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ARTS BEFORE ICONOCLASM

THE CLEVELAND STEELYARD WEIGHT AND THE PROBLEM OF "CLASSICAL" REVIVAL IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

James N. Carder (Mt. Vernon College)

In 1967 The Cleveland Museum of Art purchased in New York a bronze steelyard weight fashioned in the portrait likeness of a young woman. The portrait's blandness of facial modeling, the regularization of the facial contours based on repeated, broadly curving arcs, the large eyes, the strict frontal pose, and the somewhat elongated tubular neck all have suggested that this portrait weight be dated to the Theodosianic period (last quarter of the fourth century). A no more striking comparison can be made, for example, than with the portrait of the emperor Arcadius in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Nevertheless, the elaborate coiffure of the Cleveland weight remains unparalleled in the fourth century, and this fact makes uncertain the piece's attribution to the time of Theodosius. In fact, the hair style of the Cleveland portrait weight can be shown to be remarkably similar to that of a group of female portraits datable to the Julio-Claudian period (first half of the first century).

The dichotomy between the portrait's seemingly late antique sculptural style and its first-century hair style needs to be considered, and two possible explanations immediately suggest themselves. First, the weight might be misdated and might better be assigned to the early first century A.D. This redating would be in accord with the hair style and would suggest that the seemingly late antique stylistic features were, in fact, modified first-century features. The modification could be due to provincial or unsophisticated modeling, to the piece's small size, to the bronze medium in which it was made, and/or to its utilitarian function. Second, the bronze weight might truly be of late fourth-century date. If this were true, its seemingly Julio-Claudian style coiffure could be due to a late antique period interest in "classical" revival--a conscious reuse of types or motifs typically found in older, more "classical" artistic periods.

The latter explanation--that of a late antique period interest in the revival of earlier, "classical" types--has enjoyed, in general, a certain preeminence in recent scholarship on fourth-century portraiture. Portraits of the emperor Constantine, for example, have suggested both a revival of Trajanic portrait iconography and the iconography of the Hellenistic ruler-king. This evidence of "classical" revivalism has further occasioned the attribution to the fourth century of private portraits of seemingly Trajanic or early Hadrianic date (first quarter of the second century) and even the dating of a portrait of the emperor Trajan himself to the Late Antique period. Similarly, a large number of female portraits (both imperial and private) of seemingly late-Hadrianic-early Antonine date (mid-second century) have been attributed recently to the fourth century. Scholars who cite this evidence of revivalism in portraiture see it not only as a matter of models, but also and more importantly as a conscious evocation of traditionalism in the imperial office. They suggest that the "classicism" of fourth-century imperial portraits and of those private portraits that followed suit illustrates the conscious binding of the emperor and the aristocracy to the ideals of the national Roman state tradition.

It is not to be disputed here that "classicizing" modes of expression were available to the artists of the fourth-century period. Nor is it to be argued that certain late antique portraits, especially those of Constantine, Helena, and Fausta, made knowing reference to earlier portrait iconography and style, although the com-

bination of such elements from first and second-century portraits seems to have occured in a strikingly unhistorical manner. However, it will be suggested that far too many portraits of Julio-Claudian, Hadrianic, and Antonine period date have been reassigned to the fourth century than is warranted by stylistic and iconographic evidence. Included among these is the small bronze portrait weight in Cleveland.

Several reasons will be suggested for this apparent misuse of the concept of "classical" revivalism in the fourth century. First, early imperial-period portraits of coarse or provincial workmanship have been incorrectly attributed to the Late Antique period due to the misconception that "classical" features when portrayed in a conventionalized or abstracted manner are indicative of a fourth-century date. Second, portraits of early imperial date that evidence a blandness and regularization of facial contour and modeling (an idealization, perhaps) have been incorrectly attributed to the Late Antique period because fourth-century portraits are considered to have, typically, similar features. And third, a number of early imperial portraits that can be demonstrated to have been recarved and reworked during the Late Antique period, most likely during the fourth century, have been incorrectly attributed to the Late Antique period due to failure to recognize this important fact.

THE MILITARY INSIGNIA IN THE *NOTITIA DIGNITATUM*

Pamela Berger (Boston College)

The Notitia Dignitatum was a late-Roman register containing the titles of officials in the East and West, lists of their powers and duties, and illustrated insignia reflecting their tasks or responsibilities. Though the late antique Notitia is no longer extant, its text and illustrations were preserved in a late-Carolingian copy, lost but for a few unillustrated pages.

The Carolingian manuscript was copied before its disappearance. One of those copies, a set of illustrations in Munich, MII, was based on tracings of the Carolingian intermediary. Thus the Munich illustrations are our closest link to the archetype of the Notitia, a link which allows us to study the iconography, composition, and coloration of that late antique manuscript.

The forms preserved in the Munich II illustrations provide a wealth of new material for the manuscript archaeologist. This talk will treat some of the military insignia in the Notitia: those of the masters of the soldiers (the high-ranking generals) and of the frontier commanders. Each of the masters of the soldiers has the same form of insignia: a blue cloth-covered table with a propped-up codicillus occuping the upper part of the insignia and shield devices aligned below. The codicillus here, as in the other Notitia insignia, is a sign of the official's link to the emperor, and the presence of these gold and ivory appointment documents serves to legitimize the generals' acts. The shield devices, corresponding to the military units listed in the text, consist of various emblems: weapons, celestial-related objects, quadrupeds, birds, geometric forms such as crosses, human heads, and genii. External corroborating evidence and internal cross-checking within the Notitia imagery serve to demonstrate that the devices transmitted by MII retain a significant measure of authenticity, and can thus be considered a reliable guide to the emblem used on the shields of the units of the Roman army in late antiquity.

The frontier armies were under the command of comites or duces. Their insignia have the form of pseudo-maps. Scattered within the frame are stone-walled forts, fauna, and some topographical features. The general aspect of these pseudo-maps can be paralleled in external late antique material. The placement of the forts, however, is not cartographically correct, but rather corresponds to their ordering in the text. This ordering is based on troop type rather than on geographical location. It is, however, this precise linkage to the text which helps assure us of the late antique authenticity of these pseudo maps.

The insignia of the comites and duces display a scroll and a Book of Mandates as appointment documents. Both the Theodosian and Justinianic Codes refer to these objects which were distributed to officials as they assumed office. These appointment documents appear in the symbolic cupboard illustrated in the Notitia; they are, therein, ranked below the codicilli of the generals, a fact which again supports the contention that in studying MII one can retrieve a significant measure of the iconography, composition and style of the late antique archetype.

THE ART OF CONSTANTINOPLE DURING THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES AFTER THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY

Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum (University of Toronto)

When Constantine created the "New Rome", he selected a site of immense strategic importance, but one which, as a city, was "provincial". Moreover, the ancient Byzantion had not yet recovered from the devastation it had suffered at the beginning of the third century.

It is well known that Constantine endowed his new capital with many works of art plundered in other parts of the Roman Empire, including the "Old Rome". It seems that even his building programme bypassed the new capital; the important Constantinian churches are located in the areas crucial to early christianity, that is, the "Old Rome", and the Holy Land.

Even considering the fact that Constantinople suffered greatly from incursions of various peoples during its history (the Turks in 1453 did not find as much to loot as the crusaders in 1204), it seems significant that no important work of art has been found in Constantinople dating from the time before Theodosius. What we still have from the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth is clearly modelled on monuments of the "Old Rome", i.e., the base of the obelisk in the hippodrome, and the two historiated columns, preserved only in small fragments and in drawings.

Constantinople, however, had a hinterland with a long and important artistic tradition, which was still alive at a time when the western empire was dominated by the northern "Barbarians". It seems logical that architects, painters, and even sculptors from the ancient centers in Asia Minor were called to work in the New Rome. Of the architects, we even know some by name, and we know that a building

like Justinian's Hagia Sophia would not have been possible without the expertise of architects from Asia Minor. With regard to painting, we have now, thanks to the efforts of the Austrian archaeologists, the evidence of a vigorous "school" of painting in Ephesos right to the end of the fifth century. In the field of sculpture, which is my main concern in this study, we have a thriving school both in Aphrodisias to about A.D. 500, and in Ephesos continuing into the sixth century.

What do we have during this period from the New Rome itself? Grabar's volume on the sculpture from Constantinople tells the story: the only pieces of artistic merit illustrated in this volume were not even found in Constantinople, but in Aphrodisias; amongst the funerary sculpture there is only one piece which can match the contemporary art of Milan, Ravenna, and the Old Rome: the rest is provincial in the worst sense of the word. Only one imperial portrait of the time in question was found in Constantinople itself, the so-called Arcadius. It has been stated that the sarcophagi of Ravenna dating from the late fourth to the early sixth centuries are in fact evidence of the art of Constantinople: it is true that they were carved from marble of the imperial quarries of Prokonnesos, as were a great many of their predecessors of the third century, when Constantinople did not yet exist. So far, not a single fragment of sculpture has been found in Constantinople which might match the Ravenna sarcophagi, and I cannot believe that this is only due to the chance of survival.

As to the "Minor Arts", the situation seems to be the same. Almost all the good pieces of silver or ivory from the fourth and fifth centuries seem to have been produced in western workshops or in some of the ancient eastern centres associated with the imperial mints.

By the time of Anastasius, the New Rome seems to have established itself well enough to have become a centre of the arts, not simply a place where artists with diverse backgrounds would find work. It seems to me that the "art of Constantinople" was not born before around A.D. 500.

BYZANTINE WINDBLOWN CAPITALS OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES

Eunice Dauterman Maguire (Urbana, Illinois)

Early Byzantine architectural sculptors took much of their vocabulary from Romans before them. Neither the earlier nor the later craftsmen restricted the use of a given motif to a single function: motifs derived from friezes decorate capitals and imposts, and vice versa. Specific motifs feed the taste for certain kinds of effect, in a changing vocabulary. This paper considers how and why the so-called windblown leaf was applied to column capitals. The examples are chosen not to set up a typological chronology, but to explore some of the aesthetic and iconographic qualities the windblown capital expresses.

The great increase in the number of fifth and sixth century windblown leaf capitals, as compared with their Roman production, goes along with other new developments of Greco-Roman formal precedents. Both Syrian stonecutters and Proconnesian marble workers who use windblown leaves also modify the upper registers of Corinthian capitals, and combine their structure with composite elements. But once the

bell of a Corinthian capital has been clothed with foliage, as Vitruvius prescribes, it has already become a paradoxical metaphor; the flexible leaves that enclose and hide the drum seem to give rise to the volutes and to support the weight-bearing abacus. The windblown capital is a direct extension of this classical conceit.

A frieze in Diocletian's mausoleum prepares the way for later capitals with wind-tossed pairs of finely drilled acanthus leaves bending in two directions at once. Yet the winds that threaten the Vitruvian acanthus capital do not remove a strong sense of structure in the axial relationships of the capital's parts. The startling impact of the windblown leaves depends on the expectation of conformity to established vertical axes, and to a fixed pattern of movement on each of the four faces of the capital. This concept is explicit when windblown capitals are set beside capitals with upright, rigid leaves, as at Kalat Seman. At the end of the Justinianic era it is still implied, in the arrangement of leaves on two different types of windblown capital at Sinai. As dated compositions the Sinai capitals are rare. A contemporary composite capital at Parenzo serves as a warning that the criteria for dating many Proconnesian windblown capitals to the fifth century can be misleading.

One of the Sinai capitals, in its departure from more familiar windblown types betrays a deliberate iconographic intention. The presence of representational details raises the objection that "windblown" itself is, from a logical point of view a misnomer; when the leaves turn from each other in opposing directions. This kind of turbulence does occur in nature. It suggests the supernatural. The compositions with windblown leaves on five different types of capital, reinterpreting ancient formal patterns, parallel sacred, religious, and even mythological texts with images of strength and power in the midst of instability and change.

ON THE REPRESENTATION OF *DOXA* IN S. MARIA MAGGIORE S. APOLLINARE-IN-CLASSE, AND ST. CATHERINE'S AT MT. SINAI

William Loerke (Catholic University and Dumbarton Oaks)

The subject of this paper is the Hebraic experience of the divine encounter, and how it entered and changed early Christian art. Yahve signalled his presence to the ancient Jews in a storm cloud flashing with light, or a less violent light-filled cloud hovering over, or filling, the sanctuary. The Hebrew term for this phenomenon is Kabod, translated by doxa in the Septuagint, and by gloria in the Vulgate. The phenomenon appeared again in the life of Christ and the early church, leaving its record in the Gospels, Acts, and letters of Paul, where it became the major image of his eschatology.

To clarify the role of doxa in early Christian art, three stages in its conceptual development should be distinguished: 1) the doxa which breaks into history at certain moments (e.g. Giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai, Transfiguration on Mt. Horeb); 2) the doxa eternally present with Yahve, seen in prophetic visions (e.g. Isaiah 6:1-4; Acts 7:55-56); 3) the eschatological doxa of the Second Coming and of the Messianic kingdom awaiting the faithful at the end of time (Mt. 24:30-31; I Cor. 15:40-44; II Thess. 2:14; II Tim. 2:10). Each tended to be given its own representation, varying chiefly in the stress put on the cloud or on the light.

The mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore preserve examples of the 'historical' doxa, represented in three ways: a numinous cloud, with or without the divine hand; the cloud with a nimbed half figure; the transparent auriole. These devices put a typological interpretation on the scenes in which they occur. To read the cycles typologically transforms what would otherwise be the Epic of Israel into the Epic of the Ecclesia ex Circumcisionibus.

In the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, we read the signs of the doxa almost verbally. The representations of the Transfiguration in the apses of the basilicas at Sinai and Classe, however, reach a new level of pictorial expression in which the depiction, the impact, and the interpretation of the event are fused. In each case a consistent concept of the doxa rules the entire composition, creating its own space, light and theology. At Sinai the focus is on the transfiguring light, on the experience of the event itself, an appropriate focus for that subject in that location. At Classe, the Pauline eschatological concept of the doxa rules the entire composition, visually embracing the event, the faithful, and the transfigured cosmos at the end of time. This complex statement is conveyed in that mixture of symbol and direct representation familiar in the art of the Exarchate.

Verbal and visual barriers had to be surmounted in order to convey the Hebraic experience of the divine encounter to a Greco-Roman audience. The verbal problem is marked by the fact that doxa in the Septuagint gave up entirely its well known ancient meanings in order to translate Kabod. Likewise no formula lay ready to hand in Greco-Roman art for its adequate depiction. The apsidal compositions of Sinai and Classe are the product, not of a disembodied stylistic development, but rather of the artistic solution to an iconographic problem for a given space at a given location.

BYZANTINE ART IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE SION TREASURE: STATUS REPORT

Susan A. Boyd (Dumbarton Oaks)

In the early 1960's, Dumbarton Oaks acquired a portion of a large and extremely important treasure of sixth century ecclesiastical silver plate.[1] Discovered by peasants digging in a field near the village of Kumluça in southwestern Turkey, the entire treasure numbers over sixty objects, the exact number being difficult to determine until restoration has progressed further. In terms of the volume and variety of its contents, the treasure is of unprecedented richness, and appears to represent a significant portion of what must have been the complete liturgical furnishings of a single church, including not only the usual altar implements such as patens, chalices, censors and lamps, but silver sheathings of architectural elements as well: colonettes, a column base, a capital, the sheathings of a beam(?) and rolled up sheets of silver. While a reconstruction is not yet possible, one may speculate that what we have here are possibly the revetments of an altar table and parts of a ciborium. As such, they would be unique survivals of the kind of lavish sanctuary furnishings we know once existed in St. Sophia. The treasure is divided between the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Antalya Museum, with a number of objects dispersed in private collections in England and Switzerland.

The importance of the treasure lies both in what it tells us of the lavish mobilier of a Byzantine church, and what we may learn of workshop practices, wherein different styles and techniques co-existed within a single atelier. Of interest also are the wealth of inscriptions on the objects, and the fact that a large number of them bear hallmarks indicating that the treasure was made in Constantinople in the middle of the reign of Justinian I (not the end as previously published).[2] Dedicatory inscriptions and monograms state that a large part of the treasure was the commission of a single benefactor, a certain bishop Eutychianos, who presented it to the monastery of Sion - an extraordinary gift for a monastery church in the mountains of southern Lycia. Founded in the sixth century, the monastery is known to us through the Vita Nicolai Sionitae,[3] and while the evidence is not conclusive, Martin Harrison has suggested that the ruins of a monastic complex at Karabel on the slopes of Aladağ northwest of Myra might well be identified as the remains of the Sion Monastery.[4]

Most of this paper will be devoted to presenting the material visually, with a concise description of that part of the treasure in Dumbarton Oaks, refering where possible to related pieces in Antalya and private collections, and touching on the problems of workshops, stylistic consistency, and the homogeneity of the treasure. The contents of the D.O. treasure may be summarized as follows:
Liturgical Objects: three patens; two pairs of bookcovers; hexagonal censor; amphora; ewer; fragments of six chalices; polycandela (five rectangular, one circular, one cruciform); four whole openwork lamps; fragments of two additional openwork lamps. Most of these were gifts of Eutychianos.
Sheathings for architectural elements: one complete and fragments of one or two fluted colonettes; two incomplete colonettes, one with inscription, one with rosettes; column base; capital; plain and inscribed sheathings for a narrow beam(?); plain and inscribed rolled sheets of silver. Inscriptions on these mention two additional bishops: Paregoros and Theodore.
Miscellaneous: non-liturgical vessels; crushed pieces; stamped base; pincers; gold bishop's scepter(?).

With the exception of four pieces - three enormous patens and a circular polycandelon - which were found in virtually undamaged condition, most of the objects acquired by Dumbarton Oaks were in a severely damaged state, ranging from broken but intact, to crushed or fragmentary. Some vessels appear to have been damaged by chance, others were deliberately flattened or rolled up like ingots.

