Eighth Annual

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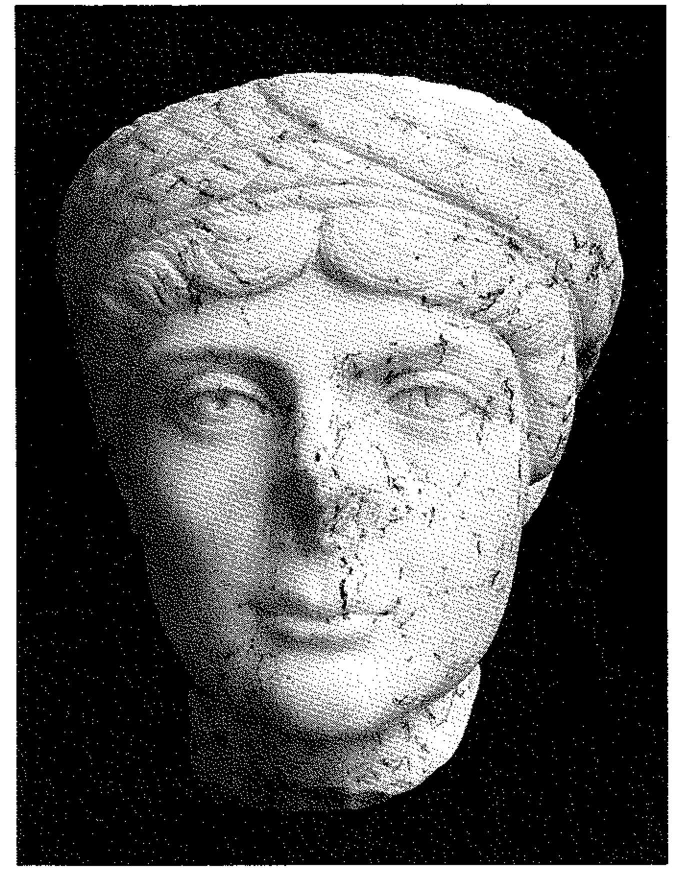

Abstracts of Papers

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L. Safran

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Traditio and *Inventio* in Iconographic Transmission

Presiding: David H. Wright (University of California, Berkeley)

Session Introduction

David H. Wright, University of California, Berkeley

Recent discussions of iconographic transmission in Byzantine art, it seems to me, have too often been distorted by adhering, consciously or not, to one of two opposite and equally anachronistic models.

On the one hand is the philological model, adopted uncritically from the work of the textual scholar, whose purpose is to identify the correct original text, not to understand the version actually present in a particular medieval manuscript. Following this model we assume that the artist will seek to reproduce his exemplar precisely and consistently. For texts, even in the Justinianic age, Cassiodorus found it necessary to exhort his scribes to get the spelling right, and we all know how bad later spellings can be; we are also familiar with strange readings created by an ingenious scribe seeking to correct something incomprehensible in his exemplar. But the basic purpose of fidelity in transmission characterizes such cases, and we would be shocked to find a scribe deliberately substituting synonyms according to his personal taste. Yet if we consider the typical outlook of an artist copying a narrative cycle, we expect not only some modernized details of costume and setting (the equivalent of spelling) but also some improvements in the gestures or actions of the protagonists to make them more expressive (the equivalent of synonyms), and there is no reason not to allow the artist still further improvements (the equivalent of paraphrasing a text), even when his basic purpose remains faithful transmission.

There is, however, one category in which the philological model works: scientific illustration. If in copying a herbal the shape of a leaf is changed significantly the value of that illustration is diminished, possibly negated. Because we feel entitled to expect such fidelity in transmission we can agree, for example, that the Morgan Dioscurides must be copied from the Vienna Dioscurides, while the Naples manuscript must be an independent copy derived from the same archetype. But when we turn away from the special case of scientific illustration we must expect more flexibility in transmission.

At the opposite pole is the model of the romantic artist as creative genius. This is so much a part of our own inheritance that we too easily impose it upon the medieval artist and expect to find a kind of originality quite foreign to medieval culture. To take an example from the beginning of the romantic era, in the 1790s Henry Fuseli painted forty-seven large canvases to illustrate the works of Milton. Some had familiar subjects, such as the Expulsion from Paradise, but others boasted entirely new iconography. Reading the end of Book I of *Paradise Lost*, Fuseli was apparently drawn to an incidental simile, comparing the fallen angels when reduced in size to assemble in council to fairy elves "some belated peasant sees, or dreams he sees." Fuseli must have then closed his eyes and sought to imagine the most spendid composition he could create for "The Shepherd's Dream." The result has compositional devices and individual gestures familiar from other paintings by Fuseli, but this iconography is his self-conscious creation, and he felt obliged to supplement the painting with a short written explanation. Such an approach to the job of illustrating a text is obviously foreign to the Middle Ages.

To help us avoid both misconceptions I propose to use two Latin terms, each taken specifically in its medieval meaning. *Traditio*, as in the common phrase *traditio docet*, obviously identifies an attitude of respectful dependence on the past, but it need not imply the slavish mechanical copying of an exemplar that we expect of a reliable scribe copying a text. The idea of *traditio* allows the artist to improve some crucial details while preserving the essence of the model. *Inventio* has the basic meaning of discovery; in the *inventio sanctae crucis* we must remember that the True Cross was already there before St. Helena discovered it. For the artist the typical problem is the need to provide an illustration where no exactly corresponding model is ready to hand. We expect a medieval artist to combine suitable stock elements of figures that have appropriate intrinsic action, to borrow essential settings or attributes, and to use a familiar composition -- in short, to discover the necessary elements among his own workshop materials. We must not expect him to go out of his way to be "original" in the modern sense.

As a very simple illustration of this terminology, consider the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter of 1084 (Pantokrator 49): illustrations such as the Anointing of David represent the process of *traditio*, coming from what was then a common set of psalter frontispieces, while the illustration of the Birth of David directly above it is an instance of *inventio* in which another nativity composition (probably for the Virgin) was adapted to serve an intrinsically similar purpose. (I leave aside for now the important question of whether this act of *inventio* took place during the execution of the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter or in making a slightly earlier model; the procedure is at any rate characteristic of the period.)

LATE ANTIQUE ILLUSTRATIONS OF VERGIL

David H. Wright, University of California, Berkeley

Recent studies of the Vatican Vergil (de Wit's monograph in 1959 and Stevenson's dissertation in 1970) have proposed that these illustrations were invented for this manuscript. The argument has proceeded by showing that all the necessary elements can be found in common use in the period around 400 -- hardly news to any specialist. But systematic analysis of the illustrations in relation to the text quickly turns up contrary evidence. The normal arrangement in the Vatican Vergil, as we would expect, is to place the illustration just before the passage it illustrates. This arrangement was so important to the designer of the book that when the appropriate break in the text comes below the middle of a page, leaving insufficient space for the illustration, that space is left blank and the illustration is placed at the top of the following page. Each illustration normally shows one moment in the narrative, but it may show two closely related moments in the same episode (as where Laocoön prepares a sacrifice and the serpents approach, and then Laocoön is attacked by the serpents), or it may show several aspects of a scene described within a few successive lines (as in some of the first scenes in the underworld).

But in pictura 35 (folio 49r) there are two entirely unrelated episodes. At the left Aeneas and the Sibyl meet Deiphobus, as narrated in 6.494-497 directly below the illustration. But at the right is the fury Tisiphone seated guarding the Tartarus, as described in 6.548-556, and this part of the painting would make more sense if the Sibyl were shown explaining to Aeneas the horrors of this part of the underworld (6.562-627). It is only reasonable to conclude that here at the left we have an illustration copied in its correct place, but that at the right we have part of an illustration that in the exemplar was placed some fifty lines further along in the text. In short we have an instance of *traditio*; if this painter were developing the illustration himself, in the process of *inventio*, he would have no excuse for combining two entirely disparate scenes that belong some fifty lines apart, or for omitting a crucial element in the second scene.

Similarly, in pictura 37 (folio 53v) there seem to be three separate scenes that should be distributed over some forty lines of text. In the upper left corner Musaeus shows the way to Aeneas and the Sibyl (6.669-678, following the illustration); below this Aeneas attempts to embrace the shade of his father Anchises (6.700-702) and the Sibyl, whom we expect to be present watching, is omitted; then at the right souls are drinking the waters of Lethe before returning to earth, as Anchises explains to Aeneas in the next episode (6.713-715) and that essential feature of the narrative is omitted. There is one other instance of important confusion in the location of an illustration: pictura 30 (folio 44v), with Venus speaking to Neptune and with Aeneas in the background pouring a libation as he sets sail, belongs some thirty lines earlier, above 5.774; an illustration in the present location should show Neptune departing in his chariot, accompanied by nereids and various beasts. Since this folio 44 is an isolated survivor in the midst of a large lacuna it is impossible to be sure how this mistake may have come about, but again it is only reasonable to assume that an artist developing his own illustration by the process of *inventio* would have placed his selection of scenes correctly in the text.

If the *Aeneid* illustrations of the Vatican Vergil must have had an iconographic exemplar it is worth asking what format such an exemplar may have had. Following the brilliant argument of Colin H. Roberts's essay "The Codex" (*Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 1954) we realize that the Vatican Vergil may well have been one of the first luxury editions of the text in codex format, and, indeed, there is good reason to suppose its exemplar could have been a set of rolls. All the full-page illustrations are obviously adapted from pictures in horizontal format, and at the start of Book VII we know from offsets there was originally both a medallion (probably an author portrait) and a narrative illustration; such a medallion is a strange interpolation in the middle of a codex, but makes sense when we realize that each book of the *Aeneid* required a separate roll. The *Aeneid* illustrations of the Vatican Vergil turn out to reveal more aspects of *traditio* than one might have expected. Let me report as an aside, however, without attempting to argue the case in detail, that the first surviving illustration to the *Georgics* (a frontispiece to Book III) is certainly a case of *inventio*, and that the others could be.

Now let us turn to the Roman Vergil, which I believe was done late in the fifth century, most likely in Rome. Its first illustration, to the first *Eclogue*, is obviously a case of *traditio* and probably copied from a roll. It is unique in this manuscript in illustrating exactly the text below it, and in having neither frame nor painted background. But the other surviving *Eclogue* and *Georgics* illustrations are just as obviously the result of *inventio*. Those for *Eclogues* 2, 4, and 6 repeat with minor variations and slight improvement in technique the same nondescript author portrait, an iconography acceptable for the fourth *Eclogue*, but not very appropriate for the pastoral content of the second or sixth. Those for *Eclogues* 3, 5, and 7, and for *Georgics* Book III, all use the same vocabulary of pastoral motifs, and show a real effort to select and arrange them at least to characterize the particular text, though not to illustrate a specific moment in the narrative. The process of *inventio* obviously taxed this artist to the limits of his ability, but it can be said that he improved as he worked.

On the other hand, the *Aeneid* illustrations in the Codex Romanus are obviously the result of *traditio*, for they illustrate specific moments in the text more convincingly than any of those just described. The case of Dido and Aeneas in the Cave is particularly instructive because in the postures of the figures it interprets very accurately the basic meaning of the text, and because a Pompeian fresco shows a couple seated in a very similar position. That fresco probably does not show Dido and Aeneas, but some other hunting couple (for a thoughtful consideration of possible subjects see Reinhard Herbig in *Röm. Mitt.* 66, 1959, 209-211, and for a flat assertion of the Dido and Aeneas identification G. Karl Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*, Princeton, 1969, p. 30, fig. 26). But if the painting in the Roman Vergil is the result of *traditio, inventio* was necessary to develop the prototype of the cycle, and the existence of an appropriate composition in early Roman painting suggests how such *inventio* may have operated.

Finally, for perspective on these manuscripts, we may examine the story of Dido and Aeneas depicted on the fourth-century pavement found at Low Ham (Somerset). Of the four scenes the one showing the ships corresponds fairly closely to the text and might descend from a manuscript illustration, the rather generalized hunting scene might also, but the love scene does not correspond to the text, and the fourth scene is not a narrative at all, but a sort of presentation of *dramatis personae*. The modest quality of exectution in this provincial work and the curious orientation of the scenes toward the walls of the room suggest that this mosaic is copied from an earlier pavement design, but we can speculate about the process of *inventio* that took place at an earlier stage of transmission. Vergil's story seems to have been reduced to a popular level; the first scene could be a reminiscence of a manuscript illustration, but it cannot be a direct copy of anything as accurate in narrative as the *Aeneid* illustrations in either of the surviving manuscripts. The rest must be improvised from stock types according to the artist's general understanding of the story, not according to any specific reading of the text. We must not expect literary sophistication among late antique artists equal to that of modern scholars.

TRADITIO AND INVENTIO: THE SACREDNESS OF A PARALLEL

Annemarie Weyl Carr, Southern Methodist University

Traditio and inventio can be useful, among other things, in characterizing different periods. Different moments are distinguished not merely by inventions, but by the fact that tradition is reinvented with each use. This paper offers examples drawn from twelfth-century Psalter illumination in which tradition and timely invention lie very close to one another. Central to these is the little Psalter, Athens, Benaki 34.3, made for and probably by the monk Barnabas in the second half of the twelfth century. Its cycle is unique in illuminating literally every Psalm (Cutler, REB 34, 1968), most often with an image of David praying. The cycle has attracted the attention of Kurt Weitzmann, who has explained the many author portraits of David in the Sacra Parallela (Paris, B.N., gr. 923) on the basis of a model very like Benaki 34.3, with prominent portraits of the Psalmist marking every Psalm (The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Princeton, 1979, p. 109).

The antiquity of the author portrait is unquestionable; we have in the Ambrosiana Gregory, moreover, a ninth-century example of precisely the sort of obstinately repetitive cycle Weitzmann suggests, with a rudimentary action portrait of Gregory before each of the 45 homilies. Yet the relevance of the Benaki Psalter to these ninth-century examples is probably modest. This is not becaue its vocabulary is too innovative. Its motifs are, on the contrary, repetitive and time-worn, and adhere--where comparison is possible--to the simple tradition of literal illustration. The questions lie, instead, with the way these motifs have been used. The Benaki Psalter cannot, in the first place, bespeak a tradition in which every Psalm was illuminated. Its own model was only sporadically illustrated. Barnabas's placement of a picture before each Psalm cannot rely on an available past example; it probably has more to do with his decision in expanding his model to use a framed format, leading him in his ignorance to place a frame uniformly at the beginning of each Psalm. The presence of a frame before each Psalm challenged Barnabas's inventio, and he responded--modestly enough--by repeating himself, and tradition. Most often, he repeats the praying David. The repeated portraits recall the Sacra Parallela. Yet they, too, cannot assure a tradition of illuminating the Psalms with David portraits: they focus too insistently and particularly on the praying David. To some extent, this must reflect the exegencies of Barnabas; the colophon, however, which expresses Barnabas's devotion to the Psalter as a book of prayer and inspiration, suggests that the portraits may well have been colored by Barnabas's attitude toward the book he was producing. He makes his cycle an insistent image of the way he conceives and utilizes the Psalter. The construction of cycles as a guide and stimulus to the devotional use of their texts by individual readers is characteristic of Barnabas's twelfth-century world as it is not of the ninth century. For all his acute traditionalism, Barnabas has produced a timely expression. All his cycle can really tell us about the past is that a tradition did exist which focused on David: it is to the single, ineluctible figure of David that Barnabas's inventio turned in every case. The Benaki Psalter is not the only testimony to such a tradition: the literal cycles in general point in this direction. What makes the Benaki Psalter interesting is the way in which that tradition, even in its most meagre form, could be reinvented to suit different periods and different books.

Such reinventive use of tradition characterises manuscript painting in much of Barnabas's period. Usually alluded to in terms of its acute conservatism, it was able at the same time to produce strikingly novel expressions. Further examples of this are drawn from Psalter frontispieces. The frontispiece of Samuel anointing David in Vatican, Barberini gr. 320 reflects in its stringent concentration a device used in a range of twelfth-century miniatures to crystallize containers for new content out of old images. The frontispiece of Mount Athos, Vatopedi 851, on the other hand, reflects an assembly of very traditional motifs to produce a new kind of comprehensive icon--wholly recognizable yet never paralleled--of David. In each of these cases, the very fabric of invention is tradition. Yet to neglect the invention is to pass over the present, and confuse the past.

*BYZANTINE ART AND THE CONRADIN BIBLE

Rebecca W. Corrie, Bates College

The Conradin Bible is one of the best known of the manuscripts produced in Italy in the second half of the thirteenth century. Today MS. 152 in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, the truncated Bible first came to the attention of scholars in the middle of the nineteenth century. Since then, the focus of publications has been on the problem of its provenance and date: was it made for the tragic boy-emperor, Conradin, executed at Naples on 1268, or not. Although recent attempts to solve the problem have placed the manufacture of the manuscript in locations as diverse as Venice, Pisa, and Umbria, the weight of the evidence today supports the traditional attribution to a Hohenstaufen atelier somewhere in Southern Italy or Sicily, as I suggested in a paper presented a few years ago in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Yet, the problem of the localization of the manuscript's production has been so consuming to scholars that an even more important aspect has failed to receive sufficient attention. This aspect is the nature of its relationship to the Byzantine art which forms the basis of its style.

The armature of the manuscript, the thirteenth-century Parisian Bible, is common in Italy by the middle of the thirteenth century, and the ornamentation combines Italian initial forms and French decoration. But the figure types are clearly Byzantine in origin. Indeed, many of the figures in the Conradin Bible have such clear comparisons in Byzantine art, that it seems quite likely that they were copied from Byzantine manuscripts directly. The clearest and most convincing parallels can be found in the Bible's New Testament decoration, where most of the illumination involves single author portraits. Of these a distinctive group is formed by a series of 10 standing figures including Mark, John, Paul, and Jude. With only one repetition, these figures represent separate variations of the standing apostle types which populate Byzantine art from the tenth to fourteenth centuries. All of the figures appear to come from a single source, since they show a stylistic affinity for late twelfth-century Byzantine art, and in several cases find their closest parallels among the mosaics of Monreale. Nevertheless, it is most likely that the model for these figures was a manuscript, a Byzantine Praxapostolos, since it is in this form of codex that we find the greatest collection of similar figures. Indeed, Byzantine New Testament manuscripts such as the Walters Art Gallery MS. 533 easily provide a sufficient number of portraits.

But it is not only the type and date of the manuscript models available to the designer of the Conradin Bible that is important, but his use of the manuscripts that deserves our attention. For this artist used models with little consideration for their texts. Seated and standing apostles and evangelists and prophets appear scattered throughout the New Testament. And although a large part of the decoration does use models found in Byzantine New Testament decoration, there is little attempt to make the types coincide with their Byzantine counterparts by name. Instead the designer of the Conradin Bible seems to have used the Byzantine works as one would a motif book, picking out the most interesting figures to facilitate the creation of an elaborate and "Byzantine-appearing" Bible. This conscious attempt to make a work as Byzantine as possible may be related to patronage, for whether the Conradin Bible was made for Conradin or his immediate predecessor, Manfred, it was probably intended for a "King of Sicily," and we should also recall that Manfred's second wife was the Byzantine princess, Helen of Epirus. Many artists in the thirteenth-century West were transfixed by Byzantine art. The Conradin Bible offers us insight into the methods used by some artists in their absorption of their Byzantine models.

