

*Thirty-Fourth Annual*  
**BYZANTINE STUDIES  
CONFERENCE**

Rutgers  
*the State University of New Jersey*

October 16–19, 2008

---

---

*“ The power of rhetoric lies  
neither in confusion nor in ignorance  
but in its appropriateness for the  
times and circumstances. This is true  
even if someone should speak simply  
and without recourse to ornate phrasing  
or long sentences. ”*

*Michael Psellos*

---

---

**ABSTRACTS**

The Byzantine Studies Conference is an annual forum for the presentation and discussion of papers embodying current research on all aspects of Byzantine history and culture. The Abstracts of Papers is produced from electronic copies supplied by the speakers. Copyright © is reserved by the individual speakers.

Copies of the Abstracts are available for purchase. Subscriptions for Series 7 nos. 31-35, 2005-2009 are available for \$60 a set. All prices include postage. Orders must be prepaid in U.S. currency. Make checks payable to Byzantine Studies Conference and send orders to:

Prof. Anna Gonosová  
Art History Department  
University of California, Irvine  
Irvine, CA 92697-2785

For questions about orders of the Abstracts e-mail Anna Gonosová at: [agonosov@uci.edu](mailto:agonosov@uci.edu)

Byzantine Studies Conference  
Abstracts of Papers—Byzantine Studies Conference, 1st 1975-Madison, WI  
[etc.]

Key title: Abstracts of Papers—Byzantine Studies Conference  
ISSN 0147-3387  
I.Byzantine Empire—Congresses  
DF501.5b9a 949.5 77-79346  
Library of Congress MARC-S

“The quotations featured throughout this booklet are taken from Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium. Church, Society and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (University of Chicago 1984). For many of us, Geanakoplos’s collection of translated excerpts from Byzantine texts was our introduction to the multifaceted, multicultural, and endlessly fascinating world of Byzantium, and that was just one of his many invaluable contributions to the study of the eastern empire. Professor Geanakoplos died on October 4, 2007. May he rest in peace.”

## SPONSORS & DONORS

### **Rutgers—The State University of New Jersey**

Office of the Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs

Office of the Executive Dean, School of Arts and Sciences

Office of the Area Dean for the Humanities, School of Arts and Sciences

Office of the Director of International Programs, School of Arts and Sciences

Anna I. Morgan Fund, Department of Religion

Department of Religion

Modern Greek Studies Program

Medieval Studies Program

### **Stockton College: Interdisciplinary Center for Hellenic Studies**

#### **The Brodsky Center for Innovative Editions:**

Director Kathy Goncharov, Deputy Director Amy Lebo, Registrar, Sandra Sewing,  
Exhibition Preparator Donna Brown, and staff.

### **The Heldrich Hotel and Conference Center and its staff**

#### **The New Brunswick Development Corporation:**

Jean Holtz, Vice President for Communications and Operations,  
and Tracey O'Reggio, Development Associate.

Judy Brodsky

Mary Cross

Leah Hanlon

Jack Pierce: t-shirt design, [www.jackorilla.com](http://www.jackorilla.com)

# INDEX of SESSIONS

<b>Session I:</b> Archeology: New Evidence .....	6
<b>Session II:</b> Byzantine Classicism .....	14
<b>Session III:</b> Visual Meaning .....	19
<b>Session IV:</b> Syria .....	25
<b>Session V:</b> Material Culture and Society .....	29
<b>Session VI:</b> Religion and Byzantine Governmen .....	35
<b>Session VII:</b> Expressions of Power in Late Antiquity .....	40
<b>Session VIII:</b> Orthodoxy East and West .....	46
<b>Session IX:</b> Icons and Churches: New Evidence .....	53
<b>Session X:</b> Theological Controversies .....	58
<b>Session XI:</b> Lay Religion .....	63
<b>Session XII:</b> Interdisciplinarity in Byzantine Studies: the example of <i>Other Icons: Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture</i> .....	68
<b>Session XIII:</b> Jews engaging Byzantium: Then and Now .....	69
<b>Session XIV:</b> Reception of Byzantium .....	74
<b>Session XV:</b> Komnenian Literary Culture .....	79
Index .....	86

*Hail by whom gladness will be enkindled;  
hail by whom the curse will be quenched.  
Hail righting of the fallen Adam;  
hail ransom of Eve's tears.  
Hail heights unscaled by human reasonings;  
hail depth inscrutable even to angel's eyes.  
Hail for thou art the king's seat;  
hail for thou bearest him, who beareth all.  
Hail thou star that makes the sun to shine;  
hail thou womb of God's incarnation.  
Hail thou by whom all creation is renewed;  
hail thou through whom the Creator became a babe.  
Hail mother undefiled.*

*Excerpt from the Akathistos Hymn*

# SESSION I

## Archeology: New Evidence

Chair: Lynn Jones  
*Florida State University*



## Reflections on the 'Dark Age' Occupation at Byzantine Amorium

Eric A. Ivison,  
*College of Staten Island, City University of New York*

Urban development in Byzantine Asia Minor during the so-called 'Dark Age' of the 7th to 9th centuries remains poorly documented, thus giving rise to considerable speculation concerning the nature of urbanism during this critical period. From 1996-2006, however, excavations near the center of the Byzantine city of Amorium uncovered well-preserved occupation layers of the 7th to early 9th centuries sealed below the middle Byzantine fortification termed the Enclosure. As Amorium was an important administrative and military center during the so-called 'Dark Age', serving as the headquarters of the Anatolikon theme, these discoveries enable us to study in detail the evolution of a district near the center of a major Byzantine city during this period. This paper discusses aspects of the development of the Enclosure area at Amorium between the 7th and early 9th centuries, based on this archaeological evidence. Contrary to expectations, this analysis shows that the Enclosure area gradually became more and more densely occupied in the course of the 7th, 8th, and early 9th centuries, as its physical appearance and uses changed. Particular attention will be paid to industrial buildings that can be identified as wineries, containing wine-presses, treading floors, and other related installations, which replaced portions of a 6th-century baths complex. These new structures, including a small chapel, clustered around a still-functioning bathhouse which was refurbished during the late 8th century. By the early 9th century, the wineries had ceased operations and had been converted to new, mixed uses. These new uses included combined dry goods storage in some of the winery buildings, a few of which may even have served as shops; domestic occupation in others; and a small glass workshop. This transition from large-scale wine production to more diversified activities must be regarded as a significant development, perhaps indicative of changes in the local economy. In some respects, the Enclosure excavations confirm long-held views of Byzantine urbanism during this period, since the 'Dark Age' has been characterized by continuity in the reuse of some early Byzantine structures and discontinuity in the abandonment and demolition of others. However, at Amorium the latter trend was also accompanied by radical redevelopment and new construction. This is seen in the transformation of the area from a monumental public amenity into first, an industrial, and later, mixed residential-cum-workshop quarter, clustered around the surviving bathhouse.

## Franks on the Isthmus of Corinth: East and West in a Small Place

Timothy E. Gregory  
*Ohio State University*  
Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory  
*LaTrobe University, Australia*

For much of the previous decade Charles Williams worked to expose an important part of the medieval city of Corinth, focusing on an area that seems to have been inhabited by Westerners (Franks) in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century. In a recent publication (*Corinth XX The Centenary: 423-34*), he summarized a number of his broader observations of what the archaeological evidence tells us about the lives these people lived and the conditions they endured. An important part of that publication was his suggestion that the hypotheses he proposes now need to be tested on the basis of evidence from other parts of the site, and that future excavations might be carried out with that goal in mind. We agree with all that Williams says on all these points, but we also note that excavations already have been carried out, not only in Corinth itself, but, just as interestingly, in the nearby site of Isthmia (only 12 kilometers away).

In fact, the excavation of parts of a significant settlement from exactly this same period took place in the area of the former Sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus, between 1967 and 1978, under the direction of Paul A. Clement of UCLA. Clement, although trained as a classicist in the “very old school,” had a real interest in the Middle Ages, and as he sought information about the classical past of the Panhellenic Sanctuary at Isthmia, he also carefully recorded the many areas where he encountered medieval levels. We therefore have, in the ongoing project at Isthmia, considerable information about the site—and its inhabitants—in the Frankish period (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century) and we present here a first look at some of the evidence and, specifically, how it relates to that from Corinth, so well presented by Williams. The paper looks at housing, standards of living, and trade connections on the Isthmus and also looks briefly at what we can say from recent archaeological survey carried out in the broader context of the eastern Corinthia.



# Tiles of Nicomedia Revisited

Sharon E. J. Gerstel  
*University of California, Los Angeles*

The use of the term “testis de Nicomedia” to describe the tiles that once decorated the western bays of a church in the Botaneiates family’s *oikos* has long suggested to scholars that the Bithynian city was an important production site of ceramics in the Middle Byzantine period. To date, however, no tiles have been securely assigned to production centers in the city or in its immediate environs. The publication of *A Lost Art Rediscovered: The Architectural Ceramics of Byzantium* in 2001 included all known tiles from public and private collections. Since that time, several private collections of tiles have come to light – all of them from the immediate vicinity of Nicomedia, modern-day Izmit/Kocaeli. This paper presents a single collection today in London. The tile fragments, which number more than 3000, derive from a single site located in the hills to the northeast of Nicomedia.

In 1963 when the site was first identified, the plateau was heavily cultivated. The remains of the apse of a church still stood to a height of approximately 1.40 m. Fragments of polychrome tiles, cut stone, and terracotta floor tiles had been revealed by the plow. Short seasons of clearing in 1963, 1964, and 1965 revealed tiles in the first meter of deposition. The London tiles are linked by style and method of manufacture to those now in the Walters Art Museum and the Musée du Louvre. The results of Neutron Activation Analysis confirm that the tiles, from two different sites in Bithynia, were created from the same clay. Tiles for the two sites were, therefore, produced by a single workshop active in the region of Bithynia, and, most likely, centered in Nicomedia. Tiles today in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (found at Düzce) and the State Historical Museum in Moscow (said to be from Nicomedia) may also be attributed to this workshop on stylistic grounds. Yet another unpublished collection of tiles found on the outskirts of Nicomedia should be attributed to this group; fragments of this collection reveal a nearly identical elemental composition to the London and Baltimore samples.

The location of a workshop in Nicomedia explains the unusually large number of figural plaques representing Saint Panteleimon, whose cult site was located in a western suburb of the city. The confirmed existence of a ceramic workshop in Nicomedia may help, furthermore, to interpret changes in the decoration of Constantinopolitan buildings in the late 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century. Nicomedia’s waning political and military fortunes in that period and the consequent inability of ceramic workshops to produce or export products may explain the curious absence of polychrome tiles in the Byzantine capital.

# **Life on the highlands: Constantinople's Asian District of Damatrys in Byzantine Times**

Alessandra Ricci

*RCAC – Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University*

The long sandy shores of the Marmara sea, the archipelago of the Prinkipo islands not too distant from them, and the mountains and plateaus to the north rich in water and agricultural resources, all presented favorable conditions for settlements in proximity to Constantinople. Whereas Thrace contributed to the water supply system of the city, the Asian side of Constantinople, harshly separated from the urban center by the Bosphorus, may have served the city's demands in different ways.

Prior to the beginning of our survey in 2001, the residential complex of Damatrys, was identified only through textual evidence. It was built by the emperor Tiberius the Second at the end of the sixth century, and continued to function as a hunting lodge which served various imperial figures through the first decades of the fourteenth century, when Ottoman troops conquered the highland where it was situated. Its location on a high plateau dotted by several spring sources – at least twenty of these were located during our survey – rich in agricultural fields and protected eastwards by the Mount Skopa (modern Kaysidağı), presented favorable conditions for settlements of various natures. Yet, this ideal natural location was also exposed to “eastern winds”: that is, Persians, Turkic tribes and Ottoman troops. The location of Damatrys appears to correspond to descriptions in the narratives of both the Continuator of Theophanes, Leo the Grammarian and Niketas Choniates. These authors speak of a site and of a residential complex, whose name was given as “pedion tou Damatrous”. We therefore identify it as the plateau north of Pendik and confirm this through toponomastic assimilation with the modern town of Samandira.

When, in 2000, the local municipality decided to remove the characteristic wooden homes that formed the late Ottoman village of Samandira and whose foundations turned out to be contiguous with the underlying Byzantine remains, the history and archaeology of the site were irreparably swept away. Deprived of their contents, it became difficult to correctly interpret the architectural finds. However, part of the same content was removed much earlier. Inspection of the town's still-functioning cemetery revealed a massive and systematic spoliation of architectural sculpture from the Byzantine complex.

The remains that emerged from the bulldozing of the Ottoman period homes are very monumental in nature. Preliminary results of three survey seasons have yielded remains of a bath complex, with *suspensurae* and a large sized *prefurnium*, dated to the sixth century. Other remains appear to be grouped in regions or sectors bearing an intrinsic architectural cohesion. For example, a large cruciform space preserves on the top of one of its sides domed chambers and

traces of elevations of walls and floors. This is a clear indicator of functional spaces developing above the discovered massive system of substructures. A ramp of stairs identified in a tetraconch cistern support this hypothesis.

These discoveries suggest that Damatrys may reproduce a characteristic feature of Constantinople`s hinterland, one that until now has seen scarce evidence from the terrain: a large sized residential complex with a bath complex at its edges that may have functioned as a public structure; a village organization revolving around it with intense agricultural production; and on the mountains, forts and monastic complexes (the nearby Abydos fortress and Mt. Auxentios monasteries).

# The Anonymous City at Golemo Gradište, Konjuh: Another Model for Late Antique Urbanism in the Balkans

Carolyn S. Snively  
*Gettysburg College*

The international project “Archaeological Investigation at Konjuh” has carried out excavations at the Late Antique site of Golemo Gradište for almost a decade. The city, whose ancient name is unknown, is located ca. 40 km east of Skopje, beside the Kriva River. The project is sponsored by Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA, and the Museum of Macedonia, Skopje, Republic of Macedonia.

The heavily fortified city consisted of three parts: 1) a long narrow acropolis that rises ca. 100 m. above the Kriva River, 2) an unexplored area between the acropolis and the south fortification wall, and 3) a broad northern terrace between the acropolis and the river. The Rotunda church was located ca. 200 m. outside the south wall.

Our investigations have shown that the separately fortified acropolis above but within the city is dated to the second quarter of the 6th century and thus may be considered part of Justinian’s fortification program. Although inscriptions and burials indicate habitation in the area before Late Antiquity, our excavations on the northern terrace suggest that the city was established in the 5th century. Major reconstruction took place early in the 6th century and was followed by destruction, renovations, and sub-phases throughout the century. The final Late Antique phase(s) on the terrace are missing or are very poorly preserved; possibly the inhabitants abandoned the terrace and took refuge on the fortified acropolis.

A look at the broader regional picture shows that the city at Golemo Gradište, located near the east edge of the province of Dardania, was the only urban community among a line of fortresses that overlooked and guarded a section of road running through the valley of the Kriva River—a mining region—on its way from Scupi to Serdica. Because the majority of known archaeological sites in the region have been dated to the Late Antique period, our working hypothesis is that the intensive development of the during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries reflects the increased importance of the mineral resources in the region and the need for their protection, at a time when other mining regions had been lost. The strategically placed city at Golemo Gradište could have served as a secondary administrative center in the eastern part of Dardania and would have guarded the metal ores and/or the objects produced from them, until they were shipped east or west by road.

In the ongoing debate about the nature of Late Antique urbanism in general and in the Balkans in particular (see, for example, the papers by Sodini, Bavant, and Whittow in *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond*, edited by A. G. Poulter, Oxford

UP, 2007), the anonymous city at Golemo Gradište offers yet another model. The unusual features of a city established in the 5th century for strategic reasons, e.g., dead-end streets and blocks of buildings with few entrances, may reflect its precarious situation, threatened externally by barbarians and internally by potentially unruly miners and the need to protect the fruits of their labors.

“

*It was the result of divine and ineffable power that ... God delivered the human race at one and the same time both from the much-erring, deceitful influence of demons and from the polyarchy of various nations.”*

*Eusebius of Caesarea.*

## SESSION II

# Byzantine Classicism

Chair: Alice-Mary Talbot  
*Dumbarton Oaks*



# Homeric Influence on Byzantine Romance

Adam Goldwyn

*The Graduate Center of the City University of New York*

Given Homer's foundational position in both Greek literature and the Western Canon, it comes as no surprise that there is a depth of scholarship addressing Homeric influence on Byzantine literature. It may, however, come as a surprise that virtually no scholarship addresses the Homeric influence on one genre of Byzantine literature: the Byzantine romance. This paper provides a first foray into the Homeric elements of Byzantine romance, discussing three types of Homeric influence – subject matter, style, and plot – on different types of Byzantine romances: both the autochthonous romance *Kallimachos and Chryssorroi*, and two Greek translations from French sources, *The Old Knight* and *The War of Troy*.

