

infantry in 1050; Michael Bourtzes was a military commander during the reign of Michael VI; and Theognostos was *strategos* of Devol in the 1070s. Under Alexios I a certain Bourtzes became *toparches* of Cappadocia and Choma. In the early 12th C. several members of the family possessed lands next to Mt. Athos; a forged chrysobull of Emp. John V (*Kastam.*, p.84.11) mentions the church of "our holy father Nicholas surnamed Bourtzes." The family was closely related to the MELISSENOI. From the 12th C. the family's position declined; they appear in the provinces: for example, Constantine, an official on Crete in 1117/18 (MM 6:96.29–30), and George, metropolitan of Athens (died 1160—J. Darrouzès, *REB* 20 [1962] 190). John TZETZES wrote to an unknown Bourtzes. The name is very infrequent in later texts (*PLP*, nos. 3110–11).

LIT. Cheynet-Vannier, *Études* 15–55. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 85–88. —A.K.

BOURTZES, MICHAEL, general (died after 996). In 968 NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS bestowed upon him the title of *patrikios* and appointed him *strategos* of the Black Mountain, with the special task of watching ANTIOCH. Disobeying imperial orders, Bourtzes and the eunuch Peter (former slave of a Phokas) attacked Antioch and in late 969 took it from the Arabs. Bourtzes, however, was not rewarded for his success; this injustice incited his support of JOHN (I) TZIMISKES, whom Bourtzes helped to murder Nikephoros II. BASIL II appointed Bourtzes *doux* of Antioch, and, with Peter, Bourtzes participated in the battle of LAPARA in 976 against Bardas SKLEROS; Bourtzes was, however, the first to take flight. Soon after this defeat he deserted to Skleros and fought against the emperor, but was again defeated. Skylitzes (Skyl. 321.58–59) stresses that those who fell at this battle were primarily Armenians. Soon Bourtzes joined Basil II's army and together with Bardas PHOKAS fought against Skleros. In 990–96 he served again as governor of Antioch.

LIT. V. Laurent, "La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche sous la seconde domination byzantine," *Mél-Univfos* 38 (1962) 229–34. —A.K.

BOUTHROTON (*Βουθρωτόν*, mod. Butrinti in Albania), located on the mainland opposite KERKYRA, in late antiquity a city of Old Epiros (Hierokl.

652.4); it was a suffragan bishopric (attested from the mid-5th C.) of NIKOPOLIS, later of NAUPAKTOS. It was probably ruralized thereafter: ARSENIOS, metropolitan of Kerkyra, praised its richness in fish and oysters, as well as the fertility of its territory. In the 12th C. al-Idrīsī described Bouthroton as a small town with markets. In 1081 and 1084 Bouthroton was captured by the Normans. After 1204 it was first controlled by the despotate of Epiros, but from the mid-13th C. Bouthroton was contested between MANFRED OF SICILY, Michael VIII, and CHARLES I OF ANJOU, being temporarily returned to the Epirots. In 1386 it was ceded to Venice.

The surviving fortifications of Bouthroton are mainly post-Byz., but they contain masonry from as early as the 10th C. Remains of several Early Christian basilicas and a triconch building have been found; east of the ancient theater is an elaborate baptistery renovated in the 6th C., with mosaics probably of the 4th C. On the acropolis are ruins of a large three-aisled basilica with transept, probably constructed in the 5th–6th C., rebuilt in the 11th–12th C. In the northeast corner of the walls are remains of a small single-aisled church, probably of the 13th–14th C.

LIT. *TIB* 3:132–34. D. Pallas, *RBK* 2:232–35. L.M. Ugolini, *Albania Antica* 3 (Rome 1942). A. Ducellier, "Observations sur quelques monuments d'Albanie," *RA* (1965) 184–88. C. Asdracha, "Deux actes inédits concernant l'Épire," *REB* 35 (1977) 160–65. —T.E.G.

BOUTOUMITES (*Βουτουμίτης*), a family name of unclear origin: Ja. Ljubarskij (in *Anna Komnina, Aleksjada* [Moscow 1965] 524, n.688) derives it from the toponym Boutoma-Budva in Serbia. A certain Boutoumites (died 1077), presumably a local landowner, was a donor to the pious institution of Michael ATTALEIATES (P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 127.171). In the 1070s Michael Boutoumites was in charge of the private militia of Michael MAUREX in Herakleia Pontike (Bryen. 199.8–10). His later contemporary, Manuel Boutoumites, was a "warlike and noble man," according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:160.25–26); he was *doux* of the fleet ca.1090, *doux* of Nicaea after its recapture in 1097, commander in Cilicia in 1105, and envoy to Jerusalem in 1111/12. He may have been governor of Cyprus, as Laurent suggested (*Coll. Orghidan*, p.215). The family eventually lost its status, but a certain Boutoumites

(sic) is known as a *kephale* in a Thessalian town in the early 14th C. (*PLP*, no.3128). —A.K.

BRABEION (*βραβεῖον*), properly "prize" or "reward," the term used in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS to designate INSIGNIA by which a DIGNITY was conferred upon its holder. It might take the form of a crown without cross (given to the caesar), tunics, ivory tablets, gold chains, special diplomata, etc.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 22.

—A.K.

BRACELET (*βραχιάλιον* or *βραχιόλιον*, lit. "armband," *κλάνιον*). Said in Justinian's *Digest* (34.2.25.10) to be worn by women, a bracelet is often shown in depictions of jewelry as part of a matching set, together with earrings, necklace, and belt. No such complete sets have survived, however. Bracelets preserved in collections are usually of gold and silver, although examples in ivory are also known. Specimens excavated usually from graves are more often bronze with traces of gilding, or simple GLASS bangles. These generally seem to be locally produced, although specimens found in Kiev were imported from Byz. (Ju. Ščapova, *Steklo Kievskoj Rusi* [Moscow 1972] 107–13). The Roman form of a plain ring made of twisted gold or silver wires continued until the 4th C. In the 4th–5th C., gemstones were added and OPUS INTERRASILE was used. In the 5th–6th C., tubular hoops had low relief decorative and figural elements. In the 6th–7th C. the form became more complex, with medallions or coins, modeled animal forms, and GEMS in decorative claw settings added. In the 7th–11th C. wide bands with relief figures and sometimes Christian iconography predominate. These bracelets are fairly heavy, with hinged fasteners, as opposed to the ring types that slip over the hand or incomplete rings that relied on the metal's flexibility. Examples of less elaborate bracelets from the 7th–11th C. tend to be narrower, not hinged, and with punched decoration.

LIT. C. Lepage, "Les bracelets de luxe romains et byzantins du IIe au VIe siècle," *CahArch* 21 (1971) 17–23.

—S.D.C., A.C.

BRACHAMIOS (*Βραχάμιος*, fem. *Βραχαμήνα*, *Βραχαμίνα*), noble family with a name of Armenian origin, meaning "descendant of Vahram."

The family flourished in the mid-10th C. when the Arab poet Abu Firās mentioned "the family of Bahrām" among Byz. fighting against the Arabs (N. Adontz, M. Canard, *Byzantion* 11 [1936] 454, v.11). Sachakios (Arm. Sahak, Ishāq ibn Bahrām of Arabic sources) was a general by 969 and later supported the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS. Eleventh-century seals attest several *strategoī* named Brachamios (George, Demetrios, Michael) as well as Kale Brachamina, wife of a *strategos*, and Elpidios, *doux* of Cyprus.

Philaretos Brachamios (Varazhnuni), Romanos IV's *strategos*, *doux* and, according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:64.5–8), *domestikos*, was—if we believe MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN (*Chronique*, tr. Chabot 3:173)—an Armenian robber from the village of Shurbaz; thus his identification as a Byz. general is questionable. After Romanos IV's blinding, Philaretos became independent ruler of Tarsos, Antioch, Edessa, Melitene, and some other eastern centers. Greek, Syriac, and Armenian traditions all charge Philaretos with cruelty and greed: he allegedly confiscated the riches of Antiochene magnates and distributed them among his supporters. After Nikephoros III's accession to the throne, Philaretos acknowledged his allegiance to the Byz. and was proclaimed *kouropalates* and *domestikos ton scholon* of the East; in 1084 he surrendered Antioch to the Turks. He disappeared thereafter from the scene, but an anonymous Syriac chronicle mentions the sons of Philaretos *domestikos*, "Christians" (i.e., Orthodox) who ruled over Maraş and Black Mountain (A.S. Tritton, H.A.R. Gibb, *JRAS* [Jan. 1933] 72f). The family is not known after the 11th C., except in 1171 when Brachamioi served as messengers in negotiations between Manuel I and the Armenians.

LIT. Cheynet-Vannier, *Études* 57–74. Adontz, *Études* 147–52. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnyh granicah Vizantijskoj imperii* (Erevan 1980) 152–69. C.J. Yarnley, "Philaretos: Armenian Bandit or Byzantine General?" *REArm* n.s. 9 (1972) 331–53. —A.K.

BRAD. See KAPER BARADA.

BRANAS (*Βρανάς*, fem. *Βράναινα*), a noble lineage, its name apparently of Slavic origin (I. Dujčev, *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 6 [1956] 348, n.3), although S. Lampros considered it Albanian and Ph. Koukoules Latino-Greek. In Serbia the name of Branos (*Vran*,

lit. "raven") is known in the 10th C. (*De adm. imp.* 32.67). Members of the Branas family appear in Byz. sources from the 11th C., primarily as military commanders: in 1047 Marianos Branas was the closest supporter of Leo TORNIKIOS; Nicholas, Alexios I's general, fell in battle against the Pechenegs in 1086; George and his brother Demetrios were Manuel I's generals; Michael, governor of Niš in 1147, commanded an army on Cyprus in 1156, was *strategos* of Cilicia, and in 1166 unsuccessfully campaigned against the Hungarians. Alexios Branas revolted against Isaac II (see BRANAS, ALEXIOS); his contemporary John was governor of Dyrrachion in 1185. Alexios's son Theodore, commander of the Alans, supported Alexios III's rebellion in 1195; after 1204 Theodore, married to AGNES OF FRANCE, became a vassal of the Latin Empire, as the lord of Didymoteichon and Adrianople. The Branas family was related to both Komnenoi and Angeloi; the PARTITIO ROMANIAE mentions their large estates. In the 13th C. the Branas family possessed properties in the Smyrna region (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 168f). The family intermarried with other noble families such as Palaiologos and Petraliphas. In 1259 Irene Brannaina married the *sebastokrator* Constantine PALAIOLOGOS, and ca.1300 several members of the Branas family proudly called themselves the emperor's *douloi* and *oikeioi*: Theodore in 1281–85, Michael in 1281–1302 (?) (both also surnamed Komnenoi), another Theodore in 1329–30; no evidence of their holding any offices exists, however (PLP, nos. 3149–51, 3153–82). On the other hand, some family members in this period were clerics and intellectuals: a Theodore Branas, scribe ca.1303, and another Branas, astronomer ca.1307. John Branas, commandant of Beograd in 1440, was of Croatian origin and did not belong to the Byz. Branas family. —A.K.

BRANAS, ALEXIOS, *sebastos* ca.1166, general of Alexios II; partisan of Andronikos I; died Constantinople 1187. In a seal attributed to him (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, no.64), Branas is called *protosebastos* and his mother described as a Komnene; the continuator of William of Tyre named him "cosin de l'empereor Manuel" (PL 201:899C). In 1185 Branas routed the Normans, who had captured Thessalonike and were moving toward Constan-

tinople; soon after, perhaps in 1186 (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:346f), but more probably in 1187, Branas revolted against Isaac II but was defeated by CONRAD OF MONTFERRAT and killed in battle at the walls of Constantinople. M. Sjuzumov (*VizVrem* 12 [1957] 69–72), emphasizing that the inhabitants of suburban Constantinople, esp. fishermen, supported Branas's rebellion, suggests that his defeat was a factor in the ruin of Constantinople's trade and handicrafts.

LIT. Dieten, *Erläuterungen* 73–77. Brand, *Byzantium* 80–83, 273f. —A.K.

BRANIČEVO (Браничево), a fortress and bishopric on the river Pek, a right tributary of the Danube, not far from the site of Roman Viminacium, which was deserted soon after 600 (B. Saria, *RE* 2.R. 8 [1958] 2176f). Near Viminacium, remains of fortifications (probably of Justinian I's time) were discovered: walls, towers, and an underground passage, 21 m long and 1.6–1.8 m high, that led to the river (M. Pindić in *Limes u Jugoslaviji*, vol. 1 [Belgrade 1961] 127).

Basil II's list of sees in the Bulgarian archbishopric of OHRID (H. Gelzer, *BZ* 2 [1893] 43.17) places the bishopric of Branitza between Niš and Belgrade. Braničevo was a station on the strategic road from Belgrade to Niš, en route to Constantinople (G. Škrivanić, *Putevi u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Belgrade 1974] 83f). In the 12th C. the city belonged to the *doukaton* of Braničevo and Belgrade and was a focal point in the Byz.-Hungarian conflict. During the war of 1127–29, the Hungarians razed Braničevo; the Byz. restored and colonized it in 1166. In 1182, while Constantinople was distracted by domestic strife, BÉLA III temporarily occupied Braničevo (Gy. Moravcsik, *Studia Byzantina* [Budapest 1967] 309) but returned it to Byz. as his daughter's dowry. The empire, however, was unable to retain the stronghold after about 1198; from the end of the 12th C., it was an object of contention between the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Hungarians. The Serbian prince Lazar took Braničevo in 1378/9, and the Turks conquered it in 1459.

LIT. M. Dinić, *Braničevo u srednjem veku* (Požarevac 1958). M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, "Grad Braničevo u srednjem veku," *Starinar* 39 (1988) 125–79. J. Kalić in *VizIzvori* 4:13, n.17. S. Novaković, "Ohridska arhiepiskopija u početku XI veka," *GlasSAN* 46 (1908) 36. —I.Dj., A.K.

BREAD (*ἄρτος*, also *ψωμίον* in papyri [Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:774] and narrative texts [e.g., PG 65:196C]) was the basic food in the popular DIET. It was produced from WHEAT, BARLEY, and infrequently millet; rye and oats were deemed unsuitable for baking. Wheat loaves were considered the finest, barley bread of lower quality. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 1:123.7–9) writes of bread made from barley and bran (which a man of his status could barely swallow) as typical of peasant food. Bread was made either at home or by professional BAKERS. ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS reportedly invented a device powered by oxen to mix the dough. Bread was produced in the form of loaves, sometimes flat ones; soldiers on campaign ate *paximadion*, bread baked twice and dried in the sun (T. Kolias in *Byzantios* 197–99). Bread was baked in furnaces or special ovens; in peasant households loaves might be baked in ashes, as Gregoras (Greg. 1:379.6–8) complains.

The daily bread consumption in the late Roman Empire was 3 to 6 pounds, according to Patlagean (*Pauvreté* 46, 52); by the 11th–12th C. the average daily ration was reduced to 1.5 pounds, probably due to the loss of the grain-producing areas of Egypt and North Africa (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 118). In the 10th–11th C. the price of bread was 1 nomisma for 8–18 *modioi*; according to G. Ostrogorsky (*BZ* 32 [1932] 320–22) the price remained at the 4th-C. level. Byz. had periodical shortages in bread supply, and the state tried several times to introduce a MONOPOLY on the GRAIN trade and to regulate bread prices.

Constantine I transferred to Constantinople the Roman custom of distributing bread among the citizens. The first distribution took place on 18 May 332. The custom was abolished in 618, when the grain delivery from Egypt stopped. Despite this, the *Basilika* retained some imperial regulations concerning the *panis civilis*. The *Codex Theodosianus* (Cod.Theod. XIV) preserves 15 imperial ordinances of 364–408 that determine the right of citizens (house owners) to get the "state bread." It was baked in imperial bakeries (*pistrina publica*) and distributed from special high counters (*gradus*). Each person entitled to *panis civilis* had to be entered on a list and assigned to a particular *gradus*; these people were given special TOKENS.

Gradually, the church took over the bread dole, transforming it from a citizen's right into an act

of charity for the poor. The church had fed the poor long before 618 and retained this function after the state divested itself from the burden; the distribution of bread during a famine is a *topos* of many saints' lives.

Leavened bread as PROSPHORA (in contrast to the AZYMES of the West) was one of the two elements of the EUCHARIST, and accordingly played an important part in ecclesiastical symbolism (Christ as bread) and iconography.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, "Onomata kai eide arton kata tous Byzantinous chronous," *EEBS* 5 (1928) 36–52. J.L. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire, 330–1025," *DOP* 13 (1959) 87–139. Rudakov, *Kultura* 89–92. B. Kübler, *RE* 18 (1949) 606–11. —Ap.K., A.K.

BREBION (*βρέβιον*, from Lat. *brevis*), a term known from the 4th C. onward that designated an INVENTORY or list of persons, offices, crafts, taxes, confiscated lands, etc. (O. Seeck, *RE* 3 [1899] 832). In the 10th C. properties of imperial monasteries were registered in the *brebia* of the SAKELLION (*Ivir.*, no.9.30, *Lavra* 1, no.33.39). In later acts (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.58.5–6, *Dionys.*, no.19.27) "the sacred *brebion* of a monastery" meant the list of persons to be commemorated: in an act of 1364 the word is employed synonymously with *psychochartion* (*Xénoph.*, nos. 30.8, 35). On the other hand, the authors of monastic ΤΥΠΙΚΑ employed the term *brebion* for a document listing precious objects that belonged to the monastery. Michael Attaleiates used *brebion* to designate the appendix to his *diataxis* that listed new acquisitions of movable and immovable properties (P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 83.1078–79). According to the *typikon* of the Euergetis monastery (P. Gautier, *REB* 40 [1982] 17.54–59), its *brebion* (now lost) included an inventory of cells, books, vessels, icons, liturgical garments and fabrics; the *typikon* of the Kecharitomene nunnery (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 133.2007–23) states that *typika* and *brebia* should be placed in the *skeuophylakia* of both the Great Church and the Kecharitomene. In Slavic languages the word *brevno* acquired the meaning of an inventory of lands (D. Angelov, *Agrarnite ot-nošenija v Severna i Sredna Makedonija prez XIV vek* [Sofia 1958] 12, n.3).

LIT. Kalavrezou, *Steatite* 73–79.

—A.K.

BRESCIA CASKET. See LIPSANOTHEK; RELIQUARY.

BREVIARIUM. See FESTUS.

BREVIARIUS (Lat. "summary"), a "brief," simple Latin guidebook to the holy sites of JERUSALEM composed as "publicity material" for Western pilgrims. Likely of early 6th-C. date, it survives in two independent traditions derived from a single original. Additions probably reflect annotations of various users. Seemingly written to be carried around the city's LOCA SANCTA, it gives numerous topographical indications and provides important evidence not only for the standard "Jerusalem tour" of the time, but also for structural details of such buildings as the Holy Sepulchre and the Golgotha Shrine, and for the existence and veneration of specific relics.

ED. R. Weber, "Breviarius de Hierosolyma," in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [= CChr, ser. lat. 175] (Turnhout 1963) 105–12.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 4f, 182f, with Eng. tr. 59–61. —G.V.

BRICKS (sing. πλίνθος). The production of brick was highly developed in the Roman Empire and continued in Byz., where both baked and sundried mud bricks as well as TILES were used. Houses "built of brick" (sing. *plinthoktistos*) and roofed with tiles (*enkeramos*) are attested in documents (e.g., *Lavra* 2, no.102.7). Workshops for brick production are also mentioned, such as an *ergasterion* to make *keramoi* (bricks and/or tiles) in an act of 952 (*Lavra* 1, no.4.4). It is more difficult to decide whether the term *keramarion* (*Ivir.* 1, nos. 4.68, 12.14; *Xerop.*, no.9A.26) meant a brick factory or a water pipe made of tiles. Workers in brick and tiles were called *ostrakarioi* and *keramopoi*, and Constantine V is said (Theoph. 440.21–22) to have brought hundreds of them to Constantinople from Hellas and Thrace.

Bricks and tiles were often stamped with signs or inscriptions bearing names of craftsmen or emperors. Most Byz. brick stamps come from Constantinople and its environs—probably supplied from the same kilns—and from Thessalonike. The provinces (even Nicaea) have yielded few stamps, and in Dalmatia, for instance, late Roman bricks and tiles were produced without



BRICKS. The production of brick. Miniature in an Octateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 747, fol.78v); 11th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

stamps (J. Wilkes in *Roman Brick and Tile* [Oxford 1979] 69f). Stamps from Constantinople are numerous for the late Roman period, but it is difficult to tell exactly when the practice of stamping bricks disappeared in the capital: there are stamps of the 10th–11th C., but probably no Palaiologan examples. On the other hand, stamped bricks and tiles of around the 10th C. are known from Cherson, the lower Danube, and Bulgaria.

The biblical *plinthēia* was a metaphor for bondage and the sinful state from which baptism liberates man.

LIT. C. Mango, "Byzantine Brick Stamps," *AJA* 50 (1950) 19–27. S. Angelova, "Za proizvodstvoto na stroitelna keramika v Severnoiztočna Bŭlgarija prez rannoto srednovekovie," *Arheologija* 13.3 (1971) 3–24. A.L. Jakobson, *Rannesrednekovij Chersones* (Moscow-Leningrad 1959) 316–21. P. Diaconu, "În legătură cu datarea olanelor cu semne în relief descoperite în așezările feudale timpurii din Dobrogea," *SCIV* 10 (1959) 491–97. K. Theodoridou, "Sym-

bole ste melete tes paragones oikodomikon keramikon proionton sta byzantina kai metabyzantina chronia," *DChAE* 13 (1985–86) 97–111. —A.K.

BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS. From the 5th C. onward, Byz. architecture depended heavily on BRICK as a structural and decorative material. The most common building techniques involving this material were (1) alternating bands of several courses of brick and stone (related to the Roman *opus vittatum*), used from the 5th to 14th C. in Constantinople and its vicinity and less consistently elsewhere; (2) solid brick construction, used sporadically in the 5th to 12th C.; (3) the recessed-brick technique, an all-brick construction method in which every alternate course was set back from the wall plane with the recess filled in with MORTAR, producing seemingly thick mortar joints. This was commonly employed in Constantinople and vicinity from the 11th C. onward; from Constantinople the technique was exported to areas under Byz. influence (e.g., Kiev, central Balkans). A fourth method, the cloisonné technique, involved framing individual stone ASHLARS with brick on all four sides; it was widespread in Greece and the Balkans from the 10th C. onward. These basic building techniques were often combined with decorative pat-

BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS. Recessed brick masonry; 11th C. Detail of the city walls of Nicaea.



terns, executed in brick, that were used to highlight architectural features (e.g., apses, domes, tympanums, eaves) and to conceal structural timbers imbedded within walls. Some of these ORNAMENTS appear as early as the 10th C., but most became popular in the 13th–14th C. The most typical were reticulate REVETMENTS; diaper and checkerboard patterns; dogtooth friezes; and chevron, herringbone, and meander patterns as well as inscriptions executed in brick or specially cut tiles. Following the Roman practice, Byz. bricks were occasionally stamped in the course of production. The general significance of Byz. brick stamps has not yet been properly understood (C. Mango, *AJA* 54 [1950] 19–27).

LIT. J.B. Ward Perkins in *Great Palace, 2nd Report* 52–104. A.H.S. Megaw, "Byzantine Reticulate Revetments," *Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon*, vol. 3 (Athens 1966) 10–22. A. Pasadaios, *Ho keramoplastikos diakosmos ton byzantinon klerion tes Konstantinoupoleos* (Athens 1973). P.L. Votopoulos, "The Concealed Course Technique," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 247–60. G.M. Velenis, *Hermeneia tou exoterikou diakosmou ste byzantine architektonike* (Thessalonike 1984).

—S.C.

