

Thirty-sixth Annual

BYZANTINE STUDIES CONFERENCE

*University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia*

8-10 October 2010



ABSTRACTS of PAPERS

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Session I A
New Materials for New Narratives

The Chronicle of Galaxidi: An Overview of its importance for understanding the history of Southwest Central Greece based on a new study of the ms. and an analysis of its sources.

Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou (St. John's University)

The Chronicle of Galaxidi, a monastic text written in 1703, preserves details from sources now lost concerning the history of the regions of Lokris and Doridos in Southwest Central Greece from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries. The unique manuscript of the Chronicle was discovered in the ruins of the Monastery of Our Savior in 1862 by the pioneering Greek scholar Konstantinos Sathas. He published his edition shortly thereafter as part of a regional history and no one since then has either had an opportunity to study the manuscript or produce a new edition. In the 1940's the eminent Byzantinist, Nikos Bees was able to study photographs of the manuscript and suggested some corrections, however, the precious manuscript, then part of a private collection, was presumed lost during the aftermath of the Second World War. In fact, Bees reported prior to his study, that rumors had circulated that Sathas had forged the unique document and that his edition was a hoax.

Scholars such as Bees, Vasiliev, Hood and Tivcev, have demonstrated the veracity and importance of the Chronicle concerning Slavic invasions and migrations into the Gulf of Corinth during the tenth century. Recently, Rosser has made a persuasive argument in favor of the islets off the Galaxidi coast in the gulf of Itea, as periodic isles of refuge using the same source. Similarly, Savvides has shown that the Galaxidi text preserves supplementary information concerning the eleventh century activities of the Normans in the region and Latin pirates during the thirteenth. Other sections of the Galaxidi chronicle however, continue to be underutilized especially for the Ottoman period.

This paper presents an overview of the rediscovery and analysis of the "lost" manuscript based on a reading of it while I was a Gennadius Fellow at the American School of Classical Studies. The Overview consists of four parts: (1) A description and analysis of the manuscript, its language, and the perspective on the events it describes; (2) Some suggestions concerning the kinds of sources the monk Euthymios had at his disposal and how I believe he used them. For example, a comparison of the Galaxidi chronicle to other local sources such as the Chronicle of Varnakova will be made. (3) A

brief discussion of the sections of the Chronicle which relate important information concerning the Ottoman conquest of Central Greece during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These supplement Latin and Greek sources such as Cyriacus of Ancona, Sphrantzes and Khalkokondyles; (4) Some comments concerning the attitude of the monk Euthymios on the terminology he uses for Hellenes, Latins, Romaioi, Ottomans and local identities based on the internal evidence the text provides.

Polystylon: A Thracian Byzantine Town in the Context of Historical Developments during the 6th - 14th Centuries as Deciphered by its Archaeo-Anthropological Record

Anagnostis P. Agelarakis (Adelphi University)

At Byzantine Polystylon (ancient Abdera) on the Thracian coast of the Aegean archaeo-anthropological investigations under the auspices of the 12th Ephoreiate of Byzantine Antiquities identified and recovered between 1981-1995 three sites involving complex human activity areas. At the first site, an extended cemetery and a three-aisled basilica were discovered outside the fortification walls of the Byzantine town. Both were in function between the end of the 6th and the 10th-11th centuries. The second site, within the acropolis walls and adjacent to the central gate of Polystylon revealed a single-aisled domed church of the 12th-13th century. A cemetery dating to the same period surrounded the church building. The third excavation site situated at the highest elevation within the acropolis of the Byzantine town focused on the ruins of the 9th-10th century Episcopal Church. The western courtyard of the church had been used as a cemetery during the 13th and 14th centuries.

This paper focuses on the anthropological materials retrieved from the three cemeteries spanning over a time period from the 6th to the 14th centuries. The cemeteries offered significant evidence on the typology of tombs, and of funerary customs and practices. The study of the human skeletal remains from the three cemeteries based on physical anthropological, paleopathologic and archaeometric analyses provided significant data on demographic and biological growth dynamics as well as of the pathologic profiles of the populations involved, reflective of distinct transformations in

the living environments at Polystylon as a provincial Byzantine town between the 6th and 14th centuries.

The combination of evidentiary data from both the archaeological and anthropological records elucidate facets of the changing socio-economic organizational capacities at this western Thracian Byzantine town which allows for a better and more thorough understanding of its historical development. In conjunction with such assessments overarching in time between the 6th and 14th centuries at Polystylon, this study offers the opportunity to also address a number of particular aspects of the larger socio-political realm in the Byzantine Empire. Some emphasis is also given in the early years of the 14th c., during the reign of Emperor Andronicus II, regarding the nature of composition of the population involved in a walled town under times of distress, in particular under the coeval decentralized Byzantine defense strategy as revealed at Polystylon.

The Corpus of Dated and Datable Inscriptions from Constantinople, Bithynia, and Eastern Thrace

Anne McCabe (Athenian Agora Excavations/CSAD, Oxford)

Some forty years ago, the late Prof. Ihor Sevchenko and Prof. Cyril Mango began collecting material for a Corpus of Dated and Datable Inscriptions from Constantinople, Bithynia, and Eastern Thrace. The emphasis of the project, which is nearing completion, is on tracing the evolution of Greek letter-forms during the Byzantine period; it will also provide a dated series against which undated inscriptions may be compared. The Corpus now consists of some 120 inscriptions on stone which are either dated or datable, e.g. containing an allusion to a known person or belonging to a monument whose date is known from other sources. These inscriptions are from the capital and its hinterland; an area chosen since it has greater epigraphic continuity, so to speak, than much of the empire, with texts representing the entire Byzantine period from the fourth century until the fifteenth. Some of the inscriptions are in situ on the Land and Sea Walls of Istanbul, while others are built into churches such as SS Sergius and Bacchus or St. Mary Pammakaristos. Many loose stones have been gathered in the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul, Iznik, and Tekirdag, and a few have found their way further afield to Greece and Russia. A number were identified or published for the first time by Prof. Sevchenko,

such as the verse inscription from St. Polyuktos, or the epitaph of Sisinnios, curator of Tzurulon. Among the categories represented are dedications of monuments and buildings, funerary inscriptions both humble and aristocratic, boundary stones, and an inscribed decree. Also included are a number of lost inscriptions of which reasonably good facsimiles exist. In 1995 the newly-founded Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents at Oxford provided facilities for photos of the inscriptions to be scanned and for a database to be created. I am now preparing the Corpus for publication together with Prof. Mango.

Mapping the Jewish Communities of the Byzantine Empire

Nicholas de Lange (University of Cambridge)

The paper presents for the first time to an audience of specialist Byzantinists a new research project which aims to generate interactive on-line maps of the Jewish presence in the Byzantine empire, using GIS (Geographic Information Systems). The project, funded by the European Research Council, aims to fill a gap in two fields, Byzantine history and Jewish history. Additionally, the application of new technology to the study of a historical subject will furnish a model that can be followed in other historical projects.

The project will collate all the information that has so far been published about the Jewish communities: their whereabouts, their history, their relationships with each other and with their wider environment, including trade routes and historical trends, and also about individuals and their relationships with each other. Full bibliographical documentation will be supplied. It also aims to go beyond the published record and investigate unpublished sources, so as to be as complete and up-to-date as possible. All data having a date AND a place will be fed into the GIS database, and will form the basis of the maps.

After presenting the aims of the project and its rationale, the paper examines the methodology adopted. The scope of the project is defined temporally and spatially. It begins in 650, i.e. after the Arab conquest of Egypt, Palestine and Syria and the definitive loss of these regions, with their substantial Jewish populations, to the Byzantine empire.

The end-date is fixed not by the conventional date of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, but by the arrival in the region of large numbers of Jewish immigrants from Spain in 1492. The Ottoman conquerors with their policy of *sürgün* (forced transfer of populations) dramatically changed the demography of the Jewish population: the period from 1453 to 1492 is in itself of relevance for a full understanding of the story of Byzantine Jewry, while culturally there was little change in the aftermath of the conquest. It is 1492 that marks the real end. Geographically the choices are more complex, since the frontiers of the empire altered considerably and repeatedly during the eight centuries under investigation. For the purposes of the project the core areas of Asia Minor, the southern Balkans and the adjacent islands (including Crete and Cyprus) are included for the entirety of the period, regardless of the ruling power at any particular time.

The search for unpublished data containing both a spatial and a temporal reference is one of the most important aspects of the project. A large mass of such data exists, notably in inscriptions, colophons in Hebrew manuscripts, and the substantial and relatively unexplored documents on Crete held in the Venetian State Archives.

Numerous methodological issues beset a project of this nature, and these are discussed in the paper. Finally we consider how this project can contribute to some of the wider questions concerning the Jewish minority in Byzantium, and indeed to minority history more generally.

Session I B
Monuments of Constantinople

The Relationship Between Christian Symbols on the Golden Gate of Constantinople

Christopher Timm (Florida State University)

The Golden Gate, integrated into the southern stretch of the Theodosian Walls, served as the ceremonial entrance to Constantinople. Numerous crosses and staurograms are carved in relief on marble blocks dating from its construction between 388 and 413. These symbols deserve serious consideration, as the Golden Gate is the oldest extant triumphal arch that utilizes Christian imagery. The limited attention given to its visual program has thus far relied upon the reconstruction of both the Latin inscriptions over the central portal and the figural imagery.

I suggest that an examination of the internal relationship of these symbols—the pairing of cross and staurogram—is more revealing than a typological approach. Existing plans and reconstructions do not provide a complete record of their placement, form, and number. I offer my own survey, which reveals a considered arrangement. Staurograms are located upon the outer springers of the north and south arches of the Golden Gate; these are mirrored by crosses on the inner springers. This pairing is repeated on the southwest and northwest corners of the north and south pylons where a cross and staurogram flank the approach to the triple arch. Thus, by processing through the Golden Gate, one passes through progressive staurogram-cross pairs.

I attempt to accommodate these symbols' variety and fluidity rather than pursue absolute identifications that define crosses as either the imperial, victorious cross or the holy cross on Golgotha. The use of cross and staurogram in other contexts suggests that their arrangement on the Golden Gate conflates word and image. I suggest the relationship between these symbols helps form the Golden Gate's complex visual program.

Hagia Sophia's Marble Meadows and the Marble Imperial Presence in Constantinople

Maya Maskarinec (UCLA)

This paper explores the imperial resonances of Hagia Sophia's marbles, situating them within a broader context of imperial marble use in Constantinople and tracing some of the later historical perspectives that they generated. Hagia Sophia boasts an impressive abundance of over ten different types of marble carefully arranged to adorn its walls and floor and there are over fifty marble columns throughout the church. As the well-preserved Eufrasius cathedral in Poreč and the restored decorative scheme of S. Vitale in Ravenna illustrate, Hagia Sophia's marble splendor correlated with, but also surpassed contemporary standards, in particular those of its immediate Constantinopolitan precursors, St. Polyeuktos and Sts. Sergios and Bacchos. Correlating Paul the Silentiary's description of the marbles (in the oration which he delivered shortly after the church's consecration in 562) with evidence regarding 6th-century quarrying, I examine the types, quarry locations and availability of Hagia Sophia's marbles. This reveals, contrary to later expectation, that almost all of these marbles, with the significant exceptions of the Numidian yellow (found in the wall revetment) and the eight enormous porphyry columns, could have been freshly quarried. More than a mere catalogue of materials, however, Paul the Silentiary's account of the marbles serves to map the expanse of Justinian's empire and exalt Constantinople as the Empire's capital, central themes in Paul's encomium of Justinian. A comparison with the Church of the Holy Apostles (through the lens of Constantine the Rhodian's 10th-century description) and the imperial sarcophagi of varying types of rare marbles placed in the mausolea and stoaes adjoining the church demonstrate how Justinian's ideological use of marbles in Constantinople further developed the precedent set by Constantine the Great and his successors. Emperors were closely attuned to the resonances of finely colored and distantly quarried marbles, especially purple and other colored porphyry from Egypt. The continued accumulation of imperial sarcophagi, up through Constantine VIII, (d. 1028) in the mausolea of the Church of the Holy Apostles reveals how these ideological resonances of marble persisted, although the shrinking Empire limited the range of marble available for imperial burials. Changing circumstances also transformed perceptions of Hagia Sophia's marbles, which came to be reinterpreted as *spolia*, reused building material. The 9th-century *Diegesis* uses the ideology of Christian triumph to explain Hagia Sophia's marbles: Justinian is said to have despoiled the temples of pagan antiquity throughout

his vast Empire to construct Constantinople's grandest church and 15th century Persian/Turkish translations of the *Diegesis*, too, continue to reconfigure Constantinople's powerful imperial marble legacy.

From an Urban Interior to an Indoor Landscape: Hagia Sophia in the Ceremonial Life of Constantinople

Pelin Yoncaci Arslan (UCLA Architecture and Urban Design)

It is widely accepted that the urban plan of Constantinople retains an experiential relation to the ceremonial life of the city and in this relationship; Hagia Sophia constitutes an important *terminus*. For most of the urban processions, the rituals followed the main colonnaded artery of the city. Designated as the triumphal way of Constantinople by Cyril Mango in 2000, this route started with the Golden Gate, passed through four imperial fora and ended with the Milion and the Augusteion in front of the Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace. This paper, however, argues that the Great Church could have operated as a continuation of this path within a constantly changing architectural allegory between inside and outside unfolding in time and space. This is, during the urban processions, the open-air public spaces transformed into outdoor rooms, whereas the church was perceived, spatially and metaphorically, as an indoor landscape – a landscape that had gates leading to other passageways; arcades and screens providing series of changing vistas; and specialized *floor* and *wallscapes* created by the use of animated marbles. As such, the sequence of the urban serial vision formed by elevated statues on columns in imperial *fora*, archways and colonnaded avenues got seamlessly combined with the uninterrupted space of the church that got punctuated to the ground solely by four main piers whilst the vault of the sky spanned over. As a *thick* pausing moment along the geo-visual journey of a procession, Hagia Sophia renders the ceremonial life full of exposures and enclosures, of constraints and reliefs and represents it as an urban performance.

The particular context in the paper is the milieu of the early tenth century Constantinople as this era has the most textual documentation about urban processions. At first, the processional route will be set shortly starting from the early fourth century with the birthday celebrations of the city, to Leo I's coronation ceremony when the

triumphal route of Constantinople archived a more or less fixed form. As the ceremonial stage-set is established, a review on the urban processions of the city will be released. Following that, the main part of the paper does an experiential analysis, first through the urban armature and then through the interior of the Hagia Sophia. The former concentrates on the serial vision where the colonnades and archways, focal points and unexpected vistas served to link the near with the remote. The spaces evoke recollections of past events and important moments through columns, reliefs and sculptural program. The latter, then, turns to the relationship between the architecture of the church and the sensory experience of the emperor/the patriarch/and the common people underwent while moving and being in the differentiated spaces, paying close attention to the various individual aspects that frame the movement, especially those gates, columns, *wavy* walls and floors. It is just through movement that one discovers the Great Church: its architecture is about the path, about movement.

Replacing the Statue with a Saint: Daniel the Stylite and Constantinople's Monumental Columns

Joel DowlingSoka (Ohio State University)

In the fifth century Constantinople boasted a diverse collection of monumental columns. At the same time, in the immediate hinterland of the city, a Syrian ascetic lived out his life on the top of a double column. There is a clear relationship made by Daniel's *Life* and by the epigram inscribed upon his column between his ascetic devotion upon a column and the statue topped columns of gods and emperors.

The epigram inscribed on his column presents a mixture of Homeric and Biblical imagery in a classical meter (*Life of Daniel the Stylite*, cap. 36; *A.P.* 1.99.). It also has a great deal of similarity with the form of at least one preserved epigram from a monumental column (an anonymous epigram to a Eudoxia: *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix, Epigrammata dedicatoria*, 354.). A close analysis of this epigram demonstrates that the epigram both references and differentiates Daniel from the traditions evoked by his columnar mode.

The manner in which the *Life* presents Daniel's presentation after death also supports the argument that there was a recognition between his status and a column

with a statue. Upon his death the body was placed on a plank and made to stand vertical so that it would not fall. (*Life of Daniel the Stylite*, cap. 99.) Daniel became, for a short while after his death but before his burial, an inanimate statue.

Both of these examples suggest an understanding of the visual similarity of a saint to a statue in fifth century Constantinople, but do not necessarily demonstrate that the same imagery can be understood as applying for the stylites as a whole. Both examples show the people of Constantinople making parallels between the monumental imagery of Constantinople and the asceticism of Daniel. It is entirely possible that Symeon's invention of the stylite mode could be a particularly Syrian form of asceticism (A possibility suggested by the existence of the *phallobites* much earlier in the region: David Frankfurter, "Stylites and Phallobates: Pillar Religions in Late Antique Syria," in *Vigiliae Christianae*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Jun., 1990), pp. 168-198.) while the treatment of Daniel's column represents a transformation of that Syrian asceticism into terms relevant to Constantinople with its surplus of monumental architecture. Similarities of imagery that would have been obvious to someone who saw Daniel on the same day as seeing the columns in the Hippodrome, the Theodosian Forum and the Forum of Constantine might not seem so obvious for a visitor to Symeon in the Syrian desert.

Session II A
Palaiologan Society and Culture

Pronoia Revisited: A Reconsideration of Imperial Grants in Late Byzantium, 1280-1360

Jason Alexander Banks (The University of Chicago)

Since the earliest studies by scholars such as Makushev, Uspenski, Vasiliev, and Ostrogorsky, *pronoia* grants were seen as an indication of Byzantine feudalism. This intellectual legacy has bound later scholars to view *pronoia* through the lens of feudalism, or manorialism to be more precise. Scholars have tended to tie *pronoia* grants closely with a variety of phenomena such as manorial models of socio-economic organization in Byzantium, land tenure practices, and the disintegration of imperial power during the Paleologian period. As a result, there has often been a selective use of the source material regarding *pronoia* to accommodate ideas and theories about social phenomena rather than shape them.

This paper provides a close examination of the *praktika* and *prostagmata* that created the grants from the years 1280-1360, when the documentation is most abundance and consistent. By suspending *a priori* assumptions about the role manorialism in Byzantium and focusing on these documents as contract vehicles within the broader constellation of imperial documents, I reveal a picture of *pronoia* in contrast to the prevailing view. Instead of being grants of land and taxes revenues, *pronoia* was entirely tax revenue based and did not involve the transfer of land. This shift has broad implications on established interpretations of fourteenth century Byzantine society and administration.

Since *pronoia* has been heavily used as proof of the widespread prevalence of manorial estates and the virtual disappearance of small-holding peasants, the lack of property being a component of a *pronoia* grant directly undermines this view of Paleologian society. The implications extend to nature of imperial control as well. Instead of being an example of the devolution of the empire's control over its resources, *pronoia* was an example of the empire creatively leveraging its resources to meet various financial obligations and to accomplish other objectives such as encouraging the settlement of abandoned land, thus increasing its tax base in the long term.

Social agendas in the late Byzantine court: Reassessing the controversy between Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodore Metochites

Alexander Riehle (University of Munich)

For the last forty years, Ihor Ševčenko's seminal monograph, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochites et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels 1962), has provided the definitive understanding of the controversy on literary and philosophical issues between the two high-ranking officials in Andronikos' II court, Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodore Metochites. New historical data, however, allows us to reassess the evidence of the available sources related to this subject. Recent research on the letter-collections of Nikephoros raises questions about the nature of this controversy, in particular its relationship, both in terms of chronology and of content, to the letters exchanged between Nikephoros and Theodore before the outbreak of their enmity. The fact that their correspondence abounds in the traditional vocabulary and imagery of friendship, whereas the orations of the "polemic dossier" are written in harsh and aggressive tones, belies the strong thematic conjunction between the two groups of texts. The controversy was ignited by Nikephoros' *Oration on literary criticism and composition*, which Theodore interpreted as an invective against the obscurity of his own writings. The essence of their respective arguments can already be detected in their earlier correspondence, however: in one of his letters, Nikephoros stated that the paramount stylistic virtue was clarity, essential to making ideas comprehensible and accessible; Theodore, in contrast, advocated the principle of *deinotes* ("rhetorical force"), which through deliberate obfuscation led to an exclusiveness of ideas. These two opposing concepts are not only frequently expressed in their other writings, but also shaped their actual writing style: while Nikephoros employed a moderately elevated style, Theodore's exceedingly elaborate language often renders his works almost unintelligible. These observations lead to conclusions reaching beyond the field of literary analysis: as it is argued, it was Nikephoros' intention to communicate through literature that demanded a language comprehensible to a broader educated public. Theodore, on the other hand, used his writings primarily as a means of social distinction by employing a language accessible only to a small group of adepts.

The controversy was thus neither a harmless intellectual skirmish nor a mere side-effect of a personal rivalry motivated by the replacement of Nikephoros as the emperor's "prime minister" (*mesazon*), as has long been thought, but rather a serious socio-political

debate between the two antipodal poles of Byzantine society expressed therein: on the one hand, the general hierarchical mobility and openness of the aristocracy to newcomers, and on the other, the social and cultural elitism through which those in power sought to compensate for the fragility of their status regulating and constraining social mobility.

This reassessment not only provides fresh insights into the biographies of two important court officials in late Byzantium, but is also relevant to a broader history of ideas. Shedding light on differing social conceptions in Byzantium, it indicates that the relatively small Constantinopolitan court elite was not necessarily an organ of a coherent imperial ideology. Rather, a complex, multi-layered network of views existed about social, political and literary issues which could trigger severe conflicts among its representatives.

Philosophy for Rhetoric: Nikephoros Gregoras on Identity

Divna Manolova (Central European University, Medieval Studies
Department)

In letter 34 (ed. P. A. M. Leone, 1982) addressed to Maximos Magistros, a monk and later an archimandrite of Chortaites monastery, Nikephoros Gregoras (ca. 1292/1295 – 1358/1361) elaborated on the nature of friendship invoking the notion of *tautotēs* or identity. Gregoras asked a rather general question about the human constitution, namely, how is it possible that two persons have so much in common, that they are so much alike. He discussed the identical natures and character of Maximos Magistros, the monk and Maximos, the hegoumenos of Chortaites monastery, who was in fact originally from Gregoras' native city Herakleia Pontike and to whom Gregoras addressed five other letters.

In order to address the question of identical characters, Gregoras introduced two different philosophical accounts of identity. Then rather surprisingly, he complemented the discussion with comments on the construction of the universe as consisting of stable and moving elements. The present paper inquires into the ways through which such a

description of the universe enhanced the rhetorical role of the notion of *being identical* employed by Gregoras. The reference to *tautotēs* invokes mainly Neoplatonic connotations as opposed to the more commonly employed in letters Aristotelian notion of similarity in nature (*homoiotēs*). The present paper draws conclusions as to the intention(s) behind Gregoras' choice of philosophical framework with respect to his addressee and the type of epistolary relationship Gregoras aimed to establish or sustain.

The chief contribution of the present paper is to demonstrate through the case study of Gregoras' letter 34 how philosophy was used for rhetorical purposes in Byzantine epistolography. The present inquiry is also interested in Gregoras' motivation to address Maximos through the employment of such an intricate philosophical argumentation.