ALEXANDER'S TOMB: A COLUMN OR A TOWER? A CASE OF FOURTEENTH-CENTURY VERBAL CONFUSION AND VISUAL INTERPRETATION.

Slobodan Ćurčić, Princeton University

The purpose of this paper is to examine the illustration of the tomb of Alexander the Great as depicted in two Serbian illuminated manuscripts of the apocryphal story of Alexander the Great. The two manuscripts -- a fourteenth-century version, once in the National Library in Belgrade, but destroyed in 1941, and a fifteenth-century version in the National Library "Vasil Kolarov" in Sofia -- are descended from a Greek text of this popular story in verse ascribed to a "Pseudo-Kallistenes," and itself believed not to be older than the fourteenth century.

The two miniatures illustrate the same subject as described in the text whose translation reads:

> "Ptolemy and Philo erected a large, high column (stl'p) in the center of the city of Alexandria, and placed upon it the remains of Alexander and Roxana within a golden sarcophagus, where they remain to this day."

The two illuminations show little consistency, and at first may raise some doubts whether, indeed, they illustrate the same subject at all. The Sofia miniature appears to be closer to the text, depicting a massive column supporting a large horizontal block -- sarcophagus. The Belgarde version, on the other hand, depicts a multi-storied tower in apparent disregard of the text. Radmila Marinković who recently studied the basic Serbian text and compared all of the known manuscripts, in dealing with our illuminations came to the conclusion that the Belgrade miniature "resembles a building for everyday use, rather than a funerary monument." In rejecting earlier interpretations of this illumination as Alexander's tomb, Marinković offered no sound proof of the contrary.

I believe that the apparent confusion has a ready explanation in the text itself. The Old Church Slavonic word stl'p had a double meaning, denoting 'column' or 'tower', depending on the context. Consequently, I would argue that in a sense both artists were faithful to the text, and that the differences between the two only reveal varying modes of operation. I believe that the Sofia illuminator was copying an older model in which the original concept of the tower-tomb was accurately portrayed. The illuminator of the Belgrade manuscript, on the other hand, appears to have had no model before him. Left to his own devices, he appears to have interpreted the word stl'p as meaning 'tower'. In the fourteenth century such an interpretation would have been the only meaningful one. Memorial columns belonged to the long forgotten pagan past, while towers were very much part of contemporary funerary architecture. In fact, the tower depicted on the Belgrade illumination, while not based on any particular building, finds close conceptual parallels in a number of Serbian fourteenth-century churches which feature axial towers in conjunction with their narthexes and exonarthexes (e.g. Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren, Sopoćani). A chapel, commonly found in the upper stories of these towers has recently been shown to have accommodated commemorative services, also a distinctive function of Late Byzantine church narthexes. Thus, it seems quite evident that the tower with its funerary connotations would have been a perfectly understandable interpretation of the word stl'p on the part of the Belgrade illuminator not familiar with ancient funerary monuments, and without any visual models to follow.

In conclusion, it should be observed that verbal descriptions could and occasionally did cause conceptual confusions. The Belgrade illumination of

Alexander's tomb is a case of an artist's misinterpretation of a confusing text. Recognizing this point enables us, I believe, to broaden our understanding of the various modes of operation by Byzantine illuminators. Notwithstanding the fact that copying older models was their fundamental skill, occasionally they were challenged to invent scenes on the basis of the text alone. Under such circumstances turning to 'life' models became a necessity. Svetozar Radojčić already argued that 'portraits' in the Belgrade manuscript were new creations based on contemporary fashion. This notion now stands strengthened by conclusions drawn from our investigation.

Byzantine Architecture: Form and Meaning

Presiding: W. Eugene Kleinbauer (Indiana University)

THE PALACE OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA: A REEVALUATION

Mark J. Johnson, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

The Palace of Theodoric in Ravenna is most often associated with the so-called "Palace of the Exarchs," a somewhat later addition to the complex. Literary sources on the Palace are very meager with only a few comments by the Anonymous Valensianus, Cassiodorus, Agnellus and others. Excavations carried out on the site in 1908-14 uncovered only a part of the complex and were never fully reported. The final visual bit of evidence, the "Palatium" mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo, is very helpful but its interpretation is somewhat controversial. Even with these limitations some new observations can be made about the Palace of Theodoric.

In his letter to the Cura Palatii, Cassiodorus wrote that the Court was "recogized as having been constructed with a definite plan in mind." There are several asspects of the Palace which suggest that this "definite plan" was influenced by the Great Palace at Constantinople, both in terms of general concepts as well as in some specific details.

The Palace at Ravenna included several buildings among which were a main entrance gate, palace chapel, large public square and hippodrome. Like the Great Palace, it was a sprawling, non-axial complex involving several buildings and large open spaces. The very layout of the complex with the relative positions of these elements resembled the Great Palace as well.

More specific aspects which resemble the Great Palace are several. Large peristyle courts have been excavated at both sites and while that of Constantinople probably postdates the Palace at Ravenna, there is a notable similarity in general architectural layout and in the motifs which decorate the floor mosaics of the palaces. These seem to indicate a common tradition in palace architecture and decoration.

Other aspects which resemble the Great Palace include a palace chapel dedicated to the Saviour located near the main entrance which fronted a large public square. This square was called the Platea Maior and recalls the Augusteion of the Great Palace in location and function. In both cases the square was separated from the palace by proticoes mentioned in the sources. The Augusteion is known to have had an equestrian statue of Emperor Theodosius I and it is possible that the statue of Theodoric removed by Charlemagne occupied a similar place in Ravenna.

The ninth-century source--Agnellus--informs us that the main entrance into the Palace complex was called the "Chalke" after the famous gate of the Great Palace. It has been suggested by De Francovich and others that the Ravenna Chalke is represented in the "Palatium" mosaic. The principal conclusion which can be drawn from previous scholarship is that the mosaic represents a facade and not an interior feature. The notion that it is the Chalke is strengthened with additional arguments. Cassiodorus referred to the importance of the principal facade of the palace as being most representative of the whole palace and of the power of the ruler. In his description of the two mosaics depicting Theodoric at the Palace, Agnellus gives the location of one of them as being on the pediment of the principal entrance. This indeed may have been depicted in the original mosaic before changes were made to it following the Byzantine conquest of Ravenna. Finally, the enigmatic figures over the city gate to the right of the palace facade may be interpreted as Constantine and his two sons in reference to the encaustic panel of this scene which Constantine had displayed near the entrance into the Great Palace.

Theodoric spent his youth in the Great Palace. His emulation of the Byzantine Emperor in his patronage of art and architecture are well known. We may conclude that the Palace at Ravenna, modelled on the Great Imperial Palace, may be seen as the sum of his political and cultural aspirations.

SAN MARCO AND THE APOSTOLEION--AN ICONOGRAPHIC ESSAY

George Stričević, University of Cincinnati

When, some thirty years ago, F. Forlati established that the first San Marco was not a basilica but a cruciform church, it became clear that the generally accepted notion that the Venetian church of the late 11th century was built as a replica of Constantinopolitan Apostoleion, cannot possibly be taken to include the ground-floor plan. The statement of the Translatio Sci Nicolai, a Venetian source of the early 12th c., that the new San Marco was "a simile construcione artificiosa come quella, che in onor dei XII Apostoli in Constantinopoli è constructa", might be referring to the elevation of the building, in the first place to the five domes which certainly did not exist on the earlier church. By domes one should, of course, understand also their interior decoration, executed in mosaic, the technique which must have been associated with Byzantium in general and, in this case, with the Holy Apostles in Constantinople in particular. The comparison between the two churches in terms of the iconographic program of their interior decoration remains, however, incomplete due to the fragmentary nature of evidence, but there are some demonstrable important correlations. There are, also, several other aspects which contribute to a more precise understanding of iconographic similarities which exist between San Marco and the Apostoleion.

Judging by the position of the crypt in which the relics of St. Mark's were kept, the sanctuary of the Venetian church was located at the crossing, under the central dome, i.e. at the same place which in the Holy Apostles was occupied by the hierateion, isolated from the rest of the church by a chancel. Description of that enclosure by Nicholaos Mesarites leaves no doubt that it was of the same type as the so-called Syriac bema, known, significantly enough, not only in the justinianic architecture outside Syria (St. John in Ephesos) but also in the hinterland of Venice, in Northern Italy, Noricum and Dalmatia. In the center of the bench which closes such a bema on its semicircular side, stood a throne, the seat of Divine Presence and the chair which seems to have been used as such in San Marco is still preserved. Known as the Sedia di San Marco, this alabaster throne-like object was brought to Venice from Grado, possibly at the time, or soon after, the relics of the Evagelist were acquired in Alexandria (ca. 829 AD) and the first church was built to serve as the repository of these relics. The Sedia must have served yet another function: a hole drilled through the base of the chair and accessible through the two openings on the sides of the chair, shows that the latter served as the fenestella confessionis, a window through which the contact with the relics of the Saint, kept in the underground cript, was maintained.

Just before the consecration of the new church (in the 80's or 90's of the 11th c.), these relics appeared to have been lost to be miraculously discovered several days later when a column opened showing inside the relics of the Saint. The mosaic panel illustrating this "inventio" shows how difficult it was for a Venetian to imagine a relationship between a column and sacred relics, opposite to the Byzantines who, especially in Constantinople, often associate the two. It is certainly not without interest that in the church of the Holy Apostles twelve columns are said to have stood as the cenotaphs of the Apostles. Such columns-reliquiaries are also mentioned by pilgrims to Constantinople. The sudden disappearance of relics and their miraculous "apparitio" is also a constantinopolitan motif: the same story is being told about the relics of Sts. Luke, Andrew, and Timothy, kept, significantly enough in the Apostoleion, and which also disappeared at one time to be discovered later. Miraculous "apparitio" in both cases took place on the same day - October 8!

THE ORIGINS OF PALAEOLOGAN CONSTRUCTION

Robert G. Ousterhout, University of Oregon

Recent studies in Byzantine architecture have emphasized the lack of continuity between the Middle and Late periods. Palaeologan architecture is generally regarded as separate, self-contained, an "epilogue" to earlier developments. Indeed, it is difficult to bridge the gap created by the Latin Occupation (1204-61). During that time, little or no building activity occurred in Constantinople, which had always been the center of architectural production. Yet, the restoration of Byzantine rule was followed by a brief but intense period of building activity. The architecture of the Palaeologan renaissance is markedly different in concept from most twelfth-century architecture in the Capital. For example, emphasis is given to the decorative aspects of the exterior at the expense of the clear articulation of the internal structural system. The new style appears fully developed in our earliest dated ecclesiastical monument, the church of H. Iōannēs at the Lips Monastery (1282). Rather than dwell on the style, however, this paper will suggest some possible origins for the Late Byzantine architecture of Constantinople through an examination of masonry techniques. It is hoped that this study may help to clarify the relationship between the monuments of the Palaeologan period and earlier architectural developments.

An examination of the masonry techniques employed in H. Iōannēs of Lips suggests a revival of features prevalent in Comnenian architecture. While polychrome banding and decorative brick patterning appear throughout Byzantine history, they are most prevalent in the early Comnenian period and the Palaeologan period. Both utilized construction which alternated a single course of stone with two or more courses of brick; both periods employed a nearly identical vocabulary of decorative motifs, which were often treated in an antitectonic manner. When the east facade of H. Iōannēs is compared with the Mangana Sea Wall (probably early twelfth century), the only major difference is the use of recessed brick in the earlier monument. The similarities in masonry techniques are paralleled by others in planning, and may reflect the conscious association of the early Palaeologues with their Comnenian predecessors.

The architectural parallels with the early Comnenian period suggest a revival rather than direct continuity. During the Latin Occupation, it seems most probable that Constantinopolitan masons left the Capital and sought work in the provinces. Half a century later, other masons followed the court back to the Capital. It may never be possible to reconstruct the movements of itinerant masons in this period, as they travelled and mixed with provincial builders. However, the most likely area of enterprise has been the least explored. The Byzantine government in exile, the Nicaean Empire of the Lascarids in Asia Minor, has left few surviving monuments in the major centers. The picture has recently been broadened with the attribution of churches from Sardis, Latmos, Chios and elsewhere to Lascarid patronage. In addition, the extensive fortification systems of western Asia Minor were constructed during this time. Some details of Lascarid architecture, such as occasional cloisonné brickwork and sawtooth courses, may reflect the architecture of mainland Greece and suggest eclectic origins for Lascarid builders. But most features of these monuments are quite similar to Palaeologan architecture: construction in alternating bands of brick and stone; banded voussoirs; brick decoration in spandrels, brind arcades and on apses. In addition, a construction technique which may be called "brick filled mortar joints" appears at several sites in Asia Minor and in early Palaeologan Constantinople.

This technique merits further study. Apparently derived from working with reused building materials, the technique is based on filling mortar joints with broken bricks in order to save bricks and to utilize brick fragments. Brick filled mortar joints are often confused with the recessed brick technique, but I believe that the two represent conceptually different methods of construction. In recessed brick, the mortar joints are almost always wide, creating a distinctive striped effect, with the exposed mortar bed appearing to be approximately three times as wide as the brick. In brick filled mortar joints, on the other hand, the mortar bed and the brick are approximately the same thickness, with the bed almost completely filled with brick fragments. To my knowledge, this technique appears only in these two areas and may be chronologically limited to a period of about eighty years at the most. In Asia Minor, this technique is used in churches at Latmos, Eğri Dere and Alaşehir, and in fortifications at Tripolis, Asar and Smyrna. In Constantinople, the technique was utilized at the Bogdan Saray and the Isa Kapisi Mescidi, two unidentified Byzantine churches for which a late thirteenth-century date has been suggested. Because of the polychrome banding, alternating voussoirs and decorative detailing, these two buildings are usually associated with the workshops which constructed the Kariye Camii and the Fethiye Camii -- where brick filled mortar joints do not appear. It would thus seem possible that the Bogdan Saray and the Isa Kapisi Mescidi were the product of masons trained in Asia Minor who returned to the Capital following the restoration of Byzantine rule. If my analysis is correct, these two buildings would represent the architectural link between Lascarid Asia Minor and Palaeologan Constantinople.

Byzantium and the Outside World
Presiding: Frank E. Wozniak (University of New Mexico)

UTRAQUE ROMA: PRISCIAN AND THE WEST

Marie Taylor Davis, Princeton University and Dumbarton Oaks
(Final version of Abstract not received)

SAPIENTES, RHETORES AND NOTARII: GALLIC EMBASSIES TO CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

Ralph W. Mathisen, University of South Carolina

During the sixth century, the Germanic kings of Gaul sent repeated embassies to Constantinople, and for several of them something is known of the personnel involved. It is striking that of eleven embassies where the names of the ambassador, or ambassadors, are known, all include at least one individual with a Roman, rather than a German, name, and that for seven of them, a Roman is the only ambassador named. One might wonder, therefore, what the justification was for this apparent policy of the part of the Germans of entrusting the management of their foreign relations in whole or in part to Gallo-Romans.

The answer seems to be that the Germans were exploiting the skills of the Gallo-Roman educated elite. Aridius, for example, the ambassador of Gundobad to Constantinople circa 530, is described as sapiens (Greg.Tur.H.F.2.32; Fred.Chron. 3.18,23; L.H.F.16). And Secundinus, described as "sapiens et retoricis inbutus litteris," often was "in legatione imperatori a rege missus" (Greg.Tur.H.F.3.33). The Burgundian king Sigisumd in 516 described his ambassador to Anastasius deprecatingly as "unum de consiliariis meis, qui,quantum ad ignorantiam Gallicanam, ceteros praeire litteris aestimatur" (Avit.Epist.94). Lower-level support personnel on embassies also included educated Romans, as in 587/588 when an embassy of Childebert to Constantinople included, along with the vir inlustris Ennodius, the notarius Eusebius. And the composition of diplomatic correspondence also was entrusted to Gallo-Romans, as attested by the many letters in the corpus of Avitus of Vienne with superscriptions of the form "Ab Avito episcopo dictata sub nomine domini regis Sigismundi" (Avit.Epist.29,78,86,93-94).

In the sphere of foreign affairs, then, one can see that education played an important part as a means of providing a role for cultured Gallo-Romans in the Germanic governments, a role which, one might add, also made them indispensable in other areas of Germanic officialdom as well. One would suspect, moreover, that the Gallo-Roman ambassadors were chosen with the expectation that they would be able to deal more effectively with their counterparts at the eastern court, who might be more receptive to ambassadors with a similar cultural background.

Finally, on a broader scale, one also might note that the need by barbarians for the services of educated Romans was not limited to those in Gaul. The Ostrogoths, the Vandals, and even Attila the Hun realized the need for choosing appropriate ambassadors for particular missions. And even the Romans, on occasion, could choose the man for the mission, as when Marcian sent the Arian bishop Bleda to Gaiseric in 456 (Priscus fr.24). And, in general, during this period as a whole, more attention should be given not only to the diplomatic missions themselves, but also, perhaps, to the significance of the choice of the diplomats.

*ANASTASIUS OF SINAI, THE MONOPHYSITES AND THE QUR'ĀN

Sidney H. Griffith (The Catholic University of America) and Robin Darling (Wesley Theological Seminary)

In a 1930 essay, Dom H. Grégoire suggested that the "triumph of the Qur'ān among the populations of Syria and above all of Egypt" resulted in part from what seemed to be a docetic Christology in Sura 4 and elsewhere in the Prophet's scripture. Muhammad's docetism, Grégoire believed, "answered the profound and sincere aspirations of the 'Monophysite soul.'" Since the Julianist and Eutychian wings of the Monophysite party were explicitly docetic, and since the Monophysite Christians of the Yemen and elsewhere in Arabia were in a position to exert an influence on Muhammad, Grégoire reasoned that if one might say with Pirenne, "Mahomet made Charlemagne," then "Nous pourrions dire à notre tour que, si Mahomet fait Charlemagne, Eutyches avait fait Mahomet." However, passages in Anastasius of Sinai's Hodegos seem to suggest the opposite. The Qur'ān, far from accepting a docetic, Monophysite Christology, in fact reacts strongly against it.

Karl-Heinz Uthemann's new edition (CC, Greek 8, 1981) of the Hodegos once again calls the attention of scholars to the connection between Islam and Monophysitism. In what is perhaps the earliest Greek reference to Islamic doctrine, in the Hodegos Anastasius brings the Qur'ān's Christology into his argument with the Monophysites. In Books I and X of the Hodegos, Anastasius identifies certain views of Christ found among the "Arabs" and "Saracens" respectively. He claims they were formed in reaction to the formulae of the Severian Monophysites. In fact, these views of Christ are to be found in the Qur'ān.

We propose to address two issues with regard to these passages in the Hodegos. The first matter is Anastasius' statement about the Arabs' view of Christ. We shall quickly review the Christology of the Qur'ān, and explore the evidence for the presence of Monophysite preachers in the Arabic-speaking world of Muhammad and their likely influence on his thoughts about Jesus, son of Mary.

