

**2013 Byzantine Studies Conference**  
**Yale University, New Haven, CT**

*Meetings at the Byzantine Studies Conference will take place in the following rooms:*

Linsly-Chittenden Hall, 63 High Street  
Sudler Hall, 100 Wall Street (inside Harkness Hall)  
Sheffield-Sterling-Strathcona, 1 Prospect Street (corner of Grove and Prospect Streets)  
President's Room, 2nd floor of the Memorial Hall, (diagonally opposite Sheffield-Sterling-Strathcona) College and Grove Streets  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 121 Wall Street

**Thursday, October 31, 2013**

**4:30 - 6:30 P.M.**

*Registration, Reception, and Manuscript Display*

Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

**4:30pm – 5:30 P.M.**

*Exhibition of Byzantine manuscripts at the Beinecke* – hosted by Roland Betancourt, Magdalene Breidenthal, Robert Nelson and Nicole Paxton Sullo

(Note: this is the only time that these manuscripts, including new acquisitions, will be on display)

Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Room 38/39

**5:00pm – 6:30 P.M.**

*Welcome Reception*

Mezzanine level, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

**Friday, November 1, 2013**

**8:00 A.M. – Welcome**

Location: Sudler Hall

Martin Jean, Director, Institute of Sacred Music, Yale University

Robert Nelson, Yale University

**8:30 – 10:45 A.M. – Session 1**

*1A Between Worlds: Caucasia at the End of Antiquity*

Chair: Walter Kaegi, University of Chicago

Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 102

“Topographies of Power and Memory in Late Antique Armenia”

Matthew Canepa, University of Minnesota

“The Syrian Fathers in Georgia: Ethnicities and Christologies”

Paul Crego, Library of Congress

“The Excavations and Reconstruction Theories of Zuart’noc’ (c. 641-c.661)”

Christina Maranci, Tufts University

“‘You Shall Again Receive From Us Your Outstanding Positions of Honor:’ The Caucasian Aristocracies in Sasanian Armies, 220-651 CE”

Scott McDonough, William Paterson University

“The Parthian Contribution to Caucasia’s Christianization”

Stephen H. Rapp, Jr., Sam Houston State University

*1B Appropriating Image and Identity Through Time*

Chair: Vasileios Marinis, Yale University

Location: Sudler Hall

“‘Angels Know How to Speak about Love:’ The *Heavenly Ladder* Icon and the Angelic Life at Sinai”

Amy Gillette, Temple University

“The Complexity of the *Threnos*: The Elaboration of Iconography, and the Interpretation of Meaning and Function”

Henry D. Schilb, Index of Christian Art, Princeton University

“Defining ‘Early Bulgarian Art’ between the World Wars”

Fani Gargova, Dumbarton Oaks

“The Shield of St. Demetrios on a Byzantine Miniature Mosaic”

Robert S. Nelson, Yale University

“Assembling a Corpus of Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts: Sirarpi Der Nersessian’s Travels to Jerusalem and Erevan”

Anne-Marie H. Viola, Dumbarton Oaks

**10:45 – 11:00 A.M. – Coffee Break**

**11:00 A.M. – 1:00 P.M. – Session 2**

*2A Worship and Aural Culture*

Chair: Nancy Ševčenko, Independent Scholar

Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 102

“Byzantine Liturgical Heritage Among the Balkan Slavs: Deciphering an Unedited Manuscript Corpus”

Nina Glibetic, Yale University

“Hymnody, ‘Heretical’ Monasticism and Social Criticism – Early Hymns from Papyri as a Context for the *τροπάρια* of St Auxentius”

Arkadii Avdokhin, King’s College London

“The Apophatic Kratema: Approaching the Ineffable through Wordless Song”

Spyridon Antonopoulos, City University London

“Byzantine Hymnography in the Medieval Georgian Manuscripts”

Eka Dugashvili, National Centre of Manuscripts (Georgia)

2B *Seeing and Imagining Place*

Chair: Heather Badamo, University of Chicago

Location: Sudler Hall

“Mapping Meaning: The Topographic Mosaics of Ma’in and Umm al-Rasas in their  
Architectural and Cultural Contexts”

Tracey Eckersley, University of Louisville

“Mary as the Meeting Place: Typologies of Sacred Space and Place in a Syriac Pentecost”

Sophia Sinopoulos Lloyd, Claremont Graduate University

“‘Those miracles we are accustomed to witness every day:’ Imagining and Experiencing Divine  
Visions in Early Byzantium”

Armin Bergmeier, Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich

“Why Sight is not Touch: Reconsidering Extramission in Byzantium”

Roland Betancourt, Yale University

**1:00 – 2:00 P.M. – Lunch**

*The Book Fair will be in Linsly-Chittenden Hall 104/105 beginning at 1:00 P.M.*

**2:15 – 4:15 – Session 3**

3A *Finding and Creating Individuals in Byzantium*

Chair: Dimitris Krallis, Simon Fraser University

Locations: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 102

“Supporting and Correcting a Byzantine Emperor: Chrysoloras’ *Lógos pros tòn autokratóra* and  
Manuel II Palaeologus”

Erika Nuti, University of Turin

“Anna Komnene and the Challenge of Female Authorship”

Leonora Neville, University of Wisconsin Madison

“Euthymios Malakes: Uncovering a Twelfth-Century Bishop as Such”

Hannah Ewing, The Ohio State University

“Epilogue and Identity: The Coptic *Translatio* of James the Persian”

Alexander B. Miller, Fordham University

3B *The White Monastery and Beyond: Texts, Image, and Monastic Space I*

Chair, Bentley Layton, Yale University

Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 211

“The Papyri Written of Old: Toward a Cultural History of Shenoute’s *Canons*”  
Daniel Schriever, Yale University

“Whose Great House? Shenoute’s Audience at the White Monastery Church”  
Elizabeth Davidson, Yale University

“Sound, Space, and Identity: Acoustic Territories at the White Monastery and Beyond”  
Kim Haines-Eitzen, Cornell University

“Curriculum Vitae et Memoriae: The *Life of Saint Onophrius* and Local Practices of Monastic Commemoration”  
Stephen J. Davis, Yale University

**4:30 – 6:00 P.M. – Session 4**

4A *Constructing Saints and Their Lives*  
Chair: Margaret Mullett, Dumbarton Oaks  
Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 102

“Transformation and Continuity of Seventh Century Urban Life Through the Eyes of Saints”  
Daniel J. E. Kelly, St. John’s University

“Rhetoric and Orality in the Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos”  
Daria B. Resh, Brown University

“Καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ τῇ Σύρρα διαλέκτῳ: Syriac utterances in the mouth of characters of the Greek hagiographical”  
Yuliya Minets, Catholic University of America

4B *The Intersection of Text and Image*  
Chair: Ivan Drpić, University of Washington, Seattle  
Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 211

“The Eulalios-Frage Again: The Self-Portrait of the ζωγράφος in Mesarites’ *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople*”  
Beatrice Daskas, Università degli Studi, Milano

“Icons and Demons on f. 332v in the Paris Gregory (Paris, BNF, cod. Gr. 510)”  
Andrew Griebeler, University of California, Berkeley

“Reconsidering the Epigrams of Vatican reg. gr. 1”  
Nicole Paxton Sullo, Yale University

**6:00 – 7:00 P.M. – Tousimis Lecture**  
Introduced by Derek Krueger, President of BSANA

*"The Early Days of Monasticism on Mt. Athos"*  
Alice-Mary Talbot, Dumbarton Oaks  
Location: Sheffield-Sterling-Strathcona 114

**7:00 – 8:00 P.M – Tousimis Reception**  
Location: President's Room

**Saturday, November 2, 2013**

*The Book Fair will be in Linsly-Chittenden Hall 104/105*

**8:30 – 10:45 A.M. – Session 5**  
*5A Texts, Manuscripts, and Forgeries*  
Chair: Scott Johnson, Georgetown University and Dumbarton Oaks  
Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 102

"A Dispute in Dispute: A Reconsideration of the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* Attributed to Maximus the Confessor"  
Ryan W. Stickler, University of Kentucky

"Making a Manuscript, Making a Cult: Scribal Production of the *Syriac Life of Symeon the Stylite*"  
Dina Boero, University of Southern California

"The Macarian Corpus in Syriac: Isaac of Nineveh's Dependence on Pseudo-Macarius"  
Jason Scully, Seton Hall University

"Gregory of Nazianzus and Platonic Preludes"  
Byron MacDougall, Brown University

"The *Anthologia Marciana* and MS Marcianus Graecus 524"  
Foteini Spingou, University of Oxford

*5 B Creating Identity and Space*  
Chair: Darlene Brooks Hedstrom, Wittenberg University  
Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 211

"You'll Never Work in the Byzantine Business Again: Expulsion from Guilds in the *Book of the Eparch*"  
Craig H. Caldwell III, Appalachian State University

"Population Density and Social Stratification in Fifth-Century Constantinople"  
Benjamin Anderson, Cornell University

"Pilgrim's Progress: Travel Through an Incremental Landscape in the Late Antique Near East"  
Marlena Whiting, Oxford University

“Cyriac of Ancona’s Perception of Hellenic Discontinuity and Continuity within Byzantine Society as Depicted in His Fourteenth Century Travel Records and Letters”  
Constantine G. Hatzidimitrou, Independent Scholar

“Early Greek Liturgical Manuscripts as a Source for Byzantine Migratory Movements: The Case of an Egyptian Hellenic Immigration to Sicily and Southern Italy”  
Gabriel Radle, Yale University

**10:45 – 11:00 A.M. – Coffee Break**

**11:00 A.M. – 1:00 P.M. – Session 6**

6A *Alex Nagel’s Medieval Modern* (Roundtable Discussion) (Sponsored by the International Center of Medieval Art through funding from the Kress Foundation)

Chair: Glenn Peers, University of Texas at Austin

Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 102

Charles Barber, Princeton University

Anthony Cutler, Pennsylvania State University

Rico Franses, American University of Beirut

Caitlin Haskill, San Francisco Museum of Art

6B *Publishing, not Perishing, in Byzantine Studies* (Roundtable Discussion)

Chair: Alice-Mary Talbot, Dumbarton Oaks

Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 211

Margaret Mullett, Dumbarton Oaks

Michael Sharp, Cambridge University Press

Scott Johnson, Georgetown University and Dumbarton Oaks

Cecily Hilsdale, McGill University

**1:00 – 3:00 P.M. – Business Lunch**

Location: President’s Room

**3:15 – 4:45 – Session 7**

7A *Pain and its Performance: Diachronic Perspectives through Three Byzantine Martyr Cults*

Chair: Charles Barber, Princeton University

Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 102

“Performance of Pain: Salvific Catharsis in the Panegyric to St. Theodore Tiron by Gregory of Nyssa”

Vasiliki Limberis, Temple University

“Death as the Limit of Power: Identity and Iconoclasm in the *Vita Stephani Junioris*”  
Brenda Llewellyn Ihssen, Pacific Lutheran University

“Suffering and Martyrdom in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The Case of the Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion”  
James C. Skedros, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

*7B Aural Architecture: Politics, Poetry, and Liturgy in Hagia Sophia*  
Chair: Bissera V. Pentcheva, Stanford University  
Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 211

“The Making of Hagia Sophia and the Last Pagans of New Rome”  
Anthony Kaldellis, The Ohio State University

“‘Hearing and Mind, Together with Sight:’ *Ekphrasis* in Sixth-Century Gaza”  
Federica Ciccolella, Texas A&M University

“Icons of Sound: Spirit, Chiasmus, and Chant in Hagia Sophia”  
Bissera V. Pentcheva, Stanford University

**4:45 – 5:00 P.M. – Coffee Break**

**5:00 – 6:30 P.M. – Session 8**

8A *The White Monastery and Beyond: Texts, Image, and Monastic Space 2*  
(Please note that Session 8A will run from 5:00-7:00 P.M.)  
Chair, Stephen J. Davis, Yale University  
Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 102

“The Dedication of Monastic Churches and the Exercise of Authority in Late Ancient and Early Byzantine Egypt”  
Mary Farag, Yale University

“Lineage and Layered Identities in the White Monastery Federation, Upper Egypt”  
Elizabeth S. Bolman, Temple University

“Left Behind: A Recent Discovery of Manuscript Fragments in the White Monastery Church”  
Yale Monastic Archaeology Project

8B *Italy and the Byzantine World: New Considerations*  
Chair: Rebecca W. Corrie, Bates College  
Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 211

“Byzantinizing Reliquaries in Dalmatia”  
Ana Munk, University of Zagreb

“Kahn, Mellon, Coppo, and Fibonacci: Proportion as Evidence”  
Rebecca W. Corrie, Bates College

“Gentile Bellini, Mehmed II and Byzantium”  
Rossitza B. Schroeder, Graduate Theological Union

**6:30 PM -8:00 PM. Reception co-sponsored by the International Center of Medieval Art  
and the Mary Jaharis Center for Byzantine Art and Culture**

Location: Omni Hotel (155 Temple Street)  
Whalley Room

**Sunday, November 3, 2013**

*The Book Fair will be in Linsly-Chittenden Hall 104/105*

**8:30 – 10:45 A.M. – Session 9**

*9A Relations with the “Other”*

Chair: Christian Raffensperger, Wittenberg University

Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 102

“Bessarion’s Encomium to Trebizond: A Source for Kritoboulos’s Book 4?”  
Scott Kennedy, The Ohio State University

“Colonized Desire: Demetrios Chomatenos’s Proscriptions Against Sacramental Contamination”  
George E. Demacopoulos, Fordham University

“‘An Old Enemy Can’t Become a Friend:’ Byzantine–Pecheneg Relations in the Eleventh  
Century”  
Gerald Mako, Cambridge University

“Maintaining a Constantinopolitan Network on the Eastern Frontier: Authority and Friendship in  
the Letters of Nikephoras Ouranos”  
AnnaLinden Weller, Rutgers University

“The Byzantine–Seljuk *entente cordiale* in the Thirteenth Century”  
Dmitri Korobeinikov, SUNY – Albany

*9B Commemoration and Cappadocia*

Chair: Elena Boeck, DePaul University

Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 211

“Commemoration, Miniaturization, and Symbolic Space in Byzantine Cappadocia”  
Robert Ousterhout, University of Pennsylvania

“The Prophet Joshua and Nikephoras II Phokas”



Lynn Jones, Florida State University

“Commemoration in Cappadocia: A Reexamination of the Tomb Chamber in Karabaş Kilise”

A. L. McMichael, CUNY Graduate Center

“Picturing the Creation and Fall in Medieval Byzantium: An Unpublished Cycle of Genesis from late Ninth–early Tenth century Cappadocia”

Tolga B. Uyar, UMR 8167 Orient and Méditerranée, Paris

Nilüfer Peker, Başkent University, Ankara

“The Church of Santa Maria di Mesumundu near Siligo, Sardinia, and Domed Rotundas in Late Antique Christian Cemeteries”

Mark J. Johnson, Brigham Young University

**10:45 – 11:00 – Coffee Break**

**11:00 A.M. – 1:15 P.M. – Session 10**

10A *Education and Learning*

Chair: Stratis Papaioannou, Brown University

Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 102

“‘Every Argument is Overthrown by Another:’ Re-Evaluating Philosophy, Rhetoric and Monastic Practice in Gregory Palamas’s First Triad”

Jennifer Jamer, Fordham University

“Scholarship and Holiness: Nicholas Cabasilas on Reason, Wisdom, and Sanctity in Letter 11 to Synadenos”

Alexis Torrance, University of Thessaloniki

“Educational Networks in the Letters of Michael Psellos”

Floris Bernard, Ghent University

“‘Vernacular Science’ in Byzantium? Natural Knowledge in a Late Byzantine Textbook”

Anne-Laurence Caudano, University of Winnipeg

"Astronomers in Agreement: Platonic and Ptolemaic Planetary Models in Nikephoros Gregoras' *On the Number Seven* and *Letter 22*."

Divna Manolova, Central European University

10B *Creating Christian Identity and Conformity*

Chair: Leonora Neville, University of Wisconsin

Location: Linsly-Chittenden Hall 211

“Centrality as Strategy in Justinian’s Religious Politics”

Joshua M. Powell, University of Kentucky

“Subsistence and Starvation: Economics of the Fast in the Early Church”  
Irene SanPietro, Columbia University

“Leisure and Ascetic Retreat in the Later Career of Synesius of Cyrene”  
Alexander Petkas, Princeton University

“God Spoke in Thunder: The Literary Tradition of Natural Omens and their Interpretation in Byzantium”  
Elizabeth A. Fisher, George Washington University

## **Topographies of Power and Memory in Late Antique Armenia**

Matthew P. Canepa (University of Minnesota)

This paper explores the ways in which the Arsacid kings of Armenia constructed their royal identity through architecture and the natural and built environment, and in the process altered Armenian identity. It analyzes how the Arsacids appropriated contemporary Roman and Persian architectural developments at the same time as they engaged and manipulated sites and traditions cultivated by the Orontid and Artaxiad dynasties in Armenia. While past foundational studies by J. Russell and N. Garsoïan have explored discursive continuities with Armenia's ancient Iranian heritage in Christian textual sources, and exciting new work has focused on the development of later, medieval church architecture, this paper concentrates on the archaeological and textual evidence of palatial structures, royal monuments and court practices of the third and early fourth centuries. The paper argues that while the adoption of Christianity introduced certain dramatic ruptures in Armenian culture, the Arsacid dynasty also selectively engaged the ancient past to navigate an identity that engaged, yet remained distinct from, their Roman and Sasanian neighbors.

## **The Syrian Fathers in Georgia: Ethnicities and Christologies**

Paul Crego (Library of Congress)

In the history of Christianity in the Georgian lands of the South Caucasus a group of thirteen monks, referred to as the Syrian Fathers, are given a prominent role. This group, led by Ioane Zedazneli, is to have arrived in Georgian territory in the sixth century. The group's arrival, deeds, and the deeds of their Georgian disciples took place in the context of great political upheaval and widespread ecclesiastical conflict.

Politically, the Georgians were among those nations who found themselves in the middle of Persian and Byzantine imperial struggles. The dynasty of rulers who had reigned in the old royal and holy city of Mxeta over Kartli and Kakheti in central and eastern Georgia were overthrown and demoted by the Persian Empire. From the West the Eastern Roman Empire controlled the shores of the Black Sea and inland. The Georgian territories were also surrounded by a number of states of various ranks that were controlled by Armenians, Caucasian Albanians, and others of the North Caucasus and Eurasian steppe.

The ecclesiastical conflict was centered on the Christological definition of the Council of Chalcedon of 451. This conflict was not solved by the council, but gave rise to a century of doctrinal oscillation that only later hardened into schism, often along ethno-linguistic lines. In the South Caucasus the Chalcedonian border eventually divided the Armenian and Georgian Churches.

Georgian monasticism itself became an international institution. Written from the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries and later, sources describing the Syrian Fathers belong to the time when Georgians had settled and were settling in many places, including Mt. Athos, Mt. Sinai, and Jerusalem. The sources saw the internationalization that the Syrian Fathers brought to Georgia to be a good thing. The received history of the modern Georgian Church assumes that these Syrians were champions of the faith of Chalcedon – a topic not altogether settled and an important question in this paper.

My paper turns again to the lives of the Syrian Fathers and what they say to us about the sixth century and its political and ecclesiastical relations with Christians and non-Christians from Constantinople and throughout the Middle East. Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Persians, and others form a part of the story. The paper addresses issues important to the writers of hagiographic works about the Syrian Fathers. For example, the Armenian Church, because of its rejection of Chalcedon's Christological Definition had, in part, to be written out of the history of the Georgian Church. This is an agenda that these authors may have shared with those who wrote of St. Nino and her work among the Georgians in the fourth century, but whose life was written down sometime after the definitive break between Christians of Armenia and Georgia. This agenda is one among others that one would expect in hagiographical literature, i.e., telling us sometimes more of the writers than of their subjects. Sifting out later agenda from sixth century history is a major aspect of this paper.

## **The Excavations and Reconstruction Theories of Zuart‘noc‘ (c.641-c.661)**

Christina Maranci (Tufts University)

Of any church in medieval Armenia, none is more famous than Zuart‘noc‘. Forming part of the residential complex of the Armenian patriarch Nersēs III (641-661), Zuart‘noc‘ was built on the military frontier between Byzantium and the Sasanians, and during the first of the Arab conquests into the Transcaucasus. This paper addresses the archaeological evidence and the original appearance of the church. In ruins for at least nine centuries, Zuart‘noc‘ has formed the subject of several hypothetical reconstructions. Yet the material basis upon which they were composed is not well examined. A review of the excavation history, the preserved evidence, and the subsequent scholarly debates reveals the danger of trusting the crisp reconstruction drawings published in the secondary literature. The early collapse of the monument and the destructive nature of the excavations prevent any possibility of determining conclusively the upper elevation of the church.

This paper offers a history of the debate, seeking to demonstrate the searching nature of the original arguments, in which multiple reconstructions were proposed and experimented with by single authors and within single works. This complexity is typically not reflected in studies of Armenian and Byzantine architecture, in which the question is often reduced to a choice between two hypotheses. This false dichotomy is further encouraged by the greater accessibility of the published drawings, rather than the texts (in Armenian and Russian, and often densely technical) which once explained them. The close of the paper lays out for the reader the state of the question, considering the three criteria used in the design and evaluation of the reconstructions: archaeological evidence, structural stability, and historical precedent.

## **You Shall Again Receive From Us Your Outstanding Positions of Honor”:**

### **The Caucasian Aristocracies in Sasanian Armies, 220–651 CE**

Scott McDonough (William Paterson University)

Much ink has been spilled about the “liminal” place of the South Caucasus and its peoples in the late ancient and early medieval world. Wedged between the two great “superpowers” of late antiquity, Byzantium and Sasanian Iran, the diverse peoples of Caucasia found themselves drawn to both spheres of political, economic and cultural influence. Culturally Iranian, and deeply embedded in their “Aryan” notions of identity and hierarchy, nonetheless the aristocrats of the region came to convert to Christianity in increasing numbers from the fourth century onward.

My paper examines an aspect of this liminality, the nature of the military aristocracies of Caucasia’s service in Sasanian armies. The conversion of some of the ruling elites of the South Caucasus to Christianity seemingly presented the Sasanian monarchs with a mix of peril and opportunity. Could the loyalties of Christian aristocrats be counted on in battle? Especially in service to an Iranian Empire locked in a seemingly interminable struggle against their Christian co-religionists of Byzantium. Indeed, the Armenian historians Łazar P'arpec'i and Eliše Vardapet argued that Christian warriors would inevitably come into conflict with their Magian [Zoroastrian] kings. Yet, these and many other narratives written in Armenian and Georgian, along with other literary and epigraphic sources, point consistently to the long-standing and deep integration of Caucasian military aristocrats in the Sasanian armies, even well after the “conversion” of the South Caucasus. Caucasian cavalymen played a central role in Sasanian campaigns against the Huns, Turks and other “non-Aryan” enemies on the empire’s northern and eastern frontiers, while Armenian aristocrats like Smbat Bagratuni (d. ca. 617) parlayed their military service into high rank within the Sasanian imperial system. Indeed, even as the Sasanian state was crumbling, leaders of Caucasian noble houses like Mušel Mamikonian, Grigor Siunik' and the Albanian prince Juanđer fought in Sasanian armies against the Arabs at the battle of al-Qadisiyya (636).

