BSC 2020 Online Conference

Schedule

Session 1: Friday Morning

1A – Makerspace

Chair – Benjamin Anderson

Shannon Steiner, "'Behold, Philosophers, and Understand – This is the Accomplishment of Art:' Art-Making as Knowledge Production in Byzantium"

Hallie Meredith, "Late Roman Process Art: Cross-Media Carving in the 4th – 8th century AD Mediterranean"

Justin Willson, "The Origin of the Crafts according to Byzantine Rosette Caskets"

Warren Woodfin, "Orthography as Evidence for Mosaic Workshops in the 11th and 12th Centuries"

1B – Byzantium South

Chair – Elizabeth Bolman

Mikael Muehlbauer, "Churches built in Monumental Ruins in Medieval Ethiopia"

Felege-Selam Yirga, "Towards a Reconstruction of the Career of Apollonarios, Patriarch of Alexandria (551-571 CE)"

Arsany Paul, "The "Dead" Burying the Dead: Afterlife and Interment in Pachomian Sources"

Mary Farag, "The Church of St. Mary in the Kidron Valley: A Cultural Biography"

Session 2 – Friday late morning

2A – Byzantine Gender and Sexuality Studies

Chair – Leonora Neville

Derek Krueger, "Repenting Sodomy: From Penitential Canons to the Life of Niphon"

Maria Dell'Isola, "Female holiness and "new" temporalities in the Life of Mary the Younger and the Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos"

Luis Salés, "What Is "Byzantine" Andropology?"

2B – Image and Text(ile)

Chair – Galina Tirnanic

Karin Krause, “What was seen on the textile called the Mandylion? Interpretations of an “unpainted” image in Byzantine theology”

Anna Carroll, “Anno, “A Lion Before Princes”: The Siegburg Lion Silk”

Jennifer Ball, “Byzantine Monumentality: The case for Textiles”

Session 3 – Friday early afternoon

3A – Authority and Hierarchy

Chair – Tia Kolbaba

Joe Glynias, “The Bilingual Administration of Byzantine Antioch (969-1084)”

Hannah Ewing, “The Multidimensional Leader: Authoritative Flexibility of Byzantine Abbesses”

Anysia Metrakos, “’Emperors on the Inside;: The Bishop as Emperor in the Constantinian Church Basilica”

Edward Trofimov, “Religiosity and social control in local communities according to the twelfth-century *deuterokanonarion*”

3B – Image and Meaning

Chair – Fotini Kondyli

Ivan Drpic, “Image as Medicine: Pictorial Therapy in the Oxford Mēnologion”

Samantha Truman, “’Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree’: The Execution of Judas Iscariot in Two Byzantine Marginal Psalters”

Megan Boomer, “Shining Symbols for Sectarian Eyes: The Twelfth-Century Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem”

Marina Mandrikova, “Women in Hell: An Exploration of Crime and Punishment in Byzantine, Post-Byzantine, and Slavic Monumental Painting”

Session 4 – Saturday morning

4A – Byzantium North

Chair – Christian Raffensperger

Thomas Lecaque, “Between Pope and Emperors: Dalmatia in the Time of the First Crusade”

Ozlem Eren, “Studenica Monastery and St. Demetrios Church in Vladimir – Distant Twins?”

Sarah Luginbill, “Connecting with Constantinople: Byzantine-German Relations and Portable Altars, c.975-1195 CE”

Georgi Mitov, “Revisiting the Byzantine Archive of Zographou Monastery on Mt Athos: Byzantine fiscal terminology in the Slavic context”

4B – Texts and Their Readers

Chair – Alexander Riehle

Byron MacDougall, “Prereqs for Aphthonius: An Anonymous Byzantine Commentary on Porphyry’s *Isagoge*”

Francesco Monticini, “A ‘Nostalgic Gaze’ towards Antiquity. The Phenomenon of Classicism in Late Byzantium and the Renaissance”

Cahit Mete Oguz, “The Protection and Exploitation of the Peasantry as Literary *Topos* within Middle Byzantine Historical Sources”

John Kee, “A Hero Named for the Frontier: The Landscape of Digenes Akrites in Comparative Perspective”

4C – Community and Identity Through Icon Devotion

Chair – Lynn Jones

Peter Boudreau, “Keeping Time in Byzantium: The Case of Sinai’s Calendar Icons”

Lindsay Corbett, “The Icon of the Virgin Pammakaristos in Ottoman Constantinople”

Mateusz Ferens, “Memory Eternal: Dormition of St. Ephrem as Mnemonic Landscape”

Plenary Session – Saturday late Morning

Teaching Byzantium – Plenary Panel

Chair – Marica Cassis

Fotini Kondyli, “Digital Humanities Meet Byzantine Studies In The Classroom”

Aurora Camaño, “Missing Material? Teaching Byzantine Material Culture without Teaching Collections”

Brad Hostetler, “Teaching Byzantine Art Without Art”

Young Kim, “Byzantine History from Scratch: A Recipe for a New Course”

Byzantine Monumentality: The case for Textiles

Jennifer Ball, City University of New York

Otto Demus' foundational text on mosaics, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium*, written in 1955, considers, among other topics, what monumentality is and how the Byzantines conceived of and interacted with monumental works of art. Since then Byzantinists use the term "monumental" to describe works of architecture and large-scale artworks but without larger discussion of what constituted the monumental, often using the term as a synonym for large scale. Examining textiles and reconstructing their original contexts, this paper addresses Byzantine conceptions of monumentality as works of art that expressed the eternity of the Empire, representing a cultural achievement, while physically dazzling and enveloping viewers, within and without Byzantine structures. Demus emphasized the three-dimensionality of mosaics which curve on walls and create space for viewers to engage them. In Demus' view the communication between viewer and the holy persons represented in mosaic as they stood before them made them monumental. Curtains used during ceremony decorated with fantastic beasts or imperial portraits, for example, operated similarly, creating a luxurious space for spectacle.

Demus was writing in the wake of World War II when architects, among others, were re-conceiving monumental works as those which symbolized the aspirations of the culture who created them and exposing the "devaluation of monumentality," seen especially in fascist buildings now viewed as vast, "empty shells" which referred to the classical past but did not consider their community in body or spirit. (Sert, Léger, and Giedion *Nine Points on Monumentality* 1943) Louis Kahn, writing in 1944 (*Monumentality*) argued that monumentality was a "spiritual quality….[which] conveyed a feeling of its eternity" and argued that monumental spaces had to envelop the viewer and spaces around it. Mid-century architects understood well the role of textiles in conveying monumentality as witnessed in, for example, the collaboration between architect Eero Saarinen and weaver Marianne Strengell in the General Motors Technical Center where she wove enormous carpets mirroring Saarinen's exposed beams above, or in the series of tapestries Kahn made for the vast sanctuary space of the First Unitarian Church of Rochester (1959-62).

Thinking about Byzantine textiles as monumental works of art conveys their cultural importance and dispels modern misconceptions about them. Textiles constituted an important sector of the Byzantine economy for much of the empire's history and silks a high art form for which it was known throughout the known world. The fragmentary condition of most textiles belies their once immense scale covering walls of cavernous buildings. The original functions of textile objects cordoning off spaces, protecting persons from view and providing insulation, for example, is missed when looking at fragments, seen as tokens of once flat objects. Finally, the fragmentary textile locked under glass in a museum setting makes it difficult for us to see monumental textiles in three dimensions being used to spectacular effect in ceremonies where people moved in, through and under great silk hangings which billowed and reflected light and were constantly changing under the eyes of community of viewers.

Shining Symbols for Sectarian Eyes: The Twelfth-Century Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem

Megan Boomer (Columbia University)

In the 1160s, a team of mosaicists covered the walls of the late antique Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem with images of Christ's ancestry and life, ecumenical and regional church councils, and angels. Despite the visual harmony of the program, each element is labeled in a different language—the genealogies are in Latin, the miracles cite the Vulgate, all except one council text are in Greek, and an angel is signed by its maker in Syriac and Latin. Another bilingual inscription in the sanctuary dates the work to the tenure of King Amalric of Jerusalem, Emperor Manuel Komnenos, and Bishop Ralph of Bethlehem and credits the mosaics to Ephraim the monk, the *istoriographos* and *mousiator*. As scholars have noted, the décor speaks to both the prestige of the holy site and the different communities involved in its creation.

Although long considered a paradigm for "colonial" cultural production, most art historians principally view the church as a manifestation of the relationship between its Constantinopolitan financier and Crusader custodians. The designers of the Greek text and mosaic workshop, however, are widely considered to be local Melkite Christians. Rather than assuming such collaborations provide evidence for pluralistic devotion under a Byzantine imperial or Latin royal umbrella, this paper asks how we can use the decorative program to identify and understand the specific concerns of the space's twelfth-century makers and viewers. Although other scholars have viewed the mosaics' references to the Dome of the Rock as a generalized discourse of prestige, I propose to explore how the seventh- and twelfth-century monuments participated in ongoing dialogues regarding the nature of Christ and Mary in the Arabic-speaking world. By resituating the Church of the Nativity in its regional context, I hope to demonstrate how the monument intervened in global medieval debates regarding the sacred events that occurred within its walls.

Keeping Time in Byzantium: The Case of Sinai's Calendar Icons

Peter Boudreau (McGill University)

A set of so-called "Calendar Icons" unique to Saint Catherine's Monastery at Sinai and dated to ca. 1200 is mounted on the twelve columns supporting the basilica's nave. Each of the twelve icons represents a single month, displaying a series of frontal portraits interspersed with narrative scenes that correspond to specific saints or feasts celebrated on any given day in Constantinople. Despite the fact that the icons are not only unique to Sinai but also a vital part of larger traditions for visualizing time in Byzantium, rigorous scholarship on the icons remains quite limited (Soteriou, 1956; Weitzmann, 1984; Ševčenko, 2002). To date, the literature on the icons have primarily discussed them in terms of their elusive function. Along these lines, most scholars have read the calendar icons as either regulatory, arguing that the icons were an attempt to impose an imperial calendar onto the remote desert monastery, or as devotional, proposing that the icons could be moved from their individual columns to a prominent location within apse for each month.

However, I propose moving away from questions of function and instead approach the icons with regard to the complex temporal structures that they create. As a set of twelve, the icons give visual form to a liturgical calendar intimately connected to the celebrations taking place in Constantinople and also become a part of the distinct liturgical calendar observed within Sinai's monastic environment. Beyond the icons' ability to bring together representations of diverse hagiographic and biblical narratives from the distant and more proximate pasts, the calendar icons also stretch the possibilities of temporal experience. Through combining two distinct calendar systems within Sinai's monastery, one visually represented and another liturgically celebrated, the icons' presence opens up important questions about how time could be schematized, reconfigured, and manipulated for the sake of new temporal orders.

This paper first situates the calendar icons between earlier Byzantine Menologion and Synaxarion traditions that shaped the liturgical year as well as later architectural programs that integrate frescos of the calendar cycle into the fabric of the church to examine the complex structures of time mediated by this particular set of icons. I then show the implications of juxtaposing two distinct timekeeping systems within the monastery to consider innovative understandings about the nature of temporality within a culture where all of time and its divisions belong to God. Ultimately, I argue that the icons do not primarily serve a practical purpose, nor do they attempt to calibrate the celebrations at Sinai with those occurring in Constantinople. Instead, the coexistence of two distinct calendrical systems within the sacred space reveals a richness of structure that brings together chronological and geographic diversity into a single place and time.

