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ABSTRACTS
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SESSION I

Chair: Marios Philippides

Warfare, Law, and Politics

Walter E. Kaegi
University of Chicago
The African Drill in the Strategikon of Maurice

David Farnell
Saint Louis University
A Proseographical Approach to Justinian’s Army

Ralph W. Mathisen
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
“De infirmandis his quae sub tyrannis gesta sunt”: The Fate of the acts of Failed Emperors during the Early Byzantine Empire

Dimitrios Krallis
Simon Fraser University
Democratic Praxis and Republican Ideology in the Eleventh Century
The African Drill in the Strategikon of Maurice

Walter E. Kaegi
University of Chicago

A few lines in the Strategikon cannot solve the mysteries of Byzantine North Africa, but the text does deserve some investigation and reflection. The author of the Strategikon in section 6.3 offers advice on how to prepare for war. He describes a maneuver that he says remains in use up to his day, that is, the beginning of the seventh century. He refers to the so-called “African drill”, which he compares with so-called Scythian and Alanic and Italian and Illyrian drills. He explains that the African drill involves forming the soldiers in three units in a single line, with the reserve defensores concentrated at the center, who should stay in the rear during the process of the maneuver, and two flanking formations of mounted attackers. The defensores were to constitute a rearguard, while the two flanking units moved forward in pursuit or attack as troops with their mounts. If it were necessary or desirable for these two wings to turn back, this drill first one wing withdrew back toward the rearguard, and only then did the other wing follow. The two wings then closed ranks.

This African drill seems to be a logical one, but in fact it was probably a very difficult one to execute, especially under the pressures and threat of hostile action. This kind of drill was suitable for maneuver of mounted units on level terrain in North Africa, whether in Byzacena (Byzacium) or even Numidia. During the interval of the return of the assault wings towards the rear, there were times when those units were separated and were exposed to potential attacks by their foes. No explicit evidence exists concerning which maneuvers the imperial usurper Gregory and his rebel Byzantine and autochthonous forces sought to use during the battle at or near Sbeitla in North Africa against Muslims in 647 CE. No detailed narrative of the battle exists. But the African drill in the Strategikon may help to explain the defeat of Gregory and his forces by the Muslims. The so-called African drill appears to have been a dangerous maneuver to execute against an opponent who was resorting to multiple ambushes.

Someone might object that this maneuver or drill may simply be an arbitrarily named exercise, a fanciful one that may not actually have originated in or been used in North Africa, despite its name. The author of the Strategikon maintains that it was used up to the present time, namely about a half-century before the actual campaign at Sbeitla. The rebel Gregory and his forces probably tried to use a double battle line in the campaign east of Sbeitla. Autochthonous troops formed one battle line and Latin and possibly Byzantine troops formed the other battle line. The Mauricius Strategikon prefers a double battle line. I propose to investigate possible interpretations and hazards in seeking to use this passage from the Strategikon to illuminate poorly understood aspects of Byzantine campaigning in North Africa in the late sixth and seventh centuries.
A Prosopographical Approach To Justinian’s Army

David Parnell
Saint Louis University

In the past thirty years, ethnography and the study of the impact of barbarians upon Roman society has become quite popular. There have been many studies on the relationship between Roman and barbarian in the fourth and fifth centuries, including more specific examinations of the role of barbarians in the Roman army during this timeframe. Despite all this attention, however, there has been relatively little concern with the impact of barbarians on the Empire of the sixth century. Historians have been chiefly interested in the earlier period, and have tended to concentrate on the relationship between Romans and Germans or Goths, which in the East largely came to an end in the reign of Zeno. It should not, however, be assumed that from that point onward Byzantine society was somehow homogeneously native. Even a cursory reading of the works of Procopius of Caesarea shows that the army and society of sixth century Byzantium was a conglomeration of ethnicities.

Even today the most comprehensive study of the ethnic composition of the Byzantine army of the sixth century is in A.H.M. Jones’ The Later Roman Empire: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey (1964). Yet even Jones writes in surprisingly general terms on the subject, stating that Byzantine armies of the time were generally native Roman, but allowed for individual barbarian recruits. In an influential article published about the same time, John Teall came to similar conclusions, arguing that the role of barbarians was small at the beginning of Justinian’s reign but increased greatly as it progressed. Both Jones and Teall relied on narrative sources like Procopius and Agathias and recorded specific examples to back up their claims, but used no systematic study.

One method of making a strong statement about the composition of Justinian’s armies that has not been attempted is a prosopographical study of the narrative sources. Rather than relying on specific individual examples, such a study makes use of every individual mentioned in the narrative source. A thorough reading of the works of Procopius yields a database of some 250 individual soldiers and officers. For approximately half of these individuals, Procopius gives ethnicity or place of origin. The remaining half of the database is not useless, as the names themselves give some indication of ethnicity. With this sort of database established, it is possible to draw statistical conclusions about the composition of the army in the reign of Justinian. Not only does such an examination show that a surprisingly large part of the army was composed of barbarian or non-Roman soldiers, but it also shows the chief recruiting grounds of the native soldiers. The database also points to the immensely important role of the *scullarii*, the personal guardsmen of generals and officers, in the conduct of war during this time period. This study of the army has greater implications for the administration of the Byzantine Empire and contemporary attitudes regarding ethnicity as well.
‘De infirmandis his quae sub tyrannis gesta sunt’: The Fate of the acta of Failed Emperors during the Early Byzantine Empire

Ralph W. Mathisen
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Bad things happened to emperors who were defeated in civil wars. It mattered little whether they were out-and-out usurpers or initially legitimate emperors who had fallen on hard times. Sooner or later nearly all of them lost their heads. Nor did their legacies fare any better. As a consequence of damnatio memoriae, their images were defaced and their legal acta were invalidated. In 388, for example, just after the defeat and beheading of Magnus Maximus, Theodosius I decreed, “We condemn every judgment that Maximus, the most unspeakable of tyrants, thought should be promulgated.” This was the official line. But in the real world it was not quite so simple. The legal, judicial, and administrative acta of disgraced emperors were not so easy to erase. The supposed disavowals of the acts of usurpers and defeated rivals were full of exceptions.

Nearly all of the ipsissima acta of tyrants, as they were called, have vanished, but we can use several means to try to recover some of them. For example, some of the invalidations themselves reveal what the offensive legislation had been. Licinius had required honorably discharged soldiers and bureaucrats to undertake civil and municipal duties. Magnentius had permitted pagan sacrifices at night. Basiliscus had issued rescripts that permitted improper marriages. And several failed emperors had attempted to remove privileges from the church. On a few other occasions a law was recast to make it more politically correct, such as a constitution issued by Magnus Maximus: his name was deleted from the heading, but the place of issue—Trier—remained a giveaway as to who had issued the law. Moreover, a few documents of failed emperors, such as two letters of Magnus Maximus, survive in non-official sources.

This paper will consider not only the specific acta of failed emperors that were invalidated, but also the kinds of acts that were permitted to stand. The way that things usually played out is that in the high-visibility venue of lex publica, where the continued citation of legislation issued in the name of a defeated emperor would have lent unwanted legitimacy to his rule, a failed emperor’s legislation was rigorously eradicated. Not a single law in the name of a defeated emperor is preserved in either the Theodosian or Justinianic Code. But in other regards, emperors generally qualified their condemnations of a rival’s acta by stating that only those things that were done “contra ius” were invalidated. This permitted whatever had taken place in the day-to-day affairs of lex privata, dealing with private property transfers, wills, sales, and muniments to continue to be valid—after all, to have invalidated all private legal transactions that had occurred even under a usurper would have created a legal nightmare.
Democratic *Praxis* and Republican Ideology in the Eleventh Century

Dimitrios Krallis

*Simon Fraser University*

The popular revolt of 1042, which put an end to the regime of Michael V, is covered in detail by the historians of the eleventh century. Attaleiates, Psellus and Skylitzes provide an interesting account of those events. In a matter of hours the people of Constantinople rose against the emperor and toppled him in an effort to safeguard the rights of the last of the Macedonian heiresses to the Byzantine throne. Byzantine authors using the language of classical democracy did not usually intend to portray a positive image of the people. Terms like *demos* or *demokratia* habitually described what elite writers saw as a dangerous and reviled mob. Psellus, however, describes this revolt as the most important event of the *Chronographia*. Attaleiates on the other hand offers an account in a language that also raises some questions. With this paper I argue that Attaleiates' and on occasion Psellus' language treats the people of Constantinople with relative sympathy. In fact the *Historia* presents the Constantinopolitan populace in the guise of a democratic assembly using prudence in plotting its actions and dispensing justice. I posit that the appearance of the language of democracy in Attaleiates goes hand in hand with his use of republican Roman models of virtue and his pride in his senatorial status. In that same period Xiphilinos copied Dio Cassius' work, with its emphasis on the Augustan settlement as a felicitous mix between democracy and monarchy, and a palace guard, Manuel Straboromanos, dedicated to Alexios Komnenos a work that looked at Roman history with an emphasis on the republic and Augustus. This paper examines the eleventh-century interest in democratic and republican ideals and places it in the context of new social realities in which dynamic urban social strata actively claimed a position in the Byzantine polity.
SESSION II

Chair: Sharon Gerstel

Churches

Robert Ousterhout
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
*The Church of St. Spyridon at Silivri/Selimbria*

Anastasios Tantsis
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
*Three Churches of Mystra Reconsidered*

Linda Safran
University of Toronto
*Talking Walls: Graffiti in Southeastern Italy*

Nebojša Stanković
Princeton University
*Middle- and Late-Byzantine Monastic Ossuaries: Architecture, Liturgical Function, and Meaning*
The Church of St. Spyridon at Silivri/Selymbria

Robert Ousterhout  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

When John Covel visited Selymbria/Silivri in 1675, he wrote “The Greeks had formerly 22 churches within ye walls, but now ... there are but 18.” Because of its proximity to and political connections with Constantinople/Istanbul, the monuments of the Thracian coastal city are of particular importance. Of the churches seen by Covel, however, only two survived into the early twentieth century, when both were destroyed. The better known is the church of St. John, built by Alexios Apokaukos ca. 1328, which had been converted into a mosque, the Fatih Camii. Already in ruinous condition when it was photographed, it has been thoroughly discussed elsewhere by Semavi Eyice and others.

The second church, dedicated to St. Spyridon, was better preserved but remains less well known. Ant. K.P. Stamoules published two photographs of the church in 1926, one taken in 1878, when the building was in a ruinous condition, and another taken after its subsequent restoration, which was completed in 1905. The photographs were unfortunately of exceptionally poor quality and are thus of little documentary value. However, in 1938, Stamoules’ son, M.A. Stamoules, published a second account of the church that included a detailed description and measurements of the building, as provided by the restoration architect, K. Mavrides. Based on this information, Horst Hallensleben proposed a reconstruction of the now lost church in 1986. He concluded that St. Spyridon had a domed-octagon design, similar to that of the Panagia Krini on Chios, and that the church was Palaiologan in date.

This communication will uphold Hallensleben’s conclusions, while presenting several unpublished views of St. Spyridon. Most important is a detailed panorama of Selymbria, which includes the church in ruins, drawn by the eighteenth-century Polish architect, J. Ch. Kansetzer. His view shows the church from the southeast, with the arcing of the south façade and the brick and window details of the apses clearly delineated. He depicts the dome as collapsed, but with portions of the drum surviving. Also useful are Bulgarian military photographs, taken during the Balkan Wars. Some of these show views through the fortification wall of the city, looking toward the restored dome of St. Spyridon. When this new visual information is taken together with the evidence assembled by Hallensleben, a more detailed picture of this important building begins to emerge.
Three Churches of Mystra Reconsidered

Anastasios Tantsis
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The history of Byzantine architecture is a discipline haunted by typological classification of church buildings and the careless use of intuitively applied methodologies. These have led to a number of misconceptions. Although both approaches have been criticized in general terms, their continued application seems unavoidable notwithstanding their inherent problems.

This inefficiency is best manifested in the literature concerning the so-called Mystra type of churches. Their treatment so far is an exposition of scholastic awkwardness in dealing with borderline material, namely hybrid specimens of architecture. While unveiling the problems concerning these churches, one faces a series of concepts regarding Byzantine church architecture that call for reworking.

These churches are said to belong to the so-called “mixed” type. They are supposed to combine two distinct types of church buildings superposed: a basilica in the ground floor and a domed cross in square type in the gallery level.

The inclusion of galleries in a domed cross in square church has led to the necessity of employing two more columns as their supports, and this brings into the discussion the so-called basilical element. It is a concept found also in much earlier religious structures that are termed as “domed basilicas”. In Mystra though, it is the case of regular domed cross in square churches with galleries. The basilical element could be disregarded and the so called “mixed” or Mystra type dismissed.

Besides, when questioning what exactly is either the basilical type or the domed cross in square church we find that boundaries are hard to draw. Basilicas, as found in Byzantine churches, possess a centralized functional diagram, while the basilical element is never so much absent from the domed cross in square church. Their alleged combination in the Mystra churches allows us to bring into question the accepted models of classification, evolution and dating for Byzantine Architecture. The origin of the domed cross in square church is no puzzle if we reverse the process of production of the Mystra churches: Eliminating the galleries from the so called “domed basilicas”. The actual distance from the basilica to the domed cross in square church is less than what has been considered so far.

Reevaluations of this sort permit a reconsideration of broader cultural issues. Can we begin to talk of the context of the production for Byzantine architecture? What is the validity and actual content for concepts such as “creativity”, “innovation”, “conservatism”, “originality”, “copying”, and “tradition”? These are terms often employed when talking of Byzantine architecture but this has been done more or less idiosyncratically. It becomes obvious that we are in need of a fresh look.
Talking Walls: Graffiti in Southeastern Italy

Linda Safran
University of Toronto

Despite the scholarly attention long paid to graffiti in the ancient world, with Pompeii and Dura-Europos both offering a wealth of examples, medieval and Byzantine graffiti have only recently become objects of study. While the presence of incised graffiti on church walls has long been noted (e.g., by Guillaume de Jerphanion in *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin, les églises rapetres de Cappadoce*), surprisingly few studies have gone beyond the mere cataloging of graffiti texts and types to question the motives and choices of the graffitists.

In the Byzantine and Mediterranean worlds, Cappadocia was the first place to receive critical investigation of graffiti patterns. In 1983 Nicole Thierry observed that graffiti were almost absent from narrative scenes but commonplace on figures of thaumaturgic saints. A paper by Carola Jaggi at the 29th International Congress of the History of Art noted the same intercessory and memorial functions for Italian graffiti of the early Middle Ages. For the later medieval centuries, stimulating work has been done by Véronique Plesch, who demonstrated that incising a text into a plastered surface that depicts a saint is a significant devotional act. Nevertheless, little attention has yet been paid to nonverbal graffiti; of all the figures and signs incised on medieval walls, only ships have been studied diachronically and in multiple sites. This paper examines the variety of medieval graffiti still visible in southeastern Italy, focusing on examples from Byzantine (ca. 870 to 1070) and post-Byzantine (to ca. 1400) Orthodox-rite churches and monuments. It addresses, among other issues, differences and similarities in the location, form, and content of graffiti as compared to other inscriptive genres; graffiti as evidence for cultic activity; and the functions of pictorial and textual graffiti.
Middle- and Late-Byzantine Monastic Ossuaries: Architecture, Liturgical Function, and Meaning

Nebojša Stanković
Princeton University

Both burial and commemorative prayers were responsibilities of a monastic community towards its departed members. Within Byzantine tradition, the ossuary comes as a convenient provision for both needs. What were the reasons for that? Available architectural and archaeological evidence, as well as scarce data provided by written sources – above all by monastic typika – shed some light on the possible answers. Architectural form, location, function, as well as meaning and preferences in choosing patron saints of an ossuary are examined in relation to its liturgical function.

The main force behind shaping the function of the ossuary seems to be the evolving need for a space to accommodate certain services separately from those conducted in the katholikon. Individual commemorations were made on the third, ninth, and fortieth day after a monk’s death. More important were common commemorations, carried out on certain days during the year. Both types of commemorative prayers, accompanied by certain rites, were performed either in the narthex of the katholikon or “at the grave”, i.e. at the cemetery or in the ossuary. Also, a complete liturgy was occasionally performed at the very site of burials, providing a functional frame for the introduction of a chapel as an indispensable feature of an ossuary.

For the purposes of this study, the ossuaries have been grouped into two larger periods, those of the 11th and 12th centuries and those built in the 13th century and later. For each of the two periods, some common characteristics, trends and changes pertaining to the planning and organization can be distinguished.

In general, the preserved monastic ossuaries can be described as one-aisled, two-storied, barrel-vaulted buildings without domes. The upper floor was always organized as a liturgical space, while the lower one accommodated compartments for keeping bones – either under the floor or along the lateral walls. Usually, the lower level is only partially dug into the ground. Sloping terrain was utilized for the two-story arrangement and provided access to both levels. A narthex or an open porch is a common feature. Its presence and considerable size suggest particular functional reason for its inclusion.

The lower story of the ossuaries of the first period seemingly had an additional liturgical role, since a chapel or a prayer niche is usually found at their east ends. Later, it was gradually reduced to a simple rectilinear chamber for bone depositing, with the entrance at times placed even in the eastern wall. The manner of establishing provisions for the keeping of bones followed the same pattern of development: generally, vaulted niches along the walls superseded masonry pits under the floor level. The use of separate compartments, in whatever form, was apparently determined by the hierarchical separation within monastic ranks.
The position of the cemetery outside the monastic enclosure and of an ossuary within the cemetery did not come only as a practice rooted in Antiquity and supported by practical experience and hygienic concerns. The corpus of the Alonite cemeteries, for example, shows that they were located on the paths leading to the monasteries or at visually prominent places. If there was a custom observed in choosing such a location, it must have been related to constant eschatological remembrance of death, a fundamental part of monastic asceticism.
SESSION III
Chair: George Demacopoulos

Intellectual Culture and the Encounter with the Past

Stratis Papaioannou
Brown University and Dumbarton Oaks
Byzantine Perceptions of Late Antiquity

Charles J. Zabrowski
Gettysburg College
Evidence for an Independent Textual Tradition of Aeschylus's Persae in Manuscripts of Thessalonican Provenance

James F. Patterson
University of Texas at Austin
Omnia Appetunt Esse: A Possible Link Between Plethon and Scholasticism
Byzantine Perceptions of Late Antiquity

Stratis Papaioannou

Brown University and Dumbarton Oaks

The myth of a continuous and relatively unchanged Christian Roman empire, from the fourth through the fifteenth century, was fundamental for Byzantium. In grand historiographical narratives, Byzantine authors never make the distinction between what we might call 'late antiquity' and 'Byzantium'. For Byzantium recognized in late antiquity its fathering past. This past was performed in imperial and ecclesiastic ceremony, experienced in public space, revived in written accounts. This past was for the Byzantines primarily a matter of memory, rather than cognition or critique. Yet the overwhelmingly subjective relation to its past that Byzantium projects may obscure the fact that, like any other 'past,' late antiquity was for Byzantium not only a reality but also a construction. At a closer look, it is possible to detect several Byzantine versions of late antiquity, which were fashioned and refashioned in order to serve various—imperial, ecclesiastic, personal—ideologies of power and technologies of culture. In this paper, I examine one example of such Byzantine fashioning and refashioning of late antiquity in an attempt to trace changes within the discursive models that govern Byzantine historiography.