The extraordinary difficulty presented by the restoration of such badly damaged ancient silver has, until fairly recently, thwarted the efforts of D.O. to find a conservation laboratory sufficiently equipped and knowledgable to undertake this lengthy and highly specialized project. Several pieces have been worked on over the years, but only the two pairs of bookcovers received the kind of technical analysis and careful study that the pieces deserved. Consequently, the serious historical and art historical study of the treasure has been delayed. However, the Fogg Museum's Conservation Center has agreed to undertake this project and formally began work on the first object in 1977. The rim of an openwork hanging lamp was chosen as a pilot project because it was so fragmentary that restoration was not thought to be possible. Yet when work was completed in early 1979, the lamp had been restored to its original shape from over twenty pieces, and one of the five detached bases in the treasure was found to belong.

The conservation project is divided into two campaigns. First is a detailed technical analysis and documentation of each piece to evaluate its condition and

lacunae), mainly within the readings drawn from the Gospel of St. John, are usually narrative subjects adapted for use as initial letters. In addition to the matters of date and attribution, the speaker discusses the range and style of the decoration within the context of the illustration of the Greek Gospel lectionary.

A LATE TWELFTH-CENTURY ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT AT DUMBARTON OAKS

Robert S. Nelson (University of Chicago)

Among the recent acquisitions of the museum at Dumbarton Oaks is a manuscript of the Gospels of Luke and John, formerly in the possession of C.W. Dyson Perrins and H.P. Kraus. One of the principal features of the manuscript is the portraits of Luke and John prefacing their respective Gospels. Though the previous scholarship on these miniatures has been relatively brief, the recent catalogue entry by R. Bergman has correctly attributed the evangelists to the late twelfth century by virtue of the presence of many hallmarks of the so-called "dynamic" style of that time, and an attempt will be made to define further the stylistic position of the manuscript within this period.

The book's neat, calligraphic minuscule is indicative of the sorts of problems encountered in the twelfth century. While the portraits appear to follow the latest fashions of Byzantine painting, the script at first sight seems little different from manuscripts of the early twelfth century. Again the need is to place the Dumbarton Oaks Gospel fragment within the palaeographical traditions of the latter half of the century, but here numerous difficulties arise, because, as one palaeographer has written, no era is as little studied. Nevertheless, while several progressive styles of writing can be documented for the period, the existence of a more traditional script also can be adduced. One similar case might be the ductus of the Vatican epithalamion (Vat. gr. 1851), whose text, but probably not its miniatures, date to 1179.

Third, there is the matter of the iconography of the evangelist portraits, an issue that cannot always be separated from their style, but one which illustrates the constant mixture in Byzantine illumination of tradition and innovation. The type employed for Luke is seen as early as the tenth-century Stavronikita Gospels, but the fact that the same pose is used for Luke in Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Auct. T. inf. 2.7 of the mid-twelfth century indicates that it was still current shortly before the period of the Washington miniature. The type for John, on the other hand, is not so venerable and find precedents to a degree in the major style of the earlier portion of the twelfth century, namely that of the Ebnerianus group. The relation of late twelfth-century illumination to the latter manuscripts can be demonstrated in other instances as well, but it should be noted that in the case of the portrait of John there are certain differences with the earlier models which suggest a contribution of the late Comnenian artist.

Finally, the portraits are intriguing for one more reason. In a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Vatican, Ottob. gr. 212, there is a set of three evangelist portraits which have a clear connection with the Dumbarton Oaks types, especially that of John, and thus the Vatican miniatures provide additional information on the history of the earlier evangelist portraits.

A TECHNICAL EXAMINATION OF TWO BYZANTINE PAINTINGS AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY

Ann Hoenigswald (The National Gallery)

The two representations of the Enthroned Madonna and Child[1] are among the most beautiful and problematic Byzantine panels extant. Formerly housed in a convent in Calahorra, Spain, they are now in the collection of the National Gallery of Art. Recent examination in the conservation laboratory has provided information on the general condition, construction and materials of the panels, as well as offering a tentative response to the hypothesis that both panels were the product of a single master or workshop.

Both panels have a similar support of hardwood with a vertical grain. The Mellon painting is composed of two boards and the Kahn painting of three. With the aid of x-radiographs it becomes apparent that wooden cleats were originally used to bridge the joins. The Kahn painting incorporates an engaged frame. The raw boarder on the Mellon panel suggests that a similar frame may have been an original part of that painting as well. The panels were prepared with a layer of glue into which fabric was embedded for security. A gypsum ground was then applied and into the ground of the Kahn panel the outline of the intended figures was incised. No lines are visible on the Mellon panel. Gold leaf was subsequently laid on the Kahn Madonna over a yellow bole and drops of a resinous material simulate the punchwork of the halo.

In both panels the paint appears to be egg tempera, but the technique and sequence of application differ. Although, in both cases, the flesh was left unpainted until the rest of the work was completed, the artist of the Kahn panel left blank spaces for the figure's hands whereas the flesh of the Mellon painting overlaps the fully painted robe. X-radiography reveals that the brushwork of the Mellon painting is very controlled and precise while the Kahn panel is more freely drawn. As these techniques are the result of artistic style and preference, such evident differences suggest that the paintings are not the work of the same hand.

X-ray fluorescence and microscopic analysis indicate that the pigments were similar on both panels. The palette was limited to ultramarine, vermilion, lead white, an organic red lake, iron oxide pigments and the possibility of orpiment and an organic green glaze. These similarities seem to be indicative of the limited availability of materials rather than the result of choice or workshop dictates.

The Mellon Madonna has been extensively repainted and the gold background and punchwork is entirely modern. The Kahn Madonna, on the other hand, is in remarkably good condition. The Kahn painting may well have served as the model for the restoration of the Mellon painting. This superficial similarity, in turn, may have incorrectly led some scholars to believe that the two paintings are the work of the same master. Fortunately, more significant comparisons can be drawn by studying the layers beneath the surface. This suggests that more consideration should be given to the possibility that the paintings are the products of two different workshops.

1. BYZANTINE SCHOOL, XIII CENTURY, Enthroned Madonna and Child, Wood, 0.840 x 0.535 x 0.015, Andrew W. Mellon Collection 1937.

   Enthroned Madonna and Child, Wood, 1.307 x 0.771 x 0.019, Gift of Mrs. Otto H. Kahn 1949.

CITY, TOWN, AND COUNTRYSIDE IN THE EARLY BYZANTINE ERA

VANDAL CARTHAGE

Frank M. Clover (University of Wisconsin, Madison)

The standard view of the Vandal occupation of Carthage (A.D. 439 to 533) derives from hostile authors such as Victor of Vita, whose Historia persecutionis africanae provinciae is replete with accounts of destruction or seizure of buildings in the capital. Other common conceptions, such as the notion that the Vandals maintained themselves as a juridically independent people at Carthage, have set in more recently, notably in the Paris dissertation of the late Christian Courtois. The written sources -- notably Victor of Vita and the poet Luxorius -- together with the physical remains of the city offer a different picture of Vandal Carthage, the capital of Vandal Africa. Collateral members of the House of Theodosius and clients of the Romans, the Hasding Vandals attempted to preserve the existing administration of Carthage and vicinity while introducing themselves as a new elite. The result was an uneasy dyarchy of Hasdings and Roman provincial families, so fragile that it disintegrated soon after Belisarius set foot on African soil. But fragile though it was, the dyarchy made possible the continuation of Roman life under Vandal rule. The poetry of Luxorius depicts a bustling capital, while the recent excavations of the city by teams from many countries suggest a modest continuation of building activity.

THE SIRMIUM SECTOR, A.D. 395-408

John W. Eadie (University of Michigan)

The purpose of this paper is to define, within the limits of the evidence, the relationship between city and countryside in the eastern half of Pannonia secunda (hereafter the 'Sirmium sector') during the period of transition from Roman to barbarian management (roughly A. D. 395-408). To illustrate the progress of demilitarization I have examined the fate of the nine garrison towns that comprised the defense of the Sirmium sector: Bononia, Onagrinum, Cornacum, Cuccium, Cusum, Acumincum, Rittium, Burgenae, Taurunum. I have also assessed Alföldi's hypothesis that Roman coins did not circulate in this region after the reign of Arcadius, taking into account the recent studies (Sirmium, vol. viii, 1978) of fifth-century coin hoards.

And finally, I have attempted to evaluate the effects of demilitarization, demonetization, and the recurrent barbarian intrusions on the integrity and administration of Sirmium, the principal urban center in the region. Although Jordanes' statement (Getica 147) that Pannonia was "devoid of any Roman troops" after 395 is an exaggeration, it is clear that the years 378-395 were decisive. The fact that Roman artifacts securely dated to the 5th century have not been found in the garrison-towns, that the number of coins in circulation sharply decreased after 395, that the garrison-towns are not mentioned in 5th century literature -- all these data point to the severance of Roman control at the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th. Sirmium, on the other hand, remained an administrative center and

continued to provide hospitality to praetorian prefects until 441. Sirmium also served as a refuge for the region's dispossessed following the Roman "withdrawal" and was able to retain a measure of independence in spite of repeated assaults by migrant groups.

THE CONVERSION OF APHRODISIAS INTO A BYZANTINE CITY

Robin Cormack (Courtauld Institute of Art, London)

Aphrodisias was first excavated in 1904-5 and in 1937 as a potential treasure-house of Late Classical sculpture. The systematic archaeological exploration of the site since 1961 under the direction of Professor Kenan Erim (N.Y.U.) began as an investigation of the city at the height of its prosperity in the Roman Imperial period in order to assess the importance of its local sculptural production. It is now clear that the site may also be treated as an abandoned Byzantine city undisturbed by Turkish urban redevelopment. The Roman period can indeed only be discerned through the Byzantine transformation of the buildings. There are therefore two alternative ways of analyzing the same material.

From one point of view, Aphrodisias was a Late Classical city and the material so far excavated can be used to reconstruct its appearance at the time of its greatest importance. The later damage of Classical sculpture, re-use of marble, or alterations of buildings would therefore be regarded as negative episodes in the history of the city. All the activities of the Byzantines become no more than an unfortunate obstacle to the study of Aphrodisias. Fragments of inscriptions embedded in the city wall or medieval buildings are read as parts of a jigsaw rather than of a structure, and the broken pieces of Diocletian's Price Edict studied as a complete text rather than appreciated as part of the sanctuary screen of the Christian Cathedral.

This paper treats the material in the contrary way, and looks at Aphrodisias as it is revealed by excavation - as the Byzantine city of Stauropolis or Caria. The Byzantines here lived in a vulnerable part of Asia Minor in a metropolis which had been severely damaged in Late Antiquity and which extended over an area too large for a medieval population. It may be tempting to visualize the medieval citizens living in the wreckage of the Classical World, yet Aphrodisias is more than an apparent case of the ability of Byzantine urban life to adapt to adverse circumstances. The positive aspects of the period can be illustrated in three enterprises which transformed the appearance of parts of the city and so document the discontinuity between the Classical and Medieval environment:-

(1) The conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite into the Cathedral (dedicated to S. Michael) was a major engineering operation during which the orientation of the building was reversed and the eastern apse constructed; the columns on the short ends were shifted to the side rows which now formed the colonnades of a large wooden-roofed basilica decorated with wall mosaics and an opus sectile floor. Probably from the fifth century this prominent basilica dominated the northern sector of the city.

(2) The stage building of the Theater was decorated with Christian frescoes, probably in the sixth century. The fragments of S. Michael from the north room show painting of comparable quality with the early icons of Mt. Sinai; there is no compelling reason to doubt an attribution to a painter from this part of Asia Minor.

(3) The Triconch church in the south west sector lies over a cross-roads, and re-uses the monumental tetrakionon of Late Antiquity as the four column support for a dome. From the style of the carving of the templon which belongs to the construction of the church, the Triconch is datable to the tenth or early eleventh century. Presumably it was the catholicon of a monastery, and so may be taken as evidence of the development in an abandoned part of the city of one of the urban monasteries for which the Maeander Valley gained a reputation.

THE "HOUSE OF BRONZES" AT SARDIS: AN EARLY BYZANTINE URBAN MANOR?

David G. Mitten (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University)

During the campaigns of 1958 through 1960, the Harvard-Cornell Archaeological Exploration of Sardis partially excavated an extensive complex of rooms just south of the modern highway. The discovery of a number of bronze vessels and utensils, including censers suspended from chains and an incense shovel surmounted with a cross flanked by two dolphins, led to the name "House of Bronzes", which was subsequently extended to the entire adjacent area. Because of the discovery and exploration of extensive levels of earlier occupation, from Hellenistic through Late Bronze Age, the structure has remained only partially excavated.

The eastern part of the structure is dominated by a small open courtyard, paved with opus sectile and incorporating reused inscriptions and other spoils. Table supports of lion-headed and colonnette types were recovered here. The presence of storage jars and substances such as sulphur in some rooms suggests storage and possible small-scale industrial functions. An unusual feature is a small vaulted tomb with wall paintings. The periphery of the structure, as well as rooms on its east and west sides, remains unexplored; its northern boundary remains inaccessible, under the modern highway. An extensive cemetery of Roman cist graves and small Hellenistic stuccoed chamber tombs lies immediately to the northwest of the structure. Outlying features that seem to be connected with it include a vaulted cistern to the south, and large walls to the southeast. Test trenching has revealed a considerable empty space intervening between the east edge of the complex and a small colonnaded street.

Preliminary analysis of the ceramic, glass and numismatic evidence suggests that the structure may have been erected as early as the mid-fifth century A.D. and remained in use, with several alterations, until it was destroyed during the Sassanian attack on Sardis in 616 or 617 A.D. It appears that we are dealing here with a substantial residence, perhaps inhabited by a cleric or other official. Pending completion of excavation, architectural recording and study of the structure and its contents, which is contemplated for 1980, this preliminary discussion is intended to present what we know thus far about the building, its construction history, function and plan, as well as problems that have yet to be resolved. It is already probable, however, that the "House of Bronzes" represents a new type of urban residence for Early Byzantine Asia Minor.

HISTORY, RELIGION, AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY: MIDDLE AND LATE BYZANTINE PERIODS

THE IMPERIAL FINANCES IN THE NINTH CENTURY

Warren T. Treadgold (Institut für Byzantinistik, Munich)

It is a measure of how little has been established for certain about the workings of the middle Byzantine state that estimates of the imperial budget in the ninth century are at least sixty years old and differ by 700 per cent. In 1912, J. B. Bury estimated the budget of Theophilus (829-42) at 45 to 50 million nomismata. Seven years later, Ernst Stein estimated the budget under the Amorian Dynasty (820-67) at no more than 6 million nomismata. After considerable controversy, Andreas Andréadès concluded in the late thirties that these estimates were "equally erroneous," but he declined to give an intermediate estimate of his own. Today the question seems to have progressed no further.

Neither of these estimates was primarily based on evidence from the ninth century; Bury's evidence came mostly from the twelfth century and Stein's from the sixth. In fact, sources for the ninth century give a number of important indications not used by Bury or Stein. Chronicles record the government's cash reserves in 842 and 856, from which the average annual surplus between those years can be computed. We also have a figure for the military payroll about 867, which agrees closely with figures given by Arab geographers for the strength and pay of the army about 845. Figures mentioned in various sources give some basis for estimating other government expenditures. As for revenues, the base rates for the land tax and hearth tax are recorded by the Arab geographers and generally confirmed by later Byzantine sources. Records for twentieth-century Turkey give a rough idea of the amount of cultivated land that the Empire had to tax, and ancient and Ottoman sources suggest an estimate of the Empire's rural population in the ninth century. From these figures the revenue from direct taxation can be roughly estimated; Byzantine evidence indicates that the revenue from other sources was relatively small.

In three of the four manuscripts, Lavra, Bucharest, and Paris, this group of six letters by Psellos is included among a large group of letters, primarily by later, post-Byzantine writers, Maximos Margounios, Cyril Lucar, etc., but including earlier letters by Julian the Apostate, St. Basil, Libanios, and Psellos. These letters follow a work by Theophilos Korydalleus (1563-1646), Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων. Korydalleus's Epistolarion was published as early as 1625, in London by the printer William Stansby, and appeared in three other early editions: Moschopolis, 1744; Halle, 1768; and Venice, 1786. All four editions are today very rare. The letters following the Epistolarion are given by Korydalleus as model letters, illustrating the various principles of good letter-writing discussed in his treatise. All six letters of Psellos, including the "unpublished" letter addressed to Constantine Cerularios, are published in two of the four printed editions of the Epistolarion, the first edition (London, 1625), pp. 111-113, and the fourth edition (Venice, 1786), pp. 170-172. The second and third editions of the Epistolarion contain only the first letter in this group of six letters by Psellos. A close comparison of the first edition of 1625 with the manuscripts in Bucharest and Paris showed that these two manuscripts were obviously copied from the printed edition, and consequently have no independent value for reconstructing the text of these letters. The Paris manuscript slavishly reproduces every line of division between the various letters and every ornamental decoration in the first printed edition. The Athos manuscript, which has remained inaccessible to me, is a late manuscript, and it follows exactly the contents of the Bucharest and Paris manuscripts. It is also almost certainly a copy of the first printed edition.

The presence of these six letters of Psellos in the Cambridge manuscript is more problematic. There are a number of textual variants in this manuscript, and it is not so evidently copied from one of the printed editions. Most of this manuscript was copied by the English scholar Patrick Young (Patricius Junius, 1584-1652), although the folios at the end of the manuscript containing the letters of Psellos are not in Young's ordinary hand, and are probably the work of another scribe. The six letters of Psellos are included among a miscellaneous collection of Greek texts, including orations by Himerios copied from Barocci 131 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It is possible that these six letters of Psellos were originally included in this famous manuscript which contains a great many works by Psellos, including many letters.[4] According to a report by the Librarian Thomas Barlow in 1654, against the practice of lending books from the Bodleian, "Lending of books makes them lyable to many casualties ... they may be spoyl'd in the carriage, as by sad experience we find, for above 60 or 100 leaves of a Greek MS. (Μυριόβιβλος, num. 131) lent out of Archiva Pembrochiana to Mr. Pat Younge were irrecoverably defaced".[5]

1. J. Darrouzès, "Notes d'épistolographie et d'histoire de textes. Les lettres inédites de Michel Psellos," REB 12 (1954), pp. 177-180.
2. P. Canart, "Nouveaux inédits de Michel Psellos," REB 25 (1967), pp. 59-60.
3. G. Weiss, "Forschungen zu den noch nicht edierten Schriften des Michael Psellos," Byzantina 4 (1972), pp. 29-30.
4. N.G. Wilson, "A Byzantine Miscellany: MS. Barocci 131 Described," JÖB 27 (1978), pp. 157-179, includes a complete description of the foliation, indicating the places where folios have been lost.
5. W.D. Macray, Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (London, 1868), p. 83.

