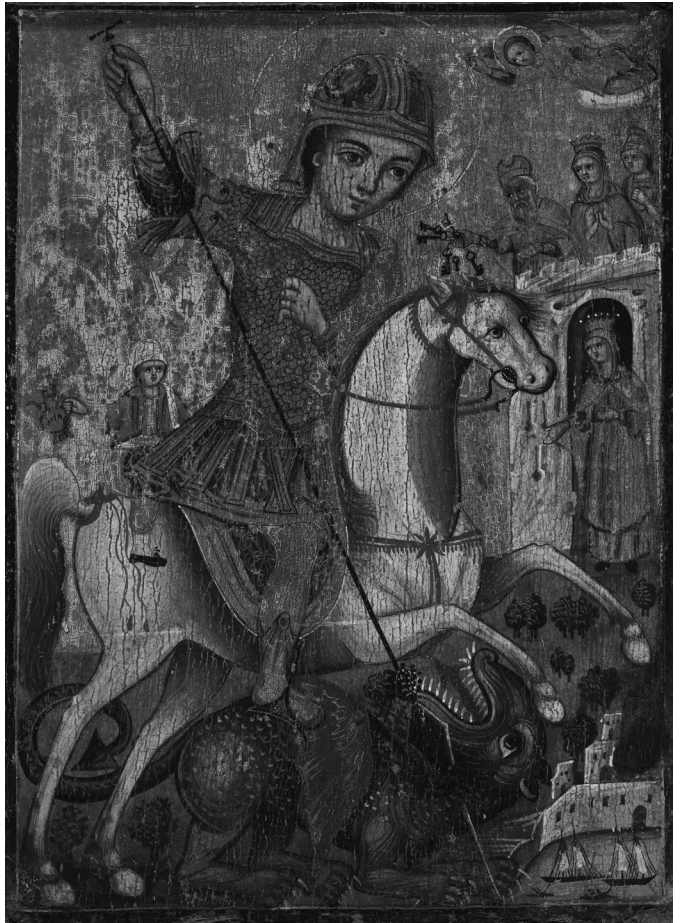


Forty-Second Annual
**BYZANTINE
STUDIES
CONFERENCE**

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ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

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Session 1A
Figuring Form and Seeing Meaning

Chair: Emmanuel Bourbouhakis
Princeton University

Visualizing the Hermogenean Figures

Vessela Valiavitcharska
University of Maryland

The final chapter of the Ps.-Hermogenean treatise *On Invention* – which was read and taught in Byzantium as part of the five-book Hermogenean corpus – contains a list of eleven rhetorical figures, whose selection and placement is somewhat puzzling for several reasons. One is that it appears where we would normally expect a chapter on epilogues; another, that the choice and arrangement of the figures it describes is peculiar to the treatise and not found elsewhere. These oddities have caused doubt in the integrity of the book and have led to speculation that the chapter is virtually useless, but has been adopted in the Byzantine rhetorical “curriculum” by force of tradition.

However, evidence from rhetorical compilations dating from the late tenth to the thirteenth centuries suggests that, rather than superfluous, the chapter was found to be an integral part of the corpus. Its most conspicuous figures – the period, the *kyklos*, the antitheton, and the enthymeme – appear diagrammed in various places, from the table of contents preceding the corpus as a whole, to the book *On the Method of Force* (last in the corpus). Although technically considered “figures of speech,” their placement in a treatise on invention clearly speaks to their argumentative value, and the diagrams used to illustrate them reflect visually the kind of argumentative force associated with each figure.

The diagrams are hybrid graphics, composed of simple geometrical figures (double-ringed circles, X-es, rectangles, half-moons) and text used to provide a representative example. This paper will argue that the division and positioning of the text and its relation to the graphics indicate the type of inference each figure induces, which could be: reciprocity, equivalence/identity, incompatibility/contrariness, or deduction. What this suggests is that the Byzantine teachers of rhetoric were well aware of the potential of the Hermogenean figures to act as structures of inference, and, rather than regarding them as mere embellishments, they taught them as an integral part of rhetorical (i.e., informal) argumentation.

Memory and Recollection in the Late Byzantine Akathistos Hymn

Nicole Paxton Sullo

Yale University

The *Akathistos* hymn, a *kontakion* composed in honor of the Virgin during the early centuries of Byzantium, only took visual form in the Palaiologan era. In the fourteenth century, images of the hymn began to appear in a variety of media – manuscripts, icons, and monumental painting – and became increasingly popular throughout the Byzantine sphere. In attempting to find a historical context for the late emergence of this unprecedented iconography, scholarship has generally followed two lines of argument. First, the hymn’s prevalence in late Byzantine iconography has been linked to a Palaiologan resurgence of the cult of the Virgin. Indeed, following the re-conquest of Constantinople in 1261, the figure of the Theotokos gained renewed importance and her sacred robe, housed at Blachernae, again served as the palladium of the city. With few exceptions, however, images of the *Akathistos* were not created for patrons in the Constantinopolitan center, but farther afield in the peripheries of Crete, northern Greece, Macedonia, Kosovo, and Romania. The dispersed geography of the cycles has spurred a second explanation for the appearance of these cycles; scholars, such as Efthalia Constantinides, Tania Velmans, and Vojislav Đurić, have linked the iconography to contemporary political and spiritual trends, namely the hesychastic movement. However, though the *Akathistos* cycles may have been produced within monastic milieux exposed to Palamite teachings, Hesychasm did not prescribe particular iconographies and there were no overarching recommendations for what types of images were appropriate for monastic foundations.

Rather than searching for the evasive “origins” of the *Akathistos* images, this paper asks what these visual cycles can reveal about monastic contemplation and ways of looking in late Byzantium. By placing so much importance on the iconography of the hymn, previous studies have divorced the images from their particular arrangements within church spaces or manuscript folios and, thus, from the viewer’s experience of them. As a case study, I consider *Akathistos* images in two early fifteenth-century codices: Moscow, State Historical Museum Synod. gr. 429 and Madrid, S. Lorenzo de El Escorial, Bibliotheca del Real Monasterio, R I 19. My analysis of the illuminated programs within these manuscripts finds that there is a vein of play between word, image, and the viewer’s memory. This paper, therefore, investigates these *Akathistos* images as evidence of visual mnemonic systems in late Byzantium. These systems, in continuation of ancient memory practices, consist of the use of acrostic ordering and of unusual or striking imagery, meant to capture the viewer’s imagination. The purpose of these systems, I argue, is twofold: the images and their ordering within the manuscripts would have encouraged learning the text by heart, just as they would have served to keep the monastic mind active. The objective was not rote memory, but a prayerful, contemplative experience of the texts at hand. Through visual means, the Byzantine monastic reader could build and exercise his or her mental storehouse of memories for the purpose of effective prayer.

Posture, Pious Donation, and Politics in Vatican MS Reginensis Graecus 1

Nava Streiter
Bryn Mawr College

In the early tenth century, a Byzantine eunuch named Leo, who held high titles in the imperial court, commissioned a Bible, now called the Leo Bible (Vatican Library, Codex Reginensis Graecus 1), which uses idiosyncratic combinations of words and images to make highly structured statements about Old and New Testament typologies and to link its middle Byzantine present with an Orthodox Christian vision of the sacred past. Several scholars have reviewed the bible's illuminations from a stylistic perspective in an effort to reconstruct the trajectory of Middle Byzantine painting or have sought complex exegetical meanings in its combinations of Middle Byzantine poems and images. By contrast, I review compositional and iconographic resonance among the manuscript's images and relate them to the life of the Byzantine court. I focus especially on the bible's well-known dedicatory frontispiece, which shows Leo handing a book, presumably the Bible itself, up to the Virgin Mary, who in turn directs it toward a figure of Christ in heaven. Although Leo appears to be bowing and offering a donation, his posture is unique among contemporaneous Byzantine proskynesis imagery. His pose and the scene as a whole are comprehensible only when considered in relation to a subsequent frontispiece, which shows Moses in the same posture, receiving the Ten Commandments at Sinai.

Drawing on other images of proskynesis and of divine revelation from the manuscript and from additional artifacts of the period, I explore what it meant for the bible to adapt conventional postures taken from a biblical narratives to the representation of a Middle Byzantine courtier. I argue that the visual analogy between Leo and Moses locates both men within a system of gift-giving in which the manuscript serves as a return for God's gift of the biblical Law on Sinai. For this reason, the book represents a privileged relationship between the sacred and earthly worlds that was constantly invoked across Byzantine time. Given this, I consider how Leo, as a court eunuch, manipulates Byzantine notions of sacred donation in order to make powerful statements about his own position in contemporary politics. Leo's elegant meditations on the alliance of word and image, on the nature of theophany, and on the purpose and power of gifts claim pride of place for him in the history that his Bible illuminates. In reviewing the book's frontispieces, thinking about how images function across the manuscript, I also confront the book's materiality and the way the readers' physical movement through its folios mirrors their imaginative movement through the liminal spaces between the images and the ideas that the images represent. I particularly address the manuscript's use of liminal space with reference to Byzantine understandings of eunuchs and to the liminal roles eunuchs played in the imperial court.

Session 1B
Law and Society

Chair: Brian Boeck
DePaul University

**Byzantine Canonical Scholia:
Reading along the Margins of the Byzantine Legal Tradition**

David Wagschal
Toronto School of Theology

Significant exploration of the Byzantine canonical scholia has now become possible thanks to advances in manuscript digitization and the (near) conclusion of a decades-long project at the Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte to catalogue and describe all Byzantine legal manuscripts. Canonical marginalia remain largely untapped as a source for Byzantine legal history, but these texts provide a unique window onto how the Byzantines encountered, understood, and employed their legal tradition. This paper, emerging from the author's preparation of a new edition of the scholia, draws on a series of examples to illustrate the potentials – and problems – of using these texts to nuance our understanding of the Byzantine reception of past authorities, legal change, and the breadth and scope of Byzantine canonical interpretation. These questions are framed within a broader discussion of the importance of Byzantine scholia for our understanding of Byzantine cultural history, and the value of reading Byzantine texts within their manuscript contexts.

Lords and Vassals, Colonists and Colonised: Feudalism and Colonialism in the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *Assizes of Romania*

Grant Schrama
Queens University

One of the most important sources for Frankish Greece and in particular the Principality of Morea in the 13th and 14th centuries is the *Chronicle of Morea*, which has come down to us in four different versions. The *Chronicle of Morea* contains a wealth of information regarding the social, cultural and political circumstances present in Frankish Greece after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204. From this cultural perspective, it provides an excellent expansion on the *Assizes of Romania*, a law code for Frankish Greece that detailed the laws, feudal structures and social regulations for the newly found Latin Empire. Despite the importance of both of these sources, the *Assizes of Romania* have received scant attention in recent scholarship, while the *Chronicle of Morea* has only recently become the focus of crusading and Byzantine scholars.

My argument in this paper is that the conquest of Greece in 1204-1205 was an act of Latin colonialism which resulted in the implementation of a Western European, feudal colonial society. Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine instances of feudalism and colonialism in the *Chronicle of Morea* in conjunction with the *Assizes*. Although the *Assizes* provide information on how feudal structures *should* be implemented in Frankish Greece, it's the *Chronicle of Morea* that showcases examples of these feudal structures, how they were carried out at the time and the particular intricacies and distinct characteristics of individual cases. Most importantly, the *Chronicle of Morea* also provides an excellent glimpse into the establishment and nature of colonial institutions in Greece after 1204. A new feudal hierarchal structure was implemented in Greece after 1204, while a large divide was constructed between the Latin colonizers and the Byzantine colonized. Although variations did occur in such regions as the Peloponnese, for the most part a brand new social structure was introduced by the Latin crusaders, based on Western feudalism and backed by colonial ideals. The indigenous Byzantines were placed in subservience to the Latins, while castles, new cash crops, and ecclesiastical institutions were introduced into Constantinople and Greece, all markers of a colonial system as seen in North America, British India and French Africa. The *Chronicle of Morea* is an excellent source for examples of this medieval colonialism. In sum, this paper contributes a new perspective of the nature of Frankish Greece and the outcomes of the events of 1204, while also examining an important aspect of Western settlement in the region from two of the period's most important sources.

The Limits of Communion in the Byzantine Church (861-1300): A Study of Canon 15 of the First and Second Council in Constantinople (861)

Andrei Psarev

Queen's University and Holy Trinity Orthodox Seminary

Within the Byzantine Church, the serious step of rejecting the authority of the patriarch, denying obedience owed to him and breaking communion with him, needs to be justified with reference to the canonical tradition. Canon 15 of the First and Second Council in Constantinople of 861 is the only canon in the corpus canonum of the Orthodox Church that bears on both the rejection of episcopal authority and also on the obedience due to a canonical superior. Canon 15 has a long and varied history within Orthodox tradition and continues to be regularly invoked.

This paper addresses the following three questions: 1) Why did the Fathers promulgate Canon 15?; 2) Why did the Byzantines refer to this canon?; and 3) Why did Canon 15 become so influential?

In answering Question #1 I reconstruct the historical context of the council using both primary sources, including the ecclesiastical (so called anti-Photian collection), chroniclers (Genesios, Theophanes Continuatus) as well as secondary sources.

To answer Question #2, I review the three following case studies, also using both primary and secondary sources: a) the Tetragamy controversy surrounding the fourth marriage of Emperor Leo VI (X c.); b) the Arsenite crisis, following the usurpation of the throne by Michael VIII Paleologos (1258-1282); and c) the rejection of union between the Byzantine and Roman Catholic Churches at the Council of Lyon (1274) by some Byzantine clergy and faithful based on their understanding of Byzantine doctrinal Orthodoxy.

In answering Question #3, I document the chronology of the incorporation of Canon 15 into Byzantine canonical tradition, and I discuss how the canon was interpreted from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries by contemporary Byzantine legal professionals (Aristinos, Zonaras, Balsamon, Blastares and Chomatinos).

By way of conclusion, I explain the significance of Canon 15 in seeking to understand the ethos of the Byzantine Church. This fascinating canon undercuts a military-style hierarchical ecclesiastical discipline to give way to a rule of individual Christian conscience. To appreciate its unique significance, one need only imagine a statute in civil law that includes provision for civil disobedience.

Session 2A
Classics in Byzantium

Chair: Suzanne Abrams Rebillard
Cornell University

Classical Imagery and the Joy of the Resurrection: Arsenius' *Stichoi* on the Sunday of the Resurrection

Nicholas Newman
University of Zurich

In the *Stichoi on the Sunday of the Resurrection*, a ninth century *ekphrasis* on Pascha, usually attributed to Arsenios of Corfu, the imagery of spring: “associates the feast of Easter, which symbolises the rebirth of life, with the coming of Spring, which in its turn symbolizes the revival of nature. (Kaltsogianni, Eleni, *A Byzantine metrical ekphrasis of Spring: On Arsenios' Verses on the Holy Sunday*. In *Medioevo Greco* 10 (2010), 64). The most recent edition of the text was done in 2010 (Kaltsogianni, *A Byzantine metrical ekphrasis*), a reworking of the 1850 Matranga edition.

Arsenius is beholden to earlier authors who have made the connection of an idyllic spring setting and the festival of Pascha, especially Gregory Nazianzus, whose Or. 44 can be viewed as “the *hypotext* upon which Arsenios built the *hypertext*, that is his own literary work” (Kaltsogianni, *A Byzantine metrical ekphrasis*, 68).

An interesting aspect of Arsenios' poem, however, is the imagery, as it relates to the Paschal festival the poem celebrates. For much of this, Arsenios relies of the traditional parallel of spring and Pascha: while the natural world rejoices in a *locus amoenus* of a resurgent spring, there are still reminders of the winter that has passed away: “the thickness of the clouds is lifted in the care of spring. The icicles melt, the cold flees, the gloom pales, the air is now pure.” The reminder of the bleak winter is juxtaposed to the wonders of the spring, but the movement from bleak winter to verdant spring parallels the move from despair to Salvation: “He has broken the chains of dark, bitter death, and the power of all-devouring Hades.”

There is one stanza of the poem that especially stands out in this discussion, however: “the swallow again chatters of the destruction of Tereus; once more the sister seeks Itys fervently; once again Pan loves Echo; the Cyclops loves Galatea and Aphrodite Adonis.” This short interjection of Classical allusion seems, at first to fit the discussion of the end of the winter and the images of the natural world that create an idyllic, paradisiac setting here, and lend a tone of eroticism to the text (Kaltsogianni, *A Byzantine metrical ekphrasis*, 65). Through a discussion of the ideal reader for this poem, however, it becomes clear that the author is creating a multi layered allusion. The structure of this section plays into the idea of couples renewing their love allowing the average reader or listener to gloss over these references, incorporating them into the idyllic imagery of the spring time. The educated listener, however, would know from mythological compendia, that these myths do not end happily, but in tragedy and heartbreak. This scene is central to the poem because it plays into the juxtaposition of spring and winter, of despair and Resurrection, but it also shows the progression and fulfillment of creation in the Resurrection, since lovers whose stories ended in heartbreak and tragedy have the opportunity to love again.

