1978]); Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. CLM 6388 suggests that Liutprand or members of his milieu were among the first Westerners to use Greek MINUSCULE. Liutprand's father and stepfather had conducted embassies to Constantinople (927 and 942), and Liutprand visited Byz. at least three times (Koder, *infra* 60). His embassy (17 Sept. 949–31 Mar. 950 or later) on Berengar's behalf brought him familiarity with the Byz. court and friendship with CONSTANTINE VII; Liutprand may have supplied data for *De administrando imperio*, ch.26 (*De adm. imp.* 108–12; cf. R.J.H. Jenkins, *ibid.*, 2:83–87). His second embassy (4 June–2 Oct. 968), which was supposed to settle relations in Italy and obtain from NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS a Byz. bride for Otto II, was a failure. Whether Liutprand participated in the embassy of 971 that brought THEOPHANO to Otto II is unknown.

Liutprand's knowledge, acute observation, and literary talent combine with a quicksilver personality and polemical or humorous distortions to produce a penetrating—but often disingenuous—account of Byz. diplomacy, court politics and ceremonial, and daily life. His *Antapodosis* (Tit for Tat), an unfinished history of Byz., Germany, and Italy (888–949) composed between 958 and 962, began as literary retribution against Berengar. Despite muddled chronology, its anecdotal account is rich in Byz. data. Descriptions of events from before Liutprand's lifetime derive from oral sources—possibly in Constantine VII's milieu—or lost written sources shared with surviving Byz. historians. The *Antapodosis* reports, for example, the claim that the Nea Ekklesia was Basil I's expiation for murdering Michael III (bk.1, ch.10 [ed. Becker, p.9.1–20]; cf. bk.3, chs. 33–34 [pp. 89.21–90.5]), the nocturnal security of Constan-

tinople (1.11 [pp. 11.3–13.6]), Byz. relations with Italy (2.45 [pp. 57.17–58.7]; 2.52–54 [p.62.4–25]; 3.22–38 [pp. 82–92]; 5.9 [pp. 134.33–135.9]; 5.14–15 pp. 137.8–139.4, esp. on the Rus'), and with Romanos I (5.20 [pp. 141.16–145.19]), while book 6 (pp. 152–58, apparently incomplete) glowingly describes Liutprand's first embassy to Constantinople.

Liutprand's *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana* (Narrative of an Embassy to Constantinople) testily depicts the second embassy in a report to Otto I (possibly intended as propaganda against Byz.—M. Lintzel, *Studien über Liudprand von Cremona* [Berlin 1933] 35–56; cf. W. Ohnsorge, *BZ* 54 [1961] 28–52). Its accurate portrait of daily life (e.g., food, ch.20 [p.186.15–21]), Nikephoros II, his court, its acclamations, ceremonies (e.g., the Pentecost procession and banquet, chs. 8–13 [pp. 180.14–183.12]), and personalities (Leo Phokas, Basil the Nothos) is infused with sarcasm and malevolent interpretation, perhaps inspired in part by Liutprand's earlier warm relations with Constantine VII.

ED. J. Becker, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona* [MGH SRG 41] (Hannover-Leipzig 1915). Tr. F.A. Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (London 1930).

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 1:318–21. O. Kresten, "Pallida mors Saracenorum," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 17 (1975) 23–75. J. Koder, T. Weber, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel* (Vienna 1980). M. Rentschler, *Liudprand von Cremona* (Frankfurt am Main 1981). —M.McC.

LIVESTOCK. The Byz. raised HORSES, oxen, water buffalo, CAMELS, donkeys, mules, SWINE, SHEEP, and GOATS. Cadastral records of the late Roman Empire suggest a serious understocking, in some regions at least (C.E. Stevens, *CEH* 1:95). Later the situation changed: already in the FARMER'S LAW cattle breeding apparently took priority over the cultivation of the soil. In the 12th C. the pilgrim DANIIL IGUMEN was astonished at the amount of stock he saw on Patmos, Rhodes, and Cyprus, and the Norman jongleur AMBROISE emphasized the abundance of victuals, cattle, fowl, and wine on Cyprus (M.J. Hubert, J.J. La Monte, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart* [New York 1941] 92, 106f). Especially rich in cattle and flocks were lands in Anatolia east of the Sangarios (Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Lykandos, etc.) and in Bulgaria. The evidence of bones found in excavations in Bulgaria indicates that by the 12th C. there

was, at least in some areas, an increase in the percentage of cattle among the livestock, which suggests a higher level of agricultural production (Ž. Vůžarova, *Slavjano-bŭlgarskoto selišče kraj selo Popina* [Sofia 1956] 89). LEO OF SYNADA (ep.54.28–34) reports that Pylae in Asia Minor was a center of livestock trade in the 10th C.; it was choked with pigs, asses, cattle, horses, and sheep—all destined for the capital. As late as the 14th C. great landowners such as John VI Kantakouzenos possessed enormous herds in Thrace.

Livestock were used for dairy products (esp. CHEESE) and MEAT, for pulling CARTS and PLOWS, and as BEASTS OF BURDEN. The animals also provided valuable manure for enriching the soil. In certain areas of Asia Minor, as attested by Leo of Synada (ep.43.9–11), dung mixed with straw was burned in place of wood.

LIT. Hendy, *Economy* 54–56. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:310–30. —J.W.N., A.K.

LIZIOS (λίζιος), liege; a Byz. term appropriating the Western feudal concept of liege-homage, applied during the 12th and 13th C. to Westerners with whom the emperor established a personal bond, yet not used in his relationships with Greek subjects of the empire. The first Greek source to use the term *lizios* is the *Alexiad* (An.Komn. 3:125.28–30). In the account of the treaty of Devol in 1108 between Alexios I and the defeated Norman prince Bohemund, the latter promised to be faithful to the emperor as "the liege-man (*lizios anthropos*) of your scepter" and to give him assistance against all enemies of the empire, as was his duty as a vassal (*oiketes kai hypocheirios*). In recognition of this, the principality of Antioch was granted to Bohemund as an imperial fief (R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* [Munich 1981] 67–69). Among the *lizioi* of the 12th C. were princes such as RAYMOND OF POITIERS and Ladislav of Bohemia and high-ranking functionaries such as Roger "Sclaus" and THEORIANOS; in the 13th C. the wealthy *kaballarios* Syrgares (possibly Sir Harry), a *pronoia* holder in the area of Smyrna, was titled *lizios*. The term could be used for a designation of collective vassalage: thus the citizens of Ancona acknowledged themselves as *lizioi* of Manuel I (Nik.Chon. 201.13); in 1273 Michael VIII recognized the Genoese of Galata as "his men (*idioi*) or *lizioi*, as one of them might

say" (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:471.8). The term seems to have disappeared thereafter.

LIT. J. Ferluga, "La ligesse dans l'empire byzantin," *ZRVI* 7 (1961) 97–123. —M.B.

LOAN (δανειον), the conveyance of money or other movable things on the understanding that the recipient will return to the donor analogous objects in the same quantity. The loan differs from a loan for use (CHRESIS, COMMODATUM), which had as its object the mere use of things (movable or immovable) given on condition that they be returned as such. Moreover, the loan for use was free of charge, while the loan proper had to be repaid. Technically speaking, a MISTHOSIS (*locatio-conductio*) fell between a loan and a loan for use, since, in that case, a remuneration (*misthos*) was paid for a transmission of use that did not lead to ownership. Justinianic law preserved these older Roman distinctions quite exactly, as did the legal texts of the 9th–11th C. (e.g., *Basilika*, *Prochiron*, Michael Attaleiates) and Constantine Harmenopoulos. However, as the dearth of surviving loan-formulas shows, practice appears to have been otherwise. The actual situation is unfortunately poorly understood, since the Byz. credit system which was closely connected with loan contracts, has been examined only from papyri down to the 7th C. It is therefore unclear to what extent the circumstances assumed by Justinian I in novel 136 (a.535) on bankers' contracts actually held true for later periods. The regulations found in the *Book of the Eparch* for jewelers (ch.2) and bankers (ch.3) yield scarcely any information about business transactions. The 11th-C. TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS deals less with the nature of credit than with rules governing the precedence of various claims secured by PIGNUS (e.g., claims on the dowry or claims of the state, etc.) and is, moreover, completely academic. Yet a case handled by Demetrios Chomatenos (no.92) shows that the practice of obtaining a loan to cultivate a field in the 13th C. differs little from that found in the Hellenistic papyri. The remuneration paid for a loan was called INTEREST (*tokos*).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:369–73 (§262). —D.S.

LOCKS AND PADLOCKS. In addition to sliding and turning key-lock systems to secure doors and cabinets, the Byz. made extensive use of portable

padlocks. Only a limited number survive, but many are represented near the broken doors of Hades in images of the ANASTASIS. Most are "spring padlocks," so-called because the bolt is held in place by iron flange-springs that expand inside the lock chamber until, like barbs on an arrow, they cannot be removed. The bolt-flanges are compressed and the lock opened by means of a sliding KEY, which consists of an open circular or rectangular bit attached at right angles to a long, narrow shaft. The bit is fitted over the end of the flange and then pressed forward to compress it and release the bolt. Most spring padlocks are barrel-shaped, although some are adapted to animal forms (e.g., bulls and horses).

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 6f.

—G.V.

LOCULUS, the shelflike grave often found carved into the walls of the corridors and cubacula of CATACOMBS. The *loculi* of the Roman catacombs were usually no larger than the space needed to set one body parallel to the wall; on occasion, however, *loculi* were intended to house more than one burial. In the catacombs and tombs of the eastern Mediterranean, and often in the Jewish catacombs, *loculi* were set perpendicular rather than parallel to the wall. After the burial of the body, the *loculus* was covered with a marble or terra-cotta plaque, usually bearing a prayer and an identifying inscription, and sealed with cement.

LIT. P. Testini, *Le catacombe e gli antichi cimiteri cristiani in Roma* (Bologna 1966) 135f.

—W.T.