BRIDE SHOWS are reported to have been organized on several occasions at the initiative of the empress-mother to select suitable wives for imperial princes. Commissioners were sent throughout the empire to find candidates who resembled an imperial ideal, which was enshrined in a picture (*lavraton*), and met specific measurements. Usually three candidates became finalists in this Byz. "Judgment of Paris," held in the imperial palace, when the young emperor-elect presented a golden apple or ring to his chosen lady. In 788 Empress IRENE persuaded CONSTANTINE VI to select Maria of Amnia, the granddaughter of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL; in 807 Theophano, already married and hurriedly divorced, was chosen for STAURAKIOS; in 830 THEOPHILOS encountered KASSIA and chose THEODORA; in 855 the same Theodora, as empress, imposed Eudokia of Dekapolis on MICHAEL III; and in 881 BASIL I selected pious THEOPHANO for his son LEO VI. An otherwise unattested bride show is recorded in the vita of St. IRENE OF CHRYSOBALANTON. It has been argued that bride shows, in contrast with the foreign marriage alliances of the 8th C., helped to bind powerful regional families to Constantinople. Recently, however, scholars such as P. Speck (*Kaiser Konstantin VI*, 1 [Mun-

ich 1978] 203–08) and L. Rydén (*Erano* 83 [1985] 175–91) have cast doubts on the historicity of the bride show; Rydén suggests that it is a literary *topos* of the 9th or 10th C., which reappears in the 14th-C. romance of BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA. The custom of the bride show is also found in the medieval West and in 17th-C. Russia.

LIT. W.T. Treadgold, "The Bride-shows of the Byzantine Emperors," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 395–413. Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt. XVII (1965), 150–58. —J.H.

BRIDGES (sing. *γέφυρα*). Crossing RIVERS, esp. those that were wide or had rapid currents, created difficulties for travelers and military expeditions. In cases of urgent necessity pontoon bridges (of boats bound together) were constructed; long logs laid over the boats provided flooring for the roadway (An.Komn. 2:137.17–19). In 636 Herakleios built this sort of bridge over the Bosphoros (Stratos, *Byzantium*, 2:139).

The Byz. inherited the technique of bridge con-

struction from the Romans. They erected bridges of stone, brick, and/or timber set in concrete; the arches rested on piers (the same technique as used for AQUEDUCTS). The bridge near Limyra in Lycia, 360 m long, consists of 28 arches and seems to be lower than regular Roman bridges (W. Wurster, J. Ganzert, AA [1978] 288–304). The approach to bridges was sometimes fortified with towers. During the late Roman period several grandiose projects were executed: the bridge over the Danube constructed by Constantine I between Oescus and SUCIDAVA was 2,437 m long. Many bridges are named in the TABULA PEUTINGERIANA. Prokopios mentions some bridges built by Justinian I; that over the Sangarios is still standing. Later sources mention various bridges (Zompe over the river Sangarios, one near Kosmidion, a bridge in Adrianople passing over three streams, etc.) as well as smaller *gephyria* (*Lavra* 3, no. 146.40); it is, however, not clear which of these bridges were actually of Roman construction. Bridgelike con-

traptions were used to assault the walls of besieged towns (e.g., An.Komn. 1:153.20–22; Nik.Chon. 623.61–62). A special tax called *gephyrosis* was imposed in the 11th C. (*Lavra* 1, nos. 38.38, 48.36) for the maintenance and repair of bridges. In the 12th C. the Kosmosoteira monastery (see BERA) was obliged to maintain two local stone bridges; in this connection the *typikon* of Kosmosoteira stresses that bridges are useful to many people.

In Christian metaphor *gephyra* served as an epithet for any person, action, or institution bridging this world and heaven: for example, the Mother of God (e.g., pseudo-Sophronios, PG 87.3:3968C), Christ's descent into Hell, John's baptism, and prayer.

LIT. H. Hellenkemper, *LMA* 2:730f. P. Gazzola, *Ponti romani*, vol. 2 (Florence 1963). D. Tudor, *Les ponts romains du Bas-Danube* (Bucharest 1974) 135–70. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni," 178, n.48. T. Totev, "Novootkrit most na Tiča vŭv Vŭrbičkija prohod," *Arheologija* 11 (1969), no.4, 25–28. M. Whitby, "Justinian's Bridge over the Sangarius and the Date of Procopius' *De Aedificiis*," *JHS* 105 (1985) 129–48. —A.K.

BRIGANDAGE (*λῆστεία*), ROBBERY carried out usually by members of lawless bands, often accompanied class struggle and military operations; Bartusis (*infra*) hypothesized that in the 14th C. brigands were primarily soldiers. Revolts of military contingents, such as the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, often led to looting, arson, RAPE, and so forth, as did urban riots and political upheavals, as for instance Alexios I Komnenos's capture of Constantinople in 1081. Feuds of local lords (e.g., those described in the PEIRA) led to grave damage of peasants' property. In turn, brigandage could be used by peasants for self-defense in their struggle with the DYNATOI for land; in some cases the peasants were supported by ethnic groups (the Vlachs, Cumans, etc.) settled in the area. Byz. historical tradition described other ethnic groups (e.g., the Isaurians) as particularly inclined toward brigandage, but such statements were often exaggerated. The poeticized image of the brigand (APELATES) penetrated into folklore and thence into the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS, who was described as victorious over the *apelatai*. Church fathers and hagiographers equated brigands with demons (G.J.M. Bartelink, *VigChr* 21 [1967] 12–24), but at the same time hagiography described some reformed robbers as living in extreme piety.

PIRACY, another form of brigandage, was a real scourge for maritime commerce and the inhabitants of coastal areas.

LIT. F.M. de Robertis, "Interdizione dell' 'usus equorum' e lotta al banditismo in alcune costituzioni dell Basso impero," *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 40 (1974) 67–98. M. Bartusis, "Brigandage in the Late Byzantine Empire," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 386–409. —A.K.

BRINDISI (*Βρεντήσιον*), city in southern APULIA with a splendid harbor; terminus of the ancient Via Appia, a primary point of departure for the East, and a center of trade with Dalmatia and the eastern Mediterranean. During the war against Totila in the mid-6th C., the Byz. general John (nephew of Vitalian) conquered Brindisi and used it as a center of operations in southern Italy. The Lombards took Brindisi in the second half of the 7th C.; it formed the southernmost point of the duchy of BENEVENTO. Brindisi suffered from Arab attacks and was destroyed in 838. At the end of the 10th C. Byz. reestablished its administration in Brindisi and ca. 1000 the patriarch of Constantinople elevated it to an archbishopric.

The Norman Robert Guiscard occupied Brindisi in 1071, but the Byz. continued trying to recapture it until the 1150s. Brindisi was the port of departure for Norman expeditions against Byz. and for the Crusades. The church of Brindisi was under the patronage of the papacy—in 1089 Pope Urban II dedicated the city's cathedral—but the Greek rite and Orthodox communities remained in the city, as did the Jews. Brindisi was a primary center for the manufacture of PROTO-MAIOLICA pottery.

LIT. P. de Leo, *LMA* 2:693f. A. de Leo, *Dell' origine del rito greco nella chiesa di Brindisi* (Brindisi 1974). I. Dujčev, "Un brindisino ambasciatore in Bulgaria all' inizio del 1200," *Familiare* '82 (Brindisi 1982) 105–11. —A.K.

BRINGAS, JOSEPH, high official under CONSTANTINE VII and ROMANOS II; died 965 in monastery of the Asekretis, in Pythia (Bithynia). Eunuch, *patrikios*, and *praepositus*, Bringas (*Βρίγγας*) was promoted by Constantine to the posts of *sakellarios* and *droungarios* of the fleet (*TheophCont* 445.6–10); as *parakoimomenos* he administered the empire under Romanos. An adversary of the military aristocracy, he quashed the scheme of the nobles to give the throne to the *magistros* Basil

BRIDGES. Justinianic bridge. Built over the Sangarios River in Bithynia; 6th C.



Peteinos (Skyl. 250f) and zealously opposed Nikephoros (II) Phokas. Romanos left Bringas at the head of the state (15 Mar.–15 Aug. 963), but THEOPHANO sided with Nikephoros Phokas, and BASIL THE NOTHOS supported their alliance. Nikephoros pretended to obey orders and left Constantinople to join his army, but his soldiers proclaimed him emperor (2 July 963) and he marched against the capital. An addition to *De cer.* (p.435–37) described in detail the battle for Constantinople. The population of the capital supported the military aristocracy and defended Bardas Phokas, who sought asylum in Hagia Sophia; at the same time Bringas gained the assistance of the influential guild of BAKERS who stopped selling bread in order to compel the poor to cease their resistance (9 Aug. 963). At this time Basil the Nothos armed 3,000 servants and sent them to pillage the houses of Bringas's partisans; he also ordered warships to sail to Abydos and join Nikephoros. Bringas had no choice but to surrender. Nikephoros entered the capital and banished Bringas to Paphlagonia and subsequently to the monastery of the Asekretis near Nikomedeia (Janin, *Églises centres* 86).

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:183f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 388–95. Schlumberger, *Phocas* 258–97. —A.K.

BRONTOLOGION (*βροντολόγιον*), a manual on DIVINATION by thunder. The Byz. attributed their *brontologia* to famous figures of the past, such as King David or HERMES TRISMEGISTOS, or to obscure Roman writers, such as Nigidius Figulus (W. and H.G. Gundel, *Astrologumena* [Wiesbaden 1966] 137–39). In his *On Portents*, JOHN LYDOS lists four *brontologia* that he allegedly used: three are concerned primarily with political predictions, the fourth (ascribed to Labeon) with agrarian events. The church condemned *brontologia* as based on ASTROLOGY, and the *Souda* stated that divination by thunder was “diabolical property.” Nonetheless, the custom was well entrenched; several *brontologia* are known both in Greek and in Old Slavonic translation (*Gromnik*), and a *brontologion* was among the books taken along on the imperial baggage train (*De cer.* 467.11). *Brontologia* were structured on the position of the sun (or the moon) in the zodiac and on the calendar. The strength and the direction of the thunder also had to be considered. A *brontologion* preserved in

a 16th-C. MS (Milan, Ambros. A 56 sup.) describes a series of political events, imagined or real: a revolt “in Egypt and among the Arabs,” the devastation of Cyprus, a barbarian expedition as far as Chalcedon (perhaps a reference to Igor's expedition of 941), the absence of any king in “Comania” and Alania, the Crusade of 1147. This *brontologion* is attributed to “Leo the Wise” (i.e., Emp. Leo VI) but should be dated to the 12th C. As late as the 15th C. Kritoboulos observed that many people believed that thunder, lightning, and the wandering orbits of stars revealed the future.

LIT. M.A. Andreeva, “Političeskij i obščestvennyj element vizantijsko-slavjanskich gadatel'nych knig,” *BS* 2 (1930) 59–67. Eadem, “K istorii vizantijsko-slavjanskich gadatel'nych knig,” *BS* 5 (1933/34) 126–29, 134–53. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:218f. —F.R.T., A.K.

BRONZE (*χαλκός*), the term used in Byz. as in classical Greece to designate both pure copper and its alloys with tin or with zinc (brass). The location and exploitation of copper MINES from the 4th to the 15th C. is somewhat a matter of speculation. Bronze could be considered a semi-precious metal: Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, VC 3.50.2) praises a church ornamented with gold, bronze, and “other very expensive materials,” while Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.2.4) speaks of the best bronze as being softer in color than pure gold and in quality not much inferior to silver.

Colossal monuments of bronze included the ANEMODOULION at Constantinople (set up between 379 and 395) and the 6,000-pound cross erected by Eudocia at Jerusalem (*Jean Rufus, Plérophories*, PO 8 [1912], ch.11). Bronze statues of emperors, charioteers, etc. are recorded as late as the 7th C. (*AnthGr* 16.46–47), but only that of LEO I (?) (= Colossus of Barletta: U. Peschlow in *Studien Deichmann* 1:21–33) survives relatively intact. A medieval deployment of bronze on a large scale was the revetment of an obelisk in the HIPPODROME in Constantinople by Constantine VII. Among the few other monumental uses of bronze after the 9th C. were cast church DOORS, with incised decoration and silver inlay or chrysography, as well as doors of sheet metal with repoussé decoration. The doors of S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome, bear the names of the founder (*chytes*) and the artist who manufactured and decorated them. The *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos transferred a bronze

grill (*kangellon*) from the Chora monastery to his Church of the Virgin Kosmosoteria at BERA to separate his tomb from the rest of the narthex. Rare decorative bronzes of the 10th and 11th C. include the water-spouting troughs of fountains (L. Bouras, *DChAE* 8 [1975–76] 88f).

In addition to their use on monuments and for decoration, copper and bronze were employed for functional purposes, for example, for coins, surgical instruments, LITURGICAL VESSELS, roof tiles, armor, and esp. for LAMPS. Numerous bronze objects were used in the household (see TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS). An inventory of 1142 lists (in addition to iron tools) bronze BELLS, vessels, caldrons, etc. (*Pantel.*, no.7.28–29). Domestic bronzes (*chalkomata*), some of them tinned, include ewers, basins, pans, and various COOKING WARES (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:99–101, 105). Byz. inventories from the 11th C. often refer to various LIGHTING devices of cast bronze, such as candelabra (*manoualia*), candlesticks, *polykandela*, lamps, lanterns, *lamnai* (bronze beams with candleholders), and *choroi* (polygonal frames for the suspension of lights) as well as CENSERS; some such devices of the 4th to 14th C. survive to this day. Bronze was also employed for ICONS, cast or in sheet metal, votive CROWNS, pectoral crosses, AMULETS, BELT FITTINGS, CONE SEALS, and stamps as well as for ordinary JEWELRY. KEYS, LOCKS, and fittings for CASKETS were often cast in bronze as were STEELYARDS, various weights and measures, and astrological instruments such as the ASTROLABE.

Large numbers of cast bronze household objects (ewers, caldrons, etc.) made in Byz., and mistakenly called “Coptic,” have been found outside the empire, in 6th- and 7th-C. burials throughout western Europe.

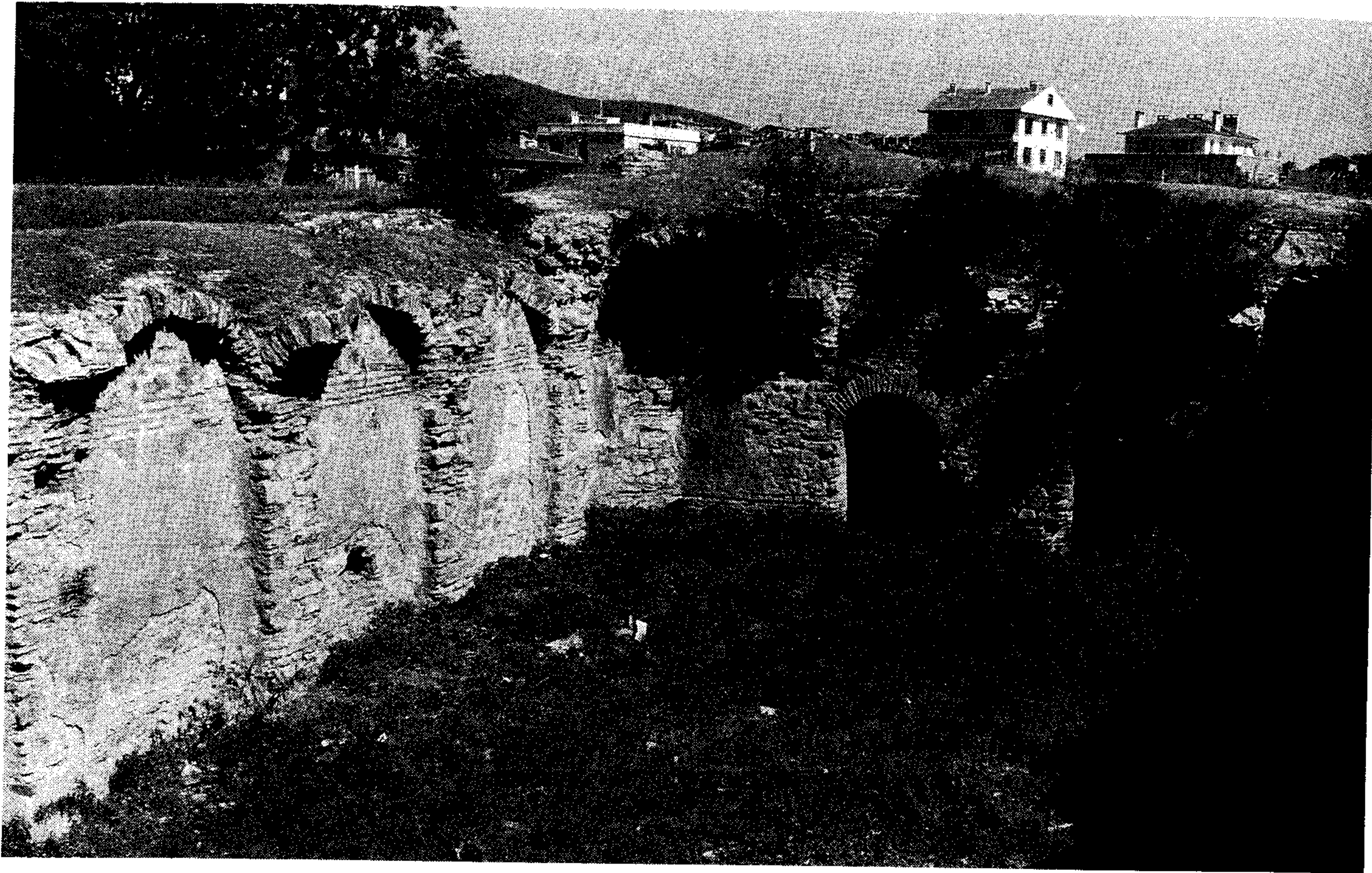
The scientific work that has been carried out on Byz. bronze (that is, copper alloy) objects has been largely restricted to those made between the 4th and 7th C. The results reveal a varying of alloys to suit manufacturing techniques. Some cast items from this period excavated at Sardis (e.g., censers, crosses, buckles, chains, etc.), which have been analyzed for their metallic composition, were found to be of a four-part (quaternary) alloy of copper, tin, zinc, and lead; other objects, such as cooking vessels made of sheet metal, were of nearly pure copper (J.C. Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass., 1983] 175–77). Other

hammered objects, such as a group of 6th-C. ornamented SITULAS found elsewhere, are made of brass, that is, copper and zinc (M.M. Mango et al., *Antiquity* 63 [1989] 308). The shift from the manufacture of bronze (copper and tin) to that of brass, which started in the Roman period and increased by the 7th C., has been explained in terms of the loss of the Spanish and British tin mines by the 5th C. (R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, vol. 3 [London 1983] 945–61). But tin may still have been available in the Taurus Mountain mines, and 10th- and 11th-C. tinned copper *polykandela*, lamps, patens, chalices, and other objects, made apparently in imitation of silver, have been found in Asia Minor and the vicinity of Antioch.

LIT. V.H. Elbern, “Altägisches aus Byzanz,” *Alte und moderne Kunst* 26 (1981) 13–15. *DOCat* 1:30–68.

—M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

BRUMALIA (*Βρουμάλια*), the festival of DIONYSOS, which was celebrated from 24 Nov. to the winter solstice. The Brumalia marked the end of the wine cycle, when the liquid from the grapes crushed during the September harvest had fermented and was ready to be poured into jars for consumption. Carousing and merriment accompanied the rituals, which included the invocation of Dionysos. In his treatise *On the Months* (ed. Wuensch, 174.11–31), JOHN LYDOS notes the survival of the cult in the 6th C.: the viticulturalists would sacrifice a goat to Dionysos because the animal ate and destroyed vines. Canon 62 of the Council in TRULLO imposed a six-year excommunication on Christians who celebrated the Brumalia. The canon also condemned mumming and the donning of comic, satyric, and tragic masks, another Brumalian feature (Trombley, “Trullo” 5). Nevertheless, the imperial court celebrated the Brumalia. Stephen, the author of the vita of Stephen the Younger, condemns Constantine V as a “friend of demons” for his participation in the festival. In the time of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos the Brumalia consisted of acclamations for the emperor and a ceremony wishing him a long reign; on these occasions the emperor handed out ΑΡΟΚΟΜΒΙΑ, bags of gold, to various officials (*De cer.* 601.6–20, 606.4–607.14). The popular celebration of the Brumalia persisted until at least the 12th C. (I. Rochow, *Klio* 60 [1978]



BRYAS. Ruins at Küçükyalı. These ruins are thought to be those of the 9th-C. palace at Bryas.

487f). Christopher of Mytilene notes the sending of small cakes (*pemmata*) as gifts at the Brumalia, and Theodore Prodromos mentions festivities on the day of cosmic joy of the Brumalia, but the religious character of these acts is unknown.

LIT. J.R. Crawford, "De Bruma et brumalibus festis," *BZ* 23 (1920) 365-96. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:25-29. Lawson, *Folklore* 221-32. M. Nilsson, "Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 19 (1916-19) 62-64, 80-94. —F.R.T.

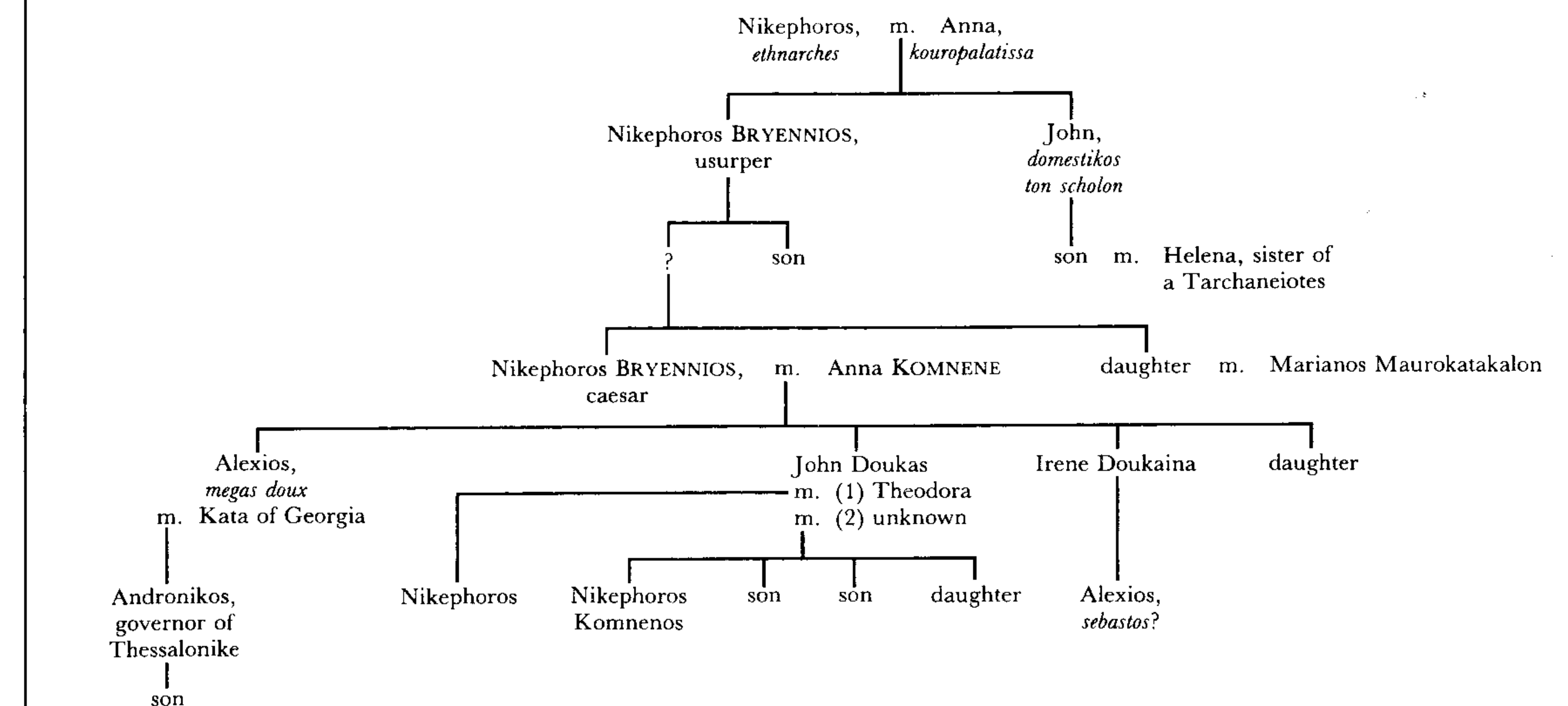
BRYAS (*Βρύας*, mod. Maltepe), Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, opposite the PRINCES' ISLANDS. It was the site of a palace built by Emp. Theophilos ca.837 in imitation of Arab palaces described to him by JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS on the latter's return from his embassy to Baghdad. The only modification of the Arab model consisted in the addition of two chapels, one next to the emperor's bedchamber, the other, of triconch form, in the forecourt. The palace has been plausibly identified with a standing ruin at Küçükyalı, between

Bostancı and Maltepe, that recalls the layout of princely Arab residences.