Local Politics and Classical Invective in Late Antique Epistolography: The Case of Synesius

Alex Petkas
Princeton University

This paper analyzes the method and purpose of invective in two letters of Synesius of Cyrene (ca. 370-415). Letters 95 and 104, especially the former, have been studied for the historical data which they contain about Cyrenean military history and administration (Liebeschuetz 1985, Schmitt 2001), but little work has been done on their literary aspects (though for *Ep.104*, Luchner (et al.) 2010). Both letters are attacks on Synesius' local rivals in Cyrenaica, a certain Julius and John respectively, who appear in other of his epistles but are otherwise unknown. Through my analysis, I trace how Synesius employs classical references and language, as well as historically charged rhetorical positions, in crafting his scathing polemics.

Epistle 104, against John, addressed to the author's brother Euoptius, humorously portrays an alleged episode of cowardice, during a period of border patrolling by the local Cyrenean militia against nomadic raiding parties. In the process of undermining his opponent's seriousness and manliness, Synesius displays his own constancy and local knowledge, establishing himself as the true patriot. He also employs some strategies of self-parody which he had already developed in his work *On the Praise of Baldness*, including a lampoon of the luxurious coiffure of John and his associates (contrasted with the austere baldness of the author and possibly his brother). Echoes from Old Comedy add to the satiric tone. This (prose) letter thus fits with many characteristics of late antique *iambos* outlined by Agosti (2001), such as the focus on physical defects (here to some extent by way of self-parody), but also the author's apparent care not to descend too far into direct obscenity. Thus *Epistle* 104 is (yet another) example of the expansion and fluidity of genre in late antiquity, through which invective may be readily found in hexameters, speeches, and indeed letters.

Epistle 95, also to his brother, against Julius, attacks a rival in a rather different tone. Through language, tropes, and explicit references drawn from classical rhetoric (especially Demosthenes), Synesius depicts his political relationship with Julius in the colors of the golden age of Athenian democracy. This works both on the level of invoking the historical paradigm of the famous rivalry between Aeschines and Demosthenes (Synesius of course portrays himself as the latter, Julius as the former), but also in the terms he uses to describe the goings-on of the provincial council (*πεπολιτεύμεθα, ψηφίζεσθαι, ἔγραφον, πολιτεύματα*). Even though the historical references are careful, they are obvious enough that they require little intertextual savviness from the reader in order to be effective.

Building on some recent work which has drawn attention to the potentially wider audiences of ancient epistolography (Trapp 2012), I argue that these letters do not simply record local events through a classicizing lens, but constitute political acts, since the author most likely expected Euoptius to share them with important contacts in Alexandria (104), or with the Cyrenean municipal or Pentapopolitan provincial council (95).

Aristotle at the Festival: The Homilies of Theodore of Stoudios and the Logical Tradition

Byron MacDougall
University of Vienna

Theodore of Stoudios enjoys a prominent position in scholarship on the “Aristotelian turn” that marked theological and polemical writing during the second period of Iconoclasm (815-843). Paul Alexander, Ken Parry, and Thalia Anagnostopoulos have shown how at the beginning of the ninth century iconophiles such as Theodore and Patriarch Nikephoros drew on Aristotle and the Aristotelian tradition - in particular the *Categories*, Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, and the fifth- and sixth-century Neoplatonic commentaries on Porphyry - in order to ground their defense of the veneration of icons in philosophical arguments. Among the chief witnesses to the philosophical culture of the iconophiles are Theodore’s polemical treatises, especially his third *Antirrheticus*, as well as his letters, which continually invoke the Aristotelian category of relatives to explain the ontological status of an image with respect to its archetype.

This paper looks instead at Theodore’s surviving corpus of festal homilies to show that his interest in the logical tradition extended beyond its application to theological polemic. These homilies can be usefully read against the *Antirrhetici* and the epistles for Theodore’s construction of a theology of images based on Aristotelian logic. For example, the homily for the Vigil of the Holy Lights (PG 99 700C-708D) employs the same Aristotelian understanding of homonymy (the first subject treated in the *Categories*) that Theodore and Nikephoros use in their polemical works for developing a theory of images. Similarly, in his oration on the Holy Cross (691B5-700B13), Theodore develops a strong position on the simultaneity of relatives, which he explicitly refers to in the Aristotelian sense. This position, namely that the suppression of the image necessarily involves the suppression of the model, is a more radical one than Theodore adopts in his polemical treatises. It lies at the extreme of the spectrum, which Christophe Erismann has reconstructed, of iconophile understandings of the relational explanation of images. Theodore’s homilies are a rich and underexplored source for his application of Aristotelian logic to iconophile theology.

Moreover, the homilies enable us to see that Theodore found in the tradition of Aristotelian logic more than a philosophical bulwark for his theology of images. In his encomium for St. Bartholomew (792A-801D), he draws on ancient number theory as it was specifically formulated in the *prolegomena* to the Alexandrian commentaries on Porphyry’s *Isagoge* in order to develop a mystical interpretation of the enumeration of Christ’s apostles in the New Testament. In his homily on the Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist (748B-D7), Theodore uses the Aristotelian concepts of “accident” and “property” as developed in the same tradition of logical commentaries to sketch out the personhood of the forerunner. Instances like these show that for Theodore the logical tradition was not only a tool for theological treatises and polemic, but that it could also be used creatively - and in a starkly different context - to assist liturgical audiences in the contemplation of new ideas.

Session 2B
Byzantine Mimesis: Liturgy, Art, and Literature

Chair: Benjamin DeLee
SUNY Cortland

Liturgy, Mystery, and Mimesis: A Backdrop to Maximus the Confessor's *Mystagogia*

Michael Motia
Harvard University

Maximus the Confessor's *Mystagogia*, Averil Cameron notes, "is expressive of seventh-century concerns about representation." This paper traces those concerns back to a fourth-century debate between Gregory of Nyssa and Eunomius of Cyzicus. "Christianity is mimesis of the divine nature," writes Gregory, the same author who famously argues that the divine nature is infinite. How does one represent the infinite, and what is the role of the church and its liturgies in those practices? The ubiquity of "mimesis" in early Christian literature can dull readers' senses of both the strangeness and the shifts in the function of imitation in Christian practice. Most accounts consider the question either a matter of imitating the life of Jesus or one of the iconoclast controversies, but mimesis, which makes possible both participation in and representation of the divine, is a point of contestation because it is central to Christian formation.

While the lack of evidence from Eunomius's side makes it difficult to pin down the practices of piety at stake in the theological battle, the teachings of Iamblichus, who sets the stage for later Platonism as well as broader intellectual trends in the fourth century, provide an entry point. His account of the direct connection between names and the divine essence bears striking similarities to Eunomius's conception and, therefore, may offer clues into the competing forms of what Derek Krueger calls the shaping of liturgical selves. By comparing the work of mimesis in Iamblichus's *On the Mysteries* to how it functions in Gregory's writing we see not only two different theological visions but also different representational practices.

The liturgies, for Iamblichus, "imitate the order of the Gods," forming a straight line connecting the symbols on offer with the divine. Those who participate in the sacred rites are "united to God," as the symbols activate something in humanity that our own discursive reasoning cannot. Mimetic relation, that is, happens between the liturgies and divinity, and humans are invited to participate in that established relationship.

Gregory's insistence on the infinitude of God stages a different mimetic relation. Imitation of the divine nature does not funnel participants into the tightly controlled space that keeps symbol and referent tethered; rather it stretches the Christian's love ever-forward and necessitates different names, spaces, and characters along the sacred journey toward Christian perfection. Words shape desire, which is where the mimetic relation between humanity and divinity takes shape.

The *Mystagogia* opens and closes with mimesis. The competing locations of mimetic relation are both present in Maximus's text. The church and its liturgies offer "an image and figure of God." And yet the church's hierarchy is destabilized by an eschatology promising that the human church is becoming a church "not of human construction," that the image must itself stretch toward the infinite. Participation in the liturgies, and internalizing those scripts, stretch Christians toward God. This unresolved fourth-century tension then helps explain Maximus's liturgical and theological projects in the *Mystagogia*.

The Communion of the Apostles: Temporality, Mimesis, and the Slavic-Byzantine Iconographical Variants

Alice Isabella Sullivan
University of Michigan

The Communion of the Apostles theme—common to Byzantine and Slavic manuscript illuminations, icons, textiles, liturgical objects, and mural cycles—presents a liturgical interpretation of the *Last Supper*. The extant visual iterations of this image type display symmetrical compositions that center on a single or double-figure of Christ who stands at an altar, often in the guise of a high priest. Christ officiates the Eucharistic sacrament—on the left the bread and on the right the wine—to the twelve apostles before him, arranged in various configurations. These iconographical types, therefore, present a simultaneous representation of two diachronic events, represented chronologically from left to right and also in a temporal continuum.

Among the extant Byzantine and Slavic visual manifestations of *The Communion* theme, the Stuma (fifth century) and Riha (sixth century) patens are the earliest examples that display a unified composition, and the only two that predate Iconoclasm. The particular iconography of the patens shares affinities with manuscript illuminations as well as painted monumental sources. *The Communion* theme, however, became integral to Byzantine church mural programs only after the middle of the eleventh century, following the Great Schism of 1054. At the same time this iconography began appearing consistently on Byzantine liturgical textiles. Although no liturgical embroidery survives to date that shows the double figure of Christ in *The Communion* scene on a single compositional plane—as found in the majority of the mural cycles, manuscript illuminations, and even the Stuma and Riha patens—the theme, since it comprised of two episodes, became a suitable subject for liturgical embroideries functioning as a pair. Aëres, epimanikia, diskokalymma and poterokalymma, epitaphios, as well as other liturgical vestments such as the famous Vatican Sakkos, display complementing images of *The Communion*. Christ administers the Eucharistic bread on one of the objects while its pair, or the opposite end of the vestment, shows the communion with the wine. As such, only in the context of Orthodox liturgical rituals, and in particular during the celebrations of the Divine Liturgy, complementing images of *The Communion* came together to present a single, unified composition with a double-figure of Christ at the center.

In tracing and examining the iconographical developments and variants of *The Communion* theme in various media from the later Byzantine period and through the sixteenth century in the Slavic-Byzantine cultural spheres, this paper considers the temporal and mimetic effects, as well as the functional fluidity of this image type in the Orthodox liturgical space and in the context of the celebrations of the liturgy. That this Eucharistic theme became a suitable subject to be represented and readapted in various media associated with the Orthodox liturgical space and its occupants highlights the multivalent character of this most-sacred space of the Orthodox church—one perhaps even more visually and symbolically layered and dynamic than previously conceived.

Digenis Akritis and Bilingual Oral Tradition in the Balkans

Robert Romanchuk, Ravital Goldgof, and Lily Shelton

Florida State University

Scholarship has long agreed that *Digenis Akritis* is ultimately based on oral-traditional song, and the search for traits of oral-formulaic composition in the extant versions of the “romantic epic” is of long standing. The study of *formulas*, “group[s] of words ... regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express ... given essential idea[s]” (Milman Parry) in *Digenis* was inaugurated by Albert B. Lord himself, continued by Bernard Fenik, and has been refined in the detailed lexical and formula indexes of Giorgos Thanopoulos. Oral-formulaic *themes*, “group[s] of ideas regularly used” in telling a tale and bound by a “tension of essences,” likewise “repeated passage[s] with a fair degree of verbal or formula[ic] repetition from one occurrence to the next” (Lord) have been studied by Roderick Beaton and in part by Fenik. The general conclusion reaches back to the starting point: traits of oral-formulaic composition in *Digenis Akritis* prove the work’s affinity with Modern Greek folksongs.

But the study of formulas and themes in *Digenis* can tell us a good deal more: in particular, it points to a remarkable bidirectional Greco-Slavic “oral” exchange in the late medieval Balkans. Our group is currently studying traits of oral-formulaic composition in episodes preserved in one (early) version of *Digenis Akritis* but not the others. The episode “Digenis Among the Raiders,” found in the Escorial manuscript but not in Grottaferrata or the Slavic version, is the most “folkloric” episode of an already vernacularizing text: Beaton has called it an “undigested *cantilène*” in the midst of E. If it is indeed close to Greek folksong in its use of *formulas*, in its *thematic* construction it has parallels with the recomposed “Lay of the Emir” and “Bride-Stealing of Digenis” in Slav. The episode “Digenis and the Daughter of Haplorrabdes,” present in G but not in E or Slav and likewise incorporated “not without difficulty” (Andrew Dyck), is strongly “literaturized,” again resembling its host manuscript. Although meager in oral-formulaic traits, its source is often assumed to be a song (e.g., by Dyck): however, the only song that has been adduced in this connection (by Mikhail Khalanskii) is the South Slavic “Marko Kraljević and the Daughter of the Moorish King.” At present we are investigating oral-formulaic parallels in the two texts. Finally, in many places where the Slavic *Digenis* diverges from the Greek versions, it makes use of *formulas* and *themes* found in *either* Greek or South Slavic folksongs, but almost never both.

The incontrovertible phenomenon of bilingual oral-formulaic composition in Slav, and the bilingual oral/vernacular tradition around episodes found only in the Greek E or G, suggest new directions in scholarship on both oral and medieval vernacular written traditions (Paul Zumthor’s *mouvance*), as well as in the study of the Balkan *Sprachbund* — especially if we adopt Paul Kiparsky’s revised definition of the formula as a special case of bound phraseology.

Session 3A
Gender Bender:
Negotiation and Ambiguity in the Byzantine Body

Chair: Brenda Llewellyn Ihssen
Pacific Lutheran University

Gender and the Household in Byzantine Anatolia

Marica Cassis

Memorial University of Newfoundland

There is arguably no space more fraught with the politics of gender identity than the household. Household labour, child-rearing, education, small-scale industry, and ageing provide a sample of the activities that were negotiated between genders against the backdrop of domestic space in Byzantium. Yet, households are traditionally presented only in stark archaeological and architectural terms, unpeopled by those who actually inhabited the space. However, the activities of the household – the performed elements of living – ultimately provide the key to understanding how gender norms were created, articulated, and enacted within this space. These activities can be understood through a careful examination of evolving architecture, household artifact assemblages, and the biological data associated with households. Further, such theorizing extends beyond the households of the elite to those of the poor and the rural, providing insights into various strata of society. Such work has been done by historians and archaeologists in English medieval archaeology with great success (for example, R. Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course*. Boydell Press, 2012; M. Kowaleski and P. J. P. Goldberg, eds., *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, Cambridge University Press, 2008), and this provides a model for the application of gender theory to household archaeology in the Byzantine world.

Although we are stymied in Byzantine studies by a lack of excavation of domestic structures (particularly in the Middle Byzantine period and in rural contexts) and the few sources which deal with secular, domestic, and non-elite Byzantium, we have a much greater chance of identifying the gender dynamics of the Byzantine household, including such things as task differentiation and divisions of labour, through the use of gender theory. The combination of the theoretical model with a series of case studies from Anatolia illustrates that it is possible to understand the gender dynamics of the Byzantine household, and to raise new types of questions about the evolution of these relations over the course of the Byzantine period.

Between Science and Superstition: Photius, Diodorus Siculus, and “Hermaphrodites”

Laura Pfuntner

UC Davis

Our knowledge of the second half of Diodorus Siculus’ historical *Bibliotheca* (Books 21-40) comes almost exclusively from passages preserved in two Byzantine works: codex 244 of the *Myriobiblon* of Photius (c. 810-c. 895) and the *Excerpta historica* compiled under Constantine VII (r. 945-959). The *Myriobiblon* is our only source for several long passages cited more or less verbatim from Books 31-40, covering the Third Punic War through the late 60s BC. Photius’ choice of excerpts can appear eccentric: most strikingly, he begins with a lengthy passage on hermaphroditism from Book 32. However, this paper argues that Photius’ selection of passages – and particularly his interest in hermaphrodites – is not as peculiar as it first seems; rather, it is in harmony with the scholarly interests he displays throughout the *Myriobiblon*. His interest in the scientific, religious, and philosophical implications of hermaphroditism may also reflect anxieties about sexually ambiguous individuals in Byzantine faith and society.