The second matter to be addressed in the presentation is Anastasius' allegations that Monophysite Christology would lead Arabs entirely to misinterpret Christian teaching and to reject it. An analysis of Anastasius' arguments shows that he considers Severus of Antioch and his style of Monophysitism to be at the head of an entire party of heretics, whose doctrines he charges with responsibility for the advent of more recent religious aberrations. In fact, Anastasius was correct in assuming that most Arabs heard about Christ from Monophysites--the well-known monks and preachers from Syria and elsewhere who travelled among the tribes of Arabia.

In conclusion, our review of some aspects of Islamic Christology, and the Monophysite doctrine criticized by Anastasius, demonstrates that in the view of this seventh-century observer, the religious ideas of Islam neither arose in a vacuum, nor were they taken over from some dissident Christian sects, but are direct reactions against standard Christian preaching about Christ, particularly that of the Monophysites.

Late Antique and Early Byzantine Art and Artifacts—I

Presiding: Kathleen J. Shelton (University of Chicago)

THE ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE EPISCOPAL BASILICA COMPLEX AT STOBI

Frederick Hemans, Boston University

Over the last several years of the joint American-Yugoslav project at Stobi we have concentrated our research effort on the Episcopal Basilica complex (the Basilica of Bishop Philip). The publication of this fourth through sixth century ecclesiastical center is now being prepared. An important aspect of our inter-disciplinary research has been a study of the planning, structural features, and the architectural sculpture; much of which was uncovered by archaeologists over fifty years ago. A reassessment of these materials in light of the recent work has answered many of the questions which have long puzzled scholars interested in the architectural history of this complex.

In 1971 the project discovered the baptistery of the basilica, south and four meters below the level of the main basilica. This led us to suspect the existence of an earlier church at this lower level, which we were able to confirm in excavations carried out in 1975 and 1978. Indeed the 1978 excavations that uncovered the chancel area of the earlier building left no doubt that this was the case. The earlier basilica, which we have designated Building A, was constructed in the last quarter of the fourth century and when planning for its replacement occurred in the mid-fifth century some of its architectural elements were incorporated into the new building; specifically some marble screens, columns, and an opus sectile floor pavement.

Further light was cast upon the early stages of the ecclesiastical complex by investigations in the "Episcopal Residence", located north of the basilica. This building, of residential character, was suspected by Professor Mano-Zissi, who excavated in the building just before the outbreak of World War II, to be the residence of the bishops of Stobi. In the apsidal room at the eastern end he discovered a ring suitable for a church official and a bronze censor. Unpublished at the time were the numerous architectural sculptures which also attest to its Christian character. Our excavations in this apsidal room in 1979 have shown that its original construction dates to the mid-fourth century, but these religious artifacts should be associated with a repair of the mid-fifth century that introduced a sunken ambulatory in the apse of the building and a colonnade along its main axis. There is, however, some architectural evidence that this repair does not represent a change in function but rather a remodeling of existing religious features. This may be the earliest Christian structure at Stobi.

A renewed investigation of the main basilica with a study of its walls and all of the architectural sculpture has added much new information to what was previously known. The basilica has two major phases of construction; the initial construction occurred in the mid-fifth century while the second period is of a less certain date, probably in the first quarter of the sixth century. This second phase of the building is marked by the re-design of the column spacing in the main colonnade, and major alterations in the chancel area. This includes the introduction of arches spanning the eastern six meters of the stylobates, which created the spatial effect of a transept.

The majority of the architectural sculpture, the dating of which has been the subject of repeated investigations, can now be shown to belong to the first phase of construction, independent of stylistic evidence. A significant difference in the size of the columns and bases of the main colonnade was planned for the two phases, as evidenced by a series of cuttings on the stylobate. The pairs of cuttings for the first phase design are 64 cm. apart, designating the size and placement of a column base of that dimension, while the second phase pairs of cuttings are 89 cm. apart. Examples of column bases from each phase, which match those dimensions, are preserved. The well known capitals from this building are only compatible with the columns and bases belonging to the earlier pairs of cuttings.

Some of the architectural elements originate from geographic sources outside the vicinity of Stobi. Petrographic analysis of marble from local quarries and from more distant north Aegean sources shows that the stone used in some of the narthex elements, parapet screens, and columns of the gallery was from Thasos. These pieces of Thasian marble are re-used from the earlier fourth century basilica, while local marble was used in the manufacture of most of the fifth century sculpture.

Because we have drawn and studied the walls and over three-hundred architectural pieces, it is now possible to present reconstruction drawings of the basilica complex. This work, although time consuming and tedious, has been very worthwhile and, indeed, necessary for an accurate portrayal of this important ecclesiastical complex.

THE FRESCO PROGRAM OF THE EPISCOPAL BASILICA AT STOBI

Caroline J. Hemans, Indiana University

The frescoes from the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi, Yugoslavia provide a major contribution to the study of the art of the fifth century, from which so little church painting has survived. The reconstruction of new areas of fresco by the current American-Yugoslav project, in conjunction with the paintings known from earlier excavations, now allow some conjectures about the decorative program of the church.

In 1971, the baptistery of the Episcopal Basilica was uncovered, and inside it were many fragments of wall painting. Large portions of two areas of the walls have been painstakingly reconstructed: those of the north-east conch and the east wall. The north-east conch contains a portrait of the evangelist Matthew, with a blue nimbus, identified by an inscription. The inscription gives the name Matheos in Greek, and also the word evangelos. The saint is holding a book, perhaps meant to represent his gospel, and appears to be preaching to the people, identified as laos, on his right and left. Another blue-nimbed figure from the south-west conch probably represents one of the other evangelists. Thus the decorative scheme of the baptistery seems to include depictions of the four evangelists, as in the Naples baptistery, where they also appear at the corners of the building, in small conches. On the east wall appears a scene of the young Christ, with a gold halo. The figure of an adult, standing to his left, appears to be guiding him towards a temple on the right, identified by the Greek word hieron on its roof. I believe this scene may represent Christ at the temple in Jerusalem before his interview with the Doctors. Christ among the Doctors was a quite popular scene in early Christian art, appearing, for example, on the doors of Santa Sabina in Rome. But this would be the first example illustrating the prelude to the episode. It is likely that other scenes from the childhood of Christ adorned the baptistery, but the remaining fresco portions are too fragmentary to allow the identification of their subjects. Apparently in the early sixth century the baptistery was repainted with coarse, mostly non-figural representations.

Earlier excavations, in the nave of the Episcopal Basilica uncovered several portraits, a large head of a lion, and fragments of an inscription. The inscription states "I am the source of life...", and may refer to Christ; but J. Maximović believes it could refer to the Virgin Mary, whose worship as the source of life began in the fifth century.

In the narthex of the church, in addition to a large panel of painted imitation revetment, the earlier excavations uncovered a scene that may represent the Virgin.

From all of these apparently greatly varying pictorial themes, can a coherent decorative program be discerned? I believe so, when one considers the significance of the baptistery representing a scene from the childhood of Christ. Such scenes are common in churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary, as for example on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. This, in conjunction with the possible representation of Mary as the 'Source of Life' from the nave of the church leads one to wonder if the Episcopal Basilica may not also be dedicated to the Virgin Mary. External evidence lends support to this theory. The basilica, by archaeological evidence, is dated to the mid-fifth century. At this time, a great many churches of the Virgin were springing up all over the empire, since her title theotokos had been confirmed at the Council of Ephesos in 431 A.D. It can also be noted that the building which most closely resembles the Episcopal Basilica is the church of the Virgin Acheiropoietas in Thessalonike, about 200 kilometers from Stobi.

Churches of the Virgin Mary have often been established in places where in former times cults of mother goddesses had been strong. In 1977, very near the Episcopal Basilica, a large inscribed block was uncovered. It refers to the establishment of a temple of Isis at Stobi.

RECONSIDERATION OF ANTIOCH MOSAIC PAVEMENTS

Sheila D. Cambell, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies

For nearly thirty-five years the mosaic pavements of Antioch have been considered the one fixed point against which nearly all other Mediterranean examples were compared for chronological and stylistic comments. There was good reason for doing so, since this was the only group of pavements of that size which had been excavated under relatively controlled conditions. This publication has been out of print for some time and permission has been granted to me to prepare a new edition. In doing so I have discovered a few discrepancies, particularly in the stylistic dating of 4th/5th century geometric mosaics. These discrepancies have not been obvious before, probably because of the sheer weight of numbers of these pavements, and the lack of published examples in the surrounding geographical region. This latter situation

has now changed. I with to concentrate on four buildlings, Bath E, Kaoussie Church (Martyrion of St.Babylas), Bath D, and Bath c, and in them on one particular geometric motif, i.e. R. 329[1] - a grid of bands with squares over the intersections and pitched squares over the intervening spaces, both filled with geometric motifs. There are several reasons for doing this. One is to try to define more closely the dates of these buildings. A second is that since the range of dates based on this motif extend from 325 to 525 A.D., it is very important to try to be as precise as possible whenever possible, in this somewhat nebulous transition period from Late Antique to Early Byzantine. And finally this example should provide a caveat against stylistic dating which is more than one 'generation' removed from firm contextual dating. It is also time to start to reverse the usual process, and to re-consider some of the Antioch pavements which are dated on a purely stylistic basis in the light of recent finds in the same geographical area which sometimes do provide firm contextual dating.

1. R. = Répertoire graphique du décor géométrique dans la mosaique antique, 4e Fascicule, Mai 1973, Paris, Bulletin de l'Association Internationale pour l'Etude de la Mosaique Antique.

THE ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAM OF DECORATED CHANCEL BARRIERS IN THE PRE-ICONOCLASTIC PERIOD

Lawrence Nees, University of Delaware

Paulus Silentiarius' description of Justinian's Hagia Sophia ca. 563 provides the earliest evidence for the decoration of a chancel barrier with figural subjects in Byzantium. He mentions carved images of Christ, angels, prophets, apostles, and the Virgin "on the columns" of the lost screen before the altar. Since this list roughly corresponds to the cast of the Great Deesis, which decorated a number of surviving chancel barriers from as early as the tenth century, some scholars haved advanced the hypothesis that the Deesis iconography already occurred on pre-Iconoclastic barriers in general and on that of Hagia Sophia in particular. On the basis of the available evidence, some of it quite new, this "early Deesis iconography" theory cannot be supported and ought now to be abandonned.

A series of small marble reliefs from St. Polyeuktos (Saraçhane) in Istanbul (D.C.P. 20 and 22), datable to the seventh century, depict Christ, the Virgin and Child, and apostles. The excavators plausibly identified these as fixtures from the epistyle of a chancel barrier. All are half-length frontal busts, so that no centrally focussed composition such as the later Deesis image seems likely to have been intended. Moreover, the Saraçhane reliefs include no figure of John the Baptist, an essential constituent of the Deesis iconography as generally understood. Obviously the iconography is here more condensed than at Hagia Sophia, but there is no reason to see it as fundamentally altered; surely the space was adequate to include John the Baptist had his presence been considered essential. Evidently it was not so deemed.

Beside the Saraçhane reliefs it is also now possible to set a newly clarified literary testimonial with essentially the same message. Paul Meyvaert has recently (Anglo-Saxon England 8) reviewed Bede's discussion of the paintings brought to Monkwearmouth by Benedict Biscop in 678, demonstrating on philological grounds that the pictures (picturae) were brought directly from Rome, were panels of a moderate size bound together as a continuous beam (tabulatum), and were stretched between the walls of the nave just before the sanctuary, no doubt atop a chancel barrier. The correspondence of this seventh-century Roman chancel barrier to its contemporary from Saraçhane is striking, despite the (perplexing) absence of Christ from Bede's description. Most notable is the shared absence of the Baptist or indeed of any prophet whatsoever.

The connection between the reliefs from Saraçhane and the paintings described by Bede receives support from another Northumbrian work. The coffin-reliquary of St. Cuthbert of ca. 698 is decorated on one side with half-length apostles arranged according to the unique order of the Roman Canon of the Mass. In his 1956 publication of these figures (Battiscombe, ed., The Relics of Saint Cuthbert), Ernst Kitzinger noted the possible link with the pictures brought to Northumbria from Rome twenty years earlier, but in the absence of any comparable apostles in Mediterranean art was forced to conclude that the Cuthbert coffin apostles were not derived from this source. The Saraçhane reliefs, discovered a few years later, provide the previously missing parallel, and even in their highly reduced linear style offer a close comparison.

In the light of this evidence the sixth-century Hagia Sophia chancel barrier can now be interpreted on more certain grounds. The notion that it represented a Deesis never accorded very well with either the ligurgical background of the Deesis iconography, nor with the general picture of Justinianic art. Now it seems clear that Paulus Silentiarius described a courtly hierarchical array of holy figures from which the specifically liturgical notion of intercession was absent. However, it is surely no accident that the dramatis personae correspond so closely to the post-Iconoclastic iconographic program of chancel barriers, which now emerges not as a direct revival but rather as a revised, re-interpreted, transformed variation based in part only upon the pre-Iconoclastic tradition.

*BYZANTINE COIN FINDS FROM CAESAREA MARITIMA: THE 1981 UNDERWATER EXCAVATIONS

Robert L. Hohlfelder, University of Colorado

During the summer of 1981, the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project continued underwater explorations within the vast, largely submerged port installations of Caesarea Maritima (Israel). In addition, one small test probe was undertaken on land adjacent to the remains of Byzantine coastal fortifications north of the main harbor complex. These investigations yielded a modest body of numismatic finds. Twenty-eight coins were uncovered from both the land and underwater excavations. Twenty-two of these site finds were from Caesarea's Byzantine era. While the Byzantine issues are of no particular numismatic interest individually, all of the copper coins do have collective value both as artifacts and historical documents.

The explorations undertaken near the entrance of the outer Herodian Harbor in Areas K and D produced ten Byzantine coins, an exceptionally large number of chance finds from an underwater archaeological excavation. One issue dated from the fourth century - a coin of Constantius II struck at Alexandria. No fifth century pieces were discovered. The early sixth century was represented by one pre-reform follis of either Justin I or Justinian. Eight coins were found from the reigns of Tiberius II and Maurice, A.D. 578-602, an unexpectedly high concentration of issues from what was truly a random sample. All ten of these Byzantine coins found beneath the sea were probably lost while in use somewhere on the quays of the harbor. They became part of the litter of the harbor floor and ultimately were swept by currents into the entrance along with other debris. There they were deposited or lodged near the structural remains under investigation.

While these few coins cannot offer conclusive information about the coin populations they represent, it is important to note that the high percentage of issues from the late sixth century is consistent with circulation patterns noted in the site finds from the land excavations at Caesarea. This small concentration provides further testimony for the city's resurgence at that time and for an as yet unexplained increase in coins in use, particularly during the reign of Maurice. These Byzantine coins from the sea also provide the first incontrovertible evidence for the continued use of the Herodian maritime installations into the Byzantine era and help to confirm and locate the Anastasian harbor restoration project mentioned by Procopius of Gaza. Contrary to previous scholarly speculation, it now appears that the main harbor of Herodian and Roman Caesarea had not fallen completely from use by the Byzantine era. This facility, restored sometime after A.D. 502, served the needs of Caesarea to the end of the century and probably to its final capture by the Arabs in A.D. 639/640.

A limited excavation on land was conducted by the Hellenistic quay and the synagogue of Caesarea, near Byzantine fortifications on the shore. At its lowest levels, this trench reached a warehouse complex distinguished by large quantities of Hellenistic and Herodian pottery. The upper stratum of this sondage produced 13 coins, 11 of which were from the fourth century. One was also from the reign of Tiberius II. The final piece was of Turkish origin. The fourth century issues, mostly from the reign of Constantius II, represent the types, mints and quantity of such coins one has come to expect in excavations in the Holy Land. All these issues seem to have been lost individually and do not suggest the continued use of this section of Caesarea's coast as a commercial district in the Byzantine period. The Byzantine issues may have been discharged from the drains of the synagogue, a building we know was in use through the sixth century.

Byzantium and The Turks

Presiding: Halil Inalcik (University of Chicago)

ANATOLIAN NOMADISM AND BALKAN PASTORALISM

Rudi Paul Lindner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Southeast Europe and Anatolia received numerous visits from nomads during the Byzantine era. Among the European examples are the Huns, Avars, Magyars, Cumans, Mongols, and transplanted Ottomans. In Anatolia there were two immigrations of Turks and Mongols each. The impact of these tribes on the eastern Mediterranean culture area has been the object of study for many scholars, and in recent years there has grown a corpus of research on the reciprocal effects upon the nomads. A recent publication, for example, claimed that the Huns ceased to be steppe nomads after they crossed the Carpathians. The purpose of this talk is to test that conclusion against the evidence for nomads in the Balkans later in the Byzantine and early Ottoman period, and then to compare the results of the Balkan investigation against conditions in Anatolia.

The evidence for this enquiry defines its scope and procedure. The literature of ethnographic investigation allows a reader to define the requirements of steppe nomadism (as opposed to "semi-nomadism"): in particular, the economic support of the mounted archer and his family. Once these requirements are known, it is possible to use the agricultural history of the Balkans to obtain an idea of the carrying capacity of southeast Europe and its ability to nurture and garrison a horde. Such is the framework in which the texts are confronted. For the Byzantine era, the texts are chronicle entries describing the behavior of nomads, their military successes and their political economy. From the early Ottoman period there are official cadasters that provide detail and statistics on nomads' life.

From these disparate materials the following conclusions may follow: steppe nomadism and its practitioners had brief, repetitive careers in the Byzantine Balkans. A transformation to pastoralism usually took place, a transformation with important military implications, such as sedentarization. The Balkans therefore provide a real contast to Anatolia: in the Balkans, pastoralists provided an economic service without representing a divisive political threat; in Anatolia, nomads continued to present military and political problems long after their Balkan cousins settled.

MORE ON THE TURKISH METHODS OF CONQUEST

Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, Montreal

The chronicles and histories of the XIVth and XVth century describe the Turkish expansion as a result of successful raids and campaigns after which the Muslim warriors went home loaded with booty. According to a prominent modern historian booty was the basis of the economy of the Islamic border regions (uc). While this assumption is correct one can remark that the Turks applied a policy of extracting tribute from cities and the countryside which they controlled but not yet conquered. In about 1293 the Turks of Maiandros imposed a tribute upon Miletos and in about 1304 the city of Proussa began to pay tribute to the Ottomans. This policy was applied on a much larger scale after about 1332. In this year the island of Negroponte, the Duchy of Archipelago and some other islands under Venetian lords began to pay tribute to the Emirs of Aydin and Menteshe. The Byzantines too were forced to pay annual tribute. The inhabitants of Lesbos in about 1330 and those of Monembasia in 1334 were reduced to the status of tributaries by Umur Aydin-oglu. In 1333 the Byzantine Emperor was forced to sign a treaty with the Ottoman Sultan Orkhan undertaking to pay 12,000 hyperpyra a year for the fortresses situated in a zone extending from Nikomedeia as far as the coast opposite to Constantinople. In 1354, shortly after the occupation of Kallipolis, the Ottomans began to collect tribute from the inhabitants of Thrace of the zone extending between Kallipolis and Constantinople.

