

Kyros Panopolites, Rebuilder of Constantinople

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IN a critical note, Norman H. Baynes censured John B. Bury for failing to make use of the *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae* in his *History of the Later Roman Empire*.¹ Baynes recognized the historical significance of the *Vita*, and accepted unreservedly its information about the life of Kyros Panopolites, Prefect of Constantinople under Theodosios II (408–450). Bury, on the other hand, did not overlook the importance of Kyros and devoted a few paragraphs to him. But, as Baynes rightly pointed out, Bury based his account on sources other than the *Vita* of St Daniel.² Both accounts, however, as well as several references to Kyros by other scholars, are insufficient and contradictory.³ The present essay seeks to reconstruct the life of Kyros on the basis of all sources available, however fragmentary they may be. Kyros' career has many aspects of historical interest—political, intellectual, social and religious. He was, as we shall see, one of the most prominent civil servants in the first half of the fifth century.

I

On Kyros' early life we have little factual information. He was born at Panopolis in Byzantine Egypt, perhaps of Greek parents, as his profound attachment to Greek culture and his endeavours to promote it would seem to indicate. He received a thorough education in

¹ N. H. Baynes, "The *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae*," *EHR* 40 (1925) 397.

² J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian I (395–565)* I (London 1923, repr. New York 1958) 227–28.

³ O. Seeck, "Φλάουιος Κῦρος," *RE* 12 (1925) col. 188–90; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London 1899) 44–51; S. D. Byzantios, *Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις* I (Athens 1851) 364–65; C. I. Amantos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους* I² (Athens 1953) 98–99; C. du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana* I.10 (Paris 1680) 38–41. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* I (Paris 1959) 293–96.

Greek language and learning, which enabled him to become a successful poet and man of letters.

The sources reveal nothing of his emigration to Constantinople and his early career there. We know, however, that during the reign of Theodosios II, "because of his sagacity," Kyros was elevated to the post of Prefect of Constantinople in 435⁴ and to the office of Praetorian Prefect of the East in the year 439.⁵ After 439 he held both offices simultaneously for several years. Occupying such prominent positions, Kyros played an exceptional rôle in the history of fifth-century Byzantium.

As Prefect of Constantinople Kyros is remembered particularly as the rebuilder and restorer of the capital. Very severe earthquakes during the year 437 left the major part of Constantinople in ruins. Earth convulsions recurred for several months, with catastrophic results in the city, in the provinces of Thrace and Bithynia, and elsewhere in the Empire.⁶ In addition to palaces, churches, public buildings and numerous houses, many towers and large sections of the great walls erected by the Prefect Anthemios in 413⁷ collapsed. We know that of all earthquakes of the fifth century, those of 437 were the most destructive. Several sources state that the earthquakes occurred while Proklos served as Patriarch of Constantinople (434–446).⁸ Another violent quake took place ten years later in 447, after which new public works were initiated under Kyros' successor, the Prefect Constantine. We can, I believe, confidently regard these two Prefects as distinct persons: Kyros rebuilt the capital after the catastrophe of 437 and Constantine restored it after the disaster of 447.

Kyros must have been an expert on architecture and a lover of art and beautification, for he erected or rebuilt many church and public buildings, beautified the capital, installed lanterns along the major city streets, and obliged the merchants and storekeepers to illuminate

⁴ *Cod.Iust. II*, VII.5.8, ed. P. Krueger, *Corpus Juris Civilis II* (Berlin 1939) 98. Cf. E. W. Brooks, "The Eastern Provinces from Arcadius to Anastasius," *CMH I* (Cambridge 1957) 465.

⁵ *Cod.Theod.* Nov. xviii, ed.² Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer (Berlin 1954) II.44.

⁶ Theophanes, *Chronographia* A.M. 5930, ed. C. de Boor, I (Leipzig 1883); Georgios Harnartolos, *Chronicon IV*, Migne, PG 110 (1863) 740b; Michael Glykas, *Βιβλος Χρονική*, ed. B. G. Niebuhr (CSHB, Bonn 1836) 483; Nicephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Hist.Eccl.* 46, Migne, PG 146.2 (1865) 1220; cf. G. Downey, "Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity, A.D. 342–1454," *Speculum* 30 (1955) 597; V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris 1958) 477.