This paper reads Photius’ preservation of Diodorus’ lengthy account of two cases of medical hermaphroditism from the mid-to-late second century BC as a reflection of the broad and eclectic reading interests of a high-ranking Byzantine scholar-cleric and his intended audience. Photius read ancient historical texts not only for their narrative content and historiographical merit, but also for their insights into other areas of knowledge, including medicine and philosophy. The amount of detail about each case that Photius conveys also shows that his interest in “hermaphrodites” was not simply paradoxographical. Rather, Photius’ preservation of Diodorus’ narrative of the complex surgical procedures that the two individuals underwent to confirm their “true” sex – a level of detail far beyond the brief notices of hermaphrodites given by paradoxographers like Julius Obsequens and Phlegon of Tralles – reflects Photius’ lifelong interest in the theory and practice of medicine, as well as his appreciation of medical texts as works of philosophy and natural history, as stated in his codices on Galen, Dioscorides, and others.

Diodorus (as preserved in Photius) rejects a “superstitious” understanding of hermaphrodites as divine portents or “monsters.” He argues instead that there are no “born” bisexuals, though the “true” sex of the hermaphrodite may be concealed temporarily. The “true” sex of both of the individuals he describes reveals itself during or after puberty, with the help of surgery, and the former women go on to lead “conventional” male lives as soldiers and heads-of-household. The philosophical and religious implications of “intersexual” individuals were no less relevant to Photius’ Christian era than to Diodorus’ pagan one. While eunuchs were a regular and sometimes-controversial presence in Byzantine court circles – as Photius acknowledges in his letters – the “androgynous” female saint was a fixture of popular hagiography. Since Photius’ stated intention for the *Myriobiblon* was to recollect and synthesize a lifetime of reading for his brother Tarasios, Diodorus’ treatment of hermaphrodites was worthy of inclusion not simply as sensationalism, but also because it encompassed a wide range of knowledge (history, medicine, natural philosophy) while treating a subject of contemporary relevance.

Female Pilgrims in the Early Christian Holy Land: Virtuous Ladies or Viragos?

Marlena Whiting
University of Amsterdam

The phenomenon of elite female pilgrims to the Holy Land in the fourth and fifth centuries is readily acknowledged. However, the female gender of these pilgrims and its influence on their experience, and the perception of them in the eyes of others, is less well studied. Our sources about these female pilgrims tend towards the encomiastic (Jerome on Paula in *Ep.* 108, or Palladius on Melania the Elder) and even hagiographic (Gerontius on Melania the Younger). We also have one first-hand account through the eyes and voice of a woman, the fourth-century account of Egeria. Looking at these sources illuminates how male authors perceived these female pilgrims, and whether their gender attracts comment, either positive or negative. Are these female travellers, who endure the rigors of the road, viragos and regarded as honorary males, or do their eulogists consider them to be paragons of womanhood?

Starting with Helena as the imperial model for elite Holy Land pilgrimage, shows that Eusebius equates Helena's extensive imperial responsibilities with Constantine's befittingly Christian filial piety, therefore deriving from her role as mother. Paula, Melania the Elder and her namesake granddaughter Melania the Elder are conflicted in their onetime status as mothers and wives and their call to the life of Christian piety. Of Egeria's marital status (whether widowed or never married) nothing is known, but her retinue appears to include a mixture of women and men. She is able to call on the hospitality and respect of bishops and abbots throughout the eastern empire: there is no suggestion of segregation or submissiveness expected of her based on her gender. Jerome praises Paula for being "forgetful of her sex and weakness" in choosing to remain in Bethlehem. Both Eusebius in reference to Helena and Egeria when speaking of herself speak of their weak bodies and their ability, through the zeal of piety to endure physically challenging aspects of pilgrimage and travel. One should not assume that this is necessarily a particularly feminine kind of weakness; a comparison with descriptions of the limitations of the male body as well is necessary to understand the social context of female pilgrims.

It is important to understand how these women are performing their gender while on pilgrimage: is it through a rejection of expected behavior, or by adherence to every-day social norms. Pilgrimage is sometimes seen as a liminal space where traditional social – and thus gendered – performance is suspended. Equally, it can be seen as a space where traditional roles are reinforced or even heightened. A reading of the way these female pilgrims performed their gender while on pilgrimage must take into account whether or not their behavior is anomalous, and whether any anomalies stem from the circumstances of pilgrimage, or are a product of these aristocratic women's elevated status in late antique society.

Session 3B
Ivories, Inscriptions, and Columns:
Views from Up Close, Views from Afar

Chair: Amanda Luyster
College of the Holy Cross

The Isis Cult Scene Plaque at Dumbarton Oaks Re-Examined

Andrea L. Middleton
The Pennsylvania State University

The ivory described in the first entry in Kurt Weitzmann's *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, volume 3, *Steatites and Ivories* (1972) has attracted little scholarly attention. To my knowledge this plaque (BZ 1942.1) is a singularity, presenting the viewer with unique iconography and composition. Based on comparisons with objects from Pompeii and Rome, a date of the second century CE was assigned by Weitzmann to this piece. As is typical of scholarship of the mid-twentieth century, Egyptian aspects of iconography were downplayed while more Classical aspects of the object were thoroughly explored. Since the early 1990s, underwater excavations in the harbor of Alexandria have challenged the assertion that in Greco-Roman Egypt two populations—Greeks and Romans on the one hand and native Egyptians on the other—lived parallel, but not intersecting, lives. Knowing this, Weitzmann's interpretation of this ivory needs to be revisited and revised.

Weitzmann regarded the plaque as representative of the cult of Isis, based on his identification of the seated man as a priest of the cult of this Egyptian goddess. He further supports his theory by suggesting that the standing figure too is some sort of priest; he describes this second figure as “clean-shaven and wearing a wreath,” as shaved heads were an attribute of the clergy throughout ancient Egyptian history. However, close examination of this second figure shows that in fact he does not have a clean-shaven head, but instead has shaggy locks of hair that hang down to his ears, although damage to and deliberate removal of the ivory makes the full hairstyle and attributes on his head impossible to discern. Ignored in Weitzmann's treatment of this ivory is the symbol carved into the surviving colonnette. The resemblance between this symbol and the apotropaic Wadjet eye cannot be accidental. If a cult scene, comparisons with earlier Isiac rituals could indicate changes in cultic practices from previous periods.

Since the figures look in two different directions, it is likely that this ivory was part of a larger composition of ivory plaques. Perhaps the plaque served as some sort of furniture attachment—like the ivories of the hypothetical Grado throne—although what it would have been attached to is unclear. The distinct curvature of the top of this plaque surely represents a later recutting, perhaps on the part of an art dealer in order to present a cleaner appearance, an instance of the reuse and repurposing of the object. The provenance of the plaque is unclear with different information present in the discourse: E. Babelon noted in the *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1900) that the piece was originally manufactured in Egypt, found in Rome, and was currently in the Gouilhou collection. Beyond mentioning the Gouilhou collection, Weitzmann stated that the piece was allegedly from the Cistercian monastery of Zwettl, Austria; he does not mention Rome as its findspot.

Viewing the Past: Christian Responses to Pagan Temple Inscriptions in Late Antiquity

Anna M. Sitz
University of Pennsylvania

Pagan sanctuaries in late antiquity were the physical space in which the ideological shift from one religion to another was worked out. Some temples were simply closed and abandoned, while others were defaced or destroyed; still others were appropriated and reused as churches. While the “fate of temples” has been documented in several studies, few scholars have investigated how temples actually looked to people in late antiquity (4th-7th c.) and the different interpretive approaches available to viewers. This paper therefore focuses on the walls and architraves of temples and the earlier Greek and Roman period inscriptions written on them. I argue that these inscriptions communicated messages to viewers centuries after their original carving, and that they inflected the late antique understanding of what a temple was and the significance it held.

Early scholars mined hagiographical sources or law codes for information on the fate of temples, but these texts were largely written by biased Christians. Archaeological studies balanced out the polemical view espoused by texts, demonstrating that few temples were violently destroyed through human action. None of the previous scholarship has considered, however, the earlier inscriptions on temples and the early Byzantine responses to them. My project investigates inscriptions on temples in Greece and Asia Minor side-by-side with Christian graffiti. Traditional epigraphic studies focus on the historical period in which the inscription was engraved, rather than the full lifespan of the inscription. While some studies have touched on inscriptions as spolia, I am also interested in what I call unspolia: inscriptions left in place and still visible centuries later.

This paper centers on one case study drawn from my dissertation: that of Aizanoi in Phrygia (Turkey). Aizanoi presents two distinct responses to temples in late antiquity: the Temple of Zeus became a church, while that of Artemis was carefully deconstructed and the pieces rebuilt into a stoa around 400 CE. A new reconstruction of the architecture of the Zeus temple-church is proposed based archaeological and archival evidence. Both temples carried inscriptions: the Temple of Zeus bore imperial and official letters, while the Temple of Artemis named the goddess and the citizen who financed the construction. While the letters on the Temple of Zeus were preserved when it became a church, the Artemis inscription was partially erased but left visible on the stoa. The reasons for these distinct responses are explored.

This project documents for the first time the response of late antique Christians to much earlier inscriptions on the walls of temples, and the way they made these temples their own through Christian graffiti. It is argued that Christians usually respected these older inscriptions and avoided defacing them, except in cases where the inscriptions identified a building as dedicated to a specific god or goddess. This generally tolerant treatment of the names of pagan deities contrasts with the violent destruction of so many pagan cult statues. This paper presents new data and adds another facet to our understanding of the transition from paganism to Christianity.

Raising Lazarus in Seventh-Century Alexandria: Ivories and Liturgies

Anthony Cutler

The Pennsylvania State University

In 1899, Hans Graeven, the greatest connoisseur of late antique ivories of his day, postulated on the basis of a textual reference to an ivory throne made in Alexandria and sent by the emperor Herakleios (r. 610-641) to the cathedral of Grado, the historical existence of such an object. This hypothesis remained little remarked until 1921 when Eric Maclagan, who in that year became Keeper of the Department of Architecture and Sculpture at the Victoria and Albert Museum, proposed to associate the plaques with scenes from the life of St. Mark that Graeven knew, along with others in the V&A and the British Museum depicting events in the Gospel account of the life of Christ. This brought to fourteen the number of ivories possibly belonging to the throne. There are now fifteen of these, including a little-known plaque in Palma de Mallorca, representing the Entry into Jerusalem—an essential member of the “Grado group” that I have examined and to which I devote much of this paper. Before this, however, in 1972, Kurt Weitzmann, who was unaware of the Mallorca ivory, had criticized the supposed affinity of the Mark and Christ series.

There matters rested until 2003 when Paul Williamson, Keeper of Sculpture at the V&A, had two of the pieces in his care—St. Peter dictating the Gospel to St. Mark, and a fragmentary image of the Wedding at Cana—radiocarbon-dated, producing a chronological range varying between 650-720 and 740-770, but no less importantly allowing the likelihood that the Mark and Christ ivories were not only contemporaneous, but, as I propose, members of the same group, (whether or not this was made for Graeven’s hypothetical throne). My recent autoptic examination of the fifteen ivories, including the seven in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, which display events from both the life of Mark and the Gospels and a rarely considered plaque of the Raising of Lazarus in the BM, suggests that all issued from the same workshop. In particular, the Lazarus plaque and Mark baptizing Anianos (in Milan) exhibit the same technical features and are only a few millimeters different in area and thickness from each other. Moreover, they share striking iconographic features—the form of Alexandria in the Milan plaque and Bethany in the Lazarus plaque, as well as such common stylistic details as the insectile eyes and long eyelashes of the protagonists, which are pronounced on the Mallorca Entry.

Celebrations of the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem were highpoints of Egeria’s account of the Holy Land in the eighth decade of the fourth century, rites stressed by John Chrysostom in homilies delivered within twenty years of Egeria’s experience (and again in the mid-sixth-century hymns of Romanos the Melode). Thomas Talley, seconded by John Meyendorff, argued that these liturgies arose neither in Jerusalem nor Constantinople but in Alexandria. I propose the same place of origin for the “Grado ivories” carved three centuries later.

Shaping the Early Byzantine Skyline of the *New Rome*: The *New* Columnscape of Constantinople Between Fourth and Sixth Centuries

Pelin Yoncaci Arslan
Middle East Technical University

The *Peutinger Table* distinguished three cities as its foci, Rome, Antioch and Constantinople, each represented as an enthroned *tyche* figure. Notably, that for Constantinople was accompanied by an impressive urban monument, the Column of Constantine, which still stands in the heart of the historical peninsula. This porphyry column was dedicated on May 11, 330 AD as part of the foundation ceremonies. Later, Theodosius I and Arcadius, each ordered for his new forum a colossal column in marble, decorated with spiral reliefs of military victories. In 543, during the renovations of the Augusteion after the Nika Riots, Justinian the Great had his gigantic column built in front of Hagia Sophia. All four colossal monuments, over 40m high, were sited on the Mese, the main ceremonial thoroughfare passing across the city. Remarkably, it was the architecture of these four imperial honorary columns that primarily shaped the city's first recognizable skyline. This new city image for the *New Rome* have endured for centuries long and became the leitmotif for several city representations stretching bird eye views of Cristoforo Buondelmonti to Melchior Lorichs' sixteenth-century *Panorama* to texts by Renaissance intellectuals or nineteenth-century Russian travelers. Yet what was unique about these columns?

This paper addresses the urban visibility of the columns in the ritual and daily experience in early Byzantine Constantinople. The investigative process primarily involves viewshed analysis and sightline studies applied on a digital model of the sixth century Mese, as well as contemporary pictorial and textual descriptions of the monuments. The aim is twofold: first, to reveal the sequential experience of colossal columns during urban rituals and to question the intervisuality between imperial fora through these columns; and second, to unfold the Byzantine appropriation of the freestanding honorary column from a pagan architectural element to a Christian urban monument. In the latter process, each column constituted a significant milestone: from the simple and abstract porphyry Column of Constantine; to the hybrid, re-framed, cross-signed Columns of Theodosius and Arcadius embellished with spiral bas reliefs, and ultimately to the richly-decorated, intentionally Christianized Column of Justinian. A comparison to the "obvious" historical precedent, the city of Rome and its column monuments, acknowledge the unique features and mentalities applied in the *New Rome*. While exploring the Christianization 'up in the air' with the proposed sixth-century skyline, this study also offers the potential to reembody and enrich our understanding of the shift from the religiously-ambiguous foundation phase in the fourth century to an overtly Christian capital in the sixth century.

Session 4 Panel on Publishing

Sponsored by the Mary Jaharis Center for Byzantine Art and Culture

A roundtable discussion on academic publishing and Byzantine studies, with particular attention to the concerns of graduate students and early career scholars.

Participants:

Elena Boeck, *Dumbarton Oaks*

Simon Forde, *Medieval Institute Press / Arc Humanities Press*

Mahinder Kingra, *Cornell University Press*

Derek Krueger, *The University of North Carolina at Greensboro*

Sarah Pirovitz, *Oxford University Press*

Michael Sharp, *Cambridge University Press*

Moderator: Benjamin Anderson, *Cornell University*

Session 5A
Hagiography and Rhetoric

Chair: Kim Haines-Eitzen
Cornell University

The *Vita of Saint Tryphon in the Bucchia Manuscript* (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. XI, 196 (=7577))

Thomas E. Schweigert
University of Wisconsin-Whitewater

The *Bucchia Manuscript* in Venice contains a *Vita* of third century Phrygian martyr, Tryphon, *La Legenda de miser san triphone ... protectore ... de Cataro*. The Italianate dialect text is from 1466 by a member of the noble Bucchia family of Cattaro/Kotor, which ceded itself to Venice in 1420, escaping Ottoman conquest. Tryphon's exorcisms, and his *passio* and martyrdom under Decius, are illustrated in twenty-three full-page miniatures, the focus of the few published studies in Italian and Serbo-Croatian. One author notes that the manuscript is known largely because of similarity between a miniature and a subsequent painting by Carpaccio and argues for Venetian influence from *ateliers* of the Bellini and Vivarini families. Such previous studies, narrowly art historical and from Venetophile or Croatian national perspectives, largely overlook the text itself, which is my focus.

According to (one) tradition, the relics of Tryphon, attested in Constantinople by Procopius, arrive in Cattaro/Kotor in 809 under Nikephoros I, attested in the tenth century by Constantine VII (*DAI*). The standard, extant *Vita* of Tryphon is in the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, with feast day in early February. A distinct tradition in the Latin west from the eleventh century associates Tryphon with a companion martyr, Respicus, and one Nympha, all celebrated together on 10 November. The latter two have been relegated, post-Vatican II, and Tryphon now appears alone in the Roman martyrology on 1 February. I compare contemporary and earlier *lives* from Venetia, in Latin and vernacular, with that from *Bucchia*. The former are in the 'innovative' western tradition, while the latter contains numerous sentences and larger blocs of text that match the *Menologion* almost word-for-word. The *Bucchia* text, however, is not simply a vernacular version of *Menologion*, which ends with the beheading of Tryphon; in *Bucchia* the cycle of miniatures ends here, but a full quarter of the text then follows, unillustrated. The earliest leaves of the *Bucchia* text contain "apocryphal" material on Tryphon's childhood not found in the *Menologion*, and, even in those sections that closely correspond, there are significant discrepancies between the two within the many dialogues. I argue for the *Bucchia Legenda* as a late expression of local written, oral, and visual traditions whose origins predate the *Menologion* but which have commonality with the Constantinopolitan tradition that produces it.