LIT. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Archaeologisch-epigraphisches aus Konstantinopel und Umgebung," *BNJbb* 3 (1922) 103-06. R. Janin, "La banlieue asiatique de Constantinople," *EO* 22 (1923) 193-95. S. Eyice, "Bryas sarayı," *Belleten* 23 (1959) 79-111. Idem, "Quatre édifices inédits ou mal connus," *CahArch* 10 (1959) 245-50. —C.M.

BRYENNIOS (*Βρυέννιος*, fem. *Βρυέννισσα*), a noble Byz. lineage. Etymology of the name remains unclear; according to E. Trapp, it derived from *bryo*, "to abound" (*JÖB* 19 [1970] 293). Bryennioi are known from the 9th C. onward: Theokistos was sent by Michael III as *strategos* of Peloponnesos (*De adm. imp.* 50.9-12); another Bryennios, *strategos* of Dalmatia, is attested from a 9th-C. seal (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 205f). Throughout the 10th C. they are not known. When the Bryennioi reappear in the mid-11th C., their relation to the 9th-C. Bryennioi is unclear: Attaleiates considered them a family of lower origin than the BOTANEIATAI. Like their predecessors,

GENEALOGY OF THE BRYENNIOS FAMILY IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES



the 11th-C. Bryennioi were military commanders: Nikephoros, from Adrianople, served as ethnarch, commander of foreign mercenaries; he participated in a rebellion against Empress THEODORA and was exiled; in 1057 he joined another aristocratic revolt and was captured and blinded. His son (also Nikephoros) Bryennios unsuccessfully tried to usurp the throne in 1077 (see BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS); another son, John, supported his brother's revolt and was appointed *domestikos ton scholon*; after the revolt, however, the Varangians arrested and murdered him. Nikephoros's son (according to Zonaras) or grandson (according to Anna Komnene), the caesar Nikephoros Bryennios, was a general and historian (see BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS). Another Bryennios served ca.1100 as *doux* of Thebes.

Caesar Nikephoros married Anna KOMNENE; some of their descendants bore the patronyms Komnenos and Doukas. They were primarily military commanders: John Doukas commanded both in Italy and against the Seljuks; his brother Alexios Bryennios, *megas doux* in 1156, was called the *anthypatos* of Hellas by Michael Choniates and praised as protector of the poor (Mich.Akom. 1:337.8-9). He is probably distinct from another

Alexios Bryennios, *doux* of Dyrrachion and Ohrid, an addressee of George TORNİKIOS in the 1150s (Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 162-66). Andronikos, son of the *megas doux* Alexios, served as governor of Thessalonike; involved in a plot against Isaac I, he was arrested and blinded; his son attempted a revolt but was also blinded. Joseph Bryennios, *sebastos* and the emperor's *gambros*, was a general in the 1160s. Only Nikephoros Komnenos, John Doukas's son, held a civil position: he was temporarily the functionary in charge of petitions (*epiton deeseon*).

Several Bryennioi occupied important posts in the later period: George was *megas droungarios* in 1328, and Michael was commandant of Pamphilon in Thrace (1342). At this time the Bryennioi were also active in the church, diplomatic service, and intellectual life: besides the philosopher Joseph Bryennios and writer Manuel Bryennios, a scribe Gregory Bryennios from Thessalonike copied translations of Thomas AQUINAS in 1432 (*PLP*, nos. 3241-62). (See BRYENNIOS, JOSEPH, and BRYENNIOS, MANUEL; see also genealogical table.)

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 165f.

—A.K.

BRYENNIOS, JOSEPH, monk, writer, and teacher; born ca. 1350, died before 1438, probably 1430/1. A fervent supporter of Orthodoxy, Bryennios lived for 20 years (ca. 1382–1402) in Venetian-occupied Crete as preacher and missionary. He spent most of his remaining years in Constantinople at the monasteries of Stoudios (ca. 1402–06) and Charsianeites (1416–27). In 1406 Patr. MATTHEW I sent him to Cyprus as *topoteretes* to try to negotiate the administrative union of the Cypriot church with that of Constantinople, but his mission proved fruitless. In his later years he served as court preacher and official spokesman against UNION OF THE CHURCHES with Rome, playing an important role in 1422 in discussions with a Latin delegation to Constantinople (G. Patacsi, *Kleronomia* 5 [1973] 73–96).

Bryennios composed a considerable number of theological treatises defending Orthodox doctrine on the Holy Trinity and Procession of the Holy Spirit. He supported the Palamite argument that the light of TABOR was uncreated. Other works include a dialogue with a Muslim (A. Argyriou, *EEBS* 35 [1966/7] 141–95), in which Bryennios praised the tolerance of Islam and the virtue of some Muslims; he argued that the decline of Byz. was divine punishment for the sins of the Byz. He corresponded with John CHORTASMENOS, Nicholas KABASILAS, Demetrios KYDONES, and Emp. Manuel II, among others. Mark EUGENIKOS wrote his epitaph.

ED. *Joseph monachou tou Bryenniou ta heurethenta*, ed. E. Boulgares, T. Mandakases, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1768–84).

LIT. N.B. Tomadakes, *Syllabos byzantinon meleton kai keimenon* (Athens 1961) 491–611. Loenertz, *Calecas* 95–105. PLP, no. 3257. —A.M.T.

BRYENNIOS, MANUEL, Byz. scholar and possibly a music theorist; fl. Constantinople ca. 1300. Although academically eccentric, he instructed the statesman Theodore METOCHITES in mathematics, astronomy, and probably music (a didactic poem by Theodore reflects Bryennios's teaching). His doctrines on mathematics and astronomy are to be found in a letter to Maximos PLANOUDS and in scholia to MSS of Ptolemy's *Almagest*.

The only surviving work attributed to Bryennios is the three-volume *Harmonika*, based on ancient Greek tradition. The author treats his material more independently and carries his

conclusions further than his sources, however. The neo-Pythagorean numerological theory of music is Bryennios's most important source (more for facts than for metaphysical speculation). Other sources are Nicomachus of Gerasa, Aristides Quintilianus, Theon of Smyrna, and, above all, Claudius Ptolemy for his theory of the eight *tonoi*, the "shadings" of the tetrachords, and the monochord and its division.

Bryennios also drew extensively on the empiricist school of Aristoxenos (4th C. B.C.). The first section of the treatise is based largely on this school; the second, however, is founded on neo-Pythagorean tradition and concludes with a comparison of the divisions of the tetrachords. The third section unites the Pythagorean and Aristoxenian traditions and culminates in a theory for constructing melodies. One section deals with the Byz. ecclesiastical MODES and associates them with the ancient systems of transposition (*tonoi*, *tropoi*); this section is illustrated by the musical practice of Bryennios's own time.

Bryennios's treatise is the most comprehensive surviving codification of Byz. musical scholarship. Associated with the growing interest in mathematics in the early Palaiologan period, it contributed to the rediscovery of ancient music theory. The late Byz. Empire and the Italian Renaissance valued it highly: 46 MSS from before 1600 and two early Latin translations (1497 and 1555) survive.

ED. *Opera mathematica*, ed. J. Wallis, vol. 3 (Oxford 1699) 357–508.

LIT. H. Reimann, "Zur Geschichte und Theorie der byzantinischen Musik, 4: Die Theorie des Manuel Bryennios," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1889) 335–44, 373–95. G.H. Jonker, *The Harmonies of Manuel Bryennios* (Groningen 1970). PLP, no. 3260. —D.E.C.

BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS, 11th-C. usurper. Bryennios was a general and *magistros* who fought at the battle of Mantzikert (1071), served as a *doux* of Bulgaria in 1072–73, and was later governor of Dyrrachion. In 1077 he headed a revolt against Michael VII, the center of which was located in Adrianople, but lost to NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES in the competition for the throne. Bryennios refused to accept the title of caesar and continued his rebellion, but he was then defeated by Alexios Komnenos (the future ALEXIOS I) and

blinded. Zonaras accused Alexios of this deed, but other historians do not support his version. Nikephoros III returned to Bryennios all his properties and granted him new honors and lands (Bryen. 285.1–3). Despite his blindness, in 1094/5 Bryennios was in charge of defending Adrianople against the Cumans and a rebel who claimed to be a member of the DIOGENES family (Leo or Constantine?) and a son of Romanos IV; even though Bryennios belonged to an aristocratic family inclined to rebellion, he declined Diogenes' proposal of an alliance.

LIT. A. Carile, "La 'Hyle historias' del cesare Niceforo Briennio," *Aevum* 43 (1969) 235–82. —A.K.

BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS THE YOUNGER, historian and general; born Adrianople? ca. 1064 (A. Carile, *Aevum* 42 [1968] 436) or ca. 1080, died Constantinople ca. 1136/7. He was either the son (A. Carile, *Aevum* 38 [1964] 74–83) or grandson (S. Wittek-De Jongh, *Byzantion* 23 [1953] 463–65; P. Gautier, *infra* 20–24) of his namesake, the rebel of 1077/8. Bryennios married Anna KOMNENE ca. 1097, participated in Alexios I's campaigns, and became caesar ca. 1111. In 1118 IRENE DOUKAINA and Anna Komnene unsuccessfully tried to proclaim him Alexios's successor. Although in disfavor with John II, Bryennios still participated in the emperor's expedition to Antioch, after which he died.

His unfinished memoirs, the so-called *Historical Material* (*Hyle historias*), were written after 1118 and describe the period 1070–79. He presents events not as a history of emperors, but as the power struggle of the mightiest families (the Komnenoi, Doukai, and Bryennioi); under the screen of a polite eulogy of Alexios is veiled criticism, whereas Nikephoros BRYENNIOS the Elder is an unquestionable hero. Aristocratic traits (noble origin, wealth, martial prowess) are presented as positive values. In their structure, Bryennios's memoirs are a forerunner of the ROMANCE, with the core of the tale being the marriage of Alexios and Irene after they overcame obstacles.

ED. *Histoire*, ed. P. Gautier (Brussels 1975), with Fr. tr.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:394–400. J. Seger, *Byzantinische Historiker des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts I. Nikephoros Bryennios* (Munich 1888). A. Carile, "La 'Hyle historias' del cesare Niceforo Briennio," *Aevum* 43 (1969) 56–87, 235–82. —A.K.

BUDGET. Evaluations of the Byz. budget are speculative and arbitrary because of lack of evidence. Yet in recent publications one finds figures that are not too contradictory: 900,000 solidi in the 6th C. (Hendy); 1,700,000 nomismata by the end of the 8th; 3,300,000 nomismata in the middle of the 9th (Treadgold); 1,000,000 half-pure hyperpyra in the 14th (Hendy). Fiscal revenue derived mainly from TAXATION on land (70–95 percent) and COMMERCE AND TRADE; voluntary contributions of wealthy citizens ceased after the 7th C. Regular major expenditures were salaries for members of the armed forces, the administration (less important), and dignitaries (largely self-financed) and cash outlays for philanthropic institutions. Public works were also self-financed through CORVÉES; largess, such as the consulship, became occasional. Extraordinary expenditures, such as major campaigns or tributes, were dealt with either by spending accumulated reserves or by imposing extraordinary taxes and levies. Part of the payments were made in silk textiles, mainly those produced by the imperial workshops.

LIT. W.T. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York 1982). Hendy, *Economy* 157–227. —N.O.

BUILDING INDUSTRY. Builders formed teams or companies. According to the vita of Symeon the Stylite the Younger, Isaurian MASONS lived in communities, caring for those team members who had lost their health while working. The *Book of the Eparch* does not consider the *technitai* or ARTISANS a guild but a temporary association that included craftsmen of various professions: CARPENTERS, masons, workers in gypsum, etc. Such a team of *technitai* is described in the vita of Germanos of Kosinitza: they were hired to build a church and signed a contract (*homologia*) according to which they were to be paid 100 gold coins upon completion of the work (AASS May 3:9*). In *Basil.* 15.1.39 (and schol. 1 to this passage) an *ergolabos*, or manager, served as intermediary between the owner and the workers. He was paid by the owner and erected the building using his own materials. In the *Book of the Eparch*, on the other hand, there is no distinction between *ergolaboi* and *technitai* and the owner is to supply the materials. The terms are also used synonymously

in vita A of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS (ed. Noret, par. 234.14-21).

The textbooks of MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS contain some data on the organization of construction work: the builder is called *mastores* or *technites*; sometimes he appears with his APPRENTICES (*mathetades*); the building of a house takes 6-50 days; the builder receives 20 asproi per day but owes the owner 30 asproi for each day he does not work; in one hypothetical problem the builder is awarded 1,000 asproi for the entire job (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 26 [1965] 281f).

Large undertakings, such as the building of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople or repairs on the aqueduct of Valens, required hundreds of workers who labored under the supervision of governmental officials. Some construction jobs were completed by the army and, in the form of KASTROKTISIA, by the local population. The stages of a church's construction—the transport of stone by hand and on a luge, its cutting, the making of mortar, the feeding of the artisans, and the building's dedication to the Virgin—are shown on the cornice of a 10th-11th-C. church at Korogo in Georgia (N. Thierry in *AAPA* 2 [1987] 321-29).

LIT. Rudakov, *Kultura* 142f. Bk. of Eparch 257-65. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 111f. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 84-86. M. Bartusis, "State Demands for Building and Repairing Fortifications in Late Byzantium and Medieval Serbia," *BS* 49 (1988) 205-12.
—A.K., A.C.

BULGARIA, state in the northern Balkans. Founded in 681 by ASPARUCH, Bulgaria included former Roman territory between the Danube, the Black Sea, the Balkan range, and the river Iskŭr. It was populated by Slavs, BULGARS, Vlachs, and some remaining Greek inhabitants. The capital was established at PLISKA. The Slav and Bulgar occupation led to the deurbanization of the region and the expulsion of the Christian church with its hierarchy built upon urban foundations. The focal point of domestic development in the late 7th-9th C. was the union of Slavs and Bulgars into a single ethnos that used the Slavic language, a Bulgar administrative system, and the Greek alphabet for the PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS. This unity was reinforced by the christianization of the country by 864/5.

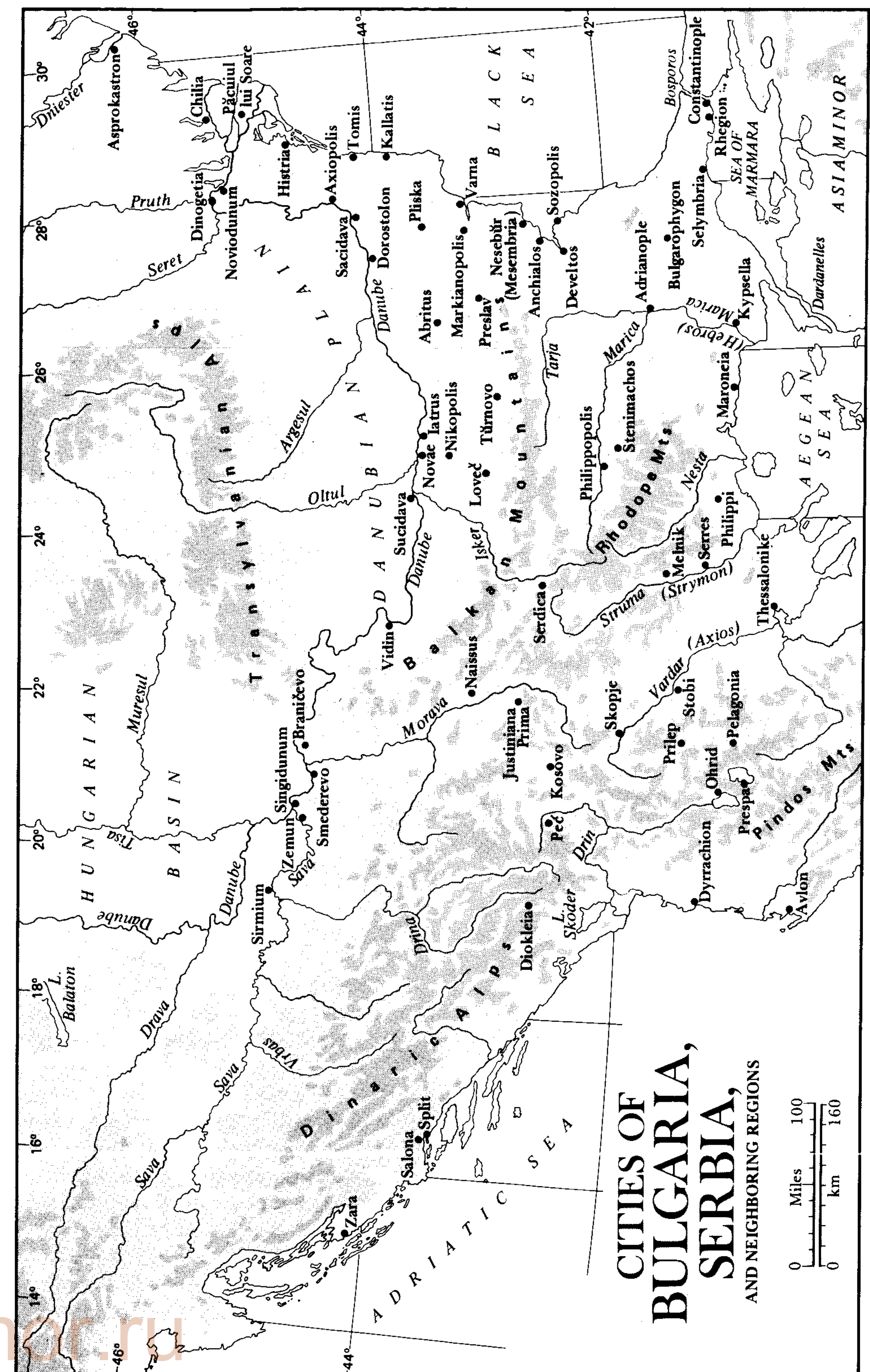
Even though Bulgaria profited from the defeat of the AVARS by Charlemagne and extended its power to the northwest as far as the river Theiss,

Bulgarian northern policy was primarily defensive: Bulgaria had to protect its northern frontier from the Germans, Hungarians, Pechenegs and other steppe tribes, the Rus', and later the Tatars. Bulgaria's policy in the south was more active, and Bulgarians were often involved in Byz. affairs, sometimes as allies (TERVEL supported Justinian II), sometimes as dangerous adversaries (esp. under KRUM and SYMEON OF BULGARIA). The periods of war were interrupted by peace treaties (the 30-year treaty under OMURTAG), and sometimes Byz. managed to exercise considerable influence on Bulgaria, as happened in the reign of BORIS I.

Despite the arrival in 885 of pupils of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS who brought both the Slavic alphabet and incipient Slavic literature and liturgy, Byz. administrative and cultural influence on Bulgaria increased from the end of the 9th C. onward. Bulgarian rulers accepted Byz. imperial and ceremonial titulature (*basileus* for the former *khan*, *patriarch* for the *archbishop*, etc.); the new capital, PRESILAV, harbored a significant artisan population; and a substantial selection of Greek theological literature was translated into CHURCH SLAVONIC. Trade and intermarriage (e.g., Tsar PETER and Maria, Romanos I's granddaughter) helped consolidate Bulgaro-Byz. links.

From the second half of the 10th C. Byz. began to gain the upper hand in the Balkans. After the plan to subjugate Bulgaria with the assistance of SVJATOSLAV of Kiev had miscarried, John I Tzimiskes evicted Svjatoslav from Bulgaria, annexed a substantial part of the country, and abolished the autocephalous Bulgarian patriarchate. The struggle of the KOMETOPOULOI and SAMUEL OF BULGARIA against Basil II, despite temporary success, was lost; by 1018 the whole of Bulgaria had been incorporated into Byz. and formed several themes—Bulgaria, Paradounavon, Dyrrachion, etc.

The imposition of the "Byz. yoke" strengthened the Byz. impact on Bulgaria. The Byz. system of taxation was extended to the new themes, along with Byz. secular and ecclesiastical administration and Byz. forms of peasant dependence (*PAROIKOI*, etc.). Intensified trade and the mass penetration of Byz. coinage accompanied the development of urban life. On the other hand, the Bulgarian aristocracy entered the ranks of the Byz. ruling class; Bulgarian topics were treated in Byz. liter-



in Byz. The Byz. domination over Bulgaria was several times challenged in the 11th C. (revolts of DELJAN and George VOITECH, the Bogomil rebellion in 1086). In 1185 a new revolt broke out, and by 1188 the weakened Byz. government had recognized the independence of Bulgaria north of the Balkan range, with its capital in TŪRNOVO. The Bulgarian victory at ARKADIOPOLIS in 1193 led to the annexation of much of central Thrace. A new Bulgaria emerged, usually called the Second Bulgarian Empire.

At first (under KALOJAN, BORIL, and JOHN ASEN II) Bulgaria profited from the disarray resulting from the Fourth Crusade to occupy more of Thrace and most of Macedonia, and after the Bulgarian victory over Epiros at KLOKOTNICA in 1230 extended its rule to the Adriatic at Dyrrachion. The marriage of John Asen's daughter to Theodore II Laskaris of Nicaea and the creation of a Bulgarian patriarchate in 1235 mark the apogee of Bulgarian power. This zenith was of short duration: the state faced serious domestic and international problems. The country lacked economic unity. The towns on the Danube, such as VIDIN, were more connected with central Europe, those on the Black Sea were involved in Italian trade, and western Bulgaria tended toward Dubrovnik. While ca. 1200 Bulgaria profited from alliance with the Cumans, later the TATAR settlement in the steppe created a serious menace, heightened by constant conflicts with Byz. and Serbia and esp. by the Ottoman invasion of the 14th C. The internal instability found its expression in revolts, such as the mutiny of IVAJLO. By the end of the 13th C. only northeastern Bulgaria recognized Tsar Georgij Terter I. For a short period THEODORE SVETOSLAV, MICHAEL III ŠIŠMAN, and IVAN ALEXANDER reunited Bulgaria, and the country, despite certain military losses, enjoyed relative peace and prosperity. From 1370 onward, however, the increasing encroachment of the Ottomans on the Balkans threatened the very existence of Bulgaria. In 1373 Bulgaria became a virtual Ottoman vassal, and in 1393 MURAD I invaded and annexed it.