The sources of the XVth century are more explicit. The Ottomans did not only impose a lump sum of annual tribute on the Latin or Byzantine territories of Romania but they shared some of their revenues with their lords. Murad II received the revenue of the salt pans of Venetian Thessalonica. His father Mehemmed I received one part of the commerchium of the alum producing city of Phocaea. Two thirds of the revenues of the salt pans of Ainos went to the Ottoman Sultan and a Turkish emin resided in this city before its final conquest (1454).

In the long run this tribute extracting policy constituted a first step towards a Turkish conquest yet to come. In the short term the tribute increased the wealth of the various Turkish states of the XIVth century and of the Ottoman state in the XVth century.

THE OTTOMAN TAHRIR DEFTERS AS A SOURCE FOR FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BYZANTINE HISTORY

Heath W. Lowry, Dumbarton Oaks

Via a series of examples taken from the extant body of fifteenth century Ottoman Tahrir Defters ('Tax-Registers') which were compiled for Central Macedonia, the islands of the Aegean, and the Pontic coast of the Black Sea, this paper seeks to illustrate the value of this particular source to the study of late Byzantine provincial history.

In particular it focuses on the kanunnames or provincial law codes with which the majority of the surviving tahrirs are prefaced, and shows the way in which preexisting, i.e., Byzantine tax practices were incorporated into the Ottoman administrative system.

Finally it argues that the Ottoman administration of conquered Byzantine territories (in the second half of the 15th century) was little more than a thin veneer superimposed over local practices.

TURKISH ARCHIVAL MATERIALS AND BYZANTINE HISTORY

Halil Inalcik, University of Chicago

The Ottoman Empire succeeded the Byzantine Empire in Anatolia and the Balkans. Ottoman land and population surveys of these areas go back to the middle of the fifteenth century and contain a considerable amount of information which is relevant to the Byzantine times. These surveys provide not only statistical data, but also information about economic and social conditions of the Greek population in the countryside and towns.

Since the Ottomans maintained pre-conquest conditions at least during the transition period, the surveys can be used for the Byzantine times, or taken as a basis of comparison with the data provided by the Byzantine praktika. In light of the detailed information, the conditions of the Ottoman surveys of the dependent peasants, paroikoi, for example, can be discussed much more fruitfully. Using such a comparative method, an attempt has been made to elucidate controversial points regarding peasant groups classified in the praktika and the true nature of feudal taxes and labor services.

Completed in December 1455, a survey of the non-muslim population and buildings of Istanbul and Pera, for example, is a mine of information on the Greek population, their social conditions as well as Byzantine churches and monasteries in both cities.

The population of Pera prior to the Ottoman occupation was analogous to that of Caffa, composed of four main groups, namely Genoese, Armenians, Greeks and Jews. In 1455 the Greek population was concentrated in the quarters around the original city, namely in those of Dhraperyo, Gargandji, Papa Yani, Pero di Lankashko, Varto Khristo, Kosto Lupadji, Ayodhkimo Manerino, Yani Vasilikoz. The main Greek churches, Kasteliutsa (Gennisis Theotokhou), Ayios Nikolos, and Papa Yani, were located in the eastern section of Galata towards the Tophane-Kapi between the Jewish and Armenian quarters. Also in the quarter of Iskinoplok to the north of the first Genoese city around the former Byzantine church of Aya Yorgi there was another concentration of Greeks.

The general impression we get from the 1455 survey is that the first years after the conquest were hard for Pera. Many wealthy Genoese left the city on the day of the conquest, and later on preferred to live in Chios. But the number of the fugitives does not justify our speaking of a real exodus of the Latins from the city, as is often asserted. The majority of the Genoese stayed on as Ottoman citizens. Among them were wealthy families such as the Gara, Langasco, Francesco and Dariova. Also we learn from the register that rich Jews, Armenians and Greeks whose numbers equalled the Genoese also remained in Pera. The houses of those who left were confiscated. Their new tenants were mostly poor, aged people, but many of the buildings remained unoccupied and went to ruin. In the business district, out of 33 shops, 15 remained in the hands of their original owners, while 18 were confiscated; 15 of those confiscated found renters. Some soap workshops remained idle.

Late Antique and Early Byzantine Art and Artifacts—II

Presiding: Kathleen J. Shelton (University of Chicago)

HOW SAINT SYMEON MADE HOUSE CALLS: THE ROLE OF PILGRIM TOKENS IN EFFECTING MIRACULOUS CURES

Gary Vikan, Dumbarton Oaks

Among the most active pilgrimage centers in the Early Byzantine period was that of Symeon Stylites the Younger (A.D. 521-592), just a few kilometers southwest of Antioch. Pious travelers from throughout the Christian world came to visit Symeon's shrine atop the "Miraculous Mountain" in order to pray and bring offerings, but especially, they came to obtain spiritual and bodily healing. The saint's Vita is rich in detail; when these pilgrims left for home they took with them a variety of material "blessings" (eulogiai). These included bits of local earth and dust, pieces of the saint's clothing and hair, water, and occasionally an icon. What survives of this pious trade are dozens of small pilgrim tokens--clay sealings which bear an image of the column-dwelling saint on one side (sometimes with the formula: "Blessing of St. Symeon of the Miraculous Mountain") and usually the rounded impression of a man's hand on the other.

From Symeon's Vita it is clear that these tokens functioned not as souvenirs but rather as prophylactica or medicine to ensure the safety and health of the suppliant while he was away from the shrine. The sanctity and intercessory power of the Holy Man had been trasferred to the earth around his column much as the holiness of Christ had been trasferred to the wood of the Cross--both substances could work miracles. But why add the image of the saint at all, and why, on most of these tokens, are monks with censers climbing up a ladder to cense the saint?

These and other puzzling questions posed by the many surviving Symeon tokens will be answered through an examination of the historical context within which our materially poor but iconographically rich artifacts once had life. For it is clear from reading the miracula recounted in the Vita that the "blessed" clay, the saint's image, the censer, and perhaps even the hand print had a role to play in the intense, private ritual practiced at home to effect the Holy Man's miraculous presence--and his cure.

MORE SCENES RELATED TO THE JOSEPH CYCLE IN COPTIC TEXTILES

Laila Abdel-Malek, Harvard Fine Arts Library

This study concerns itself with two Coptic tapestry roundels with scenes which betray iconographic and stylistic features closely related to those in the identified Joseph cycle in Coptic textiles. An iconographic analysis of the scenes in these roundels indicates the strong possibility that they represent more episodes from the same story. The identified Joseph cycle is woven in roundels, sleeve bands and clavi used for decorating tunics. It comprises scenes which begin with the dreams of the Patriarch enclosed in a central medallion and ends with his sale in Egypt. A study of the scenes in this cycle reveals clues to the presence of conflations and abbreviations suggesting a more extensive model. Moreover, these scenes cover only the first half of the story and do not include the Patriarch's career in Egypt, another fact which raises the same question.

While collecting material for my dissertation, I discovered two tapestry roundels which indicate that a more extensive cycle, probably covering the whole story of Joseph, was available to the Coptic weavers. One, in Lyons, has been published with the caption "Religious or Mythological Scenes" and the other, in Riggisberg, has not yet been published. The Lyons roundel portrays an old bearded man sitting above a central medallion in the same location as that of Jacob sending Joseph to his brothers in the recognized group of textiles. In the lower half of the same roundel another figure, which closely resembles that in the upper half, appears with crossed arms, a position characteristic of Jacob in other Christian works representing him blessing the sons of Joseph. In addition, a figure accompanied by seven cow heads and what appears to be corn ears presents the strong possibility of a scene portraying Pharaoh's dreams. The Lyons roundel also contains two more scenes, of which one resembles that of Joseph pleading for his life from his brothers in a Pseudo-Ephraem manuscript illustrating the life of Joseph and the other compares with the scene of Potiphar's guards arresting the Patriarch in the San Marco mosaics.

The roundel in Riggisberg combines the figure with crossed arms, identifiable as Jacob, with others quoted from the known cycle. These include the black Ishmaelite, the bearded Jacob and, probably, the young Joseph. In addition, a figure of an animal beneath this group invites comparison with the goat in the scene of staining Joseph's coat in the identified cycle.

It is obvious that the figures in these two roundels represent fragmentary quotations rather than complete scenes. They reflect a method of work frequently employed by Coptic weavers who extract figures or details from complete scenes and place them in the available space without much concern with their original context. This method was first recognized by Ernst Kitzinger in his publication on the sleeve band in the British Museum (Journal of the Warburg Institute, I, 1938). Fragmentary as they are, the scenes in the Lyons and Riggisberg roundels provide clues to additional Joseph scenes in Coptic textiles. Significantly, a stylistic comparison between these roundels and the ones with the recognized cycle reveals close resemblance in figure style, color scheme and ornament.

THE WILCZEK BRONZE RECONSIDERED

Katherine R. Brown, Metropolitan Museum of Art

The bronze is 8 inches high, 7 1/2 inches wide and weighs 3,300 kilograms. It has a glossy brown patina . The four sided pyramidal hollow socket is flanked by "S" shaped loops the upper parts of which are formed by "panther-griffin" motifs emerging from acanthus leaves. Above this, on a narrow rectangular plinth, three men are seated in footless chairs with arms and high round backs. All three figures wear hooded cloaks and boots. The two on the right side hold open writing tablets with their left hands and have their right hands raised. Their companion on the left holds an open scroll stretched across his lap. This bronze now resides in the MMA.

Although the bronze has been mentioned numerous times, the only thorough study of it was published in 1902 by Strzygowski. He suggested that the bronze had perhaps been made for a bishop's throne and was Gallo-Roman in date. Since then it has been mentioned as coming from a prelate's chariot or, as a rein guide on which the three figures represent priests. It has been considered Roman by some but others have dated it in the VI-VIII century range or even ca. 1200 A.D.

The bronze belongs to a group of bronzes for which many different uses have been proposed but Alföldi proposed that these bronzes with two loops decorated the vertical shaft attached to the end of the axle which protected the frame from the wheel. Vendikov's recent study of chariot finds in Bulgaria and the reconstruction of a Roman chariot in the new Römische Germanisches museum in Cologne lend credance to Alföldi's proposal.

Since our piece is one of the largest and the heaviest of all mounts from this group, it probably came from a four wheeled wagon: a carruca, because the "carpentum" was reserved for the emperor and highest dignitaries. From the third century on carrucae were reserved for nobility and officials who were to be honored.

For reasons other than Strzygowski's we propose that our mount is Gallo-Roman and IV century in date. The great popularity of the "panther-griffin" in various types of "Celtic-Roman" chariot mounts is one reason. Secondly, the dress of the figures and the type of chair on which they sit relates them to a group of small bronze deity statues considered to be Gallo-Roman by most scholars. Furthermore, both the type of chair and the hooded cloaks abound in Gallo-Roman relief sculpture and terra cottas.

The dress of our figures seems to indicate that they are probably not priests. The gesture of the two figures on the right, usually described as one of blessing, can also be described as one of "pacific address" and the writing tablets as books. Indeed, there is nothing strictly Christian about the entire mount. Instead these features make it just as likely that the figures represent orators and a grammarian. Much is known concerning honors bestowed upon orators and grammarians in IV century Gaul and the probability that our mount comes from a "carruca"....reserved for those to be honored... lends support to this new suggestion.

Byzantine Literature
Presiding: Emily Albu Hanawalt (Boston University)

THOSE WHO CAN'T TEACH? SOME ASPECTS OF BYZANTINE LITERARY CRITICISM

Barry Baldwin, University of Calgary

A. E. Housman once claimed that a talent for literary criticism was the one most rarely granted by God. Byzantine efforts in this field took many forms, not all of them contemptible. The proposed paper ranges as widely as time allows, usually though not invariably eschewing the big names for less well known ones. Items have been chosen that exemplify the sort of texts on which Byzantine critics worked, their principles and methods of operation, how they tackled the awkward issue of pagan literature, and (possibly a surprise to some) their acquaintance with Latin literature.

Homer is an obvious case in point. A glance at earlier Byzantine work on him may enhance the later, familiar commentaries of Tzetzes and Eustathius. In cause will be 3 epigrams (*AP* 15. 36-8) by Cometas, whose precise achievement is still in dispute. Other fascinations include an enigmatic lady Homerist possibly belonging to the sixth century.

The extent to which (in particular) the early Byzantines knew Latin has been frequently discussed, but remains a bone of contention, at least among classicists. Two items are here singled out: an item in John Lydus disclosing allegorical interpretations of Vergil's *Eclogues* (serving also to mitigate Rosenmeyer's contention that there was no formal Byzantine concept of the Bucolic as a genre), and a passage in Procopius of Gaza shedding light on a Vergilian phrase that has puzzled that poet's most expert commentators.

A much later evidence of Byzantine knowledge of Latin is the Greek version of Ovid by Planudes (or one of his circle). This affords an alarming glimpse of a bowdlerising tendency, of obvious concern to students of the Anthology's textual tradition, and comporting the broader issue of Byzantine "censorship".

A cognate theme thus arrived at is the Byzantine capacity to distinguish form from content, in regard to classics considered pagan, immoral, or both. Here, Lucian is a suitable case for treatment, from the critical extremes of Photius to the scholiasts, with the latter shown up as fatally addicted to what is now the "biographical fallacy".

Homer apart, Greek drama remains the field in which Byzantine work is, perforce, of interest and concern to modern editors. Here, the usual issues of scribal recension and transmission are set aside in favour of the rarely considered question of actual Byzantine stagings or play readings, perhaps a matter of enhanced interest now that the traditional view of Photius' "Book Club" has been challenged.

Finally, no survey of this subject would be complete without the remarkable Tzetzes. Some generalities on his activities will be postluded by a look at his iambic hatchet-job on Thucydides, a delight in itself and a welcome reminder that Byzantine critics did not always genuflect before their classics. This piece is furthermore chosen because its sources and point have evoked (unnecessary, as I shall show) puzzlement in a recent (and rare) discussion (R. Scott, 'The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography,' in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, Birmingham, 1981).

THE ORIGIN OF THE VITA MAXIMI CONFESSORIS RECONSIDERED

Raphaël Bracke, Catholic University Leuven

During the reigns of Heraclius and Constans II Maximus the Confessor was holding a key-position in Byzantine history. That is why scientific research on his biography could reveal some historical aspects of the seventh century as well as the process of his own philosophical and theological development. Hitherto the major problem was our uncertainty concerning the reliability of the various sources.

The first penetrating research was done by Devreesse (AB, 46, 1928, 5sqq.), who believed that the well-known Vita Maximi BHG 1234 (PG 90,68sqq.) was written at the end of the seventh century. However in consideration of literary characteristics Lackner (AB, 85, 1967, 285sqq.) concluded that this hagiographical text did not originate earlier than in the tenth century. More recently Brock's publication of An Early Syriac Life (AB, 91, 1973, 299sqq.) almost annihilated the utility of the Greek text about the Life of Maximus the Confessor.

The weakness of the preceding research arises from the rather imperfect knowledge of the interdependency of the different recensions of the Greek biographies. Hence in our own research we collected as exhaustively as possible information concerning the Greek and Latin MSS containing biographical texts on Maximus. Along with that study on the manuscript tradition of each recension we undertook a comparative research on the structure and the sources of all biographies on Maximus. In order to facilitate close examination and mutual comparison of the various recensions we distinguished in the texts several 'sections'. Thanks to this method we accurately delimitated the texts resting upon documents and the wordings of the different editors.

So we established that the introduction to the Vita Max. BHG 1234 doesn't rest upon any document or any trustworthy source. So Lackner was right in asserting that this introduction could be a literary fiction by a tenth-century author. But as a result of neglecting almost all other recensions he unfortunately concluded that the whole Vita Max. was written for the first time in the tenth century. So he logically assumed that the sections concerned in Theophanes' Chronographia had the same historical source as the historical sections of the Vita Max.

As Van Dieten (Geschichte der Patriarchen ..., p. 182) points out, against the analytic method he is following elsewhere in his Chronographia, under the year 6121 (= 629) Theophanes offers a systematical survey on the origin and the evolution of monotheletism and its denunciation by pope Agathon. Some of the events mentioned in that survey are recorded a second time under the year in question. So it would appear that Theophanes adopted his synopsis on monotheletism from an older source.

Since the historical sections of the so-called Recensio Mosquensis BHG 1233m (which by Devreesse was considered as a later compilation) verbally concur with the survey of the Chronographia, we assume that this recension is extremely close to the common source.

We could discern the same historical sources for the Epitome BHG 1236 (which we should date about the same time as the Vita s. Martini), as well as for the Hom. iii de creatione hominis of Anastasius Sinaites. So we assume one common source, namely the prototype of the Recensio Mosquensis. In that way we could give a comprehensive explanation for the interdependency of the Recensio Mosquensis, Theophanes' Chronographia, Anastasius' Hom. iii de creatione hominis and other related sources.

CONCLUSIONS

For the origin of the Vita Maximi we have to readopt the date proposed by Devreesse, namely the end of the seventh century. That text must have been extremely close to the Recensio Mosquensis BHG 1233m (which we have hitherto in the rare edition by Epifanovic, 1917). In the first half of the eighth century it has been abbreviated for the Epitome BHG 1236.

The historical sections of the Recensio Mosquensis have been inserted verbatim in Theophanes' Chronographia. The same recension was also used by Euthymius Hagiorites composing his Georgian version, at the beginning of the 11th century.

The well-known Vita Max. BHG 1234 was thoroughly rewritten at the very beginning of the tenth century.

The oldest recension of the Greek Vita Max. is as old as the Early Syriac Life.

ON DIGENIS AKRITAS, GROTTAFERRATA VERSION, BOOK V

Andrew R. Dyck, University of California, Los Angeles

In the usually straightforward epic Digenis Akritas, Book V of the Grottaferrata version (G V) stands apart with its strange twistings of plot and deformations of character. It begins with a variation of the stolen bride motif in which a young Greek elopes with the daughter of his captor, a Syrian emir. However, her lover rides off in the middle of the night and leaves her stranded at a desert oasis. Here Digenis meets her. After raping her, he returns her to her former lover, whom he enjoins on pain of death to marry her and keep her as his wife.

The elements of this bizarre plot fall into place if we assume that in its original form this was a tale of Digenis' winning of his bride, i.e., he played the part of Dionysus to the abandoned Ariadne. The epic redactor preferred the more heroic version of G IV in which Digenis steals his bride and defeats an entire army in order to keep her, but he did not want to give up the attractive story of the meeting at the oasis.

This hypothesis helps to explain various features:

1) Digenis' description of the woman as the second part, i.e., the other half, of his soul (G 2101) -- hardly the way a married man describes a woman casually encountered;

2) Digenis' defense of the woman against a band of Arabs, perhaps a surrogate for victory over the kinsmen of the stolen bride;

3) the woman's prior baptism, anomalous in itself since she has not yet reached Byzantine territory, and unnecessary for the present plot, which merely requires her willingness to convert, but essential if she is intended to become Digenis' bride at once;

4) the most shocking incident of the poem -- Digenis' rape of a defenseless woman -- perhaps included as a concession to the original Ariadne-type plot;

5) the woman's restitution to her previous lover, necessary, in spite of likely psychological obstacles on both sides, in view of Digenis' inability to marry her since in the epic plot he is already married.

Finally, note that G V is only loosely connected to the main thread of epic narrative by the prologue (G 2325-33).