LOCUS SANCTUS (ἅγιος τόπος), literally, a "holy place"; practically, the goal of the pilgrim; the term *hagios topos* is attested on pilgrims' AMPULLAE. Because sanctity was believed to be physically transferable, and objects or places thus sanctified were deemed worthy of adoration and contact, Christians were impelled toward PILGRIMAGE. A *locus sanctus* might be the site of a biblical event—those of the Old Testament greatly outnumbering those from the New Testament—or the home of a famous RELIC or a SAINT; some holy sites, like that of St. MENAS, were popular healing shrines, with only loose religious associations. The most famous *loca sancta* were those in Palestine associated with the birth, miracles, and esp. the Passion of Christ, although lesser sites in great variety

dotted the entire eastern Mediterranean. With the expansion of pilgrimage in the 5th–6th C., the choice and sequence of *loca sancta* to be visited in and around JERUSALEM came to be fixed. Indeed, the visit itself involved a kind of protocol, which would typically include prayers, Bible readings, physical contact, and, when possible, participation in the appropriate stationary liturgy. The entire process would be facilitated by local guides, guide books and maps, and, perhaps, by an *Onomastikon* (such as that of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA), a volume giving the local names for biblical sites. *Loca sancta* influenced art in two ways: through the often grand and innovative architectural monuments that sprang up along the pilgrims' routes, and through the various EULOGIAI which the travelers brought home with them.

LIT. B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa* (Regensburg 1950).
G. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* (Washington, D.C., 1982).

—G.V.

LOCUS SANCTUS MARRIAGE RINGS, conventional label for a closely interrelated series of 6th- and 7th-C. octagonal gold marriage rings bearing scenes from the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE on the facets of the hoop. All but one show on the bezel the crowning of the bridal couple by Christ and the Virgin (see RINGS, MARRIAGE; MARRIAGE CROWNS). That they served as AMULETS—probably directed toward successful procreation—is suggested by their octagonal design (Alex. Trall. 2:377.20), by their Christological cycle (traditionally associated with amuletic pilgrimage EULOGIAI), and by the inscription from Psalm 5 on one example, "Thou hast crowned us with a shield of favor." (See also MARRIAGE BELTS.)

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 83.

—G.V.

LOGARIASTES (λογαριαστής), financial official who functioned primarily as controller of expenses. The term is not mentioned in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. and is first attested in 1012 (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 140). Guiland (*infra* 102) refers to a seal of a *logariastes* of the 10th/11th C., but the date is later (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.400). *Logariastai* served in various departments—the VESTIARION, the *sekretion* of the SAKELLARIOS (on seals of the 12th C.), in the GENIKON (in an act of 1088), etc. *Logariastai* also served in provincial administration, in monasteries, and on

the estates of private individuals. The office of the *megas logariastes* was created by Alexios I and is mentioned for the first time in 1094; at the beginning he served as the general controller, along with the *sakellarios*, but eventually replaced him. In two documents of 1196 (*Lavra* 1, nos. 67–68) the *dikaiodotes* and *megas logariastes* Nicholas Tripsychos acts as the president of an important tribunal (P. Lemerle, *REB* 19 [1961] 264f). *Logariastai* are known up to the 15th C., the *megas logariastes* until the 14th. In the 14th C. a special *logariastes* of the *aule* (court) had the task of paying salaries to certain courtiers. The duties of the enigmatic *logariastes* of the chrysobulls (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.229) are unclear.

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.XXI (1969), 101–17. Dölger, *Beiträge* 17–19.

—A.K.

LOGARIKE, PALAIA AND NEA (lit. "the old and new [methods of tax] accounting"), a treatise on TAXATION that has survived in a single MS of the late 12th C. (Paris, B.N. gr. 1670). It was written after the death of Alexios I, either between 1118 and 1120 (Hendy, *infra* 50) or in 1134/5 (Svoronos, *infra* 108, n.2). The treatise consists of two sections. The first describes the method of estimation of surtaxes (PARAKOLOUTHEMATA) in proportion to the sum levied as *demosion* (KANON); the second part contains several reports (*hypomnestika*) of the fiscal officials of the early 12th C. and Alexios's *lyseis*, or responses (RESCRIPTA). The task of the fiscal department as reflected in the treatise was to reconcile the actual situation in the provinces with the new principles created by the monetary reform of Alexios I. He required that instead of the miliaresion a nomisma had to be collected, the so-called *trachy palaion*, which served as the basis for estimating the *parakolouthemata*; the latter could be collected in copper coins.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 1:326–40.

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 50–64. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 81–118.

—A.K.

LOGIC, a philosophical discipline concerned with distinctions between types of arguments (syllogisms) and their constituent elements (terms and propositions or premises) and with the conditions for formal validity in arguments. It developed in Byz., as it had in late antiquity, essentially in the

form of glosses, commentaries on, and paraphrases of the logical corpus of ARISTOTLE, the *Organon* (including the *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, and *On Sophistical Refutations*). NEOPLATONISM had already made substantial contributions to the field. PORPHYRY wrote an influential introduction (*Eisagoge*) to the *Organon*; his commentaries (which included elements of Stoic logic), together with the commentaries produced esp. by members of the Neoplatonic school of Alexandria (in particular AMMONIOS, JOHN PHILOPONOS, DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, and ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA) on various parts of the corpus, constituted, with the commentaries by Alexander of Aphrodisias and the paraphrases by THEMISTIOS, the foundation of work on Aristotelian logic. A long series of Byz. commentators and paraphrasers contributed to this scholarly tradition, among them Photios, Michael Psellos, Michael of Ephesus, Eustratios of Nicaea, Theodore Prodromos, Sophonias (late 13th C.), Theodore Metochites, Leo Magentenos (14th C.), George Pachymeres, John Pediasimos, and Manuel Holobolos. Because much of the Byz. material has not been properly edited or examined, it is not possible at present to write the history of the Byz. contribution to the science of logic.

Logic was considered by the commentators of the Alexandrian School as the instrument (*organon*) of philosophy and was thus taught at the beginning of the CURRICULUM. This remained the case in Byz.: a training in philosophy would normally include (and sometimes go no further than) study of the elements of logic. Didactic summaries were therefore produced by the Alexandrian commentators; those by David and Elias esp. were distilled further in the *Dialectics* of John of Damascus and in Photios's *Amphilochia*. Later Byz. synopses of logic include those by Psellos, John Italos, Blemmydes' *Compendium of Logic*, and the collections of Joseph Rhakendytes and John Chortasmenos.

As logic clearly belonged to pagan philosophy, the Byz. attitude to it was as to PHILOSOPHY in general. The teaching and use of logic could be justified on the grounds of the New Testament teaching that "every perfect gift is from above" (Jas 1:17) and that logic in particular is useful in the refutation of error. This approach, suggested by John of Damascus, was exemplified later in Eustratios of Nicaea's claim that Christ used syl-

logos. Logic also suffered, however, from movements of rejection of pagan learning, esp. in the context of conflict with a Latin Scholastic theology characterized by logical formalism. Some Byz. intellectuals, however, found merit in such theological use of logic. The logic of Latin SCHOLASTICISM was made available in Planoudes' translation of Boethius and Gennadios II Scholarios's translation of Peter of Spain. Byz. thinkers influenced by Neoplatonism stressed the inapplicability of logic to transcendent realities and in particular to God. For speaking of God another kind of "logic" was appropriate, the logic of negation (apophatic logic) as formulated by pseudo-Dionysios, which went beyond the limits (and principles) of logic properly speaking.

LIT. S. Ebbesen, *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's Sophistici Elenchi* (Leiden 1981). T.S. Lee, *Die griechische Tradition der aristotelischen Syllogistik in der Spätantike* (Göttingen 1984). M. Roueché, "A Middle Byzantine Handbook of Logic Terminology," *JÖB* 29 (1980) 71-98. K.-H. Uthemann, "Zur Sprachtheorie des Nikephoros Blemmydes," *JÖB* 34 (1984) 123-53. L. Benakis, "Commentaries and Commentators on the Logical Works of Aristotle in Byzantium," in *Gedankenzeichen: Festschrift für Klaus Oehler*, ed. R. Claussen, R. Daube-Schacht (Tübingen 1988) 3-12. -D.O'M.

LOGOS (λόγος, lit. "word, reason"), a philosophic concept, broadly used in STOICISM and by PHILO and accepted by early Christian theologians, interpreting Christ as the Logos of John 1:1-8. ORIGEN took over the concept of the Logos as a mediator standing between the creator and the created world, "the idea of ideas," that was elaborated in Platonism (see Krämer, *infra*) and corresponded to Philo's Logos and the image of the divine INTELLECT in PLOTINOS. The "Word of the Father" was equated with the Son of God (the second person of the TRINITY), the term Logos having various connotations and associations: primarily, the idea of revelation, reason, and will as well as creation and redemption.

The concept of the Son-Logos, however, produced certain difficulties: was the Son's SUBSTANCE the same as the Father's? How could one reconcile the idea of the Logos being generated by the Father with the thesis of the preexistence of the Logos? What was the relation between the divine Logos and the human nature of the incarnate Christ? Is the Logos-reason the property of

the Godhead (as in MONARCHIANISM) or a distinct HYPOSTASIS? If the Logos is distinct from the Father, does it mean that the Godhead could have been construed without the Logos-reason? After long disputes these problems found their solution in the concept of the TRINITY and of Christ's possession of two NATURES in one hypostatic union.

Some pre-Nicaean theologians, and sometimes later ones (e.g., SEVERIANOS OF GABALA), interpreted the Logos's work of redemption in categories of priesthood: the Logos, in his capacity of high priest, would offer sacrifice to God. On this basis, in the 12th C., Soterichos PANTEUGENOS rejected the traditional formula concerning the Eucharist as implying that the Logos was both offering and receiving the sacrifice; in contrast, NICHOLAS OF METHONE responded that the hypostatic union allows us to consider God as performing the human act of offering and the divine act of receiving.

LIT. H. Boeder, "Der frühgriechische Wortgebrauch von Logos und Aletheia," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 4 (1959) 82-112. A. Aall, *Geschichte der Logosidee in der griechischen Philosophie*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1896-99). W. Kelber, *Die Logoslehre von Heraklit bis Origenes* (Stuttgart 1958). H.J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik* (Amsterdam 1967). -K.-H.U.

LOGOTHESION (λογοθέσιον), the bureau of a LOGOTHETES. In the 6th C., however, in Justinianic legislation (Nov. 128.17-18), the term referred to municipal income outside the control of the praetorian prefect. By the beginning of the 9th C. the word acquired the meaning of a bureau: the vita of Niketas of Medikion (died 824) mentions a clerk of "the so-called *logothesion*" (AASS, Apr. 1, p.XX D [see back of vol.]). Usually the term was accompanied by a specification, such as *logothesion* of the GENIKON (Theoph. 367.23). Seals of CHARTOULARIOI of the *logothesion* of the *genikon* are known from the 8th C. onward (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 354-55); the *logothesion* of the *stratitikon* is also common on seals, while the *logothesion* of the DROMOS and of the "herds" (see LOGOTHETES TON AGELON) are mentioned infrequently. Charters of the 10th and 11th C. mention *logothesia* but there is no evidence that the term survived much after this date. The usual designation of a department in 12th-C. charters is SEKRETON. In the ecclesiastical administrative system, according

to a *prostagma* of 1094, the "five *logothesia*" were supreme offices of the patriarchate (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 59). -A.K.