Interestingly, the work whose subject matter is most Homeric – *The War of Troy* – demonstrates the least Homeric influence. *The War of Troy* does not follow Homer in its plot; rather, it follows the plotline of its French source. Similarly, its style and diction are completely devoid of any trace of Homeric influence. Names, for example, are transliterated from the French and show no familiarity with ancient Greek spelling.

The Greek romances which have non-Homeric subject matter have stronger Homeric influence on their style and plot. Scholars since Charles Gidel in 1864 (*Etudes sur la littérature grecque moderne*. Paris: 1864) have noticed the Homeric style of *The Old Knight*, the only extant fragment of Arthurian romance in Greek. Gidel also discussed the Homeric influence in terms of plot parallels: Arthur, for instance, demands a woman other than his wife be given to him, much like Agamemnon in *The Iliad*. Gidel also discusses stylistic devices such as the use of similes, but neither he nor subsequent scholars have addressed the work's more subtle Homeric influences, such as the poet's imitation of Homeric noun-epithet formulae and the conventional language of type-scenes used to narrate Homeric combat.

As *The Old Knight* shows plot parallels with *The Iliad*, so too does *Kallimachos and Chryssorroi* share elements of plot with *The Odyssey*: the lovers, like Odysseus and Penelope, become separated. *Chryssorroi*, like Penelope, is courted against her will and delays her marriage with a wily stratagem. Meanwhile, *Kallimachos*, in the role of Odysseus, finds her, but, unsure of her intentions and without means for a frontal assault, does not announce himself at once; rather, he takes up the position of a gardener, where, like Odysseus, his low-class disguise gives him access to the court, upon which *Chryssorroi* recognizes him and he defeats the unwanted suitor. The similarity between these two plots, however, has never before been noted by scholars.

Homer's influence on Byzantine literature as a whole is both immense and well documented. His influence on Byzantine romance, however, though equally immense, has been treated superficially, if at all. This paper offers a methodological schema for the analysis of Homeric influence by looking at three elements – subject, style, and plot – in three works – *The War of Troy*, *The Old Knight* and *Kallimachos and Chryssorroi*, as a representative first look at a new area of study in Byzantine literature.

# Preceding the Ascetic Type: Early Byzantine Images of the Virgin Annunciate Spinning

Catherine C. Taylor  
*University of Manchester, Manchester, England*

The late antique ideological precedent for the virtuous matron, from bride-to-be to *materfamilia*, was intrinsically connected to the spinning and working of wool. While the most recent discussion of the spinning Annunciate is placed within the theological context of the exclusive virginal type, the exempla from early Byzantium do not privilege these same motifs as historically associated with the ascetic denial of female sexuality or familial interruption. Rather, the devotion to one's matronly role was considered sacrosanct and women wielded powerful influence as they moved within the sphere of family life.

This paper considers a small group of fifth and sixth-century images of the Virgin Annunciate spinning found on small objects that range from elegant pyxis jars to simple pilgrimage tokens. Objects like these acted not only as foci of veneration, but also played a role in establishing Christian households as legitimate and powerful under the scrutiny of the *res publica*. As the familial household was the essential social and religious unit within ancient Christianity, it is productive to examine these objects in conjunction with these traditional contexts rather than wholly discarding them. As early as the second and third centuries, texts were also used to defend orthodox Christianity from pagan charges of atheism, immorality, and disloyalty to the Empire. The best defense against such charges used syncretism with Greco-Roman ideals in order to present Christian life as the heir of those same ideals.

The earliest images of the Virgin Annunciate spinning took their semiological and ideological cues from the pious Roman precedent; a precedent that preserved deep continuities between the roles of virtuous women and their stature within late antique communities. Furthermore, the iconographic program, despite adaptations and changes from the classical archetype, widened the range of exegetical possibilities for women who understood the pre-Christian cultural nuances for the spinning matron type and likely assimilated that morality into their new Christian understanding. These continuities between the past and the present do not limit the capacity for holiness in women of the early Church; rather, they broaden and strengthen the notion that daughters, mothers, wives, grandmothers, virgins, and widows all had privileges associated with piety and vice versa.

The uncommon valor of the good wife who tended to working wool and other quotidian household affairs should not go unnoticed. The primary Roman roles of wife and mother were not suddenly supplanted by the ascetic female type, a sexless type that denied women their matronly role and was in many ways impossible for women to attain. It has been popular for scholars to analyze the emergence of the ascetic type because it was an extraordinary practice. However, it is unlikely that most women would have readily abandoned the roles that had long been considered not only morally good, but overtly pious, especially when these same roles also afforded them status, power and posterity.



# The Question of Drama and the Byzantine Theatron

Andrew Walker White  
*American University, Washington D.C.*

As a series of recent studies have demonstrated Byzantium enjoyed a lively performance arts scene for an “empire without a drama.” But if there was no drama, what was there? How do we account for the endurance of theatrical terminology in sacred and secular Byzantine sources – terminology that addresses theatrical phenomena, often in the present tense? And what are we to make of the *theatron*? In what sense can we call these elite salons “theater,” or perhaps more importantly, what sense(s) of the term did the Byzantines have in mind, when they used this term to describe their high-brow, stand-up routines? This presentation will assume that the Byzantines knew what they were doing, so that if they called what they did “theater,” it is useful to inquire what this term involves.

Beyond analysis of extant sources, however, there is a need to reassess the cultural history that led to the *theatron*’s development. Part of the answer lies in the *Dionysia*’s origins as an amateur event, performed by educated citizens; because if acting is redefined as a purely civic activity, the emergence of a professional theater scene becomes problematical. The creation of actors’ synods and sacred stage guilds is usually portrayed as a positive cultural development, when in fact it banned the drama’s progenitors from the stage, and – not coincidentally – led to a steady degradation in the quality of dramatic poetry, as well as in the stage performer’s social status.

How did traditional theater and drama survive, then? If we look at the amateur level, we find the answer in the long, symbiotic relationship between rhetoric and acting. For it is clear that educated citizens continued to hone their histrionic skills through their rhetorical *progymnasmata*, and – when not indulging themselves in court – delighted in exhibiting their poetic and acting prowess in their *ethikai meletai*. Losing the accouterments of the stage – costumes, masks, settings, public funding – did not kill amateur theater, it merely changed its target audience as well as its *modus operandi*. It is possible to understand the Byzantine *theatron*, in other words, as a development in cultural history that was as inevitable as it was natural.

# The Rediscovery of the Roman Republic in 11<sup>TH</sup> and 12<sup>TH</sup> Century Byzantine Historiography

David Yates  
*Brown University*

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Romanitas was en vogue in the Byzantine Empire. A growing interest in Byzantium's Roman past gave rise to a new species of kaiserkritik, one that turned its venom less at the failing of a particular emperor than at the flaws intrinsic to all emperors. Two of the most outspoken critics of autocracy were Michael Psellos and John Zonaras. Both had a strong interest in Roman antiquity and both wrote histories, in which old Rome figured prominently. This much is generally recognized. That each of these critics of monarchy also attempted to reintroduce the Roman Republic as an essential component of Byzantium's Roman heritage has not always been accepted and has never been sufficiently examined. As a result, much work can and needs to be done here. In this paper I make a start by considering the issue of periodization; that is, the way in which a historian chooses to divide the past and how much attention he pays to each segment. Greater or lesser levels of attention often reveal the importance an author believes a period has or should have for the present. Most Byzantine chroniclers centered their accounts on God and the progress of his plan on earth as mediated through a series of divinely inspired autocrats from Adam to the author's present. They usually considered the Roman Republic with its alien political system, pagan institutions, and limited contact with Judea insufficiently relevant to the Christian empire to warrant extensive treatment. Yet, neither Psellos nor Zonaras were entirely comfortable with this tradition or the doctrine of the Christlike ruler. Rather, they both envisioned in their histories a significant role for the Roman Republic and by implication invited their readers to rediscover in their own past a precedent for stable and effective government free of imperial interference.

*"But that this pagan learning is not without usefulness for the soul has been sufficiently affirmed."*

*Basil of Caesarea*

## SESSION III

# Visual Meaning

Chair: Nancy Sevçenko  
*Independent Scholar*



# **An Icon for St. Nikon: Difficulties in Representation**

Paroma Chatterjee  
*University of Pennsylvania*

As intermediaries between the heavenly and terrestrial realms, saints invited and received devotion, and were an important subject of representation in Byzantium. So enduring was their appeal that by the eleventh century a precise pictorial code was in place for delineating a range of holy men and women, based on their status as warriors, ascetics, virgins, and so forth. (Maguire, 1996). Furthermore, the hagiographic trope of a saint appearing or granting a vision to an artist only reinforced the urgency of representation, not only for the venerated who desired an image for devotional use, but for the holy beings themselves, whose sanctity was considered incomplete without it. (Talbot, 1983).

This paper examines an anecdote that art historical scholarship has considered to be of import: the appearance of Nikon Metanoite to an artist as recounted in the tenth century *Life of the saint* (Maguire, 1996). Since the artist was unable to delineate Nikon despite a detailed verbal rendition of the latter's characteristics, he despaired until a monk claiming a perfect resemblance to Nikon appeared. When the artist rushed to his board in order to capture the likeness, he found it already impressed therein.

This briefly sketched anecdote is regarded as paradigmatic of the importance of representation in Byzantium where a saint was concerned; its final product, as a parallel to the holiest of miraculously produced icons in Byzantine art – the Mandylion. However, a closer look reveals embedded paradoxes in the narrative that detract from its supposed agenda of enabling representation at all costs. I focus on three features: the verbal-visual relations defining the saint; sight as a medium of sacred knowledge; and the agency of the artist and the implications of artistic production.

These issues, raised successively in the narrative, complicate our ideas about the status of visual representation and the icon in a post-Iconoclastic world. Drawing on the recent work of Charles Barber (2007), this paper argues that tropes such as that of the story of St. Nikon do not make a case for representation, as much as they urge a reconsideration of the parameters set in place for that process after Iconoclasm.

# The Sanctoral Topography of Constantinople and Saints' Images in Middle-Byzantine Practice

Carolyn L. Connor  
*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

That saints played an important role in the Byzantine imagination and belief system is illustrated by diverse and abundant evidence. Imagery on icons and in monumental decoration, literary testimonials in vitae and synaxaria, ceremonial descriptions, dedications of lost and surviving monuments, not to mention ancient Greek Orthodox liturgy and commemorative observances, all support this premise. From these and other literary and artistic sources one determines that, embedded within the culture of ninth and tenth century Byzantium, there was a tendency of emperors and populace to identify and define themselves and their surroundings through the omnipresence of saints. Every part of the city and its immediate countryside was in some way associated with cult places where saints, their relics, icons and associated artifacts held positions of honor and were actively venerated. In exploring this perception I have chosen to focus on one aspect of the phenomenon: the liturgical processions honoring the saints that were enacted across the urban landscape of Constantinople, and their implications for the development of imagery of the saints.

One of the features of urban life that persisted from earlier times and defined the medieval city of Constantinople were the regular processions on feast days of the saints, some localized within the imperial palace and others circulating through public spaces in and around the city. Not only the great Christological and Marian feasts, but days dedicated to individual saints or groups of martyrs, bishops, soldiers, and holy men and women, all became associated with liturgical and popular processions. Processions to a large extent defined the city and its inhabitants, as authors such as Averil Cameron, Franz Alto Bauer, Raymond Janin, and John Baldovin, among others, have indicated. The collective memory of these saints transformed Constantinople into a spectacular stage for ritual enactment, as can be derived from a study of contemporary sources including the tenth-century Book of Ceremonies and Typikon of the Great Church. From these and other sources it becomes clear that some saints were "imperialized," and became associated with imperial ideology, while others were more "popular" in their associations. Just as Constantinople ritualized the memory of events related to its survival (sieges, earthquakes) it also commemorated the arrivals and presence of the greatest collection of saints' relics ever assembled. Constantinople's "resident" saints literally populated every corner of the city lending their protective power to the populace as they were "visited" according to a dense calendar of rituals and processions.

After assembling and quantifying the evidence for processions and sites honoring particular saints, I explore the idea that the composite power of these saints resided also in

their images once found on portable icons and mural decorations of the city's churches. A surprising correlation emerges between the evidence for Constantinopolitan processions and the surviving monumental images of saints from the same period, found mostly in the provinces. The proliferation and dissemination of saints' images throughout the empire carried not only a memory of the capital and its relics, shrines and processions, but also the resonant prophylactic power of Constantinople's own saints.

*“Why are the Christians suffering defeat at the hands of the pagans? It seems to me it is because the icons are worshiped and nothing else. And for this reason I intend to destroy them.”*

*Emperor Leo V*

# **The Portrait and Spiritual Hierarchy: A Re-Examination of the So-Called Donor Portraits in the Apse of St. Catherine's, Mount Sinai**

Katherine Marsengill  
*Princeton University*

The sixth-century mosaic of the Transfiguration in the apse of St. Catherine's has been a frequent subject of scholarly inquiry, especially since its cleaning in the late 1960s. Its multivalent iconography, symbolism, and theological significance cement its position as a masterpiece of Justinianic church decoration. The iconic presentation of the scene transcends its narrative as a vision of the transfigured Christ to the three apostles on Mount Tabor to recreate for the contemporary viewer a shared theophany of God-made-man. The scene allegorically ties the New Testament theophany to the surrounding landscape, made sacred by Moses' own encounters with God. The idea that the Old Testament covenant is both undone and fulfilled by the Incarnation is made eternally visible in the apse program.

The image of the transfigured Christ appropriately symbolizes and encapsulates the monastic goal of achieving full knowledge of God, arrived at by way of an intricate hierarchy of spiritual ascent. The conceptual model of hierarchy, a prevalent expression of man's relationship to God in late-antique society, was re-worked in Christian terms by theologians, perhaps most famously by Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite. Dionysios's use of hierarchy in his writings explained union with God as a spiritual ascent through increasingly difficult and abstract stages of mystigological apprehension- made available to man through various signs- resulting, ultimately and paradoxically, in complete and utter "unknowing." Like Gregory of Nyssa before him, he likened spiritual ascent to Moses' sojourn in the desert of Sinai where he climbed the holy mountain to meet the incomprehensible God.

The revelatory nature of the apse mosaic aids in a new approach to an often overlooked aspect of the program. Surrounding the image of the Transfiguration on all sides are portrait medallions, Old Testament prophets and patriarchs along the bottom and apostles following the upper curve of the apse. However, among these are two portraits that do not belong to either category. At each corner, at the junction between the rows of Old and New Testament figures, are portraits of contemporary figures, the Abbot Longinus and Deacon John, distinguished by inscriptions, square halos, and monastic robes. These medallions, if addressed at all in scholarship, have been consistently described as the portraits of personages who were immediately involved in the decoration of the apse, either as theologians, overseers, or donors.

In this paper I question the traditional interpretation of these figures. In terms of style and presentation they resemble the other medallion portraits framing the scene, hinting at a deeper function than merely memorializing the apse's "donors." I seek to explain their presence here in terms of its wider implications to the monastic ideal, the highest level of spiritual ascent, that is, theosis. The portraits are a visual proclamation that two among their number had, like the apostles attained full spiritual knowledge of the miracle of the Incarnation; they had 'seen' God.



# SESSION IV

## Syria

Chair: Ann Marie Yasin  
*University of Southern California*



## The Early Christian Poem To Abraham (P.Bodmer 30) as a Forerunner to the Byzantine Hymn?

Kevin Kalish  
*Princeton University*

The Sacrifice of Isaac has been rewritten and imagined anew in many mediums and in many languages. This episode from Genesis 22 permeates not only early Christian and Jewish art and literature; the story of the supreme challenge of faith has also inspired modern writers, from Kierkegaard to Auerbach. The late fourth century-early fifth century Codex of Visions from the Bodmer Papyrus (edited by Hurst and Rudhardt, *Codex Des Visions: Poèmes Divers, Papyrus Bodmer, 30-37*, Munich: Saur, 1999) offers a new poem on this subject. This poem imagines the scene unlike other representations and advances a complex interpretation of the Biblical episode. Known as *To Abraham* (P. Bodmer 30), the poem is an encomium with introductory verses, a dialogue and narrative constructed with an acrostic, and concluding verses. In addition to the *editio princeps*, three other short articles have raised interpretations and discussions of the poem, but much still remains mysterious in this short poem.