As our example illustrates, Lachmann's theory of the composition of epic out of individual lays, if not applicable to the Homeric poems, sheds much light on the epic D.A., in which the individual song is primary, the combination of songs into a connected narrative secondary and superficial.

THE PATRIARCH AND THE LADY: A PALAIOLOGAN LITERARY FRIENDSHIP

Andrew J. Sopko, Loyola University of Chicago

The Patriarch in question is Gregory II of Constantinople (1241-1290) and the lady, the protovestiarissa Theodora Raoulaina (1240-1300). What has most recently been said and written about Gregory has generally concerned his theology but his correspondence with the erudite Raoulaina reveals that his classical interests were very much in evidence during the ecclesiastical 'time of troubles' of the 1280's. While a historian such as Pachymeres has something to say about classical studies and education in Constantinople in the years leading up to this decade, he (and other sources) then fall silent. The controversies concerning the Union of Lyons and the recurring debates on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit appear to create an environment in which classical studies and education were unlikely to flourish.

But Gregory's letters to Raoulaina demonstrate not only his own continuing classical studies but also allude to those of Raoulaina and others. A careful dating process shows most of the letters to have been written at the height of the theological crisis! It could be surmised that these writings were composed by the Patriarch as 'escapist literature'. This would not be totally correct. His literary friendship with Raoulaina did not carry Gregory outside ecclesiastical circumstances for, by this time, Raoulaina had taken vows as the nun Kyriake and had founded her own monastery complete with a library of classical authors. At a time when theological controversy has seemingly squeezed classical studies out of the Constantinopolitan cultural scene, it is paradoxical that ecclesiastics were the ones who still kept them going. Although Gregory and Raoulaina do not emerge as a Byzantine Abelard and Heloise, we can still be grateful for their correspondence which attests to the longevity of the classical tradition at Constantinople in even the worst of times. Classical studies continued not in spite of the Church but very often because of it.

Middle Byzantine Art

Presiding: Thalia Gouma-Peterson (College of Wooster)

LITURGICAL ASPECTS OF POST-ICONOCLASTIC MONUMENTAL ART IN CAPPADOCIA

Judith Cave, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

The Archaic Group consist of some thirty programs decorating rock-cut chaples in Cappadocia that are attributed to the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Despite the large number of them, they are generally understood to be more or less homogeneous in their iconography, with only minor variations in the selection and visualization of narrative events of the Infancy and Life of Christ. The subjects are largely based on apocryphal and canonical texts, and the representation of them conforms to iconographic configurations that were established very early, many of them pre-iconoclastic and Syro-Palestinian in origin. However, our understanding of the "archaic" nature of the programs has been modified by recent research that reveals significant contributions from contemporary Constantinopolitan art. The notion of an essentially narrative intent in the programs has weathered recent studies more successfully. It seem to find irrefutable confirmation in the continuous strip format of some of the best-known churches such as Old Tokalı. But the association of strip format with narrative intent obscures the recognition and assessment of non-narrative components in this and other programs of the Archaic Group and consequently important material has been omitted from the evaluation of the early stages of liturgical and theological church decoration.

G. de Jerphanion identified many of the inscriptions accompanying the images as passages inspired by or taken directly from orthros and automelon readings as well as the Trisagios and other hymns. They are mostly, but not exclusively, from the liturgy of St. Basil. Liturgical poems and homiletic literature are among the other sources of the inscriptions. But there are additional kinds of liturgical references in the programs. These are most obvious in the program of Kiliçlar Kilise, one of the few churches in the Archaic Group that imitates the cross-in-square rather than the single-aisled church plan, and thus it anticipates metropolitan monuments of the Middle Byzantine period. The program deviates only slightly from other programs of the Archaic Group in the selection of scenes and iconographic details, but it differs significantly from them in the arrangement of images. More complex architectural surfaces imposed some of the differences, but in most instances, there is a corresponding liturgical content or reference.

Scenes are sometimes arranged in such a way that they formally recall tripartite compositions of early liturgically-oriented manuscript illuminations. The wall panels in Kiliçlar function as separate iconographic units that are motivated more by liturgical than by narrative intentions. They are not paralleled in other programs of the Archaic Group. The juxtaposition of other scenes complies with specific sequences of gospel and psalm readings for Maundy Thursday of the Passion Week. This association is confirmed by correspondences with iconographic motifs in marginal psalters that were directly motivated by the use of the connected psalter text in the liturgy. Narrative logic suffers considerably in these arrangements of scenes in Kiliçlar. Moreover, the use of non-narrative elements in Kiliçlar is found to emerge from a liturgically oriented iconographic and formal reservoir that was neither strictly provincial nor strictly metropolitan in origin. It is associated with a broader trend in post-Iconoclastic art that can now be understood as one receptive to embellishments, refinements, or elaborations in the provinces as well as in the capital.

*TOKALI KILISE IN CAPPADOCIA: PREFACE TO A REASSESSMENT

Ann Wharton Epstein, Duke University

The rock-hewn <u>katholikon</u> of the Archangels, better known as the New Church of Tokalı Kilise, was the principal sanctuary of a center of eremitic life in Göreme Valley, Cappadocia, in modern Turkey. It can be dated with considerable assurance to the middle of the tenth century. In relation to other Middle Byzantine churches, Tokalı is a large and architecturally complex monument. Most significantly, it retains much of its original fresco decoration. This painted program is of high aesthetic quality and of great complexity. It includes not only a rich Christological cycle from the Gospels and Apocrypha, but also an unusual hagiographic sequence.

The importance of the <u>katholikon</u> is increased by its chronological isolation. While numerous Byzantine foundations may be dated to the late ninth or early tenth century and again to the early eleventh century, virtually no major monuments with large scale decorative programs survive from the middle of the tenth century. This lacuna in monumental painting is particularly problematic as the period is identified as the "Macedonian Renaissance" on the basis of its considerable artistic achievement. The art of the era is, however, limited largely to the luxury "minor" arts of metropolitan manufacture--particularly highly classicizing illuminated manuscripts, such as the Paris Psalter, Joshua Roll and Leo Bible, and ivory carvings. A study of the katholikon enriches scholarly understanding of stylistic developments in monumental painting during a period of experimentation with the Antique values of figural plasticity and illusionistic space. It also provides some answers to the broader cultural questions implicit in the concept of a Medieval "Renaissance". Such questions concern the territorial and societal limitations of revivalism (e.g.Did it only affect the urban elite?), the causes of revivalism (e.g. Did the attempt to revitalize a mythologized past have a social function?), and the aesthetic implications of revivalism (e.g. Are classicizing forms simply a superficial stylistic phenomenon or do they reflect a modified perception of the world?).

Despite its apparent relevance to fundamental historical and art historical questions, Tokalı Kilise has never received the attention that it merits. There are several reasons for its neglect. First, until relatively recently, Cappadocia was not readily accessible to scholars. While Tokalı Kilise has been included in general surveys of the region (most notably in G.deJerphanion's unsurpassed Une nouvelle province...), few of the last generation of Byzantinists visited the site. Second, since travel has become easier, those involved in the study of the area have been primarily concerned with publishing newly discovered chapels not included in earlier surveys. Third, the poor condition of the frescoes did not allow a full appreciation of their quality. Finally, a deep-rooted prejudice against "provincial" art has been a considerable barrier to the recognition of the katholikon's importance.

During five seasons of work on Tokalı Kilise between 1975 and 1980, the International Center for Conservation at Rome, with funds from UNESCO, and under the direction of Mr.Paul Schwartzbaum and Ms.Isabell Sangas, completed the cleaning of the frescoes. The quality of the paintings is now apparent, and a detailed reassessment of the New Church is possible. Preliminary to this task, a photographic survey was conducted in the summer of 1982 with the generous permission and aid of the Turkish authorities and the financial support of Duke University and Dumbarton Oaks. This material will be presented at the Byzantine Studies Conference.

LES PEINTURES MURALES DE LA VIERGE D'AMASKOU ET DE LA SAINT-TRINITÉ, À CHYPRE; LEUR ATTRIBUTION AU XII^{e} SIÈCLE

Andréas Nicolaïdes, Université de Provence
(Final version of Abstract not received)

THE SELF-CONSCIOUS ANGEL: CHARACTER STUDY IN BYZANTINE PAINTING OF THE ANNUNCIATION

Henry Maguire, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

This paper concerns a peculiar version of the Annunciation scene, which makes a brief appearance in Byzantine iconography at the end of the twelfth and in the early thirteenth centuries. The best dated example is the fresco of the Annunciation in the church of Panagia tou Arakou at Lagoudera, on the island of Cyprus, which was painted in 1192. In this church the Annunciation is arranged on either side of an arch, with the Virgin Mary seated on the right, and the angel approaching her on the left. In contrast to earlier versions of the Annunciation, the angel at Lagoudera is portrayed in a turning pose. The forward leg of the angel is shown in profile view, but his body makes a sudden twist at the waist, so that we see both his shoulders from the back. The turn of Gabriel's body is emphasized by the curve of drapery that descends from his left shoulder to his waist. His head and body are not inclined towards Mary, but are held back in a position of reserve. The twisting pose of the angel conveys the impression that he has come to a sudden halt in his flight, as if he wished to hold back from delivering his message to Mary.

Only two other Byzantine Annunciation scenes are known to me in which the Angel Gabriel is depicted in a similar manner. The better known is a famous icon at Mount Sinai, which, on account of its style, must be close in date to the fresco at Lagoudera. The third Annunciation scene is a miniature in a Gospel book in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz of Berlin (MS.gr.qu.66, fol, 165), which was painted in the first two decades of the thirteenth century.

Professor Weitzmann has suggested some of the visual parallels and antecedents for the unusual turning posture of the angel in these paintings of the Annunciation. He showed that figures in similar, if not identical, attitudes appeared as apostles in Byzantine Ascension scenes, and as dancers in the iconography of the Old Testament. In this paper, however, I wish to explore not the visual but the literary sources that lay behind the new characterization of Gabriel. For the turning pose of the angel in the late twelfth-century Annunciation scenes may have been more than a simple mannerism of style; it may have illustrated passages in Byzantine sermons and hymns on the feast of the Annunciation, which described Gabriel's hesitations before he spoke to Mary. The artists who created the new version of the Annunciation borrowed the twisting pose of Gabriel from other iconographic contexts, in order to illustrate texts which had been made familiar to church-goers through their repetition in the liturgy. There is a rich literary tradition which could explain the selection of a hesitant and "self-conscious" pose for the angel in Byzantine paintings of the Annunciation. It is difficult to prove that the artists were intending to illustrate one text in particular; however, among the sermons by far the most popular and the most widely known was a homily by Andrew of Crete (PG,97, cols. 892-893)

The last section of the paper concerns a problem of chronology. The three paintings of the Annunciation were created in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but they illustrated literary readings that dated as far back as the eighth century. Since these texts quoted the thoughts of Gabriel at the most crucial point in his career, they came close in their effect to exercises in ethopoiia, or character study, although they were not structured according to the divisions of ethopoiia laid down by the rhetorical handbooks. Since ethopoiia enjoyed a special vogue among Byzantine professors and their pupils during the twelfth century, it is likely that those passages of the older literature of the Byzantine church that explored character and emotion through speeches acquired a fresh appeal for educated patrons and their artists at this time. By the end of the century the new taste for character study in literature had found expression in the visual arts.

TRADITION AND INNOVATION: PROVINCIAL BYZANTINE FRESCO PAINTING IN ATTICA

A. Dean McKenzie, University of Oregon

Throughout Attica are to be found numerous, provincial Byzantine churches and chapels, some of which still preserve a large part of their original frescoes. Understandably, little academic attention has been focused on these rather obscure works. However, through a close examination of the surviving frescoes, much can be learned about the degree of adherence to traditional Byzantine religious imagery by provincial artists and the extent of originality that was tolerated. A case in point is the small church of H. Kyriaki at Keratea, some 40 kilometers from Athens. The frescoes still intact on the vault of the naos (dated c. 1200) typify the expressive though unsophisticated interpretation of time-honored Christian themes. As would be expected, the influence of folk art is clearly evident, especially in the decorative motifs. Among the surviving compositions are: Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple, Nativity, Holy Women at Christ's Tomb, Raising of Lazarus, Descent into Limbo and Christ's Ascension. The most expressive figure of all is St. Simeon in the Presentation theme. His rather tortured facial expression and disheveled hair show similarities with the St. Simeon figure at Nerezi, as well as the figure of St. John the Baptist from H. David, Thessaloniki. At Keratea most instructive is the Nativity composition. Even in its damaged state, one can discern the traditional imagery. The artist, however, has reduced the number of angels to a single figure as pars pro toto. The Christ Child in the bathing scene has a weary, if not hypnotic, expression. He is seated in the center of a large tub decorated with peasant textile motifs. One mid-wife pours water over his head while the other, seated on the right, reaches out to wash the Child. Absent is the water-testing motif which had become so popular during the Comnenian period. St. Joseph strikes the classic pondera-tion pose. However, his placement in the upper left is unusual. Ordinarily he appears below and to the left or right.

The most problematical aspect of the composition is the group of three figures on the far right. The two figures to the Virgin's immediate left wear boots and long tunics with richly decorated edges which would seem to classify them as Magi bringing gifts. However, their conical hats are similar to those worn by shepherds in other provincial examples of the Nativity, as for example in the nearby Chapel of the Virgin at Merenta or the Church of the Panagia near Koropi. Painted by a mediocre assistant to the main artist, a third figure also wearing this conical hat appears in the distance, gesturing either towards the angel or the heavenly apparition. Perhaps this is a shepherd since that is the traditional location for that element of the Nativity. Yet how can we justify two Magi rather than the usual three in the composition? Since he wears a long robe and cape (?) I would interpret him as the third Magus lagging behind. This means the "artist" has eliminated altogether the shepherds, an essential element in Nativity scenes.

Even though taken as a whole, this representative composition shows a general adherence to traditional Byzantine imagery of the Nativity, at the same time it illustrates the adjustments--both in reduction and elimination of elements--that one suspects would be unallowable were this church in an urban environment. The frescoes at H. Kyriaki at Keratea, then stand for the style and originality that one can equate with other anonymous artists whose works would be seen only by a small, unsophisticated, but no doubt appreciative, farming community.

Christianity and Paganism

Presiding: Timothy E. Gregory (Ohio State University)

*CONTORNIATES AND THE CALENDAR OF 354: NEW EVIDENCE AGAINST A PAGAN REACTION IN ROME IN THE MID-FOURTH CENTURY

Michele Renee Salzman, Boston University

Among the most unusual products of fourth-century Rome are the bronze medals with raised edges, known as contorniates. Hundreds of contorniates have been located and published by A. Alfoldi, and the bibliography continues to grow, yet the meaning and purpose of these pieces remain quite mysterious. Alfoldi thought they were New Year's gifts, distributed as pagan propaganda by the pagan aristocracy of Rome. J.M.C. Toynbee believes they were used as mementoes of the games, while Mazzarino says they were entrance tickets for visitors at the games, but the best evidence remains inconclusive. Despite these problems, Alfoldi's analysis of the contorniates has dominated scholarly interpretation and has supplied the groundwork for discussion of the mid-fourth century in Rome as a period of pagan-Christian conflict. My study of the Calendar of 354 has, however, led me to question traditional interpretations of this period in Rome, and of the contorniates in particular. In this paper I will argue that the contorniates fulfilled a traditional function at one specific set of games illustrated in the Calendar for July: antique sources record religious donations at certain Roman festivals, and specifically at the games of Apollo, noted in the Calendar of 354. As I will demonstrate, the image of July in the Calendar of 354 can be read as an allusion to this specific rite of the games to Apollo.

July is illustrated in the Calendar of 354 by a single nude male figure, standing in exaggerated contrapposto: he holds a bag in his right hand and a shallow basket with three plants in his left hand. Two covered containers and a heap of coins lie in the background. Interpretation of this image has long been problematic; most recently, H. Stern (Le Calendrier de 354, Paris, 1953) has read this figure as a composite mulberry-Cancer-Mercury illustration. This identification raises iconographic problems, such as the lack of Mercurial attributes; and poses even more difficult questions of meaning, for there is no apparent connection with Mercury in the month of July. If we read the image within its Roman context, however, the figure can be identified with Apollo, the giver of plenty, alluded to by the sacks and plants. The visual evidence and the attributes depicted for July support this interpretation. In particular, the heap of coins depicted in the illustration coincides with several of the extant contorniates and may be read as a reference to the religious donation at the festival of Apollo.

If my interpretation of the image of July in the Calendar of 354 is correct, the evidence provided by the Calendar in conjunction with that of the contorniates would support the traditional popularity of the festival and rites of Apollo, but argues against any analysis of these artifacts as evidence for a pagan reaction in Rome in the mid-fourth century.

ROMANANTIC HELLENISM AND PAGAN SURVIVAL IN BYZANTINE GREECE

Timothy E. Gregory, Ohio State University
(Final version of Abstract not received)

THE JUSTINIANIC PROGRAM OF CHRISTIANIZING THE EMPIRE

Frank R. Trombley, Ohio State University

The Justinianic program of christianizing the empire has not yet received definitive treatment. The legal basis for the prosecution of pagans is well known (CJ 1.11.9-10), and some aspects of the admin-istrative procedure have been treated (A. Cameron on the philosophi-cal schools, and I. Rochow with an overview in a series of articles). No study has yet delineated the typical administrative procedures used against the hellēnes in the towns and villages. This paper will consider the problem in the light of epigraphic and hagiographic texts.

The prosecution of urban pagans is attested by John of Ephesus, Malalas, and Theophanes in 529, 546, and 562. These sources name only the most prominent persons convicted, and tell little of the procedure. A well-known inscription discovered at Sardis (Buckler, no. 19) mentions the internment of pagans (post-539) under the direction of Hyperechios the referendarius and imperial judge (theios dikastēs), with the names and sentences of the convicted. Only the first two lines of this list survive. This inscription, the only procedural document so far noted for the "pagan trials," is supplemented by an unnoticed section of the Vita S. Symeonis Stylitis Iunioris, which notes the origin and method of a series of legal actions taken at Antioch ca. 554-559. The significant elements of the hagiographer's report are these: the prosecutor was a special agent of the Constantinopolitan government (archōn=referendarius and dikastēs); the trials followed a specific complaint against the pagans of Antioch, the attempted defacement of an icon of Symeon, as alleged; high-ranking citizens were implicated; the charges varied among pagan cult practices (hellēnismos), manichaeism, astrology, and automatism; hearings took place at the magistrates' bēma; pagan books, household idols, and service vessels were destroyed; the judge imposed fines and confiscations, and published a list of the convicted with their terms of confinement. The hagiographer summarized these Acta. This procedure agrees with the Sardis inscription but offers more detail. The Justinianic trials seem to have occurred sporadically, due to specific complaints. The law was, apart from this, unenforcible.