The last quarter of the text recounts two "*translacione*" of relics, which here are originally brought by Venetians. Anachronisms betray a fifteenth century composition, but, rather than Venetophile propaganda, I read a mock-heroic sendup of the new owners. The sack of Cattaro/Kotor and theft of the relics by Tsar Samuel, followed by the successful petitioning of Basil II by the residents for their return, produces a second "*translacione*." This account rings true, but it is not mentioned in modern histories, largely reliant on the problematic *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. The *Legenda* ends with another heretofore unnoticed account, that of the Black Death in Cattaro/Kotor.

**The God-Loving Ears and the God-Praising Mouth:
Philotheos Kokkinos' *Hypomnēma* on Nikodemos the Younger (BHG 2307)**

Mihail Mitrea
University of Edinburgh

This paper enters the working room of arguably the most gifted Palaiologan hagiographer, Philotheos Kokkinos (*ca.* 1300–1377/8), by analyzing the encomiastic *hypomnēma* he composed for the little-known figure of Nikodemos the Younger (BHG 2307). A native of Thessaloniki, student of (worldly) rhetoric, Athonite monk with a distinguished ecclesiastical career culminating in his appointment as metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia and subsequently as patriarch of Constantinople, Philotheos composed numerous lives of saints (old and contemporary) which sought to shape and were shaped by the political and theological disputes of fourteenth-century Byzantium. The first and the shortest in a series of five *vitae* composed for contemporary saints—Sabas the Younger (BHG 1606), Isidore I Boucheiras (BHG 962), Germanos Maroules (BHG 2164), Gregory Palamas (BHG 718)—all of whom were connected to Kokkinos' *patris* of Thessaloniki, the *hypomnēma* is the unique source of information on Nikodemos. Born in the mid thirteenth century in the Thessalian city of Berroia, Nikodemos settled in the Philokales monastery in Thessaloniki after years spent as an itinerant monk. Playing the holy fool by consorting with prostitutes led to his killing at the age of forty (*ca.* 1307) and to his burial outside the monastery. His relics were later discovered as uncorrupted and performed numerous healing miracles, being placed in a chapel commissioned by emperor Andronikos II. By 1321 he received a fresco in the main church of the Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos and around 1341 Philotheos, at the time superior of the Philokales monastery, dedicated him a life. This paper explores how Kokkinos reconstructed the life and image of Nikodemos, focusing on his use of stylistic figures and *topoi*, linguistic registry, and intertextuality. Moreover, it addresses the question of intended audience arguing that the hagiographer targeted a broader public, beyond the monastic *milieu*. Finally, in connection to this, it examines the miracle accounts weaved in the narrative and their political and social functions.

Session 5B
Constructing Identity - Constructing History:
Aristocrats, Emperors and Empresses in Middle and Late
Byzantium

Chair: Christian Raffensperger
Wittenberg University

Nikephoros Xiphias and the 11th-century ‘Ideal Administrator’: Narratives of Insurrection and Legitimacy in the East

AnnaLinden Weller
Uppsala University

This paper examines the career of Nikephoros Xiphias, taking into account his successes on campaign in Bulgaria and his participation in the 1022 CE Xiphias-Phokas revolt against Basil II in Cappadocia and his subsequent tonsuring and exile. The career of Xiphias is used as a test case in considering the nature of the Byzantine narrative of insurrection and legitimate rule in the eleventh-century East. By comparing various accounts of the Xiphias-Phokas revolt (i.e. Skylitzes, Yahya ibn Sa'id, Lastivertci, and the Armenian redaction of the Georgian Royal Annals) and placing these accounts in context with the historiographic presentation of Xiphias during the portions of his career where he was a loyal servant of Basil II, it is possible to demonstrate that there is a narrative of an ‘ideal civil servant’ in Byzantine historiography which runs parallel to and interacts with the narrative of an ‘ideal emperor’.

This narrative of the ‘ideal civil servant’ has its foundations in elements of panegyric and political philosophy, as well as appearing in 10th and 11th-century historiography. Works like John Lydus’ *On Powers*, Blemmydes’ *The Royal Statue*, and Kekaumenos present virtues which ought to belong to all sorts of rulers, starting with emperors and moving down through those whom emperors appoint: i.e. civil servants. Reflections of these genres appear in the historiographic account of Xiphias’s revolts, and thus reveal a macro-narrative of legitimate rule and uncertain succession within both the Byzantine and Armenian world-chronicle traditions, as well as commenting on how historiographic writing intersected with these more rhetorical and instructive genres in the 11th century.

The paper concludes by drawing a comparison between Xiphias and another prominent Byzantine aristocrat with a similar career trajectory: Nikephoros Ouranos, who also had great successes on campaign in Bulgaria and received an important post in the East – though he never engaged in insurrection.

The Good, the Bad, the Ugly: De-legitimization of the Laskarid Dynasty in George Akropolites's *The History*

Aleksandar Jovanović
Simon Fraser University

In *The History*, George Akropolites, a fervent supporter of Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Palaiologan *renovatio imperii*, employs a number of rhetorical devices in order to demonstrate both the inevitability and legitimacy of Michael VIII's takeover of the imperial office from John IV Laskaris. By writing the history of the Laskarid Byzantine Empire in exile (1204–1261) after the re-conquest of Constantinople, Akropolites conducts a rigorous *Kaiserkritik* of the Laskarid emperors.

In this paper, I argue that Akropolites's insistence on demonstrating the legitimacy and inevitability of Michael VIII's *basileia*, through the deployment of rhetorical means, offers insight into a nuanced comprehension of Byzantine notions of imperial office and dynastic sovereignty in the Late Byzantine Empire. Namely, Akropolites discredits the Laskarid family in order to be able to legitimately ascertain the rise of Michael VIII to power. The ways in which the author engages with whole families, in order to promote individuals, illuminates the perception of the role that dynasties and families played in a non-dynastic polity. Furthermore, Akropolites's dismissal of the Laskarides and appraisal of the Palaiologoi is justified by a popular consensus that existed amongst the empire's elites as well as the subjects of the empire as a whole. I ascertain that we can deepen our understanding of Byzantine legal principles of holding the imperial office by framing familial politics into the idea of popular consensus.

Such scholars as Paul Magdalino and Hans Georg-Beck, and more recently Anthony Kaldellis, have opened a conversation about the role of Roman (republican) legal traditions in Byzantine politics and governing systems. In his "Aspects of Twelfth-Century Byzantine *Kaiserkritik*," Paul Magdalino ascertains that "the events of 1204 led to the emergence, in the exile to Asia Minor, of an imperial system which corresponded much more closely to the ideal of Zonaras and Choniates (as historian) [i.e. that of a Roman polity governed by an emperor and the people] than to that of the twelfth-century encomiasts [i.e. Komenian patrimonial rule]" (345). By engaging with such scholarship, I explore the ways in which Akropolites bases his *Kaiserkritik* on both popular consensus and imperial authority. In morphing imperial images, the author expands on climax—a figure of speech used to show linear increase or decrease—in order to depict the decline of the Laskarid rulers, starting with a positive description of Theodore I and ending with an absolutely negative characterization of Theodore II. Simultaneously, Akropolites wrote *The History* as a praise of Michael VIII by framing the narrative in a way that corresponds completely with that of *basilikos logos*. That is, while following official imperial affairs, the author inserts the history of Michael VIII's ancestors, Michael's good upbringing, virtues, and success on the battlefield. Thus, other than simply dismissing the Laskarides, the author celebrates the whole *genos* of the Palaiologoi so to demonstrate the legal sanction for Michael VIII's coronation. By so doing, Akropolites conducts a twofold task: he wraps the *psogos* of the Laskarid household into an *enkomion* of the Palaiologoi.

Venice Hellenic Institute Gr. 5:
A Byzantine Version of the *Alexander Romance* as a Guide for Good Empresses

Sarah Mathiesen
Washington, DC

Tales about Alexander the Great, collectively known as the *Alexander Romance*, have survived nearly 2500 years and still manage to capture the imagination. Alexander's story has been shared the world over and, with every culture editing his legend, he has become accessible and familiar to each culture. This paper examines how the Byzantine culture, specifically the 14th century imperial court of the Byzantine successor state of Trebizond, problematized, depicted, and used the legend of Alexander the Great to define the qualities that a Byzantine Empress should embody.

My paper analyzes the manuscript known Venice Hellenic Institute Gr. 5, or the Trebizond *Romance*, and theorizes how the codex, and the story of the *Romance* within, is meant to function as a guidebook for instructing the emperor and empress of Trebizond, Alexios III Megas-Komnenos and Theodora Komnene Kantakouzene. I argue that, to accomplish this instructive purpose, elements of the *Romance* and the way in which it is presented textually and visually have been altered to reflect Byzantine society. In essence, how else would you dress Alexander other than in the guise of a Byzantine emperor? This particular Trapezuntine Byzantine context presents a version of the *Romance* to the imperial and court audience with the purpose of constructing and maintaining personalities proper for Byzantine rulers, while serving the needs and ego of its imperial readers.

The Trebizond *Romance* is a nearly intact manuscript containing roughly 250 pages worth of illustration. Filled with images drafted in bright jewel-like colors that follow the journey of Alexander the Great from conception to death in almost comic book-like detail, the manuscript is filled with dynamic characters and intriguing images. Featured in many of the illustrated pages are the women of Alexander's life: the historical figures of his mother, Olympias, and wife, Roxane, as well as the legendary Amazons and Kandake of Meroe. This paper examines each of these women and their visual and textual construction within a book coded for Byzantine eyes.

Strong, fierce, clever, and beautiful, these women are powerful figures in the male-dominated narrative. Through their personalities and actions, the women of the Trebizond *Romance* teach and inform the young imperial couple by example, or in the case of the Amazons, by anti-example. My specific contribution to the studies on this manuscript is in examining and positing how each female character fits into the guidebook principle and how they are familiarized, or "byzantinized," for Byzantine readers. I also show that these four individual female personalities can be read as one unified entity. In this manner, the women of the Trebizond *Romance* form the ideal, archetypal "Good Empress" figure of Byzantine ruling culture. Take notes if you'd like to be Empress one day.

Session 6A
Monastic Landscapes

Chair: Jennifer Ball
Brooklyn College

A Case Study of Byzantine Monasticism in Two Anatolian Provinces, ca. 500-700

David A. Heayn

Graduate Center of the City University of New York

Monasticism has long been recognized as one of the most important socio-religious institutions of the Byzantine world. It was in 6th and 7th century Anatolia that its monastic tradition, institutions, and hagiography developed and matured. The study of monasticism in the region, and its hagiography, can inform our understanding of monasticism and eastern Christianity as a religious and social phenomenon that allows us to explore the nature of monasticism and its place in society. The extant hagiographic sources provide substantial information regarding the social, economic, religious, and cultural character of the region. Coupled with the archaeological evidence of monastic life, a richness of data emerges capable of providing a greater understanding of Byzantine society.

The study of monasticism in Anatolia thus follows the trajectory of studies in Syria and Egypt in their emphasis on the earliest 3rd to 5th century foundations of monasticism. Consequently, this has resulted in an incomplete picture. Significant attention still needs to be paid to the whole of the Byzantine Empire, especially in the understudied 6th and 7th centuries and the Anatolian provinces. It is vital to our understanding of later Byzantine society, its religious culture, and monastic tradition that we develop a better understanding of the religious institutions of Anatolia because it was during the 6th to 7th centuries that Anatolia comprised the majority of Byzantine territory and in subsequent centuries contributed significant to the religious landscape of the Empire.

This project redresses the current dearth of scholarship by exploring the monastic landscape of the 6th and 7th centuries through a case study of two Anatolian provinces, Lycia and Galatia. Its focus is on the monastic worlds described in the *vitae* of St. Nicholas of Sion and St. Theodore of Sykeon. From the information and character of these sources it is clear that the environment of the two provinces provided substantial room for innovation and led to the creation of a monastic tradition, distinct from the capital and other eastern provinces. It was the combination of an existing pre-6th century rigorist religious culture and the rural social structures of the provinces that resulted in the development of a unique tradition, similar to, but distinct from, the monastic traditions of the 6th and 7th centuries. This paper presents a new examination of the in situ remains from the identified monasteries and their surroundings while also showing the ways in which the physical landscape, the interaction between bishops and monks, and the delayed Christianization and spread of monasticism in Anatolia were factors contributing to the configuration of monasticism in these regions. Primarily this will entail a reexamination of the Peter Browns 'Holy Man' placing him firmly within the real life physical landscape of Anatolia, politics, and the institutional history of the monasteries Lycia and Galatia. This contextualization will complicate the saintly figures, pulling them away from the sacred and back to the everyday realities of their communities while questioning the motivations and the intentions of their actions and the depictions of their hagiographers in the construction of the *vitae* as sacred narratives and institutional histories.

Between City and Desert

Lillian I. Larsen
University of Redlands

Historically the respective monastic landscapes of Early Byzantine Constantinople and Late Antique Egypt have been framed as disparate conceptual loci. Marked in contrasts, their disjunctive character remains ideologically codified in a series of ‘larger than life’ binaries: city or desert, cosmopolitan or provincial, literate or rustic, accessible or remote, textual or oral, communal or solitary. While such dichotomies, in general, merit closer consideration, this paper premises that the most enduring polarity is arguably the most integral. This is the degree to which geographically informed, simple ‘either/or’ categories have influenced characterization of the monastic centers of Constantinople and Egypt relative to respective investment (or lack thereof) in literate education. By elucidating common elements that link descriptive nomenclature included in regulatory source material, the paper first documents the extent to which relatively uniform monastic focus on pedagogical pursuits transcends traditionally defined geographical boundaries. It then explores common threads in a trajectory of production, transcription, and dissemination that locates emergent constituencies and texts within a life-sized, didactic frame. In conclusion, it premises that the protocol that connects ‘desert’ and ‘city’, Late Ancient and Byzantine, presents an alternate paradigm that invites reimagining monastic landscapes, and reconceiving hybrid communities located in ‘between’ binaried extremes.

Fishing for Monks: The Archaeology of Monastic Fishing along the Nile

Darlene L. Brooks Hedstrom
Wittenberg University

Egypt's landscape is recognized for its limestone cliffs rising abruptly from the agricultural basin below. The contrast between the tan hills of the cliffs and the green fields of the estates in the valley below provides a visible boundary between two areas, diminishing any transitional space between the two locations. The construction of the Aswan Dam in 1969 and the use of modern hydraulic systems have permanently transformed Egypt's landscape so that we often fail to realize, as modern viewers, how much the Nile once consumed the floodplains for several months each year. The inundation radically transformed Egypt's landscape by bringing the water closer to settlements, increasing dangerous encounters with crocodiles, and disrupting paths of transportation on land and the river.

Egypt's monastic communities, established in the fifth century and later, were not immune from the fluctuations of their environment as their communities were engaged in the care for fields that were flooded, in housing refugees affected by loss of home, and in offering support to sailors by making ropes and nets. But, these encounters are not evident in the reconstruction of Egyptian monastic history. The Nile has disappeared from the story of monastic site formation as the desert, a dangerous and fierce landscape in monastic thought, has overshadowed our reconstructions of the past.

In considering the Byzantine monastic landscape, many studies have focused upon the need to articulate between the desert of Egypt and the desert constructed in monastic literature. The actual desert is one that is much nearer to lay communities and part of the daily fabric of Byzantine society. The other desert is one of monastic imagination—it is a desert intended to inspire others to pursue a holy life by giving up one's wealth, family, and societal obligations to share in common endeavor of asceticism. Yet, both of these portraits are missing any consideration of the very heart of the Egyptian landscape—the Nile.

In this study I use archaeological and documentary evidence to present an ecological history of the relationship between Egyptian monastic settlements and the Nile. In my discussion, I explore a variety of sources, such as ship graffiti, fishing equipment, and monastic correspondence, to reconstruct how the Nile and its active riverine culture affected monastic communities in the Byzantine period. In using theoretical models from cultural geography, historical ecology, and the phenomenology of landscape, I illustrate the importance of embedding monastic communities in a tripartite landscape that includes the Nile, the cultivated floodplains, and the desert for a more nuanced reading of Egypt's monastic landscapes.

Theopolis: Searching for the Sacredness of Antioch

Joshua Mugler
Georgetown University

Antioch was among the most prominent cities in the late Roman Empire, as well as a highly significant city for Christians. It was the place where Peter and Paul preached, the place where “the disciples were first called Christians” (Acts 11:26), and a member of the patriarchal Pentarchy. Yet after it was conquered by the Arabs in the seventh century, it became a rather peripheral border town, and few details of its history are known until the arrival of the Crusaders. However, Antioch’s place on the border meant that it was a prime location for interreligious struggles: it was taken by the Byzantines in 969, then regained by the Saljūqs in 1084 before quickly being lost again.