⁷ Socrates, *Hist.Eccl.* 7.1, Migne, PG 67 (1864) 740; *Cod.Theod.* XV.I.51 (*De operibus Publicis*).

⁸ *Opp.citt.* (*supra* n.6).

their shops.⁹ Together with the restoration of Constantinople, Kyros built the new seaboard walls along the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmara, a work carried out in 439.¹⁰ It is most probable that the restoration of the whole capital was completed in that year or soon after. Kyros' concern for Constantinople and his conscientious and humane character apparently made him very popular among the citizens and kept him in authority for several years. In acknowledgement of his contributions, a precinct of the capital was named after him.

Priskos writes that Kyros held both civil offices simultaneously for four years.¹¹ For political reasons, he was relieved of both prefectures in the early 440's. But on the exact year, more later.

As Prefect of the East, Kyros had been instrumental in the establishment of peace with the Ephthalites. An agreement had been reached that the two antagonists should refrain from building any forts within a defined distance from the frontier. Furthermore, Kyros concluded an agreement with the subjects of the Armenian frontier by which they were to supply horses, wagons and spearmen or guardsmen to the Byzantine army.

Under Kyros' influence the Eastern Roman Empire assumed in the fifth century a more distinctly Greek character. He was responsible for an edict of A.D. 439 by virtue of which testaments were allowed to be composed officially in Greek and juridical decrees and decisions were promulgated in Greek.¹² At the newly established University of Constantinople, where more chairs were assigned to the Greek

⁹ Priskos Panites, *Hist.Byz.* ed. C. Müller, *FHG IV* (Paris 1868) 73; the same text also in *Historici Graeci Minores*, ed. L. Dindorf, I (Leipzig 1870) 281–82. Cf. Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός IV* (Athens 1951) 331.

¹⁰ Comes Marcellinus, *Chronicon* 15.7, ed. Th. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora II* (Berlin 1894) 80: 'Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐκέλευσε Θεοδόσιος Αὐγουστος τὰ τεῖχη κύκλῳ γενέσθαι ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ παραθαλασσίῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

¹¹ Priskos, *ibid.* (*supra* n.9): ἐκράτησεν γὰρ τὰς δύο ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ χρόνους τέσσαρας, διότι καθαρὸς ἦν πάνυ. Cf. Evagrius, *Hist.Eccl.* 1.19, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London 1898) 28. It seems to me that A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602 I* (Norman 1964) 180, errs in writing that "Cyrus of Panopolis held the combined offices of Prefect of Constantinople and praetorian Prefect of the East from 439–441" for the reasons which I develop in the text. Brooks, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.4) 446, accepts that Kyros held both offices from 439–441(?); Stein, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) I.193, 296, inclines to accept that Kyros was elevated to the prefecture of Constantinople in 435 and was removed from public office in 441. C. D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila: Fifth-Century Byzantium and the Barbarians* (Ann Arbor 1960) 69–70, who believes that Kyros' downfall occurred in 442 or 443, comes closer to the truth.

¹² *Cod.Theod.* Nov. xvi, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.5) 37–41.

language than to Latin, Kyros may have exerted great influence. The reign of Theodosios II marks a definite turn in the official Hellenization of the eastern half of the Roman Empire.¹³

In the opinion of some scholars, Kyros appears to have been throughout his life not only a Greek in language, culture and education, but also a 'Hellene' in religion, as we shall see shortly. This precisely is one of our problems—to ascertain the cause of his political deposition. Was it his popularity which caused imperial suspicion, or was it his attachment to Greek paganism?

The *Vita* of St Daniel Stylites indicates that it was Chrysaphios, the imperial *Spatharios*, who plotted the fall of Kyros.¹⁴ Other almost contemporary sources differ: Priskos and John Malalas, for example, attribute it to the jealousy of the emperor. They relate that on one occasion, when the prefect accompanied the emperor to the Hippodrome, the people enthusiastically acclaimed Kyros in the following words: "Constantine [the Great] built [the city] but Kyros rebuilt it."¹⁵ The emperor, who had become envious of the prefect's popularity, hearing the people compare Kyros with Constantine the Great, became bitter and was resolved to eliminate him.