In particular, I look at three separate layers of Byzantine writing: (a) literary criticism, that is aesthetic readings of late antique texts, (b) meta-history, namely Byzantine conceptions of how to write the history of the (late antique) past, and (c) Byzantine historiographical narratives proper. As I wish to argue, one can trace a parallel development in the Byzantine reading of late antique texts and in the Byzantine conception of historiography that ultimately influenced the writing of the late antique past. From an initial emphasis on the ability of discourse to mediate content—truth in general, but especially historical truth—, Byzantine rhetoricians move toward an increasing appreciation of discursive form. Similarly, while Byzantine historians are initially confident in the ability of writing to make the (late antique) past immediately present, they gradually become aware of how the past is mediated through and thus affected by historiographical form. This parallel development in Byzantine literary criticism and meta-history, I argue, influenced the changing ways in which the late antique past was constructed, imagined and/or created, from the end of the eighth through to the end of the twelfth century, from the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai and Theophanes the Confessor to Ioannes Zonaras and Niketas Choniates.
Evidence for an Independent Textual Tradition of Aeschylus’s *Persae* in Manuscripts of Thessalonian Provenance

Charles J. Zabrowski
Gettysburg College

A. Turyn (Ms Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus, 1943 [reprint ed., 1967]), the first scholar to examine all (or nearly all) the extant mss. of Aeschylus, judged that some of them exhibited a late 13th-century recension of the Triad (called by him Θ—pp. 67-68; this he divided into two classes: r—pp. 68-82, and s—pp. 82-88) by the noted Byzantine scholar Thomas Magister (teacher of the still more famous Demetrius Tridinius). As Turyn had no very high opinion of this putative recension, he advised the *eliminatio* of all the codices he declared “Thoman”, except under special circumstances (pp. 115-116). It has now been concluded that there is no specifically Thoman recension of the text (vid., e.g., M.L. West, ed., *Aeschylus Tragediae…*, 1990, pp. iii-iv, and his *Studies in Aeschylus*, 1990, pp. 338-339), as opposed to a Thoman scholiastic commentary (traditionally called the B-scholia; last published for the *Persae* by G. Dindorf, ed., *Aeschylus: Tragediae Superstites…: Tomus III: Scholia Graeca…*, 1851 [reprint ed., 1967], pp. 415-503, and marked ‘B’). In fact, in the *Persae* (as in the other two Triadic plays) most of Turyn’s Θ- (p. 87) and γ/ε-class readings (pp. 88-92) are metrically impossible or trivial, and so hardly the material of a consciously composited recension. Four of the γ/ε-class readings (at vv. 714, 720, 811, and 875/876), however, are certainly correct (as indicated by their presence in the texts of Page [*Aeschylus septem…tragediae (ed. Dr. Dennis Price), 1972*] and West), as against the readings in these places of the oldest surviving witness (the codex Florence, Laurentianus 32, 9—the celebrated Mediceus or M, of the late 10th or early 11th century [Turyn, pp. 17-19; West, *Studies*, pp. 321-323], probably of Constantinopolitan origin) and of the Mediceus-related *codices veteres* (so called because they are mostly 13th- to 14th century in date [vid. West, *Studies*, p. 354]; first distinguished from the tradition of the Mediceus, and named the Θ-tradition, by Wilamowitz [*Aeschylus tragœdiae, 1914, pp. xiv-xvii*]—Turyn’s “Old Tradition” [pp. 14-16, and 25-66]). The “Thoman” mss. which show these four readings (and some thirty others at least possibly correct, only a few of which are shared with the Mediceus or a small and varying selection of the *veteres*, and some of which are acknowledge by Thomas in his commentary [Dindorf, *ad loca.*)] seem to be of Thessalonian rather than metropolitan (Constantinopolitan) provenance, and exhibit the Thoman or B-scholia which Thomas apparently composed precisely because the scholia of the Mediceus (Dindorf, pp. 70-92) and the related A-scholia of the *veteres* (printed in Dindorf, pp. 415-503, with the B-scholia, but marked ‘A’) were unknown to him, or to Tridinius, as also the Constantinopolitan mss. containing them. (Both Thomas and Tridinius were Thessalonians [West, *Studies*, p. 339]). This at least implies the existence of a separate Thessalonian textual tradition. West (*Studies*, pp. 341, 342, and 345-346) elaborates a theory of “Byzantine emendation” in these Thessalonian codices, but this hardly accounts for all their good readings, any more than his contention that the exemplars of at least some of them came from Constantinople with Tridinius, who had studied there with Maximus Planudes (*Studies*, 16
pp. 340, 342, and 345-348). Given the evidence of the mss. themselves, it seems more reasonable to conclude that those readings that are not clearly or arguably emendations (the great majority, including the certainly correct ones at vv. 720, 811, and 875/876; that at v. 714 may be a Byzantine rectification consisting in the transposition of two words, though doing so escaped the not unlearned diotheta/scholiast of the Mediceus) were already present in a Thessalonican textual tradition (extending, as the writer hopes to prove in future presentations, to the Prometheus Vinctus and the Septem ada. Thessas also) independent of, and so of at least equal value with, those of the Mediceus and Φ.
Omnia Appetunt Esse: A Possible Link Between Plethon and Scholasticism

James F. Patterson
University of Texas at Austin

In his monodies to Cleopa Malatesta and Helena (Hypomene) Palaeologina, and in the Appendix to the Book of Laws, George Comitos Plethon (1357-1452) argued that, because nothing wants to die, suicide is an impossibility unless there is a human soul that is ultimately responsible for the self-destruction of the body. Moreover, because the soul does not want to die, the soul therefore does not die along with the body. Therefore the soul is immortal.

Plethon’s argument for the immortality of the soul from the case of suicide is based upon the following three premises:

1. man is the amalgam of body and soul,
2. the soul is more powerful than the body, and
3. nothing wants to die.

Interestingly, it appears that Plethon developed his third premise, that nothing wants to die, from the distinctively Scholastic ontological principle omnia appetunt esse, which was introduced by Aquinas to solve what was perceived to be a problem in Aristotle. This principle persisted throughout the Scholastic tradition in the West, later even informing Descartes’ own ontology; but it made no notable appearance in the Byzantine tradition until Plethon adopted it in order to prove that the soul is immortal. What is perhaps most surprising about the unique blend of typically Platonic metaphysics with Scholastic ontology in Plethon’s thought is the fact that Plethon was in fact a staunch opponent of Aristotelian philosophy and frequently attacked Aristotle in his books and public lectures.

This paper reconstructs the historical development of Plethon’s argument for the immortality of the soul from the case of suicide, which first appeared in Plethon’s monody to Cleopa (delivered in 1433) and reappeared in a more refined form at the end of his life in his monody to Helena Palaeologina and the Book of Laws. It was through Cleopa, Plethon’s patroness, that a connection was first established between Plethon and the Scholastic community in Italy. Plethon and the Scholastics continued this dialogue in 1438-39, when, as a member of the Greek delegate to the Council of Ferrara-Florence, Plethon spent most of his time interacting with, and giving lectures to, the Italian philosophers. In establishing a possible link between Plethon and the Scholastics, this paper suggests that Plethon was indeed not as critical of Aristotle as is commonly believed. Despite the persistence of anti-Aristotelian sentiment throughout the works of Plethon, it is clear that he respected Aristotelian arguments and themes, even to the extent that he incorporated them into his own philosophical thought.
SESSION IV

Chair: Adam Schor

Cities, Commerce, and Culture

Aslihan Akisik
Harvard University
Praising a City in the Late Byzantine Period: Nicea, Trebizond, and Thessalonica

Dimitri Korobeinikov
University of Oxford
A Byzantine City in the Nomadic Environment: Laodikeia in the Thirteenth Century

Koray Durak
Harvard University
Arabic Pharmacological Literature: An Alternative Source of Evidence for Byzantine-Arab Commerce in the Early Middle Ages
Praising a City in the Late Byzantine Period: Nicea, Trebizond, and Thessalonica

Aslihan Aksoy
Harvard University

In the late Byzantine period, intellectuals, among them Theodore II Laskaris, Theodore Metochites, Mark Eugenikos, John Eugenikos and Bessarion, penned city encomia, reviving a defunct rhetorical genre. Turning their attention to Nicea, Trebizond, and Thessalonica, previously provincial cities which were transformed into self-governing urban centers in the aftermath of 1204, the encomiasts espoused the new ideals of the age: Hellenic learning and philosophy, liberty, and civic pride.

Critics have argued that these authors, too closely following antique models, were more mindful of tradition than providing a truthful account of their times. They were considered oblivious to a dismal and deteriorating political situation, focusing their energies on mimicking classical authors. The composition of city encomia was thus only a rhetorical exercise, lacking authenticity.

Contrary to such evaluation, this paper contextualizes the composition of city encomia within the broader process of rising urban autonomy in the Balkans and in Asia Minor during this time. The late Byzantine city encomia differ from their classical counterparts in their repeated use of such motifs as fortifications, Christian heritage, and self-government. A close reading reveals that the authors were selective in their adoption of the “generic” city encomia which Menander Rheteror formulated as early as the 3rd century. In so doing, they communicated a meaning which would be readily understood by their audience, who were tuned in to the same semantic universe as the encomiasts. Thus, city encomia bear much information on the political thinking of the time in general and on the ways in which citizens of Nicea, Trebizond, and Thessalonica identified with their hometowns in particular.

The late Byzantine political geography, composed of multiple, inter-connected, and competing centers, is best analyzed studying the various cities rather than following the fortunes of a solitary Constantinople. The city encomia are particularly suited to such study. Yet, apart from the two Nicene Orations by Theodore II Laskaris and Theodore Metochites, this genre has yet to receive a full exposition. Bessarion’s encomion on Trebizond, a lengthy historical narrative, receives no treatment, only a brief reference, in books on the late period. Yet, this encomion bears testimony to a transformation in political thinking. Making a mere five references to Constantinople, which he systematically and deliberately refers to as Byzantium, Bessarion denounces the 15th century Byzantine (Constantinopolitani) rulers to be in collaboration with the barbarians. In similar manner, the Nicene orators also constructed a civic identity vis-à-vis Constantinople in the 13th century, accusing the former capital of fleeing in the moment of danger.

Identifying proper political authority with urban government, the encomiasts
championed a new model, an alternative to the Byzantine political organization of the earlier period. Liberty, the encomiasts declare, is living in a free city. Such conceptualizations of authority and liberty help us understand how and why Michael VIII and his successors failed to fully unify the former Byzantine territories even after the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261.
A Byzantine City in the Nomadic Environment: Laodikeia in the Thirteenth Century

Dimitri Korebecnikov
University of Oxford

Laodikeia was an important ecclesiastical centre with a numerous Orthodox Greek community. Despite the fact that Laodikeia was situated in the boundary zone, in the thirteenth century its metropolitan even increased his influence: his ranking rose from the 25th to the 22nd position in the Notitiae Episcopatum. The decline of the Greek community in Laodikeia took place at the end of the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos at the earliest: in his Notitia the metropolitan of Laodikeia received 27th ranking.

What happened in Laodikeia in the thirteenth century? The city was conquered by the Sultan Kay-Khusraw I in 1207. While under Seljukid rule, the environs of Laodikeia were steadily occupied by the nomadic Turks.

It is the texts of Aqsarayi and Rukn al-Din Baybars that shed some light on the problem of the first Turkmen emirate near Laodikeia. Aqsarayi writes that in 1258 a certain Mehmed-bey “who was amir of the Turks of the uj, started a rebellion between Antalya and ‘Ala’iyya (Alanya) because of the enmity of the kundistabi and the sultan [towards him]. Finally he collected an army and combated the amirs of the sultan. [The rebels] were victorious and the amirs of the sultan were defeated”.

The kundistabi rümi (“Roman constable”) was Michael Palaiologos, the future Nicaean emperor, who received the post of beglerbegi from the Sultan ‘Lzz al-Din Kay-Kâwûs II at the beginning of 1258. It was he who advised the sultan to abandon Konya and to move to Antalya. What was the reason for the conflict between the sultan and the constable (and the Nicaean emperor behind him) on the one part and Mehmed-bey on the other?

The Mamluk historian Rukn al-Din Baybars writes that at the end 1260 when the Sultan Kay-Kâwûs II left Rûm for the Empire of Nicaea for the second time, his brother Rukn al-Din “became the master of that land except the boundary zone (al-thughûr), the mountains and the shores which were in the hands of the Turkmen. And they refused to be obedient to the Sultan Rûk al-Din. Their leaders were Mehmed-bey, his brother Ilyâs-bey, his son-in-law ‘Ali-bey and his kinsman Sevîç. They sent [a deputation] to the Ilkhan Hülegü, promising to be obedient to him and to pay tribute. And [Hülegü] agreed to this [request]... And [their land] was Tunghuzû (Laodikeia), Khûnâs (Chonai) and Dalaman with [their] environs”.

The texts cited above help us restore the history of the first Turkish confederation in the proximity of the Nicaean border. It seems that the Turks were in the environs of Laodikeia in the 1250s. In 1257 the sultan returned the city to the Empire. But the road between Laodikeia and Antalya was occupied by the nomads. This brought about a conflict between the sultan and his Nicaean allies, on the one side, and the Turks, on the other side, in 1258. Kay-Kâwûs II was
defeated and Theodore II evacuated the Nicaean garrison from Laodikeia. The sultan soon left his realm for Nicaea.

Mehmed-bey of Denizli tried to ensure his own success. At the same time (1260) the Turks attacked the Nicaean frontier along the Maeander. In reply, Michael VIII Palaiologos undertook two punitive campaigns: in the autumn of 1260, and again in 1261. However, the problem of the nomadic incursions of the Turks of Denizli was resolved not by the Nicaeans but by the joint Seljukid-Mongol expedition against Mehmed-bey in 1262. It seems that the nomads did not pose much threat to the city-dwellers of Laodikeia. It was the alliance between the Turks and Laodikeia that caused the destruction of the latter. On 23 December 1291 the Ilkhan Ghiyath al-Din Uluj who fought the rebel Turks took Denizli and massacred its inhabitants. Though the remaining Greek Orthodox community was spared by the special request of King David VII of Georgia to the Ilkhan, the city never recovered its Greek population.
Arabic Pharmacological Literature: An Alternative Source of Evidence for Byzantine-Arab Commerce in the Early Middle Ages

Koray Durak,
Harvard University

For a Byzantinist, written sources place two primary limitations on the study of Byzantine and Arab relations in the early medieval period: the first is the paucity of references to encounters between the two realms, and the second is the tendency of literary sources to limit their discussion to military or political interactions. Due to these limitations, it is understandable that commercial contacts are one of the least studied exchanges between the Byzantines and the Arabs. Modern historians have so far been satisfied with acknowledging the existence of trade between Byzantines and Arabs, and do not attempt to study what commodities were exchanged.

An unexpected insight into the nature of Byzantine-Arab commerce comes from a genre of Arabic sources, which is the subject of this presentation. Arabic pharmacological writing, which developed in the ninth century and reached its culmination in the thirteenth, is a rich source of evidence for historians studying not only what medicinal products were exchanged during this period, but also their provenance. Lists of materia medica, a sub-genre within the diverse medical literature, provide evidence for drugs extracted from animals, minerals, and plants. The mention of the sources of these drugs helps us to create a vast commercial map of origins, stretching from China and India to Africa and Byzantium.

My aim is to compile a list of drugs that were exported from the Byzantine Empire to the Islamic world in the eleventh century. The main sources for this investigation are three lists of materia medica: Kitāb al-saydanat fi al-tibb (Book on Pharmacy) of al-Biruni, al-Qanun fi al-tibb (the Canon of Medicine) of Ibn Sinā (Avicenna), and al-lāmi li-mufradāt (Treatise on the Simples) of Ibn Baytar. The first two sources are from the eleventh century, while Ibn Baytar’s treatise, which draws on the previous tradition, was written in the thirteenth century. Out of 700 simple drugs described by Biruni, approximately 27 come from Bilād al-Rūm (the Byzantine Empire and Western Europe formerly under Roman rule). Avicenna’s Canon, which considers some 760 drugs, and comments on their application and effectiveness, occasionally provides provenance for the drugs, and lists eight whose origin is in the Byzantine Empire. In Ibn Baytar’s treatise, approximately ten drugs originating in Bilād al-Rūm are listed. The majority of the medical material presented here is plants or plant extracts (like gums), while there are a few mineral items (such as edible clays and pitch), and animal products (like coral).

In addition, I consider other types pharmacological writings in Arabic, i.e., medical formularies and synoptic treatises, that confirm the information given by these three authors, and also add to the list of drugs that originated in Byzantium. Such research would help to establish a compilation of evidence for the types of medical material exported from Byzantium to the Islamic world.
SESSION V

Chair: Robert Ousterhout

The Trade in Illicit Antiquities: The Responsibilities of Scholars, Museum Curators, and Professional Organizations

Panel Discussion

Panelists:

Gary Vikan
Walters Art Gallery

Malcolm Bell III
Archeological institute of America
and University of Virginia

Günder Variniloğlu
University of Pennsylvania
The Trade in Illicit Antiquities: The Responsibilities of Scholars, Museum Curators, and Professional Organizations

In 1970 the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania published the now famous Philadelphia declaration to announce that it would not any more purchase artifacts without authentic documents on their provenance, previous owners, and export permits. This action was a response to "an increasing illicit trade in cultural objects, particularly antiquities, which is causing major destruction of archaeological sites in many countries throughout the world." The charter recognized that "high prices paid for antiquities in the international market make it impossible for the countries of origin to stop the movement across their borders. (...) The preservation of the cultural heritage for mankind as a whole is, in fact, a domestic problem for all nations."

Thirty-six years later, despite many other international conventions (UNESCO 1970, UNIDROIT 1995), codes of ethics of professional organizations (ICOM 1995, AIA 1990), extensive research on the relationship between the trade of antiquities and the destruction of cultural heritage, and the interest of the media in major legal battles for the repatriation of illegally acquired antiquities, the academic world still does not show sufficient interest and sensibility towards the controversies regarding the antiquities market. In fact, scholars who study, publish and teach the cultural heritage, in other words historians, philologists, art historians and archaeologists—all of which are represented at the Byzantine Studies conference—have, at the very least, a responsibility to be knowledgeable in the debates about the acquisition of antiquities. The publication and exhibition of pirated antiquities raise some critical and highly controversial ethical questions which cannot be overlooked, because such scholarly work has repercussions beyond the academic community. Through the cultural object, the scholar joins the complex network of art dealers, looters, collectors, attorneys, ministries of culture, and journalists.

The field of Byzantine studies is directly involved in this debate. The famous court case of the Sevso treasure and the smuggling of the mosaics of the Kanakaria church in Cyprus are only two examples in which late antique-medieval art objects are contested. Although the outrages against the destruction of sites and structures as a result of war and vandalism find an audience in the community of Byzantine scholars, the trade in antiquities, which is constantly fed by illegal excavations, has not been addressed yet. Furthermore, recent developments such as the agreement of the Metropolitan Museum to return the Euphrinios Crater to Italy and the trial in Italy of the former curator of the Getty Museum make evident that the acquisition, possession and study of illicit antiquities are important and vitally debated issues. Therefore, this panel aims to raise consciousness about the ethical dimensions of our scholarship, the responsibilities of the academic community and wider implications of our professional practices.
SESSION VI

Chair: Alice-Mary Talbot

Holy People and Places

Anthony Kaldellis
Ohio State University
Why Did Christian Pilgrims Travel to the Byzantine Parthenon?

Nathanael Andrade
University of Michigan
Pseudo-Martyrius's Life of John Chrysostom and the Contested Spaces of Constantinople

Robert R. Phenix, Jr.
Saint Louis University
A Syriac Verse Homily on the Translation of the Bones of the Patriarch Joseph to Constantinople in the Fifth Century

Paroma Chatterjee
University of Chicago
Saintly Lives in Sacred Space: A Physical Context for Byzantine “Vita” Icons
Why did Christian Pilgrims Travel to the Byzantine Parthenon?

Anthony Kaldellis
Ohio State University

Athens is known to have remained a pagan city until late, and its name was taken as a sign of all that was un-Christian (most famously by Tertullian). Byzantine poets such as Romanos and Geometres gloated over its decline, and the Parthenon was rededicated to the Mother of God, an event interpreted triumphally by the rhetor-bishop of the twelfth century (e.g., Tornikes and Choniates). As a center of ancient culture, Athens was replaced symbolically by Jerusalem and Constantinople. Yet, symbolism aside, it has not been recognized by modern historians that the Christian Parthenon historically became one of the major sites of pilgrimage in the Byzantine empire, perhaps fourth in status after the capital, Thessalonike, and Ephesos. Many can be shown to have traveled from afar to pray there, starting in the eighth century, and the pilgrims included an emperor, Basileios II, who went far out of his way to pay his respects to the Mother of God in Athens. The site boasted a major festival, and the Atheniotissa had monasteries dedicated to her honor in Asia Minor and was invoked in exorcisms elsewhere.