The poem seems to take part in two traditions: on the one hand, the recasting of Biblical scenes in epic verse calls to mind the *centones*, a form of poetry that flourished in the fifth century. On the other hand, the use of dialogue in the poem—and the dialogue is not just between Abraham and Isaac but Sarah as well—reminds one of contemporary Syriac poetry and later Greek liturgical poetry, primarily *Romanos*. Yet traditional accounts of the development of Byzantine hymnography claim that these two traditions, the classicizing and the liturgical (inspired by Syriac poetry), were separate and entirely unrelated. This poem challenges those previous assumptions and suggests that the two traditions interacted. This paper raises new questions about the poem by considering it as a forerunner to the Byzantine hymn. Though composed in epic verse and drawing upon the language and imagery of Greek Tragedy, the poem nonetheless serves as a hymn in praise of Abraham. Comparisons with other early Christian accounts of the sacrifice of Isaac demonstrate the unique position of this new poem in the history of early Christian poetry and Byzantine hymnography.

# Continuity in Syria after the Arab Conquest - The monastery of Saint Symeon the Stylite (Qal'at Sim'an) near Aleppo

Patricia Blessing  
*Princeton University*

The monastery of Saint Simeon the Stylite north of Aleppo is well known to the student of Byzantine monastic architecture. The basilica and monastery were built in the second half of the 5th century and its monumental remains can still be seen at the site, albeit partially restored with little attention to historical materials.

The history of the complex after the conquest of Syria by Arab armies in the 630s and 640s, both from a functional and an architectural point of view, is less well known. It has been argued that the fortifications of the monastic complex from which the name Qal'at Sim'an, the citadel of Simeon, is derived were added in the 10th century during the brief Byzantine recapture of the hinterland of Antioch.

Only in passing have scholars mentioned that troops of the Hamdanid sultan of Aleppo destroyed the complex in 985. Occasionally, a second destruction by Fatimid soldiers in the early 11th is mentioned. However, the sources for these dates are not generally cited nor have they been examined in the light of the archaeological record of the site.

In my paper, I explore two possible Arabic sources for the attacks on the monastery, namely: the chronicle of Ibn al-Adim (d. 1262) and that of Yahya b. Sa'id al-Antaki (11th c.).

Yahya b. Sa'id mentions the Hamdanid attack in 985CE. Ibn al-Adim, the historian of Aleppo for the period 632 to 1243, mentions the same attack but dates it to 983CE. The fact that he designates the complex as a fortress points to a terminus ante of 983 for the construction of the fortification works. A later attack appears only in Yahya b. Sa'id's chronicle, under the date 1017CE, but details of the event remain unclear.

In order to understand this issue better, it is necessary to turn to the archaeological record. Archaeological evidence indicates that Qal'at Sim'an was still in use in the 8th and 9th centuries. A burnt layer, dated to the 10th century, might correspond to the first attack. After this, the site might have been unoccupied for some time as no clear evidence of settlement has been found until the 13th century. The attack in 1017 as mentioned in Yahya b. Sa'id text has no known counterpart in the archaeological record of the site and thus remains questionable.

Thus, the archaeological record apparently confirms the event in the late 10th century that is recorded in the two sources discussed before. This small case study the extent to which a combined use of written sources and archaeological finds can aid our understanding of the monastery's fate during the long transition from Christianity to Islam in Syria.

# An Image of Severus of Antioch As a Syriac Monk in Vatican Syr. 559

Rima Smine  
*Los Altos Hills, CA*

While offering a wide variety of narrative illuminations from the gospels, the twin manuscripts Vatican Syr.559 and British Library Add.7170 use hieratic non-narrative images to illustrate certain feast days. An example is the image of the Four Syriac Monks, which appears only in the Vatican volume on folio 45 verso. The artist has drawn them in four separate archways on two registers. Two monks are on the upper one and two bishops on the lower one. There is little differentiation between the monks and their hierarchical superiors, except in the white omophorion with black crosses and the books they hold in their left hand.

The illumination falls immediately under the heading in red ink identifying the text as the vespers readings from Saint John. It is used for the feast of Saint Anthony the Great, celebrated on the 17th of January. Thus, scholars agree that Saint Anthony is one of the monks represented here. The feast of Saint Macarius falls on the 19th of January and provides us with the identity of the second monk, as is referenced in the lectionary text that follows the reading for Saint Anthony. The presence of two ascetic saints is understandable in a manuscript that was ordered and executed to serve in a monastic environment, as is the case of Vatican Syr.559 dedicated to the monastery of Mar Mattai near the city of Mosul.

The identification of the two bishops is less clear. They also started their ecclesiastical career in a monastic setting, as seen in their monk's hood. They hold the books that they authored, indicating their ranking as theologians and writers.

I propose to identify one of them by examining the textual evidence. Following the readings for Saint Anthony and Saint Macarius, a heading is particularly important. It introduces the reading dedicated to the feast of the Three Hierarchs, Basil, Gregory and John Chrysostom, celebrated on the 30th of January. The red heading declares a commemoration for Basil and Gregory but omits John Chrysostom whom it substitutes with "Sawira", that is Severus of Antioch.

Severus of Antioch is a sixth century patriarch Antioch exiled for his Anti-Chalcedonian position. The Syriac church celebrates him on the 8th of February, the day of his death in exile in 538. He is seen as one of the greatest defenders of the Syriac church in the conflict with the established Byzantine authority. When we examine the history of the Monastery of Mar Mattai (for which the Vatican manuscript was produced) and its importance in the Syriac church, we appreciate its historical attachment to its pure Syriac Anti-Chalcedonian heritage as exemplified in the person of Severus of Antioch. Using the proximity of Severus' feast day with that of the Three Hierarchs, patron and scribe substituted Byzantine Chrysostom (Patriarch of Constantinople) with the Syriac Severus (Patriarch of Antioch) in the text. Therefore, if the artist represented bishops for the feast of the Three Hierarchs, the scribe's annotation provides us with a Syriac identity for one of them: Severus of Antioch.

# SESSION V

## Material Culture and Society

Chair: Hölger Klein  
*Columbia University*



# North African Asceticism: Virtue and Vocation in the Tomb Mosaics of Tabarka

Joan M. Downs  
*Indiana University South Bend*

The town of Tabarka on Tunisia's northwest coast produced more than 140 mosaic tomb covers in the fifth and sixth centuries AD. This paper argues that many of these tombs register the presence, and illustrate the particular character, of the ascetic communities known to have existed in the town. Previous scholarship has been unable to connect the presence of the monasteries, attested by a Vandal period chronicler, to the town and its art historical and epigraphic remains. This paper finds that link in the details of the elaborate inscriptions and portraits of the dead on certain tomb covers. The picture of Tabarkan monastic culture that appears is in keeping with the particular ascetic practices and ideals of North Africa in this formative period in monastic development.

The inscriptions on some of Tabarka's largest, most elaborate or prominently placed tombs are shown to feature special language that commemorates service to the local religious community. There are very few formal clerical titles but notable examples on the tombs of men of titles like "Master of Piety", "Lover of the Poor" and "Worshiper of God." Some of the titles for women that survive from Tabarka are clearly ascetic monikers, like "Dedicated Maiden," while others like "Servant of God" can only be connected precisely to ascetic practice by close philological examination. In addition to the emphasis on charitable and didactic work, for both sexes there are inscriptions that stress the personal virtues of deceased individuals, particularly constancy and chastity. These ideals are also represented by the dress of the adults whose tombs included a portrait. Here the images lay a special emphasis on modesty. The distinctiveness of this feature of Tabarka's tomb iconography comes into focus when viewed in comparison to regional and contemporary depictions of the individuals from the same class. The "dress code" of the Tabarkan mosaics is particularly noteworthy because the regulation of clerical and ascetic dress was not yet firmly established.

The emphasis on communal service and personal virtue point to an ascetic sensibility in the town's commemorative culture. But a further argument for the presence of that sensibility at Tabarka comes from the iconographic, epigraphic and archaeological references the tombs contain to martyrdom. A number of tombs liken the deceased to martyrs, using the vocabulary, syntax and iconography associated with the potent martyr traditions of the region. But these notions are carefully adapted at Tabarka not to aggrandize the dead inappropriately. They suggest that the virtue of the deceased is equivalent to that of martyrdom in its power to ensure salvation without suggesting that any of the deceased actually were martyrs. The stress on "symbolic" martyrdom is an important sign of the presence of an ascetic culture. The connection between martyrdom and ascetism is increasingly appreciated for this period. It was especially potent in Christian North Africa where episodes of persecution were formative to the church's earlier consolidation and where the contemporary persecutions of the Vandals created the conditions for a renewed interest in local heroic martyr traditions.

# Holy Lands: Pilgrimage Ampullae and the Dissemination of Sacred Geography in Late Antique Italy

Laura Veneskey  
*Northwestern University*

In the cathedral treasury of the Church of St. John the Baptist at Monza, Italy are two collections of 6th-7th century pilgrimage ampullae. One is a set of Roman glass vials that, because they are imageless, have gone largely unmentioned in art historical literature. The other group consists of sixteen embossed tin flasks from Palestine, which are well known to historians of Late Antique art. While the Palestinian ampullae appear frequently in scholarship as iconographic comparanda, to date the most thorough study of these flasks remains Grabar's *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (1958). Although a systematic study of their circulation and collective material biography has yet to be undertaken, Gary Vikan and Jas' Elsner have recently gestured toward the social function of the Monza ampullae. This paper builds on their conclusions and considers the Roman and Palestinian ampullae together, investigating them as mobile markers for the distribution of holy sites.

The Monza ampullae are remarkable not only on account of their preservation and visual uniformity, but also because of the unusual circumstances that brought them to Italy as a group. Diverted from the customary path of pilgrim tokens, the Palestinian ampullae were redeployed as part of a royal donation from the Lombard Queen Theodelinda to the church treasury in the early seventh century. In a parallel and roughly contemporary gesture, Pope Gregory the Great made a gift of the Roman vials to the queen. While the Greek inscriptions on the tin flasks indicate that they contained holy oil from Jerusalem when Theodelinda received them, a papyrus fragment in the cathedral treasury suggests that the glass ampullae were empty at the time of Gregory's gift, requiring Theodelinda to fill them before bequeathing them to the cathedral as well.

This paper explores the significance of these complementary papal and royal offerings and argues that through his gift Gregory cast himself as the dispenser of pilgrim blessings for a second Holy Land, and the queen as a symbolic pilgrim to the locus sanctus of Rome. In the process, he also achieved a conceptual grafting of Jerusalem's holiness onto the fabric of the Western locus sanctus. Monza, which lay directly on the pilgrimage path to Rome from the north, shared in this heightened sanctity through its possession of ampullae that pointed away from Theodelinda's city toward two of the holiest sites in Christendom. In this way, the Roman pilgrimage route was transformed from a road leading to Rome's holy relics into a pathway for the dissemination of sanctity from Rome to Monza, effectively establishing a new locus sanctus through a transposition of the old. By bestowing geographic relics from both Rome and Jerusalem on and Monza, the pope and the queen created a minor holy site along an existing Western pilgrimage route.

## The sociology of art in eighth-century Constantinople: Vat. Gr. 1291 and the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*

Benjamin Anderson  
*Bryn Mawr College*

This paper proposes a model for the social significance of art in eighth-century Constantinople on the example of two monuments: the “Vatican Ptolemy” (BAV, Vat. Gr. 1291), in all likelihood a product of the court of Emperor Constantine V, and the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, a collection of texts produced by a variety of Constantinopolitan authors over the course of the eighth century.

The Vatican manuscript is a copy of Ptolemy’s Handy Tables, an indispensable aid to the medieval astronomer and astrologer. Its primary function is therefore as a repository of knowledge, and numerous later annotations and scholia attest to its regular use in this fashion. Its most famous miniature, the *Sonnentafel* at folio 9r, is however a contemporary creation of the eighth century without any practical application. A close reading of the iconography of this miniature suggests that it presents an ideal image of a well-ordered cosmos centered upon the figure of the emperor.

The *Parastaseis*, whose authors were likely mid-level bureaucrats, claim to reveal the “astronomical significance” of the statuary displayed in the public spaces of Constantinople. Statues are understood to embody prophecies concerning the fate of Byzantium recorded by the late antique emperors who are credited with their installation. Contemporary emperors, while they may be the subjects of these prophecies, do not possess the means to unlock them; this skill is reserved to the “philosopher” authors of the *Parastaseis*, which therefore contain an implicit critique of imperial competence.

Thus, when compared, the Vatican Ptolemy and the *Parastaseis* betray opposed conceptions of imperial power. The nature of this opposition is commensurate with our contemporary understanding of the social antagonisms in eighth-century Constantinople. Both monuments simultaneously reveal a common set of assumptions regarding the social function of art. Objects serve as repositories of knowledge, which is not to be distributed, but rather hoarded as a source of power.



# Straitlaced: Urban Fashion/Rural Costume in Venetian Crete

Cristina Stancioiu  
*UCLA*

From 1211 to 1669, Crete was part of the Venetian Empire. Substantial numbers of written records chart the shared and individual experiences of Latins and Greeks on the island. Although intermarriage and the evidence of commerce have been suggested as decisive evidence for acculturation, I argue that cohabitation and the degrees of interaction varied between the coastal cities transformed by European settlers and the more conservative rural environment, which maintained a traditional way of life. In order to better assess specific effects of cohabitation, I study the fashions that defined and identified the Greek elite of Venetian Crete during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As recorded in portraiture, dress is an essential means of expressing identity and status, and provides valuable information not only for analysis of visual culture, but also for further understanding of the intricate relationships between interacting communities. It also raises issues of taste, as well as local versus foreign aesthetics. At the same time, the diffusion of fashions and the circulation of textiles reveals critical information about medieval trade and the market economy, and the distribution of raw materials and goods across the Mediterranean. With regards to Cretan dress, it has been suggested that Venetian style combined with traditional, Byzantine fashion to produce hybrid representations. Scholarship supports that this hybridity, captured in some examples of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century art, in fact defined daily life on Crete.

A closer analysis of Venetian and Cretan costume, however, reveals that attitudes towards the body and its adornment differed greatly from one place to the other. In Italy, sumptuary laws were enacted to curb what were considered increasingly licentious trends in women's fashions, where bodices were ever tighter and necklines ever lower. In contrast, Byzantine fashion evaded outward signs of sensuality, and fashion was never an moral concern. Dress was not so much an attribute of the body as it was as an affirmation of the wearer's status.

Combined with the evidence from texts, which stress the major role Greek women played in the local textile industry and in commerce, the visual record reveals that Cretan costume was not at all hybridized. Hybridity was, in fact, highly unlikely. Instead, I suggest that even if urban Cretan women wore, on occasion, dresses made in Italy, such a development excluded the countryside. Instead, the availability of raw materials and finished goods on the market determined what women wore. Both local and imported garments and cloth must have been available in the urban market, where Latin and Greek shoppers mingled. In the country, clothing tended to be made at home, from locally produced textiles. But these rules were not set in stone. If Crete was anything like Venice, than goods were often and easily passed from one owner to another, regardless of

ethnicity and social standing. Thus, what we see in paintings as Italian-influenced clothing is, at most, the result of commercial distribution. Otherwise, in Crete dress remained a distinguishing feature of urban versus rural communities, even though in painting it was sometimes captured in painterly, Italianate styles.

## **Comment**

Robert Nelson  
*Yale University*

## **Discussion**

## SESSION VI

# Religion and Byzantine Government

Chair: John Haldon  
*Princeton University*



## The Iconography of “Palace-Chapels”?: The Court in the Churches of Ravenna

Deborah M. Deliyannis  
*Indiana University*

Two churches in Ravenna are often claimed to have been “palace-chapels”: San Giovanni Evangelista and Sant’Apollinare Nuovo. The former, built by the empress Galla Placidia in the 420’s, is identified as a “palace-chapel” largely because in the apse and on the triumphal arch (and now lost) were depicted various members of the Theodosian imperial dynasty. The assumption is that such images would be appropriate in a church attached to a palace. Sant’Apollinare Nuovo, on the other hand, really does seem to have been attached to the palace that was used first by the emperors and then by Theoderic. The original mosaics on the nave walls, set up by Theoderic in the first decades of the sixth century, were replaced by the famous processions of saints when the church was converted to Orthodoxy in the 560’s. What was originally on the walls is a mystery, but it is often assumed, because of the church’s attribution as a “palace-chapel,” that originally these walls contained depictions of Theoderic and his court.