Reconstructing Byzantine Rulership: Manuel II's Funeral Oration

Joshua Abbotoy (Catholic University of America)

By the late 14th century, the political woes of Byzantium had reached their acme. Byzantine rulers competed as regional lords against rival factions, Venetians, various Latin kingdoms, Serbians, and increasingly the Ottomans. In 1407, Theodore Palaiologos, Byzantine despot of Greece, passed away after a long debilitating illness. Two years later, his brother the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos composed a literary epitaph for circulation among the literati who comprised his circle of friends. As a lengthy source from a poorly-attested period, the Oration has attracted the attention of historians who have generally complained about the Orations' wealth of rhetoric and paucity of fact. More recently, scholars have been approaching the Oration for broader questions about late Palaiologan society, such as ethnic identities and political attitudes. None, however, have used a comprehensive approach to understand the Oration in its own terms. I have read the Oration as a mirror of Manuel's self, in which his reflections on his brother's legacy serve to illustrate his own construction of how a Byzantine ruler could continue to exhibit virtue and nobility, in a political *milieu* which threatened to disgrace Byzantine participants. Manuel uses his brother's legacy to establish new criteria for good Byzantine rulership, by which his own reign is judged to be a success. Accordingly, Manuel highlights virtues which he himself possesses and which could uphold the

nobility of a Byzantine ruler despite the humiliation of vassalage and distasteful alliances. These virtues include: strong education, faithfulness and shrewdness in oath-making, mastery over a redefined geography, savvy management in dealings with foreign rulers, and the ability to endure suffering nobly. These virtues also help to demarcate the Byzantine ruler from regional rivals. Equally important are the traditional elements of earlier Byzantine *ēpitēfoi* which are conspicuously absent or obscured. Although Manuel composed the Funeral Oration in a period of grief both for himself and for the Empire at large, its tone conveys optimism and defiance: Manuel refuses to allow political chaos to bury him in the long shadow of the glorious Byzantine past.

Session II B
Icons in Practice and Theory

Mother of God, Cease Sorrow! **The Significance of Movement in a Late Byzantine Icon**

Ruth Ann Bohlander (Temple University)

The relationships between movement, emotion, and ritual communion in Byzantium have drawn the attention of art historians in recent years. While Henry Maguire has considered many facets of this subject, a monumental Late Byzantine icon, the *Two-Sided Icon with the Virgin Pausolype, Feast Scenes, the Crucifixion and Prophets*, suggests others. While the catalog entry by Annemarie Weyl Carr in *Byzantium: Faith and Power* remains the only published discussion of this particular icon, or even specifically of the Pausolype (“cease sorrow!”) iconographic type, I believe that this image contributes significantly to our understanding of Late Byzantine culture and liturgical practice. Careful study of this particular icon encourages a consideration of the problematic subject of emotion, and its interactions with movement, ritual and art. The paucity of evidence makes it difficult to address specific devotional practices associated with this particular object, although some observations can be made. I am able, however, to align it with its iconographic antecedents and establish contemporary relationships, illuminating aspects of its original function.

Visually, the format of the Pausolype icon is reminiscent of the “vita” icon, and also includes the standard biographical content. Access to the central icon of the Virgin Pausolype, like those of vita icons, relied upon the viewer’s understanding of the surrounding framework of images. This format engaged the viewer in a theological dialogue, driven by the narrative interactions between the peripheral scenes and the central one. I assert that the cessation of sorrow moment is a theological one imbued with lament, which arises from a debate between Mary and her Son regarding his impending sacrifice. I believe that the Christ Child’s agitated movement is indicative of his role as the Eucharistic host. Middle and Late Byzantine culture typically eschewed erratic movement, making the absence of motion correct etiquette for most public occasions. Byzantines from the late Middle period created images according to cultural formulae, and yet the central icon on the obverse of the Pausolype icon is anything but traditionally static. Instead of one frozen moment, the Christ Child’s movement marks a transition from one moment to another, in this case aided by the position of the Nativity above and the Ascension below, and it therefore reads vertically: Incarnation, Passion, and Advent. In Christ’s twisting movement coupled with the knowing gaze of Mary, and confirmed

by the placement of feast scenes, the pious observer saw an encapsulation of the major theological moments. In addition, the Pausolype icon participated in the ritual act of transformative movement by means of procession, as is indicated by scarring on the bottom center of the panel. According to Sharon J. Gerstel, movement through the church itself symbolized transformation from earth to paradise. The significance of the Pausolype icon is expanded through contextualization. While I agree with Weyl Carr and Rebecca W. Corrie that the Christ Child's movement makes reference to his humanness, I believe that this insistence on the physicality of the Christ Child serves to highlight his transformation to the divine.

The First Canonical Byzantine Icon: Bernard Berenson, Royall Tyler, and the Mellon Madonna

Robert S. Nelson (Yale University)

With today's abundance of publications and exhibitions devoted to Byzantine icons, it is difficult to realize how recent is a general knowledge of icons. At the end of World War II, few museums in Europe and America possessed and displayed icons. No icons were to be found in the Louvre, the National Gallery and the British Museum in London, or most any museum in America. Excluding relatively inaccessible Russian collections, only the Byzantine Museum in Athens possessed and displayed Byzantine icons, but Greece of the 1940s was not today's thoroughly westernized member of the European Community, and tourists to Athens went to see ancient, not medieval art.

What Byzantine icons were generally known in the late 1940s? Exactly one, the possibly Byzantine Mellon Madonna in the National Gallery in Washington. That panel's debut had come at the first international exhibition of Byzantine art in Paris in 1931. According to the principal organizer of the show, Royall Tyler, he had been forced to accept the panel by the dealer Joseph Duveen, who made a significant monetary contribution to the exhibition. Tyler considered Duveen's panel to be "a vile daub and heavily repainted at that." A decade earlier, however, it had been praised by Bernard Berenson, whom Duveen kept on retainer. Later sold to Andrew Mellon, the painting thereby became part of Mellon's gift to President Roosevelt and the nation, a collection

comprised of works, in Mellon's words, of the "highest standard of quality" that comprised "most of the great masters of western Europe." The Gallery's first director and curator, both devoted to Berenson, enshrined the Mellon Madonna in the museum's survey of art history that began, as Vasari had argued, with Byzantine painters in Italy, who taught and were soon surpassed by Italian masters. The status of the panel increased further, when Ernst Gombrich and H.W. Janson allotted it one of the few color plates in their best-selling survey books of 1950 and 1965. Invested with Vasari's and Berenson's notions of art and history, the Mellon Madonna thereby became canonical with consequences for Byzantine art more generally.

Synphrasis

Anthony Cutler (The Pennsylvania State University)

Synphrasis is a term used in 21st-century art criticism to mean a "speaking with" or "uttering together" (see K. Grovier on Cy Twombly, *TLS*, 1 May 2009, 17-18). It is not a device in the armory of ancient rhetoricians but a concept applicable to a sizeable number of Byzantine objects. It is a tool useful in their elucidation, especially because, unlike ekphrasis, the description of a work from "outside," it is an internal, constitutive process. We recognize synphrasis in works of art in which iconography, inscriptions and their disposition/*mise en page*, sometimes their material, and the manner in which they were handled are elements that work together, each reinforcing the statement of the other factors. This synergy can be shown to be purposeful, even if, apparently, it went unnoticed in the Byzantine literature on art. The aim of the historian, it can be argued, is to perceive processes imperceptible to those who participated in, or employed, them.

If, overtly, synphrasis was invisible to the Byzantines, it is manifest in objects produced across a wide span of time. These range from ampullae at Monza (see esp. Grabar, no. 10), the ivory Ascension box in Stuttgart and the diptychs at Chambéry and Warsaw ("Mistaken Novelty," *Biuletyn historii sztuki* 70 [2008], 269-284), the Louvre's silver-gilt reliquary for the Stone of the Resurrection (*Byzance*, no. 248), to a chalice veil in Athens (*Faith and Power*, no. 186); equally susceptible to this mode of analysis is the reliquary at the Protaton, the topic of Brad Hosteler's fine paper at BSC 35 (Sarasota 2009, p. 13).

When Ševčenko and I worked together on the diptychs, he was initially and understandably most interested in their epigraphy. But even in the course of his last illness he was willing to entertain the idea that this was “supplemented” by the other factors that I describe above. It is no accident that synphrasis is most apparent on small, “personal” objects – things that need to be held if one is to read the inscriptions and contemplate the multiplicity of ways in which the artefact conveys its meaning. This paper is dedicated to his memory.

The Icon and Its Legacy in the Russian/Ukrainian Avant-Garde

Myroslava M. Mudrak (The Ohio State University)

Professor Ihor Sevcenko’s vast erudition in Slavic medieval sources has had an important bearing on the way that we have come to understand modern Russian and Ukrainian art. It is my intention to honor his memory as a scholar, whose expertise as a Byzantinist melded with contemporary Ukrainian studies. My purpose, therefore, is to focus on the pictorial devices of formalist painting of the early twentieth century in the Russian Empire as appropriations and extensions of an indexical language that was rooted in Byzantine iconography. This paper not only examines the wholesale co-opting of the imaging devices of traditional icons by modern painters such as Kazimir Malevich, Klyment Red’ko, and Vladimir Tatlin, but reaffirms the formal properties of the icon—specifically flattened space, geometric proportions, symbolic color, and dynamic line—as the carriers of spiritual content that is translated through modernism into a secular transcendence. By the time of the Revolution of 1917 and especially in the period of visionary Constructivism that followed, the subjects of icons and their iconographic features coincided with the ideological *gestalt* of a developing Russian and Ukrainian visual modernism. The concept of religious conversion relayed by Orthodox liturgical icons came to be adopted through artistic primitivism as a way of professing the revelation of revolution. With a claim for an ideal world, the pictorial language of avant-garde artists represents a transfiguration of the spirit as it also stakes out a claim for an imminent ideal world promised by revolution. Natalia Goncharova’s *Mystical Images of War* (1914) serves as a prime example; in another instance, the theological and symbolic

import of the element of light as seen in the liturgical icon of the Transfiguration converts directly into a metaphor of commitment to revolutionary aims in the non-objective utopian paintings of Alexandr Rodchenko.

The emulation of the icon-image places the Russian and Ukrainian avant-garde in the forefront of the modernist discourse of what Nikolai Berdyaev called the “crisis of art.” Indeed, the affirmation of “flatness” — the unique property of painting that was heavily debated by Western painters and critics — from Edouard Manet in the 1860s to Clement Greenberg in the 1960s — was a reiteration of what the modern Slavs had already come to know through their experience of icons early in the twentieth century: the recognition that painting’s self-referential nature constitutes an unbroken semiological link with Orthodox iconography. This position was outlined by A. Gritchenko as early as 1913 in his seminal essay, *O sviazakh russkoi zhivopisi s’ Vizantiei i Zapadom XIII-XX v.* (Moscow 1913) and was reinforced by the historic display of one of the largest collections of icons (in reproduction) by the Prague-based Seminarium Kondakovium at the Exposition des Arts Décoratifs de Paris in 1925. The Russian (and Ukrainian) avant-garde’s formalist engagement with the traditional Orthodox icon sets it apart from other modernist movements of the early twentieth century because of the artists’ engagement with the polysemic capacity of the icon’s formal properties.

Session III A
Byzantium and the Renaissance

Hesychia and Paideia in the Fourteenth Century: A Reexamination of the Opposition between Monks and Humanists

Leonidas Pittos (University of Chicago)

The relationship between humanists and hesychasts during the later part of the fourteenth century represents a major theme of the intellectual history of the Palaiologan era. Yet there are serious problems in the way the question had been cast. The humanists of the mid-fourteenth century have been defined generally by their opposition to Gregory Palamas. Yet, as one may see in the letters of Gregory Akindynos (Palamas' second major opponent after Barlaam), "anti-Palamites" such as Akindynos shared a number of key beliefs and values with Palamas and were admirers of the "hesychastic" way of life. Similarly, the study of the Greek classical tradition has been put forward as a demarcation between hesychast and humanist. Yet, in the thought of hesychasts there was not an absolute opposition between the study of classical literature and the life of hesychia. This is particularly true in the case of language and attitudes toward language. The major writers and theologians of hesychast theology in the mid-fourteenth century had all studied under "humanist" masters and had thoroughly assimilated the skills and attitudes of classical *paideia*. The two foremost hesychast theologians, Gregory Palamas and Philotheos Kokkinos, were thoroughly imbued with the rhetoric of classical antiquity. Linguistic Atticism was the core and essence of Byzantine *paideia*. Both Palamas and Kokkinos could compose and speak well-formed and carefully crafted sentences or the type that Greek-speaking elite since the Hellenistic period took much pleasure in reading and writing, with a broad vocabulary that they derived from their study of the Attic writers. Thus, the standard accounts of the conflict between late Byzantine humanism and hesychasm emerge as narrow and limited. This paper suggests a fresh approach to the question. Whereas there were many specific theological differences between a number of hesychasts and humanists, I explore one key area of difference between the two discourses: the rhetorical genre of encomium. I argue that one of the fundamental differences between "hesychast" and "humanist" in the fourteenth century resided in rhetorical practice. The hesychast authors of the fourteenth century diverged from the expectations of classical rhetoric, particularly in the genre of the encomium, revising the traditional categories of praise such as *anastrophe* (upbringing), *epiteumata* (deeds) and *praxeis* (actions) by infusing these forms with the ascetic practices and mystical expectations of the hesychast, while minimizing the traditional material of praise such as *paideia*. It was not *paideia* that made the saints holy.

The sages of ancient Greece, who possessed only *paideia* and could not be considered equal to the holy men, prophet, apostles, and saints of the Christian tradition. The realignment of the boundaries between humanist and hesychast has far reaching consequences in Byzantine intellectual history, ranging even far beyond the late Byzantine period.

**Funerary iambic lines on the tomb of the blessed Basilissa, Lady
Kleofe Palaiologina: MS Venice, Marciana Gr. 533, f. 48v, Reattribution
from Bessarion to Theodoros Palaiologos**

Diana Gilliland Wright (Independent Scholar, Seattle)

A poem in MS Venice, Marciana Graeca 533, f. 48v, published by Spyridon Lampros in 1926, has always been assumed to have been written by Cardinal Bessarion as a young man, and the manuscript assumed to be in his hand. Study makes the handwriting attribution doubtful, and the authorship attribution impossible. An analysis of contemporary Mistra and Italian documents concerning Kleofe Palaiogina Malatesta, as well as the content of the poem, makes it clear that the only possible author could have been her bereaved husband, Theodoros II Palaiologos.

The poem, unique in Byzantine poetry, is an intensely physical love poem, Italianate in style, and was written from the background of the complex emotional relationship between the couple. Theodoros is traditionally regarded as a mathematician, and in this poem he identifies five forms of possible union that he might have with Kleofe, following a model of the five senses, which he is not able to continue using for the final two. Most essential to the identification of Theodoros as author is the discovery of a Petrarchean sonnet by Kleofe's father, Malatesta "dei Sonetti" Malatesti, Lord of Pesaro, to his dead wife which provides the model and several of the images Theodoros uses to somewhat different effect in his poem. Malatesta's use of the phrase "non huom, ma bruto," seems to assure Theodoros' identification with Theocritus' "brute," and adaptation of his "Cyclops" where the poet tells the doctor that the only drug for love is song. Theodoros concludes his poem with the declaration that his only comfort is this song, calling Kleofe his *συνεργός*.

**The epitaphios for Theodora Palaeologina, attributed to Bessarion:
MS Venice, Marciana Graeca 533, f. 48v–49r.**

Pierre A. MacKay (University of Washington)

In MS Venice, Marciana Graeca 533, f. 48–49r, immediately following Theodore's poem to Cleofe Palaeologina, is one described as “similar iambics” for the tomb of Constantine's wife, Theodora, who died in a town near Olympia in late 1429. We know that this poem has been attributed to Bessarion since at least 1648 but, even though it is much less personal than the Cleofe poem, there are good reasons for thinking that this too is Theodore's work.

The form is conventional—a short *ekphrasis* identifies the image of the deceased, and suggests that the poem was inscribed in a frame around the painting. The following lines start out as praise of Theodora, but immediately switch to a celebration of the warlike commander, Constantine. In this instance there is some irony in the assurance that Theodora came from a family worthy of marriage with a Palaeologian prince, since Theodora's uncle, Carlo II Tocco, who agreed to the alliance, was considered by many Byzantines, especially in Morea, to be a disreputable pirate. The hostile view of the Tocchi can be seen in a poem, (anonymous, but very probably by John Eugenicus) advising Constantine that he must keep in mind “that the Ausonian (a common epithet for the Tocco family) enthusiastically carried out pirate expeditions.”

The present poem's answer to this charge is reminiscent of the end of a long panegyric for Manuel II (already deceased) and John VIII. That has to have been delivered close to the time of John, Constantine and Thomas's victory over Carlo in mid 1428, and the *epitaphios*, with its celebration of Constantine as a warrior, should come very close after Theodora's death, when the memory of his victories was still fresh. At this time, Bessarion had not yet made his first visit to Morea. Theodore was present at the appropriate time to write this poem; Bessarion was not.

A Popular Byzantine Textbook Goes West: Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* and its Latin Translations

Manfred Kraus (University of Tübingen, Germany)

Of the many ancient textbooks on *progymnasmata* or preliminary exercises for beginners in rhetoric, the one by the fourth-century Antiochene rhetor Aphthonius was by far the most successful. It managed to outrival all its predecessors and successors such as Aelius Theon, Pseudo-Hermogenes, or Nicolaus of Myra by presenting the most extended range of fourteen different exercises, and by furnishing also model examples for each exercise in addition to detailed theoretical instructions.

In the Byzantine Empire, where the ancient educational system survived, Aphthonius' little manual attained canonical status as a school textbook, since it came to serve as a standard introduction to the *Techne* of Hermogenes of Tarsus, the unrivaled authority in rhetoric in Byzantine times. It remained enormously popular throughout the Byzantine era, and a plethora of collections of model examples, of prolegomena, scholia and commentaries on Aphthonius were produced by outstanding Byzantine scholars.

In the Latin west, by contrast, the tradition of schooling by *progymnasmata* appears to have almost completely collapsed during the Middle Ages. Only in the fifteenth century when, after the fall of Constantinople, scores of Byzantine intellectuals surged to the west, in particular to Italy, with their favorite rhetorical handbooks in their luggage, knowledge about Aphthonius and the *progymnasmata* was retransferred to the occident. One of the key figures in this process of cultural transmission seems to have been George of Trebizond.

Since Aphthonius's manual perfectly matched the educational principles of the early humanists, it was instantly embraced by them enthusiastically. Yet, to enable its widespread use in humanist schools, Latin translations were inevitably needed. Almost instantly, there accrued a real profusion of various different translations, produced partly by outstanding humanists such as Rudolph Agricola, Petrus Mosellanus, or Joachim Camerarius. The earliest center of dissemination was Italy, where scholars such as Giovanni Maria Cattaneo, Antonio Bonfini, and Natale Conti produced influential translations in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but by and by Northern humanists took over, with more and new Latin translations made in the course of the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By way of these translations, Aphthonius's manual – thanks to its preservation in the Byzantine educational system – again continued to be a standard school textbook in rhetoric until the end of the seventeenth century.

The paper first illustrates the pivotal position of Aphthonius in Byzantine education, then describes the process of the transfer of the text and its pedagogical approach from Byzantium to the west, and finally analyzes and categorizes a sample of Latin translations according to their methods of translation, pedagogical approaches and general outline.

Child of My Heart, Garden of My Mind: Remarks on the Preface of Pseudo-Eudokia's *Violarium*

Patrick Paul Hogan (Chelsea, MI)

Late in the 19th c. controversy swirled around the authenticity of the *Violarium*, a compendium of mythological and historical figures that was attributed to the empress of Eudokia Makrembolitissa, and about how much it actually represented the intellectual climate of Byzantium in the 11th c. (*vide* Flach 1876). The eventual verdict was that the 16th c. scholar Constantinos Palaiokappas created the work in the guise of the learned empress, and research on the work has focused on how he used Suidas, Hesychius, and a few other ancient sources. But scholars have not examined how Palaiokappas presented this admittedly derivative work. The aim of my paper is two-fold: first, to present a translation of the preface of this work (based on the 1880 edition of Flach); and second, to show how the preface uses long-standing tropes of ancient and Byzantine miscellanists to condition the attitude of the reader towards the work but also includes elements fitting its purported author.

The title of the work reflects the long tradition of garden metaphors in literary anthologies - this is certainly not limited to Greco-Roman civilization (Anderson 2003) - and so the *Violarium* may be compared with the *Stephanos* of Meleager, the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria, and many other works from antiquity. But the author goes beyond the usual metaphors of "pruning ignorance and grafting knowledge" and promises of variety that such compendia commonly make (*vide* the preface of Aelian's *De*

Natura Animalium). For instance, the empress refers to the book as a child produced from her heart, an especially appropriate sentiment for the mother of at least eight children, and she offers it as proof of her cultivation of *paideia* in the capital during the absence of her husband Romanos IV Diogenes. Especially evocative is the author's decision to begin the body of the work with the myth of Athena, who is called the "overseer of wisdom" and allegorized as rational thought; this makes an implicit comparison of Eudokia to Athena as a patroness of culture and learning and fits the elevation of Constantinople as a rival to Alexandria and Athens.

Most striking and divergent from the tradition is the practical and public role of *paideia*. The authors of other compendia, such as Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia* and Aulus Gellius in his *Noctes Atticae*, emphasize how they used their leisure time (*otium/scholê*) from public life to compose their works and how they intend them for the private edification of cultured men. In contrast, the preface of the *Violarium* asserts that the cultivation and preservation of *paideia*, "the written mind of humanity," is actually a regal pursuit and saves empires from *stasis* and decline. *Paideia* is even depicted as having saved the empire during a recent period of trouble, foreign and domestic. Whether this collection of "gods, heroes, heroines, metamorphoses, myths, allegories, and wise men," could indeed fulfill such a role is debatable, but the claims of this regal literary endeavor could scarcely be higher.

Session III B

Architecture

Metrology and Chronology of the Early Christian and Byzantine Churches of Sardinia

Mark J. Johnson (Brigham Young University)

An interesting, but little-studied, group of churches is found on the Mediterranean island of Sardinia. Universally attributed to the Byzantine period, which for Sardinia encompasses the period of 533 to circa 1050, most of the churches possess a Greek-cross plan and a dome. The largest church of the group, San Saturnino, is located in the capital city of the island, Cagliari and is generally believed to be the first of this type. The other churches are supposed to have been built in different cities on the island as its copies, albeit on a much smaller scale, at various times during the next four or five centuries.

Establishing a chronology for these churches is difficult: there are extremely few contemporary literary sources, few inscriptions, few sculptures or other artifacts associated with the buildings, and little other archaeological evidence. Accepting the hypothesis that San Saturnino was the first of the group with the others following, evidence from excavations done in and around the church during the past 30 years suggest a date of the sixth century. More specifically, a recognition on the part of Giorgio Cavallo in an unpublished conference paper that the structure was built using the Byzantine foot as its unit of measurement demonstrates that it was not begun before 534, making it a Justinianic building in period if not patronage. Cavallo had hit on one possible solution to the problem of dating the churches of Sardinia – the use of metrology. A study of the units of measurement employed in the construction of the Byzantine churches of Sardinia demonstrates, however, that the accepted relative chronology and the specific proposed dating of certain churches must be revised.