One significant source that has been preserved from this dramatic period is the *Life* of Christopher, a “Melkite” patriarch of Antioch in the turbulent 960s who was killed by rebels in retribution for his loyalty to the Ḥamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawla. Although Christopher was thus the victim of an intra-Muslim conflict, he was remembered as a Christian martyr, especially after the Byzantines conquered the city shortly after his death and began to pay honor to his relics. The text of the *Life* was originally written in Greek by Ibrāhīm b. Yuḥannā al-Anṭākī under the Byzantine rule of the eleventh century, but is preserved in Arabic. It is extant in two manuscripts, one of which was edited and translated into French by Habib Zayat in 1952. In this paper, I explore the various ways in which this text presents Antioch as a holy city and will argue that one goal of the text is to instill a sense of the sacred importance of Antioch in its readers. For example, Christopher’s original move to Syria from Iraq is framed as a recapitulation of the journey of Abraham in Genesis 11, and similar biblical parallels are employed occasionally throughout the text.

In applying a spatial lens to this historical period, I draw on contemporary geographical theory, most notably Edward Soja’s concept of “real-and-imagined places,” a description that could aptly be applied to medieval Antioch. In a time when the political importance of the real Antioch had greatly diminished, Ibrāhīm drew on the full resources of the imagined Antioch in order to show the divine significance of Christopher’s saintly life. Given that the *Life* of Christopher was written by and for Byzantine subjects who felt themselves to be under constant danger of Muslim reconquest, its author sought to motivate his readers to feel that Antioch was a city worth defending.

Session 6B
Language and Identity

Chair: Marica Cassis
Memorial University of Newfoundland

The Cardinal Bessarion as a Writer of Rhetorical History

Scott Kennedy
Ohio State University

Scholars have long noted the revived interest in regionalism during the late Byzantine period. For the first time in centuries, Constantinople's chokehold over Roman culture was broken, as regional centers such as Thessalonike and the Peloponnese began to compete with the capital. One consequence of this development was the revival of the late antique genre of encomium writing exemplified by Aelius Aristides' *Panathenaic Oration* and Libanios' *Antiochikos*. In these orations, Byzantine revivalists such as Theodore Metochites, John Eugenikos, and Nikephoros Choumnos often tried to briefly reconstruct the ancient origins of their city, but none went so far in their historical and antiquarian interests as the cardinal Bessarion (1400/8-1472).

In his encomium of the city of Trebizond, written around 1436, Bessarion drew upon a number of ancient and medieval sources to reconstruct the city's history from its foundation as a Greek colony to the present day as the capital of the empire of Trebizond. Uniquely, Bessarion comes at a time when we can readily identify his sources, since the corpus of ancient literature that Byzantines possessed was largely the same as ours. As such, his encomium offers scholars a unique opportunity to see how a late Byzantine humanist would reconstruct the past and interpret his sources while writing a panegyricizing 'history' of Trebizond. For example, a close examination of his sources can tell us about how he negotiated issues such as sparse sources for a period. In the Greek tradition, very little survives on Trebizond's foundation. But using Xenophon's references to Trebizond still paying tribute to its parent city Sinope when the 10,000 passed through (*Anabasis*, 5.5.10), Bessarion surmised that the city was founded not long before Xenophon's visit. Bessarion's inferences are interesting because even with the advances of modern archaeology, scholars have not been able to reach a consensus on when the city was founded. The earliest datable human occupation of the city dates from precisely the fourth century, so Bessarion may not have been all that wrong.

Besides demonstrating Bessarion's antiquarian interests, his 'history' also testifies to how he constructed his own ethnic identity and that of the empire of Trebizond. For example, the Laz often fought alongside the Romans under Justinian I against the Persians in Prokopios. Bessarion, looking back one thousand years later, appropriates the Laz for his own people, claiming their accomplishments for the city of Trebizond even though Trebizond was only a regional outpost during this period. For Bessarion, a native Trapezuntine, his identity as a Trapezuntine therefore included mountainous and semi-barbaric Lazike. Through an examination of how Bessarion rewrote and interpreted his sources, scholars can not only see a late Byzantine humanist at work, but also gain some key insights into how he reconstructed the identity of the empire of Trebizond, an area that has never before really been studied.

The Great Ceasar Bardas and the Mysterious Princess of Byzantium

Navid Karimi

University of British Columbia

During Michael III's (842-867 A.D.) reign, the administration devolved upon Empress Theodora and later her brother Bardas. Under Theophilos (829-842 A.D.), Bardas rose to high office; however, he was forced to be contented with an inactive life in his suburban house. After Theoktistos's murder, he became the *de facto* regent for his nephew, Michael III. Bardas produced a university and prospered the government and was created Caesar on Sunday after Easter in April 859 A.D., and for ten years, the government of the Empire was in his hands. His brilliance won the battle against the Saracens in 863 A.D as well as committing the care of the Church to the most brilliant Patriarch who ever occupied the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople.

The examination of an old historic text, *Kamal al-din wa tamam al-ni'mah* written by a 10th century Persian scholar by the name of Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Babawaih al-Qummi, reveals an incredibly interesting biography of a Roman Princess that seems to be the granddaughter of the Great Caesar Bardas. In this text she introduces herself as the granddaughter of a Great Caesar who for years lived in the great Caesar's court and for some complicated reasons runs away, gets captured and ends up in Arab lands. Remarkably, this lady introduces herself as the descendant of Jesus's disciples, which creates a strong connection to Christianity. This information, assuming to be true, provides a new path about the Hagiography of 9th century Byzantium.

This paper attempts to identify this Roman Princess among various Byzantine texts and her connection to the Byzantine Caesar Bardas, as well as the events in the Imperial Palace during her wedding and her footpath into Arab territories. This Roman Princess introduces an amalgamation between 9th century Byzantium and Arab territories, which till now, appears to have been neglected. Byzantium history in original Greek, Latin, and Arabic texts stipulate some evidences that support the idea that this Great Caesar is Caesar Bardas the Great. Further, it presents the connection between the Great Caesar Bardas and the unfathomable Byzantine Princess as well as the influence of this connection on current approach towards Byzantine studies.

A Byzantine Family: the Bardakhlades

Dimitri Korobeinikov
University of Albany

This so far unattested family was for the first time mentioned by Theodore Prodromos sometime in the middle of the twelfth century. The addressee of his unpublished letter was a certain *sebastos* Constantine Bardakhlas. However, the Bardakhlades lost their aristocratic status after the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders and the foundation of the Empire of Nicaea in 1204. Still prominent lords of the Byzantine boundary zone, whose possessions were recorded near the cities of Smyrna and Philadelphia respectively, the Bardakhlades seemed to have been in opposition to the Nicaean Emperor John III Batatzes. They took the Seljuk side at the beginning of the protracted Nicaean-Seljuk war in 1225-1231/1232. The Seljuk historian Ibn Bibī wrote about ‘five sons of Fardakhlā, who recently arrived from the lands of Laskaris and came into benevolent sight of the Padishah’ (the latter being the Seljuk Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I (1219-1237)) during the expedition of the emir Mubārīz al-Dīn Chāwli (Çavlı) against the fortress of Kāhta in AH 623 (2 January – 21 December 1226). The Seljuk branch of the Bardakhlades was recorded for the last time in 1240 as military commanders of the Latin mercenary corps of the Seljuk army, while its Byzantine branch survived in Constantinople as a rich family without titles but with a strong affiliation with the Byzantine clergy of the church of St Sophia. They were last mentioned at the end of the fourteenth century.

No seal of the Bardakhlades was so far discovered. Their family name suggested that they were of Syriac origin. It is unmistakably Syrian, having as their first component the Syriac word ‘son’, *bar*, so common in the Syriac names. The second component of their family name was *dehlā*, which can be translated as ‘fear’ or ‘awe’, and the name Bar Dekhla thus meant ‘Son of Awe’. It still remains uncertain how and when did the Syriac family of the Bardakhlades enter the ranks of the Byzantine aristocracy.

The Role of the Emperor in the Production of the Encyclical of Basiliscus and the *Henoticon*

Jason Osequeda
University of Chicago

Within a span of seven years the Byzantine imperial government, under different regimes, produced two documents that attempted to define orthodoxy and overcome doctrinal divisions, the Encyclical of Basiliscus (475) and the *Henoticon* of Zeno (482), to varying degrees of success. Ultimately, both failed and the mixed reception of these documents was in part due to the long running debate of to what extent the emperor could have a say in ecclesiastical affairs. While the *Henoticon* was in effect for some decades before Justin I abrogated it in 519, the Encyclical was short lived and Basiliscus had to rescind it. The mixed reception of each can be explained by the form and manner of implementation of the documents. In the case of the Encyclical, Basiliscus wrongly assumed that as emperor he could unilaterally define doctrine. Zeno, on the other hand, took a much more reserved approach in the form of his document. Indicative of Basiliscus' roughshod way of enacting his document is his treatment of the bishops of Asia, who claimed that the emperor had forced them to sign the Encyclical, which itself threatened violence for failure to agree with it. The difference in form and implementation had just as much impact as the content of the documents in the acceptance of them.

At the heart of both documents was a conciliatory effort to overcome the divisions that the Christology of the Council of Chalcedon had created. While the Encyclical was blatantly anti-Chalcedonian, the *Henoticon*, while proposing a doctrine not overtly incompatible with Chalcedon still allowed for hostility to the council. A factor that immediately endangered the sustainability of the Encyclical was that it was in the form of an imperial edict. Furthermore, it was normalizing in discourse, establishing doctrine and condemning the findings of a council, an act which itself necessitated a council to do. The Encyclical practically assumed all the functions an ecumenical council, without actually being one. The *Henoticon*, on the other hand, was a more careful document that articulated the Christology of the four ecumenical councils to be as innocuous as possible while still courting the miaphysite reader. Crucially, the *Henoticon* avoided standardizing language, instead merely affirming what the councils had already determined, and thus Zeno eluded the appearance of mandating doctrine. The language of each document reveals the respective emperor's opinion about his role in the church. Basiliscus operated under the assumption that his role as emperor allowed him to pronounce on matters of religion without the consensus of the Church, while Zeno shrewdly presented himself as simply upholding the decisions of councils. The difference between normalizing and affirming language was critical in the reception of these documents, because only the latter was acceptable for an emperor.

Session 7A
Defining Cults in Byzantium

Sponsored by the Mary Jaharis Center for Byzantine Art and Culture

Chair: Christina Christoforatu
City University of New York
Respondent: Annemarie Weyl Carr
Southern Methodist University

Images in Christian Worship before the Iconoclasm

Diliana Angelova

UC Berkeley

In a seminal article published in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (1954) Ernst Kitzinger defined and thus affirmed the phenomenon of “the cult of images before the Iconoclasm.” His definition of “cult of images” underscored devotional practices and belief in magical and apotropaic properties of religious representations, and in their miraculous origins. To this day, Kitzinger’s definition of what constitutes the cult of images continues to weigh heavily on the scholarship, and explicitly or implicitly charts the course of current debates about the meaning of images in the pre-Iconoclastic era.

This paper aims at steering the scholarly discussion on early Christian images in a new direction by critiquing Kitzinger’s premises and by offering a new method of analysis. I argue that there are two analytical problems with Kitzinger’s study. First, most of the Kitzinger’s examples concerned portable images. He therefore ignored the vast majority of religious images, those that decorated the interiors of early Christian churches. Second, Kitzinger’s definition of cult takes as its analytical lens phenomena that become more common after the seventh century, but seem largely absent from the earlier centuries of Christianity. It is therefore anachronistic and unsuited to the pre-Iconoclastic religious imagery.

This paper proposes a new model for understanding the link between Christian devotion and Christian images in the early Christian centuries. It is grounded in three sources: scripture, the writings of the Church fathers, and early Christian church decorative programs, such the fifth-century mosaics of the Church of the Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. This new model centers on the often-repeated contemporary statement that images in the early Christian churches functioned as the gospel for the illiterate. Yet what is neglected is that neither the scriptures were interpreted literally, nor were the early Christian images literal renditions of biblical text. Both contained deeper meanings that only the initiate could comprehend. Patristic literature provides ample evidence that scripture signified at three different levels: historical, moral, and spiritual. I suggest that early Christian church decoration likewise operated on the same three levels as scripture. The images functioned as evidence for the historicity of scripture; they taught moral lessons; and they allowed the initiates to perceive higher mysteries. Positioning of images in churches responded to these hierarchies of meaning, with the apse imagery referring to the highest mystery of all: the mystery of the Incarnation.

Like scripture, early Christian images in churches, such as those in Santa Maria Maggiore, therefore were essential to Christian worship, primed to enable the worshipers for their spiritual ascent to higher truths. This role of images can be discerned therefore more than a century earlier than the writings on spiritual ascent of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. More broadly, images did not enjoy a separate form of “cult.” They were integral to Christian worship as early as the late fourth century.

Bone, Blood, Milk, and Oil: Examining the Relics of St. Panteleemon

Brad Hostetler

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

This paper examines the relics of St. Panteleemon, and the ways in which they promoted and shaped his cult in Byzantium. Panteleemon was one of the *anargyroi*—doctors who healed without payment. After converting to Christianity and performing many miracles, he was tortured and beheaded by the Emperor Maximian in ca. 305. His body was housed in a church built outside the walls of Nikomedeia in Bithynia. He was one of the most popular saints in Byzantium, and his cult extended into the West. Churches were dedicated to him, and illustrations of his life are found in a variety of media and contexts. He has an extensive hagiographic dossier that includes such authors as Andrew of Crete, John Geometres, and Constantine Akropolites.

Panteleemon's relics, however, have not been the focus of scholarship. Textual and material sources present a diverse picture of Panteleemon's cult, and the relics that helped shape it. This paper parses out the various contexts and uses of these sacred substances, and determines what they can tell us about the veneration of this healing wonderworker in Byzantium.

His bodily relics, kept in Nikomedeia, were certainly venerated. Reliquaries that housed individual body parts—such as his arm, now in Venice—survive or are known through textual sources. Milk also became associated with his cult—it supposedly poured from his wound at his beheading. A pilgrim of the eleventh century describes a gold and crystal reliquary in Hagia Sophia, which contained the saint's blood and milk. The pilgrim notes that on Panteleemon's feast day (July 27), the two liquids miraculously separated—one ascended to the top of the vessel and the other liquid sank to the bottom. Other textual sources indicate that holy oil was also associated with Panteleemon's cult. According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, the emperors visited a church in Constantinople that housed the saint's head, and received holy oil from it. Epigrams for reliquaries also describe the curative power of holy oil that “gushed from” Panteleemon's bodily relics; these texts refer to him as a *myroblytes*.

Panteleemon's cult was thus unusual for the number and variety of relics that were associated with it: bone, blood, milk, and oil. This paper explores the reasons for this material proliferation, and expands our knowledge of their veneration in the Middle Byzantine period.

Evidence for an Imperial Cult: The Case of Nikephoros II Phokas

Lynn Jones

Florida State University

While only one emperor, Constantine I, was recognized as a saint by the Orthodox Church during the Middle Byzantine period, evidence suggests that many if not most emperors, and some empresses, were informally granted sacred status upon death by the Church and/or their successor.

There was a conventional process for conferring saintly status on the non-imperial dead, and I argue that it was the same process used for emperors. My case study is the suggested cult of Nikephoros II Phokas, who is depicted in the monumental decorative programs of Cappadocian rock-cut churches, celebrated in an *akolouthia*, and sanctified in popular apocalyptic texts and legends. In most cases, imperial and otherwise, non-canonical status quickly fell away. In the case of Nikephoros, a preliminary assessment of the evidence suggests that his cult, established immediately upon death in 969, subsided during the late tenth century only to reappear, strengthened, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Nikephoros, I argue, was (re) granted sanctity in the early eleventh century in order to assert his descendant's right to claim imperial status. The emphasis on his piety was calculated to stoke the fires of discontent amongst the great military families of Cappadocia, whose status and wealth had been decimated by Basil II.

While this socio-political agenda was, of course, intended to serve a very specific, short-term goal, I argue that the pious renovation of Nikephoros continued after the revolt of 1022 was suppressed. The symbolic relationship between Joshua and Nikephoros established during and immediately after his lifetime, in art and text, again became popular in Cappadocia. In each case he is presented and/or addressed as an acknowledged saint.