This paper argues three central points. First, that the military aristocracies of the South Caucasus were an essential part of the Sasanian Empire’s military strength, whose loyalty to the Sasanians stemmed from participation in a shared “Iranian” elite culture. Second, the conversion of some of these elites to Christianity little altered their natural orientation toward Iran, as Byzantine emperors were never able to offer these Caucasians the unique rewards of prestige and status provided by service to the Iranian King of Kings. However, the paper concludes by examining how the extant Armenian and Georgian historiographical traditions have complicated our understanding of the role of the Caucasian aristocracies in the Sasanian military, first with writers employing the language of martyrology to create a narrative of “Christian” resistance to Magian [Zoroastrian] rulers, then, following the collapse of the Sasanian regime in the mid-seventh century, re-emphasizing loyalty to the lost Sasanian kings and their culture as an aspect of Christian Caucasian resistance to Arab-Muslim invaders and occupiers.

## The Parthian Contribution to Caucasia's Christianization

Stephen H. Rapp, Jr. (Sam Houston State University)

Since medieval times, Caucasia's Christianization has usually been divided into neatly compartmentalized stories of the royal baptisms of the region's three kingdoms. But a holistic reading of the received conversion stories demonstrates that the Christianization of the Armenians, eastern Georgians (K'art'velians/Iberians), and Albanians was a cohesive albeit diverse cross-cultural process stretching across the whole of southern Caucasia for several centuries.

The lack of a regional perspective and the common but problematic equation of Christianization with Romano-Byzantine orientation have resulted, among other things, in the neglect of the close social and cultural bond of late antique Caucasia with the Iranian world. Scholars like Nina Garsoïan and James Russell have recovered many dimensions of this connection for the Armenians, but considerable work remains for the broader Irano-Caucasian nexus.

An intriguing aspect of this nexus is the role of Parthians in Caucasia's Christianization. A few examples within particular cultural environments are well known. Gregory the Illuminator—the apostle of the Armenians—was the son of Anak, a Parthian. In neighboring eastern Georgia, during Gregory's lifetime, the throne was occupied by a newly-arrived Parthian Mihranid prince, who was appropriately named Mihran. In Georgian he was called Mirian.

But the Parthian contribution was considerably greater. Throughout the Sasanian period, large parts of north central and northwestern Iran remained under the command of powerful Parthian houses, including the Mihranids and Karens. This state of affairs spilled into southern Caucasia. Acculturated Parthian families were prevalent throughout Armenia Major, eastern Georgia, and Albania. Highly-dynastic Parthian houses intermarried with local ones and occupied some of the highest social and political positions in all three Caucasian kingdoms.

This presentation investigates the role of Parthians and especially acculturated Parthians in the earliest phases of the Christianization of Caucasia, in the fourth and fifth centuries. It examines not only the assimilated Arsacid houses which controlled the three Caucasian thrones, but also various Caucasian aristocratic families of Parthian origin who, with families of indigenous origins, dominated the regional social landscape. Of particular importance are the dynastic toparchs, *bidaxshes* (*vitaxae*), of the Armeno-Georgian marchlands. Not only were such acculturated Parthians in competition with the Caucasian kings, but they simultaneously were rivals of the Sasanians in Iran. This two-fold competition is examined in the light of Caucasia's Christianization, which, despite the image painted in received conversion narratives, transpired neither in a social vacuum nor within strict cultural boxes.

This presentation also considers a potential Parthian role in several developments associated with Christianization, including the invention of scripts, the elaboration of Christian models of kingship, and the articulation of distinctive historiographical traditions.

**“Angels Know How to Speak about Love:”  
The *Heavenly Ladder* Icon and the Angelic Life at Sinai**

Amy Gillette (Temple University)

Mount Sinai’s *Heavenly Ladder* icon (late twelfth century) is the unique surviving Middle Byzantine panel depicting the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Klimakos (ca. 600). The Sinaite abbot presented the virtues and vices as thirty rungs that monks should attain or overcome, culminating in faith, hope, and love. Striking for its burnished gold and elegant fretful figures, the Sinai panel is also exceptional as an icon. It is neither a feast icon that narrates a scriptural or hagiographic episode, nor a frontal portrait icon that meets the viewer’s gaze. Instead, it splices these modes so that only Christ, Klimakos at the top, and the patron Archbishop Antonios behind him function as iconic figures. The angels and the other, unnamed monks demonstrate the processes of spiritual ascent, its pitfalls and its rewards. The diagonal ladder divides the panel into heaven and earth, and monks climb it with their faces and hands lifted in prayer. Temptations stalk them, but the brethren in the lower right supplicate the angelic host, forging a second diagonal that penetrates the field with prayers and likens these monks to the angels.

It is my belief that the *Heavenly Ladder* purposefully adapted conventions of portrait icons, narrative manuscript illuminations, and the liturgy. My analysis of the icon reveals how a new synthesis of the Byzantine cosmology of the image, mystical seeing, and the spoken or chanted word underwrote the monks’ devotional interaction with the treatise and its heroes. This performative matrix moved its viewers to Klimakos’s classic definition of spiritual perfection, called the *bios angelikos* to biblicalize monastic identity and connote their ideal state of ceaseless worship.

Specifically, I attribute the icon’s poetics to an emergent focus on icons as objects of *ekphrasis* alongside Symeon the New Theologian’s (ca. 1000) repopularization of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*. In this, I am building on work by Hans Belting, Charles Barber, and Nancy Ševčenko. The former connected the *Heavenly Ladder*’s rhetorical structure to sermons, and linked this phenomenon to the hymnography that pervaded its cognate *Annunciation* icon. Moreover Symeon, imitating Klimakos, sought mystic union by scaling the virtues from humility to love, climaxing in an ecstatic vision of divine light. He responded to a Theotokos icon with a germane flight to spiritual vision, and also composed hymns and mystical works to awaken zeal for the angelic life. In addition, the widely adopted Evergetis Typikon (1054-70) prescribed reading the treatise thrice daily during Lent. Hence the monastic community traveled together through the text, whose fusion with liturgical time colored, vocalized, and reinforced their ascent. As a corollary, manuscripts of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* gained a new iconography, attuned to monks and monkish deeds (e.g., Vat. gr. 394, Garrett 16). The pictures show the incarnate Christ’s action in time, arouse love for his ineffable divinity, and so signal the need for supersensory vision. The Sinai panel overrode its typological conventions to push this trend to conclusion, a formal iconization that engendered ritualized worship and vision in communion with Christ, Klimakos, and the angels.



## The Complexity of the *Threnos*: the Elaboration of Iconography, and the Interpretation of Meaning and Function

Henry D. Schilb (Index of Christian Art, Princeton University)

The iconography of the *Threnos*, which shows the Virgin Mary lamenting over the dead body of Christ, has received close scrutiny from Kurt Weitzmann, Maria Sotiriou and Hans Belting, among others, but no single account of the origin, development, meanings and functions of this iconography has adequately addressed the complexity of the *Threnos*. If we could impose a synthesis on the ideas of Weitzmann, Sotiriou, and Belting, could we come to a better understanding of the meaning of the image and its function in the liturgy? A unified theory of the *Threnos* may always elude us only because there is so much variation from one example to another.

Expanding an idea proposed by Gabriel Millet, Kurt Weitzmann described how the *Threnos* developed gradually from the Entombment. Weitzmann's central idea is not wrong, but it is not the whole story. Embroidered versions of the *Threnos*, while emulating wall paintings, developed by the gradual addition of figures to the *Amnos* iconography, the image of Christ as the sacrificed lamb, rather than the Entombment. Weitzmann also claimed that the Entombment and the *Threnos* were interchangeable and never occurred side by side, but the *Epitaphios Threnos* and the Entombment are found together in a fourteenth-century cycle of paintings in Wallachia and in a post-Byzantine cycle at the Dochiariou Monastery on Athos. Such programs demonstrate a tendency to separate the two scenes once again.

Maria Sotiriou offered a different account of how the two scenes developed. Suggesting that one iconography did not simply evolve into the other, Sotiriou also differentiated the Entombment from the *Threnos*, and from the *Epitaphios Threnos*. Nevertheless, Sotiriou did not consider all the variants of this iconography.

Hans Belting focused on the liturgical function of the image. Belting proposed that the image of the *Amnos*, Christ as the sacrificed lamb, was embroidered on *aëres* precisely because the cloth itself was understood to stand for the shroud of Christ during the performance of the liturgy, and that the embroidered *Amnos* always has the same meaning whether or not it is elaborated with figures from the *Threnos* iconography. Belting's interpretation may be too narrowly focused, however, imposing a very strictly liturgical interpretation on the embroidered iconography. While the figure of Christ was always central, it is clear that embroiderers did not always feel bound to emulate versions of the *Threnos* that emphasize Christ as *Amnos* at the expense of the narrative of the *Threnos*. Some embroidered examples present the Deposition or the *Threnos*, or both, and one fifteenth-century example even adds the *Anastasis*. The object on which such iconography was embroidered imparted the necessary liturgical meaning to the image, but the liturgical functions of *aëres* and *epitaphioi* did not limit the possibilities available to embroiderers for elaborating the iconography of the *Threnos*.

## Defining “Early Bulgarian Art” between the World Wars

Fani Gargova (Dumbarton Oaks)

For Bulgaria the time in between the First and Second World Wars meant an increased awareness of the country’s medieval artistic legacy. Scholars, as well as artists and architects turned to the Bulgarian monuments of the Middle Ages for inspiration, but also for political and cultural legitimization. Today scholarship on that period in Bulgarian art history seems to be in agreement on the reasons for the search for a Bulgarian identity in the First and Second Bulgarian Kingdoms, just as on the importance of Byzantium both as an influence and as a means for dissociation. On the other hand, little attention has been paid to the specific modes of how Old Bulgarian art was employed in architecture. Also missing is an examination of how from the 1910s to the 1940s medieval Bulgarian art was defined and where its roots were sought .

Bulgaria’s independence from Ottoman rule in 1878 created a fundamental need for self-definition and a proud identity that can be traced back to a previous grandeur, a period of national confidence that existed before submission to a foreign empire. This nation-building movement was an important part of a development towards Europeanization and modernization and the effort to catch up on similar ideological foundations throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Western and Central Europe. It also produced a romanticized view of the First and Second Bulgarian Kingdoms of the Middle Ages that were historically stylized as the great enemies of the Byzantine Empire.

A search for the material manifestations of these strong, important states led in the period around 1900 to the discovery of Pliska and Preslav, the first two capitals of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, among others and the commencement of building activity in a Bulgarian style, such as the 1890s construction of the Sveta Nedelya cathedral. The expansionary agenda of the Bulgarian king Ferdinand I. during the Balkan Wars and the First World War gave archaeologists and historians like Bogdan Filov the possibility to travel and discover an extensive Bulgarian territory that would also encompass the Macedonian and Thracian landscapes. This broader understanding of the medieval Bulgarian legacy formed the scholarship after the First World War in a considerably nationalistic way. The buildings of the time – such as the Court House and the new Sveta Nedelya church in Sofia – testify to a well-informed conception of Bulgarian and Byzantine art and architecture and are specifically monumental in their appearance.

In this paper I examine the specific agenda of studying a Bulgarian medieval artistic past during the indicated period. Of special interest are the modes of transmission of a national idea and the historical approaches, which underpin their validity. I contrast this scholarship with the buildings that were realized during the same period and ask whether and how they support these mindsets.

## **The Shield of St. Demetrios on a Byzantine Miniature Mosaic**

Robert S. Nelson (Yale University)

A Byzantine miniature mosaic in Sassoferrato has been the subject of sustained scholarly interest for many decades because of its ornate silver frame and provenance. Donated in 1472 by Niccolò Perotti, the secretary of the Greek émigré Cardinal Bessarion, the icon has multiple associations with Thessaloniki. In the center of the upper frame, there is a lead ampulla with an image of St. Demetrios on one side and St. Theodora on the other, both holy figures that miraculously produced myrrh from shrines in Thessaloniki. The central image of the icon, the standing military saint Demetrios, the patron saint of Thessaloniki, raises his right arm to support a tall lance and with his other hand holds a prominent shield decorated with a rampant lion. In 1995, Anthony Cutler for the first time called attention to this lion, associated it with the armorial device of the Perotti family, and thereby dated the mosaic to just before the fall of Constantinople and thus long after the traditional fourteenth-century attribution of the panel. More recently, Jannic Durand has reported that carbon-14 analysis has assigned the mosaic's wood support to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

This paper looks again at that rampant lion, so usefully signaled by Cutler, and links it instead with Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotis, the Byzantine governor of Thessaloniki c. 1300 and the donor with his wife of a chapel added to the church of St. Demetrios in that city. After his death, his widow commissioned a funeral chapel at the church of the Virgin Pammacharistos in Constantinople. The decoration of the upper cornice at the springing of the vaults of that church consists of a series of medallion of rampant lions that Cyril Mango suggested might constituted a heraldic device. In the early Palaeologan period such emblems were beginning to be used by aristocratic families in Byzantium, following at some distance Western practices. This paper sets the Demetrius panel into that larger heraldic context and then concludes by returning to its Renaissance reception and the agency of Perotti.

## **Assembling a Corpus of Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts: Sirarpie Der Nersessian's Travels to Jerusalem and Erevan**

Anne-Marie H. Viola (Dumbarton Oaks)

At a time when universities had only just begun to develop visual resource collections and catalogues were largely yet unavailable, Sirarpie Der Nersessian recognized the importance of making visual resources available to American scholars, an initiative she undertook early on in her career as Dumbarton Oaks' professor of Byzantine art and archaeology. In doing so, Der Nersessian called upon her experience working in collections at the Sorbonne and Wellesley College to address "the most significant problem" American scholars face in the study of Armenian painting: access to works is impeded by language, geography, and format. In the mid-twentieth century -- and to this day -- few English-language catalogs existed and those that were published typically lack illustrations, a fact which makes the Dumbarton Oaks illuminated manuscript collection especially valuable.

Today, Dumbarton Oaks' Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives (ICFA) holdings include approximately 9,000 images of miniature paintings from illuminated manuscripts. Nearly a quarter of the photographs are of manuscripts from the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, the second most significant collection of Armenian manuscripts in the world after the Matenadaran in Erevan. Based on archival and curatorial documentation, the ICFA discovered that this subset of the collection was acquired through Der Nersessian. It was initially seeded through Der Nersessian's advisory role for the Sinai Photography Project (1949-1950), an initiative of the Library of Congress to document over 1000 manuscripts in Jerusalem and Sinai. The collection was more fully developed after Der Nersessian's six-month sabbatical in 1951-1952, during which Der Nersessian and her sister, Arax, photographed and inventoried over 2,000 illuminations at the Patriarchate. Through their profound knowledge of Armenian manuscripts and diligent research methods, the Der Nersessians' images and documentation reproduced the Patriarchate's holdings in a way that is still hitherto unavailable outside the walls of St. Toros.

Additionally, in 1960, Der Nersessian traveled to Erevan to study the collection at the Matenadaran as a guest of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, research for her magnum opus, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*. This two-volume set published in 1993 is a comprehensive examination of the entire Cilician legacy. While not documented in the same fashion as the Jerusalem manuscripts, Der Nersessian's trip yielded photographs of the illuminations from Matenadaran, which also found their way into ICFA's holdings, as a part of the *Sirarpie Der Nersessian Papers and Photographs* collection.

Applying a systematic cataloger's approach to her research and a lifelong appreciation of images, Der Nersessian produced a significant corpus of images at Dumbarton Oaks, a largely unknown and understudied collection, which the ICFA is working to expose to a wider audience. In celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Der Nersessian's retirement, ICFA is developing an online exhibit with a selection of the scholar's images and an overview of her scholarship from Dumbarton Oaks. In addition, with the development of a new web-based catalog, the ICFA is creating a comprehensive picture of all Der Nersessian's work from photo acquisitions to publications and archival material.

## **Byzantine Liturgical Heritage Among the Balkan Slavs: Deciphering an Unedited Manuscript Corpus**

**Nina Glibetic (Yale University)**

Despite some early wavering between Rome and Constantinople, both Bulgarians and Serbs eventually adopted the Byzantine liturgical rite. Thus, the South-Slavic liturgical manuscript sources represent a valuable tool for understanding Byzantine religious development. This is especially true for the period of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, when South Slavs established a network of monastic foundations throughout the Byzantine world and when Serbian political influence in the Balkan Peninsula reached its peak, as exemplified by Stefan Dušan's (†1355) conquests, which included the monastic peninsula of Mt Athos. Yet important monographs dedicated to Byzantine liturgical history entirely ignore the South-Slavic corpus. This is a noteworthy gap, as there are over forty South-Slavic euchologies from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Furthermore, these Slavonic manuscripts, which tended to copy Greek sources, sometimes give detailed indications of practices that are now lost in extant Greek codices. Therefore, the South-Slavic texts not only offer an insight into the eucharistic practices of the medieval Balkan Slavs on Athos and within their respective political territories, but also provide further insight into the general religious developments in the late period of Byzantine history.

A comprehensive analysis of all extant 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century South-Slavic euchologies shows that a variety of liturgical forms can be witnessed at this time. However, a process of standardization is met at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when liturgical books begin to greatly conform to one another. This paper discusses some of the more peculiar liturgical practices encountered in these South-Slavic manuscripts and describes the process of standardization that befell the Balkan Peninsula in the late-14<sup>th</sup> century. This codification of liturgical forms is connected to the rise of hesychasm and the period of the ascendancy of Mt Athos within the Orthodox Church. Thus, the South-Slavic liturgical corpus provides an important key to understanding religious shifts that occurred during the “Late Chapter” of Byzantium.

## Hymnody, “Heretical” Monasticism and Social Criticism – Early Hymns from Papyri as a Context for the *τροπάρια* of St Auxentius

Arkadii Avdokhin (King's College London, Department of Classics)

The earliest version of the *Life of St Auxentius* (BHG 199) written in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century is a rare insight into a barely institutionalized ascetic community of the 5<sup>th</sup> century Constantinople with less than conventional founder and leader Auxentius. While Auxentius himself had face charges of heresy at the Council of Chalcedon, his congregation is described in as equally welcoming both elite married females and its male members and pressing the issue of “social responsibility” of the rich. All these features are tantalizingly paralleled in the profile of another pre-Chalcedonian monastic movement of the capital, the so-called “macedonians” (cf. Sozomen *HE IX.2*).

The present paper looks at the role of hymns in this “unorthodox” community, an aspect not studied before. The detailed account of the hymnic practices which Auxentius established for his congregations is a narrative climax of his *Life*. In it, the saint is said to introduce “sweet and edifying *τροπάρια* with a simplest and most discreet sentiment”; then the hagiographer goes on to provide the actual texts of the *τροπάρια*. The hymns are described as publicly performed by both rich and poor, men and women all together. These were the central social aspects of the “macedonian heresy” – the equality of sexes and social classes.

However, the hymns themselves can be seen as another facet of the socially aware rhetoric of the text. They are emphatically simple texts of no more than 6 lines each made up of doxologies and litanies with almost no narrative passages or theological formulas. This early evidence of hymnic practices can best be contextualized in the corpus of early Byzantine hymns from papyri, for this is the biggest securely dated early corpus of Christian hymns. Surprisingly enough, a substantial part of papyri hymns are more sophisticated than Auxentius' *τροπάρια* featuring extended acrostic composition and an elaborate syntax and vocabulary (cf. e.g. *P.Heid.IV 294*). A large proportion of hymnic texts are concerned with specific liturgical feasts and have narrative parts as well as a developed composition and style (cf. e.g. *P.Berol.8687* with a Nativity hymn or *P.Berol.1163* with a Baptism hymn) in stark contrast to Auxentius' hymns. His is a primitive and most ancient kind of hymn of the type of the *Φῶς ἰλαρὸν* or the one found in *P.Fay. 21 124* (4<sup>th</sup> century AD).

By stressing the importance of the unassuming *τροπάρια* in the context of other socially provocative aspects of Auxentius' community, the hagiographer must have put to use the stylistic conflict between these simple forms of worship with more elaborate ones. In the wake of the Council of Chalcedon and its regularizing arrangements for the dissident monastic movements, the “macedonian” community of Auxentius could have built its religious and social identity in part by resorting to the “simple *τροπάρια*”, which were a stylistically and, thus, a socially marked option in the wider range of hymns available.

## The Apophatic Kratema: Approaching the Ineffable through Wordless Song

Spyridon Antonopoulos (City University London)

Historian Michael Sells marks the mid-twelfth century as a watershed moment in apophatic mystical literature. According to Sells, “the apophatic masterpieces of Islamic, Jewish, and Christian traditions appear... almost simultaneously... during the 150-year period from the mid-twelfth to the beginning of the fourteenth century.” Chronologically, this corresponds to the *kalophonic* (“beautiful-sounding”) movement, which witnessed the emergence of a cadre of self-consciously authorial and unabashedly creative musicians whose activity led to the expansion of musical practices and forms in late Byzantium. Its primary figureheads include the early fourteenth-century imperial musician turned Athonite monk, Ioannes Koukouzeles, and his self-proclaimed successor, the fifteenth-century imperial musician, Manuel Chrysaphes. Alexander Lingas (and to a lesser extent, Edward Williams), has analyzed this flowering of musical creativity in the context of concomitant spiritual trends, notably, the hesychast movement emanating from Mt. Athos and Constantinople during the fourteenth century. While Lingas notes that “no fourteenth-century text explicitly [establishes] a causal relationship between monastic spirituality and contemporary musical developments”, he concludes that there is sufficient evidence to make a circumstantial case. For one, the very chronology of the figures implicated to the greatest degree in both movements (Koukouzeles and Gregory Palamas) – and their probable co-location at the Great Lavra on Athos for at least some period of time – provides a compelling starting point for any such discussion.

The purpose of this paper is to establish additional links between the expansion of musical practices in late Byzantium and broader spiritual trends that manifest themselves in other cultural realms. Sells’ identification of a crucial 150 years for the flourishing of apophatic literature in the Mediterranean basin provides a tantalizing lead to the musicologist of medieval Byzantine chant studying the kalophonic repertory. Specifically, Byzantine musical manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth century abound with apophatic cultural artifacts of their own, the *kratemata* (singular: kratema). The kratema’s primary defining characteristic is its transcendence of textual limitations: it is vocal music composed to “nonsense syllables”, such as *Te-ri-rem*, *To-ro-to* and so on (“non-discursive text” for some musicologists). Scholars have satisfactorily identified earlier precedents of non-textual singing and composition in Byzantine ecclesiastical environments, but the first kratema, as such, is found in a Southern Italian manuscript of Byzantine chant from the mid-twelfth century. By the time of John Koukouzeles (c. 1280 – 1340), kratemata had developed into ‘works’ that were authored, named, circumscribable, and reproducible. An analysis of the musical attributes of the *kratemata* – the textual elements, melodic sequences, vocal range, modality, and so on, sheds light on the qualitative aspects that differentiated this music from other musical forms. It is these qualitative attributes – acoustical and sonic in nature – that provide the most compelling links between this “new” musical practice and contemporary spiritual expressions gaining force around the same time.