Missing Material? Teaching Byzantine Material Culture without Teaching Collections

Aurora E. Camaño,
(Stavros Niarchos Foundation Centre for Hellenic Studies, Simon Fraser University)

Archaeology is an inherently material and hands-on discipline. As archaeologists, our understanding and interpretations of the past derive from data harnessed from the physical vestiges of the cultures and societies we study. As a result, archaeology has long lent itself to active learning, experiential teaching methods, and laboratory-classroom models. However, unlike many of our archaeologist colleagues whose lessons centre on local pasts, and therefore often have ready access to teaching collections of relevant artefacts and specimens, access to physical collections is – with rare exception – not the case for most teaching the Byzantine material world across North American post-secondary institutions. As teachers of Byzantine archaeology, the essentiality of material-based learning generates both considerable pedagogic challenges and opportunities for creative instructional practice and curricular design.

As a doctoral student employed as a sessional instructor at Simon Fraser University, I introduced a new undergraduate special topics course in Byzantine Art and Archaeology in 2020 – which was cross-listed amongst the university's Hellenic Studies, Archaeology, and Humanities programmes. This paper discusses the experience of designing such a course in the absence of teaching collections, whilst aiming to preserve the elements of experiential, experimental, and embodied learning expected of an anthropological archaeology class. This was achieved through facilitating in-class activities which used a variety of digital humanities platforms, multi-media resources, and material-culture workshop simulations from 'decoding' seals, 'cataloguing' coins, and baking bread. This paper also reflects on means to improve future iterations of this course, focusing on methods and activities to increase student engagement with Byzantine material culture and archaeological practices beyond traditional lecturing.

Anno, "A Lion Before Princes": The Siegburg Lion Silk

Anna Carroll (The Graduate Center, The City University of New York)

Within the shrine of St. Anno, archbishop of Cologne, the saint's relics are wrapped in a purple silk, decorated with confronted lions and the names of Byzantine Emperors Romanos and Christophoros. This paper examines why a 10th century Byzantine imperial silk was used to honor an 11th century French saint, and considers how the silk's meaning changed as it moved from Constantinople to Cologne. The silk was thought lost in World War II, and since then has been widely neglected in art historical and Byzantine studies. Building upon Anna Muthesius' analysis of the textile, which she rediscovered in 1997, this paper recuperates scholarly knowledge of the silk and its whereabouts since its weaving in Constantinople in 921-923 to its internment with St. Anno, possibly in 1183. After considering the different potential contexts of the silk, this paper places it within the larger political and religious situations of Byzantium and the Holy Roman Empire, and in relation to St. Anno as a political and religious figure. St. Anno's identity, much like the silk's, was in constant flux; not just a cleric, the saint was a soldier, bishop, and regent of the Holy Roman Empire, imbuing a multiplicity of identity in those objects most associated with him, such as the Siegburg Lion Silk.

Examining St. Anno's personal history and political legacy, this paper considers the silk within imperial gift exchange networks between the Holy Roman Empire and Byzantium to trace the morphing symbolism of the lions as a conduit for imperial and ecclesiastical power. Taking the silk as a symbol of Byzantine authority, the changing propagandistic potentials of the textile are considered as it moved from a Byzantine imperial context to a Holy Roman one, and finally to an ecclesiastical realm. Furthermore, the silk is established as significant to St. Anno's relics and the solidification of his posthumous political identity. The silk underscored the saint's political and clerical roles, and became a palimpsest of meaning as it travelled from Byzantium to France, endowed with layers of political significance that could be utilized effectively by St. Anno and his followers. The silk is placed within the greater context of St. Anno's patronage and use of art and architecture to establish authority, and this use is compared to how silks were used by other saints, such as St. Heribert. Evidence includes similar silks, textual sources such as hagiography and economic policies, and other objects closely associated with the saint and his shrine. Of particular importance are *Das Annolied*, *The Book of the Prefect*, and *The Book of the Popes*. The silk was used intentionally in St. Anno's shrine to imbue his status as a saint with political undertones, and the silk acted a propagandistic agent, allowing St. Anno to establish his own authority in relation to the power of the Byzantine and Holy Roman emperors.

The Icon of the Virgin Pammakaristos in Ottoman Constantinople

Lindsay Corbett (McGill University)

The twelfth-century mosaic icon of the Virgin Pammakaristos is one of only a handful of Byzantine icons that survives in Istanbul to this day, where it maintains an active devotional cult at the Patriarchal Cathedral of Saint George. According to tradition, the icon originates from the nearby Fethiye Camii, formerly the Church of the Theotokos Pammakaristos prior to its conversion to a mosque in 1587. This paper explores how the icon of the Virgin Pammakaristos offered a sacred locus in which the Christians living in Constantinople under Ottoman rule could direct their devotional focus, assert their Byzantine heritage, and fortify their community in response to Ottoman sovereignty.

The paper examines how the esteemed status of the icon at the Patriarchal Cathedral of Saint George resulted from its ability to serve multiple sites simultaneously in a potent fashion. In 1614, the Patriarch Timotheus II rededicated the Cathedral of Saint George to the Virgin Pammakaristos to commemorate the Byzantine-era site from which the Patriarchate was annexed in 1587. The unprecedented rededication of one monument to another in Constantinople reflected Orthodox anxieties surrounding a loss of control over Byzantine-era churches, from which they were steadily annexed by Ottoman powers throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The icon of the Virgin Pammakaristos was at the center of this rededication and consequently became an essential devotional object within its new ecclesiastical setting. The paper examines the icon's provenance, imagery, and materiality as evidence for the intervisual nature of the icon, whose cult emphasized that it mediated and operated between its current home and formerly Christian sites in the city. I argue that the object's significance was amplified in response to the Ottoman Conquest, as it afforded a way to recover elements from lost architectural patrimony across Constantinople.

The objective of this research is to contribute to a better understanding of Orthodox visual traditions in the centuries following the Ottoman Conquest. This historical period between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, or the so-called "Post-Byzantine" period, typically falls outside of the scope of Byzantine studies. A closer examination into the use of objects such as the icon of the Virgin Pammakaristos reveals a purposeful and sophisticated continuity of Byzantine conventions after 1453, a date which accordingly should not be taken as a finite end to cultural traditions. While the significant changes that occurred under Ottoman rule are undeniable, this paper demonstrates that in response, the Patriarchate underscored the historicity and continuity of certain objects as a strategy for perseverance.

Female Holiness and "New" Temporalities in the *Life of Mary the Younger* and the *Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos*

Maria Dell'Isola (University of Southern Denmark/Centre for Medieval Literature)

Early Christianity appears to be dominated by strong eschatological expectations which reoriented social roles and norms against the wider background of a new temporality. Since the end of times was approaching, especially during the first two centuries of Christian era chastity was conceived as a means of purifying the body in order to gain salvation. That being the case, traditional life-rhythms were replaced by a new subversive trajectory, and women in many cases gave up the roles of wives or mothers. Early Christian ideals of female sainthood and piety are to be read against this background, as the well-known example of Thecla in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* demonstrates. However, eschatological expectations slowly started to decline, and at the same time new notions of secular temporalities, emphasizing linear progression within history, emerged. This restoration of a historical time led to a reassessment of social norms and women's roles within society, with a renewed emphasis on the backbones of a traditional ancient society, such as marriage and family.

The present paper attempts to discuss the image of women in two Byzantine *Lives* of female saints, the *Life of Mary the Younger* (11th century) and the *Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos* (10th century), against the wider theoretical background of temporality as it was perceived and construed through the texts. More specifically, I focus on how the turn from an early Christian eschatological temporality to a restored notion of historical time proved to be a key factor in shaping women saints' agency as this is reflected more generally in the Byzantine *Lives* of female saints, and in the two above-mentioned *Lives* in particular. The *Life of Mary the Younger* and the *Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos* represent a significative case in this regard. In both texts an emphasis on marriage as a backbone of a traditional society is evident. Added to this is a tendency to stress the importance of the management of the household property. Chastity here is still a very significant Christian precept, but sanctity can be achieved also in married life. All of these details reveal the influence of a changed sense of time.

By looking at time as a key factor in shaping female religious agency in these Byzantine *Lives*, I aim to identify a set of key features that may define the relationship between a specific notion of time – a linear progression of life stages - and the construction of female holiness as it is represented in the *Life of Mary the Younger* and the *Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos*. In this sense, the present paper sheds new light on a widely debated topic – female holiness – by looking specifically and in a new way at social and gendered constructions of temporality in hagiographical narratives. To that end, I focus on details in the description of religious agency revealing a direct influence of different notions of time on women's life and on a consequent construction of female sanctity.

Image as Medicine: Pictorial Therapy in the Oxford *Mēnologion*

Ivan Drpić (University of Pennsylvania)

Unlike any other Byzantine book that has come down to us, the so-called Oxford *Mēnologion*, a handsome pocket-sized volume preserved in the Bodleian Library under the shelfmark Gr. th. f. 1, consists almost entirely of pictures. Its sixty parchment folios, a mere 12.6 x 9.5 cm in size, contain no fewer than 368 individual images. This dense visual program includes a series of miniatures depicting the great feasts; a detailed pictorial rendition of the church calendar, or *mēnologion*, which gives the codex its name; and a cycle of scenes from the life of St. Demetrios. An epigram copied on the pages of the final opening identifies the despot Demetrios Palaiologos (died after 1343), the youngest son of Emperor Andronikos II, as the volume's original owner. The Oxford *Mēnologion* was conceived as a private, portable, and intensely personal devotional instrument, the chief purpose of which, as we learn from the epigram, was to restore the owner's spiritual health with the help of the images contained within it.

Akin to a confession, the epigram takes the form of a monologue in which the despot Demetrios appeals to his own *psychē*, or soul, instructing her to avail herself of the exquisitely crafted picture book as a medicine for her wounds and afflictions. The verses, in fact, delineate a distinct form of what may be described as pictorial therapy. The cause of the soul's dismal state is the multitude of passions that continue to beset her, a hostile swarm against which she is ill-equipped to fight on her own. What makes these enemies particularly difficult to withstand is the fact that they generate insidious and dangerously seductive mental representations. Demetrios, by his own admission, is so susceptible to the allure of these phantasms that he idolizes them. To suppress this form of idolatry, he urges his soul to seek the help of the numerous icons arrayed on the book's folios. These pictures of holy figures and divine deeds offer an antidote to passions. Yet, to harness their curative power, the soul must exercise her visual faculty in a particular way. She must let the eye be absorbed, drawn into the diminutive tableaux. Indeed, *methexis*, or participation—a key term employed in the epigram—implies far more than mere looking; it points to a kind of contemplative immersion in which the spectator commingles and identifies with the things seen.

Taking the Oxford *Mēnologion* as a point of departure, the present paper explores the devotional use of sacred images in Byzantium as a form of spiritual therapy. An examination of Byzantine iconophile and spiritual writings alongside the ancient and medieval theories of emotions, sense perception, memory, and imagination reveals a crucial aspect of the Byzantine culture of the icon that has hitherto remained insufficiently recognized: aside from serving as conduits of divine presence and succor, sacred images had the power to shape the spectator's interiority through the sheer force of the visual.

