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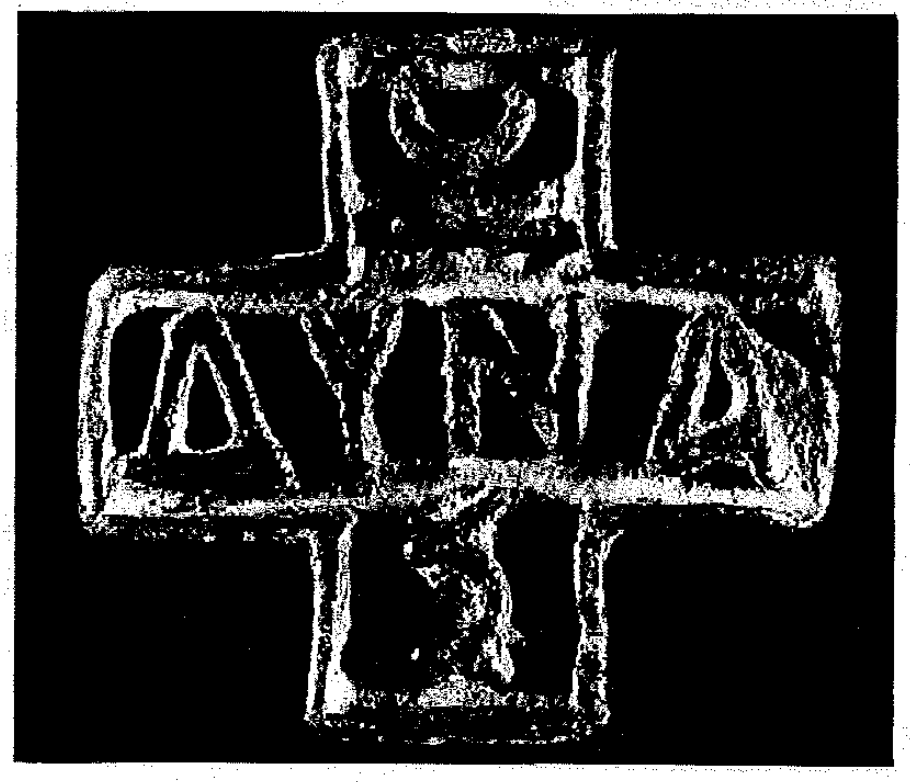

Abstracts of Papers

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LATE ANTIQUITY: THE ARMY AND SOCIETY....Presiding: John V.A. Fine, Jr.
(University of Michigan)

"Prosopographical Evaluation of a Constantinopolitan Foundation Legend"

Ralph W. Mathisen
University of South Carolina

Several of the legends surrounding the foundation of Constantinople concern how Constantine provided members for the new senate of the city. A tale which appears in both the Patria Constantinopolitana and Glycas tells how he sent twelve Roman senators on campaign against the Persians. While they were away, he transferred their wives and families to his new capital, and when the husbands returned they decided to settle there as well. This story has been universally condemned as a fabrication, and the senators named all have been excluded out-of-hand, for example, from volume I of The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire.

There are several reasons for this response. For one thing, both versions of the story are very late, of the tenth century at the earliest. Moreover, the stories appear to be inconsistent in their details: of the twelve men named in each version, only two appear in both. One might respond to the first of these criticisms, however, that late sources often do have reliable but lost, antecedents, and that even oral tradition often has a basic in fact. And as to the second objection, one might note that Glycas says specifically that he is listing only some, not all, of the men who went. There, therefore, would be no a priori reason to expect him to list the same twelve that the Patria did. Indeed, Glycas claims to be listing only patricians, whereas the Patria gives eight patricians and four magistri--at least the two shared names are consistently cited as patricians.

Hitherto, no one has taken what might seem to be the reasonable precaution of attempting to identify the twenty-two men named. For if they were indeed patricii and magistri, or even high-ranking senators of any sort, one would expect that some record of some of them at least must survive. And if none, or hardly any, of them can be identified with any degree of likelihood, then and only then could one justifiably conclude that the story is a total fabrication.

But this paper will suggest that the opposite is the case and that many of the twenty-two individuals cited in the two versions of the legend do in fact bear the same names as known individuals. This is not to say, however, that there is yet any reason to believe all or any of the details of the legend. For there is a caveat: these known individuals all date to rather later than the purported time of the story, to the middle fourth century and afterward. Doubt, therefore, is cast upon the Constantinian date and details. But one still can ask whether the tales contain any useful prosopographical material about the senators they purport to discuss. Is there any evidence that such senators actually did move to Constantinople? Is there any evidence that they really held these ranks? And, if the legend itself is a fabrication, how did later influential senators find their way into it? It is with questions such as these that this paper will be concerned.

"Edwin the Amal"

Frank M. Clover
University of Wisconsin-Madison

In Late Antiquity Greek authors tried without much success to transcribe Germanic names. Curiously enough, modern critics honor their often comical efforts by Latinizing the Greek transcriptions rather than identifying the Germanic originals. The editors of the PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE have followed this common practice. The present paper concerns one result of their policy. In Volume Two the editors have recorded under two headings what appears to be the life of one general.

Malchus of Philadelphia (in the Constantinian EXCERPTA DE LEGATIONIBUS; frg. 18 in Müller's FRAGMENTA HISTORICORUM GRAECORUM) speaks of one Aidoïggos (PLRE, II, Aedoingus). This soldier was a member of the Amali, the royal clan of the Ostrogoths. He was Count of the Domestics, confidant of the Eastern Empress Verina (regn. 457-474), and uncle of the Goth Sidimund (fl. 480). In the LIFE OF SAINT DANIEL THE STYLITE (ch.64) there appears one Idoubiggos (PLRE, II, Idubingus), a Master of Soldiers who was active around Constantinople some time between the middle 460s and middle 470s. Now the names Aidoïggos and Idoubiggos (as they are transcribed in the best manuscripts) are similar. The specialist who wishes to determine the Germanic original(s) may first drop the Greek ending -os (=Latin -us), thus exposing the patronymic suffix -ing. Four letters precede the patronymic suffix in both transcriptions: V*doC**- and V*duv***- respectively. The overall resemblance between the two transcriptions is strong enough that one can argue that Malchus and the LIFE OF DANIEL convey the same name: Aidving or Eduving (i.e. Edwin). Were Malchus' and the LIFE OF DANIEL's Edwin two different men? I think not. The two sources portray a soldier who was active during the reign of Leo I and Verina. The office of Count of the Domestics was often a prelude to that of Master of Soldiers. Around 460 the young Theoderic, destined to be the most famous of the Amali, began ten years' residence in Constantinople. He was a hostage, a guarantee of a recent imperial accord with the Ostrogoths, who were then settled in Sirmian Pannonia. I shall argue that Edwin, one of Theoderic's relatives, accompanied the boy to the imperial capital and there began a military career which spanned the remainder of Leo I's reign.

FOOTNOTES:

* A long or short vowel.
** A soft or hard consonant. The -oi- in Malchus frg. 18 is not a diphthong.
*** The modern Greek pronunciation of Beta was already present in spoken Greek in Late Antiquity.

Alan Cameron (Columbia)
Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the Anicii

A.Momigliano argued that in 551 Cassiodorus revised in Constantinople the Gothic History he had originally written some 20 years before in Rome and Ravenna. This theory has come under heavy fire in recent years, from N.Wagner, D.R.Bradley, B.Baldwin and J.J. O'Donnell. More than a detail of chronology is involved. It makes a real difference whether Cassiodorus wrote the pro-Gothic history whose outlines we can still discern through Jordanes' abrifgement while still a subject of Gothic kings, or after he had become a subject of Justinian.

New evidence can (I think) be produced in support of Momigliano's hypothesis. The key text remains Jordanes' remark that the son of Germanus and Matasuntha "united the family of the Anicii with the stock of the Amali" (Get.314). According to Momigliano, "nobody except Cassiodorus could represent the union between Matasuntha and Justinian's cousin as a union not of the royal family of Ravenna with the imperial family of Constantinople, but between the Amali and the Anicii".

Deeper prosopographical research confirms this observation -- and explains how a cousin of Justinian (of Illyrian peasant stock) could claim kinship with the Anicii in the first place. But that same research does not confirm Momigliano's further claim that Cassiodorus "considered himself connected with the family of the Anicii."

The second half of the paper will argue that the dominant houses of the Roman aristocracy in the sixth century, especially those active in diplomatic relations with the East, were the Decii and Symmachi. And it was surely the Symmachi rather than the Anicii to whom Cassiodorus was related.

Victor of Tonnena, a Chronicler of African Resistance. Susan T. Stevens, Luther College (Decorah, Iowa).

The purpose of my study is to assess the value of the surviving part of the Chronicle of Victor of Tonnena as a source for the history of Byzantine Africa. Victor finds little favor with modern historians, in part, because of his unadorned style and generally non-analytical entries. Moreover, as a chronicler, his selection of material is meager. He has very little interest in secular political events and his record is limited geographically to North Africa and Constantinople. Finally, Victor's dating is imprecise and sometimes inconsistent, though it rarely deviates by more than two years. These would be serious shortcomings were they not expressions of the author's aims and biases, inherent in the design of his work. As an African bishop and staunch supporter of the Council of Chalcedon, Victor offers insight into the history of Christian North Africa in the form of a partisan account of the Three Chapters controversy.

Victor brings to his subject a perspective unique among our surviving sources. He was a bishop in the province of Proconsularis, the area of Africa which bore the brunt of political and religious repression under the Byzantines (and under the Arian Vandals before them).Like his colleagues Ferrandus, Primasius, Verecundus, Liberatus and Facundus, Victor was preoccupied with the religious issues of his day. While their literary endeavor took the form of theological writings, however, Victor chose to chronicle the events, both secular and ecclesiastical which shaped his world. The structure of the Chronicle, its chronology and record of events, is designed to place the author's life in its historical context, that is, in the history of the Church and in the history of Africa.

Victor's pièce de résistance is his account of the years 536-565 which clearly demonstrates his personal sense of history and world view. This section falls within the bishop's own lifetime and features as its heroes Victor himself and other African clerics who steadfastly resisted the efforts of Justinian to bring the African church into line with his Kirchenpolitik.Following the structure of the rest of the work, described aptly by Isidore (De vir.III.49) as historia rerum bellicarum ecclesiasticarumque, Victor focuses on two Byzantine debacles in Africa,the revolt of Stotzas in the military realm and the Three Chapters controversy in the ecclesiastical. His choice of topics puts the Byzantines in the worst possible light. A single thread runs through his account; the intrigues and corruption of Justinian and his court resulted in the failure of Byzantine secular administration, military endeavor and above all, ecclesiastical policy in Africa. Victor of Tonnena, both as an African recounting the rape of his native land and as an embittered Chalcedonian bishop on the losing side of the Three Chapters controversy is a valuable antidote to Procopius' (and other Byzantine historians') record of Christian Africa in the mid-sixth century. The Chronicle is pessimistic about the existing world order and borders, at times, on eschatological vision.

AN EPISODE IN BYZANTINE RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS AND PERSIANS: THE "UNKNOWN EMBASSY" OF 553-554

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It is a well established fact that somewhere near the town of Chalcis (Qinnesrin) in Syria, during June 554, the pro-Persian Lakhmid Arab King Al-Mundhir was slain and his army put to rout by a combined force of Romans and Ghassanid Arabs. However, what is not so well known is that this abortive Lakhmid attack had more than a passing connection with a Roman embassy of 553-554 which had been dispatched by the Emperor Justinian to the Persians for the purpose of negotiating peace terms. It is the aim of this paper to reconstruct for the first time the chronology and events of this hithero unknown embassy, and to show its place in the wider picture of Roman-Arab and Roman-Persian international relations in the sixth century.

Our main sources for the embassy itself are the Pseudo-Zacharias and the Life of St. Simeon Stylites the Young. A section of the Pseudo-Zacharias that emanates from a source which was based in Amida tells us that sometime after September 1, 553, Peter the Patrician, the magister officiorum of the Romans, arrived in that city and settled a dispute between its governor and certain cloisters of Monophysite monks. Peter must have set off on his mission after May 7, 533, for on this day, he, along with a number of other imperial and ecclesiastical officials, were sent by the Emperor to visit Pope Vigilius at the palace of Placidia in Constantinople for the purpose of convincing him to attend the sessions of the Fifth Ecumenical Council which were being held in the same city.

More information concerning this embassy of Peter's is supplied by the Life of St. Simeon. We are told that just prior to the battle of Chalcis, certain unnamed Roman ambassadors, the Sassanian Emperor Chosroes I, and Al-Mundhir were all present at a peace conference in Persia. There is no doubt that the leader of these anonymous Roman envoys was Peter, who was Justinian's chief negotiator on a series of diplomatic missions which that Emperor sent to Persia from 550 to 562. At any rate, during the negotiations, Al-Mundhir suddenly announced that he intended to attack the Roman Orient. He then moved up into Syria with his army and met with defeat and death near Chalcis.

Given the June date of the battle of Chalcis, it is likely that Al-Mundhir walked out of the peace negotiations sometime between the late autumn of 553 and the late spring of 554. The reason for the Lakhmid ruler's drastic step of unilaterally declaring war against Byzantium must have been due in large part to a decision of Justinian's to cut off a series of tribute payments which he had disbursed to Al-Mundhir ever since 531-532. There must have been some Persian connivance in all of this, for it is unlikely that Justinian, who had yet to break the power of the Frankish and Alemannic invaders who had recently descended upon Italy, would have risked the danger of an open breach with the Lakhmids unless he had had previous assurance that the Sassanians themselves would stay out of any resulting conflict.

Justinian's decision to break with the Lakhmids ultimately enabled the Empire to rid itself of one of its most formidable enemies, Al-Mundhir, and ensured that the military initiative in the Northern Arabian desert would pass firmly to its Ghassanid confederates for at least the next twenty-five years.

Reflections on Procopius the Military Historian

Walter Emil Kaegi, Jr.
The University of Chicago

Procopius of Caesarea has deservedly received attention for his historical methodology and significance. He is now the subject of a superb monograph by Averil Cameron. However, some aspects of his descriptions of and reflections on military subjects deserve additional scrutiny. The subject of this paper are some of his remarks on warfare and his place in its changing conditions during the sixth century. Most modern critics would concede that Procopius is the best Byzantine military historian, even though his histories contain some deficiencies. The principal source for this paper is Procopius' Wars, which provides information about his knowledge of weapons and military technology, his assumptions about the utility and purpose of military history, and his detailed narrations of combat and the resulting wounds, some of which were bizarre, of combattants whom he had known. He definitely had an interested in and relished reporting about strange occurrences in the history of combat.