MAPS OF THE BYZANTINE PROVINCES AT THE LATIN CONQUEST 1199-1204: CONSTRUCTED FROM VENETIAN SOURCES

Gerald Walker (York University)

This paper is a commentary on two maps, constructed from Venetian sources, presenting the provincial and sub-provincial territorial organization of the Byzantine state shortly before and at Latin Conquest. The basic information is contained in a commercial treaty between the Venetian Republic and Alexius III in 1199 and in the partition treaty of 1204. Both documents, with commentaries are found in Tafel and Thomas (1856) and have been discussed in a number of modern works (especially Wolff 1962/1969/1976, Brand 1968, Nicol 1957, Ahrweiler 1966, and particularly Angold 1975).

The administrative system presented on the maps, represents the outcome of provincial reorganization under the Komenoi. While the maps have empty places where provinces are known to have existed, Thrakesian for instance; show inconsistencies, and have problems of location; they nevertheless present the overall structure of territories.

The system of territories was hierarchic and nested in form. Three tiers of administration are represented. At the top were the eighty or so themes, reduced in size, but retaining the forms of the older middle Byzantine system. Below the themes were large fiscal units (Katepanikon, Chartoulata, episkepsis). The lowest level of the system were rural districts (choria) and towns (polis). This lowest level is especially well represented in the 1204 partition treaty in Thrace.

It would appear that a new division of provinces had been articulated in the 12th century, with clear continuity from the middle Byzantine period. Further, the provinces were fairly flexibly grouped and regrouped as need arose. The provinces south of the Balkan mountains, near insurgent Bulgaria, represent this pattern most clearly. In areas where military demands were less stringent smaller and less grouped provinces appeared. The provinces and their subdivisions in 1199-1204 seem to be a functional territorial fabric for a highly articulated, bureaucratic state.

The maps are presented as a first step in mapping the 12th and 13th century administrative arrangements of the Byzantine state. Errors are rife in the data and in the map compilations. This paper is being presented, in part, to elicit criticisms of these maps.

THE FATE OF GREGORY II AND THE TOMUS OF 1285: CONTROVERSY AND CONSENSUS

Aristeides Papadakis (University of Maryland)

It was not until 1285 that the Byzantine Church issued its formal theological response and rejection of the union of Lyons at the council of Blachernae. Fittingly, the solemn dogmatic decision issued by this assembly took the form of a Tomus, the key conciliar document of the late thirteenth century and possibly the most important contribution of the Byzantine Church to the Filioque debate. Its author and architect was the distinguished scholar, theologian, and patriarch, Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289). Not long after its publication, however, the patriarch and the Tomus became the storm-center of a major theological debate. Reluctantly, the

patriarch rendered his resignation in 1289. Even so, the patriarch's adversaries continued to press for revision of the Tomus and an imperial commission was actually set up to look into the matter. Moreover, the conservative wing of the Church wanted the patriarch's name stricken form the Synodicon. As we should expect, this has cast a shadow on Gregory's theological achievement and career. Hence the correspondingly routine blanket condemnation so often found in the literature.

This paper will focus solely on the Tomus of 1285 and its position in Byzantine theological circles after the patriarch's death in 1290. It will briefly review the evidence for the revision of the Tomus (including the manuscript tradition), the exclusion of the patriarch's name from the catalogue of patriarchs, and the opinion of later Byzantines concerning the patriarch and the Tomus. Evidence indicates that ultimately the integrity of the Tomus was actually retained despite the decision to emend the text. Equally, even though his name was never included in the Synodicon most Byzantines, including those theologians and well-placed ecclesiastics who opposed the Tomus, came to believe that Gregory had not put himself irretrievably in the wrong during his stormy patriachate; once the dust had settled from the tumult attending the controversy in which he was involved his theology was quickly recognized for what it was: a genuine development of the truth of tradition. As such, Gregory was not sui generis, without a theological past, but a true heir of the tradition of the Greek fathers. The idea that he had somehow seized control of Byzantine theology and forcibly thrown it off its traditional catholic path (as some of his initial adversaries claimed), was, in short, abandoned.

Plainly, current scholarship which insists in condemning Gregory's theological scaffolding as revolutionary or innovative--as a new theory and error--is in the need of revision. Byzantines who had actually read the Tomus (nearly thirty-five manuscripts exist, and it is possible, though less probable, many others will be found), emphasized its profound doctrinal grasp and fidelity to tradition, not its novelty or discontinuity with the past. As Gennadius Scholarius put it, Gregory was in no degree inferior to the most ancient authorities who wrote on the procession of the Holy Spirit.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION SESSION

BYZANTINE STUDIES IN THE UNDERGRADUATE CURRICULUM

Discussion Leaders:

Dorothy de F. Abrahamse (California State University, Long Beach)
George T. Dennis, S.J. (Catholic University)
Emily Albu Hanawalt (Boston University)

This is to be an informal discussion on the problems involved in teaching Byzantine studies to undergraduates. The subject matter should also be applicable to some graduate courses. Among the topics to be addressed are the following. Interdisciplinary or thematic courses in which Byzantium can play a major role. Ways of dealing with Byzantine civilization, whether the emphasis be on history, art, literature, theology, or other aspects, in more general survey courses. Covering Byzantine civilization in a one or two semester course. Texts and other secondary literature for the student. Byzantine sources available in English translation, including, with the permission of the translator, those in typescript or in preparation. A list of such sources will be distributed to the participants,

and it is hoped that they will be able to enlarge it. Art historical materials and methods, especially for instructors not trained in art history. Visual and other illustrative materials for Byzantine civilization courses. The relevance or importance of Byzantine studies for undergraduates. Encouraging undergraduates to do advanced work in Byzantine studies. Other topics which may be brought up by the discussants. To deal with so many subjects in a short time, much of the material, such as syllabi and booklists, will be reproduced and distributed to the participants.

BYZANTIUM AND THE ARABS

THE BYZANTINE ORIGIN OF THE UMAYYAD *AJNĀD* (THEME) SYSTEM

Irfan Shahîd (Georgetown University)

The Arabic sources have been laid under contribution for throwing light on the Byzantine Theme system of later times, but these sources and the facts of Arab history have not been used for solving the more important problem of the origin of this Theme system. These facts will therefore be analyzed with a view tosolving the problem of origins, and they largely turn round a study of the Jund system in Bilad al-Sham, Syria in the larger sense from the Taurus to Sinai. This Arab-Islamic Jund system that prevailed in Syria will therfore be studied, and it will be argued that it was not , as has been assumed so far, modelled on the Anatolian Themes of the period that followed the Muslim Conquests but that it was created by Heraclius in the period between A.D. 628- and 636, before Byzantium lost Syria to the Arabs and before it withdrew to the north of the Taurus Mountains.

I drew some of these conclusions seven years ago;since then I have been refelcting on them intermittently and gathering more material and I am now convinced that the key to solving the problem of origins lies in the Arabic sources and the facts of Arb history.In a sense the conclusions of this paper are a psthumous salute to the perspicacity of the late George Ostrogorsky.

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF BYZANTINE PALESTINE AND SYRIA RECONSIDERED

Walter E. Kaegi, Jr. (University of Chicago)

Historians have proposed many explanations for the failure of the Byzantine Empire to defend Palestine and Syria successfully against the Muslim Arabs in the seventh century. Traditional explanations include some sound arguments but a more complete analysis is necessary. This is a study of previously published sources in Arabic and Greek as well as newly-published Arabic ones. The previously unstudied sources include the Kitāb al Futūḥ of Ibn A'thaṃ, the Ta'rīkh of Khalīfa ibn Khayyat al 'Uṣfurī, the Futūḥ Miṣr of Ibn 'Abd al Hakam, and the new edition of the Futūḥ al-Shām of al-Azdī al-Baṣrī.

Topics that receive attention include Byzantine dilemmas in deciding on an appropriate strategy, Byzantine inexperience in provisioning large armies in southern Syria and Palestine, related serious incidents of Byzantine soldiers' plundering civilians, Byzantine failure to utilize mastery of the sea to full advantage, the lack of experience at self-defense and the use of arms on the part of the Syro-Palestinian populations, the critical failure to coordinate the defense of Egypt with that of Syria and Palestine, and the Byzantine inability to regroup and establish a viable secondary defense line in northern Syria after the debacle at the battle of Yarmuk.

It is important to examine the conduct of cities in a longer historical context than the immediately preceding decades of the seventh century; in particular, one should take account of the precedents that Byzantine cities had created in the sixth century when confronted with Persian raids or invasions. In a number of instances Byzantine cities negotiated and even purchased peace from the invading Persians in the sixth century; resistance à l'outrance had not always been the practice. Therefore the readiness of Syrian cities to negotiate terms with the invading Arabs in the third decade of the seventh century was not without precedent.

It is unfashionable to turn to the battlefield for the explanation of historical change but one cannot understand the Byzantine loss of Palestine and Syria without studying the military dimension. Arabic and Greek sources converge in emphasizing the importance of several critical battles in determining the ultimate outcome. Military decisions and combat transformed an unstable and precarious situation by producing a turning-point. The Arab Conquest was not inevitable. The Byzantines suffered a military debacle that was rendered permanent by astute Arab exploitation of Byzantine disarray after the battle of Yarmuk and by the paralyzing Heraclid struggle for the imperial succession. The Arabs succeeded in finding a point where a minimal application of military pressure was able to rip apart a defensive system and produce much wider and important non-military consequences.

Scholars have exaggerated the role of Monophysism in subverting Byzantine defenses. Monophysite opposition to Constantinopolitan religious policies did not decisively affect the military outcome; in fact, soldiers of Armenian and Christian Arab origins, and presumably Monophysite, comprised two of the most prominent elements of the Byzantine armies that defended Palestine and Syria. Syrian civilians probably resented Byzantine soldiers' plundering and other forms of indiscipline more than governmental religious policies. The Arabic primary sources affirm that Samaritans and Jews actively assisted the invading Muslim Arabs but their role was not decisive in the critical battles.

The Arabic sources do not depict Heraclius as senile during or immediately after the unsuccessful Byzantine military operations in Palestine and Syria. Heraclius is consistently described as the embodiment of Byzantine resistance and as a commander-in-chief who closely maintained contact with his generals in the field. It is incorrect to assume that Heraclius and other Byzantine authorities failed to react swiftly to the invasions. A careful scrutiny of the narrative accounts in Arabic provides much information about the nature of Byzantine military institutions in the third decade of the seventh century. The brief reports of Heraclius' efforts to organize resistance in Palestine and and Syria are invaluable. Christian Arabs and Armenians appear to have formed the bulk of the Byzantine soldiers who unsuccessfully defended Byzantine Palestine and Syria. There is no evidence to indicate any existence or participation of Byzantine thematic forces from Anatolia. The brief references to the retreat and efforts to regroup Byzantine armies for new efforts to create a successful defensive line offer neglected but critically important information about Byzantine military institutions after the defeat at Yarmuk. The decisions and actions taken in the operations that immediately followed the battle of Yarmuk provide a fundamental tool for the understanding of the survival and character of Byzantine military institutions in Anatolia in the subsequent period.

One can make some comparative observations about two other conquests of parts of what had once been the Roman Empire; the collapse of Roman defenses in western Europe in the fifth century and the Avaro-Slav invasions and occupation of much of the Balkans in the sixth and seventh centuries. Finally, the metaphorical conceptualization of Byzantium's situation is often stated to be one of fatigue or exhaustion but a more preferable metaphor is a lack of equilibrium; throughout the reign of Heraclius the Byzantine Empire suffered from a lack of equilbrium that contributed to and culminated in the Arab conquest of Byzantine Palestine and Syria.

QUSAYR AMRAH: ISLAMIC, LATE ANTIQUE OR OTHER?

Oleg Grabar (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University)

Qusayr Amrah has long been known as a uniquely preserved monument of secular art before Iconoclasm, an example of provincial Syro-Palestinian painting, and the first well documented steps of Islamic painting. But until recently scholarship was forced to rely almost exclusively on drawings made nearly eighty years ago; with the recent restorations accessible to all visitors and partial publication of its results (Martin Almagro and others, Qusayr ʿAmra, Madrid, 1975), we possess now all the information we are likely to have about this strange monument.

Before drawing far-flung conclusions about its significance in the history of eighth century art, it is essential to understand what it was. This paper will not deal with its date, since the accepted range (715-745) is sufficiently narrow within the context of the time

not to pose a problem, although I still feel that it is more likely to be a monument closer to the later limits of this period than to the earlier ones. It will not deal with its patron, for, even though one possible bit of new evidence has been uncovered (the name of one of the female personages), I have not been able to identify a specific patron any better than thirty years ago.

The paper will concentrate on two topics: is there an iconographic program at Qusayr Amrah? Is there a coherent "style" of the paintings?

I will argue, first of all, that the arrangement of images and the variety of their topics makes it erroneous to interpret the paintings as part of a formal program. We are dealing instead with the expression of a complex private taste, in which fantasy, Arabic poetry, personal life, memories of past events, genealogy, and accidental whims or aspirations formed a more or less haphazard way to the walls of the building.

Very few of these topics were copied directly from painted models; instead objects, especially textiles, were transformed into paintings and created, if not a style, at least a manner used more awkwardly to represent topics for which there were no models.

Altogether Qusayr Amrah appears as much more interesting than had been believed, but perhaps less useful to the historians of art.

EARLY BYZANTINE FRONTIER POLICY IN ARABIA: THE IMPENDING DISASTER

S. Thomas Parker (Dumbarton Oaks)

An important question that has long held the attention of bf Byzantine historians is this: "Did Justinian's attempted reconquest of the West directly pave the way for the Arab invasion and conquest of the southeastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire?" Most scholars, basing their arguments primarily upon the written sources, have answered this question in the affirmative. But what of the archaeological evidence from the frontier itself, i.e., the Limes Arabicus that divided the Arab from Byzantium? Until recently, little was known about the Arabian frontier. Not a single military site has ever been excavated along the limes, and no comprehensive survey of the entire frontier had ever been conducted.

In the summer of 1976, the writer conducted an archaeological survey of virtually the entire frontier now in modern Jordan. Based upon this research, an overview of the historical development of this frontier has emerged. What light does this archaeological evidence shed upon the frontier policy in Arabia of the Byzantine Emperors in the 5th and 6th centuries?

The 4th century witnessed the greatest strength and complexity of the Limes Arabicus. A strongly fortified zone extended from southern Syria southward for 300 kms to Aqaba on the Red Sea. The 1976 survey suggests that more fortifications were occupied in the 4th century than in any other period. This picture of a heavily fortified frontier is confirmed both by the contemporary historian Ammianus and by military building inscriptions from the province (more than half of which date to the 4th century).

The picture of the frontier in the 5th century is much more clouded. The literary evidence is less substantial. The epigraphic evidence is also more limited. The ceramic evidence from the '76 survey suggests that several forts were abandoned in the 5th century.

The process of gradual abandonment seems to have sharply accelerated in the early 6th century. A number of important castella were abandoned in this period, as was the important legionary camp at el-Lejjūn. Procopius, in the Anecdota, refers to a major reduction of the eastern limitanei by Justinian after conclusion of the Eternal Peace with Persia in 532. Despite Justinian's reputation as a builder, no new military constructions are attested from Arabia during his reign. Justinian naturally hoped to shift the major burden of defense from regular limitanei to his clients the Ghassānids.

What Justinian could not forsee was the subsequent weakening of the Ghassānids by his successors in the later 6th century. These emperors grew suspicious of their clients and removed several of the Ghassanid phylarchs from power. Unfortunately for Byzantium, the later emperors, having fatally weakened the Ghassānids, made no attempt to rebuild the limitanei. The survey evidence indicates that only a half dozen forts were occupied in the late 6th century. The advancing Arab armies under the banner of Islam thus had to overcome only limited resistance. There was no longer any fortified frontier to hinder their advance.

In conclusion, the archaeological evidence from the Limes Arabicus seems to indicate that three shifts in policy occured during the 5th and 6th centuries. A gradual abandonment of forts began in the late 5th century, due to as yet unknown reasons. An accelerated abandonment of forts began in the 6th century, apparently under Justinian, who reduced the limitanei and shifted primary responsibility for the defense against the Arabs to the Ghassanids. The third phase, during the late 6th century, involved the weakening of the Ghassānid dynasty without any corresponding strengthening or revitalization of regular Byzantine forces in Arabia. It should be emphasized that the initial steps toward the weakening of the frontier

were taken well before Justinian's reign and that he had no hand in the later weakening of the Ghassānids. Nonetheless, he was responsible for the crucial turning point in this process: the reduction of the limitanei and reliance on client Arab forces. The misguided policy of his successors was to bring disaster.

MIDDLE AND LATE BYZANTINE ART

MIDDLE BYZANTINE CHURCHES OF KASTORIA: DATES AND IMPLICATIONS

Ann Wharton Epstein (Duke University)

Although the Middle Byzantine churches of Kastoria have received considerable scholarly attention, there is no unanimity concerning their dates. However, by analysing their formal characteristics and construction materials in conjunction with a consideration of the style of the first phase of fresco decoration where it remains in the monument, it is possible to suggest a chronology for these chapels. The architecturally homogeneous group of H.Stephanos, the Taxiarchs and the Koubelidiki may be ascribed to the late ninth or early tenth century. The Anargyroi and H.Nikolaos tou Kasnitze may be dated respectively to the first half of the eleventh and third quarter of the twelfth centuries. The dating of monuments is, in itself, a worthy task, especially in a relatively unchartered field like Byzantine art. However, this chronological exercise has broader implications in several areas.