Studenica Monastery and St. Demetrios Church in Vladimir – Distant Twins?

Özlem Eren (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

St. Demetrios Church (1193-97) of Vsevolod III in Vladimir is a massive cube-shaped building made of white limestone, which is in continuation with the earlier white stone churches of Vladimir built by Andrei Bogolyubsky around 1158-60; but highly unusual in the rest of the Byzantino-Slavic world. St. Demetrios has a typical Middle Byzantine cross plan with a dome and three apses, but the style also shows parallels with Western Romanesque churches, especially in Lombardy. The façades are decorated with sculptural reliefs of animal and human figures, which appears to be in contradiction to the Byzantine model of Eastern Orthodox churches.

Sculptural reliefs in the architecture of the Virgin's Church in the Studenica Monastery in Serbia, established by Stefan Nemanja in the 12th century, display an astonishing similarity with this already rare decorative style in Medieval Rus. Studenica Monastery has a composite architectural style that brings together the Byzantine, Slavic and Lombardian (Romanesque) styles, known as the Rashka School. The presence of four portals, the style of long slit windows and the consoles of blind arcades on the frieze around the upper part of the apse, as well as the program of the sculptural decoration with lions, griffins, eagles (symbol of Stefan Nemanja), sirins (identified with St. Sava) and floral and vegetal motifs on the façades of the Virgin's Church, are the elements that are shared with the St. Demetrios Church in Vladimir. In both churches the consoles are adorned with various motifs, including human heads, fantastic beings, plants and zoomorphic forms. The similarity points to the presence of highly qualified artistic schools and workshops that had a goal of creating a common Slavic artistic style that encompassed Medieval Rus, Serbia, Bulgaria and possibly the regions around. This is in agreement with the cultural unification of Slavs through the formation of a common Slavic language after the introduction of Cyrillic script. Bulgaria and Serbia emerged as the main routes of transmitting the Byzantine culture into Slavic lands in the Balkans and the Rus as the direct ties with the Byzantine Empire weakened over centuries. The artistic activities and the translation efforts of Byzantine texts into Slavonic in various workshops and cultural centers in the Balkans, mainly Preslav, Pliska and Ohrid, contributed to the selective adoption of Byzantine culture, hence the formation of a unique Slavic Christian identity.

Architectural similarities between Studenica Monastery in Serbia and St. Demetrios Church in Vladimir testify to the significance of monastic efforts in shaping the unique Slavic Christian identity, interpreted in different contexts by different rulers. The presence of multiethnic populations and the coexistence of pagan and Christian beliefs (*dvoeverie*) in Rus during 11-12th centuries further complicate the interpretation of the majorly non-Christian imagery on the carved reliefs on three walls. This paper highlights the architectural and decorative similarities between the Studenica Monastery in Serbia and St. Demetrios Church in Vladimir and uses this context to discuss the cultural complexity of the Medieval Rus in relation to Byzantium, the rest of the Eastern Europe.

The Multidimensional Leader: Authoritative Flexibility of Byzantine Abbesses

Hannah Ewing (Rollins College)

Female leadership was a complicated proposition in the Byzantine Empire. As Leonora Neville notes in *Byzantine Gender* (2019), Byzantine gender norms often prized female obedience or even silence, at the same time that women did in fact play active roles in the Byzantine world. Scholarship by Judith Herrin, Angeliki Laiou, Alice-Mary Talbot, Catia Galatariotou, Lynda Garland, Carolyn Connor, Petra Melichar (and many others) has documented the activities of women as empresses, property owners, and nuns. This current project further builds on explorations of Byzantine women as active agents, by focusing on female monastic superiors.

While usually more limited than their male counterparts, female monastic leaders oversaw their communities' physical and spiritual welfare, liaised with male ecclesiastical figures, and some also managed property and finances, among other activities. This current project picks up on Stavroula Constantinou's assessment of how late antique abbesses exercised and combined multiple models of authority across their different functions ("Male Constructions of Female Identities," 2014), by pushing more fully into the middle and late Byzantine periods. By examining monastic *typika*, the correspondence of Eirene-Eulogia Choumaina Palaiologina, homilies, and the limited female-oriented hagiography, this paper finds that while some leadership qualities for monastic women remain similar across the late antique and medieval periods, other models either change over time or may be more unique to a particular superior's history and connections.

Some authoritative models found within female monastic contexts are well established in the scholarship already. For example, piety and asceticism in Elizabeth Clark, "Authority and Humility" (1984), emulating men in Talbot, "Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Men and Women" (1985), and the emergence of holy motherhood, Marie-France Auzepy, "La sainteté et le couvent : libération ou normalisation des femmes ?" (1999). However, this paper argues that it is not the individual models that matter most, but rather that the real and idealized monastic superiors alike could pull on multiple—and sometimes contrasting—authoritative models in order to get their jobs done. *Consistency* was not a priority, simply justification and explanation in whatever forms fit a situation best. The relatively enclosed nature of a female monastery meant that the abbess often had wide authority among the sisters and their lives, but also had to negotiate the presence of male priests for sacraments, the intentions of the founder, and often outside property management. Therefore, a middle and late Byzantine abbess was, and had to be, simultaneously a pious archetype, a spiritual warrior, a nurturing mother, a teacher, as well as potentially a businesswoman, connected aristocrat, and the one who made sure the roof got repaired. As such, abbesses highlight the way in which Byzantine women both played into and circumvented gender norms in order to get work done.

The Church of St. Mary in the Kidron Valley: A Cultural Biography

Mary K. Farag
Princeton Theological Seminary

This paper offers a cultural biography of the Church of St. Mary in the Kidron Valley in Roman Palestine from the perspective of non-Chalcedonians in the late sixth and early seventh centuries as transmitted in Coptic and Arabic sources. As the first church built in the name of Mary in Jerusalem and as the site of a massacre against non-Chalcedonians in 453, this specific church became a significant site of cultural memory for non-Chalcedonians. To offer a cultural biography, I analyze several late antique homilies and other orations transmitted in Coptic and Arabic that mention this church. I argue that non-Chalcedonians used exegetical identifications of the scriptural "Valley of Josaphat" (literally "plain of judicial decision") with the geographical place "Kidron Valley" in order to (1) generate a story of the last judgment and (2) insist on the primary significance of this church of Mary in the face of rival Marian churches, particularly the churches known as the Kathisma (near Bethlehem) and the Nea (in Jerusalem).

Memory Eternal: *Dormition of St. Ephrem* as Mnemonic Landscape

Mateusz J. Ferens (University of Wisconsin–Madison)

The icon of the *Dormition of St. Ephrem* (15th c.) at the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens depicts a puzzling funeral scene. The presence of the *Hodegetria* icon in the center has proved difficult to explain iconographically. The museum label suggests that the *Hodegetria* serves the needs of the funerary rite, but scholarly literature on the subject has shown that this is not the case. Likewise, the smaller mise-en-scènes of monks praying and working do not correspond to any funerary activity. Perhaps the biggest puzzle yet to be explained is why the subject of the *Dormition of St. Ephrem* would have appeared in panel paintings and frescos in the fifteenth century at a time of social and political upheaval.

Drawing on studies of post-Byzantine monasticism and theories of collective memory and archives, I argue that the various elements in the *Dormition* icon coordinate to express a visual statement about the preservation of Orthodox monastic identity. To counter various social and political pressures in the fifteenth century, Orthodox monasticism actively engaged in a mode of self-preservation that articulated monks' bodies as mnemonic and archival sites. In the social realm, hagiographies and historical documents sometimes describe uses of bodies for social commentary and critique and, in one case, as a "living library." These and similar examples indicate that within fifteenth-century Orthodox communities there existed an awareness of the body as a vehicle for social and cultural memory, and this awareness was creatively utilized as a method or expression of self-preservation.

As Orthodox monks developed strategies to cope with the Ottoman conquests on the one hand and Latinate Christian polemicists on the other, they turned to the works of the early desert Fathers – especially the written works of St. Ephrem on monasticism and the afterlife. But, apparently, it is not just the written works that monks turned to; they also envisioned the saint as being present with them in the troubling times. In the *Dormition* icon, it is the saint himself, as the embodiment of his works, who reaches across time and space to represent true monasticism for the contemporaneous viewers. Concern over the preservation of monastic identity and monastic orthopraxis unites the seemingly discordant elements in the icon of the *Dormition of St. Ephrem*, and reading the icon as a commemoration of memory itself helps unravel the cryptic meaning of the work. Ultimately, this reading offers scholars an unexplored point of entry into the icon's complex iconography.

The Bilingual Administration of Byzantine Antioch (969-1084)

Joe Glynias (Princeton University)

The bilingual authors and translators of Middle Byzantine Antioch have attracted the attention of modern scholars because of the long trail of texts they left behind in manuscripts, enabling the study of the Antiochene Greco-Arabic translation movement. Unfortunately, since we are not similarly fortunate with respect to documentary textual evidence from Byzantine Antioch, scholars have yet to investigate the practices of the bureaucratic systems in which many of these translators worked. And since Antioch was the most important administrative center in Byzantium after Constantinople in this period—indeed, the most important Byzantine provincial center since before the Muslim conquest—we thus have missed an opportunity to learn how the Byzantine bureaucracy worked outside its capital in an area where Greek was not the main spoken language.

Although no archive preserved documentary material from Antioch the way that St. Catherine's preserved Antiochene texts and manuscripts, fragments and shadows linger in the extant source material that inform us about the chanceries of both the patriarchate and Doukate in Antioch. These quotations and references are strewn across a variety of sources. In this paper, I will collate the limited extent documents that are inset into later texts, like Yaḥyā of Antioch's Arabic chronicle and Nikon of the Black Mountain's Greek *Taktikon*, in addition to the descriptive and circumstantial sources that teach us about Antiochene bureaucrats—like the career and the Arabic documents associated with Roger II's vizier in Sicily, George of Antioch, Arabic documents from Crusader Antioch, and certain letters of Michael Psellos. In bringing this evidence together, I will show that the bureaucratic infrastructures of Antioch were built to be bilingual.

Byzantine officials in Antioch had to work in Greek and Arabic, and individuals were trained to produce documents in both Greek and Arabic. This has important consequences for our study of Antiochene Greco-Arabic translation, since a number of translators were functionaries in the patriarchate. Moreover, it has even broader implications for the flexibility of the Middle Byzantine administrative structure: as the empire took control of areas where Greek was not the dominant language in the 10th-11th centuries, its bureaucratic apparatus adapted to meet local needs. We ought to attribute some of the success of Byzantine Antioch in becoming a Christian Arabic center in the 10th-11th centuries to the facility that its administrative authorities obtained with Arabic. The applicability of Arabic as an administrative language in Antioch helped it continue its connections to the Arabic-speaking world under Byzantine dominion. Comparison of the limited remains of documentary material from Byzantine Antioch with material from the contemporary Islamicate world sheds light on the diplomatic and bureaucratic connections linking these two worlds. The creation of this bilingual bureaucracy in Antioch would have lasting impact across the Mediterranean. The Arabic administration in Antioch would become a direct precursor to 12th century Arabic administrations maintained by Latin governments in Antioch, Sicily, and Jerusalem.