Procopius possessed an ability to understand the interrelationship between politics and warfare, including the role of internal strife as an influence on the eventual military outcome. Constituent elements of internal strife in his analysis included, of course, ethnic and religious rivalries, personal rivalries between military commanders, and the emergence of normally submerged ethnic identifications in the course of protracted military warfare. His concern for and attitude toward the wartime suffering of civilians were important and genuine.

Procopius' attitude toward the role of risk, the unexpected, and the unknown in warfare is also important. He believed in the potential utility of concentrating human intelligence on military problems to achieve favorable outcomes. Above all, he believed that waging war was a difficult and challenging feat. I believe that his extensive military experiences did affect the way in which he wrote military history, even though he admittedly wrote under the strong influence of a very long and distinguished tradition of Greek military historiography. To some extent, however, Procopius was a military antiquarian with an antiquarian's knowlege of and perspective on Roman and earlier Byzantine military history and institutions and the sources of their strength and greatness.

Procopius' handling of the narrative of battle is a natural subject of inquiry, even though it is not often regarded to be very important today. His descriptions of battles permit the military historian to test his understanding of contemporary warfare. Procopius was able to describe contemporary warfare of clever stratagems and maneuvering

and deliberate delay. He understood very well the importance of timing in warfare, as well as the complexity of war. He also gave attention to problems of logistics. Critics have noted his attention to detail. This characteristic attention to detail was a necessary quality of a superior military historian, because only the inclusion of maximal amounts of detail could contribute to making his histories useful for those who sought to read them for military lessons. His conception of the potential utility of military history required the inclusion of much detail.

The paper includes an inquiry concerning those dimensions of military history that Procopius does not adequately cover, and how their omission causes his history to be somewhat incomplete and deficient. He did not revolutionize the study of war, but it is worthwhile to understand the relative significance that he ascribed to the history of warfare in the broader framework of his historical investigations. It also includes a comparison of his attitudes toward and understanding of warfare with those of extant Byzantine military treatises, as well as those of other Byzantine authors. Procopius does provides his readers with some insights into the mentality of Byzantine military leadership in the sixth century, yet there are pitfalls for the unwary reader.

The Organization of the Peloponnese Theme and the Relocation of Corone

Fotios K. Litsas (University of Illinois at Chicago)

[Abstract not received in time for publication]

BYZANTIUM AND THE WEST I: THE PRE-CAROLINGIAN AND CAROLINGIAN PERIODS .....Presiding: Henry Maguire (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

ROMAN IMAGES OF THE VIRGIN IN EARLY LEGEND AND RITUAL

Dorothy Abrahamse, California State University, Long Beach

By the end of the middle ages, the images of the Virgin that adorned Roman churches were richly endowed with miraculous origins. Late medieval pilgrim guides identified no less than eight Roman madonnas as painted by St. Luke, another as "miraculose impresa," and one image as brought from Edessa. The restoration and study that have demonstrated the early medieval origins of several of these images (Sta. Maria Nova, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, S. Sisto e Domenico (Sta. Maria in Tempulis), Sta. Maria Rotunda) have provided important evidence for the way these Byzantine icons were preserved and later re-copied in Rome. Less is known, however, about the development of veneration of the images, their use in church rituals, and the origins of their miraculous reputation. Most of the legends and rituals associated with specific images cannot be traced before the thirteenth century. This paper will reassess the Greek and Latin evidence for the traditions associated with Roman icons prior to the twelfth century and the problems it poses. It will suggest that this evidence, which has most often been used to argue for the claims to antiquity of individual images, can be most profitably evaluated in its context to show varied and changing perceptions of the function of the images in Rome.

Three groups of sources will be evaluated. Roman sources from the early middle ages on indicate that miraculous traditions were associated, in a general way, with Roman images. A famous incident in the life of Gregory the Great described his successful intercession during an outbreak of plague through a penitential procession with an icon. (The miracle was later claimed by several Roman churches for their images). A miracle attributed to Leo IV in an eleventh century manuscript saw the intercession of an icon of the virgin as taking place in a similar way. Here, Leo carried an icon in procession to defeat a dangerous serpent in a cave, and once again the image of the Virgin was not specifically identified. The use of icons in papal processions was still documented in twelfth century accounts of papal ceremonial. The importance of public ceremonial and its association with papal legend in these and other early references will be analyzed and emphasized.

Byzantine sources mention traditions of miraculous icons in Rome in the context of iconoclasm. The Patriarch Nicephorus included a discussion of images of Christ and the Virgin painted by St. Luke in Rome (along with other St. Luke images in Jerusalem) in his Refutatio et Eversio, and the tradition is repeated in other sources. A somewhat different legend describing the iconoclastic exile of an image of the Virgin can be found in a collection of miracles published by Dobschutz from an eleventh century manuscript. The association of St. Luke icons in Rome is thus first found in Byzantine sources, but it is significant that the legends offered no local detail, portrayed Rome symbolically as a place of refuge, and were centered around Byzantine iconoclast issues.

Roman traditions about miraculous images in the eleventh century are reflected in an interesting insert in a collection of homilies in a manuscript of Santa Maria Maggiore (SMM 122), which will be analyzed in some detail in this paper. Four folios connected with the dedication of the church assemble legends of miracles performed by images of the Virgin. One of these episodes is of particular interest, for it includes the story of the painting of the St. Luke icon in the form known from Byzantine sources. The St. Luke story is attached here to a specific icon of the Virgin--that brought to the convent of St. Agatha in Turris, later St. Maria in Tempulis--and an account of the attempted translation of the icon to the Lateran in the reign of a Pope Sergius. The account raises questions of particular interest: what relation does this narration have to Byzantine sources, and was it the legend known to Byzantine writers of the ninth century? If so, why were the icon and its story not more widely known in Rome itself, either before or after the eleventh century?

The obscurity of Roman tradition about its miraculous images before the thirteenth century offers an instructive contrast with icons whose legends were well-known by the eleventh century (the Acheiropoieta of Rossano, for example). It suggests that no single image had developed, in Roman eyes the preeminence associated with early legends by the twelfth century. This analysis of Roman and Byzantine sources for the images will also consider some of the explanations for the differences in the evolution of veneration of images in the two cultures as Rome differentiated itself from its Byzantine heritage.

The Evidence for the Use of Images from the Liber Pontificalis

Dale Kinney, Bryn Mawr College

Maria Andaloro has observed (Roma e l'età carolingia, 69-77) that the papal donations of "imagines" to Roman churches recorded in the Liber Pontificalis coincide chronologically with the outbreak and continuance of iconoclasm in Byzantium. Except for one donation by Pope Sergius I and the strange note about Pope John VII, that "he made images in various churches such that whoever wishes to know his face will find it depicted in them", donations of images are not recorded in papal vitae until Pope Gregory II (715-731). It is striking that there is almost no correlation between these official notices and the icons still preserved in Rome, which generally are dated, on grounds of style, to the period before Pope John VII, and which also differ iconographically from the "imagines" recorded in the L.P. This paper reviews the papal donations -- or rather their descriptions -- in detail, correlating them with archaeological evidence and analyzing patterns of display and iconography. A similar review of the extant images suggests possible reasons for the discrepancy between their appearance and the notices of donation.

A New Reconstruction of the Shrine of Saint Paul As Embellished by Pope Leo III

Cheryl A. Miyauchi, Bryn Mawr College

Reexamination of the documentary evidence has produced a new reconstruction of the Carolingian shrine of St. Paul as embellished by Pope Leo III. The Carolingian shrine of St. Paul was among the many works of Pope Leo III (795 - 824). Though badly damaged in 846, when Rome was ransacked by the Saracens, it still existed in the sixteenth century when Panvinio studied and sketched the basilica of San Paulo Fuori Le Mura. For medieval churchmen and pilgrims, the shrine of Saint Paul was of importance comparable to that of the alter and tomb of Saint Peter, but it is virtually ignored by architectural historians today. A survey of the pertinent literature reveals only one reconstruction of this shrine proposed by Kirschbaum in The Tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul (New York, 1957). Kirschbaum's reconstruction, though satisfactory in certain details does not adequately account for many elements of the shrine outlined in the Liber Pontificalis (Duchesne, 1955) and in some respect it is stylistically quite anachronistic.

The Liber Pontificalis gives detailed inventories of the changes and additions effected by Pope Leo III. These inventories indicate a shrine richly decorated with gold, silver and marble. The gifts showered on the basilica of San Paulo Fuori Le Mura, as with those showered on many other churches through the pontificate of Leo III appeared to emmulate Constantine's gifts as recorded in the Liber Pontificalis. This is in keeping with the contemporary desire for the revival of a new Christian Empire, one focussed on the figures of Constantine and Sylvester.

Panvinio's sketchbooks (Vat. Lat. 6780, Vat. Lat. 6781) provide valuable additional information as to the size, lay-out and location of the shrine. Panvinio records that the shrine embellished by Leo III was situated in the middle of the transcept under the main arch. His sketches of the shrine indicate a structure whose width was defined by the span of the main arch of the transcept and whose depth was that of the distance from the main arch of the transcept to the midpoint of the transcept. This evidence can be supplemented by reference to depictions of liturgical objects in Carolingian MS. illumination (like the bible of Saint Paul's) to produce a more accurate reconstruction of the shrine of Saint Paul as embellished by Pope Leo III. The reconstruction should be of interest to medievalists in general and particularily to Byzantinists, because of the prominant display of icons around the tomb.

The Byzantine Panel of a Provincial Carolingian Ivory

Carol H. Wright, University of California, Berkeley

An ivory panel in Munich (Goldschmidt 180), recent from an ancient diptych, has a curious adaptation of the Middle Byzantine iconography for the Ascension of Christ, and a decorative border that dates the carving to the period around 800, since the distinctive innailted scroll, with tendrils producing animal heads, is very similar to examples in several securely dated manuscripts and in the mosaic of the St. Zeno chapel of S. Prassede in Rome.

Unfortunately the ivory cannot be localized specifically. Goldschmidt consulted Koehler, who then was beginning his survey of Carolingian manuscripts; Koehler suggested Tours as a possibility on the basis of the decoration of its earliest manuscripts, and this was put forward tentatively in the 1914 publication. At least as good a case could be made for Fleury, since Bern 207 (dated by the Easter tables for 779-797) has very similar decoration. The Loire valley remains a possibility, despite the fact that we know of no ivory workshops there, but this ornament was quickly adapted in many centers in northern France (Paris lat. 13159 dated 795-800), and further east, as Salzburg (Vienna lat. 1332 and 1224) and Chur (St. Gall 548). The beast-headed vine tendril occurs in Coptic textiles of this period and may have reached different European centers independently, but the creative source for much of this ornament was actually Canterbury (Royal I.E.vi, Tiberius C.ii, and Barberini lat. 570). Ignoring this plausible argument based on decoration, Beckwith (Connoisseur 146, 1960, 241) attributed the Munich panel to England by claiming comparison of its figure style with various mutually dissimilar English manuscripts from earlier in the eighth century. Canterbury around 800 would be a possibility for the Munich panel, but I think it very unlikely because despite Beckwith's optimistic attributions there is not a single carving in ivory (as distinct from walrus tusk or bone) that can be securely assigned to England before the late tenth century. The carving technique of the Munich panel is uneven and strangely timid, suggesting a center where the technique was still experimental. Obviously the Munich panel does not come from the court of Charlemagne, but probably from some center that was beginning to imitate the luxury arts of the court during his lifetime, and for that I would prefer to think of southern Germany or perhaps northern Italy.

The iconography appears very strange at first sight. Obviously the Evangelist symbols are an intrusion from a separate source and should be disregarded for our purposes. The two candelabra may have been part of an apocalyptic vision that included the four beasts, and can also be considered an intrusion, while the frontal orant Virgin belongs to an Ascension. Obviously we are missing the figure of Christ in a mandorla supported by angels. The various sets of holes in the ivory panel suggest several different uses at various times, and one of them may have been as the front panel of a casket where Christ was on the top panel, but the evidence is incomplete and there is no use in our speculating on the details of what is lost.

One quality is certain, however: the Apostles all turn freely in space and gesture vigorously; they must come from a composition with full-length standing figures. Furthermore, in the upper right corner of this strangely compressed composition there are abbreviated trees between each Apostle, analogous to those between the Apostles of the Ascension on the dome of Hagia Sophia in Salonika, the earliest surviving example of the canonical Byzantine composition. With that later comparison in mind, we can imagine that the model adapted for our provincial ivory closely resembled the model later adapted for the circular scheme of a dome mosaic.

Turning back to earlier Byzantine Ascensions, it is clear that in the sixth century the best of the Bobbio and Monza ampullae reflect an earlier version of our scheme, with a frontal orant Virgin in the center flanked by gesticulating Apostles in two rows that should probably be understood as a foreshortened view of a circular group surrounding the Virgin. To this scheme our model added trees in the background.

Two other aspects of the later canonical scheme may have been in our model, but were changed or omitted by this inept ivory carver. In the canonical Greek scheme Paul is on Christ's right, while in earlier examples he may be on either side; in our ivory he is on Christ's left, but he may have been switched by the western artist in order to give Peter precedence. In the canonical scheme there is an angel on either side of the Virgin, explaining the event to the Apostles (as specified in Acts 1.10-11); among pre-iconoclastic Ascensions they are found only in the Rabbula

Constantinople, where the lower half of the composition fits generally into our tradition, while the upper half with its puzzling and idiosyncratic details does not [illegible]. In our ivory the two inner Apostles in the lower row make gestures of explanation toward their neighbors, a meaning not implied in the text, and not normal in other Ascension scenes; the individual astonishment of each Apostle is the correct theme, as in the rest of our Apostles. Therefore it seems possible that the model for our ivory had the two explaining angels, that they were displaced by the Evangelist symbols in the copy, but their eloquent gestures were transferred to two of the Apostles.

Thus it is possible that our lost model had all the key features of the canonical post-iconoclastic Byzantine Ascension. At least it had one element, the trees, not otherwise attested before iconoclasm. The date of our model must be no later than about 800, and it may well have been just after 787; then it would have been another example both of the continuing development toward canonical Byzantine iconography and of the lively naturalistic style characteristic of what turned out to be only a short interval from 787 to 815.

(Although not a part of this paper, I want to add a warning about a related ivory and a problem that is sometimes wrongly connected with it. In the Victoria and Albert Museum are two small ivory panels that became a pair when reset to make the doors of a small shrine late in the Carolingian period. One of them (254.1867, Goldschmidt 174 & 60) is a decorative panel closely resembling the Munich panel in motif and technique, and is so thin that like the Munich panel it was probably cut from an ancient diptych. The other (253.1867, Goldschmidt 176 & 60) has a notoriously puzzling scene of the Last Judgment on it, but it is thicker than the ornamental panel and does not appear to have been cut from an ancient diptych. The calculated sizes of these two panels in their uses before the late Carolingian reuse do not match, and it is clear that they came together only by accident at that later date. The date and localization of the Last Judgment panel must therefore be discussed separately from that of the ornamental panel, and is limited only by the uncertain date and localization of their Carolingian reuse -- vaguely associated with the Lothar group.)