Four churches are examined: the domed cruciform churches of S. Maria di Bonacattu at Bonarcado, S. Maria Iscalas near Cossuine, S. Antioco in the city of the same name, and the circular church of S. Maria de Mesumundu near Siligo. The church at Bonarcado, constructed using parts of a late Roman bath complex and the site of recent excavations, demonstrates the use of both the Roman and Byzantine foot in its two phases of construction. S. Maria Iscalas, a church often referred to as the last in the series and dated to as late as the eleventh century, turns out to have been laid out using the Roman foot and is therefore one of the earliest churches of the type. S. Maria de Mesumundu, long thought to be a modification of a Roman caldarium into a church, then dated to the

seventh century on the basis of finds in several tombs excavated near the church, also is shown to have used the Roman foot and should probably be dated to the fifth century. Finally, the church of Sant' Antioco, which logically appeared to have been built as a copy of San Saturnino in both design and in function of a martyrium, is shown to have also employed the Roman foot and thus perhaps actually influenced the design of the larger church in Cagliari.

Agios Georgios and the Domed-Hall Churches of Cyprus

Charles A. Stewart (University of St. Thomas, Houston)

Byzantine architectural historians often focus on the large and unique imperial churches. Ironically, most Byzantine churches were small and made with local materials, having little in common with the Constantinopolitan monuments. For example, the domed-hall church is one of the most enduring and widespread types of medieval architecture, but remains understudied. On Cyprus there are over thirty-five examples; all were once richly decorated with fresco painting. While the majority of these date from the twelfth century, the earliest example, Agios Geogios (Aphendrika), seems to date to the ninth or tenth century. It was a modest single-aisle, single-domed structure with two eastern apses. The design and masonry construction were similar to other Cypriot churches, such as the adjacent barrel-vaulted basilicas at Aphendrika and multiple-domed structures, such as Agia Paraskevi (Yeroskipou). Agios Georgios' relationship with these other types underscores the experimental nature of eighth and ninth century monuments—when Cyprus was in the sphere of Arab influence and in opposition to Constantinopolitan Iconoclasm.

Because Agios Georgios was located in the remote area of the Karpas Peninsula, one might question its significance to the general architectural history of the Cyprus. However, as A.H.S. Megaw and Athanasios Papageorghiou have suggested, it was the earliest domed church on Cyprus, marking a fundamental shift in architectural design. Its influence is further evidenced by the church of Agios Georgios at Choulou. The Choulou church closely replicates the design and scale of Agios Georgios (Aphendrika), including the twin eastern apses. The later twelfth-century domed-hall churches belong to this line of development.

The emergence of the domed-hall church in eleventh century, as the dominant type in Cyprus, reflects several cultural changes. The late-tenth century reconquest of Cyprus by the Byzantine Empire led to a restriction of insular practices. In order to reintegrate Cyprus, the Empire appointed non-Cypriot officials who could enforce imperial law in opposition to the local government. Likewise, the Empire encouraged the formations of monasteries and fortifications affiliated with communities outside the island. As these monasteries grew and replicated themselves, they would eventually influence the policies of the autocephalous Church of Cyprus. Monastery adopted the domed-hall church because they were a traditional type, which could be constructed by local builders using native materials, but better suited to serve exclusive foreign communities.

The Rhetoric of Architecture and Memory of the Holy Sepulchre in Byzantium

Jelena Bogdanović (East Carolina University)

The actual physical appearance of the *Anastasis*-Golgotha complex in Jerusalem during Byzantine times is not documented archaeologically. The extent and significance of the Byzantine interventions between the seventh and eleventh centuries, after the destructions by the Persians, from earthquakes, and devastating fire set by the Caliph al-Hākīm in 1009, remain understudied. Presumably, after each destruction the first structure restored for veneration was the major *locus sanctus*, the Holy Sepulchre. Because it is doubtful that the Byzantines kept records on the architectural design of the Holy Sepulchre, their reconstructions were not based on a definite pictorial scheme, but rather on the combination of particular motifs, which the Byzantines built upon their belief system and related imagery. In this paper, I examine mnemonic links the Byzantines may have used for their reconstructions of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

The Byzantine descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre often rely on theological and exegetical accounts and not on personal experience. In the ninth century, when Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople writes *About the Tomb of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, it is not the first-hand experience. Yet, the description is echoed in the pilgrim account by the Russian abbot

Daniel of Chernigov, who visited Jerusalem in 1106/08. Similarly, surviving imagery from the *eulogiai*, ivories, illuminated manuscripts, or monumental decorative programs, may have depicted the physical appearance of the Holy Sepulchre or its constitutive parts, but these sources also include imagined features of the Tomb. Textual and visual evidence is repetitive and suggests the significant role of the ornaments, such as columns, lamps, enclosing features, canopy-like roof, as well as materials, such as copper, silver and marble, for descriptions and memory of the Tomb.

The emphasis on repetitive descriptions, often borrowing its images from the Gospels, hymnography, and/or liturgical practices, are analogous with the medieval construct of memory the method of loci, or mnemonic link system based on places. The Byzantines did not distinguish “verbal” from “visual” memory. Rhetorical pedagogy, *progymnasmata* and *ekphrasis* were crucial for the recollecting, remembering, and visualizing works of architecture, both real and imagined. Though mnemonic images for the Holy Sepulchre may differ, their cognitive value representing the essence of the Holy Sepulchre as the place of testimony of Christ’s Resurrection, however, remained unchangeable regardless whether any or neither of these images resembled the actual architecture. The role of ornaments in the Holy Sepulchre mirrors the role of ornaments in rhetorical composition for concentration, contemplation, and remembrance, gathering site-related associations into a “place.” Consequently, mnemonic images could enable each Byzantine rebuilding of the Holy Sepulchre, which was never an exact replica of the previous building. Moreover, under the Byzantines, the Holy Sepulchre also functioned as a church, while its Tomb aedicula acquired canopy-like roof to resonate the miracle of the Holy Fire. These new elements marked the discontinuity in the physical reality of the original, fourth-century Holy Sepulchre, while their cognitive value of novelty was crucial for the collective memory of the Holy Sepulchre by the Byzantines, for we remember best what is unusual.

A Shift in Athonite Architecture: Narthex of Hilandar's *Katholikon*

Nebojša Stanković (Princeton University)

The *katholikon* of Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos was completed in 1321, under the auspices of Serbian king Stephen Uroš II Milutin (1282-1321), on the site of the previously-demolished church established by Sts. Sava and Symeon. The plan of its triconchal, cross-in-square *naos* follows the already well established architectural tradition on Mount Athos, closely resembling the 10th-century designs of Ivērōn and Vatopaidi. However, the layout of the narthex features a somewhat different form. Instead of the three-bay, double-storied narthex, there is a six-bay *litē*, with two columns, two domes rising above the corner bays, and no second storey.

Although Hilandar's narthex has no upper floor, with two symmetrically placed chapels marked with domes, as it is the case in Vatopaidi's *katholikon*, it seems plausible that the latter's external design served as the model for Hilandar's church. Were, thus, the domes just an expression of a decorative and formal treatment? Or were they a physical materialization of specific meaning and needs that were different from those in Vatopaidi? They could well have been both. Vatopaidi had been regarded as a mother-monastery of Hilandar and had been emulated at many aspects, whether spiritual or artistic. The twin-dome design was repeated in Hilandar, although no chapels were built, suggesting that there was no liturgical need for them. Nevertheless, the domed compartments could have provided a setting for certain liturgical acts, which were heightened by the specific symbolic value of a domed space. The location of three late-Medieval tombs in these bays suggests that such a value was fully understood by those who decided to use them for burials.

However, that still does not explain why an upper story was not built. Yet, there is a possibility that the original intention of the founder was indeed to construct a second. The original design, never fully-realized, is suggested by the somewhat rough finish of the upper parts of the *naos*'s western façade. The final design could have come as an afterthought, as a result of a disappearance of the various functions that had previously been accommodated within the upper floor of a narthex, or as a result of their migration to other parts of the church or monastery.

Interestingly, all other Athonite *katholika*, built or rebuilt in subsequent centuries, also acquired six-bay or even nine-bay *lites* without upper stories and, as such, they have been regarded by scholars as a specificity of church planning on Mount Athos. One wonders if this shift in the architecture of narthexes, first introduced on Mount Athos with Hilandar's *katholikon*, was a reflection of changes in liturgical practices of the Byzantine monasteries introduced in the course of the 13th century. If so, was the new architectural setting necessitated only by the reformed monastic ritual, with probable local peculiarities, or were there in addition other forces that took part in shaping this part of the *katholikon*? This paper examines possible factors that may have been behind this profound change of the narthex's design and planning on the Late-Byzantine Mount Athos.

Notes on the Constructional History and Architecture of the Church of the Porta-Panaghia, Thessaly, Greece

Stavros Mamaloukos (University of Patras)

The new, complete and analytical survey and examination of the church of the Porta-Panaghia, which took place a decade ago as part of the project for the conservation and restoration of the church, has given the opportunity for observations to be made that enlighten aspects of its constructional history and further assist in the study of the architecture of this important monument, either by adding to existing evidence or by leading to a revision of several views which A. Orlandos and other researchers have postulated. The new evidence which has come to light through the examination of the monument leads us to several attempts of graphic representations in its various constructional phases.

The so called *Porta-Panaghia* church of the Theotokos is located in the settlement of *Palaia Porta*, Trikala. The church, according to written sources, was built as the *Katholikon* of the Monastery of the Theotokos *Akatamachetos ton Megalon Pylon*, which was founded by the Sebastocrator John 1st Aggelos Komnenos Doukas, in 1283.

The church consists of two parts. The naos, is a three aisled cross-vaulted church of great dimensions, the morphology of which connects it with the Despotate of Epirus.

From the recent in-depth examination of the church, what comes forth is that the church was founded in 1283 in a single constructional phase and not on the remnants of an earlier church onto which the exonarthex had been added to during the 12th c., as has been advocated. This church possessed an initial narthex unified with the naos and an isolated from the holy bema, diakonikon – skevophylakion.

The columns as well as a great part of the vaults of the church, which may now be examined and defined with accuracy, has been reconstructed in 1854 or in 1855, after partial collapse. The impressive exonarthex of the church, which is an interesting sample of a confined group of domed narthexes, with octagonal roofing is antecedent to the church, as it is clearly confirmed from the new evidence.

The idiosyncratic morphological and constructional elements (ashlar stone masonry, gothic-like forms etc) imply a connection with serbian monuments with influences from the West. The construction of the exonarthex, should most probably be placed in the mid-14th c., during the rule of Stephen Dušan over Thessaly. As deduced from a detailed re-examination, about a quarter of the building, and in particular its entire south-west corner along with its respective vault as well as great part of the dome, has been reconstructed, as it was destroyed over a flood. This constructional phase may be dated on the basis of an unknown until recently, cryptographic inscription, to 1743. Thus we indirectly arrive to the interesting conclusion that the wall-paintings of the exonarthex, which Orlandos had dated to the first half of the 15th c. based upon stylistic grounds, is in fact a much later work at least of the mid-18th c., which must be examined in the context of the revival of the Macedonian School of Painting over that period.

Session IV A
Converts and Conversion

Baiting the Hook: John Chrysostom's Defense of His Barbarian Mission

Jonathan Stanfill (Fordham University)

Ascending to the see of Constantinople in the late fourth-century, John Chrysostom stands out among his fellow Nicene bishops for his sense of pastoral responsibility for the Gothic community in his city as well as beyond the borders of the Roman Empire. According to Theodoret, Chrysostom designated a church in the imperial city for the Goths, furnished it with Gothic priests, deacons, and readers, and preached there occasionally with the assistance of a translator. Furthermore, he dispatched missionaries to the Goths along the Danube and sent a Gothic bishop to those living in the Crimea.

This pastoral endeavor did not suffer, however, from a lack of opposition. The principal accusation originates from a lingering concern over whether Chrysostom had actually sanctioned the use of this church by Arian Goths. This charge is evident in Synesius of Cyrene's *De providentia* and Isaac the monk's indictment at the Synod of the Oak. Moreover, it is possible that fifth-century ecclesiastical historians Sozomen and Theodoret, both of whom favor Chrysostom, overemphasize the bishop's refusal to concede a church to Gothic general Gainas for Arian worship in order to counteract this charge of harboring heretics.

Since the debate over whether the Goths worshipping in the Church of St. Paul the Confessor were actually Arian or Orthodox remains highly speculative, this paper examines Chrysostom's own understanding of conversion and pastoral care with respect to his Gothic mission. It is traditionally posited that *Homilia habita postquam presbyter Gothus concionatus fuerat* (PG 63.499-510) represents Chrysostom's defense of the barbarian faith for his Orthodox community. By appealing to the biblical examples of Abraham, Moses, and the Magi, he demonstrates that the inclusion of the barbarians in the church represents the fulfillment of Isaiah's eschatological vision of wolves and lambs grazing together. What has been missed altogether in the homily is how Chrysostom uses the rhetorical metaphor of baiting the hook to suggest that there is a divine purpose behind the Arianism of the Goths. Thus Chrysostom develops a pastoral strategy that is sufficiently nuanced to defend the validity of his Orthodox Gothic community and justify the possible presence of Arian Goths.

Money in the Meadow: Conversion and Coin in John Moschos' *Pratum Spirituale*

Brenda Llewellyn Ihssen (Pacific Lutheran University)

In the early seventh century, Persian raids in Palestine added to social unrest already present in the eastern Roman Empire. With the fall of Jerusalem in 614, impoverished citizens traveled south by the thousands towards Alexandria, while those who remained in the cities struggled with poverty. As Gregory Nazianzus, Basil the Great and John Chrysostom knew—and as Churches in North America are learning—financial crisis can lead people to God. John Moschos, a seventh-century peripatetic Byzantine monk, appears to have known this as well.

In his *Pratum Spirituale* (PG 87.2851-3112)—a collection of stories and anecdotes John gathered while traveling around Palestine, Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor with his fellow pilgrim, Sophronios—one finds issues of wealth, poverty, lending, borrowing and other concerns of market economy intimately tied up with issues of social and theological justice. In a text largely concerned with the lives of stationary monks, these few and all-too-short stories that touch on the financial distress of lay persons seem oddly out of context among stories of holy men, miracles and heresy. Possibly their small number has allowed them to be easily overlooked in the current academic discussion of poverty in the Christian world, therefore my aim in this paper is to bring Moschos' treatment of money in the *Meadow* into the larger conversation of the connections between wealth, poverty, conversion and soteriology. Drawing from select texts in the *Pratum Spirituale*, I argue that John's preservation of stories of financial crisis and gain present a theological vision harmonious with a patristic vision of Christ present in the suffering poor, and poverty as a means to salvation. Ultimately, the stories stand as affirmation that creative and compassionate economic practices in times of social unrest contributed to the spread of Christianity in the Byzantine Empire.

Between Baghdad and Byzantium: The Intellectual World of ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Fadl al-Antākī (fl. ca. 1050)

Samuel Noble (Yale University)

The period of Byzantine rule over the region of Antioch during the years 969 to 1084 was a watershed in the history of the Orthodox Christian community of the Near East. The city of Antioch and its surrounding monasteries, newly reconnected to the rest of the Byzantine world and enriched by the arrival of refugees from the Fatimid conquest of Palestine, quickly became a center for the transmission of the Greek Patristic heritage into Arabic. The intellectual climate that produced this Antiochene translation movement, which rivaled the earlier Graeco-Arabic translation movement of 9th Century Baghdad in scale, is a unique example of cultural synthesis between Byzantine and Arab Christian cultures.

Although there are as of yet no critical editions of his works, the most prolific translator from Greek into Arabic during this period was the deacon ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Fadl al-Antākī who was active in the middle part of the 11th Century. Equipped with a strong formal education in both languages, including having studied Arabic grammar with the famous poet Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma’arrī (d. 1057), ibn al-Fadl was in a unique position to create translations of a high literary quality. He was responsible for a large number of patristic and biblical translations, including of works by Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom, as well as the most widely-used Arabic version of the Psalter and more even more contemporary Byzantine compositions such as the *Loci Communes* of Ps.-Maximus the Confessor. He frequently interspersed comments and notes throughout his translations; in the case of his version of the *Loci Communes*, he is especially concerned with providing a lexical and grammatical commentary for his own translation on the basis of classical Arabic grammatical works. Additionally, ibn al-Fadl authored a number of original dogmatic and philosophical works. The largest of these, the *Book of Benefit* (*Kitāb al-Manfa’ a*) is a compendium of useful knowledge including such varied fields as theology, logic, meteorology, politics, and physiognomy taken from Muslim, Christian Arab, and both pagan and Christian Greek sources. This latter work provides an especially valuable insight into the literature available to the bilingual intellectuals of 11th century Antioch, intellectuals who were equally concerned with keeping abreast of intellectual developments in the Greek and Arabic-speaking worlds.

This paper examines the translations and original works of ibn al-Fadl in order to situate him within his wider intellectual world and to shed light on the cultural and intellectual synthesis that took place in Antioch during his lifetime.

Tumuli, Grave Goods and Rituals of Burial: Indicators of Conversion in the Steppe?

Renata Holod (University of Pennsylvania)

The careful excavation of Chungul Kurgan has allowed for a reconstruction of burial rituals of a Kipchak (Cuman) noble in the steppe of the Molochna River system of southern Ukraine. The paper proposes the phasing of the burial ritual based on the interpretation of the archaeological record, enhanced through ethnographic and historic parallels. Furthermore, the calculation of the energetics necessary for the construction of the tumulus provides a reliable estimate of the physical effort and social organization necessary to raise a tumulus of more than six meters in height and sixty- eight feet in diameter.

Along with the very rich grave goods, the construction process of the tumulus and the burial rituals illuminate the material and spiritual identity of the Kipchak nomadic confederation of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Close familial and military ties with the surrounding polities of the Rus' principalities, Bulgaria, Georgia and Byzantium, as well the activities of missionaries out of Crimea provided these nomadic groups with a familiarity with the rites and rituals of Christianity, both eastern and western. These reconstructed Turkic rituals, then, must be read against a backdrop of continued, close – up experience of Christianity.

Session IV B
Portraits and Patrons in Churches

Paintings for Salvation: A Donor Portrait at the Red Monastery (Sohag, Egypt)

Elizabeth S. Bolman (Temple University)

In the fall of 2009, a painted orans figure was cleaned and conserved as part of a large-scale project at the Red Monastery church in Sohag, Upper Egypt. The American Research Center in Egypt and the United States Agency for International Development supported the work. The orant stands in a prominent position on the façade wall that separates the nave from the triconch sanctuary. The figure faces the nave, about four meters above floor level, immediately to the south of the monumental entrance to the triconch. Evidence from the plaster support and the style of the painting indicate that he belongs to the third phase of late antique decoration in the eastern end of the church. This immense third phase of work consisted of painting the façade wall and all levels of the massive triconch, and most likely took place in the sixth century.

Several factors strongly suggest that the orant is depicted here because he sponsored all, or most, of the work in the church during the third period of painting. He is the only figure from any of the phases of late antique painting in the church to be portrayed without a nimbus. He stands in the orans position that was assumed for prayer. Donors sometimes showed themselves as orants, in this period, although most examples survive in the much harder medium of floor mosaic. Aside from a large array of decorative patterns organized in a series of painted panels, the orant shares the entirety of the façade wall with only two other figures, both bust-length female saints in roundels. While his long-sleeved tunic is relatively modest in hue and decoration, when compared to extant textiles from late antique Egypt, his elaborate mustache and beard, his massive henna-dyed hair, and his tall boots convey the importance of his secular status, as well as indicating something of his taste for Persian military fashion.

The orant provides opportunities to explore questions of late antique identity construction, fashion, monastic-lay relations, gift-giving, and remission of sins in the White Monastery federation, a large monastic group in Upper Egypt to which the Red Monastery belonged. While the painting no longer provides us with a name or title, we can nevertheless read the painting as a visual performance, into perpetuity, of the donor as a pious, modest yet fashionable, and no doubt wealthy and powerful individual.

A Reevaluation of the Rock-Cut Church of Meryam Ana

Lynn Jones (Florida State University)

The rock-cut church of Meryam Ana is located in the Göreme Open Air Museum. It is dated stylistically to the third quarter of the 11th century and has been the focus of limited scholarship. A study of the church conducted over the summers of 2008 and 2009 leads me to propose new identities for five of the depicted saints, to offer a new interpretation of the southern decorative program and to reevaluate the function of the church.

Meryam Ana is unusual in its form and in the content of the decorative program; I begin with form. The church is carved on two levels; the elevated sanctuary is further divided from the naos by a continuous screen. Two barrel vaults also divide the interior space. One, on the north side of the church, spans 2/3 of the naos. A smaller, second vault is carved higher in the rock and abuts the southern wall. The higher profile of this vault is echoed in the raised floor level of the southeastern section of the sanctuary. This unity of sanctuary and naos visually defines a separate, distinct space extending from the southwestern wall to the southeastern apse.

The decorative program is remarkable for the number of depictions of female saints and for the placement of their images. Earlier surveys identified eight; I suggest that five saints previously identified as male are female. This raises the total to thirteen, which is 29% of all saints depicted in the church. Of this suggested thirteen, eight are placed in the sanctuary.

The choice to depict particular female saints and their placement in the southern end of the church supports my suggestion that it functioned as a separate space. Depictions of the main protagonists of the *Apocalypse of Anastasia* are concentrated in the south of the church, on the southwestern and southern walls, on the southern vault and in the southeastern apse. I suggest that this portion of the decorative program can therefore be seen as an illuminated Apocalypse.

The number of female saints included in the decorative program, their placement and the prominent placement of the image of a female donor suggest that Meryam Ana was a convent church. The separation of the southern portion of the church and the

visual references to a specific apocalyptic text suggest that this section of the church functioned as a funerary chapel.

Painting Episcopal Authority in the Cathedral of Pachoras (Faras), Nubia

Agnieszka E. Szymańska (Temple University)

Prior to the removal of monumental murals from the cathedral of Pachoras (Faras), the largely unknown cultural entity of Christian Nubia figured in scholarship merely as a peripheral outpost of Byzantine and Egyptian influence. The impressive corpus of visual evidence from Pachoras, located south of the first Nile cataract and now inundated by Lake Nasser, led Kurt Weitzmann to reevaluate its significance in a seminal essay published in 1970. By tracing artistic sources of Christian Nubian art to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, Weitzmann initiated recognition of the close ties between Nubia and Byzantium. Since that time, however, this subject has received little art historical attention, and it continues to pose interpretive challenges. I endeavor to recuperate the Nubian wall paintings from Pachoras for mainstream Byzantine studies. To that end, I explore the depiction of one of the Pachoras bishops, with particular attention to its original location, relationship with surrounding images, and epigraphic evidence. I conceive of this early eleventh-century portrait as a visual construction of Nubian episcopal authority mapped out on the cathedral's walls.

Claudia Rapp, in her 2005 study of early Christian church leadership, has investigated the pragmatic, spiritual, and ascetic components of episcopal authority. I postulate that the concept of late antique ecclesiastical agency described by Rapp was instrumental in shaping the eleventh-century visual program in the south chapel of the Pachoras cathedral. Evidence for this includes the paintings with accompanying inscriptions, fourteenth-century scrolls of Bishop Timotheos, Greek and Coptic epitaphs engraved on ninth- through twelfth-century funerary steles, and a list of bishops, first painted around the turn of the tenth century. Rapp's model provides an interpretive framework for the numerous episcopal images from Pachoras. Due to time constraints, I

will explore only one of them, the portrait of Bishop Marianos (1005-1036). It is my contention that through the vehicle of his imposing presentation, located in the cathedral's south chapel, Marianos expressed his episcopal authority. This remarkable depiction exhibits the hierarch's triple protection: the full-length figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary flank the centrally positioned ecclesiastic, and a second representation of Christ, as a child, is held by Mary. The portrait of Marianos, in which the standing haloed figures rest their hands on the bishop's shoulders, highlights the hierarch's ability to see and interact with god. The message conveyed draws on the late antique construction of the bishop, and underscores the ties between the center and periphery. However, certain aspects of this painting are completely unprecedented in Byzantium and the West, particularly the tactile contact between the ecclesiastics and their holy protectors.