LOGOTHETES (λογοθέτης), generic term that in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. designated a high official (one of the SEKRETIKOI) at the head of one of many departments with primarily but not exclusively fiscal functions. The origin of the office is unclear: it has been connected by various scholars with Roman *numerarii*, *scrinarii*, or *rationales*; the term was used in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3:133) and by church fathers for subaltern officials and auditors. The *Notitia dignitatum* does not include the term, but it was common in the 6th C. as a designation for fiscal controllers on various levels of the administrative ladder. The seals of simple *logothetai* are dated predominantly to the 6th or 7th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 269-71). A radical change in their status occurred around the 7th C. when the office of PRAETORIAN PREFECT lost its importance and individual departments became independent; the chiefs of some of these (DROMOS, GENIKON, *stratitikon*, and *agelai*) were called *logothetai* (see LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU, LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU, LOGOTHETES TON AGELON). Alexios I tried to coordinate the civil administration under the control of a single official—the *logothetes ton sekreton* who was later replaced by the *megas logothetes*. The bureau (SEKRETON) of a *logothetes* was called a LOGOTHESION through the 11th C. The term *logothetes* was used for other functionaries, such as the LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU. Patriarchal *logothetai* acquired special importance after the 12th C. (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 359-62). Metropolitan *logothetai* seem to have had judicial functions (MM 6:99.14-15, a.1118; *Esphig.*, no.28.22, a.1387).

LIT. R. Guillard, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 5-10. A. Semenov, "Über Ursprung und Bedeutung des Amtes der Logotheten in Byzanz," *BZ* 19 (1910) 440-49. -A.K.

LOGOTHETES TON AGELON (λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγελῶν), supervisor of the state herds of horses and mules. The office is first mentioned in the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij, while some seals of *logothetai ton agelon* are dated by Laurent to the 8th-9th C. It is generally agreed that the

logothetes ton agelon succeeded the *praepositus gregum* of the 4th C., although there is no direct evidence of the link. According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, estates in Asia (i.e., western Asia Minor) and Phrygia were under the control of the *logothetes* of the herds. Strangely enough, Philotheos included the *logothetes ton agelon* in the category of STRATARCHAI rather than as a SEKRETIKOS like the other *logothetai*. The role of the logothete of herds probably increased during the 10th C. and reached its zenith by the end of the 13th C. when several men of importance, including Theodore METOCHITES, held the post in turn. The staff of the logothete of the herds in the 9th-10th C. consisted of *protonotarioi* of Asia and of Phrygia, administrators of *mitata* (estates), and *komites*; seals also mention the *ek prosopou* and *chartoularioi* of the department.

LIT. R. Guillard, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 71-75. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:289-99. -A.K.

LOGOTHETES TON HYDATON (λογοθέτης τῶν ὑδάτων, lit. "logothetes of the waters"), an obscure functionary mentioned only once: a late 11th-C. historian (Attal. 167.15-16) relates that the *logothetes ton hydaton* Basil Maleses was taken captive at Mantzikert in 1071. The functions of this *logothetes* are not clear; Ahrweiler (*Structures*, pt.II [1961], 250) identified him with the PARATHALASITES, Oikonomides (*Listes* 314, n.153) seems to equate him to the KOMES HYDATON.

LIT. N. Duyé, "Un haut fonctionnaire byzantin du XIe siècle: Basile Malésès," *REB* 30 (1972) 167-78, and objections by A. Kazhdan-Ja. Ljubarskij, *BS* 34 (1973) 219f. -A.K.

LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU (λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου), head of the *sekretion* of the DROMOS, known since the 8th C. D.A. Miller (*infra* 469) identifies the first *logothetes tou dromou* as Leo, ca.762, while Guillard (*infra* 46) suggests that Gregory, an ambassador to the caliph in 742, was also *logothetes tou dromou*. The office derived from the *curiosus cursus publici praesentalis*, a subaltern official under the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM in charge of the public post. When the LOGOTHESION of the *dromos* became an independent department, probably in the 7th C., its chief acquired new duties: some

officials (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 412, 450) served in both the *dromos* and the *agelai* (see LOGOTHETES TON AGELOU). The responsibilities of the *logothetes tou dromou* included ceremonial duties, protection of the emperor, collection of political information, and general supervision of foreign affairs. Miller (*infra* 439) stresses, however, that (at least after 781) the *logothetes tou dromou* did not personally conduct negotiations beyond the empire's borders. The role of the *logothetes tou dromou* expanded by the 12th C., when he often became the closest adviser of the emperor, but declined after creation of the post of *logothetes ton sekreton*; pseudo-KODINOS was familiar only with the name of the office. It remains unclear whether the *logothetes tou dromou* and the *logothetes* of the rapid (*oxys*) *dromos* were different functionaries, or whether *oxys* was simply an ornamental epithet. V. Laurent distinguishes between the *logothetes* of the ordinary (*platys*) *dromos* (*Corpus* 2:196–215) and the *logothetes* of the rapid (*oxys*) *dromos* (pp. 234–37). The staff of the *logothetes tou dromou* consisted of clerks (that is, PROTONOTARIOS and CHARTOULARIOI) and functionaries of the *sekreton* such as EPISKEPTITAI, INTERPRETERS, and the *kourator* of the *apokrisarion*, that is, of the hostel for foreign envoys; it also included the bureau “of the barbarians.”

LIT. D.A. Miller, “The Logothete of the Drome in the Middle Byzantine Period,” *Byzantion* 36 (1966/7) 438–70. R. Guiland, “Les logothètes,” *REB* 29 (1971) 31–70. Oikonomides, *Listes* 311f. —A.K.

LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU (λογοθέτης τοῦ πραιτωρίου), coadjutor of the EPARCH OF THE CITY. The office is mentioned in the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij and in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, but not in later *taktika*. A 10th-C. historian (*TheophCont* 470.13–17) relates that Romanos II appointed as the eparch's assistants two SYMPONOI, the second of whom (the *spatharokandidatos* and judge Joseph) is also called *logothetes tou praitorion*. The last *logothetes tou praitorion* mentioned in literary texts is the *asekretis* Leo in 1023 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.933, with an incorrect date). Seals give a broader chronological range for the existence of the *logothetai tou praitorion*—from a John of the 7th/8th C. to Constantine Bringas of the 11th C. The title of the *logothetes tou praitorion* was usually *spatharios* or

spatharokandidatos; since the Praitorion was one of the major PRISONS of Constantinople, the *logothetes* presumably assisted the eparch on police and judicial matters.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 71. Oikonomides, *Listes* 320. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:599–603. —A.K.

LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU (λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ), a high-ranking official. The only direct evidence for his functions is in a 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 698.13–15), according to which the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* controlled exemptions and reimposition of taxes on the households of soldiers. The hypothesis (of, e.g., E. Stein, *Traditio* 7 [1949–51] 149) that this logothete dealt with the levy of troops, the construction of fortifications, and military expenditure cannot be proved. The first attested *logothetes tou stratiotikou* was Julian, a participant in the Third Council of Constantinople in 680; the logothete Eustathios, known from a seal (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.529) probably lived earlier, at the beginning of the 7th C. The commonly accepted view that a *logothetes tou stratiotikou* is mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale* (*Chron.Pasch.* 721.8) under the year 626 is a mistake—the text speaks of the *patrikios* Theodosios as a *logothetes* in general, not specifically as a logothete of “soldiers.” The early *logothetai tou stratiotikou* seem to have fulfilled fiscal duties; in any case the *patrikios* Eulampios was *logothetes* of the *sakelle* (see SAKELLION) and of the *stratiotikon* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.533). By the 11th C. *logothetai tou stratiotikou* combined their functions with those of a judge. The office disappeared after 1088. Among the known *logothetai tou stratiotikou* was SYMEON LOGOTHETE (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 23/4 [1969/70] 215f). The staff of the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* included CHARTOULARIOI of the central bureau and of the themes and the *tagmata*, LEGATARIOI, MANDATOIRES, and various clerks (the *protonotarioi* attested on seals probably correspond to the *protokankellarioi* of the *taktika*); on seals from the end of the 10th C. appears the *megas chartoularios* of the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos.554–58), who is unknown to the *taktika*.

LIT. R. Guiland, “Les logothètes,” *REB* 29 (1971) 25–31. Bury, *Adm. System* 90f. D. Xanlatos, *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Makedoniens im Mittelalter* (Munich 1937) 44–55. —A.K.

LOMBARDS (Λαγγοβάρδαι in Prokopios, Λαγούβαρδαι and Λογγίβαρδοι in Constantine Porphyrogenetos), a west-Germanic people who occupied PANNONIA in the early 6th C. Their king, Audoin, allied with Justinian I ca.540, and 5,500 Lombards served under the general NARSES in 552. In 568, under pressure from the AVARS, King ALBOIN led the Lombards into Italy. Their rapid early conquests slowed down in the 570s because of internal dissension and Byz. counter-offensives, but under Agilulf (590–616) they established a strong romanizing kingdom and made a truce with the Byz. exarch ca.605. Relations with Byz. remained tense, esp. under Rothari (636–52), who conquered Liguria, and Grimoald (662–71), during whose reign Constans II's expedition against BENEVENTO was repulsed. However, a treaty was concluded ca.680 and conversions produced an influx of Byz. missionaries and artists. Attacks on imperial territories resumed under Liutprand (712–44); in 751 Aistulf captured RAVENNA and the PENTAPOLIS. This and their hostility to the PAPACY contributed to a series of Frankish invasions, which culminated in their conquest by CHARLEMAGNE in 774.