Marian Theology behind the Frescoes in Sta. Maria at Castel Seprio

Paula D. Leveto, Atlanta, GA

The church of Sta. Maria at Castel Seprio, containing the famous murals in its east apse, is one of the most difficult monuments to place in the history of early medieval and Byzantine art. The date of the paintings wavers in the period between the sixth and tenth centuries. Almost every aspect of the church and the paintings is controversial, though the identification of the program as christological is unquestioned. The traditional interpretation of the subject depends partly on the hypothetical reconstruction of three fragmentary scenes as scenes from the Infancy of Christ. In this paper I will present new evidence to show that in two of the three damaged scenes events from the Virgin's early life were depicted and that the program can be identified as Marian rather than christological.

My examination of the paintings was undertaken when scaffolding was erected in the apse in conjunction with the recent, full-scale restoration of the monument. Close observation of the technique of painting and of the traces of paint remaining on the damaged portions of the walls enabled me to make a visual restoration of the lost compositions. After having recomposed the images, I identified the subjects as Joachim's Rejected Offerings and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. The iconography of the two scenes is typically Byzantine. The iconography of the latter scene, if not also of the former, appears to be post-iconoclastic.

The inclusion of two scenes from the Virgin's early life alters the meaning of the program. The fact that the Christ Child appears in only three of the eight preserved scenes and that he does not appear at all in any scene in the upper register confirms my belief that the focus is on Mary. Even in the scenes which are associated specifically with Christ's Infancy (Nativity, Adoration, his Presentation), Mary is the visual protagonist.

Once Mary's prominence is recognized, numerous iconographic, compositional and typological relationships become apparent among the scenes, which, apparently, were chosen and arranged for this apse. The overall program and the selection and sequence of scenes exemplify Mary's perpetual virginity and show her life as an instrument in the promise of redemption. Her role is compared to that of the church. The symbolic motifs also seem to have been chosen in view of their relevance as symbols of the church. The church and liturgical symbolism support an interpretation of the theme of the paintings as that of Mary-and-the-Church.

The idea that Mary represented the church, already present in the writings of the early church fathers, was developed in the late eighth and ninth centuries by Carolingian theologians. Devotion to Mary in the Carolingian period was widespread. Furthermore, the importance of the universal church, implicit in the Marian theme of the murals, calls to mind essential elements of Carolingian political philosophy. Recently the inclusion of scenes from the Virgin's life was postulated also in the early ninth century frescoes in S. Salvatore at Brescia, and Pope Leo III (795-816) had the apocryphal story of Mary's parents, Joachim and Anna, depicted on the walls of St. Paul's in Rome. Another parallel for the choice of scenes to honor Mary in ninth century art is found on the lid of the silver reliquary casket in the Vatican (no. 985), made for Pope Paschal I (817-824).

A possible connection with the ninth century West is likely in light of other historical considerations. The Sepriese count, who resided at Castel Seprio perhaps as early as the ninth century, may have provided the link between Castel Seprio and the Carolingians. The presence of such an art in what is an otherwise rural and isolated environment becomes less enigmatic, therefore, by virtue of this new interpretation of the program.

A New Moses? Carolingian Typology in the Moutier-Grandval Bible

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The most famous and perhaps the first illustrated Carolingian bible is the Moutier-Grandval Bible (London, British Library, Cod. Add. Ms. 10546), produced at St. Martin at Tours and dated to approximately 834. The bible contains four miniatures, including Majestas, Genesis, and Exodus frontispieces, and an Apocalypse illustration bound at the end of the bible.

That the Exodus and Apocalypse illustrations were conceived as a unit was suggested by Kessler. In the Exodus miniature Moses receives the Law in the upper register, and addresses the Israelites in the lower. In the Apocalypse miniature, a lamb and lion, along with symbols of the evangelists, flank a codex on an altar in the upper register. Below, Moses is seated on a throne, holding a billowing cloth. A lion and ox tug at its ends while an eagle perches on top, and a winged man blows through a trumpet. Taken together, the illustrations represent the abrogation of the Old Covenant by the New Covenant of Christ.

The original character of the Apocalypse illustration has been noted frequently. Scholars have stressed the derivative nature of the Exodus page, however, arguing for an Early Christian model like the Grandval Bible or in the form of a Pentateuch. Arguing against this interpretation is the fact that no close parallels exist for the scene of the Receiving of the Law or of Moses Addressing the Israelites. In addition, the physiognomy of Moses is unique. As Schmid noted, he bears an unmistakeable resemblance to Paul.

Although overshadowed by Moses/Christ typology, the identification of Moses with Paul occurs in the early church. It derives from Paul's own writings and is based on two points of comparison. First, only Moses and Paul were granted the privilege of of seeing God through divine revelation, Moses on Sinai and Paul at his conversion. Second, as Moses was appointed teacher of the Jews, so Paul was called to be teacher of the Gentiles. As the new Moses, Paul thus teaches the New Covenant that replaces the Old, lifting the veil of concealment that covered Moses' face.

This exegesis became increasingly popular in the Middle Ages, and is surely responsible for the choice of scenes, the physiognomy of Moses, and other details in the miniatures. For example, in the Mosaic models proposed for the Receiving of the Law, Moses' vision comes from the upper right or left corner of the composition. In the Grandval miniature the vision comes from the center of the page, above Moses, in the form of rays that issue along with the Law, the usual form and location in scenes of the conversion of Paul. The angels are also associated with Paul's vision of the third heaven. In the scene of Moses addressing the Israelites, the interior setting, which is inappropriate to Mosaic wilderness iconography, is typical in scenes of Paul preaching (see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 14345, fol. 7v). Such a model explains the awkward and pastiche-like nature of the composition as well, which resulted when the artist added Aaron and increased the number of Israelites by adding overlarge bearded faces.

The Grandval miniatures thus provide early evidence of the flowering of interest in Paul in the Middle Ages, perhaps stimulated by the arrival in 827 of the works of the disciple of Paul, Dionysius the Areopagite, sent by Emperor Michael II to the Carolingian court. They were translated in the early 830s by Hilduin, who also write a life connecting the disciple of Paul with St. Denis. Interestingly, the Grandval Bible was begun under Abbot Fridugisus, friend of Hilduin who, as chancellor at the court of Louis the Pious, witnessed along with him the arrival of Dionysius' works and the events that followed.

Wall painting as evidence for renewed Roman contacts with Byzantium, ca. 850-880 A.D.

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There is a widespread view among historians of western civilisation that the close cultural and artistic links which existed between Italy and Constantinople in the seventh and early eighth century were largely destroyed in the time of Charlemagne, when the political division of Europe was altered from north vs. south to east vs. west. However, an examination of the monumental decoration in a number of Roman churches, all securely dated to the second half of the ninth century, suggests a slightly different scenario. The Byzantine stylistic and iconographic influences present in Paschal I's San Zeno chapel in the church of S. Prassede (ca. 817) are well known, and may perhaps be explained in the light of the Liber Pontificalis statement that this new monastic foundation was staffed with Greek monks (refugees from the renewal of iconoclasm under Leo V?). Clearly Carolingian Rome was not closed to artistic innovations from the east -- but what happened in subsequent generations? The only ninth-century mosaic work to have survived in Rome from the years following Paschal I is the apse of S. Marco, completed in the time of pope Gregory IV (827-844). Here the economical use of dynamic line, the hall-mark of the double-line fold style as practised in S. Prassede, has been stylised, impoverished and

utterly debased, as local mosaicists (one presumes) strive but fail to emulate the style of their predecessors. However, the same is not true of the wall painting executed in the city in the middle years of the century, for example the Christological cycle in the lower church of San Clemente (847-855). Here we find a dramatic return to the double-line fold style and an elimination of superfluous pattern. Is this an indigenous development, the result of painters looking back at the S. Prassede mosaics and recapturing their spirit? Or is it the result of renewed exposure to this style as a consequence of renewed ties with Byzantium following the end of iconoclasm? The evidence provided by other wall paintings in Rome, particularly those in S. Maria Egiziaca and S. Passera, strongly supports the latter possibility. Indeed the murals in S. Maria Egiziaca offer some of the closest stylistic parallels to the Sacra Parallela (Paris. gr. 923), leading Grabar to suggest a Roman origin for the manuscript. (My own belief is that it was produced in Constantinople ca. 870.) The evidence of style is supported by iconographic innovations and interests which have their closest parallels in the earliest group of painted churches in Cappadocia: for example changes in the iconography of the Anastasis, and a narrative cycle of the life of St. Basil. There is also considerable documentary evidence to support the view that the papacy was actively seeking new political ties with the Byzantine court following the virtual collapse of the Carolingian security umbrella, which had significantly failed to protect Rome from Saracen attack. This new rapprochement with the east would, however, die with pope John VIII in 882.

BYZANTINE SCIENCE .....Presiding: John Scarborough (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

An Early Byzantine portable sundial with associated calendrical gearing

J.V. Field, Science Museum, London SW7 2DD, U.K.

In 1983 the Science Museum, London, acquired four fragments of an early Byzantine sundial. They are the front plate (which identifies the instrument as a portable sundial of known type, see Price 1969, Tölle 1969, Buchner 1971, Field and Wright 1985c), a suspension arm and two arbors carrying gear wheels (Field and Wright 1985a, b).

The complete gearing can be reconstructed with a considerable degree of confidence since the uses of the two surviving arbors are fairly unambiguous, and the overall dimensions of the instrument are set by the diameter of the front plate and the depth allowed by the shape of the suspension arm. The gearing was calendrical, showing the shape of the Moon (roughly) and its age in days. It seems highly likely — purely on the basis of what historians of science warily call 'rational reconstruction' — that the instrument also displayed the positions of the Sun and the Moon in the Zodiac.

The fragments are made of low-zinc brass, with traces of tin and lead. We have found no traces of gilding or silvering. The gear teeth are not cut with excessive care. There is thus nothing to indicate that our sundial-calendar was, in its own day, strikingly exceptional. It seems very probable that as more Byzantine sites are dug more Byzantine gearing will emerge.

The design of the sundial provides little evidence for dating. However, the inscriptions include a sixteen-item table of geographical latitudes whose script indicates a date before the seventh century. The script on the Moon disc is closely similar to that of the front plate, confirming the association of the fragments.

The entries in the latitude table provide evidence (not necessarily dependable) for dating the instrument in or a little before the reign of Justinian I.

A ring of heads round the offset hole in the front plate shows the gods of the days of the week. The style is classicising but there are some iconographic quirks which may be worthy of notice.

For the historian of technology, it is of some importance that the London sundial-calendar apparently antedates the Islamic absorption of Greek science (and also, probably, Islam itself). Firstly, it is evidence that the Hellenistic tradition of mathematical gearing attested by the Antikythera mechanism (datable to the first century B.C., Price 1974), continued to be active in the Byzantine period. Secondly, the two surviving arbors of the Byzantine gearing are identical (apart from an additional ratchet) with two parts of a mechanical calendar described by al-Bīrūnī in about AD 1000. This device is not ascribed to any inventor, though others in the same treatise are, which tends to strengthen the presumption that it was 'traditional' and possibly Greek in origin (Hill 1985). The 'rational reconstruction' of the remainder of the Byzantine gearing shows that it cannot have been markedly different from that described by al-Bīrūnī. There is thus rather strong evidence that the continuing Hellenistic tradition of mathematical gearing influenced the emerging Islamic one.

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CHURCH AND THEOLOGY .....Presiding: George P. Majeska (University of Maryland)

The Place of the Nestorian Church in Nin th Century Abbasid – Byzantine Relations: Indications from Patriarch, Timothy I

Thomas R. Hurst (St. Mary's Seminary & University)

The recent studies of Jean Fiey and Louis Sako have focused on the role of the Nestorian Church in relations between Christianity and Islam during the late Umayyad and early Abbasid periods. Given the large numbers of believers, the long history, and the theological development of the Nestorian Church both during the period of the Persian Empire and after the shift in political power

as a result of the Arab invasions, such attention is surely warranted. From studies such as these two it is clear that members of the Nestorian Church held important positions as functionaries in the caliph's court during the first Abbasid century (A.D. 750-850). They served as physicians, scribes, translators, financiers, and even diplomats.

The purpose of this communication is to investigate the role which the Nestorian Church played in Aboasid - Byzantine relations during the late eighth and early ninth centuries as related by the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I.

Born in the village of Hazza in Adiabene in A.D. 727/8, Timothy received an excellent education in the scriptures, liturgy, and philosophy with Mar Abraham bar Dasandad at Basos. He succeeded his uncle as bishop of Bayt Bagas in 767/70 and after considerable political maneuvering, which caused some division within the Nestorian Church, he was elected Patriarch to succeed Hananisu II in 780. His achievements as the leader of the Nestorian community include ecclesiastical reforms involving a carefully controlled process for the education of the clergy and the selection of bishops, canonical stabilization of the church, missionary endeavors to the Far East, and as we shall see, furtherance of Christian influence at the Abbasid court.

The long history of antagonism, intrigue, and military actions that occured between the Byzantine Empire and the Abbasid calpihate is well chronicled. The expansion of the frontiers by Constantine V followed by the defeats of the Isaurian regent Irene in 782-3 by the calpih al-Mahdi and the occupation of the fortified city of Amorion by al-Mutasim in 838 are but examples of the continual hostilities between the two great empires. Relations between Christians and Muslims within the calpihate were frequently tesion filled, with restrictions, accusations, and mutual suspicion, and reprisals taking place. In particular, suspicions often surrounded Nestorian and Monophysite Christians living near the borders, as well as Melkite Christians, because of real or imagined alliances with Byzantium.

It is into this scene that Timothy I emerged as a powerful Christian leader and a skilled diplomat. His letters enlighten us regarding the extent of religious and political enmity as well as accord that existed between the Byzantines and Muslims. In his delineation of the role which he played in the Christian-Muslim debates of the period he records occasions when he was able to influence the caliph in his relations with the Byzantine Empire and its Christian subjects. It is with this delineation and these occasions that we are concerned.

The Evergetis monastery at Constantinople as a Center of Ecclesiastical Reform

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As in the medieval West, a slowly progressing reform of Byzantine monasteries played a crucial role in the emergence of a broader reform movement within the church by the late eleventh century. The monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, founded near Constantinople in 1049, was central to this development.

The monastery's founder, Paul Evergetinos, authored a voluminous and widely copied ascetic treatise which drew upon a remarkably broad range of sources of the monastic tradition. The reformer John of Antioch, formidable opponent of the charistikē, endorsed the same florilegium of sources employed by Paul in his treatise as the necessary foundation for monastic spirituality.