Working practices. Continuity of building forms in Kastoria clearly reflects on the importance of localism in the artistic traditions of provincial Byzantium. This positive, self-conscious introversion has sometimes confused art historians who seek to see in all Byzantine monuments evidence of a linear stylistic progression emanating from the capital.

Patronage patterns. Inscriptions indicate that these churches were private, family establishements. The monuments indeed mirror the exigencies of family patronage in their scale, location, building materials and multiple painting phases. The proliferation of private foundations in Kastoria is characteristic of the Byzantine Empire during the ninth through twelfth centuries, indicating a decay of communal concerns. Aristocratic establishment of private monasteries is well-known; Kastoria's churches show that provincial dynatoi might have similar pretensions, although the scale of their undertakings was limited by their restricted means.

History. While the first half of the eleventh century and the twelfth century have been generally regarded as appropriate periods for church patronage the late ninth/early tenth century appears initially as a politically unlikely time for the establishment of private foundations. From bishops' lists and other sources it seems in fact that much of Macedonia, including Kastoria, was then occupied by the Bulgars. In any case, the Bulgars were a continual threat to the Byzantines in Macedonia and the rural population of that province seems to have been particularly unstable during this period. The fact that at least three monuments were constructed around 900 and that two of these retain frescoes reflecting the stylistic developments occuring contemporaneously in Constantinople may document the beneficial results of the treaty between Czar Symeon and Leo VI during the years 896 and 914.

THE WORKSHOP IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: A NEW EXAMPLE FROM SERBIA

Ellen C. Schwartz (Eastern Michigan University)

Due to the diversity of styles in fresco painting of thirteenth century Serbia, questions have arisen as to the nature of the workshops which produced these ensembles. Only two of the attempts to distinguish and trace hands from one ensemble to another have been successful to date. The workshop of Michael (Astrapas?) and Eutychius which produced six ensembles from the end of the thirteenth century through the first decades of the fourteenth is one stable workshop which has been uncovered through the preservation of artists' signatures.[1] Djurić's careful presentation assures us of another stable workshop in the middle years of the century, responsible for the first layer of frescoes at Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren, the church of St. Nicholas at Studenica, and the monastery church at Morača.[2]

A different type of workshop has come to light through the study of the original fresco decoration of the Holy Apostles church at Peć. The Peć workshop, in contrast to the two cited above, appears to have been an ad hoc grouping of artists from different places, brought together for the purpose of decorating this church alone. It seems that two of the five artists whose work is preserved at Peć were trained in Greek centers. This includes Master A, who emerges as the head of the workshop and was responsible for most of the work in the dome and the central square. His style relates most closely to that of one of the painters of the frescoes in the monastery of Vlacherna, near Arta, dating to the middle or second half of the thirteenth century. It appears that these two artists may have been trained together, perhaps in a major Greek center such as Thessalonica. The work of a second master, Master E, also shows affinities with frescoes found in northern Greece. A close comparison may be made between his standing church fathers in the apse at Peć and those found at the church of Porta Panaghia near Trikkala, from 1283-89. Again, a relation such as common training in northern Greece may be postulated.

Along with these two foreign-trained masters, one, Master C, appears to be a local painter. His paintings in the apse and prothesis at Peć contain elements reminiscent of drapery forms at Žiča and Mileševa, and faces related to those found at Hilandar. It is reasonable to deduce that this painter was trained locally, along with the artists responsible for these other Serbian ensembles.

Thus we see a new type of workshop emerge at Peć. Two painters either from Greece or schooled there were joined by a Serbian artist well trained in his native land. Together with at least one additional master and an assistant of local origin, they created a fresco ensemble as diverse as their own styles and backgrounds. Perhaps the striking variety of painting in the thirteenth century is due in part to a number of workshops of this type which has emerged for us in the frescoes of the Holy Apostles church at Peć.

1. For a discussion of this group, and full bibliography, see Vojislav J. Djurić, Vizantijske Freske (Beograd, 1974), 17-19, 49-52.

2. Vojislav J. Djurić, "Jedna slikarska radionica u Srbiji XIII veka," Starinar N.S. 12 (1961), 63-76.

AN ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT FROM THE HODEGON MONASTERY

Annemarie Weyl Carr (Southern Methodist University)

In 1924 in Istanbul, Professor Kelsey acquired for the University of Michigan Library an illuminated manuscript of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus signed by the famous late fourteenth-century Constantinopolitan scribe, Joasaph. J. Richard has identified the book as the lost Kamariotissa 34 cited in L. Polites' list of Joasaph's signed works. The manuscript has not so far received art historical attention. This paper is intended to give it the introduction that it richly deserves. It is the second most sumptuously decorated of the six surviving illuminated codices signed by Joasaph. Only Paris, B.N., gr. 1242 and the lost Tetraevangelion of 1378 formerly at Kosinitza outstripped it. Three unsigned manuscripts recently attributed to Joasaph belong in the same richly illuminated class: Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synodal gr. 429, Vatican, gr. 1160 and Mt. Athos, Koutloumousiou 62.

The Ann Arbor Climacus was signed in 1371. It is decorated with a full-page miniature of the heavenly ladder and with many blue and gold headpieces and initials that run through the entire text from the beginning to the end. Its 243 milky white folios have the chalky surface characteristic of Joasaph's books. The quires are even and the miniature is integral to the book, reflecting Joasaph's characteristically careful accommodation of miniatures. The miniature itself is distinguished iconographically by its Virtues hovering over the ladder. Stylistically, it is closely akin to the Transfiguration miniature in Paris 1242, and forms a stylistic community with Vatican 1160 and Koutloumousiou 62. Given the proximity in the dates of the Paris and Ann Arbor manuscripts, this kinship suggests that the activity surrounding the production of Paris 1242 generated a cluster of other illuminated books whose miniatures were either done by the Paris painter himself or dominated by his shop or style. Decoratively, on the other hand, the Ann Arbor book is distinct from the others. Each of Joasaph's books with painted ornament is, in fact, distinctive, and no community of ornament emerges like the community of miniatures found in the four books just mentioned. Joasaph's own contribution to the ornament seems to have extended no farther than the production of initials in cinnabar, and though he often left spaces for painted headpieces and initials, his miniaturists do not seem to have been the ones responsible for filling them. Of the many questions raised by Joasaph's Ann Arbor manuscript, the authorship of the ornament in Hodegon manuscripts is perhaps the most provocative.

AN ECONOMIC DEFENSE OF THE COMNENIAN AND PALEOLOGUE POLICY OF GRANTING COMMERCIAL PRIVILEGES: A MODEL BASED ON THE MEDIEVAL INTERNATIONAL SILK TRADE

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Starting at the end of the tenth century but not beginning in earnest until 1081, the Byzantine Empire instituted a policy of granting commercial privileges to foreign states in costly exchange for military favors. The trade concessions granted customs immunity, lowered and eventually eliminated import and export duty, and provided docks on the Golden Horn to the merchants of especially Venice and Genoa. These privileges were repeatedly renewed or modified in many separate treaties to those and other select merchant states. The policy of granting trade concessions has been regarded by most scholars as unmitigated economic suicide.

To the contrary, I wish to suggest that the policy was an economically sound response to a rapidly shifting international market. I will support my thesis with maps and graphs based on simplified econometric and micro-economic models which illustrate the changing circumstances of international trade in the commodity which remained to the end the backbone of the Byzantine export economy - silk.

I use the term "econometric" advisedly understanding that properly defined the methodology employs quantitative statistical analysis expressed in equations to which medieval documents would remain opaque. Instead I make use of rough proportional relationships (extracted from church inventories, anecdotal sources, and representations) between cost and quantity functions expressed in a simple geometric model of linear regression to illustrate the shifting slope of Demand curves which describe three different market conditions in three different periods with which fiscal policy makers had to contend.

Even before the development of competitive silk industries in Europe, the Seljuk and Cuman invasions and the First Crusade had considerably altered the geography of the international silk trade and threatened to divert it from Constantinople. The scramble to recoup losses in trade revenue was made more desperate by the shrinking land and tax base. It is evident that the Byzantine economy would become increasingly dependent on commerce for its survival and on the export of manufactured goods to maintain a favorable balance of payments.

As the Crusades opened competitive marketplaces to European traders, 1. the cost of using Constantinople and other Byzantine trade cities as entrepots and 2. the price of Byzantine goods for export had to be made competitively attractive to the Italian middlemen. If price reduction had been effected by a ceiling on the wholesale cost of Byzantine goods, manufacturers and merchants would have been ruined. However, by lowering import and export tarriffs to large volume traders the effective net cost of both Byzantine goods and services was lowered while protecting, at least for a time, Byzantine industry.

An industry which was a cornerstone of this policy was silk. Lacking contemporary Constantinopolitan mercantile documents we may surmise from comparable documents from Jewish merchants engaged in trade in Egypt, Spain, and the Near East in the 11th and 12th centuries, from Chinese merchants in the Indian Ocean trade of the 13th and 14th centuries, and from Venitian trade of the 14th and 15th centuries that textiles and dyestuffs were the principal commodities on all international markets of the later Middle Ages and that the greatest profits were to be made in luxury textiles.

The diagrams will illustrate: I. the comparative lack of advantage of lowering duty under the monopolistic conditions of the Macedonian era, II. the increase in volume of trade and the actual gain in net revenue (offsetting loss of duty revenue) obtained from lowering of duty under the conditions of the expanding and competitive markets of the Comnenian and early Paleologue era, and III. the substantial mitigation, by a lowering of duty, of the decrease in the real as well as the proportional share of the market in the later Paleologue period in the wake of the establishment of a northern Italian industrial and mercantile monopoly comparable to that once exercised by Byzantium.

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Coins from the Justinianic Renaissance (A.D. 681 and Following)

An Exhibition at Dumbarton Oaks

The middle of the seventh century was a time of retrenchment for the Byzantine Empire, pressed hard by the Arab expansion and the Slavic invasions, but the end of the century brought some military successes and a certain equilibrium between Byzantium and her enemies. In Constantinople this permitted a splendid revival in the visual arts, beginning late in the reign of Constantine IV (668-685). When this emperor chose to name his son Justinian it was part of his larger purpose to revive the former glory of the Empire as it had flourished under the original Justinian a little over a century earlier. Furthermore, as the artistic revival developed artists sought to copy the style of that golden age. This revival was therefore a Justinianic Renaissance both in the models emulated, and in the name of its greatest patron, Justinian II (685-695 and 705-711).

Almost as soon as he came to the throne in 668 Constantine IV changed the imperial portrait on his gold coins to a military iconography that had last been used by Justinian I in 538 (compare figures 1 and 2), rejecting what was then the normal frontal bust of the Emperor holding a globe with a cross on it, a basic symbol of Christian imperial authority. This change can be interpreted as revealing the ambitions of the young Emperor (then about eighteen), especially if we realize that his Justinianic model in turn depended ultimately on the traditional representation of Mars striding forward in triumph. The style of the new coins, on the other hand, was so clumsy as to give no hint of the coming Renaissance.

In 681, however, there suddenly appeared a new version of this bust (figure 3). Now the head, turned in three-quarter view, is clearly connected to the neck and shoulders, the right hand firmly grasps the spear, and the face is modeled naturalistically. The total effect is more coherently three-dimensional and more classical than in the coins of Justinian I or his immediate predecessors. To find a convincing model for this style we have to go back to the middle of the fourth century, to some of the best coins of Constantius II (figure 4). The new style of 681 was truly a Renaissance creation, bringing back to life in remarkably expressive form the style of classical antiquity.

When Justinian II came to the throne in 685 he changed his portrait type back to the frontal bust (figure 5), but transformed it into Renaissance style. The best examples, like this one, almost give the effect of sculpture in the round, while routine examples are lower in relief, but nevertheless much more naturalistic in detail and more classical in effect than in any coinage struck in the decades before 681. It is important to realize, however, that this extraordinary numismatic Renaissance characterized only the imperial gold coinage, and only the mint at Constantinople. There is no trace of the new style in the copper coinage, and in provincial mints we never find more than a poor copy of the new models.

In 692 Justinian II took the extraordinary step of placing the image of Christ on the obverse of his coins (figure 5), relegating his own portrait to the reverse. The inscriptions explain this arrangement,

1. Constantine IV, 668-673.

2. Justinian I, 527-538.

3. Constantine IV, 681-685.

4. Constantius II, 353.

5. Justinian II, 685.

6. Justinian II, 692-695 (Christ).

7. Justinian II, 705 (Christ).

8. Justinian II, 705-711 (reverse).

(Photographs reproduced exactly four times the size of the coin)

giving a succinct statement of the Christian source of Byzantine imperial authority, for Christ is REX REGNANTIUM and Justinian is SERVUS CHRISTI. Christ is King of those who rule, and the Emperor is privileged to claim so intimate a position as His servant. This solemn majestic bust of Christ, holding a book and raising his right hand in a gesture of authority, is a Renaissance monument in every sense except in absolute size. In facial type it is part of a tradition of representations of the senior divinity first formulated by Pheidias in the Olympian Zeus; in this bust form it leads to the familiar image of the Byzantine Pantokrator.

Two successive usurpers, Leontius and Tiberius III, displaced Justinian II from 695 to 705, and issued coins bearing their frontal portrait busts rendered in routine versions of the Renaissance style. Then when Justinian II returned to the throne in 705 he reinstated the system of putting Christ on the obverse and himself on the reverse, but he changed the facial type used for Christ (figure 7), substituting a type with curly hair and a short beard. This type was traditional in Syria, associated especially with icons 'not made by human hands,' and was considered a more authentic image of Jesus. But this non-classical type was now rendered in Renaissance style. The last coins of Justinian II (such as the reverse in figure 8), on the other hand, show a modified version of that style, still with strong modeling, but now with sharper contours and more linear details. This compromise style is less classical in total effect, but it was very well suited to the technique of die-cutting, and survived for fully another generation.

Other masterpieces of Constantinopolitan art have been attributed to the Justinianic Renaissance, including the icon of St. Peter on Mt. Sinai and the floor mosaic in the Great Palace (which is probably part of the additions known to have been built by Justinian II in 694). This Renaissance was influential elsewhere also, for much of the mosaic of the Great Mosque in Damascus was made by craftsmen sent by the Emperor to the Caliph al-Walid (705-715). Greek painters also brought this Renaissance to Rome, as evident in the frescoes and mosaics made for Pope John VII (705-707), and I consider the frescoes at Castelseprio a brilliant example of the Justinianic Renaissance in its final phase.

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Bibliography: For full numismatic data see Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, II part 2, 1968. For details of the iconography see James D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II*, 1959 (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 144). For the general art-historical context see Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, 1977, particularly ch. 7, and my articles 'The Shape of the Seventh Century in Byzantine Art,' Byzantine Studies Conference, *Abstracts of Papers*, 1 (1975) 9-28, and 'Sources of Longobard Wall Painting: Facts and Possibilities,' to appear shortly in *Atti del VI. Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Milano, 21-25 ottobre 1978).

THE TRUE IMAGE OF CHRIST: EUSEBIUS' LETTER TO CONSTANTIA RECONSIDERED

Stephen Gero (Brown University)

The patristic dossier on the Christian use and worship of images has often been assembled and utilized by art historians and other scholars. But, surprisingly, some of the key texts in this dossier have not yet been analyzed and commented upon in the requisite detail. The purpose of this communication is to re-examine one of the major pieces of evidence, Eusebius' letter to the empress Constantia. The letter is extant only in the form of extracts cited in eighth- and ninth-century Byzantine literature. First the sources for the letter and the manuscript basis are presented. Then the vocabulary and style are examined in some detail, to throw more light on the question of authenticity, which has recently been questioned. Next, the theological argumentation is analyzed, and its ideological affinities (Origenistic or otherwise) investigated. The attitude to the use of images indicated in the letter is compared with that in other relevant Eusebian texts. In conclusion an attempt will be made to gauge the extent to which the views of Eusebius can be used to interpret Christian attitudes, "official" and "unofficial", to religious art in the fourth century.

This investigation of the letter to Constantia is an enlargement of the discussion in my recent monograph on Constantine V (Louvain, 1977), and complements my specialized shorter studies of other patristic material (on Hypatius of Ephesus in the Morton Smith Festschrift and on Cyril of Alexandria in Oriens Christianus 1978, etc.). Particular attention will be paid to the treatment of the text in Sr. Charles Murray's article "Art and the Early Church" (in Journal of Theological Studies 1977).

LIBANIUS' OR. XXX *(PRO TEMPLIS)* AND THE COLLAPSE OF HELLENISM'S PLAUSIBILITY STRUCTURE

Lawrence J. Daly (Bowling Green State University)

This paper's thesis is that Libanius' Or. XXX (Pro templis) can be interpreted as an attempt to rationalize the maintenance of the social world of Hellenism in the wake of the Constantinian revolution. It is argued that Libanius' demand for the integrity of the temples, insofar as it functioned to maneuver as well as mirror the reality of the process of change affecting the situation of paganism in Syrian Antioch, provides a unique opportunity for testing whether the de-monopolization of the ancient religion at the imperial level jeopardized the primacy of the ancien régime of classical society at the local level. Explicitly borrowing the sociologi-

cal construct of plausibility structure developed by Peter L. Berger (The Sacred Canopy [1967] 45: "...each world requires a social 'base' for its continuing existence as a world that is real to actual human beings. This 'base' may be called its plausibility structure."), the paper employs that concept as a heuristic device to analyze the historical meaning of Libanius' defense of a religious institution that had peculiarly served to legitimate the social world of Mediterranean civilization.