The evidence for the popularity of Athens as a Christian center in Byzantine times is surprisingly abundant and must be reconsidered. Moreover, a further question has to be asked: Why was Athens so popular? It certainly was not claimed as a holy land, and its sole appearance in the New Testament is not exactly positive. Though it boasted a handful of martyrs from the persecutions, our sources reveal that pilgrims did not travel there to pray at their tombs or relics, or for healing, or for any icon, or for any miracle that was supposed to occur there. One attraction and in most cases one alone is mentioned, namely the temple of the Mother of God, the building itself. With the exception of Hagia Sophia, this phenomenon is virtually without parallel in Byzantium. What was it about the Parthenon that attracted pilgrims, that induced almost every bishop and priest who served there to have his name carved on its walls and columns (another unique occurrence)? Why did Michael Choniates, the city's last Byzantine bishop, find solace amidst the ruins of Athens in the church itself rather than, say, in the Mother of God herself who was honored there?

We may only speculate as to how the Parthenon acquired such importance, though speculate we must. The careakers of this Christian shrine successfully exploited many of the different and even contradictory meanings that this building could hold for Christians, from triumphalism to romantic Hellenism. What Athens had once meant was never forgotten, whether one was hostile or sympathetic, but Christian rhetoric never allowed the Byzantines to articulate precisely what it was about this church that inspired them in ways that no other did.
Pseudo-Martyrius's *Life of John Chrysostom* and the Contested Spaces of Constantinople

Nathanael Andrade  
*University of Michigan*

In the late fourth century the widow Olympia built a monastery next to the *Hagia Sophia*, and she settled there with hundreds of other local women. In exchange for being ordained a deaconess, she bestowed upon the church and her monastery a lavish sum of liquid currency, large expanses of real estate, numerous shops, a bread mill, and her share in the imperial annona. Through such economic underpinning and her ability to distribute large quantities of grain, Olympia enabled her spiritual companion, the patriarch John Chrysostom (397-404), to acquire a massive popular following that rivaled that of the emperor Arcadius. He was thereby able to usurp the emperor's authority and to claim that he represented the consensus of the people of Constantinople.

Although scholars have rarely used the *Vita S. Iohannis Chrysostomi*, an anonymous source written by one of John Chrysostom's partisans in the early 400s, to discuss the civic ideology espoused by Chrysostom's followers, it illuminates many of the previously unexplored methods that Chrysostom and his disciples had employed when they strove to reinvent the city of Constantinople. The bishop himself endeavored to draw the urban population from the monumental sites where crowds typically acclaimed their imperial patrons, such as the Hippodrome and the theatre, and to organize them into hymn-intoning processions that dominated the city's streets and public spaces. Through such processions and analogous attempts to control crowd movement John and his followers sought to fashion a normative model for a “Christian” city, and they attempted to redefine how Constantinople's citizens perceived their city's most notable landmarks by dramatically altering their visual context. They made these alterations by assembling human bodies, by synchronizing the sounds of their singing voices, and by manipulating light. While the processional activities of Chrysostom's followers were focused on many of the monuments constructed by Constantine and his sons, they, as the anonymous author stressed, were arranged most often within the *Augusteion*, which was the porticoed "agora" that Constantine had rebuilt and expanded. This monumental center was surrounded by several notable public buildings, such as the Hippodrome, the imperial palace, a senate house, and the *Hagia Sophia*, and these processions were accordingly orchestrated so that they could integrate these structures and the imperial images located near them. In this way Chrysostom, in his efforts to "re-found" the city as Constantine's new heir, consciously tried to transform the "agora" and ultimately the entire city into a "church" and to categorize Constantine's foundations as Christian and not imperial monuments. The monumental topography of the city was therefore contested by imperial authorities and church partisans who claimed to represent the city's citizen body, and the competition for supremacy over the city's landscape and the authority to define and manipulate it would lead to magisterial violence, Chrysostom's exile, and the burning of both the *Hagia Sophia* and the *Augusteion Senate House.*
A Syriac Verse Homily on the Translation of the Bones of the Patriarch Joseph to Constantinople in the Fifth Century

Robert R. Phenix, Jr.
Saint Louis University

The Sermon on the Translation of the Bones of Joseph is a Syriac verse homily that narrates the human and divine events that accompany the discovery, translation, and deposition of the intact body of the patriarch Joseph in Constantinople. The events are set during the time of Theodosius and Arcadius, while the latter was prefect of the Orient.

This homily is preserved as an appendix to the exquisite Memre on Joseph, attributed to the fifth-century author Balai. Both the Memre on Joseph and the appended verse homily on Joseph’s relics are attested only in two relatively late and incomplete manuscripts from Mesopotamia (MS 101 of the Chaldean Catholic Convent of Notre-Dame des Sémences near Alqosh, Iraq; a manuscript from Tell Kephe, copied in 1890). Having been edited by Paul Bedjan in 1902, the Sermon on the Translation of the Bones of Joseph thus far has escaped scholarly attention, among other reasons because it was never translated into a modern language.

The likely Sitz im Leben for the composition of this sermon on events during early Byzantine times is as a work in honor of the translation of the body of the patriarch Joseph to Constantinople. Together with the relics of John the Baptist’s father Zacharias, the patriarch Joseph’s relics served in the consecration of the rebuilt Church of Hagia Sophia in 415.

The Sermon on the Translation of the Bones of Joseph is of interest for several reasons. First, it describes the miraculous finding of the bones of Joseph by an otherwise unnamed “holy man,” whose body in the course of the events likewise attains to the status of a relic worthy of veneration. Second, some indications in the text suggest that the condition of the body as “intact” was an important quality of relics for the Byzantine faithful, given that earlier relics used for the consecration of the first Hagia Sophia, those of Pamphilus and his companions, also were “intact and whole.” Third, the text portrays a contentious atmosphere of battling between the “Jews and Samaritans” and the “Romans” over the body of Joseph. While this witnesses to a noteworthy form of Christian triumphalist hagiography, it also allows one to explore dimensions of anti-Jewish polemic that accompany the Christian veneration of relics. A fourth aspect of the text is to be seen in the cosmic portents, including devastating floods and a raging sea, that accompany Joseph’s relics’ itinerary from Shechem via Antioch to Constantinople. A fifth and final point that contributes to the remarkable quality of the text consists in the fact that this work likely was composed before the Council of Ephesus, but was transmitted in an East Syriac context. A seamless extension to the work, one that maintains the same poetic form, in which Theodosius and Arcadius are condemned for driving out John Chrysostom and Nestorius (respectively) from Constantinople, serves as indication.

The present contribution sets these aspects of the Sermon on the Translation of the Bones of Joseph into their wider context in the Byzantine world by discussing its contribution to our understanding of the cult of relics, of church controversies, and of early Byzantine hagiography.
Saintly Lives in Sacred Space: A Physical Context for Byzantine "Vita" Icons

Paroma Chatterjee
University of Chicago

The Byzantine "vita" icons, depicting the portrait of a saint surrounded by scenes from his/her life, are enigmatic objects in terms of their function. Several of them are presently located in the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai; one "vita" icon of St. Nicholas hangs in the narthex and another of St. Panteleimon adorns the south wall of the naos, while the rest are kept in storage. In each case, the "vita" icons form part of an ensemble of images, either presented to or shielded from the gaze of monks and tourists. Their impact as functional objects is thus diminished. Scholarship has attributed them to the Crusader context in which they supposedly catered to the multicultural audience that Sinai attracted in that period. It would seem that the icons play the same role even today, as objects seen and venerated by an international audience of tourists and pilgrims flocking to Sinai.

This paper attempts to examine the specific functions of the "vita" icons beyond their general appeal to a multicultural and transhistorical audience. It does so by positioning the icons within a sacred physical space in which they engage with specifically Byzantine devotional imagery and mechanisms.

Annamarie Weyl Carr has suggested that the "vita" icons may have functioned as proskynetaria (Carr, 1992), and examples from later periods reveal that at times they were placed on or near the sanctuary screen. Furthermore, saints' lives were depicted on templon beams as proven by the examples displaying the life of Nicholas and the famous beam presenting the miracles of Eustathius, both in Sinai. Drawing on these examples, I show how the Byzantine "vita" icons resemble and interact with templon beams and painted crosses. Instead of provoking a literal mimesis of the saint's gestures, as saintly lives are usually believed to do, the icons elicit repetitive devotional gestures through their position in a sacred architectural space. In the process, their novel format is integrated into and tamed by their broader physical context. A number of Palaeologan structures present liturgical cycles together with hagiographical cycles (Bacic, 1969, Dufrenne, 1970). I argue that the "vita" icon played a similar role in bringing together liturgical and hagiographical narratives in the same space, thus enhancing the performance of devotion by venerators.
SESSION VII

Chair: Carolyn Connor

Manuscripts and Sculpture

Steven H. Wander
University of Connecticut, Stamford
The Joshua Roll: Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Græcus 431 Reconsidered

Travis Lee Clark
Temple University
Behold the Cosmos: The Virgin Frontispieces of Smyrna Evangelical School B.8

Eunice Dauterman Maguire
Johns Hopkins University
A Byzantine Ceramic Nude at Johns Hopkins University

Lisa Mahoney
Johns Hopkins University
Picturing Strength: The Appropriation of Byzantine Imperial Motifs in the Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César (London, MS. Add. 15268)
The Joshua Roll: Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 431 Reconsidered

Steven H. Wander
University of Connecticut, Storrs

PART I: The Joshua Roll, arguably among the most important of Byzantine illuminated manuscripts, remains the most misunderstood. Despite intensive examination, two facsimiles, a full-length monograph, numerous articles and treatments in catalogues, surveys, and handbooks, the reasons behind its creation, the nature of its design, the date of its manufacture, and even the exact subject of some individual miniatures remain in dispute. A careful reading of the accompanying excerpts from the Book of Joshua, the importance of which has been minimized in the past, clarifies many of the points in contention. Despite diverse reconstructions there need be no doubt about the original character of the scene of the execution of the King of Ai on Sheet XI. Visual and literary evidence, still misinterpreted as late as 1977, confirm that the execution was not a stabbing but a simple hanging (“EKPEMACAN”). The Crossing of the Jordan on Sheet XII, as Lowden has pointed out, “has itself given rise to an extraordinarily confusing debate” (John Lowden, The Octateuchs, p. 108). The verses below the miniatures, which might well be termed ‘captions’, specify the episodes shown unambiguously. Likewise, passages from the Septuagint explain the scenes of Rahab and the Israelite spies, currently misunderstood, surviving only in the Octateuchs, but presumably illustrated on the first sheets of the Roll, now lost. Their second meeting in all five manuscripts illustrates verbum de verbo Joshua 2:8. Similarly, wording from the illustrated text of the Menologion of Basil II clarifies changes in both the depiction of Joshua and the Archangel and of Joshua at Gibeon between the Roll and the related five Octateuchs.

PART II: With a fuller understanding of the subjects of the miniatures, their unique style and iconography come into sharper focus. Numerous episodes are shown with a sloping ground line of approximately the same angle, rising from left to right, by rough measure, about 10 degrees; and this observation, together with considerable other evidence, suggests a possible reconstruction of the original format and purpose of the Rotulus. The original, of which the surviving Roll is a copy, may have been the drawings to scale for a well-known type of imperial monument, the triumphal column. The angle of slope, together with the band height of the picture space (about 25 to 26 cm), allows a conjectural reconstruction of the original column design. By rough estimation, the circumference of the column was from 150 to 170 cm. Through the formula, \[ C = \pi D \], the diameter of the column can be calculated at approximately 50 cm. The Pythagorean theorem, \[ a^2 + b^2 = c^2 \], yields the linear extent of each winding or spiral repeat where ‘a’ is the column circumference, ‘b’ the band height and ‘c’, the length of the winding. The fifteen extant sheets, with a total length of 10.638 meters, would yield about six and a half bands. When the scenes are arranged around a column of such dimensions, there appear interesting interconnections between them. Now frequently dated to the time of the Emperor Heraclius (610-41), the original with its many personifications of place, may have served like
the Cyprus Plates to glorify the emperor's exploits in reconquering Jerusalem from the Persians (see Steven H. Wander, “The Cyprus Plates: The Story of David and Goliath,” Metropolitan Museum Journal, 8 [1973], pp. 89-104; and “The Cyprus Plates and the Chronicle of Fredegar,” Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 29 [1975], pp. 345-346). As the cartoon for an historiated column and like the Cyprus plates, the Joshua Roll was designed for display in a visually dramatic manner that can be reestablished from its unique features of style and imagery.
Behold the Cosmos:
The Virgin Frontispieces of Smyrna Evangelical School B.8

Travis Lee Clark
Temple University

When the eleventh-century Byzantine manuscript, Smyrna Evangelical School B.8, was destroyed during the Greco-Turkish war of 1922, one of the most unique examples of Byzantine illustration was lost. Fortunately, a nearly complete description of the manuscript, as well as photographs of most of the illustrations were preserved by Josef Strzygowski, published in a monograph on the manuscript in 1899.

In reality the text was three books in one: a Physiologus, a steinhuch or handbook on minerals, and a partial copy of The Christian Topography by Cosmas Indicopleustes (sometimes attributed to Constantine of Antioch) composed in the sixth century. Typically, the Topography is illustrated by a series of unique diagrams outlining Cosmas' original theories of the Cosmos. Instead, the prefatory material of the Topography from the Smyrna manuscript includes several frontispieces of the Virgin Mary. The Topography is a complex and wide-ranging text, but little of it concerns Marian theology. The representation of the Virgin is therefore an odd choice for illustrating this particular text.

The solution to this problem is found in its relationship to the other two texts that are attached to it. Both the Physiologus and steinhuch are naturalist and religious texts, creating religious allegories from natural phenomenon. While the principle focus of the Topography is not religious allegory, but cosmology, it does rely heavily on religious allegories, even visual ones, to make its case. In particular, Cosmas uses imagery from the Tabernacle of Moses, including the Ark of the Covenant, as patterns for his theories about the form of the universe.

While the Ark of the Covenant was not used as a Marian symbol in the time of Cosmas, eleventh-century Byzantines employed it as an emblem of the container of the uncontainable Word. In the Smyrna manuscript the illustrator has expanded this allegorical method to add a new contemporary level of understanding to the text, substituting Mary for images of the Ark of the Covenant, making Mary a symbol of the universe as well. The final product requires the viewer not only to understand the method and theories of the collective authors, but also the prevalent theological and liturgical allegories of the eleventh century as well. The Marian frontispieces add a new expansion to the literal understanding of the text that it is not supported by text itself. This demonstrates yet again that far from being slavish copyists, Byzantine illustrators were capable of finding new and original ways to enliven and interpret established texts.
A Byzantine Ceramic Nude at Johns Hopkins University

Eunice Dauterman Maguire
Johns Hopkins University

Nude figures in any medium are notable for their rarity in Byzantine art. Last year, while we prepared to move a large part of the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Collection back to campus from offsite storage, we found a small ceramic figure of a nude, bearded man with an inverted Greek inscription on his chest. Although he is missing his legs and most of his glazed surface, he clearly belongs to a genre familiar to archaeologists: the glazed figures modeled in three dimensions and mounted on ceramic chafing dishes in the middle Byzantine period. Such figures, mostly fragmentary, were excavated in some numbers at Corinth, and published by Charles Morgan.

They provide important evidence of popular culture in the Middle Byzantine period. Like the figures adorning silver serving vessels, they illustrate feasting and its performative environment, appropriately for their setting on food vessels; most of the human figures from Corinth are musicians who are providing entertainment. The Hopkins nude, however, seems to have been feasting. He grasps his distended belly between his hands.

Unfortunately he came into the Hopkins collection without a record of his origin. He is one of over 1300 gifts made mostly in the 1930s by Helen Tanzer, who had spent a year in Rome in 1906-7 before acquiring her doctorate at Hopkins under David Robinson. She is still known to historians of Roman art for her pioneering interest in the archaeology of daily life. The typed checklist of her gifts, however, rarely hints at how or where she acquired the individual objects. She defines this figure merely as "grotesque." Its Byzantine nature unrecognized, in the later twentieth century it had been relegated to a box marked "Fakes."

This paper will attempt to return the character the figure represents to his cultural and artistic context. It will interpret his humorous, even scatological details.
Picturing Strength: The Appropriation of Byzantine Imperial Motifs in the Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César (London, MS. Add. 15268)

Lisa Mahoney
Johns Hopkins University

During the thirteenth century, the Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César was one of the most popular vernacular manuscripts commissioned in France. By the second half of the thirteenth century, the popularity of this chronicle, recounting the biblical story of Genesis and the histories of Assyria, Thebes, Greece, Troy, Persia, and Rome, had extended to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, as it was now commissioned under the Franks transplanted there during the crusades. One eastern edition of this text (British Library, MS. Add. 15268) was chosen as the site of a deluxe, unique pictorial program. This character is, in part, announced by the selection of royal figures for representation and the depiction of those figures according to Byzantine imperial conventions. This paper aims to understand the meaning of this particular reference to Byzantium through a careful consideration of the historical and political eastern context in which the London manuscript was made and by way of comparison to similar examples of Byzantine appropriation within the Latin Kingdom. I believe that a consideration of this unexplored component of the London Histoire ancienne will contribute to an understanding of the self-identification of the Franks residing in the East during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and shed light on their peculiar relationship to Byzantium.

From the very establishment of the Latin Kingdom, there was a tangible attempt to establish connections between the Latin and Greek empires. This is announced most emphatically by the Frankish reuse and rebuilding of Byzantine churches and religious sites in the creation of a distinctly Latin landscape. The conscious absorption of these places suggests a recognition of the long, potent history of Byzantine presence in the region.

This recognition is also illustrated by way of the imperial and ceremonial practices within the Latin court. For example, the appropriation of the Byzantine imperial imagery is seen on the personal seals of Latin rulers, wherein they are conspicuously depicted wearing a crown with prependicular, the chlamys, and the loros. Although a distinctive context, it is likewise not insignificant that, after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, the new Latin regime was ushered in following Byzantine ceremony, the dress and title of the new emperor influenced by Byzantine customs.

Such precedents suggest that the Franks intentionally aligned themselves with this powerful eastern Christian empire. It is within this self-created identity that the representations of the biblical and historical rulers of the London Histoire ancienne should be understood. These figures, such as Joseph, the Assyrian King Nimrod, and Alexander the Great, are pictured in attire and with accoutrements belonging to both western and Byzantine practices. It would appear that the references to Byzantium are employed because of its strong historical connection to the Levant, which would have been especially significant for the Franks living in and struggling.
to maintain their hold over this territory. The manner in which the western and Byzantine traditions are combined in the London chronicle then seems calculated to construct a religious and political alliance with Byzantium that, no matter the reality of these East-West relations, would have argued pictorially for the historical legitimacy of Christianity and the authority of Christian rule.
SESSION VIII

Chair: Tia Kolbaba

Rethinking Byzantine Theological Controversy

George E. Demacopoulos
Fordham University
What's in a Title?: Pope Gregory I and the "Ecumenical" Controversy of the Late Sixth Century

Adam Schor
Long Island University, C. W. Post Campus
Behind the Controversy: Sociopolitical Approaches to Theological Disputes

George A. Bevan
University of Toronto
The Deep Politics of Chalcedon

D. Oliver Herbel
St. Louis University
Ratramnus of Corbie and Photios of Constantinople as Sources for Bonaventure's Filioque Arguments in the Sentences
What’s in a Title?: Pope Gregory I and the “Ecumenical” Controversy of the Late Sixth Century

George E. Demacopoulos
Fordham University

Beginning in the fifth century, the Church in the East began to refer to the bishop of Constantinople as the “Ecumenical Patriarch.” This appellation was affirmed early in the sixth century in the Justiniatic Code. It was not until the late-sixth century, however, that the Roman Church took notice of it. When a Latin translation of acts of a local Constantinopolitan council reached Rome in 587, Pope Pelagius II took exception to John of Constantinople being recognized as the “Universal” Patriarch. Pelagius sent a strong rebuke to John accusing him of adopting a “name of pride,” one that deprived other bishops of their dignity. If John did not reject the title, Pelagius warned, the Roman apocrisisarius would not co-celebrate the Divine Liturgy with him.