In this paper, I wish to challenge both the attribution of San Giovanni Evangelista as a “palace-chapel” and the assumption that Theoderic’s court was depicted on the nave walls of Sant’Apollinare Nuovo. Both of these assumptions rest on an entirely unsubstantiated idea that a church attached to a palace would naturally contain portraits of rulers and the court. Since one of the first churches with images of emperors, San Vitale in Ravenna, was definitely not attached to a palace, it seems that there is no necessary linkage between ruler-portraits and palace-churches. I will argue that San Giovanni Evangelista’s imagery was more radical, and Sant’Apollinare Nuovo’s was less radical, than these proposals suggest. In brief, San Giovanni Evangelista is the first known church anywhere to have had ruler-portraits as part of its decoration; Galla Placidia was thus inventing a new iconographical genre, one that responded to political needs in early 5th-century Italy, and which may have gone a long way toward defining Ravenna’s place as a significant imperial residence, but this is not contingent upon the church being attached to the palace. On the other hand, there are no examples anywhere of the depiction of an earthly court along the walls of a nave, and I will argue that instead there were originally Arian saints depicted here. If Theoderic had been depicted in this church, it is more likely that his portrait was found in the apse (which collapsed in the 8th century), or on the western entrance wall where later there appeared a portrait of Justinian. Both churches contributed to the idea that Ravenna was the residence of rulers and thus a “capital” in some particularly late antique sense, but in neither case must we assume a linkage between a particular iconographical scheme and a presumed function.

# Roman Privilege in the Justinianic Legislation

George E. Demacopoulos  
*Fordham University*

For generations, historians looking to chronicle the medieval papacy have gauged its growth and success in terms of its political and economic expansion. Many of these scholars, including Walter Ullman and Thomas Noble, concluded that the Roman Church reached its mature state only after it emerged from the shadow of Byzantine domination – a development they locate in the late sixth and/or seventh centuries. Other scholars, more concerned with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, have examined the rise of the medieval papacy by chronicling its ever-increasing claims to authority – claims that necessarily undermined the autonomy of other ecclesiastical centers. Such scholarship, naturally, emphasizes the careers of Leo I, Gelasius I, and Gregory I because those figures are typically understood to have been the first to promote and/or expand Roman jurisdiction beyond the See of Rome.

Both models for chronicling the history of the Roman See, however, are dangerously susceptible to anachronism, because they all too often presuppose (or, worse still, advance) a linear rise in Roman power and jurisdiction. To endorse an unbroken trajectory is to fall victim to the rhetoric of Roman prestige—the evidence clearly demonstrates that Rome’s ascendancy over the Western Church was intermittent. Moreover, the Roman bishops of the late ancient/early medieval period did not and could not anticipate the political, economic, and ecclesiastic prominence that their successors would obtain in the later middle ages. In fact, recent scholarship has shown that the bishops of Rome did not enjoy universal authority over the clergy or laity in Rome itself for much of the fourth, fifth, and (parts of the) sixth centuries. Similarly, the leaders most commonly identified as having extended (or, at least, having attempted to extend) Roman episcopal authority throughout the Western Church in this period are now seen as having had only marginal success outside of Rome.

This paper examines one critical body of evidence, the Justinianic legislation (especially the *Novellae*) of the sixth century, to ascertain how Roman claims to ecclesiastical jurisdiction were perceived by influential persons outside of Rome itself. What emerges from this literature is a convoluted and ambiguous view of the institutional organization of the Church: in some important instances, the Roman Church is afforded the privileges that its most vocal advocates claimed; elsewhere, however, Rome is understood to be only one of five regional centers, united under the umbrella of the empire and, in some important passages, superseded by “new” Rome (i.e. Constantinople). This legislation not only reflects the shifting alliances in ecclesiastical and imperial politics in the sixth century, it helped to reinforce Eastern ambiguity concerning Roman jurisdiction for subsequent generations.

# “Emperor and Priest”: Leo III and Ecclesiastical Authority

David Olster  
*University of Kentucky*

As important as is Iconoclasm’s place in Byzantine history, its origins remain obscure. The main reason for this is the poverty of the sources. Our main historical sources for the initial period of Iconoclasm are the Chronicle of Theophanes and the Brief History of Nicephorus, both sources rife with inconsistencies and bias, for which a detailed and systematic quellenkritik has hardly begun. And although the work of J. Gouillard, D. Stein and S. Gero have cleared away many source problems, and have considerably advanced our understanding of the events and actors of the 720’s, particularly the Patriarch Germanus and the emperor Leo III, scholars have generally failed to link the events and actors of the 720’s to the evolving and changing seventh- and early eighth-century relationship of church and state. In particular, scholars have not sufficiently considered the evolving and increasingly assertive imperial claims in this period to determine doctrine and practice without formal ecclesiastical approval. The granting of ecclesiastical status to emperors in the canons of the Quinisext Council was one significant step in this direction; Philippicus’s unilateral declaration that the Sixth Ecumenical Council decrees were void was another. By the later eighth century the iconodule forger of a letter ascribed to Pope Gregory could assert that Leo III had claimed the title, “Emperor and Priest.” Whether Leo III actually claimed this title or not, as G. Dagron has pointed out, the debate over imperial and ecclesiastical authority was a central part of the fluid discourse of Iconoclasm, and, I would add, the period immediately preceding it. It is important to remember that the later discursive turn into the theology of icons and Christology is a phenomenon of the 740’s and 750’s. The initial objection of the Patriarch Germanus to Leo III’s iconoclastic policy was not a theological defense of icons, but rather a procedural objection that the emperor could not alter liturgical practice without conciliar approval.

My presentation would attempt to set the debate over icons in the 720’s within this broader context of the institutional and rhetorical evolution of imperial authority. Far from a return to the reductionist church-state arguments over iconoclasm that characterize G. Ostrogorsky and the anachronistic vocabulary of Caesaropapism, perhaps a new examination of the letters of the Patriarch Germanus and other contemporary documents – few as they are – might offer us a more nuanced view of the interplay of institutional competition and rhetorical construction, and reveal how the primary actors sought to position themselves in both spheres either to advance or deflect imperial claims of authority. Ultimately, as H. Maguire has pointed out, iconoclasm was as much about controlling and regulating the debate over icons as it was about the icons themselves. This paper seeks to carry that argument forward in the context of the events of the 720’s.

# Martyrs and Criminals in Byzantine Visual Culture

Galina Tirnanic  
*University Of Chicago*

In a thirteenth century Byzantine fresco of Saint Euphemia, the early Christian saint, accosted by wild beasts about to devour her, raises her supplicating hands in the middle of a circular structure. The structure is meant to represent the arena in Chalcedon, the place of her demise, where she was subjected to a series of punishments prior to this final event. Other events from her life and martyrdom of her companions accompany this scene, forming two registers on the curved wall of the church of Saint Euphemia in Constantinople. The church was located along the edge of the Hippodrome, one of the city's main venues for public spectacles. In the early Palaiologan period, when this small church was restored and the frescoes painted, the Hippodrome was still remembered as a stage for some of the most violent punishments of condemned criminals in the history of the Byzantine Empire. The arena in the final scene of Euphemia's visual vita references the shape and function of the adjacent Hippodrome, and possibly the events taking place outside of the church.

I take this image of Euphemia in its setting as a point of departure for understanding the complexities of the response of Byzantine citizens to the punishment of martyrs as opposed to often visually very similar punishment of contemporary criminals. While the suffering of martyrs, punished by various tortures under the Roman law instigated feelings of empathy, pity and admiration, the pain caused to criminals by cruel punishments brought feverish entertainment to some viewers and instilled fear in others. This paper tackles the paradox of sometimes diametrically opposed reactions to similar sights of painful tortures inflicted upon the bodies of fellow humans, by investigating images of punished martyrs in Byzantine art vis-à-vis contemporaneous accounts of criminal procedures in Constantinople's public spaces.

## Comment

Samantha Kelly  
*Rutgers University*

## Discussion

## SESSION VII

# Expressions of Power in Late Antiquity

Chair: Youval Rotman  
*Yale University*





# Patronage, Performance and Strategy in the Letters of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus

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

As a nexus of faith and power in Byzantine society few figures loom as large as the bishop – hence the frequency with which scholars have sought to define episcopal authority. Amid the abstract models, however, one can sometimes lose track of the struggles of the ordinary men who claimed the office. Even influential bishops, like Theodoret of Cyrrhus, faced daunting obstacles. In his letters Theodoret begged for favors as often as he offered them. A bishop seeking influence had to do more than play one part; he had to manage thousands of relationships, each its own delicate performance that could end in humiliation.

This paper explores the ways in which Theodoret, and possibly other bishops, sought influence outside the clergy by socially acting within networks of friendship and patronage. Theodoret's letters reveal his attempts to bolster his stature by winning favors for clients (such as refugees seeking hospitality and decurions seeking tax relief). Within his congregation Theodoret may have been an honored spiritual father. Among doctrinal allies he was a respected teacher. When faced with imperial courtiers, however, he claimed only weakness: “a lamb lying down with the lion.” (*Ep.* V) In such company Theodoret sought not superior authority but inclusion. Even with his clients, he appears less often as a patron (tapping his own resources) than as a patronage broker (mobilizing the generosity of others). Brokering favors demanded more than power and generosity. It required cooperation from fellow bishops, bureaucrats, sailors, and sophists – who had to be convinced to lend aid to a “friend.”

Theodoret's letters reveal some “performance strategies” that a bishop might follow when brokering patronage. By this I mean the ways in which the author presented himself and his activities to his correspondents and positioned himself in relation to others. When seeking favors Theodoret worked to showcase common ground with his clients and connections. At the same time, he found ways of marking his distance from the same people, in order to appear as an effective and necessary mediator. Theodoret presented himself as part of large ensembles, orchestrating the efforts of numerous collaborators. Still, the bishop worried about failing clients and offending contacts; he professed his weakness and took steps to hedge against a social disaster. Successful patronage would give Theodoret the chance to expand his clientele, bolster his reputation, and perhaps win support for favorite causes (doctrinal and otherwise). In fact, Theodoret's appeals are less about delivering favors than they are about augmenting his elite relationships, in order to secure membership in a special circle of “friends.”

# Slavery and the Law of the Church in Late Antiquity

Noel Lenski  
*University of Colorado, Boulder*

This paper explores the wealth of material on ancient slavery to be found in our sources for church councils and canon law between the fourth and early seventh centuries AD. It adopts the broadest possible geographical focus but limits itself to a discussion of just three themes in an effort to describe the role played by Christian normative regulations in reflecting and shaping social practice.

The first theme is the interrelation between ecclesiastical law and imperial law. The Council of Elvira (can. 5) in 306 mandated excommunication for those who intentionally killed their slaves, a sharp break from traditional Roman legal practice which had granted masters broad leeway to murder their own slaves. The paper explores what effects this new standard may have had on Constantine's halting efforts to criminalize the intentional killing of slaves (*CTh* 9.12.1-2). Working from the other direction, the paper also explores the degree to which Constantine's law forbidding Jews (*Sirm.* 6) to hold Christian slaves were enforced and expanded in church canons (e.g. *Conc. Clippiacense* 626-7 can. 13).

Second, the paper examines the role played by the church in influencing social practice. As part of its wider growth in social power, the late-antique church assumed a new role as mediator between master and slave. Two African councils, Carthage 419 (can. 82) and Hippo 427 (can. 6) both forbade slaves from making accusations in ecclesiastical courts. Here the church upheld the stark line between free and slave that constituted a baseline for the Roman law of persons as well as a bedrock of ancient slaveholding. Yet at the same time, the church also meted out punishment for those who tried unjustly to enslave freedmen, thereby promoting itself as a defender of liberty with social and legal authority independent of the state (*Conc. Arelatense* II can. 33).

In its last section, the paper attends to the tensions created between church and society by the church's intervention in master – slave relations. It examines, for example, the numerous regulations (*Conc. Chalcedonese* can. 4; *Conc. Aurelianense* 511 can. 6) forbidding slaves from seeking ordination, consecration or monastic vows. Their repetition in canon law leaves no question but what entry into the religious life had come to be regarded as a means of escape from slavery thus creating tension with slaveholders. Even more radically, the Council of Gangra's (can. 3) threat against those who encouraged slaves to act insubordinately toward their masters is subtended by tensions that arose when radical Christian Eustathians subverted the prevailing social order by attempting to abolish slavery among their followers. The efforts by the church to regulate its newly invented privilege of asylum (e.g. *Conc. Arelatense* II can. 30-32; *Conc. Aurelianense* 549 can. 22) and to guard its authority to sanction legal manumissions *in ecclesia* against slaveholders who refused to accept this power (*Conc. Aurelianense* 549 can. 7) reflect similar tensions between society and the church as the latter struggled to define its contradictory mandates to uphold but also to challenge the social order.

# Punitive Loss of Status in the Early Byzantine Empire

Ralph W. Mathisen  
*University of Illinois at Urbana/Champaign*

There were many ways in which residents of the early Byzantine Empire (the late third through the early sixth centuries) could *gain* status – slaves and freedmen could become Roman citizens, citizens could hold office, civil servants could gain rank on retirement, VIPS could purchase honorary office and rank, and so on. This process has been well studied. What has not received nearly as much attention, however, is the means by which persons could be degraded in status, and lose their rank, titles, or citizenship.

One form of degradation involved *diminutio capitis*, that is, loss of “face”. This was a less serious version of another form of punishment involving the *caput*, *periculum capitis* or *poena capitis*, that is, decapitation. *Diminutio capitis* fell short of full-scale execution. It could involve exile as an alternative to execution, or the loss of some citizenship rights.

Another form of loss of status involved suffering the *nota infamiae*. This also could, but did not necessarily, involve loss of Roman citizenship rights. For example, high-ranking Romans who attempted to legitimate low-born offspring were sentenced in 336 “to suffer the stain of *infamia* (infamy) and to be made *peregrini* (alien) from Roman laws” (*CTh* 4.6.3: “*maculam subire infamiae et peregrinos a romanis legibus fieri*”). In other cases, the “stain of infamy” involved various kinds of punishments or loss of rights and privileges, including loss of the right of succession, exile, or condemnation to the mines.

Another form of loss of citizenship was even more Draconian: according to a ruling of 333, procurators who stole from the imperial weaving factories were “removed from the number of Roman citizens” by being “smitten by the sword” (*CTh* 1.32.1: “*si contra hoc fecerint, numero civium romanorum exempti gladio feriantur*”). In this case, loss of citizenship also seems to have involved the *poena capitis*.

This paper will investigate the various kinds of loss of status that existed in late Roman/early Byzantine law: why they were inflicted, how they were manifested in both legal theory and practice, how they related to each other, what their significance was in the real world of late Roman society, and their legacy.

## *Proskynesis* and the Early Christian Empress

Diliana Angelova  
*University of Colorado at Boulder*

Folio 6 verso of the sixth-century Byzantine illuminated manuscripts – *Codex Vindobonensis medicus graecus no.1* at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna features a full-size portrait of the Byzantine princess Anicia Juliana (ca. 462- ca. 530) distributing largesse of gold coins. Flanking Juliana are the personifications of *Megalopsuchia* (Magnanimity) and *Phronēsis* (Wisdom). A diminutive female figure kneels in front of Juliana in a position known as the *proskynesis*. An inscription identifies this figure as personifying the Thankfulness of the Arts.

*Proskynesis* was an act of obeisance, initially reserved for the emperor. It is a term implying a variety of postures, from kneeling down to full prostration. In Juliana's portrait, the *proskynesis*-performing figure emphasizes Juliana's imperial lineage. Together with other tokens of imperial standing it fashions Juliana as an Augusta, though she was never elevated to that rank. To judge from the miniature, by the early sixth-century *proskynesis* belonged to an established repertoire of honors paid to the empress. However, it is less clear at what moment this act of obeisance became part of imperial ceremony. Recently, Carolyn Connor has dated its introduction for empresses to the sixth century. She based her conclusion on Procopius' displeasure for having to perform *proskynesis* for the empress Theodora. In this paper I examine Roman and Byzantine textual sources, specifically the forms of imperial address, to argue that *proskynesis* for the Augusta must have become an established part of court ceremonial by the middle of the fifth century.