Since "all religious traditions . . . require specific communities for their continuing plausibility" (Berger, p. 46), the paper expects to demonstrate that Or. XXX's desperate plea for imperial intervention to guarantee the security of the temples reveals the loss of a significant segment of the local population to the pagan cause and therefore reflects the collapse of Hellenism's plausibility structure in late fourth-century Syria. Thus, the invective of Libanius' attacks against the monks--and the officials who failed to restrain and prosecute them--can be explained as an implied recognition of a very fateful shift then occurring in the social bases of his world, viz., the monks were challenging successfully the urban aristocracy as the patrons of the peasantry. By adopting a more benign perspective on the role of monasticism as a social force in the Syria of late antiquity suggested by scholars like Peter Brown and W.H.C. Frend, one can see that Libanius' grievances substantiate as well as elucidate the breakdown of the traditional sets of relationships--economic, social, political--between city and countryside so concretely symbolized in the temples. What was presumed to be religious intolerance becomes what is perceived to have been social revolution, for the depradations of the monks against the temples depended on the defection of the peasants from the ancient sanctuaries.

The acquiescence of provincial peasants and imperial officials in the monks' campaign against the rural temples evident from Libanius' diatribe suggests validation of Berger's generalization (p. 150) that, in situations of de-monopolized religions, "The plausibility structures lose massivity because they can no longer enlist the society as a whole to serve for the purpose of social confirmation." Accordingly, it is hypothesized that the controlling assumption of Libanius' arguments in Or. XXX was that, unless the temples remain inviolate by special dispensation, the social system manifested in Hellenism would no longer be rendered invulnerable to aggressive competition. Verification of the thesis ought to insure the validity and invite the applicability of Henry Kamen's ironic insight (The Rise of Toleration [1967] 1) that advocates of toleration--a category including not only Libanius but also his contemporary counterparts Themistius of Constantinople (Or. V) and Symmachus of Rome (Relatio III)--"represent the vanguard of movements in process of evolution or even dissolution."

ARIANS AND THE DOCTOR SAINTS

Timothy S. Miller (University of Washington)

Cosmas and Damian, the anargyroi or doctor saints, were popular holy men in Byzantium and throughout the medieval world for the free medical care they had offered the poor during their lives on earth and for the miracles of healing they performed after their deaths, but this very popularity has obscured the historical persons in countless legends. In addition to the miracle tales, there are three separate lives of these men: the "Asian" account placing their natural deaths in Cyrrhus, Syria; the "Arabian" account describing them as men from Arabia who

came to Aigai in Cilicia where they were martyred by Diocletian's governor; and finally, the Roman story of their execution for the faith in the old capital of the Empire. All scholars have rejected the Roman version as a fabrication, but regarding the historicity of the Asian and Arabian vitae, opinions have oscillated.[1] In this discussion I would like to shift the question away from the specifics of either of these lives and consider them together as legendary accounts which perhaps reflect a wider historical movement of which the real Cosmas and Damian were important figures.

The Asian vita gives no details regarding the years during which the saints were active; the Arabian account places their martyrdom in the great persecution under Diocletian (298-305). Independent evidence of a Cosmas and Damian cult, however, does not appear until the early fifth century after which their shrines multiply rapidly in the Eastern Mediterranean. I wish to postulate, therefore, that the saints actually lived during the fourth century and to suppose that the martyrdoms under Diocletian, described in the Arabian life, are part of a legend which gives these holy men heroic stature. Such epic Christian stature would be all the more important if the historical physicians had been compromised in any way during the Arian controversy of the fourth century.

There is, in fact, evidence in the History of Philostorgios that some members of the extreme Arian party in Antioch were doctors who offered free medical treatment to the poor, the very services described in the vitae and miracle accounts of Cosmas and Damian. Aetios, one of the most notorious Arian figures in Antioch, was a physician who treated the poor of the city for free and who, during his exiles from the Syrian capital, wandered in Cilicia.[2] One of his companions was Theophilos Indus who, though not described as a iatros by Philostorgios, worked miraculous cures. Gregory of Nyssa would seem to confirm Philostorgios' account when he accuses Aetios of traveling with a group of quacks.[3] It would seem, then, that Aetios and Theophilos, and perhaps Aetios' instructor of medicine, Sopolis, were members of a wider movement during the fourth century to provide medical care for the poor in Antioch and the regions of Syria and Cilicia. The activities of these Arian doctors and wonder workers fit exactly the cures and miracles of Cosmas and Damian, and the geographical area where they worked corresponds to the field where the legendary saints labored.

Besides Cosmas and Damian, there were several other anargyroi in the Greek church. Zenobius was supposedly bishop of Aigai and martyred under Diocletian. Thallelius, too, was killed for the faith in Aigai, though he seems to have spent his early years in Syrian Edessa. These anargyroi, like Cosmas and Damian, all lived and practiced their art in Cilicia (Aigai and Anazarbos) or in Syria. It is my contention that all these anargyroi legends grew out of the activities of Arian holy men who treated the poor sick in the province of Antioch. The popular traditions describing Cosmas and Damian and the other doctor saints were either vague regarding concrete details of the heroes' lives or recast events in the epic days of the Christian persecutions under Constantine's predecessors to avoid the Arian setting of the historical anargyroi movement.

1. L. Deubner, Kosmas und Damian (Berlin, 1907), 38-82.
2. Philostorgios, Kirchengeschichte III.15, ed. J. Bidez, GCS, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1972), 44-47.
3. Contra Eunomium libri I.42, Gregorii Nysseni opera, ed. W. Jaeger (Leiden, 1960), 36.

MILITARY NEEDS AND THE RECONCILIATION OF CONSTANS AND CONSTANTIUS II A.D. 342-348

Robert O. Edbrooke (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

Ecclesiastical sources report that Constantius II and Constans disagreed about the return of Athanasius to his see at Alexandria after his exile in 339. Military pressure on the Persian frontier finally forced Constantius to accede to his brother's requests that Athanasius be allowed to return to office. After a brief discussion of the interaction of military and religious conditions in the 340's, this paper will present evidence that military assistance was given to Constantius in exchange for his compromising his opposition to Athanasius.

Examination of the civil and military officeholders, church affairs, the Codex Theodosianus, and authors such as Athanasius, Julian, and Himerius suggests that Constans gave military assistance to Constantius before the battle of Singara. The timing of this aid explains the date of the final reconciliation of the two emperors. Preliminary negotiations occurred in 344 after the failure of the church council at Serdica, but the agreement was implemented fully only in 346 when Athanasius as well as military aid arrived in the East. The evidence supports the conclusion that it was not only the threat of civil war, which Seeck and Stein say made Constantius accept Athanasius, but also the promise of military assistance which brought about the reconciliation.

A TWILIGHT OF PAGANISM IN THE HOLY LAND: NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FROM THE EXCAVATIONS AT TELL ER-RAS

Robert L. Hohlfelder (University of Colorado)

From 1964 to 1970, four archaeological campaigns were conducted on Mount Gerizim, near the modern town of Nablus (ancient Neapolis) on the west bank of the Jordan River, by a consortium of American institutions.[1] Particular attention was devoted to one of the peaks of Mount Gerizim's three ridges, a projection known locally as Tel er-Ras. Preliminary surveys of this locality, which were confirmed later by excavations, suggested that this peak may have been the locus of a temple to Zeus Hypsistos, built by Hadrian, mentioned by Marinus of Neapolis, and featured on both coins and medallions struck at the local mint of Neapolis.

Excavations were conducted at various locations within and adjacent to the temple and its precinct, including the cleaning of a cistern complex north of the main structure. Over 300 hundred coins were discovered during the course of the excavations.[2] The chronological range of the finds was from the late Hellenistic era to the modern period.

An analysis of the coin finds and their respective archaeological contexts suggests that the temple had prospered through the vicissitudes and challenges to paganism authored by the house of Constantine. The reign of Julian, the final ruler of this dynasty and the last imperial patron of paganism, seems to have coincided with the demise of this shrine. During his reign in A.D. 362, an earthquake of considerable intensity struck this region of the Holy Land. It appears that the temple was badly damaged by this catastrophe but was not rehabilitated owing to the death of Julian, and of his religious policies as well, in the following year. Coin finds, dating from subsequent decades of the fourth century, were found in the precinct area but in reduced numbers (128 coins of fourth century

provenance to A.D. 363; 33 coins after the year of Julian's death). While it remains possible that the temple may have continued to be used for pagan worship regardless of its state of preservation, it is more certain that sections of the precinct area, notably portions of the cistern complex that had not totally collapsed in the A.D. 362 earthquake, were in use to the reign of Theodosius the Great. At this point in time, however, the continuity of the coin record ends, although two intrusive 12 nummi pieces of seventh century provenance were uncovered. The numismatic evidence intimates that here, as elsewhere in the Empire, the religious policies and persuasions of this aggressively Christian emperor had prevailed. At Tel er-Ras, there is every reason to believe that public pagan worship in the Temple of Zeus Hypsistos did not survive beyond the fourth century.[3]

1. Robert J. Bull, "The Excavation of Tell er-Ras on Mt. Gerizim," BA 31 (1968) 58-72; Robert J. Bull and Edward F. Campbell, Jr., "The Sixth Campaign at Balâṭah (Shechem)," BASOR 190 (1968) 2-31.
2. A total of 231 coins, dating from the late Hellenistic era to the early Byzantine period, could be catalogued; 52 other coins were too worn to permit any assignment other than late-Roman/early-Byzantine. Two post-antique pieces were also uncovered - an Arab coin of the eighth century and a modern Turkish coin of 1859. Over 50 coins did not survive cleaning efforts. A detailed study of these coin finds is now in preparation.
3. cf. the demise of the Isis Temple at Kenchreai, Greece. See Leila Ibrahim, Robert Scranton and Robert Brill, Kenchreai Eastern Port of Corinth, Vol. II: The Panels of Opus Sectile Glass (Leiden, 1976) 268-269; Robert L. Hohlfelder, "Kenchreai on the Saronic Gulf: Aspects of its Imperial History," CJ 71 (1976) 224-226.

ORTHODOXY AND HERESY IN THE PACHOMIAN LITERATURE

Janet Timbie (Catholic University)

The writings of Pachomius and his followers--fourth century Egyptian monks--are a very important source for the study of early Christian monasticism; yet, until quite recently, this group received little attention. The discovery of the Nag Hammadi Gnostic texts in a site adjacent to the Pachomian monasteries eventually stimulated interest in the Pachomians. The effort to understand the theological and social context of the Nag Hammadi "library" sent scholars to the Pachomian literature because of its geographic and temporal proximity to Nag Hammadi.

Certain features of the covers of the Nag Hammadi codices have led some scholars to conclude that the codices were produced in a Pachomian monastery. This seems to conflict with the conclusions of other scholars--mainly those who have specialized in the Pachomian literature--who have stressed the orthodoxy and and loyalty to the archbishop shown by the Pachomian monks.

I attempt to locate the Pachomians on a theological map by asking how they would have defined orthodoxy. Their concept of Christian orthodoxy is an indicator of what they believed to be the essence of Christianity, which in turn may explain their curious position vis à vis Athanasius and the Nag Hammadi texts. The Pachomian definition of orthodoxy must be deduced from their criticism of various sects

and their use of the term "heresy" because the direct question, "What is orthodoxy?" is never explicitly asked or answered in their writings.

Several sects or schools of thought are named and condemned in the Pachomian literature, but the distinctive beliefs of these sects are not discussed. Unspecified "heretics" are briefly criticized. As a group, heretics are associated with certain practices: they write apocryphal books and read them; they dwell on useless questions when they read the Bible. The advice of the archbishop (in this case, Athanasius) is also sufficient reason for avoiding contact with a sect. Scripture and the advice of the archbishop are the two criteria used by the Pachomians to identify heresy. Conversely, their concept of orthodoxy seems to be based entirely on what they considered to be a traditional (thus true) reading of scripture and on a sense of what is accepted by the archbishop.

If the Pachomians show any active hostility toward sectarians, it is directed at those who write about purely theoretical matters of doctrine, in what is seen as an attempt to compete with the canonical scriptures. Lack of interest in the details of the Arian position, for example, is coupled with a lack of hostility toward the sectarian position. The evidence indicates that the Pachomians were willing to uncritically follow Athanasius' advice, or apply their own simple criteria, when dealing with sects because they were largely uninterested in doctrinal points that did not affect monastic practice. Thus it is quite possible that a small group of well-behaved monks produced and read Gnostic texts in a Pachomian monastery for some time without hindrance. At the same time, the dominant point of view might be conventionally orthodox, yet uninterested in theology.

THE IDEA OF "EMPIRE" IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SERBIA

THE IDEA OF "EMPIRE" IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SERBIA: SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen (Dumbarton Oaks)

Raška, Rascia in the Latin sources, was the Serbian medieval state founded by the grand župan Stephan Nemanja in the second half of the twelfth century and officially recognized by Isaac II Angelus in 1190. Nemanja's descendants--kings since 1217--ruled for two centuries and each monarch enlarged the state by expanding his territories to the south, conquering lands of the declining Byzantine Empire. At the same time, during these two centuries a strong Byzantine influence prevailed in all aspects of Serbian political, religious and cultural life. It was during the reign of Stephan Dušan (1331-1355) that the Serbian medieval state reached its climax, when in 1346 he assumed the title of Emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks and on April 16 was crowned in Skoplje by the Serbian and Bulgarian patriarchs. His empire, which included the Byzantine European lands Macedonia, Albania, Epirus, Thessaly, Acarnania and Aetolia, was the most glorious period of Serbian medieval history. However, the idea of the empire could be traced to Dušan's grandfather, King Milutin (1282-1321).

The purpose of this paper is to examine the sources and the historiography covering the interval between Milutin's coming to power in 1282 and the death of the last Nemanjić ruler, Dušan's son, Uroš, in 1371.

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE OF THE SERBO-GREEK EMPIRE (1346-1371)

Slobodan Ćurčić (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

The formation of the Serbo-Greek Empire in 1346 by Stefan Dušan signalled major changes in the political, social, religious, and cultural life of the Serbian state. Serbian church architecture of this period was also affected by the changed course of events. Although this phenomenon has been noted before, the exact nature of changes affecting Serbian architecture has never been fully illuminated.

The architectural patronage of Emperor Stefan Dušan (1331-55; emperor from 1346), and his son Emperor Stefan Uroš (1355-71) falls into two major categories: restoration of older churches and monasteries, and construction of new ones. Both activities are characteristic of Byzantine imperial patronage of architecture. The choice of buildings to be restored (centers of significant metropolitan sees, Athonite monasteries, etc.) clearly suggests the imperial outlook. The character of the new church architecture created under the auspices of Dušan, Uroš, and their noblemen reveals a type of synthesis of Byzantine and western influence which ultimately yielded a distinctive style of architecture. Its products, as may be judged by the surviving monuments, are distinguished by clarity of planning, balanced proportions, structural rigor, decorative restraint, and high quality of workmanship. Although clearly tied to the general Byzantine building tradition, this architecture also displays aspects not encountered among contemporary Byzantine achievements. The purpose of this paper will be to illuminate the Byzantine component, to identify its source, and to explain the probable causes of such a development.

In contrast to church architecture in Serbia during the reign of King Milutin (1282-1321), whose origins may be readily traced to Thessaloniki and Epirus, Byzantine architectural elements which appear in Serbian churches around the middle of the fourteenth century reveal distinctive Constantinopolitan characteristics. These may be grouped in the following categories:

1. Planning and spatial articulation. The cross-in-square church plan becomes fairly common (Banja, Markov Manastir, and especially Matejič). Church clustering makes its rare appearance outside of Constantinople (Peč). The five-domed church emerges as a type associated with royal mausolea (the church of the Holy Archangels in the monastery of the Holy Archangels near Prizren, and Matejič). Compact narthexes (in contrast to the spacious Athonite narthexes) with a central domed bay become predominant (churches of the Holy Archangels and St. Nicholas in the monastery of the Holy Archangels, Lesnovo, Psaca, Markov Manastir).

2. Structural and constructional features. The use of columns instead of piers for interior supports becomes relatively frequent (Ljuboten, Zaum, Markov Manastir). A building technique involving alternation of several courses of stone with several parallel courses of brick, a long-time hallmark of Constantinopolitan construction, makes its appearance in Serbia at this time (Matejič, Markov Manastir).

3. Formal and decorative features. Multi-faceted dome drums are used (the church of the Holy Archangels in the monastery of the Holy Archangels, Matejič), and on occasion are scalloped on the interior (the church of the Holy Archangels). Plastic exterior wall articulation is achieved by means of semicircular niches. These are used on apses (Kučevište--the church of the Virgin, Markov Manastir, Matejič), as well as on west facades (Kučevište--the church of the Virgin, Markov Manastir). This attitude toward plastic articulation of walls is also underlined by the appearance of a 'mannerist' device--recessed half-columns--which are introduced in Serbian architecture at this time (Štip--Holy Archangels, Markov Manastir).

The above analysis reveals that the input of Constantinople in the development of church architecture within the Empire of Dušan and Uroš was considerable. It could be argued that such a development resulted from the drastic decline in the architectural production in the Byzantine capital caused by the prolonged state of civil war. A more likely explanation lies in the political and cultural ideology of Emperor Dušan and his advisors whose concept of the empire was strictly bases on the Byzantine model. In that context the importation of builders from the Byzantine capital should be seen as but one of the many outward manifestations of a state policy whose ultimate goal was the full take over of Byzantine imperial traditions.

DIVINE WISDOM AS PART OF THE BYZANTINE IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY: RESEARCH INTO THE ARTISTIC INTERPRETATIONS OF THE THEME IN MEDIEVAL SERBIA

Z.A. Gavrolović (Stafford, England)

"You whom wisdom had conceived and to whom she had rendered the service of a midwife, having educated you handsomely and adorned you with virtues and filled you with divine spirit, she revealed you as the eye of the Universe, illuminating all subjects with pure and clear intellect".(1) - Imperial wisdom, a projection of the Logos, is at the centre of the light symbolism in Byzantine imperial ideology.

In Byzantine theology, however, the idea of Divine Wisdom is linked with the sacrament of baptism, Divine Wisdom being the incarnate light whose illuminating grace restores man's likeness to Christ (2). Moreover, according to Byzantine mystics, human soul is in perpetual migration towards the light of Christ, baptism being the indispensable first step (3).