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### **Byzantine Hymnography in the Medieval Georgian Manuscripts**

The emergence and historical development of old Georgian hymnography occurred in parallel with the Byzantine and it implied creation of both translated and original works. At different historical stages it demonstrated certain differences from the Greek original.

The present paper deals with only some aspects of the relation of Georgian translated hymnography with the Greek original – questions linked with assignment of *ekhoses* and the translation method. These questions were of equal relevance at various stages of historical development of Georgian chanting culture, but their solution manifested different creative approaches of hymnographers and (*xelovantmtavari*) master composers.

The origin and historical development of the Old Georgian hymnography followed in the wake of the Byzantine and involved creation of both, translated and original hymnody. At different stages of history, compared with the Greek original it showed certain differences in terms of Georgian translation method or musical consistent patterns.

In the *'Iadgar'* (a collection of hymns) of Mikael Modrekili (978-988), the only surviving Tao-Klardjetian collection of liturgics and hymnography, dynamic equivalent type translations from Byzantine authors (John of Damascus, Cosmas of Jerusalem, Germanus of Constantinople, Joseph the Hymnographer) are confirmed; in terms of Echos, different chant repertoires show different approaches of hymnographers, namely: in the hymns performed during the Lord's and the Great Feasts, adequacy to the Greek original is observed, while the chant repertory of the Great Week shows more freedom in this respect (indications to Echos do not always follow the Greek original).

Later on, with amplification of Hellenophile trends, within the hymnographic school of Holy Monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos (X-XI c.) itself, growing importance of the Greek original manuscript clearly reveals in terms of fidelity of translation and Echos, while in the works of the representatives of the Black Mountain Hellenophile trend (XI-XII c.) it is set as a pre-requisite and reveals to some extent in translations of formal equivalent type, in the accuracy of Echos and allowance for all attributes of the original manuscript. As for the tunes of the chants, at the historical stages discussed by us (X-XI c.) they must have been distinguished for their originality, which is clearly evidenced in the liturgical manuscripts (*'tveni'*, *'Paracliton'*) of the Holy Monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos, and the recently found postscripts of wills (colophons).



## Mapping Meaning: The Topographic Mosaics of Ma'in and Umm al-Rasas in their Architectural and Cultural Contexts

Tracey Eckersley (University of Louisville)

Landscape scenes containing depictions of labeled walled cities were fashionable choices for church pavements in the Byzantine provinces of Palaestina and Arabia from the sixth century onward. Although scholars have noted the popularity of these motifs, most studies have situated these compositions within a longstanding tradition of landscape and Nilotic imagery or have provided religious interpretations based on their locations within church naves. One exception is the so-called Madaba Map, a sixth-century pavement from the Church of St. George in Madaba.

Due to its relatively accurate and detailed topographic imagery, this mosaic has been the focus of intense scholarly interest since its initial publication in 1897. Early research concentrated on identifying the depicted sites and determining which historical documents served as its inspiration. But more recently, scholars have attempted to reconstruct how ancient audiences experienced and interpreted the Madaba pavement. One example is Herbert Donner, who posited that visitors to the church walked over the map in a form of mimetic pilgrimage (Donner, *The Mosaic Map of Madaba: An Introductory Guide*, 1992).

Because of its size and complex composition, the Madaba Map is often considered unique and therefore distinct from the “walled city” mosaic genre. However, as Michele Piccirillo has noted, the eighth-century mosaics from the Acropolis Church at Ma'in and the Church of St. Stephen at Umm al-Rasas are also topographic in nature, albeit in a more simplistic form (Piccirillo, “The Mosaics at Umm al-Rasas in Jordan,” 2008). Piccirillo does not explain how the individual cities included in these two pavements were chosen, yet the inclusion of labels and distinct images suggests that the patron intended viewers to identify specific sites and make connections between them.

Accepting Glen Bowersock's assertion that the Ma'in and Umm al-Rasas pavements belong to a shared tradition that includes the Madaba mosaic (Bowersock, *Mosaics as History*, 2006), I propose to apply the methodologies of Donner and others to examine the eighth-century topographic imagery. To determine these mosaics' socio-cultural messages, I examine their architectural and geographic contexts to ascertain who would have had access to them and how they would have been viewed. Furthermore, I investigate the religious, cultural, and political significance of the depicted cities to establish the information that these mosaics might have conveyed to Christian and perhaps even Muslim Transjordanian audiences in the eighth century. By focusing on patron intent and viewer response, we can expand upon previous interpretations of these mosaics as general expressions of prosperity and urban pride and recognize that they might also reflect specific aspects of religious and secular life in Late Antique Jordan including pilgrimage and trade.

## Mary as the Meeting Place: Typologies of Sacred Space and Place in a Syriac Pentecost

Sophia Sinopoulos Lloyd (Claremont Graduate University)

Christian devotional images of the Pentecost typically illustrate the apostles seated or standing together at the moment of the descent of the Holy Spirit that is described in Acts 2. The spirit is rendered in various ways; as a flame above each figure's head, as a red line drawn to each figure that emanates from a central point above their heads, and often as a dove descending from the sky. Sometimes Pentecost illustrations feature the Mother of God also receiving the Holy Spirit in what appears to be a mediatory role. From the Middle Ages to the early Renaissance, such Pentecosts became common in prayer books, where they appeared in sequences of illustrations of events in the Virgin Mary's life that had Christological significance. From the Middle Byzantine period in the East, festal icons of the Pentecost often lacked Mary and instead contained an "empty seat" in the midst of the apostles, which according to orthodox authorities represents the eschatological Christ and the incomprehensibility of the Trinity. No Pentecost icon contains both Mary and the "empty seat," leading one to imagine that the space is literally contested somehow. Today, Marian Pentecosts are common in Greek, Russian, and Neo-Coptic iconography, but their origins are often explained as medieval and Western, which is only partially correct. The oldest known Pentecost shows Mary in a hierarchical position among the apostles, and it comes from a Syriac gospel codex dated to the late 6th century (Florence, Bib. Medicea-Laurenziana, cod. Plut. I, 56). Extant examples of this motif from Late Antiquity are extremely rare.

I contend that Mary's presence in the Rabbula Pentecost is not spurious, but is theologically integral to the image. Whereas some iconologists see the "empty seat" as being a better representation of Eastern Orthodox doctrine, Mary in this position likewise makes sense in a Late Antique Semitic Christian milieu. The editors of the facsimile edition of the MSS devote only a paragraph to the significance of this Pentecost. I attempt to build upon and correct this, arguing particularly for the visual allusions to outdoor space in the image, which could signify Zion, but also Sinai—not least because of Late Antique references to Sinai as the paradigmatic *topos* of theophany. The rocky substrate on which the figures stand could reference the "sapphire stone" of Sinai, and the bright red behind Mary hints at the burning bush. The typological connection between Mary and Mount Sinai is that of sacred location not made by human hands. Byzantinists are aware of the wealth of Marian poetics that emerged from 5th century Constantinople, and their debt to the Syriac tradition has also been noted. In these hymns and homilies Marian metaphors include the Tabernacle, the Ark, and the dwelling place of God. In this paper we go beyond the understanding of Mary as *Ecclesia* or *Mater Ecclesiae* to suggest that as the dwelling place *par excellence* of the Holy Spirit, she appears in the Rabbula Pentecost as the sacerdotal edifice "not made by hands."

**„Those miracles we are accustomed to witness every day.“  
Imagining and Experiencing Divine Visions in Early Byzantium**

Armin Bergmeier (Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich)

Since the first centuries of Christianity, the invisibility of the Christian God has provoked manifold attempts at rendering the divine visible. Those attempts can be witnessed in all fields of cultural production: in images, the design of sacred spaces, and in theological writings. Images were, of course, an obvious choice for visualizing divine epiphanies. A look at some iconographic examples such as the so-called *Ascension* and *Tradition Legis* scenes shows that they depict the present reign of Christ in the here and now. Their contemporaries understood these images as visions of the *ecclesia*. Similarly, theological texts that engage with biblical theophanic accounts often interpreted them as a reference to the present time. Sacred spaces had an even more immediate effect on the user. They were places for the encounter with the divine and functioned as receptacles for theophanies. Contemporaries were used to interpret the sight of a light-filled space as an indication of divine presence. This is evident from *tituli*, *ekphraseis* and other sources, which describe the design of churches and chapels as abounding with light thanks to a multitude of lighting devices and reflective materials.

After having initially summarized how Christians in early Byzantium imagined and depicted theophanies, I ask under which circumstances these visions were experienced by lay people – often outside of liturgical rites. Recently, Verity Platt (2011) has shown how fruitful a discussion of concepts of divine epiphanies within antiquity can be. This talk seeks to open up a similar discussion in the field of early Byzantium and highlights the value of hagiographic texts for our understanding of divine manifestations. In fact, visions and miracles were something of a commonplace in early Byzantium. Paulinus of Nola claims that he and his contemporaries were accustomed to witnessing them every day. A wide variety of hagiographical texts (the *Passio Perpetuae*, Paulinus of Nola's ep. 49, the *Life of Thecla*, Venantius Fortunatus' *Life of Martin*, John Rufus' *Life of Peter the Iberian*, Cyril of Scythopolis' collection of lives e.a.) are arguably our most direct link to the experience of visions in Byzantine culture. Recorded not long after the incident, these texts provide invaluable information on the external circumstances of divine manifestations and their visible appearance. Visions were frequently experienced in or around sacred spaces (mostly churches and chapels), which were often visited for the very reason of encountering the divine. Many of these visits involved direct tactile contact with the material place, the relics, and occasionally even with the divine epiphany itself. Frequently, people slept close to the sacred place, and dreams and states of deprivation could facilitate the experience of a vision. Sometimes the agitation of a large crowd was preferred, sometimes the solitude of a cave. In my talk, I show that frequently the recorded experiences matched common tropes and mental concepts outlined in the first part of my talk. In other cases, the texts created new patterns for visualizing moments of the encounter with the divine.

## Why Sight is Not Touch: Reconsidering Extramission in Byzantium

Roland Betancourt (Yale University)

In 2000, Robert S. Nelson's groundbreaking essay, "To Say and to See: Ekphrasis and Vision in Byzantium," raised the theory of extramission to a privileged position in the history of Byzantine art and culture. While acknowledging Byzantium's possession of competing antique and post-antique theories of vision, Nelson's careful analysis of the literature suggests that the Byzantine viewer understood sight's ability to touch the icon as if kissing and embracing its surface, an idea developed in the primary sources through metaphors and literary tropes. This paper, however, questions the normative and monolithic sway of the haptic theory of extramission for an empire that spanned over a thousand years with diverse boundaries and fonts of knowledge. Instead, I argue that the privileging of extramission in the field at large emerged from a historiographic desire to see the pre-modern, Byzantine image as a site of full and unmediated presence in the wake of Hans Belting's "era before art" and similar discussions, where the unmediated contact with the image's signified was reified into its visuality.

Returning to the original Greek text of Photios's homily on the Theotokos, which plays a central role in the argument for extramission, and comparing the technical language used there to that found in known treatises of vision in Byzantium at the time, I demonstrate that Photios's theory rigorously diverges from extramission, but rather refers to the proper Platonic theory of united rays. Looking broadly around the work of Photios's contemporaries up to the twelfth century and in places as diverse as Michael Psellos's commentaries on Aristotle and the liturgical commentary of Nicholas/Theodore of Andida, I argue that important shifts occurred after Iconoclasm and throughout the Middle Byzantine period that distanced the theory of vision from haptic sight, favoring instead the interval between the object and the viewer as the locus where seeing occurs.

Looking at the problem of visuality both historically and historiographically, I articulate how the definition of sight ascribed to by the Byzantines and prescribed for them by historians is directly correlated to the manner in which the Byzantine subjects and the historian, respectively, viewed the ontological presence of the image at their particular moment. Through this simultaneous historical and historiographic analysis, I demonstrate how visuality and the medium of the image are inexorably dependent upon one another. The purpose of this paper, however, is not to critique the privileging of extramission as a flaw or historical error, but rather to embrace this very act of privileging as a generative and coherent historiographic project onto itself; one which seized the state of the discipline as its discursive space and therefore produced a Byzantine visuality commensurate with the late-1990's ontology of the Byzantine image and the unmediated presence ascribed to it at the time.

## Supporting and Correcting a Byzantine Emperor. Chrysoloras' *Lógos pros tòn autokratóra* and Manuel II Palaeologus

Erika Nuti (University of Turin, Italy)

In 1407 Theodore Palaeologus, despot of Morea, died. Some years later, his brother and Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus wrote a long funeral oration to be delivered at a memorial ceremony in Mistra. Conceived as a political speech about the good ruler's virtue and his fervent struggle against the Turks, it obviously aimed to strengthen his people's national unity by offering a model of life to emulate. Moreover, the Emperor intended to circulate this oration in the West among the Latins, as part of the complex diplomatic plan to heighten their awareness of the urgent need for military aid in Byzantium. With its publication in mind, the Emperor worked on revising it for a long time, assisted by Isidore of Kiev and others anonymous scholars of his time, as Chrysostomides' edition of the Funeral Oration clearly pointed out. Towards the end of this long elaboration, he sent a copy of the speech to Manuel Chrysoloras, the Western humanists' beloved teacher of Greek and one of the Emperor's closest collaborators, accompanying it with a letter requesting comments and stylistic revisions. Chrysoloras' reply is a very long letter, discovered in 1972 by Patrinelis in an autograph at Mount Athos and edited by him and Sofianos in 2001.

Though to date it has been considered as merely a flattering piece of writing unworthy of any modern translation or comment, Chrysoloras' letter instead reveals itself to be a fine and deeply-pondered text. Firstly, it masterfully plays with literary genres, for we find a rhetorical treatise in letter form about the rules of writing an encomium, which itself is an encomium and a *speculum principis*. Secondly, this last witness of a Byzantine *speculum principis* reveals all of the visionary and humanistic substance of Chrysoloras' political thought. Dipping into Aristotle's *Ethics* and Thucydides' *Speech of Pericles*, it anchors the Roman-Christian model of the Emperor to a Humanistic ideal of the perfect statesman and proposes an intellectual path as the key to Byzantium's survival. Finally, despite Patrinelis' opinion that "the original purpose of the discourse - the philological treatment and improvement of the Emperor's funeral oration at his own request - was left in abeyance" (Patrinelis-Sofianos 2001, p. 49), a careful analysis of the passages of the Emperor's *Funeral Oration* quoted in Chrysoloras' letter reveals a hidden strategy to complete the difficult task to which he had been called upon without offending the Emperor. In fact, while extensively demonstrating the Emperor's rhetorical skills in the *Oration* and reiterating the perfection of its construction at various points, Chrysoloras seems to rearrange and correct nearly every phrase quoted.

Therefore, Chrysoloras' *Lógos pros tòn autokratóra* is an invaluable witness not only because it sheds light on its author's political thought and keen rhetorical and philosophical competence, but also because it furthers our understanding of the relationships between the last enlightened Emperor and his collaborators, unveiling the unwritten rules which still governed them in the waning years of Byzantium.

## Anna Komnene and the Challenges of Female Authorship

Leonora Neville (University of Wisconsin Madison)

Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* is one of the most significant histories of the twelfth century and one of the few works written by a woman in the pre-modern world. Anna has been admired for breaking through the cultural constraints on Byzantine women to write a lengthy, rhetorically rich, history in classicizing style. More consideration however should be given to *how* she made her authorship socially acceptable, and how her gender affected her authorial strategies. Drawing on recent research into Byzantine gender and the cultural politics of authorship, this study explores how Anna responded to the challenges of writing while female in the twelfth century.

While often commended, the *Alexiad* has excited suspicions in many readers. Anna is distrusted by modern readers because she adopts a tragic and highly emotional authorial persona in some sections of the *Alexiad*, and an exaggeratedly dispassionate persona in other places. The study of Anna's rhetorical persona reveals that suspicions of Anna's historical narrative derive largely from our misreading of the strategies she deployed to allow herself license to write history within a culture in which women did not exercise authorship.

The aspects of Anna's history that seem so odd, and that most excite distrust among modern readers, are explained as deliberate strategies for dealing, on the one hand with the problematic of gender, and on the other the problematics of authorial self-assertion and self-disclosure. Recent research reveals that writing in Byzantium was considered fundamentally self-aggrandizing in imposing the author's view on the audience. Talking about one's self created an imposition upon the audience that was particularly distasteful. Male Byzantine authors responded to the need to mitigate arrogance with self-deprecation and a discourse of modesty. This strand of research has revelatory implications for our understanding of Anna. Anna's self-presentation as suffering a horrible fate can be understood as an act of rhetorical abasement that allayed the extreme transgression of a woman imposing a speaker's authority over her audience.

Anna's rhetorical self-abasement worked to create a humble authorial persona that mitigated against the fundamental immodesty of authorship. Writing history—the record of men's deeds in the (male) public sphere—was particularly transgressive for a woman, while modesty was an essential female virtue. Anna strove to prove her modestly and gain her readers' trust through the careful rhetorical deployment of highly feminized behaviors. Her self-presentation as suffering and lamenting, allowed her to participate in approved feminine discourses for Greek women. Simultaneously the need to assert the credentials and authority necessary to be a trustworthy historian drove Anna to occasional instances of self-assertion. Anna's history does not conform to the standards of the genre of Greek classical history because she understood that genre as a form of male discourse. She needed to adapt that discourse to be able to participate in it while remaining a meritorious woman. Thus, in writing her history, Anna did not try merely to write like a man, but rather created an authorial persona whose femininity effaced the transgression of her participation in a fundamentally masculine genre.

## Euthymios Malakes: Uncovering a Twelfth-Century Bishop as Such

Hannah Ewing (The Ohio State University)

The careers and writings of twelfth-century provincial bishops have attracted considerable scholarly interest in studies of the Komnenian period. Michael Angold profiles half a dozen provincial bishops in his *Church and Society in Byzantium Under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (1995) and various bishops serve as significant witnesses to the Komnenoi era in Paul Magdalino's *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (1993), Alexander Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein's *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (1985), and Anthony Kaldellis' *Hellenism in Byzantium* (2007). However, one known bishop from this period has largely appeared only in auxiliary positions within such texts: Euthymios Malakes, metropolitan of Neopatras in the later twelfth century, appears in modern scholarship largely as a source on his friends Eustathios of Thessalonike and Michael Choniates, rather than as the object of direct study himself. Aside from within the introduction to Konstantine Bones' 1937 edition of Malakes' works, Malakes has faded into the background compared to his more prolific fellow bishops.

This paper examines what can be known about Euthymios Malakes' episcopal career on the bishop's own terms. It uses his extant correspondence, especially with Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Michael Choniates, as well as his monody on the death of Eustathios and the few contemporary works by others that mention Malakes, to reconstruct Malakes' priorities and activities as a bishop. Malakes' experiences reveal a slightly different picture of episcopal life in the period than that found in the careers of the other twelfth-century bishops alone, allowing comparison with more prolific bishops from the period. This adds to both understandings of the weaknesses of Constantinopolitan figures ruling provincial sees and to how such figures might have felt about challenges from other bishops and from monasteries. In the end, this paper uncovers Euthymios Malakes as a *bishop*—rather than as an intellectual or as a friend—in order to add another clerical character more clearly to the story of the late Komnenian period and further elucidate the way the church functioned in the provinces at this time.

## **Epilogue and Identity: The Coptic *Translatio* of James the Persian**

Alexander B. Miller (Fordham University, Bronx, NY)

The Bohairic martyrdom account of St. James the Persian (d. 421) has been seldom considered within Coptic studies or hagiographical studies beyond translation and light commentary. In brief, James was a high-ranking Christian in the court of the Persian king Yazdegerd I, and he had converted to Zoroastrianism due to the king's blandishments. After appeals from his wife and mother, James returned to Christianity and was executed by Yazdegerd's successor, Bahram V. The Bohairic text is not unique in its subject matter, as the story of St. James is known throughout the Christian world in Latin, Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian. The Bohairic account is not unique in the macabre focus on James' long and gruesome torture, which appears in all translations and also seems to be a hallmark of Coptic martyrology. In fact, it is the method of his torture that gives us one of his epithets: St. James *Interscisus*, or (more quaintly) St. James the Hewn-Asunder, derived from the fact that his martyrology recounts each step of his thorough dismemberment.

What distinguishes the Coptic account in the tradition of St. James is its epilogue. In his *dossier hagiographique* of St. James, P. Devos states that the Bohairic martyrology is a faithful rendering of the Syriac the nearest extant version to the original (*Analecta Bollandiana*, v.71 [1953], pp 157-210). To the Bohairic translation, however, is appended an extensive epilogue, which centers on the translation of the relics from Persia in the hands of Peter the Iberian, a noted miaphysite bishop and monastic founder. As Peter repeatedly fled persecution for his opposition to the Council of Chalcedon, the remains of James travelled with him. Eventually, the body of James came to rest by divine decree as the protector of the town of Paim, the (now unknown) site of his Egyptian shrine.

Certainly, this *translatio* fits the profile of much shrine-related hagiography, bolstering the claims of Paim to have an efficacious shrine. Yet, the Bohairic epilogue has survived both the shrine and the town of Paim. There are also elements of the *vita* and *translatio* that conform to Coptic hagiography in general, but even in light of these, the epilogue of St. James is an outlier. Considering both James' martyrdom and *translatio*, I argue that the hagiography of James serves as a means of identity reinforcement for the Coptic Christians of a divided (Chalcedonian/miaphysite) Egypt. The person of James serves as an apt parallel for Christ in miaphysite rhetoric; he is torn to pieces by Persians (i.e. "Nestorians" and Chalcedonians) and retained only in his integrity by the miaphysites. Indeed, this devotion to the undivided James/Jesus assures the miaphysite community of divine protection. The promise of such divine favor for orthodox (i.e., miaphysite) belief and devotion would continue to recommend adherence to the Coptic Church after Byzantine Chalcedonian control of Egypt was lost to Muslim powers.



## Toward a Cultural History of Shenoute's *Canons*

Daniel Schriever (Yale University)

Shenoute of Atripe, leader of the White Monastery federation in the fourth and fifth centuries, is considered the preeminent Coptic author. Scholarly interest has centered on his *Canons*, a nine-volume collection of epistles addressed to monks and nuns during his long tenure as leader. It is thought that Shenoute initiated this collection himself, an effort that proceeded in stages throughout his lifetime. While a critical edition of Shenoute's corpus is now well underway, the historical processes that produced the *Canons* have been understood only in their barest outlines.