This study will further our knowledge of the many ways in which imperial sanctity was established in the Middle Byzantine period. Monastic authority was region-specific and limited in the ability to declare and maintain sainthood. Popular, regional devotion is thought to have had more impact in establishing and maintaining cults of 'unrecognized' saints—but such popular cults have left little evidence, and unrecognized saints tend to remain so. In the case of Nikephoros we have, I suggest, evidence of the ways in which an imperial cult was invented, disavowed, resurrected and continued over a period of 120 years.

Session 7B
The Odes in Psalter Vaticanus Graecus 752 and Emergent
Meaning:
Experiments in Text and Image in the 1050s

Chair: Georgia Frank
Colgate University

Paratexts of Paratexts?
The Bivalent Status of the Odes in Psalter Vaticanus graecus 752

Jeremiah Coogan
University of Notre Dame

Over the course of the first millennium CE, the collection of biblical and parabiblical texts known as ‘the odes’ had become a distinct unit within the Greek Bible. Functioning as a separate biblical book, with a textual tradition distinct from their reference texts, the odes accumulated their own commentaries, homilies, and catenae. Reflecting liturgical praxis, the odes most often appear in manuscripts of the Psalter. Yet the odes remain a liminal phenomenon, part of the extensive paratextual apparatus that made the Psalms into the Christian Psalter. Examination of the Greek manuscript tradition for the biblical odes illuminates the porous and unstable boundaries of the collection within the larger complex of texts and paratexts associated with the Greek Psalter. Numerous metatexts explicitly or implicitly attribute scriptural status to ‘the odes’, yet the exact sequence and contents of the collection nonetheless remain fluid. The unstable boundaries of the odes thus mirror the uncertain status of the collection itself, which alternately functions as a biblical text conducive to holistic reading and as a liturgical epitext on the fringes of the canonical Psalter.

In context of this broader odes tradition, the present paper considers the bivalent status of the odes in Psalter *Vaticanus graecus 752* (=Rahlfs 1173). The manuscript reflects the continuing instability of the odes qua paratext, which also attract their own particularly rich paratextual apparatus. The present paper interrogates the relationship between these two functions. It seeks to demonstrate how paratextual features demarcate the odes as both part of the Psalter and yet also distinct from it.

Jerusalem in Constantinople: The *Hagiopolites* Divine Office in the Imperial City

Stig Frøyshov
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A rubrical note in one of the odes of Vat. Gr. 752 states that the ode in question is “according to the *Hagiopolites*.” This epithet denotes a particular liturgical tradition adhered to in Constantinople. As the term tells, the *Hagiopolites* tradition stemmed from Jerusalem and was adopted in Byzantium, where it existed side by side with the local “*Ekklesiastes*” tradition. The Constantinopolitan *Hagiopolites* was limited to the Divine Office (Book of Hours, Psalter, hymnography), but combined with the Constantinopolitan Lectionary and Euchologion to constitute the Byzantine Rite which gradually gained ground in Byzantium and eventually became the one Orthodox liturgical tradition.

This paper challenges the reigning paradigm according to which the combined Byzantine Rite was the result of a Studite reform of the late eighth – early ninth century. The hymnography which was composed by Germanos I of Constantinople and Andrew of Crete a century earlier, and which could hardly have been used in anything but a *Hagiopolites* rite, testifies to the existence of the latter in Constantinople at least by the early eighth century. There are signs suggesting an even earlier adoption of the *Hagiopolites* in Constantinople.

Another part of the reigning paradigm that needs to be revised is the assumption that the *Hagiopolites* Divine Office was of monastic character. The biographies of *Hagiopolites* hymnographers show that at least a part of the Great Palace observed *Hagiopolites*, and so at least from the eighth century. In addition to the imperial patronage of *Hagiopolites*, it seems that the patriarchate of Constantinople from a much earlier time than usually thought embraced *Hagiopolites* as a canonical rite, to begin with as a supplement to the rite of Hagia Sophia. By the eleventh century the Byzantine rite (with its *Hagiopolites* Divine Office) was observed by most churches in Constantinople.

The Commentary to the Odes by Hesychius of Jerusalem in Psalter Vaticanus Graecus 752

Barbara Crostini
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A study of the catena to the Psalter in MS *Vat. gr. 752*, copied in 1059, has highlighted the prominent role given to Hesychius of Jerusalem (d. ca. 430) as the principal source for its catena. This author is particularly understudied, and the three commentaries on the Psalms attributed to him are either poorly or incompletely published. In a preliminary study conducted on the transmission of Hesychius in the Middle Ages, I have highlighted his suitability to both Eastern and Western theological and ecclesiastical concerns, so that the choice of this source in the context of *Vat. gr. 752* could well highlight the conciliatory direction that this manuscript undertakes to subscribe in the post-1054 landscape.

Turning our attention to the Odes section in the same manuscript, as proposed by this conference session, it is natural to interrogate it first as to the use of its overall favorite author. Hesychius of Jerusalem has also written a *Commentary to the Odes*, which, like much of his work, has not been previously edited. The *Clavis Patrum graecorum* (CPG 6555) lists 8 mss as witnesses to the direct tradition of the commentary, as opposed to its inclusion in catenae in the form of extracts. Only two of the manuscripts listed are prior to the eleventh century: MS Oxford, *Auct. D. 4.1*, 9th cent.; and MS BAV, *Vat. gr. 744*, 10th cent. By taking the base texts from these two exemplars, I will compare the text included in *Vat. gr. 752* to see how it has reworked the text of Hesychius into its catena to the Odes. I will focus my attention on the Ode of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace, which, as Glenn Peers shows, has been given special prominence also because of its illustrative cycle.

The Three Youths Cycle in Psalter Vaticanus Graecus 752: Formation in Praise and Deliverance

Glenn Peers

The University of Texas at Austin

Vaticanus graecus 752 contains twelve of the fifteen Odes conventionally contained in a Byzantine Psalter. Moreover, it packages these Odes in an elaborate, though perhaps only partially controlled, set of commentaries of text and image. The Odes may not emerge in full clarity, but then they may not have had that clarity for the manuscript's maker or audience, so experimental do the Psalms and Odes appear to be under careful scrutiny. Indeed, emergent—but never fully crystalized—meaning(s) may be the manuscript's most exciting aspect, and as such, we are able to see the working premises and thinking processes that formed readers of the Psalms in the important middle decades of the eleventh century. The Psalter's texts and images are strongly marked by an emphasis on pedagogy, learning and repentance, and how these emphases reach the Ode section is an important aspect of understanding the overall conception and steps to Christian formation the manuscript presents for its eleventh-century reader(s).

This paper examines one suite of scriptural text, image and catenae in the section devoted to the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Youths (Daniel 3: 26-88) between fols. 473v-484v. This section is treated as a test case for approaching interpretation of the presentation of Psalms and Odes in the manuscript as a whole. Elaborately produced, in its remarkable number of images—eleven images comprise the visual cycle—and its nearly new set of catenae, it is also strikingly incoherent. The prayers of the Odes break and repeat, and they are self-consciously marked in the text as Jerusalemite and Constantinopolitan. The numerous catenae modify and expand the meanings possible in the scriptural passages. And the images are integral to the presentation and reading of the texts, while also resisting to a degree progressive or compounding visual-commentary on the texts (originary and commentaries) themselves. The suite of images is among the largest of any extant Byzantine manuscript, but the repetition, fragmentation, distillation of meaning that occurs on this level of commentary needs analysis. While in the rest of the manuscript, images perform sophisticated work of reader-formation, the precise motivation behind these Ode images needs explaining before the entire complex of text and image in this Psalter can hope to be understood.

Session 8A
Identities, Desires, and Hybrids

Chair: Leonora Neville
University of Wisconsin-Madison

From Fanboys to Frenemies: Foreign Elites in the Eleventh Century Eastern Roman Empire

Lee Mordechai
Princeton University

One of the Eastern Roman Empire's key qualities was its long-term success in drawing upon human resources in the form of foreign talent, which it continuously captivated and integrated into its cultural orbit. Foreigners of different social strata – of varied ethnicities and religions – served in the empire's military and played an important role in its politics, even reaching the imperial throne on occasion through succession, marriage or usurpation. Many of these foreigner groups remained observable in East Roman society and often maintained some sort of group identity.

The eleventh century, a period of political instability in which fifteen different emperors held the throne over six decades, marks a turning point in the empire's relationship with foreigners. At its beginning, the empire was able to successfully attract and assimilate foreign elites – on or beyond its frontiers – into its cultural orbit, skillfully exploiting the experience and connections of these individuals to benefit the imperial administration in both domestic and foreign affairs. Disparate foreigners such as Argyros of Bari, Aaron of Bulgaria, Grigor Magistros of Ani and Liparites IV of Iberia all contributed to imperial interests in their respective zones of influence and beyond, often attaining imperial goals at a considerably cheap price.

A series of changes in some of the empire's core social and cultural mechanisms disrupted this process. Although the empire continued to attract foreigners into its service even during its darkest moments in the late eleventh century, it began to encounter severe difficulties in culturally assimilating these individuals, resulting in a decreased sense of loyalty on their behalf and a substantial change in the empire's international image over time, both negative developments that impeded imperial policy. These faults in the tried and tested imperial system also led to a growing inefficiency in using imperial resources. Powerful individuals such as Thimal ibn Salih, Roussel de Bailleul or even the Crusader princes could slip away from imperial influence, often with harsh consequences. All of this ultimately weakened the empire politically and economically and contributed to the eleventh century crisis.

In my presentation I survey this relatively unnoticed aspect of eleventh century East Roman society and culture. I trace the socio-cultural mechanisms that worked well in the early part of the century and using a few case studies, show how the empire used these talents to overcome domestic and international challenges. I then look into the changes that obstructed these processes in the later part of the century, showing how the empire repeatedly failed to assimilate foreigners and enumerating the increasing costs this entailed. I conclude by discussing how the empire eventually adapted to this new situation, a development that would alter some of its core features over the twelfth century and beyond.

Marriage and the Christian Other in the Age of the Crusades

George E. Demacopoulos
Fordham University

Many crusade chroniclers, whether Greek or Latin, hostile or sympathetic, note the frequency of marriages between the Latin aristocratic classes and indigenous populations. Some sources, like that of Fulcher of Chartres, describe the extent to which Latin settlers in the Near East took Syrian, Armenian and even Saracen wives—the latter, of course, only after baptism. For Fulcher, this blending of cultures was made possible by a common Christian faith that “united peoples whose forefathers had been strangers.”

In Byzantium, marriages between Greeks and Latins were typically chronicled as the actualization of political and/or economic expediency for families with sufficient capital in offspring. Even the leaders of the Nicaean and Epirot aristocracies who sought to wrest Constantinople from the hands of the Latins during the thirteenth century frequently arranged marriages with Latins as an act of diplomacy.

Common as it was, the blending of Greek and Latin populations and the production of “hybrid” children did not go unchallenged. There is evidence that some Latin brides were expected to undergo the service of Chrismation prior to marriage. And by the mid-thirteenth century, there were efforts by the Venetians and some Greek theologians to forbid mixed marriages entirely. While this opposition seems to have done little to deter the practice, the escalation of opposition and the development of new vocabularies of sacramental restriction between Christian communities evince what we might liken to an existential crisis of Christian identity in the wake of colonial settlement in the Greek East.

Starting from the presupposition that the crusades exhibited some of the features that we associate with the European colonial project of later centuries and building on the insight of Edward Said that there is an intrinsic link between sexuality and colonialism, this paper examines the ways in which the reality of cross-cultural sexual pairing challenged pre-existing notions of Christian sacramental unity, purity, and authority. It argues that the spike in prohibitions against mixed marriages in the wake of the Fourth Crusade might be best understood as the byproduct of fierce internal debates about communal identity and cohesion in an age of rapid political, cultural, and economic upheaval. In such a setting, the sacrament of marriage became an effective tool for those who wished to define religious identity and solidarity in increasingly narrow ways. By demonstrating that the efforts to preclude and/or annul marriages between Greeks and Latins relied on innovative interpretations of earlier canonical material, this paper concludes by arguing that those interpretations reflected political and cultural animosity rather than traditional theological reasoning.

Magic and Superstition as Therapy during the Late and Post Byzantine Era: The Medical Recipes of the *Iatrosophia*

Danilo Valentino
University of Hamburg

The *iatrosophia* are collections of medical recipes, which were widely disseminated during the late Byzantine era. Written in a sort of early Modern Greek, these works were intended for practical usage and have rarely been the object of thorough investigation; by analyzing them, it is possible to readjust the relevant role of popular medicine in Byzantium and to widen our perception of “practical-use literature” (*Gebrauchsliteratur*) in that society and in the following centuries. Significant samples of *iatrosophia* are Ms. Taur. B.VII.18 from the Turin National Library and Ms. Panor. XIII.C.3 from the Sicilian Regional Library of Palermo. These manuscripts belong to 16th century and are collections of remedies for common illnesses based on the classical medical tradition, with the Pseudo-Galenic work *De remediis parabilibus* and the *Epitome de curatione morborum* by Theophanes Nonnos as their main sources. In them an important role is played by magic and superstition and, among others, love potions, exorcisms against uterine pain or methods to determine the gender of the child during the sexual intercourse are part of their therapy. Goal of this paper is to present different kinds of magic and superstitious remedies occurring in the mentioned and in further *iatrosophia* and to describe the common features of them, with the intention of offering hints to the cultural contexts, where they come from.

Session 8B
Liturgical Poetry

Chair: Derek Krueger
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Daru in the Winehouse: Slavery and Dancing in the Jewish East

Laura S. Lieber
Duke University

While the evidence for Jewish popular entertainment in the Land of Israel in Late Antiquity is slim at best, that for the Jewish East—in Syria and Persia—during this same time period is almost nonexistent. The material remains of civic infrastructure in Babylonia are scant, and whereas Jews in Palestine created a wealth of writings, including exegetical and homiletical anthologies (*midrashim*), vast collections of liturgical poems in Hebrew and Aramaic (*piyyutim*), multiple Aramaic versions of Scripture (*targumim*), and legal works (including the Mishnah, Tosefta, and the Palestinian), only the Babylonian Talmud bears significant witness to Jews in the Sassanian Persian world. As scant as the traces are, however, the Babylonian Talmud does provide hints of how Jews were entertained in this enigmatic historical time period.

This paper begins with a study of a minor figure from the Talmudic corpus: Daru, the slave of Rav Nachman, a fourth century Babylonian rabbinic sage (*amora*). Daru is mentioned five times in the Babylonian Talmud (and nowhere else); in two of these instances, he is described as a “dancer in wine-houses” (b. Baba Kama 97a and b. Baba Metzia 64b). Using these two passages as starting points, I examine the figure of Daru as a character and also explore the idiom of “one who dances in wine-houses” elsewhere in the Talmud. The Aramaic turn of phrase, while unique to (and rare within) the Babylonian Talmud, connects to passages elsewhere in rabbinic literature, and suggests commonalities with other writings from Late Antiquity and the early Byzantine period. In particular, the hagiographical stories of Symeon, “the holy fool” for Christ, provide a useful counterpoint to the mentions of Daru, as do homilies by John Chrysostom and Jacob of Serugh, as well as discussions of slaves and actors in Jewish writings from the Land of Israel. Theoretical and practical treatises concerning orators and “performance” more generally found in the *progymnasmata*—particularly Quintilian and Libanius—also elucidate the original texts. Finally, while there are very few examples of poetry in the Babylonian Talmud, the references to dancing and performance in the “secular” contexts described in the Talmud shed light on certain kinds of “religious” poetry—particularly funerary and marital poetry—from the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic corpus.

Through this contextual elucidation of the Talmudic texts, elements of conventional performance and performative aspects of literary texts are both highlighted. In particular, my analysis attends to issues of social status (slave dancers versus free; professional dancer versus amateur); gender (the perception that male dancers are feminized); the physicality of performance; and the social setting of dance. The rhetorical figure of the dancer, and particularly the slave-dancer, highlights shared cultural realities that cross confessional and geographical boundaries even as it serves a distinctive function within a specific community.

Open the Gate! Congregational Participation in Christian and Jewish Liturgical Poetry from Byzantium

Thomas Arentzen
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Ophir Münz-Manor
Open University of Israel

The paper presents a comparative analysis of a Christian and a Jewish liturgical poems, which both draw on the biblical motif of a “closed gate”. This motif plays a pivotal role in the parable about the ten virgins in the canonical Christian Gospel of Matthew, a parable that in turn relates to a similar motif in the Song of Songs. Interestingly, the motif of the closed gate was incorporated into Christian and Jewish liturgy in the early Byzantine period and was employed in form of a prayer for the opening of the gate, namely for personal and communal redemption.

The paper is co-authored (and co-presented) by two specialists of the respective liturgical traditions: Dr. Arentzen explores the motif in the kontakion *On the Ten Virgins I* by Romanos the Melodist, and Dr. Münz-Manor analyzes an anonymous *piyyut* (liturgical poem) from Byzantine Palestine for the Day of Atonement. How do these two poets from different linguistic traditions and different liturgical traditions involve their congregations and invite them, as it were, to enter the gate? The analysis will focus on the use of refrains. The refrain, a characteristic new feature of both Jewish and Christian liturgical poetry from the period, serves to engage the congregation literally and vocally in the liturgy.