It is generally believed that when Pope Gregory I was elected in 590, the longstanding friendship between Gregory and John of Constantinople provided an opportunity for rapprochement between the two sees. Indeed, previous accounts of the dispute all suggest that the controversy was dormant until 595, when Gregory sent a series of letters to John, the emperor, and the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, all designed to persuade John to drop the title. Therein, Gregory famously argued that no bishop has the right to be called “universal” because to do so is to strip every bishop of his priestly office. Despite imperial objections and the indifference of his fellow clergy, Gregory continued to pressure John and his successor, Cyrus, to drop the title. Although Gregory threatened schism on several occasions, it appears that he did not have the stomach for a full-blown severing of communion.

In the modern era, Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox pundits have made much of Gregory’s comments, using them uncritically to endorse prejudiced opinions about papal versus synodal authority. Scholarship of the affair has not fared much better. In the nineteenth century, there was a half-hearted debate about the meaning of the word “ecumenical” and whether or not Gregory was justifying in his critiques. Since then, the only question to receive serious scholarly attention has been whether or not the affair ignited in Gregory a desire to free Rome from the “captive of the Byzantine Church.”

Not only is this controversy more complex than existing literature suggests, it is one of the most important episodes in the long history of estrangement between East and West. This paper situates the controversy within the fractured geo-political landscape that dominated Gregory’s world. It traces the many layers of the conflict, which began in 593 (not 595 as typically reported). It examines the subtle but critical transformations in Gregory’s rhetoric. And it demonstrates the pontiff’s gift for theological and political nuance.
Behind the Controversy: Advantages and Limitations of Sociopolitical Approaches to Theological Disputes

Adam M. Schor
Long Island University, C. W. Post Campus

Doctrinal disputes have often puzzled modern scholars. Unsatisfied by the notion that theology alone could inspire such animosity, many have sought deeper explanations, rooted in political and social factors. It has been common, of course, for scholars to attribute social and political motives to individual church figures, over and above their theological sensibilities. At the same time, many scholars have sought systematic explanations for doctrinal discord and heresy labelling. This paper surveys some of these socio-political approaches, for what may be useful and what may raise interpretive problems.

The 20th century produced a series of bold social and political angles on church controversy, as widely credited as they were criticized. In early studies marked by Marxist or Orientalist assumptions, particular heresies were connected to foreign trade ties, or adverse socio-economic conditions. Perhaps most infamously, several writers treated famous heresies as separatist nationalist movements (e.g., Hardy in regard to Egyptian Monophysites, Frend for the North African Donatists). This nationalist approach was discredited in the 60s and 70s for being anachronistic, while Marxist and Orientalist preconceptions fell into disfavor. Yet the impetus to find socio-political factors has continued, in a more nuanced form. Many scholars of the early Byzantine period (from Frend to Elm) have taken controversies as a renewal of Roman-era interurban rivalries. Others have focused on the social divisions between city and countryside, clerics and monasteries, more and less literate populations, or imperial center and periphery. Mark Humphreys, among others, has highlighted long-distance contacts as a source of tension. Ray Van Dam, among others, has pointed to local elite rivalries as a driving force. Meanwhile, scholars of western medieval Christendom have produced their own full accounts of “religious dissent” and response. Of these the most widely read has been R. I. Moore’s description of heresy hunting as the product of a “persecuting society.”

All these scholarly efforts have thus presented divisions over heresy and orthodoxy as manifestations of larger social and political phenomena. This remains an attractive pursuit, for it may make the intensity of doctrinal conflict more understandable. Nevertheless, those of us following socio-political approaches continue to court dangers of overreach, particularly if we do not take seriously the doctrinal focus of most of our sources. We do well to heed the distinction between looking within controversy for our explanations, and looking behind it.
The Deep Politics of Chalcedon

George A. Bevan

University of Toronto

It has long been held that the Council of Chalcedon (451) was the natural evolution of the christological controversy that began in the episcopate of Nestorius, and that the definition of faith eventually set out at the council was substantially different from the heresarch’s teaching. The historical realities of Chalcedon, however, militate against this view and show it to be a profound exception to established conciliar procedure that palpably lacked any claim to legitimacy. Far from striking a via media between the followers of Nestorius and those of Cyril of Alexandria, Chalcedon set out to champion the minority view of those, like Nestorius, who maintained that Christ was “in two natures”, against the majority of bishops who were satisfied with a statement that Christ was “out of two natures” and had “one incarnate nature”.

After a brief attempt to impose the Symbol of Reunion and its two natures on the East by the unjust condemnation of the hapless monk Eutyches at the Synod of Constantinople in 448, the emperor Theodosius faced a firestorm of controversy in the East and was forced into a dramatic volte-face. The emperor discarded the Symbol and allowed the zealous bishop of Alexandria, Dioscorus, to enunciate the “one incarnate nature” as orthodoxy. Though there were few voices of opposition in the East, Pope Leo, whose own lack of Greek meant he only dimly comprehended the terms of the eastern debate, complained vociferously in his correspondence. A reversal of the eastern position was made possible only by a sea-change in imperial politics when Theodosius suddenly died in a riding accident in July 450 with no apparent heir. Into the vacuum stepped not a successor designated by the other ruling western Augustus, Valentinian III, but a little known army officer propelled to office by disgruntled barbarian generals. Marcian was nothing short of a usurper who violated all norms of imperial collegiality. Desperately in need of ties with the ruling family, Marcian was married to Theodosius’ sister, the Augusta Pulcheria. Chalcedon was intended not only to appeal to Pope Leo, who would in turn intercede with Valentinian III to recognize Marcian as a defender of orthodoxy and a legitimate Christian ruler, but to the new emperor’s consort Pulcheria, whose personal sympathies may have been with the “two natures”.

To this end Marcian carefully engineered Chalcedon to impose on the unwilling eastern bishops the Tome of Leo, a thoroughly western statement written in ignorance of Cyril’s doctrinal works, and the two natures. Every aspect of the council was carefully stage-managed not by bishops and clerics, but by senators and trusted imperial officials. This fact is clearly visible in the preserved acta of council but has been virtually ignored by modern scholars. Precisely these secular machinations behind Chalcedon go a long way to explaining its great subsequent unpopularity.
Ratramnus of Corbie and Photios of Constantinople as Sources for Bonaventure’s Filioque Arguments in the Sentences

D. Oliver Herbel
St. Louis University

On July 15, 1274, at the Council of Lyons, Bonaventure died. At this council, Bonaventure helped forge the argument on behalf of the filioque. He had previously addressed the filioque directly in his writings, most especially in distinction eleven, article one, question one, in book one of his Sentences. Although Bonaventure does not relegate his Trinitarian reflections to this small section alone, it is here that he addresses the issue of the filioque in se and relates this to “the Greeks.” The “Greeks” against whom Bonaventure argued still formulated their position to the question in a Photian manner.

This paper argues that the after-life of the arguments of the ninth century did not limit itself to the Byzantine Christians in the East. The Eastern Christians may have been using Photios’ ninth century arguments, but the West also continued to use the ninth-century arguments from both Western authors and Photios. To demonstrate this point within one Western author, Bonaventure, the paper proceeds (in accordance with the sequence of the text) through distinction eleven, article one, question one in order first to elicit the echoes of ninth-century Latin arguments by Ratramnus of Corbie (786-860), and second to highlight the presence of Photios’ arguments within this section of the Sentences. This approach allows for an appreciation of the textual context for these arguments in Bonaventure and serves to highlight how these arguments fit within Bonaventure’s own discussion of the filioque. As such, this paper lays the ground-work for a more thorough analysis, which would also elicit echoes of Paulinus of Aquileia (ca. 735-802) from the Council of Brixi (796 or 797) and Aeneas of Paris (fl. 858-70) within this portion of Bonaventure’s Sentences.

In addition to demonstrating ninth-century sources of Ratramnus and Photios behind Bonaventure’s own thinking, this paper argues that when responding to the Photian arguments in his respondio, Bonaventure does not actually respond to the force of Photios’ reasoning. Whatever the strength of Bonaventure’s arguments on behalf of the filioque, his own argumentation does not directly meet the objections Photios had raised.
SESSION IX

Chair: Alicia Walker

Excavations at Amorium

Mücahide Lightfoot
Amorium Excavations Project
A Brief Survey of the Metalwork from Amorium

Eric A. Ivison
City University of New York
The Baptistery of the Lower City Church at Amorium and Changing Patterns of Baptism in Byzantium

Johanna Witte-Orr
Farmington, Iowa
Pastimes in Amorium: Games and Gameboards

C.S. Lightfoot
Metropolitan Museum of Art
Shedding Light on Dark Age and Middle Byzantine Amorium
A Brief Survey of the Metalwork from Amorium

Mustahid Lightfoot
Amorium Excavations Project

In seventeen years of excavations at Amorium many different types of metal objects have been found. This survey concentrates on those made of iron, bronze, and copper alloy. They include vessels, implements and tools, weapons and projectiles, and small items of jewelry. In addition there is a large assemblage of basic, everyday metal objects such as nails, studs, and animal shoes. Some of the finds come from well-dated contexts, notably those associated with the destruction of the city in 838. These finds are of particular importance since very few groups of Byzantine metalwork have been recorded in Anatolia and can be provided with such a secure dating.

The presence at Amorium of bronze vessels more commonly known from examples found far beyond the Empire’s borders is indicative of the city’s size and importance in Byzantine times. Likewise, the discovery of a number of arrowheads and other projectiles in the context of the collapsed fortification tower on the Lower City walls speaks of the dangers that the city’s fame and fortune brought with them.

No analyses of the metalwork have yet been undertaken, and no clear evidence for Byzantine metalworking activity has been found at the site. Nevertheless, the sheer quantity of basic items such as nails that has been recovered from the excavations argues strongly for a local industry with a number of resident craftsmen.
The Baptistry of the Lower City Church at Amorium and Changing Patterns of Baptism in Byzantium

Eric A. Ivison
CUNY, New York

Excavations in 2005 at the basilica-church in the Lower City of Amorium in Turkey uncovered the ruins of a baptistery and its associated font. Despite the stripping of its original marble paving slabs and revetment in the Seljuk period, and the intrusion of a modern robber pit, the remains of the baptistery were relatively well preserved, enabling the recovery of its original design and building history. The Amorium baptistery comprises part of a larger ecclesiastical complex of buildings around the Lower City Church, the excavation of which will continue during the 2006 season. This complex was laid out in the later 5th and early 6th centuries as part of a unified plan of basilica and adjoining baptistery, with rooms, corridors, and courtyards flanking the central church. Both basilica and baptistery were rebuilt and restored during the late 9th and early 10th centuries after a major destruction. The Amorium baptistery took the form of an apsidal chapel, with four columns probably supporting a dome and framing a cruciform font. The baptistery had its own narthex to the west, which was entered through the north door of the inner narthex of the main church.

This paper will discuss the Amorium baptistery and seek to relate its design to other examples in Turkey and Greece. Few baptisteries have been scientifically excavated on the Anatolian plateau, and so the Amorium baptistery is a welcome addition to the architectural history of the region. The baptistery also raises questions concerning the function and status of the Lower City Church complex, which can now be seen as one of the major monuments of Byzantine Amorium. Like the adjacent basilica, which was later reconstructed as a domed basilica, the baptistery was rehabilitated in the Middle Byzantine period. This restoration saw repair of the building’s decorations and the installation of a new templon screen, the fragments of which will be discussed in this paper. The baptistery also became a burial site during the 10th-11th centuries, with tombs being constructed in the narthex and in the baptistery proper. These tombs are comparable with those excavated in the church narthex in 2002, and can be discussed in the context of burials in baptisteries elsewhere in the Byzantine world during this period.

Of special interest is the original baptismal font itself, which was replaced by a smaller basin in the middle Byzantine restoration. This development is here related to changing patterns of baptism in Byzantium, namely the transition from fonts designed for the total immersion of adult catechumens in Late Antiquity to the use of smaller basins intended for infant baptism by the Middle Byzantine period. This development is known from written sources and other monuments, but seldom has this trend been so well documented archaeologically. The Amorium baptistery therefore sheds light upon the evolving relationship between ritual and society through the Byzantine period.
Pastimes in Amorium: Games and Gameboards

Johanna Witte-Orr
Farmington, Iowa

Playing board games is an aspect of Byzantine life rarely discussed in detail, and most publications dealing with this topic give an overview of literary sources and an encyclopedic summary, if any, of the surviving material. The lack of details seems to be explained by the fact that playing games was so ubiquitous and such a common component of Byzantine daily life that not many found it necessary to mention it in literary sources. Excavations supply an enormous number of artifacts that are connected to games, from simple astragali and dice to more elaborate game pieces and boards, but these are not well published or studied as a group for the Byzantine age.

The Amorium excavations have provided us with a number of examples from the late Roman through middle Byzantine period. There are two distinct groups: elaborate expensive examples such as ivory draughtsmen and decorated bone game pieces, and cheap, crudely made boards incised on stone or bricks. These two groups have to be treated separately since the boards used for the ivory and bone pieces were obviously not those incised on bricks but specially made boards that have not survived, whereas the pieces used on the brick boards must have comprised environmental material such as seeds, pebbles, and other suitable items.

The game pieces are all of a type that can be used for many different kinds of games, ranging from tabula (related to the modern backgammon) to strategic games that required a number of similar pieces for each player. Obviously ivory game pieces were expensive and must have belonged to wealthy people, but the boards incised on brick could have been used by anyone. They belong to several related types of games that are classified as ‘games of alignment.’ Most boards show versions of an ancient game that has survived until today: its popularity in Roman and Byzantine times is attested by the large number of such boards scratched onto steps and other horizontal public surfaces. Other less common boards on Amorian bricks show rows of pits whose purpose is not entirely clear; they might have been intended for a game related to the modern Mancala.

A third group consists of diagonally, horizontally, and vertically lined boards. This layout is unknown from Greek and Roman times but is documented in a 13th-century Spanish manuscript, the Libro de Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas commissioned by Alfonso X of Castile. It is widely accepted that the name documented in the manuscript, alquerque, has Arabic roots, and the game therefore was taught to the Castilians by their Moorish neighbors who brought it with them during the conquest. Mention of the supposed original name is made in a 10th-century Arabic manuscript. It seems therefore that Amorium has supplied us with the first and, since they were definitely created before the 13th century, the earliest examples of a game that had its origins in an Arabic-speaking culture and was unknown in earlier Roman and Greek times.

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Shedding Light on Dark Age and Middle Byzantine Amorium

C.S. Lightfoot

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Since excavations began at Amorium in 1988 a considerable amount of evidence has been found for the use of lamps and other lighting devices. Many fragments of terracotta lamps have been recovered from the site, and in recent years three intact mold-made examples have also been excavated. Numerous glass fragments have also been identified as the remains of suspended glass lamps, although no pieces of metal polycandela have yet been found. Other metalwork finds however can be associated with the use of candles, and a bronze arm found in the Lower City Church may be regarded as part of a wall bracket for a light fixture. One fragment of a stone lamp is also recorded. It is clear therefore that a variety of materials and types of lighting devices were used at Amorium in the Byzantine period.

Because of the apparent size and prosperity of the Byzantine city, Amorium provides a unique opportunity to investigate changes in the manufacture and use of lighting devices. Of particular interest is the sudden decline in the production of terracotta mold-made lamps that affected the whole of the Byzantine world in the first half of the seventh century. It cannot be argued in the case of Amorium that the abandonment of the city was the cause of the collapse of this industry. A few very coarse hand-made examples may best be ascribed to the Dark Ages, but it was not until the middle Byzantine period (10th-11th centuries) that terracotta lamps were again made and used in any quantity and by then both their shape and manufacturing technique had changed markedly. The fact that some 150 examples of these wheel-made lamps have been recorded at Amorium suggests that the tradition of using lamps rather than candles was deeply ingrained among the Byzantine population.

Why then are so few lamps attested during the Dark Ages? The dislocation of long-distance trade and the impoverishment of local populations may be cited as valid factors, but they do not provide a full explanation. Rather, it may be argued that the supply and distribution of the olive oil used in such lamps had a significant role in the fortunes of the lamp industry. The loss of the eastern provinces to the Arabs in the mid-7th century must have severely curtailed the quantities of olive oil that were available in Byzantium. Disruption to maritime trade may also have pushed the commodity price up so much that oil could no longer be used for ordinary lighting purposes. There would have been no need to continue the mass-production of cheap but attractive mold-made lamps if people could not afford to use them. It could be argued therefore that the lack of plentiful supplies of the appropriate fuel forced a change in lighting devices. The wheel-made lamps that occur in such large numbers at Amorium provide support for such a hypothesis.
SESSION X

Chair: Georgia Frank

Panel Discussion of Susan Ashbrook Harvey’s Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination
University of California Press, 2006

Panelists:
Robin Darling Young
*University of Notre Dame*

Béatrice Caseau
*Université de Paris IV Sorbonne*

Deborah Green
*University of Oregon*

Maria Hatjigeorgiou
*Middlebury College*

Robert S. Nelson
*Yale University*

Respondent:
Susan Ashbrook Harvey
*Brown University*
Panel Discussion of Susan Ashbrook Harvey’s *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination*
University of California Press, 2006

How does a body know God? In recent decades scholars have explored the importance of the senses for understanding religious worlds. Susan Ashbrook Harvey’s newest book, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (University of California Press, 2006) marks an important contribution to this growing subfield. The book focuses on the role of olfactory experiences for Christians during the first through seventh centuries. Dismantling the assumption that asceticism denied the body and thereby sensory experiences, Harvey explores how greater attention to olfactory experiences in religious ritual, liturgical practices, preaching, ascetic disciplines, and theological reflection cultivated religious identities. She draws from a rich array of Jewish, Christian, and Greco-Roman sources to investigate how the fragrant and the foul guided early Byzantine and Syrian Christians in their daily and ritual lives. Reflecting some of Harvey’s wide interests, this panel convenes scholars in early Judaism, Syriac Christianity, and Byzantine history and theology to explore the contributions of Harvey’s book to the study of early Byzantine religion and culture.
SESSION XI

Chair: Robert Allison

Ascetics and Monastics

Cornelia B. Horn
Saint Louis University
True Repentance: Hesychius of Jerusalem’s Influence on Ascetic Movements in Byzantine Palestine

Matthew Milliner
Princeton University
Theodore of Studios and the Transformation of the Holy Man

Hellen Dayton
Harvard University
Implications of Gregory Sinaiotes’ Jesus Prayer on Russian Monastic Life As Seen Through the “Ustav” of Nil Sorsky

Robert Romanchuk
Florida State University
The Gorica Miscellany (Belgrade SANU 446) and the Education of a “Bluestocking Nun”
True Repentance: Hesychius of Jerusalem’s Influence on Ascetic Movements in Byzantine Palestine

Cornelia B. Horn
Saint Louis University

Sin, repentance, and forgiveness are among the most frequently treated topics of the homiletic and exegetical works of the fifth-century presbyter and preacher at the Holy Sepulcher, Hesychius of Jerusalem. Even more so than in his Festal Homilies (Aubineau, 1978), the themes of sin and repentance meet the reader’s eyes almost on every page of Hesychius’s Scriptural commentaries, especially those on Leviticus and the Psalms. In what is still the only monograph-length study on Hesychius, in 1934 Klaudius Jüssen examined Hesychius’s view of sin and forgiveness through a lens of dogmatic concerns. Yet he did not pay much if any attention to Hesychius’s historical context and immediate impact.

