

only large numbers, but individual participants traveling long distances. Provincial councils, however, met at the capital of the province. They could also be convened "at the place where the bishop of the metropolis shall approve" (Chalcedon, canon 19; Trullo, canon 8). The actual convocation was held in a church such as Hagia Sophia, or in a building attached to the church, such as the baptistery or *diakonikon*, with the imperial residence or palace an alternative choice, as the councils held at Hieria, Blachernai, and Trullo illustrate. Often individual contingents (e.g., the Egyptian and Antiochian at Ephesus and Chalcedon) were housed in different buildings. This did not always prevent riots, bloodshed, or even separate or rump synods, which assembled in order to undermine the work of the majority or opposition (see *SERDICA* and *EPHESUS*), for quite often bishops were accompanied by sizable overzealous parties of supporters consisting of priests, monks, and laymen. It should be noted that this nonepiscopal (i.e., nonvoting) element was often invited to speak and join in the discussion.

Documents. Minutes of the deliberations were carefully recorded by secretaries, although some, such as the acts of Nicaea I and Constantinople I, have not survived. Those of the *endemousa* were kept in the *chartophylakeion* of the patriarchate. The signing of these documents was determined by seniority of ordination or by the traditional order (*taxis*) of sees. The five major sees of the empire (*PENTARCHY*) took precedence over all others. A priest or deacon signed if he had attended as a representative of a particular see. In addition to doctrinal definitions, disciplinary canons regulating the life of both clergy and laity were also frequently issued by councils. Often collected separately, these formed an important component of ecclesiastical law. Occasionally *ANATHEMAS*, *EXCOMMUNICATIONS*, or depositions (*kathaireseis*) directed against individuals or groups would be attached to the dogmatic decisions. Exile or imprisonment in a monastery often accompanied such ecclesiastical punishments.

Church and State. The secular power was represented in most councils, esp. ecumenical and patriarchal ones. Given the close ties between church and state in Christian Byz., this was both natural and understandable. Imperial interest in the outcome of councils was no doubt one reason the public transportation system (*cursus publicus*)

was placed at the disposal of the bishops at Nicaea I; it also explains why emperors often presided over some councils (cf. *MARCIAN* at Chalcedon) and even took part in their deliberations. True, abuses and even compulsion were not unknown (e.g., the submission of Pope *VIGILIUS* to Justinian I at Constantinople II [see under *CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF*]). Despite the tension caused by such flagrant abuse of imperial power, however, the right of formal decision in matters of faith belonged to the episcopate. Indeed, the church was often successful (though not always immediately) in resisting an emperor's pressure.

Representations in Art. Surviving depictions of councils assume a form closely related to that of other images of authority such as the *PENTECOST* and the *LAST JUDGMENT*. Following Late Antique schemes such as the council of the gods in the Ambrosian *Iliad* (see *HOMER*) and the emperor's presidency at the games on the base of the *OBELISK THEODOSIOS*, they show a semicircle of hierarchs meeting as a college and supervised by the emperor as *epistemonarches*.

The earliest images of councils are known only from texts. Six councils were depicted in the *MESE*, in Constantinople, set up, according to the author of the *Life of Stephen the Younger*, to edify "country folk, foreigners, and the common people" (PG 100:1172A). By the early 8th C. such pictures were fairly common, including mosaics of the First Council of Nicaea in an unknown church in that city. Mosaics showing structures symbolizing each of the seven ecumenical councils, many reworked in the 12th C. and today fragmentarily preserved, survive in the Church of the Nativity in *BETHLEHEM*. After Iconoclasm, council scenes were no longer purely commemorative. In the marginal *PSALTERS*, Leo V appears amid Iconoclastic bishops at the Council of 815 to illustrate hypocrisy and bloodthirstiness (Ps 25:4), while Theodosios I presides over the First Council of Constantinople in a miniature in the *PARIS GREGORY* reflecting the concern of *PHOTIOS* with both Iconoclasm and the *FILIOQUE*. Even more central is the position given to an Iconoclast shown condemned by Nicaea II, in the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II* (p.108). The Madrid MS of John Skylitzes devotes a unique series of pictures (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Syklitzès*, nos. 310-12) to the council that forced the resignation of Patr. Tryphon (927-31). Frescoes of four councils—painted as usual

in the narthex—in the Metropolis at *MISTRA* may have liturgical significance (S. Dufrenne, *Les Programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* [Paris 1970] 8, 59f). The miniature in Paris, B.N. gr. 1242 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.86), that shows John VI Kantakouzenos towering over identifiable metropolitans and Patr. Kallistos I at the Council of 1351 reasserts the traditional meaning of council pictures as images of imperial hegemony in matters of doctrine.

SOURCES. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. Mansi, 31 vols. (Florence-Vienna 1759-98; rp. Paris 1901-27). G.A. Rhalles, M. Potles, *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron kanonon*, 6 vols. (Athens 1852-59). *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, 5 vols. in 32 pts. (Berlin-Leipzig 1922-84).

LIT. J. Zhishman, *Die Synoden und die Episkopal-Ämter in der morgenländischen Kirche* (Vienna 1867). C.J. Hefele, H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, 8 vols. (Paris 1907-21). F. Dvornik, "Emperors, Popes, and General Councils," *DOP* 6 (1951) 1-23. J. Hajjar, "Patriarche et synode dans l'Église byzantine," *PrOC* 4.2 (1954) 118-44. B. Botte, H. Marat, et al., *Le concile et les conciles* (Chevetogne 1960). *Histoire des conciles oecuméniques*, 12 vols. (Paris 1962-). P. L'Huilier, *The Church of the Ancient Councils* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1986). J. Boojamra, "The Byzantine Notion of the 'Ecumenical Council' in the Fourteenth Century," *BZ* 80 (1987) 59-76. C. Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris 1970).

-A.P., A.C.

COURT, LAW (*δικαστήριον*). The emperor was the source of law and the supreme judge who determined the right of *APPEAL* and of amnesty; the power to judge was thought to be delegated by him to individual institutions or officials. All government bureaus (*SEKRETA*) possessed to some extent the right to condemn and pardon, and even the *GENIKON* had its own court; since the heads of departments frequently had no professional legal knowledge, they usually were given *SYMPONOI* as assistants (Balsamon in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:339.2-9). In the army, *STRATEGOI* and their subalterns exercised judicial authority. More specific judicial functions were fulfilled by the *EPARCH OF THE CITY* and the *QUAESTOR*, whereas the *EPI TON DEESEON* presided over petitions and appeals. As chief of police, the *DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS* had judicial duties. The imperial judges of the *VELUM* or Hippodrome (replaced later by the *KRITAI KATHOLIKOI*) constituted the highest court. In rare cases the *SENATE* discussed crimes of great importance. Bishops, aided by their staff, exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction extending far beyond *CANON LAW*, and the precise demarcation

between civil and ecclesiastical courts was not always clear.

In the provinces, jurisdiction lay in the hands of the local administration, and governors frequently bore the title of *JUDGE (krites)* or *PRAETOR*; sometimes special magistrates arrived from Constantinople to hear local cases. Masters were considered the judges of their slaves and servants, unless they were personally involved in the case (*Peira* 51.1). The concept of judicial *IMMUNITY* was never very highly developed in Byz.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 353-89. Kaser, *Zivilprozessrecht* 418-45. Oikonomides, *Listes* 319-23. A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1974) 149-57. Macrides, "Justice" 99-204. Troianos, *Ekklesiastike Dikonomia* 7-48. Aik. Christophilopoulou, "Ta byzantina dikasteria kata tous aiones I'-IA'," *Diptycha* 4 (1986) 163-77.

-A.K.

CRAFTSMEN. See *ARTISAN*; *GUILDS*.

CREATION (*κτίσις ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος*). The classical formulation of the Christian doctrine of creation states that the *COSMOS* was brought into existence out of nothing through the omnipotence and free will of God. On the other hand, the divine generation (*genesis*) of the Son and the Procession (*ekporeusis*) of the Holy Spirit, interpreted as "creation" and coming into existence by *ARIANS* and the *PNEUMATOMACHOI*, respectively, had to be distinguished from creation of world and mankind; at the same time any doctrine of emanation to explain creation had to be excluded, since it does "not stem from the essence of God" (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 8.57-78, 81.6-11; ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:20f, 180).

Emphasis on the *FREEDOM* and contingency of divine creation runs counter to the idea of its eternality and necessity. In this connection, the question as to the motive of creation (why did God create the world?) receives an answer in which the Platonic tradition and esp. pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, that is, the view that the Good continuously generates out of itself, are interpreted to mean that man cannot penetrate the transcendent essence of God who alone is good (Lk 18:19). The question, then, is met by referring to this notion of the essence of the Good: that God creates because he wills to, and not because he is good, an answer that emphasizes the apophatic character of theology (and not, as

in the West, the possibility of theological cataphatic statements). Finally, in connection with the emphasis on God's freedom in the creation, the Platonic notion that the ideas within the divine mind serve the demiurge as models, insofar as it is given an anthropomorphic interpretation, is rejected.

In spite of the tension that exists between the Platonic cosmological model (presumably based on Gen 1:2 LXX) and belief in the "sovereignty of God," that is, the unlimited power of God in relation to the world, and in spite of (or even because of) the cosmological speculations of Gnosticism, there slowly developed in early Christianity the doctrine of creation out of nothing that also served as a twofold front against both Gnosticism and philosophy. Nevertheless Plotinus's interpretation of matter as the final emanation and pure privation (*steresis*), and Porphyry's arguments against an eternally preexistent matter, led outwardly to an approach that, for example, in Alexandria in the 5th C., produced a formal (i.e., outward) synthesis in the philosopher Hierokles, who taught that God eternally creates, yet not "out of preexistent matter," but only on the basis of his will (PHOTIOS, *Bibl.*, cods. 214, 251, ed. Henry 3:126.22–26, 7:189.23–191.23). John PHILOPONOS sought, in opposition to PROKLOS and Aristotle (W. Wieland in *Festschrift für Hans-Georg Gadamer* [Tübingen 1960] 291–316), to provide the doctrine of creation with a philosophical basis to which he later gave an exegetical foundation by tying it to Basil the Great's homilies on the HEXAEMERON. The cosmology he opposes is that of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA and his disciple KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES.

In the 11th C., under the influence of the Neoplatonic doctrine of emanation, creation is seen to be continually rooted in the procession and return to God, a "movement proceeding from its origin (*arche*)" (e.g., JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, par.69, ed. P. Joannou, pp. 114–17), which constitutes the relationship of the creature to the Creator, except that the difference between them is not addressed. This is observed particularly in commentaries on theological statements of Gregory of Nazianzos.

LIT. H.J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*² (Amsterdam 1967). G. May, *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts* (Berlin–New York 1978). P. Joannou, *Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Johannes Italos* (Ettal 1956) 39–78. J. Baudry,

Le problème de l'origine et de l'éternité du monde dans la philosophie grecque de Platon à l'ère chrétienne (Paris 1931). M. Balthes, *Die Weltentstehung des platonischen Timaios nach den antiken Interpretationen*, vol. 1 (Leiden 1976). —K.-H.U.

Representation in Art. Based on the twofold account of Genesis 1:1–2:4 and 2:5–25, representations of the Creation are found in numerous artistic contexts and may be divided into at least three categories, developed probably not much later than Basil the Great's HEXAEMERON. This popular text is preserved in more than 100 MSS, but none of them received narrative illustration. The striking iconographic feature of the days of Creation personified as angels—e.g., in the Cotton GENESIS—derived not from biblical exegesis but from Late Antique art (M.-T. d'Alverny, *CahArch* 9 [1957] 271–300). In another variation type God is present and directs the Creation (Cappella Palatina, PALERMO, and MONREALE); in a third type, represented by the OCTATEUCHS, the action is carried out by an unseen heavenly power.

LIT. C. Hahn, "The Creation of the Cosmos: Genesis Illustration in the Octateuchs," *CahArch* 28 (1979) 29–40. J. Lassus, "La création du monde dans les Octateuques byzantins du douzième siècle," *MonPiot* 62 (1979) 85–148. M. Bernabò, "Considerazioni sul manoscritto Laurenziano Plut.5.38 e sulle miniature della Genesi degli Ottateuchi bizantini," *AnnPisa*³ 8 (1978) 135–57. Weitzmann-Kessler, *Cotton Gen.* 47–58. —J.H.L.

CREDITOR (*δανειστής*), either a professional money-lender (ARGYROPRATES or BANKER) or anyone else to whom money was owed. In Justinianic law and later, social status determined the rate of INTEREST. One could get a LOAN even from a monastery. Christian public opinion condemned USURY and both legal texts and narrative sources describe the cruelty of creditors: *Epanagoge* 35.1 prohibits creditors from exhuming corpses "under the rationale of DEBT," and Demetrios KYDONES (*Correspondance*, ed. Loenertz 1:30.140–50) describes how a creditor dragged an insolvent debtor from beneath his bed, beat him, "shouted about silver, interest, and months," and took him before a judge. The hagiographer of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL sympathizes with a peasant whose ox died and who wanted to run away before his creditors (*chreopheiletai*) attacked him like wild beasts (M.H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, *Byzantion* 9 [1934] 119.4–7).

As security the creditor usually received immovables from the debtor—either as a mortgage

or the actual physical possession. If the debtor proved to be insolvent, the ownership of the land, house, or other item was transferred to the creditor. —A.K.

CREED (*σύμβολον*), in the strict sense of the word, the short brief exposition of the principles of Christian belief as formulated at the ecumenical councils of NICAEA (325) and the First Council of Constantinople in 381 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), and as transmitted by the acts of the Council of CHALCEDON (451). Formulas representing the Nicaean "creed," as cited by various theologians, esp. in the commentary of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, do not give a homogeneous text, and the concept of the Nicaean creed in the 4th C. seems to have been relatively vague. The creed of Constantinople is also problematic: first of all, it is not mentioned until Chalcedon (an argument *ex silentio*); secondly, EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus, in a book written seven years before Constantinople I, presents the creed in the same form as that of Constantinople rendered at Chalcedon, although the text of Epiphanius may be interpolated (B.M. Weischer, *Theologie und Philosophie* 53 [1978] 407–14). Thus, the creed of Nicaea was developed only over time; it derived from (but did not eliminate) local creeds, probably the creed of Caesarea as attested by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. It served as a baptismal formula that eventually assumed the role of the line of demarcation from heresy—whether this happened by 381 or only 451 is not clear. The text of the creed also survived in papyri of the 5th (J. Kramer, *ZPapEpig* 1 [1967] 131f) and 6th C. (O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 55 [1975] 58–69).

ED. G.L. Dossetti, *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli* (Rome 1967).

LIT. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*³ (London 1972). D.L. Holland, "The Creeds of Nicea and Constantinople Reexamined," *ChHist* 38 (1969) 248–61. Idem, "The Earliest Text of the Old Roman Symbol: A Debate with Hans Lietzmann and J.N.D. Kelly," *ChHist* 34 (1965) 262–81. A.M. Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol* (Göttingen 1965). —K.-H.U.

CRETAN LITERATURE. Little is known of Cretan literary activity until the late 14th C.; by this time, following the division of territories in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, Venetian feudal overlords and Greek subjects had settled into a

relationship in which the Italo-Venetian and Cretan Greek dialects and the Catholic and Orthodox faiths maintained a relatively harmonious coexistence. Of the earliest identifiable writers, Leonardo DELLA PORTA stands apart from Stephen SACHLIKES and Marinos FALIERI, a younger contemporary, in that he employed a standard form of Greek whereas Sachlikes and Falieri preferred the Cretan dialect. Both the latter demonstrate other features that remained characteristic of Cretan literature until the end of its Golden Age. These are the use of rhymed POLITICAL VERSE and a delight in scenes of comic realism drawn from the back streets and brothels of urban Crete. Cut off from the mainstream of Byz. educational traditions and open to influences from western Europe, writers in Crete showed an acquaintance with the vernacular literatures of Byz., esp. the verse ROMANCES (probably also composed and copied on the fringes of the Byz. world), and an awareness of Venetian literary fashions (esp. sharply observed amatory dialogues) which was to culminate in the masterpieces of George Choratzis (*Erofilii, Katzourbos*) and Vincenzo Kornaro (*Erotokritos*).

LIT. M. Manoussakas, *He Kretike Logotechnia* (Thessalonike 1965) 5–26. G. Morgan, "Cretan Poetry: Sources and Inspiration," *KretChron* 14 (1960) 7–68. —E.M.J.

CRETE (*Κρήτη*), large island in the eastern Mediterranean, midway between Greece and Africa. In the Roman period Crete was primarily agricultural, with industries producing mainly for the local market (I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* [Warminster 1982] 32–35); the island had numerous *poleis*—different sources give various figures, from 22 to 29—the most important being GORTYNA and Knossos. Until 295–97 Crete formed a joint province with Cyrene but was then separated and under Constantine I included in the diocese of Macedonia. The administrative changes of the 7th C. are obscure: several seals of *archontes* of Crete are known (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1782) as well as one of a *tourmarches* of Crete (no.2059)—but this is not sufficient evidence to postulate the existence of a theme of Crete. The 9th-C. *Taktikon of Uspenskiij* lists both the *archon* and—separately—the *strategos* of Crete; this double governorship is still enigmatic.

The island was attacked by the Goths in 268,

Vandals in 457, and Slavs in 623. Sometime between 824 and 827/8 expatriate Spanish Arabs led by Abū Ḥafṣ landed in Crete, quickly conquered the whole island, and established their capital at CHANDAX. The Cretan Arabs had a highly developed urban culture and tolerated Christianity. The Muslim occupation of Crete did, however, leave the whole of the AEGEAN SEA open to devastating raids from the island. After several efforts by his predecessor had failed, in 961 Nikephoros (II) Phokas reconquered Crete and brought enormous treasure for his triumph to Constantinople (THEODOSIOS THE DEACON 2:8). After 961 Crete was under the authority of a *strategos*; in the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escorial* he is placed between those of Cyprus and Hellas (Oikonomides, *Listes* 265,27). From the time of Alexios I Komnenos until 1204 Crete was administered by a *doux* or *katepano*. The bishop of Gortyna was archbishop of Crete from the beginnings of Christianity on the island, originally under the papacy and after 732/3 under the patriarch of Constantinople.