The paper opens with a short introduction to the comparative study of Christian and Jewish liturgical poetry. The two poems are then examined individually before a comparative conclusion is drawn.

Session 9A
History of Scholarship

Chair: Darlene L. Brooks Hedstrom
Wittenberg University

The Controversial History of the *Instructions for the Persian Handy Tables*

Alberto Bardi

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich

Byzantine Studies and History of Science recognized more than hundred years ago that the byzantine astronomical text entitled Παράδοσις εἰς τοὺς περσικοὺς κανόνας τῆς ἀστρονομίας (*Instructions for Persian Handy Tables*) and the Third Book of the astronomical work by Theodoros Meliteniotes (Τριβιβλος Ἀστρονομική) are two redactions of the same text. The former (still unpublished) is of uncertain author, although often attributed to the mathematician Isaak Argyros, whereas the second (partially published) is of a sure author, because the manuscript written by Meliteniotes himself is available (*Vaticanus graecus* 792, before 1368). Both works are certainly a commentary to astronomical tables stemming to Persian tradition, a widely-spread genre from the 13th century on in Byzantium. The astronomical commentary is not new to Greek Tradition: its roots are to be found in the *Commentary to the Ptolemy's Handy Tables* by Theon Alexandrinus (4th century A.D.).

The history of this text is so far a mere draft. The scholars have been asking from the beginning of the 20th century who the real author of the *Instructions for Persian Handy Tables* was. The question is answerless. It has been hypothesized that the *Instructions* could be a draft of the Third Book by Meliteniotes as well as its epitome: the Third Book has an independent tradition in a version entitled *Instructions*, a text sometimes anonymous, sometimes attributed to Isaak Argyros. Anyway the relationships between the two redactions are still not surveyed: a critical comparison of them is missing so far and it is very hard to state which redactions comes before, because both texts could be dated at the middle of the 14th century. Nonetheless the textual tradition of the *Instructions* is one of the most complicated: the text survives in almost eighteen manuscripts and each of them contains significant textual differences, whereas the Third Book by Meliteniotes survives in complete form in two manuscripts only.

Recent paleographical studies identified the hand of Argyros in one of the textual witnesses of the *Instructions*, the manuscript Florence *Laurentianus graecus* 28.13 (before 1374). The entire codex was written by him. Therefore the question about the author must be definitely reconsidered.

Since I am working at the first critical edition of the *Instructions* I reconstructed the textual tradition of this text, I compared the redactions and discovered some new evidence about the relationships between the two redactions. First of all I found out that exactly the Florence manuscript by the hand of Argyros (*Laurentianus graecus* 28.13, written before 1374) contains the oldest text of the *Instructions for Persian Handy Tables*.

In this paper I present for the first time the textual tradition of the *Instructions for Persian Handy Tables*, I provide evidence on why the *Instructions* could not be an epitome of the Third Book by Meliteniotes and I explain why Argyros as well as Meliteniotes could be the author of this controversial astronomical text.

Erasmus and Byzantium: A Reappraisal of the History of Greek Scholars and the Origins of Early Modern Print Culture

Stefano Gulizia
City University of New York

This paper re-evaluates the significance of Erasmus' encounter, in the early sixteenth century, with Byzantine lexicography and philology, and his seemingly unexplored dependence on the activity of those scribes and copyists who emigrated from the capital during the Palaeologan period and after the Fall of Constantinople—whether they settled in areas of the Aegean directly controlled by Venice, like Candia, or in independent hubs of translation and textual dissemination such as Thessaloniki. On the one hand, the development of Erasmian paremiography, as documented by the successive editions of his *Adagia* in print, from 1509 until the 1530s, which were “improved” by scholia and compilations from the middle Byzantine period, shows the importance of representations of the Greek past in one of Renaissance Europe's most seminal rhetorical project; on the other, the eager collaboration of Byzantine scholars to the early printing ateliers in Venice or Basel—captured neatly in the experience of Marcus Musurus and Janus Lascaris, among others—is part of a larger picture of assimilation of Greek rhetoric and methodology. As a corollary, the accentuation of a Byzantine bias in the coverage of ancient history, which has been already noted by John Monfasani in his essays on Thomism and patristic thought in the early modern period, complements recent scholarly work on the framework of Greek historiography and in particular Anthony Kaldellis' discussion of Hellenism. My central argument is that Erasmus' attention for Byzantium should be seen not only as the demonstration of his encompassing classical erudition, but specifically as a token of interest for Byzantine literature *qua* Byzantine.

The first part of this paper is dedicated to the rediscovery of the *Souda* lexicon in Renaissance Italy, and to the use that Erasmus made of it to enhance the collection of his *Adagia*. After a review of the available documentation, which include the paratextual materials published by Alexander Vanautgaerden in his *Erasme Typographe* and a critique of the humanistic practice of note-taking vis-à-vis the peculiar problems of alphabetization implied in the *Souda*, I offer a thesis in four points, arguing that scholars and correspondents in the Erasmian entourage looked at this tenth-century Byzantine lexicon primarily: 1) to find means of beautifying a speech (a tradition operative in the Second Sophistic), 2) to reinforce the importance of being miscellaneous, 3) to construct a rhetorical opposition of high and low, and finally 4) to shed light on the authenticity of bogus literature. The second and shorter part presents evidence of Erasmus' reception of Byzantine scholia to Homer, making a case for the central position occupied within this production by the bishop Eusthatus of Thessaloniki and drawing attention to the valuable yet neglected role played by the convergence between the issues of focalization and the *kairos*. Such convergence, given the intensely local and annalistic point of view of the Romano-centric Byzantine court, is in itself very useful in urging a reconsideration of Renaissance historiography and in reimagining on a rhetorical basis the encounter between Erasmus and Byzantium.

Scholiastic Theory of Translation

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So-called paraphrases and metaphrases of the *Iliad* appeared throughout the Byzantine period, and the number of extant texts indicates their popularity. In the manuscripts of the earliest witnesses of this genre, particularly the paraphrasis Bodleiana and Pseudo-Psellos paraphrase, “paraphrase” and “metaphrase” are both given as the title, if any title is given at all, with seemingly no distinction in use between the two. Further, the use of the words by most Byzantine grammarians and rhetoricians (Signes Codoñer 2015) gives no better understanding of how the earlier instances of these genres were conceived of by the authors composing them. Even writers such as Eustathius, who was contemporary with the earliest witnesses for the paraphrases, do not offer as a clear or consistent use of the words. In order to understand properly what can be meant by these titles, explanations must be sought in the antecedents of these texts, that is, in the scholia.

Derivatives of παραφράζω and μεταφράζω, among others, are used throughout the *scholia vetera* and other early lexicographical works in connection with rendering translations. From these Hellenistic sources, the intersection and divergence of the terms become clearer. The scholiasts mention certain criteria for the words employed in their translations and describe them with terms such as καίριος, συνήθης, and χαρίεις. A better understanding of these terms gives a stronger theoretical basis to texts whose purpose and use are functionally evident. More thorough comprehension of these terms also provides greater insight into the well-known later instantiations of this genre, such as those for Palaiologan histories.

Although paraphrases of this size are a Byzantine phenomenon (Parsons 1970), their roots lie in the works of Hellenistic grammarians. The adoption and adaptation of these forms offer another way of considering the way in which Classical and Hellenistic texts were mediated for their Byzantine readers. This paper lays out the basis of translation, as described in the *scholia vetera* and related lexica and then situates these Iliadic translations within that framework.

Session 9B
Art and Emotion

Chair: Matthew Savage
Louisiana State University

Fratricide as Foundation—Shaping the Story of Cain and Abel

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Fratricide would seem to be an unappealing and particularly problematic way of telling the story of the beginning of a people. Yet Romulus and Remus, Cain and Abel, stories of brotherly murder, are fundamental to the histories of the Romans and God's chosen people, respectively. Engagement and responses to these stories vary. Writers of the triumviral period (60-31BCE)—Cicero, Vergil, Sallust—extensively evaluated the death of Remus and its implications for Romans. However, writers of the Augustan period (27 BCE-14 CE) avoided the topic, selecting Castor and Pollux, kinder brothers, as their focus. The Cain and Abel story is handled with caution in the earliest Christian representations. In fourth-century sarcophagi and catacomb imagery, the brothers appear together, holding their offerings, giving little indication of the later ramifications of God's selection of Abel's over Cain's. But the late twelfth-century mosaics in the Cathedral of Monreale signal a striking change. The program draws attention to the murder in dramatic ways. The action reads in a tumbling diagonal—from the black lettering of the word *interfectus* (killed or destroyed) in the upper left hand corner, along the upheld murder weapon, a long wooden club, through the angularly outstretched arms of the dying brother Abel, blood pouring from his head. The drama moves diagonally within the framed image, but it also relates in very specific ways to the two bands of mosaics below and those that appear across the nave. Why would this story, these unpleasant events with such unpromising implications, take shape in such a prominent position in the churches of Norman Sicily? Why does it become relevant in later Greek manuscripts and ivories, and an even greater presence in Romanesque Spain and France? Finally, how does the appearance of the story of Cain and Abel relate to the Byzantine-ness of sites like Monreale? The frescoes at Sant'Angelo in Formis in Capua (1072-1087) also illustrate the very same moments of the Cain and Abel story as those told in Monreale. Abbot Desiderius, the donor of Sant'Angelo in Formis, certainly had ties to the East, as he was known for welcoming Greek artists and thinkers to Montecassino. Perhaps both Sant'Angelo and Monreale are borrowings of Byzantine ideas. Or perhaps the appearance of the Cain and Abel saga is related to concerns that are relatively un-Eastern. By considering the ways in which the early Church Fathers—Augustine, Tertullian, Origen, Philo, Chrysostom—approach the problematic story, and connecting those writings to the specific placement of the Cain and Abel scenes at Monreale, it is possible to consider meanings that indicate more than a general mimicking of Byzantine aesthetics. The selection of certain sections of the Old Testament, what might be called the twelfth-century Old Testament, reveals a paradigm shift in the conceptualization of *Ecclesia* and its community of the faithful.

Byzantine “Emotionology” and the Seat of Apolausis

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In order to understand emotions in the past, we must attempt to reconstruct how people in other times and places perceived human feelings and their expression (what Barbara Rosenwein has termed “emotionology”) with vigilant awareness of how they may have defined emotions in ways that are different from our own. *Apolausis* (ἀπόλαυσις; enjoyment, pleasure) possesses a long history in philosophical and psychological writings on human experience. It occupies an intriguing place between physical stimulation and satisfaction, on the one hand, and psychological response, on the other. Yet, while “pleasure” appears frequently in modern discussions of human feelings, the term *apolausis* does not feature prominently in ancient or Byzantine schemata of the emotions.

Because of its deep involvement in the material world, *apolausis* is of particular relevance to debates surrounding the human experience of and investment in works of art and architecture. Indeed Henry Maguire has discussed Early Byzantine social practices, objects, and spaces of enjoyment as celebrating and attracting “the Good Life” of earthly pleasures and physical satiation. This paper explores *apolausis* with special attention to its intersection with artistic and architectural production and reception, focusing on mosaics depicting personifications of Apolausis in the contexts of Early Byzantine bathing and dining. These works of art do not present *apolausis* as an emotion per se. Nonetheless they indicate that enjoyment and pleasure were concepts closely linked to Byzantine understandings of the passions and their impact on human experience and morality.

Tracing the term *apolausis* in Early Christian and Early Byzantine texts, I situate it within theories of the emotions and humankind’s moral and ethical responsibilities relating to the enjoyment of physical pleasure. These sources locate *apolausis* at a particularly sensitive juncture between the body and the intellect. Not surprisingly, enjoyment’s imbrication with the physical led some Early Church Fathers to distrust or reject it; such authors are often suspicious of *apolausis* as a portal to moral corruption. This was especially true in sensual environments like the bath and banquet, where *apolausis* was inevitably encountered and especially potent. However, in his treatise *On Human Nature*, Nemesios, the late fourth-century philosopher and Bishop of Emesa in Syria, argues that the passions cannot be avoided and that human beings must exercise free will to respond to them appropriately. In so doing, he accords *apolausis* a role in processes that come strikingly close to contemporary understandings of emotional stimulation and response. I discern resonance between the conception of *apolausis* in Early Byzantine mosaics that depict its personifications and Nemesios’ conception of pleasure and the emotions: neither the text nor the works of art reject pleasure outright. Instead they reveal a concern for taming *apolausis*, for channeling it toward proper ends and circumscribing its intensity.

Concord Made Visible: The Ravenna Paschal Calendar

Guillaume Malle
Institute of Fine Arts

In the year 525 AD, at the behest of Pope John I, Dionysius Exiguus, a learned monk who had recently translated the decrees of the council of Nicea from Greek to Latin, derived a new formula to calculate the date of Easter. For the first time since the religion had started to spread geographically, most of Christendom would be in concordance: all would celebrate the feast of Easter on the same day. The Paschal Calendar, currently exhibited in the Museo Arcivescovile in Ravenna, is the only surviving visual translation of the calculations of Dionysius Exiguus produced during Late Antiquity. Several papers have been published about the mathematics underpinning the information displayed on the Calendar, but few have been concerned with the visual choices made in the display of that information. The objective of this paper is to make explicit the different concords - formal, political, and religious - present on the marble surface of the Calendar.

The Paschal Calendar appropriated visual components from other calendars used during Late Antiquity, calendars which were themselves witnesses of concords reached by the societies that had produced and displayed them.

The Paschal Calendar was produced between 525 to 540, a period during which a concord amongst different population segments of Ravenna needed to be reestablished after the fractious last years of Theoderic's rule. Cassiodorus, magister officiorum during the regency of Theoderic's successor, may have been directly involved in bringing the calculation of Dionysius Exiguus to Ravenna, given their close personal connections.

During Late Antiquity in Ravenna, the principal baptismal liturgy was celebrated on Easter Sunday. Annabel Wharton, in her 1987 article about the Neonian Baptistery, argued that the existence of such a large structure built for such a limited occupation indicates the importance of the ritual for the community. The Paschal Calendar echoed a design common to the baptisteries of both segments of Ravenna's population. The Paschal Calendar, at once luxurious and austere, both announced the future dates of the important ritual, but also acted as aide-mémoire for the recollection of the sacramental experience. Produced during a period of reconciliation, the Paschal Calendar can be interpreted as a marker of stability and common ground for a polity still feeling the aftershock of recent divisions.

Session 10A
Religion and Reflection

Chair: Alexander Angelov
College of William and Mary

Theodoret and the Extreme Ascetics: Reading within a Social Network

Christopher Sweeney
Fordham University

In this paper, I analyze Theodoret's attitude towards extreme ascetics. Theodoret wrote his *Historia Religiosa* at the height of the Messalian controversy and in a period when significant ecclesiastical pressure was being brought to bear against flamboyant forms of asceticism, and in particular against wandering ascetics. It has largely been assumed that Theodoret, as a bishop writing about ascetics at the time, must have participated in this anti-Messalian movement, and indeed, Theodoret does speak briefly against "Messalians" in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

There is, however, significant evidence that Theodoret bucked the tendencies of his episcopal contemporaries and that his aversion from Messalianism is not as straightforward as has been thought. First, Theodoret's *Historia Religiosa* repeatedly praises flamboyant ascetics, even wandering ascetics who parallel Akoimetoï-style practices. Theodoret was in contact with Marcellus, an heir to Alexander Akoimetos in Constantinople. Further, Theodoret's biography provides ample evidence for a genuine admiration for these figures. All of this evidence coincides with what we know of the social networks that developed throughout the doctrinal controversies of Theodoret's age. Many of the most stringent opponents of the Messalians were partisans of the Alexandrian position. Theodoret was a leader of the Antiochenes and counted the Syrian ascetics as among his most important allies. Even the most extreme Syrian ascetics—such as the Akoimetoï—were fierce defenders of Antiochene theology.

Taken together with recent research that has shown Messalianism to be largely a discursive construct and a product of the misunderstandings that arose with the contact of Syriac and Greek theology, it is possible to reconcile Theodoret's statements against Messalianism and his apparent support for the most extreme ascetics. He could speak against the doctrines of this supposed group, while—being a Syrian—having direct contact with individuals who would have seemed to be Messalian only from a different vantage. Theodoret, thus, remained a fervent supporter of a more ancient and extreme version of asceticism despite his episcopal rank and his statements against Messalianism.