This paper argues that the motives and mechanisms of Shenoute's writerly activity can only be understood in relation to the textual practices of his federation. Shenoute's many references to books, letters, tablets, papyrus-sheets, and so forth allow the presence (and absence) of physical texts to be described in some detail. They also reveal Shenoute's sophisticated efforts to found his community upon the sacred authority of the written word: scripture, the writings of the saints, monastic rules, and cryptic documents that Shenoute referred to as "the papyri written of old."

Shenoute's epistles operated within this complex oral/written interface, and drove its evolution. Whereas some epistles responded to specific crises, others were conceived as prophetic witnesses to be preserved among future generations. Editorial remarks and cross-references within the epistles allow Shenoute's changing understanding of his own writings to be traced. Ideological shifts were accompanied by material transformations: Shenoute describes how at one time he transcribed his epistles from "tablets" to "papyrus-sheets"; at another time, from "papyrus-sheets" to "books." The medieval codices in which the *Canons* presently survive mark yet another stage in this transformation.

Thus, a cultural history of the *Canons* views this collection not as merely as the flowering of a "literary consciousness," as some have posited, but as the cultural and material products of a centuries-long process of transformation. This transformation produced, among other things, an author, a saint, a literary corpus, and an institutional consciousness of "Shenoutean monasticism."

## Whose Great House? Shenoute's Audience at the White Monastery Church

Elizabeth Davidson (Yale University)

The only remnant of the White Monastery in Upper Egypt that still stands is its fifth-century church, which was constructed during lifetime of its most famous leader, Shenoute of Atripe. This church has become inextricably linked with the way we imagine the setting for Shenoute's preaching. Recent studies of ancient preaching—most of which are dedicated to Shenoute's rough contemporaries, John Chrysostom and Augustine—have focused on preacher and audience, and particularly on whether or not that audience extended beyond the highest social strata. Because Shenoute is particularly well known as an advocate of the poor, scholars tend to imagine the White Monastery church as the location where Shenoute delivered his public sermons, and as a place to receive the "crowds" of people that Shenoute describes as flocking to the monastery. I argue, however, that only a limited audience would have been granted access to Shenoute's church. The White Monastery church was not conceived of as a space for the public, but instead was both spatially and conceptually integrated into the monastic community. While today the church seems to stand alone and unencumbered, archaeological evidence indicates that it was actually located within monastery walls, closely crowded by other monastic buildings, and placed only steps away from a possible refectory, as well as areas where work such as manufacturing and cloth dyeing would have taken place. While the church did sometimes receive important visitors, Shenoute conceives of the building in terms of its benefit to his monastic community, without mention of its meaning for outsiders. He describes the church using exclusively ascetic imagery: Monks should view the church as they view the community, and more specifically their own bodies. The church building, then, is merged with Shenoute's thought about his community and its members. Shenoute spoke often about the care of "the people" and of the poor, but that does not mean that he brought them within the walls of his monastery. When we imagine Shenoute preaching in the White Monastery church, we should imagine him preaching in a space that, despite its grandeur, was intended for monks and special guests, not for the general public.

**Sound, Space, and Identity:  
Acoustic Territories at the White Monastery and Beyond**

Kim Haines-Eitzen (Cornell University)

Using three episodes from the Bohairic *Life of Shenoute*—the use of a “sounding-board” to ward off demons, the contest about listening to the voice of ravens, and the chorus of divine and monastic choirs—this paper treats several questions about the intersection of sound, space, and identity at the White Monastery. Most broadly, how does the sonic environment map on to the literature of fourth and fifth-century Egyptian monasticism? More specifically, how does the *Life of Shenoute* imagine the intersection of sound and space? And finally, to what extent does the White Monastery provide a test case for the exploration of sound, space, and identity? In asking such questions, we will compare the *Life of Shenoute* with a paradigmatic text such as Athanasius’ *Life of Anthony*, which employs sound—especially the sounds of demons—in the service of the ascetic project. When we address how sound functions to construct an “acoustic territory” that shapes communal identity, we begin to understand both the sonic vocabulary and landscapes of late ancient Egyptian coenobitic and anchoritic monasticism.

**Curriculum Vitae et Memoriae:  
The *Life of Saint Onophrius* and Local Practices of Monastic Commemoration**

Stephen J. Davis (Yale University)

In his 1935 publication, *Koptische heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden*, Walter Till published two leaves of a codex from the White Monastery containing the Sahidic *Life of Saint Onophrius*. Other fragments from that same codex survive in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Three complete copies—two in Sahidic and one in Bohairic—are preserved (respectively) in the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York) and the British Library (London), and in the Vatican Library. None of these manuscripts have been edited or published, but in 1996 Tim Vivian published an English translation of the Pierpont Morgan text.

The *Life* tells the story of a journey made by a monk named Paphnutius into the “farther desert” of Egypt. His goal was to find and sit at the feet of “the perfect ones,” solitary monks who lived as “servants of Christ Jesus.” The culmination of his journey was his meeting with Onophrius, a naked hermit whose hair (along with well-placed leaves from a plant) covered his body and who wandered the desert “like the wild beasts” and who lived in a hut beside a date palm. At the end of their meeting, Onophrius dies, but not before he commissions Paphnutius to return to the communal monastic life and to “proclaim my name as fragrant incense in the midst of the brethren.” He then gives Paphnutius and other monks a curriculum to follow in cultivating his memory, a curriculum involving a range of situationally endorsed ritualized actions and bodily practices connected with worship. After burying Onophrius, Paphnutius then returns to the monastic community at Scetis and conveys the message.

In this paper, I seek to localize the kinds of commemorative practices envisioned in this life in relation to the two sites where the Yale Monastic Archaeology Project (YMAP) conducts its work: Scetis (Wadi al-Natrun) and the White Monastery. First, I connect the commemorative curriculum presented in the story with a recently discovered wall painting of Saint Onophrius in YMAP excavations at the Monastery of John the Little (ancient Scetis) and explore how hagiographical viewing intersected with other devotional acts such as offerings of incense, almsgiving, recitation of prayers, and communal meals. Second, I discuss the White Monastery codex containing the *Life of Onophrius* and the other textual witnesses as scribal “sites of memory”—as evidence for local practices of hagiographical devotion in Egyptian monastic settings.

## Transformation and Continuity of Seventh Century Urban Life Through the Eyes of Saints

Daniel J. E. Kelly (St. John's University)

Byzantine saints' lives written (or originated) during the seventh century often record, in passing, significant details about the condition of the Byzantine city. During the seventh century the Empire was weakened by the Persian wars (610-629) and then the Arab invasions (636 and onward). At the beginning of the seventh century the Byzantine state bore a strong physical resemblance to the Eastern Roman Empire, but the state that had emerged by end of the century was reduced physically to little more than Asia Minor. Scholars disagree about the condition of the Byzantine state in this period: some such as Vasiliev and Jenkins argue that the Byzantine state broke down during this period, while others such as Norwich and Mango argue that the Byzantine state weathered this storm and emerged more or less unchanged. The third argument voiced by Ward-Perkins and Treadgold argues that although the crises of the seventh century transformed Byzantium there was considerable continuity between the pre- and post-crisis states, and it is this latter position that the evidence from saints' lives supports.

Byzantine saints' lives often concerned those who traveled throughout imperial territory, performing miracles and acts of charity; thus, references to towns and cities are common. The *Life of St. John the Almsgiver* references the patriarch's travels throughout the Empire, noting civic life and the charity organizations that he established; for instance over forty hospitals, each with around 250 beds, specifically for the use of pregnant women, which, even if exaggerated, would indicate an urban population in the hundreds of thousands. The *Life of St. Artemios* demonstrates his travels to far flung provinces such as Sicily and Africa, indicating continuity in communication networks and trade routes, and the nature of the mission – to cure venereal disease – would seem to indicate a large urban populations. St Mary of Alexandria set up homes for reformed prostitutes in Eastern Asia Minor and Syria; and although not definitive, a charitably significant number of prostitutes, like venereal disease, would seem to point to an urban population. Despite the seventh-century crises, the evidence of saints' lives suggest the Byzantine state continued to function and the urban centers of the empire survived, and while the nature of the city may have changed, the institution of the city survived.

## Rhetoric and Orality in the Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos

Daria D. Resh (Brown University)

The *Life* of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos was written in the early tenth century by the Byzantine official Niketas Magistros. Its storyline corresponds closely to the *Life* of St. Mary of Egypt, while its literary form reflects novelistic techniques and is laced with multiple layers of classical allusions. These features of the text inspired studies, in which the *Life* of St. Theoktiste has been read against its famous model and presented as a fictional narrative, made up either to adjust St. Mary's story to the new tastes of Constantinopolitan audiences (H. Delehay, A. Kazhdan), or to promote Niketas' literary ambitions (K. Jazdzewska).

Though very insightful regarding the rhetoric of the text, these readings somewhat neglect both its immediate context and its Byzantine reception. The *Life* of St. Theoktiste, indeed, belongs to the tradition of St. Mary of Egypt. However, this tradition was not confined to the *Life* written by Sophronios, but was continued by variations in the form of beneficial tales and oral accounts. It is this lower register of the tradition, which Niketas evokes, presenting his text as an orally transmitted tale. In this paper, I discuss the faces and masks in which orality, whether authentic or imitated, appears in Niketas' text, investigate its role in the construction of Niketas' narrative, and examine its reception.

In writing his story about Theoktiste, Niketas distinctly evokes oral transmission. He traces it from one narrator to another, scrupulously identifying their authority as story-tellers and reconstructing the proper setting for each narration. What is more intriguing: both Niketas and Symeon, the principle story-tellers, show their awareness that the story of Theoktiste does not meet the conventions of a *written Life*. Niketas treats his references to the text of Sophronios accordingly. While he pretends to follow Sophronios' text as closely as possible, the most critical moments of the original tale are downplayed and the imagery is reversed in such a way that Theoktiste's story sounds more like a beneficial tale or an oral account. This accentuated orality allows Niketas to feign the independence of his story from the *Life* of St. Mary of Egypt, and to support his claim for its authenticity.

Within decades from its composition, the *Life* of St. Theoktiste became part of Metaphrastic Menologion; indeed, Michael Psellos considered this *Life* to be the divinely inspired beginning of Symeon Metaphrastes' endeavor. Just as Metaphrastes, who fixed the fluid body of hagiographic narrations by rewriting them in higher registers of language, Niketas fashioned the *Life* of St. Theoktiste as a rhetorical text. However, instead of obscuring the elements of orality, he made them serve purposes of his narration. Comparing the meeting between orality and rhetoric in Niketas' work with Metaphrastes' approach, as well as the original Niketas' text with its slightly modified version in the Menologion, I address the question of which "metaphrastic" techniques the *Life* of St. Theoktiste anticipated.

**Καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ τῇ Σύρα διαλέκτῳ:  
Syriac Utterances in the Mouth of Characters of the Greek Hagiographical Texts**

Yuliya Minets (Catholic University of America)

This work does not belong to Syriac studies but rather explores an interdisciplinary area between linguistic speculations and the linguistic reality of the past. This study analyses the Greek hagiographical narratives from the 4th to 10th c. with particular attention to the remarks on the use of Syriac by the characters of these texts. The main focus is, first, on those remarks that seem to be abundant and unnecessary because the fact that the characters should speak Syriac is obvious from the context. Second, the references to utterances in Syriac, which are strange and completely unexpected from the context, are also of great interest to us. Both types of remarks on Syriac language use functioned not only as descriptions of a real socio-linguistic situation, but as references that carry a symbolic meaning.

The selection of sources includes but is not limited to *Religious History* by Theodoret of Cyrus, *Life of Porphyry of Gaza* by Mark the Deacon, *Life of Alexander*, different versions of *Life of Daniel the Stylite*, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* by Cyril of Scythopolis, Greek *Life of Ephrem the Syrian*, *Spiritual Meadow* by John Moschus, the Greek versions of Jerome's *Life of Hilarion* (Samos translation and the free translation, Version 2), *Life of Simeon the Holy Fool* by Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of Andrew the Holy Fool* by Nikephoros.

Since language is an instrument that created the special relationship between the speaker/author, the audience, and the message in a multilingual culture, a particular situation is constructed in these texts with the tension between the Greek language of a hagiographical text itself and Syriac of its characters; between the Greek audience of a text and the Syriac audience of a character; between the references to Syriac utterances and the fact that these utterances are rendered in Greek.

Within the hagiographical narratives, "Syriac" served as a blanket term covering various Aramaic dialects. Along with the changes of the historical situation in the 4th - 10th c., the meanings and purposes of such remarks were also changing. Sometimes they could designate "heresies" such as miaphysitism and Nestorianism. In other contexts they revealed intimate relationships between the interlocutors. The linguistic barriers were important to protect one's privacy, particularly, to keep in secret something discovered by God's revelation. The miraculous ability to speak in Syriac was represented as a sign of God's grace that helped to construct the image of a holy man. Unexpected ability to speak in Syriac was also reported as a sign of possession by the demonic powers. When the differences in languages are emphasized, they produced an effect of alienation that built up a mental distance between the events narrated, the text as a medium, and the audience. Therefore, speaking in Syriac functioned as a reference to "other" time and space (especially after the loss of the Syriac provinces), or as a designation of the exotic forms of ascetic devotion (stylite, holy fool). Both the positive or negative implications of Syriac in hagiographical accounts are related to the Jewish and Christian polemics on Syriac as the language of Paradise in which the conversations between God, Adam, Eve, and Serpent were carried out.

**The *Eulalios-Frage* again: the self-portrait of the ζωγράφος  
in Mesarites' *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople***

Beatrice Daskas (PhD, Università degli Studi, Milano)

This paper provides a reconsideration of the question arisen about the painter Eulalios, one of the very few Byzantine painters mentioned in written sources from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards who acquired the mythical *status* of such major artists of antiquity as Pheidias, Polygnotos, Zeuxis and Lysippos (vd. e.g. Thdr. Metoch., *Ἠθικὸς ἢ περὶ παιδείας*, [34].6-7 Polemis 1995). Eulalios' name is recorded with certainty in an epigram by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (Nic. Xant., *Carm.* XIV, p. 46 Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1902; tr. Mango 1972, p. 231), but also in two poems by Theodore Prodromos (Thdr. Prodr., *Carm.*, p. 33 Miller 1883; Thdr. Prodr., *Carm. ad rogat. Imp.*, vv. 43-44, p. 400 Maiuri 1914) as well as in the aforementioned *logos* by Theodoros Metochites.

Another reference to him is likely to come from the early-13<sup>th</sup>-century *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople* by Nikolaos Mesarites. A marginal note to this text appearing on fol 4<sup>r</sup> of the ms. Ambr. Gr. F 96 sup. – the only extant testimony of the *Description*, along with its *pendant*, the ms. Ambr. gr. F 93 sup. – seems to recall his name in connection to the decoration of the church, thus matching the clues found in the later epigram by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (ca. 1256-1335), where Eulalios is mentioned as the artist involved in the making of the mosaic of the *Pantokrator* in the dome of that church. Yet, the passage of the *Description* to which the marginal note is related is rather problematic. Indeed, it looks like hinting at the self-portrait of the painter in the scene of the Holy Women at the Tomb (Mes., *Descr.*, [28], p. 63.18-64.3 Heisenberg 1908): the anachronism in Byzantium of such a Renaissance-like concept of a figure bearing the traits of the artist in a Biblical scene has already been pointed out (Demus 1979). Nevertheless, the traditional interpretation of the passage, dating back to the text's critical edition (Heisenberg 1908), has yet to be changed (Downey 1957; Mango 1972; Kalopissi-Verti 1994).

The paper proposes a new reading of this passage, based on the overall assessment of the *Description. Ekphrasis* as a genre with its own poetics is crucial to the understanding of the implications of the passage. In fact, claiming to be a λόγος γραφικός, i.e. «capable of painting» (Io. Sard., *In Aphth. Prog.*, *RhG* XV, p. 216.8), this very *ekphrasis* allows the author to play with the ambiguity of being a ζωγράφος. Such an ambiguity is mirrored in the passage in question, where τὸν ταῦτα ζωγραφήσαντα, «the one who painted those things» does refer to Mesarites himself.



## Icons and Demons on f. 332v in the Paris Gregory (Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 510)

Andrew Griebeler (University of California, Berkeley)

On f. 332v of the famous ninth-century Paris Gregory (Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 510, ca. 879-882) is a depiction of the life of St Cyprian of Antioch that prefaces Gregory of Nazianzus' oration on the saint. Cyprian appears as a magician prior to his conversion. He attempts to cast a love spell on the chaste Christian St Justina. Cyprian uses figurines in a basin of water to summon demons in an attempt to effect a sympathetic relation between the figurines and the saint. Having only just arrived at Justina's doorstep, Cyprian's demon turns to flee in horror from a large image or vision of Christ hovering above Justina. The image of Christ appears to emit strange black rays that repel the demon. The illustration adds details not found in the homily, such as the maiden's name, Justina. Researchers have noted that the miniature even seems to contradict the text by depicting Justina praying to Christ and not the Virgin, as reported in the homily. Why has this vision of Christ with its strange black rays replaced the Virgin as the source for Justina's salvation? How might we understand the apparent contradiction between text and image?

This paper first argues that answers to these questions can be found in Cyprian's fourth-century *Confessions* and in fragments of Eudocia Augusta's fifth-century epic poem on the saint. One passage preserved in both texts describes how Cyprian rejects his occult pursuits after he scolds his demons for fleeing from Christ's shadow. I argue that this passage can be identified as a possible source for the scene's unusual iconography. The black rays around Christ's image would seem then to indicate his shadow. The decision to depict Christ instead of the Virgin is also explained by this textual passage, as it centers on Christ and not on the Virgin. Yet the insertion of this reference to these extrahomiletic fourth- and fifth-century texts into the new textual and visual context of the Paris Gregory raises new questions about how those texts were understood in the ninth century.

The paper then considers how the confrontation between Justina's immaterial vision of Christ and Cyprian's manipulation of demons through plastic sculpture highlights differences between these two forms of image making. The miniature opposes Cyprian's use of figurines, which is informed by conceptions of cosmic sympathy and demonic cosmology, to Justina's vision of Christ, which is based on iconophile image theories that developed in response to the first and second Iconoclasm (ca 726-787 and 815-843). The confrontation of these image-making cultures reveals the extent to which the divine economy of Christian images – as direct and authoritative imprints of divine formal appearances – was related to and structurally analogous to demonic cosmologies based on shifting, unstable phantasms and on the imprinting of demonic energies in matter. The paper helps to clarify how ninth-century Byzantines could understand and reconcile belief in the efficacy and authority of both Christian and demonic images, including occult objects such as talismans, pagan idols, and sympathetic effigies.

## Reconsidering the Epigrams of Vatican reg. gr. 1

Nicole Paxton Sullo (Yale University)

Sometime just after 940 AD, Leo Sakellarios donated a two volume Bible to the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. Nicholas, founded by his brother Constantine and presided over by the Abbot Makar. The first and only surviving tome of the double codex, Vatican reg. gr. 1, contains twenty-five Old Testament books from Genesis through Psalms with the biblical Odes. Epigrammatic frames enclose full-page illuminations on fifteen extant folios including two dedicatory images and thirteen frontispiece illuminations. These short, iambic texts were created to be read along with the miniatures that they border. Scholarship has focused on questions of chronology, style, and the place of this manuscript in the “Macedonian Renaissance.” Not until Thomas Mathews’ 1977 translation and essay on the epigrams’ exegetical significance was the poetry considered in relation to the images. Recently, Cyril Mango has published a new transcription and translation of the epigrammatic frames. Several of his conclusions diverge from Mathews’ and thus necessitate a reevaluation of how these epigrams relate to the illuminations they contain. Moreover, the abundance of new scholarship on epigrams and art objects, led by Wolfram Hörandner and Mark Lauxtermann, demands that the frontispieces in this manuscript be reassessed in the larger context of word/image relationships in Byzantium. This paper explores complexities between frame and framed in Vatican reg. gr. 1; I seek to move beyond the notion of text as signifier and image as signified in order to reveal how the codex “entraps” the viewer in a web of visual and linguistic connections.

I consider Vatican reg. gr. 1 in Gellian terms as an art object of reflexive causation and agency – this codex not only is read, but activates reading. First, I analyze the physical juxtapositions between text and image created by the purposeful placement of words within the frame. In the dedicatory image representing Constantine and Makar in *proskynesis* to St. Nicholas, word placement responds to and completes the composition. The epigram does not mention the figures by name, but refers to each through word play – homonyms take on different meanings within the lines of the epigram. These words are placed in a chiasmic position to the two individuals and cement the visual relationship between text and image. Second, I examine tendencies within the language of the epigrams, such as voice and reference to the painter of the miniatures. Sudden changes in voice engage the reader of the manuscript. Though the epigrams are mostly in the third person, the poet allows for the first person – the reader’s voice – to break through. Leo himself “speaks” in the final lines of the dedicatory epigram and, in the frontispiece to the Psalms and Odes, the epigram strikingly shifts to the first person plural. The relationship between text and image in Vatican reg. gr. 1 is not simply exegetical, symbolic, or descriptive. Rather, this paper argues that the epigrammatic frames and illuminations enact each other’s meaning and affirm the significance of the page in the mind of the viewer.

## **A Dispute in Dispute: A Reconsideration of the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* Attributed to Maximus the Confessor**

Ryan W. Strickler (University of Kentucky)

The *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* purports to be a transcript of the 645 debate that took place in North Africa. The text initially addresses Monotheletism, the theology of the Constantinopolitan church that held that the Christ had a single will, then Monoenergism, which held that Christ possessed a single operation and which had in the 620's and 630's been the official position of the Constantinopolitan church, but which by 645 had been rejected and replaced by Monotheletism. Pyrrhus, the exiled, former Patriarch of Constantinople, represents the Monothelete and Monoenergist positions and Maximus the Confessor opposes them. Throughout the dialogue, Maximus repeatedly and overwhelmingly demonstrates the correctness of his position, eventually forcing Pyrrhus to renounce his position and to travel to Rome to receive absolution from the Pope

Until the work of Jacques Noret (Noret, 1999), scholars attributed the document either to Maximus or to a scribe and accepted the date given by the text, July 645, as authentic. Although Noret convincingly argued for a later date, he did not make any definitive claims and left the question of authorship open. Moreover although Noret has been largely accepted in French scholarship, no further investigation of the date and authorship has followed, while English-language scholarship has largely ignored Noret and generally continues to accept the document's authenticity.

However, the literary construction of the text as a disputation, a genre long used as a didactic and polemical tool, gives cause for scholars to approach the text with some skepticism. Its generic character is further reinforced both by Pyrrhus's obviously straw-man responses and Maximus's surprisingly systematic exposition, not to mention the utter discomfiture of Pyrrhus and his clichéd admission of error. But even more, the dialogue contains significant anachronisms; Pyrrhus's defense of Monoenergism, for example, is suspicious since a synod under his presidency in 639 threatened deposition for clerics who discussed the number of energies of Christ.