Teaching Byzantine Art Without Art

Brad Hostetler (Kenyon College)

One of the most challenging aspects of teaching Byzantine art history is the lack of access to objects. Most colleges and universities do not have a Byzantine collection, and not all students live near a first-rate museum. When a student can visit a museum such as Dumbarton Oaks, the Met, or the Cleveland Museum of Art, they most likely cannot touch and handle the objects, hindering their ability to comprehend materiality, weight, and physicality. Many museums have posted their collections online, but this also presents pedagogical challenges. On the screen all objects appear the same size, in isolation, and divorced from all context.

Many of these obstacles may be mitigated through the use of scaled, printed models, made from high-resolution open-access images provided by museums. I lay out the steps to create these models and the ways in which they can be integrated into a writing assignment project. I first implemented this project in a traditional Survey of Art History course. Focusing on Byzantine icons, the project introduced students to fundamental art-historical writing skills, while also helping them to think critically about the agency of images within a specific cultural context. Students could manipulate the models, allowing them to consider the ways in which scale impacts function and visual engagement. When exhibited in a gallery space, the scaled models also allowed students to compare their own icons with others on display. This method of studying Byzantine art, while not fully replicating the experience of seeing an authentic Byzantine icon, can help students translate an object from its digital form to a material artifact.

A Hero Named for the Frontier: The Landscape of *Digenes Akrites* in Comparative Perspective

John Kee (Harvard University)

From the Atlantic to the Indus, the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries witnessed the development of distinctly medieval forms of literature, prominent among them the romance. In many variations, this genre presented new models of heroism for a new era: one in which military aristocrats dominated the highest levels of state power as their patronage became the object of competition for a rising educated class. The resulting literary and courtly appropriation of preexisting narrative traditions, as P. A. Agapitos has documented, marked the (re)birth of fiction both in Komnenian Byzantium and in its neighbors to the east and west. Hand in hand with that development, these romance retellings of the oral-epic or historiographic past demonstrate new modes of imagining political and cultural geography, of grounding story structures and claims to literary and social authority in notionally historical but also forthrightly fantastical physical environments. This new fiction generated new visions of literary landscape characterized by the intertwining of named "real" places, of symbolic and intertextual resonances, and of opportunities for narrative pleasure.

This paper situates Byzantine literature within that global medieval context via a case study of the Grottaferrata *Digenes Akrites*. A careful reading of this text in comparative perspective reveals a considerably more sophisticated engagement with the imagined spaces of the empire's periphery than previously recognized. Fittingly for the story of a hero named twice for the frontier—the "Two-Blooded Borderlord," in Elizabeth Jeffreys's translation—landscape provides a deep structure at each stage of *Digenes*' narrative. In the initial three books centering on the protagonist's Arab-convert father, the mountain pass (*kleisoura*) functions as a significant locale demarcating the boundary between Byzantine Rhomania and Muslim-Arab Syria. The programmatic function of such spaces is underscored by their gnomic appearance in two passages which link this section to the adventures of Digenes himself. Throughout the latter, formulaic designations of wooded terrain introduce combat scenes in ways which exemplify the hero's extraordinary physical prowess. The last book, finally, returns to the *kleisoura* in a nostalgic evocation of the site of Digenes' tomb.

Just as the forest does for Western romance, the landscape of the lost Anatolian frontier serves as the originary material out of which *Digenes*' story is made. This is a deeply Byzantine vision of meaningful space, whose constituent elements have manifold resonance within Greek-Roman tradition. That vision is not, however, merely backward-looking. Under the influence of *Digenes* or cognate tales, the term *akrites* had become by the reign of Manuel Komnenos a heroic epithet suitable for the emperor himself. In Byzantium, that is, the process of "romancing the past" programmatically foregrounded the geographic liminality of its historical protagonists even when the resulting fiction was used to buttress the absolute center of power. The composition of *Digenes* may thus be read as an active reimagination of Byzantine identity in response to the decentering shocks of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, an era in which the authority of the imperial center came to depend on the alert management of new powers on its margins.

Byzantine History from Scratch: A Recipe for a New Course

Young Richard Kim (University of Illinois at Chicago)

This paper will be a sort of mid-semester report. In my former and current institutions, I have taught dozens of courses in world history, Greek and Roman history, ancient Greek, Latin, classical mythology, and classical literature in translation, among others. However, I am teaching Byzantine history for the first time in the fall 2020 semester. In some ways, my teaching experience mirrors one of the points raised in the description for this workshops series, that Byzantine Studies does not have a dedicated departmental or disciplinary home in North American universities. But as many of us in BSANA know and experience, our field can be situated in any number of different departments including classics, history, art history, and religious studies, and our teaching expertise and course offerings can vary widely.

In my current institution, I teach in the Classics and Mediterranean Studies department, but the course I am teaching this semester, entitled "The Byzantine Empire" by some distant predecessor, is housed in the history department and cross-listed under the Modern Greek rubric we have at UIC. Since this course has not been taught for several years now, I have the opportunity to teach it "from scratch," both within my university but also as the course designer and instructor. At the writing of this abstract, I have been very much in in the process of syllabus design. Drawing on recent pedagogical and disciplinary developments in the fields of classics and history, I intend to integrate into my pedagogical elements that move beyond a traditional narrative survey of Byzantine history. I plan to experiment with different thematic issues (for example, gender and sexuality, social justice, race and ethnicity, intra and inter religious relations), digital tools, public and lived history, and the visual and performing arts. Ultimately, my goal is to explore what a course in Byzantine history might look like for the 21st century.

I composed the first two paragraphs above before the global health crisis caused by Covid-19. Although final decisions have not been made by my university, faculty are all preparing to teach their courses in an online format. And so in addition to developing my course with an eye to integrating themes and approaches that are of contemporary concern I am also considering and learning about how to design an online Byzantine history course. I discuss what I did and how pedagogically effective (or not) my plans were.

Digital Humanities Meet Byzantine Studies in the Classroom

Fotini Kondyli (University of Virginia)

As a subject that is rarely taught in American secondary education, Byzantium can seem to many undergraduates as a distant and unfamiliar topic, if not exotic, or worse, irrelevant to modern ideas and concerns. It can thus be challenging to attract students in a Byzantine class, ease their anxiety and address issues of resistance and distancing in learning that often come with an unknown topic.

Employing online tools in the classroom such as online collections of artifacts or virtual tours of cities, museum and monuments related to the Byzantine world is now common. In my Byzantine Art and Architecture class, we even play video games such as Assassin's Creed to familiarize students with Constantinople's topography and help them appreciate issues of scale, distance and proximity among some of the city's key buildings. Such strategies certainly promote an active learning environment and enrich students' experiences by providing access to the wealth of Byzantine material from around the world and introducing new ways of learning. Despite the interactive capabilities of such online resources, they still maintain modes of passive learning where students are the recipients but not the producers of knowledge and meaning.

I discuss possibilities and ideas for a more active and hands-on learning environment that can be applied to a variety of classes on Byzantine history, art and archaeology. I argue for the benefits of using 3D technologies (3d scanning, 3D printing and the creation of 3D immersive environments) and digital mapping and storytelling in Byzantine courses. I suggest that such digital tools enhance student agency, promote computer literacy and advance student learning experiences, problem solving abilities and critical thinking. They do so by providing new ways of breaking down information, offer more opportunities for data-driven arguments and by inviting students to consider the role and reception of their learning and knowledge production for the wider community.

To make the benefits and challenges of such teaching strategies clear, I use examples of specific classes on Byzantine cities that involved group projects in digital mapping and VR environment and present some of the learning outcomes and student feedback. I also address issues of logistics and best practices for organizing and maintaining a balance between teaching content and allocating time for learning new digital skills.

What Was Seen on the Textile Called the Mandylion?
Interpretations of an "Unpainted" Image in Byzantine Theology

Karin Krause (The University of Chicago)

A plethora of visual representations surviving from Byzantium suggests artists took for granted that the Mandylion depicted an icon of Christ's face. Modern scholars likewise tend to assume that the long-lost cloth bore an icon widely regarded as an authentic likeness of Christ that had miraculously appeared in the absence of human artistry. Yet significantly, descriptions of its visible traits are entirely absent from the rich body of literature about the Mandylion produced in Byzantium and elsewhere. Sources are ambiguous—and no doubt intentionally so—regarding the pressing question of what exactly was seen on the textile. This includes the most official of texts, the *Narratio de Imagine Edessena*, composed at the court of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, likely in 945 (ed. Guscin). According to this homily, the imprint on the linen resulted "from a moist secretion with no paint or artistic craft," when Christ used it to dry his wet face; this and other texts in fact emphasize that the icon was "unpainted" and "immaterial." When taken literally, these and similar expressions suggest that the cloth did not bear a visible icon of Christ at all. The talk presents a textual analysis of key sources reflecting the Mandylion's theological significance to support this thesis.

The paper examines two understudied panegyrics on the Mandylion written by leading Byzantine theologians. The first, possibly given in 944, is the *Sermon of Gregory Referendarius*, archdeacon of Hagia Sophia (ed. Dubarle); the second, written *c*. 1194/7, is the *Didascalia about the Holy Mandylion and Keramion* by Constantine Stilbes, a renowned teacher at the Patriarchal School (ed. Flusin). I argue that these homilies ought to be understood as late contributions to the debate about the validity of pictorial icons of Christ. They evince that the major theological issues that had caused Byzantine Iconoclasm had not been convincingly resolved when the controversy was officially terminated in 843. Ruminating on the incomprehensible nature of God, first discussed in the patristic literature, both rhetoricians reason that Christ's divinity can be neither circumscribed nor perceived in pictorial representations, even those produced without human agency. In these sermons, the Mandylion and Christ are conflated to illustrate Orthodox doctrine defining the Son's relationship to the Father. Appropriating for the Mandylion key concepts of Christ's nature that are developed in the New Testament and its exegesis, the textile embodies Christ as the "radiance," "seal," and "indistinguishably exact image" of the Father; it symbolizes the reality of the Incarnation of the Son of God, the "exact imprint of God's very being" (Heb 1:3).

To be sure, the two panegyrics conceive of the Mandylion as a most authentic icon, yet not one that accurately pictured Christ's face. Instead, the blank textile represented Christ in a nonfigural manner as the exact *eikon* of God the Father, understood in a purely ontological sense.

Repenting Sodomy: From Penitential Canons to the Life of Niphon

Derek Krueger
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

While Byzantine civil and canon law, sermons and hagiography expressed opprobrium toward male homosexual activity, Byzantine clerics also called men who had engaged in sex with other men to repentance. Penitential manuals provided guidelines for periods of exclusion from the eucharist that implicitly promised eventual return to communion. Saints' lives provided models both of men who had resisted homosexual activity and those who had given it up to pursue lives of ascetic rigor. Orthodox Christian exhortation thus did not merely condemn men who had sex with men, but sought to produce a repentant sodomite as a desirable subject.