This study shows that via the theme of repentance a line of influence can be discerned between Hesychius of Jerusalem’s preaching and teaching at the Holy Sepulcher and the development of ascetic spirituality in the immediate context of the Christological controversies in the Holy City, on the Mount of Olives, as well as among ascetics in the Gaza area. In support of this claim, this paper first traces references in Hesychius’s exegetical work that allow one to identify ascetics as Hesychius’s primary audience. In a second step, the paper distills Hesychius’s thought on the need of and means of repentance (tears of repentance, emphasis on purity, etc.). Next the paper examines writings that reflect contemporary reflections on penitence and repentance in the Palestinian context, primarily the Apophthegmata Patrum and the works of John Rufus. The comparison between Hesychius and these ascetico-hagiographical works demonstrates the close similarities between Hesychius’s teachings and the legacy of Peter the Iberian, as it is discernible in Rufus’s Vita Petri Iberi. It is more than likely that “true repentance” as practiced in the circles of ascetics around John Rufus had its origins in the inspiration their founder Peter received from Hesychius.

In John Rufus’s works, repentance is closely connected to the preservation and restoration of doctrinal orthodoxy of an anti-Chalcedonian, and thus of a pronounced Nicaean flavor. The same kind of doctrinally bound emphasis is not clearly discernible in Hesychius’s view of repentance. Nevertheless, anti-Chalcedonian works explicitly claim Hesychius for themselves as one of the few wise persons who were able to discern the signs of the time. Recent scholarship on penitence in late antique monasticism (Bitton-Ashkelony, 1999) has de-emphasized the influence of Basil of Caesarea or Evagrius of Pontus on Palestinian asceticism. This paper establishes Hesychius of Jerusalem as a locally active preacher and teacher who fittingly fills this void.
Theodore of Studios and the Transformation of the Holy Man

Matthew Milliner
Princeton University

In the period from approximately 600-850CE Eastern Christendom witnessed the demise of Late Roman society and the birth of the Byzantine world. These changes involved an often frantic imposition of imperial controls, an increasingly centralized system of taxation, a steep decline in urban culture, and a vanishing elite and senatorial class, most of which remained found itself in Constantinople. Such changes, due to the frightening scenario just outside the imperial city walls, were transformative—and the Byzantium that emerged on the other side of them was, by any standard, momentarily different than it was before.

The process began in the seventh century, and if a single phenomenon were to be identified as characterizing that century, it is “the reassertion of imperial authority and the power of the state over its resources” (John Haldon, Byzantium in the Seventh Century p. 450). By the end of the ninth century this transformation process was for the most part complete. Using such a time frame my paper looks however not at imperial but ecclesial mechanisms of control, specifically the attempt to control the holy man. My claim is that such gestures of arguably necessary restriction find their best expression in the person of Theodore of Studios. Although the Byzantine holy man enjoyed a relative degree of freedom before the process of transformation under investigation in this paper began, he was brought under the ecclesial eye in a way not unlike the elimination of the senatorial elite by the imperial court. Theodore best embodies this change.

Drawing especially on Peter Brown’s revised view of the holy man, Kathryn Ringrose’s dissertation on the same subject and Roman Chiroj’s recent work on Theodore, I argue for a new dimension to the famous Studio monk. He is known of course as a defender of icons. Secondly perhaps he has a reputation as an “effective champion of ecclesiastical autonomy” (Patrick Henry Theodore of Studios: Byzantine Churchman p. 12). My paper argues for a third way for him to be understood, as a personification of the Byzantine sublimation of the holy man. Theodore stands at the end of the most creative period of Byzantine theology and at the beginning of a more formalized era, and his influence at this critical time played a central role in directing the “wild and woolly” (Peter Brown The Rise and Function of the Holy Man... p.5) currents of Byzantine personal holiness into the consecrated channels of ordered monastic life.
Implications of Gregory Sinaites' Jesus Prayer on Russian Monastic Life As Seen Through the "Ustav" of Nil Sorsky

Hellen Dayton
Harvard University

The instruction in the Jesus Prayer ascribed to St. Gregory of Sinai came to Medieval Rus' through Bulgaria, and Nil Sorsky played a major role in the dissemination of this technique. In this paper I would like to argue that in his work "Ustav" Nil Sorsky outlined the features which led to the development of Russian approaches to the method of the Jesus Prayer.

Sinaites' approach to the Jesus Prayer conceives some possibilities for the opportunity for Bogomiles to practice this method, but as re-worked by Nil Sorsky, it was accepted for official monasticism in Russia. At least two ideas of Sinaites are adopted by Sorsky.

The first is the insistence on dividing the single phrase of the Jesus Prayer into two parts: "O Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on me" and "Son of God have mercy on me." This created the possibility of a reinterpretation: that the 'Lord Jesus Christ' and the 'Son of God' could be different beings; thus through this the divinity of Jesus could be denied, and so used by heretics.

The second matter is the comparison of the pain endured by the person performing the Jesus Prayer with a woman suffering pangs of travail, which engendered possibilities for women to play a more active role in religious groups that used the Jesus Prayer. This in fact was the result in Byzantium and in Rus'.

The points that were re-worked after Sinaites by Sorsky are related to the understanding of how calling upon the name of Jesus should work. Sinaites suggested that the praying person must have the feeling that he uses the name of Jesus, whose name has the aspect of "fire that cauterizes wickedness" - so the prayer receives a Eucharistic aspect and could be used instead of the Eucharist. It could also be used by heretics who refused to receive the Eucharist.

Nil Sorsky changed it slightly, proposing that thoughts did not exactly burn away but "dissolved," and fire is turned to "invisible rays radiating from your calling of the Divine name." Possibly he means: the dissolving of thoughts by rays is to take place without pain, which the process of physical burning certainly brings. What he possibly implies is that there is no pain in the work effected by God upon us itself, but pain is caused by the vain sickness afflicting praying persons. It could have implications in practical life: the prayer does not replace the Eucharist, but the praying person should endure stronger asceticism.

These features presented in the instruction of Sinaites have the potential to be used by the heretical sects of Messalians direction; therefore the suspicions of the opponents of hesychasm concerning the relations of hesychasts with Bogomiles could have legitimate grounds. However, thanks to the re-working by Sorsky, the instruction received the capability to endure in Russian official monasticism, with an increased degree of asceticism.
The Gorica Miscellany (Belgrade SANU 446) and the Education of a “Bluestocking Nun”

Robert Romanchuk
Florida State University

The unpublished Serbo-Montenegrin Gorica Miscellany of 1441/42, held at the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences under no. 446, contains the correspondence of Jelena Balsic, daughter of the Serbian Prince Lazar, with the monk Nikon of Jerusalem, elder and spiritual director at Jelena’s monastic foundation on the island of Gorica on Lake Skadar. The Miscellany is a unique record of the education of a royal woman at an Orthodox convent. It brings together texts that appear to belong to two radically different spheres: hesychastic and administrative writings for Jelena’s and her nuns’ spiritual benefit, on the one hand, and Byzantine “secondary-school” textbooks such as a universal history (with a history of Jelena’s family appended) and the anonymous Geographica ascribed in a Greek redaction to Eustratius of Nicaea (the continuation of which I have located in a Russian miscellany, St. Petersburg RNB Kir.-Bel. 10/1087), on the other. There exist a number of parallels between the Gorica Miscellany and another Russian miscellany, St. Petersburg RNB Kir.-Bel. XII, which likewise combines Byzantine secondary-school textbooks with monastic spiritual and administrative writings: the two miscellanies share a number of texts (although in different translations into Slavic) and genres. Kir.-Bel. no. XII is probably an interpolated copy of a lost Serbian codex from the fourteenth century, which like the Gorica Miscellany was used in the education of an aristocratic postulant — perhaps a woman, as it includes a short Galenic textbook on the constitution of the child. The correspondence of the Byzantine princess Irene-Eulogia Choumnainaa with her spiritual director, in which the topic of education is frequently raised, presents another partial analogue from the fourteenth century.

Serbian scholars of the Gorica Miscellany tend to focus attention on the ascetic moments in the correspondence of Jelena and her director, but downplay the presence of textbooks, bookish rhetoric, and other features of “secular” education. For their part, Western scholars of the writings of aristocratic Byzantine nuns such as Irene-Eulogia remark on their “affectations of learning” but do not explicitly consider that such pretensions were comme il faut for their station rather than their profession. The Gorica Miscellany, taken as a whole, casts light on the multiple roles of the Orthodox princess who has taken the veil — a model of both “sanctity” and “culture” — and the complex relationship between learning and spirituality in the Byzantine monastery on the eve of the Turkish conquest.
SESSION XII

Chair: Anne McClanan

Decorating, Defining, and Furnishing Sacred Space

Alev Turker
Hacettepe University, Ankara
A Unique Iconographic Type of Christ in Cappadocia: Christ, The Ancient of Days

Carolyn L. Connor
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
The Lost Mosaics of Constantinople and the Middle-Byzantine Program of Church Decoration

Annie Labatt
Yale University
Crossing Boundaries: Byzantine Processional Crosses and Realms of Uncertainty

Mark J. Johnson
Brigham Young University
The Villa of Centicelles and the Porphyry Altar at the Monastery of Santes Creus
A Unique Iconographic Type of Christ in Cappadocia: Christ, The Ancient of Days

Alev Turker
Hacettepe University, Ankara

The purpose of this paper is to introduce the first known example of Christ as the Ancient of Days in the region of Cappadocia in central Anatolia. Cappadocia has many rock-cut churches, mostly carved during the 9th to 11th centuries. Some of these churches are decorated with wall paintings picturing Christ most frequently as the Pantokrator. The only church in Cappadocia with an image of Christ as the Ancient of Days is the Canavar (Snake) Church located in the Soganlidere (Soan dosage) Valley of Kayseri (Caesarea). The wall paintings in this church date back to the 11th century. The barrel vault shows the scene of the Last Judgement. It contains the bust portrayal of Christ making the sign of blessing with his right hand while holding a closed book of Gospels with a decorated cover. He is depicted with white hair and beard within a brick-red medallion. On the medallion in white is written “IC XC” and “O ΠΑΛΑΕΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΜΕΡΩΝ”. A yellow halo with a cross composed of geometrical forms surrounds Christ’s head. The halo is encircled by a brown-red band ornamented with two lines of pearls. Christ, the Ancient of Days, is dressed in a dark grey khiton with pale grey highlights and a dirty-white himation with brick-red highlights. He is portrayed as having a high forehead, large almond eyes, slim eyebrows slanted towards his temples, a narrow long nose and a little mouth. The prominent areas of the cheeks and his eyelids are emphasized with pale red shades. Three strands of his hair are pulled back from the center of the front hairline and brick red lines accents his white hair.

Christ as the Ancient of Days (ὁ παλαιὸς τῶν ἐμερῶν) is rare for depictions of Christ in Byzantine art. In this image, Christ is depicted with the same gestures and the robe as those in the image of Christ Pantokrator. He is shown frontally, full or half-length, seated on a high-backed throne or on a rainbow. His right hand is raised in blessing, while in His left He holds the Gospels as a book or scroll. The Ancient of Days differs from the Pantokrator because Christ is shown with white hair and beard.

The identity of Christ as the Ancient of Days could be based on the Old Testament. This term appears three times in the book of Daniel (7:9, 13, 22). An icon will portray Jesus Christ as an old man, the Ancient of Days, to show symbolically that he exists throughout eternity. According to Onasch and Schnieper, this type is not used often in the Eastern Church; rather it arrives from the West. It becomes more frequent after the 11th-12th century, when the three ages of Christ (Emmanuel, Pantokrator, and Ancient of Days) become more common, according to N.P. Sevchenko.

The oldest surviving image of the Ancient of Days is contained in the 9th century manuscript of Job, Codex 171, folio 349 located on Patmos. The most prominent examples adorn the walls of the church of Hagios Stephanos in Kastoria and the church of Hagios Panteleemonas in Nerezi both dating to the 12th century.
The Lost Mosaics of Constantinople and the Middle-Byzantine Program of Church Decoration

Carolyn L. Connor
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Although the middle-Byzantine system of church decoration, as seen at the monasteries of Hosios Loukas, Nea Moni and Daphni Greece, has been subject to analysis and interpretation by scholars for more than half a century, there is still no developed theory explaining the character and rationale behind this remarkable synthesis of architecture and mural decoration. Where did this hierarchic system originate, and why and by whom was it formulated? In this paper I focus on only one aspect of the problem: how do the lost mosaic programs of post-iconoclastic Constantinople, of the ninth to eleventh centuries, paradoxically, inform our study of those decorative programs that survive around the former Byzantine empire, and what role did the mosaic medium play in that city's monuments?

Scholars have debated whether one can assume that Constantinople was the "center" from which artistic influence spread, but a consensus prevails that production in the costly medium of mosaic, its materials and craftsmen, could only have been based in the capital. Sources relate commissions of Byzantine mosaicists from Constantinople to adorn princely foundations, from Russia to Spain. Henry Maguire has recently shown that the mosaics of Nea Moni on the island of Chios were sponsored by the emperor Constantine IX. For the related medium of fresco painting, Catherine Jolivet-Levy has argued that the iconographic and stylistic canons for the programs of many rupestral churches of Cappadocia could only have come from Constantinople. What do we know of Constantinople's lost mosaics?

While most of Constantinople's middle-Byzantine churches have disappeared, a number survive and now function as mosques, devoid, of course, of their original decoration. It can still be demonstrated, however, in these stark survivors, that particular wall surfaces were intended to exhibit mosaics. The former churches of Constantine Lips and the Myrelaion, for example, although much altered, can be hypothetically refurbished with figural mosaics, as certain surfaces invite particular compositions. Deductions based on descriptions in contemporary texts juxtaposed with surviving mosaics and frescoes make possible a discussion of what is no longer there. These tenth-century monastic churches of modest scale hold important clues about the appearance of lost buildings known only through texts. In the case of the Great Church, Hagia Sophia, archaeological discoveries facilitate reconstruction of much more of its post-iconoclastic program than is currently visible. Fragmentary mosaic compositions and drawings of lost dogmatic images provide evidence of the currency of certain subjects and their iconography.

In ninth- and tenth-century Constantinople, messages about imperial or imperially related sponsorship and church dogma were conveyed by mosaics. Indeed they served as the primary vehicle for the expression of approved Orthodox doctrine regarding images, as we learn from contemporary sources such as the Homilies of Photius and Vita Basili, that refer to 58.
surfaces “smeared with gold” [mosaics]. Not only the content but also the intended reception and connotations of now lost mosaic programs can be retrieved by close readings of a variety of texts, especially in connection with the inherent splendor and impact of the mosaic medium. A synthesis of the evidence – architectural, archaeological, textual and artistic – provides new insights into the character of the lost Constantinopolitan counterparts for the mosaiced churches of Greece. It also indicates that the medium of mosaic was itself part of the message emanating from the core of the Empire, in its spectacular presentation of Orthodox dogma, inextricably interconnected with imperial authority.
Crossing Boundaries: Byzantine Processional Crosses and Realms of Uncertainty

Arnie Labatt
Yale University

Processional crosses are best known for their appearance in episodes of pomp and spectacle. They feature prominently in Emperor Constantine the VII's Book of Ceremonies and illuminated manuscripts, like that of the Menologion of Basil II and the Chronicle of Skylitzes. Yet Byzantine processional crosses did not solely belong to a world of imperial or ecclesiastical splendor. Nor were all Byzantine crosses like the Lavra Cross—covered in jewels and inscribed with triumphant assertions of power. In fact, many more of the extant crosses are made with thin sheets of minimally decorated metal. In the Passion of Saint Procopius, the crafting of a processional cross belongs to a world dominated by suspicions, secrets, night, incomprehensible tongues, and paralysis. It is within this environment of instability and insecurity that the symbol of the cross should be studied.

It becomes apparent in contemporary illustrations and writings that the processional cross is employed during situations that show a crossing of or awareness of boundaries that delimit holy and safe space. The decorative motifs on the bases of processional crosses further this sense of liminality and transgressive space. A majority of processional cross bases have a very interesting motif—openings in the form of variously-shaped, non-functional keyholes. On these bases, keys create openings in walls, the walls of the architectonic shapes. Thus the open keyholes suggest the crossing of boundaries by implying access and entrance. At the same time these shapes also imply a barred and limited adit, as keys are necessary. The viewer is in a liminal realm where he is at once part of and excluded from a fictional space.

Though these keyholes appear on a number of Byzantine processional cross bases, scholarship has been silent as to the significance of their presence. The use of keys as a decorative motif is worth investigation, however, because it introduces new ways of understanding the meaning and function of processional crosses. Byzantine art emphasized the association between keys and hell in images of the Anastasis. Like the base of the processional crosses, the "base" of the typical Anastasis is covered in keys and locks, shattered from Christ's triumphant entry through the gates of hell. Further, just as the cross, the universal symbol of Christ, sits atop the perforated base, in the Anastasis Christ himself is placed above the irregularly shaped keys—and sometimes he is shown carrying his own cross.

In addition to counterbalancing the dominant understanding of the cross as an object indicative of imperial prestige, the study of some of the less elaborate examples of Byzantine metalwork leads to an understanding of processional crosses as emphatic displays of eschatological import—as reminders of the anxieties associated with the uncertain space and time of death.
The Villa of Centcelles and the Porphyry Alveus at the Monastery of Santes Creus

Mark J. Johnson
Brigham Young University

The late Roman villa at Centcelles in northeastern Spain was partially excavated and the mosaics of its domed vestibule restored under the auspices of the German Archaeological Institute in the late 1950s. The man in charge of this work, Helmut Schlunk, then identified the vestibule, which had been given a crypt, as the mausoleum of the emperor Constans, who was assassinated in Spain in 350. In addition to the presence of the crypt, Schlunk cited the high quality of the mosaics, identifying some of its panels as imperial ceremonial scenes and suggested that the porphyry alveus, or tub, reused as the sarcophagus of King Pedro III at the nearby monastery of Santes Creus, in the late thirteenth century might have come from Centcelles where it could have been used as the sarcophagus of Constans.

Recent publications on the building and its mosaics at Centcelles have called into question its identification as the Mausoleum of Constans: new interpretations challenge Schlunk's interpretation of the mosaics as containing imperial scenes; the architectural form has been questioned as a mausoleum type; the dating of the crypt has been suggested to be medieval; and the alveus claimed to have come not from Centcelles, but from Sicily where it had a supposed previous life as Norman royal sarcophagus.

The claim concerning the origin of the alveus is based on medieval sources concerning the construction of the funerary monument of Pedro. A close reading of those sources demonstrates that they do not, in fact, exclude Centcelles as a possible origin for the alveus. In addition, recent interpretations of the ceremonial panels in the dome mosaics as representing either an aristocratic couple in the vestibule of their villa or a bishop performing ecclesiastical duties in the reception hall of his country residence are untenable for the simple fact that they ignore key archaeological evidence. What was intended to be the vestibule of a villa had in fact been converted into a mausoleum with the addition of the crypt before the mosaics were installed. Furthermore, work on the rest of the villa stopped, leaving the domed rotunda as the only completed room in the villa. The dome mosaics with their depictions of hunting scenes, biblical stories of salvation and ceremonial scenes that are probably imperial are best explained in terms of a funerary context. While there is no clear contemporary source or inscription that places Constans' burial in the monument at Centcelles, it is his death and burial that best explain the changes made at the villa, the decoration of the dome with expensive mosaics and the presence of a porphyry alveus in northeastern Spain.
SESSION XIII

Chair: Stratis Papaioannou

Literature and Performance

Thomas Brauch
Central Michigan University
*Themistius: The Private Orations*

Amy Papalexandrou
University of Texas at Austin
*Emiôdei gynaikodòs: The ingenious song of Andronikos Komnenos*

Andrew Walker White
University of Maryland, College Park
*Theatre and Drama in Byzantium: New Approaches, New Contexts*

Kevin Kalish
Princeton University
*A Christian Narrative in Homeric Verse: The Melding of Poetic Traditions in the Vision of Dorotheus and the Emergence of Christian Hexameter Poetry*
Themistius: The Private Orations

Thomas Brauch
Central Michigan University

Although he is better known as an orator for his imperial panegyrics, Themistius’ private orations, his surviving speeches that deal with personal issues, present a better picture of his oratorical activities and attitude toward rhetoric. Three considerations are of importance. The first is that Themistius taught rhetoric as well as philosophy throughout his career. Themistius advertises himself as a teacher of both rhetoric and philosophy early in his career in his Oratio 24 written at Nicomedia in the 340s before he became established at Constantinople. In addition, several of his speeches while he lived at Constantinople can only be understood as school pieces produced for the training of students of rhetoric. A second consideration is that Themistius in his private orations follows a particular tradition of philosophical oratory that extends back to the Second Sophistic movement of second century CE and to such orators as Dio Chrysostom and Maximus of Tyre. This tradition included the full utilization of sophistic presentation without the more ostentatious aspects of performance that were considered not appropriate for philosophical disquisition. This same tradition featured such stylistic attributes as a reliance on the thought and language of Plato and an expressed opposition to rhetoricians and to other philosophers who did not or were unable to disseminate philosophical truth properly. The third consideration is that in his private orations Themistius adopts certain sophistic practices that compromise his reputation as a truthful philosopher. These elements include a haughty and aggressive attitude toward opponents, self-promotion, avoidance of the truth, and outright fabrication. Traditional Greek education which stressed both oratory and philosophy as the central elements of paideia and the necessities of defending his public career explain these aspects of Themistius’ private speeches.