In the south the largely autonomous duchy of Benevento conquered most of Byz. APULIA and CALABRIA by the late 7th C. and became an independent principality after 774. Prince Arechis and his successors sought to resist Frankish pressure by offering nominal allegiance to Byz. By the mid-9th C. political disintegration led to civil war and the creation of separate principalities of first SALERNO and later CAPUA. An appeal by the Lombards of BARI for aid against the Arabs in 876 helped Byz. to conquer much of Apulia by ca.891. The absorption of the Lombard principalities into the Byz. sphere of influence was reflected in gifts to rulers and monasteries, grants of titles, and the spread of Byz. artistic and cultural influences. Lombard cities flourished, in part, as a result of Byz. economic ties and a general toleration of the Latin church. In the 11th C., however, Lombard discontent facilitated infiltration by the NORMANS and their takeover of Byz. Italy. (See also LONGOBARDIA.)

LIT. P. Delogu, A. Guillou, G. Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini* (Turin 1980). J. Jarnut, *Geschichte der Langobarden* (Stuttgart 1982). V. von Falkenhausen, “I Longobardi meridionali,” in Guillou et al., *Bizantini a Federico II*, 249–326. F.E. Wozniak, “Byzantine Diplomacy and the Lombard-Gepidic Wars,” *BalkSt* 20 (1979) 139–58. —T.S.B.

LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO (ἡ τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνου παραγραφή, lit. “exception taken [on the basis of too] long a time”), possession by prescriptive right, a legal basis for the ACQUISITION of another person's property. The *longi temporis praescriptio* was originally the objection countering a plaintiff's claim for the return of his property from the possessor, if the plaintiff had failed to make his claim valid in time. By the period of Justinian I, the *longi temporis praescriptio* had changed from a procedural objection to an independent ground for acquisition through POSSESSION (*dia tes chronias nomos despozein*), equivalent to *usucapio*. With the constitution *Cod.Just.* VII 31.1 (*Basil.* 50.10.4), Justinian stipulated that movable THINGS can be acquired by *longi temporis praescriptio* after three years of possession, immovable things after ten years, or, in the absence of the owner, after 20 years. In special cases the time limit is extended to 30 or 40 years. According to Justinian's novel 9 (a.535), things that belong to the church, monasteries, and pious institutions—as long as they do not come under the *res religiosae* and are thereby completely excluded from possession by prescriptive right—can be acquired only after 100 years; according to novel 111.1 (a.541) and novel 131.6 (a.545), however, this can be done after 40 years. The 40-year *longi temporis praescriptio* was incorporated into the *Basilika* (5.2.14, 5.3.7).

The other prerequisites of possession by prescriptive right also remained binding in the following centuries: in order to be able to make the *longi temporis praescriptio* valid, the possessor must be in good faith, that is, consider himself the rightful owner, and the object must have come into his possession lawfully, that is, not through theft, use of force, or arbitrary seizure.

LIT. D. Nörr, *Die Entstehung der longi temporis praescriptio* (Cologne-Opladen 1969). —M.Th.F.

LONGOBARDIA (Λογγυβαρδία, Λαγυβαρδία), Byz. geographic term that designated those parts of Italy dominated by the LOMBARDS. Theophanes (*Theoph.* 464.4–5) distinguished between Longobardia (the principality of BENEVENTO) and Great (Megale) Longobardia, the Lombard kingdom. Constantine VII emphasized that “all of Longobardia was in the possession of the Romans when Rome was the imperial capital” (*De adm. imp.* 27.3–

6) and that Basil I again conquered "all of Longobardia," which in Constantine's time belonged to the emperors of the Rhomaioi (*De them.*, ch. 11.42–44, ed. Pertusi, 98). The term was used ambiguously: in the strictest sense of the word, Longobardia was a Byz. theme that comprised roughly the modern province of Apulia and the northeastern parts of the Basilicata, but in a broader sense it also encompassed the Lombard principalities of Benevento, CAPUA, and SALERNO as well as the duchies of NAPLES, AMALFI, and GAETA. These were practically independent states, governed by their own princes and *duces*; they recognized the Byz. emperor as their suzerain, but they did not pay taxes to Byz. and were not administered by Byz. officials. The origin of the Byz. theme of Longobardia is not clear: N. Oikonomides (*REB* 23 [1965] 118–23) hypothesized that from 876 on Longobardia was a *tourma* of the theme of KEPHALENIA and that by 891/2 it was under the command of a *strategos* who jointly administered several regions (Macedonia, Thrace, and Kephallenia as well as Longobardia). A distinct *strategos* of Longobardia is attested from 911 onward. In 938 and 965 Longobardia seems to have been united (temporarily?) with Calabria. The theme of Longobardia was abolished ca. 965 and replaced by the katepanate of Italy.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 31–41. A. Guillou, "L'Italia bizantina dalla caduta di Ravenna all'arrivo dei Normanni," in Guillou et al., *Bizantini a Federico II* 8f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 75f, 351f. Pertusi in *De them.* 180f. –V.v.F., A.K.

LONG WALL (Μακρὸν Τείχος), also called the Long Walls or the Wall of Anastasios I (Theoph. 233.9), a system of fortifications erected west of Constantinople and extending a distance of two (Prokopios) or four (Ibn Khurdādhbeh) days' journey. The remains of walls that lie about 65 km from Constantinople and that extended from Selymbria to the Black Sea have been identified as the Long Wall; R.M. Harrison (*infra*) calculates their length as 45 km. The southern half has disappeared, but the well-preserved central and northern sections indicate that the wall was 3.30 m thick, and the height in the best preserved parts is up to 5 m. The wall was made of hard, pinkish mortar with nodules of brick in a technique markedly different from that used to build the walls of 5th-C. Constantinople (no use of brick

courses, a continuous arcade of several blind arches built into the rear face). The wall had towers (rectangular and polygonal), forts with gateways (in the area of fort D several 6th-C. stamped bricks were found), and an outer moat. The date of construction is under discussion: B. Croke (*infra*) asserts that the Long Wall was originally constructed by Anastasios, whereas M. Whitby (*infra*) suggests that it was first built after 447, damaged by the earthquake of 478, and repaired by Anastasios between 495 and 505. The wall proved ineffective (probably because of its length and the lack of a sufficient garrison to man it) and was many times penetrated by invaders, beginning in 559. According to the preface to novel 26 of Justinian I, there were two *vicarii* of the Long Walls: one for military affairs, the other for civil administration. In later centuries the commander responsible for the defense of the wall was the KOMES TON TEICHEON.

The term *Long Walls* was also used of other fortifications, possibly of the Chersonese in Thrace and the *limes Tauricus* in the Crimea (A.L. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyj Krym* [Moscow-Leningrad 1964] 153f).

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 262f. R.M. Harrison, "To Makron Teichos: The Long Wall in Thrace," *Roman Frontier Studies* 1969 (Cardiff 1974) 244–48. B. Croke, "The Date of the 'Anastasian Long Wall' in Thrace," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 59–78. M. Whitby, "The Long Walls of Constantinople," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 560–83. –A.K.

LOPADION (Λοπάδιον, now Ulubad), fortress in northwestern Asia Minor on the Rhyndakos River, about 20 km south of the Sea of Marmara. Lopadion was important for its bridge that carried the main highway eastward from KYZIKOS. It first appears as the site of a *xenodocheion* in the letters of Theodore of Stoudios. A strategic point and substantial market town, Lopadion was the scene of fighting between Alexios I and the Turks; it rose to prominence in 1130, when John II built a powerful fortress that became the base for his campaigns in Asia Minor. The French and German contingents of the Second Crusade met there in 1144; the Latins held it in 1204 and 1211–20. In the early 14th C. it was a frontier post against the Ottomans; ORHAN took it in 1335. Lopadion, not previously attested as a bishopric, became an archbishopric in the early 12th C. The surviving walls are the work of John II Komnenos.

LIT. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 78–83. C. Foss, "The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 159–61. –C.F.

LOPADIOTES, ANDREW, man of letters and teacher in Constantinople; fl. ca. 1300–30. Apparently a pupil or colleague of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, Lopadiotes (Λοπαδιώτης) was the addressee of 14 letters (Florence, Laur. S. Marco 356) probably written by George OINAIOTES. Lopadiotes was the author of a panegyric, now lost, of an epigram on the crucifixion, and of a LEXIKON of Attic Greek, conventionally called the *Lexicon Vindobonense*. Although a mediocre compilation mainly from Harpokration, the SOUDA, Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, and the *Lexikon* of pseudo-ZONARAS, it nonetheless contains otherwise unknown fragments of Sophocles and Pherekrates as well as quotations from Maximus of Tyre and HIMERIOS, which show better texts than those of the surviving MSS. These must have been taken from some now-lost *lexikon* or gnomology. Used by Varino Favorino in 1523 for his Greek-Latin dictionary, the *Lexicon* was lost sight of until 1851.

ED. *Lexicon Vindobonense*, ed. A. Nauck (St. Petersburg 1867; rp. Hildesheim 1965). S. Lampros, *NE* 14 (1917) 404–06.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:43f. *PLP*, no. 15038. A. Guida, "Il codice viennese del lessico di Andrea Lopadiota," *Prometheus* 5 (1979) 1–20. –R.B.

LORD'S SUPPER. Christ's celebration of the EUCHARIST was commemorated in three different images.

1. The *Last Supper* (*Deipnos*) depicts the Gospel narrative; it shows Christ and his disciples reclining around a semicircular "sigma" table (RAVENNA, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo; ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol. 3r), with Christ at the table's left cusp, often with John leaning against him, and Judas reaching for food. This image survived with few alterations throughout Byz. art.

2. The *Communion of the Apostles* (*Metalepsis kai Metadosis ton Apostolon*), a liturgical composition, presents the 12 Apostles standing to either side of an altar table and receiving communion from Christ, who is often depicted twice, offering bread to one group and wine to the other. Found initially on 6th-C. patens (KAPER KORAON TREASURE) and MSS (Rossano Gospels, following the Last Supper), this composition adorns the wall of the

altar chamber in churches after the 11th C. (Kiev, St. Sophia; Hagia Sophia in OHRID). When deacon angels join the scene, it becomes not only Christ's establishment of the Eucharist, but the archetypal, celestial Eucharist celebrated in Heaven by the angels, of which the earthly meal is a reflection.

3. The *Divine Liturgy* (*Theia Leitourgia*) elaborates the celestial Eucharist. First seen in an 11th-C. liturgical roll (A. Grabar, *DOP* 8 [1954] 174, pl. 10) and incorporated from the 13th C. into cupola imagery, the Divine Liturgy shows Christ officiating at an altar to which throng angels, some bearing chalices and balancing patens on their heads as do the deacons in the GREAT ENTRANCE.