By recognizing the importance of the theological complex Divine Wisdom-Baptism, combined with the notion Divine Wisdom-Emperor, one can explain iconographic and stylistic concepts governing certain programmes of church and manuscript decoration. Thus, I have suggested that the 9th c. manuscript Paris.gr. 510 contains illustrations which indicate, by means of typology, the enlightment of man through baptism and his striving towards God, as well as representations concerning the wisdom of the emperor under whose guidance orthodoxy is assured (4).

Similarly, the idea Divine Wisdom-Emperor-Baptism can provide a key to the understanding of elaborate painted programmes of Mid- and Late-Byzantine narthex decorations, often composed of apparently heterogeneous themes.

This paper considers, as selected examples, the narthex of Sopoćani (around 1265) and of Lesnovo (1348), mentioning also Domentijan's writing and prooimia to Dušan's charters, all illustrating the importance of the idea Divine Wisdom-Emperor-Baptism within the political philosophy of the Serbian Medieval State.

Attention is drawn to the liturgical function of the narthex and the character of offices said there: essentially prayers for transition from obscurity to light eternal.

At Lesnovo, imperial portraits figure prominently in an aptly devised repertoire of Old Testament theophanies symbolizing the mystical road of human soul towards the light of the Logos (including representations of Marial typology), and of scenes alluding to baptism. At Sopoćani, the inclusion of the Last Supper and of Nemanja's Council in the cycle of Ecumenical Councils reveals an allusion to the liturgy of Maundy Thursday with its imperial connotations, thus completing the meaning of adjoining scenes concerning Incarnation and Redemption.

The important detail of baptismal fonts situated facing the representations of the Nemanjić family tree (Peć exonarthex, around 1330; Dečani narthex, 1350), observed by S.Ćurčić (5) is quoted as a valuable contribution to the understanding of the symbolism uniting baptism with kingship.

The expression of the belief in the kingship of man as a creation in the likeness of Christ, and in the authority of the sovereign, man and King both inspired by the light of the Spirit, formed a focus onto which carefully planned systems of related themes converged.

1. Letter from the Quinisextum to Justinian II, Mansi vol.XI, col.932-933; cf. F.Dvornik, Byzantine Political Ideas in Kievan Russia, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 9-10, 1955-6, p.87.
2. cf. Z.A.Gavrilović, La Résurrection d'Adam: une réinterprétation, Cahiers Archéologiques XXVII, 1978, pp.101-115.
3. J.Daniélou, Platonisme et Théologie mystique, Paris 1944, pp.23-35.
4. Z.A.Gavrilović, The Humiliation of Leo VI the Wise, Cahiers Archéologiques XXVIII (sous presse).
5. S.Ćurčić, Baptismal Fonts in Medieval Serbia. Lecture read at the "New England Medieval Conference", Wellesley College, October 1977.

THE DOUBLE-HEADED EAGLE: AN IMPERIAL EMBLEM?

George Stričević (University of Cincinnati)

The double-headed eagle is often thought to have become, some time in the first half of the 14th c., a kind of blason impérial byzantin. A systematic survey of references in historical sources and a careful examination of authentic portraits show that while the motif often decorates the formal vestments of non-Byzantine sovereign, from Russia in the North to Nubia in the South, starting, possibly, as early as the 11th c., becoming quite common in the 13th, notably in Serbia, it never appears on the garments worn by the Byzantine Emperor. The double-headed eagle is also rather frequently used on jewelry, including seal-rings, occasionally on coins, often on metal and pottery vessels, on carved and painted architectural decoration, furniture etc., but in most cases these objects have nothing to do with imperial art and, therefore, the motif does not seem to have carried any imperial connotations. In Byzantium the double-headed eagle sometimes decorates the garments of the members of the imperial family and of some high dignitaries, but not the vestments of the Emperor himself. Similarly in Serbia the motif is very common on the costumes of the 13th and 14th c. kings, as well as on the costumes of the members of their families, but is never represented on the vestments of Serbian or Bulgarian emperors of the 14th c.

There is only one instance in which tò ἅγιο poulí is associated directly with the imperial dignity: on virtually all the portraits of the Byzantine and Slavic emperors, starting with Theodore II Lascaris (Cod.Monac.Gr. 442, F. 7v.), the double-headed eagle is represented on the suppedion on which the sovereign is shown

standing, or, when he is represented sitting, on which he rests his feet. Such a suppedion is, significantly enough, reserved exclusively for the representation of an emperor; even when the ruler is shown accompanied by the members of his own family, he is the only one who stands on such a suppedion. The latter is, however, never included in the iconographic apparatus of the portrait of any dignitary or a ruler of a lesser rank with the possible exception of the two portraits of the Serbian king Milutin, one in Grachanica, the other in Staro Nagorichino, and they merit a special consideration, especially because of their coronation connotations.

The 13th and the 14th c. emperors are not the first to be shown standing on suppedia, but in all earlier cases the scabella look more like a dais and are never decorated with eagles. The later type of the imperial suppedion by both its form of a cushion or a padded mat, and even more by its decoration, resembles the aetos, a rug decorated with the representation of a flying eagle on which the Orthodox Bishop stands, on the ambo, during some parts of the liturgical celebration, or rests his feet when sitting on the pontifical throne. The resemblance between the pontifical aetos and the imperial suppedion is further underlined by the fact that in the beginning (the earliest reference being Symeon of Thessalonika, De sacr. ordinat., PG 155, cap. CC) the former was used (only ?) in the ceremony of pontifical consecration. The double-headed eagle on the imperial suppedion might have come from such a decoration on the shield which was used in the ritual elevation of the Emperor by which the imperial apotheosis was enacted in the ceremony of Byzantine imperial coronation. A late Roman custom, originally military in character, the elevation on the buckler continued to be practiced in early Byzantine times to disappear after that as a result of a complete transformation of what used to be a military investiture into an ecclesiastical rite and then, to return in the mid 13th c. It is likely to be more than a sheer coincidence that the earliest reference to the restoration of the shield-raising to the Byzantine imperial coronation--now a part of an ecclesiastical rite, comes from the description of the coronation of Theodore II Lascaris who is, also, the first Byzantine Emperor to be shown standing on the suppedion with double-headed eagles.

In some Byzantine churches, starting not before the 15th c. (?), the aetos is represented--in the form of a double-headed eagle, placed in the center of either a rectangular slab or a circular disc--on the marble floor of the ambo. Some of these pontifical suppedia were, apparently, made of wood, but the modern ones (the earliest might be of the 16th c. date) are commonly made of some fabric with the embroidered or painted decoration which, besides the heaven-bound eagle, might include the representation of a city and the sun, the images used by Corippus in his poetic rendition of the apotheosis of Justin II, performed as the elevation of the Emperor on the buckler.

CAESAREA AND THE SAMARITANS

Kenneth G. Holum (University of Maryland)

Twenty years ago M. Avi-Yonah addressed the question of Samaritan revolts in Late Roman Palestine, suggesting that the disaffection of this group facilitated the Persian and Moslem conquests. A fresh look at the evidence indicates that Avi-Yonah did not comprehend fully the consequences of these revolts.

By the fourth century Samaritans outnumbered both Christians and Jews among the inhabitants of Palestine. Well-placed Samaritans worked their way into the imperial administration, while their humbler brethren entered the army in large numbers. By the mid fifth century the dux Palaestinae probably sought recruits mainly among Samaritans of rural origin. Despite legislation against them, Samaritans had been integrated into the Roman system. When a monophysite revolt threatened to detach Palestine from the Empire after the Council of Chalcedon, the imperial court could count on Samaritan troops. They remained loyal because they depended on the emperor, who had the power to decide whether legislation against religious dissidents would be enforced.

Later in the fifth century this useful accommodation began to break down. The authorities pursued Samaritans in the imperial service more actively, and repression contributed to a surge of Samaritan nationalism with eschatological overtones. The first Samaritan revolt, in 484, proved that imperial control over the Palestinian countryside was indeed precarious. The rebels, including many with Roman military backgrounds, succumbed only to the combined attack of three Roman generals. Following their defeat, the emperor Zeno ordered Samaritans excluded from the imperial service, confiscated the estates of the wealthy, and commanded the destruction of the Samaritan sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim.

Such a policy made accommodation impossible, so the Samaritan population in general aimed not to secure better treatment within the Empire but to secede. This was the Samaritans' goal when they revolted again in 529. The imperial government responded with genocide, massacring thousands during the fighting and selling into slavery more thousands of the Samaritan youth whose disappearance would mean a much smaller and less dangerous population in the future. The last recorded revolt, in 556, was a local affair limited to Caesarea Maritima and its environs.

Significantly, during all three revolts the Samaritans directed their fury against Caesarea, the headquarters of the Roman administration. In the third revolt (556) the rebels murdered the proconsul Stephen there and burned his praetorium, thus venting their wrath at the power which oppressed them. Originally this concentration on Caesarea had more profound implications. During the first revolt of 484, the rebels made their leader Justasas an emperor (basileus) and crowned him with an imperial diadem. Justasas then seized Caesarea and celebrated chariot races in the hippodrome in imperial fashion. Justasas and his followers responded to oppression as thorough Romans would, by raising their own emperor. They aimed not only to secede but to create their own imperium Samaritanum.

This concentration on Caesarea confirms that in 484 the Samaritans considered themselves integrated into the Roman imperial system. Had the emperors continued to tolerate a measure of religious diversity, Palestine would have been better armed against the onslaught of Persia and Islam. The eclipse of Roman rule in Palestine depended less on the presence of religious dissidents who aided the enemy, as Avi-Yonah thought, than on the Samaritans' absence.

BYZANTINE *INSTRUMENTA DOMESTICA* FROM ANEMURIUM: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CONTEXT

James Russell (University of British Columbia)

During recent years Canadian excavations of the Isaurian coastal city of Anemurium have shed much light on the city's history in early Byzantine times. Its churches and public buildings have inevitably attracted greatest attention, but investigation of the secondary uses to which the earlier Roman buildings were put has yielded information of no less interest about the city in its later phases. This is particularly true of the spacious baths-palaestra complex which in due course housed a considerable cluster of domestic and industrial establishments. With the Arab invasions of the mid-seventh century the settlement was gradually evacuated. Eventually roofs and walls collapsed, sealing in coins, pottery and a wide assortment of bric a brac, rejected or overlooked by the occupants at the time of their departure. The value of coins and pottery is self-evident, but the value of the other small finds is perhaps less obvious. Consisting for the most part of broken fragments of tools, furniture or dress, and stray objects, such as weights, keys, gaming pieces, and lead seals, this heterogeneous collection of several hundred objects illuminates the many aspects of provincial town-life that pass largely unnoticed in the literary record. Parallels for much of this material may be documented from other sites and museum collections, but all too rarely do we find their physical and chronological context so securely defined as at Anemurium. Herein lies the significance of this particular group.

To illustrate more specifically the potential of this genre of evidence for enhancing our understanding of Byzantine society, I shall concentrate on a small group of objects intended to fend off evil spirits. They include two amulets in the form of oval bronze plaques, one depicting Solomon as a horseman striking a prostrate female demon, the other the Evil Eye being assailed by a variety of sharp instruments and wild animals. Both motifs, either individually or in combination, are well attested in amulets of late Roman and Byzantine date from the eastern Mediterranean. Solomon's efficacy in resisting the Evil Eye recurs in a third amulet, an inscribed shale disk, one side of which may be restored to read σφρα[γὶς Σ]ολόμονος [ἔ]χι τὴν βασκανίαν. A fourth item, a terracotta stamp with the legend εὐλογία τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥαφάηλ, may well have been the mold for a pilgrim token; in which case, given the archangel's frequent appearance as an agent of exorcism, this object too was probably talismanic. A simpler, but no less effective, device for warding off the Evil Eye was the tintinnabulum, a small bronze bell, hung in doorways or above a baby's cradle, of which several have been found.

Considering the circumstances of their discovery, we may be sure that the survival of each of these objects is the result not of any conscious design, but of the same random process that has ensured the survival of all other small finds from the same contexts. Their importance is to remind us of the ubiquity of magic in Byzantine society as a normal instrument in the mechanics of everyday life.

THE DATE OF A CIRCUS DIALOGUE

Barry Baldwin (The University of Calgary)

Recent analyses of the famous Circus Dialogue preserved in Theophanes, notably those of P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 43 (1973), and Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford, 1976), 318 f., whilst providing valuable supplement to the earlier discussions of Bury, Maas, and others, do not (perforce) settle the key questions of date and purpose.

The dialogue belongs undeniably to the reign of Justinian. To which part, that is the question. Theophanes and the Paschal Chronicle attach it to the Nika revolt in 532. Bury, although more cautious in his later years, was confident enough in his classic analysis of the sources to fix the dialogue to Sunday, January 11, 532. Stein was equally sure that Theophanes had the piece in the right place.

The two notable dissentients have gone to opposite ends of the period. Maas was drawn to the later years, whereas Alan Cameron locates the dialogue at the very beginning of Justinian's reign. My own conclusion will be that Maas is probably right, albeit for the wrong reason.

The present paper pays special attention to the possible clue afforded by the Calopodius attacked by the Greens early in the piece. Is this the man's true name (as, e.g., Cameron), or not (as, most insistently, Karlin-Hayter)?

There are better reasons for taking it as a nickname than Cameron would allow. The use of sobriquets was widespread in the sixth century, and one might suit the sometimes neglected literary nature of the dialogue.

If it is a nickname, who lurks behind it? Not Narses, as Karlin-Hayter suggests, at least not if the dialogue belongs to the Nika revolt, in which Narses played an uncertain and probably minor role.

It is probably best to accept Calopodius as a real name. Scholars variously call it a rare and a common name. It occurs several times in the period in question, with the *praepositus* of 558/9 perhaps most relevant.

The notion that the dialogue suits the beginning of Justinian's reign as a proclamation of a Blue emperor's hostility towards the Greens is too dependent on the *Secret History* and overlooks the fact that this had to do with Justinian's pre-imperial days.

Maas saw an allusion in lines 25-6 of the dialogue to Justinian's lapse into heresy. But surely petitioners would not risk imperial displeasure by such tactless hints.

I put the piece late in the reign on two counts. There is at least one Calopodius around at the time. And, to judge by the chroniclers, most factional violence in the capital dates from 547 on, thanks to a decade or so of quiet after the suppression of the Nika revolt. Since Malalas juxtaposes Calopodius with the riot of May, 559, this date is possibly the best bet.

THE JUSTINIANIC FORTIFICATIONS IN ILLYRICUM: WAS REFORTIFICATION THE ANSWER TO BARBARIAN RAIDS?

Frank E. Wozniak (University of New Mexico)

In his work De aedificiis, Procopius lists the fortifications of interior Illyricum which were built or restored by the orders of the Emperor Justinian. Most of the forts were simply refortified or had their walls strengthened while new constructions seem to have been kept to a minimum. The preponderance of refurbished older structures over new foundations testifies to the exigencies of the moment; the restoration of defenses appears to have been cheaper than the beginning of new ones. The proportion also indicates that the Byzantine government accepted most of the existing forts listed by Procopius as adequate to meet the existing strategic needs of the Empire in Illyricum. The question which immediately emerges in the face of Procopius' exhaustive listing of more than 600 forts is whether this system of fortifications was strategically adequate for its intended purpose of defending the interior of Illyricum and whether the forts did in fact defend the provinces of Illyricum when put to the test by subsequent barbarian invasions.

Quite clearly Procopius' own evidence in his history of the Justinianic wars testifies that the fortifications of Illyricum did not effectively hinder the marauding of foreign tribes anywhere north of Thermopylae during the sixth century. The forts, which were in large part no more than places of refuge for the local population, do not seem to have been adequately manned if they had a garrison at all; most of the forts do not appear to have had any garrison. While the bulk of the population would have been saved, the farms and other property would have been pillaged with the resulting disruption of the agrarian economy.

The decisive element in Justinian's proposed in-depth defense of the Balkans would have been an adequate field army to interdict barbarian raiders at the earliest possible moment. Only on rare occasions did the Emperor have or make available such a force. In the light of the fact that the forts enumerated by Procopius were not a barrier to the barbarians and that sufficient mobile forces were not committed to inhibit or prevent the devastations of those tribesmen who breached the Danubian frontier, were the fortifications of Illyricum even nominally adequate to meet the strategic needs of the Empire in the Balkans?

B. H. Warmington in a paper "Frontier Studies and the History of the Roman Empire: Some Desiderata" presented at the Ninth Congress on the Roman Frontiers (Bucharest, 1972) presented some tentative assessments which are of immediate application in this instance. According to Warmington, the Imperial government could not or would not prevent the barbarians from disrupting the economy and communications of the interior provinces. Such continual exposure of the

infrastructure of the Balkan provinces damaged the continued capacity for provincial or regional defense. Further the reaction of the Roman army to barbarian raids was dangerously slow. The greater part of the population escaped by taking refuge in existing or hastily revived forts but the barbarians were left free to plunder the countryside. Even more pointedly, he raised the question of the placement of the fortifications. Many of them he alleges to have been poorly located and once fortified in stone the sites continued to be used even if badly placed.

While not ignoring the rather checkered success of the Imperial government in its defense of the whole of the Balkans, this paper will assess the strategic usefulness of the Justinianic fortifications in two selected but representative Illyrian provinces: Dardania and Epirus vetus. It will be the contention of this paper that the preponderance of refortifications in the Justinianic scheme of defense would indicate that the sites of forts were chosen for other than strictly strategic reasons. It was easier to strengthen existing fortifications than begin afresh on a new site. The pre-existence of constructions in stone strongly encouraged the continued occupation and rebuilding of forts whether well located or not, and thus of questionable strategic importance. The result was an impressive number of fortifications in Illyricum but a poorly integrated system of defense that was repeatedly demonstrated as being inadequate. Even before the Justinianic reconstructions in the sixth century, the experiences of the fourth and fifth centuries had shown the deficiencies of the existing defensive preparations throughout the Balkans both in the fortifications and in the allotments of tactical and strategic manpower. But the Imperial government of the Emperor Justinian, with its strategic commitments outside of the Balkans, sought to compensate for the continued lack of adequate garrisons and field forces by a massive building program which simply enshrined the past inadequacies of the Illyricum fortifications in even greater accumulations of largely useless masonry.