The tradition of the *Kanonarion* associated with the late sixth-century Patriarch, John the Faster, offered instructions for hearing confession and imposing penances. The text reached its final form in the ninth century. The manual distinguishes sins and prescribes appropriate penalties, most often periods of excommunication. Among the sins of the flesh, the manual enumerates the penetration of men (ἀρσενοκοιτία) and the corruption of children (παιδοφθορία) as separate offenses. Insertive partners are generally more culpable than receptive partners. The manual identifies mitigating circumstances, such as youth, poverty, or rape. After hearing a penitent confess, the cleric prayed with him, assured him of forgiveness, raising and kissing him, like the Prodigal Son, and shared the burden of his sin. No doubt born of clerical experience dealing with a range of offenders over time, the *Kanonarion* offers evidence for efforts to rationalize and structure a process of reform.

A cluster of tenth-century hagiographical fictions composed in Constantinople warns readers against *andromania*, a male desire to have sex with other men, and *paidophthoria*, the corruption of boys. The *Life of Basil the Younger* and the *Life of Andrew the Fool* condemn *andromaniacs*, and the *Life of Gregentios* imagines a South Arabian Christian society that meted out the death penalty for "sodomites." The closely related *Life of Niphon of Constantia*, however, tells the story of one man's abandonment of sexual relations with other men to pursue religious life. Even after he had committed himself to monastic discipline, the devil of fornication attacked him for fourteen years with dreams in which he committed pederasty. He would beat his thighs upon awakening and throw stones at himself, perhaps in accord with punishment prescribed Leviticus for men who lie with men. He prayed for God's mercy upon him, calling himself a sinner and sodomite. Far from imagining a sudden break with temptation, the text constructs Niphon as the subject of uncontrollable homosexual and particularly pederastic desires well into middle age. His self-control eventually resulted in clairvoyance, wisdom, and miracles.

While the type of the repentant sodomite does not provide an easy hero for contemporary LGBTQ political liberation, he does provide an important Byzantine chapter in queer history.

Between Pope and Emperors: Dalmatia in the Time of the First Crusade

Thomas Lecaque (Grandview University)

The First Crusade remains one of the most-discussed and most-written about events in western medieval studies, particularly in Anglophone scholarship—not only as part of a deeply insular but still wildly popular subfield, but for its impact on the Latin Christian world. Less frequently do those works engage substantively with the Byzantine world, and even less frequently with the Balkans, focusing instead on the final battles from Antioch to Jerusalem, the crusader states, and, fortunately, more and more on Arabic-language sources and their contributions. This paper, however, will examine the first leg of the Crusade through the Balkans from the point of view of that most official of armies, the contingent from southern France led by Adhemar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy and papal legate in charge of the crusade, and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse and first sworn lay participant.

As Peter Frankopan has argued, the event that kicks off the crusade seems to be the arrival of representatives of Alexios Komnenos at the Council of Piacenza in March 1095, only eight and a half months before the official calling of the crusade at Clermont in November of that year. Frankopan has further argued that not only did those representatives give the spark for the crusade, but helped shape the direction of it—specifically why Raymond and Adhemar took their forces through Dalmatia. In his 2012 book *The First Crusade: The Call from the East*, he wrote that, "In fact, the Count of Toulouse took this route for good reason: to bring to heel Constantine Bodin, the Serbian ruler whose attacks on Byzantium on the eve of the Crusade had done much to increase pressure on the emperor and whose contacts with the antipope had aggravated Urban. That so important a figure as Raymond passed through the remote coastal area of Zeta indicates how precisely the First Crusade had been planned in advance. The fact that Raymond went down the Dalmatian coast was a clear sign the emperor and the Pope had worked together."[1] This paper, however, will emphasize that whatever benefits Alexios derived from that branch of the trip, it was also firmly rooted in papal needs—the contesting "reform" parties of the Salian Dynasty and of the "Gregorian" popes. Croatia and Duklja both were supporters of the "Gregorian" party in a time when the Salian dynasty was at its apogee of power in Italy; with Urban II's swell of support and power in the 1090s, sending the crusade through the region to reinforce papal authority was an added benefit.

As a result, examining this region in the age of the First Crusade from the perspective of both Latin political and religious politics AND Byzantine political and military conflict once again reinforces the need to examine the crusades not only from a western context, but grounded in local, regional, and Mediterranean-wide contexts.

[1] Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 116.

Connecting with Constantinople: Byzantine-German Relations and Portable Altars, c.975-1195

Sarah Luginbill (University of Colorado Boulder)

In 1204, Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt looted several lavish objects from Constantinople's churches and took them back to his home diocese. Conrad's theft and the items he took have been the subject of much recent scholarship, but relatively little research has been done on the material relationship between the German lands and Constantinople prior to Conrad. Indeed, almost half of the 100 portable altars made in German lands from the 10th-12th centuries feature Byzantine ivory or enamel plaques. The presence of these fragments on portable altars, which were deeply personal and ritual objects, demonstrate a local, ongoing desire in the German lands for connection with Constantinople. Combined with evidence from textual sources and other devotional objects of the period, it is apparent that German individuals fashioned themselves as an extension of the prestige and material wealth of Byzantium.

Starting in the late 10th-century, Constantinople was deeply rooted in the history and memory of the German lands. The niece of the Byzantine emperor, Theophanu, married the Holy Roman Emperor Otto II in 972. As empress, Theophanu traveled throughout the German lands with her husband, bestowing lavish objects on churches. During Theophanu's reign as Holy Roman Empress, it appears there was an influx of Byzantine enamels into the German lands. These enamels were combined with locally made devotional objects as a kind of spolia, augmenting the extravagance of the objects.

Several portable altars, processional crosses, and reliquaries from the 11th-century, including some commissioned by Theophanu, feature Byzantine enamels and ivories. At the same time, however, those invested in collecting devotional objects and relics from Constantinople rejected the practices of the Greek Church. The tension over ritual and belief between the Western and Eastern churches is evident in several German chronicles from the period, which also simultaneously praise the Greek material culture of devotion.

Travel between Lower Saxony and Constantinople was frequent for representatives of the local ruling elite and bishops. Surprisingly, however, there is little scholarship on the journeys taken by several individuals over the 11th and 12th centuries between the German lands and Constantinople. This paper combines the textual records for these trips with the material evidence they brought back, interweaving historical and art historical interpretation to illustrate the importance of Byzantium to German devotion.

Prereqs for Aphthonius:
An Anonymous Byzantine Commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*

Byron MacDougall, Brown University

In 1836, Christian August Brandis published excerpts from an anonymous commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, the introductory text in the logical curriculum and a staple of the Byzantine classroom. Because much of the material in the commentary draws from the Late Antique commentators of the Alexandrian school known as David and Elias, the work of the anonymous Byzantine has languished in relative obscurity ever since. Based on a fresh examination of the manuscripts, this paper shows how the commentary and especially its introduction or *prolegomena* are of importance not only for the history of logic in Byzantium, but also for the study of the rhetorical curriculum and education in general.

A distinguished historian of philosophy (and tutor to King Otto of Greece), Brandis was presumably most interested in any nuggets of Late Antique Alexandrian learning that the commentary might have preserved. He was less concerned with the Anonymous Commentator's own (and original) presentation in the *prolegomena* of his exegetical project and aims. Brandis chose not to publish several passages from the *prolegomena*, indicating these omissions only by an ellipsis, with no word of explanation. A study of the manuscripts (including Oxford Bod. *Barocci* 145, Venice *Marc. gr.* Z 202, and Modena *Puntoni* 195) has shown that those elided passages, which have remained unknown until now, in fact offer an extensive discussion of the *rhetorical* curriculum and of the role that Porphyry's *Isagoge* should play in teaching rhetoric.

The Commentator highlights in particular the importance of Porphyry for learning definition and division, those key logical techniques that had always been considered essential for subsequent philosophical study. The Commentator emphasizes how these skills should be considered prerequisites for the rhetorical curriculum, which is predictably described as consisting of the Corpus of Hermogenes, beginning with the *Progymnasmata* or preliminary exercises of Aphthonius. He argues forcefully that the student should master the *Isagoge* before beginning any part of the rhetorical curriculum, including Aphthonius, since the techniques of division and definition as well as five key terms discussed in the *Isagoge* (genus, species, difference, property and accident) are all necessary for a proper understanding of the *progymnasmata*. The text, especially in its unpublished sections, thus offers an important new witness to the role of logic in Byzantine education and how it was taught in conjunction with the Corpus of Hermogenes. This paper concludes by contextualizing and offering a rough date for the *prolegomena* and commentary against the wider frame of Byzantine logical culture.

Women in Hell: An Exploration of Crime and Punishment in Byzantine, Post-Byzantine, and Slavic Monumental Painting.

Marina Mandrikova (Temple University)

Starting with the first images of Eve, pictures of sinful women gradually appeared on the walls of Byzantine churches. Unlike Eve, however, artists and patrons punished her 'daughters' for their sins using much more ruthless methods than expulsion from paradise and suffering in childbirth. This paper focuses on dramatic images of female sinners found in monumental painting of the Byzantine sphere. It explores the nature of the crimes of these painted perpetrators, and the diversity and severity of the resulting punishments they suffered, both symbolic and real, in Hell and on Earth. By discussing the visual evidence from multiple regions, this study considers the apparent perception of these marginal members of society by local church authorities, patrons, and artists. It offers a disturbing visual record of how Orthodox Christian communities constructed problematic gender stereotypes and used images of the damned and their torments as powerful tools of visual instruction and intimidation in rural, monastic, and urban settlements throughout the Byzantine and Slavic spheres of power. Medieval artists typically represented sinful women as having committed a narrow range of crimes, such as prostitution, abortion, or witchcraft. This study consults the archival and secondary legal sources and demonstrates that contemporary criminal records contradict such a limited picture of female sins.

Painted images of damned women exist within the broader iconographic tradition of the Last Judgment. Scholarship on representations of the Last Judgment in Byzantine art is voluminous, but the individual images of the damned and their torments remain to be thoroughly studied. Until very recently, art historians have concentrated on the role and function of the holy figures in the Byzantine painting. Greek scholars have been leading the research on images of the damned found in the present-day countries of Greece, Cyprus, and Crete. Slavic examples, more scattered and poorly preserved, have also been investigated by local art historians only, who published their most extensive results decades ago. Both Slavic and Greek scholars have tended to deploy traditional formal methods of art history, categorizing images of sinners according to style, iconography, and theological meanings (for recent bibliography: I.P. Chouliaras, "The post-byzantine iconography of the individual punishments of the sinners in the depiction of Hell in Northwestern Greece. Differences and similarities to the Cretan school of painting." *Zograf 40* (2016): 141-158.)

Except for the work of a few art historians, images of the damned have only rarely been discussed in English-speaking publications. Sharon Gerstel, Vasiliki Tsamakda, Angeliki Lymberopoulou, and Rembrandt Duits have placed prominent focus on the images of sinners in their research, but they have also concentrated on visual evidence from Greece, Cyprus, and Crete. While building on the existing scholarship, this paper departs from that earlier research by conducting a multi-regional, interdisciplinary study that evaluates a broader range of visual and textual evidence. It also introduces Slavic examples, not yet considered in the West, to an international scholarly audience.