It didn't take long to arouse popular accusations against the prefect. He was accused of being a pagan ('Hellene'), and apparently his attachment to Greek culture was accepted as grounds for dismissal. In disgrace Kyros was deprived of his civil offices, his properties were confiscated, and he was forced to accept holy orders. To facilitate his deportation from the capital, the emperor had the prefect elevated to the office of bishop and assigned to the distant and ill-famed city of Kotyaion¹⁶ in the province of Phrygia. The population there was

¹³ Cf. Bury, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.2) I.233; Amantos, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) I.98–99; Jones, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.2) I.180.

¹⁴ *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Anal.Boll.* 32 (1913) 150; the same text was included in Delehaye's *Les saints stylites* (Brussels/Paris 1923).

¹⁵ Priskos, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.9); Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* XIV (CSHB, Bonn 1831) 361: *Κωνσταντῖνος ἔκτισε, Κῦρος ἀνεπέωσεν.*

¹⁶ For Kotyaion (written also as Cotiaion or Cotyaeum) see W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London 1890, repr. Amsterdam 1962) 144. Ramsay maintains that Kotyaion "was the seat of a marked type of Christianity from the second century onwards." See also his *Addenda*, 436. He suggests that Kotyaion had been a center of heresy and that the people there had murdered four of their bishops because they refused to accept religious leaders appointed from Constantinople. They had achieved a form of autonomy and preserved the right to elect their own bishops. Ramsay maintains that the Phrygians were least affected by Greek manners and civilization and Christianity was slow in gaining ground in such cities and areas as Dorylaeum and Kotyaion, where only two Christian

reputed to have murdered four bishops already; according to one source, Kyros was appointed their shepherd that he might suffer the same fate. In any case, Kyros was dispatched to a remote place where he could neither harm the government nor overshadow the emperor's popularity.

Following his ordination, Kyros arrived at his see shortly before Christmas. In the meantime the people of his diocese were informed of his 'Hellenism' and were determined to test his orthodoxy themselves. On Christmas Day, therefore, the former prefect was compelled to deliver a sermon. According to Malalas, Kyros was reluctant to speak, but he finally delivered the following brief address: "Brethren, let the birth of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ be honored in silence, because the Logos was conceived in the Holy Virgin in hearing only. To him the glory forever. Amen."¹⁷ Malalas adds that Kyros resided at Kotyaion until his death. A similar account is given by the *Suda*, which adds, however, that Kyros died at Kotyaion sometime during the reign of Leo I (457–474).¹⁸

A slightly different version was recorded by the chronicler Theophanes (†818). In agreement with the historian Priskos, Theophanes relates that Kyros was appointed bishop of Smyrna rather than of Kotyaion. He adds that the Smyrnaeans planned to execute Kyros in a church sometime before the Epiphany because of his Hellenism. Theophanes, too, repeats the story that Kyros was forced to preach to his congregation. His version of the sermon is somewhat more logical and perhaps more accurate in structure than Malalas' account: "Fellow brethren, let the birth of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ be honored in silence, because it was in silence only [or, in hearing only] that the Logos of God was conceived in the Holy Virgin. To Him the glory forever. Amen."¹⁹ The people rejoiced over their bishop's

inscriptions were discovered belonging before A.D. 320. Various factors including Montanism contributed to the development of Christian individualism there. See Ramsay, "Early Christian Monuments in Phrygia: A Study in the Early History of the Church," *The Expositor*, SER.3, 8 (London 1888) 241–67, 401–27; *ibid.* 9 (1889) 141–60, 253–72, 392–400.

¹⁷ Malalas, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.15): Ἀδελφοί, ἡ Γέννησις τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σιωπῇ τιμάσθω, ὅτι ἀκοῇ μόνῃ συνελήφθη ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ παρθένω Λόγω. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

¹⁸ *Suda*, s.n. Θεοδοσίος (ed. A. Adler, II [*Lex.Gr.* I.2, Leipzig 1931]695.10ff).

¹⁹ Theophanes, *Chronographia* A.M. 5937, ed. de Boor, I.96–97: Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἡ γέννησις τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σιωπῇ τιμάσθω, ὅτι ἀκοῇ καὶ μόνῃ συνελήφθη ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ Παρθένω ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Cf. Ioannes Zonaras,

orthodoxy and acclaimed him. According to Theophanes, Kyros served his flock piously until his death, which occurred in Smyrna. But Theophanes' account of Kyros' diocesan appointment is not convincing, as we shall see.