This paper revises several current opinions on Themistius as an orator. Modern commentators do not believe that Themistius taught rhetoric, yet his private orations, transmitted manuscript notes to these orations, some originating with Themistius himself; and references that Themistius makes in these orations to his professional activities in Constantinople show that he taught rhetoric in the capital. Second, acknowledgement of Themistius’ position within a particular tradition of philosophical rhetoric contributes to a better understanding of the intellectual and literary traditions in which Themistius worked as an orator. Third and most importantly, the elements of untruth and distortion in Themistius’ private speeches require a more cautious consideration of the orator’s presentation of himself and his career in his private speeches. Scholars are far too ready to accept Themistius’ presentation of himself in his oratory. This is especially true with respect to Themistius’ presentation of his career in Oratio 34, the most extensive and important witness to his career on record. In this oration Themistius presents an ideal of his career rather than its reality. A close reading of this oration and an examination of outside evidence shows that much of the traditional understanding of Themistius’ public career at Constantinople should be revised.
Enelodei gynaikodos: The ingenious song of Andronikos Komnenos

Amy Papalexandrou
University of Texas at Austin

In 1185, shortly before he was executed in Constantinople, the former emperor Andronikos Komnenos made a dramatic, if unsuccessful, final attempt to save himself from his captors. The historian Niketas Choniates has left us a full description of the event in which this ‘man of many wiles’ was bound and thrown into a boat with two accompanying women. Unable to fight, he instead improvised a spontaneous song which appears to have been a formalized dirge resembling the dramatic songs of patios customarily performed by women in mourning. Choniates informs us that the ex-emperor knew well how to modulate his voice, as women did, and that he was good in applying the necessary syncretic mode whereby his present (deplorable) state was contrasted with his former good fortune. His female companions applied their own artistry, in the form of customary antiphonal response, to enhance the dramatic experience: “He began the lamentations, and they, following his lead and singing together, answered him” (Historia, ed. Bekker (1857), pp.454-55; transl. Magoulas (1984), p.192).

This striking account deserves more consideration than it has received in the past. Andronikos’ lament, if we may call it this, is clearly not an example of the acceptable tears associated with prayer or the pious mourning that typically accompanied the death of a saint. His actions appear to fall outside the canon of acceptable behavior and bear some resemblance to the grass-roots, emotionally-charged custom of ritual lament (in terms expounded by M. Alexiou, The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition, 1974 and 2002) typically enacted by women, usually over the graves of their loved ones but often focused on themselves and their own ‘social death.’ If we take the anecdote at face value, i.e. that the event actually happened as Choniates recorded it, we should re-examine accepted notions of such performative events as strictly gendered phenomena. Indeed, we may need to reconsider the frequency of their occurrence and their role within Byzantine society as a whole. Of special relevance is the temporal placement of the event: Laments seem to have enjoyed an enhanced role for Komnenian rulers generally, the reasons for which, along with our knowledge of the phenomenon itself, remain shadowy. On the other hand, there is the possibility that Choniates’ version reflects popular sentiments and current oral traditions rather than an actual, historical event. In either case we must wonder: Why was the story of Andronikos’ lament given emphasis, and what reasons underline the appropriation of a typically feminine mode of expression? Was its inclusion intended to emasculate or, conversely, to valorize Andronikos? Was it meant to draw attention to the ritual practices of the Komnenians? Was it social commentary? Can it help us to better define the obscure nature of lament or improvisational song within Byzantine culture?
Theatre and Drama in Byzantium: New Approaches, New Contexts

Andrew Walker White
University of Maryland, College Park

Over a generation's worth of new scholarship on the question of Byzantine theatre and drama has created any number of productive avenues for future study. Past insistence that Byzantium live up (or down) to western theoretical norms has resulted in a variety of spectacular failures; but by basing our work on a practical knowledge of the theatre, as well as paying closer attention to what Byzantines themselves had to say on the subject, it is now possible to understand the Eastern Empire's performing arts scene and its literary counterpart, in the context of the society that produced them.

Contrary to popular belief the anti-theatrical canons of the Church had no legal impact, because the state-supported performing arts came to rely increasingly on imperial prerogative – and emperors often preferred shows and races to services. Moreover, although the mime remained every homilist's example of what to avoid, actors embraced Christianity's egalitarian philosophy and, through conversion, achieved a degree of social respectability. Ironically, it was the Church that brought actors a renewed dignity, defending them against centuries of physical and sexual exploitation.

The mode in which Byzantines preserved and circulated dramatic literature also merits re-examination. Even stripped of their stages, dramas at the school level were recited using strict guidelines for pronunciation and mood, and remained models for Byzantine discursive practice. Generations of invective have been heaped on the Byzantines for their "pollution" of what the west privileges as "pure" classical texts in a "dead" language. Cheerfully indifferent to the modern idols of "death" and "purity," the Byzantine experience of drama, rooted in its orality, was dynamic and worked on multiple levels. And the amply-documented phenomenon of the theatron points toward the development of a sophisticated, Byzantine, "post-dramatic" performing art.

On the question of sacred drama, there has been a tendency to follow the lead of Western scholars and define Orthodox spatial and ritual practices as inherently "dramatic" or "theatrical." But a close analysis of the Divine Liturgy reveals fundamental differences in the ritual aesthetics of the Medieval Catholic and Byzantine rites. Western theories of ritual-to-theatre cultural development or ritual-theatre symbiosis simply do not apply to a Church that remained clear on what constituted drama and theatre and consistently avoided them.

Kevin Kalish
Princeton University

In this paper I explore the emergence of Greek Christian poetry composed in classical forms and argue for a new understanding of the melding of poetic traditions. It is generally recognized that in late antiquity many tried writing Christian verse in classical forms, but the general consensus seems to be that these were failed experiments. My paper claims that these experiments were not simply pastiches of classical verse or school exercises, but that in the creative reworking of classical forms, a new Christian poetic vocabulary developed. Stock phrases from Homer and Hellenistic poets take on new meanings, similes are reconfigured, images are transformed, and new words emerge from the old. These Christian poems take the forms and figures of archaic poetry and invest them with a new purpose, to explore the ways in which poetry can serve as a vehicle for theological expression.

To develop this claim, I analyze in detail the Vision of Dorotheus, one of the earliest instances of Greek Christian poetry composed in dactylic hexameters. This poem's publication is recent enough (Papyrus Bodmer XXIX: Vision de Dorotheos, ed. A. Hurst, O. Revedin, and J. Rudhardt, 1984) that its place in the tradition of Christian poetry has not been fully examined. As an imaginative poem that narrates a vision of heaven, the poem offers strong evidence that Christian poetry in classical forms was not composed simply as school exercises. A new episode in the history of early Christian poetry emerges with this poem, and it expands and challenges many of our assumptions about the purpose and place of Christian poetry written in classical meters in the fourth and fifth centuries.

My paper shows how the Vision of Dorotheus stands at the beginning of a Christian poetic tradition. The poet of the Vision reworks classical verse in much the same way as Gregory of Nazianzus, and I analyze these similarities in style and suggest from this that we see here the appearance of a distinctive school of Christian hexameter poetry. My paper explores how certain terms—such as διώτος, a Homeric word for sinner but one absent from the New Testament—took on new meanings and continued their existence in Christian poetry. The literary history of this period, however, has not found a terminology for explaining these transformations, or at least one without the negative connotations of plunder or pastiche. The best term for this convergence of traditions and the emergence of new forms and new vocabulary, which we see throughout these Christian hexameter poems, is “melding.” This term, itself a combination of two different terms—“melt” and “weld”—vividly demonstrates what these poets do in their compositions. Different words come together in new combinations to give birth to previously unheard-of phrases, and formerly pagan terms are invested with Christian meaning. And finally, an understanding of how Christian poetry transforms classical forms in late antiquity helps explain the continued popularity of classicizing poetry in Byzantium.
SESSION XIV

Chair: Kathleen Maxwell

Beyond Byzantine

Suna Cagaptay
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
How Ottoman Is It? Envisioning Early Fourteenth-Century Prousai and its Byzantine Architectural Setting

Heather E. Grossman
University of Illinois at Chicago
Historiography and Hybridity: Western Medieval and Byzantine Architectural Canons and the Medieval Mediterranean

Marios Philippides
University of Massachusetts, Amherst
The Great King of Persia, Alexander the Great, and Mehmed II Fatih: Cardinal Isidore and his Literary Circle in 1453

Nora Laos
University of Houston
Byzantium in Texas: The Byzantine Fresco Chapel Museum in Houston
How Ottoman Is It?
Envisioning Early Fourteenth-Century Prousia
and Its Byzantine Architectural Setting

Suna Cagaplay
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The learned poet and novelist, Ahmet H. Tanpinar, in his Five Cities (1946: 93) writes that Bursa (the first capital city of the Ottomans known to the Byzantines as Prousia) is an Ottoman city whose very Ottoman identity lies in the city’s fourteenth century ‘spirit’. Then, Tanpinar adds that Bursa from its conquest in 1326 to 1453 produced a completely Turkish/Ottoman city down to the marrow. This commonly accepted view contradicts with the vivacious Byzantine-architectural setting in the upper citadel in Prousia in the early fourteenth-century. The aim of this paper is bifold: first to discuss the textual and visual evidence for the built environment in the Byzantine town of Prousia and secondly to demonstrate the Ottoman attitude towards Byzantine architecture in order to unearth the Byzantine underlayers of Ottoman Bursa. Prior to the arrival of the Ottomans in 1326, the Byzantine town of Prousia was mainly confined to the citadel over a promontory of 800 meters by 500 meters. The fortified town had a palace as well as four Byzantine monastic establishments: the Prodromos, the Hexaptychon, Kalakos, and a final one of anonymous name.

The Monastery of Prodromos emerges as one of the key monastic establishments for which archaeological and textual evidence is apparent. According to Gregoras, it was commissioned by the empress Irene, the first wife of John III Vatatzes (1222-1254) and functioned as an asylum for the patriarch-in-exile John XI Bekkos (1275-1282). When the Ottomans took the city, a late antique building and the main church dated to mid-thirteenth century in the Monastery of Prodromos were converted into mausolea for the founders of the Ottoman state, Osman and Orhan.

As demonstrated in this example, the case of Ottoman reuse is potentially an exciting field. Regrettably, however, this is not always the impression portrayed by most of the existing scholarship. Hence, it seems that given recently published images by Covel, Cassas, Löwenhielm, and Catenacci on the legacy of Byzantine buildings in the early fourteenth century, earlier observations by A. Gabriel and S. Eyice need to be revisited. For example, Gabriel stated that Osman was interred in a building of circular plan, while Orhan was buried in a church of basilical plan. Eyice accepted Gabriel’s identification for the former, and for the latter, he identified the building as a basilica with an annexed chapel. These two studies are long out of date. What is more intriguing is that the present-day buildings reflect nothing of the Byzantine structures but mirror the nineteenth-century reconstruction, which was done in such a way that no Byzantine architectural details and clues remained visible. Thus, the recently published drawings mentioned above remain important tools to understand how the buildings would have looked in their original Byzantine form. In sum, the evidence demonstrates that
the image of Byzantium was not effaced and its architectural panorama was preserved. This is an important conclusion that expresses the Ottoman identity in this period while reminding us that Byzantine architectural setting in the upper citadel was an important component of this identity in which the Ottomans found comfort.
Historiography and Hybridity: Western Medieval and Byzantine Architectural Canons and the Medieval Mediterranean

Heather E. Grossman
University of Illinois at Chicago

This paper investigates the historiography of medieval Western and Byzantine architectures in order to examine how past directions of scholarship have influenced the study of post-Crusade architecture in Greece and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. As in other areas of the field, canons have dominated the history of medieval architecture, creating separate histories for Western and Byzantine or Eastern medieval monuments. However, the architecture of post-Crusade Greece and other Mediterranean localities combine properties of both these traditions. How have these buildings been described according to prior scholarship? Where are we as scholars to place the buildings and material culture created in multicultural context? Is it possible to evaluate this architecture without relying on previous stylistic terms?

The East-West split developed with the beginnings of the field of architectural history at the end of the nineteenth century. The canons followed national as well as broad, regional lines, and are linked to interest in patrimony and preservation. Early scholars linked medieval monuments to national heritage and elevated or denigrated architectural schools according to varying and dominant ideas about geography and cultures. Western European scholars, particularly French scholars such as C. Enlart, saw post-Crusade monuments as part of their own medieval heritage and linked them to regional styles of the West. These buildings were for the most part separated from more strictly Byzantine ones on stylistic grounds. Though scholarship in Europe and America progressed and changed over the twentieth century, such early texts of medieval architectural history set the ends of the Mediterranean on separate scholarly paths that largely continue today. Meanwhile, early twentieth-century scholars in Greece and other Mediterranean countries took up the history of their local architecture as well. These scholars too were content to see divergent traditions for medieval architecture, as the East-West division reinforced ideas of a direct line of development for their buildings as well.

However, monuments throughout the medieval Mediterranean share qualities of both of these traditions. The architecture of the post-Crusade Peloponnese, Cyprus and Syro-Palestinian territories mix elements of both the eastern and western canons in more than superficial ways. Other scholars have explained these hybrid buildings in relation to the established canons, with limited success. In conclusion, this paper explores a few examples of such monuments to point to an alternative way of examining monuments that combines art historical and anthropological methodologies.
The Great King of Persia, Alexander the Great, and Mehmed II Fatih: Cardinal Isidore and his Literary Circle in 1453

Marios Philippides
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Soon after the fall of Constantinople to Sultan Mehmed II Fatih on May 29, 1453, alarming reports of the disaster began bombarding Italy concerning the future intentions of the young sultan. These very early reports of the siege compared the young sultan to Alexander the Great and to Xerxes, the Great King of Persia. These comparisons in the avisi and epistolae on the disaster have not been investigated thoroughly by modern scholarship, which has sporadically noted that they were appropriate in the Italian environment of the flourishing studia humanitatis. A fresh investigation of these comparisons demonstrates that such ideas have a common point of origin. They were not simply invoked because of the classical interests of the writers; they actually go back to conversations that were shared by two of our most important eyewitnesses of the siege in 1453, Cardinal Isidore and Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani. Specifically, such comparisons originated with Cardinal Isidore and were then disseminated in two forms, in his conversations with Bishop Leonardo during the siege and, subsequently, through his humanist friends and circle of intellectuals in Crete, where the cardinal had sought refuge after his successful escape from the sack. Isidore’s interest in Xerxes and in ancient Persia in general, here demonstrated for the first time, can be traced to the decade before the siege, when he was an ecclesiastic in the Morea.

It was the cardinal’s circle humanists (which included the celebrated Lauro Quirini, Leonardo Benvoglianti, and Henry of Soemmen) at Candia, under the direct influence of his strong personality, that reinforced, through correspondence to other humanists in Italy, the cardinal’s ideas and classical allusions; thus the sultan appears as the modern Alexander the Great and as the Great King. Cardinal Isidore remains, to this day, the unsung hero of the defense of Constantinople in 1453; he was truly a fascinating personality: a well-educated ecclesiastic, perhaps a member of the imperial family, and a sensible cleric, with a keen sense of Realpolitik, who tried to find common ground and establish unity between the Churches; he was a notable classical scholar. His career made him enemies everywhere. The Greeks never forgave his “apostasy” to Catholicism, his Slavic flock viewed him with extreme suspicion, his Catholic hosts seem to have doubts about him, and the Turks placed a price on his head during the siege, as the sultan also took a personal interest and actively attempted to identify him among his prisoners. Cardinal Isidore died in Rome, on Wednesday, April 27, 1463. Thus far no thorough biography of Cardinal Isidore has appeared. This is a lamentable oversight on the part of modern scholarship. His personality, his efforts on behalf of the union, his active involvement in the defense of Constantinople, as well as his scholarly contributions to the study of ancient Greek literature and to the humanistic spirit of the Renaissance deserve a closer look by a modern investigator. He is the unsung hero of the defense of Constantinople in 1453, and his views on that disaster seem to have influenced the Italian conception of the disaster.
Byzantium in Texas:
The Byzantine Fresco Chapel Museum in Houston

Nora Laos
University of Houston

As its name indicates, the Byzantine Fresco Chapel Museum serves two purposes. The building was designed by François de Menil and completed in 1997. It was commissioned to house two thirteenth-century Cypriot frescoes, discovered by the architect’s mother, Dominique De Menil, on the art market in Munich in 1983. The frescoes were originally painted in a small votive chapel, dedicated to St. Themionanos, located in the Turkish-occupied sector of Cyprus, and had been hacked to pieces and illegally exported to Western Europe. The fragments were restored at de Menil’s behest, and are now in custody of the Menil Foundation with the consent of the Republic of Cyprus and the Cypriot Orthodox Church. Their display in Houston was contingent upon the consecration of the space that was built to contain them; hence the structure is a chapel as well as a museum.

The frescoes presented are those from the dome and the conch of the apse. In the dome, Christ Pantokrator is surrounded by a host of angels. At the eastern side of the circle, two emblematic scenes are conflated: in the center angels present the prepared yet empty throne, awaiting the return of Christ at the Apocalypse. Mary and John the Baptist flank the throne, forming a modified image of the Deesis. In the conch of the apse, the Virgin, as Maria Theophanou, is presented with a medallion of Christ on her chest, and is flanked by the archangels Gabriel and Michael. From documented descriptions and fragmentary evidence, we know that the walls and vaults of the stone Cypriot chapel were originally completely covered with other frescoed scenes that together depicted an established iconography.