Late Roman Process Art: Cross-Media Carving in the 4th – 8th century AD Mediterranean

Hallie G. Meredith (Washington State University)

This paper's contribution lies in its focus on traces of working processes in Roman manufacture and interdisciplinary conversations about ancient production. The central research question is: What do carved objects, on which vestiges of working processes are preserved, add to our understanding of 4th through 8th century AD manufacturing? What can examinations of unfinished carving contribute to debates concerning standardization in production? Carved Roman objects from this period are typically 'tidied' upon completion. By this I mean, the original creator intentionally removed evidence of the mode of production. Process is an underexplored approach with which to consider architectural working areas, carved imperial gifts, fragments, and standardization in state-sponsored production or private patronage. For example, a law from 337 AD excused artisans (*artificum*) from compulsory public services to gain greater proficiency and to train successors (*Codex Theodosianus* 13.4.2). Thirty-five separate professions are listed. Among these distinguishable trades are craftsmen working in traditional 'craft' media, such as glass and stone. Such occupations are contrasted with artisans working in a process rather than in one material, such as engravers. What is the implied working relationship among artisans identified by media as opposed to process? Do such identified differences in profession suggest cross-media production was collaborative?

Since written sources from makers are virtually absent from the written record, in-process work has the potential to serve as the primary means of accessing the creative process from work begun in the hands of anonymous artisans. A handful of two-room spaces of production with evidence of carving remain. Relatively private working spaces (i.e. studios) have been identified as adjacent to, but separate from, public commercial spaces of display (i.e. shops). This paper investigates production sites and artefactual evidence of carving. Production sites range from marble carving at Aphrodisias, Turkey, to ivory, rock crystal and other media at the production-habitation complex at Kom el-Dikka, Alexandria, Egypt. Artefactual evidence of carving includes, for instance, sequences of production required to produce openwork vessels in individual or mixed media, and in-process and finished worked ivory and bone from Palatine East in Rome, Italy. *In situ* artefactual assemblage in the working spaces are approached as a whole and contrasted with those from adjoining commercial spaces. Conceptual distinctions are, therefore, mapped architecturally onto rooms separated by function. I argue that this methodology enables us to access conceptual distinctions concerning late Roman categories of in-process and unfinished carving.

Today, the study of specialised production is almost exclusively divided along material lines, such as glass openwork vessels (known as *diatreta*), studied separately from those made of precious stone or metal. This paper considers evidence of cross-media production focusing on 4th – 8th century AD carving in glass, ivory, marble and rock crystal from throughout the Mediterranean. Although the archaeological record from throughout the Mediterranean suggests a range of models for production sites, this paper focuses on two-room architectural spaces and their associated finds. By integrating material on 'workshops' and late Roman carved processual art, this investigation may help redefine interdisciplinary boundaries along cross-disciplinary lines.

Emperors on the Inside: The Bishop as Emperor in the Constantinian Church Basilica

Anysia Metrakos (University of California, Berkeley)

"You are bishops of those within the Church, but I am perhaps a bishop appointed by God over those outside." (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 4.24, tr. Cameron and Hall, 1996). Constantine's famous words in Eusebius' biography present the emperor self-identifying as a bishop among bishops. Throughout the *Life of Constantine* and in nearly all aspects of the historical record of the emperor's reign, Constantine's admiration, trust, and reliance on Christian bishops is evident; his numerous letters and legal reforms highlighted the Christian ecclesiastical hierarchy, bringing bishops to the forefront of the imperial administration, first as advisors, and later in 318 as judges in civil cases across the Western Empire. This political innovation paralleled one of Constantine's most significant architectural achievements: the building of the Basilica Constantiana (the Lateran). As a building type most commonly associated with imperial audience halls or judiciary proceedings, the late Roman basilica typically had an apse which held the throne of the emperor, the seat of his imperial magistrate, or an imperial portrait or cult statue. The apse of the church basilica held the altar for the consecration of the Eucharist and the throne of the bishop, replicating almost exactly the image of the enthroned emperor or his judicial representative. Much scholarship has been devoted to Constantine's relationship with bishops and the imperial connotations behind the Lateran and its decorative program, but few have sought to explore this relationship between the emperor and clergy within the architectural spaces of the church basilica.

This paper explores the relationship between emperor and bishop as articulated within the architectural space and decorative program of the Basilica Constantiana. Built shortly after the defeat of Maxentius in 312, the Lateran, magnificent in scale and luxuriously adorned, was part of a larger complex which included administrative apartments for the bishop of Rome. The apse held a grand imperial *fastigium* above the altar with images of Christ and the apostles which framed the episcopal throne just behind it. While scholars have interpreted the iconography of the *fastigium* to pertain entirely to Constantine's relationship with Christ, I argue that the image of the enthroned bishop behind the *fastigium* plays an important role in articulating and facilitating the connection between the imperial and the divine. The enthroned bishop in the apse represented Christ and also evoked Christ's ultimate magistrate – Constantine. As judges in the imperial administration after 318, bishops served as representatives of the emperor and his vision of the empire in a way other imperial magistrates never could: bishops were simultaneously representatives of Christ to their flocks and the emperor's justice to Roman citizens at large, uniting the heavenly with the earthly. I propose that perhaps Constantine was not becoming a bishop after all; rather, he was attempting to make his bishops into Constantines, models of his own imperial justice and new Christian sovereignty.

Revisiting the Byzantine archive of Zographou monastery on Mt Athos: Byzantine fiscal terminology in the Slavic context

Georgi Mitov (Sofia University)

The first published collection of the Byzantine archive of Zographou monastery came out in 1907 in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, edited by W. Regel, E. Kurtz and B. Korablev. This first edition did not succeed in covering the whole archive and also lacked any historical commentary. After several other attempts, it was only in 2014 that a full critical edition was published with a learned commentary by K. Pavlikianov under the title *The Medieval Greek and Bulgarian Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou (980-1600)*. This edition is based on a careful study of over 3200 black-and-white microfilms taken in the 1970-80s. The need to verify both the reading of individual documents and the larger framework of their analysis became apparent when, in 2015, a new team started working *in situ* with the documents. With the help of high resolution scans in full colour, the team is preparing a new publication under the title *Actes de Zographou* for the series *Archives de l'Athos* (under the editorship of G. Banev, A. Chryssostalis, C. Giros, D. Kiritsis and K. Smyrlis). As a junior member of the team, I contribute with scanning and transcribing of the original documents. My aim in this paper is to present both the scope of this current project and some individual finds.

With over 60 documents, the Zographou Byzantine archive is one of the richest on Mount Athos, second only to the archives of the biggest monasteries (such as Vatopedi, the Great Lavra and Hilandar). Most of the Zographou documents date to the late 13th and early 14th century. During this period, the monastery was flourishing, enjoying the support of Byzantine emperors and Bulgarian kings who, as the documents in the archive show, donated numerous estates outside the Holy Mountain to the monastery. This paper is focused on the Greek chrysobull of John V Palaiologos from 1342. In the first part of the paper is examined the narrative recorded in the chrysobull. We see how, acting on the request of the Bulgarian tzar John Alexander, the Byzantine emperor donated to Zographou the village of Chandax at the mouth of river Struma in Macedonia.

In the second part, is investigated the evidence that, later in the same year, the Bulgarian ruler also signed another chrysobull---not in Greek but in Old Bulgarian---through which he confirms the new Zographou possession of Chandax. Pavlikianov's 2014 edition does include both documents in the two languages (Nos 34-35) but proceeds no further than documenting their existence. Enlarging the scope of Pavlikianov's analysis, the present paper demonstrates how this exchange between the two rulers allows us to document a key stage in the process of transmission of several Greek fiscal terms which, coined first in the chrysobull of the Bulgarian tzar, afterwards remain constant in the vocabulary of other Slav rulers, such as Stephen Dušan.

A 'Nostalgic Gaze' towards Antiquity. The Phenomenon of Classicism in Late Byzantium and the Renaissance

Francesco Monticini (University of Rome3)

This paper deals with the concept of "Classicism", with a socio-historical approach. Classicism refers to the adherence of an author or a style to standards regarded as characteristic of a "classic" past age. This phenomenon has been recurring many times over the human history. In this paper, I focus on two cultural periods that can definitely be considered as "classicizing": the Byzantine Palaiologan Renaissance (13th-14th century) and the Italian Renaissance (15th-16th century). The main goal of this paper is to compare both these forms of Classicism, as to examine their similarities and differences and to draw out some conclusions.

Some renowned scholars such as Steven Runciman and Ihor Ševčenko have connected the *fièvre de classicisme* of the Palaiologan-period Byzantine scholars to the fascination of the Italian humanists for classical Greek-Roman literature and art. Although the latter learnt Greek from Byzantine *émigrés* and read classics through Byzantine manuscripts purchased in the East, I argue that the conceptual premises of the Italian Renaissance were deeply dissimilar from those of the Byzantine Palaiologan Renaissance. The main difference, I believe, between these forms of Classicism relies in their conception of history. While Byzantine culture inherited the biblical conception of history as a straight line pointing towards the end times, Italian Humanism recovered the classical conception of history as a series of cycles. As such, whereas the Byzantine conception of history did not permit past models to be restored in order to deal with current dilemmas – thus, Antiquity could be studied, perhaps regretted, but not recovered –, the cyclical conception of history of Italian humanists allowed them to place near Antiquity and the Modern era. By developing the concept of *media tempestas*, i.e. the Middle Ages, they could (re-)found a utopia based on ancient models.

The common re-use of Platonic philosophy was extremely different too. In late Byzantium, Platonism was mainly adopted by scholars to cope with monastic mysticism, as well as to justify – through its apophatic theology – the unintelligibility of God. In the Italian Renaissance, Platonism was rather adopted by most humanists to emphasize the centrality of the human soul in the cosmos. This approach allowed them to justify the social success of their patrons, who belonged to the class of merchands and bankers and who did not base their wealth on divine right, as Medieval nobility did, but on individual initiative.

My conclusion, thus, would be that, despite some undeniable similarities, the Classicism of the Byzantine Palaiologan Renaissance was very different from that of the Italian Renaissance. More broadly, I strongly believe that a thorough investigation of the main forms of Classicism, that is to say, of the methods people used to explain and condition current events on the basis of past models, should now be approached from a socio-historical point of view.

Churches built in Monumental Ruins in Medieval Ethiopia

Mikael Muehlbauer, (Hutchins Center for African and African American Research at Harvard University)

Some time around the mid 12th century, two antique structures in Tigray, Ethiopia's northernmost province, were converted into churches or otherwise re-consecrated. One of these structures was a temple dedicated to the south Arabian Sun god Almaqah in Yeha from 600 BCE while the other was an anonymous palace plinth from the 6th century near the contemporary village of Addi Awona. The churches, which took over these structures, went on to serve very important functions in this burgeoning kingdom. The palace plinth became the seat of the Ethiopian Metropolitan installed from Egypt, while the Yeha Temple later became a church associated with the legendary 6th century Byzantine missionary Aftse. The decision to appropriate these monumental structures for use as churches in the 12th century is anomalous, but as I argue here, is material evidence of a general political centralization, re-Christianization and reintegration into world trade that characterized the period we now call Zagwe (11th-13th centuries CE). Because prior, all these things were hitherto in-flux, in the minds of ecclesiastics there, I argue that this change paralleled a restoration of past glories akin to Constantine's Christianization of Rome. The erection of 5-aisled basilicas specifically in sites understood as ancient were therefore loaded platforms with which to parallel this Christian transformation.