Crete under Venetian Rule. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Crete was given to BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, who sold it to Venice. The island became a source of agricultural products for the Republic, esp. grain, wine, olive oil, cheese, and wood (A. Laiou in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* [Milan 1982] 183–86); Venetian influence led to the commercialization of Cretan agriculture. The Greek inhabitants seem to have been less involved in commerce than the Latins and Jews; Laiou (*supra* 193) reckons that Greeks are named in 20 percent of the 14th-C. notarial acts that she studied. Crete was also an important base for Venetian trade with the Levant, esp. AYDIN, MENTESHE, and the Mamlūk territories (E. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade* [Venice 1983] xxxiii–iv). The harsh domination of Venice prompted several revolts in which not only the Greek population but also some Venetian nobles participated, as in 1363 (J. Jegerlehner, *BZ* 12 [1903] 78–125); in 1453 Siffius Vlasto, a Greek from Rethymno, conspired to overthrow the Venetian government but his scheme was betrayed (M. Manoussakas, *He en Krete synomosia tou Sephe Blastou* [Athens 1960]). The Orthodox clergy in Crete was limited to 130 members who were under the jurisdiction of the Latin archbishop of the island (Z. Tsirpanles, *Hellenika* 20 [1967] 44–72). In spite

of all the political and religious restrictions, Venetian Crete was a place where Greek and Latin cultural traditions came into contact, resulting in a revival of art and Greek literature, esp. in the vernacular, by such writers as Stephen SACHLIKES and Leonardo DELLA PORTA.

LIT. V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs* (Athens 1984). D. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete 5th–12th C.* (Oxford 1984). K. Gallas et al., *Byzantinisches Kreta* (Munich 1983). S. Borsari, *Il dominio Veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo* (Naples 1963). N. Tomadakis, "La politica religiosa di Venezia a Creta verso i Cretesi ortodossi del XIII al XV secolo," *EEBS* 38 (1971) 361–76. Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.X (1971), 108–17. —T.E.G., A.K.

Monuments of Crete. The monuments built on Crete before the Arab conquest of the island are impressive for their size and number (more than 40 survive): the churches at Panormos and GORTYNA are large three-aisled basilicas built of carefully dressed blocks, the former having a tripartite transept, atrium, and fine architectural carving.

The far smaller medieval buildings were often built into the ruins of these grander structures. None can be dated before the restoration of Byz. rule in 961, and relatively few from the period preceding the Venetian domination, despite the missionary activity of John XENOS and NIKON HO "METANOEITE." The Church of the Virgin at Myriokephala, part of a monastery founded by Xenos, has a layer of painting dating from the early 11th C. (G. Antourakes, *Hai monai Myriokephalon kai Roustikon Kretes meta ton parekklesion auton* [Athens 1977]). The Church of St. Panteleemon at Pege (formerly Bizariano) probably dates from the 12th C.; one of its columns was formed by piling four reused Corinthian capitals on top of one another.

The churches erected under the Venetians are, for the most part, modest one-aisled barrel-vaulted structures lacking dome and narthex, built of stone or rubble masonry with little external decoration. The influence of the Venetians appears mainly on the façades, in the occasional pointed arch or ornamental carving. These churches served as private chapels, or were used by small village communities; as the many surviving inscriptions indicate, they were donated by groups of villages as well as by individuals and families. An adjoining church was frequently constructed parallel to the first, and though the two were designed to communicate and could be virtually contemporary, each "aisle" had a different dedication and

different donors. One of the relatively few domed structures is the cruciform Church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa at Potamies (mid-14th C.).

The fresco decoration of these churches was both rich and surprisingly independent of Western influence (although there are three portraits of St. Francis). The earliest dated program is that of St. Anne at Amari (a.1225, S. Papadake-Oekland, *DChAE*⁴ 7 [1973–74] 31–57); many later ones are also precisely dated, and many, esp. those of the 14th C., bear the names of the ARTISTS as well; the name of John Pagomenos appears in eight churches in western Crete over the years 1313–47, and that of the Phokas brothers in three churches in eastern Crete from 1436 to ca.1453 (T. Gouma-Peterson, *Gesta* 22 [1983] 159–70). The small scale of the churches led to a reduction in the scale of the paintings, but not of their content: some of the individual scenes in the grid of fresco panels adorning the barrel vaults are scarcely larger than portable icons. The lack of a dome meant that the bust of Christ Pantokrator was often displaced to the conch of the apse, where it was flanked by the supplicant Virgin and John the Baptist in a DEESIS composition. The programs are not as laced with liturgical themes as are those at Mistra, for example, but are rich in narrative, esp. hagiographical subjects (M. Baslake, *Kretike Hestia*⁴ 1 [1987] 60–83), including the life of the Virgin and local saints.

The earliest frescoes of Crete reveal closer ties with the monastic centers of Asia Minor than with the art of Constantinople or even mainland Greece; 13th-C. monuments such as St. George at Sklavopoula (1290/1) are still provincial versions of 12th-C. Komnenian painting. In the 14th C., however, the successive trends in Palaiologan MONUMENTAL PAINTING as evidenced in such centers as Constantinople, Thessalonike, Serbia, and Mistra came to Crete fairly promptly; apparently without any widespread importation of metropolitan artists, this art would take firm root on the island. In the north and south aisles of the Panagia Kera at Kritsa, the 11 scenes of the life of the Virgin and the elaborate Last Judgment are characterized by multifigured compositions with imposing architectural backdrops, melodramatic poses, and exaggerated facial expressions reminiscent of the early 14th-C. works of MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS (M. Borboudakis, *Panagia Kera* [Athens, n.d.]; S. Papadake-Oekland, *ArchDelt* 22 [1967]

87–111), while the frescoes in the church of the Virgin at Sklavopoula (late 14th–early 15th C.) show the influence of the more graceful and wistful "mature" Palaiologan style favored in Constantinople and Mistra. This latter style was ultimately to lead to the development of the so-called Cretan school of painting of the 15th and 16th C.

LIT. K. Kalokyris, *The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete* (New York 1973). M. Chatzidakis, "Toichographies sten Kreta," *KretChron* 6 (1952) 59–91. G. Gerola, *I monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, 4 vols. (Venice 1905–40). G. Gerola, K. Lassithiotakes, *Topographikos katalogos ton toichographemenon ekklesion tes Kretes* (Heraklion 1961). Idem, "Ekklesies tes Dytikes Kretes," *KretChron* 21 (1969) 177–233, 459–93; 22 (1970) 133–210, 347–88; 23 (1971) 95–177. M. Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi e documenti dei pittori in Creta dal 1300 al 1500," *Thesaurismata* 9 (1972) 202–35. —N.P.Š.

CRIMEA, known in antiquity as Tauric Chersonese, a large peninsula situated between the Black and Azov Seas; in Byz. Greek texts the term KHAZARIA is sometimes used for Crimea. The interior was occupied in the 5th C. by the HUNS, but in the early 6th C. Byz. established its power at least in the coastal cities of CHERSON and Cimmerian BOSPOROS. Justinian I ordered the restoration of walls and built *phrouria* at Alouston and Gorzoubitai to protect the coastal part of the Crimea (Prokopios, *Buildings* 3.7.10–11); the location of the frontier remains under discussion (e.g., E. Vejrnar, *ADSV* 17 [1980] 19–33). Byz. suzerainty was terminated ca.600, and the remnants of urban life dwindled, but it is plausible that the countryside flourished in the 7th–8th C. (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekove sel'skie poselenija Jugo-Zapadnoj Tavriki* [Leningrad 1970]). The KHAZARS dominated Crimea from the 7th to 10th C., but from the 9th C. onward Byz. struggled for hegemony, its stronghold being Cherson and the theme of Klimata (see KLIMA).

The ethnic composition of Crimea was diversified: besides Greeks and the remnants of Scythians and Sarmatians, there were Goths in DORY, Bulgars in the region of Bosporos, Alans and Pechenegs in the interior, and Rus' in nearby TMUTOROKAN. Armenians and Italians settled in cities of the peninsula from the 13th C. onward. The Byz. designated the local population of Crimea indiscriminately as "Tauroi" or "Tauroscythians."

After 1204 Crimea was at first within the economic sphere of TREBIZOND; during the period

of Tatar political domination (after 1235) Genoese and Venetians used Crimean towns (esp. SOUGDAIA and KAFFA) as bases for long-distance trade. In 1475 the entire peninsula fell to the Ottomans.

LIT. A. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyj Krym* (Leningrad 1964). Ju. Kulakovskij, *Proslae Tavridy*² (Kiev 1914). D. Obolensky, "The Crimea and the North before 1204," *ArchPont* 35 (1978) 123-33. —O.P.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (ἐγκληματικὴ δίκη). The office of public prosecutor was unknown in Byz. law. Nevertheless, criminal procedures could be initiated by the authorities, but there were few laws governing how they were to be carried out. Punishable offenses were often prosecuted on application of a private person. The nature of the crime dictated who was entitled to prosecute: the injured or harmed person alone, or his relatives and anyone else. The accuser was, as a rule, called a *kategoros*, and the accusation to be recorded in court was an *engraphe*; however, the blurred distinction between criminal and CIVIL PROCEDURE is reflected in the terminology of the sources. Criminal procedure differed from civil procedure in several ways: for example, there were variations in the arrangements for accusation and representation; witnesses had to appear in person; TORTURE played a large role; the accused could be held in custody; a trial could not last more than two years; and the unsuccessful accuser (*sykophantes*) was threatened with the same punishment that would have befallen the accused had he been convicted (*tautopatheia*).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 406-08. D. Simon, "Die Melete des Eustathios Rhomaios über die Befugnis der Witwe zur Mordanklage," *ZSavRom* 104 (1987) 559-95. —L.B.

CRISPUS (Κρίσπος), more fully Flavius Julius Crispus, son of CONSTANTINE I and Minervina, probably the emperor's concubine; born ca. 305, died Pola 326. A pupil of LACTANTIUS, he was caesar from 1 Mar. 317 together with the infant CONSTANTINE II. He was apparently put in charge of Gaul and acclaimed for victory over the Franks and Alemanni in 320 and 323. He is titled *invictus* on a milestone from Lorraine—probably an allusion to the cult of SOL INVICTUS. As commander of the fleet Crispus played a notable role in the defeat of LICINIUS in 324, but in 326 was suddenly

executed. Aurelius Victor says specifically that this was by order of his father, and many authors (John Chrysostom, Sidonius Apollinaris, etc.) saw a link between his death and the subsequent murder of his stepmother Fausta. Zosimos was the first to relate that Crispus came under suspicion of being involved with Fausta; when Constantine had him murdered, HELENA took the loss of her grandson very hard, and Constantine, in order to placate her, placed Fausta in an overheated bath where she suffocated. P. Guthrie (*Phoenix* 20 [1966] 327f) dismisses any connection between the two murders, but his arguments are not convincing; Crispus must have committed or at least been charged with a serious crime, the nature of which remains uncertain.

LIT. H. Pohlsander, "Crispus: Brilliant Career and Tragic End," *Historia* 33 (1984) 79-106. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 1722-24. —T.E.G.

CRITICISM, LITERARY, was stimulated in Byz. by the necessity to take a stand with regard to the literary heritage of antiquity. The first task was the assemblage, systematization, and categorization of the surviving texts; this took the form of compiling various LEXIKA and FLORILEGIA and establishing the canon of selected authors and works. A greater challenge was the appreciation of classical literature: rejected by radical Christians like Tatian owing to its allegedly amoral character, it was sanctioned—at least as a valid instrument in aiding logic and rhetoric—by such authorities as Gregory of Nazianzos, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil the Great, and, to a lesser degree, John Chrysostom. The judgment was pronounced on the basis of ideological criteria, not literary ones; this ideological approach survived in much later centuries as well and is exemplified by the refutation by Constantine AKROPOLITES of the *Timarion*. On the other hand, literary critics applied allegorical reinterpretation to pagan texts, esp. to the antique and late antique ROMANCES, some of which were seen as the story of the soul's longing for salvation (Poljakova, *Roman.* 43-48). Photios, in his BIBLIOTHECA, included a literary evaluation of the books he had read as well as their moral significance (G. Kustas, *Hellenika* 17 [1962] 132-69). Psellos contributed much to literary criticism: he wrote a stylistic appreciation of the work of a hagiographer, Symeon Metaphrastes; analyzed the rhetorical skill of Gregory of Nazianzos (Mayer, "Psellos'

Rede" 27-100); and compared George of Pisidia with Euripides (A. Dyck, *Michael Psellus: The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* [Vienna 1986]). Psellos emphasized two contradictory principles of a successful literary style—its variety in vocabulary, meter, and form and its internal unity (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 138f). Eustathios of Thessalonike and Theodore Metochites also analyzed the style of ancient models, such as Plutarch and Synesios, and John Merkouropoulos (see JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES) tried to characterize the literary achievements of John of Damascus and Kosmas the Hymnographer.

LIT. J.W.H. Atkins, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity*, vol. 2 (London 1952). Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:1075-94. —A.K., I.S.

CROATIA (Χροβατία), northwestern Balkan state, created by Croatian Slavs, who moved into the area in the 7th C. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 31.68-70, 83-84) there were two different Croatian states—Pannonian Great or White Croatia, which was pagan, and baptized Dalmatian Croatia; the latter included the *kastra* of Nin (Nona), Biograd (Belgradon, one of many "white towns"), Velica (Belitzin), and Skradin (Skordona). Constantine asserts that the Croats were settled there by Emp. Herakleios.

The early centuries of Croatian history are obscure. In Charlemagne's time the region came under Frankish domination. After his death (814), a rebellion by Pannonian Croats was crushed by the Franks, but Dalmatian Croatia gained strength under local princes. It obtained papal recognition of its independence in 879, under Prince Branimir (879-92). During the rule of Prince TOMISLAV (from between 910 and 914 to ca. 928) Dalmatian and Pannonian Croatia were united, thus creating a powerful state. In about 923 the Byz. emperor Romanos I sent an embassy to Tomislav to form an alliance with Croatia and Serbia against SYMEON OF BULGARIA; Symeon's invasion of Croatia turned into a disaster for Bulgarian troops. It is unclear how and why, but Tomislav then abandoned his Byz. alliance and sought papal support; by 925 Rome acknowledged him as a king.

Probably the danger of Venetian penetration persuaded Tomislav's successors to turn again to

Byz.; at any rate, King Peter Kresimir IV (1058-74) acted as representative of the Byz. emperor in Byz. Dalmatia. Culturally Croatia became further removed from Constantinople when two ecclesiastical conventions in Split (1060 and 1074) condemned and prohibited the Slavonic liturgy, but it survived in many peripheral churches. This anti-Byz. attitude was further developed by King ZVONIMIR (1075-89/90), under whom Croatia entered a period of internal instability and Hungarian intervention. In 1102 Croatia became united with Hungary, but remained a distinct state, with the Hungarian king being separately elected and crowned as king of Croatia (until 1235). Thereafter Croatia had no further involvement with Byz. affairs.

LIT. Fine, *Early Balkans* 248-91. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb 1971). Idem, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb 1976). —B.K., A.K.

CROSS (σταυρός), symbol of the CRUCIFIXION of Jesus Christ. From the earliest years of Christianity the paradox that through his death on the cross Christ destroyed the power of death and offered the hope of eternal life to mankind has made the cross a symbol of Christianity.

THEOLOGY OF THE CROSS. Although the cult of the cross (see CROSS, CULT OF THE) did not blossom until the 4th C., theological development of the symbolism of the cross had already begun in the writings of the Apostolic period, with particular reference to Old Testament prototypes (prefigurations) of the cross as, for example, Moses' attitude of prayer in the victory over the Amalekites, the Tree of Life, and the bronze serpent. The numerous Byz. sermons pertaining to the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross are devoted chiefly to these prototypes. Surviving examples of these homilies represent a kind of hymnic litany extolling the cross as the sign of victory and salvation (e.g., Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS, PG 150:177C). The church fathers repeatedly express their wonder that what was once a symbol of shame became in Christianity a symbol of honor for both crowned heads and simple people, and is treated as such in every church and square and found even on clothing and ordinary utensils (see "The Cross in Everyday Life," below). The danger that the symbol of the cross might degenerate into something meaningless and commonplace is

expressed, among other ways, in a decree of Emp. Valentinian III (*Cod. Just.* I 8, a.427) and in a resolution of the Council in Trullo (canon 73) forbidding incorporation of the cross into a church floor where it could be trampled underfoot.

Perhaps the most significant theology of the cross is that of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. In many of his sermons, devoted wholly or in part to this theme, he treats the multifaceted mystery of the cross. Beginning with the worldwide spread of Christianity, he emphasizes the central position of the cross as the work of *philanthropia*, or the symbol of God's providential care (*kedemonia*) for the world. Rooted in the cross is the salvation of the world because Christ gave his life (*psyche*) as ransom for the enemy (Chrysostom, PG 58:622.53–55). Referring to St. Paul (Col. 2:14), Chrysostom proclaims that the baptism and the cross canceled the contract that pledged us to the Law and that stood against us: "Not only was it canceled but torn to pieces, the nails of the cross cleft it, made it invalid" (PG 50:462.54–463.1). Through the erection of the cross the air is purged of demons, the citadel of the Devil destroyed. Thus, the cross became the monument to the flight of the enemy. As the Devil conquered Adam through the wood of the Tree of Life, so Christ overcomes Hell through the wood of the cross, leading men who are held captive there to freedom. Through Christ, the SOL JUSTITIAE, the cross is also immersed in the transfigured light of God. This theological conception yields the artistic form of the *crux gemmata*, that is, the cross of gold or mosaic overlaid with pearls and precious stones (A. Lipinsky, *FelRav*³ 30 [1960] 5–62). Chrysostom also considers it obvious that the "sign of the Son of Man" is the cross that precedes Christ in his PAROUSIA or Second Coming.

The veneration of the cross was furthered significantly through Constantine I the Great's vision of the cross at the MILVIAN BRIDGE in 312, by Helena's discovery of the TRUE CROSS, and by the development of the cult of the cross in the 4th C. and later. It was also advanced by liturgical development in the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, whose status was further intensified by Emp. Herakleios's recovery of the True Cross from the Sasanians and its restoration to Jerusalem in 631. For a brief time ICONOCLASM also contributed to the portrayal of the cross as an alternative to icons. The Christian attitude of

prayer facing east was fixed by mounting a cross in this direction; it also counteracted the orientation of the Jewish Temple and the Marcionites and PHOUNDAGIAGITES, who prayed facing west.

The liturgy of the triumphal cross was taken as a model for the acclamations for the victorious emperor returning home. The emperor bore the cross on his diadem as a symbol of Christ's sovereignty, while the monks wore this symbol on their headgear or *koukoulion* (J. Engemann in *Theologia crucis—Signum crucis: Festschrift E. Dinkler* [Tübingen 1979] 137–53). The PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE describes the erection of the cross in the public square of the capital city (probably done first under Theodosios I). The sign of the cross, which was used in all the sacraments, but particularly in the administration of baptism, was made as the eschatological seal of righteousness in the name of Christ. A sermon on the life-giving cross (pseudo-Chrysostom) gives a comprehensive description in one particular passage: "We [i.e., Christians] have for our ship [*anti skaphous*] the Old and New Testaments, the cross as our helm, Christ as our helmsman, the Father as our captain, the Holy Spirit as our west wind, grace as our sail, the disciples as our sailors, the prophets as our soldiers; we direct ourselves, therefore, beyond the ship into the ocean of thought not to extract a pearl, but something more valuable even than the pearl" (PG 50:817).