Of all the Slavic countries Bulgaria was the closest to Byz. Their interrelationship was very complex, ranging from military rivalry to trade connections (Bulgaria exporting to Constantino-

Bulgaria and for almost two centuries Bulgaria was incorporated by Byz. The Bulgarian state was formed both under Byz. impact and in a constant resistance to the threat of "hellenization." The material interpenetration did not abolish mutual mistrust, and political alliance was sporadic and short-lived. On the other hand, Bulgaria transmitted Byz. civilization to other Orthodox peoples, particularly Rumanians and Muscovite Russia (in the 14th C.). The absorption of Byz. culture was selective. The literature and ideology of Byz. Christianity, both in its learned and its popular form, were taken over (see BULGARIAN LITERATURE), as were the Byz. chroniclers' picture of world history, a simplified version of Byz. civil and canon law, and some popular nonreligious literature such as the ALEXANDER ROMANCE. What was rejected was learned and classicizing literature and thought, including philosophy and science, which Bulgarian society neither needed nor understood. It was this filtered Byz. culture that was passed on to the non-Greek Orthodox world.

LIT. R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria* (Berkeley 1975). V.N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bŭlgarskata dŭrŭŭava prez srednite vekove*, 3 vols. (Sofia 1918-40). P. Mutaŭčiev, *Istorija na bŭlgarskija narod*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1944). D. Angelov, *Obrazuvane na bŭlgarskata narodnost*² (Sofia 1981). G.G. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantijska v XI-XII vv.* (Moscow 1960; Bulgarian tr., Sofia 1987). S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London 1930). I. Dujčev et al., *Histoire de la Bulgarie* (Roanne 1977) 1-244. V. Gjuzelev, *Učilišta, skriptorii, biblioteki i znanijska v Bŭlgarija, XIII-XIV vek* (Sofia 1985).

-R.B.

BULGARIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

The First Bulgarian Empire was founded on territory rich in Roman and Byz. remains. These and other sources were used to create an art designed to serve the national and religious needs of the new state. The earliest administrative center, PLISKA, was laid out as a double fortress, an architectural solution also adopted at the second capital, Great PRESлав. The most unusual monument from this period is the large relief of a horseman carved in the cliff above the religious center of Madara. Most likely carved in 705 and probably representing Khan TERVEL, the relief is surrounded by contemporary and later Greek inscriptions of rulers' names. The iconography—a horseman holding aloft a cup, with a lion below

blance to rock-cut reliefs of Sasanian Persia. But the bold, monumental style, with the figure and the background rendered as two parallel planes, is typical of Bulgarian sculpture from this period and continues into the 10th C. at nearby Preslav and Abradaka.

Bulgarian ceramic TILE decoration may also be Near Eastern in influence. Tiles—both flat tiles and semicircular cornice pieces, large and small—were specially made for use as wall revetment. Some tile images, such as a 20-tile icon of St. Theodore from Sofia and a group of smaller, single-tile icons from Tuzlalŭk, depict saints, though the majority are decorated with floral and geometric motifs. Many have been found *in situ*, adorning the floors and dado zones of small monastery churches around Preslav (the earliest datable example comes from the Round Church of Preslav, probably built before 907). Similar tile decoration is found in Constantinople as well, and probably derives from Arabic antecedents. It is possible that ceramic decoration was used in large quantities in and around Preslav even before its widespread use in Constantinople.

The Round Church at Preslav is a good example of the eclectic use of sources typical of much Bulgarian art of the early empire. The form of the church—a domed rotunda with an interior two-tiered colonnade preceded by an atrium that is enclosed by walls with niches and columns—has been likened to ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE, while the use of mosaic decoration shows Byz. influence. The structure may in fact reflect late Roman BAPTISTERY forms, underscoring one of the main functions of the church in the newly converted realm. Its round form may also indicate it was intended to serve as a palace chapel.

Byz. culture was to be the decisive influence on Bulgarian art during the 11th and 12th C., when the territory came under Byz. hegemony (cf. the frescoes of the ossuary of the monastery of PETRITZOS). By the time Bulgarian independence was won, Byz. culture had become the single major source for artistic creation.

The art of the Second Bulgarian Empire shows a resurgence of architecture and painting. Donations by nobles include the churches on Trapezitsa Hill in TŪRNOVO and the Tower of Hreljo in the RILA monastery. Two-story churches, which were used for burial and whose structure served to

or Caucasian prototypes but became a popular local type of church plan. Other churches are elaborate variants of Palaiologan architectural forms: in the 14th-C. churches of MESEMBRIA, for example, stone, brick, and ceramic inserts combine to produce a rich, textilelike patterning of the exterior quite unrelated to the internal divisions of the church (e.g., St. John Aleitourgetos).

Painting of the Second Empire shows two tendencies. Many monuments rely on Byz. models of the 11th and 12th C., introduced during the period of Byz. rule (e.g., BOJANA). Other fresco ensembles and icons show more awareness of contemporary art in Constantinople. This is especially true of the royal commissions by Tsar IVAN ALEXANDER. The rock-cut "Cŭrkvata" at Ivanovo was decorated by Bulgarian artists in the most up-to-date Palaiologan style; bottom-heavy figures in twisted postures are placed in front of elaborate architectural façades. The flat ceiling of this humble church, which served a hesychast monastic community, is given an unusual treatment: copying the wall decoration, the ceiling is laid out with small scenes in square frames. Manuscript painting also tended to copy Byz. models, both contemporary and older; the *Gospels of Ivan Alexander* (London, B.L. Add. 39627, dated 1355/6) has the format of a FRIEZE GOSPEL, and the portraits it contains of the tsar and his family are clad in Byz.-style imperial costume. The *Chronicle of Constantine MANASSES* (Vat. slav. 2, ca. 1345) copies a Byz. illustrated chronicle, adapting traditional scenes to illustrate the passages on Bulgarian history written expressly for this book. Icon painting (e.g., the late 13th-C. St. George, Plovdiv State Gallery no.486) also reflects contemporary Byz. Palaiologan style.

LIT. S. Vaklinov, *Formirane na starobŭlgarskata kultura VI-XI vek* (Sofia 1977). K. Mijatev, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien* (Sofia 1974). A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, 2 vols. (Paris 1928). *Istorija na Bŭlgarskoto izobrazitelno izkustvo* (Sofia 1976). E. Bakalova, "Society and Art in Bulgaria in the Fourteenth Century," *BBulg* 8 (1986) 17-72.

-E.C.S.

BULGARIAN LITERATURE. Although a number of inscriptions in Greek and a few PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS written in Greek characters survive from before the conversion of Bulgaria, and there is evidence that both the Proto-

Bulgarians (Bulgars) and the Slavs were acquainted with writing, Bulgarian literature is a product of the christianization of the country. When the pupils of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS, expelled from Moravia, reached Bulgaria in 885, bringing with them translations of the Scriptures and of the liturgy, they found the ground prepared for the development of literature in CHURCH SLAVONIC. There had already been 20 years of missionary activity by Greek and Roman clergy. Tsar BORIS I was anxious to avoid too close dependence of the Bulgarian church on Byz. Furthermore, a generation of young Bulgarians, including the future tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA, had studied in Constantinople and brought some familiarity with Byz. literary culture back with them.

From their first arrival, the newcomers received royal patronage and encouragement on a grand scale. Schools were established in monasteries in Preslav and Ohrid for the training of Slavonic clergy and the translation or composition of the literature necessary for a Christian and civilized society. The beginning of Bulgarian literature can be dated with great precision to the second half of the 880s. Translation was the first priority. Among the earliest works translated by KONSTANTIN OF PRES LAV and others were select homilies of Athanasios of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, and John of Damascus, which provided an introduction to theology. Translations of the chronicles of MALALAS, Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, and GEORGE HAMARTOLOS familiarized Bulgarians with a historical process which was at the same time a process of salvation. The *Christian Topography* of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES furnished geographical information in a theological framework. The practice of translation provided a laboratory of language and style, in which experimentation with different genres flourished and the flexibility and expressiveness of Slavonic developed. With this end in mind, the short treatise of George CHOIROBOSKOS, *On Figures of Speech*, was translated in the late 9th or early 10th C.

Original writing went hand in hand with translation. Unknown authors wrote Lives, panegyrics, and *akolouthiai* on Constantine the Philosopher and Methodios, KLIMENT OF OHRID and NAUM OF OHRID. JOHN THE EXARCH and Konstantin of

Preslav combined material translated or adapted from Greek with much original matter. KOSMAS THE PRIEST applied Byz. theological concepts to the elucidation of specifically Bulgarian problems arising out of the spread of the BOGOMILS and displayed a capacity for sharp social criticism. Poetry was written, both in Byz. 12-syllable meter, such as the anonymous *enkomion* of Tsar Symeon, and in the complex accentual rhythms of the Byz. liturgy, as in the *kanon* on St. Demetrios. A treatise on church music surviving in a single GLAGOLITIC MS may well be connected with the development of liturgical hymns in the late 9th C.; it was written in Preslav or Ohrid.

Along with the "official" literature of the Byz. church, the Bulgarians took over and translated apocryphal and apocalyptic texts, such as the *Vision of Isaiah*. These provided a model for original compositions expressing Bulgarian aspirations and fears, such as the *Story of the Cross* by Jeremiah the Priest (10th C.) or the Thessalonican legend of the baptism of the Bulgarians. Both the Orthodox and sectarians, esp. the Bogomils, used such texts extensively; 25 apocryphal texts figure in the IZBORNİK of 1073.

What was not translated, adapted, or imitated in this period of the development of Bulgarian literature was the classicizing secular literature of the Byz., which must have seemed irrelevant and incomprehensible to Bulgarian readers and listeners. Thus Byz. literature and culture was filtered in its transmission to Bulgaria in the 9th and 10th C.

The piecemeal conquest of Bulgaria by the Byz. between 971 and 1018 destroyed the social and political structure that had fostered Bulgarian literature. Royal patronage, which had been necessary for the origin and rapid growth of Bulgarian literature, ceased. Monasteries, however, provided both a demand for and a supply of saints' Lives, such as the earliest Life of St. JOHN OF RILA, written before 1183. A number of apocryphal writings, sometimes of Bogomil inspiration, probably date from the period of Byz. rule.

Now Bulgarian literature began to have some influence on Byz. hagiography. THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid wrote a Life of his predecessor Kliment that evidently drew on Slavonic sources. The *protokouropalates* George SKYLITZES, who had served as *strategos* of a Bulgarian province, wrote a Greek

Life of St. John of Rila, which survives only in a 13th- or 14th-C. Slavonic translation. It may have been intended as a response to the pro-Bulgarian tone of the earlier Slavonic Life.

The restoration of Bulgarian independence in 1186 did not at once lead to a revival of Bulgarian literature. Feuding between ruling groups, threats from the Latin Empire of the Crusaders, and the general social and political instability of the country in the 13th C. were not conducive to literary production. Little literature survives from the period, apart from minor hagiographical texts and the Synodikon of Tsar BORIL, which contains, along with traditional Byz. material, accounts of the Bulgarian church council of 1211 and of the restoration of the Bulgarian patriarchate, as well as panegyrics on Bulgarian rulers and churchmen.

In the 14th C. the encouragement of literature by successive church leaders, in particular Teodosije, superior of Kilifarevo monastery (died 1363), and EVTİMİJ OF TŪRNOVO, together with the patronage of Tsar IVAN ALEXANDER, stimulated a remarkable literary and cultural revival, centered in monasteries in the Tŭrnovo region. Many new translations were made from Greek, including the *Kephalaia* (Chapters) of the hesychast GREGORY SINAITES, an anthology of sermons of John Chrysostom, and the *Chronicle* of Constantine MANASSES. Evtimij of Tŭrnovo composed Lives of Bulgarian saints, liturgical texts, and dogmatic treatises. His close friend KIPRIAN, an ecclesiastical diplomat of wide experience and for 17 years metropolitan of Moscow, wrote Lives of Russian saints, letters on dogma and church discipline, a *synaxarion* for the Russian church that included many Bulgarian and Serbian saints, and perhaps the first index of prohibited books. More than any other of his time he furthered the spread of southern Slavic and Byz. literary models and techniques in Serbia and Russia. KONSTANTIN KOSTENEČKI, who migrated to Serbia in 1410, wrote a Life of Stefan Lazarević and translated Greek patristic texts. Grigorij CAMBLAK, who migrated first to Serbia and then to Kiev, wrote many hagiographical works, liturgical compositions, and sermons. IOASAF OF VIDIN included in his panegyric of St. Philothea much information on the Bulgaria of his time. Among the many minor and often anonymous works surviving from

the 14th and early 15th C. are a short Bulgarian chronicle, letters on religious problems addressed to Evtimij of Tŭrnovo, and a verse panegyric on Tsar Ivan Alexander.

The literature of this period is marked by the influence, both in matter and in form, of contemporary Byz. literature. HESYCHASM won strong and immediate support among most Bulgarian clergy and monks. A rhetorical, poetic, and often pompously inflated style was reflective of contemporary Byz. taste. At the same time, we sometimes find lively descriptions of Bulgarian society and life. Had not the Turkish conquest destroyed the structures of Bulgarian society, Bulgarian literature might well have flourished. As things were, it provided a stimulus and a model for the literature of Serbia, Rumania, and above all Russia.

LIT. P. Dinekov et al., *Istorija na bŭlgarskata literatura*, I: *Starobŭlgarskata literatura* (Sofia 1982). Idem, *Pochvala na starata bŭlgarska literatura* (Sofia 1979). Idem, "Über die Anfänge der bulgarischen Literatur," *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 3 (1960) 109-21. I. Dujčev, *Iz starata bŭlgarska knižnina*, 2 vols. (Sofia 1943). M. Murko, *Geschichte der älteren südslavischen Literaturen* (Leipzig 1908). E. Georgiev, *Literaturata na Vtorata bŭlgarska dŭrŭŭava. Pŭrva čast: Literatura na XIII vek* (Sofia 1977). P. Rusev et al., *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1980). A. Davidov et al., *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola*, vol. 4 (Sofia 1985). —R.B.

BULGARIAN TREATY, ANONYMOUS TREATISE ON THE, conventional title of a speech preserved in a single MS (Vat. gr. 483 of the 13th or 14th C.) and dedicated to the signing of the peace treaty with the Bulgarians in October 927. The speech contains a survey of historical events: Leo VI is highly praised; then the author mentions a revolt (*apostasias*); the assault of the *archon* (SYMEON OF BULGARIA), who was crowned by the "helmet of darkness" (NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS); and the elevation of the new Moses (ROMANOS I), raised up out of the water to extinguish the flames of war. The text is full of classical references and obscure allusions, some of which are explained in red ink in the margins by the hand of the same scribe. Various scholars have suggested the following possible authors of the treatise: Nicholas Mystikos (F. Uspenskij in *Letopis'* 2 [1894] 121), ARETHAS OF CAESAREA (M. Šangin, *Istorič-Marksist* [1939] no.3, 177), NIKETAS MAGISTROS (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 18 [1960] 126), and Theodore DAPHNOPATES (I. Dujčev, *DOP* 32 [1978] 252f).

However, the most recent editor, Stauridou-Zaphraka, rejects all these identifications (*infra* 351–55).

ED. A. Stauridou-Zaphraka, "Ho anonymos logos 'Epiteton Boulgaron symbasei,'" *Byzantina* 8 (1976) 343–406. —A.K.

BULGARS, TURKIC, also Proto-Bulgarians, Pra-Bulgarians, a pastoral people, originally living in Central Asia. Swept westward in the great movement of steppe peoples that brought the Huns and later the AVARS to Europe, some Bulgar tribes settled in PANNONIA, where they were dominated by the Avars and took part in their campaigns against the Franks, Lombards, and Byz. In the 7th C. many of these Pannonian Bulgars settled in Italy, in Lombardy, the Rimini-Osimo area, and the region of Benevento. The main body of the Bulgar tribes, dwelling north of the Azov Sea and the river Kuban, were dominated by the Western Turkic khaganate from the mid-6th C. onward. In 632, profiting from divisions among their Turkic rulers, these Bulgars revolted successfully and formed a powerful confederation of Bulgar and related tribes known as Great Bulgaria, led by KUVRAT. Herakleios, seeking a reliable ally to block the Khazar advance westward, concluded a treaty with Kuvrat.

After Kuvrat died, Great Bulgaria broke up under Khazar pressure. Some tribes migrated to the Volga-Kama region, some probably joined their kinsmen in Pannonia, some remained under Khazar rule, and some, led by ASPARUCH, migrated westward to the area between the Dnieper and the Danube delta. In 681 Asparuch and his followers invaded Byz. territory south of the Danube and established the First Bulgarian Empire. About the same time a group of Pannonian Bulgars and their Slav and Greek subjects led by Kouber migrated to northern Macedonia; Byz. authorities recognized their presence there. Both Bulgar groups had long been in contact with agricultural peoples and had largely given up their pastoral way of life. They quickly mingled with the Slavs among whom they settled, becoming a single people called Bulgarians. By the end of the 9th C. the Bulgars had probably ceased to exist as a separate ethnic and linguistic group. (See also PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS.)

LIT. V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (Amsterdam 1981). Idem, *Pŭrvobŭlgarite*:

Bit i kultura (Sofia 1981). V. Gjuzelev, *The Protobulgarians: Pre-History of Asparouhian Bulgaria* (Sofia 1979). P. Petrov, *Obrazuvane na bŭlgarskata dŭrŭŭava* (Sofia 1981). A. Stojnev, *Svetogledŭt na Prabŭlgarite* (Sofia 1985). N. Mavrodinov, *Le trŕsor protobulgare de Nagyszentmiklŕs* (Budapest 1943). O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren* (Wiesbaden 1955). *Problemi na prabŭlgarskata istorija i kultura, II meŭdunarodna sreŭŭa po prabŭlgarska archeologia, Ŗumen* 1986 (Sofia 1989). —R.B.

BUREAUCRACY. Byz. was governed by the EMPEROR and administered by a corps of officials. The Byz. did not restrict the ruling class to a Greek version of the Western *oratores* and *bellatores*, clergy and knights, but regularly regarded officials as a separate category of the elite, often described as *synkletikoi*, SENATORS (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 66–70). In the broad sense of the term, bureaucracy also encompassed military commanders and ecclesiastical functionaries. We do not have figures to determine the size of the bureaucracy, although the number of officials was larger than in any other medieval European society. Very approximate data can be drawn from the early 5th-C. NOTITIA DIGNITATUM and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS. Around 400, there were 103 main offices of the central and provincial administration of the eastern part of the empire, both military and civil, and more than 260 subaltern offices (the number of officials should be larger since many offices presupposed several functionaries simultaneously); ca.900, there were 59 main and about 500 subaltern offices, despite a drastic contraction of imperial territory.

The main spheres of administrative activity, besides ecclesiastical, were military, fiscal, and judicial—this categorization provided by chrysobulls from the end of the 11th C. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION was in the hands of either military commanders or JUDGES, while DIPLOMACY was not consistently separated from the general administration. A significant role was assigned to various imperial chanceries whose function was the composition of documents and the handling of correspondence addressed to the *basileus*. After the abolition of the office of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT no functionary presided over the whole executive activity; the MESAZON or PARADYNASTEUON who tended to assume this role remained a semi-official imperial favorite.

There were neither social nor educational requirements for recruitment of civil servants—even

illiterate officials are known. EDUCATION, however, did provide one avenue of entrance, while children of officials had a better chance of obtaining administrative positions. By the 12th C. a pattern emerges in which military commanders or fiscal or judicial functionaries predominate in certain families, despite the absence of a hereditary system of TITLES or OFFICES. The combination of land ownership and imperial service was typical, esp. among the military elite, even though the government tried to prohibit the STRATEGOI from acquiring lands within their districts. Civil administrators originated more often than military commanders from families engaged in commerce; they were more likely to be connected with an intellectual milieu and the higher CLERGY.

A typical trait of Byz. bureaucracy was a close connection between the state government and the emperor's household. The difference between the two was ill defined, and the spheres of authority of the emperor's treasury and of the state financial bureau were barely distinguishable. Accordingly, the personnel of the imperial household, including EUNUCHS, was often assigned state functions, both civil and military. Until the end of the 11th C., the imperial household was considered to be a section of the state administration, and courtiers were included in the state hierarchy of the TAKTIKA. The Komnenoi tried to reverse the system and treated the state as the patrimony of the ruling dynasty; relatives of the emperor not only actually obtained high positions in the bureaucracy but also assumed the highest titles by right of consanguinity. A patrimonial element became entrenched in the Palaiologan period. The 14th-C. bureaucracy described by pseudo-KODINOS is based on the principle of consanguinity/affinity and on a post at court rather than on state service.

A position in the bureaucracy was seen as prestigious; it was characterized, esp. from the 12th C. onward, by terms of dependence (on the emperor) such as DOULOS or OIKEIOS; it was strictly contrasted with private service (A. Kazhdan, *RE-SEE* 7 [1969] 469–73). Public service was rewarded by salary (in a direct form or as a part of a province's revenues), by gifts from the emperor on feastdays, by donations of land or incorporeal rights (PRONOIA, CHARISTIKION, etc.), and, finally, by *sportulae* (see SYNETHIAI).

Texts preserve manifold complaints concerning malpractice of officials, esp. tax collectors (coer-

cion, bribery, theft, biased judgment). It is important to remember, however, that historians and hagiographers record primarily exceptional cases, and that the administrative machine could function effectively, although centralization had its negative features—the apparatus was expensive and clumsy, decision making took place in Constantinople, competition between officials could easily grow into intrigues and cabals, and bureaucratic omnipotence opened broad opportunities for personal gain.

Modern scholars, particularly J.B. Bury and F. Dölger, have considered the Byz. bureaucracy as a coherent system with a well-defined division of functions, which drew upon the late Roman administration so that new offices smoothly replaced the old ones. This picture is idealized and simplified; the bureaucracy was often in a state of confusion with the result that the same term might designate various offices, different departments might fulfill identical functions, SEKRETA might combine responsibilities of completely different kinds, and rivalry penetrated the whole state machinery. Direct connection with the Roman system is illusory and based primarily on the deceptive similarity of terms. It is quite probable that around the 7th C. the bureaucracy underwent a profound transformation that cannot, however, be explained by reform or a series of reforms; the main features of the gradual change were replacement of the PREFECTURE by the system of LOGOTHESIA, introduction of THEMES, and the decline of MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION. The struggle for centralization was won by the emperors of the 9th and 10th C. The resistance of themes was crushed, the army of TAGMATA created, and an orderly hierarchy established. The 11th C. witnessed the triumph of the centralized administration of the civil bureaucracy that soon revealed its negative features. The Komnenoi tried to rebuild the bureaucracy on the patrimonial basis that, after a reaction under Andronikos I and the Angeloi, was revived by the Laskarids. The small state of the Palaiologoi yielded to decentralizing tendencies; the administration in Constantinople merged with the court, and in the provinces local forces achieved administrative independence.

LIT. A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1974) 103–95. T.F. Carney, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society* (Lawrence, Kans., 1971). J.B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London 1911), with an index by

M. Gregoriou-Ioannidou in *EEPhSPTh* 10 (1968) 165–240. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973). A. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen* (Munich 1965). W. Kaegi, "Some Perspectives on Byzantine Bureaucracy," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, ed. McG. Gibson, R. Biggs (Chicago 1987) 151–59. —A.K.

BURGUNDIANS (*Βουργουνδοί*), a Germanic tribe that crossed the Rhine in 406 and settled in the middle Rhineland. In 443, following their defeat by the Huns, AETIUS resettled them in the Rhone-Saône valleys (Burgundy) and eastern Switzerland. The kingdom of Burgundy, by virtue of its rich Roman heritage, well-entrenched Gallo-Roman aristocracy, and proximity to Italy, was the most romanized of all the barbarian states. Although the Burgundians were Arian, relations with the orthodox Gallo-Roman clergy were such that Avitus, bishop of Vienna, was permitted by King Gundobad to convert his son and successor Sigismund to orthodoxy in 516. At least three Burgundian kings were granted an official title by Eastern emperors, perhaps *magister utriusque militiae per Gallias*. Eastern influence in Burgundy is evident in the presence of 5th-C. churches dedicated to Sts. Kosmas and Damianos, Christopher, and George. The Greek TRISAGION was also introduced into the Western Mass by way of Burgundy in the early 6th C. Burgundy was overrun by the FRANKS under Clovis in 534. The Franks sent a contingent of Burgundians to support the Ostrogoths in their struggle against Justinian I's forces in Italy. Tiberios I tried to intervene in Burgundian politics in order to secure Burgundian support against the LOMBARDS in Italy, but failed.