# Architectural Contexts for Byzantine Animal Spectacles

Anne McClanan  
*Portland State University (Oregon)*

This paper looks at the intersection between our archaeological understanding of the Late Roman hippodrome and some surviving images of the hippodrome as a frame for spectacles of animal violence, exploring the rich context of lingering classical forms and new medieval meanings. Continuing a thread from Late Roman visual culture, the urban landscape of cities such as Rome and Constantinople was shaped by major monuments for public entertainments such as the amphitheater and the hippodrome. The setting provided an opportunity for the spectators to reinforce social distinctions and modes of decorum between those tainted by this violence and those who remained inviolate, as merely spectators. A group of fifth- and sixth-century consular diptychs depict these tableaux of animal combat. Scholars such as Olovdotter have recently revised the earlier work of Delbrueck and Volbach, but these prior studies' iconographical bent has left many questions about the diptychs open. The ways the scenes intersect with other aspects of visual and material culture are informative and now need to be integrated into the discussion of these works.

## SESSION VIII

# Orthodoxy East and the West

Chair: James Masschaele  
*Rutgers University*



# Damn Those Beardless Azymites: Rhetoric and Reality behind the Byzantine Critiques of Latin Christianity

A. Edward Siecienski  
*The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey*

Tia Kolbaba's book, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins*, argued that for the average Byzantine there was such a strong link between orthodoxy and orthopraxis that differences in practice were seen as clear manifestations of a substantively different faith. The Latins' use of an interpolated creed, for example, was for most Byzantines proof enough of their heterodoxy, especially since few would have understood the subtleties of trinitarian theology involved in the *filioque* debates. This paper examines some of the other practices for which the medieval Latins received so much criticism (e.g., the use of unleavened bread and silken vestments, beardless clergy) asking what heresies the Byzantines claimed were manifested, and whether these charges had grounding in reality or were instead raised simply to emphasize the heterodoxy of the religious "other."

While modern ecumenical dialogue rarely concentrates on the issues that once preoccupied medieval polemicists, it has long been noted that from the eleventh to the fifteenth century it was not the theological, but rather the practical, differences between East and West that were often given as the chief reasons for the schism. While the power of the papacy and the theology of the Spirit's procession occupied men like Theophylact of Ochrid and Nikephorus Blemmydes, most authors wrote about the azymite Latins, who did not fast properly, dress properly, or allow their beardless clergy to marry. While some of the Byzantine charges were manifestly untrue (e.g., that the Latins were iconoclasts who did not adequately revere the Theotokos) most of the items contained in the Byzantine lists were, in fact, based on actual Latin practices at variance with Eastern custom or law.

The claim contained in many of the polemical tracts of the medieval period was that these Latin practices were not just different, but heretical. For a Greek to adopt them not only raised the charge of ethnic betrayal (i.e., becoming an azymite meant becoming a Frank), but of heresy. For example, the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist allegedly demonstrated "judaizing" tendencies, or a de facto rejection of Chalcedonian orthodoxy. A beardless clergy again showed this "judaizing" tendency, as did the Latins' use of certain purification rites during the mass (e.g., washing hands or sprinkling with holy water). The question raised by these claims is whether their authors actually believed them, or whether they were invented for the sole purpose of inciting Byzantine Christians against their Western adversaries. Did the Byzantines really believe that the West had abandoned the faith of Chalcedon, or was this connection made simply because rejection of the ecumenical councils was the clearest manifestation of heterodoxy

one could bring forward? If we accept that Western Christians were not, in fact, judaizing non-Chalcedonians, then the Greeks' charges were either based on an ignorance of Latin Christianity (combined with a willingness to believe the worst about their Frankish counterparts), or were deliberately contrived as rhetorical tools to prove to the general populace the insidious nature of the pope and his minions in the West.

*“ Indeed the entire region which used to sustain us, extending to the east from the Hellespont to the mountains of Armenia, the Turks have stripped away. ”*

*Demetrios Kydonos*



# Palamas and the Turks: The Pastoral and Political Contexts of a Public Narration

Jennifer Jamer  
*Fordham University*

Scholars generally examine St. Gregory Palamas for his impact on Byzantine religious history and his theological contributions to Orthodox dogma. This paper, however, looks at Palamas as an important theological witness to Byzantine perceptions of the “Turk”. He had spent a year, from 1354 to 1355, as a prisoner of the Turks; during this time, he was exposed to many elements of Islamic belief and culture. This paper focuses on Palamas’s subsequent letter to the people of Thessaloniki, particularly the reconstructed dialogue between the bishop and Orhan’s grandson, Ismail. This dialogue, which forms the heart of Palamas’s epistle, provides significant insight into some of the internal pastoral and political issues that challenged Thessaloniki and the Empire at large during the mid-fourteenth century.

Though Palamas’s dialogue with Ismail mostly emphasizes Orthodox Christian dogma rather than Islamic teachings or culture, Palamas includes these elements in order to achieve specific pastoral and political goals with his Christian audience. The dialogue, as it is presented to the bishop’s flock, is meant to demonstrate the inappropriateness and incompatibility of Islam with Christian belief; Palamas uses Orthodox Christianity as a foil for what his audience would have considered the most blasphemous aspects of Islam. At the same time, Palamas also portrays an important member of the Ottoman dynasty, Ismail, as an enlightened ruler with a great deal of respect for Orthodox Christianity and a natural curiosity about its dogmas.

This paper argues that this seemingly ambivalent view is deliberate. It serves Palamas in two ways: the negative view of Islam is meant to repulse Christians and reinforce religious orthodoxy, and the positive view of Ismail is meant to allay Christian fears of the Turkish threat and tie Palamas more closely to the political agenda of Kantacuzene. The sophistication of Palamas’s presentation of the Turks demonstrates the bishop’s capacity to negotiate both the political and religious needs of his flock in the highly complex and dangerous world of Byzantine Thessaloniki in the middle of the fourteenth century.

## The Tale of Constantinople, 1453: The Romanian Recension *Bucharest ms. No. 1385*

Walter Hanak  
*Shepherd University*

The immediate centuries following the fall of Constantinople on the 29th of May 1453 to the Ottoman Turk armies led by Mehmed II are notable for the production of a voluminous literature addressing the magnitude of this event and its consequences for European states. "The Tale of Constantinople" most probably has as its nucleus the diary account of Nestor-Iskander and was transmitted from Mount Athos to Muscovite Russia between 1472 and 1500 where it survives as the *Troitse-Sergieva Lavra ms. No. 773*. Awareness of this work prompted a number of Balkan monasteries to seek copies of the manuscript. In the second-half of the sixteenth century a copy appeared at the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos, where the text was transcribed by the monk Vasily into a Serbian rendition of Church Slavonic and came to be identified as *Hilandar Slavic ms. 280*. A Romanian recension, the *Bucharestms. No. 1385*, does not identify how a copy was obtained, nor its copyist, but this seventeenth-century manuscript was transcribed into a Romanian dialect in Cyrillic script, then in common usage among clerical scribes. It remains unclear whether the Romanians obtained "The Tale of Constantinople" directly from Russia or from one of the Athonite monasteries.

The Romanian manuscript demonstrates that its unidentified copyist did make significant historical changes in describing the siege and fall of Constantinople and noting its participants. Whether these alterations can be explained by the copyist's unfamiliarity with the Russian or perhaps the Serbian rendition of the Old Church Slavonic/Medieval Russian text, thus substituting what he believed were terminological and phraseological equivalents, resulted in a restatement of the historical record. Within the limits of this paper, the following issues are addressed. The first is the question of whether or not there was a patriarch of Constantinople in 1453, or whether this was an invention that perpetuated itself in the literature of the times. Then, mythology has made much of Constantine XI having a wife and its treatment in the Romanian manuscript is noteworthy. On the question of the circumstances and the death of the Genoese *condottiere* Giovanni Giustiniani Longo, the defender at the at the St. Romanos-Pempton sector in the Theodosian Walls, the Romanian manuscript preserves a Balkan tradition unlike the Russian. And lastly, on that fateful day, May 29, this text describes the death of Constantine XI.

# The Ottoman Siege of Rhodes by Mehmed II Fatih (1480) Trebuchet against Ottoman Bombard

Marios Philippides  
*University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

Mehmed II Fatih ordered his last siege in 1480, shortly before his death, when he dispatched Palaeologus-Mesih Pasha (a “renegade”-convert from the last imperial family of Constantinople) to conquer Rhodes under the Knights of Saint John commanded by their Grand Master, Pierre d’Aubusson (1476-1503), and Guillaume Caoursin, his Vice –Chancellor. Caoursin composed a description of the operations. The *incunabula* of his Latin text was printed soon after the events (Venice, 1481), while his manuscript (*Bibliothèque National, Paris, MS lat. 606*) illustrated with exquisite miniatures (some of which will be shown here) depicting the operations was completed in 1490, long after the publication of the printed pamphlet, an understandable delay since the illuminations could not be executed with a speed comparable to that of the printer.

As the text of Caoursin’s work, *Rhodium vicecancellarii obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*, has recently become available in a modern edition (M. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror and the Fall of the Franco-Byzantine Levant to the Ottoman Turks: Some Western Views and Testimonies* [Tempe, 2007]), the time has come to re-evaluate the circumstances of this significant event in Levantine history. The operations are recounted by an authoritative eyewitness, in a Classical style encouraged by the rise of humanism in Renaissance Italy. His classical imitations and parallels, as well as the historical information presented, are discussed here; the focus of the presentation will be the “new” information offered by Caoursin’s text, which has been overlooked by modern scholarship and military historians: his treatment of the last stages of the siege, with the survival of Rhodes questionable. The defenders finally prevailed with the construction of a siege engine that was no longer fashionable and had in fact been abandoned (e.g., absent in the siege of Constantinople in 1453 and the siege of Khalkis-Negroponte in 1470) in favor of modern bombards operated by gunpowder. An elderly engineer in Rhodes put together a formidable relic from the past: a trebuchet, which wreaked havoc among the Ottoman besiegers. This is, in fact, is the last recorded use of the trebuchet and deeply impressed defenders and besiegers alike. Caoursin employs humor when he terms this engine a *tribucum*, a clear reference to “trebuchet.” Yet *tribucum* is very close to *tributum*/tribute, and the word play must have caused amusement, since one of the Ottoman demands was for the Knights to pay tribute to the Porte.

Other examples of “old technology” found to be superior to “modern engines” will also be discussed. This is clearly a case where modern warfare dominated by gunpowder was found to be inferior to older engines and invites comparisons with other sieges, e.g., Constantinople (1453) or Khalkis/Negroponte (1470) when the Ottomans had been successful. Was one of the advantages that the Ottoman army enjoyed in those successful sieges the fact that the defenders had failed to employ engines of the past under the illusions that modern weapons alone would dictate the course of a battle?

## SESSION IX

# Icons and Churches: New Evidence

Chair: Susan Madigan  
*Michigan State University*



# Sculpting the Triumphant Cross: The Byzantine *Templon* and an Unpublished Cycle of Precious-metal Icons at the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Sarah T. Brooks  
*James Madison University*

The remarkable survival of twenty-four, related copper *repoussé* icons identifies the Jaharis icon group, recently donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art and unpublished to date, as one of the most important monuments of Middle Byzantine sculpture in copper *repoussé*. The panels are associated with one another by their material, their method of production, and their uniform artistic style and related iconography. They represent the only such large-scale group of copper sculpted icons to survive from the Byzantine empire, from any period; in most cases, such copper icons have come down to us as single works of art, separated from their larger decorative and ritual contexts.

This paper analyzes the icon group in depth for the very first time, offering an overview of the iconography and style of the sculptures, as well as suggesting the likely artistic and cultural milieu which produced them. A dating for the group in the tenth or eleventh century is suggested by the panels' overall sculptural style; by a number of unusual iconographic features, for which dated parallels exist; and by the epigraphy of the Greek inscriptions seen throughout the group. Research into the condition and manufacture of these sculpted reliefs presents new insight into our understanding of the long-neglected genre of Byzantine copper-alloy relief sculpture, and the decorative purposes for which they were designed. This work contributes to the recent scholarly initiative undertaken by E. C. Schwartz ("Copper Repoussé Icons: A Preliminary Report," *Abstracts of Papers. 33rd Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, 2007* p. 97) to study as a group such copper and copper-alloy icons.

The Jaharis icons represent the first large-scale group of copper reliefs attributable to a Middle Byzantine *templon*, thus expanding our understanding of the range of decoration for this element in church decoration. The icons' likely function on a *templon* suggests an important context for the similar works which have survived as single sculptures which may have been separated from their original ensemble. The emphasis on the True Cross and Christ's role as Savior resonates throughout the sculptural program, suggesting its dedication to a church honoring the True Cross, or Saints Constantine and Helena, subjects featured in the program on the *templon's* central lintel.

# An Unpublished Icon of St. Peter in Copper *Repoussé*

Ellen C. Schwartz  
*Eastern Michigan University*

A hitherto unknown icon of St. Peter forms the subject of this presentation. Made of copper *repoussé*, this full-length depiction of the saint holding a cross-tipped staff is presented under an arch. While of rather crude execution, the overall layout, materiality, facial type and paleography allow association with published icons in this medium. In addition, links to other artworks in relief may be identified. The setting, figure type and paleography allow a dating in the eleventh century. Most instructively, the piece allows us to see the distribution of high-class models in even provincial or second-rate workshops.

The plaque is close in many features to other copper *repoussé* icons. The arch setting enclosing a standing figure echoes the arrangement on a plaque depicting a standing St. George, today in Munich. The figure type shows similarities to well-known *repoussé* images such as the Hermelaos at Dumbarton Oaks. The outlined letters echoes the inscription of the Hermelaos as well as others.

The St. Peter plaque is also linked to a number of artworks in materials other than copper. Individual relief figures in three-dimensional media are often set below such architectural frames. The setting recalls a cast bronze icon in Cyprus and a pair of carved stone depictions in the Hermitage. More unusual elements like the multi-fingered blessing gesture and the staff are found in other cast metal images. Stylistically, the Peter plaque seems to copy ivory carvings, a fairly common practice in this medium. The wrapping of the robe and the folds of the drapery over the shoulders echo those of the figures on the Vatican triptych and the St. Andrew in Vienna. The head type with high-set ears looks like those in various manuscript images. These affinities allow an eleventh-century date to be proposed.

The size of this piece, 21 by 12.5 cm, suggests usage as an individual icon. Alternatively, it could have been part of a *templon* beam for a small chapel, in a sequence with other apostles or saints, like the Deesis in Munich or the Jaharis icon beam in the Metropolitan Museum. The suggestion of Weitzmann that ivory plaques served in both capacities depending upon their subjects and feast day references, may be relevant in this case, as well.

Finally, this piece allows a further understanding of *repoussé* icons based on both style and discernable models. Clearly inspired by luxury works in ivory and similar to well-crafted images in *repoussé*, the St. Peter plaque points to the availability and appreciation of high-quality images, even in a workshop which produced inelegant pieces. While the highest quality icons are usually attributed to Constantinople and lesser works to eastern or provincial workshops, it appears that first-rate models were available to a variety of workshops, wherever they might have been situated.

## An Unpublished, Sixteenth-Century *Epitaphios* in the Indiana University Art Museum

Henry Schilb  
*Indiana University Bloomington*

It is generally agreed that the *epitaphios*, a type of liturgical veil used during Holy Week in the Orthodox Christian Church, developed from the *aër*, the cloth that covers the chalice and discos during the Great Entrance, but the question of when the two types became distinct remains unanswered. A definitive answer to that question will remain elusive, but perhaps the date range can be narrowed. An unpublished *epitaphios* in the Indiana University Art Museum in Bloomington offers at least one important clue. In the effort to narrow down the period during which the *epitaphios* became a specialized textile for use during Holy Week, we should consider the embroidered inscriptions on the few *epitaphioi* that include the hymn “Let All Mortal Flesh Be Silent,” which replaces the Cherubikon during the Holy Saturday rites. The Bloomington *Epitaphios* belongs to this small group.

As liturgologists have pointed out, the hymn “Let All Mortal Flesh Be Silent” became a standard feature of the Holy Saturday rites only after the middle of the sixteenth century, but that conclusion does not take into account the inscriptions on *epitaphioi*. The date 7043 (1534/5) is also embroidered on the Bloomington *Epitaphios*. Does an *epitaphios* embroidered with the hymn “Let All Mortal Flesh Be Silent” indicate that this hymn had become strongly associated with Holy Saturday earlier than expected? Or does the inscription indicate that the Bloomington *Epitaphios* is not really an *epitaphios* at all, but an *aër*? Is it a missing link?

A single embroidered *epitaphios* cannot answer all the questions that still surround this type of liturgical textile, and the Bloomington *Epitaphios* also raises other questions. Why was this example so richly embroidered? It has gold thread on most of its surface, including the background, a feature it shares with only a few other *epitaphioi*. Where was it made? The inscription is Slavonic, and the iconography is unique among embroidered *epitaphioi*, but the Bloomington *Epitaphios* is as likely to come from Romania, or even from Greece, as it is to come from Russia. While it is certainly an exciting object to study, the Bloomington *epitaphios* is also frustrating. The records of its provenance take us back only to 1968, so that all we can know about it must be learned from the object itself, from its iconography and inscription, and from any other piece of evidence it might offer.