LIT. G.Q. Reijners, *The Terminology of the Holy Cross in the Early Christian Literature as Based upon Old Testament Typology* (Nijmegen 1965). E. Peterson, "Das Kreuz und das Gebet nach Osten," in *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Rome 1959) 15–35. P. Stockmeier, *Theologie und Kult des Kreuzes bei Johannes Chrysostomus* (Trier 1966). J. Moorhead, "Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 165–79. —G.P.

THE CROSS IN EVERYDAY LIFE. The sign of the cross dominated every aspect of daily life: it marked churches, graveyards, religious foundations in general, and house altars. Believing it to be the only true weapon against demonic and evil powers, the faithful wore it around their necks or had it stamped or embroidered on their clothes. To ward off misfortune, the sign of the cross was engraved or carved in a prominent place on city walls, public buildings, bridges, dangerous passes, and private homes. The Second Council of Nicaea ruled that the cross is properly set up not only in churches and on sacred vessels and images but

also "in houses and on streets" (Mansi 13:377CD). At times of pestilence, drought, or flooding the faithful carried crosses in litanies led by the clergy. Miraculous salvation from such natural catastrophes was affirmed with the sign of the cross, as when THEODORE OF SYKEON gave a blessing and made the sign of the cross after concluding a miracle (*vita*, ed. Festugière, ch.43.56). On the banks of a flooded river, at the boundaries of vineyards or cultivated fields ready for harvest, or at a place from which evil spirits had previously escaped, a cross would be erected or carved to ensure protection against demonic powers (*Ibid.*, ed. Festugière, ch.43.45, ch.45.21–22, ch.53.5, ch.114.41, ch.144.4, ch.155.15–16). Similarly, a newly launched ship bore the sign of the cross on its masts, bow, and stern. Farm animals were also blessed with the sign of the cross.

Marks of the cross have been widely found in quarries, apparently used to lend spiritual strength to the workers' technical skills (Sodini et al., *Aliki I* 124–26). They were painted on the walls of churches—together with inscribed prayers at Tokali Kilise in Göreme—before being covered with more elaborate decoration. Replacing the LABARUM, the cross was a common sign of faith on weapons. Gregory Abu'l-Faraj noted among the loot taken by the Arabs from the Byz. in 887 gold and silver crosses from the heads of their spears. During a celebration in honor of the True Cross that lasted from 28 July to 13 Aug., the houses, walls, and other buildings in Constantinople were blessed (*De cer.* 539.19–21). The illiterate signed documents by simply drawing a cross; inscriptions and the signatures of the literate on documents were usually preceded by a cross.

Occasionally there were acts of impiety such as swearing and taking false oaths on the cross (Koukoules, *Bios* 3:363, 377) or even faking miracles—discovering supposedly hidden crosses and presenting them to the faithful, thereby exploiting their piety (*vita* of Lazaros of Mt. Galesios, AASS Nov. 3:512f).

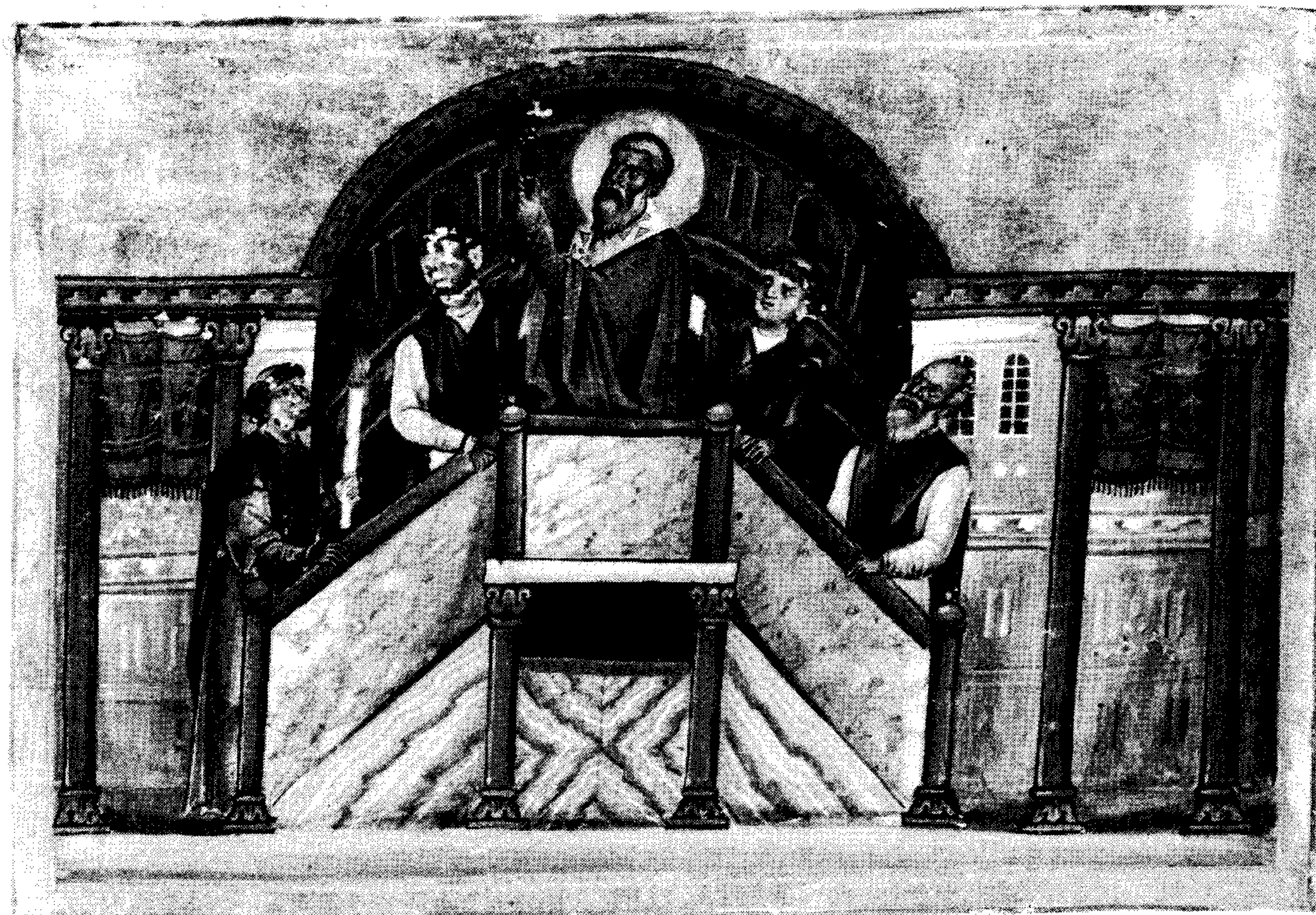
LIT. Hunger, *Reich* 182–84.

—Ap.K., A.C.

CROSS, CULT OF THE. Though John Chrysostom says that Christ "did not leave the Cross on earth but seized it and carried it up to heaven" (PG 49:403.61–3), legends of the finding and

identification of the TRUE CROSS by HELENA in the first half of the 4th C. abound. By the second half of the 4th C. relics of the Cross, used as AMULETS—though the practice was condemned by canon 36 of the Council of Laodikeia ca.360–90 (Mansi 2:570; Gregory of Nyssa, *Vie de sainte Marcrine*, ed. P. Maraval [Paris 1971] 24of, n.2)—had spread from Jerusalem to Antioch, Cappadocia, and Constantinople. Circa 384 EGERIA described the beginnings of the liturgical cult of the Cross on Good Friday in Jerusalem: on Golgotha behind the chapel of the Cross the bishop took his seat, and the Wood of the Cross and the Title were taken out of their box and placed on a table. The relics were guarded by deacons to prevent the pilgrims from biting off a piece as they passed to kiss the Wood (*Diary* 37:2–3). Egeria also furnishes our earliest description of the 14 Sept. feast of the Cross in Jerusalem, where it celebrated the finding of the Cross, associated with an earlier 13–14 Sept. dedication feast of the cathedral complex on Golgotha.

The rite of the Elevation of the Cross is first attested at the Golgotha *martyrion* in the 6th C. (ed. H. Usener, *Der hl. Theodosios, Schriften des Theodoros u. Kyrillos* [Leipzig 1890] 71). The 7th-C. CHRONICON PASCHALE speaks of the exposition of the Cross (*staurophaneia*) on 14 Sept. (1:531.9–12), and testifies to the exaltation (*hypsoisis*) rite in Hagia Sophia on that day in 614 (705.3–6). In the rite of Constantinople this exaltation theme overshadowed the earlier *inventio* motif, and the ritual exaltation became the central ceremony, celebrated with the greatest solemnity (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:24; *De cer.*, bk.1, ch.31 [32]). For four days (10–13 Sept.) the wood of the Cross was exposed for veneration, and the Sunday before and after the feast and its VIGIL (*paramone*) were all directed toward the celebration. On 14 Sept. itself, at ORTHROS in Hagia Sophia, the patriarch entered in solemn procession bearing the relic of the Cross, escorted by the emperor and court dignitaries bearing candles. They formed an honor guard along the ambo and solea as the patriarch mounted the ambo with "the precious wood." After prostration and prayer, the patriarch elevated the relic of the Cross thrice to the four corners of the earth, then the people came forward to venerate the relic. After the service the emperor offered a banquet in the Triklinos of Justinian (Oikonomides, *Listes* 222f). In the 14th



CROSS, CULT OF THE. The Elevation of the Cross. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.35). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The patriarch of Constantinople is shown celebrating the feast of the Elevation of the Cross.

C. the exaltation rite took place on a platform erected in the Triklinos (pseudo-Kod. 239-40).

In the SABAITIC TYPIKA this feast is one of the 12 Byz. GREAT FEASTS and the only nonbiblical dominical feast. It does not celebrate Jesus' passion, like GOOD FRIDAY, but the Cross as instrument of salvation, the triumphant symbol of Jesus' victory over death.

One of two Byz. FEASTS that are fast days, the Exaltation is solemnized by a forefeast with *agrypnia* and a week-long afterfeast with *apodosis*. The festive propers for 14 Sept. in the MENAION are repeated on Holy Cross Sunday in the TRIODION, the Third Sunday of Lent (but cf. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:38-45).

Historical Development. The veneration of the Cross was concentrated on two "historical" events—the vision of the Cross by Constantine I the Great on the eve of his victory over Maxentios in 312 and the appearance of the Cross in Jerusalem in

351 as described by Cyril of Jerusalem in his letter to Constantius II (E. Bihain, *Byzantion* 43 [1973/4] 264-96). To this a third "historical" event was added—the discovery of the Cross by St. Helena and Makarios, "patriarch" of Jerusalem. The relic of the True Cross was captured by the Persians who seized Jerusalem in 614, but recovered by Herakleios and restored to Jerusalem in 631. Enormous literature has been devoted to the veneration of the Cross, the treatise of ALEXANDER THE MONK being one of the most important works on the subject; unfortunately, the traditional dating in the mid-6th C. cannot be substantiated. The cult of the Cross acquired a particular significance under the Iconoclast emperors of the 8th C., when the Cross was treated as the symbol of the Christian church—on the other hand, the Iconodules emphasized that the Cross is only one of a number of symbols and no more important than the ICON. The Iconoclasts stressed the mili-

tary function of the Cross as the instrument of victory; this victory-giving role of the Cross is developed also in the hymns of KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER, whereas John of Damascus remained lukewarm with regard to this theme. A legend of the Iconoclast period recounts that Constantine the Great erected in Constantinople three crosses named Jesus, Christ, and Victory (Herakleios renamed the latter Aniketos, Unvanquished); these crosses were located in the Forum, Philadelphion, and Artopoleion, places that served as stations during the victory celebrations of the 9th C. The Cross remained a military symbol throughout the 10th C.

LIT. A. Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris 1961). H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3:2:3131-39. P. Bernardakis, "Le culte de la Croix chez les grecs," *EO* 5 (1901-02) 193-202, 257-64. J. Hallit, "La croix dans le rite byzantin. Histoire et théologie," *Parole de l'orient* 3 (1972) 261-311. J. Straubinger, *Die Kreuzauffindungslegende* (Paderborn 1912). A. Korakides, *He heuresis tou timiou staurou* (Athens 1983). A. Kazhdan, "'Constantin imaginaire,'" *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 199f, 218-30, 242f. J. Moorhead, "Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 165-79 with add. by P. Speck, *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 521, n.11. N. Thierry, "Le culte de la croix dans l'empire byzantin du VIIe siècle au Xe dans les rapports avec la guerre contre l'infidèle," *RSBS* 1 (1980/1) 205-28. —R.F.T., A.K.

CROSS, PROCESSIONAL. The carrying of crosses in procession is attested at least as early as 499, when clergy, monks, and lay persons of both sexes, armed with such emblems, traversed Edessa to appease the Providence that had caused an earthquake (*JoshStyl* 27). Crosses were carried in churches during the LITTLE ENTRANCE and through cities, as in the procession of the patriarch of Constantinople from Hagia Sophia to the Forum of Constantine (*De cer.* 29.16-17). A miniature in the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II* (p.142) depicts a deacon bearing through the streets a huge pearled cross with pendant jewels, supported by a strap around his neck.

Surviving processional crosses, made of a variety of metals, may be identified by a tang at the base for insertion in a staff and sometimes by their decoration on both sides. At least two crosses of the 10th-11th C. are referred to as a *signon* in the texts inscribed upon them (C. Mango, *infra* 42). In inventories they may be called *litanikoi* (will of Eustathios BOILAS) or *baiophorikoi stauroi* (*Diataxis* of Michael ATTALEIATES). Such docu-

ments suggest their role in the liturgies of even small churches and chapels, when they may have been of quite modest size. Preserved processional crosses of the 6th-7th C. average 30-60 cm in height; they often have flaring arms terminating in small knobs and have suspension holes for pendants—sometimes the Apocalyptic letters *alpha* and *omega*. Usually made of hammered silver, some bear dedicatory inscriptions (Mango, *Silver* 87-91, 235, 249). Post-Iconoclastic crosses in both silver and bronze retain these features but frequently have disks at the ends of their arms or melon-shaped fittings (*DOCat* 1:59f).

Most surviving examples in silver consist of sheets wrapped around an iron core (L. Bouras, *The Cross of Adrianople* [Athens 1979]) that may be decorated in repoussé on the obverse and with niello and gilding on the reverse, as on the so-called Cross of MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. Elaborate processional crosses could be decorated with the DEESIS or with scenes pertaining to their donor or the patron saint of a church. The most impressive post-Iconoclastic specimen is the monumental cross of Nikephoros II Phokas in the Lavra on Mt. Athos (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 19 [1969] 99-125), which is embellished with gems and busts of saints in repoussé.

LIT. E.C. Dodd, "Three Early Byzantine Silver Crosses," *DOP* 41 (1987) 165-79. C. Mango, "La croix dite de Michel le Cérulaire et la croix de Saint-Michel de Sykéôn," *CahArch* 36 (1988) 41-49. —L.Ph.B., A.C.

CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, the escape of the Israelites from Egypt across the Red Sea, whose waters parted miraculously (Ex 14:15-30). This event offered a promise of salvation, both personal and collective, that was visualized as early as the 4th C. in the Via Latina catacomb and on numerous SARCOPHAGI. Didymos the Blind (PG 39:691-8), John Chrysostom, and others treated the Crossing as a type of BAPTISM (F. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum* 2 [1930] 63-69). As an image of salvation, the passage was chanted in the ambo of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, on Holy Saturday (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:84-86). The main application of the image derived from the analogy drawn with Constantine I's triumph at the Milvian Bridge (Eusebios, *HE* 9.9.8); it provided a basis for imperial victory celebrations in the mid-10th C. (*De cer.* 610.2-5). Contemporaneously, the triumphal song chanted by Moses entered ODE

illustration. A miniature in the PARIS PSALTER shows NIGHT (Nyx), BYTHOS, and other personifications participating in the Israelites' triumph. With or without these additions, the Crossing remained a standard component of Psalter and other OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:1-9. Grabar, *L'empereur* 95f, 236f. A. Weckwerth, *LCI* 1:554-58. -J.H.L., A.C.

CROSS-IN-SQUARE CHURCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

CROTONE (Κρότων), also called Cotrone, coastal city in CALABRIA. It was an important stronghold during the Gothic wars in Italy: Totila's army besieged it in 551/2, but Justinian I sent a special fleet that saved the city (Prokopios, *Wars* 4.25.24-26.2). During the Lombard invasion the Byz. continued to hold Crotona. Several important battles were waged near the city: Gay (*Italie* 337) suggests that in 982 Otto II chased the Arabs from Crotona but was defeated the same year; in 1052 the Normans routed ARGYROS, son of Melo, at Crotona.

Legend has it that Dionysios the Areopagite, on his way from Athens to Paris, stopped at Crotona and was for a while its bishop. The city's first attested bishop, however, was Jordanes in 551. Bishops of Crotona attended councils at Constantinople in 680, 787, and 870. When the metropolis of REGGIO-CALABRIA was created in the early 9th C., Crotona was one of its suffragans. -A.K.

CROWN (στέφανος, στέμμα), with purple robes and boots, the imperial INSIGNIA par excellence. Coins are the best guide to the chronology of changes in crown design, which evolved from simple to complex. Various terms designate crowns of different types, but their rigor and the exactness of modern identifications of terms and designs is unclear. Constantine I adopted the Hellenistic symbol of the diadem and its evolution dominated crowns down to the 12th C. It consisted essentially of a circle of jeweled panels with hanging ornaments called *prependoulia* and surmounted by a cross; it was sometimes combined with helmets. A 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.37, ed. Vogt 1:175.10-178.15) refers to red, white, blue, or green crowns, perhaps indi-

cating cloth linings. The TORQUE was used as a crown in coronations from 360 to the 6th C. and may have developed into the collar depicted in imperial portraiture from the 11th C. Modern studies of the late Byz. crown call it *kamelaukion* and emphasize its golden top that covered the head. The MODIOLOS seems to have been used from the 5th to 13th C. Another kind of crown, the crested TOUPHA, was particularly associated with military events. Empresses' crowns resembled emperors' diadems, except that they normally showed triangular elements projecting upward from the circle. Late Roman caesars shared other imperial insignia, but not the diadem (Zosim. 6.13.1, ed. Mendelssohn, 293.10-12; *Vita Marcelli* 34, ed. G. Dagrón, *AB* 86 [1968] 316); Byz. heirs presumptive wore some kind of headgear, for example, the *kamelaukion* (*De cer.*, bk.2, ch.27, ed. Reiske, 628.5-10) and *phakiolion* (*De cer.*, "Append.," ed. Reiske, 500.12-15).