The extant founder's typikon for the Evergetis monastery (authored by Paul Evergetinos' successor Timothy) served as a prototype for many later typika drawn up for monasteries espousing such reform principles as the abolition of privilege, establishment of institutional independence, abandonment of entrance fees, and inalienability of property. In the first decades of the twelfth century, it is quoted verbatim in many places by John, author of the typikon for the monastery of St. John Prodromos at Phoberos and by Empress Irene Comnena, wife of Alexius Comenus, in her typikon for the nunnery of the Theotokos Kecharitomene. Irene's brother John Doukas had already retired from his military career to become a monk in the Evergetis monastery, so it may have been on his advice that she adopted so much of the Evergetian constitution for her own foundation.

The authors of several later typika also borrowed heavily from the founder's typikon of Evergetis, either directly or through intermediaries. The typikon of St. Sabas the Serbian for the Chilandar monastery on Mount Athos, which dates to 1197, is basically a translation into Serbian of the founder's typikon of Evergetis. This text served as the intermediary for the dissemination of Evergetian monasticism into the Slavic world. As late as the Palaeologan period there is a strong echo of the Evergetis tradition in the testament of Joachim, metropolitan of Zichna, drawn up in 1332 for the monastery of St. John Prodromos near Serres.

FAITH HEALING IN LATE BYZANTIUM

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In recent years, scholars such as Peregrine Horden, Susan Harvey and Gary Vikan have focussed attention on the phenomenon of miraculous healing in the early Byzantine period. This paper offers some observations on the characteristics of faith healing in the late Byzantine period, concentrating on posthumous miracles at the shrines of holy men and women.

In Byzantium a sick person had three alternatives: he could go to a folk-healer; he could consult a physician; or he could seek a cure through contact with a saint's relics or icon. Miraculous healing was effected in a variety of ways: by kissing a sarcophagus; through incubation, or spending a night in the church and having a vision of the saint; by drinking or anointing oneself with oil from the lamp that hung in the shrine; by drinking water sanctified by contact with a saint's relics. If a patient was too ill to visit the shrine in person, the sanctified oil or water could be brought to him at home.

Thanks to George Majeska's new translation of the accounts written by Russian pilgrims to Constantinople, one can now obtain a clearer picture of the actual functioning of the principal healing shrines in the capital, e.g. the convent of Christ Philanthropos where the relics of St. Aberkios were displayed on Wednesday and Friday. This convent also possessed a fountain with holy water which sanctified the sand on to which it flowed. People drank or washed with this water, or sat and buried their legs in the miraculous sand.

Wednesday and Friday were also the "public" days at the convent of St. Theodosia, when ailing Byzantines came to seek cures. The shrine of St. Theodosia attracted especial attention during the reign of Andronikos II, after a deaf-mute boy was healed by anointing himself with holy oil at her shrine. The emperor was so impressed that he participated in a procession to the church with the patriarch and entire senate. Particularly interesting is the testimony of Constantine Akropolites, who was inspired to write a vita of this 8th c. saint six centuries after her death, because he had personally witnessed her miraculous healing of his son-in-law. The young man was knocked unconscious in a riding accident, and could not be revived by physicians who bled him. He recovered immediately, however, after being anointed with oil at Theodosia's shrine. Constantine himself was cured of a painful foot injury at the same church, after his physicians despaired of relieving his suffering.

As in earlier centuries, late Byzantine hagiography emphasized the failures of doctors and the successes of saints. Still it is interesting to note that, although the Church encouraged faith healing, many monks, nuns and clergy consulted a physician first, before resorting to a miraculous shrine. Moreover, at least two monasteries functioning in Constantinople in the Palaiologan period, Pantokrator and Lips, offered medical care at a hospital facility as an alternative for the Byzantine in search of healing.

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND THE RENEWAL OF PHILOSOPHICAL AND SCIENTIFIC STUDIES IN THE LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD: THE *CAPITA 150* OF GREGORY PALAMAS

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Although published some two hundred years ago, the *Capita 150* of Gregory Palamas have never received the attention that they deserve. The first sixty-three chapters of the work serve a number of purposes. As one of his principal goals, Palamas had in mind the necessity of a Christian response to the renewal of philosophical and scientific studies that had been rapidly progressing up to his own day.

In the opening section of the *Capita 150* Palamas produced two *De mundo* accounts, the Hellenic version and the Christian one. In the Hellenic account it is important to note that Palamas' discussion is not exclusively polemical: basically, he is willing to accept a quasi-Aristotelian account of the universe, although with certain necessary qualifications. Some of these qualifications are quite ingenious. The real problem with the Hellenic *De mundo* is the fact that it is based exclusively on natural knowledge. Such a source can indeed offer truth, but it can as easily lead to error.

The Christian *De mundo* account revolves around two important doctrines, namely, the absolute sovereignty of God and the high dignity of man as the summit of God's creation. The foundation of man's dignity is the triadic character of the divine image in which he was created. Because the divine image in man reflects not only the immanent life but also the economic processions of the trinity, man stands next after God and above the angels in the reformed, Palamite version of the Dionysian hierarchies.

The intellectual milieu for which Palamas formulated his response was a complex one. Interest in Aristotle's works on logic and natural science can be seen in the popularity of the Aristotelian compendia of Nikephoros Blemmydes, George Pachymeres and Joseph the Philosopher. Pseudo-Aristotle's *De mundo* and Cleomedes' *De motu circulari corporum caelestium* also found readers in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The *De mundo* subjects were treated by Theodore II Laskaris, Nikephoros Choumnos and Nikephoros Gregoras. Astronomy found new devotees in Theodore Metochites, Gregoras and Barlaam the Calabrian. This was the milieu in which Palamas himself was educated and his writings reflect, at least dimly, the penetration of these interests among the Byzantine literary elite.

At the same time the arcane sciences enjoyed their own popularity. The presence of astrology was so persuasive that 'scientific' astronomy had a difficult time establishing itself as a distinct and legitimate pursuit. Magic and sorcery were studied and practiced. Even the studies of Michael Psellos in the occult found new followers.

The *Capita 150* reveal a direct familiarity with this revival of learning and offer a response which is not at all obscurantist, but rather, pre-eminently humanist.

Ritual Purity and Symbolic Power in Late Byzantine Sorcery

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Aspects of ritual activity employed in a group of late Byzantine techniques of sorcery and divination are described and analysed in this paper. The examination provides an insight into mechanisms which enabled the Byzantine sorcerer to perceive himself as the possessor of power over demons.

The paper begins with a brief description of the text of the pseudo-Solomonic work known in Greek as the *Ἀποτελεσματικὴ Πραγματεία* upon which it is based. The rituals in question are principally concerned with summoning demons to a magic circle where information may be elicited from them by way of techniques of lecanomancy and catoptromancy.

A description of the requirements for ritual purity demanded of the sorcerer and of other preparations necessary before commencement of the rite of summoning introduces the main part of the paper: brief allusion is made here to the possible insight these texts provide into the involvement of priests and monks with sorcery apparent from records of the Patriarchal Court in the mid-fourteenth century. Prohibitions of progressive severity are imposed on the practitioner in relation to food, social contact and sexual activity. Requirements for ritual ablutions and annointing are also provided, culminating in detailed instructions concerning garments to be worn for the rites.

There follows an analysis of the function of these procedures, firstly in defining the symbolic position of the sorcerer, secondly in underpinning spoken elements in his techniques with an additional supply of power. In essence, it is argued, the practitioner may be seen to have erected around himself a series of symbolic barriers, establishing himself in a liminal area not dissimilar to that occupied by stylite saints. On the one hand, his actions placed him in contact with the supernatural forces he wished to dominate and those he wished to use in securing this domination: on the other, they helped to render him safe from harm or destruction by any of the forces he employed.

The symbolism involved here apparently revolved around a series of oppositions following two basic pairs - 'inside/outside' and 'intact/broken'. The practitioner thus established himself in a position, in relation to the 'mythical history' of Orthodox Christianity, which was both inside and intact while separate and outside was all that was broken. A triple symbolism was set up whereby he rejected the fall of Adam, separated himself from the continuity and functioning of normal human society (itself dependent on that fall), and both opposed and exposed himself to the demons who were thought to delight in or be characterised by the opposite of what he was doing. Although performing rites which were definitely unorthodox in nature and intent, the sorcerer, sealed inside his circle, can be seen to have pictured himself as having returned as nearly as possible to the condition of the angels in heaven before Satan's downfall and to that of Adam in Eden before the intrusion of evil. Thus guarded and strengthened by the good divine and angelic powers of Orthodox Christianity with which he had associated himself and to which he had drawn close, the sorcerer could see himself as being able to summon and command the spiritual forces of evil.

"Balsamon's Views on Marriage in his Commentaries on the Canons of the Council in Trullo." Carmen Hernandez, Fordham University.

Medieval women were more often than not illiterate and so left little self-expression. The history of women must therefore be gleaned from such sources as legal documents, or ecclesiastical records. These documents set forth the ideal role of women, as wives, as mothers, as members of society. It follows then that by studying such documents general trends concerning women and marriage can be uncovered.

This study is based on those canons of the Council In Trullo (692) pertaining to marriage and Theodore Balsamon's commentary on the canons. (J-.P. Migne. Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca. vol. 137.) In his commentary on each canon Balsamon cited civil laws or practices which related to the subject treated by the canon and he noted similarities or - and this is particularly valuable to the historian - dissimilarities between them. His commentary forms a bridge spanning many centuries, as he cites the laws of Justinian from the sixth century, those of Basil from the ninth, those of Leo the Wise from the turn of the tenth, as well as otherByzantine laws or practices. Balsamon set forth the ideal of marriage during his time as he interpreted it from the canons and from the practices he observed.

The picture of marriage which emerges is, however, broader than the ideal. The canons define such issues as divorce and grounds for divorce such as adultery, punishment for morally and socially unacceptable behavior such as rape, abduction, fornication, and consanguineous unions, women's property rights with regard to dowry and inheritance. Clearly, the ideal is expressed by conformity with the law, but the social realities are evidenced by the definition of aberrations.

The following can then be stated concerning Balsamon's views on marriage. Marriage was honorable, as had been affirmed at the Council of Gangra, and reaffirmed at Trullo. Divorce could be granted for just cause, most notably adultery and the reasons whereby adultery was defined. In some instances marriages were considered null and the relationship adulterous even though one party may have joined in ignorance of the partner's former ties. The punishments and penances differ, however, according to the intent and knowledge of the adulterer or adulteress. A person who was ignorant of his or her spouse's former marriage was guilty only of fornication, as long as he or she ended the adulterous relation, but the

partner incurred the full penalty for adultery. Marriage could be considered dissolved in cases of abandonment, but the observation of certain time limits was mandated before the dissolution was in effect. Betrothals were legally binding, and the father's right to secure betrothal protected by canons and laws punishing abduction. Ordination, except for that of a bishop, did not constitute grounds for divorce. All clerics except for bishops were to honorably retain and provide for their wives and families. Marriages between orthodox and heretics were forbidden because, reasoned Balsamon, there could be no true spiritual union between a heretic and an orthodox. This seems to have been a frequent enough occurrence to merit comment. Some social observations are proposed and discussed based on these comments, placing the commentary and the canons in a broader historical context.

BYZANTIUM AND THE WEST II: OTTO DEMUS'S THE MOSAICS OF SAN MARCO

.....Moderating: Ann Wharton Epstein (Duke University)

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San Marco, reliquary of the precious remains of the patron saint of Venice, embodied that state's pride and self-consciousness as an emergent European power. Its importance to the city is mirrored in the resplendence of its mosaic decoration. These glittering images reflect not only Venice's ascendant status in the High Middle Ages, but also the city's traditional links with Byzantium. The publication of Otto Demus's long awaited The Mosaics of San Marco will finally allow these masterpieces of mosaic craft to be fully appreciated and studied. Prof. Demus, who brought to bear on this project the experience and sensitivity of decades of distinguished work on the monument, promises to provide scholars with exhaustive visual and descriptive documentation and analysis of these magnificent works of art.

The appearance of this four volume set is a significant publishing event. It is the result of cooperation among distinguished scholarly institutions: Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C., the N.E.H., and the University of Chicago Press. It is also the product of the critical skills of many technicians. But most significantly, it will stimulate a new phase of discussion and debate concerning the development of art in Western Europe in the Middle Ages.

It seems appropriate to mark such an event with a critical discussion of the publication by experts on subjects related to Italo-Byzantine art. Those scholars in the fields of Medieval mosaics and Byzantine art who have agreed to participate in the session are: Prof. Caecilia Davis (Sophia Newcomb College), who works on Medieval mosaics in Rome and has contributed particularly to our understanding of mosaic technology; Prof.Nora Nersessian (Harvard University), who works on the mosaic programs of Sicily, notably that of the Cappella Palatina; Prof. William Tronzo (The Johns Hopkins University), who works on Early Christian and, more recently, Medieval Roman mosaic programs; Prof. Annemarie Carr (Southern Methodist University), who works on Byzantine manuscript illumination and wall-painting. I will act as moderator.

These authorities have been asked to present their opinions concerning the historical and theoretical implications of the work. Discussion of the text will also be opened to the broader audience. A summary of the proceedings of the session will appear as a review article in Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines.

BYZANTIUM AND THE WEST III: "THE BYZANTINE QUESTION" ..... Presiding: Robert S. Nelson (University of Chicago)

Vita Necephori, Galaktotrophousa, and Maria Lactans
Anthony Cutler (Pennsylvania State University)
[Abstract not received in time for publication]

The "Maniera Greca" Reconsidered: Byzantine and Non-Byzantine Influence in Dugento Painting

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The artistic interaction between Italy and Byzantium during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is a phenomenon that art historians are only beginning to understand. Recently scholars have begun to reexamine the question of motivation: what explains the eager reception of Byzantine works and artists in Italy at this time? The traditional response to this question describes a stylistic influence of virtually irresistible force. Thus Demus writes that Byzantium generated "overpowering waves of influence" (Byzantine Art and the West, p. 208), and Stubblebine cites its "enormous and magnetic pull." (DOP 20, p. 97.) While stylistic considerations should not be dismissed, the answers are probably far more complex, as complex as the broader phenomenon itself. Recent papers by Debra Pincus and Irene Bierman have called attention to the political message implicit in certain Eastern motifs and images used by Italian artists; such implications were certainly understood in Venice and probably in Tuscany. This paper will address another aspect of this issue, the role of Tuscan popular devotion in shaping the art of the "maniera greca." At least in the case of passion iconography, Tuscan artists were not invariably compelled by the "magnetic pull" of Byzantium. Instead they demonstrated a conscious selectivity with which they are not generally credited, clearly relying on Eastern prototypes when these met their needs and equally clearly discarding them when they did not.