# The Basilicas of Agios Lazaros and Agios Barnabas, Cyprus

Charles A. Stewart  
*Indiana University, Bloomington*

The development of multiple-domed churches marked a fundamental change in how Cypriot architects conceived church design. Billowy domes and undulating vaults superseded the web of wooden trusses in Early Christian basilicas. However, vaulting led to problems. Spindly columns that traditionally held the wooden roofs were replaced by large square piers. These piers blocked movement and vision between the nave and the side-aisles. Eventually Cypriot architects eliminated intermediate piers by repeating the transept arm for all three domed bays. This new scheme was incorporated in the last two churches of this type: Agios Lazaros in Larnaka and Agios Barnabas near Salamis-Constantia. Both churches share similar ground plans, decoration, masonry construction, and overall style, thereby indicating that they were contemporary constructions. Yet exactly when these two churches were transformed into multiple-domed basilicas remains debatable.

Proposed dates have ranged as early as the sixth to as late as the eighteenth century. Analysis of Agios Lazaros' opus sectile flooring and windows has led some scholars to argue for an eleventh or twelfth century time-frame. Over the past twenty years this position has gained ground, since scholars have concentrated on Agios Lazaros apart from Agios Barnabas. The latter church was inaccessible due to the 1974 coup d'état and subsequent Turkish invasion that divided the Turkish Cypriot north from the Greek Cypriot south. Hostility between the two regions impeded travel and thus precluded any systematic comparison between Agios Lazaros (in the south) and Agios Barnabas (in the north). With the 2003 relaxation of travel restrictions, many standing Byzantine monuments can now be analyzed in northern Cyprus. As a result, a recent reexamination of Agios Lazaros in tandem with Agios Barnabas has cast doubts on the Comnenian period attribution. What has been used as supporting evidence—flooring and windows—are clearly dissimilar from Comnenian-style examples found in other Byzantine churches.

In the meantime, further clues to their construction have been gathered from other Cypriot monuments, such as Agios Antonios at Kellia and Agios Procopios at Synchase. In the former church, extant frescos have a striking similarity to those in the ninth century *Sacra Parallela* manuscript. Agios Procopios contains an inscription clearly dated to the third quarter of the tenth century, providing a *terminus ante quem* for its construction. These two churches share similar masonry construction, design, and overall aesthetic with Agios Lazaros and Agios Barnabas. When studied together, it seems that all four churches were built prior to the Byzantine reconquest of the island in 965. By reassessing archaeological and art historical evidence, enabled by the current political situation, we can gain a clearer understanding of Cyprus' architectural legacy.

# SESSION X

## Theological Controversies

Chair: Patrick Viscuso  
*Independent Scholar*



# Cause or Catalyst? The Origenist Controversy and the Banishment of John Chrysostom

Demetrios S. Katos

*Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology*

Most modern accounts accept that John Chrysostom was banished from his see of Constantinople on account of the Origenist monks who came to his city seeking refuge from their persecution by Theophilus of Alexandria. Their plight was recorded by Palladius of Helenopolis in his *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, and is corroborated by the other fifth-century sources. Palladius' narrative of these events gives a prominent position to the role played by the Origenist controversy in John's downfall. His personal association with the fugitive monks further allowed and encouraged him to extend his account of their troubles and suggest ways in which they helped determine John's fate. This, however, has led many historians to dismiss the seriousness of the many other causes that led to John's demise.

By means of a rhetorical analysis, this paper demonstrates that Palladius intended the Origenist controversy to be understood as the *manner* (*tropos*) by which John was removed, rather than the *cause* (*aitia*) for his removal, which he recognized arose from John's acerbic relations with the local elite. I have argued elsewhere that the long ignored principles of judicial rhetoric best explain the composition of Palladius' *Dialogue*. This paper further develops this insight to demonstrate that the Origenist episode is confined to the *narration* (*diegesis*) of the *Dialogue*, the part that attracts the attention of most historians, but which must be subordinated to the argumentation (*pistis*) that follows and which is largely overlooked. The argumentation is the crux of the composition, and in it Palladius removes John entirely from any involvement in the Origenist affair. Here he discusses other matters that are generally ignored or treated as secondary by most scholars, but which were clearly the most significant in the author's estimation and whose gravity must be recognized. This paper demonstrates that the entire Origenist episode is developed as a *paradiegesis*, whose purpose within the narration, is "to creep in to increase belief" in the original argument, which is that the Origenist controversy is *not* to blame for John's downfall. Rather, the Origenist controversy was the pretense used by Theophilus in his diatribe against John that had been translated into Latin by Jerome and sent to Rome. Although this text has not survived, it is alluded to in the *Dialogue* and in a letter of Jerome, and it was in response to it that the *Dialogue* was most likely composed, in an attempt to absolve John, and the monks, of any blame in the affair.

## John of Antioch and Nestorius: the Winter of 430/1

Patrick Gray  
York University, Toronto

Donald Fairbairn, in a recent *JEH* article, brings welcome scholarly attention to John of Antioch, whose ‘peace’ with Cyril of Alexandria laid the foundation for Chalcedon. Fairbairn argues for a radical reinterpretation of John’s correspondence with Nestorius during the winter of 430/1: John was actually in tune with Cyril, did not recognize Nestorius’ strongly Antiochene christology, sided with him later only in outrage at Cyril’s anathemas, and returned to his true Cyrillian position in 433. If he is correct, the ‘peace’ represented genuine agreement, and Chalcedon’s statement the authentic expression of it. Fairbairn’s interpretations of the two letters, however, need to be challenged.

When John says “we have sinned” in his letter to Nestorius, he does not mean “you [Nestorius] have sinned”, for he repeatedly refers to a collective “we” (many members being known Antiochene theologians). Their sin was allowing their followers to drive innocent believers into schism over a title, *theotokos*, they had themselves concluded was innocuous. If John and Nestorius were part of a theological/ecclesiastical collective, John could not have been ignorant of what Nestorius thought. For Nestorius to “say what he really thought” meant agreeing *theotokos* was innocuous. Finally, John’s “soteriological” case for using *theotokos* sounds like Cyril, not because his christology was Cyrillian, but because he was summarizing Cyril’s case against Nestorius, saying “these are the tenets you are charged with breaching. Just say *theotokos* and deflect the charge.” In short, John wrote to Nestorius on behalf of an Antiochene theological/ecclesiastical collective worried that its carelessness about an innocuous title had led its ardent followers to provoke schism and arouse powerful churchmen against them. They wanted Nestorius to defuse the situation.

As for Nestorius’ responding letter, appended to it were Cyril’s third letter to Nestorius and one or two of Nestorius’s sermons on the *theotokos*. In the letter itself Nestorius complied with John’s request he say *theotokos*. But was Nestorius cloaking his differences from the the Cyril-like John and other Antiochene bishops in ambiguity to retain their support against Cyril’s anathemas? If there was only one sermon appended, there was no real ambiguity. If there were two, the longer showed only Nestorius still determined to demonstrate his hermeneutical prowess—but he still said *theotokos*. When John received Nestorius’ letter he had the response the collective had hoped for: Nestorius accepted the title *theotokos*, meeting Cyril’ and Celestine’s demand as communicated to John. His expectation, when a council was called, must have been that Nestorius could be cleared.

A convincing reconstruction of the aftermath would see in 433 and 451, not Fairbairn’s agreement of Cyrillians, but a successful strategy of co-opting Cyril’s authority for an alien christology.

## Zeno's Henotikon: The Alexandrian Connection

Dana Iuliana Viezure  
*University of Toronto*

In the course of the disputes that followed the Council of Chalcedon (451), several documents meant to restore the unity of the Church were proposed, culminating in Emperor Zeno's *Henotikon*, published in 482. They all set forth statements of faith meant to either alleviate or straightforwardly eliminate the decisions of Chalcedon in the hope of reuniting anti-Chalcedonians to the imperial Church.

The *Henotikon*, a document which successfully restored unity among the patriarchates of the East for over three decades, has continuously attracted scholarly attention. Among other things, scholars have looked at the possible sources of this document. Connections have been drawn in recent literature between the *Henotikon* and a *prospohnesis* written by Martyrius of Jerusalem (478-486), based primarily on the two documents' common strategy of leaving out all mention of the controversial Council of Chalcedon rather than simply accepting or rejecting it. Very interesting conclusions have thus been reached regarding the role of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in initiating a type of Christology that would evolve toward what is nowadays known as Neo-Chalcedonianism.

The connections, however, seem to go deeper than that, and in a different direction. An examination of the text of the *Henotikon* shows that its doctrinal content closely followed the *Christology* of Timothy Aelurus (anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Alexandria between 457-460 and 475-477). Three main points stand out, which actually account for the entire doctrinal statement of the *Henotikon*; they represent, at the same time, major subjects developed in Timothy's works. Firstly, there is the insistence on the double consubstantiality: Timothy used this throughout his works to detach his position from that of Eutyches. Secondly, we have the rejection of Pope Leo's separation of attributes in Christ according to the human or the divine nature: Timothy criticized heavily Pope Leo's Tome, and the sentence "one of them shines through miracles, the other succumbs to injuries" is the one that occurred most frequently in his tirades. Thirdly, the *Henotikon* rejects the Phantasiasts, those who did not accept the reality of the Incarnation: this rejection is nowhere as vigorous and relevant as in Timothy's works.

The abovementioned points of contact between the *Henotikon* and Timothy Aelurus' *Christology* result from the fact that Acacius of Constantinople (471-489), the architect of the *Henotikon*, took over an anti-Chalcedonian statement of faith circulated in Egypt during Timothy's lifetime, and written under the Alexandrian bishop's influence. In fact, an entire section of this Alexandrian document (preserved in the B.M. Ms. Addit. 12156) was taken over literally in the *Henotikon*. Having observed Timothy from a very early stage of his career, and having had a high regard for his Christology, Acacius eventually found the opportunity in 482 to promote Timothy's Christological doctrine as a basis for unity while at the same time protecting the rights his see had acquired at Chalcedon.

# Practice Leads to Theory: Orthodoxy and Spiritual Struggle in the World of Philoxenos of Mabbug (470-523)

David A. Michelson  
*University of Alabama*

This paper explores the relationship of ascetic practice to the Christological disputes of the late fifth century. In particular, it takes as its focus the leading miaphysite bishop, Philoxenos of Mabbug (d. 523). While Philoxenos' reputation has largely been that of a doctrinal polemicist, this study demonstrates how Philoxenos subsumed theological conflicts with heretics within a greater "contest of the spirit." In his polemics, Philoxenos urged monks to join him in the theological struggle as part of their monastic labors.

Such an appeal couched in monastic vocabulary was more than a pragmatic attempt to rally monastic centers into joining the anti-Chalcedonian movement of the late fifth century. A detailed examination of Philoxenos' main Christological arguments reveals that his response to dyophysite theology was largely drawn from the concepts of his ascetic theology (a system for the contemplative life which Philoxenos had adapted from the Syriac versions of Evagrius). In particular, three aspects of Philoxenos' anti-dyophysite polemics stand out as being taken directly from his ascetic schema: his dogmatic approach to doctrine, his rejection of human knowledge in favor of a hermeneutic of simplicity, and his model of spiritual combat. All three of these themes are readily apparent in Philoxenos' ascetic *magnum opus*, *The Discourses*.

In the context of *The Discourses*, however, Philoxenos applied these concepts not only to doctrinal controversy but also to the internal spiritual battle undertaken in pursuit of the discipleship of Christ. In this light, Philoxenos' doctrinal polemic can be understood as a constituent part of a larger mystical enterprise of which contention over Christology was only one aspect.

In sum, for Philoxenos there were concerns beyond "right doctrine" which motivated the disciple to eschew the supposed error and craftiness of the dyophysites. Their "heresy" stood in the way of the life of perfection and true knowledge of the divine, the ultimate goal of Christ's disciples. Thus for Philoxenos, attaining and keeping the true faith were integral and essential parts of the path to perfection; struggling against heretics was understood as an earthly expression of a spiritual struggle.

# SESSION XI

## Lay Religion

Chair: Steven Reinert  
*Rutgers University*



## **“The Pride of All Our People and the Glory of Our Race:” *Judith* in Latin and Byzantine Liturgical and Homiletic Practice**

Stephen Morris  
*Independent Scholar, New York City*

The multivalent image of Judith – pious widow, military strategist, apocalyptic savior, espionage agent and biblical Mata Hari, heroine of valor/strength/courage, spokeswoman for and defender of the oppressed, assassin of the impious – provokes a variety of interpretive responses. As the slayer of Holofernes and the savior of Israel, she is celebrated as a *type* of the apocalyptic Mother of God (the “woman clothed with the sun” of *Apocalypse* 11 – 12) in the classic Latin liturgical practice of western Christianity: both the “epistle” and “chapter” readings for the *Assumptio S. Mariae* on August 15 are taken from *Judith* 13. In late antique and Byzantine liturgical and homiletic practice, however, Judith is primarily identified as the faithful Christian who wins God’s favor through prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. Judith thus shifts between states of struggle and victory as she – like the Mother of God – straddles the boundaries between the living (those still in need of God’s favor) and the dead (those who have achieved it).

Judith also simultaneously personifies both the corporate and individual realities of Church – collective Body of the faithful and feminine head of the Body, the Mother *par excellence* – as well as the unique Christian individual. In this, she resembles the Bride in the *Song of Songs* who is seen both as collective Church and unique soul, glorious Mother of God and ascetic, faithful lover of her Son. The images are slippery and shade into one another, reflecting attributes of each onto the others.

Judith reveals and interrogates the purpose of spiritual life: union with God via struggle, self-sacrifice, and obedience which then leads to the deliverance of others. The ascetic thus becomes rich *patrona* of the community, distributor of favor and grace. In what may sound simplistic terms, the Western emphasis on our heroine as glorious – but distant – victor is symptomatic of the medieval Latin emphasis on the static nature of holiness and sanctity (related to the cult of the elevated Host at Mass) while the Byzantine focus on *theosis* or the process of becoming God-like (also reflected in the devotional and liturgical commentaries on the Great Entrance procession as highlight of the eucharistic Liturgy) makes her available as immediate confidante and intimate friend.



# The Effects of Participation in the Eucharistic Liturgy on the Formation of Lay Christians in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries

Derek Krueger  
*University of North Carolina at Greensboro*

Published in 565, *Novella 137* of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, demanded that the anaphora of the Divine Liturgy be recited aloud, “so that the souls of those who listen may be moved to greater compunction and raise up glorification to the Lord God.” Recent studies have explored how Byzantines saw the liturgy “through their own eyes” (R. F. Taft, 2006); this paper considers how the laity came to view themselves through the liturgy. Attention to what the laity said and did during eucharistic liturgies sheds light on how participation in ritual events molded the worshiper by inculcating patterns of interior self-regard. While Byzantine hagiography and monastic literature provide ample models for how the professional religious might regard themselves, the shaping of lay Christians’ interior life remains poorly understood. Participation in the eucharistic liturgy affords a window on the formation of lay Christians’ self-reflection. Of particular interest are the psalms, hymns, and chants that the congregation sang, the prayers they recited, and the prayers said by the clergy to which the laity listened and to which they assented by saying “Amen.”

No complete liturgical service survives from the early Byzantine period, making the rite impossible to reconstruct in its entirety, and indeed the forms in use were in flux and varied from region to region. However, two documents that give witness to the shape of the liturgy in the sixth and seventh centuries in the Eastern Mediterranean allow us to construct a list of prayers and chants that the laity regularly said, sang, or heard. The codex *Rahmani Syr. 33* preserves a late sixth-century liturgical ordo that lists the elements of the eucharistic service in a bilingual Syriac- and Greek-speaking congregation somewhere in Syria. The *Narration of the Abbots John and Sophronius* records the chants that the laity sang in Palestinian congregations at the turn of the seventh-century. From these sources, we learn that cantors lead the people in the Trisagion, the responses to the psalm between the Old Testament lesson and the Epistle (often including the first six verses of the penitential Psalm 50), the Cherubic Hymn during the Great Entrance, and the koinonikon or communion psalm verses chanted while approaching and receiving the sacrament. The texts of these chants, where they can be identified, provide a basis for assessing how liturgical participation assisted lay Christians in understanding themselves through biblical models as the subjects of divine judgment and mercy.