LIT. E. Dobbert, "Das Abendmahl Christi in der bildenden Kunst bis gegen den Schluss des 14. Jahrhunderts," *RepKunstw* 14 (1891) 451–59. Walter, *Art & Ritual* 184–221. –A.W.C.

LOROS (λῶρος, from *lorion*, a strip of leather), a long scarf, esp. the heavy stole about 5 m long and studded with precious stones worn by both the emperor and empress. A vestige of the Roman *trabea triumphalis* (the TOGA of consuls), the *loros* was arranged in an X over the upper body; one section then fell straight down the front, while the other came from behind the right shoulder to cross the chest and drape over the left arm (as on the coins of Justinian II). In the 10th–11th C. the garment was provided with a hole and could be pulled on over the head, though the long end was still brought horizontally across the body in front and draped over the left arm (P. Grierson, *DOP* 20 [1966] 248f). The emperor wore the *loros* on certain festive occasions (e.g., Easter), over the DIVETESION. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, the *loros* symbolized the cross as the instrument of Christ's victory (*De cer.* 638.5–9); its circumvolutions eventually led to its symbolizing the winding sheet of Christ.

The term *loros* occurs in the 6th C. as a gilded shoulder-strap (JOHN LYDOS, *De mag.* 2.2, p. 84.13); in the 14th C. the word was still used on occasion to designate leather (e.g., leather whips in pseudo-Kod. 181.30). The "palle" that Robert de Clari states was worn by Baldwin of Flanders for his coronation in the Church of Hagia Sophia in 1204 was probably a *loros*, even though the Byz. emperor was not himself in the habit of wearing the *loros* at his own coronation.

A *loros* could be worn also by certain very high

dignitaries on the occasion of the Easter banquet (Philotheos, ed. Oikonomides, *Listes* 201.24); ARCHANGELS in attendance upon Christ are thus often represented wearing the *loros*. Scarves of lighter material could also be referred to as *loroi*, for example, the *loros* that constituted the badge of authority of an EPARCH.

A special arrangement of the empress's *loros*, evident in 11th-C. imperial portraits, gives it a shieldlike shape over the lower body (M. Soteriou, *EEBS* 23 [1953] 524–30). This section was once mistakenly thought to be a separate garment, specifically the *thorakion* mentioned in texts (W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, *MEFRM* 83 [1971] 263–361).

LIT. *DOC* 2.1:78–80; 3.1:120–25. E. Piltz, *RBK* 3:428–44. K. Wessel, *ibid.* 480–83. E. Condurachi, “Sur l’origine et l’évolution du *loros* impérial,” *Arta și arheologia* 11–12 (1935–36) 37–45. —N.P.Š.

LOROTOMOS (λωροτόμος, “thong-cutter”), craftsman who worked in LEATHER. The word appears, although rarely, in late Roman papyri (Fikhman, *Egipet* 30). In the 5th C. (?) the lexicographer Hesychios of Alexandria explained the term as being synonymous with *skytotomos*, shoemaker, but according to the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch*, the *lorotomoi* produced not footgear but harnesses and saddles. The harnessmakers were subordinate (*hypotassomenoi*) to the eparch and fulfilled services for the *demosion* or state (ch.14.1); on the other hand, they were exempted from certain payments. If they were required for the emperor’s service, they were put under the command of the *protostrator*, but in this case they were entitled to some remuneration (*kerdos*) from the imperial treasury. It is not clear whether these statements reflect the particular status of the guild or only the specific approach of the legislator in this chapter.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 41f.

—A.K.

LOUIS II (Λοδόϊχος), Frankish emperor (854–75); born ca.822, died Brescia 12 Aug. 875. Crowned king of the Lombards by Pope Sergius II (844–47) in 844, Louis spent almost his entire adult life in Italy. He greatly influenced papal affairs, including the election of NICHOLAS I, and concentrated on repulsing the Saracens, whom he defeated in 847 and 852 near Benevento. In 866

Louis issued a capitulary announcing a general anti-Saracen campaign. Lacking a fleet, he sought naval help from Basil I, possibly using ANASTASIOS BIBLIOTHECARIUS as his negotiator in Constantinople. A proposed marriage between Basil’s son Constantine and Louis’s daughter Irmengard sealed an alliance, and in 869 a Byz. fleet of 200 ships temporarily came to his aid. Louis captured BARI in Feb. 871, but his encroachments on such Byz. clients as Naples and Calabria angered Basil, who complained in a letter that also rejected Louis’s use of the imperial title (*Reg* 1, no.487). In a response likely written by Anastasios Bibliothecarius in 871, Louis claimed the title “emperor of the Romans,” called Basil only “emperor of the new Rome,” asserted that Basil’s line of rulers had deserted Rome and now represented heterodoxy (“or rather cacodoxy”), accused Byz. troops of cowardice at the siege of Bari, and yet asked Basil for a fleet to cut the Saracens off from their bases in Sicily (ed. W. Henze, *MGH Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. 5 [Berlin 1928] 385–94). A few scholars consider the letter spurious (R. Poupardin, *Le moyen âge* 7 [1903] 185–202), but it accurately reflects contemporary Western assertions that the papacy had the power to anoint Roman emperors.

LIT. L. Halphen, *Charlemagne and the Carolingian Empire* (Amsterdam 1977) 281–92. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:14–21. J. Gay, *L’Italie méridionale et l’Empire byzantin depuis l’avènement de Basile I^{er} jusqu’à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)* (Paris 1904). O. Harnack, *Das karolingische und das byzantinische Reich in ihren wechselseitigen politischen Beziehungen* (Göttingen 1880) 76–87. —P.A.H.

LOUIS VII (Λοδόϊκος), king of France (1137–80); born 1120 or 1121, died Paris 18 Sept. 1180. He was a leader of the Second Crusade (1147–49). Taking with him Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine (whom the Byz. called “Gold-Foot”), he followed CONRAD III through the central Balkans. While Louis’s army was encamped outside Constantinople, Bp. Godfrey of Langres suggested capturing the city. Unlike Conrad, Louis met formally with MANUEL I in the palace at Constantinople. After Louis’s soldiers attacked the tables of the money-changers set up for the Crusaders’ use east of the Bosphoros, Manuel demanded homage from the French nobles and pledges to restore any conquered, formerly Byz. towns in Asia. In return, Manuel offered gifts, supplies, and guides. Reluctantly, Louis allowed the oaths (Oct. 1147).

The French blamed the Byz. for Turkish attacks in Aratolia. When Louis returned from Palestine (spring 1149) on a Sicilian ship, his vessel joined a Sicilian fleet raiding the Peloponnesos. Intercepted by the Byz., Louis’s ship escaped capture only by displaying the banner of the French king, a Byz. ally; Eleanor and others were briefly held captive by the Byz. In 1180, Louis’s daughter AGNES married Manuel’s heir, ALEXIOS II.

LIT. M. Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris 1964) 49–51, 54f. V.G. Berry, *HC* 1:463–512. Brand, *Byzantium* 22f. —C.M.B.

LOUIS OF BLOIS, count of Blois, Chartres, and Clermont; born 1171, died near Adrianople 14 Apr. 1205. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 539.90 and elsewhere) purposely metathesized the name from Λοδόϊκος to Δολόϊκος, from *dolos*, treachery. Among the first to enroll in the Fourth CRUSADE, Louis was one of its leaders. He favored the diversion to Constantinople and participated in the conflicts of 1203. During the attacks on Constantinople in Apr. 1204 he was confined to bed with fever, but was able to participate in the coronation of BALDWIN OF FLANDERS. Louis received Nicaea as a duchy and sent his vassals PETER OF BRACIEUX and Payen d’Orléans to occupy it, while remaining in Constantinople. When KALOJAN invaded Thrace, Louis fell in battle against him.

LIT. Longnon, *Compagnons* 79–84.

—C.M.B.

LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES, patriarch of Constantinople (between Aug. and Oct. 1157–between 19 Nov. 1169 and Jan. 1170); died Constantinople. A member of the CHRYSOBERGES family, Loukas was a monk before his election to the patriarchate. Gregory ANTIOCHOS, in an unpublished speech, relates that Manuel I took Loukas from the monastery of Pege (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 197f). As patriarch, Loukas had to cope with various ideological movements; he participated in the second synod on the case of Soterichos PANTEUGENOS, and Antiochos claims that Loukas achieved a reconciliation. Then he tried to curb the popular heresy of DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE. He presided over several sessions of the local council of Constantinople of 1166–67 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) to confirm Manuel I’s edict on the discussion of the statement

of John 14:28, “My Father is greater than I”; several theologians (the deacon and *kastrinsios* Samuel, the deacon Basil of *ta Hagiopanta*, etc.) were condemned and deposed. Loukas attempted to restrict the lease of ecclesiastical lands, prohibited the combination of secular and ecclesiastical offices in a single person (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 81), and tried to expand church jurisdiction over certain cases involving laymen (e.g., control over illegal BETROTHALS). Unlike ALEXIOS STOUDITES, Loukas in 1166 prohibited marriages between relatives of the seventh degree (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 24 [1964] 84–90; D. Simon, *FM* 1 [1976] 123–25), a decision that could be used against the intermarriages of noble families. Documents presenting negotiations between Loukas and ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO concerning the establishment of a metropolitan see in Vladimir survive only in late Russian versions (N. Voronin, *VizVrem* 21 [1962] 29–50).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1045–1108. P. Classen, “Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner,” *BZ* 48 (1955) 339–68. A. Schmink, “Ein Synodalakt vom 10. November 1167,” *FM* 3 (1979) 316–22. —A.K.

LOUKAS THE STYLITE, saint; born in the village of Attikom, Anatolikon, traditional date 879, but probably ca.900, since he was about 30 during the great famine (of 927/8?), died Chalcedon 11 Dec. 979. Born to a well-to-do family of peasant-soldiers, at age 18 Loukas participated in an unsuccessful military campaign against the Bulgarians; at 24 he became a priest but remained several years more in the army. Loukas aspired to an extreme asceticism, not only rejecting family and friendship but also despising the earth and life itself (Delehaye, *infra*, 198.20–23); he ate only wild herbs, slept on the ground, and wore chains. He retired to the monastery of St. Zacharias on Olympos; later he moved to Constantinople, where he spent his final 42 or 44 years standing on the column of Eutropios in Chalcedon.