The Daughters of the Chamades and Zacharia Families: Donor Portraits and Dowry Portraits?

Barbara R. McNulty (PhD Temple University)

Two surviving frescoes of donor families on Cyprus, one in Galata and one in Pedoulas, draw special attention to the elder daughters pictured as part of the family group. How do we account for this? It raises an interesting question about these portraits, one painted just prior to, and one during the Venetian period. The Chamades and Zacharia families commissioned their images for two small, possibly private churches. These donor portraits have been analyzed by art historians, along with the painting programs of each church, for their style within the context of Cypriot monuments. Scholars have discussed elements of foreign dress and the mixed nature of Latin and Orthodox practices shown in these images. Because artistic representations of families and their children are constructed expressions of ideals, they can be manipulated to serve various social purposes. I believe that, in addition to portraying the donation and spiritual piety of the donors, these paintings may have functioned as dowry portraits for their daughters. The stylishness of their clothing and their placement draws the viewer's attention to take notice of these feminine figures.

By comparing the two portraits at Galata and Pedoulas, one dated 1474 and the other 1514, we can begin to see some interesting patterns. The dowry portrait genre became popular in Northern Italy in the early fifteenth century. The dowry gift to the groom was a widely practiced part of the marriage process in eastern Eurasia and the Mediterranean and has been described as a type of “pre mortem inheritance.” Early renaissance dowry portraits were representations of individual women that displayed aspects of wealth, status and lineage through the subject’s adornment and accompanying accoutrements. These portraits were constructed to reinforce the suitability of the woman for noble marriage. Although the Chamades and Zacharia portraits consist of family groups, they display some of the same characteristics as the Italian portraits, particularly in the depictions of marriageable daughters.

The visual immediacy of portraits has historically prompted their use as proxies or as substitutes for individuals. Might these images of the daughters also have served as agents in the process of obtaining desirable marriages for unwed daughters? The Chamades family portrait was painted just prior to the Venetian takeover of the island in 1489. At first glance, a visual reading of the donors’ poses in this portrait reveals a conservative, patriarchal, Orthodox family, whose women have been placed in a subordinate position to Basil, the priest and father. The Zacharia family portrait was painted under Venice rule. This portrait conveys the visual construction of a wealthy, sophisticated, urbane, educated family who are practicing Orthodox worshippers on an island, but who nevertheless participate in the deployment of Venetian cultural elements. Even though the two family groups show differences due to the political regimes under which they lived, both emphasize the portrayal of the elder daughter, suggesting that they are performing more than devotion, wealth and status.

Session IV C
Late Antique History and Historiography

On Whose Authority? Re-examining the Thamugadian Fee Schedule

Cary Barber (The Ohio State University)

In 331, the emperor Constantine issued an edict to all provincials (*CTh* 1.16.7) that unequivocally classified all fee charges in the judicial process as illegal. The edict explicitly identified some of the types of magistrates in the provincial governor's *officium* who were guilty of these abuses, as well as the specific activities which they had commoditized. Thirty years later, between 361 and 363, a schedule of fees was erected by the provincial governor of Numidia at Cirta, later to be copied at Thamugadi. Here we find many of the same activities mentioned by Constantine, with their corresponding charges (in the form of *modii* of grain), displayed in public on a rather large monument (over 1m high and .5m wide). Roughly seven years later, an edict of Valentinian (*CTh* 1.29.5) again identified these charges as illegal. -All of this evidence has been examined by scholars in the past. A number have argued that although the Thamugadian schedule of fees was considered by at least Constantine, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian as illegal and/or abusive, it was nevertheless 'officially' (a somewhat ambiguous term) regulated during or before the period of Julian's reign. Others, however, disagree. This paper attempts to clarify the issue by pursuing two possible interpretations of this fee schedule. If we examine the schedule carefully, and compare it with other types of imperial and provincial pronouncements, we may be able to determine on whose authority it was erected. Two scenarios arise. If this fee schedule was erected on the orders of Julian, we should look at this reformist emperor in a new light. Considering the poor pay of the members of the provincial *officium*, Julian is perhaps being pragmatic here, choosing to regulate these abuses in order to keep them under control. This contrasts with the idealistic, or even seemingly naïve, emperor who we encounter in a number of depictions, both ancient and modern. If, on the other hand, we take this pronouncement as the governor acting on his own initiative, we are left with a number of other new possibilities. As Peter Brown has commented in the past, the governor was often only as effective as his office staff allowed him to be. Here we might see, among other considerations, a concession to this powerful 'lobbying group' in the form of increased pay without the risk of 'breaking the law'. Finally, this study concludes with an examination of the schedule in light of the oft remarked confusion inherent in late Roman law. The anonymous pamphleteer writing (as I believe) to Valentinian and Valens begged those emperors to 'throw light upon the confused and contradictory rulings of the laws.' Here is an excellent example of just this type of legislation. Overall, by

considering whether the pronouncement originated from the emperor or his governor, and following these scenarios to their logical conclusions, we can reach a more nuanced understanding of the historical context in which this inscription lies, and thereby of the various strategies of late antique governance in general.

The Holy Man and the Conquerer: Attila at the Gates of Rome

Deborah M. Deliyannis (Indiana University)

In the early sixteenth century, Raphael painted on a wall in the Vatican the by-now well-known story of Attila at the gates of Rome: Attila's army encamped outside Rome, Pope Leo I with his clergy went out to treat with the invader, and the pope's holiness so impressed the savage Attila that he voluntarily forebore to sack the city. Fifth- and sixth-century sources do note Pope Leo's involvement in Attila's invasion of Italy, but say that he travelled to northern Italy to meet with Attila. The story of miraculous intervention outside Rome appears for the first time in the eighth-century historian Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana*. The same story also appears in several other eighth- and ninth-century texts, about different cities, and some of these narratives were directly influenced by Paul's account. Interestingly, an almost identical story is told by Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities* about Alexander the Great at the gates of Jerusalem. In my talk, I trace the development of the *topos* of the Holy Man freeing his city from invasion, in both eastern and western historiography. I discuss both the way that Attila is presented in contemporary and later historiography, and whether similar roles are described for other bishops. I am interested in the influence of Josephus, and particularly this episode, on late antique and early medieval historians, the attitudes of historians to Alexander the Great, and the apparent linking, in this episode, of Attila with Alexander. I conclude that in the fifth and sixth century, the sources are portraying Leo as the savior of Italy, for political reasons that are specific to the tangled politics of that period, whereas by the eighth century, influenced by Josephus' account, historians depict Leo as the savior of the holy city of Rome.

Byzantine Government and Elite Society in the Sixth Century

David Parnell (Saint Louis University)

Maintaining a successful relationship with elites was one of the greatest concerns of the Byzantine government. While it has traditionally been recognized that the imperial government could distract or pacify the urban masses with “bread and games,” satisfying the elite was another matter entirely. Historians have generally recognized that at least some members of the elite were highly dissatisfied with the performance of the government in the sixth century. The complaints of Procopius of Caesarea in his *Secret History* and of John Lydus in his *De Magistratibus* may be cited as proof of this dissatisfaction. However, just because this evidence is the easiest to come by does not mean that it should be used alone to justify an opinion that sixth-century elites despised the Byzantine government.

In fact, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the imperial government had a generally positive relationship with elite society during this period. This paper presents evidence gleaned from a massive database of the bureaucrats and administrators of the government from the reigns of Justin I (518-527) through Phocas (602-610). The database includes all known officials from this period, who were discovered through a careful reading of the literary sources as well as mining of archaeological sources such as inscriptions and lead seals. While the database can hardly claim to be comprehensive, it does present 955 men that served in the sixth-century civil administration and bureaucracy. Examination of these men and the offices they occupied results in evidence that many Byzantine elites had reason to be satisfied with their government and their place in society. For example, many of these men held honorary ranks even if they never had the privilege of working directly for the government as officials.

Something of the origins of sixth-century Byzantine civil servants may also be deduced from the evidence of the database. As has long been suspected, native Byzantines rather than non-Romans or “barbarians” (as the Byzantines might describe them) served in the administration and bureaucracy. The provincial origins of these native Byzantine civil servants reveal that the empire culled them more frequently from richer provinces and urban areas than from the traditional recruiting grounds of the Byzantine army. Although the relationship between the administration and the lower-level bureaucracy was not always harmonious, the Byzantine government of the sixth

century functioned reasonably well. Among its chief successes was that it managed a successful relationship with elite society, which preserved the empire's stability until the usurpation of Phocas.

Byzantine and Sasanian Imperial Competition in Sixth-Century Arabia

Marion Kruse (The Ohio State University)

The study of Byzantine imperial policy in the Red Sea region during the reigns of Anastasius, Justin and Justinian boasts an unusually large number of sources from a wide range of mediums, languages and traditions. However, scholarship to date has largely focused on one of two major projects: reconciling the accounts in the sources and elucidating the religious motivations for the Axumite invasions of Himyar, modern day Yemen. Significantly less attention has been paid to the economic motivations behind the Byzantine involvement in what was otherwise a local dispute, and even less has been given to the role of the Sasanian Empire in motivating that involvement.

By the reign of Anastasius, the Sasanian Empire had developed an extensive network of port cities and fortifications along the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. In addition, the empire had cultivated, through diplomacy and conquest, a powerful network of alliances with the native Arab tribes. The goal of Sasanian foreign policy in the area was to secure, develop and tax the Persian Gulf trade, which provided valuable revenues to the currency-starved Sasanian monarchy. This funding, in turn, was crucial to the program of centralization undertaken by Qubād (Greek Kavadēs) and his son Khusrow (Greek Chosroes) at the expense of the influential Parthian families that controlled the northern routes of the "Silk Road".

The current paper argues that Justin and Justinian's interference in the dispute between Axum and Himyar during the early sixth century was motivated by a desire to undermine the Persians through a combination of economic pressure and strategic positioning. It further suggests that an explicit description of the Byzantine program can be found by reading Prokopios' account of events in the region against Persian imperial interests in the peninsula. Finally, it attempts to link Byzantine involvement in Arabia to the dramatic escalation of the Byzantine-Persian conflict in the middle of the sixth century.

Session V A
Manuscript Studies

A New Testament Manuscript Produced in the Stoudios Scriptorium: Codex 152 in the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago

Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann (Glenmont, NY)

The Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago possesses an important but insufficiently studied ninth-century manuscript, MS 152 (Gregory-Aland 1424), which contains a complete text of the New Testament with extensive marginal commentaries. Greek manuscripts that contain a complete text of the New Testament are rare: according to Kurt Aland, there are only sixty such manuscripts in world collections. And MS 152 is the earliest of the fifty-seven manuscripts copied in the minuscule script (three other manuscripts are copied in majuscules).

MS 152 was copied by the monk Sabas in small-sized, calligraphic minuscule with a slight inclination to the left ("ancient rounded minuscule"). Majuscule forms of the letters gamma, zeta, kappa, lambda, nu, and sigma appear infrequently. At the ends of many strokes are tiny round *boules*, which are similar to those in manuscripts of the "philosophical collection" and other ninth-century manuscripts written in the *pre-bouletée* style. In the colophon the scribe identified himself but not the date or place of the manuscript's production. Although Sabas's script is idiosyncratic, it has some similarities with the script of the manuscripts produced in Constantinople in the second half of the ninth century, such as codex Paris, BNF, gr. 14. The commentaries to the Book of Revelation were executed by the original scribe, and the entire manuscript was annotated in the margins by an anonymous scribe in the twelfth century.

MS 152's script does not help to identify the scriptorium in which the manuscript was produced, but its codicological features are identical with or very similar to those of manuscripts produced in the Stoudios scriptorium in the ninth century. These features include ruling patterns (V 22A1 and V 24A1); ruling systems (3 and 11); two or three crosslets on the top margin of the first folio of each quire (in addition to quire signatures); and, preceding some titles, a distinctive sign ("*chrisma*").

Originally the manuscript was pen-decorated in the ink of the text with division bars and crosslets, and such ornamental features were common in Stoudite manuscripts. Canon tables and several narrow interlace or garland-shaped bands in magenta ink were added later, most likely by the same person who wrote commentaries in the margins.

In summary, paleographic evidence points to the second half of the ninth century as the most likely date of MS 152's production. And, because MS 152 has many codicological and ornamental characteristics typical of Stoudite manuscripts, I conclude that this New Testament manuscript was executed in the scriptorium of the Stoudios monastery.

Refining Carr's Late Subgroup: Textual Relationships Among the MSS and Their Potential Provincial Status.

Warren Langford (Research, Center of New Testament Textual Studies,
New Orleans, LA)

The Late Subgroup, identified by A. Weyl Carr, consists of several tetraevangelion codices that present a unified artistic style (Athens, National Library 77; Athens, National Library 153; Athos, Dionysiou 4; Athos, Gregoriou 2m; Athos, Iviron 55; Athos, Stauronikita 56; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W528; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Codex Graecus Quarto 66; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 403; Jerusalem, Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Photiou 28; Jerusalem, Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Saba 357; Krakau, Bibl. Czartoryskich, 1870I; London, British Library, Additional 26103; Manchester, John Rylands University Library, gr. 17; Moscow, Lenin St. Pub. Library F181, gr. 9; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. 5.34; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplement grec. 175). Carr noted the subgroup as a fresh period in the development of the decorative style group (Carr, *Byzantine Illumination 1150-1250*).

While several studies have sought to discuss the artistic relationships between these manuscripts, little work has been done regarding the textual relationships among these manuscripts. The Claremont Profile Method did note a potential unique textual profile for the manuscripts, yet the profile is composed with a limited amount of data (Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence*, 107). The present study, through a textual analysis of the gospel of John, seeks to present a description of the textual characteristics of the group, illustrate the textual relationships visually, and possibly enhance the descriptions given by art historians on the relationships among the Late Subgroup tetraevangelion manuscripts.

The study contributes a clearer illustration of the relationships among the manuscripts in terms of the copying process, which in turn adds to the existing artistic work on the manuscript. In many ways the observation of the text gives a clearer illustration, because the copying of the text was a more mechanical process. Faithfulness to the exemplar is an overriding virtue in copying a text. The study also presents a stemma (family tree) of the manuscripts, identifying the development of the manuscripts by means of the textual alterations. As well, text variants are discussed with reference to potential localized preferences in the text. Connections between the Late Subgroup, the Claremont Profile grouping 22a and 22b, and manuscripts placed on the fringe of the Byzantine text type are also mentioned with relation to the identification of the production milieu as provincial.

A Decorative Style Manuscript (Athens, Benaki, cod. 2) and a Cruciform Text Gospel Book (Tirana, Albania, ANA 93) 'Discovered' on www.csntm.org

Kathleen Maxwell (Santa Clara University)

Digitization initiatives by libraries are well known to manuscript scholars and have significantly increased access to Byzantine manuscripts. My subject is a less well known digital manuscript website developed by New Testament text critic, Daniel B. Wallace, Executive Director of the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts (www.csntm.org), based in Frisco, Texas. Wallace and his associates have photographed Greek New Testament manuscripts in collections in Germany, Greece, Albania, the U.S., and other locations. CSNTM's images from Tirana, Albania have yielded some high quality Byzantine manuscripts that are not well known to art historians. In fact, several of these manuscripts have only recently been assigned Gregory-Aland numbers. Unfortunately, CSNTM has permission to publish only a selection of folios from each of the Albanian manuscripts on their website, but even with these limitations there are some important 'discoveries' to be found.

Tirana ANA 92 (Gregory-Aland 2901) [1] is a Gospel book featuring gold and light blue headpieces similar to one dated by Weitzmann to the turn of the 9th/10th century—significantly earlier than the 13/14th century date on Kurt Aland’s *Kurzgefasste Liste* and on csntm.org. (N.B. The dates for manuscripts on csntm.org are those assigned by the holding institution, not CSNTM.)

Tirana ANA 93 (GA 2902) is the only known example of a complete cruciform text Gospel book written in minuscule script. Its text format recalls the twelfth-century Morgan and London cruciform lectionaries, minus their decoration. The evangelist portrait of John is the only one available from ANA 93 on Wallace’s website. He was at least partially repainted at a later date with some entertaining results. ANA 93 is dated to the 13th century on csntm.org.

Tirana ANA 4 (GA 1141) has stunning canon tables, comparable to some of the finest produced in the late 11th and early 12th centuries. ANA 10 (GA 2253) has one of the most beautifully and uniquely framed evangelist portraits (Mark) that I have ever encountered. It is dated to the 12/13th century in the *Kurzgefasste Liste*. ANA 5 (GA 2252) is dated to the 12th century by the same source. Its evangelist portraits, however, were ghoulishly repainted at a later date.

I will end with a handsome (albeit fragmentary) Gospel book from the Benaki Museum in Athens (cod. 2) (GA 2557) which is also available on csntm.org. This manuscript does not appear to have been published previously, but it is clearly a fine representative of Annemarie Weyl Carr’s decorative style group. Of its evangelist portraits, only Luke survives.

[1] <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/NTVMR/ListeHandschriften>. Special thanks to Bruce Morrill.

Session V B
Medieval European Views of Byzantium

**The “So-Called” Patriarch of Constantinople:
Roman Challenges to Constantinople’s Patriarchal Status
during the 9th-11th Centuries**

A. Edward Siecienski (The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey)

For centuries the Sees of Rome and Constantinople argued over their respective rankings within the pentarchy, especially concerning how Canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon spoke about the reasons for their given positions. However, as tensions escalated during the ninth century, Rome increasingly came to rely on the “Petrine principle” to deny not only Constantinople’s rank, but its status as a Patriarchal See. Claiming that only Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria (which had all been founded by “the Prince of the Apostles” or his collaborator Mark) truly deserved to be called Patriarchates, Pope Nicholas and others relegated Constantinople and (interestingly) Jerusalem to a secondary status. Again, in the eleventh century Cardinal Humbert and Peter Damien revived the Petrine principle to reinforce the notion that Constantinople had usurped the rightful place of Alexandria and Antioch within the pentarchy. Although (as Dvornik demonstrated) the Byzantines did not yet use Constantinople’s founding by Andrew to counter these claims, these challenges did not go unmet. The Byzantines realized that at stake was not only the authority of their own patriarch, but a defense against the increasingly grandiose claims made by the reformed papacy and its allies in the East.

Beginning with a pre-history of the debate, this paper examines the ninth and eleventh century texts that challenged the patriarchal authority of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch. Also discussed are the Byzantine responses to this challenge and how the ensuing debate shaped later discussions about the status and power of the patriarchal sees in the post-schism era.

Byzantium and the Peutinger Map

Emily Albu (University of California, Davis)

The Peutinger map comprises eleven parchment sheets that together formed a display map 671.7 cm long and 33 cm high, depicting the *oikoumene* as the Romans knew it, from Britain to Sri Lanka, linked by 70,000 Roman miles of roads that connect icons marking towns and other sites for rest and refreshment. Recent paleographic analyses have placed its creation in greater Swabia within the years 1175-1225. Consideration of Mediterranean islands and Byzantine territories represented on the map can narrow that window to a date in the immediate aftermath of the Fourth Crusade.

While the mapmaker modeled his work after an older roll, numerous studies of hand copied maps from early medieval to modern times show that this process introduces significant changes, both inadvertent and deliberate. Such innovations may help to date the Peutinger map. This paper suggests that the Swabian mapmaker emphasized lands recently visited and even claimed by his compatriots, including Sicily (home to the court of Frederick II) and Crete and Cyprus (well known to Germans on the Third Crusade). His conspicuous portrayal of the Peloponnesos as well suggests a later date, soon after 1204, when that territory too loomed large in the German imagination.

While northern Greece occupies a narrow corridor with Athens (Athenas; 7B1) tucked to one side, the Peloponnesos straddles regions marked in red "ACHAIA" (6B4) and "ARCA(d)IA" (6C5). A major road runs across its elongated bottommost stretch, from Olympia (6B4) through Pyllos (Pylos; 6C5) and Lacedemone (Sparta) to Boas (7C1). Other roads, studded with seven double-towered vignettes and one double-domed symbol, share this crowded space with three mountain ranges, two named rivers, and two distinctly drawn bays. All this detail required a widening of the ribbon of the Mediterranean, which occurs elsewhere only for the islands Sicily, Crete, and Cyprus. Compare Sardinia, with a route network well-attested in the Antonine Itinerary, here minimized and roadless.

The enlarged territories had strong ties to Frederick I Barbarossa and his descendants, especially his son Philip of Swabia (married to a Byzantine princess and implicated in plans for the Fourth Crusade) and Philip's cousin, Boniface of Montferrat, a guest at Philip's court and leader of that Crusade. Boniface briefly owned Crete, and

later Thessalonica – our map’s Tessalonic(a)e (7B2), distinguished by an elaborate five-towered walled enclosure – along with a kingdom stretching from the Rhodope mountains south to the Peloponnesos and the principality of Achaia.

The map featuring those lands imagines a restoration of the venerable Roman *imperium*, the ambition of Hohenstaufen lords in conflict with a resurgent papacy. The Roman route network, imperial figures at Rome and Constantinople, the recollection of a larger Roman empire, and the near absence of Christian markers implicate imperial intent. The capture of Constantinople along with East Roman lands brought this dream tantalizingly close to fruition.

Re-Viewing a Byzantine Saint: St. George of Ferrara, Otto Demus, and the “Feeling of Reality of Space”

Christopher R. Lakey (Reed College)

According to legend, in 1110 the city of Ferrara (Italy) acquired an arm relic of St. George from Count Robert of Flanders upon his return to the West after the First Crusade. Though there are varying accounts regarding the legitimacy of the relic’s Eastern origins, for the city of Ferrara this gift helped galvanize an important political shift away from the Imperial shackles of the Church of Ravenna and into a Papal alliance. Construction of the new cathedral of San Giorgio (c. 1135) announced this ideological move formally, a move cemented by the decoration of the ceremonial west façade with a monumental sculptural ensemble highlighted by the image of *St. George Killing the Dragon*. Christine Verzar has recently noted a number of important factors regarding the iconography of this image: George is clothed in western, chivalric garb and depicted as a *milites christi*, rather than as a martyr. Understood in this way, the image clearly displayed a political message, one aimed at motivating citizens to join the crusading cause. As a result, this image deemphasized St. George as a Christian martyred in the East, and triumphantly announced his new role as a Christian crusader. It has been from this angle that contact between the East and West in Ferrara and neighboring towns (e.g. Modena, Piacenza, and Verona) has been most lucidly investigated.