In Houston, the two restored frescoes have been fitted like gloves into the dome and apse of a virtual chapel of St. Themionanos, constructed to scale of steel and sandblasted glass, within a layered rectangular container of steel and concrete. This paper presents a brief description of the modern architecture of the building, but more importantly, critiques the museological presentation of the frescoes as isolated objects of art. No longer part of a fresco cycle, but presented in a translucent architectural copy, the paintings are objectified and treated as relics. The architect intended for the building to be viewed as a means through which to restore to the frescoes the spiritual significance and function that had been obscured by their removal from their original religious context. This implies the desire to recreate the human experience of the original space, and this, I argue, can never be accomplished in Houston because of the objectification of the paintings. The Byzantine worshipper’s appreciation and spiritual understanding of the chapel in Cyprus was considerably different from our impression in Texas.
SESSION XV

Chairs: Glenn Peers and Charles Barber

Panel Discussion of Marie-José Mondzain's Image, Icon, Economy and Models for New Approaches to Byzantine Cultural Studies

Panelists:

Charles Barber
University of Notre Dame

Rico Franses
Pratt Institute

Marie-José Mondzain
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris

Glenn Peers
University of Texas at Austin
Marie-José Mondzain's Image, Icon, Economy and Models for New Approaches to Byzantine Cultural Studies

This session discusses the work of Marie-José Mondzain, the eminent philosopher and theorist. Professor Mondzain, Directrice de recherche at the CNRS, has published several books on the nature and meaning of the image, particularly in the Byzantine world, and she has used deep familiarity with the work of iconophile theologians to lay bare inner structures, as well as the wide ramifications, of Byzantine theory and art. Her work must be taken into account by anyone interested in such issues, and investment in interpreting her rich philosophical language has paid off for specialists in the field. But the value of her work could not reach the audience it deserved in the English-speaking world until the appearance of Rico Fransen’s translation in 2005 of her Image, Icône, Économie: Les sources Byzantines de l’imaginaire contemporain, first published in 1996. The translation belongs to a series published by Stanford University Press, “Cultural Memory in the Present,” which is edited by Mieke Bal and Hent de Vries. This session wants to take the premise of that series seriously, “…to move beyond a narrow disciplinarity based on conventional historical premises, and to refocus contemporary cultural studies in the direction of close reading.” To that end, we propose discussing this particular book within Professor Mondzain’s oeuvre, not only as a way of reclaiming key concepts for the understanding and practice of Byzantine art history, but also as an assertion of that field’s belonging to cultural discourses larger than itself.

We hope, therefore, to introduce Professor Mondzain’s book to a North American audience of Byzantinists, who would profit from the philosophical framework within which she places Byzantine art, theology and culture. The provocative and compelling features of her scholarship deserve better attention in the English-speaking world than they have received to date. We hope to provide analyses and models for the use and understanding of her work, as well as to build bridges between North American and continental scholarship in Byzantine studies.
SESSION XVI

Chair: Cecil L. Striker

Anatolian Archeology

Zeliha Demirel Gökalp
Anadolu University, Eskişehir
Byzantine Æ Coin Finds from Pisidia in a General Evaluation of the Byzantine Numismatic Evidence in Anatolia

Gökçen Kurtuluş Öztaskı̇n
Anadolu University, Eskişehir
Byzantine Period Buildings in Antalya/Yainartas

Muradiye Bursah
Anadolu University, Eskişehir
Early Byzantine Period Vessels from Antalya/Olympos

Yelda Olcay Uğcan
Anadolu University, Eskişehir
and
Yalçın Mergen
Dokuz Eylül University, İzmir
New and Different View of the Ancient Lycian City of Olympos
The City of the Hieromartyr Methodios
Byzantine Æ Coin Finds from Pisidia in a General Evaluation of the Byzantine Numismatic Evidence in Anatolia

Zeliha Demirel Gökalp
Anadolu University, Eskişehir

In this paper I will be discussing Byzantine bronze coins unearthed in Pisidia. These coins, numbering almost 1000, have been recorded at two important museums with catchment area covering most of Pisidia. These finds will be examined and compared with other published museum collections and excavation finds in Turkey. Such finds indicate that Byzantine coins circulated in large numbers during the so-called Byzantine Dark Age from mid 7th century until the mid 9th century. Byzantine anonymous follices have also been in abundance in Pisidia; among these are also a few new variations. These finds show that these also circulated widely here abouis.
Byzantine Period Buildings in Antalya/Yanartas

Gökçen Kurtuluş Öztaskan
Anadolu University, Eskişehir

This session will examine the Byzantine period buildings in Antalya, Yanartas near the Olympos ancient city (South-West Lycia). At the field, there are two churches and their appurtenances.

The area asserted as the place in Chimera and Bellerophon myth because of the permanent flames. At the Roman period a temple dedicated to Hephaistos was built. Therefore the region was called Hephaistion. Temples' altars and statue pedestals can be seen on the surface.

Today, there is a three-naved basilica on the temple's place. There is a wall surrounding the west and south sides of the basilica, and the narthex is inside it. At the northwest corner, two-story appurtenances have six abodes. The church has two phases. The primary phase has three naves and apses. There is a fresco composition with the figures on the northern apse. It can be seen from a hole in the apse's wall.

At the secondary phase, apses were built in front of the former ones, but the southern apse was built straight, and the apse lost its function. All of the interior surfaces were filled by frescoes. The geometrical and floral arrangement of the frescoes shows iconoclastic characteristics.

Furthermore there is a small chapel at the southeast field of the church, about fifty meters away. It was converted from a Roman bath. It doesn't have any decoration. There are some additional buildings at the north and south side of the chapel.

In the article, this Byzantine complex will be explained with details and compared with similar example.
Early Byzantine Period Vessels from Antalya/Olympos

Muradiye Bursalı
Anadolu University, Eskişehir

The Ancient city of Olympos is located 80 kms. southwest of the modern Antalya city center. The first excavation works were held in the site by Antalya Archaeology Museum in 1991 and 1992. During the excavation, large quantities of Red Slip Wares were found in "Harbour Monumental Tombs" and "Building with Mosaics". Almost all of the Red Slip Wares that were traded to the East Mediterranean were identified by Hayes. The majority of the wares are vessels—forms of dishes, such as bowls, saucers, basins and jugs. The vessels are very fine, smooth and ill-fired fabric. There are also common wares: cooking vessels, storage vats, jars, jugs and miscellaneous vessels. Similar Red Slip Wares and common wares are found in many of the Late Roman-Early Byzantine cities in the Eastern Mediterranean religion. In this study, the vessels that are mentioned above will be identified and compared with similar examples.
New and Different View of the Ancient Lycian City of Olympos:
The City of the Hieromartyr Methodios

Yelda Olcay Uçkan
Anadolu University, Eskişehir
and
Yalçın Mergen
Dokuz Eylül University, İzmir

Olympos was a very important city during the Byzantine Period, although it's not well-known today. It is situated in the southwest of the Gulf of Antalya on the Mediterranean coast of Southern Anatolia. Researchers have been able to access the primary data about this ancient city and its environs by means of such renowned names as Strabon, Captain Beauford and Sir Charles Fellows.

The recent archaeological surveys being done on Olympos reveal a great deal of information, making substantial contributions to the field of Byzantine archaeology. The building remains from the period of Byzantine civilization especially support this view. In fact, when compared with the Lycian region and other historical geographical regions, the medieval building complexes of Olympos draw our attention to particular styles carrying military-religious qualities. It can be also said that the Byzantium architecture in Olympos does not seem to follow a typical architectural approach. However, in light of the recent surveys, with fourteen monumental churches and many other medieval monumental public buildings, the ancient city of Olympos changes into a great Early Byzantine religious centre.
SESSION XVII

Chair: Linda Safran

**Byzantium in Italy**

Lisa Boutin
University of California, Los Angeles
*Jacopo Bellini’s Manifestations of Artistic Synthesis: Veneto-Byzantine Painting and Half-Length Madonnas*

Rebecca W. Corrie
Bates College
*Once Again: Byzantine Painters and Images of St. Francis in Tuscany and Umbria*

Anne McClanan
Portland State University
*The Virgin’s Belt from Constantinople to Siena: Reinventing a Sacred Relic*

Alicia Walker
Washington University
*The San Marco Censer in Context: Literary and Artistic Depictions of the Middle Byzantine Garden Pavilion*
Jacopo Bellini’s Manifestations of Artistic Synthesis: 
Veneto-Byzantine Painting and Half-Length Madonnas

Lisa Boulin
UCLA

In Venice, influences from the Byzantine East and Latin West were equally felt by fifteenth-century artists, and as a result, panels representing the Madonna and Child illustrate a reliance on both traditions. These hybrid images, as some have referred to them, would have resonated with the viewer both through their clear references to the authentic and sacred icons of the Virgin from Byzantium, as well as through their appeal to modern aesthetic sensibilities. While many scholars have pointed out that connections existed between Venetian paintings and Byzantine icons, few have carefully identified which sources Italian artists may have referred to in their work. Their tradition of attempting to replicate aspects of the maniera greca is more complex than a simple, direct derivation of Byzantine style and forms after 1453. It was rather the result of many generations of artistic influence from the East and its varied interpretations within Italy over several centuries. These influences can be seen most clearly in representations of the Madonna and Child in the early Renaissance, which often replicate the poses, inscriptions, dress, and facial features of Byzantine icons.

In this paper, I will examine a devotional Madonna and Child panel, now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, painted by the Venetian Jacopo Bellini around 1465 as an example of a synthesis of Italian and Greek painting. I will consider first the political setting of Venice and the types of works of art that were being created there, as well as works moving through the city. Second, I will discuss Jacopo Bellini’s painting in detail and consider the models on which it was based, and finally, I will attempt to consider Jacopo’s artistic strategies in this panel through a discussion of the visibility of hybridity, as defined by Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, and mimicry, as characterized by Homi Bhabha.
Once Again: Byzantine Painters and Images of St. Francis in Tuscany and Umbria

Rebecca W. Corrie
Bates College

In the last decade extensive work by German, Italian, American, and British scholars has turned our attention once again to the history of Tuscan and Umbrian painting in the thirteenth century. Monographic studies and exhibition catalogues have appeared in tandem with major discoveries and conservation projects. At the same time, the continued publication of middle and late Byzantine art has put more comparative materials quite literally at our fingertips. This paper brings a few of these resources together for a richer and hopefully clearer picture of painting in Italy in this period and its relationship to Byzantine production. Studies of passion iconography and images of the Virgin have demonstrated that Italian artists were familiar with contemporary Byzantine imagery. Recent, extensive study of the economic and political history of the Crusader period has provided a much more detailed picture of the means by which painters and images might have reached Italy. But now we should once again incorporate one of the most uncertain approaches: traditional formal analysis.

A review of the state of the question shows a consensus regarding the contribution of Byzantine art to production at Florence, for example in the work of Coppo di Marcovaldo and in the Baptistery mosaics. Comparisons allow us to identify a Byzantine contribution to the development of painting at Siena, in the frescoes under the Duomo and in a small panel long held by the Carmelites at Siena, certainly the work of a thirteenth-century painter whose style can be found in frescoes at Mount Athos. The remainder of this paper looks at three well-known panels of Saint Francis with scenes of his life and miracles. As I have argued elsewhere, in such images the work of Byzantine painters is particularly difficult to identify, for their content and function is decidedly Latin, although as Anne Derbes and Amy Neff powerfully argued in their 2004 essay, their depiction of the saint himself is rooted in the images of Byzantine saints. The first of these is the Pisan panel often attributed to Giunta Pisano. The painting of individual figures, especially Saint Francis, finds striking comparisons in two contemporary images still on Mount Athos and Sinai, both attributed to Constantinople and arguably by the same painter. Second and third are the Franciscan panels at Assisi and in the Vatican, to which we should return now with our much vaster knowledge of thirteenth-century Byzantine painting. Although these have usually been attributed to Pisan and Umbrian painters, we can now convincingly support the few scholars who proposed attributions to Byzantine painters. While the initial interest in such attributions may lie in clarifying the development of Italian visual culture, far more important may be a broader vision of the social and cultural life of the cities of the Mediterranean in the thirteenth century.
The Virgin's Belt from Constantinople to Siena:
Reinventing a Sacred Relic

Anne McClaran
Portland State University

A major transfer of relics occurred in Venice in 1359, when a large and prestigious collection of relics owned by the Byzantine imperial family was acquired by the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala (the Spedale) in Siena. The purpose of this paper is to look at meanings one particular item from the sale, the relic of the Virgin's belt, had in its new context and how these new associations were framed by its Byzantine origins.

Paul Hetherington laid the foundation study on this topic in a series of articles, and Giovanna Derenzini has more recently honed our understanding of the paleographical and codicological aspects of the surviving documentation. One of the most tangible outcomes of this purchase was a painting, and with this painting came a new iconographic model for a common religious theme.

This painting by Bartolommeo Bulgarini, the Assumption of the Virgin with Saint Thomas, offers us a window into the interconnections in the visual and religious culture of the late medieval Mediterranean. Now in the Pinacoteca in Siena, this work was made about AD 1360 for the foremost charitable institution in Siena at the time, the Spedale. The unprecedented iconography asks us to understand how such an unusual image came to be made in the conservative artistic milieu of Siena at the time. Interactions among central Italy, Venice and Constantinople pulled Siena into a web of exchange and influence that ultimately yielded this extraordinary artwork.

Detailed records survive of the transaction through which the Spedale brought the relics to Siena. Documents attest that Pietro di Giunta Torrigiani, a merchant based in Constantinople who was born the town of Signa near Florence, brokered the deal. The empress of Emperor John VI Cantacuzenos (1347-54) testified to the authenticity of the collection to two of the bishops and even claimed that the imperial family possessed nothing more valuable. The treasures were given up for sale out of the Byzantine imperial family's state of chronic financial exigency, but perhaps an immediate financial crisis motivated this sale as well, for the imperial coffers had just been further depleted by two large ransoms paid to Genoese pirates and a Serbian governor, although I will reevaluate this theory by Hetherington in my paper. The high status of the witnesses suggests the weight given this transaction in the Pera area of Constantinople in 1357: the Apostolic Nuncio to Constantinople, a Dominican inquisitor, and three bishops were all in attendance.

Siena may have been particularly eager to acquire these religious items because of its longstanding special devotion to the Virgin Mary. The city's already fervent attachment to the Virgin received a new celebration after the purchase by the Spedale in 1359—the most prized relics acquired from Constantinople were brought out to great fanfare at the time of the Assumption, and the relic of the belt was the most vaunted of them all. I here consider how these new images, structures, and ceremonies resonated with their Byzantine source, and were reinvented in central Italy.
The San Marco Censer in Context: Literary and Artistic Depictions of the Middle Byzantine Garden Pavilion

Alicia Walker
Washington University

Among the wonders in the treasury of San Marco, Venice is a gilded silver censer in the shape of a small building. The walls of the structure form alternating round and triangular projections; a large dome rises at the center, while four smaller domes and four pyramidal roofs crown the building’s periphery. Of Byzantine origin, the object is usually dated to the twelfth century and may have come to Venice after the Fourth Crusade in 1204. By at least the late thirteenth century, the container served as a reliquary; the crosses mounted atop four of the domes were most likely added to facilitate this function. Figural motifs decorating panels around the lower register of the outer walls depict mythological, natural, and perhaps, courtship vignettes. The double doors at the front of the structure display personifications of Courage and Intelligence, a man and woman, respectively. The upper register of the outer walls and the surfaces of the nine domes are perforated in elaborate geometric and floral patterns. The openings allowed scented smoke to escape from the device.

This paper substantiates earlier suggestion that the building represents a garden pavilion or kiosk. Although we lack significant examples of such structures in the artistic or archaeological record, an idea of the possible design and decoration of garden architecture can be gleaned from Middle Byzantine texts. In particular, Middle Byzantine romances describe elite gardens and the pleasures found within them. While acknowledging parallel decorative motifs found in other examples of Byzantine classicizing art, especially ivory caskets, I place greater importance on the anomalous characteristics of the censer’s program, especially the relative prominence of female figures and their interaction with male counterparts. I relate the iconographic and decorative repertoire of the device to the hybrid character of Middle Byzantine romances, which drew from both antique and contemporary medieval cultural traditions. Finally, attention is paid to the practice and meaning of censing in the secular domain, as documented in the Byzantine textual tradition and in the material record of comparable contemporary courts, especially those of the medieval Islamic world. The object embodies a concept of the garden as a domain of romance, nobility, and pleasure, ideals to which actual gardens—and their users—could have aspired.
SESSION XVIII

The Black Sea and Armenia

Christina Maranci
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Architecture, Sculpture, and the Measure of Time in Early Medieval Armenia

Alexander Gertsen
Taurida National University, Simferopol, Ukraine
Early Byzantine Donb-Mangup

Aleksandr Aibabin
National Academy of Sciences, Ukraine
The Rural Population of the Northern Border of the Byzantine Empire in the Mountains of Crimea in the 6th to 9th Centuries
Architecture, Sculpture, and the Measure of Time in Early Medieval Armenia

Christina Maranci

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

This paper offers a preliminary investigation of the dimension of time in the churches of early medieval Armenia. Recent epigraphic studies suggest a profound concern with recording and performing temporality along the seventh-century eastern frontier. At the churches of Mren and Alam, exterior inscriptions function as giant synchronisms, fixing the monuments within a series of political reigns. A number of inscriptions reveal striking chronological precision: completion/foundation is marked not only by year, but also month, date, and sometimes day of the week. The texts also name noble ancestors and children, generating a sense of continuum and casting the monument as keeper of time. This sense is furthered by sundials, which appear within the original programs of at least three monuments. Although little attention has been paid to these devices, they may have functioned as more than silent and passive counters. Like the inscriptions, they most likely played a role within the performative experience of the site and certainly contribute to its chronological density.

The advance of time is also evoked by the distinctive exteriors of Armenian monuments. Spatial continuum is contained and measured through precise intervals, as smooth masonry skin is marked by sharp corners, faceted apses, and triangular niches. Along the vertical, masses pile up, from stepped stylobate, core, and drum, to the tall conical roof which punctures the horizon. With the passing of the day, long shadows rotate, generating new zones of cool, dark ground. Temporality is thus expressed not only through the verbal and visual, but also through rhythms of the tactile and thermal.

Preliminary investigation of the monuments and contemporary chronicles invites one to understand this phenomenon as a response to the fluctuating political circumstances of the seventh-century eastern frontier. The desire to fix moments in time could be viewed as a reaction to a volatile age, when alliances were formed and broken, and nobles promoted and demoted within the blinking of an eye. This paper, however, focuses on the phenomenological, exploring how the Armenian monuments generated an experience of time through vision, sound, movement, and touch.
Early Byzantine Doros-Mangup

Alexander Gertsen
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1• The largest medieval fortress in Crimea, Doros-Mangup, is located on the isolated limestone plateau edged by vertical 70 m high cliffs. The total area of the plateau is about 1 square kilometer; the maximal height above sea level is about 600 m. According to archeological researchers the stationary settlement appears here, obviously, in relation to the first wave of gothic campaigns. From the end of the IV century necropoies start to grow around the plateau. Obviously, this process was been connected to the formation of "country Dori", which occupied territories surrounding Byzantine Kherson. Its population consisted of the Empire's allies - Goths and Alans. The first phase (first half of the VI century) in creating the defense system of the territory was construction of "long walls" at its borders, which closed up valleys where important roads passed. There are two such constructions known in the vicinity of Mangup. In the second phase (second half of the VI century) - the powerful fortresses were founded that served as the strategic strongholds and also refuge for local population in case of invasion, first of all, from the steppe.

2• Probably during the last decade of Justinian I's reign, an immense ensemble of fortifications was created at Doros. It widely used natural features of the plateau to provide better security. The system consisted of the separate, discontinuous walls, which together with cliffs created the continuous defensive contour with a total length of about 7 km. It existed without any significant changes till the beginning of the XVI century. It is necessary to notice that even during the prosperous times of the settlement the inhabited area did not exceed one third of the total area of the plateau. The vacant area was used in case of military threat as a shelter for the neighboring population with their property and cattle.

3• The materials of excavation at the necropoies allow the detection of the gradual penetration of Christianity to Gothic and Alanic habitat. In general the burial ceremony remained pagan; however, Christian symbols started to appear. One of the largest basilica in Taurica was constructed in the center of the plateau. Its size corresponded well to the size of the fortress. The fragment of an inscription on the limestone slab with the name Justinian I was found here in 1912. Thus, the fortress was not only the military object, but it also became the important ideological center through which local population was converted to Christianity. This process basically came to an end by the end of the 1st millennium A.D.