Crowns were worn during ceremonies. Emperors possessed several, of which particular crowns do not seem to have been handed down, as in the West. Some were buried with the emperor, others given to churches as votive offerings (Theoph. 281.16-20, 453.27-30). Late Roman emperors removed their crown as a sign of mourning (Malal. 421.16-21; Theoph. 173.1-7), penance, and usually—to the 10th C. at least—when they went to church. This custom had changed by Palaiologan times, when it was specified (pseudo-Kod. 268.4-20) that the emperor should remove the crown during communion. When not worn, crowns, like other insignia, were entrusted to court eunuchs. The *praipositos* usually crowned or uncrowned the emperor (Theodosius in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [Turnholt 1965] 123.13-124.6). Crowns were kept in cases called *korniklia* (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.1, ed. Vogt, 1:4.17).

Client rulers received crowns and other insignia thanks to Byz. diplomacy. The Hellenistic custom of offering golden crowns or wreaths to emperors, as at ADVENTUS, became a tax (*aurum coronarium*) and, in the 9th and 10th C., a symbolic exchange (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 211f). -M.McC.

Surviving Examples of Byz. Crowns. Whereas representations of Byz. diadems are copious on diptychs, coins, wall paintings, miniatures, and so forth, few actual specimens have been preserved. Some pieces of an imperial crown were found in

1860 near the Hungarian village of Nyitraivánka; it is unclear how this diadem came to Hungary—as an imperial gift or after the looting of Constantinople in 1204. Z. Kádár (*Folia archaeologica* 16 [1964] 121f) reconstructs the iconography of the crown as follows: in the center was the Pantokrator flanked by personifications of Modesty (Tapeinosis) and Truth (Aletheia); below them was a portrait of Constantine IX Monomachos with Zoe and her sister Theodora; on the back King David was represented with Sophia and Propheteia; the three dancing women beneath them suggest that it must have been a festive event (wedding or coronation) that caused the crown to be made.

The lower part of the so-called Hungarian crown of St. Stephen (*corona graeca*) contains portraits of Michael VII Doukas, his brother or son Constantine, and the Hungarian king Géza I; it was probably sent from Constantinople between 1074 and 1077 as a present to the ruler of Hungary, although Deér (*infra*) questions that the object was originally intended to be a crown.

Imperial crowns are made of precious metals and ornamented with precious stones and enamels. Much more modest are two tin-plated copper crowns (in the Byz. Museum of Athens) with inscriptions mentioning the *spatharokandidatos* Romanos, his wife, and children; the objects, probably of the 11th C., may have served either as an altar decoration or as MARRIAGE CROWNS. -A.K.

LIT. *DOC* 2:80-84, 3.1:127-30. E. Piltz, "Insignien," *RBK* 3:373-498. T. Koliás, "Kamelaukion," *JÖB* 32-33 (1982) 493-502. J. Deér, *Die heilige Krone Ungarns* (Vienna 1966) 33-88, 139-49. É. Kovacs, Zs. Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia* (Budapest 1980) 18-42. G. Seewann, "Die Sankt-Stephans-Krone, die Heilige Krone Ungarns," *SüdostF* (1978) 170f. P.A. Drossoyianni, "A Pair of Byzantine Crowns," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 529-38.

CROWNING. See MARRIAGE RITE.

CRUCIFIXION. Christ's death on the Cross (σταύρωσις), the culminating event of the PASSION OF CHRIST, was not depicted until the 5th C.; the earliest surviving representations are from the late 6th C. (RABBULA GOSPELS, fol.13r; SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY; AMPULLAE). They include many participants—the Virgin Mary, JOHN the Apostle (or Theologian), thieves, soldiers playing dice, the lance- and the sponge-bearer—and most

versions show Christ with open eyes, in spite of the open wound on his side as the unmistakable sign of death. This is explained by the theology of the cross of John Chrysostom, who provided a profoundly Antiochene stamp: "Because God loved the world (Jn 3:16), his temple, endowed with a soul, was crucified" (PG 59:159.7-8). The anti-Monophysite emphasis on Christ's mortal corporeality attests, through the simultaneously opened eyes, the inseparability of the divine Logos from the body and soul of the dead Christ (only the body of Christ sleeps on the cross, while his divinity remains awake). Post-Iconoclastic images show Christ dead with closed eyes, blood and water flowing from his side, to demonstrate his humanity (J. Martin in *LCMS* 189-96). In these representations he wears a loincloth rather than the earlier COLOBIUM.

In the marginal PSALTERS scenes of Christ being led to the cross, and its raising, indicate that narrative cycles of the Crucifixion existed by the 9th C. In the 10th-12th C., when the scene had become the feast icon for GOOD FRIDAY, the composition focused on the figures of Christ, Mary, and John, only sometimes adding further, symbolic motifs: mourning MYRROPHOROI; the centurion Longinus (the first person converted by Christ's death); personifications of EKKLESIA and Synagogue; Mary fainting beneath the Cross. In Palaiologan art the narrative is again enriched with crowds of onlookers and additional scenes (cf. the long cycles of the Crucifixion at STARO NAGORIČINO and GRAČANICA). A crucifix was placed on top of the TEMPLON from the 12th C. onward.

LIT. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986) 33-68. K. Wessel, *Die Kreuzigung* (Recklinghausen 1966). K. Weitzmann, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* (Princeton 1982), pt.XIV (1972), 23-36. R. Hausserr, "Der tote Christus am Kreuz: Zur Ikonographie des Gero-kreuzes" (Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1963) 125-42. -G.P. A.W.C.

CRUSADER ART AND ARCHITECTURE. The presence of CRUSADER STATES in Syria and Palestine between 1099 and 1291 set the stage for vigorous artistic activity, esp. at the LOCA SANCTA in JERUSALEM, BETHLEHEM, and NAZARETH, formerly under Byz. control and at that time possessed by the Latin Kingdom. Crusader art was sponsored mainly by the resident Franks, but the artists who carried out these commissions in-

cluded western Europeans, indigenous Christians, Frankish artists born in the Crusader states, Armenians, and Byz. Greeks.

After the capture of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099, the Crusaders were challenged to settle and defend newly won territory. From 1099 to 1231 defensive architecture was a high priority, but church building was also attended to. After 1112 in Jerusalem, Crusader architects boldly unified the great Byz. rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre with the Calvary chapel to create a pointed-arch, rib-vaulted French type of pilgrimage church, reusing portions of the Byz. mosaic program. In Bethlehem, the Church of the Nativity was captured intact in 1099; the Crusaders used this Justinianic building for their early coronations and decorated it starting in 1130 with fresco painting in Romanesque styles on the nave columns. In Nazareth, by 1107 TANCRED had rebuilt the Church of the Annunciation on ruins of Byz. buildings. The barrel-vaulted Latin basilica with transepts is used at Nazareth and in Jerusalem in the Church of St. Anne, started shortly after 1113.

The richest and most diverse artistic output of the Crusaders was in the 12th C., esp. between 1131 and the early 1180s. When Melisende (died 1161), eldest daughter of BALDWIN II and his Armenian wife Morfia, came to the throne in 1131, her personal patronage apparently stimulated much activity in and around Jerusalem. The most famous work directly associated with her is the Psalter (London, B.L. Egerton 1139), completed by 1143. Three artists executed the illustrations, all Western-trained, but strongly if differently influenced by Byz.; one of them, Basilios, signed the DEESIS image in Latin. Taken together, the paintings, the text of the calendar with its notable English features, and the ivory covers with a Byz.-looking prince engaged in works of mercy, a Western iconographical concept, epitomize the mélange of East and West that characterizes Crusader art.

Completing the Holy Sepulchre was the most important project of the 1130s and 1140s. The double portal of the main façade echoes the Byz. design of the Golden Gate in Jerusalem. The rich sculptural decoration included elements from Roman, Early Christian, and Arab sources along with Byz.-inspired mosaics in the west tympanum, acanthus capitals, and two Romanesque lintels. At its dedication on 15 July 1149, the Holy Sepulchre

must have been a spectacular monumental statement of the interpenetration of artistic traditions that characterized the new Frankish art. Elsewhere in Jerusalem, sculpture in a robust French style decorated the Hospitaller complex, while on the Haram al-Sharif some of the most beautiful nonfigural Crusader sculpture, featuring a wet-leaf acanthus motif in an Italo-Provençal manner, seems to have been sponsored by the Templars.

At Tyre the Byz. church was rebuilt, while at Ramla and nearby Lydda (DIOSPOLIS) the smaller churches of St. John and St. George, respectively, demonstrated the more typical Romanesque-Levantine basilica with a flat stone roof and a Near Eastern vocabulary of architectural sculpture. Some of the best known CRUSADER CASTLES, such as Saone, Krak des Chevaliers, and Belvoir, were begun or rebuilt in these years. Finally, Nazareth and Bethlehem emerge between 1150 and 1187 as major centers of sculpture and painting respectively. The Nazareth capitals, reflecting Romanesque style, Byz. iconography, and Islamic *muqarnas*, are the best-preserved examples of a major atelier from which nearly 100 figural fragments survive (J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation* [University Park, Pa.—London 1986]). The frescoes painted on the nave columns in the Church of the Nativity include a series in the Byz. style and extensive mosaics signed by Basilios and EPHRAIM. They were completed by 1169 under the patronage of the local bishop, King AMALRIC I, and Emp. Manuel I Komnenos. The strong Byz. influence here and nearby in the frescoes of the Hospitaller church at Abu-Ghosh, along with the contemporary products of the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium, reflect the close ties between the Latin Kingdom and the Byz. Empire from the mid-1160s to the death of Amalric (1174).

Saladin's conquest drastically reduced the artistic output of the Crusaders. Only a few places held out, including the castles of Krak des Chevaliers and Margat where frescoes in Byz. style were completed despite the difficult circumstances. Tripoli, Tyre, and Antioch also remained in Crusader hands and the Third Crusade quickly restored Acre (1191), but not Jerusalem. For a century Acre was the major port and the political and artistic center of the Latin Kingdom.

Artistic activity in the Crusader states was thus diminished until the mid-13th C. Castle building

continued of necessity but only one important church was completed, Nôtre-Dame of Tartus. Only one major MS has been attributed to the period: the psalter, possibly commissioned ca. 1235 by Frederick II, combining English and Byz. aspects—notably a thoroughly Byz. Nativity and prophets holding scrolls with texts translated from the Septuagint—with a German approach to the program of scenes (Buchthal, *Latin Kingdom* 40–43).

Artistic output, esp. painting, increased sharply after 1250, stimulated by Louis IX who resided in the Latin Kingdom from 1250 to 1254. The illustrations for an Old French Bible apparently commissioned by Louis are in an accomplished Franco-Byz. style strongly related to frescoes painted in KALENDERHANE CAMII in Constantinople during the period of Latin occupation. Icons on wood panels demonstrate Byz. influence, while the strength of the Italo-Byz. style reflected the Italian presence in the merchant quarters of Acre. Paralleling developments in the West, secular codices became increasingly popular. A *Histoire Universelle*, possibly prepared as a gift for Henry II of Lusignan, has a frontispiece showing the impact of ISLAMIC ART. Surprisingly, the last important painter in Acre used a purely French Gothic style for the Hospitallers. Recently arrived from Paris, he worked in Acre in the decade before its fall in 1291.

LIT. *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. Hazard [HC, vol. 4] (Madison, Wisc., 1977). *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda (Oxford 1982). K. Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," in *Byz. und der Westen* 143–70. *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, ed. V. Goss, C. Bornstein (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986). —J.F.

CRUSADER CASTLES. In the East the Crusaders, familiar with the motte-and-bailey castle, encountered Byz. and Arabic FORTIFICATIONS, esp. a descendant of the Roman *castra* (rectangular, with corner towers) and the irregular mountain-crest castle, usually with several defensive lines on the weakest approach. A vast Byz. crag-type fortification, perhaps 10th C., became the castle of Saone (Sahyūn, between Laodikeia and the Orontes). In the 13th C., this pattern was used on a peninsula at Château Pèlerin (‘Atlit, between Haifa and Caesarea). In Frankish Greece, after 1204, the Crusaders adapted these plans to their needs. Refortified classical and Byz. sites include

the Acropolis of ATHENS and Acrocorinth (see CORINTH). CHLEMOUTSI (Clermont) in Elis is an irregular hollow hexagon crowning a low hill. KARYTAINA is a crest-type castle above a gorge in the central Peloponnesos; PLATAMON and BOUNDITZA defend the vale of Tempe and a pass near Thermopylae, respectively.

LIT. T.S.R. Boase, "Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," and D.J. Wallace, T.S.R. Boase, "The Arts in Frankish Greece and Rhodes: A. Frankish Greece," in *HC* 4:140–64, 208–28. M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (New York-Jerusalem 1970) 277–339. Bon, *Morée franque* 601–84. —C.M.B.

CRUSADER STATES. The states first founded by the Crusaders were on former Muslim territory, where the principal vestiges of Byz. rule were the Christian minorities (MELCHITES, JACOBITES, MARONITES). These states included the kingdom of JERUSALEM, the principality of ANTI-IOCH, the county of EDESSA, and the county of TRIPOLI.

Upon lands that the Crusaders later conquered from Byz., the Crusaders founded the kingdom of CYPRUS, the LATIN EMPIRE of Constantinople, the kingdom of THESSALONIKE, the principality of ACHAIA, the duchy of ATHENS, the duchy of NAXOS, and various lesser feudal units. Venice assumed direct rule over Crete, Methone and Korone in the Morea, and eventually Euboea, while Genoa acquired Chios, Lesbos, and Phokaia. Rhodes passed to the HOSPITALLERS. The populations of these states and dependencies were Byz. or partially byzantinized Slavs and Vlachs. In the Crusader states an aristocracy of Western knights and lords was superimposed on the local society. While the aristocracy followed Western feudal customs, enshrined in the Assizes of JERUSALEM and of ROMANIA, the populace generally observed Byz. law, paid dues modeled on what they had paid the emperors, and maintained their Orthodox religion.

LIT. D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les 'Assises de Romanie'* (Paris 1971). J. Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom* (New York 1972). —C.M.B.

CRUSADES were military expeditions launched by popes, initially against infidels for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre in JERUSALEM. The term "bearer of the Cross" (*staurophoros*), known from Greek texts from the 4th C. onward, has been

construed as referring to monastic life, not Crusaders. The idea of the holy war prevailed during Herakleios's expeditions against the Persians. This idea reappeared in the West in the writing of Pope GREGORY VII and assumed final form in the proclamation of Pope URBAN II.

ALEXIOS I was partially responsible for inspiring the Crusades. In March 1095 his envoys met Urban II at Piacenza and appealed for Western help against the Seljuk Turks. The pope publicly urged assistance to Byz. On 27 Nov. 1095, at Clermont, Urban renewed his appeal for aid to the Eastern Christians and called for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre.

The armies of the early Crusades passed through Byz. territory, traveling either from BRANIČEVO on the Danube through Sofia to Constantinople, or from DYRRACHION via Thessalonike. Crossing the straits, they marched through Byz. and Turkish territory to Antioch and the Holy Land. The Byz. attempted to provide markets where the Crusaders could purchase provisions, while restraining them from pillaging the countryside. Nevertheless, the undisciplined Westerners often

plundered; policing (usually by Pecheneg horsemen) was brutal. Skirmishes in which both sides suffered losses led to ill feeling.

Forerunners of the First Crusade (1095–1099) were bands led by PETER THE HERMIT and others that reached Constantinople in 1096. Faced with their turbulence, Alexios transferred them to Anatolia, where they were largely destroyed by the Turks. The survivors blamed the emperor.

The portions of the First Crusade led by nobles such as GODFREY OF BOUILLON and BOHEMUND reached Constantinople in late 1096 and early 1097. As they arrived, Alexios sought to gain each leader's favor by gifts, induce him to swear fealty to the emperor, and make him urge later arrivals to do the same. Those who took the oath pledged to return to Byz. all territories recently seized by the Turks. Some, like HUGH OF VERMANDOIS and Bohemund, readily agreed; others, like Godfrey, demurred. Godfrey, after his followers quarreled with the Byz., attacked Constantinople, but was beaten off; reconciled with Alexios, he took the oath.

The Crusaders and Byz. jointly attacked Nicaea

(May–June 1097); the former were displeased when the city surrendered to the Byz., but Alexios appeased them with gifts. He dispatched TATI-KIOS and a small force to support their march across Anatolia. During the siege of Antioch, Tati-kios was forced to withdraw and Bohemund later used this action to justify his seizure of Antioch. The Crusaders succeeded in capturing Jerusalem on 15 July 1099.

An expedition of Lombards and some French nobles that set out from Europe in 1100 encountered difficulties in crossing Byz. territory; some Lombards even attacked the Blachernai Palace. In 1101 the Crusaders' rash conduct in Asia Minor brought them disaster. Alexios was charged with treacherously betraying them to the Turks. Byz. claimed Antioch and strove until 1180 to subordinate its princes. Alexios I's attacks caused Bohemund to join with the pope and launch a Crusade against Byz.; it was defeated in 1108.

The Second Crusade (1147–1149) consisted of a German contingent led by CONRAD III and a French one led by LOUIS VII. In 1147 Conrad's followers clashed with the Byz. in Thrace, and Manuel I was pleased to transport them over the Bosphoros before Louis arrived. Although the French enjoyed a friendly reception from Manuel, Bp. Godfrey of Langres proposed the seizure of Constantinople. Germans and French suffered heavy losses at the hands of the Turks in Anatolia. Manuel provided shipping to transport the survivors from Attaleia to Antioch (Jan. 1148), but the Byz. were blamed for betraying the Crusade. In July the French withdrew from Damascus after an unsuccessful attack.