This paper situates the *Disputatio* in the context of the widespread use of forgeries in polemic; a phenomenon referred to by Patrick Gray as the use of forgery as an instrument of progress (Gray, 1988). While Gray's study focused on sixth century theological polemic his theory is equally applicable to the controversies of the seventh century, and I suggest that the *Disputatio* is best understood an example of this practice. Thus this paper applies the tools of *quellenkritik* to the *Disputatio*, examining the way in which Pyrrhus and his predecessor Sergius are constructed, the anachronisms found in the text, and the continuity of the *Disputatio* with the style and vocabulary of Maximus the Confessor. Comparing this evidence with texts written later in the seventh century, this paper offers an alternative explanation for the document's date and authorship.

## **Making a Manuscript, Making a Cult: Scribal Production of the *Syriac Life of Symeon the Stylite***

Dina Boero (University of Southern California)

Three manuscripts of the *Syriac Life of Symeon the Stylite the Elder* survive from late antiquity. Vatican, syr. 160, ff. 1-80 (V) dates to 473 CE; London, British Library, Additional 14484, ff. 48-133 (B1) and the previously unstudied London, British Library, Additional 14484, ff. 134-151 (B2) date to the sixth century. At least two of the three manuscripts were likely produced at or in association with monasteries in Telneshe, Syria, the location of Symeon's cult site. Although these manuscripts are closely related to one another in terms of date and place of production, they present diverging accounts of events, narrative arrangements, and descriptions of the saint. Previous scholars (Lietzmann, Lent, Peeters, Vööbus, and Doran) sought to establish which manuscript transmits a version closest to the original, focusing almost exclusively on V and B1. This presentation shifts the focus away from finding "the original text" of the *Syriac Life of Symeon* and instead reads these three manuscripts as, in Sean Gurd's words, "the traces of an adventure of creation."

This presentation studies the *Syriac Life of Symeon* not as a stable and established text, but rather as the result of an extended process of textual transmission, in which scribes produced manuscripts for and within specific communal contexts and revised the contents of texts in conjunction with cult practices related to Symeon. Recent research by New Testament textual critics has emphasized that certain texts develop rapidly and with such variation that they did not, either for modern scholars or for most of their ancient readers, exist in a single, original form. Rather, individual manuscripts represent stages within a text's growth and production. David Parker proposed that the gospels were living texts, with each manuscript testifying to specific interpretations and attitudes to the Jesus-movements of the second and third centuries. Bart Ehrman and Kim Haines-Eitzen explored how, by altering the text on the page, scribes both transformed the gospels which they transmitted and consequently exerted power over future individuals and communities who read them. This presentation builds upon these perspectives to illuminate the discursive processes that made up the formation of a hagiographic tradition. It analyzes these manuscripts and their textual variations as the result of the intellectual and creative interventions of scribes who were actively engaged in cultic devotion to Symeon. It identifies these scribes' aims and intended audiences and singles out differences between representations of Symeon's sanctity in order to situate the function of these scribal acts as both products and producers of cult practice. These three, very early manuscripts offer a concrete example of a text which circulated in drastically different versions already within the hundred years following its creation. Consequently, they have much to tell us about the pragmatics of crafting a saint's life and offer a rare opportunity to explore the development of a hagiographic tradition in dialogue with community life and lived devotion to a saint.

## **The Macarian Corpus in Syriac: Isaac of Nineveh's Dependence on Pseudo-Macarius**

Jason Scully (Seton Hall University)

Since Assemani first noted Isaac's use of Macarian quotations in the early eighteenth-century, scholars who study Isaac of Nineveh have understood Isaac's dependence on Pseudo-Macarius as a given. However, very little textual proof has been offered to support Assemani's now three-hundred year old claim.

Only two recent studies attempt to find direct textual evidence of Isaac's dependence on Pseudo-Macarius but, unfortunately, they both suffer from the same methodological flaw. Both Brock and Bettiolo compare Isaac and Pseudo-Macarius using the Greek version of the Macarian corpus instead of the Syriac version. Since the Syriac Macarian corpus is not a straightforward translation from the Greek, but rather a selective summary and loose paraphrase, any textual evidence linking Pseudo-Macarius and Isaac must come from the only Macarian text to which Isaac would have had access, namely the Syriac version.

This paper clarifies the relationship between Isaac and Pseudo-Macarius through a linguistic comparison of the Syriac Macarian corpus and Isaac of Nineveh's *Ascetical Homilies*. In particular, this paper demonstrates that Isaac borrowed and reworked three Pseudo-Macarian themes: the privileged role of insatiable erotic love for God, freedom from material distractions as the harbor full of rest, asceticism as cultivation of the heart.

First, this paper shows that Isaac used Pseudo-Macarian language to emphasize the importance of erotic love for God. According to Pseudo-Macarius, the monk who has not fully renounced the world has formed a misguided erotic love for worldly pursuits, like money and power. By contrast, a monk should have an insatiable erotic love for God in the same way that a person who is unable to consume water has an insatiable thirst. Isaac, like Pseudo-Macarius, observes that a monk remains interested in spiritual pursuits so long as his erotic love for God is insatiable. In addition, Isaac's use of the thirst metaphor demonstrates that his discussion of erotic love is based on language from the Macarian corpus.

Second, Pseudo-Macarius describes heaven as the "harbor full of rest" that a monk obtains through abstaining from the distractions of the material world. Throughout the *Ascetical Homilies*, Isaac refers to the stillness that a monk achieves from renouncing the distractions of the material world as the "harbor full of rest of which our Fathers speak in their writings." This tacit homage to Pseudo-Macarius shows that Isaac conceptualizes stillness in terms of the Pseudo-Macarian vision of heaven.

Finally, Pseudo-Macarius frequently uses the example of a farmer who plants seeds in the earth and "cultivates" the earth so that his seeds will bear fruit as a metaphor for the way that God plants the seeds of grace in the heart and then cultivates the heart by helping monks renounce the "thorns" of the material world. This metaphor serves as a precedent for Isaac's unusual interpretation of the curse in Gen 3.19, which he understands not as a punishment for sin, but as a universal command to engage in ascetical "cultivation" from the beginning of creation.

## Gregory of Nazianzus and Platonic Preludes

Byron MacDougall (Brown University)

Modern students of Plato read with keen interest the opening scenes of Platonic dialogues. Far from merely providing atmosphere, these seemingly harmless exchanges often presage the great philosophical themes of the ensuing dialogue (Miles Burnyeat, "First Words", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society* 43 [1997]). Often it is only after finishing the rest of the dialogue that we are able to return to the prelude and decipher its significance.

Early Byzantine students of Plato were no less interested in these "προοίμια", as Proclus calls them. His commentary on the *Parmenides* includes a discussion (658.34-659.23) of how these opening scenes function, and Olympiodorus' commentary (more probably lecture notes) on the *Gorgias* shows us that similar reading strategies were taught even in courses devoted to dialogues appearing much earlier in the Neoplatonic "curriculum".

During his years as a student, Gregory of Nazianzus seems to have absorbed these lessons well. While the influence of Platonism on the thought of the Church Fathers and on Gregory in particular has received no lack of scholarly attention (cf. especially C. Moreschini's "Il Platonismo cristiano de Gregorio Nazianzeno", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* IV.4 [1974] 1347-1392), the contact between Plato and Gregory as literary artists deserves closer study. In this paper I examine two of Gregory's orations and show how he makes Plato's "preludes" his own. In the introductory sections of both *Or. 2* ("In Defense of his Flight") and *Or. 38* ("On Theophany"), Gregory alludes to the opening scenes of the *Gorgias* and the *Timaeus*, respectively. These allusions work in two "directions": Gregory picks up on precisely those key phrases (the "first words", as Burnyeat calls them) in the Platonic preludes that announce the theme of the dialogue, and he in turn uses them to foreshadow, just as Plato had done, the message of his own oration. In the introductory section of *Or. 2* Gregory hints at what will become his oration's great theme: how a fully-realized, Christian rhetoric functions as a medicine for the soul. He does this by echoing a programmatic phrase from the opening scene of the *Gorgias* that itself anticipated the therapeutic power of the "true" rhetoric that Socrates searches for over the course of the dialogue. Similarly, at the beginning of *Or. 38*, Gregory announces his theme by invoking the opening of the *Timaeus*: his oration on the Nativity will set forth a Christian cosmogony (highly Platonizing of course) to answer that described in the *Timaeus* by its title character.

Studying Gregory's "preludes" in this way leads to several insights into the larger question of how Gregory experienced classical Greek culture. At a basic level, it provides a glimpse at the sort of philosophy classroom that Gregory attended during his years in Athens, where he would have learned to read Plato's "προοίμια". Finally, it leads us to ask whether Gregory envisioned these and other orations of his as Christian responses to the great texts of the Platonic curriculum.

## **The *Anthologia Marciana* and MS Marcianus Graecus 524**

Foteini Spingou (University of Oxford)

MS Marcianus Graecus 524 is one of a famous manuscript including prose and verse works from the middle Byzantine period. It is the major source for the speeches of Arethas of Caesaria, one of the best manuscripts for the *Geoponica*, a source for some of Michael Psellos' works, and, most importantly, it includes a vast anthology of mainly Komnenian poetry. This paper (a) examines how the manuscript was composed, (b) it explains how the poetry was compiled and for what reason, and (c) it presents the editorial principles for my forthcoming edition (incl. translation and commentary) of the anonymous poetry from this manuscript.

The manuscript dates from the end of the thirteenth century. It was probably copied in Constantinople. Previous scholarship has suggested that seven (to nine) different scribes worked on the manuscript. However, a new examination of the hands reveals that one is the main scribe of the manuscript who copied up to 83.9% of the book for his person use. This anonymous scribe copied the different sections at different moments of his life. Following the presentation of the composition of the manuscript, possible connections with the Planudian school and the Prodromos Petra monastery are examined.

Before placing the manuscript into its cultural context, the poetic anthology, which is included in this manuscript, is presented. The quires with the poetry are misplaced. The re-arrangement of the quires reveals that the scribe copied single-author collections of poetry (that of Nicholas Kallikles and Theodore Balsamon), long poems (e.g. the *Hodoiporikon* of Constantine Manasses, and the *Gatomyomachia* of Theodore Prodromos) and compiled three collections of anonymous court poetry dating from between 1050 and 1200 (Syllogae A, B, C). The long poems, the single-author collections and the three Syllogae form the *Anthologia Marciana*. Subsequently, the anthology is placed in the cultural context of the late thirteenth century, which is characterised by the compilation of collections and anthologies. I argue that the author compiled the *Anthologia Marciana* in order to (a) collect examples for his own poetry, and (b) to preserve what was left from his ancestors.

In the last part of this paper, the principles for editing the anonymous poetry included in the three Syllogae are presented. Then, a presentation of what one should expect to find in my forthcoming book and why I have chosen to edit only Syllogae A, B and C. Finally, some of the peculiarities of these three Syllogae are discussed.

This paper offers an original interpretation of important but still unpublished material. It is a ground-breaking analysis of one of the most important manuscripts for court poetry from the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.

## **You'll Never Work in This Byzantine Business Again: Expulsion from Guilds in the *Book of the Eparch***

Craig H. Caldwell III (Appalachian State University)

The role of the guilds in the Byzantine economy remains controversial. The state of the question lies between the positions of two Georges: George Ostrogorky's venerable conclusion that the state micromanaged the economy by means of restrictive guild practices, and George Maniatis' more recent contention that the guild regulations actually protected the free market in Byzantium. Regardless of their conclusions about the Constantinopolitan economy, historical analyses of the guilds have emphasized the relationships among categories of business personnel, manufacturing processes, and commercial products; reconstructions of systematic function have overshadowed the study of guild dysfunction. But close attention to guild members' offenses and prescribed penalties can provide an alternative typology of what the government valued and distrusted within the guilds.

Through its compilation of imperial decrees concerning economic activity, the tenth-century *Book of the Eparch* provides a wealth of detail on the guild system. By examining the regulations pertaining to silk merchants, for example, we can group illegal behaviors by the punishment imposed: defrauding a silk buyer or hiring a rival merchant's workers was a minor infraction that resulted in forfeiture of profits or pay, whereas a merchant trading away from his designated place of business in the city or buying silk outside the city earned expulsion from the guild. Transgressions against the assigned territory (physical or occupational) of the guild were in fact the only offenses that could result in loss of membership in the silk merchants' guild. Engaging in prohibited transactions with Jews was a lesser crime, which confirms the importance of location in deciding the severity of the offense. Even though the Byzantine government suspected the Jews of trading silk beyond Constantinople, the law punished their Christian partners in crime less severely than fellow guild members who acted as roving silk buyers because the sale to the Jew had occurred within the city. The relative scarcity of career-ending offenses is conspicuous, and the rules pertaining to the bankers' guild confirm this impression: only passing counterfeit coins merited banishment from the city and the ranks of the guild.

No other history of Byzantine guilds has systematically considered the "crime and punishment" aspect of their regulation. Instead of considering the guilds as barriers to entry into their trades, this paper examines the state's conceptions of the guilds through the ranges of unacceptable behavior within them. Identifying and interpreting commercial offenses in imperial law offers a new perspective on what the state expected and suspected within certain sectors of the Constantinopolitan economy.



## Population density and social stratification in fifth-century Constantinople

Benjamin Anderson (Cornell University)

The fifth-century *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* provide a quantity of houses (*domus*) for each of the fourteen regions of Constantinople. While the meaning of *domus* in this text is unclear, if the figures are trustworthy then they should provide an indication of the relative population densities of the regions of the late antique city. I follow Glenn Storey's studies of the Roman regionaries (e.g. *AJA* 2003) in using regression analysis to establish the internal consistency of the *Notitia's* figures. I then use a modified version of Albrecht Berger's proposed boundaries for the regions of Constantinople (*IstMitt* 1997) to calculate relative population densities of the regions (domus / hectare). Regions XIII (Sykai) and XIV (Blachernai) are omitted from consideration due to the difficulty of establishing their physical extent. The resulting map reveals a clear pattern. The regions on the Sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus (I-III, VIII-IX, XII) exhibit low population density (< 5 domus / hectare) in comparison to the regions on the Golden Horn (IV-VII, X) (> 5 domus / hectare), and in particular the high density regions VI and VII (> 10 domus / hectare).

To what degree do variations in population density reflect social geography? Were lower-density regions associated with elite residences and higher-density regions with non-elite residences? Certainly the regions cannot be assumed to map directly onto social stratification, and it would be surprising if any single region were socially homogeneous. However, the text of the *Notitia* includes at least one assertion directly relating to social geography (*prima regio ... regiis nobiliumque domiciliis clara*), and various passing references to the high-density neighborhoods along the Golden Horn in late antique texts suggest that they were primarily associated with non-elite residents. Now that the monumental map of late antique Constantinople is well understood, we may ask if it is possible to produce a similarly convincing social map, and furthermore how monumental and social topographies interacted with each other.

## **Pilgrims' Progress: travel through an incremental landscape in the Late Antique Near East**

**Marlena Whiting, Oxford University**

The boom in pilgrim traffic after the 4<sup>th</sup> century provided significant motivation for private individuals to take to the road, in addition to mercantile, government and military concerns that had earlier been the primary motivators. How did these travellers, often from the West and with no experience of the Holy Land, navigate in unfamiliar terrain? What systems were in place to facilitate movement? How did the people who actually used the roads envision distance and space?

A close reading of the pilgrim accounts demonstrates that travellers in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages conceived of the distances in manageable increments, often determined by the time it took to traverse the distance, rather than the specific measurement. This is evident in the way that shorter distances are given in miles – derived from visible milestones – while longer distances are given in days of travel. Archaeology corroborates the importance of manageable increments, as amenities such as inns, monasteries, and sources of water are often found within easy distances of each other.

This interpretation is based on the principle of hodology, whereby the Roman *imperium* was viewed by its administrators and inhabitants as a series of intersecting roads, and progression through the landscape was linear, without concern for geographic relationships. A hodological view of the world obviates the need for accurate maps, or even detailed knowledge of the landscape.

While the hodological principle is largely accepted for the Roman period, its applicability to Late Antiquity has gone unexamined. I shall attempt to show that the hodological view of space persisted into the early medieval period, and was even incorporated into how pilgrimage was performed through the introduction of stations and rituals to be performed at regular intervals.

## **Cyriac of Ancona's perception of Hellenic Discontinuity and Continuity Within Byzantine Society As Depicted in His Fourteenth Century Travel Records and Letters**

Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou

The addition of a new edition and translation of Cyriac of Ancona's later travels by Edward W. Bodnar to his earlier contributions has made a wealth of observations by this western observer of fourteenth century Byzantium more accessible than ever before. Generally regarded as the "father of classical archaeology," Cyriac was keenly aware of, interested in exploring, and preserving the physical remains of the ancient Greek and Roman worlds. He was a merchant as well as a scholar and diplomat with many years of practical experience in the Byzantine East. Over an extended period, (circa 1427-1448), Cyriac developed a network of personal and professional acquaintances among Byzantine and Western notables that enabled him to travel between the patchwork of imperial territories, the colonial possessions of western principalities, various semi-independent fiefdoms and even the territories of the constantly expanding Ottoman empire. His travels took him to wherever his business and antiquarian interests dictated, which were added to after 1444 when his connection to the Papacy also involved him in espionage and diplomacy as part of an effort to organize a new anti-Ottoman Crusade. No other figure from this period has left us an account of such widespread travels and contemporary observations. Although, most of what Cyriac recounts in his letters and journals concerns the remains of antiquity, he also sometimes comments upon his contemporaries, the mundane details of this travelling conditions and how persons from all walks of life interacted with and viewed ancient monuments, artifacts and traditions.

This paper will examine the terminology and content in Cyriac's travel materials for information concerning the people he called Greeks that he interacted with during his travels and their perceptions of ancient Greek monuments and culture. It will be argued that according to Cyriac, a geographic area he regarded as "Greece" existed in his day, that he strongly identified persons he encountered who spoke Greek and practiced what he considered the Greek religion as Greeks, and that he thought that these people were connected to the ancients and their monuments. Textual evidence will also be cited to show that Cyriac also differentiated between learned Greeks who understood and valued ancient Hellenism and the perceptions of common Greek people who had forgotten their history and created myths and toponyms associated with the monuments they found around them. Finally, I will comment upon the fact that Cyriac also looked for survivals of ancient religious beliefs that he thought were still operative during his travels and what he tells us about his beliefs concerning them.

## **Early Greek Liturgical Manuscripts as a Source for Byzantine Migratory Movements: The Case of an Egyptian Hellenic Immigration to Sicily and Southern Italy**

**Gabriel Radle (Yale University)**

The ninth-century Persian historian Al-Balādhurī tells us that when Alexandria fell to the Arabs in 642, “some of the Greek inhabitants left to join the Greeks somewhere else.” This “somewhere else” is not specified.

In 1936, Lynn Townsend White proposed that at least some of these Hellenic Egyptians fled west, a claim subsequently challenged by Peter Charanis for lack of evidence. Later liturgical studies by a variety of scholars have identified a large number of Middle Eastern prayers in the earliest Italo-Greek manuscripts, which supported the idea that Melkite Christians fled west to Italy, bringing their liturgical practices with them. While byzantinists have now come to accept the idea that there existed a migration of Middle Eastern Christians to Southern Italy and Sicily in the period during and following the Persian and Arab invasions of the Middle East, the exact provenance of these hellenophones largely remains a mystery.

This paper makes the argument that one noteworthy migration pattern can be traced from Egypt to Southern Italy. This is demonstrated by analyzing some of the important Melkite liturgical data contained in the oldest Italo-Greek euchologies, beginning with *Vatican, BAV Barberini Gr. 336* (eighth century). Particular insight can be gleaned from examining the local Siculo-Calabrian traditions of marriage, together with some Egyptian eucharistic practices that were present in Southern Italy. The Italo-Greek rite of marriage and the Italo-Greek recension of the Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom both contain an elevated number of prayers that can be traced in Egyptian Greek manuscripts. In fact, through a comprehensive presentation of the Italo-Greek euchology data through until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, this paper will show how some Alexandrian liturgical customs survived in Southern Italy long after they had ceased to be practiced within Egypt itself.

Egyptian Greeks certainly did not comprise the only immigrants to Southern Italy. At the same time, the liturgical evidence overwhelmingly shows that many specific features of the Alexandrian religious tradition travelled to Southern Italy where they were conserved for posterity. As such, this paper lends more solid textual support to Lynn White’s hypothetical interpretation of Al-Balādhurī. It also introduces new methodological considerations for the use of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts as a source for political history.

## Discussion Panel on Alex Nagel's *Medieval Modern*

Glenn Peers (University of Texas at Austin)

In past Byzantine Studies Conferences, panels addressing a noteworthy, recently published book have been very successful, in adding a dimension to the usual framework of the conference, in providing an introduction to and increasing interest in an important work, and in opening conversations across disciplines and, literally, the ocean. A session I co-organized at the 2006 BSC on the work of Marie-José Mondzain, who also participated, worked very well on all these counts. I am proposing a session for the 2013 BSC with a similar format, perhaps with the attendance of the author, on *Medieval Modern: Art Out of Time* (Thames&Hudson, December 2012).

This book falls outside of areas Byzantinists normally patrol, nonetheless it deserves special consideration at our meeting because it presents a highly original argument about common, deep structures—or simply common frameworks of making and understanding—in modern and medieval art and architecture. Through wide-ranging and careful analysis of those structures, Nagel illuminates neglected and essential features of modernist projects. Comparing Robert Smithson's work with the Jerusalem Chapel at Sta Croce in Rome and Duchamp's ready-mades with medieval reliquaries are but two examples of this imaginative and self-professedly anachronistic approach. Nagel is clear on the deep structures shared by these examples and others, and he attaches particular importance to installation and interactivity, indexicality, replication and the multiple, conceptualism, and non-unitary assemblages. Within these concerns, Nagel is able to reveal not only essential underpinnings to modernism, but also to articulate frameworks within which medieval art operated, but that were perhaps not readily apparent to us before this book. These frameworks are worth considering by Byzantinists for new insights into our own work. Nagel's discussions of Byzantine mosaic, iconoclasm, and divine resemblance and replication in the Mandyion are necessary for many Byzantinists to know about, in our opinion. They deserve to be carefully considered by those with most at stake in the questions. Proposing other ways in which this framework can be applied more extensively is another aspect of this proposal, as we intend to present not only evaluations of Nagel's arguments, but also to test his model against other monuments, works and theories in the Byzantine period. Furthermore, Nagel's concern with the museum as a participant in the 'medieval modern' makes our common interest in display and collection another key element in our analysis of this book.

*Medieval Modern* is risky and provocative, and my colleagues and I are certain that presenting and discussing the book's arguments will be a productive and stimulating addition to our meetings. I've asked three Byzantine art historians with extensive knowledge of theory and art, Charles Barber (University of Notre Dame), Anthony Cutler (Pennsylvania State University) and Rico Franses (American

University of Beirut), to take part, as well as a modernist colleague with strong credentials in Byzantine material and concerns, Caitlin Haskill (San Francisco Museum of Art). This panel has been granted funding through the sponsorship of the ICMA.