The paper will focus on three passion scenes, the Betrayal of Christ, the Mocking of Christ and the Bearing of the Cross. In each case, two distinct versions of the scene exist. The first, in use during the twelfth and early thirteenth century, minimizes Christ's suffering during the passion and stresses instead his stoic endurance. In each case, this version was abandoned by the middle of the Dugento and supplanted by a substantially different image, in which a visibly suffering Christ replaces the impassive demeanor seen in the earlier type. But these iconographic upheavals cannot be fully explained by positing a new reliance on Byzantine models. In the first case, the Bearing of the Cross, the new image is unquestionably inspired by Byzantium; close comparison of Tuscan examples with Eastern prototypes reveals the sort of careful emulation that Demus and Stubblebine have observed elsewhere. But if this instance serves as a textbook illustration of the "magnetic pull," the next two examples demonstrate the limits of this theory. In both cases the earlier version, long entrenched in Tuscany, clearly follows a Byzantine formulation. But when this image is jettisoned at mid-century it is replaced by a new version of the scene which is obviously non-Byzantine in inspiration, owing far more to Northern European models than to any Byzantine example. This clear resistance to the allure of the East, in the heyday of the "maniera greca," cautions us that something other than fascination with the art of the East motivated Tuscan artists and patrons of the thirteenth century. Only by examining contemporary devotional thought, revealed in popular texts by Franciscans and others, can we find the common ground that links the images that emerge in mid-Dugento.

Siena and the East: The Question of Motivation

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In a series of papers delivered and published in the last decade, art historians have turned to the problem of the relationship between the art of the Italian maniera greca and the art of the Mediterranean East. Studies have outlined iconographic and stylistic connections, as well as instances of direct contact facilitated by political ties. Increasingly, the question of the motivation as well as the opportunity for exchange has been raised. Christina Smith, in her paper delivered in Bologna in 1978, argued that in cities with different histories and under different political pressures, Byzantine art might be used to a greater or lesser degree than in nearby centers. Certainly we must begin with case studies as we sort out the meanings which Byzantine art had for Italian artists and patrons.

As Anne Derbes has pointed out, Siena is one of the best subjects for investigation. The parallels in style and iconography with art in the East are clear, and patterns of political interaction could have allowed an exchange of artists or works of art. And we have to ask whether Byzantine art could have had a significance for the Sienese beyond that of a "modern" or "illusionistic" model.

In the series of Madonnas painted for Sienese churches and the Palazzo Pubblico by Coppo di Marcovaldo, Guido da Siena and his school, Duccio, and Simone Martini, there is a strong political component based on her role as the protector of the city. Admittedly incorporating theological and liturgical symbols as well as Northern European motifs, these artists also included elements which carried political messages. For example, Coppo's Madonna and Child painted for the Servi di Maria includes Hohenstaufen imperial textile

motifs as well as a Byzantine version of the lyre-backed throne. We must consider whether the parallels to Marian images from the Byzantine world were based on religious and visual needs, or whether there was a civic or political element in the imitation of forms as well. Certainly there is a striking similarity in the relationships Constantinople and Siena had with the Virgin. We should also consider the possibility that some Eastern elements were viewed as an affirmation of the loyalty of Siena to the Hohenstaufen imperial cause. Indeed, there is a dramatic increase in the use of Byzantine types in the art produced in the 1260's in the court of the Sicilian King, Manfred, whose ill-fated campaigns the Sienese supported.

A Byzantine St. George in the Cathedral of Genoa

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The church of San Lorenzo in Genoa contains four little known frescoes, comprising groups of saints in two lunettes, a Last Judgment over the west door, and, on the north wall, a tripartite composition centered on St. George. On another occasion I examined the Last Judgment, and here I wish to extend the inquiry to the image of St. George. The saint occupies the central section of a large triptych with John the Baptist to the right and at the left a saint not definitely identified. The frescoes may be attributed to a Byzantine painter and to a period of renovation at the church around 1310. That the artist is Greek will be shown through a brief analysis of the Last Judgment and a more extended discussion of the St. George group. Thus the fresco is proof of the artistic relations of Genoa with Byzantium, a subject little studied by art historians.

Accordingly the frescoes are part of that long standing issue, known as "Byzantine Art and the West", but perhaps more neutrally styled the "Byzantine Question." Precisely what the question is bears further consideration in view of recent attempts to shift the discussion from an earlier concern with pan-Byzantinism to an appreciation for the local context of Byzantine art and artists in areas outside the political control of the Byzantine Empire. In this regard the St. George fresco is informative. Although painted by a Byzantine painter, its meaning is not Byzantine and must be viewed from the perspective of early Trecento Genoa. St. George was closely associated with the city, both by the Genoese, as well as by their rivals, the Venetians, as Debra Pincus has shown. The saint was depicted on Genoese flags and is shown slaying the dragon on capitals of the Palazzo del Comune, which was being erected near San Lorenzo shortly before the proposed date for the fresco. Thus St. George is a civic symbol for medieval Genoa. Because that city's government and social structure differed significantly from that of Venice, the Genoese and Venetian experiences with Byzantine artists may be usefully contrasted. In both cases something more profound than artistic "influence" is at work. The latter suggests the point of view of Constantinople dispatching Byzantine art to distant lands. More appropriate for the later Middle Ages is the notion of a Byzantine art appropriated by the Italian city states, now politically and economically dominant in the Levant.

LATE ANTIQUITY: CHURCH AND SOCIETY .....Presiding: Timothy E. Gregory (Ohio State University)

NIKOMEDIA AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY

Gary J. Johnson, Indiana University at South Bend

The accession of Constantine perfected, but did not of itself create the "imperial" Church. In the east at least, and before 324, the Church had already assumed an imperial mentality. A hierarchy of sorts already was in place--at its head, the Church of Diokletian's new Rome: Nikomedia. The pretensions of Nikomedia were recent but tangible. Proximity to the emperor and to the imperial court endowed the Church of Nikomedia with a special prestige--a prestige no less real for being honorific only, and grounded purely in secular custom.

The clearest evidence of Nikomedia's prestige is provided by the Arian Controversy. Ostensibly theological in nature, the controversy involved as well a second crucial factor: the professional and personal dignity of the bishop of Nikomedia: Eusebios.

Following his excommunication by Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and probably seeking an advocate with special status, Arios appealled to Eusebios. Eusebios found no fault in Arios and ordered his reinstatement. Alexander's refusal provoked a full display of Nikomedia's authority and Eusebios' vanity. Anti-Alexandrian propaganda promulgated on a wide scale by Eusebios generalized the controversy and introduced an element of personal enmity which destroyed possibilities of easy settlement. From the Council of Nikaea to his own death, Eusebios remained undaunted, determined to exercise his authority and to dominate the disobedient see of Alexandria.

The Nachleben of Basil of Caesarea

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Univ. of St Michael's College

> «Ability to profit derives some advantage even from lapse of time; thus we are able to transmit instruction, not only to those who are dwelling far away, but even to those who are hereafter born» (Ep. 294, to students Festus and Magnus).

The ways through which Basil of Caesarea's (330-379) survival in space and time has been ensured are:

--the direct tradition of his works;

--the early translations into Syriac, Armenian, Latin, Coptic, Arabic, Georgian, Ethiopic and the Slavic languages;

--the indirect tradition or appeal to him;

--the artistic representations (icons, paintings, portraits);

--the modern editions and studies.

Owing to the particular nature of his literary production, the following literary genres are involved:

--ascetical;
--homiletical;
--epistolary;
--liturgical;
--canonical;
--hagiographical;
--biblical catenae;
--dogmatic, ascetic and mixed florilegia.

My project follows the division of the literary genres: all of Basil's works --authentic, dubious, and spurious-- are arranged in that order. Works in Greek are listed first, followed by those in the other eight ancient languages.

Each work is identified through its various titles and the incipits and desinits; sometimes also through its longer or shorter recensions. Next, follow the editions if any.

The treatment of the direct and indirect tradition involves the complete listing and description of all the manuscripts arranged alphabetically according to the libraries in the order of the nine above mentioned languages. So far I have found over 9,000 manuscripts, slightly less than half of them in Greek, containing Basil's works. I begun by consulting all the published and unpublished catalogues of the manuscripts. This entailed the sifting through more than 5,000 publications. Since many manuscripts are only imperfectly described in the catalogues, I resorted next to the specialized studies of some of them contained, e.g., in the critical editions or studies of patristic, monastic, liturgical and canonical texts. Again here not all the gaps could be filled. As a result, it was necessary to write directly to the libraries themselves or to visit them. For the Oriental languages with which I am less familiar I had the assistance not only of the experts in those languages but also of scholars well familiar with palaeographical, patristic and historical matters.

Many practical problems of identity have been solved by checking more than just the initial few words of the texts. In my 1981 preliminary study I listed the elimination of several works in Arabic reported in Graf's Geschichte as separate items (see «The Translations of the Works of Basil of Caesarea Before 1400,» 2: 439-512, in: Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. P.J. Fedwick [Toronto, 1981], at p. 489 note 246).

My initial plan was to list the manuscripts in chronological order, but this at the present moment is impossible since the dates of many are still sub judice. However, at the end of my work I will present a complete listing of all dated, datable and un-dated manuscripts.

For reasons of space, the description of manuscripts had to be limited to the essentials. However, I always make a point in identifying whenever possible the names of scribes and locations of the scriptoria. I reproduce also many of the colophons as well as other items of interest for historians.

The importance of the indirect tradition for the establishing of some of the patristic texts cannot be stressed enough. Following M. Richard's masterful researches on the Greek florilegia, I hope to identify all of Basil's texts contained at least in the most ancient collections listing them alphabetically according to the incipits rather than the often erratic divisions of the florilegia themselves.

The complete listing of all of Basil's works is followed by the complete listing of all the secondary literature related to him. Once more the alphabetical order prevailed over the chronological one for no other reason than in order to avoid unnecessary repetitions and also in order to provide an easy way of referring to them. (In the list of secondary works are included all the authors of catalogues; each author if possible is identified fully through his/her name, dates of birth, death, etc.).

The entire work will conclude with exhaustive indices of names of persons, locations, libraries, dated and un-dated manuscripts, thematic and general indices.

The Sense of a Stylite: Perspectives on Simeon the Elder. Susan Ashbrook Harvey, University of Rochester.

We possess three major sources for Simeon, the first stylite: Theodoret of Cyrrhus' Historia Religiosa, Chapter 26; the Syriac vita by Simeon's disciples; and the spurious Greek vita by Antonius. Traditionally, scholars have assessed these texts with the primary intention of finding the 'historical Simeon' - to whose mind we have no access, and whose ascetic motivation remains elusive. Leaving aside ps. -Antonius' vita, historians have tended to prefer Theodoret's account to that of the Syriac disciples, as though Theodoret were any less a hagiographer. But Theodoret is here at his most hagiographical; this chapter differs markedly from the rest of his collection. Apart from information on what Simeon may or may not actually have done, the measure of historicity will not help us understand this saint.

However, what we have are two different perspectives on Simeon's meaning and impact, the more useful for representing two distinct spiritual traditions - Greek and Syriac. Simeon's vocation emerged out of one, and took root in both. My purpose here is to consider these differing religious perspectives. The spirituality of each writer's tradition bears significantly on the presentation of the saint and his vocation.

The Greek sources depict Simeon in a manner comparable to Antony of Egypt: as an ascetic subjugating his body to his soul through discipline, to please God and participate in the battle against Satan. Theodoret has his agenda: a life of achieved penitence (philoponia) and the pursuit of the soul's higher virtue (philosophia).

While the Syriac vita spares us no brutality, it stresses that Simeon committed himself utterly into God's hands. Body and soul unite in the act of devotion. The Lord guides Simeon, who 'had no care for anything except how he might please his Lord.' The intimate, loving relationship between them is displayed repeatedly. The Syriac hagiographers recall that in Christ, God worked through the human body he took on as his own; this body defeated Satan. So, too, through the use of Simeon as his instrument, and literally through Simeon's body, God works his purpose.

Not surprisingly, then, we find very different pictures of why Simeon ascended his pillar, and what his vocation meant. For Theodoret, Simeon's choice is an act of penitential mortification, intensifying the saint's discipline. In the Syriac vita, Simeon fulfills God's desire: re-ordering God's world as a new Moses, dispensing from his new Mt. Sinai the new law for God's people. At issue is the nature of devotion.

In its most basic sense, hagiography is about the intersection of the human and the divine. The hagiographer's understanding of the saint as holy is dependent on how he understands that intersection to take place. Hagiography is neither theology nor biography. But it is about seeing the holy as a real and efficacious presence in human life. We cannot know why Simeon climbed his pillar. But we can see how his actions appeared in the context of different spiritual traditions, and therein begin to ask what Simeon meant for the world that witnessed his choice.

"Pilgrims In Magi's Clothing: The Impact of Mimesis on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art"

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The anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza, traveling south through Palestine around A.D. 570, describes the following scene at Gilboa:

> There [at Goliath's resting place] is also a heap of stones -- such a mountain that there is not a pebble left for a distance of 20 miles, since anyone going that way makes a gesture of contempt by taking three stones and throwing them at his grave.

The motive behind such mimetic behavior is clear earlier, further north near Jerusalem, where he lay on each of the three couches in the Garden of Gesthemene where Jesus had reclined before His betrayal, "to gain their blessing."

The reenactment of biblical events, whether done individually or communally, as part of the stational liturgy, was a topos of the Byzantine pilgrim's experience. In a general sense, this was simply a natural reflection of the mandate to Christian mimesis expressed by, among others, St. Basil, in an early letter to Gregory Nazianzenus:

> ...he who is anxious to make himself perfect in all the kinds of virtue must gaze upon the lives of the saints [and Scripture] as upon statues, so to speak, that move and act, and must make their excellence his own dia mimeseos.

But more specifically, these were the familiar, ritualized actions (and empathic, typological identifications) which gave shape and meaning to the pilgrim's day-to-day existence; this is how he actually experienced the spiritual power of the locus sanctus and secured from himself the transference of its eulogia.

Not surprisingly, the pilgrim's participation in and identification with biblical (and hagiographic) events exercised a significant impact on the choice and configuration of iconographic themes developed to serve him. As foreign travelers (xenoi) and bearers of (votive) gifts, pilgrims became Magi and the goal of their pilgrimage, whether holy site or holy man, became Christ. Thus, one understands Paula's reaction to a community of Egyptian desert-dwelling monks:

> In each holy man she believed she was seeing Christ, and every gift she gave gladly, as if to Christ.

And thus one understands why it was that representations of the Adoration of the Magi were so disproportionately popular on pilgrim eulogiai from all regions of the Byzantine East, and why pilgrims dressed as Magi intrude as venerating suppliants in (eulogia)scenes where historically and topographically they do not belong. These and other examples of the pilgrim's vicarious participation in pilgrimage iconography will be the subject of my paper; its goal will be to demonstrate that mimesis was a significant force in the formation of pilgrimage art -- and, by extension, in the formation of Early Byzantine art generally.