The Protection and Exploitation of the Peasantry as Literary *Topos* in Middle Byzantine Sources

Cahit Mete Oguz (Simon Fraser University)

Practices and policies directed against the well-being of the peasantry garner strict criticism in middle Byzantine historical sources. Emperors and officials who are vilified in historical narratives (for a variety of often unrelated, political reasons) are quite frequently criticized from angles primarily directed at exposing how they strayed from the *politeia* in their policy-making, or more specifically, how they failed to protect the peasantry. Such accounts illustrate how the exploitation and neglect of the peasantry was used as a literary tool to augment the wickedness levels of emperors deemed as 'failures'. The treatment of Michael VII and his chief minister Nikephoritzes by Michael Attaleiates, Leo Phokas by Leo the Deacon, Michael IV and his minister John the Orphanotrophos by John Skylitzes, and Manuel I and his entire bureaucracy by Niketas Choniates provide fruitful case examples of this. The inverse was also true, the undeniable respect attributed to agriculture provided an idealized *topos* for descriptions of imperial decency. Emperors were often depicted within a utopian image, praised for protecting their subjects from malicious actors seeking to profit from their demise. A case example is the multiple depictions of Basil I within the series of connected sources from Genesios' *Basileiai* and the *Vita Basilii* to John Skylitzes' *Synopsis*.

What separated the peasantry as a general social formation (strongly embraced within narratives) from a single peasant as an individual person (culturally belittled within narratives), in the formulation of this literary culture? It appears to be anchored on two key themes. Firstly, social utility, and secondly, the collective control of violence. The peasantry, constituting the largest segment of society, was not only useful for cultivating the land, they also furnished the manpower during both rebellions (a form of politics) and warfare. Especially speeches given by generals to their soldiers on the eve of battle (frequently paraphrased in narrative sources) often allude to this function. Most foot-soldiers were peasants, and as a result, such speeches often implied the imperial over-seeing of the justice and wellbeing of the farming populace vis-à-vis those who sough to undermine its integrity. Overall there appears a somewhat paradoxical literary culture around the peasantry and their perception, but case-examples from the source materials themselves help deconstruct this apparent contradiction to reveal the socio-political reasoning beneath it.

The "Dead" Burying the Dead: Afterlife and Interment in Pachomian Sources

Arsany Paul (University of Notre Dame)

A monastic is portrayed as one who died to the mundane world in order to live as though they were in heaven. In the modern Coptic tonsuring rite for male and female monastics, the typical paradigm of separation, liminality, and reintegration emphasizes the death of the monk to the world and his or her rebirth as a new citizen within the community. Although these rituals accentuate that a monastic has already died to the world, at their physical death, the community, nonetheless, diligently inters the corpse; hence, those "dead" to the world bury the physically dead.

Relying upon the hagiography of Pachomius (292-346) along with his affiliated writings, this paper analyzes the vision of the afterlife and proceeds to reconstruct burial and post-interment commemorative rituals. The archeological and literary material from the Monastery of Epiphanius, located approximately fifty kilometers south of Pachomius' primary monastic cluster at Tabennisi, provides additional sources.

The Pachomian documents recount numerous revelations of the soul's ascent at death and beliefs about the afterlife, which allow for study of the role of angels at death and a reconstruction of an initial appraisal of the soul before the final judgment. Additionally, the corpora contain seven significant funeral services. These accounts serve to reveal the methods of preparing the body for burial, rituals associated with interment, and post-entombment practices while allowing for a comparison to atypical burial rubrics of the community. Lastly, the archeological and literary material evidence unearthed at the Monastery of Epiphanius clarifies and confirms aspects of the hagiographical narratives of these burials.

A. Veilleux's English scholarly work on the Pachomian community focuses on Pachomius' Life, Chronicles, Rules, and *paralipomena* without specific attention to the afterlife and interment rituals. Two French articles examine the Pachomian burial rituals. That of A. Veilleux *La Liturgie dans le Cénobitisme Pachômien au Quatrième Siècle*, which briefly compares and comments on some of the significant burial rituals, and E. Revillout *Funerailles des moines égyptiens au temps de Saint Antoine et de Saint Pacome*, which focuses on Pachomius and Antony's burials in relation to Ancient Egyptian entombment practices. Yet neither work fully reconstructs the burial practices based on all accounts in the corpora nor do they engage with material evidence to confirm the hagiographical accounts.

This brief paper depicts the afterlife according to Pachomian sources as well as reconstructs the body's arrangement for burial, the liturgical practices that encompass monastic funerals, the importance of preserving the *Koinonia* (the communal life) even in the age to come, and post-entombment rituals of the Pachomian community.

What Is Byzantine Andropology?

Luis Josué Salés
(Scripps College)

The field of late ancient and medieval Roman studies has been remarkably enriched, most notably in the past two decades, by a range of theoretical and conceptual approaches to the social construction of gender during the last millennium (or so), of the Roman Empire (e.g., Averil Cameron, Stavroula Constantinou, Derek Krueger, Wendy Meyer, Leonora Neville, Bronwen Neil, Ashley Purpura, Alice Mary Talbot, etc.). This paper furthers the scholarly conversation on Roman gender by asking whether it is even possible to speak of "anthropology" during this time, in the sense that this categorization presumably includes women, men, and any other human being. Certainly, we may in a modern sense deploy the term as a heuristic that encompasses all human subjects of the Roman Empire. But when Romans spoke of ἄνθρωπος, how inclusive was the term really in a pre-discursive sense that actually included any other human other than "man" (ἀνήρ)? I suggest that the most honest answer is: almost never.

Instead, I propose that we may speak of an "andropology," which is to say, that even when Romans spoke of ἄνθρωπος, this term hardly ever also meant women, eunuchs, boys, girls, enslaved people, etc. Rather, it was a (probably, most often, unconscious) intellectually dishonest terminological place-holder for "man" (ἀνήρ) rhetorically and hypothetically conceptualized without gender but then tacitly repopulated with a discursive masculinism that few Roman authors even remotely attempted to resist, let alone identify, as operating across their entire ontology of the "human."

I demonstrate through a close reading of very specific passages in a handful of Roman texts (e.g., (Pseudo-?) Basilios of Kaisareia, *On the Hexaemeron* 6; Nemesios of Emesa, *On the Nature of "Man"* (!); Maximos the Confessor, *Difficulty* 41; Anna Komnene, *Alexias*; *Digenes Akritas*, Eustathios Makrembolites, *Hysmine and Hysminias*), which represent deliberate efforts to use ἄνθρωπος to signify all humans, that even here their understanding of ἄνθρωπος is in no meaningful regard different than ἀνήρ. That is, we cannot except equivocally speak of Roman anthropology—only of "andropology"; no such suggestion has yet been made in scholarly literature on Roman gender.

The upshot is that, at least as far as texts are concerned, Romans were incapable of articulating a concept that in fact encompassed the totality of the human species; rather, whether tacitly or in unapologetically androcentric vitriol, they continued to conceptualize humans as a compound of psycho-somatic differentials that, one way or another, succeeded or failed to various degrees in embodying ideals of masculinity. I conclude by suggesting that perhaps little has changed in that regard among contemporary nation states that largely still construe their identities with reference to the legacy of Roman society and culture and that until these enduring connections are systematically identified, interrogated, and successfully severed a set of structural sexisms that (might have) originated in Rome are likely to continue haunting our better efforts at gender parity.

"Behold, Philosophers, and Understand – This is the Accomplishment of Art:" Art-Making as Knowledge Production in Medieval Byzantium

Shannon Steiner
Binghamton University

As a relatively young man, the eleventh-century courtier and polymath Michael Psellos wrote a letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael I Keroularios. The letter opens with a complaint, "You see, my lord, my soul's sovereignty, what you're doing to me by lowering me from philosophy's greatness to the lowly fire-craft…even if this [practice] has elevated a philosopher to the knowledge of Nature." The "fire-craft" that Psellos disparages is that of metalwork, which he reluctantly acknowledges has the ability to reveal the workings of the natural world. The opening of Psellos' letter presents the reader with a familiar distinction between two knowledge acquisition systems first established in classical antiquity, namely the difference between ἐπιστήμη (*epistēmē*, "theory"), and τέχνη (*technē*, "craft" or "applied practice"). By the medieval period, the difference between theory and practice had evolved into a concrete hierarchy. Philosophers valued theory as the most noble avenue through which one could seek the truth, whereas craft or practice was the inferior intellectual tool of manual laborers, useful only for its facilitation of production and fabrication. Yet, as we see in Psellos' admission, this hierarchy was far from rigid, and craft practice could emerge as a means of understanding aspects of nature and cosmic phenomena. In Byzantium, as in the present-day, artisans and tradesmen spent their lives tacitly learning the behaviors and properties of materials drawn directly from nature. Their work allowed them to observe the changing conditions of matter as they applied external force, such as the heat of a smith's forge or the impact of a mason's hammer and chisel.

This paper explores how the professional skills and expertise of working artisans became a crucial method for producing knowledge in medieval Byzantium, particularly in the disciplines of natural philosophy, chemistry, and physics. I build upon growing studies of what historians of science have called "artisanal epistemology," and I argue that making art was a principal means by which Byzantine people across all social strata learned about the world around them. By extension, finished works of art were critical in communicating the depth and breadth of Byzantine knowledge to viewers both within and outside of the borders of the Empire. I bring together a number of key Middle Byzantine works of art, primarily precious metalwork, enamels, and stonework, and analyze their techniques of manufacture alongside Byzantine scientific texts. These texts describe how processes of making afforded the direct observation of matter and force and taught nature's discrete mechanics to artisans and scholars alike. In doing so, I position artistic production at the forefront of the nascent study of Byzantine science and argue for the critical role played by both art and artists in the Byzantine intellectual tradition.

Religiosity and Social Control in Local Communities According to the Twelfth-Century *Deuterokanonarion*

Edward Trofimov (University of Notre Dame)

Historians of the Medieval West, mostly affiliated with the French *Annales* School, have been using penitentials to elucidate perceptions, beliefs, and aspects of the everyday life of members of local communities, most of whom were peasants. This social group constituted the majority of the so-called peasant society. In a wider sense, peasant society implies an economically agrarian society where peasants appear to be an absolute majority of the population. In a narrower sense, though, one can understand peasant society as consisting of communities concentrated around family relationships and enjoying access to land. The local peasant community did not consist exclusively of peasants. In many cases, it also included artisans, traders, priests, innkeepers, moneylenders, and many others. Not being solely agricultural laborers, peasants were often engaged in the aforementioned or other activities related to communal life apart from their work in the fields or gardens. I do not refer here to the peasant society as consisting of land laborers only, but as to a local community united by familial and agricultural economic bonds, particular worldview, beliefs, and probably similar mentalities.

In this paper, I argue that the *deuterokanonarion* is a vivid source regarding beliefs, transgressions, and mentalities of rural dwellers, as well as regarding the relationship between priests and their flock in a twelfth-century Byzantine local community. The questions in this penitential demonstrate that the Church was concerned about various aspects of communal life, such as piety, social behavior, morality, and even various economic activities. The believer's private domain was no less important to the confessor. The *deuterokanonarion* bristles with questions on magic and unorthodox expressions of belief. The character of the questions demonstrates that the *deuterokanonarion* could be used for confessional purposes in both monasteries and local communities. This may indicate that the *deuterokanonarion* might be used on monastic lands, serving the confessional needs of both monastic and lay communities.