Another slightly different account is given by the fourteenth-century ecclesiastical historian Nicephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. In the main he follows Theophanes, but he relates that Kyros entered the priesthood of his own will after his deposition from the post of City Prefect. Nicephoros attributes to Kyros not only the restoration of the walls and the renovation of the city but also the erection of the Church of Theotokos in the Kyrou section of Constantinople.²⁰ George Kodinos, who preserves the same account, may have used the same source as Nicephoros Kallistos, for he too states that Kyros built the Church of Theotokos in the Kyrou district and that he was coerced into becoming a bishop and accepting an appointment to Smyrna.²¹

Only the *Vita* of St Daniel (in two versions) claims that as soon as the emperor Theodosios died, Kyros renounced his ecclesiastical office and returned to Constantinople, where he lived as a layman.²² As a layman he was engaged in some form of business, for soon we find him again a wealthy man. It is surprising that the historian Priskos, who lived in the fifth century and recorded several events of Kyros' life, includes no such information about his voluntary rejection of holy orders.

Most of the sources agree that Kyros in his private life was humanitarian, preoccupying himself with philanthropic activities. In particular, after his return to Constantinople as a layman, he served the poor and indigent, bequeathing his possessions to institutions of welfare. Kyros is praised as a philosopher, genuine, faithful and most

13.22. 49–52, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst (CSHB, Bonn 1897) 106; Leo Grammatikos, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn 1842) 110.

²⁰ Nicephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.6) § 46.

²¹ George Kodinos, *Περὶ Κτισμάτων* III, ed. T. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum* II (BT, Leipzig 1907) 252. For the Church at Kyrou see also Theophylactos Simocattes, *Hist.* 8.8, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn 1834) 329; R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin* (Paris 1953) 201; *idem*, *Constantinople Byzantine* (Paris 1950) 351; Byzantios, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.2) 364–65.

²² Delehaye, *op.cit.* 2 (*supra* n.14) 30; *cf.* *Vitae Epitome*, *ibid.* 97, where we read: *Ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ Κῦρος πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Δανιὴλ Στυλίτην ὁ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, ἐπίσκοπος γεγωνῶς Κοτυαίου, ὃς πρότερον μὲν ἀγανακτῆθεις παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου, μετὰ δὲ τὴν κοίμησιν αὐτοῦ πάλιν λαΐσας.

wise in all.²³ Among the sources only the *Vita* of St Daniel records that Kyros had been married and was the father of two daughters, the younger named Alexandraia, whom St Daniel had cured of a serious illness.²⁴ Sometime after Alexandraia's healing, Kyros brought his older daughter, too, to be healed by the saint.²⁵ The author of the *Vita* relates that, as an expression of gratitude, Kyros was allowed to write an inscription on the column of St Daniel, as follows: "There stands a man between heaven and earth battered from all sides but afraid of no winds. His name is Daniel, a match for Symeon the Great, dried up and rooted on a double column. In his hunger he is fed with nectar and the air quenches his thirst, while he preaches the Son of an ever Virgin Mother."²⁶

H. A. Wilson suggested that Paulus Silentarius, the officer of Justinian's court who composed a description of the Church of Hagia Sophia, was the son of Kyros Panopolites.²⁷ But Wilson's view should be regarded only as conjecture. Kyros died sometime during the reign of Leo I (457–474), while Paul wrote *ca.* 563. If Paul was Kyros' son, he must have been a very old man when he served in the court of Justinian. Justinian's panegyrist was apparently the son of another Kyros.

Kyros Panopolites was an accomplished poet. John Lydos writes in the sixth century that the prefect was admired in his own day "for his poetic talent." He maliciously adds, however, that "he understood nothing except poetry."²⁸ Lydos was bitter against Kyros because the

²³ Malalas, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.15) Priskos, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.9); Delehay, *op.cit.* 2 (*supra* n.14) 30–31.

²⁴ Delehay, *op.cit.* 2 (*supra* n.14) 31.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 34.