Apa Enoch, Scribe of Righteousness: Writing the Book of Life in the Egyptian Desert

Agnieszka E. Szymanska
Temple University

He “walked faithfully with God; then he was no more, because God took him away.” This laconic statement in Genesis 5:24 concerns the antediluvian patriarch Enoch. Depictions of Enoch appear in a number of Early Byzantine paintings that have been found at monastic sites in Egypt, including Saqqara, Bawit, and Mansuriya. The images show Apa Enoch holding an unfurled scroll and a *kalamos* (pen). The title “Apa,” typically used for senior monks, points to the fusion of Enoch’s biblical and monastic personas. It also gives an ascetic inflection to Enoch’s duty as the scribe of righteousness. In this paper, I suggest that the painted depictions of Enoch responded to and perpetuated ideas about certain forms of writing present at monastic sites in Byzantine Egypt.

In at least two Early Byzantine paintings, Enoch’s scroll bears the inscription “the book of life.” Multiple biblical passages mention the book of life as a heavenly roster that contains only the names of the righteous. Apocryphal literature that circulated widely, including in Byzantine Egypt, supplies information about Enoch and his connection to the book of life. In the *Testament of Abraham*, for example, Enoch records the deeds of the righteous, who will be presented to God at the Last Judgment. In *1 Enoch*, the patriarch has a vision of the celestial Jerusalem in which he witnesses the Lord seated on a throne, “and the books of the living ones were open before him” (*1 Enoch* 47:3). The Enochic literary tradition suggests that human salvation largely depends on the scribe’s accurate recordkeeping. Enoch’s scroll and *kalamos* point to the notion of writing, especially the writing of personal names, as a tool of salvation.

The inscribed names in the form of monastic *dipinti* and pilgrims’ graffiti constitute a significant portion of the rich epigraphic corpus documented at Saqqara and Bawit. They “speak very directly to the physical action of writing as a popular devotional response to particular places,” as Ann Marie Yasin has eloquently observed. Kirsti Copeland has demonstrated that the Egyptian monastery served as a model of the celestial Jerusalem. I suggest that by inscribing personal names on the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem in the Egyptian desert, monastics and pilgrims effectively petitioned for admission to heaven and for having their names recorded in Enoch’s book of life.

Finally, Enoch’s resemblance to the Egyptian god Thoth provides a link between writing and memory, which may explain why calls to remembrance accompany many lists of names at Saqqara and Bawit. Known to the Romans as Hermes Trismegistos, Thoth was credited with the invention of writing that, in Plato’s version of the story, the Egyptian god presented as “the elixir of memory” (*Phaedrus* 274E). The painted depictions of Apa Enoch in Egyptian monasteries merge the notions of writing as a tool of salvation and as a vehicle of memory. The inscribed names in turn offered a way to ensure that a place in the book of life would not only be recorded but also never forgotten.

Till Death Do Us Not Part: The Theological Significance of Gregory of Nyssa's Appropriation of Aristotelian Psychology

Luis J. Salés
Fordham University

Scholarly trends have largely ignored or drastically underplayed the role Aristotelian philosophy played as a discursively formative force in the creation of a Christian identity during the earliest centuries of the Byzantine period. The dominant narrative remains that Platonism and Stoicism were the philosophical “other” in dialectical relationship with which Christianity traced its intellectual horizons. This trend has remained stable due to the assumption that “Platonism” was the polar opposite of, or at least incompatible with, “Aristotelianism”.

This paper questions the stability of this diametrical juxtaposition of Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy by examining Gregory of Nyssa's defense of the resurrection in *On the Soul and the Resurrection* within its philosophical context, particularly that of the Platonic commentators on Aristotle. I argue that Gregory of Nyssa's dialogue operated in the key of a philosophical method begun by Ammonios Sakkas about two centuries before, wherein Aristotelian and Platonic systems of thought were shown to be in general agreement, that simultaneously resulted in an articulation of the resurrection that was different from that of most foregone or contemporaneous Christians.

The paper accomplishes two points especially. The first is to problematize the long-standing treatment of “Aristotelianism” and “Platonism” as if they were steadfastly fixed and unalterable historical essences that reciprocally excluded each other. On the contrary, this paper traces the contours of Gregory's intellectual horizons vis-à-vis Plato's and Aristotle's works in order to demonstrate that he treated the Academy and Lyceum as if no sharp wedge separated them, even if there were admittedly some differences in their methods and conclusions. Thus, the paper illumines how Gregory defended the tenability of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection by transforming both philosophies, not just Platonism. The second point is to explore the theological significance of the Nyssen's appropriation of Aristotle's psychology in particular. I argue that Gregory appropriated Aristotle's hylemorphic psychosomatic relations in order to make the bodily resurrection not just an incidental appendage of Christian eschatology, but its necessary and constitutive condition. In other words, the soul as form of the body is unable to act, experience, or even be without it.

Some conclusions insinuate themselves that can contribute to reimagining the landscape of intellectual history in the first century of the Byzantine era. First, the idea of the resurrection was not unilaterally interpreted as “standing up”; rather, Gregory seems to interpret ἀνάστασις as “reconstitution”—reconstitution of the elements of the body by the soul. Second, Gregory's post-mortem psychology seems to undermine the prevalent assumption that at death body and soul are separated and the latter—and only the latter—enters blessedness or reprieve until the resurrection. But according to Gregory's model it would seem the soul simply “remains” (διαιμένει) with the elements of its body until the resurrection, until which it is unable to do anything else. Thus, this presentation presents an alternative eschatological vision where post-mortem human existence is rendered unthinkable without the body.

Eye to Mirror: The Luminous Eye of Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306-373) to the Internal Mirror of Simon of Taibutheh (c.d. 680)

Zachary Ugolnik
Columbia University

This paper explores mirror imagery and its relationship to optics in the writings of Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306-373) and Simon of Taibutheh (d.c. 680). Sebastian Brock points to a change in the use of mirror imagery in the Syriac tradition that occurs in the seventh to eighth centuries in contrast to earlier writers, exemplified by Ephrem. In this earlier tradition, according to Brock, the mirror “may be identified as anything that can reflect divine reality” such as scripture or nature, often situated outside the self (Brock, “The Imagery of the Spiritual Mirror in Syriac Literature,” 3b). Brock notes the emphasis in the earlier use of the mirror is on the purity of the spiritual eye that beholds it, while the mirror itself is assumed to be free of blemishes. After the seventh century, exemplified by Simon of Taibutheh and later John of Dalyatha (d. c. 780), this mirror becomes internalized and stress is placed on the “polishing” of its surface.

Brock stipulates this change in emphasis is due to the increased familiarity with Greek authors (most notably Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Dionysius the Areopagite, and Abba Isaiah) among Syriac writers beginning in the fifth century. Particularly, Brock points to the Syriac translation of Gregory of Nyssa’s *Commentary on the Song of Songs* around 500, a text that places great emphasis on humanity as a mirror. Through a brief review of a Syriac translation of Gregory’s *Commentary* in Vat. Syr. 106, I analyze the typical transmission of mirror imagery from Greek into Syriac. Much like the rendering of New Testament verses 1 Cor. 13:12 and 2 Cor. 3:18 in the Peshitta, Syriac tends to rely more heavily on the explicit phrase “as in a mirror” (*ayk dabmahzītā*) to translate a diverse set of phrases in Greek.

Through a brief review of Ephrem’s optical theory (drawing from Ute Possekel’s *Evidence of Greek Philosophical Concepts in the Writings of Ephrem the Syrian*), I argue that Ephrem’s understanding of vision shares certain qualities with the encounter that a mirror allows. For Ephrem, much like in Plato to a certain extent, vision is an active and passive process where sight extends out from the eye and somehow encounters the illuminated object, like perceiving like. Ephrem however, like many ancient optical theorists, is not necessarily clear on the exact mechanics of this process. Nonetheless, the transition from a spiritual “eye” to a spiritual “mirror” was thus not too abrupt. Both the luminous eye and the external mirror in Ephrem serve similar functions as the internal mirror in Simon of Taibutheh. Most interestingly, this understanding of sympathy is applied in some cases to the reciprocal relationship of speaking and hearing prayers (or praise) when “reflecting” the divine.

Session 10B
Textiles and Instruments

Chair: Sarah Brooks
James Madison University

Christian 'Tiraz': Early Medieval Religious Textile Inscriptions

Julia Galliker
University of Michigan

This paper examines a little known corpus of early medieval Greek and Coptic religious texts inscribed on garments as a Christian form of *tiraz*. After the Arab conquest, markings on cloth signified expanded official control of the textile industry. While *tiraz* originally referred to a type of embroidered band, the term evolved to become a generic designation for all types of textile messages. As Islamic culture became more dominant in Egypt, inscribed garments were integrated in the culture of gift giving. Among the artifacts recovered from the burying grounds of Egypt, a small but important group of garments demonstrate Christian adoption of *tiraz* to convey prayers and blessings.

Existing scholarship concerning inscribed cloths from Egyptian cemeteries suggests that elaborated Christian messages signify a distinct break from earlier forms of textile embellishment. Analysis of approximately two hundred inscribed textiles from the late Roman, Byzantine and early Islamic periods shows that Christian *tiraz* represents a synthesis of various traditions. Prior to the Islamic conquest, textile embellishment was mainly representational. In the relatively rare examples when words appeared, text had a subordinate role in the composition. Typically, a single word was used to identify a figure or to express a particular idea.

In the following centuries, the form of textile inscriptions demonstrates a shift in cultural norms within Christian communities. While figured designs woven in tapestry were still in evidence, the scale of representation was often reduced to balance the written message. Examples of this transitional form combine figured *clavi* bands with more elaborated inscriptions on tunics. Over time, written words became the dominant embellishment on cloth with designs reduced to decorative frames.

While Christian *tiraz* constitutes an important body of evidence concerning the changing form, content and role of textiles within their social context, the corpus of material has received little attention in terms of textual analysis. Reasons for this lacunae include the difficulty of accessing fragile materials and the fact that few collections have been comprehensively published.

The focus of this discussion is a corpus of about twenty early medieval textile fragments with elaborated written messages. Several of the fragments included in this discussion were found in North American collections and have not been published. A number of these inscriptions blend personal appeals and biblical quotations from the Greek or Coptic Psalter. The majority of Christian *tiraz* fragments were woven or embroidered on shawls or veils used by both men and women. Some inscriptions are clearly apotropaic or served as blessings. However, the predominance of biblical quotations, especially psalms, suggests deeper meaning to express a Christian world view.

The Dead Can Dance: Jesus, Dionysus, and Dancing Tunics

Erik Yingling
Stanford University

Late antique tunics, which integrate images of Dionysiac dance with Christian motifs, present the viewer with many questions that remain unanswered. Perhaps the greatest problem is that such tunics, which likely were worn on dancing bodies, have not yet been situated within the context of late antique dance practices. The result is that the images on such tunics have been interpreted as static objects, rather than images that moved with bodies in motion. A related historical lacuna that needs to be reconstructed, concerns questions about the use of these tunics as burial garments. For instance, why were images of dance so frequently depicted on burial clothes? And more specifically, what motivated Christians to approach death wearing images of Dionysiac dance? While it is common for studies to focus exclusively either on pagan or Christian themes depicted on such tunics, this study integrates both religious traditions in an effort to explore the inquiry outlined above.

While exploring answers to such questions, this paper argues that these garments, and their associated images, were likely perceived to have life breathed into them, through the movements of the human body and currents of wind. The result is that the seemingly static figures on the tunic could be animated to dance with one another, and that the cross-shaped tunic itself could be transformed into a singing and dancing icon of the cross. These notions, moreover, dovetail into the context of burial, where the dance-tunic ritualized eschatological hopes in the animated resurrected body.

To support these conclusions, the methodology used in this paper draws upon close formal analysis of visual evidence, a wide array of textual sources, and phenomenological readings of ritual dance and the materiality of tunics. How did Christian writers interpret the effects of wind upon fabric, and what were their attitudes toward the airy effects of the tunic? Moreover, what did it mean for the movements of dance to cause the figures on tunics to sway, ripple, billow, leap, or be suspended in the air? Or how could the human body orchestrate images of dancers to embrace and retreat from one another as if stepping out a dance? In considering these tunics in the context of burial, this paper builds upon Nicoletta Isar's assertion that late antique Christians read visual representations of dance in terms of the redemptive "dance of Adam," and Paul Dilley's argument that some Christians danced out their hopes in the resurrection, and even felt comfortable playing with Dionysiac forms to that end. Thus, this paper explores how the dance-tunic became one way to put on Christ, mirror the divine nature, and activate hopes that the dead body, would one day leap forth from the grave and join the heavenly dance.

A Double-Edged Dagger: Signs of Coercion and Creativity in a Thirteenth-Century Weapon

Heather Badamo
UC Santa Barbara

Among the holdings of the Fursiyya Art Foundation in Vaduz, there is a silver dagger and scabbard decorated with heterogeneous motifs executed in the niello technique: images of the hunt from the princely cycle, an icon of a dragon-slaying saint, and an Arabic inscription. The dagger is unusual, both because it represents the rare survival of an intact medieval weapon and because it displays an amalgamation of Christian and Muslim visual elements. Though drawn from diverse religious and ethnic milieus, the imagery presents a unified message of military and religious might. Thus the weapon, paradoxically, constitutes both an implement for the forceful subduing of religious rivals and an agent of meaningful cultural exchange. The exact date and location of its execution are unknown, but scholars generally situate it within the thirteenth-century warrior cultures of the Crusader polities, eastern Anatolia, or the adjacent Seljuk lands. Given its nature as a mobile object, its heterogeneous imagery, and the problems of attribution it presents, the dagger seems to belong to a larger set of objects defined by their portability, intercultural imagery, and participation in a common Mediterranean culture situated within the courtly milieu. Yet, the dagger departs from such objects in crucial ways: it incorporates a specifically Christian iconography, features frontier themes, and has an overtly bellicose function. As such, it presents fertile ground on which to investigate how conditions at the frontier and practices of warfare might have fostered their own modalities of encounter and exchange.

This paper situates the Fursiyya Art Foundation dagger within the representational practices of medieval warfare in order to investigate the dynamics of coercion and creativity that governed exchange within the frontier zones of the eastern Mediterranean. As the site of migrating boundaries, unstable cultural formations, and shifting political alliances, the frontier presented both perils and opportunities for those engaged in military campaigns. Medieval warriors developed creative tactics to address the precarious nature of their existence, mobilizing images, rituals, and visual displays to serve as weapons alongside their swords and spears—even reaching across religious and ethnic divides in the process. Objects like the dagger at once harnessed divine aid, referred to the elite status of the bearer, and projected messages of heroism, valor, and prowess in battle that were intelligible across an array of cultural groups. By examining how the Fursiyya dagger was able to convey messages to enemies and allies alike, this paper demonstrates that the destructive forces of warfare often engendered productive forms of encounter, with practices such as looting, resettlement, and visual displays fostering the creation of an audience that held common frontier values and warrior mores.

The Madonna of Iconomachy: Byzantine Art History for Theological Argument Now

Matthew J. Milliner

Wheaton College

Judged by its worldwide proliferation, The Virgin of the Passion icon type is arguably Byzantium's most enduring bequeathal to global visual culture today. This paper reinterprets the type as an emblem of the struggle over icons. Three pieces of evidence converge to make the case that the icon type can be interpreted iconoclastically. First is the ring in the ear of Christ in the oldest surviving instance of the type at *Panagia tou Araka* at Lagoudera in Cyprus (1192). Interpreted through Exodus 32:24, it can be understood as a jewel that was not melted to create the golden calf. The second piece of evidence is the connection of the instruments of the Passion to *Hetoimasia* (Prepared Throne) iconography, intentionally included in the Lagoudera cycle, and to which the Virgin of the Passion explicitly alludes. Finally, the Chludov Psalter famously connects the instruments of the Passion to an act of iconoclasm, which enables the angels with the instruments of the Passion at Lagoudera to be understood iconoclastically as well - specifically, however, an Orthodox iconoclasm directed against visualization of God the Father, and perhaps against New Materialist ontologies as well.

These three iconographical facts together do not amount to a straightforward case that the Virgin of the Passion was specifically directed against images of God the Father. Nevertheless, this paper deliberately fuses art historical evidence with constructive theological argument, suggesting the icon type *can* be so interpreted. Images of the Father were generally prohibited in Byzantine visual culture (with some exceptions). But as this rule was increasingly broken in the West, and in post-Byzantine art as well, the Virgin of the Passion type emerged as a forceful reminder of the original prohibition. Revisions of the history of Iconomachy in Byzantium (Brubaker/Haldon), the increasing use of theology in Byzantine art history (Andreopoulos/Antonova/Tsakiridou), and the proliferation of Byzantine gender studies together make interpreting the Virgin of the Passion against images of the Father - and against aspects of the New Materialism - a present academic possibility.

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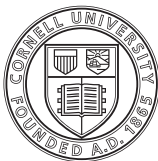
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