4• Capture of the fortress by Khazars in the second half of the IX century became the reason of unsuccessful revolt of local population under leadership of Bishop John the Goth. His name was mentioned in written sources with relation to the place "Dori", where the events took place. The fortress was under the control of Khazars at least up to the middle of the IX century. Later it was probably the part of Kherson theme - one of the "cities of climates", mentioned by Constantine Porfirogenet. According to archaeological data life at the fortress stops from the 1st half of the XI century until the XIV century.
The Rural Population of the Northern Border of the Byzantine Empire in the Mountains of Crimea in the 6th to 9th Centuries

Albabin Aleksandr
National Academy of Sciences, Ukraine

Byzantine writer Procopius located the country of Dori in the southwestern Crimea on the territory from Aluston and Luchistoe to the mouth of the Chernaya River and Balaklava. In the quoted paragraph Procopius characterized the population as farmers who cultivated the land with their own hands, who did not use slaves' labour. In the materials of the necropolises there are no features of great property and social differentiation. In his other book – "The History of Wars" – Procopius named the population of the region between Cherson and Bosphorus dependent, under the control. Usually he used this term speaking about the population of the regions annexed to the Empire. Allies' relations with Byzantium stimulated lasting military democracy in Dori rural communities.

According to Procopius, the Crimean Goths adopted Christianity in the second half of the 5th century. However, he did not know whether they were Arian as other peoples. Probably, Christianity spread in the southwestern Crimea from Chersonesos. With the assistance of Justinian's administration they began to erect basilicas in the southwestern Crimea. The first basilica is supposed to be built in Mangoup in the 6th century.

In the second half of the 6th to the beginning of the 7th centuries on the flat top of plateau the Byzantine built the fortresses of Eski-Kermen, Mangoup, Bakla and others for the Alans and Goths, to protect the mountainous region from numerous raids of the nomads. The large part of the fortresses was not built over. During military actions the population from the nearby settlements could find refuge there. The fortress garrisons submitted to the commander of Byzantine troops in Cherson. As a result of fortification building, the region of Dori was divided into districts governed from "fortresses of neighbouring tribes", mentioned in "Collectanea" by Anastasius the Librarian. The process of social stratification of the population of Dori became more active. The role of the leaders of the tribes increased.

In the last quarter of the 7th century the Khazars captured the Mountainous Crimea. At the beginning of the 8th century they actually established protectorate over the region of Dori and seized Cherson and got control of it for some years.

At the beginning of the 8th century the Byzantine called administrative districts of Dori region, which already had become independent from the Empire, archontia or Climata. Nikephoros wrote about "archons" of those regions. Theophanes and Nikephoros knew that there were three independent administrative units: Cherson, Bosphorus and other "archontia" or "Climata", or cities or fortresses. Their anchors and the archon of Cherson struggled against the army of Justinian II. Probably, the Khazars united archontias of the Mountainous Crimea to make it easier to collect tribute. In the description of the rising of 787 a new administrative region was called Gothia for the first time, and its ruler – "master of Gothia and its archons".
SESSION XIX
Chair: Asen Kirin

Early Byzantine Arts

David H. Wright
University of California at Berkeley
Large-Scale Christian Painting on Linen from Greek Fifth-Century Egypt

Örgü Dalgıc
Institute of Fine Arts, New York University
The Triumph of Dionysus in Constantinople: A Mosaic and Its Context

Linda Moskeland Fuchs
Cornell University
A Textual Variant in Early Christian Art: The “Jonah Sarcophagus” and Origen on Peter’s Journey to Emmaus [Luke 24:34]
Large-Scale Christian Painting on Linen from
Greek Fifth-Century Egypt

David H. Wright
University of California at Berkeley

The enormous painted linen hanging, acquired by the Abegg-Stiftung (Canton Bern) in 1989, beautifully cleaned and restored, and now beautifully published as Riggisberger Berichte, 11, opens an entirely new window on what must have been a flourishing art form in Greek fifth-century Christian Egypt. Although there are serious losses, enough of the decorated border of this hanging is complete and continuous, so that there can be no doubt that the hanging was fully fourteen feet wide and nearly five feet high (c. 4.30 x 1.45 m.). It is divided by decorated bands into three rows of narrative images, extending from the Awakening of Adam and Eve to the Miracle of the Quail after the Crossing of the Red Sea. There are a number of identifying Greek labels in good capital letters, drawn with thin white paint. There are serious losses in some of the scenes, but Liselotte Kötzsche has offered identifications of all of them and explored their iconographic connections, without finding consistent relations to any known cycle.

The painter must have worked from separate models and was careless in planning the sequence of scenes, for Lot’s escape from Sodom comes before the story of Noah leaving the ark, which is followed by Sarah, in her tent and clearly labeled in Greek, at the right edge of the first band, while the rest of the Hospitality of Abraham is at the left edge of the middle band. Three scenes involving Jacob and two for Joseph seem to be strangely intermingled, and there is also confusion in the order of events in the Crossing of the Red Sea. There are enough labels to identify most individual episodes, but it is hard to find a rationale for this arrangement. Nevertheless, it is clear that this enormous painting was hung on a wall for the edification of a Greek Christian audience.

The painted figures are about ten inches high, and where they are well preserved it is clear that they were very skillfully painted in tempera, with blended color gradations for modeling. Kötzsche assumes a date in the fourth century without detailed consideration, but I think the style points to the middle or second half of the fifth century. The miserable surviving scraps of the Cotton Genesis, assigned to Egypt in that period, show the same tendency to make an active advancing figure hyperactive, to exaggerate a meaningful gesture and turn of the head, and to have figures standing next to each other appear to sway in unison. And neither work has any depth for their voluminous figures to move in.

Kötzsche also introduces briefly two other sets of painted linen fragments, four fragments in Trier (acquired 1986) and three in Paris (excavated at Antinoe in 1905, without keeping any specific record of the find circumstances). The ones in Trier clearly come from a slightly larger and more elaborate depiction of the Crossing of the Red Sea but have similar Greek inscriptions and are so similar in figure style they may be from the same workshop as the Abegg hanging. In Paris one fragment of an angel is particularly well painted and may be
from a narrative context, while another angel appears to be overlapped by a throne, and it and a standing male saint may be from devotional images, they require further study. Nevertheless, these fragments imply much wider use of paintings on linen in fifth-century Greek Egypt.
The Triumph of Dionysus in Constantinople:
A Mosaic and Its Context

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While excavating the foundations of a new apartment block in the Kocamustafapasa district of Istanbul in 1993, builders uncovered a large figural mosaic. This mosaic decorated the floor of a large hall in a wealthy suburban villa along the Sea of Marmara, on the narrow coastal band between the Constantinian and Theodosian walls. Textual evidence testifies that from the fourth century on the area was occupied by a series of suburban villas housing the highest ranks of the Constantinopolitan elite.

After the lifting of the floor and limited excavations carried out by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, the site was demolished in 1995. Since then, the mosaic has been in storage and has never properly been studied. It is mentioned briefly in only a few publications and tentatively dated variously to the pre-Constantinian era, the early-fourth or the late-fifth centuries. However, with the generous permission of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, I have been able to study the mosaic and related archaeological material myself. This paper constitutes the first public presentation of these materials, and as such, adds a new and significant example to the relatively small corpus of archaeologically contextualized floor mosaics of Constantinople.

Although only half of the pavement is extant, the iconography is clear: it is a 'Triumph of Dionysus,' an abbreviated representation of the triumphal procession and conquests of Dionysus along the long route from Asia Minor to India. The subject was particularly popular on mosaics between the second and the fourth centuries, especially in North Africa and Spain, but was also sporadically found in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean. In the center of the Constantinopolitan floor, Dionysus appears in his panther-drawn chariot, surrounded by his thiasos. This motif is contained in a larger concentric circle, which in turn is inscribed in a thick ornamental square frame completed by personifications of the seasons at its four corners.

After examining the mosaic itself and its related archaeological records, associated architectural fragments and stamped bricks, as well as the iconographic, stylistic and technical analysis of the mosaic, I suggest a mid-fifth century date for the mosaic. The selection of this mythological theme at such a late date as the sole subject for the floor of a large reception or dining room of the villa, measuring at least ten by ten square meters, is unusual. Furthermore, on the Constantinopolitan floor the subject is conceived of in a totally new composition. Within the context of the late antique capital, the ambitiousness of the project suggests a profound religious or philosophical significance behind its execution, rather than merely decorative considerations. It is one of the most impressive floors to have survived from late antiquity in terms of its size, subject matter, and composition.
A Textual Variant in Early Christian Art: The ‘Jonah Sarcophagus’ and Origen on Peter’s Journey to Emmaus [Luke 24:34]

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Cornell University

The third-century ‘Jonah Sarcophagus’ (Vatican 31448, formerly Lateran 119) offers two scenes apparently not repeated on early Christian sarcophagi. In part because of their uniqueness, they appear not to have been appropriately identified to date and merit new attention. The upper central scene, extending toward the right, presents five figures and a sixth head, but few identifying details beyond number of figures, pose and clothing. The most unique feature, clasping of the feet of the central standing male by two prone figures, is key. Only once does a Biblical text describe more than one person grasping the feet of an individual—when Jesus first appears to Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome following his resurrection. The prone figure at left wears the long garments of a maeron, including a decorative scalloped edge at the hem. The prone figure at right seems to have been incorrectly restored, with legs unclad from the knees down. Higher polish on the legs makes the newer addition evident. This is confirmed by a bill for restoration made in 1757 by the sculptor and restorer Cavaceppi. His restoration bill cites this addition (‘Twenty-third figure, cast [on the ground]...the two legs...’). A third head appears above the back of the left prone woman.

With four of the six persons in this scene accounted for, what can be said of the two males flanking Jesus? These two men, with Jesus, are part of a second related incident. Their walking or running legs suggest a journey. The post-resurrection appearance which involves three men occurs on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:13-35; Mk.16:12). Cleopas is named (Luke 24:18), but his companion is not. Origen identifies the unnamed companion as Simon seven times, apparently following a text variant also found in Codex Bezae with likely antecedents in the Coptic traditions. In Bezae, Luke 24:34 reads Ἀθέωντας instead of Ἀγωντας and this switch from the accusative to the nominative case makes the people reporting that ‘The Lord has risen and has appeared to Simon’ become Cleopas and his companion (not ‘the Eleven’). The third-century testimony of Origen and of the Sahidic text that Simon (Peter) was the companion of Cleopas now make it possible to identify the standing central men on the third-century Jonah sarcophagus as Peter, Jesus and Cleopas. Significantly, this appears to be the only direct representation of the resurrection of Jesus in third-century sculpture, and is likely the earliest such representation in Christian art.
SESSION XX

Chair: Diane Touliatos-Miles

The Sacred and the Profane

Adam Chambers
Miami University of Ohio
Sacred Space and Social Meaning: Churches and Their Benefactors in the Transjordan: 4th-7th c. C.E.

Gregor Kalas
University of Tennessee, Knoxville
Icon and Portrait: Image Genres in Rome at the Outset of Iconoclasm

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Sacred Space and Magical Amulets

Hélène Bernier
Université de Paris X, Nanterre
Greek Vampires: Pre-Christian, Christian and Slavic Elements in a Long-lasting Belief
Sacred Space and Social Meaning: Churches and Their Benefactors in the Transjordan: 4th-7th c. C.E.

Adam Chambers
Miami University of Ohio

One of the most prominent features of Christian communities in the eastern empire from the fifth to the seventh century C.E. is the prolific building of churches. In the region of the Decapolis the early Byzantine period, a number of cities had flourishing Christian communities often with several churches in close proximity of each other. The number of churches at these cities in the Transjordan reflects a dramatic development in the attitudes towards church buildings than that which existed in the first three centuries of Christianity. Beginning in the fourth century, church buildings emerge in the post-Constantinian east as markers of not only sacred space for believers, but also symbols of politico-religious legitimacy in the discourse between various Christian communities. But it was not until after Theodosius I who made Christianity the state religion that church construction became widespread in the eastern provinces. The sponsoring of construction of religious structures in a city is rooted in Greco-Roman tradition, as a means of private benefactors to express their piety, while also fulfilling political and social expectations. With Theodosius, the church became the state-sponsored religious structure and appropriated its various meanings. The studies of Durkheim and Eliade in first half of the last century proposed theoretical models of sanctity and sacred space that have been influential for understanding how spatial meanings are created through religious architecture and how they function within religious communities. In more recent years, other scholars have expanded upon these models to produce more nuanced descriptions of how social space is created and becomes an expression of identity and meaning. This paper discusses how Christians in the region of the Decapolis developed a complex understanding of church buildings as sacred spaces, acting not only as points of intersection between heavenly and earthly authority, but also as expressions of social piety and status. Archaeological remains of Christian communities of this region provide some important insights into the meaning church buildings for their benefactors and the Christian communities of these cities. Abila (Quweibbah), for example, was one of eleven cities listed in Hierocles' Synaxarium (c. 483 C.E.) as a part of Palestina Secunda, in the region of the Decapolis. Since excavations began there in the early 1980s, five churches have been uncovered at the site as well as mosaics, inscriptions, and other artifacts mostly dating that reveal a thriving Christian community. The number of churches at the site seems to suggest an intensification of their meaning for their sponsors who saw them religious spaces, but also spaces imbued with social meaning. This paper address several key questions including: why there was an expansion of church building at cities in the Decapolis region, what these buildings meant for their benefactors and its connection to Greco-Roman tradition of public support for the state religion. It will also consider how these churches were seen as sacred spaces, but intensified through political and social meaning that developed during this period, illustrated by the material remains.
Icon and Portrait: Image Genres in Rome at the Outset of Iconoclasm

Gregor Kalas
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

An eighth-century painted chapel within the church of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, sponsored by a papal official named Theodotus, features both icons and portraits set among a series of paintings chronicling the lives of saints Quiricus and Julitta. Painted during the papacy of Zacharias (741-752), the chapel illustrates the legitimacy of religious images by presenting pictorial arguments in opposition to Byzantine iconoclasm. Of particular interest are a series of portraits depicting Theodotus and his relatives performing acts of devotion involving icons. Juxtaposing holy images with portraits explicitly affirmed the icons within orthodox practice while raising questions about how the distinct genres of the holy icon and the individual portrait were categorized during the eighth century. Was there a conceptual link between the portrait and the sitter that can be distinguished from the link between the icon and its holy prototype? Also, did the portraits in the Theodotus chapel mediate viewers’ responses to icons? In this paper, I explore these questions by examining sources demonstrating the commitment to icons of Theodotus and his relatives. I argue that the representations of Theodotus and his family members illustrate gestures of prayer as exemplary acts before icons. In addition, the so-called square haloes that surround the heads of the pictured individuals memorialized the sitters’ presence. The icon, by contrast, did not certify the likeness of the saint, but rather constructed the holy personality as important yet remote. The installation at the Theodotus chapel, consequently, asserts that the icon is distinct from its prototype by demonstrating the more proximate connection between the portrait and the sitter.

Documentary sources attest that the chapel’s sponsor, Theodotus, adopted his nephew, and perhaps also his niece, after the deaths of the patron’s brother and sister-in-law, all of whom are portrayed in the frescoes. Archeological evidence of a tomb within the chapel suggests that the portraits of the sponsor’s brother together with his wife memorialized these deceased individuals. One of the plausible purposes of the painted decorations within the chapel was to commemorate the deceased in a manner that solidified the social position of the surviving family members. The icons plausibly furthered the project of advancing the family’s status, as Theodotus became a duke and his adopted son grew up to become Pope Hadrian I. The letters of this eighth-century pope demonstrate that he valued icons, probably because his uncle/adoptive father subtly used portraits together with icons to guarantee the family’s social standing. By exploring the social benefits of icons, it is possible to suggest that holy images were activated by the portraits at S. Maria Antiqua in a manner that also affirmed orthodox practice.
Sacred Space and Magical Amulets

Jacquelyn Tuerr
Keen University

New questions regarding sacred space have recently been introduced into Byzantine studies by Alexi Lidov (of The Research Centre for Eastern Christian Culture, Moscow). Where is sacred space or “hierotopy”? By several scholars, it has been located through places, images, objects, words, signs, and performances. But above all, sacred space develops within the participant’s psychological state; it is an interpretation, both created and received. It is experienced through physical space, depicted space, liturgical enactment, fervent prayer, and divine presence, but not unless it also engages the believer’s desires, needs, expectations, and ways of knowing.

People create, experience, maintain, and recognize sacred space through images, words, and performances that specifically offer an emotional and psychological identity between the viewer and the sacred. When a given narrative of sacred power and personal need overlap, people experience the presence and power of the sacred (sometimes in a miraculous way). This premise is simple, based in the expectation that miraculous experience is created through epistemological structures: ways of knowing ourselves through the stories of gods.

As an epistemological structure, hierotopy cannot be controlled by exterior authorities, such as Church officials, and it manifests both in orthodox and in not-so-orthodox signs. Material examples include amulets: small stones or medals with words or images, worn on the body to affect human experience. These unorthodox or multi-religious objects have meaning within the same epistemological structures that enable more orthodox examples, such as holy icons, salvational imagery, and the liturgy.

“Orthodoxy,” as a defended public category, comes into question through a comparison between icons and amulets as tools for the creation of sacred space. Orthodoxy usually operates as a co-op of and claim over authority, both social and psychological. Yet it is complicated by counter examples of ritual power: multi-religious amulets that are similar in form and function to gems and medals with images of Christ, the Virgin, or other holy people. By the time of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, multi-religious amulets largely fell out of production, and thereafter were replaced by holy icons. By this discontinuation and replacement, the notion of orthodoxy is reinforced as an efficient appropriation, control, and maintenance of authority over the psychological realities of Christians in Byzantium, that is, over sacred space and people’s identity with it.
Greek Vampires:
Pre-Christian, Christian and Slavic Elements in a Long-lasting Belief

Hélène Bernier
Université de Paris X, Nanterre

Greek mentality is known for the belief in specific corporeal ghosts, from the Classical and Roman period until the early Christian time. Greek literature informs us of one particular type of ghost, called ὑρυκωλάκας, spread within the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods. Permanent and evolving elements this belief shows may possibly help us to reveal how the “pagan” beliefs were transformed under the influence of Christian conception and how the external influences are at issue to explain the evolution of “folkloristic” beliefs. Several types of ὑρυκωλάκας are known, and each type manifests particular influence that shaped its conception and significance.

The perception of death and the importance of funerary ritual underlie the beliefs in corpsal ghosts and seem to be an emanation of anguish about the possible failure to perform the funerary process accurately. In this matter the belief in ὑρυκωλάκας demonstrates a striking continuity between the early Christian and Modern periods, in accordance with its nature of an extremely long-lasting phenomenon. The way this fear is expressed is nevertheless new and much more violent than the late antique one. We can possibly distinguish here a cultural loan from Slavic mythology of monsters, more bloodthirsty than the Hellenic-Roman phantoms.

The Christian context introduces a new variation of the belief in ghosts. Until Roman times, ghosts are mostly evanescent, and vampires make parts of specific categories of non-human monsters, for example, the Ghouls. The two kinds of monsters were strictly separated. The new incorporate ghost of medieval times makes part of a broader evolution influenced by Christian anthropology, where the corporeity becomes essential. The incorruptible ὑρυκωλάκας represents the exact opposite of the Holy saint whose body is also incorruptible. The holy body is the beneficial counterpart of the evil ὑρυκωλάκας.

Some elements of the modern beliefs in the ὑρυκωλάκας take their origins neither in the continuity of a long-lasting Greek conception of death, nor in the new Christian anthropology of dead body. They might be found within a larger cultural Balkan area. The existence of Slavic elements in the modern beliefs in ὑρυκωλάκας enlightens the forms of acculturation the Slavic populations encountered when settling in Greece. Cultural mechanisms of this specific acculturation are indeed almost unknown. The word ὑρυκωλάκας is borrowed from Slavic language, but in reality its origin is more complex. In Slavic tongue, except the Bulgarian language and teratology, this word signifies, undoubtedly, not the vampire like ὑρυκωλάκας but a werewolf. Literary evidences confirm that this loan precedes, interestingly, the Modern time. The archaeological evidence and the folkloristic legends reinforce a handful of literary testimony and allow us to claim that the Greek people feared the corporeal revenant not only in the Modern period but also in the medieval centuries. The ὑρυκωλάκας case confirms the existence of complex, cultural circulations within a large part of the Balkan area in the modern Period.
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