²⁶ *Ibid.*:

Μεσσηγὺς γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἵσταται ἀνὴρ
πάντοθεν ὀρνυμένους οὐ τρομέων ἀνέμους.
τοῦνομα μὲν Δανιήλ, μεγάλῳ Συμεῶνι δ' ἐρίζει
ἰσχνία ριζώσας κίονι διχθαδίῳ·
λιμῶ δ' ἀμβροσίᾳ τρέφεται καὶ ἀναίμωνι δίψῃ,
υἷέα κηρύττων μητρὸς ἀπειρογάμου.

Cf. ibid. 69, 97, 119, 120.

²⁷ H. A. Wilson, "Paulus Silentarius," *DCB* 4 (London 1887) 279. Wilson was misled by an alternate reading in Paul's description of Hagia Sophia. See Paulus' "Descriptio Ecclesiae Sanctae Sophiae," Migne, *PG* 86.2 (1865) 2119–20 n.1. *Cf.* P. Friedlander, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius* (Leipzig/Berlin 1912) 126 n.2.

²⁸ John Lydos, *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν* 2.12, ed. B. G. Niebuhr (CSHB, Bonn 1837) 178: *Κύρου γάρ τινος Αἰγυπτίου, ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ νῦν θαυματομένου, ἅμα τὴν πολιάρχον ἅμα τὴν τῶν πραιτωρίων ἐπαρχότητα διέποντος καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο παρὰ τὴν ποίησιν ἐπισταμένου . . .* See also 3.42, p.235.

latter, in an official capacity, had replaced Latin with Greek as the official language of the Praetorian Prefecture of the East.²⁹

Of his many poems and epigrams only a few have survived. After his dismissal from the civil posts and before his departure for Phrygia, Kyros wrote a poem in which he lamented his fate. He wishes he had been brought up as a shepherd rather than as a man of public distinction. He describes himself as the victim of “baleful drones” and implies that he had been, in contrast, a bee in his ministry for the Empire. He describes Constantinople as a “fair-built city,” while the place of his exile is viewed as “a strange country.”³⁰ Another of his important poems was dedicated to Emperor Theodosios and apparently was written before Kyros’ deposition.

II

Three questions now confront us. What caused Kyros’ downfall? Was he a pagan and, even though he accepted holy orders, did he remain a pagan—and so renounced his priesthood later in life? What is the significance, if any, of his first sermon at Kotyaion?

The cause of Kyros’ deposition must be sought in more than his popularity and the jealousy of the emperor. In his poem cited above he implies that he was a victim of intrigues by “drones.” Who were they? Were there more than one? That Chrysaphios, who played a divisive rôle in the court of Theodosios by playing one empress against the other, might have been the protagonist in the affair, as the *Vita* of St Daniel explicitly states, is quite possible. Chrysaphios had served Pulcheria as her chamberlain, had been taken into her confidence, and became the real power behind the throne for several years. But there were more problems than Chrysaphios.

We know that the religious climate of the 440’s in Constantinople was influenced by the conservative party of the emperor’s sister

²⁹ *Ibid.* 2.12, 3.42; cf. Jones, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.11) I.601, II.989.

³⁰ *Anth.Pal.* 9.136 (Stadtmüller): *Αἶθε πατήρ μ' ἐδίδαξε δακτύριχα μῆλα νομεύειν, | ὡς κεν ὑπὸ πτελέῃσι καθήμενος ἢ ὑπὸ πέτρῃς | κυρίδων καλάμοισιν ἐμὰς τέρπεσκον ἀνίας. | Πιερίδες, φεύγωμεν εὐκτιμένην πόλιν ἄλλην | πατρίδα μαστεύωμεν ἀπαγγελέω δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν, | ὡς ὀλοοὶ κηφήνες ἐδηλήσαντο μελίσσαι.* “I wish my father had taught me to tend thick-fleeced sheep. Then sitting under the shade of elm trees or overhanging rocks I would entertain my dullness with a sweet reed pipe. O Pierian maids, let us flee from the fair-built city; let us seek refuge in another country. There I will tell all how baleful drones besieged the bees.”

Pulcheria, who dominated the political scene for decades. She had governed the Empire in the name of her brother and was determined to maintain her supremacy even after Theodosios' marriage to Athenais-Eudokia.