## **The Dedication of Monastic Churches and the Exercise of Authority in Late Ancient and Early Byzantine Egypt**

Mary Farag (Yale University)

This paper surveys the sources for the dedication of monastic churches in Egypt during the Byzantine period. These sources include dedicatory inscriptions, visual representations of patronage, discourses (including pseudepigraphic ones) delivered on the occasion of the dedication rite or narrated retrospectively concerning the occasion, and prayers of consecration. The paper then examines two ways in which the evidence sheds light on the exercise of monastic authority. First, comparison of the data on monastic basilicas, especially the White Monastery Church, with that of metropolitan/cathedral basilicas suggests that abbots like Shenoute rivaled episcopal authority by constructing a markedly urban structure within the walls of a monastery. Second, study of the motif of heavenly participation in dedication rites sheds light on discourses of legitimization and sacralization of space. Descriptions of heavenly visions and divine consecration in narrations of dedication rites constitute one way in which the sanctity of monastic churches was narratively constructed and the legitimacy of monastic churches as sacred space confirmed.

## Lineage and Layered Identities in the White Monastery Federation, Upper Egypt

Elizabeth S. Bolman (Temple University)

Narratives of early Byzantine asceticism often use lineage to help shape and maintain individual and communal identities. Monks celebrated and amplified the importance of earlier ascetics with whom they created a genealogical relationship, making a network of important fathers and forefathers that connected the past to the present. They constructed elaborate identities for these special monks through close association with temporally distant figures, such as Old Testament patriarchs and prophets, claiming them as part of their monastic family tree. In Upper Egypt, the White Monastery Federation modeled its principal organizational system on traditional familial relationships, for example with “parents” in charge of group of monks living in houses. They also explicitly claimed Abraham, the prophets and the apostles as “venerable fathers.” About three generations after the founding of this monastic association, the monks of the Red Monastery, who belonged to the Federation, visually asserted their ancestral lineage in a painted program of circa the sixth century. With it, they both crafted and localized authority. Men controlled all of the generative power in this ancestral tree. In these paintings, an Old Testament prophet has a monastic title, a disciple of Christ dresses as a monk, and monastic leaders are shown as spiritual descendants of both. The notion that monks are successors to the martyrs, taking up the burden of suffering in imitation of Christ, is also conveyed through visual juxtapositions.

The powerful and brave forefathers of this genealogical line are isolated in niches, or stand in front of piers. They do not form an active part of discrete, self-contained narrative images. Instead, they presuppose a well-informed viewer, who generates non-linear tales of ancestry in which he himself is the living representative. Parallels for a similar creative, associative process exist in the liturgy, as well, for example the *hermeniai*, in which songs were created using verses from the Psalms that include the same or similar words. Both textual and visual networks are open ended, with the potential for infinite storytelling. The people commissioning the images and looking at them benefitted quite directly from these visual narratives, because they had made themselves heirs of this distinguished tradition.



**Left Behind:  
A Recent Discovery of Manuscript Fragments in the White Monastery Church**

Yale Monastic Archaeology Project

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In this collaboratively-authored paper, a team from the Yale Monastic Archaeology Project (YMAP) reports on a discovery of manuscript fragments made in the so-called “Candle Room” of the White Monastery church in December 2011. These fragments have been photographed and studied in 2012 and 2013, and this is the first public report on our findings.

The paper consists of five parts. First, we provide historical context regarding the history of the White Monastery “library” and its significance for scholarship, including the piecemeal dispersal of its contents to European collections in previous centuries. Second, we describe the archaeological context, including the architecture of the “Candle Room,” our methods of excavation, cataloguing, and photographic documentation. Third, we report on the data discovered, including the number of fragments, the materials used, the languages and scripts represented, patterns of ornamentation, and text types. Fourth, we present selected case studies of individual fragments, including at least one identified match with the Shenoutean corpus, which we will discuss in relation to its codicological history. Fifth and finally, we reflect on the implications of this discovery for our knowledge of the textual and architectural history of the site and suggest possible avenues for future research.

## Byzantinizing Reliquaries in Dalmatia

Ana Munk (University of Zagreb)

Most prominent among the rich holdings of the Treasury of the Cathedral at Dubrovnik are the head and arm reliquaries of the city's patron saint, St. Blaise, the fourth-century Armenian bishop who, according to tradition, became its patron in the tenth century after rescuing the city by appearing in a dream to a priest to warn of an imminent Venetian attack. Both objects have enamels dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries and usually described as Byzantine. The enamel and silver head or skull reliquary is a Byzantine crown set with 24 enamels, and the silver-gilt arm reliquary retains nine enamels of its original eighteen, many depicting patron saints of Dubrovnik. This paper explores the possibility that rather than Byzantine, the enamels are Byzantinizing and connects these reliquaries to others now in Zadar. For the most part ignored by the ever-growing literature on Byzantine reliquaries, some were included in the recent exhibition "*Et ils s'émerveillèrent*" – *L'art médiévale en Croatie* at the Musée Cluny in Paris. Yet the question of their place in Byzantine and Byzantinizing art remains to be reconsidered. Indeed, the larger context of the objects is the role of Dalmatian cities, especially Zadar and Dubrovnik, as crossroads within the Byzantine Empire, Dubrovnik's trade and cultural relations with Apulia, and its ties to the Church of Rome in the eleventh century when Dubrovnik established its bishopric.

## **Kahn, Mellon, Coppo, and Fibonacci: Proportion as Evidence**

Rebecca W. Corrie (Bates College)

In the 1970s John White and Joel Brink identified geometric systems usually called Roriczer progressions in the construction of Italian *duecento* and *trecento* images, and shortly after, following on Erwin Panofsky's earlier essay, Paul Hetherington, June and David Winfield, Hjalmar Torp, and recently Vladimir Mako, addressed Byzantine systems of proportion. As a number of us have struggled to understand the relationship between Byzantine and Italian art in the era of the Crusades, a sub-text of our discussions has been the question of what constitutes evidence of exchange or appropriation as we combine information on pigments and wood with more subjective questions of style. And thus it may be time to consider the role of mathematics and measurement in the relationship between images produced in Italy and in the Latin and Greek East, an issue I addressed only in passing in my 1970 Master's thesis on Coppo di Marcovaldo.

I return here to tackle some stubborn problems: Coppo's style and iconography and those of the National Gallery's Kahn and Mellon Madonnas and of related Italian, Crusader, and Byzantine images. This time I have enlisted the help of a colleague, an internationally known graphic designer and historian of design. In this paper I introduce our analysis of images where we sought the complex systems uncovered by White and Brink, as well as those they excluded, including the golden section and the mathematical systems of *duecento* legend Fibonacci, Leonardo of Pisa. White and Brink assumed that the knowledge needed to carry out the multiplication, division, fractions, and square roots of the golden section would have been beyond artists trained in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But Diane Finiello Zervas demonstrated convincingly that the education available to Tuscans during this period and the publication of Fibonacci's work would have put these skills within reach.

Among the Tuscan painters who used the Fibonacci sequence was Coppo, most dramatically in his Orvieto Madonna, where it locates every element in the panel. The round-backed throne of the Mellon Madonna appears often in later Byzantine painting. Yet the frontal position of this throne differs from Byzantine versions which turn to the side. What none of us have observed is that the throne of the Mellon Madonna is a perfect circle its center at the exact mid-point of the panel. The circle even establishes the placement of the feet of the Virgin, and its radius reappears in complex fractions throughout the panel. This does not prove that its painter worked only in Tuscany, but argues that he was trained there. That he worked in the East remains a possibility. Indeed, one of the few Byzantine thrones with a rounded back drawn from a full circle belongs to the Enthroned Christ of the Protaton at Mount Athos. Considered at times by scholars in both fields separately, the role of the golden section at the intersection of Italian and Byzantine painting may provide evidence of contact and assist in attribution as Brink observed in his studies.

## Gentile Bellini, Mehmed II and Byzantium

Rossitza B. Schroeder (Graduate Theological Union)

In 1480 during his visit to the court of the Ottoman sultan in Constantinople, the leading Venetian artist Gentile Bellini painted a portrait of Mehmed II. The image has generated an enormous amount of scholarship which has consistently placed it within the Quattrocento artistic paradigm. Indeed, some of its characteristics can easily be located in other portraits of the time, such as the subject's three quarter view and the marble parapet. Possible Byzantine inspirations, however, are conspicuously lacking from the explanations of the portrait's iconography and meaning.

It is important to emphasize that Mehmed was not any sitter. He had recently conquered Constantinople and began rebuilding it without losing sight of its ancient and Byzantine past. The sultan fostered a special relationship with the Christian heritage of his new capital and assumed a distant and inapproachable persona similar to that of his Byzantine predecessors. Several contemporary Greek historians and a number of short anonymous chronicles identified him with the prestigious title of *basileus*, signaling an uninterrupted royal tradition. Italian potentates, Venetians including, similarly acknowledged Mehmed's newly-acquired status as an emperor of the Greeks and even Constantinople. The Conqueror's own efforts to associate himself with the Byzantine past impressed contemporary visual artists and literary authors. On a 1481 bronze medal, for example, the Italian artist Costanzo da Ferrara, who, like Gentile, spent time in the Ottoman court, identified Mehmed as "Bizantii Imperatoris." In 1509 Theodore Spandunes, a Greek refugee who lived in Venice, wrote that Mehmed believed that the Turkish imperial family had originated from "the Emperor of Constantinople, Komnenos." (*On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors*, trans. D. M. Nichol [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997], 11).

How Gentile Bellini painted Mehmed as a ruler whose authority was firmly rooted in Constantinople and in the Byzantine imperial tradition is at the center of my paper. I argue that Bellini took two main approaches to visualize Mehmed as a legitimate heir to the Byzantine throne. First, by using classicizing references such as the unusual architectural frame and the six radiate crowns, he invoked simultaneously Constantinople's antiquity and Mehmed's claims to ancient models of kingship. Second, by utilizing the language of sacred images, a language which had permeated the earlier portraits of the Byzantine emperors, and which Bellini knew well, he depicted the sultan as a figure endowed with a semi-sacred aura. The sumptuous jewel-studded tapestry draped over the balustrade and rarely found in contemporary Italian paintings corroborates this interpretation; it is very likely, in fact, that its prominence in the portrait was directly inspired by the textile adornments of Byzantine icons and Byzantine imperial spaces. Just as Mehmed who subtly but consistently appropriated Byzantium, so too Bellini evoked its glorious past and rulers in his portrait of the Conqueror.

## **Performance of Pain: Salvific Catharsis in the Panegyric to St. Theodore Tiron by Gregory of Nyssa**

Vasiliki Limberis (Temple University)

Even if the date on which Gregory of Nyssa delivered his panegyric to St. Theodore Tiron is disputed, occurring sometime in the early 380's, it is the earliest witness to the martyrdom of the popular Pontian saint. What little can be gleaned of his biography comes from tradition. Theodore was martyred in Amaseia, February 17, under the persecution of Emperors Galerius and Maximian, around 306 (BHG 1761). As his name suggests, he was recruited into the Roman military from the region. Diocletian had instituted a system for levying recruits based on the same assessment of taxes of landowners. Apparently in Theodore's case, his family could not come up with the tax (*aurem tironicum*) that could have substituted for his service (Southern and Dixon, p. 67). Gregory of Nyssa's rousing panegyric in honor of St. Theodore, at the beautiful shrine in Euchaita, reveals how deep and pervasive the soldier saint's cult had become over seventy-five years.

Gregory of Nyssa's panegyric is a masterful example of encomiastic rhetoric. This paper initially examines the structure of the panegyric, highlighting the contrast between the two distinct parts of the sermon. The first half is a rousing ekphrasis on the beauty of the artwork in the martyrrium. In addition to describing the finely crafted architectural ornaments of the building, Gregory refers to a huge painting of the martyrdom of St. Theodore, with "Christ presiding over the contest" (Leemans, p. 85). By contrast, the second half details the grueling death of St. Theodore, through flaying upon a stake and eventual burning. The paper analyzes this stark contrast of artistic beauty and hideous painful torture to elucidate the following thesis: Gregory of Nyssa employs Theodore's ordeal as a means of communication to the faithful. Rather than report the pain, his goal in the sermon is to communicate the experience of pain. As such it is through this performance of pain that Gregory invites his audience into "productive suffering." Just like Theodore's experience, Gregory leads the faithful through three stages of suffering as a ritual, cathartic process: separation, transition/transformation, and reincorporation (Davies, p. 114-115). The paper elucidates how productive suffering grants the faithful an opportunity for renewal, be it from disease, affliction, or psychological trauma. Rather than a static experience of witnessing theater, the pilgrims at the martyr's shrine participate corporately in the rituals of pain, revealing a remarkably plastic, though vivid, experience of Theodore's martyrdom (Hadjistavropoulis, p. 94). Finally, the paper explores the way the sermon assumes that the entire community of believers attains a type of salvific catharsis through the ritual experience. The pain of Theodore's martyrdom is a message that is inseparable from its communication embedded in the liturgical delivery of the panegyric. In this way, through the panegyric and the rituals, productive suffering and the resulting catharsis elucidate vastly different "economies of pain," connecting St. Theodore to the faithful. (Carlson, p. 156)

## Death as the Limit of Power: Identity and Iconoclasm in the *Vita Stephani Junioris*

Brenda Llewellyn Ihssen (Pacific Lutheran University)

The *Vita Stephani Junioris* was composed forty-two years after St. Stephen the Younger's martyrdom, a generation after the death of iconoclast Emperor Constantine V (PG 100.1072c). Authorship of the *Vita* is attributed to one Stephen the Deacon, who drew from the *Vita of St. Euthymius* for his account even as Stephen the Deacon claimed that his work was composed from the testimony of eyewitnesses. Referred to by A. Lombard as one of the principle documents of the eighth century (Huxley, 98), anachronistic elements and challenges of geography discredit its historical reliability (Huxley, 107-108). The contribution of this paper is on the role, productivity and use of pain in martyr accounts. Specifically, I consider two points that emerge from study of the *Vita*: the first remains historically indisputable regardless of the historicity of the *Vita*, the reality of and approval for religiously motivated violence. Historically, people have been abused, tortured and killed due to a refusal to renounce beliefs that are wedded intimately to their identity, beliefs that—were they to renounce them—would result in not simply the loss of salvation, but loss of “self,” the destruction of the core of their being. To this I contend that the ahistorical account of Stephen's death remains valuable to social historians who seek to consider the way in which the nature of power in society drives the actions of people to prefer physical suffering and death over denial of self. Rules of society are never sufficient to limit the ruthlessness of power, which is why revolt and a public performance of pain specifically, is necessary (Foucault, 1979; Carlson, 2010).

I believe, in this respect, that the *Vita Stephani Junioris* exhibits not only devotion to iconodule Christology and the historically eastern Christian value of the person, but also that it highlights the value of the will of the individual in the face of a heterodox regime, a value highly informed by Byzantine Christology. Second, in St. Stephen the Younger's particular case loss of “self” is problematically charged by virtue of the fact that the martyr is identified *as* “Stephen” and dies *as* “Stephen,” linked in name, life and death to the proto-martyr whose identity is historically bound to a group of believers in a state of crisis. Precisely who is killed, and how, matters greatly; like the military martyrs St. Theodore and the Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion, St. Stephen the Younger is linked to the state, and this relationship impacts not only the interpretation of his death but subsequent generations who are treated to a recounting of his death within the liturgical cycle. I conclude by considering the way in which Stephen the Younger's actions of theological treason and subversion disrupts the social fabric of imperial power, challenges this mechanism in the figure of the Emperor, and invites inquiry into performative pain as a requisite catharsis for a community seeking validation for their theological claim.

## **Suffering and Martyrdom in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The Case of the Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion**

James C. Skedros (Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology)

The Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion figure prominently in middle and later Byzantine hagiography. With the exception of the Martyrdom of Stephen the Younger, there is no other significant account of a martyrdom penned during the ninth century. The manuscript tradition of their martyrdom attests to the popularity of the story. The martyrdom is told in multiple versions consisting of two main recensions with one version being copied wholesale into the Menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes. The longest version is that written by the monk Euodios, of whom nothing is known. This version (BHG 1214) has received much attention by those interested in Byzantine relations with Islam since it contains dialogues between the captured Byzantines and a variety of Muslim theologians who attempt to convert them to Islam. Two other versions, one written by Sophronios of Cyprus (BHG 1210) and the other by Michael the Synkellos (BHG 1213) each focus on one individual martyr among the group of forty-two, whereas the version by Euodios treats the martyrs as a collective. The martyrdom account of the forty-two martyrs is thus unusual among Byzantine hagiography in that the story is told by a variety of authors all within a relatively short period of time (between ca.840- ca.900).

Each of the three texts discusses the idea of martyrdom and its importance to the Christian community. Euodios' text is of particular interest for its verbose social commentary not only on the reign of the emperor Theophilus but also on the significance of human suffering and its affinity with that of the martyrs. Comparison of each of these three narratives reveals a diverse emphasis on the significance of human suffering. For Euodios, human suffering is natural and unavoidable and thus the forty-two martyrs serve as a reminder that even God's saints must suffer. It is often noted that the Forty-Two Martyrs is the last collective martyrdom of the early Christian and Byzantine periods. Curiously, however, the story survives in what could be considered two types: one collective (BHG 1214) and the other individual (BHG 1210 and 1213). Judith Perkins (*The Suffering Self*) argues that early Christian martyrdom reflects a cultural shift towards individualism; yet an examination of the ninth-century retellings of the fall of Amorion to the Arabs and the suffering and eventual beheading of forty-two leading Byzantine officials on 6 March 845 may represent an attempt to reassess the value of individual suffering in a world where both state and individual suffer.

## The Making of Hagia Sophia and the Last Pagans of New Rome

Anthony Kaldellis (The Ohio State University)

The prosopography of the men who made Hagia Sophia has not been explored in depth, especially by scholars interested in Hagia Sophia. One figure who is almost never mentioned in modern accounts is the praetorian prefect Phokas, who was responsible for getting the project going immediately after the Nika Riots. Our information about his involvement comes from John Lydos' *On the Magistracies*, but we also know that he was a pagan, arrested in the anti-pagan purge of 529. He must have cleared his name to be appointed prefect in January 532, but we know from John of Ephesos that he committed suicide in the purge of 545/6, instigated by John himself. Phokas' decision makes sense, because according to Justinian's *Codex* the penalty for apostasy was death. Justinian then ordered that he be buried without honors. Interestingly, it is likely that Lydos, who praises Phokas, was an intellectual pagan himself, which means that his discussion of Hagia Sophia as the "*temenos* of the Great God" (an odd phrase) might encode a late Platonic reading of the monument.

Also, most scholars derive their information about the architects Anthemios and Isidoros from literary sources (i.e., Procopius, Paul the Silentiary, and Agathias). But we happen to have independent information about them, although it is difficult to extract it from the vague and often erroneous information in the *PLRE*. Specifically, Anthemios is named as "a very dear friend" by Eutokios, a commentator on Apollodoros and Archimedes. Eutokios, however, was not just any commentator: he was, in the 520s, the successor of Ammonios of Alexandria, the leading (non-Christian) scholars (and the student of Proklos). It is likely that Ammonios was also Ammonios' student. Moreover, in one of his own fragments, Anthemios refers to Archimedes as "most divine," a form of expression that, when applied to ancient writers, was used only by pagan writers in the fifth and sixth centuries, and never by Christians. Isidoros can be connected to the same school, as he had either taught Eutokios or had edited his texts later (it is unclear). There is no evidence that either Anthemios or Isidoros were Christians. While we cannot rule that out, we must also grant the possibility that the intellectual and religious affiliations of the builders of Hagia Sophia were more ambiguous than we have thought. This, in turn, authorizes (experimental) Platonic interpretation of the monument.



## **“Hearing and mind, together with sight”: *Ekphrasis* in Sixth-Century Gaza.**

Federica Ciccolella (Texas A&M University)

Along with the Palatine Anthology and other works of poetry, the tenth-century manuscript Palatinus gr. 23 of the University Library in Heidelberg has transmitted two poetic *ekphraseis* of the sixth century: Paul the Silentiary’s description of the Church of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople and John of Gaza’s description of the decoration of a winter bath. Scribe J, who copied Paul’s entire poem and part of John’s, has been identified with Constantine the Rhodian (9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c.), who, in turn, was the author of a poetic *ekphrasis* of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople. The first modern editors, Friedrich Graefe (Leipzig 1822) and Paul Friedländer (Leipzig 1912), did not disrupt the link that the scribe of the Palatine manuscript sensed between the two texts and offered them in a joint edition. Nevertheless, the two *ekphraseis* have encountered a different fate. Like Constantine the Rhodian, other Byzantine authors read and imitated Paul the Silentiary’s *ekphrasis*; in modern times, it has been widely studied because of the author’s renown and the importance of the object of the description. Conversely, nothing remains of the building described in John’s *ekphrasis*. The conspicuous use of pagan mythology may have hampered its spread and success in Byzantium, while John’s ambiguous and often obscure style has prevented a full appraisal of his *ekphrasis* among modern scholars. Several recent studies and a new critical edition (D. Lauritzen, Paris 2013), however, will certainly stimulate new research on this text.

This paper focuses, firstly, on the many similarities and differences between the *ekphraseis* by John of Gaza and Paul the Silentiary (occasion for performance, intended audience, ideology, descriptive technique, etc.) and, secondly, on the *ekphraseis* produced in the rhetorical school that flourished in Gaza during the fifth and sixth centuries: in addition to John’s poem, the prose *ekphraseis* by Procopius of Gaza and the descriptions of two churches in two orations of Choricus. Three anonymous school exercises from Palestine in anacreontic verse attributed to George the Grammarian will be also considered, because of their close relationship to one of Procopius’ *ekphraseis*. The insistence on *pathos*, a taste for narration, and a general Hellenistic inspiration, which appear to be the most important aspects of the Gazan way to *ekphrasis*, may have favored new interest in John of Gaza’s poem within literary circles of late ninth-century Byzantium and caused its inclusion in the Palatine manuscript.

## Icons of Sound: Spirit, Chiasmus, and Chant in Hagia Sophia

Bissera V. Pentcheva (Stanford University)

This paper stems from the interdisciplinary research *Icons of Sound* that I co-direct (<http://iconsofsounds.tanford.edu>). The project pulls together work in the humanities, natural sciences, and the performance of Byzantine music in order to shed light on the design and experience of sacred space and ritual. My work in *Icons of Sound* focuses on the meaning of the concept of *eikon* understood as performance: a descent and dwelling of spirit in matter. *Pneuma* as “Holy Spirit” and “breath;” were both sentiently manifested in the interior of Hagia Sophia in the fire of flickering lights, the perfume of incense, and the reverberation of chant. Sight, sound, and scent thus offered a sensual experience of the vital inbreathing, which according to Byzantine theology had the potential to transform inert matter into an *eikon tou theou*: “image of God” (Genesis 2:7) In this paper my goal is to unpack the concept of *eikon* as performance by focusing on the visual and sonic mirroring, the chiasmic structure of some of the psalms sung in the *asmatike akolouthia* and the divine liturgy of Hagia Sophia, and the role of prosody in stretching the semantic chains of this poetry in the performance of the text. Combined, all these elements – optical and auditory —led to the destabilization of the divide between real and oneiric, enabling the faithful to experience a space in between: a *metaxu* where human and divine merged.