My paper addresses these issues from a somewhat different angle: First, I argue that subtle clues in the program underscore the importance given to the relic's Eastern origins. Take the *Adoration of the Magi* depicted on the central axis of the portal, on the lintel directly beneath St. George. This scene of gift-bearing Eastern magi occupies two out of eight spatial registers. Though not without precedent in Italian Romanesque sculpture, the scene's centrality, size, and epiphanic relation to the *Baptism of Christ*, an odd choice for the lintel's final scene, served to remind beholders that George, as a saint and a martyr, participated in Christ's life. The Christian subject could also participate in Christ's life through the rite of Baptism, a fact, perhaps, occluded by the display of George as knight, not martyr. Second, I understand the space of the porch and the decorative program in dialog with Byzantine modes of representation. By investigating Otto Demus' concept of the "feeling of reality of space" [*Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (1948), pp. 13-14], I tease out important formal and spatial connections between the emergent medium of monumental Romanesque relief sculpture and Byzantine mosaic decoration. For Demus, the relationship between the space of the icon and the space of the observer were co-extensive: the "feeling of reality of space" gave equal weight to an observer's natural behavior in a representational space and to optical properties developed to enhance the viewing experience (i.e. observing an iconic representation according to natural laws of optics, including perspectival effects and color). In my paper, I empathically demonstrate how we can find these spatial properties on display in Ferrara, and in so doing I argue that mosaic decoration should be considered an important model for polychromed monumental sculpture, a consideration generally glossed over in the history of art.

In sum, bearing in mind Ferrara's historical and physical proximity to Byzantium, my paper offers an account of how representational practices served to mediate cultural relations during a time of incredible hegemonic uncertainty.

Session V C
Liturgy and Monastic Culture

Scripture and Liturgy in the *Life of Mary of Egypt*

Derek Krueger (University of North Carolina at Greensboro)

Two biblical citations, both fairly obscure, frame the introductory paragraph of the seventh-century *Life of Mary of Egypt*. One is from Tobit; the other from the Wisdom of Solomon, neither part of the emerging lectionary, and neither much commented in the patristic corpus. The author supplies references: "Such were the words of the angel to Tobit" and "as Solomon taught with divine inspiration." Most likely, his intended audience needed the citational help. At the highpoint of the text, the two protagonists Mary and the monastic priest Zosimas engage in a brief liturgical service. She asks him to recite the creed and to lead her the Lord's Prayer; they exchange a ritual kiss, and he provides her with reserve sacrament. Elsewhere the author quotes the refrain of a hymn of Romanos the Melodist. These texts and actions need no citation.

The paper uses the *Life of Mary of Egypt* as a case study to consider the use and function of biblical quotations and liturgical references in early Byzantine hagiography. There are approximately twenty-five biblical quotations in the text. Quotations familiar from the liturgy tend to appear without the author citing a source. More obscure quotations tend to receive citations, either with the name of the book or the supposed author of the text. Hagiography thus both confirms the extent and limits of the knowledge of the Bible that an hagiographer could reasonably expect from his audience. The *Life of Mary of Egypt* provides a particularly useful place to investigate these issues, since in the middle of its narrative, it engages again in an early Byzantine version of the footnote when the author identifies the sources for Mary's own biblical quotations and Zosimas registers surprise, since Mary has never received any Christian education. Her Bible knowledge is miraculous.

For earlier texts, this sort of analysis is difficult or impossible, since we cannot reconstruct liturgies or lectionaries with much confidence. But by the seventh century, we can begin to detect trajectories of liturgical usage from a variety of sources, including narrative accounts and eighth-century prayer books. Meanwhile the fifth-century Armenian lectionary and the seventh-century Georgian lectionary allow us to reconstruct parts of the reading cycle for the city of Jerusalem and the region of Palestine, where the *Life of Mary of Egypt* was most probably written.

In the early Byzantine period, most Christians absorbed their scripture in liturgical settings, either through lectionary readings, the chanting or hearing of Biblical psalms and canticles, or the exploration and interpretation of biblical narratives in sermons or hymns. Because familiarity with scripture derived in large part from the liturgy, hagiography should be seen not merely as participating in a culture of biblical reference, but rather in a culture of liturgical reference. Indeed the primary and implicit intertext for hagiography should be located in the liturgy, including the liturgical reading of scripture, rather than in the Bible *per se*.

Verbal Iconography: Mary of Egypt in Byzantine Hagiography and Hymns

Ashley Purpura (Fordham University)

Second only to the Theotokos, the most emphasized female saint of the Eastern Orthodox Lenten liturgical cycle is Mary of Egypt. As there is no historical evidence to substantiate Mary's life or person, her commemoration relies heavily on the most elaborate and theologically charged Greek hagiography about her, *The Life of Mary of Egypt*, attributed to Sophronius of Jerusalem (ca. 560-638). In the Lenten *Triodion*, the compilation of texts and rubrics for the services of Lent developed throughout the Byzantine period, Mary of Egypt features prominently. She is the only woman with an entire Sunday given thematically to her commemoration, and with a proscription that her entire hagiography should be read during the Matins of the fifth Thursday in Lent. Additionally, Mary's annual commemoration from the *Synaxarion* on April first, almost always falls during Lent. Consequently, Mary appears in the liturgical focus of the Orthodox Church on three separate occasions celebrated in close proximity. Present day Orthodox Christian discussions regarding the role of women and gender in the life of the Church, the importance of continuity with historical tradition for contemporary Orthodox theologians, and the emphasis in Orthodox liturgical theology on the rule of prayer being the rule of faith, makes relevant a renewed attempt to understand what the Byzantine textual-liturgical presentation of Mary of Egypt during Lent originally conveyed. This paper argues the Byzantine liturgical hagiography and hymnography as it developed presents Mary of Egypt as an edifying and engaging Lenten verbal icon of exemplar holy penitence and participation in divine triumph.

In order to argue this interpretation of Mary's liturgical significance, this paper examines the Byzantine liturgical texts read or sung about Mary that persevere to this day in churches of Byzantine inheritance, and the historical context in which these texts developed. After a brief historical introduction to the texts, the first part of this paper considers Sophronius' *Life* in its seventh century Byzantine historical and theological contexts. Mary of Egypt's hagiography, it is argued, would have been understood at the time of its liturgical introduction as a particularly appealing and provocative example of divinely aided holiness and ideal ascetic repentance in a Lenten monastic context. Mary's appeal would have been amplified by her gender, the nature of her sin, and her depiction as orthodox in practice and belief. The second section of the paper examines the liturgical hymns that developed in the seventh through twelfth centuries as the theological expansion and appropriation of Mary's *Life*. Here Mary is situated in relation to other holy figures, themes, and narratives central to the progression from Lent to Pascha. The hymnographic elaboration of the theological themes found in the hagiography emphasizes Mary's place in the Byzantine Church as a divine victor and model repentant sinner. Mary of Egypt's hymnography and hagiography in its Byzantine liturgical context together conveys a portrait of repentant holiness and divine triumph to the Church's faithful for veneration, imitation, and spiritual participation.

Expressions of Class in the Byzantine Monastic Habit

Jennifer L. Ball (Brooklyn College, CUNY)

The *typikon* of the Convent of Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople contains a portrait of the nuns housed there, depicting the choir sisters and, what have been interpreted as, novitiates at bottom of the group. (Lincoln College Gr. 35, f. 12r) However, these novitiates are dressed in three different types of habits, including variances in shape, and color of veils, as well as tunics and cloaks. This paper will posit that this, among other images and literary evidence, demonstrates a complex hierarchy in Byzantine monasticism, beyond the commonly understood tripartite division of novitiate, choir monk and superior. Monastic *typika* demonstrate the presence of servants, even slaves, and an increase in the division of labor between manual work and the work of prayer

and liturgical duties. The stratification of rank within the monastery prompted greater distinctions in the habit and concretized the uniformity of the monastic habit. I posit that the Lincoln College *typikon* along with other images can be read to reflect more types of monks and nuns within the monastery.

In the Middle Byzantine period, perhaps in response to monastic reform and attempts to expunge monasteries of intruding secular class systems, a nostalgic view of the early coenobitic monasteries of Egypt and Palestine develops which pictured an egalitarian brother/sisterhood in each monastery who worked and prayed in common. Work was exalted and the monastic garments of the early period were seen as reflecting the monk's spiritual and physical toil. While this perception was faulty, servants are known in monasteries from the beginnings of the monastic movement and the division of labor was always based partially on class and education, the Middle and Late Byzantine literature bespeaks an anxiety over the class structure that had evolved in monastic life. Attempts were made to disallow differences in clothing, among other privileges, such as having servants at all. This paper examines the monastic habit in relation to manual labor and class in monasteries in order to illuminate how class difference played out in the monastic life.

Session VI A
Church Politics

Was There More Than One Lost Arian History? A Study of the Antiochene Chronicle and Eusebius of Emesa

Joseph J Reidy (Saint Louis University)

Richard Burgess, in his *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronology*, argues convincingly for the existence of a hitherto unknown Antiochene continuation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*. His analysis of multiple sources allows him to reconstruct much of this document; among the fragments he uses are several from the collection posited by Joseph Bidez to be remnants of a lost Arian narrative. Burgess argues, contrary to Bidez's theory, that many of these passages pertaining to the years prior to 350 actually come from this Antiochene chronicle. Furthermore, Burgess believes that a pro-Nicene author composed the account, and he proposes several reasons for his position.

While Burgess' study has advanced modern understanding of fourth-century historiography, his conclusion that this effort belongs to an orthodox writer is less convincing than his other arguments. He supports his theory through a particular reading that ignores internal evidence that an Arian composed his Antiochene chronicle. One of Burgess' main contentions is that this chronicle was used by St. Jerome in his own continuation of Eusebius. The idea that this vocal proponent of Nicaea would use a heretical source seems unlikely to Burgess.

Jerome, however, was not above consulting authors who supported theological positions opposed to his own. A discussion of Jerome's writings reveals that he could curb his hostility to heterodox believers when it suited his purposes. This fact, coupled with other evidence from the saint's works, not only supports the idea that an Arian was behind the chronicle; it also suggests a particular author.

Eusebius of Emesa, an Arian prelate who spent much time in Antioch, may be the chronicler behind the Antiochene continuation. His biography explains many of the work's features noted by Burgess, such as familiarity with Antioch, a particular use of language, and even a non-polemical tone. In addition, Eusebius' extant sermons and the testimony of Jerome demonstrate that it is possible and even likely that the Antiochene chronicle came from the hand of this Arian bishop.

The Road Not Taken: Eustathius of Berytus at Chalcedon

Patrick T. R. Gray (York University)

Session 1 of Chalcedon's task was to decide between two versions of orthodoxy, each claiming it represented what Cyril of Alexandria taught: that of the Home Synod of 448 under Flavian of Constantinople, and based on Cyril's *Second Letter to Nestorius* and his *Laetentur coeli* (Union) letter to John of Antioch; and Ephesus II's version based on Cyril's post-Union letters. The former affirmed a Christ in or out of two natures after the Incarnation; the latter affirmed a Christ out of two natures before the Incarnation, but who was one incarnate nature after it.

Unnoticed by scholars was an attempt by Eustathius of Berytus to propose a third way. By his own account a 'mediator of peace' earlier in 449, he went on at Ephesus II to be the most articulate spokesperson for the one-nature position: because his earlier writings had been misrepresented, Eustathius said, Cyril use the post-Union letters to explain his real meaning. When the acts' account of this was read at Chalcedon it caused an uproar. Eustathius rushed to centre-stage, dramatically threw down a copy of Cyril's letter to Acacius of Melitene, and recited it by heart. He must have seemed completely committed to the one-nature position.

But then Eustathius proposed a third possibility. He pronounced anathema on excessive readings both of 'one nature' and of 'two natures', opening up the possibility of there being correct readings different from those that interpreted them in mutually exclusive ways. Then he appealed to a revised version of Flavian's statement of faith at the Home Synod that Flavian had sent to Theodosius in December of 448. It added a sentence: 'We do not refuse to affirm one nature of God the Word enfleshed and incarnate . . .' thereby asserting the possibility of affirming both sets of christological formulae, both sets of 'canonical' Cyrillian texts, presumably on the assumption that they should be seen as fundamentally compatible, once excessive interpretations were excluded.

Eustathius's acknowledgement of error in condemning Flavian found its way into the minutes, and seems to have represented a turn in the tide towards a positive assessment of Flavian. His request that the autograph letter of Flavian to Theodosius be entered into

the minutes was ignored, however, and with it the proposed third way. Only the unsupplemented statement of faith of Flavian—the one that said only that Christ was 'from two natures after the incarnation'—was read, and bishops expressed (knowingly or unknowingly) their complete agreement with that. It was at this exact point that Juvenal led his bishops across the floor. The timing is suggestive. Had he waited to see if Eustathius's third way would be adopted before caving in to the demand that he and the other bishops choose between the two stark alternatives?

Eustathius himself was deposed, and the possibility of a third way would not be explored again until the sixth-century neo-Chalcedonians.

Chalcedonian Shadows: Looking for an Antiochene Doctrinal Network 451-486

Adam M. Schor (University of South Carolina)

In the year 482, Emperor Zeno issued the famous “Edict of Oneness” (*Henotikon*), an ambitious attempt to unite Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian religious leaders, via silences and ambiguities. The edict was publicly opposed by ten Syrian bishops, including Calendio, the patriarch of Antioch. In the fall of 484, Calendio and his associates were accused of supporting an imperial usurper, the supposedly pagan Illus, and deposed. This episode seems to mark a watershed in early Byzantine religious history. The following decade would see not only discord between popes and other patriarchs, but the permanent split between the imperial church and the Persia-based Church of the East.

It is tempting to see the clerical struggles of the 480s as an echo of the doctrinal disputes of the previous generation. During the 430s and 440s, Syria had hosted a robust “Antiochene” party of clerics, who had defied imperial threats to defend the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and the doctrinal formula “two natures in one (person of) Christ.” This Antiochene party had been assaulted by its foes at the second Council of Ephesus (449). But it was partly supported by Council of Chalcedon (451). Naturally, we might wish to view the bishops deposed in 484 as successors of the old Antiochene network. We might go further, and posit a link between these Antiochenes and clerics in

Persia who soon proclaimed Theodore their favorite “Interpreter.” We might even endorse the accusations of anti-Chalcedonians in Syria that they faced a well-organized “Nestorian” conspiracy.

But how much of a connection was there between the two generational groups of Syrian clerics, doctrinally or otherwise? This paper seeks signs of meaningful social links between the Antiochenes of the 440s and their purported successors. The evidence is spotty: a mix of anecdotes from Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian church histories, curiously patchy records of responses to Emperor Leo I’s *Codex encyclicus* and names mentioned in anti-Chalcedonian letters. But even these sources can help if cross-referenced and examined for signals of social affiliation.

When read carefully, the sources suggest several possible threads of contact. Antiochenes were still partly organized, and back by court allies, during and right after the Council of Chalcedon. Certain clerics and monks then bridged the gaps within a handful of bishoprics and monasteries. Most striking is the continuity of doctrinal conversation: clerics in the 480s used many of the same basic terms to identify themselves as doctrinal allies as they had in 451. But these possible threads of contact did not guarantee an Antiochene group identity. The clerics involved always featured their broader Chalcedonian affiliations. Only when emperors ceased celebrating the Council of Chalcedon did a few Syrian supporters organize separately, and reemphasize their affection for Theodore. Nevertheless, their choices had serious implications for church politics and Roman-Persian relations.

Rethinking Pope Gelasius’ *Ad Anastasium*

George E. Demacopoulos (Fordham University)

Near the end of the fifth century, Pope Gelasius I sent his most famous writing, *Ad Anasasium*, to the Byzantine emperor, wherein he advanced a vision of a world governed by the twin powers of the Church (rooted in the papacy) and the State (centered in the person of the emperor). Not only is it the oldest surviving Church/State articulation of its kind, the letter also famously argues that the sacred authority is superior to the secular because it is through the sacred that the individuals within the secular gain salvation.

Since the middle ages, interpreters have consistently viewed the letter as evidence of the might and international reach of the papacy. Without seriously contesting that assessment, scholarly interpretations of the letter have generally focused in one of two areas: (1) a comparison between the strength of Gelasius' papacy and those of the later middle ages, and (2) the meaning of Gelasius' distinction between the Church's *auctoritas* and the State's *potestas*. In 1979, Jeffrey Richards (*The Popes and the Papacy 476-752*) introduced a measure of caution to the discussion of the Church/State relationship reflected in the letter by emphasizing the anachronisms of most of the nineteenth and twentieth-century scholarship. For Richards, Gelasius did not (could not) envision a papal institution on par with the papal governments of the eleventh or twelfth century. Rather, for Richards, *Ad Anastasium* represents no more than one individual's ornery response to the breakdown between East and West during the Acacian Schism. While Richards' Gelasius is no Gregory VII, he is still a figure of considerable stature and able to wield the weapon's of Petrine authority to great effect. In other words, despite his cautions of anachronistic reading, Richards still views the *Ad Anastasium* as a statement of papal strength designed to counter and diminish Eastern haughtiness. But given that Gelasius' papacy suffered so many humiliations (not only with respect to the Eastern court but also among the clergy of Rome), is it not likely that Richards, too, has allowed the rhetorical design of *Ad Anastasium* to confuse his judgment?

The purpose of this paper is to reconsider the *Ad Anastasium* in light of the theoretical insights offered by the "linguistic turn." Specifically, this paper subjects the *Ad Anastasium* to a literary analysis that seeks to understand more completely the relationship between the letter and the things it does not state, its "absences," which, it is argued, can dramatically reset our understanding of papal power in this period. Reading "against" the text, this paper tests the possibility that Gelasius is speaking from weakness, rather than strength, and assumes that *Ad Anastasium* was carefully designed to mask insecurity and failure through rhetorical self-aggrandizement. Put another way, this paper argues that *Ad Anastasium* represents unrealized (possibly unrealizable) papal ambitions rather than ecclesiastical and political realities. Such a rereading of the *Ad Anastasium* helps to clarify our understanding of the true influence of the late-ancient papacy and nuance our understanding of papal/Constantinopolitan dynamics.

Sex, Stewardship, and Succession in Late Antique Rome: The Laurentian Schism (498-506 CE) Reconsidered

Kristina Sessa (The Ohio State University)

In 498, two clerics were consecrated as Rome's next pope: the archdeacon Symmachus, who was recognized as the legitimate prelate; and the senior priest Laurentius, who was the de facto bishop for many. Rome, as a result, was torn by schism for the next eight years. The Laurentian Schism (498-506) has long gripped the attention of scholars in light of its length, its institutional implications for the Roman church, and its moments of extreme violence, wherein scores of partisans were slaughtered on city streets. Virtually all historians have interpreted the conflict in terms of theology and high politics, whereby factions clashed over the ensuing Acacian Schism and diplomatic relations between the Ostrogothic government in Ravenna and the emperor in Constantinople. Yet, according to Roman sources actually generated by the schism (i.e. proceedings of ecclesiastical trials conducted in Rome to adjudicate the crisis; a body of narratives and counter narratives produced by partisans of both clerics, including a number of forged documents), the conflict revolved around accusations of sex crimes, financial malfeasance, ritual malpractice, and improper behavior in the episcopal election process. Those scholars who acknowledge the charges (and not all do) typically dismiss them as mere rhetorical subterfuge, concealing the "real" matters underlying the schism.

This paper presents an alternative reading of the Laurentian Schism. It places the late ancient accusations at the very center of the analysis and argues that the schism is better understood as a local Roman debate over the nature and reach of papal authority within the city and in relation to its neighborhood churches known as *tituli*. Through close readings of both the official *acta* of the trials and the colorful propagandistic texts produced in the wake of the schism, it contextualizes the charges within the late ancient discourse of household management or *oikonomia*. This is the term used by ancient writers to denote a set of practices and ideas associated with the figure of the *paterfamilias*. While the bishop could never simply be another *paterfamilias* with a *pallium*, sources dating from the second century show that his authority had long been evaluated in terms of *oikonomia*, whether it was his stewardship of ecclesiastical property, his moral governance of the clergy's sexual habits (including his own), or his direct involvement in the transmission of the episcopal office. During and in the immediate wake of the Laurentian Schism, Roman Christians invoked *oikonomia* as a discourse of power and

invective, as the most appropriate language in which to voice concerns regarding Symmachus' style of episcopal governance, which some viewed as too similar to that of an earthly *dominus*. Sex and money, in other words, were not simply ciphers "masking more important areas of controversy," as one recent study claimed. Rather, they constituted the very bases of a profound and far-reaching debate over episcopal authority and the appropriate relations of power between a papal "householder" and his local congregants and clergy.

Session VI B
Imperial Ritual and Dynastic Relations

Tzikanion: the noble sport in Byzantium

Nicola Bergamo (Università Cà Foscari Venezia Italia)

The importance of the sports in Byzantium is pretty known, many scholars had especially studied the racing charts at the Hippodrome and their political connections with the Byzantine social classes. Not so much, instead, is known about the existence of *tzikanion* a sort of Byzantine “polo play”, probably arriving from Persia, played by the Emperor and his family. Thanks to a small but important group of primary sources from the X and XII centuries, it is possible to reconstructing the rules of *tzikanion*. No much information is known, anyway, but they are enough for summarizing the basic rule and the basic place where this sport was made. Something could be found especially on the history of Cinnamons, where the author, talking about the normal life of Manuel I Komnenos, describes the custom of the Emperor and his sons to play *tzikanion*. This paper is divided into three parts which describe: the play (the rules, the equipments, the teams), the place (the description of *tzikanistirion*, the city of Constantinople, the imperial palace) and finally the people who playing *tzikanion* (the important of this game in the Byzantine elite society).

The play. Two teams composed by a number not specify young people were lined up on the two overboard of the playing ground and a ball, big as apple, was placed in the center. When the game started both teams set a horse off at a gallop for catching the ball before the other team. Each player had a wooden stick made like a racket and everyone must try to hit the ball and try to send it below the opposing line.

The place. *Tzikanistirion* was named the place where this sport was made in Constantinople, it was part of the imperial palace. Basil I (867-886) built the new *tzikanistirion* close to the *nea ekklesia*, after he destroying the old one. According to Liutprand of Cremona and Leo the Grammarian, the *tzikanion* ground was extensive and huge.

The people who playing *Tzikanion*. The importance of the equestrian sport in Constantinople is know, but in comparison of the more popular chariot races, the *tzikanion* was connected only with the imperial family giving it an elite prestige.

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Ritual and performance in 12th c. Byzantium: The case of Andronikos (I.) Komnenos and patriarch Theodosios Boradiotes

Michael Grünbart (University of Münster)

A project based at the University of Münster addresses the interactions between emperor and patriarch in Byzantium. The relations between these two institutions underwent various changes from Late Antiquity to the end of the Byzantine Empire. It is apparent that the influence and power of the patriarch became more prominent and visible after Iconoclasm. The patriarch participated at many ceremonies (in public) and his role at inthronisations became obligatory.

After Otto Treitinger's book on Byzantine court ceremonial no further major studies were undertaken until Gilbert Dagrón, whose book on "Emperor and Priest" is a landmark in the investigation of Byzantine rulership emphasizing on the ideology and constitution of "Kaisertum". It will provoke further discussions, but it also makes clear that a thorough study of ceremonies at court based on mainly historiographical sources is still lacking.

A task of the Münster project is to find and collect case studies from historiography concerning ritualised actions between the head of the empire and the head of the church that may lead to a synthesis and understanding of Byzantine political culture.