The author of Loukas’s Life claims to have known the “earthly angel” for 27 years, and the vita (preserved in a single 11th-C. MS) may have been produced very soon after Loukas’s death. The hagiographer is fascinated by Constantinople and its churches but is far removed from the Constantinopolitan elite; he mentions people of high rank only rarely (Patr. THEOPHYLAKTOS, the *magistros* Basil Peteinos). Loukas’s associates were

predominantly clerics, merchants, low officials, fishermen, and *naukleroi*; special attention is paid to medical services (e.g., the hospital of Euboulos), which allegedly could not compete with Loukas's healing gift.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Loukas are rare: he is probably the anonymous stylite whose image, unaccompanied by any text, follows that of Daniel the Stylite in the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II* (p.238). The saint's column is built on a sort of platform out in the water, evidently a reference to the Bosphoros. His church is visible on the shore.

SOURCE. Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 195–237.

LIT. *BHG* 2239. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP" 839–52. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 146–48. G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:465. –A.K., N.P.Š.

LOUKAS THE YOUNGER (of Stiris), saint; born in village of Kastorion, Phokis, before 900, died Stiris 7 Feb. 953. Born to the family of a well-to-do peasant, Loukas soon came into conflict with his relatives, who could not accept his generous habit of giving away all he could to the poor. After his father's death he ran away to Athens, where he became a monk. He lived as a hermit in several different places in the Peloponnesos and Phokis: Bulgarian and Hungarian raids often forced him to move. A *hegoumenos* even criticized his penchant for "rustic" (*agroikikos*) manners and avoidance of ecclesiastical organization (ed. Kremos 32.II.5–10); Loukas applied to an archbishop of Corinth for permission to celebrate the Eucharist in his hermit's cell without a priest (ed. Kremos 41.I.37–41). His Life was written after 961, probably during Basil II's reign; the anonymous author focuses on the provinces: although he mentions some monks traveling to Italy (ed. Kremos 34.I.8, 53.II.19–20), Constantinople remains beyond the scope of his attention. The hagiographer deals much with illnesses and miraculous healings and strongly emphasizes the saint's asexuality: once during a winter storm Loukas let two women sleep in his cave with him and his disciple Pankratios and was as unaffected as a stone or log or a boy with his mother; another time Loukas sent Pankratios to cure a sick woman by rubbing a special ointment on her naked body (ed. Kremos 55f). Neighboring peasants covered Loukas's grave with bricks; after six months the monk and eunuch Kosmas adorned the place. Later the monastery of *HOSIOS LOUKAS* was built on the site.

Representation in Art. Though portraits of Loukas are rare, the portrait type seems to have been established soon after the saint's death: he appears in the narthex of the Church of Hosios Loukas as an orant monk in a *koukoullion*, or hood, with a rich brown beard; he is again shown as a relatively young man in a MS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Messina, Bibl. Univ., San Salvatore 27, fol.58v).

SOURCES. PG 111:441–80, with add. E. Martini, *AB* 13 (1894) 81–121. G.P. Kremos, *Phokika* (Athens 1874).

LIT. *BHG* 994. Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ho hosios Loukas ho 'Neos,'" *Theologia* 13 (1935) 193–223. R. Janin, *Bibl.Sanct.* 8 (1966) 222f. G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:464f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

LOVE. Besides *philia*, FRIENDSHIP, the Byz. mainly used two words to designate love: *eros* and *agape*. *EROS* had a pagan connotation, as the name of a mythological god of love, and the term played a substantial role in Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy. *Agape*, on the contrary, was connected with a Christian milieu (S. West, *JThSt* 20 [1969] 228–30). The Byz., however, did not see the distinction between *eros* and *agape* as one of carnal and divine love, respectively; both *eros* and *agape* could express positive (divine) or negative (diabolic) qualities. The Byz. condemned carnal love (see *SEXUALITY*) as inspired by the Devil, esp. forms of sex such as PROSTITUTION and HOMOSEXUALITY, and recommended limitations in conjugal sex, but they expanded the terminology of love (passion, desire, wedding, marriage) to describe the relationship between God and man, thus making possible the allegorical interpretation of erotic ROMANCE as the soul's yearning for God. The term *eros* could designate God's love as a suprasensible quality that binds together "dissimilar similarities" (Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, PG 3:144A); it could also mean man's passionate love ("fire") for God and divine beauty. *Agape*, comprising both these meanings, had also the special connotation of charity and of the community based on love (i.e., of the Church).

Many Byz. texts praised fraternal love, love between parents and children, and conjugal love, although the lyrical expression of passion is rare (e.g., Prodomos, ed. E. Legrand, *REGr* 4 [1891] 72). The extremes of love and of jealousy were usually condemned, but many cases of extramarital love (e.g., Constantine IX and Skleraina, Andronikos I Komnenos and Theodora) were de-

scribed by contemporaries with warmth and sympathy.

LIT. C. Spicq, *Agapè* (Louvain 1955). J.M. Rist, *Platonism and its Christian Heritage* (London 1975), pt.I (1970), 156–73, 406–09. E. Osborn, *Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought* (Cambridge 1976) 210–13. J. Chrysavgis, "The Notion of 'Divine Eros' in the Ladder of St. John Climacus," *SVThQ* 29 (1985) 191–200. –A.K.

LOVEČ (Λοβυτζός; Old Slavonic Lovuč; Lat. Melta), city on the upper course of the river Osūm (Assamus) in northern Bulgaria, on the route from the Danube to the Mediterranean via the Trojan Pass and PHILIPPOLIS. During the uprising of PETER OF BULGARIA and ASEN I (1185–87), Loveč was an important fortified position defending the approaches to TŪRNOVO. The Byz. besieged it unsuccessfully for three months; by a treaty signed there in 1187, they formally recognized the Second Bulgarian Empire. A colony of Dubrovnik at Loveč is evidence of its role in Balkan trade. Ruins of a 13th- or 14th-C. basilica survive. In 1393 Loveč was captured by the Ottoman Turks and by 1430 was capital of a vilayet. The nearby monastery of the Virgin was a center of transmission of Old Slavonic literature.

LIT. J. Čangova, "Bazilikata v Loveškata krepost," *Archeologija* 10.2 (1968) 36–43. Eadem, "Srednovekovnijat Loveč," *Vekove* 5.1 (1976) 26–31. –R.B.

LUCANIA (Λουκανία), province bounded, according to Diocletian's reform, by SALERNO and the rivers Bradano and Lao. Together with the *ager Bruttius* (the present CALABRIA) Lucania formed Regio III of Italy, governed by a *corrector*, who was resident in REGGIO-CALABRIA. The territory was conquered by the LOMBARDS during the late 6th–7th C. After the Byz. recovered Italy in the late 9th C., the eastern part of Lucania was integrated into the new theme of LONGOBARDIA, whereas the western part continued to belong to the principality of Salerno. Originally the area was not densely populated, but because of Arab raids on Calabria during the second half of the 10th C. many Greeks from the south migrated to Lucania. In 1042, for the first and only time, a Byz. *strategos* of Lucania is mentioned, active in the *kastron* of MERKOURION in the Lao valley. The extent of his theme, the name of its capital (Casano, Ionio, or Tursi?), and the date of its creation are unknown. The NORMANS conquered the ter-

ritory ca.1045–60; their administration did not preserve a province called Lucania.

LIT. Guillou, *Byz. Italy*, pt.X (1965), 119–49. Falkenhansen, *Dominazione* 65–72. A. Russi, "Lucania," in *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane* (Rome 1973) 1881–1984.

–V.v.F.

LUCIAN (Λουκιανός), Greek sophist and satirist; born Samosata ca.120, died ca.180. He is the author of some 80 pieces, chiefly in dialogue form, which have survived in more than 150 MSS. The earliest MS, containing a 6th-C. Syriac translation of *On Calumny*, dates from the 8th or 9th C. The *Souda*, incorrectly dating him to the time of Trajan and calling him a blasphemer, slanderer, and atheist, says that he was killed by dogs and would burn in Hell for slandering Christ. He is further reviled in the scholia by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, who heaps abusive epithets on him. By contrast, Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.128) praises him for ridiculing the pagan gods and for his clear and expressive style. His works were much admired and imitated by later Byz. writers. Three Byz. imitations of Lucian, the PHILOPATRIS, CHARIDEMOS, and the TIMARION, are included in many MSS of the 15th–16th C. as works by Lucian himself. His works were influential in the development of three popular literary genres: satirical dialogue, the imaginary voyage, and the dialogue of the dead. The *Journey* of MAZARIS contains elements of all three genres. Of the 53 epigrams ascribed to Lucian, all but one are preserved only in the *Greek Anthology*.

ED. *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1906; rpt. Stuttgart 1971).

LIT. E. Mattioli, *Luciano e l'umanesimo* (Naples 1980). C. Robinson, *Lucian and His Influence in Europe* (Chapel Hill 1979). –K.S.

LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH, presbyter of Antioch, martyr, and saint; died Nikomedeia 312; feastday 15 Oct. One of the pupils at the theological school that he founded in Antioch was ARIUS; hence Lucian is credited with being an inspiration of the Arian heresy. In this connection, the second of four creeds proposed at the local council of ANTIOCH of 341 may go back to him. Only fragments of his own writings survive; one in the CHRONICON PASCHALE attests to Byz. interest. Lucian's most enduring work was his revision for style and content of the Greek Bible, and his version of the

New Testament is generally thought to be embodied in the one used in Byz. A vita of Lucian was written by PHILOSTORGIOS (*Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez, F. Winkelman [Berlin 1981] 184–201).

ED. M.J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, vol. 4 (Oxford 1846) 3–17.

LIT. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (Paris 1936). B.M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leiden 1963) 1–41.

–B.B.

LUKE, saint; feastday 18 Oct. According to Byz. tradition, he was the author of the third GOSPEL (written under the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit) and of the ACTS. Luke's Gospel was commented upon by Origen, Titus of Bostra, and Cyril of Alexandria; some commentaries—those of Eusebios of Caesarea (D.C. Wallace-Hadrill, *HThR* 67 [1974] 55–63), Apollinaris of Laodikeia, Theodore of Herakleia, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Photios—are known primarily from later CATENAE, one of which was compiled by NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA. The commentaries of Euthymios Zigabenos and Theophylaktos of Ohrid, surviving in a direct tradition, are compilations.