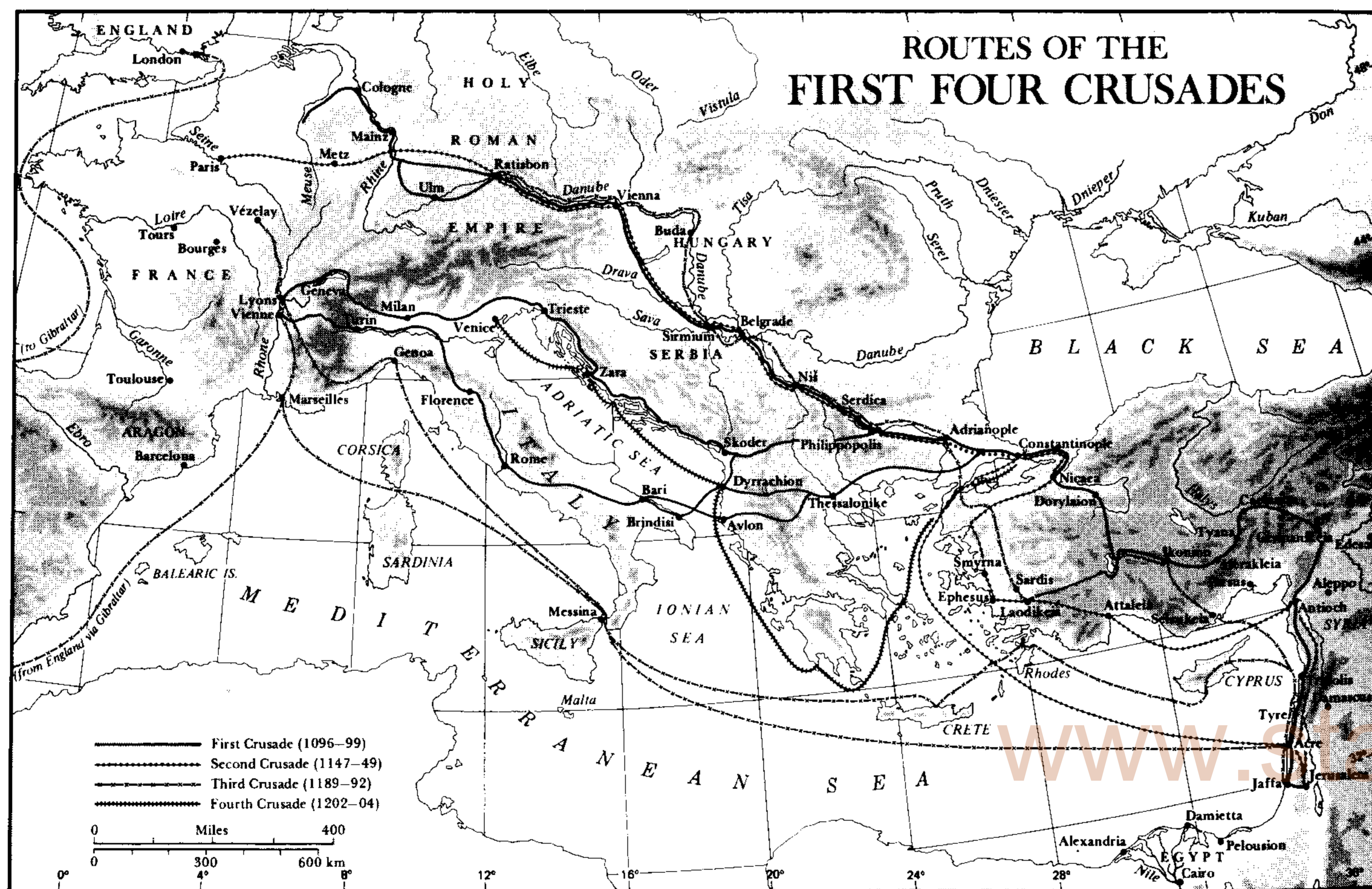
In subsequent decades, as pressure on the Crusader states from NÜR AL-DĪN and SALADIN increased, the kings of Jerusalem sought alliance with Byz. BALDWIN III married a Komnene, as did his successor AMALRIC I. A joint Crusader-Byz. force attacked Damietta (1169), but disagreements and mutual distrust caused the expedition to fail. Amalric did homage to Manuel in Constantinople in 1171. In 1177 Manuel attempted to renew the alliance, but the weakness of Amalric's successors prevented any action.

After Saladin's conquest of most of the kingdom of Jerusalem (1187), Isaac II attempted a rapprochement with him. To obtain Saladin's goodwill, Isaac lured the portion of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) led by FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA into

Thrace, then attempted to destroy it (1189). Enraged, Frederick wrote to his son HENRY VI ordering him to bring a fleet for an attack on Constantinople. Isaac, however, soon yielded and allowed Frederick to proceed, but he drowned in Cilicia (10 June 1190) and his army scattered. Another section of the Third Crusade, led by RICHARD I LIONHEART, seized Cyprus from its Greek ruler, ISAAC KOMNENOS. The French and English forces failed to regain Jerusalem but did capture Acre on 12 July 1191. In 1195–97 Henry VI planned a Crusade and used it to blackmail Byz. Only Henry's death saved the empire from having to pay the ALAMANIKON tribute.

Byz. hostility to the Crusades, evident in the writings of Anna Komnene and Kinnamos, and with some qualifications in Niketas Choniates, was reciprocated, as shown by Western authors such as Raymond of Aguilers, Odo of Deuil, and Ansbert. Bohemund and Frederick I had proposed a Crusade against Byz. (S. Kindlimann, *Die Eroberung von Konstantinopel als politische Forderung des Westens im Hochmittelalter* [Zurich 1969]). Pope Innocent III was ready to threaten a Crusade as a means to bring about church unity (A.J. Andrea, I. Motsiff, *BS* 33 [1972] 6–25). The Crusades had made Constantinople's wealth known in the West. PHILIP OF SWABIA and his ally BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT had ambitions in the East. Venetian merchants wanted an assured monopoly in Constantinople (Lilie, *Handel und Politik* 557–95). Philip, Boniface, and Doge ENRICO DANDOLO of Venice assisted the refugee Alexios IV; they easily won the support of many members of the Fourth Crusade (1202–04) for a diversion against Constantinople. After Alexios IV and his successor Alexios V proved hostile, the Crusaders seized Constantinople for themselves (12 Apr. 1204) and cruelly sacked it. The hostility of the Byz. populace to the LATIN EMPIRE established by the Crusaders contributed to its short life (1204–61). The Crusader principalities founded in the MOREA, however, such as the principality of ACHAIA, enjoyed greater success.

After the Latin Empire fell, the Turkish menace to the West was recognized and the defense of Constantinople prompted several Crusades. In 1344 Smyrna was won, but the Crusade of 1396 ended in a crushing defeat at Nikopolis (see NIKOPOLIS, CRUSADE OF). A final attempt to save Constantinople resulted in the Ottoman victory



at VARNA (1444) that assured the Turkish conquest of Byz.

Economically, the Crusades stimulated the development of Venice and Genoa at the expense of Constantinople. While cultural exchange between Byz. and the West increased, their mutual hostility furthered the SCHISM. Originally intended in part to rescue Byz. from the Turks, the Crusades contributed substantially to its downfall.

LIT. H.E. Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hanover 1960). M.A. Zaborov, *Istoriografija krestovych pochodov* (Moscow 1971). *A History of the Crusades*², ed. K.M. Setton, vols. 1–5 (Madison, Wis., 1969–85). C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton 1977). R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Munich 1981). Idem, "Noch einmal zu dem Thema 'Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten,'" *Varia* 1 (Bonn 1984) 121–74. —C.M.B.

CRUSADES, WESTERN HISTORIANS OF THE.

The First Crusade focused Western imagination on the seemingly providential events in Palestine (and secondarily in Byz.), stimulating new departures in Latin literature (G. Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzuglied des lateinischen Mittelalters* [Munich 1974]). Letters, like the one that Count Stephen of Blois sent his wife about Constantinople (ed. H. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* [Innsbruck 1901] 138–40), or oral and written reports, like the GESTA FRANCORUM, brought new knowledge of Byz. shaped by the confrontation of differing civilizations and conflicting objectives. Crusader admiration or hostility centered initially on Alexios I rather than the Byz. people, reflecting the emperor's all-pervasive position. The *Gesta* was rewritten in the polished style required by the so-called 12th-C. renaissance for a burgeoning audience of educated clergy. Although some added little more than literary trappings, others, such as ALBERT OF AACHEN and GUIBERT OF NOGENT, supplied new material deriving from local Crusaders and, possibly, early vernacular epics. By interpreting Byz. in terms of Western society, they also unconsciously distorted it. Even non-Crusader historians such as ORDERIC VITALIS, Caffaro (see ANNALES IANUENSES), and ROGER OF HOVEDEN incorporated the Levant into their historical productions. The classicizing literary climate revived antique stereotypes about shift, effeminate Greeks who were tacitly assimilated to the modern-day Byz. emperor. But early Crusaders did not emphasize religious differ-

ences, and the relative serenity of a Lotharingian theologian like RUPERT OF DEUTZ typifies the early 12th C.

The growth of administrative kingship and literacy meant that, from the Second Crusade, clerical record-keepers accompanied Western rulers. Some histories, like that of ODO OF DEUIL, the diarylike material of TAGENO, and the HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI, reflect the royal retinues' contacts with Constantinople, while other Crusaders authored personal accounts like the ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM. Religious hostility toward Byz. swelled dramatically as Western theology's accelerating development and obsession with local heretics affected differences between the Byz. and Latin churches, exacerbating political conflicts. The old stereotypes now encompassed the Byz. people, increasingly considered as an ethnic unit. The classicizing ideals of the 12th C. revived the Trojan legend and reinforced assimilation of contemporary Byz. and ancient Greeks even as it sharpened hostility, since the "Franks" believed their ancestors came from Troy. The Crusader states, however, produced Latins who knew Byz. directly and could be essentially positive, like FULCHER OF CHARTRES, or reflect political tensions, like RADULF OF CAEN. This milieu explains the masterful portrayal of Byz. by WILLIAM OF TYRE.

Although epic overtones already pervade Albert and Radulf, written vernacular Crusader poems emerge only late in the 12th C. with the CHANSON D'ANTIOCHE and the verses of AMBROISE. Western fantasies of Byz. and its riches worked their way into fictional works like the VOYAGE DE CHARLEMAGNE and the tales of Walter MAP, even as the Third Crusade's failure diminished expectations from such enterprises. The fascination peaked tragically with the Fourth Crusade as Byz. treasures flooded Western society, accompanied by reports of the conquest like the DEVASTATIO CONSTANTINOPOLITANA and the account of GUNTHER OF PAIRIS. Count Baldwin's court in Hainault had pioneered vernacular literary innovation, and his role in the conquest combined with the primacy of French as the Crusader states' vehicular language to encourage prose histories like the ESTOIRE D'ERACLES; the works of Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN, HENRI DE VALENCIENNES, ROBERT DE CLARI; and, later, the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA.

LIT. M.A. Zaborov, *Vvedenie v istoriografiju krestovych pochodov (latinskaja chronografija XI–XII vekov)* (Moscow 1966). B. Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in westerse ogen, 1096–1204* (Assen 1971). J. Richard, *Les récits de voyages et de pèlerinages* (Turnhout 1981). D. Jacoby, "La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades [diffusion et création]," in *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin*, vol. 2 (Modena 1984) 617–46. —M.McC.

CRYPT (from *κρυπτή*, "concealed place," also "vault"), a chamber beneath the main floor of a church, usually containing relics or tombs. Although never a requisite feature, crypts are found in Byz. churches of all periods and in a variety of locations. Most of the early basilicas of Constantinople were provided with a small cruciform crypt located directly beneath the altar, as in the 5th-C. STOUDIOS basilica. The entry into these crypts was usually by means of a narrow stairway opening in the interior of the APSE, though in other churches, such as the 6th-C. Church of St. John in HEBDOMON, access was obtained from outside the building. The spacious crypt under the transept of the 5th-C. Basilica of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike enclosed a part of a Roman bath in which the saint was believed to have suffered his martyrdom. The function of many later crypts is not clear; those under such churches as the *katholikon* of HOSIOS LOUKAS, the ossuary of the PETRITZOS MONASTERY, and the Taxiarches in Thessalonike were designed expressly for funerary purposes.

LIT. Mathews, *Early Churches* 27, 32, 34, 57, 60, 109. Grabar, *Martyrium* 1:436–87. N. Brunov, "K voprosu o bolgarskich dvuchetažnych cerkvach-grobnicach," *Izv-BulgArchInst* 4 (1926–27) 135–44. —M.J.

CRYPTOGRAM, an encoded text. The most frequent system of cryptography in Byz. MSS originated in MAGIC papyri from the 3rd/4th C. and is based on the use of Greek letters as NUMBERS. The numerals are distributed in three lines, each with nine letters, which switch places within the line: alpha (i.e., one) becomes theta (nine), beta (two) becomes eta (eight), etc. The letter in the middle (epsilon, nu, phi) cannot change its place. This "three-line system" also occurs as early as the Job MS of Patmos (Patmos gr. 171) of ca. 800. Another method, also based on the Greek numerals, replaces one letter by two with half of the numerical value (e.g., iota [ten] becomes epsilon-epsilon [five and five]). This kind of cryptography

is attested in dated subscriptions of the 11th–12th C. Scribes of the 14th–15th C. invented a personal cryptography by contorting the Greek letters.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscripts* 43–45. J. Noret, "Le cryptogramme grec du Laurentianus, XXVIII 16," *Scriptorium* 30 (1976) 45f. V. Gardthausen, "Zur byzantinischen Kryptographie," *BZ* 14 (1905) 616–19. —E.G.

CUBICULUM. See KOITON; PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI.

ČUČER. See NIKITA, MONASTERY OF SAINT.

CULTURE encompasses all forms and results of human activity: modes of production, food, clothing, and shelter, which constitute the material aspects of life; behavior with its norms—ethics and law as well as ceremonial and religious rite; education as the means to transmit the normative; spiritual life—visual arts, literature, music, science, philosophy, and theology. The terms "culture" and "civilization" are used interchangeably with regard to Byz.

For a long time Byz. culture was considered a mechanical agglomeration of independent phenomena. In the standard textbook, S. Runciman's *Byzantine Civilisation* (New York 1933), as well as in many similar works, government and law, social life, church and monasticism, literature, science, and art form independent sections of a multistory construction, with no staircase leading from one floor to another. The first modern attempt to integrate, rather than merely to juxtapose, the various aspects of Byz. culture, was H. Hunger's *Reich der neuen Mitte* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1965). The structure of books that followed Hunger (A. Kazhdan, *Vizantijskaja kul'tura X–XII vv.* [Moscow 1968] and A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* [Paris 1974]) differed drastically from that of Runciman; the authors dealt with economy ("the acquisition of the world"), social ties, power of the state, and what Guillou calls "culture," that is, spiritual culture, and what in Kazhdan's book is divided into "the image of the world" and AESTHETICS.

If Byz. culture is perceived not as an agglomeration but as a unified entity, the question arises as to the nature of this entity. Hunger, while situating the problem on a purely spiritual plane,

considered Byz. culture as an ancient civilization in the process of transformation into a Christian one. H.G. Beck (*infra*) shifted the emphasis: in his view, Byz. culture was determined by the role of the state, which created an atmosphere of political orthodoxy and left very little room for non-conformity; Byz. literature and theology, wrote Beck, reflected this political and ideological uniformity.

Kazhdan began his analysis of Byz. culture from a different point: according to him, social groupings (microstructures) played in Byz. a lesser role than in antiquity or in Western medieval countries, whereas FAMILY links were stronger and more stable. This situation contributed to the development of individualism, which, however, deprived of the support of any hierarchy and of social groupings, gave way to the omnipotent power of the state and became an "individualism without freedom." An extreme ambivalence with regard to cardinal concepts and a search for stability within the world of imagination determined the main lines of Byz. spiritual life.

Every culture includes traditional elements (heritage) side by side with INNOVATIONS. The problem of their interrelationship in Byz. has been hotly discussed. The well-established view, that Byz. culture was determined by the continuity of ancient elements (Greek and/or imperial Roman), was developed by G. Weiss (*HistZ* 224 [1977] 529-60) and continues to be dominant. On the other hand, A. Toynbee (*Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* [London 1973] 510-74) emphasized the radical differences, "the antithesis between the Byz. spirit and the Hellenic spirit," as expressed in such cultural phenomena as *proskynesis*, dress, architecture, visual art, etc. This antithesis could be explained by Beck's omnipotent state and political orthodoxy, but Averincev (*Poetika*), following Hunger rather than Beck, interpreted the non-Greek elements of Byz. culture as oriental, penetrating the empire via the Bible.

Both Weiss and Toynbee, regardless of their disagreement, dealt with Byz. as a unity, whether inherited from antiquity or replacing antiquity; Averincev also believed that previously existing "culture circles" were interconnected to form the phenomenon of Byz. culture. Kazhdan and Mango (*infra*) have a different approach, perceiving Byz. culture as a historical rather than metaphysical event. Both acknowledge the decline of ancient

urban civilization, the cultural crisis, and the subsequent revival of culture; for both of them, ancient tradition is not a simply and automatically inherited treasure, but wealth that was almost lost and later regained.

Although a unity, that is, having a common denominator, Byz. culture was far from absolute uniformity; on the contrary, a permanent ambivalence, an inner contradiction, was typical of it (H. Hunger, *Byzanz, eine Gesellschaft mit zwei Gesichtern* [Copenhagen 1984]), as of any living civilization. This ambivalence was caused by various factors: the opposition of centripetal and centrifugal forces, that is, the capital and the province, or a rigid asceticism and a joyful and tolerant approach to life, of the hermitage and *koinobion*, of patristic tradition and Hellenic heritage, of totalitarianism and nonconformity and, finally, by ethnic, linguistic, and religious divergences, as well as conflicts between classes and social groups.

LIT. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 1-22. C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London 1980). Idem, *Byzantium and its Image* (London 1984). H.G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich 1978). *Kul'tura Vizantii*, ed. Z.V. Udal'cova, G.G. Litavrin, 2 vols. (Moscow 1984-89). A. Kazhdan, A. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 429-78. M.W. Weithmann, "Strukturkontinuität und -diskontinuität auf der griechischen Halbinsel im Gefolge der slavischen Landnahme," *Münchener Zeitschrift für Balkankunde* 2 (1979) 141-76. -A.K.

CULTURE, DIFFUSION OF. Different kinds of diffusion of Byz. culture may be distinguished.

1. Diffusion of material objects does not in itself indicate any assimilation of culture. Byz. coins (see COIN FINDS) and metalwork have been discovered as far north as Scandinavia and as far east as INDIA and CHINA. They may have found their way there through trade, as loot, or as the remuneration of mercenaries.

2. The impact of Byz. on neighboring non-Christian countries was exercised both through trade and Christian communities established there, as in Sasanian Persia, whose kings were anxious to profit from higher Byz. expertise in the crafts and even to emulate a Byz. way of life. The Muslim world proved more resistant to Byz. cultural influence, though it showed interest in ancient and late antique Greek philosophical and scientific writings.