Pulcheria, as an orthodox and conservative but ambitious woman, had assumed the rôle of the protectress of the Christian faith and disliked any intellectual or statesman with liberal or novel inclinations. It was under the influence of Pulcheria that anti-pagan legislation was issued in 435,³¹ and Christian Hellenists suffered a setback. Opposing the conservatives of Pulcheria, the Monophysitic Party and other sects, there was a major group around Eudokia, the former Athenais, a converted 'Hellene', which we may describe as the Hellenic Christian, or liberal, party. There were many intellectuals who, though they had accepted Christianity, saw no reason to reject Hellenic thought and culture. Of course, the conflation of Hellenism with Christianity had been achieved in the age of Origen, Clement and the Cappadocians, and even earlier; but now persons such as the empress Eudokia and her close friend Kyros the prefect became agents of a classical revival, not only at the court but also among the *literati* of the capital. That was the age of Christian neo-Platonists such as Nonnos, Pansophios of Nikomedeia, Chorikios, Prokopios of Gaza, Synesios of Kyrene and others. By the middle of the fifth century, Christian Hellenism had been developed into a solid faith and culture both in Constantinople and in the Greek East as a whole.³²

Eudokia had patronized Kyros, and most probably she had contributed to his elevation to the two important political offices he held. They were close and genuine friends, they had common interests in the Greek classics; they were of Greek extraction, and their native tongue was Greek.³³ Both were Christian Hellenes, and in their Christian Hellenism we must seek the cause of their misfortunes. The orthodox party of the court under Pulcheria had accused Eudokia of

³¹ *Cod. Theod.* XVI.10.21–25 (*supra* n.5) I.ii.904–05; C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code* (Princeton 1952) 475–76. Cf. Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.* 9.1, where Pulcheria is described as an enemy of all non-orthodox creeds and novel ideas. See also William K. Boyd, *The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code* (diss. Columbia, New York 1905) 32; cf. A. B. Teetgen, *The Life and Times of the Empress Pulcheria* (London 1907) 191–95.

³² Cf. F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy II* (Washington 1966) 718–23, 839–42; W. Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1961) 5–7.

³³ Cf. Suda, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n.18); A. Ludwich, *Eudociae Augustae Procli Lycii Claudiani carminum Graecorum reliquiae* (Leipzig 1897) 4.

Hellenic attachments. I suggest that we should identify such members of Pulcheria's faction as Chrysaphios (even though earlier he had sided for a time with Eudokia) and others with the "drones." Her attachment to Hellenism and Pulcheria's jealousy forced Eudokia in 443 to a voluntary departure to Jerusalem, where she preoccupied herself with humanitarian causes.³⁴ In a similar manner Kyros' popularity was only the pretext, while his attachment to Hellenism and his friendship with Eudokia were doubtless the real causes for his deposition and "honorable" exile. I suggest that Kyros was removed from his civil posts in the same year that Eudokia departed for Jerusalem. The precise year of Kyros' downfall may be inferred from Priskos' testimony; he writes, as we noted above, that Kyros held both prefectures simultaneously for four years. Since we know that the City Prefect was appointed to the Prefecture of the East in the year 439, we may conclude that Kyros was deprived of his political posts in 443.

The answer to the question of Kyros' religious allegiance is that Kyros must have been a Christian. As Synesios of Kyrene and other intellectuals before him had maintained their identity as Christian Hellenes, so Kyros remained faithful to Christian Hellenism.

Some historians believe that Kyros had been baptized a Christian and was renamed Constantine. They identify Kyros with the Constantine who appears to have rebuilt the Constantinopolitan walls during the reign of Theodosios II.³⁵ But this identification seems to be a facile solution to a more complex problem. It seems to me that we can now reject this assumption for good, and can say with assurance that they were two different persons. Kyros erected the seaboard walls, restored those sections of the city which were destroyed as a result of the disasters of 437, and in general rebuilt Constantinople between 437 and 439. Constantine, on the other hand, erected the outer fortification and repaired the towers and sections of the great walls which were shattered by the quakes of 447.³⁶

Those who identified Kyros with his successor Constantine were misled by confusion and contradictions in several sources. First, a

³⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita S. Euthymii* 35, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig 1939) 53: *Μοναστήρια δὲ καὶ πτωχεῖα καὶ γηροκομεία τοσαῦτα ἅπερ τῆς ἐμῆς οὐκ ἔστι δυνάμειος ἀριθμεῖν.*

³⁵ Cf. Byzantios, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) I.365; du Cange, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 39–40; A. G. Paspates, *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται Τοπογραφικὰ καὶ Ἱστορικὰ* (Constantinople 1877) 48.