LIT. W. Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice," *Traditio* 13 (1957) 73–118. J. Richard, *Histoire de la Bourgogne* (Toulouse 1978) 90–130. Thompson, *Romans & Barbarians* 23–37. H. Rosenberg, "Bishop Avitus of Vienna and the Burgundian Kingdom," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 3 (1982) 1–12. —R.B.H.

BURGUNDIO OF PISA, jurist, diplomat, Latin translator of Greek texts; born ca.1110, died 30 Oct. 1193. On 10 Apr. 1136 Burgundio appeared at Constantinople as an interpreter (along with MOSES OF BERGAMO) at the theological disputation of ANSELM of Havelberg, Lothar III's ambassador to Emp. John II Komnenos, with Niketas, met-

ropolitan of Nikomedeia. His career as a Pisan jurist (1140–74) is well documented. From 7 Nov. 1168 to 9 Nov. 1171 he helped head an embassy to Emp. Manuel I intended to restore PISA's competitive position with her commercial rivals at Constantinople (*Reg* 1, no.1499). Burgundio's theological translations comprise Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew* (finished on 29 Nov. 1151 for Pope Eugenius III from a MS supplied by the Latin patriarch of Antioch); part of John of Damascus's *Fountain of Knowledge*, or *Pege gnooseos* (1153 or 1154); Nemesios (ca.1164 or 1165; dedicated to Frederick I); and Chrysostom's *Homilies on John* (begun during the embassy from two MSS loaned by Byz. monasteries; finished 1179). He also translated Galen's *On the Sects* (1185; dedicated probably to Henry VI), Greek passages of the *Digest* of Justinian, and the *Geoponika*. His annotations occur in Greek MSS Florence, Laur. 74.5, 74.18, 74.25, 74.30, and Paris, B.N. gr. 1849. Burgundio reproduced the Greek as closely as possible but shows semantic flexibility for individual words; his versions shed light on the Byz. transmission of these works.

ED. See R. Durling, *LMA* 2:1097f, for list of ed.
LIT. P. Classen, *Burgundio von Pisa: Richter, Gesandter, Übersetzer* (Heidelberg 1974). —M.McC.

BURIAL (*ταφή*). Although practices varied in different areas, it was common in warm countries to bury the deceased on the first day after death. Following FUNERAL preparations, the ceremony at the TOMB—including prayers, incense, and the EPITAPHIOS oration—centered on saying farewell to the departed and praying for his salvation and the pardon of his sins. The majority of people were buried in CEMETERIES, which were located outside of a city, town, or village. Some corpses were buried with valuables, which made their tombs liable to GRAVE-ROBBING.

Although a law of 381 (*Cod.Theod.* IX 17.6) prohibited the practice of burials in churches, it continued for clerics, distinguished monks, emperors, and influential laymen and their families. MAUSOLEUMS and MARTYRIA were erected to commemorate some imperial family members or the most venerated martyrs. Three distinct types of burials are to be found in Byz. churches from early Christian times on: ARCOSOLIA, tombs in the pavement, and SARCOPHAGI. All these types are

found in church porches, narthexes, naves, chapels, PAREKKLESIA, burial chambers, and CRYPTS. The burial sites were frequently reserved by individuals during their lifetime; for example, in the 13th-C. *typikon* for the LIPS MONASTERY in Constantinople, Empress Theodora prescribed the placement of her tomb as well as those of her family in various locations in the narthex and the nave of the church.

After the burial relatives of the deceased observed a period of mourning, during which, on the third, ninth, and fortieth day, they commemorated and prayed for the soul of the departed and prepared KOLLYBA.

LIT. N.P. Ševčenko, C.S. Snively, D. Abrahamse, N.B. Teteriatnikov, and S. Čurčić in *GOrThR* 29 (1984) 115–95. J. Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs," *GOrThR* 19 (1974) 37–72. A. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Washington, D.C., 1941). —N.T., Ap.K.

BURNING BUSH, a theophany to MOSES on Mt. SINAI (Ex 3:1–6). Pilgrims such as EGERIA (1.2–2.7) visited the site, and the monastery of St. CATHERINE reportedly was built there. The miracle was depicted early, for example, at the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS, at S. Maria Maggiore at Rome (432–40), and at S. Vitale at Ravenna (ca.540). In and after the 9th C. it is often included with the scene of Moses receiving the Law, since both accounts are connected with Mt. Sinai. In the PARIS PSALTER and the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, for example, the burning bush is represented halfway up the mountain. The Exodus account was read both at vespers and in the liturgy of the feast of the Annunciation, and the burning bush was already treated as a type of the Virgin by Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:332D), a theme developed in later homilies and prayers. Images of the Virgin or Virgin and Child within the burning bush are found in Palaiologan art, for example, in a cycle of such prefigurations in the *parekklesion* of the CHORA MONASTERY.

LIT. M.Q. Smith, *LCI* 1:510f. S. Der Nersessian in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:336–38. —J.H.L., C.B.T.

BUSTA GALLORUM (*Βουσταγαλλῶρων*, lit. "tombs of the Gauls"), site on the via Flaminia, between Rome and Ravenna, near Tadinæ (H.N. Roisle, *RE* supp. 14 [1974] 749–58, 799–809). Here, at the end of June/early July 552, NARSES

crushed TOTILA and thereby decisively broke the resistance of the Ostrogoths, marking the beginning of the end of their organized fighting ability. The Byz. enjoyed two-to-one numerical superiority, using Lombards, Herulians, and other barbarian infantry. The battle began with a single combat won by Anzalas, a retainer of Narses. Waiting for a troop of 2,000 mounted soldiers, Totila started a display of riding skill aimed at delaying the fight. Narses deployed his army in the shape of a crescent with *foederati* in the center and archers on the flanks. The Ostrogoths tried to smash the center but met a storm of arrows from the flanks. Prokopios, the only source for the battle, ascribes to Totila the order to use not bows but spears only (*Wars* 8:32.6). The unexpected counterattack of Roman cavalry finally compelled the Ostrogoths to retreat; 6,000 of them fell in battle, and many others who had surrendered were massacred. Totila, mortally wounded, fled.

LIT. H.N. Roisle in F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, vol. 5 (Berlin 1962) 363–77. H. Delbrück, *History of the Art of War*, vol. 2 (Westport, Conn., 1980) 351–61.

—W.E.K., A.K.

BUTCHER. In the late Roman and Byz. eras a distinct terminology was used for dealers in and butchers of SWINE and merchants/butchers of other kinds of LIVESTOCK (primarily cattle and SHEEP). A law of 419 (*Cod.Theod.* XIV 4.10), for example, united the separate guilds of swine merchants (*suarii*) and cattle merchants (*pecuarii*). In Egypt the pork butcher (*choiromageiros*) was often a separate tradesman (e.g., P.Cair.Masp. II 67164.3). The term *makellarios* (cattle butcher) appears several times in late Roman inscriptions from Korykos (MAMA 3, nos. 280, 538, and possibly 388); one of these inscriptions commemorates George *makellarios logarites*, perhaps a treasurer of the butchers' guild.

The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (chs. 15–16) divides the butchers/merchants into two guilds, the *makellarioi* and the *choiremporoi* (swine merchants); the *makellarioi* were strictly prohibited from buying swine and storing pork. At this time the *makellarioi* and *choiremporoi* served numerous functions, purchasing the animals, slaughtering them, and cutting up and selling their meat; in contrast the late Roman *suarii* and *pecuarii* were middlemen who bought animals from stockbreed-

Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 225.8-9) used the term *kreopoles* for the tradesman who both slaughtered animals and sold the meat.

Butchers in Constantinople were required to operate in authorized markets—Strategion and Tauros. They were forbidden to go to Nikomedeia or other nearby towns to receive delivery of sheep or to buy swine outside these markets; *makellarioi* were, however, allowed to travel beyond the Sangarios River in order to purchase animals for a lower price. *Makellarioi* had to set prices under the supervision of the eparch; they received the heads, feet, and entrails of the butchered animals as their profit but had to sell the remainder according to the fixed price.

A few seals of butchers survive. An 8th-C. seal of the *makellarios* Anastasios (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.735) implies that butchers could have administrative functions. There is also a 10th-C. seal of the *makellarios* Leo (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.933). A guild of butchers probably existed in 15th-C. Thessalonike; in any case, a *protomakellarios* is attested there (S. Kougeas, *BZ* 23 [1920] 145.10, 146.39). The functions of the guild at this time, however, seem to have expanded, so that a *protomakellarios* in Constantinople also dealt in wool (Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 111). There is evidence of a struggle in Constantinople in the Palaiologan period over market privileges: in 1320 a Venetian *bailo* protested the prohibition on Venetian meat and fish dealers in the capital's meat market (Matschke, *Fortschritt* 96).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 42-45. Bk. of Eparch 222-31. A. Graeber, *Untersuchungen zum spätromischen Korporationswesen* (Frankfurt am Main-Bern-New York 1983) 90-97.

-A.K.

BYTHOS (*Βυθός*), PERSONIFICATION of the Depths of the Sea, occurring most commonly in representations of the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA. Bythos is usually shown as a powerful naked male pulling Pharaoh from his horse into the water. Unknown in Early Christian imagery, he appears from the 10th C. in PSALTER illustration and the OCTATEUCHS. In the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS this figure is identified as Pontos, the Sea. (See also THALASSA.)

-A.C.

BYZACENA (*Βυσσάντις χώρα* in antiquity). Under Diocletian, southern AFRICA PROCONSULARIS was formed into a new province known as *Valeria*

Byzacena. Byzacena was a major producer of agricultural goods from imperial and private domains situated on the eastern coast (Sahel) and near important inland towns such as SUFETULA (Sbeitla) and Thelepte. In 442 Valentinian III ceded Byzacena to the VANDALS. In the late 5th and early 6th C. much of southern Byzacena fell under the control of MAURI tribes. Following the Justinianic reconquest, Byzacena was ruled by both civil and military governors. The province was the scene of frequent warfare between the Byz. and Mauri until ca.571. Byzacena continued, however, to export oil to Constantinople and other parts of the Mediterranean, although in evidently reduced volume. Surveys conducted around Sufetula and Cillium (Kasserine) show a decline in rural settlement in the 6th and 7th C. Byzacena was invaded by the Arabs in 647 and again in 665 and 669. In 670 a permanent Arab presence was established at Qayrawān. By the 680s the province was considered lost by Byz. authorities.

The ecclesiastical province of Byzacena did not emerge before the mid-4th C. Donatists predominated in the mountainous regions, Orthodox in the plains and coast; unlike NUMIDIA, Byzacena was not torn by conflicts between the two sects. Byzacena was, however, a center of Orthodox resistance to the Arian Vandals and at the forefront of African opposition in the THREE CHAPTERS controversy. Byzacena was also involved in opposition to MONOTHELETISM, which crystallized in the brief revolt (646-47) of the exarch GREGORY.

LIT. A. Chastagnol, "Les gouverneurs de Byzacène et de Tripolitaine," *AntAfr* 1 (1967) 119-34. Pringle, *Defence*. J.-M. Lassère, "La Byzacène méridionale au milieu du VI^e s. apC d'après la *Johannide* de Corippus," *Pallas* 31 (1984) 163-78. R.B. Hitchner, "The Kasserine Archaeological Survey," *AntAfr* 24 (1988) 7-41.

-R.B.H.

BYZANTINE ERA, a system of computation of world CHRONOLOGY devised by the 7th C. Its elements are noticeable in the CHRONICON PASCHALE written in the 630s. In 638/9 the monk and priest George elaborated its principles in a treatise on the computation of Easter (F. Diekamp, *BZ* 9 [1900] 24-32); it is difficult to decide whether he was the same priest and *hegoumenos* George to whom Maximos the Confessor dispatched a letter (PG 91:56-61) at approximately the same time. George's point of departure was the observation

that according to the ALEXANDRIAN ERA the sun had to be created on the fourth day of its course and the moon in its full phase, already on the fifteenth day of its course. To eliminate this contradiction George made a shift of 16 years and concluded that the Creation took place not 5,492 but 5,508 years before the birth of Christ. Only by the end of the 10th C. did this system of dating become prevalent, although sporadic use of it in ecclesiastical documents can be found earlier, e.g., in 691 (V. Benešević, *Syntagma XIV titulorum* [St. Petersburg 1906; rp. Leipzig 1974] 145.17-19). The era began originally on 21 Mar., but later (9th/10th C.) was shifted to 1 Sept.

To convert a Byz. Era date to an A.D. date, where commencement of year is 21 Mar., subtract 5,507 for dates between 1 Jan. and 20 Mar., but 5,508 for dates between 21 Mar. and 31 Dec.; where commencement of year is 1 Sept., subtract 5,508 for dates between 1 Jan. and 31 Aug., but 5,509 for dates between 1 Sept. and 31 Dec.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 98-128.

-B.C., A.K.

BYZANTINE RITE, the liturgical system of the Byz. Orthodox church, comprising the SACRAMENTS; the HOURS and VIGILS; the liturgical YEAR with its CALENDAR of FEASTS, FASTS, and saints' days; and a variety of lesser AKOLOUTHIAI (blessings, ENKAINIA, EXORCISMS, monastic investiture, etc.), all codified in LITURGICAL BOOKS.

Renowned for the sumptuousness of its ceremonial and for its rich liturgical symbolism, the Byz. rite—in part the heritage of the imperial splendors of Constantinople—is actually a hybrid of Constantinopolitan and Palestinian rites gradually synthesized over the course of the 9th-14th C. Its history can be divided into four phases: "palaeo-Byz." (late Roman), imperial, Stoudite, and neo-Sabaitic. Antioch was the major center of liturgical diffusion in the prefecture of Oriens, and with several early bishops of Byzantion coming from Antioch or its environs, the early Constantinopolitan ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA and liturgy of the Eucharist, esp. the ANAPHORA, bear Antiochene traits. In the 6th-7th C., esp. under Justinian I with the construction of HAGIA SOPHIA, the Byz. rite became "imperial," acquiring great ritual splendor and theological explication, the latter the result of the contemporary Christological controversies; new feasts, the creed, and sev-

eral new chants (TRISAGION, MONOGENES, CHEROUBIKON) were added at this time.

By the 9th-10th C. the church of Constantinople had evolved its complete liturgical system, codified in the TYPICON OF THE GREAT CHURCH. The monastic victory over ICONOCLASM resulted in the gradual monasticization of the LITURGY, esp. the adoption by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS of Palestinian monastic usages for the hours, which initiated an eventual fusion of Constantinopolitan and Palestinian liturgical books. The monks of STOUDIOS gradually combined the HOROLOGION of the imported Palestinian office of St. Sabas with the EUCHOLOGION of the Great Church to create the hybrid "Stoudite" office: Palestinian monastic psalmody and hymns merged with the litanies and prayers of the Constantinopolitan *asmatike akolouthia*. This period is characterized by a massive infusion of new liturgical poetry into the offices, monastic compositions from both Palestine and Constantinople, and their gathering into new anthologies (OKTOECHOS, TRIODION, PENTEKOSTARION, MENAION). It is in this period that the first STOUDITE TYPIKA appear to regulate the use of these new "propers."

Meanwhile, the Byz. rite was spreading to the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, as these churches, weakened successively by the Monophysite schism, the Islamic conquests, and later the Crusades, gradually abandoned their own liturgies in favor of the Byz. rite. This process, already observable in MSS of the 9th C., was fostered esp. by Theodore BALSAMON and was more or less complete in Alexandria and Antioch by the end of the 13th C., though the Liturgy of St. James remained in use longer in the patriarchate of Jerusalem (C. Charon [Korolevskij] in *Chrysostomika* [Rome 1908] 473-718; J. Nasrallah, *OrChr* 71 [1987] 156-81).

The Stoudite office, adopted throughout the Byz. monastic world, underwent further Sabaitic influence in Palestine. The result, codified in the SABAITIC TYPIKA, was adopted on Mt. Athos, where it received its final form under Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS. This "neo-Sabaitic" rite was to spread further in the wake of the reform movement under the patriarchate of Philotheos, even replacing the *asmatike akolouthia* everywhere but Thessalonike. By the end of the empire the Byz. rite was in use throughout the Orthodox world and Sabaitic *typika* in force everywhere except south-

ern Italy and Rus', which still retained Stoudite usages.

LIT. M. Arranz, "Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie," *Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle* (Rome 1976) 43-72. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours," nos. 40, 45f, 49, 52, 71, 132. Taft, "Mount Athos," 179-94. —R.F.T.

BYZANTION (Βυζάντιον, also Βυζαντίς), name of a Megarian colony at the southern mouth of the BOSPOROS, reportedly founded ca.660 B.C. The word is of Thracian origin; cf. the town of BIZYE, the river Barbyzes, etc. Ancient and Byz. legends considered a certain Byzas (the son of the nymph Semestre or a legendary Thracian king) as the founder of the city, sometimes together with the mythical Antes. The *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* often refers to "the days of Byzas and Antes" (e.g., *Parastaseis* 100.17); a combination of these two names must explain the toponym Byz-Ant-ion.

Constantine I chose Byzantion as the site of his residence, transformed gradually into a new capital. Byz. authors through the 15th C. (e.g., Douk. 43.9) used the name *Byzantion* for their capital, although the official designation was CONSTANTINOPLE (Gr. Konstantinoupolis, "the city of Constantine"). The Byz. never extended the name *Byzantion* to their empire, which was termed "of the Rhomaioi"; for them the Byzantioi were the inhabitants of the capital. The term *Byzantine Empire* was coined by 16th-C. humanists.

Layout and Monuments. Seeing that Byzantion was absorbed into Constantinople without any radical replanning, its layout influenced that of the new city and many of its buildings survived into the Byz. period. The ancient city walls, renowned for their strength, described an arc from the Golden Horn to the Propontis, passing a short distance east of what was to be Constantine's Forum. Demolished by Septimius Severus in 195-96, they were rebuilt in the second half of the 3rd C., probably along the same line. The acropolis of Byzantion, on the site of the present Seraglio, contained the main temples, which were still standing in the 6th C. Two fortified harbors lay within the walls on the shore of the Golden Horn. Next to them was an agora (later the Strategion). A second agora, called TETRASTOON, is represented by the open space south of HAGIA SOPHIA, later the AUGUSTAION. From there a colonnaded

street, ascribed to Severus, led westward to the city gate. The theater, amphitheater (in the region of MANGANA), the baths of Achilles and ZEUXIPPOS, the aqueduct of Hadrian, and possibly the HIPPODROME were further features of the ancient city that survived into the Middle Ages. The cemetery of Byzantion lay west of the city walls. The archaeological remains of Byzantion are very meager except for a good number of inscriptions.

LIT. J. Miller, *RE* 3 (1899) 1116-50. V.P. Nevskaja, *Byzanz in der klassischen und hellenistischen Epoche* (Leipzig 1955). H. Merle, *Die Geschichte der Städte Byzantion und Kalchedon* (Kiel 1916). Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 62-69. P.A. Dethier, A.D. Mordtmann, *Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopis* [= *Denk Wien* 13] (Vienna 1864). N. Firathi, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Paris 1964). —C.M., A.K.

BYZANTIUM, or Byzantine Empire, conventional name of a medieval state that existed for more than one thousand years. It can be viewed as a continuation of the Roman Empire inasmuch as its legal and administrative systems retained numerous Roman features; at the same time, it underwent significant transformations, evolving into a Christian and primarily Greek-speaking state centered on the Balkans and eastern Mediterranean. The Byz. themselves called their state the Roman Empire (*basileia ton Rhomaion*) rather than Byzantium, applying the name BYZANTION only to their capital, renamed CONSTANTINOPLE. Byzantium as a term for the state was introduced into scholarship only in the 16th C. by Hieronymus Wolf (1516-80).

Since there is no act formally proclaiming the inauguration of Byz., no revolution abolishing the "ancient regime," the date of its beginning remains under discussion; most scholars prefer the date of 324 (or 330), when Constantinople was founded by CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT, or 395, when the Roman Empire was divided between the sons of THEODOSIOS I. It is easier to set a precise date for the end of Byz.; it ceased to exist in 1453 when Constantinople was captured by the OTTOMANS, although some remnants of the empire (the despotate of MOREA, the empire of TREBIZOND) retained their independence until 1460 and 1461, respectively.

The population was multinational; after the loss of the eastern provinces to the Arabs in the 7th C., it was composed primarily of Greeks, Armenians, and Slavs. Its size is hard to estimate: J.C.

Russell (*TAPhS* 48.3 [1958] 93) proposed about 10.7 million inhabitants for Asia Minor and the Balkans ca.600 (see DEMOGRAPHY). Greek was the official LANGUAGE from the 7th C. onward, although many ethnic minorities kept their own languages. The principal religion was Orthodox Christianity, but Armenians, Jews, and Muslims observed their own rites. Constantinople, which was founded as the emperor's residence, became the capital by the 5th C. and remained the center of administration, culture, and cult until the end of the empire except for a short period of Latin occupation (1204-61), when the capital was moved to NICAEA.

Geography of the Empire. Byz. territory was constantly in flux: originally encircling the entire MEDITERRANEAN SEA (extending over an area of more than 1,000,000 sq km in 560), it shrank first to a state occupying only the Balkans and north-eastern Mediterranean, then to a state surrounding the AEGEAN SEA, and finally to a tiny domain on the BOSPOROS. For much of its history the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor were its nucleus, supplying basic foodstuffs and manpower. This region is characterized by mountainous terrain (major ranges are the Haimos or BALKANS, RHODOPE, Taygetos, Pontic and Armenian ranges, the TAURUS) with vast plateaus (e.g., CAPPADOCIA) and relatively few valleys; the RIVERS, save for the DANUBE and EUPHRATES on its frontiers, are not major waterways, and are open to navigation only in their lower reaches. This landscape, tending to separate one region from another, strongly contrasts with the politically unified structure of the empire. Indented coastlines and numerous islands provided harbors and formed convenient "stepping stones" from Constantinople to Crete and from the western Balkans to Italy; however, as the empire's political authority over the Mediterranean region diminished, its merchants lost their monopoly on COMMERCE and yielded first to the Arabs and then to the Italians.

The empire possessed a variety of climatic and agricultural zones: regions with hot weather, suitable for growing cotton and palm trees; typically moderate Mediterranean areas producing olives and grapes; northern valleys rich in grain; mountainous plateaus providing pasture for flocks. This diversity of CLIMATE contributed to the development of TRANSHUMANCE on varying scales. There is no evidence for climatic change in the Byz.

period. The issue of erosion has been much debated: there is no doubt that many harbors silted up and coastlines changed with the deposit of alluvium, but this may have been the result of commercial negligence rather than the cause of decreasing economic activity.

LIT. *Tabula imperii byzantini*, vol. 1- (Vienna 1976-). J. Koder, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1984). A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1974) 19-100. A. Philippson, *Das byzantinische Reich als geographische Erscheinung* (Leiden 1939). O. Maull, "Der Einfluss geographischer Faktoren auf die Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches," *SüdostF* 21 (1962) 2-21. —A.K.

BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF. This article is composed of an introductory overview of periodization, followed by six essays on the major divisions of Byz. history.