MISSING PIECES OF THE DIOSCORUS ARCHIVE

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In 1983 the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, disregarding its publication permission previously granted to the Society for Coptic Archaeology and myself, issued forty-three photographs, without texts, of papyri supposedly being kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo under the number Special Register 3733 (Section No. 6, R2 East [sic]) (Fragments of Coptic and Greek Papyri from Kom Ichkaw, ASA Cahier 29, Cairo 1983). They are said to have been found by clandestine excavation on the site in 1937-38. Of course nothing of the archaeological context was recorded or preserved (and my own enquiries in the village tracked down no memories of the find-spots of any papyri). Not only are no texts given with the photographs, but in nearly every case the language, Greek or Coptic, is wrongly identified. As far as can be gathered from the extremely bad photographs, many of these papyri in fact belong to the bilingual archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito, the sixth-century lawyer and poet (see L.S.B. MacCoull in Chronique d'Egypte 56 [1981] 185-193), and fit in with transactions and events already known from his papers. For example, Plate XI, labeled as Coptic, is a contract in Greek dated to A.D. 546, regnal year 20 of Justinian: it is a companion piece to P.Cair. Masp. II 67127 and 67128. Plates XXXII and XXXIII, also labeled as Coptic, are a Greek petition to the Duke of the Thebaid, in the same hand as the petitions P. Cair.Masp. I 67002 and 67003, which date from the 560s at Antinoë. Plate XXV is a Coptic letter in Dioscorus' hand, requesting wine on behalf of his father's monastery, Apa Apollos', and mentioning several ecclesiastics of the house. Plates XIV and XXIV also appear to be documents in Dioscorus' hand, with parallels to his Coptic pieces in the Vatican Library and the Griffith Institute (Oxford). Further identifications await, and parallels abound. In this paper I propose to identify the papyri in this collection, set them in their historical context, and outline the preliminaries of what needs to be done to make these documents available to scholars in proper and usable form. Full texts and commentaries will follow.

John Lydus' "Antiquarianism" between Paganism and Christianity

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Justinian's persecutions of pagans (and later those of Tiberius and Maurice) indicate the continued presence in the sixth century of a substantial non-Christian population in the urban centers of the empire as well as in the countryside. What was the nature of this paganism among the educated elite of the imperial capital? Apart from those "professionals", the philosophers, we know very little of what pagans thought about or precisely what issues were of concern to them. How completely could the label of "pagan" or "hellene" characterize an individual's social or intellectual identity? To what extent beyond forms of worship had the range of associations with antique culture identified with paganism passed into the Christian realm? Justinian's purges imposed a polarization of Christian and pagan that was somewhat artificial. In certain strata of urban society we must assume not separate Christian and pagan worlds but a middle ground of common interests, values and education.

Of particular importance in this uncertain climate was the status of Roman antiquity in the Christian firmament; control of forms of allegiance to the past was a powerful political tool. As an expert in the past anxious to avoid controversy, John Lydus speaks for that middle ground confronted by Justinian's intolerance. He demonstrates the survival of a stance toward antiquity that was definitely not Christian in origin but that could be appreciated and tolerated in the capital. Much of what was acceptable in Justinian's day, however, would later be rejected as strictly pagan.

Lydus' political sentiments and his attitude toward the past help illuminate these cultural tensions. His strongest personal and political ties were to the aristocratic prefect Phocas who fell victim to the witch hunts; his praise for the prefect is an indirect indictment of Justinian's policies. While Lydus avoided the purges, all of his literary debts and intellectual sympathies were to non-Christian antiquity, a fact he most certainly recognized. How should his links to the past be evaluated?

Lydus' religious beliefs have long provoked interest and uncertainty. Photius was the first on record to mention the difficulty of knowing where Lydus stood between paganism and Christianity. This paper suggests that trying to describe Lydus in such "either - or" terms is rather to miss the point. It is more productive to examine him against the common elements of late antique culture and observe the limits imposed on his work by official intolerance and by his own understanding of the intellectual tradition in which he wrote. The term antiquarian does not do justice to the contemporary nature of Lydus' concerns.

TITLE: The Synodal Lists of the Sixth Oecumenical Council (680-681) and the Quinisextum (691-692): The Reconstruction of the Ecclesiastical Structure of the Anatolian Towns after the Period of the Arab Wintering Raids.

NAME: Frank R. Trombley

AFFILIATION: Georgetown University and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

The synodal lists of the seventh-century Councils have been invariably studied piecemeal, to establish the rosters of bishops for particular sees (cf. Le Quien, Oriens Christianus; Laurent, Sceaux byzantins; Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia). The separate lists have not been approached, however, as integral documents for understanding the Anatolian churches within a particular historical context, scilicet, the period between the treaty of 679 with the Khalifate and the subsequent renewal of hostilities in and after 692, which proved to be a decade of peace and reconstruction in Anatolia.

Arab raids wintered in Anatolia almost every year between 663-678, as the towns and countryside suffered depopulation and material destruction. Many towns remained inhabited sites. Some, like Euchaita as described in the anonymous Miracula of St. Theodore, consisted not only of an akropolis but had a lower town of considerable size.

The synodal list of the Sixth Oecumenical Council (680-681) may well reflect the distribution of most surviving sees in the immediate wake of the wintering raids. The synodal list of the Quinisextum (691-692), coming eleven years later, reflects a considerable degree of local reconstruction. This is demonstrable by a careful comparison of the lists. That of 680-81 has only 152 signatory bishops, including many Italian bishops missing from the list of 691-692. The latter has 210 signatories. The analysis of the names of prelates from the ecclesiastical eparchies most exposed to Arab raids reveals some striking differences after years of peace. Lycia, where Arab fleets often put in, was represented only by its metropolitan in 680-81. Eleven years later, five sees are attested. From Pamphylia, four sees were present in 680-81. Eleven years later, twelve sees are attested. The task of local construction, where sees survived, presumably detained many prelates (who were restoring church buildings, replacing lower clerical orders, and organizing church properties). The case of Isauria, through which Arab land raids regularly passed, is even more striking. Only five sees are mentioned in 680-81, and the eparchy is generally, like that of Thrace, referred to a chora, which in this context seems to designate "disorganized territory." Eleven years later, with the title of the eparchy generally given as he Isaurias eparchia, there are thirteen sees. The destruction caused by the raids seems, at first sight, to have influenced this terminology, which finds no parallel with the other Anatolian eparchies.

The other ecclesiastical provinces will be treated in a similar manner. Towns mentioned in chronicles, inscriptions, and other texts will be considered as well (Nicaea, Sozopolis, Amorion, Smyrna, Pessinus, and Sykeon). The Canons of the Quinisextum which pertain to specific problems which arose from "barbarian raids" (tas tōn barbarōn epidromas) (Canons Eight, Eighteen, Thirty-eight, etc.) confirm the existence of a policy of reestablishing towns and keeping bishops at their sees.

It has been quite the fashion to view the seventh-century synodal lists as aggregations of titular bishops who actually resided in Constantinople. What evidence there is, however, inclines in favor of actual occupancy (cf. Byzantion 83, 1983, pp. 632-38). The latter view is bolstered by the repeated presence of the envoys of bishops at all eighteen sessions of the Council of 680-81 (e.g. Barata), by archaeological evidence (cf. recent excavations at Gortyna, Crete, showing the existence of a seventh-century town, and the less certain data in Ramsay-Bell, Bin Bir Kilisse, and Pallas, Monuments paléochretiens de Grèce), and by the wide divergence of the synodal lists from such theoretical notitiae as the eighth-century pseudo-Epiphanius.

BYZANTINE ARCHAEOLOGY ..... Presiding: James Morganstern (Ohio State University)

The Street System of 6th-Century Sardis: A Model for Culture Change in Late Antiquity

Marcus L. Rautman, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee

The transformation of urban life is one of the primary characteristics of late antiquity. The Hellenized cities of western Asia Minor provide important evidence of this transition from classical to medieval society,

documenting major patterns of culture change in the light of varying local circumstances. Lydian Sardis was one of the most important of these cities during this period. Reconstructed from its foundations in the 1st century A.D., the site shared in the general flourishing of the eastern poleis under Roman rule. Late antique Sardis continued the urban framework of the Roman city, with modifications to suit changing needs. Literary sources and ongoing excavation of the site by the joint Harvard-Cornell expedition have documented the development of the Roman city and have revealed the 6th century to be a crucial period in this process of urban transformation. The archaeological evidence for this time suggests a marked contrast with the relative prosperity of the 5th-century city in both the public and private spheres, and foreshadows the decline of the Sardian polis in the 7th century.

The street system of Sardis casts new light on this phase of the city's history. The 6th-century street plan was one phase of a continuously evolving process that was conditioned by earlier buildings and topographic features, interrupted by major earthquakes on several occasions, and influenced by changes in the city's population and economic fortunes. Few traces of the community's 1st-century rebuilding can be identified with certainty, although the general features of the urban plan probably date from this period. Excavations in western Sardis have located several streets that were reconstructed or laid out in the early 5th century as part of an organized campaign of public works. Among the major identified elements of this street system are a monumental axis terminating in a broad public plaza, perhaps the plateia Sardianorum, and two intersecting colonnaded streets that passed through a neighboring residential quarter. The planning and construction of these and related roads reflect the continued aspirations of the late antique city.

Results from current excavations suggest that the Sardian street system underwent important changes during the 6th century. Regular maintenance of public thoroughfares by municipal offices apparently ended early in the century, with the result that the trafficked surfaces rose steadily during the following years. By the end of the century the sidewalks flanking several colonnaded streets were being overbuilt by small, makeshift structures, apparently for domestic or commercial purposes. This encroachment on public streets by private use was succeeded in turn by the systematic dumping of habitational debris in at least one important avenue identified in 1984. Violent destruction and subsequent despoliation of the street colonnades in the 7th century bear witness to a totally new response by the city to physical upheaval by substantially abandoning the urban plain. Multiple social and economic factors underlie this epochal demise of the polis, which reflects the fundamental changes that Sardis had undergone during the previous century.

Early Byzantine Lamps from Anemurium

Hector Williams (University of British Columbia)

[Abstract not received in time for publication]

Robert G. Ousterhout
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Where was the Tomb of Isaak Komnenos?

The monastery of the Panagia Kosmosoteira at Pherrai was founded by the Sebastokrator Isaak Komnenos, and it was designed to be the site of his retirement and final resting place. The Typikon, begun in the year 1152 and composed by Isaak, provides much information about the original situation of the monastery, as well as the founder's wishes for his own burial. From this document we learn that in his youth Isaak had had a tomb constructed for himself at the Chora monastery in Constantinople, and in the Typikon he requests various fittings to be transfered to Pherrai, including marble slabs, bronze railings, an icon stand and images of his parents. This information has been discussed recently by Nancy Ševčenko (GOTR, 29, 1984, 135-139), who leaves the matter of the placement of the tomb at Pherrai unsettled.

The Typikon indicates that the tomb was to be located in the left, or north, part of the narthex where "I made an extension (παρεκβασίν) to the building for my tomb," and a bronze railing should separate the tomb from "the whole of the narthex." Unfortunately, it is difficult to fit the surviving church of the Kosmosoteira with Isaak's description. The church is a variation of the cross-in-square plan with domed pastophoria and two domed bays flanking the entrance, but without a clearly defined narthex. The church originally included an outer ambulatory which apparently enveloped the building on three sides and was covered by a wooden roof.

Where within this framework should Isaak's tomb be positioned? Isaak mentions that the tomb of a servant was to be placed in the exonarthex, presumably meaning the outer ambulatory. Should we extend the building further to the west in order to include both a narthex and an exonarthex? I suggest, rather, that the elongated entrance bay of the surviving church, flanked by the two domed bays should be interpreted as Isaak's narthex. The westernmost columns of each bay include identical cuttings, which suggest that these spaces were at least partially isolated from the naos by railings and were intended to function as separate chapels, accessible only from the entrance bay. As such, the arrangement would parallel that at Sv. Panteleimon at Nerezi (1164), similarly a provincial foundation by a Komnenian prince, constructed on a five-domed scheme with two domed funeral chapels accessible from the narthex. Evidence at the Chora indicates that the 12th-century plan of that building may have also been similar, and that Isaak's first tomb was located in the narthex. If one counts the western bays of the Kosmosoteira as the narthex, the building compares quite favorably with the 12th-century Chora, both in terms of size and proportions.

The iconography of the surviving frescoes at Pherrai supports the identification of the north domed bay as the location of Isaak's tomb. The dome includes at its apex a bust of the Virgin (as the Kosmosoteira?) who, according to the Typikon, figured prominently in the salvation of Isaak's soul. In addition, the major scene to survive in the vaults is the Holy Women at the Tomb, a common funerary motif.

Within the bay, the sepulchre could have been placed either in the arcosolium-like niche in the west wall, following the example of the earliest Komnenian tombs at the Pantokrator in Constantinople, or against the lateral wall, a position analogous with numerous royal tombs in the Balkans. This portion of the building was systematically examined in July 1984 with the removal of the cumbersome wooden choirstalls, but the walls were discovered to be entirely coated with modern plaster. During the summer of 1985, a more detailed examination will be undertaken in hopes of discovering evidence of the tomb.

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE .....Presiding: Slobodan Ćurčić (Princeton University)

"The Church of St. George at Lydda"

Denys Pringle (Dumbarton Oaks)

The origins of the church of St. George and of its cult are equally obscure. While later medieval tradition identifies George, amongst other things, as a soldier-saint martyred under Diocletian, the earliest reference to his association with Lydda comes only in the 6th century, when the pilgrim Theodosius (c. 518) mentions his tomb and place of martyrdom. William of Tyre, in the 12th century, repeats a tradition that the church had been built by Justinian. Whatever the truth of this assertion, it is clear that a spacious and richly decorated basilica existed by the time of the Muslim conquest in 636. This was still standing in the late 10th century, when al-Muqaddasī cites it as an example of the type of Christian building that had inspired the caliph al-Walīd (705-15) to construct the Great Mosque in Damascus. Muslim respect for the church ensured its preservation until 1010, when it was destroyed along with many others in Palestine on the orders of the deranged caliph al-Ḥākim.

William of Tyre tells how on the approach of the army of the First Crusade in June 1099 the Egyptians threw down the church lest the Franks use its timbers for constructing siege-engines with which to storm Jerusalem. Inconsistencies in this account, however, suggest that the most that can be deduced from it is that the Crusaders would have found the church still in ruins. An Egyptian raid in 1102 also probably contributed no further structural damage to the building. Later in the 12th century, a new Latin cathedral church was constructed. Some form of building would have existed by 1153, when a new bishop of Sidon was consecrated in it; and in 1177, the population took refuge on the roof when another Muslim army raided Lydda. This building was described by the Greek John Phocas at about this time. It was finally destroyed by Saladin in September 1191.