3. A higher degree of penetration was achieved

in Christian countries of Roman Catholic obedience, esp. in Italy, parts of which were Byz. for a long time, less so in Germany, Hungary, and Scandinavia. This is most noticeable in art (painting and mosaics more than architecture) that was spread either by migrant Byz. craftsmen or by the importation of objects (e.g., bronze DOORS), giving rise to local imitations. The West showed little interest in Byz. writings, except for the several translations made in the 9th C.: those by ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS (chronicles, acts of the Council of 787), the two translations of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (one of them by John Scotus Eriugena), and a few works of hagiography. Forced symbiosis between Greeks and Latins, beginning with the Third Crusade, led to a greater assimilation of Latin culture by the Greeks than vice-versa. In the 14th and 15th C. a number of Greek scholars, who were attracted by Italian humanism, studied Latin and taught Greek in Italy; some (e.g., Manuel CHRYSOLORAS, GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS) became distinguished teachers of Greek, others (Michael APOSTOLES, BESSARION) collected Greek MSS for Italian libraries, or, like Theodore GAZES and George Trapezountios, made translations of Greek authors, primarily Plato and Aristotle (see TRANSLATION). An exceptional case is that of Armenia, which, though non-Orthodox, was so intimately tied to the empire as to become profoundly influenced by it.

4. The most thorough diffusion was achieved in Orthodox, mostly Slavic, countries (Bulgaria, Serbia, Kievan, Halyč, and Muscovite Rus' as well as Romania, Alania, and Georgia); the countries of this cultural Byz. commonwealth owed the bulk of their civilization to Byz., including religion, ceremonial, art, alphabet, and literature. Byz. writings in Greek translated into an Old Church Slavonic *koine* circulated throughout the Slavic Orthodox world (with the Balkans, esp. Bulgaria, being the main source of such translations). In the case of Georgia, some translations were made from the Arabic as well. In Orthodox countries the diffusion of Byz. culture (esp. in art and literature) continued well beyond the fall of Constantinople; in some countries (Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania) it is attested as late as the 18th C.

LIT. P. Grierson, "Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1959) 123-40. W. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt 1958). "Abendland und Byzanz," in *RB*, Reihe

A, vol. 1, fasc. 3-6. G. Cavallo et al., *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan 1982). O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York 1970). D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500-1453* (New York 1971). J. Irmscher, "Die Ausstrahlung der spätbyzantinischen Kultur," 15 *CEB Rapports* 4.2 (Athens 1980). -C.M., I.Š., A.M.T.

CUMANS (*Κούμανοι*; in Byz. works of the 11th to 13th C. often "Scythians"; Turkic *Qipčak*, Slavic *Polovtsy*), a confederation of Eurasian nomadic and seminomadic tribes who replaced the PECHENECS in the east European steppe ca. 1050-60 and were, in turn, subjected by the MONGOLS in 1222-37. Cattle breeders and warriors (their capital was located near present-day Khar'kov, Ukraine), the Cumans were also involved in trade (esp. slave trade), for example, with SOUGDAIA and CHERSON. The Cumans appeared on the Byz. frontier on the Lower Danube at the end of the 11th C., first as allies of the Pechenegs with whom they plundered Thrace in 1087. In 1091, however, Alexios I Komnenos used the Cumans against the Pechenegs: the alliance remained ephemeral and Cuman invasions continued at least until 1160. Diaconu (*infra*) hypothesizes that ca. 1122 the Cumans destroyed DINOGETIA. At the same time the Cumans began to settle on Byz. territory; some of them were granted PRONOIAI (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 48-54). After the Mongol invasion, the Cuman influx into Byz. increased: in 1241 John III Vatatzes reportedly settled 10,000 Cumans in Thrace and Asia Minor, and in 1259 Cuman contingents played an important role in the battle of PELAGONIA. Cumans were famous as skillful archers. Their loyalty, however, was sometimes doubtful: in 1256 at Didymoteichon they deserted to the Bulgarians (Angold, *Byz. Government* 188f).

The Cumans participated in the anti-Byz. revolt in Bulgaria in 1186, but it is difficult to prove that Peter and Asen I were of Cuman origin (P. Mutačiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija* 2 [Sofia 1973] 162-68), even though "Asen" was evidently a Turkic name. Archaeologically the Cumans are little known, and their tombs difficult to distinguish from those of the Pechenegs. The MAMLŪK dynasty that ruled Egypt and Syria from 1250 to 1517 was partially composed of former slaves (*mamlūk*) of Cuman origin.

LIT. P. Diaconu, *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Bucharest 1978). D. Rasovskij, "Les Comans et Byzance," *IzvBulgArchInst* 9 (1935) 346-54. O. Pritsak, "The Polovcsians and Rus'," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982)

321–80. P.B. Golden, "Cumanica I: The Qipčaq in Georgia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984) 45–87. A. Savvides, "Hoi Komanoi (Koumanoi) kai to Byzantio, 1108–1308 ai. m.Ch.," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 937–55. E.Č. Skržinskaja, "Polovcy. Opyt istoričeskogo istolkovanija etnikona," *VizVrem* 46 (1986) 255–76. —O.P.

CURIA (βουλή), city council. In late antiquity *curiae* administered CITIES and their territories, controlled local expenditure, sent embassies to the emperor, issued honorific decrees, and appointed urban teachers (sophists). Their heaviest responsibilities were the provision and maintenance of public works and services, and collection of taxes, for which the members had collective responsibility. *Curiae* selected their own members, CURIALES or decurions, who sat for life. In the East, *curiae* were large, often with 500 members; Antioch had 1,200. None of the *curiae*'s activities involved major policy decisions, which were decided by the governor and his representatives. The financial obligations of service in the *curia* made citizens increasingly reluctant to serve and anxious to find any avenue of escape; consequently, the *curiae* declined in size and prestige, and governors came to run cities through their own officials. A law of Anastasios I effectively substituted the collective responsibility of church and landowners for the *curia*. According to JOHN LYDOS, the *curiae* were a memory by the mid-6th C. In actuality they continued to exist, but only for ceremonial purposes. Leo VI issued a novel abolishing *curiae*, but their activity is revealed in various later sources. *Curiae* met in *bouleuteria*, commonly theaterlike buildings that were kept in good repair through the 6th C.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 724–31, 757–63. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 50f. A. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971). —C.F.

CURIALES (βουλευταί), members of the local council or CURIA (Gr. *boule*) of a *municipium* in the late Roman empire; the term replaced the former *decuriones*. Constantine I transformed the *curia* into a body in its own right by giving its members specific rights and obligations and prohibiting them from changing status (e.g., becoming SENATORS, military officers, or clergymen). The major purpose of this legislation was to preserve the class of urban landowners who were responsible for

the normal functioning of the city's institutions (finance, food supply, public works, entertainment). This concern was underscored in the law of 386 (*Cod.Theod.* XII 3.1) prohibiting *curiales* from selling their land and slaves. The obligations of *curiales* were burdensome, esp. their responsibility for local tax-collecting, but at the same time they possessed some fiscal and legal privileges. LIBANIOS presents the *curiales* of Antioch as an active and efficient body; probably they were less influential in the West, but even there SALVIAN of Marseilles (5th C.) described *curiales* as exploiters of the surrounding population.

The diminishing number of *curiales* and increasing state requirements in the 4th C. forced the government to take coercive measures, including the forcible subscription of criminals to the *curia*, along with official complaints on the avoidance by *curiales* of their duty. With regard to the later status of *curiales*, Bowman and Liebeschuetz emphasize the state's encroachments on the rights of the *curiales*, the introduction of offices (such as the DEFENSOR CIVITATIS) that held an intermediary position between the central government and the city, and the subjugation of the city to government control. Kurbatov, on the other hand, stresses the differentiation among the *curiales* and the appearance of an upper echelon which he identifies with feudal seigneurs. The *curia* as an institution disappeared after the 6th C., and Leo VI abrogated legislation concerning the municipal *boule* (nov.46), but the elements of MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION remained in Byz.

LIT. W. Schubert, "Die rechtliche Sonderstellung der Dekurionen (Kurialen) in der Kaisergesetzgebung des 4.-6. Jahrhunderts," *ZSavRom* 86 (1969) 287–333. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* 163, 165f, 181–83. A. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971). G. Kurbatov, *Osnovnye problemy vnutrennego razvitiia vizantijskogo goroda v IV–VII vv.* (Leningrad 1971) 119–71. I. Hahn, "Immunität und Korruption der Curialen in der Spätantike," *Korruption im Allertum* (Munich-Vienna 1982) 179–99. —A.K.

CURRICULUM. The meaning of *enkyklios paideia*, "general education," had already begun to narrow in Hellenistic times and continued to do so in late antiquity. John TZETZES (*Historiae* 11:518–28) plainly stated that the term *enkyklios paideia* (or *mathemata*), which previously encompassed the seven "liberal arts," now designated GRAMMAR only. The traditional three-tiered education that had still functioned in the 4th–6th C. was simplified

after the 7th C. and consisted of two stages: the teaching of the elementary skills of literacy (reading, writing, and knowledge of sections of the Bible) and *enkyklios paideia*, primarily grammar. Since the SCHOOL was predominantly private, variations and complementary components were often introduced. The revival of the ancient curriculum (including the QUADRIVIUM) probably began in the 9th C.: the professors of the MAGNAURA school taught some of these disciplines on the secondary level. As a result the 9th C. witnessed the transmission of mathematical and astronomical MSS before those of historians and poets (Wilson, *Scholars* 85–88). The attempt to resuscitate tertiary education in the 11th C. and the organization of philosophy and law schools in Constantinople had only a limited effect; the curriculum remained oriented toward grammar, PHILOSOPHY, and RHETORIC, with casual sallies into the quadrivium, MEDICINE, and some exotic sciences such as *optike*, *katoptrike* (see MATHEMATICS), and *kentrobarike* (e.g., Mich.Ital. 157.10).

LIT. A. Moffatt, "Early Byzantine School Curricula and a Liberal Education," in *Mél.Dujčev* 275–88. Lemerle, *Humanism* 111–117, 292–96. Marrou, *Education* 266f, 274–77, 409f, 568. A. Garzya, "'Enkyklios paideia' in Palladio," *AB* 100 (1982) 259–62. —A.K.

CURSING (κατάρασις), the imprecation of evil or damnation on a person or thing. Church fathers endeavored to soften the passages involving cursing in the Bible and to demonstrate that such curses were not acts of hatred but merely predictions of the future. Nevertheless, cursing remained a regular element of life, and the TIMARION (ed. R. Romano, p.67.478) says that the Byz. were particularly fond of it. Cursing was used to protect contracts, property, tombs, and so on; the curse (*ara*) of the 318 Fathers of the First Council of NICAEA is commonly invoked on purchase charters and in MSS to keep the document from being stolen. Cursing was also used to strengthen church discipline (against heretics, violators of canon law, etc.), ANATHEMA being its strongest form. Cursing was thought to bring forth the anger of God and relegate the accursed to the power of the Devil. Cursing could also be an act of evil persons, and Muḥammad, among others, was accused of cursing. The EUCHOLOGION contained prayers for the lifting of curses (ed. Goar, 545–49, 693–96).

LIT. W. Speyer, *RAC* 7:1240–88. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:326–46. —R.F.T., A.K.

CURSIVE, a style of Greek script, the origin of which can be traced back to the script used in business PYPYRI. In the 4th C. Greek cursive evolved from the chancery script; it is contained within four parallel lines and shows typical features for the letters beta, eta, iota, kappa, and delta, and esp. for the epsilon with the upper stroke in the form of a beak. This script occurs in Egyptian papyri of the 6th–8th C. The MINUSCULE evolves from the cursive; this development can be seen already at the end of the 7th C. in the subscriptions of the members of the Third Council of Constantinople (680), written partly in minuscule, partly in UNCIAL. The 8th- or 9th-C. Vat. gr. 2200 is a unique codex exhibiting an alternative to the minuscule, a cursive script used for literary rather than chancery purposes (L. Perria, *RSTN* 20–21 [1983–84] 25–68). Cursive elements survived in the regular minuscule, for example, MSS copied by Ephraim in the mid-10th C. or texts written in scholarly hands. N.G. Wilson was able to assign an earlier date to codices written by scholars by comparing them with dated documents showing cursive features (in *PGEB* 221–39).

LIT. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 86–93. C.M. Mazzucchi, "Minuscule greche corsive e librerie," *Aegyptus* 57 (1977) 166–89. —E.G., I.Š.

CURTAIN. See KATAPETASMA.

CUSTOM (συνήθεια). Byz. legal theory recognized the normative force of custom but tried to set strict limitations on it. Like a law, a customary regulation could achieve recognition only when it had been examined and approved judicially or sanctioned directly by an emperor. When a custom hindered the efficacy of a certain law, it was interpreted as a procedural error on the part of the people to whom the law was addressed, not as the legal establishment of a counterregulation. Thus, a law based on legislation could be rendered ineffective by contrary custom, but it could not be abrogated. The high theoretical value placed on statutory law, closely linked with the concept of the emperor as the living law through God's grace, was contradicted in practice by an enor-

mous mass of customary regulations. This profusion could be explained by the inaccessibility of the legislation, the difficulty of its language, the complexity of its content, and its contradictory nature. A further explanation lies in its inability to adapt to the social developments of the Byz. state, for which only a very small proportion of the Roman imperial and late antique norms were appropriate. Finally, there were a great number of special local or ethnic regulations which the central government was unable to override in the provinces through equivalent legal measures.

Custom in Byzantine Documents and Novels. Although the Byz. clearly distinguished between the law (*nomos*) and custom (*synetheia*), they often treated them as parallel and noncontradictory concepts (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.6.60–61, a.1118, no.40.41, a.1370/1). The legislators, however, had to cope with the cases of discrepancy between the two: many of the NOVELS OF LEO VI dealt with *synetheiai*—in 16 cases he approved of customary regulations and only in five or six cases rejected them. Passages in many documents state that a particular tax was levied or should not be levied, or a particular procedure had been performed or had not been performed *kata ten synetheian*, “according to custom.”

LIT. D. Simon, “Balsamon zum Gewohnheitsrecht,” in *Scholia: Studia D. Holwerda* (Groningen 1985) 119–33. J. de Malafosse, “La loi et la coutume à Byzance,” *Travaux et recherches de l'Institut de droit comparé de l'Université de Paris* 23 (1963) 59–69. K. Polyzoides, *To ethimon eis to plasion tes Orthodoxou Ekklesias* (Thessalonike 1986). —A.K., M.B.

CUSTOMS. Imports and exports were tightly controlled and taxed in Byz. This was done at the frontiers, in special markets, the KOMMERKIA, at the entrance of the straits leading to Constantinople (Abydos, Stena Pontikes Thalasses), and later in ports, such as Thessalonike. At least until 634, the circulation and sale of merchandise in the empire was subject to the OCTAVA (12.5 percent duty) collected by the *octavarii*. This was later (before ca.800) replaced by the *kommerkion* (10 percent and, in the mid-14th C., 2 percent) and other TITHES (esp. on wine), collected by a series of officials such as the ABYDIKOS, the KOMMERKIARIOI, the PARATHALASSITES, the *limenitai*, the *eleoparochoi*, etc. These officials supervised the circulation of merchandise and prevented all unauthorized exports, esp. those of precious or

“strategic” materials, the *kekolymena* or “prohibited items” (gold, silk, weapons, iron, lumber, etc.); from the 13th C. onward, the export of wheat from Constantinople was also prohibited if its price surpassed a certain level. Western merchants, starting with the Venetians in the 11th C., obtained privileges exempting them from the payment of these custom duties that were mandatory for almost all Byz. (except some privileged monasteries). Other burdens on merchandise were toll payments (*diabatikon*, *poriatikon*), port duties (*nauolos*, *antinaulos*, *limeniatikon*, *skaliatikon*), sales tax (*pratikon*), dues for measurement of weighing, etc.

LIT. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance* (Paris 1963). H. Ahrweiler, “Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance,” *REB* 19 (1961) 239–52.

—N.O.

CYCLE, in art, a conventional term for a sequence of images recounting events in the lives of biblical and other sacred figures and, in HISTORY PAINTING, of emperors. Christian cycles were, to some extent, successors to representations of the vitae of pagan mythological heroes. They existed as early as the 4th C.: the LIPSANOTHEK at Brescia displays a sequence of pictures drawn from the Passion of Christ, while events from the lives of Moses and Peter are excerpted on SARCOPHAGI of the period. Even at this stage, as in the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE, dogmatic and typological considerations outweighed narrative impulses in the selection of scenes. The early existence of cycles of the lives of JOSHUA and DAVID has been hypothesized; the latter was certainly in existence by the time of the Second CYPRUS TREASURE (early 7th C.). The concept of cycles finds full development in CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION, icons, and manuscript illumination in and after the 9th C. Cycles of the Infancy, Ministry, and Passion of Christ, and of the lives of the Virgin Mary and of some saints (see HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION), pervade the remaining centuries of Byz. art. Cycles in the literal sense of the term may then be said to exist in that the sequence of GREAT FEAST scenes appears to be correlated with the recurring liturgical year. In the Palaiologan era cycles multiply both in the recondite nature of their contents and in number, sometimes drawing on hymnographic material such as the AKATHISTOS HYMN.

LIT. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic*. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:161–302. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex* 193–205. —A.C.

CYNEGETICA. See OPPIAN.

CYNEGIUS MATERNUS, staunch supporter of THEODOSIOS I and praetorian prefect 384–88; died Constantinople or en route to Constantinople, March 388. Probably of Spanish origin, Cynegius was an active adversary of paganism, notorious for demolishing pagan temples in Syria and for his anti-Semitic attitude. According to J. Matthews (*JThSt* n.s. 18 [1967] 438–46), Theodosios brought to Constantinople from Spain not only Cynegius but an entire clan of his relatives, who went on to dominate court life in the capital. One of Cynegius's relatives was Aemilius Florus Paternus, proconsul of Africa (393), who kept the province loyal to Theodosios when Italy was in revolt. Matthews also postulates a family connection between the clan of Cynegius and Serena, Theodosios's niece and the wife of STILICHO. Another Cynegius, a zealous Christian, was a member of the consistorium under Arkadios.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:235f, 2:331f. J.M.-F. Marique, “A Spanish Favorite of Theodosios the Great: Cynegius, Praefectus Praetorio,” *Classical Folia* 17 (1963) 43–59. B. Gassowska, “Maternus Cynegius praefectus praetorio Orientis and the Destruction of the Allat Temple in Palmyra,” *Archaeologia* 33 (1982) 107–230. —A.K.

CYPRIAN. See KIPRIAN.

CYPRUS (Κύπρος), island in the northeastern Mediterranean, an important way station between East and West, with good ports, rich agricultural land, and significant mineral deposits, esp. copper. Cyprus, which constituted a province within the prefecture of Oriens, enjoyed considerable prosperity in late antiquity and urban life apparently flourished during the period. A series of terrible earthquakes devastated the island in the mid-4th C., but urban life did not collapse. Salamis in the northeast, rebuilt and renamed Constantia by Constantius II, became the capital; restructured urban centers continued at Kourion, Paphos, and elsewhere. In 536 Justinian I removed Cyprus from the jurisdiction of the prefect of Oriens and placed it, along with five other provinces, under the newly created *quaestor exer-*

citus. Cyprus continued to play an important political and economic role in the 6th and early 7th C., since it was at first spared the military upheavals that afflicted the rest of the empire.