On the countryside the task of catechizing pagan villages fell to the monastic foundations. The methods set forth in the ecclesiastical history of John of Ephesus are confirmed by other texts. The large temple demolished at Dareira appears now to have been the sanctuary of Mētēr Isodromē (Strabo 9.5.19). At Colophon the oikonomos Kyriakos reused marbles from the temple of Apollo Clarios for the construction of a three-apsed basilica. The Vita S. Abramii mentions the dispatch of a monk to convert the pagan village of Taenia. After a small part of the population was baptized, the bishop of Lampsakos sent in regular clergy. The temple lands of a female deity reverted to the monastery of St. Tryphon in the Troad, as a sixth-century inscription attests. Places sacred to Artemis persisted thereafter (Vita S. Theodori Sykeotis). Once villages were converted, the hegumens made circuit tours of the countryside to supervise small chapels (eukhtēria) and eradicate chthonic cults. The vita of Nikolaos of Hagia Sion (ob. 565) mentions sacred springs and trees (possibly foci for the Artemis cult) and the persistence of sacrifice. The latter was deeply rooted and required Ritenchristianisierung to sidestep chronic apostatic behavior. The laws against paganism were here, as in the towns, unenforcible. The ecclesiastical structure had a quasi-administrative role. Subsidies went to some monasteries (Dareira), but not in every case (cf. the non-imperial provenance of the Hagia Sion vessels).

Byzantine Art and the West

Presiding: Nancy Ševčenko (Cambridge, Mass.)

*THE OPPENHEIM OR FIESCHI-MORGAN RELIQUARY IN NEW YORK, AND THE ANTECEDENTS OF MIDDLE BYZANTINE ENAMEL

David Buckton, British Museum

It does not surprise us that Ottonian enamel looks Byzantine. There had, after all, been a gap of a hundred years or so in enamel production in the West, and, without a live tradition of their own on which to draw, Ottonian goldsmiths naturally looked to contemporary Byzantine enamel for their inspiration. This seems to have happened even before AD 972, when Otto II married a Byzantine princess.

Were it not for the existence of certain key works dated to the Iconoclastic period, notably the Oppenheim or Fieschi-Morgan reliquary in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the ewer-reliquary in the abbey treasury at St-Maurice (Canton Valais), post-Iconoclastic Byzantine goldsmiths would be seen to have occupied a closely analogous position: forced to look outside the frontiers of their Empire for a live tradition of enamelling, they would have found it in the Carolingian West.

The overwhelmingly figural character of Middle Byzantine enamel makes the New York reliquary the more important prototype. Ever since 1922, when Marc Rosenberg dated its enamel circa AD 700 on the basis of the saints represented, a seventh or eighth-century date has met with general acceptance. A later origin has, however, been canvassed, notably by Anatole Frolow, who, on iconographic grounds, preferred a date in the ninth or tenth century.

The aniconic St-Maurice ewer has also been dated to the Iconoclastic period. In fact, over the past 150 years it has been dated to every century between the sixth and the twelfth and described as Alexandrian, Iranian, Sasanian, Islamic, Balkan, Avar, Carolingian, and either Venetian or Sicilian, as well as Byzantine.

It has never been published as Ottonian, and yet the colours of the translucent enamel on the ewer -- purple-blue, reddish-purple and green -- occur together pre-eminently in Ottonian enamel. It may be significant that Theophilus, the author of the early medieval treatise De diversis artibus, appends to his description of opaque glass mosaic tesserae from pagan sites as the enameller's raw material a note on the re-use (for windows) of vessels of blue, purple and green glass, which 'are also found'.

The early medieval enameller's reliance on glass from sites dating from before the development of Christian art is supported by scientific analyses of ninth to twelfth-century Western enamel, which have invariably identified compounds of antimony as the opacifying agents: antimonates were replaced as opacifiers by compounds of tin before the fourth century AD, and their use was not resumed until the late middle ages. The identification of early medieval enamel with re-used Late Antique glass accounts for the fact that most of the opaque colours on the St-Maurice ewer are repeated in Western enamel of diverse dates. However, whether through the despoiling of a particular mosaic or through the import of a limited batch of contemporary Byzantine tesserae, certain colours were rare, and two of the colours on the St-Maurice ewer can be matched only on Western enamel dated to the last quarter of the tenth century or the first quarter of the eleventh.

Close iconographic parallels in enamel for the St-Maurice ewer occur only in Senkschmelz, silhouetted against metal, widely regarded as a tenth-century development, whether in Byzantium or the West.

The Oppenheim reliquary is therefore the only serious contender for the role of prototype of Middle Byzantine enamel, and even here there are difficulties. It is a priori improbable that a reliquary of the True Cross bearing a Crucifixion scene and the representations of twenty-seven saints should have been made during a period in which images were banned, bearing in mind the apparent geography of enamel production in the Byzantine world immediately before and immediately after Iconoclasm. The Virgin of the Crucifixion scene is clearly labelled 'Theotokos', extremely unlikely before the second council of Nicaea in 787 or, some would say, before the end of Iconoclasm in 843. There have, as mentioned above, also been iconographic objections to a date earlier than the ninth century.

Despite the Greek inscriptions, there are about the Oppenheim reliquary certain features which can be paralleled in Carolingian enamel. Among these are lentoid eyes of one solid colour, 'jug-handle' ears, also of solid colour, notably red, the 'shirt-pockets' of some of the saints, and groups of round cells with no apparent function, either iconographic or technical. The Altheus burse-reliquary (AD 780-799) in the cathedral treasury at Sion (Valais) has saints with lentoid eyes filled with solid colour, notably red, and books held in -- or, rather, balanced on -- hands veiled or concealed under garments explain the Oppenheim shirt-pockets as a misunderstanding. Eight medallions on the gold altar (AD 824-859) in S. Ambrogio, Milan, contain female busts; all have solid red 'jug-handle' ears.

The practice of applying gold cloisonné enamel to a silver-gilt object is Western rather than Byzantine. While, for technical reasons, gold was universally preferred as the metal in contact with enamel, economic considerations dictated that, between about AD 700 and the second half of the thirteenth century, Western craftsmen treated gold as a disappearing commodity. In contrast, there is evidence that, over the same period, gold was more plentiful than silver in Byzantium.

Other technical features suggest that the erstwhile prototypes of Middle Byzantine enamel, besides being of ninth-century date, were the work of Carolingian craftsmen. The genuine antecedents of Middle Byzantine enamel must therefore be sought in the West.

THE RELIEF OF CHRIST IN THE CHURCH OF THEOTOKOS PANAGHIOTISSA OF MARIA PALEOLOGINA AND ITS UNKNOWN PARALLEL

Zoran Tosic, CUNY-BCC, New York

The relief bust of Christ from the church of Maria Paleologina has been published on two occasions, first by O.HJort, second by Th. Mathews. Hjort attempts to attempts to place this relief chronologically and stylistically in the history of Byzantine sculpture. He was inclined to associate the work with a western-oriented artistic trend in Constantinople, which was still in existence in the capital during the sixties and the seventies of the thirteenth century.

To the suggested list of Hjort's parallels, the author of the proposed paper would like to introduce the figure of Christ from the Sokolica sculpture of the Virgin. This Virgin and the Child, as generaly believed, once stood over one of the portals of the church of Banjska, built by king Milutin, c.1314-16.

With the introduction of the Banjska, i.e. Sokolica sculpture, it is possible to stylistically relate the Panaghiotissa to this "new" monument, while at the same time redating the Constantinopolitan relief from the seventies or the eighties of the thirteenth century, to the early fourteenth, at about 1307, when Maria Paleologina was last mentioned. It might be even placed in the teens of the same century, at the same period as the Deisis mosaic from Kariye, which depicts Melane-Maria Paleologina.

In addition to the strong stylistic similarities between the two sculptures, they can be also linked chronologically: Maria Paleologina, the ktetorissa of Panaghiotissa was a half sister of Andronikos II, who was the father-in-law of king Milutin.

FLOOR MOSAICS IN TORCELLO: BYZANTINE OR WESTERN?

Irina Andreescu, University of Bologna
(Final version of Abstract not received)

COPPO, GIOTTO, AND NEREZI: A REEXAMINATION OF BYZANTINE SOURCES

Anne Derbes, Hood College

Otto Demus's Byzantine Art and the West is perhaps the definitive study of the profound debt of Western medieval art to Byzantium. But aspects of this pioneering text are misleading. Specifically questionable are his comments about two major Florentine painters: Coppo di Marcovaldo and Giotto.

Demus, considering each artist's version of the Lamentation of Christ (Coppo's in the San Gimignano Cross, Giotto's in the Arena Chapel, Padua), argues that each depended on a Byzantine prototype like the Threnos at Nerezi. Coppo, he suggests, altered the prototype by grouping the figures closer together: "It did not matter to him that as a result most of the figures lost their function--John does not fondle Christ's hand, and the two old men do not hold his feet--the main thing for Coppo was the concentration of expressive motifs." Giotto, Demus continues, "restored their proper actions. . . . Giotto had seen Byzantine thirteenth century formulations of the theme and was not dependent on his Italian predecessors" (pp. 224-25).

In fact, it is Coppo who more faithfully imitates a Byzantine model, though not the type seen at Nerezi but a distinct variant. Giotto's relationship to Byzantium is more complex. But for the most part, he owes more to his Italian predecessors than to Constantinople.

A comparison of Coppo's Lamentation with the Threnos at Nerezi reveals many differences. As Demus states, John, Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus no longer perform their original duties but mourn openly. Further, Christ does not rest on Mary's lap but on the anointing stone; holy women cluster near his head. In all these respects, Coppo follows not the canonical Threnos but a hybrid which fuses the traditional type with aspects of the Epitaphios. The version at Čučer gives a fairly clear idea of the specific type which was known to Coppo.

Giotto's composition, too, differs from the canonical Threnos in important details. First, it is now Mary Magdalen, not one of the men, who caresses Christ's feet. And the Virgin does not press her cheek to her son's, but gazes intently at his face as if studying it for the last time. Exactly these points can be found in another variant of the Threnos: one example appears in a lectionary in the Morgan Library, Ms. 639 (fol. 280r.). But the Arena Lamentation is not the first

Italian composition to reflect this unusual image: it occurs earlier in the fresco at Assisi by the Isaac Master. Finally, this variant must have been known to the anonymous Franciscan who wrote the Meditations on the Life of Christ: his description of the Lamentation corresponds closely to the compositions at Padua, Assisi, and in the Morgan Lectionary.

Only one aspect of Giotto's fresco may indicate fresh exposure to Byzantine models: the seated mourners in the foreground. Long assumed to derive from Etruscan or Roman tomb sculpture, these "huddled mourners" in fact appear occasionally in the Threnos, as in the example in Vatopedi 735 (fol. 16).

Late Antique and Early Byzantine Literature

Presiding: Barry Baldwin (University of Calgary)

WORKS OF ART IN THE LATIN ANTHOLOGY: FACT OR FICTION?

Susan T. Stevens, University of Wisconsin, Madison

(Final version of Abstract not received)

THE PERCEPTION OF ROME AND THE 'ROMAN' EMPIRE IN THE SYRIAC TRADITION

Francisco Javier Martinez, Catholic University of America

The idea of the Roman Empire as the last world empire which, in spite of all external pressures and threats, would last to the end of the world, only then surrendering to God, is one well-known to Byzantinists, as part of the religious-political theory supporting the Byzantine State. This idea was not limited to the boundaries of Byzantium, but was shared by Christians living beyond its eastern frontiers, in the Persian empire.

One of the most striking examples of this way of thinking is in the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, a seventh century Syriac treatise offering a contemporary Christian response to the first appearance of the Muslims on the scene. Through its use by later Byzantine writers, the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius became widely influential in subsequent Byzantine speculation. However, this small apocalypse was not originally written in Greek, but in Syriac, as was shown by Kmosko in the thirties, and is immediately clear from studying the only extant Syriac manuscript (Vat. Syr 58) which, unfortunately, is still unpublished. The prologue to the Syriac text suggests that the work may have originated in Singar, a locality beyond the Byzantine borders.

Not only was Pseudo-Methodius written in Syriac. Its whole worldview depends on Syriac tradition. Its sources, as far as we can identify them, are Syriac works, like the Cave of Treasures or the Christian Alexander Legend, an outgrowth of the Alexander-cycle which developed in Syria. Moreover, the internal logic that dictates both the composition of the work and its particular vision of history relies on typically Syriac ideas. A close analysis of Pseudo-Methodius' methods shows that there is hardly anything original in his work, except the fact of having put together, in the right time and for the right cause, a number of ideas which were widespread in his own milieu. The basic tenets of his political thought do not originate with him, but existed in the Syriac-speaking world long before him. This can be shown from two different documents.

The first is the Syriac Christian Alexander Legend, a work somehow dependent on Pseudo-Callisthenes, but which represents a Syriac tradition all its own, with the emphasis placed on Alexander's building the Caspian gates and keeping the "unclean peoples" out of the civilized world. The whole point of the legend is to show that Alexander, who is depicted, interestingly enough, as a Christian king, is responsible for keeping Syria secure from the incursions of the Huns. The legend is possibly a work of the fifth century, and was part of the heritage preserved both by Monophysites and Nestorians, since it is found in Nestorian manuscripts and also in a metrical version attributed to Jacob of Sarug.

We can trace the origin of some of the ideas of Pseudo-Methodius still farther back. The second document we want to study is the Fifth Demonstration of Aphraat who, writing in the mid-fourth century, and within the boundaries of the Persian empire, developed an apocalyptic schema similar in many points to that of Pseudo-Methodius. Reasoning on the basis of the Four World empires in Daniel, he tries to prove the foolishness of the Persian kings engaging in war against the Romans: since the time when Alexander killed Darius, the Romans had held the imperium, and they should keep it until the time of the final judgment.

EPITHALAMIA: INFORMATION BY CHORICIUS OF GAZA ON MARRIAGE AND WEDDING CUSTOMS

Fotios K. Litsas, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

Choricius of Gaza (6th century A.D.) is well known for his orations and rhetoricial exercises, no attention, however, has ever been shown for the various information he occasionally offers on a variety of subjects, such as the activities of the local leadership, the festivals of Gaza, and other local traditions and customs.

Relatively little is known about the socio-cultural aspects of marriage and wedding customs in the Byzantine society. Since Choricius often takes the opportunity to refer to marriage and wedding celebrations, his information seem to be of special interest for a better understanding and further evaluation of the socio-cultural traditions on marriage in the sixth century.

The proposed paper will identify and examine Choricius' information about marriage and wedding customs and also analyze them under the light of other existing material on the subject. A careful examination and study of the material allows a further view of the socio-cultural developments in Hellenistic Palestine of the late Antiquity, especially during the transitional period of the fifth and sixth centuries. Despite the rhetorical nuances, the people and the events described in his writings are real and, therefore, it seems that Choricius illustrates the actual customs and traditions as they were practiced by the people of his times. This interpretation of material would add a different dimension to the importance of Choricius as a source of socio-cultural information, since most scholars assume that his works were simple rhetorical exercises without any further significance.

Choricius also discussed the subject of marriage in two of his declamations, Avarus and Juvenis Fortis. There, too, he develops his controversia on the question of marriage, while the various views and theories are carefully presented and illustrated. Although Choricius' argumentation is based on a complicated and unlikely situation, the orator employs useful material from the social, public and private life as himself and his students know and understand it and, thus, this material again reflects the socio-cultural milleau of Choricius' own environment.

Furthermore, this material can also attest the existence of folk traditions in the sixth century Palestine with similar ones which still exist today in Cyprus, Greece and other countries.

THE LIFE OF MELANIA THE YOUNGER: BIOGRAPHY AS PROPAGANDA LITERATURE

Elizabeth A. Clark, Duke University

Throughout the twentieth century, scholars of patristic literature have debated the classical precedents of the early monastic Vitae: to what extent did biography, aretalogy, and the Hellenistic romance influence the form of these works? So eagerly did they concentrate on the literary precedents of the monks' lives that they often neglected their function. Attention has recently shifted to the latter problem. Although we should not slight genre studies of distinguished scholars like Karl Holl and Richard Reitzenstein, the new approach lends a sharper edge to the discussion of early Christian literature in its social and cultural setting.

An analysis of the fifth-century Life of Melania the Younger profits from this revised perspective. Without doubt Melania's Vita (composed by the monk Gerontius who directed her monasteries on the Mount of Olives after her death) exhibits characteristics of the aforementioned genres: the chronological scheme, the emphasis on Melania's nobility, wealth, travels, wisdom, and "wonders" find precedents in earlier literature, not least the Hellenistic romance. Yet concentration on these themes alone obscures Gerontius' central purpose, to present his subject as an exemplar of orthodoxy, a hunter of heretics who was herself totally dissociated from heretical taint. That such Tendenzliteratur could be inspirational to contemporary Christians is obvious. That Gerontius' depiction corresponds to the "historical Melania the Younger" is more dubious, for other texts, when taken in conjunction with the Vita Melaniae, reveal that Melania was closely associated with Origenists, Pelagians, and Donatists. Gerontius, in effect, has whitewashed the evidence. Just as the Life of Antony can rightly be seen as anti-Arian polemic, so the Vita Melaniae is better understood as propaganda literature for mid-fifth century "orthodoxy" than as a Christianized form of classical biography.

Images of Rome and Constantinople

Presiding: Dale Kinney (Bryn Mawr College/Institute for Advanced Study)

ANTHUSA: NOTES ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Alan Cameron, Columbia University

I intend to present a sketch of the development of the iconography of Constantinople from 330 to 566. Much of the relevant material was collected more than 30 years ago in a pair of important articles by Jocelyn Toynbee. But there has been little attempt to interpret the frequent changes in iconography - in contrast with the basic stability of the personification of Roma (which I will briefly illustrate with examples from art and literature).

For example, around 380, in all the mints of the empire, Constantinopolis begins quite suddenly to be shown with a helmet instead of the mural crown worn by all other city personifications. It seems clear that this must be connected with the decision taken at the Council of Constantinople in 381 to elevate the see of Constantinople above all other sees except Rome - an intriguing illustration of iconography reflecting ecclesiastical history.

Eastern monuments consistently show Constantinopolis with crown thereafter, while western monuments often continue to show her with the old mural crown - as though refusing to acknowledge her equality with Rome.

Another related question is the meaning of the term Anthusa transmitted in a few literary sources as an alternative name of Constantinople. It is not (as usually alleged) a secret name, but simply a description of the prosperous personification of the Oriental Rome. This aspect is often reflected in the iconography: e.g. the cornucopia and even thyrsus.

In eastern (but not western) art, the figure of Roma tends to be presented more decorously (no bare breast) and decked out in the same jewelled robes as Anthusa-Constantinopolis. And once Constantinopolis came to be shown regularly with a helmet, it became almost impossible to tell them apart. The best illustration is the pairs on the consular diptychs of Clementinus (513), Magnus (518) and Orestes (530). On these representations the left hand figure holds a disk inscribed with the letter A. All sorts of odd explanations of this letter have been propounded, yet it must surely stand for Anthusa: it is a label to distinguish them. A more obvious point that has yet to be clearly perceived is that these three diptychs are virtually the last Byzantine representations of Constantinopolis. From the start she had been an invented personification with no individual features of her own. All her attributes - cornucopia, ship's prow, helmet, spear - are borrowed from more venerable personifications, and (worse still) they kept changing, to reflect the rising political and ecclesiastical pretensions of the city. Unlike the figure of Roma aeterna who bulks so large in late Latin poetry, the figure of Anthusa has no literary resonance, no emotional impact. It is not surprising that she did not last very long. When Justin II revived the type for his coinage, people thought that the classical looking lady was Aphrodite, and were shocked! In any case, by then the people of Constantinople had come to realise that the true protectress of their city was the Theotokos.