A new survey of the cathedral complex at Lydda was carried out by Paris Papatheodorou and myself in 1980-81. The results suggest that the church of the 5th or 6th century consisted of a three-aisled columned basilica with a wooden roof and three semi-circular eastern apses, measuring overall some 49 x 27m. The Saint's tomb would have been situated, as today, beneath the main altar. To the south lay a smaller three-aisled basilica, some 18 x 15m overall. This had a central semi-circular apse flanked by rectangular chambers which gave access to another roughly square chamber behind the apse's east wall. This basilica was separated from the main church by a two-aisled apsed room, about 11m wide and 23m long. The layout of these subsidiary structures is suggestive of a baptistery complex, comparable to that of the near-by 6th-century church at ʿAmwas or that added to the North Church at Subaita in the 7th century. The chamber east of the apse was later rebuilt with a dome on pendentives, access being provided as before. The arches forming the pendentives and those of the windows in the drum have pointed profiles. In construction and appearance the dome may be compared with those of other Orthodox buildings of the 11th and 12th centuries in and around Jerusalem. Probably in the same period the west door of the smaller basilica was rebuilt with a pointed arch.

The main Crusader work of the 12th century consisted of completely rebuilding the larger church as a three-aisled basilica of five bays, the second bay representing an inscribed transept, probably with a dome over the crossing. The line of the outer walls followed those of the earlier building, including its triple-apsed chevet, but stone vaulting replaced the colonnades and wooden roof.

The tomb of St. George was enclosed in a crypt beneath the main altar. The dating of the building on stylistic grounds to 1150-70 is supported by the documentary evidence, which suggests that it existed possibly by 1153 and certainly by 1177.

The functional interpretation of the church's southern annexes and the possibility that there may have existed in the 12th century areas reserved for Western and Eastern rites is discussed in the concluding part of the paper.

THE DOMED HALL IN BALKAN DERE AND A GROUP OF EARLY ROCK-CUT CHURCHES IN CAPPADOCIA,

Natalia Teteriatnikov, Princeton University.

Art historians had success in dating the Middle Byzantine rock-cut churches in Cappadocia. Several churches in this area were also attributed to a pre-Iconoclast period, but so far, no sufficient evidence has been presented to clarify their early origin. Even the most important ones, such as St.John in Çavusin, chapel 3 in Gulü Dere, and the Domed Hall in Balkan Dere have never received a systematic study of their architecture. At the same time, the dating of early Christian churches is one of the important problems in the studies of this area. It might provide us with a better understanding of the origin of the Middle Byzantine architecture of this region. It can also help to distinguish the local architectural tradition and its place within the general development of architecture in Byzantium.

This paper will propose the 6th century date for the rock-cut Domed Hall in Balkan Dere, and demonstrate its importance for the dating of several other churches in this region. Although the so-called Domed Hall in Balkan Dere was mentioned in the catalogue of churches in the relatively recent publication Arts of Cappadocia, it has never received attention of art historians.

This rock-cut structure is located in a big cone in Balkan Dere valley. Its eastern wall has collapsed together with a part of the rock. No apse has been preserved. However, the domed cruciformed structure implies that it was, probably a church. Whether or not, its architectural details as well as sculptural motifs help to distinguish the period of its construction.

A vertical rib on a survival fragment of its dome suggests that it was a ribbed dome in a manner of the 6th-century Hagia Sophia in Istanbul or early 7th-century St. Hripsime in Armenia.

The high three-step cornice, supporting the flat ceiling with the dome, is similar to the one in the 6th-century basilica in Mydie, in Thrace.

The rectangular corbels, are widely found in the 5th and 6th century Byzantine architecture. The closest examples can be seen in the 6th-century Akk Kilise in Soganli or the Armenian basilica Çicernavank'.

The prtrusions below the corbels are also found in a number of the 6th-century Armenian buildings published by A. Khatchatrian.

The decoration of the corbels with the carved palms and crosses finds its striking analogies in the above mentioned built 6th-century Akk Kilise in Soganli, in Cappadocia.

The rondel with inscribed wreath and a carved palm on the north wall of this structure appeared in a similar fashion in the 6th-century Armenian basilica Ereruk'.

These stylistic links of the Balkan Dere structure with Cappadocian, Byzantine and Armenian church buildings seem to allow us to place its construction within the 6th century. None of these stylistic features appeared in the later churches in Cappadocia. At the same time, the sculptural decoration of the flat ceiling of the Domed Hall provides further indications for the 6th-century dating of St. John in Çavusin, chapel 3 in Gulu Dere and Baptismal church in Zelve.

For example, the ornamental zig-zag motifs, rondels and rosettes on the ceiling of the Domed Hall appeared also with some modification on the ceilings of the south aisle in St.John in Çavusin as well as chapel 3 in Gulu Dere.

The ornamental carved zig-zag motifs are almost identical in carving and technique in the decoration of all these four churches.

The huge smoothly carved cross in a medalion on the western wall of the Balkan Dere structure is also executed in a similar manner on the both sides of the entrance door, on the western wall of the Baptismal church in Zelve. A similar cross is also found in the upper part of the eastern wall of the south aisle in St.John in Çavusin. None of these crosses are found in the later Cappadocian church buildings.

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The similiarities in style of these decorative motifs as well as the technique of their execution suggest that all of these four churches were constructed within the same period of time, in the 6th century.

Dating of this early group of Cappadocian churches is an important issue. It permits us to recognize the presence of early Christian communities in this area. It also opens an opportunity for the further study of their architecture and decoration.

"The Cilician Tetraconch at Milvan"

Robert W. Edwards (Dumbarton Oaks)

Five kilometers west of Kaleköy the site of Milvan crowns a mountain of 1,900 meters on the east flank of the Çakit valley. The strategic road, which follows the base of the vale, begins at Pozanti for the southbound traveler and remains for most of its length approximately 12 to 15 kilometers east of the major highway that connects Cappadocia and Tarsus via the Cilician Gates. Whenever the latter was blocked, Byzantine armies would follow the Çakit (medieval: Maurianos) on their march from Constantinople (Three Byzantine Military Treatises, ed. and trans. by G. Dennis, Dumbarton Oaks Texts IX (Washington, D.C., 1985), 218). The first references to Milvan in Greek texts concern the events of 876-78. At that time the Arab contingent occupying τὸ Μιλοῦος κάστρον voluntarily surrendered to the Byzantine army (Scylitz.,CFHB (1973), 141; Cedrenus, II,CSHB (1839), 213; TheophCont.,CSHB (1838), 278; A. Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes,CBHB, 2.1 (1968), 81; E. Honigmann, Die Ostgrenze,CBHB 3 (1935), 61). The implication from one text is that the Greeks took a stronghold which they had previously held. During the period of the Armenian kingdom Molivon (also known as Mawlovon, Nahangk' Dzekin

Molewoni, and Dašt Mluni) became the official seat of an Armenian baron and bishop (Ł. Ališan, Sissouan (1899), 150-52). The latter resided in the nearby monasteries of Kamrik Anapat or Garner. It is possible that the first recorded baron of Molivon, Ažaros (Smbat, RHC. Arm. I (1869), 637), was a Greek in service to the Armenian court (M. Yovhannesean, Kilikean Berder (1985), 120). Two of the noteworthy events in Molivon's history involved the royal family of Cilicia. King Levon II (1270-89) laid siege to the fort when Baron Levon of Molivon joined Vahram of Hamus and Aplłarip in a revolt (S. Der Nersessian, "Un Évangile cilicien du 13e siècle," REArm n.s. 4 (1967), 103f.). Between 1297 and 1299 King Het'um II was imprisoned there by his brother Smbat and blinded with a hot sword (Smbat, RHC. Arm. I (1869), 656; V. Hakobyan, ed. Manr Žamanakagrut'yunner, XIII-XVIII dd, II (1956), 170 note 193). Four years prior to the destruction of this fortress (1335) a certain Constantine is said to have made there an Armenian copy of the Proverbs of Solomon (L. Xač'ikyan, ed. XIV Dari Hayeren Jeřagreri Hišatakaranner (1950), 241f, 295).

Today the site is uninhabited. In the summer of 1981 I undertook the first survey of the complex. The steep and somewhat convoluted approach to the summit of Milvan Dağ is lined with the gates and defenses from the Byzantine and Armenian periods of occupation. The structures on the summit are positioned atop a long, rectangular platform. The north half of this stylobate still preserves the foundation and fragmentary walls of a tetraconch church and an adjacent chapel at the southeast. The north and east apses of the church are the best preserved units; each stands to almost two meters in height. There is no evidence of windows, but doors were probably positioned in the south and west apses. The exterior facing of the somewhat asymmetrical façade consists of small, often poorly cut rectangular and square stones which are anchored into almost regular courses by an abundance of rock chips and mortar. The interior facing is an opus listatum in which four carefully bonded layers of brick tiles alternate with courses of the same roughly cut blocks that are found on the exterior. The height of each of the alternating units is about equal. On the average a tile measures 24X18X4.5 centimeters. Only the roughly cut blocks are replaced at the salient junctions of the apses with a smooth, well-executed ashlar. The attached chapel is built exclusively with roughly hewn stones, but appears to be contemporary with the construction of the church.

The church at Milvan is the only known example of a tetraconch in Cilicia, and one of the few in Byzantine Anatolia (cf., E. Rosenbaum et al., A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia (Ankara, 1967), 18f. and H. Buchwald, "Western Asia Minor as a Generator of Architectural Forms in the Byzantine Period," JÖB 34 (1984), 206ff.). The architectural remains indicate that the church is probably Byzantine, and not Armenian. In the solid, cubical tetraconch of Armenia the east apse would not be allowed to protrude so boldly from the façade as it does here. Also, brick is never used to construct the walls of Armenian churches in Cilicia, and appears only in the semidome of Meydan and the barrel vaults of the Church of T'oros I at Anavarza. Those peculiar features which we associate with Armenian ecclesiastical architecture in Cilicia (e.g., twin apsidal niches and a low-level apsidal window) are absent here. Only excavation can determine if the Greeks built this church before or after the Arab invasions.

BYZANTIUM AND THE EAST .....Presiding: Robert W. Thomson (Dumbarton Oaks)

Banak Ark úni: Royal Residences in Arsacid Armenia
Nina Garsoian (Columbia University)
[Abstract not received in time for publication]

The Chariot of the Gods, the Asiatic Evidence. Bernard Goldman, Wayne State University.

In European Christendom the celestial chariot is occasionally, but consistently, represented in art frontally with the quadriga splayed out to either side, an oriental design that is a variant of the traditional manner of drawing the chariot and horses profile, in parade fashion. The earliest recovered example of this format is in a Buddhist setting for a solar chariot in North India although it probably came there from a Greco-Parthian source. This unusual format then appears in Palmyrene Syria and Kushan Gandhara in the third century A.D., on Roman coin types and in Sasanid sealings of the fourth century, and through the agency of the Sasanians, comes into the Christian world of Coptic Syria, Armenia, and Byzantium. The continuation of Sasanid art in the Ummayad period introduces Alexander/Iskander into the frontal chariot and brings the format into mozarabic Spanish illumination where the OT chariots of the visions of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Elijah are often conflated with the ascension or theophany of Christ. The reflex movement of the design -- from Europe back to the Orient, now incorporating Byzantine elements -- appears in the sixth and seventh centuries synagogue mosaics of Byzantine Palestine and as far east as the mural painting of Afghanistan and Sogdiana for the various personifications of the sun.

SASANIAN TRAPPINGS ON THE NORTH CAUCASIAN TRADE ROUTE Carol Altman Bromberg, Birmingham, Michigan

Whether the Byzantines traded with the Persians or trekked far to the north to break the Persian stranglehold on the transit of silk, there was a Sasanian presence along the routes of exchange. From the later sixth century, Menander describes the short-lived attempt of the Byzantines and the Turkish rulers of Sogdiana to avoid Iran, detailing a journey back to Byzantium that circled north of the Caspian to cross the Caucasus to Trebizond. Another northern course is reported from the eighth century on, when the capital of the Khazars on the lower Volga was a world market and goods destined for the West were again sent over the Caucasus to the Black Sea.

Before the discovery of seventh- through ninth-centuries north Caucasian burials with rich stores of silk, evidence for a northern route had been only some coins, beads, and glass, a cameo or two: poor proof of flourishing trade. The Caucasian burials provided material documentation, but they also suggested puzzles both fascinating and unsolved. The tombs of Alan tribesmen yielded a great number of silks from Sogdiana, home of Menander's Eastern traders; and silks from Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and China. Curiously, the inventory included several figured textiles from Iran.

Luxurious, fur-lined caftans found at Mochtchevaya Balka, in the canyon of the river Bolchaja Laba, typify the questions and the answers posed by the Caucasian sites. One, cut in Iranian style and patterned in the Sasanian senmurv motif, is made of a silk that has been attributed to post-Sasanian Iran. Sewn on to the caftan are scraps of fabric from Byzantium, Iran, Sogdiana, and T'ang China. A portion of a similar riding coat from a ruined tomb is a Byzantine weaving that shows a pheasant wearing about its neck the floating ribbons and pearl drops that signified the royal splendor of Sasanian kings.

The Byzantine textiles in the northern Caucasus may be explained by the official custom of giving luxury fabrics as gifts as well as by the traffic in silk that also carried Chinese and Sogdian goods between East and West. The Sasanian elements at Mochtchevaya Balka, however, remain problematic. Along a route that deliberately skirted Iran to the north were found a Sasanian-type bow and silk riding coats ornamented with imperial emblems worn by Khusro II on seventh-century reliefs at Taq-i Bustan, in Iran.

In the Greek world, as in the East, Sasanian trappings appear to have retained their original value; traveling the trade routes with the great exchange of goods long after the demise of the Empire, they spoke of luxury and authority to Byzantine courtier and Caucasian nomad alike.

The Territorial Ambitions of Chosroes II, An Armenian view?

David Frendo,
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Cork.

The Armenian historical work commonly attributed to Sebeos records a remarkable letter purporting to have been sent by the Persian Emperor Chosroes II during the 34th year of his reign to the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (page 91. line 24 - page 92, line 9 of Malxasian's 1939 Erevan edition). The letter in question has been dismissed by some historians as a mere fabrication despite the fact that there is independent evidence from a contemporary Greek source that just some such letter was indeed written. On the other hand, those historians who have accepted the letter's authenticity have not attempted to analyse the implications of their acceptance, but have limited themselves to commenting on the sensationally "blasphemous" nature of a part of its contents.