In my presentation I focus on Theodosios Boradiotes (patriarch from 1179-1183) and his relations to Manuel I. and Andronikos I. Komnenos. Theodosios urged Manuel to abandon astrology and he opposed the usurper Andronikos, which is mentioned and described extensively by Niketas Choniates in his historiography (Nic.Chon. hist. 252, 70ss.). The main scene of their meeting opposite of Constantinople is the starting point for reflections on power relations and their staging.

The Advantages and Disadvantages of Familial Ties: Hungary Between Rus' and Byzantium in the mid-Twelfth Century

Christian Raffensperger (Wittenberg University)

Dynastic marriages were the warp and weft of political ties in the medieval European world and as such were essential for any kingdom or empire that wanted to maintain its power and status vis-à-vis its neighbors. However, those same marriages that advanced your position in one political situation might also engender uncomfortable, or unfortunate, political obligations in another. John Dukas advised Nikephoras Botaneiates to marry Maria of the Alans specifically because she had no familial relations to trouble him for assistance. The help received from these marital ties, Dukas realized, was often offset by the problems that such familial relations might then cause in the future.

To examine this phenomenon of both intentional and unintentional side effects of dynastic marriages, I have chosen to examine the case of Hungary in the mid-twelfth century. At that time, Hungary was attempting to become a powerbroker in Eastern Europe, and as such serves as an effective example in dealing with the Byzantine Empire from the outside, as well as maintaining ties with other kingdoms in Europe. Taking advantage of their key position on the Danube, they were sought after for dynastic marriages and made multiple of them with the various ruling families of Europe. Multiple dynastic marriages sounds as if it might violate the medieval consanguinity laws rules that often haunted royal marriages, however due to the multiplicity of branches of royal families by the mid-twelfth century this was not always a problem. The Hungarians married into internally divided Rus' and Poland, for example, to create advantageous familial connections with the groups then in power, or to back their

favorites and put them in power. While the Komnenoi married into an internally divided Hungary to attempt to create their own internal advantage. All of these marriages create ties on the Hungarians that they will need to deal with as the century progresses and which wear on their political and military resources.

The central example of the paper occurs in the middle of the twelfth century when Géza II is fighting an ongoing war with Byzantium and his in-law, Iziaslav Mstislavich of Rus', calls on him for assistance to regain his throne. (This was not a rare occurrence in Rus', especially as Iziaslav also called on in-laws from Poland and Bohemia at the same time.) The king of Hungary replied that he was too busy fighting the Byzantines to come personally, but that he would send some cavalry forces and come when he could. This familial obligation creates a two-front war which Géza will engage in for several years in the middle of the century. The situation succinctly illustrates the increasingly complex political position in which the Hungarians found themselves; a position largely created due to the manifold obligations of increasing familial ties.

A *Loros* from the Black Sea Steppe? Byzantine Embroideries from the Chungul Kurgan, Ukraine

Warren T. Woodfin (Queens College, CUNY)

The *loros*, the long scarf heavily adorned with gems and pearls that is wrapped cross-wise around the imperial tunic, is among the most salient features of the costume worn by Byzantine emperors. It is well known that foreign monarchs also affected the *loros* in their official portraiture, among them the rulers of Norman Sicily, Georgia, Armenia, Serbia, and Bulgaria. What is less obvious is whether such portraits are merely symbolic representations of the leaders' aspirations to power or rather reflect their adoption of such costume in actual practice. Recent study of the coronation regalia from Norman and Hohenstaufen Sicily has shown that the imperial *stola* now preserved in Vienna would have had to be worn in the manner of the Byzantine *loros*: when arranged in this fashion, the otherwise disparately oriented eagles depicted on the textile arrange themselves in a consistently upright direction.

The rich grave goods from the early thirteenth-century burial of a Kipchak (Cuman) nomad at the Chungul Kurgan in Ukraine include several complete or partial ensembles of dress. The body was buried wearing a caftan with preserved bands of embroidered decoration on its front, shoulders, and cuffs of the sleeves. These bands, embroidered on an indigo-dyed silk ground, consist of roundels defined by embroidered plaits of gold and pearls interspersed with small plaques of gilded silver. Within the individual roundels are faces embroidered in silk. Like the eagles on the imperial *stola* in Vienna, the orientation of the faces reverses repeatedly. Close examination of the surviving fragments makes clear that they were not initially destined for the caftan on which they are mounted, but must have been reused from an earlier application. It is our contention that these fragments originally represented a *loros*. Although we cannot determine the provenance of the textile with any certainty, the Kipchaks' close ties with Georgia, Bulgaria, and the Byzantine successor states of Trebizond and Nicaea in the opening decades of the thirteenth century makes for a variety of possible places of origin.

While the state of preservation of the embroidered *loros* from the Chungul Kurgan is less than ideal, it provides new answers and opens up new questions in the field of Byzantine court costume and its imitation abroad. For instance, the embroidery of couched gold and pearl plaits is not known elsewhere in the Byzantine sphere in this period, and the underside couching used in the medallions has hitherto been considered an exclusively Western European technique. The embroidered faces, while their precise identity is elusive, can be linked indirectly to the imperial eagles that appear on the *stola* in Vienna. Like the eagles, the Chungul Kurgan embroideries belong to a well attested—but less well preserved—class of court garments with imperial images or symbols frequently bestowed on rulers nominally subject to Byzantium. They thus invite us to see this reused *loros* as part of a broader discourse of distribution and imitation of court costume spreading outwards from Constantinople and embracing even the nomads of the Black Sea Steppe.

Between East and West: Constructing Identities in the Boiana Church

Rossitza B.Schroeder (Pacific School of Religion)

Painted in 1259 under the auspices of the enigmatic sebastokrator Kaloian and his wife Desislava, the monumental program of the church of SS Nicholas and Panteleemon in Boiana, Bulgaria, offers important insight into the visual discourse of an era when Constantinople had ceased to be a major center of artistic production as a result of the 1204 Crusader conquest. Even though the church preserves one of the most complete fresco ensembles on the Balkans dated to the thirteenth century, it has yet to be assigned its rightful place within the broader context of cross cultural artistic interactions in the Mediterranean. A significant number of Constantinopolitan, Latin, and Serbian visual references have been identified in the church's paintings, but these have never been considered active generators of meaning. This paper explores the role of these foreign references within the grand visual narrative designed by the patron Kaloian to refashion his identity as well as that of his relative and benefactor, tsar Constantine Tich Asen (1257-1277).

The paper first considers the function of the Constantinopolitan references, such as the representation of St. Nicholas's Miracle with the Carpet and the image of Christ Chalkites, clustered in close proximity to the portraits of tsar Constantine and his wife Irene on the south wall of the narthex. Here visual cues, such as a luxurious textile and an imperial icon, transform Constantine and Irene into the legitimate heirs of a powerful kingdom. The paper further discusses the role of western, and more specifically Crusader, iconographic borrowings. Thus the depiction of the twelve-year old Christ teaching in the temple, which is also placed on the narthex's south wall, finds its closest visual parallels in Crusader renditions of the scene. This type of iconography, which poignantly relates the conflict between the young Christ and the Pharisees, was no doubt purposefully chosen to convey a specific message about the difficulties Constantine Tich encountered in ascending the Bulgarian throne.

....Having found himself propelled upward in the social hierarchy, the otherwise unknown Kaloian needed to fashion an effective and particularly current visual statement that represented Constantine Tich as the person with the legitimate power to bestow high courtly rank on a political neophyte. The incorporation of Constantinopolitan and Crusader visual references successfully transformed an

unknown nobleman into a legitimate king, and an aristocrat into a powerful lord. But there is more—the use of foreign, and especially Crusader, elements within the decorative program of the Boiana church indicates that the painters participated in the creation of an artistic *koine* in the thirteenth-century Mediterranean.

Session VI C
Raising Capital: The Laskarids in Nicaea and
Nymphaion

Byzantine Imperial Consorts and Princesses of the Epoch of the Anatolian Exile

John S. Langdon, University of California, Los Angeles

Imperial Princesses and Consorts played some pivotal roles in the geopolitics of the epoch of the Byzantine Anatolian exile in the wake of the conquest of 1204. On the eve of the conquest, the Basilissa Euphrosyne Ducaena Camatera, consort of the Basileus Alexius III, developed a taste for a young noble who hailed from the Vatazæ. The future Basileus John III was probably the fruit of that liaison. In 1203 Euphrosyne fled into the Balkans with her husband, eventually dying in lonely exile in distant Arta. Then, during the chaos attendant upon the conquest, Euphrosyne's *legitimate* daughter Anna deserted the Capital for Asia Minor with her husband Theodore Lascaris, who was obliged to beg the citizens of Nicaea to afford refuge to his family. The Byzantine and Metabyzantine hagiography relates that, after Anna's death, her daughter Irene Lascarina was smitten by an upstart Thracian arrival at the Anatolian Byzantine court, John Ducas Vatatzes. Little did Irene know that young John was her mother Anna Angelina's long sequestered, illegitimate half-brother! The star-crossed lovers were married sometime after 1216.

In the year John Vatatzes ascended to the *Basileia* in 1222, his basilissa bore his heir, Theodore. But Irene had already long since conceived a daughter, who was to play a key role in history. Irene, a forceful personality at the Anatolian-Byzantine court, later predeceased her husband, after which Vatatzes embarked upon a second marriage in 1242. The circumstances surrounding that inglorious union with Constanza Lancia, the bastard daughter of Frederick II Hohenstaufen, are connected with Vatatzes' *second* campaign to recover Constantinople.

The Armenian commentator Kirakos of Ganzak relates that "the brother of the [Seljuq] Sultan [Ghith (*i.e.*, Izz) al-Din Kaykhusraw II] . . . formed marriage ties with the Lascarids." His contemporary, the Syrian Ibn Natif, writing in Arabic, several times refers to John III as "Lascaris". We can infer that by 1249 John III had given his aforementioned unnamed daughter in marriage to the Sultan's *son*, Izz al-Din Kaykaus II—to strengthen Byzantino-Seljuq collaboration against the Mongols.

In 1256 Kaykaus II took refuge from the Mongols in Anatolian Byzantine Nymphaion with his brother-in-law, the Basileus Theodore II. Later he was obliged to flee a second

time from the Mongols—this time to Constantinople after the Byzantines recovered it. The slippery Sultan eventually deserted his host, Michael VIII—abandoning his harem and family, among whom was the aforementioned forlorn Vatatzaina. She simply vanishes from history.

By that time the Basileus John's *niece* Theodora Ducaena Vatatzaina had already been bestowed upon young Michael Palaeologus in place of one of Vatatzes' Lascarid granddaughters, whose consanguinity to Michael was deemed within the prohibited degree—the *very thing*, *Akropolites snidely tells us, that was countenanced in the case of the Basileus John!* Here we have the "smoking gun" that points to the scandalously close consanguinity of John Vatatzes to his consort Irene Lascarina.

Impressions of Laskarid Landscapes - Environment, Architecture, and the Social Good

Suna Çağaptay (Bahçeşehir University)

As Costas N. Constantinides writes in "Byzantine Gardens and Horticulture in the Late Byzantine Period, 1204-1453: The Secular Sources," the Laskarid emperors-in-exile enjoyed public parks in their capital city of Nicæa, in addition to creating gardens outside the Laskarid palace at Nymphaion. Their efforts to renew and to invest in their newly conquered territory expanded through the commissioning of civic and religious buildings in western Asia Minor and on the islands of Chios and Samos, and through the development of rural areas. In Nicæa and Nymphaion, the Laskarid rulers appropriated old buildings, commissioned new ones and funded numerous agrarian and landscaping projects, all in the name of defining new centers for Byzantine imperial power. Utilizing textual, architectural and environmental evidence, I discuss the social and physical implications of how the Laskarid emperors constructed landscapes in Nicæa and Nymphaion. I argue that their settlements and landscapes were constructed to be perceived and to function as a collective social "good." A significant number of Laskarid investments were agrarian in nature. They were as important and as deliberately placed to foster Laskarid power in exile as their architectural projects.

The *encomia* on the cities of Nicaea by Theodore Metochites and Nymphaion by Manuel Holobolos, which mention the ample public fountains and beautiful churches of the former and the excellent climate, flowering meadows, and flowing springs of the latter, are a few telling examples describing the qualities of these urban and rural areas. Laskarid interest in constructing landscapes ranged from utilizing the land as a site of kingly and royal pastime, for hunting and for relaxation, as well as for imperial ceremonies and meetings. Although both cities were lauded for the beauty of their gardens, trees, and monuments, the economic potential of the lands near Nicæa and Nymphaion raised the value of these capitals. In contrast, the Laskarids also fought for and ruled over territories that were unable to be cultivated, and yet which, though devoid of economic value, were considered politically crucial. The “agrarian revival” of western Anatolia, centered on the capitals of Nicæa and Nymphaion, can refine our understanding of the reasons behind the Laskarid rulers’ placement and construction of palaces and architecture, as well as their manner of developing large agricultural estates. The effects of this revival on the modes and means of production of natural resources, on economic exchange and on the fiscal base for Laskarid rule are also explored.

The Second Hagia Sophia of Byzantium, in İznik/Nicæa

Naomi Ruth Pitamber (University of California, Los Angeles)

In this paper I posit that the church of Hagia Sophia in Nicæa [modern İznik] was the second basilica to be dedicated to Hagia Sophia in the Byzantine Empire. Placing the architectural plan of Hagia Sophia in Nicæa directly in the shadow of its predecessor, the Theodosian Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (A.D. 415-532) illuminates a direct link between Constantinople and Nicæa. Hagia Sophia in Nicæa was built to serve as the cathedral church of the city, which had been elevated to the rank of a metropolitan city by the emperors Valens and Valentinian in A.D. 365, perhaps in recognition of Nicæa’s connection to the First Ecumenical Council in A.D. 325. Known best in the historical record for the momentous role the church played as the site of the Seventh Ecumenical Council in A.D. 787, Hagia Sophia in Nicæa possessed and cultivated a unique historical reputation as the site of the Orthodox resolution of Iconoclasm. In the 13th century, when the city of Nicæa was designated the capital of the Byzantine Empire in exile during the

Laskarid interregnum (A.D. 1204-1261), evidence points to fact that Hagia Sophia transformed from a local metropolitan seat into the exiled Empire's main cathedral. This paper concludes by examining how Hagia Sophia's few recorded historical moments of transformation can inform a preliminary interpretation of the church's role as the cathedral of Nicæa during the reigns of the Laskarid rulers.

The Palace of the Laskarids in Nymphaion: The Current Condition and Restoration Process

Ece Kara (YD Architects, Istanbul)

This paper examines the current state of the ruined Laskarid Palace located in modern Kemalpaşa, a small town that lies 30 km to the east of İzmir on the ancient road between Smyrna and Sardis, and outlines the restoration process for this important 13th-century building, which began in 2010. In 2009, YD Architects in İstanbul, a firm known for its conservative and careful restoration practices, was engaged by the municipality of Kemalpaşa to begin restoration of the Laskarid palace in order to prevent any further deterioration. This restoration procedure follows an academic excavation of the areas immediately surrounding the building, which was led by scholars from Ege University. To date, the results of this excavation remain unpublished. The interior of the building, which has not been excavated, contains numerous architectural fragments.

While the new center of Laskarid power was originally set in Nicæa [modern İznik], a site chosen by Theodore I Laskaris (reigned A.D. 1204-1221), imperial power also came to be shared by the town of Nymphaion during the reign of John III Vatatzes (A.D. 1221-1254). Opinions differ as to whether the Laskarid palace was built during Theodore I's reign or during the subsequent reign of John III Vatatzes. By all accounts, however, the Laskarid palace remains a unique example of Byzantine architecture. After the treaty of Nymphaion was signed by Michael Palæologos and the Republic of Genoa in A.D. 1261, and after the re-conquest of the city of Constantinople, Byzantine rulers continued to use the Laskarid palace in Nymphaion. Historical records also indicate that the palace was used by a Turkish official named Saruhanoğulları until Ottoman domination in the early 15th century. The setting of the palace in Nymphaion can be seen as part of a Laskarid

interest in the agrarian potential of the surrounding countryside. Due to its location on the fringes of Laskarid territories in Asia Minor, the palace was strategically located to consolidate political power in the south in addition to functioning as an imperial residence.

The palace, rectangular in form, measures approximately 25.50 x 11.50 meters and is positioned in the northeast-southwest direction. The ruins indicate that it has a ground floor and three upper floors. The facades are characterized by their geometric plainness, each side formed by a uniformly flat surface lacking both decorative cornices and balconies. The most outstanding details of the facades are the strong color contrast between the ashlar masonry and brick courses, and the regularity of these horizontal bands interrupted only by regular fenestration. The Laskarid Palace is best analyzed within the context of examples of palatial architecture from the Palace of the Despot in Mystras, Greece, and Tekfur Palace in İstanbul.

Session VII A
Roman Identity and the Other

A New Strategy of Distinction: The Gothic Pogroms

Brian Swain (The Ohio State University)

The prevailing model in Anglophone scholarship for the study of barbarians in the fourth and fifth centuries is integrationist. It is a paradigm which aims to render barbarians largely indistinguishable from their Roman counterparts once inside the empire. The process of 'Romanization' is quick and relatively seamless. Antagonism between Romans and barbarians within the empire is understood as being only politically – not ethnically – motivated, ethnic difference being incidental or an illusion constructed by our sources. This is crucial: both Romans and barbarians engage each other, either in cooperation or conflict, by the rules of a Roman game. This model is sophisticated and promotes a nuanced appreciation of the Roman-barbarian dynamic, but it is not without its problems. The resultant casualty of this paradigm is barbarian ethnicity. The urge to avoid speaking about it is an understandable one. Our Roman sources are surely deficient in their knowledge of actual barbarian cultural constructs, and, grinding their ideological axes, often distort reality for rhetorical purposes. Getting at the contours of individual barbarian ethnicities is hard – indeed maybe impossible. But it is methodologically wrongheaded to suggest that they did not exist at all, and to remedy our ignorance of them by replacing them with Roman identity, something we know about. The purpose of this study is to suggest that barbarians did possess their own extra-Roman identities and that these had historical ramifications. I reexamine two oft noted, but little discussed, moments in which Romans consciously identify Goths and slaughter them on a large scale, believing that their very Gothicness posed an imminent threat. The first instance marks the dramatic conclusion to Ammianus' historical narrative, wherein, following the catastrophe at Adrianople in 378, the Roman commander Julius orders that every Goth serving in the eastern Roman armies should be assembled under false pretenses in the suburbs of the cities where they were stationed and killed to a man, lest they join the victorious Gothic army in spelling further danger for the empire. Indeed, Julius calls for nothing short of the ethnic cleansing of the Roman armies. The second instance appears in a number of sources, among them Zosimos, Synesios, and Sozomen, within their narratives of the chaotic events surrounding Gaïnas' revolt in 400. Though some of our sources disagree on particulars, they all report that amidst the atmosphere of heightened tensions and mutual fear in Constantinople brought on by the revolt of Gaïnas, a Roman general and Goth, and his predominantly Gothic army, the thousands of Gothic civilians and off duty soldiers within the city,

fearing for their safety, prepared to leave the capital. The Roman populace, for their part fearing that the Goths would join Gainas and cause them further trouble, rioted and slaughtered all of the Goths in the city.

What is important for the purposes of this study is not whether these Romans were accurate in their assumptions that Goths were threats because they were Goths, but rather that they were able to know what a Goth was and to believe that the Goths' essential difference from Romans constituted a threat. These Romans were historical agents acting on their own assumptions about Gothic ethnicity. They acted independently of the discursively constructed notions of barbarian ethnicity expressed in our sources. Besides, few literary representations of Goths existed at the turn of the fifth century, and it is virtually certain that none of Julius' executioners nor the rioting Roman masses of Constantinople had read them. What we are then left with is evidence that Gothic ethnicity had a social reality and played a central role in two dramatic moments of conflict in Gothic-Roman relations. The Goth, it seems, unlike the lady, has not vanished.

Inventing the pre-Islamic Saracen "Other": Monastic and Saracen Identity Formation in the Sinai Peninsula from Constantine to Mohammad

Walter D. Ward (University of Alabama at Birmingham)

The Christian monks who began to settle in the Sinai Peninsula in the middle of the fourth century CE represent the first penetration of Greco-Roman settlement into the Peninsula, which previously was home to nomadic groups or small settlements founded by the Nabataean kingdom prior to Roman annexation in 106 CE. The monks quickly began to "claim" the Sinai by associating Biblical events from the book of Exodus with geographical locations in the late antique Sinai. Because the Hebrew tradition did not assign locations for the Exodus events, the monks were free to select sites according to their own needs.

The monks also took possession of the Sinai from the nomadic, indigenous inhabitants by stressing their pagan beliefs and bestial nature, employing the term "Saracen." According to the Sinai Martyr accounts, the "Saracens" practiced "impure" religious rituals such as black magic and animal and human sacrifice. However, the

“Saracen” attacks on monastic sites and the brutal descriptions of the slaughter of monks loom larger in the sources. Each monk’s martyrdom is described in gory detail, demonstrating that the “Saracens” were an inhuman “other.”

The expansion of monastic communities in the Sinai was therefore justified by two methods: veneration of Biblical sites and the “othering” of the indigenous population. These two methods served to enhance the spiritual sanctity of the Sinai monks by associating them with “holy ground” (Exodus 3:5) and demonstrating that they faced a constant threat of violence and martyrdom at the hands of the “Saracens.”

Furthermore, my research suggests that the increasing attention paid to pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites by the imperial government led to tangible changes in security. For example, the reign of Justinian represents a de-mobilization of the Arabian border (the so-called “Limes Arabicus”), but there is ample archaeological evidence to suggest that the pilgrimage routes between Jerusalem and Mount Sinai and monastic communities in the Sinai were being fortified. I argue that this is related to the Sinai Martyr accounts which created the image of a fearsome, barbaric “Saracen.”

The paper provides an overview of the transformation of my dissertation into a manuscript. The primary sources for this paper include the Sinai Martyr accounts by Ammonius and pseudo-Nilus and the narratives written by Anastasius of Sinai. Other ecclesiastical sources, such as Jerome’s *Life of Hilarian* and Eusebius’s *Onomasticon* provide comparative evidence to support this paper’s arguments. Finally, archaeological excavations of monastic sites, nomadic encampments, and Byzantine fortifications in the southern Levant are analyzed to demonstrate the transformation of imperial defense in the mid to late sixth century.

**A Syrian Ascetic in the Big City:
A Re-evaluation of *The Life of Daniel the Stylite***

Sarah E. Insley (Harvard University)

In this paper I propose to discuss the 6th century *Life of Daniel the Stylite* as a literary construction of cultural contact and assimilation in late 5th century Constantinople. The text is a tantalizing sample of early Byzantine hagiography,

narrating the story of an aspiring ascetic from Samosata who immigrates to the 'Big City' and eventually mounts a pillar on the outskirts of the young imperial capital to become Constantinople's first stylite saint. According to the anonymous author of the *Life*, in the thirty years or so of his stylite career (from 460-493), Daniel acted as adviser to the emperors Leo I and Zeno, mediated peace treaties between the Eastern Empire and its neighbors, quashed heresies, and told off imperial usurpers. As such, his *Life* became prime fodder for Byzantine historians of the last generation who saw it as an opportunity to fill the gaps in our knowledge of the empire during the latter half of the 5th century. In Peter Brown's more recent interpretation, Daniel represents the 'holy man' *par excellence*: a "total stranger in a faction-ridden city," he fits neatly into Brown's reading of the late antique holy man as an individual nucleus of power with authority to act as a mediator in everything from rural boundary disputes to the resolution of greater societal pressures (Brown 1971).