THE *PANEGYRIC ON MACARIUS OF TKÔW*: AN ALEXANDRIAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COPTS

D. W. Johnson (Catholic University)

The Panegyric on Macarius, the bishop of Tkôw (Antaeopolis) deals with a martyr of the Egyptian antichalcedonian party. It was almost certainly composed in Greek at Alexandria sometime after the first quarter of the 6th century. Thus it falls into the category of Byzantine literature in translation. Its author was probably a monk of the Pachomian monastery at Canopus. No Greek original has survived. How soon it was translated into Coptic is unknown. The extant datable MSS are from the 9th and 10th centuries. They are Pierpont Morgan Coptic MS 60[illegible]

and Cairo Hamouli 85 3. The Panegyric is falsely attributed to Dioscorus I, the patriarch of Alexandria. The work is a hagiographic romance combined with anti-chalcedonian polemics. While the question of its authenticity and it value as a source for the history of the events surrounding the Council of Chalcedon have been discussed at length, little has been said about the value of the work as a source for the study of 6th-century Egyptian attitudes and self-image or the attitudes and self-image of the author. In the short time allotted, I shall take one example, namely the apparent attitude of the Greek-speaking Alexandrian author toward his principal subject, the native Egyptian hero, Macarius, and toward native Egyptians in general.

Although the author is at all time favorable to his subject, he nevertheless manages to maintain a certain distance by calling attention to the fact that Macarius is an Egyptian in contrast to Dioscorus and his retinue who are Greek-speaking Alexandrians. Further, he emphasizes the fact that Macarius speaks only Egyptian (Coptic) and does not even understand Greek. This is always to Macarius' disadvantage. Some examples follow.

(1) In the first encounter between Dioscorus and Macarius, Dioscorus is forced to call him over by gesticulating. Peter, an Alexandrian deacon who knows Coptic (an implied exception), must act as an interpreter. Theopistus, another deacon, asks Dioscorus why he is consorting with this "mouthless one", a term of contempt for one who does not speak your language. He is rebuked by Dioscorus, but the point has been made. (2) Dioscorus says of Macarius that "even though he is not equipped to be a frontline soldier -- that is, he does not speak the Greek language -- nevertheless he did not hesitate to go with us to Chalcedon," i.e., he did the best he could. (3) Again when Macarius is in the presence of Emperor Marcian and wishes to attack and anathematize him, he is helpless because "he did not find anyone to interpret for him". He has an advantage of sorts only once, when he is able to speak to a sailor "because this man was an Egyptian also".

In three other incidents, the author's attitude toward Egyptians in general surfaces. (1) He speaks of Nestorius as being exiled to "Egypt's barbaric south", by which he means the Lower Thebaïd near Panopolis, a place well within the borders of Byzantine Egypt. The use of the word "barbaric" is significant. One would hardly expect a native Egyptian writer to so describe an important region of his own country. (2) When referring to the important Coptic abbot, Shenute, and to his monastery, the author speaks of "the holy man, Shenute, the Egyptian, the citizen of Egypt's barabaric region". In this instance, barbaric is repeated and the contrasting adjective "Egyptian" is used. The latter is always rendered by the Greek loanword ⲉⲕⲩⲡⲧⲓⲟⲥ instead of the usual Coptic ⲣⲙⲛⲭⲏⲙⲉ . (3) During an altercation between Pinoution, Macarius' companion, and some Greek sailors of the imperial fleet, the sailors make the observation that "all Egyptians are liars".

Thus, the text gives us an interesting glimpse of the ambivalnce of the Greek-speaking author working in the environs of the metropolis with regard to the native Egyptian character he has chosen to eulogize and use as a vehicle for his polemics against his fellow Greek-speaking but chalcedonian adversaries.

URBAN VIOLENCE IN BYZANTINE HISTORY

A. P. Kazhdan (Dumbarton Oaks), Presiding

Urban violence was a recurrent factor, intermittantly if not continuously, during virtually the entire span of the Byzantine Empire's history. Curiously, though its individual episodes have been variously treated in separate studies, the problem has never been examined as an entity.

This session is an integrated effort to bring together information and perspective on various phases and types of Byzantine urban strife, in order to scrutinize their common and differing characteristics. The emphasis will be placed upon coordinated interchange. To that end, following brief presentations of their respective material by the three speakers, there will be a period of time allotted to a panel discussion between them. This panel discussion will be directed, and participated in, by Prof. Kazhdan, who will contribute his own reflections on the topic as a whole. Thereafter, the floor will be opened and general discussion with the audience will be entertained.

Both in the individual presentations and in the panel discussion, the contributors will attempt to keep in mind a set of general themes or questions, which will be used as frames of reference in comparing and analyzing all episodes considered. These themes will be:

1. Source problems and the nature of information available.
2. Participants in given episodes.
3. Motivation(s): consistent, or initial as against different ones later.
4. Leadership; factors of exterior manipulation.
5. Transformation of episodes from one character to another.
6. Social or economic implications; ethnic factors.
7. Ideological implications
8. The response (if any) by government and society.
9. Success or failure; impact and results, direct or long-term.

It is understood, moreover, that "urban violence" is taken to mean not merely the brutality and crime always associated with urban conditions, but specific episodes of rioting and upheaval with identifiable shape and goals as popular actions.

RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE IN THE FOURTH-SIXTH CENTURIES

Timothy E. Gregory (Ohio State University)

[The following represents a paper originally planned as an integral component of the session. Because of practical circumstances, it cannot be delivered as planned, but its abstract is included here for reference, to give an idea of the initial thinking about the session's scope, and to show what this paper's topic might contribute to the session's general theme:]

The famous words of Gregory of Nyssa remind us that there was considerable popular interest in the religious controversies of late antiquity. Interest, however, frequently led to words and words led to deeds: churches were burned, individuals lynched, and violent confrontations between rival groups became all too common

This paper will investigate a series of interrelated issues concerning urban violence in the religious controversies of the fourth through the sixth centuries. It will begin with a consideration of two related issues: the extent of religious violence and the attitude of the sources. It will argue that the interest of the sources in such phenomena has made them to appear more widespread than they actually were: violence is always a characteristic of urban life and, while religious violence may actually have increased in the period of late antiquity, our impression of it is heightened by the relatively greater information that the sources preserve.

The paper will continue with an examination of the motivation of the crowd in religious involvement and violence: why did the restless energies of "the people" find an outlet in religious confrontation and violence? The answer here is a simple one: Christianity, unlike most of the other religions of antiquity, demanded complete commitment to an exclusive view of the truth---and the truth of one's theological position determined the individual's success in life and, more importantly, his place after death. Therefore, it was essential to establish and defend the correct theological position with whatever resources came to hand. The paper will argue that the people of the late antique city understood this concept and that they involved themselves in religious disputes primarily for religious reasons. This, however, was not mere fanaticism, but a reasonable response to the set of beliefs which were characteristic of the time.

The paper will conclude with an examination of some of the dynamics of religious violence: what seems to have "set off" a disturbance, the role of leaders, the response of ecclesiastical authorities and the state, and the ultimate success of the crowd in attaining its religious goals. Specific events will be mentioned throughout the paper and one or two "case studies" will be examined.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VIOLENCE IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

Alan Cameron (Columbia University)

Responsibility for urban violence in the early Byzantine period has traditionally been laid at the door of the so-called circus factions. Did they in fact enjoy a monopoly in this field? What was the cause and character of riots associated with the factions? Does the greater prominence of the Blues and Greens in our accounts of Maurice and Phocas reflect a real increase in their power? What other categories of urban violence can be identified?

The speaker welcomes criticisms of the theses advanced in his two books; Porphyrius the Charioteer (1973) and Circus Factions (1976), and draws attention to the recent book of Evelyne Patlagean, Pauvreté economique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance du ivᵉau viᵉsiecle (1978)

POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

Charles M. Brand (Bryn Mawr College)

Between 1042 and 1078, there were five significant outbreaks of the populace of Constantinople; after a century of relative tranquillity, there were fifteen more in the period 1181-1204.

Political causes predominated in the 11th century, whether in the form of a sense of loyalty to the ruling house, or, on the contrary, a desire to install a usurper on the throne. In the 12th century, dynastic loyalty was scarcely evident, but economic grievances spurred the populace more than before. Since such grievances were usually directed against Western competition, they reinforced the hatred of Latins which was a prime motivation of many 12th-century riots.

Rioters are sometimes specified as being the dregs of the urban mob, but very often they were artisans and small businessmen (guild members), and on occasion bankers and merchants seem to have participated. In the 11th century, urban rioters show an ability to utilize military formations; they carry out coordinated, sustained attacks on the palace and other fortified government buildings. Some of the populace may have had experience in an urban militia, whose existence is suggested by the sources.

From the government's point of view, even a minor riot was dangerous, because it could evolve into something more serious. Faced by an actual or threatened popular outburst, the emperor had several options open to him. Vigorous opposition, whether by force or by more subtly winning over the supporters of the outbreak, was most obvious. This was attempted successfully only once in the 11th century, but seven times in the 12th. Opposition proved unsuccessful, however, on several occasions in each century, and the government had to give way, sometimes being replaced in consequence. At other times, in order to disperse the crowds, the government yielded at once on minor issues. Finally, on some occasions when rioters were attacking Latins, the government found it wise to ignore the entire incident.

Thus, the populace in this period, acting in opposition to the government, enjoyed a remarkably high ratio of success: of the five outbursts in the 11th century, four attained their purposes; of fifteen in the 12th century, nine succeeded fully or in part. Knowledge of past successes certainly stimulated the mob to renewed efforts.

SOCIAL VIOLENCE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

John W. Barker (University of Wisconsin)

During the struggle by usurper John Kantakouzenos for the throne in the 1340's, violent hostility was directed by the urban populace towards the wealthy social elite in Byzantine cities. The most famous outburst occurred in Thessaloniki, under

the leadership of a bloc of agitators called "Zealots." These Zealots not only incited frightful bloodshed and destruction but even established a semi-autonomous populist regime there for some seven years.

The numerous studies of the Zealot episode have raised many issues, two particularly vexing. First, there are acute difficulties with our sources, which have shrunk rather than expanded under recent scrutiny. The controversy over the oft-cited Discourse by Nicholas Kavasilas has apparently deprived us of the only insight we thought we had into the Zealots' own ideas. The literary accounts of contemporaries, who were pretty uniformly either opponents or victims of the Zealots, are consistently hostile and venomous in their comments. They allow us to construct a narrative of outward events and even to hazard some conjectures about the Zealot leadership and their interaction with the Thessalonian populace. But they give us barely any basis for understanding confidently and securely the Zealots' own self-conception, aims, and policies.

From that first issue follows the second, the extent of "social radicalism" evident in the Zealot affair. We can observe specific incidents when social animosities led to violence, but we know little or nothing about what went on in between these documented popular outbursts. Modern scholarship, often with its own polemical motives, has often sought to discern a coherent "program" for fundamental and revolutionary alteration of society framed by the Zealots. But whether or not such a "program" ever was formulated remains entirely conjectural, and we must recognize the total lack of hard evidence we have for its existence, much less its components.

Given the state of our information, renewed scrutiny of the sources is desirable and reappraisal of the modern literature is imperative. Many helpful points of reference can be kept in mind, not only with regard to Byzantine society and history themselves, but also touching parallel phenomena of social upheaval and violence in other societies or epochs. Comparative analysis can be particularly stimulating, for example, in relating the Ciompi rising in fourteenth-century Florence to our topic. In the difficult task of examining the "revolutionary climate" in fourteenth-century Byzantium and Thessaloniki, however, whatever necessary attention is given to social and economic motives, if not ideological ones, it is clear that the dynastic crisis of the 1340's must be given its due as a primary factor of motivation. The populace seems to have risen not on behalf of radical reforms but to protest the ambitions of the usurper and the magnate class he represented.

Projecting present-day radical thinking into past generations is all very well, but we can find the Zealot episode and its implications quite intelligible as an aspect of the final disintegration of Byzantine society and government. In that context, our fourteenth-century urban strife probably represents not a true movement of revolutionary radicalism at all, but an expression of popular frustration over the disappearance of the old checks on aristocratic abuse that had formerly been provided by the throne and its now-collapsing machinery of centralized government.

INSTRUMENTA STUDIORUM

A CORPUS OF WALL MOSAICS, VENICE, GREECE, ST. SOPHIA: PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS

Irina Andreescu (Emory University)

There is an overall consensus among art historians that what our discipline needs at this moment above all is the thorough publication of sources, many of them badly known. Among the most prestigious primary sources, the middle Byzantine mosaic ensembles decorating churches in Greece and Italy were also among the more superficially known, still awaiting modern systematic surveys. In the absence of objective data to be processed with a more archeologic approach, just iconography and style, the traditional tools, were unable to resolve questions as basic as the relative chronology of mosaics in a given ensemble, the relationship of various contemporary workshops among themselves, or to assess specifically, the place Byzantium played in the dissemination of mosaics throughout Europe. About the mosaics in the Veneto, to give just one example, authors were suggesting for the same decorations dates ranging from the VIIth to the XIIIth centuries. Another group of Venetian mosaics was, in turn, credited with documenting the Italian roots of Paleologan art, or, on the contrary, being just an expression of Byzantine art on Italian soil.

To remedy the ambiguity of older approaches a project intended to create a research tool in the form of a consultable body of visual sources, the Corpus of Medieval Wall Mosaics in Venice and the Veneto was started at Dumbarton Oaks in 1975, with generous support from the NEH. It was meant to survey the single largest group of mosaics preserved from the Middle Ages, East and West, in the church of San Marco, as well as in Torcello, Trieste, Murano, and the medieval fragments in Ravenna.

Between 1975-1979 the work on the Corpus has been primarily aimed at extensive recording of data from Venice: from the scaffoldings, comprehensive photography of the mosaics (both in color and black/white) and descriptions on printed forms, as well as measurements; in the archives, research to document previous interventions suffered by the mosaics.

To date, the first phase of this research has been achieved, mostly as it was originally planned (the survey for the Corpus in San Marco still lacks part of the atrium and all the mosaics of the Trecento). At the end of the recording of data in the field, the material (now mostly deposited at Dumbarton Oaks - field notes and photographs with the exception of b/w negatives, at the National Gallery) has to be processed at the desk, in order to produce the final entries, which cross-referenced to the illustration (photographs and drawings) constitute the body of the Corpus ready to be consulted.

The entry distributed to the audience exemplifies the method used in recording, as well as the questions addressed and the answers obtained by the survey: essentially, the mosaics have been treated like a source to be edited. To accommodate the vast amount of material, a code (explained in a preface) has been established, based on the architectural location of the decorations, while considering the single figure as an entry-unit.

The second phase, in which the field material already gathered is processed, has only started in 1979, and a few dozen entries are yet finished, while hundreds remain to be completed.

Following out the original intent of the project, on my own initiative and in regard to my own materials, namely Torcello, I have made arrangements for the publication of a fascicule of the Corpus. There now remains the question of the remaining material, chiefly the mosaics in San Marco. Discussion has been raised as to the form in which these materials should be made available; for certain, a book will appear on San Marco. Still much of the material will, as now envisaged, remain unexploited since at the present time, the work on the Corpus has been discontinued. This is particularly unfortunate since much effort and money were expended in obtaining comparative material from Greece (Osios Loukas and Daphni) and Istanbul (St. Sophia). The fate of these materials is unclear as well. It is hoped that in time, work on the Corpus will be resumed and that the consultable version will make full use of the data gathered in the field, as I have presented it to you today and as it will appear in the forthcoming fascicule on Torcello.

GRAECO-ARABIC TRANSLATION LITERATURE: PROGRESS REPORT AND PROPOSAL

Dimitri Gutas (Yale University)

PROGRESS REPORT: Research Tools for the Study of Aristotelianism

Arabic sources contain a wealth of material, mostly derived from late Alexandrine authors, about the life, works, and philosophy of Aristotle. A major desideratum in this field is to collect and translate all this material for the benefit of those who study the history of Aristotelianism in the Byzantine and Islamic civilizations. The following work in progress is reported in this connection:

a) Arabic biographies and bibliographies of Aristotle besides Ptolemy's Vita. This volume is intended to complement the proposed edition of Ptolemy's Vita by Plezia and Bielawski,[1] and to supersede the work of Baumstark and Düring.[2]

b) Arabic introductions to the study of Aristotle, derived from the Alexandrine prolegomena literature, and reflecting developments in this area, not extant in Greek, after ca. 550. A preliminary study of such an introduction by Paul the Persian (fl. between 531-578) has recently been completed.[3]

c) Avicenna's commentaries on the works of Aristotle. Forthcoming: Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition, Vol. I: Introduction and the Commentary on the Metaphysics, Book Lambda.

PROPOSAL

To create a forum, in the form of regularly scheduled meetings and/or periodical and serial publications, for the discussion of Graeco-Arabic translation literature. The forum is intended to concentrate information on work accomplished, and to define tasks yet to be undertaken, on all aspects of Graeco-Arabic literature: from lexicography to textual studies to the tracing of ideas.

1. First announced in Eos 63(1975)38; still in progress (private communication from Professor Plezia, 26.IV.1979).
2. A. Baumstark, Aristoteles bei den Syrern, Leipzig 1900; I. Düring, Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition, Göteborg 1957.
3. "Paul the Persian on the Classification of the Parts of Aristotle's Philosophy: A Milestone between Alexandria and Baġdād," forthcoming.