The analysis begins with the definition of *eikon tou theou* in Genesis and the New Testament and its embodiment both in the stylite saints and in the church as a ritual space. *Chiasmus* is presented next; it is a rhetorical device structuring some of the psalms in the form of inverted parallelism. The textual chiasmic figures are then linked to their concrete material embodiment in the architecture and ornament of Hagia Sophia. At the last stage the paper connects the textual and optical manifestation of in-spirited matter with the auditory and aspiratory dimension of Byzantine chant performed in the cathedral liturgy of Constantinople. In order to discuss religious experience of the sung office, I use selected Middle Byzantine musical settings of psalms performed by Cappella Romana and simultaneously imprinted (auralized) in the computer acoustic model of Hagia Sophia. The auralization is performed at Stanford’s Center for Computer Research in Music and Acoustics. The analysis of the psychoacoustic effect of the chant performed in Hagia Sophia is then framed through the mystagogy of Maximus Confessor and Patriarch Germanos.

## **Bessarion's Encomium to Trebizond: A Source for Kritoboulos' Book 4?**

Scott Kennedy (The Ohio State University)

It has long been understood that the fifteenth-century historian Kritoboulos of Imbros, who described the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the first decade of Mehmed II's reign, uses historians such as Thucydides and Josephus as his literary sources. However, one key aspect of his *Histories* that has long been neglected is a systematic study of his possible use of contemporary sources such as his fellow historians Doukas and Laonikos Chalkokondyles. This paper seeks to partially fill this lacuna, arguing that Bessarion's encomium to Trebizond was the source behind much of Kritoboulos' description of Trebizond in *Histories* 4.1.2-6.

Within this short ekphrasis of the city and its history down to Kritoboulos' day, there are a number of themes (Trebizond's Milesian and Athenian origin, its immunity to time and change, etc.) as well as textual parallels that suggest links to Bessarion's encomium. To explain these links, this paper also explores the scholarly circles and intellectual exchanges connecting Bessarion and Kritoboulos. As the intermediary between these two who could have passed the encomium on to Kritoboulos, it proposes the controversial figure of Georgios Amiroutzes. Amiroutzes, as Bessarion's fellow Trapezuntine, was well acquainted with Bessarion and may even allude to the encomium in his letter to Bessarion on the conquest of Trebizond in 1461. Kritoboulos' and Amiroutzes' exchange of books and ideas has already long been established via Theodore Agallianos' correspondence and Kritoboulos' lavish praise of Amiroutzes in *Histories* 4.9.2.

If we accept the encomium as one of the sources of Book 4, this raises the question of how Kritoboulos interacts with it in his *Histories*. With this question in mind, it is possible to re-read certain incidents in Kritoboulos in a new light. For example, *Histories* 4.4.5-11 dwells in minute detail on how Mehmed, like Pompey and Alexander the Great before him, crosses over the mountain ranges south of Trebizond. This detail may serve to record Mehmed's feats in a tradition of conquerors. However, with Bessarion's own description of the mountains as the impassable border between the Greeks and barbarians in mind, the crossing may suggest the breakdown of the boundary between Greek and barbarian by Kritoboulos' enlightened Hellenophile sultan who stands at a crossroads between the two in a post-1453 world.

A greater understanding of the relationship between Bessarion's and Kritoboulos' texts will illuminate aspects not only of Kritoboulos' historiography, but also of how Byzantines came to grips with the loss of their independence in the first years of the Tourkokratia.

## Colonized Desire: Demetrios Chomatenos' Proscriptions Against Sacramental Contamination

George E. Demacopoulos (Fordham University)

Demetrios Chomatenos, who served as Archbishop of Ochrid from 1216 to 1236 is well known to Byzantine scholars of the Crusader-era. In his capacity as the leading spiritual authority for the independent state of Epiros, he crowned Theodore Doukas as claimant to the Byzantine throne and asserted for himself the authority of Constantinopolitan Patriarch in exile. Both acts drew criticism from his rival, Germanos II of Nicaea, and caused a schism between the two Eastern Christian communions, which were themselves struggling to negotiate and legitimize their existence in the wake of the Crusader seizure of the Patriarchal institutions in 1204. Chomatenos is especially important for modern scholars because of a vast body of letters and canonical rulings that survive from his tenure as archbishop. These texts, in fact, offer the largest source material for the administrative, ecclesiastical, and social history for Epiros, Serbia, and Bulgaria in the period.

Among other things, these writings show Chomatenos to have been rigorously opposed to any form of spiritual co-mingling with the Latins: petitioners to his ecclesiastical court were strictly forbidden from receiving the eucharist from Latin priests or from any Greek priest who collaborated with the Latins. Similarly, he excommunicated any layperson who married a Latin, anyone who asked a Latin to serve as the godparents of their children, and anyone who invited Latins to serve as the “best-man” in their wedding ceremonies. Indeed, Chomatenos’ corpus offers the most extensive surviving evidence from the period that some Greek Christians found spiritual comingling with Westerners to be the equivalent of sacramental contamination.

This paper reconsiders Chomatenos’ rulings on sacramental co-mingling alongside Robert Young’s *Colonial Desire* (Routledge, 1995). Whereas Young examines the way that the French and British sought to explain the origins of racial division and the problems of miscegenation in the context of their colonial projects in Africa, India, etc., this paper demonstrates that we can similarly chart—albeit in an inverted fashion—the ways that Byzantine intellectuals began to create new vocabularies, religious anthropologies, and theologies to narrate orthodox identity vis-à-vis the emergence of an alien Christian sovereign. For Chomatenos, the imagination of difference and sameness was not so much racial and biological as it was theological. But the concerns for self and other and, especially, for purity, contamination, and the threat of hybridity are equally potent. In effect, the colonization of the Christian East during the Crusader era introduced a binary dialectic of Christian identity that could only exist when it was framed within and against the threat of spiritual miscegenation. Chomatenos’ resistance to spiritual cross-breeding reflects the anxiety of a conflicted culture that seeks to define itself (and the other) through narratives of sacramental purity. This examination of Chomatenos does more than simply appropriate the resources of postcolonial critique for the Byzantine experience, it fundamentally challenges the normative assumptions about Christianity and its “others” that currently dominate postcolonial analysis.

## **“An Old Enemy Can't Become a Friend”: Byzantine – Pecheneg Relations in the 11th Century**

Gerald Mako  
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After their arrival on the borders of Byzantium in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Pechenegs, these Eurasian nomads quickly gained significance for the imperial court. The connections between the Pechenegs and the Byzantine Empire followed a pattern familiar to students of Byzantine-nomad relations over the centuries, and the interactions between the two sides were by no means free from hostility.

Following the reign of Basil II, the first part of the 11th century saw the Pechenegs leading numerous raids into Byzantine territories; especially Thrace and Macedonia were devastated. In 1047, Constantine IX recruited Pechenegs to serve on the eastern front, and he also tried to convince some Pecheneg tribes to settle down and hoped to use them to guard the Danube border. In support of this plan, Kegen and Tyrach, two of the most powerful Pecheneg lords converted to Christianity in Constantinople. It is not possible to establish with any precision the number of nomads converted with them, but it may have involved only a dozen or so Pechenegs of high standing. Whatever the case, Kegen received the rank of *patrikios*, and was given command of some Byzantine territories and three fortresses next to the Danube; these territories of course were only nominally under Byzantine rule.

The baptism of Kegen and Tyrach, and the settlement of their Pechenegs seems to be one of the few, if not only, Byzantine attempt to integrate the Pechenegs into their realm, and use at least some of them as a kind of border guard. However, due to the resistance of the local population who had to provide annual stipends to the Pechenegs, and to mismanagement by the responsible officials, the plan to settle and use the nomads for the defence of the north-eastern frontier of the Balkans proved a failure, which led to even more trouble, and cost to Byzantium. The events eventually led in 1092 to the Battle of Levounion, where the Byzantines with the assistance of the Cumans gave the coup de grâce to the Pechenegs of the Balkans.

One question that has not yet been addressed is what efforts did Byzantium make to handle and integrate the Pechenegs. In this paper I suggests that in contrast with the Rus' or Hungary, Byzantium, with the exception of the ultimately futile attempt of Constantine IX to settle the Pechenegs, made no serious plans to integrate the nomads into the realm. By re-emphasizing that the Byzantines employed their traditional method of Christianizing some members of the Pecheneg elite, granting them gifts and titles to ensure their loyalty, but had no aspirations to baptize the Pecheneg masses, this study puts the 11th century Byzantine-Pecheneg interactions into a broader historical context: the Pechenegs offer a new example, which strengthens the theory that there was no Byzantine policy to Christianize peoples.

## Maintaining A Constantinopolitan Network on the Eastern Frontier: Authority and Friendship in the Letters of Nikephoros Ouranos

AnnaLinden Weller (Rutgers University)

This paper examines the early eleventh century correspondence between several Byzantine administrative and military officials on the Eastern frontier. It aims to explore how Byzantine imperial authority was projected onto the East during this period of expansion, but more substantially, it also seeks to provide a possible rubric for investigating the reassembly of Constantinopolitan networks of friendship – and thus, Constantinopolitan networks of power and authority – outside of Constantinople.

The epistolary of Nikephoros Ouranos forms the primary source corpus for this investigation. This epistolary has been edited by Jean Darrouzès, and appears in his *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle*. Ouranos held both administrative and military posts under Basil II. These posts were varied in geography and nature, ranging from Constantinople itself (where he was a close associate of the young emperor while holding the position of Keeper of the Imperial Inkstand), a military command in the Balkans in 997, an embassy to Baghdad, and then most significantly for this paper, an appointment as *δούχ* of Antioch in 1000, where he served as a sort of plenipotentiary governor, representing Byzantine interests in the East. Ouranos' letters are therefore a significant locus of Byzantine imperialist thought and representation. The development of his conceptions of empire over the course of his career demonstrates the cultural diffusion and exchange which characterizes the edges of Byzantine imperial power in its interactions with the other great powers of the medieval period.

Because of this, examining his correspondence with other Constantinopolitans who also were appointed to serve on the Eastern frontier can provide an internal, mentality-focused look at those who, as Catherine Holmes has described (*Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976-1025)*, 2005, pp. 374ff), were sent out to form a thin layer of Byzantine authority over what remained an indigenous administrative structure. This paper focuses specifically on Ouranos' relationship with Philetos Synadenos, appointed *κρίτης* of Tarsus, as well as with individuals such as John, the *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia, who were all sent out contemporaneously with Ouranos' arrival in the East. This paper argues that the use of epistolary modes of relationship maintenance allowed this group of Constantinopolitan officials to maximize successful working relationships amongst one another on the frontier as well as maintain their connections to the ideology and culture of the capital which they had left behind.

## The Byzantine-Seljuk *entente cordiale* in the thirteenth century

Dmitri Korobeinikov (University at Albany, SUNY)

When communicating with their Christian subjects, the sultans of Rūm did not stress the fact that they ruled the former Byzantine lands. Their approach was quite different. They sought to present themselves as the victorious descendants of Seljuk, as members of the auspicious dynasty destined to rule the world. It seems that this dynastic idea prevented the Seljuks of Rūm from turning their universal claims to a policy of uncompromising hostility towards Byzantium, the empire of the infidels (though the traditional Islamic formulas of *jihād* were listed in the inscriptions). Interestingly, the dynastic concept helped the Seljuks of Rūm not only to maintain friendly relations with the Byzantines but also to marry them: in one of the verses of the Byzantine poet Philes (composed at the beginning of the fourteenth century) we read that the father of a certain Demetrios Soultanos Palaiologos, a member of the Byzantine Imperial clan, was none other than the Seljuk Sultan, 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II, who had been driven out by his own brother and the Mongols to Byzantine territory and who behaved in Constantinople as if he were Christian.

It seems that the Seljuk sultans of Rūm fully deserve to have been called 'heterodox members' of the family of rulers whose head was the Emperor of Byzantium. The Seljuks and the Byzantines formed an *entente cordiale* or a partnership, the *mushāraka* of the Seljuk sources. I should like to point out the factors that made the *entente* permanent. First, the friendship (φιλία) between the heads of the states; second, the friendship between the Seljuk and Byzantine lords; third, the service of the Byzantine aristocrats in the sultan's court (Komnenoi, Mavrozomai, Gabrades, Basilikai, Tornikioi, Nestongoi, and Palaiologoi); their territorial possessions were simultaneously in the Sultanate and the Empire; and fourth, the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church in the territory of the Sultanate. These circumstances provided a strong basis for the long-lasting Byzantine diplomatic influence. Moreover these same principles of diplomatic and dynastic relations were in part to be inherited by the Ottomans.

## Commemoration, Miniaturization, and Symbolic Space in Byzantine Cappadocia

Robert Ousterhout (University of Pennsylvania)

In this paper, I attempt to add nuance to the growing picture of architectural developments in Byzantine Cappadocia, focusing on several rock-cut complexes in and around Göreme, normally identified as monasteries. While this interpretation may be correct, the chapels within the complexes are usually isolated, difficult of access, and small. Moreover, both their design and decoration emphasize their funerary function, with monumental tombs planned from the outset. I suggest that these carved spaces are primarily commemorative and symbolic, not intended to function for the regular performance of the liturgy.

As I shall argue, the symbolic power of the rock-cut forms relies on what I term their *architectonicity*, as well as their *liturgicality* – by which I mean the exaggerated architectural character of the interior with an overemphasis on the (unnecessary) structural details, as well as the overemphasis on the carved liturgical furnishings. Architecture is based on architecture and refers to architecture. Carved forms were meant to signify “real” architecture. Yet ultimately the rock-cut spaces became something distinct from their masonry prototypes. In many interiors, the architectonic quality of the carving accentuates the structural elements far beyond what would have been necessary in carved interiors; for example, ribbed groin vaults and banded barrel vaults are considerably more common in rock-cut architecture than they are in surviving masonry buildings. In a like manner, liturgical features are often detailed far beyond what would have been functionally required or even useful; for example, stepped synthronons appear occasionally in the bemas of rock-carved chapels but are too steep and narrow for seating.

A further distinction is scale. Most of the cave chapels are tiny, and a process of intentional miniaturization seems to have occurred. Recent theoretical literature on the commemorative role of the miniature helps us to view these tiny edifices as symbolic architecture, detailed and outfitted to perpetually commemorate the deceased in “icons” of sacred space. Like the miniature books studied by Susan Stuart, we find the “miniature as metaphor,” with an exaggerated interiority and a verbosity of detail that would increase its significance within a semiotic system. The fully articulated and decorated liturgical settings could similarly symbolically perform the commemorative rites in perpetuity. In sum, perhaps these are not liturgical spaces – at least not spaces for the regular and frequent celebration of the liturgy.

This reassessment of the Göreme settlement has larger implications. The driving force for the development of Cappadocia in the Middle Byzantine period is not monastic but secular – probably the powerful landowning families and governmental administrators of the region. It was they (not the monks) who had the wherewithal to invest in the artistic culture of the region; it was also they who sought to be commemorated. The examination should also encourage us to rethink the symbolic roles played by architectural forms within Byzantine society.



## The Prophet Joshua and Nikephoros II Phokas

Lynn Jones (Florida State University)

The Prophet Joshua, always invoked in Byzantium as a model of “good kingship”, became increasingly prevalent in the tenth and eleventh centuries in textual accounts and art, where he conveyed a specific benefit of imperial piety—that of assured military victory.

Why the rise in this use of Joshua, and why the increased specificity of his role as both a harbinger and confirmation of imperial victories? I focus on the ways in which Joshua was linked with Nikephoros II Phokas. Multiple contemporary sources recount the emperor’s vision of Joshua prior to (victory in) battle. More than a century after his death we find his strategy for the siege of Chandax likened to that of Joshua. In art, the rock-cut church of Cavusin, in Cappadocia, features a contemporary depiction of Nikephoros, his wife, brother and father. Above this image is that of Joshua with the archangel Michael. The fresco of Joshua at Hosios Loukas, dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century, is believed to reflect the prophecy of the monk to whom the original church is dedicated—that of a major military victory, attributed to Nikephoros.

I introduce another possible depiction linking Nikephoros and Joshua. The rock-cut church of Mereyemana in Cappadocia, is literally down the (modern) road from Cavusin, and is dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth century. I have argued elsewhere that the unusual selection of images that decorate the interior was meant to evoke for the viewer the narrative of *The Apocalypse of Anastasia*, a late tenth-century text that, to our knowledge, was never illuminated.

One version of this text features Nikephoros. The nun Anastasia is on a tour of hell—her tour guide is the archangel Michael—and sees Nikephoros tormenting his murderer and usurper, John Tzimiskes. According to Jane Baun, this version of the *Apocalypse* dates to the eleventh century, originated in Cappadocia and reflects the continuing presence of the Phokades in their homeland.

The collapsed south apse of Mereyemana now contains only the name “Michael,” a bit of the archangel’s wing and halo, and a fragment of a second halo, placed at a lower level. I suggest that this originally depicted the same scene that survives at Cavusin, that of Joshua with the archangel. I know of no other narrative scene that consistently features a second, nimbed figure placed to the left of the archangel. If this identification is accepted, the scene would link together the *Apocalypse of Anastasia*, the funerary function of the church and the patronage of the Phokades—and the invocation of the memory of Nikephoros.

This suggested identification provokes more questions than it answers, as it calls into question the accepted date and function of the Joshua Roll –among other, undated depictions of the prophet. It also raises issues of patron and function in Cappadocian rock-cut churches, for which there is no surviving textual documentation.

## Commemoration in Cappadocia: A Reexamination of the Tomb Chamber in Karabaş Kilise

A.L. McMichael (CUNY Graduate Center)

A tomb chamber hewn between two chapels in Karabaş Kilise raises questions about preparation for death and the nature of monastic commemoration in Cappadocia. The Karabaş complex is an irregular courtyard arrangement in the Soğanlı valley. Its main church is dated to c. 1061 based on a donor inscription, but the original decoration is probably from the early tenth century, and the remaining four chapels, including the tomb chamber, were dug after that. The church contains a number of burials, including below-ground and arcosolia types, but the tomb chamber is unique among them. A painted cross on the flat ceiling sanctifies the tomb space from above. A shaft accessed through a small window connects the tomb to the apse of the adjoining chapel to the southeast. This paper asserts that a reexamination of the chamber, particularly the window, is needed in order to more fully incorporate this space into our understanding of commemoration in Middle Byzantine Cappadocia.

Guillaume de Jerphanion documented the space in a more complete state, indicating a northeast wall with a small window (no longer extant), demonstrating that the tomb was originally connected to other chapels only by windows. Lyn Rodley recorded paintings and inscriptions before the northeast wall's partial destruction in the 1980s. Four monks, three of whom are commemorated with inscriptions giving the month and day of their death, are painted on the tomb chamber walls. The fourth is depicted in a bishop's *omophorion*; his inscription explains that he worked here and died, but it is incomplete and gives no month or day. This could mean that he was the last of the group to die, or that the tomb's use had ended by the time of his death. Rodley surmises that the windows may reflect the cavity's previous role as a dwelling space, citing the more probable use of windows by the living (*Cave Monasteries* 2010). However Robert Ousterhout notes that it bears resemblance to a similar tomb in nearby Kubbeli Kilise and was likely for the burial of an important person ("Remembering the Dead" 2009).

Recent scholarship on multi-sensory worship and commemorative portraiture provides new contexts in which to study the tomb and its donor portraits. While the ceiling cross may have served as a devotional image for the monks in life, I argue that the sanctified burial space was kept active by sounds of commemoration in the memorial space. These activities may have included concelebration of the liturgy or relic collection after the monks' death. In nearby Zelve, Saint Symeon's cone (early 10<sup>th</sup> century) has a comparable ceiling cross and burials in its ground-floor chapel. Its personal/residential areas are dug from the opposite side of the cone and level off into another chapel and an upper dwelling. The excavation and decoration of these personalized chapels would be preparation for eternity, seeming to provide a haven for both the living and the dead.

## **Picturing the Creation and Fall in Medieval Byzantium: An Unpublished Cycle of Genesis from late 9<sup>th</sup> - early 10<sup>th</sup>-century Cappadocia**

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Nilüfer Peker (Başkent University, Ankara)

During our fieldwork (since 2009), authorized by the Turkish Ministry of Culture, a hitherto unknown twin-nave barrel vaulted rock-cut church came to light in Mavrucan Dere, in the south of the volcanic region of Cappadocia, about 20 km west of the town of Yeşilhisar, in the province of Kayseri. Its north nave contains a unique painted program that includes a comprehensive narrative of Genesis. Careful analysis of the iconography, ornament, and epigraphy provides strong parallels with a group of Cappadocian monuments (St Theodore near Ürgüp, Old Tokalı Kilise, etc.), and indicates a late 9<sup>th</sup> or early 10<sup>th</sup>-century date. This paper aims to introduce the painted decoration of the church and to discuss its significance and singularities within the regional and broader cultural contexts of late 9<sup>th</sup> or early 10<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantium.

The barrel vault of the north nave is filled with a band of continuous narration of the Creation, composed of ten scenes, starting with the Spirit above the Waters and ending with Adam and Eve's Labors. This is followed by three miracles of Christ: the Stilling of the Tempest, the Healing of the Man Born Blind and the Raising of Lazarus; the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace figure on the west tympanum. Roundels with the bust of prophets are painted along the crown of the vault.

Representations of the Creation and Fall are known through late antique as well as medieval works, from both East and West: the Cotton and Vienna Genesis manuscripts, S. Paolo in Rome, Bible of Tours, the Paris Gregory, the Octateuchs, ivory caskets, paintings and sculptures from the Aght'amar church, and mosaics from Sicily and Venice. However, so far as we know, there is no comparable preserved example of a Genesis narrative in early medieval Byzantine monumental painting, nor is there anything similar in Cappadocia.

The Genesis episodes at Cappadocia reveal both compositional and iconographic peculiarities, such as the anthropomorphic Creator identified as Κύριος ο Θεός and represented as a youthful figure (in the Separation of Light from Darkness, Forming of Adam, Creation of Eve, and Punishment), as well as the appearance of an angel (in Adam Ruling over the Living Creatures, and the Tree of Life), whose origin is not Genesis but the *pseudepigrapha*. Moreover, Adam and Eve are represented in garments in Paradise and the Expulsion is omitted. The narrative ends with three miracles of Christ related to the concepts of Redemption, Resurrection, and the Incorruptibility of the body. Thus, from the visual narration of the Creation of Man and his Fall, we move to that of his Salvation by Jesus Christ, the New Adam. The concept of the Fall of Man and his Salvation within the iconographical program is relevant to the funerary function of the space, as our church stands as the centerpiece of a large cemetery.