Eulogies of Luke were produced by various writers, including Andrew of Crete, Niketas Paphlagon, and Philagathos. A certain Gregory of Syracuse (in the 7th C.?) wrote a *kontakion* on Luke (E. Mioni, *BollBadGr* n.s. 1 [1947] 208f) and Symeon Metaphrastes included Luke's vita in his collection. Luke's biography does not contain abundant miracles or dangerous travels—he is presented as a well-educated man who, in Greece and Egypt, studied disciplines such as grammar, poetry, rhetoric, logic, and ethics, but was never strong in philosophy (PG 115:1129B). He was a physician and painter, who died peacefully in Achaia; his relics are said to have been transferred to Constantinople by St. Artemios, under Constantius II. Antony of Novgorod mentions a Church of St. Luke in Constantinople. Legend has it that Luke was the first artist to paint the Virgin's portrait. The monasteries of HODEGON and SOUMELA claimed that the icons of Mary in their possession were Luke's work.

Representation in Art. Although white-haired in the 6th-C. Cambridge Gospels (F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine* [Cambridge 1954] pl. II), Luke appears in most Byz.

author portraits as a youth with brown, curly hair, hollow cheeks, and a wispy beard. He is usually shown writing in front of a desk (see EVANGELIST PORTRAITS). He is occasionally accompanied by PAUL who supposedly inspired his Gospel, and more often by Theophilus, his patron. In some MSS, his portrait prefacing his Gospel is paired with a miniature of the birth of JOHN THE BAPTIST or the ANNUNCIATION; that preceding the Acts may be accompanied by the ASCENSION (CODEX EBNERIANUS, fol.231v). Traditionally numbered among the APOSTLES, Luke is occasionally represented as suffering a martyr's death (K. Weitzmann in *Books & Bookmen*, fig. 56).

ED. and LIT. BHG 990y–993t. J. Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Berlin 1984). J. Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia* (Leipzig 1902). M. Aubineau, "Les 'Catenae in Lucam' de J. Reuss et Cyrille d'Alexandrie," *BZ* 80 (1987) 29–47. Friend, "Portraits." Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 75–91. –J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

LUPERCALIA (Λουπερκάλια), a festival of the Roman imperial and late antique periods, celebrated 15 Feb. at the Lupercal, a cave on the Palatine Hill in Rome. The Lupercalia lasted through the 5th C. and beyond. In a letter of 494, Pope Gelasius I denounced a certain Andromachus who, along with other residents of Rome, celebrated the Lupercalia "according to the primeval custom." Gelasius alludes to men performing sacrifices, a procession of boys dressed in the skins of sacrificed goats, and general debauchery. Andromachus, though a Christian, believed the cult practice would aid the fertility of the soil; to counter this conviction, Gelasius cites the plague that struck Rome when Emp. ANTHEMIUS (467–72) arrived in the city in the wake of the Lupercalia. The Lupercalia never became firmly established in Constantinople; it is last mentioned there by JOHN LYDOS, who refers to it as a fertility ceremony for "increasing the fruits" (*De Mensibus*, ed. R. Wuensch, 83.7–8).

SOURCE. Gelasius I, *Lettre contre les luperciales et Dix-huit messes du sacramentaire léonien*, ed. G. Pomarès (Paris 1959) 161–89, with Fr. tr.

LIT. Y.M. Duval, "Des Luperciales de Constantinople aux Luperciales de Rome," *Revue des études latines* 55 (1977) 222–70. A.W.J. Holleman, *Pope Gelasius and the Lupercalia* (Amsterdam 1974).

LUPUS PROTOSPATHARIUS. See ANNALS OF BARI.

LUSIGNANS (Λουζουνίας), a noble family from the county of Poitou. The younger sons of Hugh VII of Lusignan, Aimery and Guy, gained importance in the kingdom of JERUSALEM in the 1180s. Guy became king in 1186 as the husband of Sibyl, daughter of Amalric I. In 1187 he was defeated and captured by Saladin. In 1192 Richard I Lionheart made him regent of CYPRUS, recently taken from ISAAC KOMNENOS. Guy died in 1194. He was succeeded by his brother Aimery, who was crowned king of Cyprus in 1197 and king of Jerusalem in right of his wife Isabel (daughter of Amalric I and Maria KOMNENE). Aimery's descendants (by a previous wife) ruled Cyprus until 1489. In the 13th C. several were also kings of Jerusalem and retained that title after 1291.

SOURCE. J. Richard, ed., *Chypre sous les Lusignans: Documents chypriotes des Archives du Vatican (XIV^e et XV^e siècles)* (Paris 1962).

LIT. G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vols. 2–3 (Cambridge 1948). R.C. Smail, "The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan, 1183–87," in *Outremer* 159–76. *PLP*, nos. 15059–87.

–C.M.B.

LUXOR (Πόλις κάστρων), Pharaonic temple in Upper Egypt that Diocletian turned into a military camp in 297. The headquarters (*principia*) occupied a room behind the hypostyle hall, in which are preserved traces of several TETRARCHIC wall paintings with military scenes and, in the apse (often misunderstood as the apse of a church), the deified emperor with his three colleagues. The camp was apparently in use until the Persian invasion (616–20). The earliest church in Luxor dates from the late 6th C. and is built outside the camp directly beside the main gate. It is a typical Egyptian basilica with a tripartite sanctuary and a secondary triumphal arch.

LIT. P. Grossmann, "Eine vergessene frühchristliche Kirche beim Luxor-Tempel," *MDAI K* 29 (1973) 167–81. J.G. Deckers, "Die Wandmalerei im Kaiserkultraum von Luxor," *JDAI* 94 (1979) 600–52. I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Imperial Chamber at Luxor," *DOP* 29 (1975) 225–51.

–P.G.

LUXORIUS, author of approximately 90 poems (some individual ascriptions are debatable) in the *Latin Anthology*; fl. 5th–6th C. Their internal evidence suggests that he lived in or near Carthage during the reigns of the last Vandal kings Hilderic

(523–30) and GELIMER, although some scholars put Luxorius earlier. Superscriptions to two poems contain the titles *vir clarissimus* and *spectabilis*, perhaps honorary in acknowledgment of his status as *grammaticus*. Luxorius may be identifiable with the Lisorius who wrote a treatise on orthography. His poems, in different meters on various subjects, owe much to their classical models, notably Martial, whose taste for physical deformity and moral perversion Luxorius often reproduces. Overall, however, they provide a valuable glimpse into the VANDAL society overthrown by the Byz. reconquest of Africa, esp. with his epigrams on CHARIOTEERS and MIMES.

ED. *A Latin Poet among the Vandals*, ed. M. Rosenblum (New York 1961), with Eng. tr.

LIT. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Towards a Text of 'Anthologia Latina'* (Cambridge 1979) 42–56. E.S. Bouchier, *Life and Letters in Roman Africa* (Oxford 1913) 111.

–B.B.

LUXOR TREASURE, dated to the 5th–7th C. and discovered in 1889 in a small church built inside the Temple at LUXOR. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, it is composed of ten silver objects (a cross, three patens, fragments of five vessels, and a chain). While the processional cross is similar to contemporary examples found elsewhere (e.g., KAPER KORAON TREASURE, PHELA TREASURE), the patens, formerly described by Strzygowski as book boxes but correctly identified by Hellenkemper, are unusual in being rectangular (like the secular *lanx* [see PLATES, DISPLAY]), rather than circular like a PATEN AND ASTERISKOS. Two of the three dedicatory inscriptions, on the cross and two patens, mention, in addition to the donors, a priest and two different bishops, the latter perhaps successive holders of the see with authority over the village of Luxor.

LIT. J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst [Catalogue général des antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire]* (Vienna 1904) nos. 7201–10. H.G. Heilenkemper, "Byzantinischer Schatzbesitz im Arabersturm," 17 *CEB, Abstracts of Short Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 141f.

–M.M.M.

LYCHNIKON. See VESPER.

LYCIA (Λυκία), the rugged southwestern region of Asia Minor, characterized by forested mountains and a long coastline. Because of its numerous harbors and its location on the sea route

between Italy or Constantinople and the east, Lycia prospered from trade. It contained numerous small cities, but never supported a large population. Lycia became a separate province under Constantine I, with its metropolis at MYRA. It was esp. prosperous in the 6th C.; an abundance of remains (e.g., HOLY SION) attests growth in city and country at that time, notably in the regions of MYRA and MAKRE. At the same time, however, banditry and other disturbances afflicted the interior. In the 7th C., Lycia became part of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme, but continued to exist as an administrative and customs unit through the early 8th C. (Zacos, *Seals*, 1, no.225). Mentions of Lycia after the 8th C. refer to the ecclesiastical province or the geographical region. Prosperity ended with the onset of Arab raids in 655 and their continuation through the 9th C. Many coastal towns were abandoned; others became fortresses. Recovery in the 10th C. produced the remarkable church of DERE AĞZI, but most settlements remained small. Lycia flourished briefly under the Komnenoi before falling to the Turks in the late 12th C.

LIT. R.M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels in Central Lycia," *AnatSt* 13 (1963) 117-51. Idem, "Upland Settlements in Early Medieval Lycia," *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris 1980) 109-18. E. Frézouls, "Exploration archéologique et épigraphique en Lycie Occidentale," *III. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara 1985) 449-61. R.M. Harrison, G.R.J. Lawson, "An Early Byzantine Town at Arif in Lycia," *Yayla. Second Report of the Northern Society for Anatolian Archaeology* (1979) 13-17. —C.F.

LYDDA. See DIOSPOLIS.

LYDOS, JOHN. See JOHN LYDOS.

LYKANDOS (Λυκανδός), also Likandos, fortress in the Antitaurus Mountains, southeast of Elbistan. When MELIAS assumed command of the area in 903, he found the castle in ruins and the adjacent plain deserted. He rebuilt the castle, which became the headquarters of a *kleisoura* in 908 and of a theme by 916. Its strategic location, commanding a route through the mountains, gave Lykandos considerable importance in the foreign and civil wars of the 10th C. Its administration was sometimes combined with that of MELITENE or TZAMANDOS. "Retainers (*agouroi*) of Likantos"

are mentioned in DIGENES AKRITAS (p.203, 1968). The area had an Armenian population. Although effectively lost to Byz. after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, Lykandos formed part of the territory granted by Alexios I to Bohemund in 1108. Lykandos was apparently never a bishopric. It contains remains of a substantial castle, probably the work of Melias.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 143-46. *TIB* 2:224-26.

—C.F.