INDEX OF ARMENIAN ART, FASC. II, 11TH CENTURY ILLUMINATIONS: A PROGRESS REPORT

Dickran Kouymjian (California State University-Fresno, Center for Research on Armenian History and Art-Paris)

The first (draft) fascicule of the Index of Armenian Art, Illuminated Armenian Manuscripts to the Year 1000 A.D. (Paris-Fresno, 1977), described and illustrated fourteen manuscripts dating from the late sixth-early seventh century to the end of the tenth century, comprising 107 illuminated pages. Work on Fascicule II, Illuminated Armenian Manuscripts of the Eleventh Century, which will bring together some fifty manuscripts with several hundred illuminations, is nearing completion; as with Fascicule I, it will include the Eusebian letter, canon tables, evangelists' portraits, and narrative miniatures.

In reporting on the work in progress, the communication will discuss the validity of separating the eleventh century material into "sumptuous" and "primitive" categories. Especial attention will be give to the newly discovered "Gospel of the Catholicos" (Erevan, Matenadaran #10780), an early eleventh century manuscript of the primitive group, preserving the most extensive miniature cycle of any Armenian codex up to the late thirteenth century. In sharp contrast to the period up to the year 1000 (IAA, Fascicule I), there is a significant number of gospels from the eleventh century with complete or at least full narrative cycles, inviting a fuller analysis of New Testament or Life of Christ cycles in the Armenian artistic tradition.

Throughout the report emphasis will be placed on the methodology of data collection and systemization. The thorny problem of the place within the system of undated manuscripts will be treated, as well as the merits and failings of the current chronological ordering of the fascicules. Alternate systems will be discussed. If time permits, a few words will be addressed on the progress of the planned computerization of the Index of Armenian Art.

A CORPUS OF BYZANTINE STEATITES

Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (University of California-Los Angeles)

This talk presents results of a publication in preparation which studies all remaining Byzantine steatites and assesses their place in Byzantine art history. The talk will discuss the uses of steatite as icons and pendants, the state and nature of the surviving pieces, their size, color, gilding, framing, carving techniques, etc., and show how the iconography and style are peculiar to the medium--the "middle class" nature of steatite carving. Finally, different methods of organizing the material to make it most serviceable to other Byzantinists will be broached.

GUIDE TO BYZANTINE HYMNOGRAPHY AND THE *INITIA HYMNORUM ECCLESIAE GRAECAE*

Josef Szövérffy (Dumbarton Oaks)

A large part of Byzantine poetry is represented by hymns and religious poetry of similar nature, an important source of Byzantine religious sentiments and of cultural history of some 1200 years. Their association with traditions of Palestine, the Semitic Near East, Egypt and the Slavic peoples converted to the Orthodoxy, increases their significance for Byzantine studies as shown by a large number of textual investigations, parallel text editions and musicological publications such as the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae.

It is therefore suprising to discover that no classified and comprehensive bibliography of Byzantine hymnography existed hitherto. A recently published Guide to Byzantine Hymnography is intended to fill this gap by offering a selective overview of this important field[1].

More importantly, Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, in cooperation with Professor Enrica Follieri (Rome) and with the Apostolic Library of the Vatican has undertaken a preparatory work to produce a computerized coordinating Index and Supplement for the Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae[2] which will coordinate the three parts (incipits, hymnographers and liturgical guide) and integrate textual, historical, liturgical and musical publications of the past 22 years (since 1958) into the original work.

Since most complete Romanos editions, publications of the hymns by Symeon the Neotheologian and other text editions fall into this period, along with a rich harvest of musicological works, the "up-dating" and indexing of the Initia will open a new chapter in the history of the investigations into Byzantine poetry, religion and civilization. The use of computer will reduce the time of preparation to three years.

1. A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography - A Classified Bibliography of Texts and Studies I (Brookline, Mass. and Leyden, E.J.Brill, 1978); volume II is in press.
2. Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae, ed. Enrica Follieri (Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1960-1966) in five volumes (six parts).

AN ANNOTATED GUIDE TO BASIC REFERENCE SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF EASTERN CHRISTIANITY

Janet Timbie (Catholic University)

Members of the Eastern Christianity Seminar in the American Academy of Religion, and other interested persons, are now at work compiling an annotated bibliography of the reference works that are available for the study of Eastern Christianity. A list of churches or traditions to be included, rather than an abstract definition, will constitute "Eastern Christianity" for the purposes of this project.

The bibliography is intended to serve different audiences in different ways. The varieties of Eastern Christianity are seldom discussed in the undergraduate curriculum. The bibliography is intended to help those whose expertise is in another field of religion or history locate the basic sources and so be able to introduce some of this material into their courses. It will also help those who specialize in one area of Eastern Christianity quickly locate sources in another area.

This presentation will close with a report on progress to date (October, 1979) and a request that any members of the audience who are interested in working on this project contact the speaker or Prof. Sidney Griffith at the Dept. of Semitic Languages at Catholic University, who is the editor of the bibliography.

A DIRECTORY OF CONSTANTINOPOLITAN RELICS TO 1204

John Wortley (University of Manitoba)

Although much is known, and what is known is readily accessible, of the dispersal of the Constantinopolitan relic-collections subsequent to the conquest of 1204, thanks to Riant and his continuators, by no means as much attention has yet been given to the (for Byzantinists) rather more interesting question of how and where so rich and varied and array of relics came to be assembled at the City prior to the arrival of the Latins. Whilst it is widely agreed that a detailed study of this question would be useful, only a certain amount of progress has been made. This is not to underestimate the pioneer work of such scholars as Oberseit, Prolow and Janin who have indubitably laid the ground work for a comprehensive study by their incidental enquiries; it is rather to suggest that their work should now be continued, systemised and indexed in order to provide a complete and serviceable research tool.

This matter has now been taken in hand. An initial plan to compile an alphabetical directory of the relics, comparable to Janin's Eglises et Monastères has been abandonned, as this would have concealed some important aspects of the processes of acquisition, and achieve little which could not be done by a good index. A chronological approach has been adopted, ranging from the relics of pre-Constantinian martyrs to the last acquisitions of the late twelfth-century. Considerable progress has already been made on this project, financed in part by the University of Manitoba. What is now requested, in order to maximise the usefulness and to minimise the short-comings of the completed work, is the active and critical co-operation of interested colleagues.

THE BEGINNINGS OF OTTONIAN ART: BYZANTIUM AND THE MAGDEBURG IVORIES

Charles T. Little (Metropolitan Museum of Art)

The impact of Byzantine art on the arts of the Ottonian Empire is no longer an open question. From the reign of Otto I (937-972) and particularly after his imperial coronation in 962, the West became increasingly receptive to a variety of influences from Byzantium. The first key monument of Ottonian art to assimilate and reflect this imprint is the Magdeburg ivory group, a series of New Testament panels--now dispersed and partially lost--which were presented by Otto the Great to his important Imperial Cathedral of Magdeburg on the Elbe before 968. A number of features of these ivories point toward a direct knowledge of Eastern models. First, the iconographic character of the narrative cycle can be more fully understood by seeking non-Western sources. Several scenes, in fact, are unique in early Western New Testament iconography and can be identified only by their corresponding Byzantine models as found, for example, in the illustrated Greek Gospels in Florence (Laur.VI.23). Although the present state of the Magdeburg ivories is fragmentary, there are indications that the original ensemble was more ambitious than has previously been suspected. Its scope can, in part, be reconstructed by comparing its narrative character to Byzantine ivory and painted cycles. Second, the function of the ivory ensemble was probably to decorate either an ambo or a chancel door. The new theory that the Magdeburg ivories once adorned a chancel door is based on evidence from the East where one finds doors with figures against an *à jour* geometric field (such as those in the church of d'Épire, near Janina in Greece) and the parallel problem of the Salerno ivories. Finally, the most striking characteristic of the Magdeburg ivories, the figure style, is viewed in the context of the presence of Byzantine works of art in the Latin West during the formative phase of Ottonian art. Both the method of composing individual scenes within square flat frames and the tendency toward purification of form and content, which produces an increasingly abstract and monumental quality, have parallels in contemporary middle Byzantine ivories. Significantly, however, the carvers of these ivories fused these Eastern elements with their own working methods that developed from a strong indigenous Carolingian tradition.

The new interest in Byzantine art by Ottonian artists is usually regarded to be a consequence of the marriage of Otto II to the Byzantine Princess Theophano in 972. Yet the relationship of the Magdeburg ivories to Byzantium demonstrates that the artistic rapport between East and West was firmly established during the reign of Otto I.

THE MONASTERY OF SAINT PHILIP OF FRAGALA AND NORMAN MONASTIC POLICY IN SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY

Joseph A. Siciliano (Rutgers University)

In examing the history of Basilian monasticism in Southern Italy and Sicily during the early years of the Norman domination of this area, the Monastery of Saint Philip of Fragala, located in the Val Demone near Patti in Sicily, occupies a conspicuous and important place. The Monastery of Saint Philip of Fragala was the first Greek *coenobium* in Southern Italy and Sicily which was a major recipient of

Norman material support, and which served as the first center of that revitalization of Basilian monasticism which would occur during the Norman period in the history of the Greek-speaking and Italo-Byzantine cultural community of Southern Italy and Sicily. Predating the Arabic conquest of Sicily, which was effectively achieved with the capture of the Byzantine fortress of Taormina in 902, the Monastery of Saint Philip deteriorated during the more than a century of Islamic occupation of the island. Following the Norman victory over the Sicilian Arabs in the closing decade of the XIth century, the Monastery of Saint Philip witnessed a time of great spiritual and material prosperity under the leadership of its abbot Gregory. The spiritual renascence of the monastery was predicated upon the rule of Saint Theodore the Studite.

While the Norman displacement of Byzantine political hegemony in Southern Italy and Sicily would inevitably lead to a cultural Latinization of a region which had been, until then, predominately Greek, both culturally, and to a large extent, linguistically, the attitude of the Norman rulers to the Greek monasteries within their domains was characterized by a policy which was both benevolent and solicitous of the traditions and practices of Basilian monasticism. The extant state *diplomata* issued by Count Roger I, his wife, the Count ess Adelaide, and their sons, Simon and the future King, Roger II, testify to the particular esteem in which the Monastery of Saint Philip of Fragala was held by the first several rulers of the Norman dynasty. In addition to state documents, private instruments of bequests and endowments to Saint Philip's by various representatives of the Norman nobility help to elucidate further the picture of the Monastery of Saint Philip of Fragala as having been the paramount Basilian monastic foundation during the first period of Norman rule.

By examing the original documents published in the collections edited by Salvatore Cusa, Giuseppe Silvestri, and Giuseppe Spata, among the more prominent of those historians and diplomatists who have compiled such collections culled from various Sicilian archives, it is possible to trace Norman monastic policy as reflected in its application to the Monastery of Saint Philip of Fragala. The importance, I believe, of such an investigation derives from the fact that it was precisely the monastic policy adopted by the Norman rulers which allowed Basilian monasticism in Southern Italy and Sicily not only to survive, but to flourish and experience a noteworthy recrudescence of its spiritual grandeur and material prosperity. As the Basilian monasteries, in turn, were repositories of Greco-Byzantine culture, their continued growth and existence contributed to the perpetuation in Southern Italy and Sicily of Byzantine cultural traditions for several centuries after effective Byzantine political and administrative control in that region had been lost.

BYZANTINE RELIQUARIES IN FRANCE AFTER THE FOURTH CRUSADE

Claire Wheeler Solt (Washington, D.C.)

Before the end of the twelfth century Byzantine reliquary art had developed four unique types of reliquaries which were specifically designed to house relic fragments. They directly influenced what have been considered the innovative new ostensory Gothic reliquaries which appeared in France early in the thirteenth century as a result of the Byzantine relic fragment collections and of the Byzantine reliquaries which were imported from Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade.

Byzantine reliquaries took diverse forms. As in the West, Byzantine artisans used the casket and the ampulla. In addition, they developed the panel and vase for collections of relic fragments, and the disk reliquary for heads of saints. They used Persian crystal vases to display relics. These types of reliquaries had not been used in Romanesque France, but they did appear there in the early Gothic era in the form of ostensories which allowed the faithful to directly view relics.

Literary evidence and stylistic evidence collaborate in the view that Gothic ostensories were copies of Byzantine imports. Documents in Count Riant's Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae reveal that French crusaders brought four specific types of Byzantine reliquary: vase, panel, crystal, and disk. They reveal through their language that the French perceived these Byzantine reliquaries to be unique types. The descriptions are detailed and do not use the Romanesque terms for "reliquary". This suggests that the French were impressed with these reliquaries and were not yet familiar with them.

Stylistic analysis of early thirteenth century reliquaries suggests that they were frank and honest copies of the exotic Byzantine imports. They share four important characteristics with them. Like the Byzantine works, early Gothic reliquaries were flat, two-dimensional objects; they were designed to display fragmentary relics directly to the faithful through the extensive use of rock crystal; the chief decorative motifs were inscriptions which identified the contents; and, many are multiple reliquaries designed to be opened or ones in which one reliquary is nested inside another.

Comparisons will be drawn between Byzantine staurothecae and Gothic panel reliquaries, Byzantine disks for the heads of saints and the Gothic disk, and between the many Byzantine reliquaries described as vasae and Gothic crystal reliquaries. The four elements of similarity in style will be explored for the four types of reliquary.

The medieval cult of relics has recently attracted the attention of many scholars, but the relationship between the character of the cult and the style of reliquary art has not been explored by another.

The Gothic reliquaries were exhibited in Paris in 1965 and beautifully published. Subsequent scholarship has failed to capitalize on this collection of the oeuvre of French Gothic reliquary sculptors beyond dating and stylistic placing in the broad context of the minor arts. Individual Byzantine reliquaries have been the subject of separate articles, often in obscure journals and are less well known. Two recent articles published Byzantine reliquaries analysis of which reinforces the thesis. The important documents in the Exuviae have not previously been related to either group of reliquaries. In spite of the interest in the relic cults and in the influence of Byzantine art on Western art this study breaks new ground and should be of interest to art historians and historians interested in spiritual culture alike.

VENETIAN INFLUENCE ON VERONESE ILLUMINATION IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Luba Eleen (University of Toronto)

The Verona New Testaments are witnesses to the dissemination of Byzantine iconography and style in Italy, and they provide us as well with insight into the state of manuscript production in North Italy in the first half of the thirteenth century. I have shown previously (D.O.P. 1977) that an illustrated book of the Acts of the Apostles imported from Byzantium in the eleventh or twelfth century provided the model for an elaborate cycle of Acts illustration in Italy, of which the Verona New Testaments are the most complete examples. The Gospel pictures in these manuscripts, the subject of this paper, are more difficult to categorize. Including more than fifty scenes, they combine imagery newly imported from the East with that indirectly stemming from Byzantium and other material traditionally handed down in the West.

Each of the Gospels in the Verona New Testaments is illustrated throughout with pictures inserted into the text, some of which are especially noteworthy in that they help to cast light on a relatively unknown period in North Italian art. A number of these scenes, distributed among all four Gospels, bear a distinct resemblance to comparable subjects found in the mosaics of San Marco in Venice and in other Veneto monuments. Certain crucial episodes and iconographic motifs common to the Verona Gospel cycles and works produced in or near Venice point to the inspiration of a Byzantine model similar in many ways to the Mt. Athos manuscript Iviron 5.

While it is not likely that the workshop at Verona had direct access to such a model, it is distinctly possible that among its heterogeneous sources was an Italo-Byzantine Gospel sequence related to that of Iviron 5. This exemplar could have come from Venice because, in addition to the iconographic similarities, the Verona manuscripts also exhibit stylistic links with Venice. In fact, their figure style is close to that of San Marco's Ascension dome and the surrounding arches, but expressed in a manner more agitated than that of the mosaics and replete with Romanesque distortions and cartoon-like fancies.

These parts of San Marco usually are dated to the end of the twelfth century. The theory that they provided a stylistic model for the Verona codices fits in well with the chronology of book illumination in Verona. Manuscripts produced in the twelfth century in Verona have only rudimentary illustrations, while the style deriving from San Marco makes its appearance fully formed after 1200. It is suggested therefore that an artist or workshop trained in the Byzantinizing style of Venice moved to Verona around the turn of the century. There are, as far as I know, no surviving Venetian manuscripts in a style so closely linked with that of the mosaics, so the Verona illustrations may well provide evidence of a stage in the history of Venetian book production no longer to be seen in that city itself.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION SESSIONS

"Byzantine Studies in the Undergraduate Curriculum" (8:00 p.m., Oct. 26)

Discussion Leaders:
Dorothy de F. Abrahamse (California State University, Long Beach)
George T. Dennis, S.J. (Catholic University)
Emily Albu Hanawalt (Boston University)

Discussion of the Special Exhibitions mounted for the Byzantine Studies Conference (8:00 p.m., Oct. 26)

Discussion Leaders:
David H. Wright (University of California, Berkeley)
John W. Nesbitt (Dumbarton Oaks)
Gary Vikan (Dumbarton Oaks)

"Artists in Byzantium: Methods, Techniques, Training" (7:45 a.m., Oct. 28)

Discussion Leader: Thalia Gouma-Peterson (The College of Wooster)

OFFICERS OF THE BYZANTINE STUDIES CONFERENCE FOR 1979

Timothy E. Gregory (Ohio State University), *President*
Slobodan Ćurčić (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign), *Vice President*
David B. Evans (St. John's University), *Secretary-Treasurer*

SPECIAL EXHIBITIONS

There will be three small, special exhibitions set up for this year's Byzantine Studies Conference in the cases lining the wall outside the Music Room (the hall leading to the mail room).

1. Susan A. Boyd (Dumbarton Oaks): "The Sion Treasure"
2. David H. Wright (University of California, Berkeley): "Coins of the Justinianic Renaissance (A.D. 681 and Following)"
3. Gary Vikan (Dumbarton Oaks) and John W. Nesbitt (Dumbarton Oaks): "Security in Byzantium: Sealing in Wax"

PROGRAM COMMITTEE FOR THE 1979 CONFERENCE

Gary Vikan (Dumbarton Oaks), *Chairperson*
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Kenneth G. Holum (University of Maryland)
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