## The Church of Santa Maria di Mesumundu near Siligo, Sardinia, and Domed Rotundas in Late Antique Christian Cemeteries

Mark J. Johnson (Brigham Young University)

The church of Santa Maria di Mesumundu near Siligo, Sardinia, is an unusual building, not only for the ecclesiastical architecture of the island but for the late antique period in general. Its core is a domed rotunda from which extend in the cardinal directions arms of unequal size and form. Universally recognized as having been built from its origins as a church on the ruins of a Roman bath complex, its date has been the subject of debate, with scholars assigning dates ranging from the fifth through the eleventh century, with most believing it to be Byzantine. This paper examines the evidence for dating the monument, arguing that it could have been built as early as the fourth century and further, proposes a new original function for the building that was only later converted into a church.

Although there is no mention of the church in any literary source before the eleventh century, the building provides important clues for its dating. It is constructed using the technique of *opus listatum* consisting of bands of red brick alternating with bands of black basalt, a type of construction found especially in buildings from the fourth and fifth century, with limited use thereafter. Its large windows similarly find their closest parallels in fourth-century. Limited excavations done in the 1960s uncovered a number of tombs built against the walls of the church, part of a cemetery that stretches northward from here. Burial goods found in the tombs include jewelry datable to the fifth or sixth and seventh centuries. Largely overlooked in the debate is the evidence provided by the building's metrology, which indicates a date prior to the arrival of the Byzantine on the island in 534.

The typology of the building and a comparison of its plan with its closest relatives further strengthen the argument for the earlier date and lead to a new hypothesis for its original function. The dome rotunda building type was used for private Christian mausolea in the fourth century as seen in the so-called "Berretta del Prete" located on the Via Appia outside of Rome. Santa Maria di Mesumundu originally had three arms, or deep niches, in a variation of the plan type for which only two other buildings are comparable. One is the Mausoleum of Catervius at Tolentino, built slightly before or after 400, parts of which survive next to the present cathedral of that city. The other is a funerary building outside of Rome in an area known as San Cesareo. Ruined and poorly studied it seems to date from the fourth century. Both are buildings that were probably not simply mausolea, but private *oratoria*, or funeral chapels that eventually came to be used as churches. Given the size, typology, dating, and location of Santa Maria di Mesumundu in a cemetery, it appears that it too, began as a funerary *oratorium* as well.

## **“Every Argument is Overthrown by Another”: Re-evaluating Philosophy, Rhetoric and Monastic Practice in Gregory Palamas’s First Triad**

Jennifer Jamer

This paper will challenge some of the pervasive historiographical tropes about Gregory Palamas through the lens of a close reading of the first Triad of his lengthiest theological work, the Defense of the Hesychasts or the Triads. The first Triad is worthy of separate investigation due to its self-contained nature, unique genre and content, and the fact that it seems to reflect both an earlier stage in the hesychast debate and responds to different texts by his opponent Barlaam of Calabria. The first Triad reveals a Gregory Palamas who is deeply responsive to the concerns of a younger monastic trained in philosophy and rhetoric, and thoroughly aware of contemporary philosophical trends. Additionally, the first Triad provides unexamined clues concerning the practice of spiritual fatherhood and monastic contemplation.

The picture of Gregory Palamas which emerges from the first Triad is very different from the Palamas we encounter in historiography and the latter two Triads who seems to be hostile to philosophy and rhetoric; instead, he is a gentle, generous and adroit philosopher who has kept abreast of current scholarly trends in the empire. Furthermore, unlike the latter two Triads which are written as polemical treatises, the first Triad is written in a question and answer format which indicates that Palamas is writing for a different audience -- likely a group of younger, elite monks who are working out the relationship between their former lives and their new vocation -- rather than a group that is primarily concerned with the wider hesychast controversy. Additionally, the third question and answer in the first Triad-- which does reference the wider controversy -- seems to focus on different issues of monastic practice than those addressed in the second and third Triads.

This paper will investigate how the first Triad serves as an exordium for the latter two Triads, and look carefully at the clues it provides about the earlier concerns in the hesychast controversy. I contend that the difference in tone and approach in the first Triad does not only reflect the difference in genres between the first Triad and the later Triads but also reflects the concerns of an earlier point in the debate; Palamas seems to be concerned about the highly general observations Barlaam makes about monastic practice in his earlier epistles, rather than the specific charges that are leveled at the hesychasts later in the controversy. Furthermore, the question about proper monastic practice which undergirds the third question of the first Triad seems to be a question more appropriate for the earliest part of the debate when questions about the hesychast monks were more closely linked to issues of practice rather than issues of doctrine or systematic theology proper.

## **Scholarship and Holiness: Nicholas Cabasilas on Reason, Wisdom, and Sanctity in Letter 11 to Synadenos**

**Alexis Torrance (University of Thessaloniki)**

The relationship between intellectual pursuit and spiritual life arose as a frequent quandary in Byzantium. It recurred as a theme in numerous controversies throughout the Byzantine period, and engaged the thought of a range of thinkers, including John Philoponos, Photios, Michael Psellos, John Italus, Eustratios of Nicaea, and many others. On an institutional level, the Byzantine Church's *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, while not forbidding academic curiosity per se, anathematized a whole range of philosophical positions not in tune with doctrinal orthodoxy. The problem of relating Christian living and an active life of the mind came to a head, however, in the Hesychast Controversy of the fourteenth century.

In this paper, the tendency among some scholars of characterizing the Hesychast Controversy as a conflict between intellectualism (represented by Barlaam of Calabria) and anti-intellectualism (represented by Gregory Palamas) is highlighted and briefly discussed. While, with hindsight, this is in fact an unfair characterization, during the early stages of the controversy certain onlookers did indeed see the issues at stake in this way. Among these onlookers was the Ostiarios of Thessaloniki, Synadenos, who turned for a solution to his cultured friend, the Byzantine humanist and theologian Nicholas Cabasilas. Here, an examination of the content of the young Cabasilas' response and its implications is offered.

Cabasilas argues that learning, sanctity, and perfection are different concepts that ideally go together: the first (learning or wisdom) is good, and together with the second (sanctity or holiness), renders a human being perfect. However, learning on its own is hardly perfection, whereas sanctity, though it does not necessarily bear learning or wisdom within itself, can nevertheless, by the gift of God, lead to the fullness of learning as well, and so to perfection. By making the achievements of reason an integral part of perfection, Cabasilas subtly defends the tradition of Byzantine humanism of which he is a part. Nevertheless, by insisting on the subservience of human wisdom to holiness in the pursuit of perfection, he provides a position that will by and large satisfy the followers of Palamas (and so of ecclesiastical orthodoxy).

In the concluding part of this paper, the solution proposed by the young Cabasilas in Letter 11 is shown to have remained as a perpetual thread throughout his career. It is argued, moreover, that while the question had been variously examined by Byzantine authors before him, the context of the Hesychast Controversy gave a fresh impetus to express a solution that was, if not new, then certainly creative.

## **Educational Networks in the Letters of Michael Psellos**

Floris Bernard (Ghent University)

Although the role of letters in social networks has gained recognition in recent decades, there remain many dimensions to explore. One of these is education. This paper takes the example of Michael Psellos, whose role as a teacher, especially in a practical and social sense, has often been overlooked. He worked as an independent teacher, in a dynamic field of colleagues and rivals, with students always inclined to fall out or to exchange their teacher for another one.

Just as some other notable teachers from Late Antiquity and Byzantium, Psellos initiated and maintained what can be called an ‘educational network’. Through his letters, he performed various services that were intended to keep in touch, to exchange information, and to enhance his standing as a teacher. He maintained contact with his own former teachers, with his former school mates, with his own pupils or ex-pupils, as well as with family and close friends of his pupils.

At a first level, letters solved practical problems. Psellos requested educational material, provided teaching from afar, and kept the family of pupils updated on their progress. But more importantly and more interestingly, those educational networks were put to use in other social domains. Personal relationships originating at school continued well beyond the ‘graduation’ of students. Psellos used educational networks as efficient channels for mutual services. He asked favors from former students, once they were important officials. In return, Psellos initiated their careers in imperial administration by providing them with recommendation letters.

The vocabulary and discourse of ‘educational’ letters differ from the letters in other networks. They cultivate a relationship based on affection and a shared mentality, stressing a common ideal of intellectual pursuit. This is reinforced by the frequent use of kinship addresses, representing a fine sensitivity to relationships based on education.

This paper offers an overview of the various ways in which Psellos puts his educational networks to use as a source for social capital, and vice versa. The paper also discusses the themes and vocabulary that permeate the letters that Psellos used in these networks.

## “Vernacular Science” in Byzantium? Natural Knowledge in a Late Byzantine Textbook

Anne-Laurence Caudano (University of Winnipeg)

In 1932, A. Delatte drew attention to an anonymous cosmographical treatise that appears in many late Byzantine manuscripts (from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards), and includes cosmological, geographical and meteorological elements. This successful text was translated into Slavonic as well; recently, R. Romanchuk has demonstrated that, in Muscovy, these translations appeared in ascetic miscellanies and were part of a basic cosmographical teaching within Russian monasteries. The purpose, use and audience of this text in the Byzantine world are a little more perplexing, however: it occurs mostly in scientific miscellanies (astrological / astronomical and medical), less so in spiritual compilations. In fact, it would be difficult to argue that this was used as a teaching tool in a monastic setting exclusively. Several versions of this text circulated in Byzantium. The analysis of the Byzantine manuscripts and of their Slavic renditions shows that the latter were translated on two of the Greek versions. Because of its changing nature, A. Delatte had suggested that this was a textbook adjusted to the interests of their reader or compiler, but never elaborated further on that point.

The text is not a quadrivium; rather, the issues discussed are reminiscent of Symeon Seth’s *Conspectus* or Nicephore Blemmydes’ *Physics*. While such questions were debated at the higher level by Byzantine scholars, the ideas which they taught were quite different. In our text, the cosmography focuses essentially on the stability of the earth in the centre of the universe, considered to be oval in shape; the geography on the waters of the world – the river Ocean and the four great seas, which are the only ones in existence (others are lakes); and the meteorology on visible phenomena, such as earthquakes, rains, thunder and lightning etc. The text is not strictly speaking academic, neither entirely Platonic nor Aristotelian. Instead, it offers a hotchpotch of unnamed doxography embedded in a religious framework. The language and explanations provided remain very simple and, for the most part, orthodox, which may explain its diffusion. It does follow a form of educational cursus, however. For instance, it bears some resemblance to Anania Shirakatsi’s *Cosmographia* (7<sup>th</sup> century) or, much closer to the time, to Blemmydes’ *Historia terrae* and *Physica* (13<sup>th</sup> century). Although the work of both authors was of the highest level and their ideas about the world were quite different, there are points of comparison, notably in the structure of the text and in the pedagogical analogies that are used. Overall, therefore, we may be in the presence of a text of “vernacular science” (to coin W. Crossgrove), which was neither aimed at experts working in higher education, nor, most likely, written by one – a phenomenon that has parallels in Western Europe at the same time. The text illustrates, therefore, the variety of natural knowledge that circulated in the Late Byzantine Empire, and that ran parallel to what was taught at institutions of higher learning.



## **Astronomers in Agreement: Platonic and Ptolemaic Planetary Models in Nikephoros Gregoras' *On the Number Seven* and Letter 22**

Divna Manolova (Central European University)

The present paper focuses on the *On the Number Seven*, a little-known collection of arguments in support of number seven's revered nature penned by the Palaiologan polymath Nikephoros Gregoras (d. ca. 1360). Edited by Francesco Sbordone in 1936, the text has received little attention by modern scholarship. The *On the Number Seven* is written in the tradition of the so-called *theologoumena arithmeticae*, that is, arithmological compilations concerning the symbolic meaning of the numbers from one to ten. The first part of the overall unfinished treatise (§1-19) contains arguments in support of number seven's revered nature collected from ancient sources, whereas the beginning of the second part (§20-21) introduces arguments drawn from Christian authorities. In his treatise, Gregoras drew significantly on the cosmological theories of Plato's *Timaeus* and the (probably) pseudo-Platonic *Epinomis*. Several arguments discuss the arrangement and movement of the heavenly spheres and consequently, refer to the planetary models the Byzantines inherited from Plato and Ptolemy. The Platonic model of eight heavenly spheres, however, collided with the prevalent at Gregoras' time Ptolemaic one, which included nine spheres and took into account the precession of the equinoxes.

The disagreement between Plato and Ptolemy and Plato's unawareness of the existence of a ninth sphere was noted already by the Neoplatonic commentators Proklos, John Philoponos, and Simplicios. The lack of harmony between the two most authoritative Greek cosmological theories was a matter of concern both for Gregoras' mentor and teacher of astronomy Theodore Metochites (d. 1332), as well as for Gregoras himself, since, for them, what brought prestige to astronomy was the concordance of authoritative opinions. The chief purpose of my paper is to analyze how the study and practice of mathematical astronomy was conceptualized by the early Palaiologan scholars, and by Nikephoros Gregoras in particular. He discussed the urge for harmonization of divergent cosmological doctrines, in particular the Aristotelian and the Ptolemaic, in his *letter 22* addressed to Joseph Rhakendytes (d. 1330). In my paper I juxtapose the discussion of the concordance of opinions in Gregoras' letter to Joseph and the way he harmonized Plato's and Ptolemy's planetary models in his *On the Number Seven*.

## Centrality as Strategy in Justinian's Religious Politics

Joshua M. Powell (University of Kentucky)

Since Eduard Schwartz's "Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians", it has been something of a scholarly commonplace to emphasize the 'zigzag' quality of Justinian's religious policy. Indeed, from vacillation on the theopaschite formula in his earliest letters to the alternately hospitable and hostile treatment of the non-Chalcedonians throughout his reign, there is good reason to regard Justinian as inconsistent. Yet, placing emphasis only on the differences in Justinian's approach to each situation has its drawbacks. The notion that Justinian developed altogether different policies to address different situations has little explanatory power and offers us few means for evaluating his reign as a whole.

The apparent diversity of Justinian's policy decisions during the several controversies of his reign should not, therefore, obscure any common aspect Justinian's policies might present. This paper focuses on one such aspect, namely Justinian's regular attempts to draw those involved in religious controversies to court. Much has been made of the presence of Severians at the court and Theodora's patronage toward them. But even as far back as his efforts to end the Acacian Schism in 518-19, Justinian attempted to persuade the pope to travel to Constantinople. Likewise, key figures in the theopaschite controversy, the second Origenist controversy, the Three Chapters controversy, and from both sides of the conflict over Chalcedon are all invited to court to discuss matters when they are at their worst. This is to say nothing of Justinian's rather more involved travel arrangements for Pope Vigilius.

The paper demonstrates that the effort to draw prominent figures from religious controversies to court plays an important but underappreciated role in Justinian's attempt to direct the church. The idea of centrality, derived from social network analysis, is key to understanding precisely how this role worked. By drawing clergy and monastics from different corners of the empire to Constantinople, Justinian would be responsible for establishing connections with and between them. With disputants present at court, he was able to broker new relationships, to appear as an arbiter for ecclesiastical peace by calling disputants together for discussion, and to patronize bishops whose influence and name he wished to employ. Placing himself at the center of these relationships, especially within the ritual context of the court, Justinian attempted to increase his informal influence in an effort secure leadership in a united church. Even among the several apparent changes in religious policy, Justinian's efforts to maintain himself at a chief broker and patron at the center of ecclesiastical affairs remains constant. Finally, the paper indicates the broader implications of Justinian's approach for Byzantine church and state relations. In understanding the emperor's influence over the church, his informal role as broker and arbiter is quite as important as his formal role as head of the Byzantine state.

Title: The Economics and Ideology of Fasting in the Early Church

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Abstract: Anchorites, the holy men of the desert, practiced a controlled form of starvation. Their charisma excited legions of imitators. Cenobitic monks criticized these exploits as the hubris of spectacular self-destruction and bishops called for moderation on the part of the laity. Bodily control becomes contested moral territory as clergy debate the relationship of pious discipline to prayer, seeking the elusive mean between denial and indulgence, spirituality and hubris. Each group--- anchorites, cenobites, bishops---produced guidelines in the form of pastoral manuals, sayings collections and hagiography. These critiques directly engage the traditional boundaries of *luxuria* and the new nature of Christian virtue.

Recent scholarship has explored some of the ways episcopal authority was grounded in the metaphor of the ideal householder. I see this authority as an ascetic third way, an idealized and institutionalized asceticism that intimately links clergy and laity outside of and sometimes in competition with monastic models. Bishops built up a festal calendar that unified disparate private fasts into a public and communal ritual with collective norms and goals. Over time the great stationary fasts come to organize the liturgical calendar, and participation in them comes to represent orthodoxy itself.

Bishops paired monastic insights into the nature of need and want with a sophisticated theology of motivation and action. The resulting festal calendar offered the laity an alternative to monastic models which advocated askesis at the expense of householding. In contrast, the episcopal mode of fasting was conciliatory to the laity. Yet they are not merely a moderated load of fasting. Rather, the bishops re-imagine the significance of fasting within a larger framework of virtue. Fasting becomes just one component of piety, necessary but not sufficient without prayer and alms. As a result, ordinary Christians find themselves patrons making eminently practical decisions regarding their level of investment in fasting and alms.

Bishops from Clement to Chrysostom wrote and preached extensively to promote a new idea of charity that moved imperative to fast away from heroic display and towards the status of a useful tool of virtue possible for a broad lay audience. The subordination of ascetic practice to a superior ideal markedly changed the trajectory of ascetic practice as well as diocesan and monastic relations. The laity were positively discouraged from ascetic feats and instead encouraged to follow prescribed fasts in the context of householding. Participating in the fast marked orthodoxy through orthopraxy and came to prove the true believer. As bishops rethink askesis relative to charity, they rethink Christian virtue wholesale. In

combatting the mystique of ascetic heroes they ultimately changed the institutional economy of the church through the investment of a broad public and the development of charitable ministries.

## Leisure and Ascetic Retreat in the Later Career of Synesius of Cyrene

Alexander Petkas (Princeton University)

This paper offers a new appraisal of the later career of Synesius of Cyrene (ca. 370-413). I focus on the way his conception of the role of a “philosopher” in public life evolved, in adapting to new circumstances, especially during his episcopal years. In particular, the evidence indicates that he came to accept a version of Christian monasticism as a solution to his difficulties in harmonizing the demands of ecclesiastical office with the aspirations of philosophy.

After his education in Alexandria at the school of Hypatia, Synesius consistently presented himself as a philosopher, though he was born and raised in a Christian household. He accepts that the philosopher may profitably aid in the administration of the state, but generally praises a life retired from public affairs as the ideal, since it provides the leisure (σχολή) which is necessary for contemplation (θεωρία) – for him, the ultimate aim of philosophy. He activates this discourse in explaining his reluctance to accept the nomination to become Metropolitan of Pentapolis – though he does eventually acquiesce.

A central component of my argument is a rereading of *Epistle* 41 of Synesius. This “letter,” the longest in his correspondence, is in fact composed as a speech to the assembled bishops of Ptolemais. It is often cited somewhat doxographically, given its fascinating and somewhat unusual ideas on the nature of the priesthood, however its rhetorical situation has hitherto not been fully taken into account. I interpret the speech/letter as an earnest announcement of (partial) retirement from the episcopal office. In conceiving and articulating the nature of ecclesiastical office, Synesius engages with a variety of contemporary paradigms of leadership, such as those offered by Themistius, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Isidore of Pelusium. Other letters from his episcopal period (including 147 whose dating I propose to modify) show how he identifies Christian ascetic ἀναχώρησις as a way of life fulfilling his goal of philosophical σχολή and θεωρία. Prior accounts of Synesius’ late career mostly leave this final retreat out of the story, focusing instead on personal loss, isolation, and disappointment.

This development of thought and broadening of Synesius’ sensibilities in his later years offers a window onto the changing world of late antique religious and intellectual life, and is striking for many reasons. In particular, in his treatise *Dio*, something of a personal aesthetic manifesto, he had taken pains to defend his literary pursuits against the objections of “black-robed” Alexandrine monks. I argue, however, that he also had more constructive relations with Egyptian Christian ascetics, who were by no means an intellectually homogeneous community. This study is thus a step toward situating the Cyrenean more concretely in the cultural forms of Christianity, which have often been overlooked in his oeuvre.

## God Spoke in Thunder: The Literary Tradition of Natural Omens and their Interpretation in Byzantium

Elizabeth A. Fisher (George Washington University, Washington DC)

Byzantines displayed extraordinary interest in the weather. Not only did rain, drought, wind, lightning, and thunder affect agriculture, trade, travel, and military movements, but like earthquakes, eclipses, and sidereal movements, these natural phenomena also were considered signs or omens of divine will that could be interpreted to predict human affairs.

Byzantine authors used natural events as metaphors and/or recorded them as omens of political or military events: e.g., earthquakes, thunderbolts, and torrential rain predicted disaster for the Empire (Leo Diaconus I. I); blood seeming to drip from the sun forecast disaster at the arrival of Constantine Doukas in Constantinople (*Life of Basil the Younger*, ed. Vilinsky 293). The two cornerstones of Byzantine culture, the Homeric epics and the Bible supported this tradition. In both, divine will is revealed through such phenomena as thunder (*Iliad* 8. 167-76; *John* 12: 28-29), eclipses (*Odyssey* 20. 356-57; *Matthew* 27: 45), and comets (*Iliad* 4. 75-77; *Matthew* 2:1-12); moreover, Zeus sends bloody rain to herald impending slaughter (*Iliad* 11. 54) and an earthquake marks the death of Jesus (*Matthew* 27 51).

It is not surprising therefore that a body of pseudo-scientific literature intended to guide the interpretation of unusual natural phenomena flourished in Byzantium. For example, Choniates mentions a book interpreting thunder and earthquakes that was used to settle a doctrinal dispute (Magdalino, "Occult Sciences," in *Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, 136-38, 152-53). Similar texts survive from Arabic, Persian, Latin, Hebrew, and Slavic literature, all purporting to translate natural prodigies into predictions of specific human political and social events; the strands of these traditions became thoroughly interwoven.

In this multicultural, cross-lingual environment of interrelated texts there is an example from Arabic that illustrates the extraordinary importance attached to such work in Byzantium, for this single text was independently translated into Greek twice after 1300. Remarkably, each translator introduced the work in a translator's preface justifying its significance. The first translator reveals his name (Alexios) and the date of his translation (1245) as well as the complicated progression of the text (Hebrew to Greek to Arabic to Greek) in association with military conquests. The second translator is anonymous, his translation undated, and his preface as yet unpublished (ms. Petrop. 575 fol. 46<sup>r</sup>-47<sup>r</sup>); in his translator's preface he claims to have learned Arabic in order to correct Alexios' faulty version and places his own translation firmly into an orthodox Christian context.

The omens in the text follow a traditional format already present in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE Babylonian *Enuma Anu Elish*: a conditional sentence stating a time indicator and a natural event followed by an agricultural, social, or political prediction. For example, "In October if there is a solar eclipse, then soldiers might mutiny ... a plague of locusts ... and invasions might occur." The two Greek translations of this omen differ: it is particular to Arab culture in Alexios' version, but general in its application in the anonymous translation.