'ROMA' AND 'CONSTANTINOPOLIS' IN VIENNA

Anthony Cutler, Pennsylvania State University

The well-known ivory diptych in Vienna said to represent Roma and Constantinopolis probably does not represent Roma and Constantinopolis. More importantly, on material, technical and stylistic grounds it is to be seen as a Carolingian production of the early ninth and not of the fifth or sixth century as proposed by Delbrueck, Volbach et al. The complete text will appear in Byzanz und der Westen. Studien zu Kunst und Literatur des europäischen Mittelalters, ed. H. Hunger and I. Hutter, Vienna, 1983.

*ON THE DEDICATION OF HAGHIA SOPHIA

William Tronzo, Dumbarton Oaks

Given the singular importance of Constantinople's great church, Haghia Sophia, it is remarkable how little we know about its history, especially in its early stages. The few archeological scraps and the terse, often contradictory written sources on the church that have survived have yielded no fully satisfactory answers to such fundamental questions as who founded the church, when was it dedicated and what did it look like. On the other hand, it seems that one important piece of evidence has never really been brought to bear on these problems, the sole unambiguous survivor of the church's early phase--its name. Why was Haghia Sophia dedicated to wisdom and what does the name of the church tell us about its early history?

This paper involves an investigation of the concept of wisdom with the aim of clarifying Haghia Sophia's dedication and aspects of its early history. The church's dedication to wisdom is seen in relation to the promulgation of the Creed of Constantinople of 360 and the Depositio of Pamphilus, three events that reveal an underlying unity of purpose and significance. These events were virtually coincident; moreover, they may be taken as an official proclamation of the Arian view of the nature of Christ. The circumstances of the church's dedication, in turn, shed light on the problem of the identity of its founder and the significance of its proximity to Haghia Eirene.

This investigation also prompts speculation on the role of the Emperor Constantius in the development of the church and the importance of dedications to abstract concepts in the fourth century.

'TSAR'GRAD': THE IMAGE OF BYZANTINE IN THE POPULAR LORE OF MEDIEVAL RUSSIA

George P. Majeska, University of Maryland

Historians of medieval Russia have expended considerable energy in analyzing the image of Byzantium in the politically-oriented literature surrounding the growth of the Russian autocracy and Russian messianism ("Moscow the Third Rome").

They have, however, had little to say about the concept of Constantinople and the East Roman Empire on the lower levels of medieval Russian society. On a previous occasion (1981 Birmingham Byzantine Symposium) I have addressed myself to the sources of the popular conception of Byzantium in early Russia, which I take to be largely liturgical. That is to say, I have suggested that the primary vehicle for disseminating information about Byzantium was the liturgical texts entoned in the churches and that these texts presented Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire as endowed with a sacred aura.

What were the results of this "input" on the consciousness of the ordinary citizen of early Russia? To what degree was the numinous quality of Byzantium absorbed into the popular mentality? How active a part did this "mystical" perception of Constantinople and the Empire of New Rome play in the medieval Russian Volksweltanschauung? Two large groups of sources present answers to these questions: the native literary production of early Russia, and folk material, each group answering the questions for a specific milieu, i.e., the literate level of Russian society, and the non-literate element.

Study of the written literature of pre-modern Russia not directly dependent on Byzantine sources suggests an ambiguity in conceptualizing Byzantium. From clearly Russian parts of various chronicles, for example, Byzantium appears religiously pure and unbelievably rich, although given to occasional heinous heresy and populated by "sly Greeks" who are "deceivers." Russian Lives of saints see Byzantium as the normal home of sanctity and praise native Russian saints for attaining sanctity without the benefit of living in surroundings so conducive to salvation. Non-canonical religious material ("cell reading") tends to view Constantinople as more clearly a holy place and the touchstone of the faith; pictorial material shows a similar concept of Byzantium.

Analyzing the image of Byzantium in Russian folk literature is at the same time more interesting and more difficult than analyzing the same subject in written literature; more interesting because it reflects the views of a larger segment of the population and more difficult because of the difuse nature of the material and because of questions as to the period in which the material originates. A preliminary study of Russian folk literature apparently having its roots in the medieval period (folk epos [bylina], oral tales, proverbs, and sacred songs [stikhi dukhovnye]) suggests somewhat surprisingly that the rich and holy Byzantium of the written literature is not highly integrated into the "mythic world" of the creators of folklore, that is, it is not a major part of Russian oral literature's vocabulary. Indeed, in the world of folklore, Byzantium is but one of several fabled lands of wealth and magic, much like "Babylon," "India," and the "invisible city of Kitezh." This conclusion, of course, raises a serious question about the depth of penetration of "Byzantinism" among the Russian people.

*THE IMAGES OF ROME IN ITS MEDIEVAL GUIDEBOOKS

Dale Kinney, Bryn Mawr College/Institute for Advanced Study

With one Carolingian exception, medieval guidebooks to Rome fall chronologically into two groups: of the mid-seventh century, and of the mid-twelfth century onwards. The first are directions to saints' tombs in cemeteries; they are addressed to pilgrims seeking loca sancta, and their redaction coincides with both the fall of Palestine to the Mohammedans, and the construction of sacred simulacra (e.g., the praesepium at S. Maria Maggiore) in Rome. The image of Rome furthered, if not actually purveyed by these guides is of the new Jerusalem, a mecca for pilgrims who could no longer journey to shrines and memoriae farther east.

The redaction of the second group of guides follows closely upon the reopening of Palestine with the first crusades, and the image they purvey is very different: Roma vetusta...eruta ruderibus. The Mirabilia Urbis Romae of ca. 1140 and the slightly later Graphia Aureae Urbis are guides to Roman antiquities, the first of their kind. Though they are superficially similar, analysis reveals essential differences. The Graphia, in which the matter of the Mirabilia is rearranged in a stricter topographical organization, is a proper guidebook, and the addition of an earlier, Byzantine-influenced "notitia dignitatum" creates a curious, perhaps meaningless conflation of old Rome with new. The Mirabilia, by contrast, is a topography with a thesis: nova Roma is not Byzantium but papal Rome, and new Rome was foreordained, and also prefigured in the pagan city that collapsed around it.

For the art historian, these texts may be more interesting for what they reveal about images in Rome than for whatever images of Rome they reflect. Again there are intriguing differences. The attitude toward ancient images evinced in the Graphia seems to be the common medieval one, best expressed by the often quoted Master Gregory: suspicious curiosity, fired partly by aesthetic fascination. The attitude in the Mirabilia, by contrast, is of scholarly detachment. Few images are mentioned at all, and those that are, appear as historical artifacts: prefigurations of salvation, and as such, portents whose burden has been realized. Roma vetusta fui, sed nunc nova Roma vocabor. Simulacra thus neutralized by time could be pondered safely, and even deliberately displayed, as one sees in the figured spolia carefully chosen to adorn the papally sponsored church of S. Maria in Trastevere.

Late Antique and Byzantine Fortifications

Presiding: Slobodan Ćurčić (Princeton University)

*CARBON-14 AND PROKOPIOS' DE AEDIFICIIS

W.J. Cherf, Loyola University of Chicago

Prokopios, in his panegyrical work De Aedificiis, described the Justinianic refortification of the region of Thermopylae(1). This narrative account by Prokopios must now be challenged, for lime mortar carbon-14 data, which were gathered from the fortifications at Dhema, indicate that its foundation, repair, and extensive renovation all took place before the sixth century A.D.(2). Consequently, any Justinianic claims of construction or refortification in the region should be questioned.

The absolute dating of lime mortars and plasters has been developed by Folk and Valastro of the University of Texas at Austin(3). This new procedure promises chronological data which can point out the original construction, repair, or renovation of architectural remains, while simultaneously offering absolute dates for those features. The Dhema carbon-14 data reveal two major construction periods: the first in the 370's, and the second in the 450's A.D. These construction periods are significant, for they both reflect the turbulent years of barbarian invasion during the fourth and fifth centuries(4), and parallel other fortification projects which were similarly undertaken in neighboring regions(5).

These dated architectural remains at Dhema, from all outward appearances, seem to have been built by the same engineers as those military structures found elsewhere in the Kallidromos Range. This similarity in construction style leads one to suspect that these fortifications too may be pre-Justinianic in origin.

1
Prokopios De Aedificiis 4.2.7-22. The boundaries of this region in the early Byzantine period are unclear; F. Staehlin, "Thermopylen," RE 5a(1934):2422,38-40, however, has speculated that it extended from the East Gate of Thermopylae west to Kato Dhio Vouna.

2
Dhema, which is located about 13 linear km. west of Thermopylae, describes a fortified site near Kato Dhio Vouna in the foothills of Mt. Oite. W.J. Cherf, "A Justinian Fortification near Thermopylae," Seventh Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts, Boston University, 1981, 7-8. This investigation was conducted by the Loyola University of Chicago Phokis-Doris Expedition in Central Greece, under the direction of Professor Edward W. Kase.

3
R.L. Folk, S. Valastro, Journal of Field Archaeology 3(1976):203-208.

4
Eunapis of Sardis frag. 65; Zosimus 4.31; 5.5; Claudius Claudianus De bello Pollentino sive Gothico 26.175-190; Marc. Comes s.a. 447,4; and J. Koder, F. Hild, Hellas und Thessalia, 51-2.

5
M. Vickers, Makedonika 12(1972):228-233; B. Croke, GRBS 19(1978):251-258; R.L. Hohlfelder, GRBS 18(1977):175-177; H.A. Thompson, JRS 49(1959):61-72; and P.A. Clement, Ancient Macedonia II, 135-137.

THE GARRISON FORTS OF BYZANTINE CILICIA

Robert W. Edwards, University of California, Berkeley

Prior to the 7th century many of the urban settlements in Byzantine Cilicia* were protected either by circuit walls or they had at least a fortified acropolis. Most of these urban defenses were erected during the first four centuries of the Roman empire. There is no mention in the late antique sources of pre-7th century Byzantine garrison forts in the rural areas. Such forts would guard the major arteries through Cilicia. Only Gülek, the watchpost above the Cilician Gates, is attested in the early Byzantine period. From the time of Constantine the emperors never viewed Cilicia as a frontier, but merely an interior region which provided safe passage to the troubled provinces and limites farther east. When the Isaurian raiders crossed the Calycadnus in the 4th and 5th centuries they were not countered by resident Cilician garrisons but by armies sent from Constantinople or Antioch. Muslim historians report that the first Arab armies in Cilicia advanced along the roads without interference. When Heraclius ordered the evacuation of eastern Cilicia Pedias the only soldiers mentioned are the militia who leave the cities. The Arabs considered Cilicia as a frontier and they not only repaired the defenses of the cities but they constructed a series of garrison forts to protect the roads and serve as bases of operation for the annual invasions to the north.

In the process of recapturing and securing Cilicia the Byzantines constructed their own garrison forts. One of their first forts is on the Lamas river which served as the boundary between Arab Cilicia and Byzantine Cilicia Tracheia. In the 8th century al-Masʿūdī reports that Lamas Kalesi served both as a site for the exchange of prisoners and a first line of defense. Later during the successful campaign of Nicephorus Phocas the Byzantines built a large garrison fort at the west entrance of the Amanus pass. Anna Comnena mentions that in 1097 Alexius I ordered garrison forts to be constructed at Seleucia and Korykos in order to keep Bohemond and the advancing first Crusade from controlling the harbours and the strategic coastal road. The city of Korykos had been abandoned in the 7th century. In Cilicia the decline of the Greek population, which once provided the urban militia, necessitated the importation of entire garrisons.

Because the references to Byzantine garrison forts are so fragmentary the critical problem is to determine which of the many medieval forts in Cilicia are Byzantine. All of these sites are unexcavated and show no traces of Greek dedicatory inscriptions. During the period when the Byzantines were building in and around Cilicia two other groups also constructed forts: the Arabs and Armenians. Since the sites of both are often attested in literature and since they display a certain consistency in respect to their masonry and architectural features it is possible by a process of elimination to determine which forts are likely to be Greek constructions. It must be stressed that the three known garrison forts of Byzantine origin are not entirely uniform in respect to their architectural features and masonry. There are at least eight unidentified forts which are clearly not Arab or Armenian and which share characteristics with the three Byzantine forts. In addition there are three other fortifications whose walls have been covered partially by Armenian reconstruction, but still retain traces of their Byzantine origin. When compared to Armenian and Arab structures the Byzantine garrison forts generally possess a poorer quality masonry, towers placed at regular intervals, a symmetrical plan and strategically placed donjon.

*For the purposes of this paper Cilicia consists of the semicircular area which is formed by the Mediterranean at the south, the Anti-Taurus Mts. (Nur Dağları) at the east, the Taurus Mts. at the north, and the Calycadnus river (Göksu) at the west.

THE CASTLE OF FORTY COLUMNS AT PAPHOS, CYPRUS

John Rosser, Boston College

In 1957, A.H.S. Megaw, then Director of the Department of Antiquities for Cyprus, conducted trial excavations at a "toumballos" mound overlooking the harbour at Paphos. The mound was long thought to contain the remains of a temple dedicated to Aphrodite. Instead it proved to be the remains of a concentric castle. The function of the granite columns littering the site, which caused local inhabitants to refer to the mound as "The Forty Columns," was as a means of horizontal reinforcement for the castle's towers. Under Megaw's direction, several further campaigns were conducted between 1957 and 1971.[1] Work resumed in 1981 and 1982 under the direction of Mr. Megaw and John Rosser, jointly sponsored by Dumbarton Oaks, The British School of Archaeology at Athens, Boston College, and Earthwatch.

Prior to the 1981 and 1982 campaigns, the general character of the structure was established as a five-tower residential castle, built around an open court and enclosed by an eight-tower wall. Also established was a date of 1222 for its destruction by earthquake. Most likely it was the castellum Baffes that surrendered to the troops of Richard Lionheart in 1191. The crusaders made alterations, but pottery evidence from construction contexts argues for an 8th-9th century date for the original plan.

This paper focuses on work at the castle in 1981 and 1982. Excavation has concentrated on the uncleared northern sector of the castle, especially the NE Tower and adjacent mill room. Some of the earliest evidence for the sugar industry in Cyprus has come from the mill room, since it appears that at least one of the two donkey mills there was used to crush sugar cane. Near the NE Tower was discovered a Byzantine lead seal, of a type common in the 7th-8th centuries, and bearing the name of a stratelates. This seal is further evidence that the initial garrison of the castle was Byzantine.

Emphasis is given primarily to the concentric design of the castle. It is the earliest known example of a kind of castle plan subsequently adopted by the crusaders, one seen later in castles constructed by Edward I in Wales. Most interesting in this regard is the Hospitaller castle at Belvoir, in Israel, the plan of which is strikingly similar to that of the Paphos castle.

[1]The most recent preliminary report is by Arthur H. S. Megaw, "Supplementary Excavations on a Castle Site at Paphos, Cyprus, 1970-1971," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 26 (1972), 322-343.

FORTRESSES AND ROUTES OF THE LASCARID EMPIRE

Clive Foss, University of Massachusetts, Boston
(Final version of Abstract not received)

Byzantine Manuscripts

Presiding: John Osborne (University of Victoria)

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SOUL: THREE EXAMPLES OF INNOVATION IN NINTH-CENTURY BYZANTINE MANUSCRIPTS

Deborah Markow, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Three innovative images that involve a specifically Christian depiction of the soul appear for the first time in ninth-century Byzantine manuscripts. They are The Soul in the Bosom of Abraham, the soul of the murdered Abel and the soul of the resurrected Lazarus.

The image of the Bosom of Abraham in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr.510, fol.149, is seen as the beginning of a long tradition of such images. The restless soul of Abel in the Sacra Paralella, Paris gr.923, fol.69r, is shown to be part of a long tradition of depictions of wronged souls in Greek art.

The third new image is, rather, an old one with a new component. The Resurrection of Lazarus in Pantocrator 61, fol.29r, is given a new dimension by depicting Lazarus' soul at the resurrection of his body. Scholars have neglected to notice that this is a new resurrection image and that it seems to reflect one Christian idea about our future resurrection, that our spiritual souls will be united with our earthly bodies at the resurrection.

This is not, however, the first depiction of resurrection as a reunion of earthly body and spiritual soul. This paper shows for the first time that this belief found expression in the fourth century on three unusual sarcophaghi which have evaded reasonable explication. These are the so-called double adorant sarcophaghi where a true-to-scale human body is brought before the throne of God with a reduced-size clothed soul. This paper shows that the earthliness of the larger figure is communicated through the gesture that obscures its face and covers its eyes in keeping with the words of God: "Thou canst not see my face, for man shall not see me and live". The spirituality of the smaller figure is revealed by its reduced size that, during the fourth century, had come to symbolize the receipt of the Holy Spirit, the creative energy of God which would be the gift to our souls at the resurrection.

This is a new and wholly Christian image of the soul that originiates in the fourth century but is not then utilized with the same imaginative and innovative force found in the ninth-century illuminations.

*ANTI-JEWISH POLEMICS IN THE 9TH CENTURY MARGINAL PSALTERS

Kathleen Corrigan, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The polemical character of the Byzantine marginal psalters has long been recognized. These manuscripts (Moscow, Hist.Mus.cod.129; Mt.Athos, Pantokrator 61) contain images which in various ways condemn certain Iconoclastic leaders and celebrate the triumph of orthodoxy. Although the Iconophile images form only a small component in the marginal psalters, they have been the focus of most of the art historical research on these manuscripts in the last 20 years. But what of the rest of the images? To what extent did polemical concerns govern the choice of the scores of images which fill the margins of these manuscripts? This paper will attempt to show that, in fact, the use of the psalter as a vehicle for dogmatic argumentation was a major concern of those who sponsored the production of the marginal psalters.

In the marginal psalters there are numerous images depicting the actions of the Jews against Christ: the Jews are shown spurning the words of Christ, preparing to stone him, bearing false witness against him, mocking him and tormenting him on the cross. They are also shown continually murmering against their own leader, Moses, unappreciative of the miracles God performed on their behalf in the wilderness. In most of these cases it is not just the subject that places the Jews in a negative light, but also the way in which they are represented. Like the Iconoclasts, the Jews are repeatedly portrayed with very unflattering physical characteristics. These caricatures are mainly of two types: the middle-aged man with dark hair, often a long pointy beard and prominent nose, and the white-haired, half-bald, old man, hunched over so that he appears to have no neck--what Kondakov called a "Silenus" type. Besides these exaggerated facial types, there is one image in which the Jews are portrayed as part animal. For Psalm 21:17, "Many dogs have surrounded me; an assembly of wicked men has beset me", the Jews are shown with human bodies and dogs' heads, surrounding Christ, mocking and tormenting him. They are identified as Ἑβραῖοι οἱ λεγόμενοι κύνες , a rather common epithet for the Jews.