AN OVERVIEW. The separation of Byz. history into periods, like any historical periodization, is one artificially imposed by scholars. The most broadly used periodization is the tripartite division into early, middle, and late periods. This system has, however, two substantial shortcomings: first of all, it is based not on actual historical developments, but on the dubious philosophical premise that three is a magical figure; second, there is no common consensus concerning the borderlines between particular periods. The conventional system of periodization places the beginning of Byz. history either in the early 4th C. with the foundation of CONSTANTINOPLE by CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT or at the end of that century with the division of the empire into Eastern and Western halves under the sons of Theodosios I, ARKADIOS and HONORIUS. There is much less agreement about what marks the end of the "early Byzantine" period (and, accordingly, the beginning of the "middle Byzantine" period); it has been variously dated to 565 (death of JUSTINIAN I), 610 (accession of HERAKLEIOS), 717 (beginning of the ISAUROIAN DYNASTY), and 843 (defeat of ICONOCLASM and the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY). For the end of the middle Byzantine period scholars have usually chosen either 1071 (battle of MANTZIKERT) or 1204 (capture of Constantinople by the Latins). The "late Byzantine" period is traditionally dated from 1204 (or 1261, the recovery of Constantinople by the Byz.) to 1453, when Constantinople fell to the Turks.

The following historical survey does not attempt to establish precise boundaries between periods based upon specific political events; instead, this scheme for the most part uses vaguer, approximate dates corresponding to internal developments rather than to changes imposed from without. Thus, the proposed framework represents a more elaborate periodization than the traditional tripartite division while carrying the acknowledgment that it, too, represents an artificial scheme.

Period of the Late Roman Empire (4th–mid-7th C.), dubbed “Proto-Byzantine” by Lemerle (*Agr.Hist.* 1–26). The application of the term “Byzantine” to this period is debatable, since the empire of this time preserved the main features of ancient urban society and remained a Mediterranean state par excellence. The issue is further confused by the fact that some scholars refer to papyri of the 6th and 7th C. as “late Byzantine,” and that likewise the final period of Byz. rule in Syria and Palestine (6th–7th C.) may be termed “late Byzantine.”

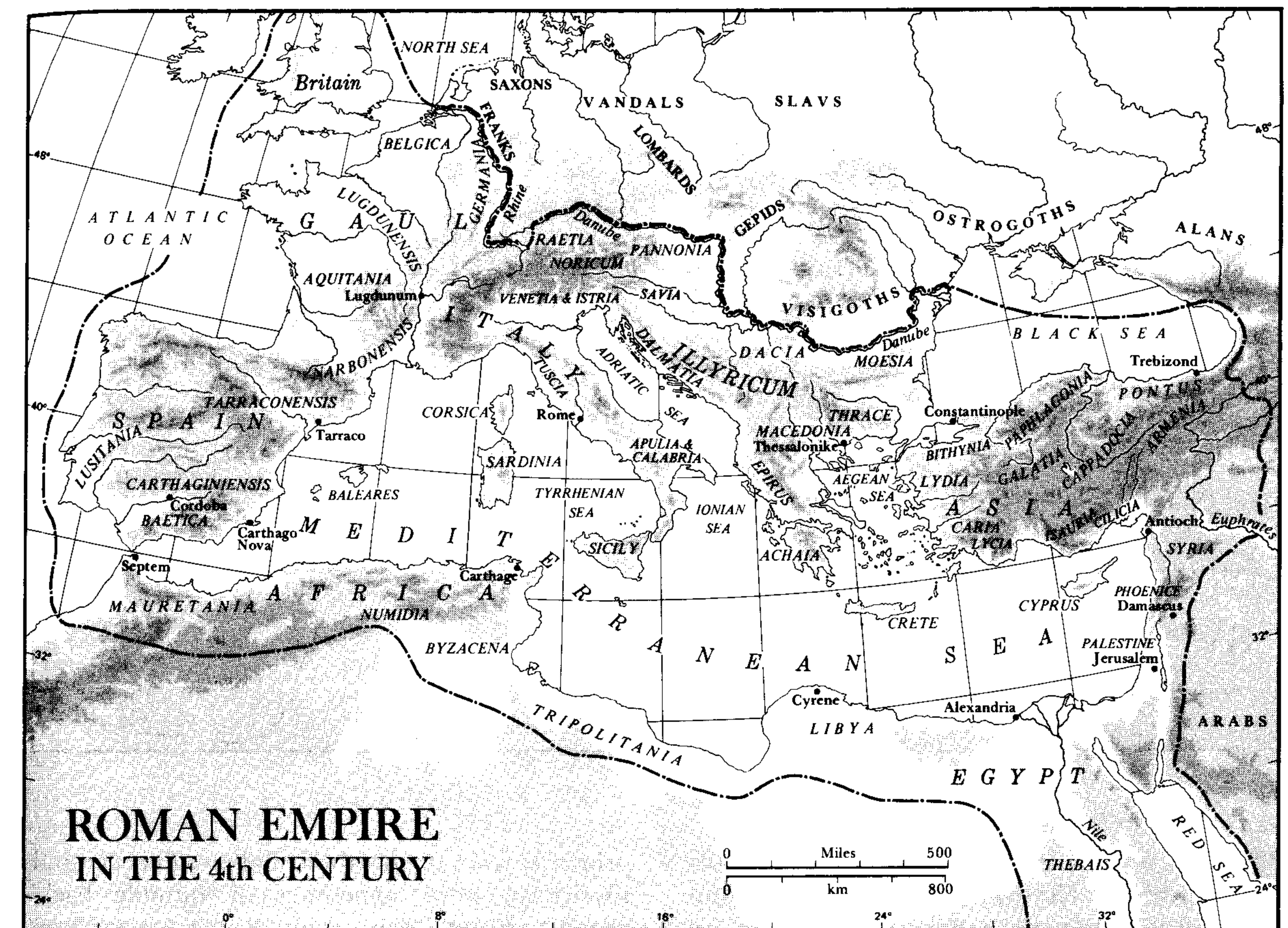
Period of the “Dark Ages” (mid-7th C. to ca.800/850) is characterized by the crisis of ancient city life, aggravated by serious territorial losses and cultural decline. Sometimes it is called the “period of Iconoclasm,” even though the two phenomena do not fully coincide chronologically; moreover, the concept of Iconoclasm does not cover all the changes that Byz. society underwent during this time. No more fortunate is the attempt to describe this period as one of Slavic penetration into the empire, which allegedly caused an essential restructuring of the Byz. economy and administration. In the first half of the 9th C. occurred the first stages of the process of recovery and consolidation that was to characterize the next period.

Age of Recovery and Consolidation (ca.800/850–1000), sometimes called the period of the “Macedonian renaissance” or of *ENCYCLOPEDIISM*. The latter term is more appropriate, although it refers only to cultural developments. During this period the “classic” form of the Byz. centralized and “totalitarian” state was established, and ideological and cultural uniformity was superimposed upon society. At the end of this period Byz. launched a series of offensive wars and managed to recover some of its territory in the east and the Balkans.

Period of “Westernization” and the Empire of Nicaea (ca.1000–1261), divided into two unequal parts by the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Characteristic traits of this period are the rise of provincial towns and of a semifeudal nobility, developments that were accompanied by a cultural flowering that is here called “pre-Renaissance” (the traditional term is “Komnenian renaissance”). Byz. took substantial steps toward “westernizing” its economy, social structure, and government, and despite religious friction was close to becoming a member of the European community of feudal states. The catastrophe of 1204 seems to have had no radical impact on the economic and social development of Byz.; the political pattern changed, however, and the centralized empire was replaced by a group of independent entities (the empires of NICAIA and TREBIZOND, the despotate of EPIROS, the LATIN EMPIRE with its vassal states).

“Empire of the Straits” (1261–1453). Under the Palaiologan dynasty Byz. was a minor state whose territory continued to shrink under the blows inflicted by the Latins (esp. the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY), Serbs, and OTTOMANS. The desperate situation was aggravated by socioeconomic factors—the growth of semifeudal forces, the increasing urbanization of western Europe, and the growing economic dependence of Byz. on the Italian republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. The Byz. retained nevertheless the illusion of being a universal empire, while in the West national states were emerging as the dominant political form. The government and esp. the church could not reconcile their universal claims with the political realities. Byz. was unable to normalize relations with either the Turks or the West, nor could it unite the divided powers of eastern Europe to resist the Turkish onslaught.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969). A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, Wisc., 1952). *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4.1–2, ed. J.M. Hussey (Cambridge 1966). R. Browning, *The Byzantine Empire* (New York 1980). *Istorija Vizantii*, 3 vols. (Moscow 1967). G. Weiss, *Byzanz* (Munich 1986). L. Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin*, 3 vols. (Paris 1969–70). *Historia tou Hellenikou ethnous*, ed. G. Christophilopoulos, 1. Mpastias, vols. 7–9 (Athens 1978–79). A. Ducellier, M. Kaplan, et al., *Byzance et le monde orthodoxe* (Paris 1986). D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Empire, 500–1453* (London 1971). C. Foss, P. Magdalino, *Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1977). C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire*

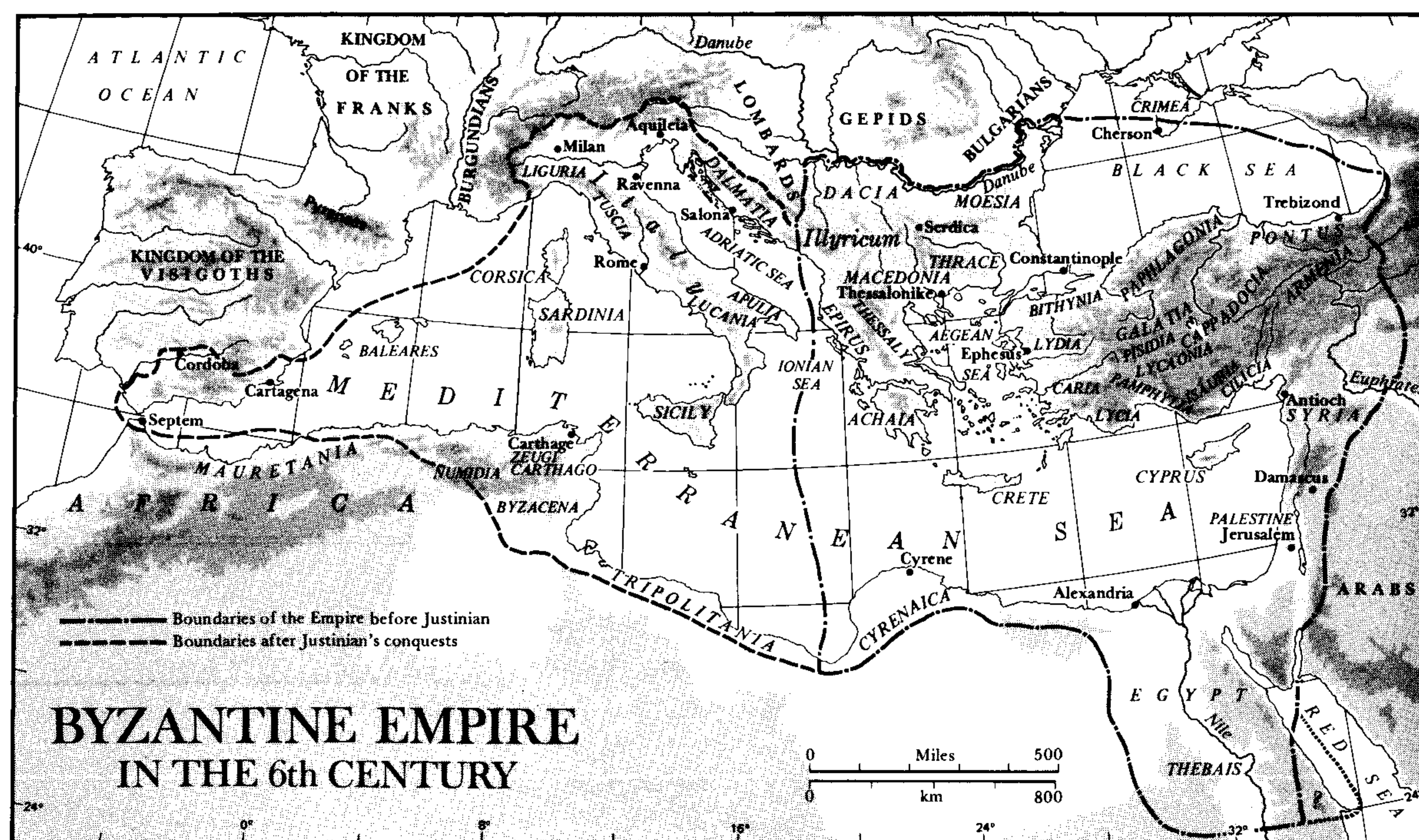


of New Rome (New York 1980). D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago 1984). —A.K.

LATE ROMAN EMPIRE (4th–mid-7th C.). The beginning of the late Roman Empire can be placed ca.300. By that time *DIOCLETIAN*, through a series of administrative and economic reforms, managed to quell the so-called crisis of the 3rd C., during which the empire was beset by internal problems such as impoverishment of the populace, decline of military power, economic and monetary instability, and frequent rebellions and depositions of the emperor, as well as the increasing external threat from Germanic tribes and *SASANIAN* Persia. The system of the *TETRARCHY* established by Diocletian was effective during his 20-year rule but upon his retirement disintegrated. After long power struggles *CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT* emerged victorious in 324. Constan-

tine's policy of toleration of Christianity and his foundation of a new imperial residence in the East, *CONSTANTINOPLE*, were both significant events that began the process of transformation of the Roman Empire into the Byz. Empire.

For a century and a half, until 476, there continued to be emperors in both the Eastern and Western halves of the empire. The rulers in Constantinople managed to avert the threat of the Germanic tribes by diplomacy and accommodation (settling some Germans as *FOEDERATI*) but observed cold-bloodedly (and perhaps even instigated) the barbarian advance into the territory of the Western Empire: *ALARIC* sacked Rome in 410, and later in the 5th C. the *OSTROGOTHS* overran Italy, the *VISIGOTHS* took Spain, and the *VANDALS* North Africa. In 476 the power of the last Western emperor in Italy, *ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS*, was abolished, although *JULIUS NEPOS* continued for



a few more years (until 480) as claimant to the Western throne. Nevertheless, the first Germanic kingdoms on Roman territory were Roman-oriented and, with certain exceptions, ready to acknowledge the theoretical sovereignty of Constantinople. Moreover, in the 6th C. the generals of JUSTINIAN I were able to recover some of the Western lands lost to the barbarians, reestablishing Constantinople's control over Italy, North Africa, and southeastern Spain.

By the end of the 6th C., however, much of Italy was again lost to the empire, when it was overrun by the LOMBARDS. Also at the end of the 6th C. the AVARS and SLAVS began to break through Roman defense lines in the Balkans and to penetrate as far south as the Peloponnesos. The threat of the rival Sasanian Empire was contained until the early 7th C., when the Persians briefly took Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. HERAKLEIOS's recovery of the Holy Land for the Byz. (629) was short-lived; within a decade, the ARABS, newly converted to Islam, had emerged as the dominant power in the Near East, and Byzantium lost its eastern provinces permanently.

The EMPERORS of this period, who originated

primarily from the northern Balkans (Thrace and Illyricum), were sometimes of humble background (Justin I was a peasant, Anastasios I an official, Valens and Leo I were military commanders of mid-rank, Phokas a soldier) or questionable descent (Constantine I was the son of a concubine, Zeno of an Isaurian chieftain). They rarely served as active generals, Julian, Theodosios I, and Herakleios being evident exceptions. Most rulers remained in Constantinople (Theodosios II, Anastasios I, Justinian I); their policies were open to the influence of strong empresses (e.g., Pulcheria, Ariadne, Theodora, Martina) as well as of EUNUCHS and lawyers. Emperors tried to stabilize the throne in two ways: on the one hand, there were attempts to establish a collegiality of power (the tetrarchy, the institution of co-emperors, the system of equal rulers in Rome and Constantinople); on the other hand, an effort was made to build up hereditary power (Constantine I—Constantius II—Julian from 324 to 363, Theodosios I—Arkadios—Theodosios II from 379 to 450). The establishment of dynasties was thwarted, however, by the failure of some of the most successful emperors to produce heirs or by the rivalry

of their sons by different wives; thus, Constantius II, Julian, Theodosios II, Marcian, Zeno, Anastasios I, and Justinian I all died childless, and the deaths of Constantine and Herakleios were followed by power struggles among relatives. In some cases successors to the throne were adopted sons (Tiberios I), nephews (Justinian I, Justin II), sons-in-law (Maurice), or husbands of the late emperor's widow (Anastasios) or sister (Marcian).

In the 4th and 5th C. the empire retained the major features of antiquity: it was still a Mediterranean state bound together not only by political but also by economic, cultural, and linguistic unity. The city and villa formed the cornerstones of the late Roman economy; trade flourished throughout the Mediterranean, and commercial routes over land and sea connected the empire with the remote areas of Ethiopia, India, and the territories beyond the Danube. However, from the 6th C. onward, an economic decline of the POLIS can be traced, primarily in cities of small and medium size. Larger cities (such as Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage) continued to flourish; their role as administrative centers contributed much to the urban prosperity. Imperial residences played a special role: in the West, Rome preserved the place of honor as the former capital of the empire, but the court moved away—to Milan and then to Ravenna. In the East, Constantinople, inaugurated in 330, became the capital by the mid-5th C., superseding all its administrative, economic, and ecclesiastical rivals, such as Nikomedeia, Naisos, Ephesus, and Alexandria.

By the mid-7th C., however, the urban system was in a state of crisis, both in the areas vulnerable to enemy invasions and in the regions that remained relatively safe from hostile attack. Changes in the countryside are difficult to interpret, since the evidence is contradictory. On the one hand, it is thought that from the 4th C. onward, the colonate (see COLONI) began to assume the traits of personal dependency; by certain scholars this trend is even equated with medieval serfdom. On the other hand, both archaeological data and documentary material indicate that villagers (at least in certain regions) became more prosperous and independent. The ARISTOCRACY also changed in character: both the municipal and senatorial aristocracies (basically hereditary) were replaced (esp. in the East) by a new type of officialdom, seeking and depending on imperial favor.

The administrative structure of the empire was a substantial concern of the authorities; various emperors, esp. Diocletian, Constantine I, and Justinian I, tried to organize and reorganize central and provincial administration, the ARMY, the system of taxation, and court life. Reforms were introduced and abolished, laws promulgated, and voluminous law books (CODEX THEODOSIANUS, CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS) compiled. The main directions of change were as follows: the reinforcement of the central BUREAUCRACY, whose leaders, such as the PRAETORIAN PREFECT and MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, played a decisive part in the administration; the increasing impact of court ceremonial on all aspects of life; the restructuring of the army so that the defensive forces (including the LIMES and the troops of the *foederati*) acquired a predominant role; the gradual replacement of municipal bodies by provincial governors (*duces*, prefects) and their staffs. Of momentous importance were the shifts in provincial organization: initial attempts to combine military and civil power in the same hands were succeeded by the separation of power; finally, by the end of the 6th C., EXARCHATES were created, and the way was paved for the introduction of the THEME organization.

The period of the 4th–7th C. saw the firm establishment of Chalcedonian Christianity as the official religion of the empire. Major PATRIARCHATES were organized at Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, and a series of ecumenical COUNCILS sought to define Christian doctrine. MONASTICISM, which had its beginnings in the desert, became an urban phenomenon as well; the accumulation of property by monasteries meant that these institutions began to play an increasing role in the economy.

Ancient scholarship and oratory, education, and forms of entertainment continued in the late Roman period. Many intellectuals spoke both Greek and Latin; rhetorical skill reached its peak in works of writers such as Libanios and John Chrysostom; libraries, universities, and theaters still functioned; and philosophers commented on and developed ancient doctrines. Nevertheless, profound changes took place in the sphere of culture: local ethnic traditions (Egyptian, Thracian, etc.) were revived; local literatures (e.g., SYRIAC, COPTIC) emerged; the role of urban professionals (teachers, medical doctors) diminished; and by the mid-6th C. in the East, Greek became the pre-

dominant language of law and administration as well as of literature. The most important feature of late Roman culture was the increasing influence of Christianity. Although pagan scholarship and literature had their exponents up to the 6th C., Christianity dominated both institutionally, through its churches, monasteries, and philanthropic organizations, and ideologically, attracting the traditional intelligentsia and implanting its values and ideals of behavior. With the triumph of Christianity, new literary forms, such as the homily, hymn, and saint's vita emerged, as did new genres of art and architecture.

By the end of this period, society and culture were far from being uniform. The Germanic conquests in the West in the 5th C. led not only to political division but also to a widening economic and cultural breach: the West became more and more latinized, while the East preserved a multilingual pattern with Greek as the language of administration. The pre-feudal landed aristocracy in the West, based on a system of estates and lineage, became increasingly independent, while in the East both the bureaucracy and nuclear family were more significant factors. The crisis of urbanism affected the West more strongly, and in the 6th C. the decline of ancient civilization was more evident there than in the eastern portion of the empire, which was gradually being transformed into Byzantium. In the East disputes took place between pagans and Christians, between numerous groups within Christianity (Arians, Monophysites, Nestorians, Neo-Chalcedonians), and between ethnic communities (attacks were launched against the Germanic *foederati*, the Isaurians, Samaritans, etc.). Scholarly issues were hotly debated, among others Aristotelian and Platonic world views as well as such religio-cultural topics as the legitimacy of the theater, the hippodrome, and divorce. Circus factions, which were normally the mouthpiece of the fans of the hippodrome, could proclaim political slogans at moments of crisis and thus produced an illusion of bipartisan political structure. The involvement of the state in theological discussions, esp. in church councils, however, prepared the climate for the medieval concept of "one state, one dogma."

LIT. T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass.—London 1982). E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. 1 (Paris 1959), vol. 2 (Paris-Brussels 1949). P. Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge

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"DARK AGES" (mid-7th C. to ca.800/850).

During this period, which includes the ISAURIAN and AMORIAN dynasties, the empire suffered great territorial losses but eventually restructured its administration and stabilized its borders. The period witnessed far-reaching societal transformations and, near its close, the beginnings of a sustained economic and cultural revival.

During the 7th and 8th C. the ARABS (UMAYYAD CALIPHATE, 'ABBASID CALIPHATE) permanently occupied Byz. territory from Syria to Spain, ended Byz. naval hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean, and twice besieged Constantinople (MU'AWIYA, MASLAMA). Although the caliphs HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD and MU'ṬAṢĪM invaded Byz. territory, by the 9th C. the empire had retained Asia Minor and stabilized a no man's land running between Syria and Armenia. At the same time Byz. cultural influence on the Arabs was considerable, esp. under caliph MA'MŪN. In the 7th C. the BULGARS under ASPARUCH established themselves south of the Danube, but through skillful diplomacy and military campaigns (e.g., Constantine V's defeat of TELERIG at LITHOSORIA) Byz. held on to Thrace and occasionally used the Bulgars as allies (TERVEL). KRUM attacked Constantinople in 811, but OMURTAG made peace and accelerated the Bulgars' entry into the Byz. cultural sphere, which culminated in the conversion of BORIS I and the reign of his son SYMEON OF BULGARIA. In Italy Byz. could not prevent the advance of the LOMBARDS, who took RAVENNA in 751, nor of the FRANKS, who ultimately laid claim to the imperial title itself (CHARLEMAGNE, LOUIS II) and became the new secular protectors of the PAPACY.