Surprisingly enough, Byzantine penitentials have not attracted enough scholarly attention from Byzantinists to elicit the worldviews, beliefs, and miscellaneous aspects of day-to-day local routine from the potential questions the confessor might have asked the penitents. One may explain this by a conspicuous scarcity of the Byzantine penitentials, especially in comparison with their cognate Western counterparts. These Byzantine manuals for confessors have been studied chiefly by theologians and Church historians who have left aside the social and anthropological aspects of these texts. The works of specialists in the Medieval West, though, reveal that penitentials can be socially and anthropologically analyzed.

Byzantine studies have not reached the same progress in matters of social history in comparison with its Western counterpart. The acute deficiency in sources might have turned the attention of historians to a more thoughtful analysis of the extant Byzantine penitentials. I try to demonstrate that Byzantine penitentials, and the *deuterokanonarion* in particular, are valuable for the social and anthropological history of Byzantine countryside.

"Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree": The Execution of Judas Iscariot in Two Byzantine Marginal Psalters

Samantha Truman (Case Western Reserve University)

In a page from the eleventh-century Theodore Psalter [Add. MS 19352], now in the collections of the British Library, an image of the body of Judas Iscariot hangs near the text of Psalm 108:8: "Let his days be few and let another take his office." At first glance, the image depicts the moment of the disgraced apostle's infamous self-inflicted death by hanging, much as it was described in the book of Matthew (Matt. 27:5). Upon further inspection, however, the image can hardly be said to represent a suicide under any normative definition of the word. Judas, suspended not from but near a leafy tree, is the focus of the scene, but he is not its only participant. A small, winged demon hovers above the tree grasping an end of the rope in each hand. It is from this rope that Judas is dangling. The image is not one of suicide; rather, it is a suicide depicted in the visual language of an execution: here, Judas is not hanging, but is being hanged. This moment is witnessed by Matthias, who stands at the side waiting to take Judas's place among the disciples.

The death of Judas is discussed only briefly and inconsistently in the biblical narrative. Nevertheless, the episode serves as a significant moment in both exegetical writings and visual representations. Although depictions of the scene in western medieval art have received considerable scholarly attention, relatively little focus has been directed to the handling of the topic in Byzantium. The Theodore Psalter is part of a small corpus of interrelated Middle Byzantine manuscripts that depict the death of Judas as an execution by a demon that is witnessed by Matthias. This group includes the famous ninth-century Chludov Psalter in the State Historical Museum of Moscow, a badly damaged fragment in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and the eleventh-century Barberini Psalter now held in the Vatican Library. This paper focuses primarily on the scene as it appears in the approximately contemporaneous Theodore and Barberini Psalters [Barb.gr.372]. This body of objects, in conjunction with primary sources, indicates a tradition of representing the death of Judas as a public execution. My paper considers the scene of Judas's death as a multilayered visual commentary on the text of the psalm, the biblical narrative, and the criminalization of suicide. By striking an overt visual resonance with contemporaneous depictions of corporal punishment, the Theodore and Barberini Psalters cast Judas as a criminal and thus consider his death as fitting punishment for his crime.

The Origin of the Crafts according to Byzantine Rosette Caskets

Justin Willson (Princeton University)

Byzantium, like many other cultures, possessed a story of the origin of the crafts. It was based both in Christian literature and in the classical tradition. Three eleventh-century rosette caskets, in Cleveland, Darmstadt, and St. Petersburg, depict the traditional story of Adam and Eve. Unusually, on their sides, they include a scene of the protoplasts at the forge. Eve is seated working the bellows, and Adam is hammering a metal object on the anvil. This image is preceded by three panels portraying Adam at work in the fields. In the first, he is breaking up the rocky soil with a hoe; in the second, he is chopping stalks of grain with a scythe; and in the third, he is harvesting crops with an iron-collared basket. On two of the boxes, the ivory carver includes Ploutos, the god of wealth, who is holding a sack of coins and is seated beneath the lock. Scholars have puzzled over the god's presence, but he can be explained through Aristophanes' play *Wealth* (Gr. *Ploutos*). As Alan Sommerstein has observed, *Wealth* was very widely read in Byzantium. The major theme of the play is that "all the crafts (*technai*) and skills (*sophismata*) that exist among mankind have been invented (*ēurēmena*) because of you [Wealth]," as Chremylos, the protagonist of the play, states (ll. 160-61). Notably, first among the crafts he mentions is blacksmithing. The desire for riches caused the first human beings to invent husbandry, whence cities arose, and civilization flourished, Chremylos explains. It is this classical association of craft with prosperity and the leaving behind of idleness that constitutes the positive message of this suite of images. Rather than a somber story about the Fall, these caskets, like others showing scenes of the circus, draw upon the classical literary tradition. They historicize the place of the crafts in society. For Aristophanes, the crafts led to the establishment of markets, to minting, and to the manufacture of luxury goods, like these caskets which, appropriately, held coins, jewelry, and other keepsakes. Far from an exhortation to repent, the Adam and Eve boxes idealized the good life enjoyed by the upper echelons of Constantinopolitan society. Owners could imagine that they had purchased a commodity whose genealogy began with the basic human need for sustenance answered by farming and metalworking. Deriving the origin of luxury goods from the discovery of the *technai* in prehistory, the boxes cultivated a habit of romantically overlooking the economic differences separating the present from a mythological past. This ideology served a similar social function in imperial Byzantium as it did in democratic Athens. It affirmed the status quo. The wealth of elites was justified on the evidence of their patronage of the crafts: only this skillset was not meeting the elementary needs of the common person but a taste for luxury products that few could afford.

Orthography as Evidence for Mosaic Workshops in the 11th and 12th Centuries

Warren T. Woodfin (Queens College, CUNY)

Byzantinists have long regarded the mosaic programs produced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the apogee of the art form. The period encompasses the three great mosaics cycles in the churches of Greece—Hosios Loukas, Nea Mone, and Daphne—as well as mosaics created in Byzantine style in centers outside the empire such as Kyiv, Bethlehem, Palermo, and Venice. These latter programs have usually been attributed to itinerant Byzantine workshops or to local artisans working under the tutelage of Byzantine mosaicists, although relatively little concrete evidence underlies these assumptions. Arguments from style all too often become circular as they attempt to differentiate "Byzantine" and "un-Byzantine" stylistic features in works that must have been executed by a number of hands working in concert.

The orthography of the customary identifying inscriptions on figures and scenes, however, provides a clue to the identity of the mosaicists and how they were directed. As is well known, Byzantine artists had a propensity of to spell phonetically without regard to distinctions between ο/ω or the various vowels and diphthongs, η/ι/υ/οι, all sounded as /i:/. Phonetic vowel substitutions occur frequently in inscriptions across all media (with the exception of manuscript painting), including even the most costly objects in gold and enamel. It is of interest, then, that the three mosaic programs of this period from Greece are all marked by punctiliously correct orthography in the inscriptions. The mosaics from sites outside of Greece, however, present a mixed picture. Whereas the inscriptions at St. Sophia at Kyiv are littered with ioticisms, omicron/omega substitutions, and similar misspellings, the partially preserved mosaics in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem have extensive inscriptions without orthographic errors.

I do not suggest that the presence of errors indicates a non-Greek artist. On the contrary, comparison among the eleventh and twelfth century programs suggests that most spelling errors arise from artisans who were native speakers of Greek and thus prone to phonetic misspellings. A critical clue is furnished by Hosios Loukas, where many of the same holy figures appear in the mosaics of the Katholikon and in the frescoes of the crypt. Whereas the mosaic inscriptions show correct orthography, the same names appear with spelling errors in the frescoes. The logical conclusion must be that the execution of the more expensive mosaics was overseen by someone with the education to control the spelling of the inscriptions. The less expensive fresco paintings, on the other hand, must have been carried out without this degree of oversight. Applying this model to the mosaics executed beyond Byzantium's borders, I take the presence of consistently correct orthography—as at Bethlehem—to signal the presence of a highly literate patron, or his agent, supervising the work. Where phonetic misspellings abound—as at St. Sophia in Kyiv—this can be understood to mark the presence of a Greek-speaking workshop (with or without local assistants) that undertook the work without direction from a member of the educated Byzantine elite.

Toward a Reconstruction of the Career of Apollonarios, Patriarch of Alexandria (551-571 CE)

Felege-Selam Solomon Yirga (University of Tennessee, Knoxville)

This paper offers the first steps towards a reconstruction of the career of Apollinarios, an Egyptian monk who was made Chalcedonian Patriarch of Alexandria by Justinian I in 551 CE. While fragments of his career, which ended in 571 CE, survive in various primary sources, this paper focuses primarily on two sympathetic accounts in the late seventh-century Coptic Chronicle of John, an anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Nikiou. It asks why an anti-Chalcedonian historian produced these sympathetic accounts of Apollinarios, even as the later tenth-century account in the Annales of the Chalcedonian Patriarch Eutychios (Said ibn Batriq), written in Arabic, and the seventh-century Coptic account of the archdeacon George, preserved in the tenth-century Arabic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria would both later agree that Apollinarios was brutal in his repression of all anti-Chalcedonian parties. Scholarship has tended to either select one of the accounts of John of Nikiou and ignore the other, or else dismiss John altogether, leaning instead on Eutychios, who aligns neatly with archdeacon George. This paper argues that John of Nikiou's sympathetic account reflects the memory of a brief truce between the Chalcedonian and Severan churches in Egypt, in which both parties agreed on a candidate who could slow the growth in popularity of the Julianist aphthartodocetist movement in Alexandria.

Before his rise to prominence, Apollinarios was a monk of the Ennaton, a monastic community nine miles west of Alexandria. Though initially unpopular with Pope Vigilius and others because of his support of Justinian's condemnation of the Three Chapters, his patriarchy was apparently a success: For most of his reign the ranks of the anti-Chalcedonian Severan bishops diminished so rapidly that Peter IV (575-577 CE) saw it necessary to ordain seventy bishops to replenish the ranks in his first year as leader of the Severan party.

His reign is remembered as one of terror by both the Chalcedonian *Annales*, written by Eutychios in the tenth century, and George the Deacon's seventh-century anti-Chalcedonian account. Both authors agree that Apollinarios was comfortable using state authorities to suppress the Severan churchmen under the exiled patriarch Theodosius (535-566), sometimes violently. John of Nikiou's Chronicle contains two accounts of Apollinarios. The first claims that he was a *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Salama in the Ennaton and sympathetic to the Severan cause. Justinian apparently had to bribe him in order to take up the position. The second account is neutral and sparse, stating that he was a reader in one of the monasteries of the Ennaton, but that when he attempted to seize power, he was rejected by the population of Alexandria, who were attached to the aphthartodocetist movement.

By selectively merging these two readings, with support from other primary sources, this paper will suggest that Julianist support had indeed swelled to dangerous levels in Alexandria by the time Justinian I appointed Apollinarios there, so much so that the Severan and Chalcedonian parties were willing to agree to Apollinarios as a compromise candidate who could undermine Julianist support in the city, to the mutual benefit of both parties.