LYKAONIA (Λυκαονία), the southern part of the central Anatolian plateau, an arid, treeless plain bounded by hills and mountains. The country is generally unproductive and had a sparse population whose main centers were around the edges of the plain. It contains, however, much grassland suitable for pasture, and the adjacent mountains are rich in minerals. In the reforms of Diocletian, the north of Lykaonia was assigned to PISIDIA and the south to ISAURIA. Lykaonia became a separate province ca.370, with its civil and ecclesiastical metropolis at IKONION. As a result of Isaurian raids, Leo I appointed a *comes* as military commander of Lykaonia beside the civil governor. When this proved inadequate, Justinian I in 535 created a praetor with full civil and military powers. This, too, failed, and in 553 a *dux*, or *biokolytes*, was appointed as military governor to maintain order. The civil province of Lykaonia was absorbed in the ANATOLIKON theme, though KOMMERKIARIOI of Lykaonia were still active at the end of the 7th C. A *tourmarches* of Lykaonia and PAMPHYLIA is attested in the late 9th C. Lykaonia contains many Byz. monuments, notably the churches of BINBIRKILISE and an extensive network of fortresses.

LIT. *TIB* 4:54-57.

—C.F.

LYKOSTOMION (Λυκοστόμιον), a town (*chora*) in the estuary of the Danube mentioned in some portulans from the 14th C. onward (P. Năsturel, *SCIV* 8 [1957] 296f). Its location is uncertain; O. Iliescu (*RevIst* 25 [1972] no.3, 435-62) located Lykostomion in Periprava, on the river-branch Kilia. Ahrweiler (*Mer* 89, rev. by P. Năsturel, *RESEE* 4 [1966] 649f) identified it with the Lykostomion to whose *archon*, Thomas, Photios ded-

icated his *Lexikon*; she concluded that in the 9th C. Lykostomion was a harbor for the Byz. fleet in the area, a function taken over in the 10th C. by DEVELTOS. Tăpkova-Zaimova (*infra*), on the contrary, argues that Lykostomion became an important port only in the 11th-12th C.

LIT. V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, "Quelques observations sur la domination byzantine aux bouches du Danube," *StBalc* 1 (1970) 79-86. Șt. Papacostea, "La fin de la domination génoise à Licostomo," *Annuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie* 22.1 (1985) 29-42. P. Diaconu, "Kilia et Licostomo ou Kilia-Licostomo?" *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 25 (1986) 301-17. —A.K.

LYONS, SECOND COUNCIL OF. This council was convened (7 May-17 July 1274) to establish UNION OF THE CHURCHES and liberate the Holy Land. Actually, this "union" was little more than the consummation of a political deal between Pope GREGORY X and Emp. MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS. Rome was to receive the ecclesiastical submission of the Byz. church, while in return Michael was to be rid of CHARLES I OF ANJOU and his threat to reconquer Constantinople. Michael's three representatives swore obedience to the Roman church and its faith by accepting papal PRIMACY, PURGATORY, and the FILIOQUE. (Ironically, the last issue, which had divided the churches for centuries, was first pronounced dogma at the Council of Lyons.) The Byz. church, strictly speaking, was never a participant in the negotiations. The Byz. delegates at the council simply acknowledged a profession of faith previously signed by the emperor alone. Predictably, most of the Byz. population actively opposed the union. Despite Michael's ruthless persecution and his imposition of JOHN (XI) BEKKOS as Unionist patriarch, the resistance drew from all sections of society, including monks, laity, and clergy; ARSENITES (for religious but also for dynastic reasons); and even members of the imperial family. Equally hostile were the separatist Greek states, Serbia, and Bulgaria, to which the emperor's own anti-Unionist sister had fled. These regions quickly became centers of anti-Unionist propaganda. Still, the settlement survived until Michael's death, when the local council of Constantinople of 1285, under Patr. GREGORY II, officially repudiated it (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

ED. A. Franchi, *Il concilio II di Lione (1274) secondo la Ordinatio concilii generalis Lugdunensis* (Rome 1965). J. Gill, "The Church Union of the Council of Lyons (1274) Portrayed in Greek Documents," *OrChrP* 40 (1974) 5-45. V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon 1273-1277* (Paris 1976).

LIT. B. Roberg, *Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon (1274)* (Bonn 1964). *Actes du Colloque international du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique: 1274 Année charnière. Mutations et continuités* (Paris 1977). H. Evert-Kappesova, "La société byzantine et l'Union de Lyon," *BS* 10 (1949) 28-41. Eadem, "Une page de l'histoire des relations byzantines-latines," *BS* 13 (1952-53) 68-92; 16 (1955) 297-317; 17 (1956) 1-18. D.M. Nicol, "The Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons, 1274," *SChH* 7 (1971) 113-46. —A.P.

LYRIC, poetry in song form, originally intended to have an instrumental accompaniment. Scant use was made in Byz. of the wide range of complex lyric meters, based on syllable quantity and not stress, developed in the classical world (the *Katomyomachia* of Theodore PRODRAMOS, a parody of the ancient tragic form, is a partial exception). Only ANACREONTICS were employed to any extent in their classical form (e.g., by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and SYNESIOS of Cyrene), but they soon became a stressed eight-syllable line used largely for ecclesiastical purposes, as in the odes of SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem. Vernacular lyrics in POLITICAL VERSE exist independently in the EROTOPAGNIA (Love Songs) and were also incorporated in romances such as LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE and the ACHILLEIS. —E.M.J.

LYTHRANKOMI, 34 miles northeast of Famagusta, CYPRUS, site of the Church of Panagia Kanakaria. The church is a three-aisled, three-apsed basilica preceded by a narthex, with domes over the central bay of the narthex, the third and fourth bays of the nave, and the bema. Narthex, aisles, and nave are otherwise barrel-vaulted. After the original structure, with only one apse and a timber roof, was completed—probably at the end of the 5th C.—the church underwent three extensive renovations. Traces of wall painting dating from the 9th/10th C. to ca.1500 are found in narthex, nave, and aisles (scenes of Christ's life, St. George), but the true glory of the edifice was the mosaic in the apse (dating between 525 and 550), one of the three apse mosaics on the island

to have survived until modern times (with Kiri and the Panagia tes Kyras near Livadia). Unfortunately it was recently detached from the apse of the church and partly destroyed. The mosaic showed the seated Virgin and Child in the center of the conch, isolated in a great MANDORLA and flanked by palm trees and archangels; busts of the apostles in medallions form the principal outer border. The program of the apse has been ex-

plained by Megaw in terms of the Chalcedonian doctrine of the dual nature of Christ—with the boldly frontal and axial Theotokos embodying the human nature of Christ, and the enveloping mandorla expressive of the divine—and is thought to have been derived from Constantinople.

LIT. A.H.S. Megaw, E.J.W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi in Cyprus* (Washington, D.C., 1977).
—W.T.

MA'ARAT AL-NU'MÂN TREASURE, dated to the 6th or 7th C. and found ca.1945 in a village just south of Ma'arat al-Nu'mân, southwest of Aleppo (BERROIA) in northern Syria, is composed of five objects and about 14 plaquettes, all of silver. It is now divided among museums in Paris, Baltimore, and Toledo, Ohio. This heterogeneous collection of objects (two crosses, a spoon, a box, a plaque) does not represent the essential LITURGICAL VESSELS of a church and may be part of a treasure, unlike other contemporary church silver TREASURES that seem to be complete. Of interest, however, are the large VOTIVE plaque portraying one of the Symeon the Stylites and the set of tiny votive plaques, the use of which may continue a pagan custom of offering *ex-votos* to Asklepios in thanksgiving for healing.

LIT. Mango, *Silver*, nos. 67–72.

—M.M.M.

MABBUG. See HIERAPOLIS.

MACCABEES (Μακκαβαῖοι), Jewish family that led a revolt against the Syrians in the 2nd C. B.C. The Byz. included all four Books of the Maccabees in the Old Testament, thus giving special emphasis to the expansive account of the torture and death of Eleazar, seven unnamed brothers, and their mother (4 Macc 5–18, and cf. 2 Macc 6:18–7:41). The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 859f) names Eleazar, the mother Solomonis, and his brothers Abibos, Antoninos, Gourias, Eleazar, Eusebonas, Samonas, and Markellos. All nine, loosely termed the Maccabees, were regarded as saints and protomartyrs in Byz. (cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, PG 35:912–33). Churches were dedicated to the Maccabees, for example, two in Constantinople (Janin, *Églises CP* 313f), and they appear already in the 7th-C. frescoes at S. Maria Antiqua, Rome. The feast of their martyrdom was celebrated on 1 Aug. and included by SYMEON METAPHRASTES, taking 4 Maccabees as a text. The feast was illustrated both in calendar-based icons and MSS. An illustrative cy-

M

cle is found in many MSS of Gregory's homilies, but follows the biblical account (in 4 Macc), not the homily text. In the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS the frontispiece to Maccabees was placed not at the start of the book, but facing 4 Maccabees. In the 4th C. a *martyrion* of the Maccabees was built in Constantinople, just outside GALATA.

LIT. Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 109–17. J. Paul, W. Busch, *LCI* 3:144f, 8:343f.
—J.H.L., C.B.T.

MACEDONIA (Μακεδονία), in antiquity a region between THRACE and EPIROS comprising the watersheds of the Haliakmon and VARDAR rivers. Central Macedonia is a large plain dominated by the city of THESSALONIKE, with SERRES and PHILIPPI in the east and KASTORIA, BERROIA, OHRID, and PRESPA in the west. In the 4th C. Macedonia was a province in the diocese of MOESIA; by the time of the *Notitia Dignitatum* it was divided into Macedonia Salutaris and Macedonia II. This administrative structure was retained in the 6th C: HIEROKLES calls Thessalonike the capital of Macedonia I and STOBİ that of Macedonia II. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos anachronistically described Macedonia I as an *eparchia* (under a *consularis*) containing 32 cities and Macedonia II (under a *hegemon*) as having eight cities.

In the late 6th–7th C. much of Macedonia was occupied by Slavs, resulting in cultural bifurcation: Slavs controlled the countryside and upland regions while Byz. retained possession of most of the towns. Byz. reconsolidation began in the 8th C. A new administrative unit, the theme of Macedonia, was created in 797–801, according to P. Koledarov (*IzvInstBŭlgIst* 21 [1970] 219–43). Theophanes (Theoph. 475.22) mentions a *monostrategos* in Thrace and Macedonia active in 801/2. At the same time, a 9th-C. seal of Leo, *spatharios* and *tourmarches* of Macedonia (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2147), shows that Macedonia was first a *tourma* of Thrace. In 813, however, the *patrikios* John Aplakes served as *strategos* of Macedonia. Several seals of various *strategoi* of Macedonia belong to the 9th C. The office of the *strategos* of Macedonia