The rise of Arab sea power, however, meant the end of peace, and Cyprus became a battlefield between Byz. and Islam. In ca.647 the island began to be the target of Arab raids, whose success forced the abandonment of many of the cities and the dislocation of others (e.g., the removal of Kourion to nearby Episkope). Justinian II resettled some Cypriots in the area around Kyzikos and in 688 he signed a treaty with the caliph 'ABD AL-MALIK, by which Cyprus seems to have become a no-man's-land in which taxes were paid both to Byz. and to the caliphate and in which both powers had access to ports (which they might use to mount attacks on each other). In the 9th C., however, pressure built within Byz. for reconquest of Cyprus, and after several false starts Basil I finally accomplished the task (at an uncertain date), incorporating Cyprus into the theme system; after seven years, however, the island resumed its former status. In 965, Nikephoros II Phokas brought Cyprus firmly within the Byz. sphere; it became a province governed by a KATEPANO. In the 11th–12th C. there was some economic recovery, and new cities were founded on the coasts near the deserted sites of antiquity: Ammochostos near Salamis, Lemessos near Amathos, while Nikosia (Leukosia) in the center of the island became the capital. Monasteries and churches sprang up throughout the island as witnesses of this new-found prosperity and cultural vigor.

In the 11th and 12th C. the Cypriots felt heavily burdened by Byz. administrative and fiscal policies, even though the complaints of Patr. NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON seem to be exaggerated. In 1043 Cyprus revolted, and the *protospatharios* Theophylaktos, “judge and *praktor* of the state revenue,” was murdered (Skyl. 429.4–12). In 1092 Cyprus and Crete simultaneously rebelled against Alexios I Komnenos, but the uprising was quelled by John Doukas. Rhapsomates, the leader of the Cypriots, was taken captive, and Alexios sent Eustathios Philokales with a strong garrison to the island. In 1184 ISAAC KOMNENOS seized control of Cyprus and proclaimed the island independent.

In the 12th C. the island became a focal point

in the struggle for domination over Syria. In 1148 the Venetians acquired trade privileges in Cyprus. Renauld of Châtillon, the Crusader prince of Antioch, raided Cyprus in cooperation with T'oros II of Lesser Armenia in 1155 or 1156; in 1161 pirates equipped by Raymond, count of Tripoli, attacked Cyprus. In 1191 RICHARD I LIONHEART occupied the island. The next year Richard sold Cyprus to the Knights of the Temple, then presented it to Guy de LUSIGNAN. Under Lusignan rule, most of the land was handed out as feudal grants and the Catholic hierarchy appropriated all the larger sees, relegating the Orthodox clergy to villages and remote areas. The Lusignan period nevertheless seems to have been prosperous, as attested by numerous archaeological sites throughout the island: not only churches and fortresses, but also villages and medium-sized farmsteads. The remains bear witness to considerable cultural contact, particularly with Italy and the Levant. In fact, during those years Cyprus was, after Palestine, the most important Western outpost in the East, the staging ground for whatever Crusader aspirations still remained.

The data concerning connections between Cy-

prus and Byz. in the 13th–15th C. are scanty. Letters addressed by the Orthodox patriarch (prob. Neophytos) and by Henri Lusignan to John III Vatatzes (K. Chatzepsaltes, *KyprSp* 15 [1951] 63–81), though limited in factual content, show friendly relations between the two states and the allegiance of the Cypriot church to Nicaea; the patriarch does not complain of the situation of the Greek church in Cyprus. Byz. influence at the court of Nikosia seems to have increased during the reign of Jean II Lusignan (1432–58) who was married first to Medea, daughter of the half-Greek marquis of Montferrat John-James Palaiologos, and then to Helena, daughter of Theodore II Palaiologos, *despotes* of Morea, who managed to place her adoptive brother Thomas as grand chamberlain; in her circle an idea arose to replace the Latin archbishop of Nikosia, Hugh (died 1442), with an Orthodox Greek (A. Vacalopoulos, *Praktika tou A' diethnous kyprologikou synedriou*, vol. 2 [Leukosia 1972] 277–80).

Even though tradition claimed that the evangelization of Cyprus was the result of the activity of St. Paul and his disciple BARNABAS, no data on the Cypriot ecclesiastical hierarchy before 325 are

known. Since administratively Cyprus was under the government of the diocese of Oriens, its church was placed under the jurisdiction of Antioch. In the 5th C. the metropolitans of Cyprus led a struggle for ecclesiastical independence, taking advantage of the conflict between Antioch and Alexandria and appealing to the authority of Rome and Constantinople (G. Downey, *PAPhS* 102 [1958] 224–28). Antioch tried to retain its jurisdiction before the Council of Ephesus in 431, but the Cypriots elected Rheginos their metropolitan, and in Ephesus he joined the cause of Cyril of Alexandria. PETER THE FULLER tried again to recover Antiochene jurisdiction expecting help from Emp. Zeno, but Anthemios, the metropolitan of Cyprus, stubbornly resisted. In 488 the tomb of the apostle Barnabas was discovered; it also contained a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel that Anthemios immediately sent to the emperor. Zeno proclaimed the church of Cyprus autocephalous (a decree confirmed by Justinian I); the metropolitan received special signs of respect: a garment of purple silk, a scepter instead of a staff, the right to sign his letters in red, and the title of *makariotes* ("beatitude"). Greek archbishops existed in Cyprus until 1260 (V. Laurent, *REB* 7 [1949] 33–41).

LIT. G.F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 1 (Cambridge 1940) 244–329; vol. 2 (Cambridge 1948). Jenkins, *Studies*, pt. XIV [1953], 1006–14. C.P. Kyrris, "The Nature of the Arab-Byzantine Relations in Cyprus," *Graeco-arabica* 3 (1984) 149–75. R. Browning, "Byzantium and Islam in Cyprus in the Early Middle Ages," *EKEE* 9 (1977–79) 101–16. J. Richard, "Une économie coloniale? Chypre et ses ressources agricoles au Moyen-Age," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 331–52. Idem, "Culture franque et culture grecque: Le royaume de Chypre au XVème siècle," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 399–416. M.B. Eftimiou, "Greeks and Latins on Thirteenth-Century Cyprus," *GOrThR* 20 (1975) 35–52. J. Hackett, Ch.I. Papaioannou, *Historia tes orthodoxou ekklesias Kyprou*, 3 vols. (Piraeus 1923–32). —T.E.G.

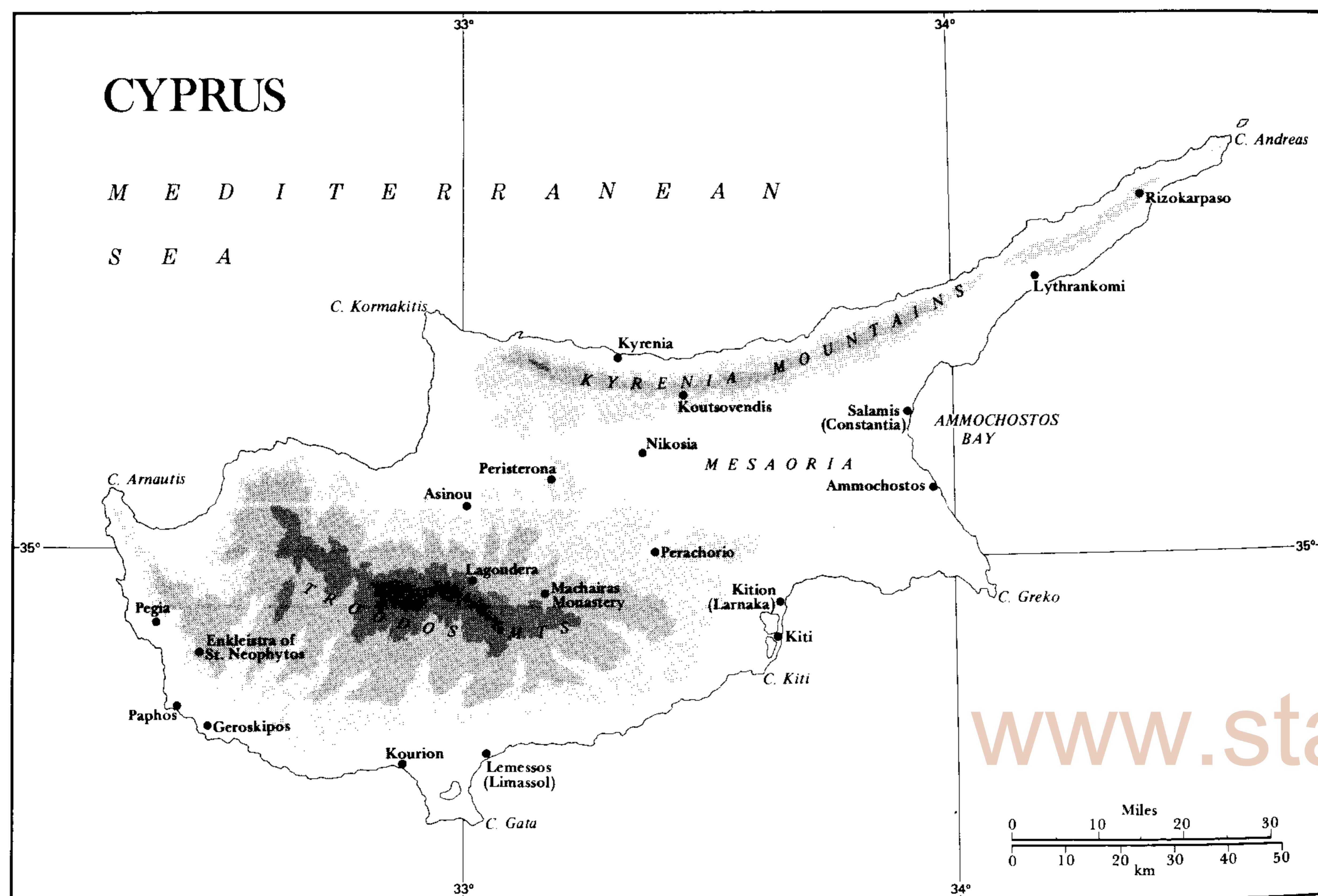
Monuments of Cyprus. Several large ecclesiastical complexes of the 4th–5th C. have been excavated on the island. Among the most impressive is Salamis. The Basilica of St. Epiphanius, which probably functioned as the cathedral of the city, is the largest Christian building discovered on Cyprus. Other important sites include a 4th-C. ecclesiastical complex at nearby Kampanopeta; Kourion, with a large 5th-C. episcopal basilica and baptistery; Pegia, with two basilicas, a baptistery, and a bath dated to the late 5th or early 6th C.; Soloi and Gialousa.

Mosaics ascribed to the 6th or 7th C. at KITI and LYTHRANKOMI were incorporated in churches rebuilt either before the Arab invasions of the 7th C. or during the Arab-Byz. treaty period (688/9–mid-10th C.). Similarly unclear in chronology are the monuments of the Karpas peninsula, including a cross-in-square church near Rizokarpaso, and three vaulted basilicas, all built over the ruins of earlier churches.

A group of triple-domed basilicas including St. Lazaros at Larnaka, St. Barnabas at Salamis, Sts. Barnabas and Hilarion at Peristerona, and St. Paraskeve at Geroskipos, may be very tentatively ascribed to the period before the Byz. reconquest of the island by Nikephoros II Phokas in 965. After the reconquest there is little evidence of artistic activity before the early 11th C., when the cross-in-square *katholikon* of St. Nicholas tes Steges received its first fresco phase, including a GREAT FEAST cycle. At the beginning of the 12th C., the image of St. Nicholas with a monastic donor was painted on a masonry partition inserted between the *diakonikon* and the *naos*. Later in the 12th C. a narthex decorated with a Last Judgment was added.

Perhaps in response to the rebellion of Rhapsomates in 1092 and the advancing armies of the First Crusade, there was much construction on the island during the reign of Alexios I. For example, Saranda Kolonnes, the fortress protecting Paphos harbor, which was initially erected in the 9th C. (?), was rebuilt (the Crusaders would make further additions to this castle after they took the island in 1191). At Koutsovendis, the monastery of Hagios Chrysostomos, founded on 9 Dec. 1090 by a *hegoumenos* George, was fortified. The complex included a domed-octagon *katholikon* built partially in cloisonné-brick with a *parekklision*. The high-quality decoration of the latter dates from the late 11th or early 12th C. ASINOU and a large number of other churches with frescoes stylistically related to those at Koutsovendis further attest to rebuilding on the island in the late 11th and early 12th C.

The second half of the 12th C. is also rich in monumental remains. The Holy Apostles at Perachorio, a small, single-naved, domed church, was decorated with a feast cycle in the 3rd quarter of the century. The unpublished church at Kato Lefkara also seems to date from this period. The rich, painted programs of the Enkleistra of St.



NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS and LAGOUDERA date to the end of the 12th C.

Before the Latin occupation of Cyprus, its art and to a lesser degree its architecture were informed by a tension between Constantinopolitan and local traditions. In contrast, 13th-C. painting on the island represents a distinctively regional development. The monastery of St. John Lampadistes at Kalopanagiotis is a complex of three churches. The first surviving phase of fresco decoration of St. Herakleidos, a cross-in-square church constructed probably in the 11th C., dates from the 13th C. The Panagia at Moutoullas, a small, rectangular, wooden-roofed structure, was decorated with scenes from the life of Christ for John, son of Moutoullas, and his wife Irene on 4 July 1280. The small monastic church of Panagia Amasgou at Monagri received its principal medieval decoration in the 13th C., though a few fresco fragments of the early 12th C., stylistically related to the paintings at Asinou, also remain.

LIT. Soteriou, *Mnemeia tes Kyprou*. A. and J.A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*² (London 1985). A. Papa-georghiou, "L'architecture paléochrétienne de Chypre" and "L'architecture de la période byzantine à Chypre," *CorsiRav* 32 (1985) 299-324, 325-35. A.H. Megaw, "Le fortificazioni bizantine a Cipro," *CorsiRav* 32 (1985) 199-231. Idem, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?" *DOP* 28 (1974) 57-69. -A.J.W.

CYPRUS TREASURE. Two treasures of the 6th to 7th C. are known by this name.

FIRST CYPRUS TREASURE. Found at the end of the 19th C. at Karavas, a village close to Lambousa (anc. Lapithos) west of Kyrenia in Cyprus, the First Cyprus Treasure included 39 silver objects (plate, censer, bowl [with SILVER STAMPS of 578-82, 605-10, 641-51, respectively], and 36 spoons) of which all but 11 spoons entered the British Museum in 1899. In 1906 a find of three silver plates (all with stamps of 610-30) decorated with a monogram (read as "Theodore A") was associated with this treasure by Dalton, as was eventually the Second Cyprus Treasure. Several spoons have inscribed names, including that of Theodore, and one set of 11 spoons has a series of running animals. Although the single plate, bowl, and censer have Christian decorations (cross, busts of Christ, and saints), none is inscribed with a dedication to a church and the treasure is prob-

ably domestic silver PLATE with pious ornamentation like that in the CANOSCIO TREASURE.

LIT. O.M. Dalton, "A Byzantine Silver Treasure from the District of Kerynia [sic], Cyprus now preserved in the British Museum," *Archaeologia* 57 (1900) 159-74. Idem, "Byzantine Silversmith's Work from Cyprus," *BZ* 15 (1906) 615-17. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 28, 35, 37-39, 78. Mango, *Silver*, nos. 103-05. -M.M.M.

SECOND CYPRUS TREASURE. Discovered in 1902 very close to the find-spot of the First Cyprus Treasure, this second find consisted of two lots: 11 silver plates concealed in a walled niche and eight pieces of gold JEWELRY buried in a pot nearby. Eight bronze objects (lampstand, two lamps, five ewers) also formed part of the group. The silver objects, now divided between the Nikosia and Metropolitan Museums, included the nine DAVID PLATES of 629/30 and two dinner plates, one bearing the monogram of a certain John (with SILVER STAMPS of 605) and one bearing a small cross (with stamps of 613-30). The jewelry included a belt and a chain containing consular and imperial MEDALLIONS of Maurice (584, 585). The second treasure was probably part of the contemporary First Cyprus Treasure (which contains similar dinner plates) and belonged to a highly placed family that received imperial gifts in 584-85 and 629/30 and acquired other objects between 578 and ca.641. The objects were probably buried when the island was invaded by the Arabs in ca.647.

LIT. O.M. Dalton, "A Second Silver Treasure from Cyprus," *Archaeologia* 60 (1906) 1-24. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 33, 54, 58-66. A. and J. Stylianou, *The Treasures of Lambousa* (Vasilias, Cyprus, 1969). *Age of Spirit.*, nos. 61, 285, 287, 292. -M.M.M.

CYRENAICA (Κυρήνη). The Roman province of Cyrenaica comprised the plateau of Djebel Akhdar on the east coast of Libya. Under Diocletian it was divided into two provinces: Libya Superior or PENTAPOLIS and Libya Inferior. Both provinces suffered from frequent attacks by the Austuriani in the 4th and 5th C., leading to the establishment of a *dux Libyarum* ca.383 and, by the late 5th C., of a *dux Libyae Pentapoleos*. Regulations regarding the provisioning of troops on the *limes* of the province, published in the reign of Anastasios I (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, 9.1 [Leiden 1938] no.356), indicate the continuing interest of Constantinople in maintaining control over Cyrenaica. Anastasios and Justinian I also undertook

the refortification of some towns in Cyrenaica in response to new barbarian attacks, most notably by the Mazikes (see MAURI). Despite these attacks, archaeological evidence from the cities indicates that trade, largely with the Aegean and northeast Mediterranean areas, continued from the earlier Roman period, although never in great volume. The main export was perhaps grain, but olive oil and seafood products may also have been traded. Much archaeological work remains to be done on the rural history of Cyrenaica in the late Roman period, our prime source of information still being SYNESIOS, bishop of Cyrene in the late 4th and 5th C.

Cyrenaica was subordinated to the church of Alexandria and thus affected by Egyptian religious controversies. In the 4th C. Arianism obtained support among Cyrenaican bishops. Zeno's HENOTIKON is addressed to both Cyrenaican and Egyptian clergy, indicating the existence of a strong Monophysite church in Cyrenaica in the 5th C. In 609 Herakleios marched from Cyrenaica into Egypt in his revolt against Phokas. The history of Roman Cyrenaica ends with the Arab invasions of 642 and 645.

LIT. P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica romana (96 a.c.-642 d.c.)* (Rome 1971). *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, ed. G. Barker, J. Lloyd, J. Reynolds (Oxford 1985). D. Roques, *Synesios de Cyrène et la Cyrénaïque du Bas-empire* (Paris 1987). M. Fulford, "To East and West: The Mediterranean Trade of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in Antiquity," *Libyan Studies* 20 (1989) 169-92. -R.B.H.