³⁶ Cf. Stein, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3); Bury, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.2); Brooks, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.4).

Greek inscription on the gate of Melandiados states that it was Constantine the Prefect who erected the walls of Constantinople in sixty days. A similar Latin inscription there implies that 'Constantinus' carried out the fortification of the capital in a short space of time.³⁷ A third inscription on the Porta Xylokerkou, which has disappeared, attributed the restoration of the walls to the Eparch Constantine. The chronicler Comes Marcellinus has preserved the same piece of information, attributing the re-erection of the damaged walls to Constantine. A confusion resulted because the sources confused the disasters of 447 with those of 437. In particular Comes Marcellinus and the *Chronicon Paschale* wrongly attributed the major destruction of Constantinople to the earthquakes of 447.³⁸

To be sure, Constantine the Eparch like his predecessor was admired for his accomplishments. The convulsion of 447 damaged parts of the walls; there was a pressing need to rebuild them because the Huns under Attila had crossed the Danube and were preparing an attack upon the capital. It is probable, therefore, that the inscription and Marcellinus do not exaggerate Constantine's speedy repairs and his construction of a new line of forts in front of the great walls. But Constantine's work of restoration was attributed by a few Byzantine chroniclers to Kyros,³⁹ an error which confused the identity of the two eparchs—hence the attempt to identify Kyros with Constantine.

In any case, there is no need to confuse Kyros with Constantine in order to support Kyros' Christian identity. There are other convincing reasons that Kyros was not a pagan. If he had not been a Christian, it appears most implausible that a man of such high principles—*καθαρός ἦν πάνυ* writes Priskos—could have served a flock of Christians as their bishop for several years, at least until immediately after Theodosios' death (say from 443, the year of his deposition, to

³⁷ Of the inscriptions one is in Greek, the second in Latin. The Greek inscription reads: *"Ἡμασιν ἐξήκοντα φιλοκλήπτῳ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνος ὑπαρχος ἐδείματο τείχει τείχος.* (Cited by Paspates, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.35] 47). The Latin inscription, which implies that the fortification was erected in a short space of time, was reproduced by Bury, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.2) 70 n.5. See also Van Millingen, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3).

³⁸ Comes Marcellinus, *Chronicon* 15.15, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.10) 82; *Chron.Pasch.* ed. G. L. Dindorf (CSHB, Bonn 1832) 586.

³⁹ Leo Grammatikos writes: *Κύρος ἑπαρχος τῆς πόλεως, ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος καὶ ἱκανός, ἔκτισε τὰ τεῖχη τῆς πόλεως, ὅπερ ἐξέπληξε τὸν δῆμον διὰ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ τάχος τῆς τοῦ τεύχους κτίσεως.* *Chronographia*, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.19). Cf. also Zonaras, *Epit.Hist.* 13.22.49–51 (*supra* n.19); *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum* (*supra* n.21) II.182 line 10; cf. Byzantios, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 102, and Van Millingen, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 47.

450, when Theodosios died). Furthermore, we may doubt that a non-Christian intellectual would have taken his daughters to be healed by a Christian holy man, although this was possible for a commoner. One can scarcely imagine that there were bishops corrupted to such a degree that they would consent to ordain a confirmed pagan. Indeed, Bury's and Amantos' view of Kyros as a pagan must be corrected.

The answer to the third question is derived from Kyros' personal life. He was a man of action both as layman and clergyman. His very example confirms that there were churchmen who engaged in societal involvement rather than endless theological discussions. Historians who enjoy dramatizing the theological disputes of the Greek Church⁴⁰ usually quote Gregory of Nyssa, who describes the heated religious climate in fourth-century Constantinople as follows: "Everywhere one finds those who are speaking of unintelligible things, in streets, markets, squares, crossroads. I ask how many *oboli* I have to pay and in answer they are philosophizing on the born or unborn; I ask for the price of bread and I am told: 'the Father is greater than the Son'; I inquire of whether my bath is ready and one answers: 'The Son has been made out of nothing'."⁴¹

Nevertheless, this entertaining description by the famous churchman is deceptive. There were theologians who advised against any abstract theological arguments and spoke of moderation, while others, such as Basil, Chrysostom and later John Eleemon and many more, were concerned more deeply with social Christianity than with theological speculation. The author of the *Vita* of St Daniel Stylites indicates that Kyros was such a churchman concerned with practical Christianity. He left all his possessions to be distributed to philanthropies, a not uncommon practice among Byzantine clerical or lay dignitaries.⁴² It is pertinent to emphasize that the mediaeval Greek Church did not forget her militant or terrestrial nature. She had achieved a balance between theory and practice.