External pressures on Byz. accelerated significant internal political, economic, and social changes that definitively transformed late antique civilization into the medieval Greek world. Many scholars (esp. Sjuzumov and, most recently, Weiss) believe that the transition from late antiquity to the so-called middle Byzantine period was marked by a continuity of ideas and institutions. Yet mounting archaeological and numismatic evidence supports the view (advocated by Kazhdan as well as by Foss and Ch. Bouras) that during the 7th and 8th C.

the Eastern Roman *polis* underwent a severe crisis that disrupted the traditions of urban life. Many cities in Thrace, Greece, and Asia Minor ceased to exist or survived only as bishoprics (e.g., NAZIANZOS). Those that did survive were often drastically reduced in size or relocated altogether (EPHESUS). Most commonly, the population abandoned the traditional urban site to cluster in or around a fortified KASTRON on a nearby hill.

The breakdown of late antique urban life had a harmful effect on Byz. culture and also transformed everyday life by producing a shift from "open" to "closed" modes of social expression. Tertiary schools (universities) disappeared by the end of the 7th C. Original literary production in the 7th and 8th C. was apparently negligible. Ecclesiastical disputes stimulated theology, but the greatest Christian writer of the age, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, lived in Arab territory. Few artistic works—icons, mosaics, churches—can be attributed to the period. In architecture, the ancient HOUSE with its interior courtyards, galleries, and fountains now became a tight maze of small functional rooms. In town planning, broad boulevards and open squares disappeared in favor of small streets with limited open space. Churches replaced traditional urban assembly spaces such as BATHS and THEATERS.

Great changes were also underway in economic and social relations, although the scantiness of literary evidence leaves many details unclear. The tradition of private property ownership in cities appears to have yielded to a notion of supreme state ownership of property (see STATE PROPERTY). The BARTER ECONOMY became more important, although it still remained secondary to the monetary economy. Traditional late Roman social categories such as the hereditary nobility, urban aristocracy, dependent peasantry, and slaves declined significantly and were largely replaced by the nobility of the main urban centers (esp. Constantinople), provincial civil and military administrators, and an increasingly uniform rural population, although the appearance of powerful families (e.g., SKLEROS) in the 9th C. signaled the revival of a hereditary aristocracy. The THEME system contributed to this development by increasing the body of moderate landholders and free peasants. Legal texts such as the FARMER'S LAW and hagiographical sources reveal the decline of large landed estates and the rise of free-

holders, along with an increasing reliance on communal landownership, the abolition of compulsory peasant service, and the introduction of free movement.

The loss to the Arabs of rival cities like Alexandria and Antioch made Constantinople the center of the empire, and successive emperors instituted reforms aimed at strengthening the capital's often precarious hold on the periphery. The Arab and Bulgar attacks stimulated a radical restructuring of PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION. The themes became the foundation of efforts to retain Byz. territory and then to reassert control over recaptured lands. By the mid-9th C. there were more than 20 themes in Asia Minor, Greece, the Aegean, and the Balkans as well as KLEISOURAI along the Arab frontier and KLIMATA in Crimea. This marked a decisive break with late Roman administration by transferring civil authority to military representatives, although the thematic system was also a source of instability, since it put powerful armies under individual commanders. Serious revolts originated in the themes (SABORIOS, BARDANES TOURKOS, THOMAS THE SLAV), and more than one STRATEGOS became emperor (Leontios, Philippikos, Leo III, ARTABASDOS, Michael II). Efforts to reform the military, including reliance on small units like the DROUNGOS and the BANDON and increases in soldiers' landholdings and wages, made the army more flexible and professional.

Changes in central civil administration made the court bureaucracy increasingly important in running state affairs. Several bureaucrats became emperor (Anastasios II, Theodosios III, Nikephoros I) or were proclaimed emperor in coup attempts (ARSABER). A key development was the emergence of chief bureaus—there were 13 by 842—and the growing influence of the post of LOGOTHETES. The most important official became the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU, many of whom (STAURAKIOS, AETIOS, THEOKTISTOS) exercised great authority under weak rulers and during regencies (IRENE, THEODORA).

The primary legislative aim of the emperors was to maintain order in a turbulent world (NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS, ECLOGA). This imperial insistence on unity and uniformity extended to religious affairs. Constans II tried to quell disputes over MONOTHELETISM by promulgating his TYPOS and punishing proponents of Orthodoxy (Pope MARTIN I, MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR), and Justi-

nian II convened the Council in Trullo to establish religious uniformity and eliminate pagan customs. In the 8th and 9th C. the attempt by several emperors to impose ICONOCLASM on a reluctant population ultimately failed. The court instituted numerous fiscal reforms aimed at revitalizing the economy and increasing the state's tax revenues. Many are attributed to Nikephoros I, but on the whole he merely formally systematized already existing measures. Most notably, the hearth tax (KAPNIKON) was extended to PAROIKOI belonging to the growing number of ecclesiastical establishments; the VILLAGE COMMUNITY became collectively responsible for its members' taxes (ALLELENGYON); and the POLL TAX may have been separated from the land tax and applied to all taxpayers. Such reforms allowed Constantinople to benefit from an economic recovery that is discernible from the late 8th C.; state revenues apparently doubled between 780 and 850.

By the early 9th C. a cultural revival was also underway, stimulated by a growing economy and the reemergence of wealthy patrons. Historiography reappears with the works of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I. KASSIA was a famous poet of the period. The emperor Theophilos launched an ambitious building program in the capital. The breadth of knowledge displayed by scholars such as LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN and the foundation of the school in the MAGNAURA (THEOKTISTOS, BARDAS) testify to the reinvigoration of Byz. secular learning. By this time Byz. culture was primarily Greek: Latin was little known or used.

LIT. A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam 1968–80). W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford, Calif., 1988). —P.A.H.

AGE OF RECOVERY AND CONSOLIDATION (ca.800/850–1000). This period approximately coincides with that of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY. The intense desire to perpetuate the dynasty is seen in LEO VI's series of four marriages in the attempt to produce a male heir (TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI) and in the eventual accession to sole power of CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS and BASIL II after the throne was usurped by strong civilian and military figures during the period of their minority (ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, JOHN I TZIMISKES).

The centralization achieved through Constantinople's economic revival, the predominance of

the civilian aristocracy, and the slow development of a new "knightlike" army permitted Byz. to stop the Arab invasions in the mid-9th C. and to go on the offensive from the mid-10th C. The successes of John KOURKOUAS, Nikephoros II Phokas, and John I Tzimiskes led to the Byz. reconquest of Syria and Crete; Bulgaria, a mighty rival ca.900, had to surrender to John I and was eventually annexed in 1018 under Basil II; Rus' became an ally. Although Byz. recognized OTTO I only as "emperor of the Franks," the Byzantino-German alliance was strengthened by Byz. political and cultural influence. The economic revival that had begun in the first half of the 9th C., primarily in Constantinople and the Aegean coastlands, expanded farther: numismatic and archaeological evidence shows a gradual recovery in the 10th C. throughout Greece and Asia Minor at sites that had lain wholly or partially devastated in the previous period. Constantinople, however, remained the central point of trade and manufacture, its position unrivaled even by large cities such as THESSALONIKE and EPHEBUS.

Nor did the growth of private and ecclesiastical landownership yet challenge the state; although some stable clans (SKLEROS, DOUKAS, PHOKAS, KOURKOUAS) appeared by the 10th C., the state managed to check them and restrict their wealth, partly by bestowing upon the rural community the right of PROTIMESIS. Most aristocratic families served the government loyally, and aristocratic generals were primarily responsible for winning the glorious victories of the period. Another factor in Byz. military success was the restructuring of the army, whereby the heavily armed professional KATAPHRAKTOI replaced the irregular contingents of thematic troops. Even when rebellious, the military aristocrats sought the support of Constantinople and strove to acquire the throne, not to create independent princedoms.

In 843 the government of THEODORA restored the veneration of icons, but the monks who had led the resistance to Iconoclasm did not gain much. Strong monastic communities of working brethren—the ideal of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS—gave way to individualistically structured LAVRAS and small monasteries dependent on state grants in kind and money (SOLEMNIA); the ideal of the poor brotherhood became very popular, and Nikephoros II Phokas supported it by restricting monastic landownership and by rewarding recently founded

communities on Mt. ATHOS, which in their early stages renounced property. The role of monasteries in intellectual life declined: Byz. culture, which was controlled by monks in the first half of the 9th C., became increasingly secular after 850: after GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, not one significant Byz. writer was a monk until SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN.

Arguably, the state (personified in the emperor) benefited most from Iconoclasm and its aftermath. The Byz. church was made subject to imperial power. MICHAEL III disparaged the patriarchal office in Constantinople: the patriarchs, regardless of their personal qualities, became puppets in the hands of the emperor (among the deposed patriarchs of the period were IGNATIOS, PHOTIOS, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, and EUTHYMIOS). Twice the patriarchate was awarded to members of the imperial family (Stephen, brother of LEO VI; THEOPHYLAKTOS, son of Romanos I). Only in the second half of the 10th C. was the patriarchate, under POLYEUKTOS, strong and independent enough to influence imperial policy.

The imperial court and the officialdom of the capital assumed a fundamental role in the consolidation and reorganization of the empire. The concept of order (TAXIS) prevailed in the administrative and ideological activity of the time: the TAKTIKA (a literary genre typical of the period from the mid-9th C. to the late 10th C.) aimed at shaping the imperial administrative machine, mostly in its ceremonial functions; two surviving treatises on TAXATION, although not precisely dated, may best be assigned to the 10th or early 11th C. Writers from Leo VI to Nikephoros OURANOS produced a number of military textbooks (STRATEGIKA); this genre also disappears after 1000. The outlines of an ideal imperial system were drafted in the milieu of Constantine VII in books on the themes (DE THEMATIBUS), the goals of diplomacy (DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO), and the ceremonies of the imperial court (DE CEREMONIIS). The law underwent "purification" as well: BASIL I and Leo VI drafted or promulgated a series of legal books based on the formulas of Roman law (PROCHIRON, EPANAGOGHE, BASILIKA).

Imperial regulations were extended throughout the empire: not only did imperial estates increase, but the state proclaimed its supreme right over all the lands of the empire; taxpayers were divided into several special categories according

to their rents and services—STRATIOTAI of different sorts, EXKOUSSATOI of the DROMOS, ordinary peasants. The government attempted to stabilize the categories it imposed on the population: 10th-C. legislation, from ROMANOS I onward, aimed at preserving the village community, making a peasant responsible for his neighbor's taxes and prohibiting him from "fleeing" his village; the members of the community were also obliged to arm a soldier, if he lacked the means to buy a horse or weapons. The state developed the principle of JUST PRICE, prohibiting the unfair pricing of land. The state even attempted to abolish USURY, but when Basil I's measures failed, Leo VI was compelled to rescind them. The state also tended to regulate trade activity, promulgating the Book of THE EPARCH.

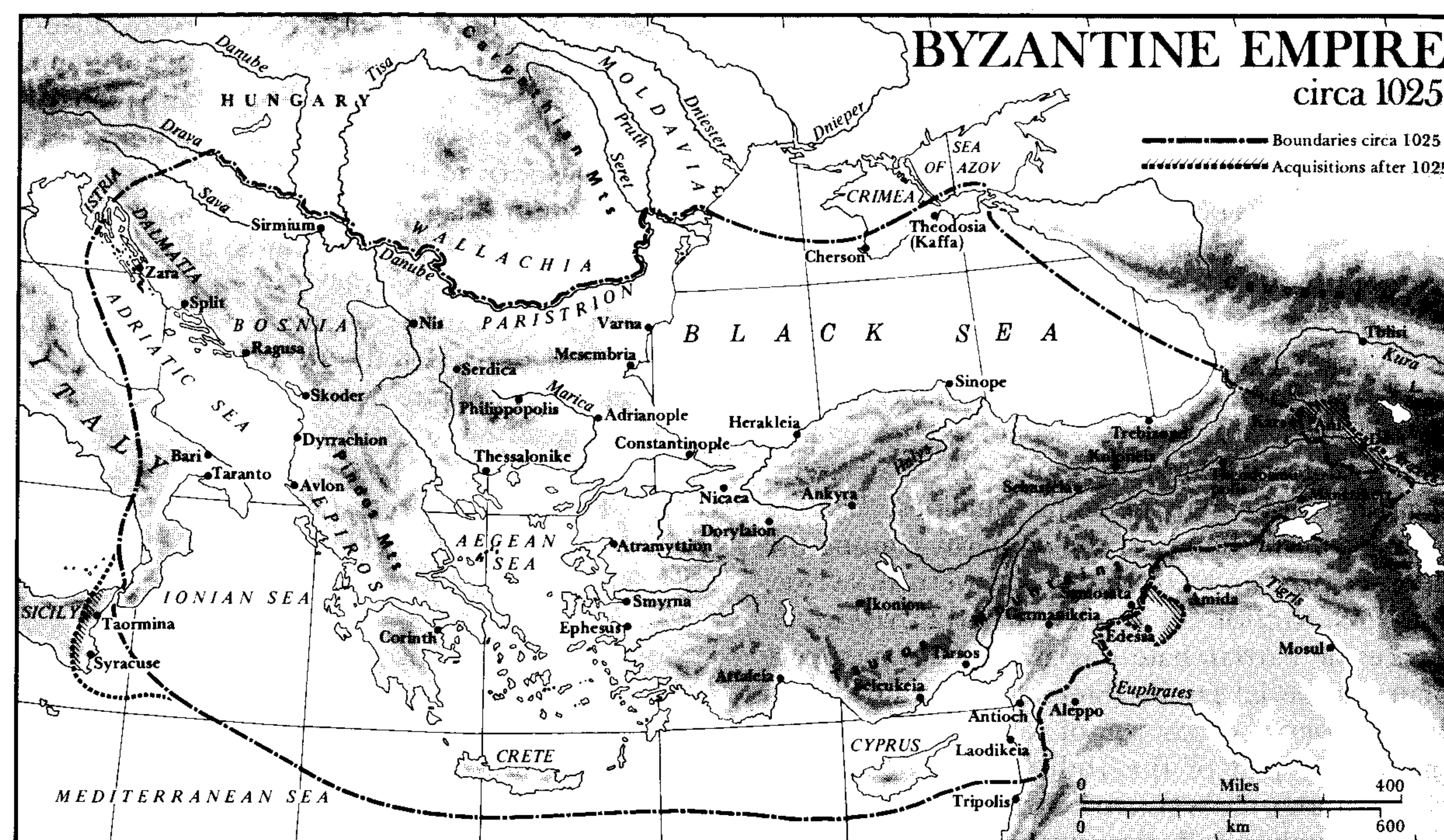
Regulation also encompassed ecclesiastical ritual and cultural life. Church architecture acquired a greater homogeneity in form and scale ca.900, the liturgy became more uniform, and SYMEON METAPHRASTES produced a monumental collection of saints' Lives for ecclesiastical feasts. The task of collecting the ancient heritage was emphasized: the Greek classics were transmitted, collections of the most important fragments were compiled (including the GEOPONIKA), and Photios in the BIBLIOTHECA surveyed significant works of ancient and early Byz. authors. Several LEXIKA were published, among them the SOUDA.

The period was doubtless one of political success and expansion. Its accompanying cultural upsurge is often called the Macedonian renaissance, though a more proper term would be ENCYCLOPEDIISM, meaning here the tendency to collect and set in order both Greek and Roman traditions. Little that is original is to be found in the numerous works produced during the period.

LIT. R. Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries: A.D. 610 to 1071* (London 1966). A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (London 1973). N.G. Popov, *Očerki po graždanskoj istorii za vremena Makedonskoj dinastii* (Moscow 1913). —A.K.

PERIOD OF "WESTERNIZATION" (ca.1000–1204). This era began with the victories of BASIL II, witnessed a collapse before the TURKS and NORMANS in 1071, a partial revival under the KOMNENIAN DYNASTY, a weakening under the ANGELOI, and concluded with a seemingly fatal blow from the Fourth CRUSADE.

From Basil II's reign onward, the system of

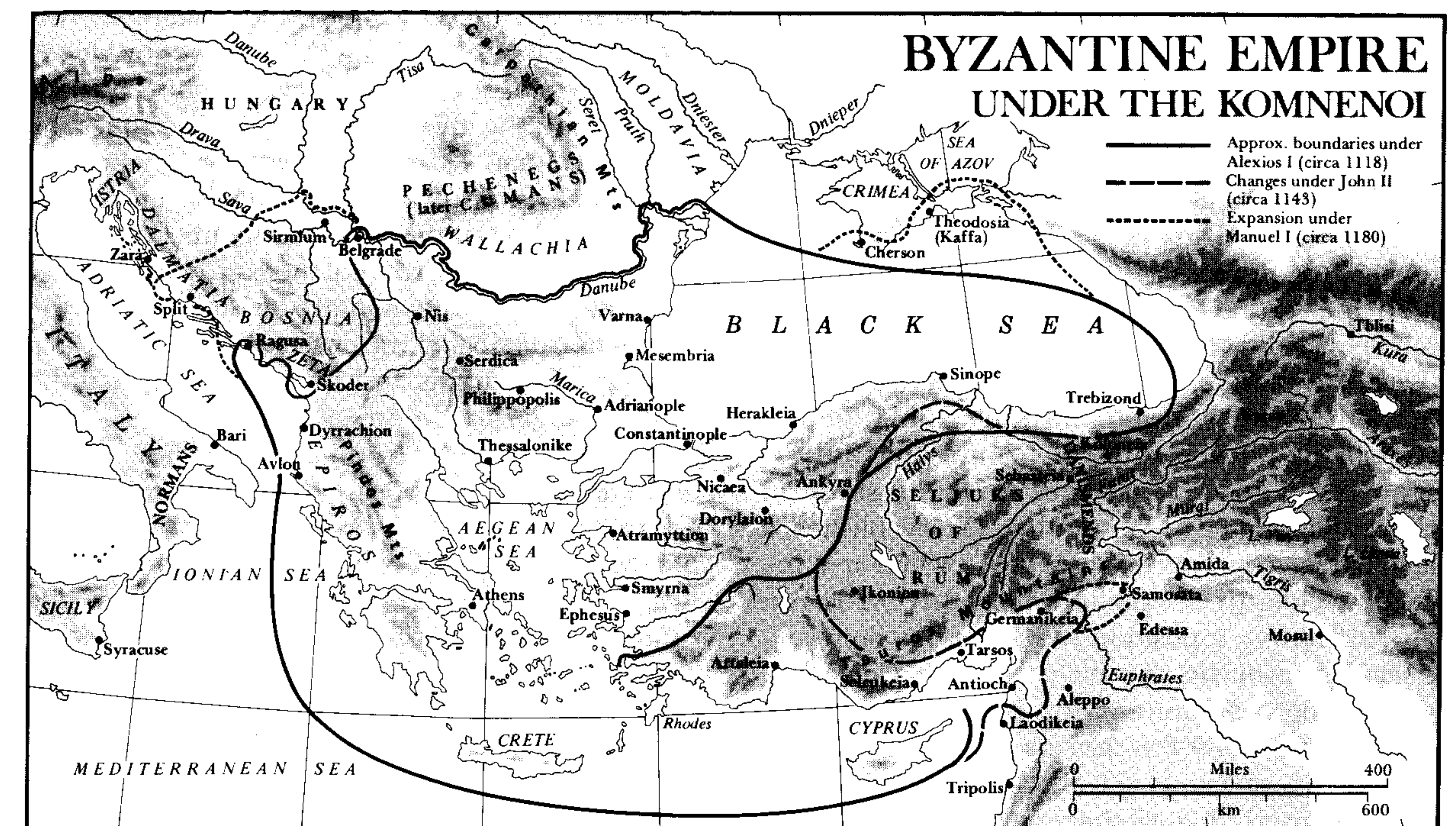


great estates everywhere expanded. By the 12th C. most peasants were apparently dependent *paroikoi* on government, ecclesiastical, or private property. Cities grew: Constantinople was still in the forefront in the 11th C., but such provincial centers as *Thessalonike*, *Trebizond*, *Artze*, *Corinth*, and *Thebes* competed successfully; 12th-C. Theban silk was superior to that of Constantinople. In the capital, a vigorous middle class appeared; it overthrew *Michael V*. The military crises of the late 11th C. forced *Alexios I Komnenos* to give extensive privileges—similar to those received by the Rus' in the 10th C.—to *Venice* and *Pisa* in return for naval assistance; *Genoa* later obtained similar grants. Using their exemptions from customs dues, Italian merchants exploited the Byz. economy in the 12th C., arousing imperial and popular opposition in Constantinople. While magnates increased their properties where possible, they also sought lucrative government appointments in Constantinople. The Komnenoi secured the support of military-magnate families (*Doukai*, *Palaiologoi*, *Kontostephanoi*, and dozens more) through intermarriage, and an aristocracy based on ties of kinship developed. Whether this social structure (depen-

dent peasantry, militarized aristocracy) constitutes a "feudal" society remains debatable.

The emperors, esp. *Alexios I Komnenos* and his successors, zealously defended Orthodoxy against popular and intellectual heretics, including the *Bogomils*, *John Italos*, and *Demetrios of Lampe*. The rulers selected and supplanted patriarchs and members of the higher clergy; *Michael I Keroularios*, *Kosmas I*, and *Dositheos* were among those deposed. Yet the ability of the secular clergy to oppose the emperor increased: *Patr. Alexios Stoudites* helped overthrow *Michael V*, *Keroularios* contrived the downfall of *Michael VI*, clerics such as *Leo of Chalcedon* seriously embarrassed *Alexios I* by opposing his appropriation of church treasures, and the metropolitans of *Manuel I* resisted his effort to ease the conversion of Muslims to Christianity. Above all, in 1054 *Keroularios* overrode *Constantine IX* and forced a schism with the Western church.

Under Turkish pressure, the focus of monasticism shifted westward, although centers in *Cappadocia* continued to flourish. *Christodoulos* founded the monastery of St. John on *Patmos*; *John II Komnenos* and his wife *Irene* established



the *Pantokrator Monastery* in Constantinople. As the empire became more open to foreigners, ethnic monasteries developed within its boundaries: *Gregory Pakourianos* founded *Petrizos* for Georgians in Byz. Bulgaria; *Stefan Nemanja* established *Hilandar* for Serbs on Mt. Athos. Latin monasteries included an Amalfitan one on Mt. Athos and a Venetian one in Constantinople. Cenobitic life within monasteries declined in favor of individual monks' rights to own property and support themselves. In Constantinople "holy men," practicing eccentric forms of asceticism, were patronized by wealthy ladies and criticized by intellectuals. While monasteries expanded their landed wealth, many, mismanaged, fell into decay; a solution was sought in the *charistikion*.

In the 11th C., bureaucrats such as *John the Orphanotrophos* and *Nikephoritzes* dominated weak emperors; many of these officials were eunuchs. Scholars such as *Michael Psellos* and *Patr. Constantine III Leichoudes* also achieved influential positions. The 11th C. allegedly witnessed a conflict between the bureaucrats, with their candidates for the throne (*Romanos III*, *Constantine IX*, *Michael VII*), and the landed-magnate generals with their candidates (*Leo Tor-*

nikios, *Isaac I Komnenos*, *Alexios I*). *Psellos*, an acute observer, was aware of the conflict between bureaucrats and military officers, but neither group seems solid or cohesive: the bureaucrats formed factions around personalities and policies, while the army was split into rival Anatolian and European wings. Emperors such as *Isaac I Komnenos* and *Constantine X Doukas*, who came from military backgrounds, were unable to free themselves from the traditional policies of the bureaucrats. With the accession of *Alexios I*, the government became dominated by imperial relatives; eunuchs lost importance.

Recruitment and leadership of the army posed difficulties. Military service formerly required of landholders was frequently converted into taxation. From the 1040s, foreign mercenaries filled the ranks; sources specify Turks of various sorts, *Varangians*, *Normans*, and other Westerners, including Anglo-Saxon refugees. Under *John II* and *Manuel*, *exkousseia* was conferred upon certain landowners, and some of them were granted *charistikion* and *pronoia*; Westerners could become *lizioi* and receive grants similar to Western fiefs. In the 11th C., mercenaries such as *Roussel de Bailleul* attained leadership, but after 1081

commanders of this sort were few. In the 11th C., officers were either court eunuchs or landed magnates; in the 12th, usually aristocrats linked to the Komnenoi or Angeloi. Despite periodic revivals, the navy could not be maintained; the effort to use Venetian, Pisan, and Genoese fleets ultimately failed. In 1204, Danes and Anglo-Saxons led the defense of Constantinople.