CYRIACUS OF ANCONA, or Ciriaco de' Pizziccoli, Italian merchant; self-taught humanist and epigrapher fascinated by antiquities; born Ancona ca.1391, died Cremona ca.1455. From 1412 to 1454 he traveled incessantly over the territories once or still controlled by Byz. Beginning ca.1424, he kept in Latin a detailed diary, the *Commentaria*, that recorded his movements; the people he met, including John VIII Palaiologos (K.M. Setton, *Speculum* 33 [1958] 227f and n.14), Gemistos PLETHON, and other Byz. potentates and scholars; the places and monuments he saw and sketched; and passages from Greek (for example, B. Baldwin, *Scriptorium* 37 [1983] 110-12 on the Athos MS of Nonnos) and Latin MSS he consulted. Most important of all, he transcribed vast numbers of Greek and Latin INSCRIPTIONS, for many of which he is the oldest or only witness. In all these do-

mains he collected Byz. material no less avidly than classical, although his honesty has sometimes been questioned.

Of the multivolumed original diary only a small fragment about the Peloponnesos (1447-48) survives; more is preserved in autograph extracts that Cyriacus sent to various acquaintances, and sections of the account of his travels in Greece (1435-37) survive in copies. This complex and fragmentary textual tradition complicates the exploitation of his myriad materials. He avidly collected Greek MSS in such places as Constantinople, Thessalonike (M. Vickers, *BMGS* 2 [1976] 75-82), Chios, and Mt. Athos, where he also made a list of the MSS he examined in Nov. 1444 (ed. Bodnar-Mitchell, 49.859-56.1041).

Cyriacus, who attended the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-39), was devoted to church union and a crusade against the Turks despite his excellent personal relations with the sultans (F. Pall, *BSHAcRoum* 20 [1938] 9-68); he supposedly entertained Mehmed II on the eve of the conquest of Constantinople (E. Jacobs, *BZ* 30 [1929-30] 197-202). Cyriacus wrote some works in Greek, for example, a treatise on the Roman calendar (1448) for Constantine (XI) Palaiologos, *despotes* of Morea (ed. G. Castellani, *REGr* 9 [1896] 225-30), and one or two poems (D.A. Zakythinis, *BZ* 28 [1928] 270-72; cf. Bodnar, *infra* [1960] 62). For his handwriting, see D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1974) 21f.

ED. R. Sabbadini, "Ciriaco d'Ancona e la sua descrizione autografa del Peloponneso trasmessa da Leonardo Boita," in *Miscellanea Ceriani* (Milan 1910) 181-247. *Classici e umanisti da codici Ambrosiani* (Florence 1933) 1-48. E. Bodnar, C. Mitchell, *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444-1445* (Philadelphia 1976).

LIT. M.E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists*² (Boston 1962) 1169-71. J. Colin, *Cyriaque d'Ancone: Le voyageur, le marchand, l'humaniste* (Paris 1981). E. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Brussels 1960). C. Smith, "Cyriacus of Ancona's Seven Drawings of Hagia Sophia," *ArtB* 69 (1987) 16-32. -M.McC.

CYRIL, bishop of Jerusalem (ca.348/50-386/7) and saint; born near Jerusalem ca.313; feastday 18 Mar. Accused both of theological submission to his Arian superior Akakios, bishop of Caesarea, and of harboring pro-Nicene sentiments, Cyril was thrice deposed (357, 360, 367) and thrice restored (358, 362, 378). His major extant work

is a series of 24 catechetical lectures, transcribed by a listener, which were delivered as Lenten and Easter instructions for catechumens. The last five, the *Mystagogical Catecheses*, may have been written wholly or partly by his successor as bishop, JOHN II of Jerusalem. Cyril's lectures provide much information on both the liturgy and the topography of 4th-C. JERUSALEM. His observations on the EUCHARIST are particularly important, as he was the first theologian to discuss transubstantiation and to emphasize its sacrificial nature. His lectures include much on the theory and practice of BAPTISM, which for him was a prerequisite for salvation. His Christology is Nicene, although he notably eschews the term HOMOIOUSIOS, more in opposition to Sabellianism than ARIANISM. The word does, however, appear in his letter to Constantius II describing the apparition of a cross of light in the sky over Jerusalem on 7 May 351; this letter also refers to Helena's discovery of the True Cross (ed. E. Bihain, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 264-96; the letter is also preserved in a Syriac version, ed. J.F. Coakley, *AB* 102 [1984] 71-84). The presence of the term *homoiousios* here may imply a Cyrilline change of mind, or simply an interpolation. A homily on the paralytic also survives.

ED. PG 33:331-1176. *Catéchèses mystagogiques*,² ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris 1988), with Fr. tr. by P. Paris. *Lectures on the Christian Sacraments*, ed. F. L. Cross (London 1951; rp. Crestwood, N.Y., 1977), with reproduction of Eng. tr. by R.W. Church (Oxford 1838). Eng. tr. L.P. McCauley. A.A. Stephenson, *The Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1969-70).

LIT. H.M. Riley, *Christian Initiation* (Washington, D.C., 1974). E.A. Boulgarakes, *Hai katecheseis tou Kyrillou Hierosolymon* (Thessalonike 1977). A.A. Stephenson, "S. Cyril of Jerusalem's Trinitarian Theology," *StP* 11 (1972) 234-41. J.H. Greenlee, *The Gospel Text of Cyril of Jerusalem* (Copenhagen 1955). -B.B.

CYRIL, patriarch of Alexandria (from 18 Oct. 412), theologian, and saint; born Mahalla in Egypt 378, died Alexandria 27 June 444; feastday 9 June. He succeeded on the patriarchal throne his uncle THEOPHILOS whom he had attended at the Synod of the Oak (403), which deposed John Chrysostom. His early years in office (up to 428) were marked by conflicts with Jews, Novatians, and pagans, the last provoking suspicion that he was involved in the murder of HYPATIA (415). In later years (between 433 and 441), Cyril wrote a detailed refutation of *Against the Galilaeans* by Ju-

lian, thus revealing the tenacity of Egyptian paganism.

The early writings of Cyril were mainly biblical commentaries, allegorical in method though less so than those of ORIGEN, and polemics against ARIANISM, in which he developed the Trinitarian views of ATHANASIOS. While Athanasios had to deal primarily with the question of the Trinity, Cyril wrestled with Christological problems. NESTORIUS consistently separated the God-Logos in the incarnate Christ from the Man, accepting only the *synapheia* or "contact" of the two natures. Cyril's aim was to preserve the concept of unity of the God-Man as a necessary condition of salvation. For this purpose he employed the term HYPOSTASIS (introduced by APOLLINARIS) and asserted that the Logos and the flesh (he preferred these words to "god" and "man") in Christ were not in contact but in hypostatic unity (Richard, *Opera minora* 2, no.42, pp. 243-52). Accordingly, Cyril insisted that the VIRGIN MARY had given birth not only to the man Jesus but to God and therefore deserved the appellation THEOTOKOS. Cyril did not distinguish clearly, however, between the concepts of hypostasis and nature, and sometimes assumed that Christ possessed one hypostasis or nature (*physis*). Formulations of this kind allowed for a MONOPHYSITE interpretation of his doctrines. This Monophysite cast to Cyril's writings accounts for the preservation of a great many of his works in Armenian, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Coptic. As S. Gero (*OrChr* 62 [1978] 77-97) demonstrated, there is no evidence to support the theory that Cyril encouraged icon veneration.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Cyril, with his dark pointed beard, resemble those of Basil the Great, but Cyril wears a special pointed bonnet, the prerogative of the patriarch of Alexandria. The bonnet is often decorated with crosses.

ED. PG 68-77. *Opera*, ed. P.E. Pusey, 7 vols. (Oxford 1868-77). *Select Letters*, ed. L. Wickham (Oxford 1983), with Eng. tr. *St. Cyril of Alexandria: Letters*, tr. J.I. McEnerney, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1987). *Über den rechten Glauben*, ed. B.M. Weischer, Germ. tr. O. Bardenhewer (Munich 1984). *CPG*, nos. 5200-5438.

LIT. Quasten, *Patrology* 3:116-42. M. Simonetti, "Alcune osservazioni sul monofisismo di Cirillo d'Alessandria," *Augustinianum* 22 (1982) 493-511. A. Kerrigan, *St. Cyril of Alexandria, Interpreter of the Old Testament* (Rome 1952). W.J. Malley, *Hellenism and Christianity* (Rome 1978) 237-423. R.L. Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind: A Study of Cyril of Alexandria's Exegesis and Theology* (New Haven 1971). -B.B., A.K., N.P.S.

CYRIL, jurist of the time of Justinian I. Cyril was the author of a Greek paraphrase of the DIGEST, many fragments of which have been preserved in the scholia to the BASILIKA. His paraphrase of books 41 to 50 of the *Digest* appears to have been the basis for certain sections of the *Basilika* text as well.

LIT. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:16, 56-59. Wenger, *Quellen* 687. -A.S.

CYRIL (saint). See CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER.

CYRIL III, patriarch of Antioch (29 June 1287-ca.1308?). The third of his name to sit on the throne of Antioch (not the second; cf. V. Grumel, *MéUnivJos* 38 [1962] 260, n.3), Cyril was metropolitan of Tyre until his election as patriarch in 1287. A rival claimant, Dionysios I, was elected at the same time in Cilicia. In 1288 Cyril went to Constantinople, where Patr. GREGORY II and ATHANASIOS I refused to recognize his election. He lived in Constantinople at the HODEGON monastery and was finally recognized in 1296 by Patr. John XII Kosmas (1293-1303). He resided in the capital until his death or resignation ca.1308. Athanasios remained hostile to him and accused him of causing a schism in the church (ep.69, ed. Talbot). The chronology of the patriarchate of Antioch in the early 14th C. is not yet fully resolved; *PLP* (no.14053) suggests that Cyril may have resumed the patriarchate between 1310 and 1314.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Le patriarche d'Antioche Cyrille II," *AB* 68 (1950) 310-17. -A.M.T.

CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, monk and hagiographer; born Skythopolis (in Palestine) ca.525?, died after 559?. Cyril's father, a lawyer named John, supervised his early religious education. When still a young child, Cyril met St. SABAS, who strongly influenced his future monastic career. According to Flusin (*infra*), Cyril became an *agnostes* shortly after 532 and in 543 was tonsured as a monk. He left almost immediately for Jerusalem, where he met St. John the Hesychast, whose biography he would later write. In 544, after spending some months as a hermit in a lavra near the Jordan, he entered the cenobitic monastery

of St. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT at Jericho, where he spent the next ten years. Following the condemnation of ORIGENISM in 553, Origenist monks were expelled from the New Lavra of St. Sabas and replaced in 555 by Orthodox monks, among them Cyril. In 557 he moved to the Great Lavra of Sabas, where he died shortly thereafter.

Despite his short life Cyril wrote a number of biographies of Palestinian monks, such as Sabas, Abraham, Kyriakos (also preserved in Georgian), Theodosios, and Theognios. His evident aim was to produce a corpus of vitae of Palestinian saints, an ambition fostered both by local patriotism and a firm belief in the relationship between holiness and the DESERT. The historical details in his Lives, where verifiable, are accurate. He is informative on topics ranging from the phylarchs of the Par-embole in Palaestina I to the movements of HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM. Cyril is occasionally illuminating on Constantinople, as in the story of "the liberating of the polis and the church" (ed. Schwartz 176.1-2) from the three heresies—of Arius, Nestorius, and Origen.

ED. *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. E. Schwartz (Leipzig 1939). Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, vol. 3 (Paris 1962-63). "La version Géorgienne de la vie de S. Cyriaque par Cyrille de Scythopolis," ed. G. Garitte, *Muséon* 75 (1962) 399-440.

LIT. B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis* (Paris 1983). -B.B., A.M.T.

CYRIL OF TUROV. See KIRILL.

CYRIL PHILEOTES, saint; born in Philea near Derkos ca.1015, died 2 Dec. 1110 [1120, according to Karlin-Hayter, *infra*]. A holy man who remained a long time in the world, Cyril spent three years as a sailor; he had a wife and children but was very devoted to monastic life and consistently restricted both his sexual life and diet. From his homeland he frequently visited Constantinople, but he traveled even further, to Chonae and even to Rome. Cyril was connected with the Komnenoi and some of their supporters: Eumathios PHILOKALES, George Palaiologos, Michael Doukas, etc. He took the habit at the monastery founded at Philea by his brother Michael and received there his monastic name of Cyril; his secular name is unknown. Alexios I granted the monastery a confirmation of the independence of all its possessions from the treasury.

Cyril's Life, written by Nicholas KATASKEPENOS (died after 1143), has an unusual structure: every chapter or paragraph begins by stating a fact in Cyril's biography, followed by a series of patristic quotations that tend to emphasize the general significance of this fact. Kataskepenos presented a rigoristic approach to salvation: his hero performed not only traditional fasting and vigils but also self-flagellation with rope and club (e.g., ch.5.7). Unlike SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, Cyril is said to have approved of monastic FRIENDSHIP and to have eagerly practiced charity.

SOURCES. *La Vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote moine byzantin*, ed. E. Sargologos (Brussels 1964), with notes by P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 607-11; A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 28 (1968) 302-04; A.-J. Festugière, *REGr* 80 (1967) 430-44; 81 (1968) 88-109.

LIT. V. Gjuzelev, "Svedenija za istorijata na Varna i Anchialo (Pomorie) prez XI v. v žitieto na Kiril Fileot," *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 28 (1972) 315-23. —A.K.

CYRRHUS (*Kύρρος*, also Hagioupolis, now Huru Pegamber in eastern Turkey), city of northern Syria in the province of EUPHRATENSIS. Bishops of Cyrrhus are known from 325 onward; between 460 and 570 it became an autocephalous metropolis. Libanios speaks of it as a small city that had formerly been great; its function as the region's fortress was usurped, under Constantius II, by HIERAPOLIS. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, who was the city's bishop in the 5th C., describes the city primarily as a residence of hermits; his own building activity there included the construction of stoas, two bridges, an aqueduct, and the maintenance of public baths. Some revival took place under Justinian I, who stationed a garrison at Cyrrhus and ordered the repair of the city walls and the construction of a roofed aqueduct. Several inscriptions have been found in Cyrrhus bearing the names of Justinian, Theodora, and Belisarios. The *martyrion* of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos near Cyrrhus, first mentioned by Theodoret, was later called a "wonder of the world" by Arab writers; its materials were removed by al-Walid (705-15) for his mosque at BERROIA. The circuit walls and the remains of two large basilicas, all from the period of the 4th to 7th C., still stand at Cyrrhus; a residential quarter by the *cardo* has been excavated; and two bridges survive in the area. The remains of a large basilica and traces of an aqueduct have also been discovered.

The Arabs took Cyrrhus in 637. From the 10th C. onward the Byz. tried to regain it: in 905 Andronikos Doukas plundered Cyrrhus and took its inhabitants captive. Romanos III was defeated in this region in 1030. In the 12th C. Armenians and Crusaders fought over "Guris"/"Qurus"; thereafter it is not mentioned by historians.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 12 (1925) 199-204. E. Frézouls, "Recherches historiques et archéologiques sur la ville de Cyrrhus," *AnnArchSyr* 4-5 (1954-5) 106-28. "L'exploration archéologique de Cyrrhus," in *Apamée de Syrie*, ed. J. Balty (Brussels 1969) 81-92. —M.M.M.

CYZICUS. See KYZIKOS.

CZECH LITERATURE. CHURCH SLAVONIC as a liturgical and literary language coexisted with Latin in the Bohemian (Czech) church until its use was banned in 1096/7. The basic texts were probably imported from Moravia. The earliest Church Slavonic MS of indisputably Czech provenance, the 11th-C. GLAGOLITIC *Prague Fragments*, is a Byz. liturgical text translated from Greek. All other extant Czech translations are from Latin works, although some translators may have known Greek (F. Mareš, *BS* 24 [1963] 247-50). Native literature is esp. notable for its hymnography (the *Canon to St. Václav* [Wenceslas], the hymn *Hospodine pomiluj ny*) and hagiography (numerous Latin and Church Slavonic vitae of Václav [died 929], of Václav's grandmother Ludmila [died ca.921], and probably of St. PROKOPIOS). Translated and original Czech literature was exported to the Slavic Orthodox world, particularly to Rus' (P. Devos, *AB* 72 [1954] 427-38; B. Florja, *BS* 46 [1985] 121-30). Most Church Slavonic works of Czech origin survive in Eastern Slavic MSS, the earliest dating from 1095/6. (See also KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ OF OSTROVICA).

ED. F. Mareš, *An Anthology of Church Slavonic Texts of Western (Czech) Origin* (Munich 1979).

LIT. *Magna Moravia* (Prague 1965) 435-566. Vlasto, *Entry* 90-92, 105-13. —S.C.F.

CZECHIA. In the 9th C., when reached by Byz. missionaries, Czechia was a vassal state of Great MORAVIA. According to legend, METHODIOS converted Borivoj of Prague and his wife Ludmila. After the Hungarian invasion and collapse of Moravia (ca.906) two independent princedoms

emerged: one under the Přemyslid dynasty of Prague and another (until 991) under the Slavnik dynasty of Libica. Constantine VII seems to have had some information about Czechia: his "White Serbloi" who lived beyond "Turkey" in a place called Boiki (or Boimi?—*De adm. imp.* 32.2-4) may be the Slav inhabitants of eastern Bohemia. Twelfth-century Byz. authors speak of the Tzechoi who were allied with Hungary and Kiev against Manuel I (e.g., Lampros, "Mark. kod." 174, no.320.6-7), though Kinnamos (Kinn. 223.5-8) implies that the "king of the Tzechoi" was the empire's LIZIOS at the time of the Second Crusade. Vincent of Prague (MGH SS 17:681) records that a noble Czech, Boguta of Moravia, served Manuel and was granted several castles. In 1273 Byz. and Czechia negotiated concerning a union of the

churches and the organization of a crusade. In 1451-52 a Hussite emissary, probably Matthew English, came to Constantinople and after lengthy defense of the Hussite creed obtained a letter dated 18 Jan. 1452, signed by seven church dignitaries and inviting the Hussites to join the Greek church. The letter, however, satisfied only the most moderate leaders of the Czech movement. Chalkokondyles conveys some data about the Tzechoi or Boemoi (Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 56f), asserting, for instance, that they were fire worshipers.

LIT. F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*² (Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1974). M. Paulová, "Die tschechisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen unter Přemysl Otakar II," *ZRVI* 8.1 (1963) 237-44. F.M. Bartoš, "A Delegate of the Hussite Church to Constantinople in 1451-1452," *BS* 24 (1963) 287-92; 25 (1964) 69-74. —S.C.F., A.K.