I use this paper to push the analysis of Daniel's *Life* a step further. There are several curious and probably unique elements at play in this hagiographic narrative. The most obvious is the fact that a specifically *Syrian* holy man meets with such success in the imperial capital. I argue that Daniel's presence in Constantinople is a fragment of a much larger picture, since his *Life* is set in a dynamic period in which the authority of Constantinople, both as the capital of the Eastern empire and as the seat of the Eastern church, is still in formation. More specifically, I hope to illustrate the rhetorical mechanics of a two-way process of legitimization, namely that Daniel's power as a holy man is used to bolster that of the state and the church. At the same time, the state certainly, and the church to a lesser degree, act as his sponsors, ultimately allowing space for him to practice his asceticism in the city. Thus, not only does this text represent the effects of a vibrant cultural transformation in which the Syrian ascetic, imported from provincial periphery to imperial center, becomes a key player in the Constantinopolitan political scene; it also provides us with a literary account of how this transformation occurs. As such, it is a rare window into the complex process by which Constantinople was created as imperial capital and sacred center. I hope to show that a critical reading of the *Life* strikes at the heart of contemporary historiographical approaches to Byzantium and should be particularly useful in helping us to think through the boundaries of the early Byzantine cultural landscape.

De-Romanizing Severos and Sergios

Daniel Larison (Albuquerque, New Mexico)

Negative portrayals of Syrians and figures associated with Syria were important in the definition of Roman identity and orthodoxy in the seventh century. While the teachings of dissenting churches in the eastern provinces were not motivated primarily by 'nationalist' or 'ethnic 'separatist' concerns, ethnic labels and stereotypes were significant parts of religious polemic during the controversy over will and activity in Christ. Invoking ethnic origins in religious polemic was partly how Greek-speaking Chalcedonians defined non-Chalcedonians and one another. In the cases discussed in this paper, ethnic labels and stereotypes are deployed to define religious opponents as non-Roman, and it is the person's putative non-Roman background that determines religious views. On account of this, it is necessary to challenge established assumptions about Heraclian religious policy and claims made about a principal architect of that policy in the 630s, Patriarch Sergios.

Religious polemicists used existing and popular ethnic stereotypes to associate their opponents with a constructed image of a type of Roman who was nonetheless connected in the minds of the intended audience with disreputable traits or habits. What may seem to be descriptions are often character assassinations. For example, Anastasios of Sinai called Patriarch Sergios a Jacobite by descent because of Syrian parentage in the same passage in which he attributes innate deceitfulness to Syrians. When orthodoxy was contested, Chalcedonians on both sides of the monothelete controversy leaned heavily on an appeal to *Rhomaiosyne* to confirm their own orthodoxy and the error of their rivals.

The Cultural Context of Byzantium's Political and Religious Controversy with the West

Sviatoslav Dmitriev (Ball State University)

The argument between Byzantine and western leaders over imperial intitulation and ethnic names, which broke out in the ninth century, has been studied as a purely ninth-century phenomenon, in connection with the debate over papal primacy and the Photian schism. I propose to trace the origins of this political and religious confrontation back to Justinian's reign, and, additionally, to approach it in a cultural context, instead of the customary examination of this problem almost exclusively from the point of view of the religious divide between Roman Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy. This presentation focuses on two famous episodes of this controversy in the ninth century -- the correspondence exchange between the emperor Michael III and the Pope Nicholas I, and between Michael III's eventual successor, the Byzantine emperor Basil I, and Louis II ("the German"), King of Eastern Francia. The letter of Michael III -- which was probably written by Photius -- referred to the Latin language as "barbarian" and "Scythian." Nicholas I retaliated by questioning the validity of the official title of Byzantine rulers as "emperors of the Romans," because the language of the Byzantines was not that of the ancient Romans. The letter of Basil I asserted the presence of only one Roman emperor, in Constantinople; his acknowledgment as the only Roman emperor by the Christian Church; and the inheritance of the Roman imperial title by descent, so that it could not belong to a foreign nation (*ethnos*). In response, Louis II styled himself *imperator Augustus Romanorum* and addressed Basil I as *imperator novae Romae*, because Basil's subjects were "Greeks."

These controversies have been studied with reference to either the growing papal authority (e.g., F. Dvornik, W. Berschin) or the widening cultural gap between the Latin west and the Greek east (e.g., A. Markopoulos). It is clear, however, that Michael III and Basil I connected cultural and political identities in the same way as Agathias, Lydus, Malalas, and Simocatta had done previously, when they referred to Byzantines and the universal Byzantine empire as "Romans," and compared the universal Roman empire to the individual nations of Goths, Franks, Scythians, and other "barbarians." By qualifying Latin as "barbarian" and "Scythian," Michael III and Basil I both denied those who spoke Latin the status of "Romans" and, consequently, the right to hold the territory of the Roman empire -- thus they were usurpers, just like the Goths of Vittiges (for Lydus and

Agathias) or Charlemagne (for Theophanes and his contemporaries) -- and implied that they were subjects of the emperor in Constantinople. The designation "Roman" as a modifier for the imperial title thus needs to be placed within a broader context of the use of "Roman" as a cultural definition in Byzantium. Besides its political and religious connotations (A. Kaldellis, C. Rapp), "Roman-ness" primarily displayed the cultural identity of the Byzantines.

Session VII B
Middle Byzantine Literary Culture

Reconstructing the Original Source for Ioannes Tzimiskes' Balkan Campaign of 971

Anthony Kaldellis (The Ohio State University)

While much attention has been devoted in recent scholarship to the question of the sources behind Leon the Deacon and Ioannes Skylitzes for the reigns of Nikephoros Phokas and Basileios II, the same has not been the case for the reign of Ioannes Tzimiskes (969-976). The accounts of his reign in those two historians focus mostly on his 971 campaign against the Rus' in the Balkans, and the question of their sources has not been systematically addressed. Some scholars believe that Leon was present on the campaign and wrote as an eye-witness; others that Leon and Skylitzes used independent sources for it; and still others that they used the same source. The final alternative is correct. The differences between the two accounts are slight and due to the different methods used by Leon and Skylitzes in reworking their primary material, especially to their different approaches to speeches, ethnographic digressions, and aristocratic family traditions. Moreover, it was already shown by Michael McCormick in 1986 (albeit in a footnote that was missed by subsequent investigators) that their accounts of the emperor's triumph in the capital both alluded to Plutarch's description of the triumph of Camillus but that they preserved different parts of the allusion, thus proving that they were working independently from the same source. In fact, many more episodes that are alleged to have taken place during this heroic war are reworked episodes from ancient history, especially from ancient Roman republican history, that have been adapted to their Byzantine context. The purpose of this classicism was to glorify the emperor by associating him with Camillus, Scipio, the Dioskouroi, and possibly Caesar and Marius. The original text might also have been an "answer" to Theodosios the Deacon's heroic poem that glorified Phokas' capture of Crete ten years previously. Reconstructing the nature and strategies of this text enables us to better evaluate the historicity of many of the reported claims made about this war as well as glimpse a lost step in the development of Byzantine historiography and classicizing literature in general.

Simeon's Presumption: Barbarism or Classicism?

Ian Mladjov (Bowling Green State University)

Simeon I of Bulgaria (893-927) has been described as "the most colorful ruler in Bulgarian, if not medieval Balkan, history." This Christian "child of Peace," this "half-Greek" educated in philosophy and history at Constantinople, would launch one of the most notorious challenges to the Empire and its institutional identity. In 913 Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos crowned Simeon emperor of the Bulgarians outside Constantinople, an unwelcome and reluctant concession later retracted by the Byzantine government, which served as the cause for a decade-long war of "pens and swords."

In this light it is not surprising to find Simeon accused by Byzantine contemporaries and later chroniclers of vainglory, ingratitude, and tyranny or usurpation. This, coupled with the cruelties of war, carries the stated or unstated implication of sources and modern treatments alike, that the Bulgarian monarch was, after all, just a barbarian. Who but a barbarian would cut off the noses of his Khazar captives, vent his rage by chopping down the trees of Thrace, or butcher Greek with a foreign accent? What made Simeon's actions all the more condemnable is that by virtue of his religion and his education he was expected to have known better.

However, there is another way of looking at Simeon's behavior. That he was frustrated by the repeated failures of the Byzantine Empire to take him seriously may explain his actions, but much of what Simeon did has *classical* parallels that would have been all too familiar to the Byzantine educated elite. In cutting off the noses of select captives, Simeon was following the examples of Herakles and Alexander, while his deforestation was a standard military strategy of Spartans, Athenians, and Hellenistic kings in Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polyainos. Nor is it surprising that Simeon would have been conscious of these connections: his correspondent, the patriarch Nicholas, refers to Simeon's avid interest in ancient history explicitly in two separate letters. The patriarch's missives to the Bulgarian monarch make numerous references to past events, including the failures of usurpers, Persian and Avar sieges, and the relatively obscure barbarian general Gaïnas, all of them laden with more meaning than blatantly stated in the texts. Perhaps it is in this light, too, that we should reconsider one of the rare surviving Bulgarian characterizations of Simeon: "New Ptolemy." This calls to mind a bibliophile monarch, but Ptolemy was also a general and a historian.

Given the limitations of the surviving evidence, we cannot, of course, be certain that Simeon's actions were always influenced by his knowledge of classical and historical texts. Coincidence is always possible, and we should perhaps consider that some of what is reported by our sources might be mere *topos*. However, I think the above considerations offer a new way of looking at Simeon's rule, and they fit in with his enthusiastic emulation of Byzantine models. Of course, while imitation may be the highest form of flattery, here was imitation that probably brought little comfort to Byzantium.

The Character of Alexios Komnenos in the *Material for History* of Nikephoros Bryennios

Leonora Neville (University of Wisconsin Madison)

The *Material for History* written by the Caesar Nikephoros Bryennios in the early twelfth century is a remarkably sympathetic reading of a devastating decade in Byzantine history, 1070-1080. While Nikephoros maintains a sense of horror at the Empire's disastrous political situation, his history has remarkably few villains and a great many heroes. The laudatory characterization of nearly all the leading politicians is all the more remarkable in that Nikephoros is telling stories about men who had fought each other. That Roman generals who were engaged in fighting other Romans while the Empire was being conquered by Turks, Pechenegs and Normans can all emerge as heroes in Nikephoros's history indicates that he was a masterful rhetorician whose history is far more than a plain description of events.

Nikephoros's characterizations frequently recall and deploy classical Roman ideals of masculinity, virtue and honor. When the text is read in light of classical Roman ideas of masculine virtue, new meanings emerge. Most significantly, the work supports a critique of emperor Alexios Komnenos, the author's father-in-law. The trick of criticizing the founder of the reigning dynasty at the imperial court was achieved through appeals to morally coded classical exempla. Courtiers who had internalized the moral systems visible in classical era histories of the Roman Empire would perceive stories of Alexios Komnenos's successful, ostensibly positive, conduct as reflecting badly on his character and denigrating Alexios as un-masculine, ignoble and un-Roman.

While several attacks on Alexios's character appear in the text, here we will focus on one fairly straightforward part of the argument, dealing with the proper way to fight. Nikephoros's history contains a lot of fighting, which on close inspection it falls into remarkably stable moral patterns. With the exception of Alexios, the Roman generals and leading soldiers are described as having physical bravery and as struggling nobly in their combats, especially in the face of defeat. With the exception of Alexios, the Romans in Nikephoros's history fight by marching their forces up to the enemy and attacking. They then are defeated through feigned retreats, ambushes or other stratagems.

In contrast Alexios consistently tries to trick his opponents to gain advantage using ambushes, skirmishing and false retreats. Alexios' victories all come from his stratagems. This portrayal aligns Alexios's behavior with that of the empire's enemies, the Turks. Also, because he does not fight head on, face to face, Alexios does not display physical courage or engage in an ennobling struggle on behalf of Rome. He wins by denying his enemies the opportunity for a fair fight.

That Alexios is drawn as a trickster is clear. Tricksters may be valorized however, and it is Nikephoros's deployment of a classical Roman moral valuation of honesty and deception (along with other denigrations of Alexios's character) that reveals his portrait as indisputably negative. Nikephoros's use of Roman ideals for a negative depiction of Alexios as a cheat should cause us to see his wife Anna's positive Hellenic depiction of Alexios as an Odyssean hero in the *Alexiad* with new eyes.

Pagan theme and variation in the Biblical *ethopoeiae* of Nikephoros Basilakes

Craig A. Gibson (The University of Iowa)

In the theory and practice of the Greek progymnastic exercise in *ethopoeia*, the speakers were drawn from mythology, history, and comedic stereotypes, and they were imagined as speaking in situations evocative of their *ethos*, *pathos*, or both. In the twelfth century, along with exercises on pagan themes, Nikephoros Basilakes composed twelve *ethopoeiae* on themes inspired by characters and events depicted in the Old and New

Testaments (1-12 Pignani) and early Christian history (13). The purpose of this paper is to explore how Nikephoros assimilates and adapts pagan rhetorical theory and themes to new Biblical settings. In the six themes derived from the Old Testament, speakers including Joseph (1-2), Samson (3), and David (4-6) bewail their paradoxical and marvelous reversals of fortune, and speak of the conflicts caused by such forces as *sophrosyne*, *eros*, and envy. These speeches find many thematic parallels among the pagan *ethopoeiae* of late antiquity, as well as in Nikephoros' own non-Biblical *ethopoeiae*. Among the New Testament themes, two have broad parallels with pagan exercises: Mary's lamentation over the dead Christ (12) may be compared to pagan lamentations over dead friends and family members (e.g. Achilles over Patroclus), while the final speech of the self-described "war hero" St. Peter (13) is comparable to other *ethopoeiae* in which a hero resolves to die for a worthy cause (e.g. Menoeceus at Thebes). Other exercises on New Testament themes imagine various speakers reacting to a divine miracle as a paradoxical reversal of fortune: Zacharias to the recovery of his speech (7), Mary to the miracle at Cana (8), the man blind from birth to the recovery of his sight (9), Hades to the resurrection of Lazarus (10), and the slave of the high priest to the healing of his severed ear (11). Parallels abound in the pagan literature for speakers (often stereotyped characters) encountering wonders or marvels and attempting to understand their paradoxical consequences (e.g. miser, coward, painter, eunuch), but rarely with the happy results of 7-9 and 11; example 10 is an amusing exception. A potentially more interesting difference between some of Nikephoros' examples and the ancient theory of *ethopoeiae* is his inversion of the speaker's emotional history. Instead of an unhappy present, contrasted with a happy past, and predictions of an even unhappier future, as the theorists recommend, the present is happy, the past unhappy, and the future happier. This same structure is occasionally found among ancient examples, as well, but it is more prominent in Christian exercises.

Controversies and scientific activities of the Byzantine clergy in the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180)

Anne-Laurence Caudano (University of Winnipeg)

Four mid- to late-12th century documents discussing astrology and cosmology provide a unique access to the scientific activity of the clergy in the reign of Manuel I Komnenos

(1143-1180). Most importantly these texts emphasize how some clerics felt compelled to advocate explicitly an orthodox approach to science and nature.

Interest in astrology reached a peak at the court of Manuel I, who was a fervent defender of this science. In response to a polemical tract written by a monk of the Pantokrator monastery, the emperor even embarrassed himself in a controversy with the monk Michael Glykas, who openly mocked Manuel's credulity and approbation of astrology. This debate is relatively well-known to scholars. A similar discussion regarding astrology has attracted considerably less attention, however. In a letter addressed to Luke Chrysoberges, a certain Peter the Philosopher reprimanded the Patriarch (1157-1169) for dabbling into the astrological sciences. While this letter is certainly not as well argued as Glykas' little treatise to Manuel, it remains a unique testimony to the interest the Patriarch bestowed upon astrology, as well as to the discontentment expressed by part of the clergy for the excessive attention that occult sciences were receiving at the time.

Intriguing discussions also occurred in the field of cosmology, and involved the same protagonists. In this case, the controversy pertained to the shape of the world (as a sphere or as a box) and its possible revolution in the heavens. Two documents are of particular interest. The first is a letter addressed by Michael Glykas to the monk Gregory Akropolites, in response to an enquiry about apparent discrepancies among patristic authors regarding the shape and movement of the world. In his letter, Michael Glykas strove to prove the sphericity of the world with the help of patristic quotations only. The second document is a (largely unpublished) treatise, in which Peter the Philosopher vehemently defended the view that the universe looked like a box, at the bottom of which lay a flat earth. Such an approach was typical of the Antiochene Fathers of the 5th century, and had culminated in the *Christian Topography* of Kosmas Indikopleustes (6th century), a work that scholars considered long forgotten in the 12th century. Michael Glykas' letter and Peter the Philosopher's treatise are evidence of active scientific discussions in monastic circles; they also emphasize the revival of a debate that had opposed the early Fathers of the Church and testify to ongoing discussions regarding the role of the Bible and of classical sciences in determining one's approach to nature.

Session VII C
Architectural Spaces: Domestic, Acoustic,
Monastic

Fleshing Out the Byzantine House

Kostis Kourelis (Franklin & Marshall College)

The mutable nature of domestic architecture has guaranteed the disappearance of most houses from the extant material record visible to the architectural historian. Thanks to commemorative and ritual functions, on the other hand, churches survive in greater numbers and are deployed to tell the whole story of Byzantine architecture. Recent efforts to fill this domestic gap have produced a corpus of houses excavated with greater sensitivity towards anthropological rather than formal architectural questions.

New archaeological evidence allows us to, literally, flesh out the Byzantine house through its engagement in precise ecologies, its inclusion of organic matter and even its incorporation of human bodies. A softer archaeological lens reveals soft tissues of domestic architecture less evident under the harder lens of architectural studies. We look at three categories of artifacts. First, we consider the burial of family members within the house floors. Fetus burials from Athens, domestic family tombs from Chersonesos, or hospice burials from Corinth highlight the Byzantine practice of in-house burials. Second, we consider other living forms involved in the construction of Byzantine houses. A geological study of mortar samples from the Peloponnesos reveals the incorporation of organic material in the making of the walls, typically collected from the community's own trash heaps. Such organic inclusions complement our knowledge of animal sacrifice during foundation rituals. Third, we consider the ecological niches that different Byzantine settlements engage and the environmental exploitation evident in the houses, from the woods used in construction to the woods used in firing the hearths.

If we admit all this organic evidence into the discussion, we can stipulate an anthropological tension between hard and soft architectural entities. Walls, floors and ceilings formed the physical envelope of Byzantine life. Houses prescribed social life (eating, sleeping, working, playing, praying, procreating) but also embodied deceased organic life. Investigating this type of flesh more broadly allows us to challenge our assumptions of architectural meaning in Byzantium. Masonry was not an inert as the modern scholar would have it. Masonry lived, breathed, listened and occasionally spoke.

Houses are a paradigmatic building type that cannot be separated from the processes of developmental psychology. From early childhood, houses articulate the

distinction between animate and inanimate powers that culture proceeds to formulate. To use Sigmund Freud's terminology, our notion of home incorporates its correlate, "the unhomely" or "uncanny." Contemporary architectural theory has embraced Freud's canonical essay on ("*Unheimlich*," 1925) in the postmodern armature. Marrying the theoretical uncanny with new archaeological data sheds light on the Byzantine house and throws a wrench (perhaps a toy-wrench) into the stony assumptions of Byzantine architectural history.

The Past is Noise: Architectural Contexts and the Soundways of Byzantium

Amy Papalexandrou (Independent Scholar)

What do we know about the soundways of Byzantium? Were the Byzantines interested in and sensitive to their aural environment, whether natural or man-made? How did the Byzantines perceive sound, and in what ways did they mitigate, modify, or accentuate their surrounding environment to accommodate physical needs and sonic perceptions both real and imagined? The inroads to an understanding of sound phenomena in Byzantium are admittedly few, but they do exist. Literary sources and the surviving material record offer tantalizing, if piecemeal scraps of information with which to begin thinking about the production and reception of sound. These include physical objects such as bells and musical instruments found in archaeological excavations, manuscripts bearing musical notation, images depicting speech acts, and a variety of texts containing acoustic devices that bear testament to a thriving and spirited tradition of oral delivery. The streets and spaces of the Byzantines were alive with utterances, proclamations, chants, songs, and all manner of noises that comprised the common impulses and extraordinary circumstances of daily life.

Byzantine buildings provide an additional arena for contemplating the topic, as sound sources were sometimes given emphasis and even monumentality through architectural accommodation. Bell towers are an obvious and important example of this, where man-made structures served to demarcate and emphasize a sonic system crucial to the

everyday experience of communication and social inclusion. But sound also had symbolic and mystical qualities, and its experience within the arena of the church building was of exceptional importance. Spatial acoustics of Byzantine churches have been only nominally studied, mainly for the ability of apses and/or 'resonators' placed within pendentives to amplify sounds. In this paper I would like to consider other aspects of Byzantine architecture – namely the planning, three-dimensional articulation, surfacing and embellishment of architectural space - as potential components within an overall system of disseminating sound within and throughout a given building. Despite the speculative nature of such a study, we can be certain that the Byzantines were more sensitive to their rich soundscapes than we are today in our visually-centered world, and that the power of sound in Byzantium was a matter of importance which deserves greater attention in modern scholarship.

The Materiality of Medieval Monastic Spaces in Egypt

Darlene L. Brooks Hedstrom (Wittenberg University)

Archaeological reports, for the most part, deal with the need to describe and explain artifactual evidence for consumption by other archaeologists. Few of these reports are written with scholars in other disciplines in mind; these reports, therefore, are mined for a variety of purposes to create new histories, or ignored entirely due to the density of the description. This is particularly true for the study of monastic archaeology in medieval Egypt wherein reports were historically published in remote journals or series. Antiquated assumptions have also haunted the interpretative framework that surrounds Egyptian monastic archaeology. Despite the elevation of monastics as iconic figures of late antiquity and Byzantium, the archaeological study of monastic spaces is uneven and, until now, lacks any obvious methodological approach that would help to contextualize the physical remains from the archaeological report.

A phenomenological approach to medieval Coptic monastic spaces will help identify the assumptions made by previous excavators and to highlight how we have come to identify and read monastic spaces. Cognitive archaeologists suggest that considering physical archaeological markers may help us to consider the monastic world,

both real and imagined, in ways not possible a generation ago. Engaging post-processual questions will facilitate a new approach to reading monastic landscape and its perceived sacrality. Such questions may include: How has the perspective of the excavators and their worldview shaped the inherited diagnostic readings of space? To what degree does a textual bias, prevalent within late antique studies, create an archaeological record that has been accepted without question? Do these questions of material knowledge and identification accord with discussions of monastic archaeology elsewhere in the medieval Mediterranean world?

New archaeological evidence at a variety of Egyptian late antique and medieval sites illustrates the richness of the material remains available for considering these questions. As agents of continuity that shaped the Egyptian landscape throughout the Byzantine and Islamic periods, the materiality of monastic archaeology is well suited for a new theoretical reading. In exploring these questions, Byzantine archaeologists may see greater cultural connections across regions both within and outside of the imperial limits of Byzantium.