By offering a script for the self, Byzantine Christian liturgical practice employed ritual performance as a technology through which Christians might conform themselves to biblical and saintly models. Drawing on ritual studies and critical accounts of the formation of subjectivity the paper reads the relevant chants to understand the liturgical formation of identity, both collective and individual, in Byzantium, at the end of antiquity.

# Law and Magic as Unusual Context for the Usual Miracle at Blachernae

Elizabeth A. Fisher  
*The George Washington University*

Michael Psellos' *Oration on the Usual Miracle at Blachernae* has received much scholarly attention from historians of art because it contains a detailed description of the "Usual Miracle" associated with the animate or "ensouled" (*empsychos*) icon of the Virgin Mary that mysteriously caused the veil concealing it to rise every week at a set time. This portion of the oration (ca. 50 lines) is, however, a relatively small part of the whole (757 lines). Psellos' attention throughout the oration is not so much upon the Usual Miracle as upon the icon's authority as decisive arbiter in a legal dispute over property rights in Thrace. In the course of describing the case and its resolution, Psellos mentions various significant aspects of Byzantine legal practice that have not received the attention they deserve: e.g., the process of legal appeals, the procedure for constituting an appeals court, opportunities for bribery in the courts, the place of emotional displays and of written evidence in property disputes, etc. As a legal scholar himself, Psellos assesses and analyzes in legal terms the very unusual appeals court established by the precedent of using the Virgin's Usual Miracle at Blachernae to decide a highly contentious case.

Psellos presents the Usual Miracle and the legal case associated with it in language studded with Neo-Platonic vocabulary and concepts such as "symbol" (*symbolon*) and "sign" (*synthema*). He presents oracles and oracular sites famous in literature of the pagan past in order to illustrate the ability of supernatural powers to give advice, predict the future, or direct human activities. He does not strongly question the efficacy of pagan rituals or the power of pagan spirits in this regard but notes that unlike them the Virgin Mary is all-wise, all-knowing, and completely benevolent towards humankind. Psellos' discussion leads him to recommend that the case settled by the Usual Miracle at Blachernae establish a paradigm for an appeals process that will represent both the authority of the law and of the true faith.

This paper examines the interplay of the traditional legal process with the miraculous one as well as Psellos' use of Neo-Platonic theurgic terminology to describe the decision rendered by the Theotokos through her Miracle at Blachernae.

# MS A620: A Georgian Brontologion

Jefferson Sauter  
*The Catholic University of America*

Whereas manuals of weather-lore and ‘scientific’ treatises on weather forecasting aim principally to predict the weather and other meteorological phenomena, a class of popular ‘almanacs’ known as brontologia (“thunder-books,” or *gromniki*) advised the user on how to interpret such events after they were observed. Although dozens of Greek brontologia (and seismologia) have been published in the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* as well as in John Lydus’ *De Ostentis*, scores of others are preserved in Hebrew, Slavic languages, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic. Like much apocryphal literature, medieval brontologia remain largely unexamined by modern scholars. No large-scale study of these texts has appeared in the past 70 years, even though brontologia continued to exist as “pamphlet literature” until well into the 20th century. Because so few brontologia have been studied in detail, this paper examines a hitherto unpublished Georgian brontologion within the context of Byzantine religion.

The *Prognostication of the Times*, preserved on ff. 106-110 of MS No. 620 (Fond A) in the National Center of Manuscripts in Tbilisi, is an addendum to a Book of Needs (*mcire k’urtxevani*, or *mali trebnik*). MS A620 was written in the Georgian ecclesiastical script by a certain Deacon John in the 17th century, but the prognostications in this brontologion clearly derive from one or several much earlier Byzantine versions (possibly through a Slavic intermediary). Each omen in the Georgian brontologion consists of a protasis (“if in the month there is thunder, an eclipse, halo, earthquake, lightning, or rainbow”) and an apodosis of a political, agricultural, medical, or meteorological nature. The omens are grouped by month and organized chronologically.

How is this brontologion, and other Byzantine brontologia, to be viewed as an aspect of Byzantine divination and, more generally, Orthodox religiosity? That the language of both the Georgian version and other Byzantine brontologia are steeped in Biblical diction and themes is unsurprising: even the Georgian version was conveniently appended to the end of a collection of prayers and blessings. Of particular interest, however, is the extent to which the themes and terminology of the omens comport with Old Testament prophecy. Previous studies of brontologia largely focused on the political prognoses, and philological similarities between Slavic and Byzantine brontologia or Byzantine and Babylonian texts. I believe such studies miss the point. Whatever their ultimate source, the prognostications reflect how the Byzantines and Georgians would have actually interpreted celestial and meteorological events, namely, as signs in full agreement with a Biblical cosmology. It is from this angle that I explain how Byzantine brontologia are extensions of a distinctly Byzantine religious outlook.

## Comment

Tia Kolbaba: *Rutgers University*

## Discussion

## SESSION XII

### **Interdisciplinarity in Byzantine Studies:** the example of *Other Icons: Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture* by Eunice Dauterman Maguire and Henry Maguire

Chair: Margaret Mullett  
*Queens University, Belfast*

**Art History Perspectives**  
Alicia Walker  
*Washington University St. Louis*

**Religious Studies Perspectives**  
Derek Krueger  
*University of North Carolina at Greensboro*

**Literature Perspectives**  
Elizabeth Fisher  
*George Washington University*

**Response**  
Eunice Dauterman Maguire  
Henry Maguire  
*Johns Hopkins University*

**Discussion**

## SESSION XIII

# Jews engaging Byzantium: Then and Now

Chair: Steven  
*Bowman University of Cincinnati*



# The Other Romaioi: Jews in the Middle Byzantine Period

Joshua Holo  
*Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles*

Unlike the Jews of medieval Europe, insuperably *other*, the Jews of Byzantium negotiated a decidedly more ambiguous position between *Romanitas* and Judaism. On the one hand, the religious-ethnic divide between Jews and Orthodox Christians posed no less insurmountable a difference than that which distinguished the Jews from Western Catholics. But on the other hand, a number of social, religious and economic factors contributed to a contemporary awareness of Byzantine-Jewish *Romanitas*. An examination of some primary sources conveys this nuanced identity and, perhaps, something of a shift in it, which took place over the course of the middle Byzantine period.

Up until perhaps the ninth century, Judaism and *Romanitas* coalesced—rather than merely complementing each other—in observable ways. From an internal, religious perspective, it appears that the Jews, in continuity from the early period, understood Greek to be a Jewish language to a degree that only Arabic would later rival. Catacomb markings and the probable, *ritual* reading of Scripture in Greek attest to this stance. Also reflecting continuity from the early period, the Jews inherited a tax policy that assumed full civic standing. The great law codes preserve the imperial effort to increase the Jews' tax liability by undoing their special status and drawing them into the regular tax structure of the city councils. This precedent prevailed into the middle period, when the Jews, though subject to a nominal "Jewish tax," were actually liable to standard taxation in both form and amount. They were not, juridically, an *imperium in imperio*.

In roughly the ninth century, the Jews began to differentiate themselves in significant ways. First, they revived the Hebrew language: headstones, Genizah documents and at least two chronicles all favor Hebrew or at least undertake the work of translation. Beginning as early as the late-tenth century, an important influx of Arabic-speaking Jews began to change the makeup of the local communities. And in the same period, as the Italians began to install their mercantile infrastructure on Byzantine soil, the Jews increasingly operated on models of production and trade that were associated with expanded and sophisticated international markets.

The varied and relatively few sources for Byzantine-Jewish history necessarily imperil any definitive description of identity, especially identity used as a reflexive noun, meaning "self-identity." Still, discernible expressions of what it actually meant to be a Byzantine-Jew allow us to hazard some preliminary generalizations. At the beginning of the middle period, the Jews resisted hybridity in the sense of two parts intertwining to make a whole. It seems, rather, that Byzantine Jewry conceived of its *Romanitas* as a quality or expression of its Jewishness. Perhaps more surprising is the possibility that Byzantine Christians may have understood Jews as fellow Romans, at least on a civic level. But by the end of the middle Byzantine period, Jewish immigration and mercantile expansion seem to have highlighted the seams in Byzantine-Jewish identity, even if it remained intact.

# The Hippodrome of Solomon: The Politics of Past and Present in Byzantine-Jewish Literary Culture

Ra'anan Boustan  
UCLA

This paper analyzes the ideological role played by the figure of King Solomon in Byzantine-Jewish literature. I focus on a little-studied Hebrew text known as “The Hippodrome of Solomon” (*Ippodromin shel Shlomo*). In a stunning act of Jewish literary imagination, this Hebrew composition represents biblical Jerusalem through the cultural and institutional lenses of Byzantine urban life.

I confirm the argument advanced by Evelyn Patlagean that this curious example of “post-rabbinic” midrash exhibits highly detailed knowledge of Byzantine court ceremonial, especially as described in the *Book of Ceremonies*. But I argue that Patlagean’s approach to the *Book of Ceremonies* has led her to date and contextualize “The Hippodrome of Solomon” too narrowly. Recent work on this and other related compilations produced under Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus by a number of prominent Byzantinists (esp. G. Dagron, A. Cameron, Av. Cameron, and M. McCormick) has emphasized the dialectical tension between traditionalism and innovation that characterizes these sources as well as the development of court ceremonial more generally. The self-consciously antiquarian nature of these tenth-century sources calls into question the historical precision of Patlagean’s philological argumentation.

Moreover, Patlagean neglects the strong relationship of the “Hippodrome of Solomon” to earlier rabbinic writings and midrashic exegesis. The confluence of formal and linguistic features exhibited by this composition—scriptural exegesis, cosmological speculation concerning the hippodrome, and the language of the imperial court ceremonial—attest to its complicated relationship to both its imperial Greek counterparts and earlier rabbinic tradition. The surprising juxtaposition within the text between rabbinic and non-rabbinic literary forms is an index of the much wider process by which rabbinic authority was gradually extended into new areas of Jewish life while itself being transformed in the process.

I believe that this more nuanced literary analysis of the “Hippodrome of Solomon” also sheds light on the socio-cultural world of its creator(s). I argue that this and other related texts emerge from a dynamic and porous cultural world in which Jewish and Christian literary elites remained very much in dialogue. Jewish writers could, it seems, integrate their knowledge of Hebrew and their commitment to Jewish communal life with their education in Greek literary culture and even a relatively high degree of identification with Byzantine interests. In sharp contrast to the acute eschatological discourse found in some strands of Byzantine-Jewish literature, this group of texts paints the Byzantine imperial system as a utopian ideal, rather than as an oppressive and demonic kingdom.

Scholars in the fields of Jewish studies, Patristics, and Roman and Byzantine history have

grown increasingly interested in the interlocking ways that Christians and Jews contested the meaning of the “biblical past.” This paper contributes to a better understanding of the full range of strategies adopted by Jewish writers in response to the Christianization of Roman imperial ideology and practice in the Byzantine period.

*“Those persons who live in the Jewish superstition shall hereafter be barred from seeking entrance to the imperial service.”*

*Theodosian Code*



# Josephus rewritten – a Byzantine-Jewish Text and its Reception in medieval Hebrew Literature

Saskia Dönitz

*Byzantinisch-Neugriechisches Seminar, FU Berlin/Germany*

The *Book of Yosippon* questions two widespread assumptions. First: the works of Flavius Josephus were transmitted exclusively within Christian literature. Second: according to Yerushalmi, there was no historiographical tradition after the destruction of the Second Temple and the comprehensive redefinition of Jewish belief as rabbinic Judaism. Historiography was neglected from the 1st century CE and rediscovered only after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain at the end of the 15th century. Nevertheless, the unknown author of the *Book of Yosippon* who lived in Byzantine Southern Italy in the 10th century reintegrated Josephus' works into Jewish literature by translating them into Hebrew. This book became the main source concerning Jewish history of the Second Temple among Jewish medieval authors.

An outstanding contribution to the research on the *Book of Yosippon* was David Flusser's edition of an early redaction accompanied by a second volume dedicated to the discussion of date and origin of this text (D. Flusser, *The Josippon*. [Josephus Gorionides]. Edited with Introduction, Commentary and Notes by D. Flusser, Jerusalem 1980-81). Flusser did analyze the transmission as well as the reception of the *Book of Yosippon*. However, he failed to draw conclusions on the question what kind of historical and historiographical interest is testified in the reception of the book. Since it is part of the historiographical Hebrew literature of the Middle Ages, its distribution and its use by medieval Jewish authors points to the shape and the form of medieval Jewish historical consciousness and memory.

This lecture shows the process of transmission and reception of this work in medieval Hebrew literature which undoubtedly is one of the most impressive examples of the Jewish-Christian argument about being the true people of God.

# SESSION XIV

## Reception of Byzantium

Chair: William North  
*Carlton College*



# Neoclassical Reincarnations of Constantinople: Catherine the Great's Vision of Byzantium

Asen Kirin  
*The University of Georgia, Athens*

Eighteenth-century Russian Neoclassicism intentionally merged the heritages of classical antiquity and Byzantium. In an era when familiarity with classical culture brought prestige and served as a measure of enlightenment, Empress Catherine the Great (1762-1796) and her advisers attempted to elevate to the same status knowledge about Byzantium. They forcefully promoted the empire of Constantinople as the heir of Ancient Greek learning—an attitude manifesting itself in numerous works of art, architecture and literature. This talk focuses on a couple of architectural ensembles, which Catherine II built in the vicinity of St. Petersburg as replicas of some among the best-known edifices of Constantinople. The first of them is the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia and the other the Palace of Hebdomon with its church dedicated to St. John the Baptist and containing the famous reliquary with the head of the Precursor – which at present has come to rest in the Cathedral of Amiens in France.

On the south bank of the Great Pond in Tsarskoe Selo the park's vista extended to an entire ideal city. This was the city of Sophia, which was nothing less than a neoclassical recreation of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople and perhaps the grandest garden ornament ever built. The empress envisioned this city as the embodiment of the new enlightened state that she hoped she was building. This state was to be the successor of both ancient Russia and Byzantium. The neoclassical architectural design was intended to make yet another claim: because of being the heir of Byzantium, Russia had received the torch of ancient learning. In the center of the city stood a replica of Hagia Sophia completed in 1787 in order to mark the 25th anniversary of the empress's ascent to the throne. The architect was Charles Cameron, the Scotsman who first achieved fame after publishing his study of ancient Roman baths.

The copy of the Hebdomon—originally known as the Kekerekeksen Palace—was designed by Iurii Fel'ten and built between 1771 and 1779. Until now the link between Kekerekeksen and the Hebdomon has remained unnoticed even though Catherine made it abundantly clear. First of all, both palaces were situated exactly seven miles from the capital. The name Hebdomon derives from the Greek numeral “seven” and refers to the number of the closest milestone. Remarkably, both in Byzantium and Russia, the seventh mile is on the road connecting the new metropolis with the old imperial capital. The Hebdomon stood along the famous road named *Via Egnatia* connecting Rome with Constantinople, while Kekerekeksen was on the road connecting Moscow with St. Petersburg. In addition to this both palace complexes included central-plan churches dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Finally, even the fact that Kekerekeksen was a triumphal monument to a military victory reflects the functions that the Hebdomon once fulfilled.

# Bamberg Cathedral and Byzantine Revival Architectural Polychromy

Jeanne-Marie Musto  
*University of the Arts, Philadelphia*

In 1827 Christian Ludwig Stieglitz, the most established German architectural historian of his day, published the first world history of architecture, which remained the only such work in German for many years. Stieglitz's ideas spoke to the concerns of Philhellenes such as himself, who were following the progress of the Greek War of Independence and wished to emphasize the cultural significance of Greece for Germany. Stieglitz explained that Greek arts and sciences, having elevated German culture during the reign of Charlemagne, became particularly sophisticated during the tenth century. Surprisingly, Stieglitz traced the introduction of the pointed arch into Germany as evidence of this cultural influence, and the arches at Bamberg Cathedral as examples of the continued impact of Greek culture during the ensuing centuries.

That Bamberg Cathedral was a significant Byzantine monument was soon widely accepted. Friedrich Carl Rupprecht, charged with renovating the cathedral, therefore expected to find Byzantine paintings when removing whitewash from its walls. What he found instead were traces of early polychromy on the architectural ornament and figural sculpture. Ludwig I of Bavaria, patron of the renovation, took a keen interest in this discovery, as did Leo von Klenze, leading Bavarian court architect and authority on classical Greek architecture and its polychromy. Refining Stieglitz's analysis, Rupprecht began a monograph on Bamberg Cathedral as a case study in what he and Klenze determined to be the transition from the Old to the New Byzantine styles.