On the other hand, Kyros' first sermon at Kotyaion reminds us of the mystic Evagrius Pontikos, a man thrifty in words but rich in societal involvement.⁴³ During the great Christological controversies,

⁴⁰ A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison 1952) 79.

⁴¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio de Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, Migne, PG 46 (1863) 557.

⁴² See D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick 1968), esp. Part II.

⁴³ See Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.23. This possibility was first suggested by Bury, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.2) I.349 n.3.

when theologians endeavoured to comprehend the terms of *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* and the mystery of God, Evagrius cautioned against incogitant language in reference to God. He spoke against any attempt to define the Divinity: “let what is inexplicable be adored in silence,” he advised.⁴⁴

Kyros Panopolites, who distinguished himself as Mayor of Constantinople, was surely such a Hellenic Christian. He possessed a love for Greek letters and culture and believed in man’s natural faculties and goodness, but at the same time he believed in the Christian idea of God and His relation to man. In his daily life, Kyros expressed his preference for ethics and practical issues, rather than for abstract or philosophical theology. Both as civil servant in Constantinople and as bishop in Phrygia, Kyros manifested action rather than impractical idealism.

With regard to the problem of his diocesan appointment, I accept the testimony of the *Vita* of St Daniel that Kyros was vested bishop of Kotyaion rather than of Smyrna. There are two strong reasons why Kyros could not have been dispatched to Smyrna. First, if he had been the bishop of Smyrna from *ca.* 443 to the reign of Leo I, when he died, he should have participated in the work of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod in 451. But the participant bishop from Smyrna was named Aitherichos.⁴⁵ No other bishop from Smyrna is mentioned, and Kotyaion appears not to have been represented in the council. Second, the city of Smyrna was an important stronghold of Hellenism, and it is improbable that Kyros would describe it as “another country” or a “strange country”; further, its civilized inhabitants would not have been so barbaric and malicious as to plan to kill him in the church.

Both as layman and cleric, Kyros appears to have been deeply involved in civil and humanitarian projects. His brief sermon at his episcopal installation indicates that he was a mystic, most probably a follower of the school of Evagrius Pontikos. He enjoyed the reputation of a most prudent man and his name became a legend of goodness and wisdom for many centuries. Noumenios Tarseus composed an epigram in praise of Kyros’ sterling character. “Kyros,” he wrote, “is indeed a gentleman. I do not read about the good man but I see him.”⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Socrates, *Hist.Eccl.* 3.7: *ειωπή προσκυνείθω τὸ ἄρρητον.*

⁴⁵ G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* VIII (Paris 1901, repr. Graz 1960) 150b; see also E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* II.3, pt.2 (Berlin/Leipzig 1935) 75. Schwartz transliterates the name as Ethericus.

⁴⁶ *Anth.Pal.* 12.28: *Κύρος κύριός ἐστιν τί μοι μέλει, εἰ παρὰ γράμμα; | οὐκ ἀναγνώσκω τὸν καλόν, ἀλλὰ βλέπω.*

Kyros' fame survived to the fifteenth century. Andronikos Kallistos characterized the last emperor of the Greeks, Constantine XI Palaeologos, to be as wise a man as Kyros Panopolites.⁴⁷ Thus, in the person of Kyros Panopolites we have a distinguished mayor who served from 435–443 and rebuilt Constantinople after the earthquakes of 437, a Christian humanist who became a notable literary figure and contributed to a revival of the Greek classics, and a practical and humane bishop.

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⁴⁷ Andronikos Kallistos, *Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ δυστυχίᾳ Κωνσταντινουπόλει*, Migne, PG 161 (1866) 1134A. It is possible that Kallistos might have had in mind Kyros the Great of the Persians.