The marginal psalters were not created ex nihilo in the 9th century, but rather depend on a pre-Iconoclastic tradition of illustrated psalters. However, I will argue that the strong anti-Jewish element in the 9th century manuscripts was not present in the pre-Iconoclastic Byzantine psalter, but was specifically an innovation of the 9th century illustrators. Thus, although the early church fathers interpreted the psalms in terms of the prophesies concerning the coming of Christ and the replacement of the Old Law by the New, and made use of relevant psalm verses in their anti-Jewish polemical literature, the evidence suggests that this interpretation of the psalms was not a major emphasis in pre-Iconoclastic Byzantine psalter illustration.

It is not surprising that this anti-Jewish imagery should have been added by the 9th century illustrators. In fact, anti-Jewish polemical literature was rather popular in the 8th and 9th centuries, in the form of treatises against the Jews, anti-Jewish sentiments expressed in sermons, reports of disputations between Christians and Jews, as well as stories of Jewish conversions to Christianity, often occasioned by the miraculous intervention of an image of Christ. The second part of this paper will attempt to define how the anti-Jewish images in the marginal psalters relate to the ideas expressed in the anti-Jewish polemical literature, and how these both relate to the general attitude towards Judaism in the 9th century.

*THE REATTRIBUTION OF AN EARLY ILLUSTRATED COLLECTION OF SERMONS

Susan Pinto Madigan, The University of Notre Dame

Among the manuscripts in the National Library in Athens is codex gr. 211, an early Middle Byzantine illustrated collection of sermons largely by John Chrysostom. Athens gr. 211 is decorated by line drawings colored with translucent polychrome washes. Twenty-five of the forty-two texts are decorated by geometric and floral ornament, while seventeen are enhanced by lively scenes arranged in the margins around the titles. Neither colophon nor information on the provenance survive to date or localize Athens gr. 211. Nevertheless, the manuscript is universally accepted as a product of the tenth century. This paper reattributes Athens gr. 211 to the ninth century on the basis of palaeography, codicology and style, and challenges a recent attribution of the manuscript to Italy.

Athens gr. 211 has long been compared to two tenth century collections of sermons by Chrysostom, Paris gr. 654 and Vatican ottob. gr. 14. However, a number of problems surround this association. First, the Vatican-Paris Chrysostom manuscripts are closely related by aspects of palaeography and codicology. To them can be added other manuscripts in Oxford, Venice and Vienna, as well as a hitherto unpublished Gospel book in Chicago. Athens gr. 211 shares none of the palaeographical, codicological or stylistic characteristics that unify this group.

Second, in a recent monograph, Grabar attributed the Vatican-Paris Chrysostom group and Athens gr. 211 to Italy on the basis of stylistic relationships he perceived with tenth century Greek manuscripts of known Italian origin. These comparisons are tenuous at best. In addition, palaeographers oppose Grabar by assigning the group's calligraphic style to Constantinople.

On the other hand, Athens gr. 211 does bear relationships to Byzantine painting of the ninth century. Aspects of its palaeography and codicology are similar or identical to dated minuscule manuscripts from this period. Certain stylistic features of Athens gr. 211 were judged "un-Byzantine" or unique when the manuscript was considered a product of the tenth century. The same features, however, appear in ninth century Byzantine manuscripts, such as the Chludov Psalter and its group, Paris gr. 510, and the mosaics in churches dedicated to Hagia Sophia in Istanbul and Thessalonika.

The remainder of this paper explains the significance of the new ninth century position of Athens gr. 211.

PHOTIOS, PARIS GR. 510, AND THE ROLE OF ART IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINTH CENTURY

Leslie Brubaker, Wheaton College

The ninth-century illustrated copy of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510) is a prime and important witness to Byzantine art of the period immediately following Iconoclasm. We know that the manuscript was produced between 879/880 and 882/883 in Constantinople, but who commissioned it, and why Gregory's Homilies were considered important enough to merit deluxe treatment are unresolved questions. In this paper we shall attempt to establish who the patron of Paris. gr. 510 was, and assess his impact on the illustrations. Establishment of the patron and the effects of his patronage allows us to speculate with some assurance on the reasons why the Homilies text was chosen for elaborate treatment.

The patron of the Paris Gregory was, as has often been tentatively suggested, Photios, patriarch of Constantinople (858-867, 877-886). Photian thought permeates nearly every miniature in the manuscript; the inclusion of numerous scenes is explicable only by recourse to the patriarch's preserved writings. Photios apparently commissioned the Homilies as a gift for Basil I, and since the emperor does not seem to have evinced any particular interest in Gregory of Nazianzus the selection of the text presumably evolved from Photios' appreciation of it. The patriarch's knowledge of Gregory's writings is easily demonstrated, but the choice of the Homilies for deluxe treatment depended on a more complex relationship between patron and text than mere familiarity. Photios seems to have adopted Gregory because the fourth-century father espoused causes parallel to Photios' own concerns. These concerns revolved around the patriarch's political career and self-aggrandizement as much as his historical interests, though both factors were certainly important in the selection of Gregory's Homilies as a text suitable for presentation to Basil I.

The impact of an individual (and idiosyncratic) patron on the illustrations of Paris. gr. 510 reflects a broader tendency, already observed by Cormack, in ninth-century Constantinopolitan art. But the role of the miniatures in the Paris Homilies goes beyond a simple reflection of the patriarch's tastes; it implies a reassessment of the function of images in the wake of Iconoclasm. Such a re-evaluation accords well with what we understand of Byzantine scholarship in the second half of the ninth century, and its expression is not limited to Paris. gr. 510.

THE PARIS PSALTER

Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, University of California, Los Angelos

To demonstrate how little investigated the purposes of Byzantine art have been, one might start with the Paris Psalter (Paris gr. 139), the most famous Byzantine manuscript and the chief exhibit of the so-called "renaissance" or classicism of the tenth century. The manuscript contains fourteen full-page illustrations. The seven that I will interpret in this paper are bound together as a self-contained set preceding the psalms; each is placed on the verso of the folio with the recto opposite blank. The illustrations depict the life or career of David. In each scene one or more personifications in classical dress accompany David. The other seven illustrations are tied to the text and don't form a continuous narrative. The scene of David's repentance precedes Psalm 50, the remaining six are at the beginning of most of the Old Testament Odes commonly appended to the Psalter, and may be viewed as author portraits, though more complex than is customary. Perhaps the purpose of the set of David pictures has seemed as self-evident as that of the illustrations for the odes, though there is nothing quite like it elsewhere in Byzantine art. No manuscript among the roughly 75 illuminated Byzantine psalters still existing rivals the Paris Psalter for its combination of size (33x27 cm), luxury and the nature of its David sequence.

Yet no one has inquired about the meaning or content of all these illustrations which in turn can give us a clue to a more specific purpose of the manuscript. The personifications are the guides to interpreting these images, and what they show us is that these illustrations are not psalter illustrations in the normal sense. Images of David can have various uses; and the function of the personifications

is to convey only a certain set of these possible meanings.

The illustrations present a self-contained idealized image of the Macedonian Emperor, not simply the life of David.

This approach has implecations for other art historical questions. For example the personifications have always been seen as the sign of a revived interest in classical art. This view, however, is not too narrow - for the personifications do not merely "enhance" the pictures - they are not just visual quotes, but they define a contemporary meaning. They may well indicate a renewed expression of the Byzantine notion of the Christian emperor, which is, for them, a historical but not an art historical notion, and a notion available to every emperor, who could be seen as a New David or a New Constantine.

A NEW ATHONITE SCRIPTORIUM: BOOK PRODUCTION IN THE MONASTERY OF PHILOTHEOU FROM THE FOURTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Robert W. Allison, Bates College
(Final version of Abstract not received)

Byzantine Social and Economic History

Presiding: John W. Barker (University of Wisconsin, Madison)

ORIGINS OF THE BYZANTINE RURAL COMMUNITY IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAPYRI

Danuta M. Gorecki, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Historians agree that the basic institutions of the Byzantine agrarian regime are rooted in Ptolemaic Egypt. This study aims to investigate the origins of the rural community and its role in the management of unproductive land.

The Ptolemaic regime was a blend of Egyptian and Greek customs and laws; yet the methods employed by this regime were dictated by the contemporary needs. During the prosperous 4th and 3th c.BC.,these methods were lenient. When the economic crisis began in the 2d c.BC. with a dramatic fall in the rural population and with the increasingly growing supply of unproductive land, the administration found it necessary to use compulsion in agrarian policies.

The smallest unit of agrarian administration was kome. It consisted of a few villages grouped around a town. The kome was fully controlled by state officials, and had no representation of its own. A komarch was in charge of civil administration, a komogrammateus kept a land-tax register, a tax-collector was personally liable for execution of the fiscal duties of the kome.

There were two categories of unproductive land: the state wast land which had never been rented, and hence, could not be a source of any income, and land abandoned by its tenants. The administration sought to secure royal income from these lands by two compulsory remedies: forced rent imposed upon any tenant in order to guarantee profit from state barrens, and forced liability of tax-collectors, whose once lucrative job became an object of liturgy, in order to guarantee income from the abandoned land. The tax officials, in turn, forced the taxpayers of the *kome* to pay the taxes for the land abandoned by their neighbors. Some scholars define this as collective liability. This collectivity did not imply any communal autonomy of the *kome*. It was externally imposed by administrative practices. The liability rested entirely with the tax collectors and derived from the content of their contract. Having no legal personality,the Ptolemaic *kome* could have no obligations of its own.

The Romans changed the Ptolemaic practices into a consistent system. About the end of the 3d c. AD. the *kome* (Roman *chorion*) acquired a legal personality. It enjoyed self-government, owned land and had its own revenues. But there is no evidence that it became collectively liable for its fiscal duties. Instead, the Romans strenghtened the discipline of raising revenue from unproductive land. The institution of *epibole* provided for compulsory allotment of state barren land to individuals, while the institution of *epimerismos* provided for a compulsory transfer of fiscal duties from abandoned land of one community to another. Byzantinists have overlooked the distinct institution of *epimerismos*, and denote any allotment of unproductive land as *epibole*.

This study allows two conclusions concerning the Byzantine *Nomos Georgikos*. (1) The phrase οἱ τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀπαιτούμενοι λόγῳ (Art.18) may have originated in the 2d c.BC. and been in force ever since, even if its meaning changed in the successive historical stages. During the Ptolemaic and Roman times, the phrase may have referred to tax-collectors. After the Heraclian tax reform, the phrase indicated either an individual farmer liable for his neighbor's taxes, or a community collectively liable for fiscal duties of its members (defined, respectively, in *The Taxation Treatise Cod. Marc. Gr.173* as *allelengyon* and *epibole*). (2) The *Nomos Georgikos* could apply not only to communities of land owning farmers, as some scholars claim, but also to the communities of independent land tenants.

DOMESTIC SANCTITY: MARRIED LAY WOMEN AS SAINTS IN THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD

Dorothy De F. Abrahamse, California State University, Long Beach

In a world dominated by the established traditions of ascetic masters, lay saints were always an unorthodox rarity in Byzantine hagiographical tradition; in the early and middle Byzantine periods they are represented chiefly by the much-studied biographies of 'holy fools' and the life of Philaretos the Younger. Aside from the legends of virgin martyrs, women also were rarely venerated as saints; early tradition reserved such honors either for female ascetics associated with prominent church leaders or for the popular theme of women would-be-ascetics disguised as men. The existence of three lives of married lay women and mothers whose tombs became the center of popular healing cults is thus a phenomenon of particular significance for the history of popular devotion and the roles of Byzantine women. This paper analyzes the lives of Maria the Younger of Vizye, Thomais of Lesbos and the empress Theophano, all written soon after the deaths of their tenth century heroines, in the light of two central themes: the biographers' attempts to create a model of 'domestic sanctity' in the restricted lives of their heroines, and their evidence for the establishment of popular cults in the face of official opposition through family advocacy.

All three biographies provide valuable insight into the dynamics of the establishment of a cult and the expressed skepticism at the growth of a thaumaturgic reputation at the tomb of a married lay woman. Proponents of the cults are also identifiable, and they point to the importance of family interests. Although chronicles identify Leo VI as the founder of a church in the name of Theophano, her own family, the Martiniakoi, appear in the *vita* as the persistent advocates of her sanctity, while the sons of Maria of Vizye served as builders and caretakers of her chapel, and Thomais's mother was responsible for the association of her daughter's relics with the convent that formed the center of her cult. Maria and Thomais, as married female saints, appear to have attracted a specialized clientele, largely female, who sought help for problems familiar to the lives of their patronesses. The distinctiveness of these cults may be evaluated through a comparison with contemporary lives of masculine saints and female ascetics.

At the center of all three biographies is the description of conflict between the restricted choices available to Byzantine women and the ascetic ideals held up to them as models. All three *vitae* present their heroines as pious women, married against their will, who attempted to live according to ascetic canons within the confines of marriage. The theme of secret asceticism is developed, including night vigils carried out in the apartments of the saint, fasting when their husbands were not present, wearing rough habits under ordinary clothing, and secretly donating the household resources to the poor. For all three the outcome was tragic. If the biographer of Theophano was diplomatically silent about Leo's rejection of her, other sources refer to it, and a contemporary comment describes the empress as 'infected with the madness of women'. The lives of Maria and Thomais depict their heroines as martyrs beaten to death by the blows of their jealous husbands, who were later forced to ask for healing at their tombs. These themes will be examined first as hagiographical *topoi*, by comparing the closely parallel lives of Thomais and Maria, and looking for models in earlier feminine saints' lives. The thematic development may also be fruitfully contrasted with the few examples of western female lay saints' lives.

A review of the literature of female sanctity in late antiquity and the medieval west demonstrates the singularity of this Byzantine model of domestic holiness. The appearance of these works in the tenth century must be due, in large part, to the coincidence of a widening veneration of relics outside the traditional bounds of asceticism with the development of family demands for identification with sanctity. But the biographies testify, above all, to an irresolvable conflict between the concepts of domesticity and sanctity as they applied to women.

A DISPUTED NOVEL OF BASIL II DATED TO 988

John P. Thomas, Dumbarton Oaks/Georgetown University

Many scholars have dismissed an extant chrysobull of Basil II, which repeals the legislation of his predecessor Nicephorus Phocas regulating the construction and endowment of monasteries and philanthropic institutions, as

a clumsy forgery. I believe, however, that there are compelling arguments for its authenticity which deserve the consideration of skeptics.

Early editors of the novel up to Zachariä von Lingenthal understood it to be authentic. Yet Franz Dölger, in the publication of his register of imperial _acta_, raised considerable objections to its authenticity and awarded it an asterisk to denote his opinion that it is a forgery. According to Dölger, this document ought to be condemned because it is opposed in spirit to and not mentioned by the later, unquestionably authentic novel of 996 by the same emperor. Also, Dölger called attention to the unusual titulature of the text of the disputed novel. Subsequent critics (e.g., Ostrogorsky) have followed Dölger in drawing attention to the supposedly inappropriate "pro-monastic" bias of the novel of 988, and have preferred to believe one of the three scholiasts on the extant manuscripts of Nicephorus Phocas' novel who attributes that law's repeal to John Tzimisces instead. This means that many modern scholars prefer a late scholion to an extant text.

Russian scholars, e.g., Vasilievsky, Vasiliev, and more recently, Kazhdan, have been almost alone in believing in the authenticity of the novel. Nearly everyone else, e.g., Lemerle, Svoronos and Konidares join Dölger in condemning it as a forgery. This division of opinion indicates that a re-examination of the sources is in order.

A close examination of Basil's novel of 996 actually reveals a profound respect for private property rights in ecclesiastical institutions that is consonant with the disputed novel of 988. Even if a significantly different attitude could be detected, it would not be a compelling argument against the authenticity of the earlier document unless one chooses to believe that Basil II was motivated by a fanatical, anti-aristocratic policy that never varied, regardless of circumstances, throughout the course of his long reign of nearly fifty years.

The seeming rightness of the date of April, 4, 988 attached to the disputed novel is another strong argument for authenticity. Objections that Basil II could not have composed a novel of such "superstitious character" or "pro-monastic bias" presume an insight into the emperor's personality that cannot be substantiated from the sources. Even the titulature of the novel is not without a close parallel in another piece of imperial legislation.

Even if it were possible to postulate a plausible motive for someone to forge the novel, it is difficult to see what could be gained by attributing it to Basil II rather than to the emperor who most proponents of the forgery thesis think was actually responsible for repealing Nicephorus Phocas' legislation.

In default of further evidence for doubting its authenticity, I think it is time to accept what is an inportant piece of evidence for the ecclesiastical policy of Basil II.

EVALUATING THE DEGREE OF LAWLESSNESS IN THE PALAIOLOGAN PERIOD: A METHODOLOGY

Mark C. Bartusis, Willingboro, N.J.

It has become commonplace to speak of the lawlessness endemic to the Palaiologan age. Certainly it was a very violent, chaotic period. But was lawlessness actually more prevalent than in any preceding period of Byzantine history? There is sufficient reason to think so.

The sources of all periods provide abundant examples of crime and a concern over lawlessness in general. Yet despite this wealth of material, a study of the frequency of crime and the intensity of lawlessness is hampered by the individual perspectives of our authors who selectively report what they have seen and heard, and who as individuals possessed varying sensitivities toward matters such as lawlessness. Therefore what is needed is some kind of controlled source, a literary or documentary form that has a certain fixed literary and stylistic structure, and which existed over the centuries.

This need was satisfied by patriarchal _prooimia_. Here Otto Mazal's study _Die Prooimien der byzantinischen Patriarchenurkunden_ (Wien, 1974) provided the material for my evaluation of lawlessness. Patriarchal _prooimia_ tend to be homiletic in nature, prefacing synodal acts, cyclical letters, decrees, pardons and the like, with general, abstract thoughts which prepare the reader for the concrete substance of what is to follow in the main body of the document. Mazal lists 411 such _prooimia_ spanning a millenium, and he excerpts 187 of them, presenting passages of varying lengths which illustrate the enormous variety of themes and concepts they contain. Of the 181 excerpted _prooimia_ which are in Greek, 109 (60%) are Palaiologan (from 1261), and 72 (40%) are from the long period prior to that.

After choosing the most common words that relate to the theme of lawlessness (δικαιοσύνη, νόμος and τάξις) and examining the _prooimion_ excerpts for evidence of these words and their related forms (such as δίκη, δίκαιος, ἀδικία and so on), one finds that one or more of these words appear in the excerpts of 47 of the 181 _prooimia_. Significantly, 85% (40) of these 47 _prooimia_ are Palaiologan.

As a control I similarly processed five other words: φιλανθρωπία, εὐσέβεια, πίστις, εἰρήνη and ἀγάπη, and their related forms. One or more of the words in this control group appear in 53 of the 181 excerpted _prooimia_. Only 57% (30) of these 53 _prooimia_ are Palaiologan. Since a perfectly even distribution of any particular word in both periods would yield the figure 60%, Mazal's sampling of _prooimia_ is sufficiently representative, and the numerical results obtained are given validity.

Thus, Palaiologan patriarchs in their _prooimia_ employed words relating to the theme of lawlessness considerably more frequently than their predecessors. In effect they were expressing, consciously or unconsciously, a greatly increased concern over matters such as justice, law and order. One may now ask why this should be so. Amid a number of interconnected explanations, I conclude that Palaiologan patriarchs, unlike their predecessors, could not avoid the subject of lawlessness because their world was in fact the most lawless of all.

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