Rupprecht died before he could complete his monograph or the renovation. The polychromy he had discovered nevertheless remained influential. The young architect Gottfried Semper who, like Klenze, actively participated in debates concerning classical Greek polychromy, was among those who followed Bamberg's renovation with interest. Bamberg's polychromy also inspired Ludwig to add lavish frescoes to Speyer Cathedral, which was likewise considered to be Byzantine. What is more, Rupprecht's efforts to install stained glass at Bamberg initiated efforts to recreate Byzantine glazing. While the first of these resulted in grisaille windows, soon figural Byzantine-revival windows were produced. These developments culminated in the Byzantine-revival windows of the Greek Chapel in Wiesbaden.

It is in this last building, designed by Philipp Hoffmann and built from 1848-54, that the German interpretation of Byzantine polychromy was for the first and only time fully integrated with the nascent Russian interpretation of Byzantine architecture. Both the frescoes at Speyer and the stained glass at Wiesbaden's Greek Chapel were completed just as the mid-century renovations at Hagia Sophia helped to redefine Byzantine art and architecture in terms that remain recognizable today. Bamberg Cathedral ceased to be understood as Byzantine. Its brief Byzantine history nevertheless demonstrates the cultural significance of Byzantium for Germans during the

first half of the nineteenth century, and the degree to which this was integrated with interest in classical Greece. Attention to this history, furthermore, clarifies the process by which a Byzantine revival style was developed and refined which, if no longer readable as such today, remained influential long after the middle of the century.

## Before the *Progymnasmata*: The Byzantine Grammar Teacher and Rhetorical Training

Vessela Valiavitcharska  
*University of Maryland*

*The progymnasmata*, a series of graduated composition exercises employed by the rhetoric teachers in order to prepare the students for the practice of declamation, are generally seen as the beginning of rhetorical training. They were invented possibly as early as the fourth or third century BC, and remained popular throughout late antiquity and the Byzantine period. *Progymnasmatic* instruction was preceded by the study of grammar, which, for the most part, consisted of the memorization and meticulous explication of selected works by classical authors. The grammar teacher's job was to cultivate Attic vocabulary, grammar and syntax, to trace word etymologies, to contextualize historical events, to teach myth, and to explain points of cultural significance. By contrast, the job of the rhetorician was to teach the students how to produce fluent prose. Although the practice of declamation waned after late antiquity, the nature of instruction and materials used in rhetorical education remained basically the same. Thus the education of the grammarian has been seen, for the most part, as education in memorizing and analyzing texts; the students' first encounter with rhetorical concepts happened under the supervision of the rhetorician.

However, evidence from both the *scholia vetera* and the *scholia recentiora* suggests that the grammarians, while teaching the classical texts, actively sought to introduce their students to *progymnasmatic* concepts. They used and explained composition terms, such as *diêgêsis*, *ekphrasis*, *êthopoiia*, *synkrisis*, *enkômion*, and *kataskeuê*, as well as pointed out the length and character of discourse suitable for each term and the rhetorical *topoi* associated with it. One would expect that the terms for the simpler exercises would occur in texts that were generally covered earlier in the "curriculum," while the more complicated terms occur in "advanced" texts; however, the majority of rhetorical terms (as far as both number and frequency) are concentrated in the *scholia* on Homer, followed by Euripides. This suggests that Homer was perhaps revisited several times during the grammar education or that he was seen as the perfect introduction to both elementary and advanced study. It also implies somewhat more unity to the Byzantine "curriculum" than previously thought.

## SESSION XV

# Komnenian Literary Culture

Chair: Sarolta Takács  
*Rutgers University*



## **Alexios I Komnenos' first supporter: Michael Attaleiates as Komnenian "pundit"**

Dimitrios Krallis  
*Simon Fraser University*

On the basis of surviving texts one could conclude that before the "sibling" works of Nikephoros Bryennios and Anna Komnene appeared in the Byzantine literary salons after Alexios Komnenos' death, there was little, if anything, by way of historical writing that celebrated this emperor's career. This paper suggests that a historical account favorable to Alexios Komnenos can be found earlier before even Alexios' coup against Nikephoros III Botaneiates.

During this period of military, political, and economic crisis for the empire, the judge and historian Michael Attaleiates put the finishing touches to the *History*, a narrative account of events from the mid-1030s to 1079, dedicated to the reigning emperor, the elderly Nikephoros III Botaneiates. This paper notes that of the *History's* "heroes," only one remains unblemished, by character flaws, faulty judgment or, crucially, shameful acts. That person is, perhaps surprisingly, Alexios Komnenos, the youthful general loyally serving the emperors Michael VII Doukas and Nikephoros III Botaneiates. In fact, a number of passages in the *History*, that have not received attention by scholars, praise Alexios in the most unambiguous fashion, presenting him as the ideal soldier and commander. A close reading of the passages in question also reveals Attaleiates' role as a court panegyrist, celebrating the victories of Botaneiates' regime brought about by Alexios' generalship. Was Attaleiates then the first Byzantine "pundit" to publicly celebrate Alexios' deeds in his presence, even before the latter became emperor?

Significantly, Attaleiates' praise for Alexios singles out this young man as the only agent in the *History*, whose actions, without exception, lead to outcomes that benefit the state. More so than Michael IV, Isaakios I Komnenos and Romanos IV Diogenes, all men respected by Attaleiates, Alexios displays the hallmarks of genius. Alexios alone never fails. Attaleiates is therefore unique in offering such a positive assessment of the man who was to become emperor and founder a long-lasting Byzantine dynasty. Yet Attaleiates' engagement with the Komnenoi seems to go beyond the realm of panegyric. A close examination of his monastic charter, the *Diataxis*, reveals a number of connections between Attaleiates' monastery of the Panoiktirmon and the Komnenoi clan. Land previously held by members of the Komnenian circle is offered to Attaleiates' monastery by the matriarch of the clan, Anna Dalassene, while Attaleiates sets money aside for the commemoration of a number of Komnenoi in his monastery and in the churches he patroned in the city of Rhaidestos. In fact the relationship of the Komnenoi with Attaleiates' monastery appears to continue even after his death.

In becoming the first vocal partisan of Alexios Komnenos, the senator from Attaleia showed foresight and good judgment of character. His work and personal links to the Komnenian



circle complicate our view of Nikephoros III Botaneiates' court and at the same time expose the support enjoyed by the Komnenoi among members of the senatorial class, which was to later become their enemy and detractor.

# Decorative Style Manuscripts and New Testament Textual Criticism: The Initial Subgroups

Kathleen Maxwell  
*Santa Clara University*

Decorative style manuscripts feature illuminations with large, powerfully silhouetted figures with pastel color schemes and flat architecture. They are further characterized by a distinctive “low epsilon script” written in dark black ink with magenta titles. There are more than one hundred and ten manuscripts associated with the decorative style. They comprise the single largest group of manuscripts in Byzantine art. While many of the decorative style manuscripts are of mediocre quality, some members are quite extraordinary and represent the only deluxe Greek books from the first half of the thirteenth century, as well as almost all that is known of illuminated manuscript illumination of the late twelfth century. Most of the manuscripts of the decorative style group were published by Annemarie Weyl Carr in her book *Byzantine Illumination 1150-1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) and it was she who proposed the title by which they are currently known. Carr organized the decorative style manuscripts into eight subgroups based on artistic, paleographical and codicological similarities. She defined three initial subgroups, three central subgroups and two late subgroups and was able to assign nearly eighty percent of the decorative style manuscripts to one of the subgroups based on these qualifications.

This presentation addresses conclusions I have reached based on data generated from the study of Greek Gospel texts that have been published over the last ten years by the Muenster Institute for New Testament Text Criticism in Germany. Surprising connections are revealed between the Gospel texts of various members of the decorative style group as well as between these manuscripts and others not previously affiliated with this group. The text data underscore the remarkably complex relationships that must have existed among artists and scribes, and the books they copied and created. In fact, the very complexity of these relationships is difficult to reconcile with traditional notions of workshop or scriptorium practices.

For the initial subgroups of decorative style manuscripts (see Carr, pp. 12-42), close artistic, paleographical, and codicological ties between manuscripts do not serve as an accurate predictor of intimate textual ties. My research suggests that while members of a particular subgroup of the decorative style are usually textually related to at least one other member of their subgroup, they may be more closely related, textually speaking, to members of other subgroups of the decorative style or even to unaffiliated manuscripts than they are to some members of their own subgroup. Moreover, several decorative style manuscripts demonstrate compelling textual affinities with deluxe Constantinopolitan products such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, E. D. Clarke 10 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, codex grec 75. The latter is associated with one of the most famous illuminators of the twelfth century, the Kokkinobaphos Master. Finally, while

the illustrations and ornament of the decorative style manuscripts lost favor by 1250, the data generated by the Muenster Institute suggest that their texts continued to serve as exemplars for scribes for two or more centuries after the demise of the decorative style.

## The Presentation Copies of the *Panoplia Dogmatica* (Moscow, Gos. Ist. Muz., Syn. gr. 387; Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 666)

Georgi R. Parpulov  
*Plodiv, Bulgaria*

Mosq. Syn. gr. 387, a copy of Euthymius Zigabenus's *Panoplia Dogmatica*, is one of the few surviving Byzantine manuscripts that contain imperial portraits. Given the official character of these images and the wording of the accompanying laudatory verses (e.g. ἔτεινε βασίλευε ζῶν αἰωνίως), they cannot postdate the death of the ruler they depict, Alexis I Comnenus († 1118). The verses were, according to their marginal titles, composed by a certain Pamphilus. The dodecasyllabic colophon of the Moscow manuscript further identifies George Pamphilus as its scribe: χειρῶν ποίημα Παμφίλου Γεωργίου. This may be the same person as the *proedrus* George Pamphilus attested in 1140. His handwriting is also found in another copy of the *Panoplia*, Vatican. gr. 2172. Remarkably, the Moscow and Vatican manuscripts are codicologically dissimilar and the latter does not contain the long dedicatory poem (inc. Ἡ βίβλος αὐτῆ τοῦ κρατίστου δεσπότη / θείων πέφυκεν ὄπλοθήκη δογματῶν) whose authorship, too, is attributed in the Mosquensis to Pamphilus. This confirms that the Moscow codex was one of the *Panoplia's* presentation copies circulated under the auspices of Emperor Alexis I. A second exemplar from this manuscript publication survives: Vatican. gr. 666, which contains dedicatory poems and frontispiece miniatures identical to those in the Mosquensis. The exact year when Zigabenus composed his *Panoplia* is uncertain but must have followed soon upon Alexis's trial of the Bogomil Basil (ca. 1099-1100). Mosq. Syn. gr. 387 and Vatican. gr. 666 can thus be securely dated between 1100 and 1118. A future critical edition of the *Panoplia* ought to take these two codices as its basis.

Since the Mosquensis and the Vaticanus were official imperial commissions, their miniatures and calligraphy reflect the highest level of court patronage. The writing in which the two are copied represents a marked departure from the *Perlschrift* canon dominant in Constantinople over the entire eleventh century. While Pamphilus's script is a continuation of the 'scholarly' or 'chancery' hands current ca. 1050-1100, the lettering of the Vaticanus is peculiar and has no close precedents. The hand of its scribe can be identified in two further manuscripts, both broken down in the course of later re-bindings: a Psalter with Book of Hours (Sinait. gr. 51, Sinait. gr. 869) and a New Testament (Sofia Duichev 369, New York Morgan 714, Princeton Garrett 5). The erased scribal colophon of the Princeton volume is reported to have yielded under ultraviolet light the name Michael.

Michael's idiosyncratic hand exemplifies the stylistic innovations that Constantinopolitan scribes introduced after the *Perlschrift* abruptly fell into disuse. Thanks to Vatican. gr. 666, his activity

can be assigned to the first quarter of the twelfth century. This provides a reference point for dating similar handwritings, e.g. that of the anonymous monk who copied Venet. Marc. gr. Z 57, Paris. gr. 550, and Sinait. gr. 418, or that of Mosq. Syn. gr. 407. Scripts like these are characterized by a rectangular module and represent a distinct style of early Comnenian calligraphy.

## **Comment**

Margaret Mullett  
*Queens University, Belfast*

## **Discussion**

# INDEX

Name	Session	Page
Anderson, Benjamin .....	5 .....	32
Angelova, Diliana .....	7 .....	44
Blessing, Patricia .....	4 .....	27
Boustan Ra'anan .....	13 .....	71
Brooks, Sarah T. ....	9 .....	54
Chatterjee, Paroma .....	3 .....	20
Connor, Carolyn L. ....	3 .....	21
Deliyannis, Deborah .....	6 .....	36
Demacopoulos, George E .....	6 .....	37
Dönitz, Saskia .....	13 .....	73
Downs, Joan M. ....	5 .....	30
Fisher, Elizabeth A. ....	11, 12 .....	66, 68
Gerstel, Sharon E. J. ....	1 .....	9
Goldwyn, Adam .....	2 .....	15
Gray, Patrick .....	10 .....	60
Gregory, Timothy E. ....	1 .....	8
Hanak, Walter .....	8 .....	50
Holo, Joshua .....	13 .....	70
Iverson, Eric A. ....	1 .....	7
Jamer, Jennifer .....	8 .....	49
Kalish, Kevin .....	4 .....	26
Katos, Demetrios S. ....	10 .....	59
Kirin, Asen .....	14 .....	75
Krallis, Dimitrios .....	15 .....	80
Krueger, Derek .....	11, 12 .....	65, 68
Lenski, Noel .....	7 .....	42
Maguire, Eunice Dauterman .....	12 .....	68
Maguire, Henry .....	12 .....	68
Marsengill, Katherine .....	3 .....	23
Mathisen, Ralph W. ....	7 .....	43

Maxwell, Kathleen .....	15 .....	82
McClanan, Anne .....	7 .....	45
Michaelson, David A. ....	10 .....	62
Morris, Stephen .....	11 .....	64
Musto, Jeanne-Marie .....	13 .....	76
Olster, David .....	6 .....	38
Parpulov, Georgi R. ....	15 .....	84
Philippides, Marios .....	8 .....	51
Ricci, Alessandra .....	1 .....	10
Sauter, Jefferson .....	11 .....	67
Schilb, Henry .....	9 .....	56
Schor, Adam M. ....	7 .....	41
Schwartz, Ellen C. ....	9 .....	55
Siecienski, A. Edward .....	8 .....	47
Smine, Rima .....	4 .....	28
Snively, Carolyn S. ....	1 .....	12
Stancioiu, Cristina .....	5 .....	33
Stewart, Charles A. ....	9 .....	57
Taylor, Catherine C. ....	2 .....	16
Tirnanic, Galina .....	6 .....	39
Valiavitcharska, Vessela .....	15 .....	78
Veneskey, Laura .....	5 .....	31
Viezure, Dana Iuliana .....	10 .....	61
Walker, Alicia .....	12 .....	68
White, Andrew Walker .....	2 .....	17
Yates, David .....	2 .....	18

## Officers and Committees, 2007-2008

President: Linda Safran - *University of Toronto*

Vice President: Amy Papalexandrou - *University of Texas at Austin*

Secretary: Alicia Walker - *Washington University, St. Louis*

Treasurer: Anna Gonosová - *University of California, Irvine*

### **Governing Board:**

#### **To serve until the 2011 Conference:**

Linda Jones Hall

Eunice Dauterman Maguire

Ida Sinkevic

Ann Marie Yasin

#### **To serve until the 2010 Conference:**

Stratis Papaioannou

Linda Safran

Adam Schor

Alicia Walker

#### **To serve until the 2009 Conference:**

Sarah Bassett

Anna Gonosova

Henry Maguire

Ralph Mathison



**To serve until the 2008 Conference:**

Susan Boyd

Walter Hanak

Leonora Neville

Amy Papalexandrou

**Program Committee:**

Leonora Neville, Chair - History, *Catholic University of America*)

Elizabeth Fisher - Literature, *George Washington University*

Anthony Kaldellis - History/Literature, *Ohio State University*

Glenn Peers - Art History, *University of Texas at Austin*

Thelma Thomas - Art History/Archaeology, *Institute of Fine Arts,  
New York University*

Warren Woodfin - Archaeology/Art History, *University of Pennsylvania*

**Local Arrangements Committee:**

Tia Kolbaba, Chair - Religion, *Rutgers University*

Archer St. Clair Harvey - Art History, *Rutgers University*

Stephen Reinert - History, *Rutgers University*

Sarolta Takacs - History, *Rutgers University*

Lynn Jones - Art History, *Florida State University*