In the 11th C., Constantinople witnessed an intellectual flowering, chiefly among representatives of the middle class. Psellos revived interest in Plato, Neoplatonism, and their application to Christianity; in the 12th C., TZETZES and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE enhanced the study of classical philology. Constantine IX established a law school for John XIPHILINOS, while making Psellos "chief of the philosophers" (*hypatos ton philosophon*), a position that gave him some supervision over secular instruction in Constantinople. The application of formal logic to theology by John Italos and EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEEA alarmed Alexios I; instruction was placed under the patriarch's control. Later, the *hypatos ton philosophon* was ordered to exercise an academic censorship. In the writing of history (Psellos, Anna KOMNENE, Niketas CHONIATES) and literature (Theodore PRODROMOS, Eustathios of Thessalonike), conventional ways of depicting people and objects gave way to some elements of "naturalism" and attempts to show the complexity of human character.

Basil II's victories over ARABS and BULGARIANS brought the empire a period of relative external peace, which permitted such rulers as Constantine IX to rely on the bureaucrats and repress the magnates and army. The fall of BARI to the Normans and the Turkish triumph at the battle of Mantzikert (1071) discredited the regime of the civilians, allowing independent Armenian states to appear in CILICIA and ultimately permitting Alexios I to seize the throne. The first three Komnenian emperors provided a century of stability; the army was rebuilt and the new aristocracy strengthened the throne, but concessions to the Italians undermined the economy. Alexios I repelled Norman and PECHENEG invasions of the Balkans; with the help of the First Crusade, he recovered coastal Anatolia. John II and Manuel fought with mixed success against Crusaders, HUNGARIANS, SERBS, and Turks. Manuel's defeat at MYRIOKEPHALON (1176) and weak rulers after

1180 stopped the Byz. drive into Anatolia. ANDRONIKOS I sought to establish his power by bloodily suppressing the aristocracy, but he failed to reinvigorate the Byz. state. CYPRUS, occupied by the rebel Isaac KOMNENOS, was later taken by RICHARD I LIONHEART. The Angeloi emperors, ISAAC II and ALEXIOS III, failed to meet the many challenges that confronted them. Civilian aristocrats, displacing the military aristocracy of the Komnenoi, dissipated the empire's resources. Circa 1186, the Bulgarians and VLACHS established the Second Bulgarian Empire, while the Serbs gained their independence. In addition to these ethnic movements, rebels appeared, striving for separatist regimes: Theodore MANKAPHAS at Philadelphia, Leo SGOUROS of Nauplia, Alexios and DAVID KOMNENOS in Pontos. When the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople in 1204 and established the LATIN EMPIRE, the Byz. empire was already partially dismembered. That Byz. recovered was due to its regional strength in the successor states at TREBIZOND, NICAEEA, and EPIROS.

LIT. M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204: A Political History* (London-New York 1984). N. Skabalanovič, *Vizantijskoe gosudarstvo i cerkov' v XI veke* (St. Petersburg 1884). P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris 1977). F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, 2 vols. (Paris 1900-12; rp. New York n.d.). C. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968). —C.M.B.

EMPIRE OF NICAEEA (1204-61). The most successful of the three Greek successor states that emerged after the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the Nicaean Empire was founded by THEODORE I LASKARIS. Its core comprised the coastlands of western Asia Minor, stretching in an arc from the Paphlagonian coast to the southwestern tip of Asia Minor, where the river Indos (Dalaman Çay) formed the frontier with the Turks. Despite Turkish pressure along these frontiers, the Nicaean AKRITAI were more than able to hold their own. The Nicaean lands in Asia Minor formed two distinct blocks: a northern region around NICAEEA, the official capital, and the western coastlands, where in the hills behind Smyrna JOHN III VATATZES established his residence at NYMPHAION. This area formed the hub of the Nicaean Empire. The treasury was housed at Magnesia, while Smyrna became the main naval base. Nicaea remained the residence of the patriarchs, but the emperors rarely visited

it except for their coronations. The choice of Nymphaion as a residence brought the emperors of Nicaea clear advantages. It provided a good vantage point for surveying the Turkish frontier, and it was in the heart of a very fertile region, where imperial and aristocratic estates were concentrated. Once Nicaean armies began campaigning regularly in Europe it was better placed than Nicaea, for it was situated on a shorter and more direct route to the straits of KALLIPOLIS.

At one level, the history of the Nicaean Empire revolves around the ultimately successful struggle to restore the seat of empire to Constantinople. Recognizing the Greeks of the despotate of EPIROS and the Bulgarians as serious competitors, the emperors of Nicaea realized that they must establish their authority in Thrace and Macedonia if they were to have a real chance of recovering Constantinople from the Latins. John III outmaneuvered his rivals and was able to gain control over northern Greece because his authority was based on an effective system of government and he had at his disposal a greater range of resources than any of his opponents. He built up the imperial domains and by careful management increased their profits. The incubus of a bloated and inefficient bureaucracy was swept away with

the loss of Constantinople. In its place the Nicaean emperors created an inexpensive and efficient administration centered on the imperial household, in which the aristocracy had an acknowledged place. John III carefully supervised the fiscal administration. The fiscal surveys, always one of the strengths of Byz. government, were continued. The administrative and financial strength of the Nicaean Empire was reflected in the substantial armies it kept in the field and in its navy, which secured the islands along the Asia Minor coast.

Another source of strength was the presence of the ecumenical patriarch at Nicaea. The period was by and large one of cooperation between emperor and patriarch. The emperors could normally rely on the patriarchs for moral support. The patriarchal presence also gave the Nicaean rulers a role on the international stage that none of their rivals could match: there were a number of rounds of negotiations with papal representatives over the UNION OF THE CHURCHES; an alliance was concluded with FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN; and Nicaea became the acknowledged center of the Orthodox world. In 1220 the Serbian church turned for recognition of its autonomy to Nicaea. In 1235 Patr. GERMANOS II con-



ferred patriarchal rank on the head of the Bulgarian church. In both cases a primacy of honor was reserved for the Nicaean emperor and patriarch.

At another level, these examples show how changes long underway in Byz. crystallized during the period of exile. The recognition of the autonomy of the Orthodox church in Serbia and Bulgaria set the seal on their political independence. Although the Nicaeans were unwilling to make similar concessions to the Greeks of Epiros, the princes of the house of Komnenos Doukas were granted the rank of **DESPOTES**, thus reconciling their autonomous status with Nicaean claims to overlordship. Devolution of authority also occurred within the Nicaean Empire. The policy of granting **EXKOUSSEIA** to the great monastic and aristocratic estates was continued and extended into regions where they had been rare before 1204; the same is true of the **PRONOIA**. In the European provinces the Nicaean emperors issued a series of chrysobulls to the towns and cities, thus officially conferring upon them a measure of autonomy. The period of exile saw a significant growth of local and aristocratic privilege, but relations between emperor and aristocracy remained good until the reign of **THEODORE II LASKARIS**, whose attack upon the aristocracy, motivated by his desire to assert imperial autocracy, was doomed to failure.

The loss of Constantinople to the Latins dealt a severe blow to Byz. culture. The emperors of Nicaea sought to revive Byz. education by creating a palace school. A concerted effort was made to collect and copy manuscripts. Byzantium's "Hellenic" past was increasingly appreciated in intellectual circles, which added a new dimension to the Byz. sense of identity. It contributed to the way that Byzantium's universalist claims began to yield to a more strongly "nationalist" feeling, best caught in the growing hatred of what the Latins stood for. When, at last, the seat of empire was restored to Constantinople in July 1261 by **MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS**, a radical change in the structure and outlook of Byzantium had been completed.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, "L'expérience nicéenne," *DOP* 29 (1975) 23-40. M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (Oxford 1975). Idem, "Byzantine 'Nationalism' and the Nicaean Empire," *BMGS* 1 (1975) 49-70. M.A. Andreeva, *Očerki po kul'ture vizantijskogo dvora v XIII veke* (Prague 1927). —M.J.A.

"**EMPIRE OF THE STRAITS**" (1261-1453). The restored "empire" of the 1260s was scarcely large enough to justify its name, limited as it was to the western coast of Asia Minor, northern Greece, and the southeastern Peloponnesos (with the Latin principality of **ACHAIA** in control of the rest of the peninsula). The despotate of **EPIROS** and the empire of **TREBIZOND** maintained their autonomous status. Despite the recovery of its capital, the empire continued to shrink during the remaining two centuries of its history. Although the diplomacy of **MICHAEL VIII** thwarted the plans of **CHARLES I OF ANJOU** for conquest, later Byz. emperors were less successful in containing the expansionist policy of their northern and eastern neighbors. By 1340 the **OTTOMAN** Turks had conquered most of Asia Minor; by 1355 the Serbs, under **STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN**, controlled most of northern Greece, and the Turks had gained a foothold in Europe. Didymoteichon and Adrianople, the principal towns of Thrace, fell to the Ottomans in the 1360s, Thessalonike in 1387 (and again in 1430, after a brief period of Byz. and Venetian recovery). The independence of Epiros also ended in 1430 with the fall of **IOANNINA**. Only in the Peloponnesos did the Byz. despotate of **MOREA** prosper and expand (at the expense of the principality of Achaia); by 1430 it encompassed virtually the entire peninsula. Shortly thereafter, however, in 1453, **MEHMED II** took Constantinople by siege (see **CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF**), and the Morea was able to hold out against Ottoman conquest only until 1460. The next year Trebizond, the last Greek stronghold, fell.

Numerous factors contributed to the final demise of the empire, which had already been seriously weakened by the Latin conquest of 1204. First of all, the restored Byz. state had to face the rising power of a vigorous new empire, that of the Ottomans, which steadily conquered Byz. territory and reduced Byz. to vassal status after 1371. The Ottomans besieged Constantinople from 1394 to 1402; the capital was saved only by **TIMUR**'s defeat of the Ottoman sultan **BAYEZID I** at the battle of **ANKARA** in 1402. This setback to the Ottoman fortunes, and the ensuing civil war among Ottoman princes, gave the Byz. Empire a reprieve and enabled it to resist until 1453, although **MURAD II** did besiege the capital in 1422.

Second, the states of western Europe provided

little or no assistance to Byz., even though their very existence was threatened by the Turks. The papacy and Western rulers continued to demand that the Byz. emperor agree to **UNION OF THE CHURCHES** in exchange for military assistance. Twice the Byz. agreed to these conditions, at the Council of **LYONS** in 1274 and at the Council of **FERRARA-FLORENCE** in 1439; the promised Western aid either never materialized or was ineffective. The Western crusading movement had almost died out by the late 13th C.; the two crusades

of the 14th and 15th C., the Crusade of **NIKOPOLIS** (1396) and the Crusade of **VARNA** (1444), both met defeat at the hands of the Turks.

Internal problems also weakened the Byz. state in the 13th-15th C. Although only one dynasty, that of the **Palaiologoi**, held sway throughout the final period, it was not as stable as might appear. It is true that only eight emperors (discounting the brief usurpation of **Andronikos IV** and **John VII**) ruled during a period of 195 years, for an average 24-year reign (**ANDRONIKOS II** was em-



Emperors of Byzantium

Ruler	Reign	Ruler	Reign
Constantine I the Great	324-337	Leo VI	886-912
Constantine II	337-340	Alexander	912-913
Constans I	337-350	Regency for Constantine VII	913-920
Constantius II	337-361	Romanos I Lekapenos	920-944
Julian	361-363	Stephen and Constantine Lekapenos	944-945
Jovian	363-364	Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos	945-959
Valens	364-378	Romanos II	959-963
Theodosios I	379-395	Nikephoros II Phokas	963-969
Arkadios	395-408	John I Tzimiskes	969-976
Theodosios II	408-450	Basil II	976-1025
Marcian	450-457	Constantine VIII	1025-1028
Leo I	457-474	Romanos III Argyros	1028-1034
Leo II	473-474	Michael IV Paphlagon	1034-1041
Zeno	474-491	Michael V Kalaphates	1041-1042
Basiliskos	475-476	Zoe and Theodora	1042
Anastasios I	491-518	Constantine IX Monomachos	1042-1055
Justin I	518-527	Theodora	1055-1056
Justinian I	527-565	Michael VI Stratiotikos	1056-1057
Justin II	565-578	Isaac I Komnenos	1057-1059
Tiberios I	578-582	Constantine X Doukas	1059-1067
Maurice	582-602	Romanos IV Diogenes	1068-1071
Phokas	602-610	Michael VII Doukas	1071-1078
Herakleios	610-641	Nikephoros III Botaneiates	1078-1081
Herakleios Constantine and Heraklonas	641	Alexios I Komnenos	1081-1118
Constans II	641-668	John II Komnenos	1118-1143
Constantine IV	668-685	Manuel I Komnenos	1143-1180
Justinian II	685-695	Alexios II Komnenos	1180-1183
Leontios	695-698	Andronikos I Komnenos	1183-1185
Tiberios II	698-705	Isaac II Angelos	1185-1195
Justinian II (second reign)	705-711	Alexios III Angelos	1195-1203
Philippikos	711-713	Isaac II and Alexios IV Angelos	1203-1204
Anastasios II	713-715	Alexios V Doukas	1204
Theodosios III	715-717	Theodore I Laskaris	1205-1221
Leo III	717-741	John III Vatatzes	1221-1254
Constantine V	741-775	Theodore II Laskaris	1254-1258
Leo IV the Khazar	775-780	John IV Laskaris	1259-1261
Constantine VI	780-797	Michael VIII Palaiologos	1259-1282
Irene	797-802	Andronikos II Palaiologos	1282-1328
Nikephoros I	802-811	Michael IX Palaiologos	1294/5-1320
Staurakios	811	Andronikos III Palaiologos	1328-1341
Michael I Rangabe	811-813	John V Palaiologos	1341-1391
Leo V the Armenian	813-820	John VI Kantakouzenos	1347-1354
Michael II	820-829	Andronikos IV Palaiologos	1376-1379
Theophilos	829-842	John VII Palaiologos	1390
Michael III	842-867	Manuel II Palaiologos	1391-1425
Basil I	867-886	John VIII Palaiologos	1425-1448
		Constantine XI Palaiologos	1449-1453

peror for 46 years, John V for 50). These figures are misleading, however, because the reigns of both emperors were severely shaken by usurpers and civil war. Andronikos II fought for seven years (1321-28) against his grandson ANDRONIKOS III before abdicating; the youthful JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS was challenged by JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, who gained power for seven years after the CIVIL WAR OF 1341-47. These civil wars sapped the strength of the empire, as a result of the devastation of agricultural land and the Byz. use of declining resources to fight each other instead of the common enemy. The Civil War of 1341-47 esp. revealed the hostility of the lower classes toward the landed aristocracy, as manifested in a series of popular urban rebellions, most notably that of the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike; it should be noted that all of these urban movements were ultimately unsuccessful. As rival factions invited Serbs and Turks to take sides in the civil wars as allies or mercenaries, they enabled these dangerous foes to encroach upon Byz. territory. Even after forcing the abdication of Kantakouzenos, John V faced a series of rebellions by his son Andronikos IV and grandson John VII. Another sign of imperial weakness was an increasing tendency for the emperor to divide his territory among his sons, assigning them APPANAGES, which they ruled as autonomous princedoms.

The state treasury was impoverished as revenues declined on account of the decrease in Byz. territory, the immunity from taxes of many large landholders and monastic estates, and the frequent inability of the local population to pay taxes as a result of civil war or foreign invasion. Instead of drawing on the military obligations of PRONOIA holders, the state was forced to pay for an army composed largely of mercenaries. On occasion the use of mercenaries backfired, as when the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY turned against the empire when the emperor was unable to pay them. Under Andronikos II, the fleet was temporarily dismantled as an economy measure. Gold currency, the HYPERPYRON, steadily depreciated in value. Most COMMERCE was in the control of the Italian republics (see VENICE, GENOA), so that the Byz. state received few customs revenues. ANNA OF SAVOY had to pawn the crown jewels to Venice for a desperately needed loan. The empire's remaining wealth lay in the hands of the great landowners.

The empire became further divided by a num-

ber of ecclesiastical controversies. Michael VIII's usurpation of the throne from the Laskarid dynasty at Nicaea precipitated the schism (1265-1310) between ARSENITES, who defended the Laskarid cause, and Josephites, who supported the new Palaiologan emperor. Simultaneously Michael alienated most of his subjects, esp. the monks, by his decision to agree to Union of the Churches at the Council of Lyons. Although he was motivated by the hope of checking Angevin aggression and of securing Western military aid against the growing power of the Turks, his policy was soon repudiated by his son Andronikos II. The middle years of the 14th C. were torn by the debate over HESYCHASM, which was condemned at first but later accepted by the church as orthodox doctrine. This dispute had ramifications in the political arena, as supporters of Gregory PALAMAS and hesychasm tended to favor Kantakouzenos in the Civil War of 1341-47, while the regency for John V opposed the new doctrines of PALAMISM. Disagreement over Union of the Churches continued until 1453, as the Byz. agonized over whether to acknowledge the primacy of the pope in the perhaps vain hope that they would be rewarded with a Western crusade against the Turks. John V personally converted to Catholicism, but not until the reign of John VIII did an emperor again dare to follow the policy of Michael VIII. The Union concluded at Florence in 1439 was rejected, however, by the populace of Constantinople. Loukas NOTARAS reportedly stated that he would rather be conquered by the Turks than submit to the pope.

This era of declining imperial power saw an increase in the prestige and authority of the Byz. church. The patriarchal throne was graced with distinguished scholars such as GREGORY II OF CYPRUS and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS and reformers like the ascetic ATHANASIOS I. In 1312 jurisdiction over the monasteries of Mt. ATHOS was transferred to the patriarch from the emperor. While the empire shrank, the sway of the patriarch of Constantinople was recognized in those lands of Asia Minor and the Balkans no longer under Byz. rule, as well as in Russia, and was even extended to LITHUANIA. MONASTICISM prospered, too, in the Palaiologan era; numerous monasteries were built or restored in Constantinople, Thessalonike, and Mistra. METEORA was colonized by monks from Athos and soon became a new holy

mountain, while Athos, revitalized by the mysticism of the hesychast movement, continued to be a major monastic center even though the peninsula suffered from the raids of Catalans and Turks.

Letters as well as the arts flourished; a sense of Hellenic national identity emerged, accompanied by a new intensification of interest in ANTIQUITY. In the major cities, a small but influential elite of intellectuals pursued studies in classical philology, astronomy, and medicine; they also commissioned the copying of numerous MSS. Among those scholars most inspired by the classical tradition were Theodore METOCHITES and George Gemistos PLETHON. The 14th C. saw a revival of the genre of HAGIOGRAPHY, as monks and secular literati alike composed Lives of contemporary holy men, or rewrote the Lives of older saints. VER-NACULAR literature also gained greater impor-

ance, and there was particular interest in the genre of ROMANCE. Greater contact with the scholasticism and humanism of Italy provided a stimulus for scholars such as Demetrios KYDONES and BESSARION. Although Constantinople remained depopulated and wheatfields and vineyards still could be found within its walls, the restoration or new construction of churches and monasteries in the capital and at THESSALONIKE and MISTRA after 1261 attests to the artistic vitality of the declining empire, esp. in the first century of the Palaiologan era (see under MONUMENTAL PAINTING).

LIT. D.M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (London 1972). K.P. Kyrres, *To Byzantion kata ton ID' aiona*, vol. 1 (Leukosia 1982). I. Ševčenko, "The Palaeologan Renaissance," in *Renaissances Before the Renaissance*, ed. W. Treadgold (Stanford, Calif., 1984) 144–223. *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice 1971). —A.M.T.

CADASTER, land registry for the purpose of tax assessment. Some early cadasters are preserved on papyri (J. Gasco, L. MacCoull, *TM* 10 [1987] 103–58). Knowledge of the Byz. cadaster in the 10th–12th C. is based on rules presented in the treatises on taxation (see TAXATION, TREATISES ON), on four original folios preserved in Vat. gr. 215, and on some excerpts copied in documents of the archives of Iveron, Lavra, and St. Panteleemon. At least after 995 (maybe earlier) a census (*anagraphe* and later *apographe*) was conducted periodically (probably every 30 years), following a geographical pattern defined by the administrative circumscriptions of the provinces from the larger to the smaller (theme, *dioikesis*, *enoria* or *archontia*, *hypotage*). The results were inscribed in the KODIKES of the province (the "boxes," ARKLAI) and duplicates were kept in the appropriate bureau in Constantinople (GENIKON, *stratitikon* [see LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU]). Each identifiable piece of land occupied a separate line (STICHOS) in the cadaster with the name of its owner (and taxpayer) or its successive owners added piecemeal, sometimes between the lines; there was also an indication of any temporary modifications of the land's fiscal burden and the amount of the tax payable at the right end of the line (*akrostichon*). A copy of the *kodix* (*isokodikon*; registers with that name were created by Basil II) was seen as a necessary proof of ownership. The taxpayer received a PRAKTIKON, i.e., an act signed and sealed by the official enumerating his (eventually scattered) properties and their fiscal obligations. The geographical cadaster does not reappear in the 13th–15th C.; it seems to have been replaced by the *thesis* or *megale apographike thesis*, which included copies of the *praktika* delivered by every surveyor (APOGRAPHEUS) of the province. (See LAND SURVEY.)

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre*. N. Oikonomides in *Dionys*. 141f. —N.O.

CAESAR (καῖσαρ), a DIGNITY formerly applied to the emperor himself, was used under Diocle-

C

tian to designate a junior emperor who stood under an augustus and did not possess charismatic qualities (A. Arnaldi, *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 83 [1981] 75–86). Until the 11th C. caesar remained the highest title reserved primarily for the emperor's sons, albeit with several exceptions: BARDAS was caesar under his nephew Michael III, Nikephoros II made his father Bardas Phokas a caesar, Michael IV did the same for his namesake and nephew. The assertion of Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 42.22–23) that Justinian II granted TERVEL the emperor's cloak and the title of caesar is proved by the evidence of seals (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2672). The ceremony of elevation of a caesar is described in the *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* bk.1, ch.43). The insignia of the caesar was a crown without a cross. Alexios I lowered the rank of caesar, placing it below *sebastokrator*. In pseudo-KODINOS the caesar occupies the rank between *sebastokrator* and *megas domestikos*; from the 14th C., however, the title was conferred primarily on foreign princes, such as caesars of Vlachia, of Thessaly, or of Serbia.

According to Gy. Moravcsik (*ZRVI* 8.1 [1963] 229–36), the Slavic word *tsar* was derived not from the Byz. title but from the Latin designation for the emperor, probably in the 6th/7th C.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 2:25–43. Bury, *Adm. System* 36. B. Ferjančić, "Sevastokratori i kesari u Srpskom carstvu," *ZbFilozFak* 11 (1970) 255–69. —A.K.

CAESAREA (Καيسάρεια, mod. Kayseri), metropolis of CAPPADOCIA. When its enthusiastic Christians destroyed pagan temples, Emp. Julian deprived Caesarea of municipal status, but it soon recovered to flourish under St. BASIL THE GREAT. Caesarea was a great military base with imperial factories of weapons and textiles to supply the frontier. Justinian I replaced its ancient walls, which included fields, gardens, and pasture within their circuit, with a shorter, more defensible rampart. Although Caesarea resisted Chosroes I in 575, Chosroes II took and burned it in 611. Nevertheless, its size and wealth impressed the