Cave-Cells and Ascetic Practice in Byzantine and Crusader Paphos

Nikolas Bakirtzis (The Cyprus Institute)

The last centuries of Byzantine control in Cyprus saw a flourishing monastic activity that drew from the ascetic legacy of early monastic fathers to transform, control and sanctify the island's landscape. In the region of Paphos, monastic leaders like Neophytos and Euthymios, the *Enkleistoi* (the confined/ the encaged), sought spiritual perfection in isolated caverns. Their actions led to the foundation of organized communities that in the following centuries of Latin rule became centers of religious life.

Neophytos' choice to lead a hermit's life was inspired from the early example of St. Hilarion in Paphos, as well as, from the ascetic traditions he encountered during his travels in Palestine. As he withdrew into his *enkleistra* in a mountainous ravine close to Paphos, he laid the foundations for a monastic institution and an organized architectural complex that gradually developed on the nearby plateau. In another Paphian locale, a

different ravine bears the evidence of a comparable tradition from the same period. Close to the village of Kouklia, and the site of ancient Palaepaphos, a cave, decorated with colorful frescoes (15th c.), and preserving a carved *arcosolium*, is locally known as the St. Neophytos' "old *enclistra*." In its proximity, two more caverns, suggest the existence of a small *lavra* at the location. Situated on a nearby plateau, a small chapel, dedicated to Sts. Constantine and Helen (15th. C.) points to the existence of an organized monastery that succeeded the aforementioned *lavra*. Based on textual evidence, the monastery has been identified with that of "the Great Epiphanius of Kouvouclia" (Kouklia). The cave cell and tomb have been linked with the ascetic Euthymios the *enclistos* who lived at the time of Neophytos. Even though the identification of the cave with Neophytos' old cell is unlikely, it links the two *asketaria* and the monasteries that grew around them. Additional evidence to this relation, that needs to be further examined, is the fact that in the 15th century, the monastery of Epiphanius of Kouvouclia was a metochion of the Holy *Enclistra* of St. Neophytos.

The present paper draws from this monastic tradition. The consideration of the available textual, archaeological, spatial and topographical evidence in the aforementioned sites, as well as in other examples, point to a known Byzantine monastic foundation model that seems to be important in Cyprus during this period. Monastic elders and founders invested in the traditions of ascetics and hermits to secure the central role of orthodox monasteries as the island found itself in the middle of the momentous military and cultural clash of the Crusades. In this context, both Paphian *enclistres* are monuments to the effective and confident choices of their monastic founders who, while withdrawing inside dark caves, managed to strategically retain Byzantine tradition over the cultural landscape of Crusader Cyprus.

Miracle and Monastic Space: Hermitages of St. Petar of Koriša

Svetlana Smolčić-Makuljević (Faculty of Information Technology
Belgrade, Serbia)

Visualization of the miracle and wonderwork is an important segment of the Byzantine and the medieval sacral visual culture of the Balkans. The phenomenon of miracle was defined in the Byzantine theological thought and rooted in the written tradition and literature. In Byzantine and Balkan culture there is a myriad of narratives on this phenomenon, such as *The Miracles*, similar to the ones of Saint Demetrius of Thessalonica, or the ones that were incorporated in the hagiographies of the local Balkan wonderworkers, such as the six miracles from *Life of St. Simeon Nemanja*, as well as the later miracles of the Mother of God.

A miracle is considered a visible evidence of God's invisible presence manifested through various performative events. Therefore, the miracle space is essential to the shaping of monastic spaces, as well as to the construction of the monastic culture of memory. An important form of visual memorizing of the wonderworking monastic cult can be shown on the example of the creation of sacral topography connected to the life and wonderwork of St. Petar of Koriša.

This paper will point to the visualization of the memory of wonderwork, and healing power of St. Petar of Koriša, as well as the translation of the wonderworking relics from the Koriša (nearby the medieval town of Prizren) to the site of Crna Reka (Novi Pazar, Serbia). The date of St. Petar of Koriša's birth and death cannot be specified with certainty, but the hagiographies and services written in 13th century show that he practiced anchoretic life on the "Saint Mount of Koriša". The ancoret's hermitage in the open space is interpreted as „*the sign of God*“, „*hermitage made by God*“, by his biographer Theodosius. The visual and material culture that was preserved on this site bears witness to a continuous memory of the wonderworking cult of St. Petar of Koriša, and the sacralization of monastic space, through 13th and 14th centuries. Various forms of visual culture, such as monastic architecture, hermitage cells, small churches, fresco and rock painting are integral part of St. Peter's hermitage.

Session VIII A
History of Archaeology

Carl H. Kraeling Archaeologist and Administrator: A Retrospective

Walter E. Kaegi (The University of Chicago)

Carl H. Kraeling (1897-1966) was an eminent archaeologist of the Hellenistic and Early Christian Near East whose research and career overlapped with the development of twentieth-century U. S. Byzantine Studies. As a young scholar he participated in Michael Rostovtzeff's Yale excavations at Dura-Europus in Syria. I do not concentrate on his seminal role at Yale in Biblical studies in its Divinity School and in its Department of Near Eastern Studies, nor his role as President of the American Schools for Oriental Research for four years. Many of his papers concerning the American Schools for Oriental Research are stored at Boston University but they are not the object of examination here. He only finished writing his volume on the Dura *Christian Building* just before the end of his life, while he resided at Dumbarton Oaks. After his decease Kurt Weitzmann and Ernst Kitzinger helped to see his book manuscript on the Dura Christian Building through publication. Previously he held a position as Henri Focillon Scholar in Charge of Research at Dumbarton Oaks from 1946-1947. His other excavations included Jerash in Jordan, and Ptolemais in Libya; both resulted in publications of major volumes of excavation reports. I propose a narrower topic, a report that is not exhaustive and not based on any archive-based research. Instead it is a collection of reminiscences of highlights of almost daily conversations with him at Dumbarton Oaks between 1963 and 1965, especially at the Fellows Building. This was late in his life. At that time he lived in its East Cottage. Between 1964 and 1966 served as Acting Librarian for the Center for Byzantine Studies, having just retired after a stint of ten years of service as Director of the Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago 1950-1960, and two additional years simply as Professor there. He was ill during his final years at Dumbarton Oaks. His career interconnected New Haven where he held positions at Yale, New York where he was born (Brooklyn Heights) and with which he identified himself, Chicago, and Dumbarton Oaks. His friends and accordingly his own memories at Dumbarton Oaks included A. A. Vasiliev, Arthur Darby Nock, and Albert Friend, Jr. Reminiscences includes Kraeling's observations on issues about Dura, administrative challenges at The University of Chicago and at Dumbarton Oaks, and memorable international trips to southeast Anatolia and Baghdad. Kraeling's memories, reflections, and anecdotes offer some glimpses into networks of significant scholars and practices in the 1950s and early 1960s. They reveal some limitations and difficulties of travel in the post-war era. Some help to illuminate part of the context of the development of Byzantine Studies in that era.

The Contribution of Robert W. and Mildred B. Bliss to Kirsopp and Silva Lake's Expedition to Van in Eastern Turkey

Günder Varinlioğlu (Dumbarton Oaks)

The association of Robert W. Bliss and Mildred B. Bliss with archaeology is often construed as driven by their desire to collect Byzantine and Pre-Columbian artifacts. In addition, their association with the conservation projects of the Byzantine Institute of America at St. Sophia and the Chora church in Istanbul is well known. However their interest and financial contribution also extended into at least one archaeological project that did not quite fit their interest in Byzantine art or their passion for collecting antiquities. The short-lived, therefore little-known excavations at Van in Eastern Turkey in 1938-1939, directed by Kirsopp Lake, professor of Early Christian literature at Harvard University and his wife Silva Lake, professor of Classics at Bryn Mawr College, was financially supported by the Bliss couple. This expedition, which started under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania Museum aimed to explore the history of the "Vannic kingdom" (Urartu), its demise, and the "dark period" that led to the Armenian period. Kirsopp Lake stated in a letter addressed to Mildred B. Bliss on April 12th, 1937, this expedition "may easily prove the most important thing that I have ever attempted." The correspondence and the fieldwork reports in the collection of the Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives at Dumbarton Oaks and the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives shed light to the relationship between the Lake and the Bliss couples. Despite the weak connections of the project with Byzantium, Kirsopp and Silva Lake were successful in securing the sponsorship of the Blisses for their archaeological work in Eastern Turkey.

This paper examines the interest of the Bliss couple in the archaeological expedition to Van in the context of the expanding Turkish-American cultural contacts in the 1930s. This was a crucial period in the nation-building process of the Republic of Turkey founded in 1923. The Turkish state adamantly supported Turkish and foreign research on the indigenous populations of Anatolia in its attempt to construct a Turkish national identity. Kirsopp and Silva Lake's expedition to Van belongs to this formative period when cultural policies and relationships were negotiated in Turkey. The American excavations at Alişar, Troy, Tarsus, Antioch, and Van, the recovery and conservation of the mosaics of St. Sophia in Istanbul should be evaluated in the context of the increasing American

interest in the Middle East and the transformation of the American opinion on Turkey in the decades that followed the foundation of the Republic.

Gertrude Bell and the Historiography of Byzantine Architectural History

Veronica Kalas (Albion College)

Gertrude Bell (1868-1926) stands at the distant edges of architectural history as one of the most remarkable figures of early twentieth century scholarship and exploration of the Middle East. While travelling extensively throughout the eastern territories of the Ottoman Empire during and after World War I, she produced an enormous photographic archive and influential architectural studies such as *The Thousand and One Churches (Binbirkilise)*, *The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin*, and the *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir*. These books investigate the crossroads of early medieval civilizations as seen through churches, palaces, mosques and monasteries. This paper explores Bell's role in the historiography of medieval architectural history by defining the ways in which these seminal studies, especially at Binbirkilise, were instrumental in shaping the canon of Byzantine architectural history.

Session VIII B
Material and Meaning in Late Antiquity

New Directions for Understanding Carthage in Late Antiquity

Christine Z. Atiyeh (Kutztown University of Pennsylvania)

This paper explores a number of problems inherent in the four major phases of archaeological excavations at Carthage, Tunisia, since their inception. In addition, it proposes new methodologies and models for reconstructing the history of individual sites and for a more comprehensive understanding of the city's elusive urban topography, particularly in late antiquity.

The first phase coincides with the French colonization of Tunisia in 1881. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, large scale excavations were undertaken throughout the area of the ancient city, mainly by the White Fathers of Algiers, who aggressively sought to identify early Christian holy sites mentioned in ancient texts. The only comprehensive map of the ancient remains of Carthage ever to be generated was produced at this time. The two World Wars, particularly WWII, interrupted excavations in and publications related to Carthage. The second phase constitutes the largely unpublished and often undocumented digging that appears to have begun with the advent of WWI and continued throughout the era of WWII until Tunisian independence in 1956.

In response to accelerated suburban development and under the auspices of UNESCO, the 'Save Carthage' campaign, phase three, was initiated in 1972. This project brought teams from Europe and North America to conduct excavations and conservation projects with the stated goal of creating a series of archaeological parks across Carthage. These endeavors also resulted in significant scholarly publications as well as the establishment of networks of trained archaeologists, many of whom continued to work in the region in subsequent decades. Phase four in the history of excavations at Carthage includes excavations carried out since the completion of the UNESCO campaigns in the early 1990s. Some projects were secondary excavations, which revisited sites discovered and unsystematically excavated by the White Fathers. Other recent projects have been salvage excavations, conducted because of scheduled construction and development projects. Still others have focused on surveying and recording exposed sites. Yet there has been no comprehensive assessment of the ancient remains of Carthage or central repository for documents and finds generated by archaeologists working in the area.

The next phase of archaeology in Carthage must first address the issues that remain from earlier periods and incorporate more effectively the achievements of past efforts while accounting for the biases and shortcomings of these same initiatives. Only by excavating and reexamining the historiographic legacy in tandem with the physical evidence can a more holistic understanding of the site be established.

Architectural Vessels: The Octagonal Churches of Byzantine Palestine

Kaelin M. Jewell (University of Louisville)

During the fifth century, Byzantine Palestine was propelled from a province on the eastern boundary of the Empire into a highly effective Christian pilgrimage center. Beginning with Constantine's building programs in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the Holy Land became the scene for the architectural and theological exploits of the still nascent Byzantine Empire. In the fifth century, with the coalescence of Orthodoxy, theological ideas assumed concrete shape in the built environment. The establishment of Christ's nature along with the proclamation of the Virgin as *Theotokos* in 431 at the Council of Ephesus provided a basis for the adoption of martyrial architecture for the commemoration of sites associated with both the *Theotokos* and Christ. These *loci sancti*, whether marking specific holy sites such as the Kathisma church at Mar Elias between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, or acting as an agent of Byzantine political propaganda atop Mt. Gerizim, reveal that architecture—as evidenced by octagonal sacred spaces—was an effective tool for promoting Orthodoxy.

This paper explores the relationships between post-Ephesian Orthodoxy and the octagonal churches found in the Byzantine provinces of Palestine, especially associations with the *Theotokos*. These churches, dedicated to a variety of persons and events, envelop the Orthodox view of Christ's nature with their use of the octagonal plan and act as vessels for *loci sancti*, in the same way the *Theotokos* acted as a vessel for Christ. In his writings, Proclus of Constantinople presents the *Theotokos* as "the untarnished vessel of virginity; the spiritual paradise of the second Adam; the workshop for the union of natures;" epithets alluding to this idea of physically contained space. (*Homily 1:15-17*, translated by Nicholas Constatas in *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity* (2003), p.137). The octagonal church of the Kathisma at Mar Elias and its

mathematical copy atop Mt. Gerizim were examples of such vessel-like spaces. In addition, the churches of Capernaum, Caesarea and Gaza used the octagonal plan in order to emphasize the duality of Christ's nature within a region grappling with the Monophysite heresy. While the emergence of centrally-planned sacred spaces began well before the fifth century, these post-Ephesian spaces became visual cues for imperial Orthodoxy.

Symbolism of the Cross in Late Antiquity: Byzantium and Aksumite Ethiopia

Marilyn E. Heldman (National Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C.)

The earliest representation of the cross in Aksumite Ethiopia is dated ca. 350, when King Ezana converted to Christianity and appropriated the cross for a secular purpose. Aksumite coins, previously marked with the lunar crescent and disc, were henceforth marked with an equal-arm Christian cross, symbol of the Christian god. In appropriating the cross for a secular purpose, kings of Aksum apparently had taken the lead, because Byzantine emperors did not utilize the equal-arm cross for their coinage or the royal scepter until the early fifth century. Nevertheless, within the context of religious art, Aksum followed the lead of Byzantium.

The subject of this paper is the variously related design vocabularies used to symbolize the Cross as the Tree of Life. These include the palm-tree cross of Palestinian pilgrim ampullae and the symbolic representation of the Cross in the midst of the Garden on the silver-gilt book covers in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks. A little-known and slightly different design is found on two pairs of Byzantine metal book covers, datable to the sixth century. Presently at the monastery of Enda Abba Garima in northern Ethiopia, these book covers were brought to Ethiopia from the Eastern Mediterranean world, accompanied by two sets of parchment leaves painted with evangelist portraits and painted Canon table frames. These were subsequently joined at the Abba Garima monastery with two Ethiopic manuscripts of the Gospels copied for this purpose. The repoussé designs of both pairs of book covers feature a large cross with flaring arms, completely surrounded by a swirling pattern of stylized foliage that extends to the edges of each cover. This design is quite similar to the cross decorations impressed upon

Aksumite pottery excavated at an archaeological site known as Mätara, remains of an Aksumite town located upon the land route that connected the capital of Aksum with the Red Sea port of Adulis. The town had been abandoned by the eighth century. Among the pottery sherds excavated in the upper levels that date to the sixth or seventh century are fragments of black or red shallow terra cotta bowls, the interior bases of which are impressed with a variety of circular relief designs featuring an equal-arm cross surrounded various stylized leaf patterns.

With few exceptions, most objects of Aksumite material culture are no longer extant, an exception being those objects recovered in excavations of pre-Christian royal tombs at Aksum. Evidence of the introduction of Byzantine processional crosses during the this period is limited to what is probably a sixth-century relief of a cross with *pendelia* of *alpha* and *omega*, which is among other *spolia* built into the west wall of an ancient church at the village of Ham in Eritrea.

The paper concludes with a brief discussion of post-Aksumite Ethiopian processional leaved crosses which symbolize the Cross as the Tree of Life.

Session VIII C
Images and Iconoclasm

Justinian II's Numismatic Program: Coins That Say What They Mean and Mean What They Say

Greg Bryda (Yale University)

In 695, Justinian II introduced the image of Christ to his numismatic repertoire. The iconographic innovation upended not only the standard programmatic structure of Byzantine coinage but also its theological and political tenor. In his seminal monograph on Justinian II's coins from 1959, James Breckenridge identified ways in which the legends and iconographies on each coin's side conversed with those on the opposing: the emperor, labeled "Servant of Christ", was subordinate to but divinely legitimized by the "King of all Kings" on the obverse.

Scholars, however, have overlooked the linguistic interplay between image and inscription that more subtly subtended both sides of Justinian's coins. For example, chiasmic structure, a standard literary convention in Byzantine theological and panegyric texts, undergirds the legends and tightens the bond between obverse and reverse. Furthermore, on the solidi from his second reign, Justinian II enacts the oral acclamation "Long Life!" with a deictic gesture towards his "PAX"-inscribed globus—a signifier for the world that has summoned him, the world to which he is to deliver peace, and consequently the world in which his coins circulated. Scholarship has also disregarded the rhetorical implications of coinage as the site at which these potent theological and political forces intersected. How would the very nature of currency—its commodifiability, its state-accreditation, its sheer volume—have energized the propagandistic efficacy of the mass-produced, divinely sanctioned imperial imagery disseminating about Justinian II's empire?

George Ingham wrote in 2004 that money cannot function without a reference to authority; in Byzantium, currency derived its legitimacy by bearing the mark of the emperor. A powerful agent of ideology, money also prescribed accepted ways of behavior: consumers submitted to the virtual space and policy engineered by the sovereign and supervised by the imperial image on his coin. When considered enmeshed in all of the trappings of marketplace activity—ranging from the quotidian transaction to wealth preservation, taxation, and the public expenditures necessary to run an empire—could coins with imperial "stamps of approval" have also served as a stand-in for the emperor and/or his power?

Apart from its agency, the legitimacy of Justinian II's power is endowed with a theological dimension once Christ's icon is introduced to his gold *solidi*. Just as the Incarnation permitted God to absently rule in the presence of Christ, imperial imagery throughout Byzantium (as manifested in coins) analogously rendered the emperor's absence present in every fiscal transaction involving his publicly-sanctioned currency. On the "flip side" of Ingham's argument, how did Justinian II's coins—which embody a symbiosis of theological and imperial economies—conversely function to validate his own political sovereignty?

The coordination of new visual and textual language was the crux of the coins' semiotic potentiality. Overlooked by Breckenridge and others, the rhetorical inventions enhanced Justinian II's message of theologically ordained, imperial sovereignty, which would have been duly primed by the political apparatus from which the coins emerged and the "economic" space throughout which they propagated.

Hidden Faces in Santa Maria Antiqua

Annie Montgomery Labatt (Yale University)

By linking three seemingly unrelated scenes—David and Goliath, the Sickness of Hezekiah, and Judith returning to Bethulia with the head of Holofernes—the painted transenna barrier in Santa Maria Antiqua, dated to the papacy of John VII (705-707), presents an interesting art historical puzzle. Not only do these scenes appear together for the first time, but they are depicted in unexpected ways—with a series of missing or obscured faces. The unusual image of Hezekiah with his face dramatically turned to the wall and its relationship with the flanking panels undermine the notion that Santa Maria Antiqua was simply a storage space for Eastern iconography. The traditional emphasis on the images of Santa Maria Antiqua as "proto-Byzantine" (Per Jonas Nordhagen) strips these paintings of the meaning and significance they had in the eighth century. This line of reasoning fails to acknowledge the fluidity and flux present in eighth-century Roman imagery by relying on the traditional model of "East versus West". New applications of evolution to art history allow a move away from binaries of this sort and towards a sense of the kind of innovation that characterizes, in a richer way, the early eighth and ninth

centuries in Rome. This method emphasizes experimentation, and gives the final decisions or shapes of the iconography more significance. Hezekiah has a presence in medieval images, predominantly in manuscripts, both in the East and the West. Yet he never is shown with the same composition as in the Roman fresco. The question then becomes, what relevance did this specific interpretation of this scene have for the early eighth century audience? This paper suggests that the transenna paintings employ Hezekiah, David, and Judith, at least in part with the intention of exploring current anxieties about heresies related to the production and viewing of art by emphasizing the representations of faces—Hezekiah’s is emphatically turned, David has cut off Goliath’s head, and Judith presents Holofernes’ head in a bag to her people. Although these paintings predate the first official outbreak of Iconoclasm, earlier texts reveal “agitation” (The Patriarch Germanos) over the issue of representing the face of Christ. My paper argues that these paintings in Santa Maria Antiqua anticipate the controversial issue of painting the face that was to be a major point of contention thirty years later during Iconoclasm.

Iconoclasm Displayed Below the Sleeve: a Holy Image Censored on a Finger Ring

Eunice Dauterman Maguire (Johns Hopkins University)

During recent examinations of unpublished objects including finger rings and clay lamps (many of them related to those excavated by Penn at Beth Shean), in the preparation of an inventory list for the new Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Museum, startling evidence for the destruction of images has appeared. Purposeful obliteration on these small-scale objects recalls a phenomenon well known in mosaics on church floors.

On two of the Hopkins clay lamps tool marks, smears, or the imprint of a wiping cloth, show how Christian and figural images, and even one arm of a cross, were wiped or scraped away. Although this censoring could have been done on behalf of Jews or Muslims, the finger ring suggests an iconoclastic Christian groundswell well below the level of the major players in the iconoclastic controversy. This kind of new evidence

raises the question of whether popular feeling against images may have been growing before John of Damascus comes to defend holy images as orthodox.

The ring appears to be silver, a hoop supporting a high bezel bracketed by two so-called Sasanian palmettes bracing a convex garnet. These materials are not suitable for impressive sumptuary display within the empire, or outside it as a spoil of battle or a gift re-designed by the recipient. The loss of the image on the stone cannot be accidental, nor did it cause the stone to be removed for the reuse of its setting. Without excavation provenance we do not know where or for whom this ring was made. But it looks as if it may have been defaced in order to display, as a political statement, a vehement personal intolerance for holy images. Featuring a defaced stone makes it an unsightly ring.

Details of the original intaglio are chipped away and aggressively chiselled out. As on the altered mosaic floors of the trans-Jordan, however, some details of the original image have been left untouched. What remains is enough to identify the defaced image and to indicate that this deliberate leaving-behind of parts of an image, even in the mosaics, may be purposeful rather than negligent.

Since the egg-like contour of the stone is high enough to have permitted its recarving as a flat intaglio, the violence of the defacement in combination with the leaving of some recognizable details and compositional clues suggests that the present battered appearance of the stone was what was wanted. It signals a strict construction of the Second Commandment through the rejection and obliteration of a still-recognisable depiction of the Incarnation, in the form of a Christ child framed by his mother's arms as if by a mandorla. Her shoulders, arms, and one large central hand are intact although her head has been chipped off. More emphatically, above her hand, the outline of the child has become a mass of deep, slanting chisel marks, for his body, under a small block of horizontal chisel marks articulating the central, axial position of his upright head.

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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

Cover image: Christ Pantokrator, 10th century. Green Jasper (Heliotrope), 8.2 cm. diameter
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