The present paper attempts to demonstrate, succinctly but with due regard for all the relevant facts, that none of the objections so far put forward carry sufficient weight, either singly or collectively, to justify a negative verdict. It then sets out to analyse the basic contents and message of the letter within the specific historical context to which these belong and to explain how they amount to nothing less than the programmatic assertion of the imminent realization of the great Sasanian irredentist dream, a dream whose fulfilment would leave no place for the continued existence of the Byzantine monarchy and state. An attempt will also be made to show how, although such irredentist notions were in a sense as old as the Sasanian monarchy itself, their practical implementation had traditionally been restricted to the seeking of limited territorial gains within a general framework of rivalry, mutual apprehension and coexistence. Nevertheless, it is possible, in so far as the unsatisfactory character of the sources allows us, to trace the development of Chosroes' seemingly novel and overweening pretensions to modest and entirely comprehensible beginnings, which have their roots in the circumstances of his restoration in 591 to the throne of Persia with military assistance from the Byzantine Emperor Maurice and of that same Emperor's overthrow and murder at the hands of Phocas in 602.

GOD, EMPIRE AND THE JEWS

DAVID OLSTER, UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

The antagonism of Jews and Christians in the later Roman Empire reached a bloody climax in the seventh century. The shifting military fortunes of the Empire provided the background for a social and religious conflict that climaxed in the brutal slaughters of the Christians at Jerusalem in 614, and of the Jews throughout the levant in the years following Heraclius' ephemeral victory in 628. Indeed, in the atmosphere of religious exaltation following the return of the True Cross, Heraclius took the unprecedented step of imposing forced Baptism on the Jewish population of the Empire.

The social conflict between Jews and Christians was played out in the literary life of the period as well as in the cities, and the seventh century witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of anti-Jewish texts, especially dialogues. But although these texts contain polemical elements, they must be viewed not simply as polemical works against Judaism, but as apologetic works defending Christianity. The victories of the Persians and Arabs were social and political realities that challenged the basic belief in Christian superiority, and the anti-Jewish works reflected the doubts that followed in the wake of heathen success.

Although these works were part of a centuries old genre of polemic against the Jews, in the context of the seventh century they take on a new significance. When Jewish interlocutors in dialogues asked how God, if he loved the Christians, could have abandoned them to their heathen enemies, they provided their Christian opponents with the opportunity to explain and re-affirm God's care for his people and Empire. Indeed, the variety of explanations for the Christian Empire's defeats contrasts sharply with the monotonous recitation of well-worn formulae about Christ's divinity or Mary's virginity and illustrates the genre's uneven assimilation of responses to social issues. These works created a literary context that personified doubts within the Christian community itself in a recognizable opponent. The Jew's conversion at the end of the dialogues did not represent solely a victory in the intellectual struggle between Christian and Jew, but the resolution of a conflict within within the Christian himself.

Bapheus and Pelekanon

Rudi Paul Lindner
The University of Michigan

The battles of Bapheus(1302) and Pelekanon(1329) are traditionally considered turning-points in Byzantine and Ottoman history. It is odd to find, therefore, that they have never received due treatment from Byzantine or Ottoman historians. The forces that brought Osman's troops to the neighborhood of Nikomedia have never been examined on the basis of the most obvious text; the developments in military tactics depending on the two battles have not been described; the relationships between Byzantine and Ottoman accounts of early fourteenth century battles have earned passing comments but no explication; and no attempt at an evaluation of the comparative strengths of the protagonists has been made. The purpose of this talk is to place the two battles in an analytic perspective.

The utility of Ottoman sources for this topic is not as great as that of the Byzantine chronicles. Certain conventions of Ottoman tradition required the chroniclers to color and distort their accounts, although their lapses provide valuable information to filter through. Historians since Hammer have devoted some energy to identifying X or Y's account with, for example, the Bapheus encounter. I believe that all these attempts have been futile, although I also believe that the Ottoman sources can yield good information about the nature of the early Ottoman soldiery.

Bapheus and Pelekanon reveal much about the Greco-Turkish symbiosis in Bithynia. These battles also let us gauge the success of early Ottoman sedentarization, a process I have alluded to elsewhere. The two passages of arms also help define the limits of nomadism in west Anatolia, a topic that needs further discussion and argument.

The last scholarly treatment of these encounters, by Arnakis more than a generation ago, was an honest attempt to meld the Ottoman and Byzantine perspectives into a reasonable account. Questions of causation and process crossed Arnakis's mind and enter into his discussion, but as he had no access to much of the necessary literature his treatment rapidly became out of date. It is high time to try again.

The sources for my approach are the Byzantine chronicles, the three early Ottoman traditions(the Giese Anonymous, Aşıkpaşazade's Bithynian informant, and the source of Bodleian Library MS Marsh 313), geographies of Bithynia, and John Masson Smith, Jr.'s studies of nomadic societies.

BYZANTINE ICONOGRAPHY .....Presiding: Sheila Campbell (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies), and Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (University of California at Los Angeles)

A Coptic Representation of Heracles and Acheloos

Thelma K. Thomas

The Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

In Egypt, before the time of Alexander, Greeks had established their own communities and patterns of civic life. But fruitful interaction between the two cultures, such as is seen most clearly in the syncretism of their religions did not begin until the Ptolemaic period. During the Roman and Byzantine periods, syncretistic associations between pagan deities became still more complex. The blending of Greek, Roman, and Egyptian traditions has been studied in the literary remains from Coptic Egypt, but its presence in Coptic archeological remains has received very little attention.

Excavations of the necropolis at the Greek town of Oxyrhyncos yielded pagan funeral monuments of two distinct types: stelae of the fourth and fifth centuries representing the deceased with the attributes of Isis and, in the late fifth to mid-sixth centuries, tomb decoration in the form of gabled and rounded niche heads, and friezes, on which mythological scenes are carved in relief. The relief under discussion (The Brooklyn Museum, accession number 61.128) belongs to the second category. Carved in very high relief are a nude

man and a bull before a fruitladen grapevine. The man grasps the bull by one of his horns. The bull's other horn has been broken off, and the man carries it in his upraised hand.

When first published in The Brooklyn Museum Annual, the subject was identified as Heracles and the Cretan bull, and the grapevine considered simple ornament. That identification does not explain the action depicted in the relief. The subject is, in fact, a specific moment in one of Heracles' non-canonical exploits, in which he battled the river god Acheloos who had assumed the shape of a bull. Acheloos was defeated when Heracles broke off one of his horns. The relief, then, shows Herakles' moment of triumph. The vine, too, is more specific than was first believed. It is an attribute of Dionysos-Liber Pater.

The connections between Acheloos and Dionysos, as gods of the regenerative forces of nature, and between Heracles and Dionysos, as mortals triumphant over death and worthy of apotheosis, become clear in light of the archeological context. All three deities are found on Greek, Etruscan, Roman, and Coptic funeral monuments.

In this paper, I will examine three aspects of this image:
1) How the iconography of this Coptic representation differs from Greek, Roman and Etruscan versions. Is there an Egyptian element in this composition?
2) Is there an Egyptian element in the meaning of this Coptic representation? How, in Coptic Egypt, is this episode of Heracles and Acheloos connected with the vine and the Dionysiac world?
3) Is this representation part of a larger group of Coptic examples of Egyptian reinterpretations of Graeco-Roman mythological themes?

Art as Propaganda; Topographical Mosaics from the Holy Land

Lucille A.Roussin (New York)

(Abstract not received in time for publication)

"Mosaic Bird Niches in Ravenna and Poreč"

Eunice Dauterman Maguire
Urbana, Illinois.

This presentation will examine a significant but little-known motif in Early Byzantine art: the bird-headed niche. The scallop shell at the head of a niche is a commonplace, but the bird at the head of the niche is more rare. It was originally an architectural motif taken over into funerary sculpture, reflected in textiles, and featured in mosaics of the fifth and sixth centuries. In the process, the bird became increasingly abstract. Its placement and its manner of representation reveal its changing possibilities of meaning, and at the same time, illustrate certain elusive characteristics of early Byzantine style.

At S. Apollinare Nuovo the figures in white robes standing against a background of blue tesserae between the lights of the clerestory are set under a series of niches represented only by their scalloped canopies. The canopy, in this series, is not actually a shell; it is a bird presenting a crown. The wings and tail feathers of the bird are fused into a system of radiating ribs and segments like the flutings of the conventionalized scalloped canopy; the valve of the shell, at its apex, is transformed into the bird's head and beak.

The same metaphor occurs over the figures standing in the highest level, under the vault, in the mosaics of the so-called mausoleum of Galla Placidia, with the stylization of the bird's hovering body abstracted in a similar manner, so that the vanes or ribs end in knob-like terminals. A third mosaic example of the bird niche occurs in a side apse of the Euphrasian basilica at Poreč, or Parenzo, with the surprising circumstance of its placement not in the vault, but on the floor. The purpose of this paper is to show that there is considerable precendent in other media, and in descriptive texts, for the formal and intellectual concepts behind all three of these examples. The paper will review the connotations of the birds themselves, and of the crown in the bird's beak. It will offer stylized shell niches for comparison. It will conclude by reaching beyond the well-known tendency for floor and ceiling schemes to reflect each other, to propose two additional reasons, one aesthetic and the other associative, for the location of the Poreč bird niche on the floor.

Both reasons are concerned with directional relationships; in the sixth century there appears to be a renewed interest in abstract motifs used for their effect in a symmetry which reverses their direction endlessly from up to down and vice versa, not only in friezes but as frames within panels. Adding the third dimension produces a reciprocal patterning of height and depths, the visual reflection of a cosmic understanding, and creates a paradox: the suggestion of vastness or infinity by an enclosing form.

EARLY AND MIDDLE BYZANTINE INSCRIPTIONS ON IMAGES OF THE VIRGIN

Anna Kartsonis
University of Washington

Most Early Christian representations of the Virgin were not accompanied by an identification inscription. Images that included such a legend on their field made use only of the Virgin's name "Μαρία" and, at times, her title "Ἁγία." The use of the label "Ἡ Ἁγία Μαρία" was exclusive both in the East and West throughout the sixth, seventh and most of the eighth century. The attitude of artists changed by the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. At this time two new labels were introduced replacing the Virgin's name with her titles "Θεοτόκος" or "Μήτηρ Θεοῦ."

Thereafter the new inscriptions "Θεοτόκος" and "Μήτηρ Θεοῦ" appeared with increasing frequency. In the course of the ninth century they supplanted the traditional legend "'Η 'Αγία Μαρία." Of the two new inscriptions the title "Μήτηρ Θεοῦ" became the most popular. By the mid-tenth century it was established as practically canonical, while the other two legends ceased to be employed on representations of the Virgin with the exception of a few archaizing examples.

It will be the purpose of this paper to trace the development of identification inscriptions incorporated on images of the Virgin as an integral part of their iconography, and to examine the reasons that dictated these changes.

"Once Again, An Image of 'The Descent of the Virgin into Hell' in Crusader Nazareth"

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In 1908, Father Prosper Viaud excavated five capitals in Nazareth on the site of the Crusader Church of the Annunciation. Carved in an excellent style that is strongly related to French Romanesque work, the capitals can probably be dated in the 1170's. Found in a remarkably fine state of preservation, these capitals were probably executed to decorate the shrine-grotto monument of the Holy House of the Virgin.

Four of the capitals are polygonal in format with six faces each that represent scenes from the lives of disciples of Christ. One capital, larger than the others, is rectangular in format and includes a rare scene of the Virgin Mary. In regard to major iconographical questions about these capitals, we shall focus on the large rectangular capital with its unusual iconography of "the Descent of the Virgin into Hell."

Recognition of the crowned female figure as the Virgin Mary leading a reluctant Apostle through the perils of Hell is the key to this interpretation. Further consideration of relevant iconographical parallels will help us evaluate more fully the importance of the Anastasis and related material in contrast to scenes of the Virgin presenting donors to Christ, images of the psychomachia or other unusual representations of the Virgin in Hades.

Byzantine Iconography of the Pentecost

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Unlike in the Mediaeval art of the West, in which the Descent of the Holy Spirit was rendered in many different ways, the Pentecost in Byzantine art uses, with very few exceptions, the same iconographic schema: the Apostles are shown seated on a semicircular bench and on their heads descend the heavenly rays issuing from the dove of the Holy Spirit represented, often in association with a throne, in the center of the upper zone of the composition. Of very few cases in which the Pentecost is rendered differently in Byzantine art, the most notable are monumental compositions depicted in secondary domes of several Mid-Byzantine churches (Hagia Sophia and the Apostoleion in Constantinople, Hosios Loukas in Phocis, and San Marco in Venice) in which the Apostles, seated, either on a continuous bench or on individual chairs, are placed on the periphery of the domical vault, while the dove of the Holy Ghost occupies the zenith of the cupola. The two types are usually said to be interrelated and that the domical schema which, according to some students, might have existed already in Early Christian period, was earlier of the two to be later, after the restoration of the cult of icons in Byzantium, transformed into the crescent-shaped type. The circular bench was now broken and curved downwards, evoking "the spatial impression of the cupola cut in half" (Demus). Heienberg and Friend thought that the earliest examples of the semicircular type, such as the one in Paris.Gr. 510, illustrate such a transformation quite literally and that the model followed here was the Pentecost in the west dome of the Apostoleion. The semicircular arrangement of the Apostles reproduces, they believed, one of the arches which supported that cupola, while the placement of the groups of Phylai and Glossai in the lower left and right corner of the picture, echoes the position of these groups in the pendentives. Grabar, however, holds somewhat different view. According to him it is a purely aesthetic imperative that should be recognized behind the transformation of the circular iconographic schema into a semicircular one. He postulates that an earlier representation of the Pentecost in Byzantine painting, similar to the composition in Carolingian San Callisto Bible, had served as a model to the illuminator of Paris.Gr. 510.The procedure, typical for the post-iconoclastic Byzantine art, consisted in the ommission of the front part of the enclosure and in the condensed grouping of the Apostles, resulting in a simplification and schematization of an ancient iconographic formula.

Before any of these explanations can be fully accepted, several points have to be re-considered. For example, the assumed existence of the circular schema of the Pentecost in the Early Christian art is hardly supported by the representation of the Descent of the Holy Spirit in the Rabula Gospels. Equally difficult would be to explain the fact that there is, apparently, not a single example of the circular schema in later Byzantine art except, of course, in the few cupola compositions. The realistically convincing renditions of the semicircular bench in some early compositions of the Pentecost speaks, on the other hand, against the view that it represents nothing more than the projection of the vertical arch which carries the dome. Possibly the most important reason for seeking the origin of the standard Byzantine iconographic formula of the Pentecost elsewhere is the striking similarity between this type of the representetion and the illustration of varius Church concils, inculding, significantly enough, the one in Paris. Gr. 510 as well.

An attempt is being made in this paper to show that the standard iconography of Byzantine Pentecost is borrowed directly from represen= tations of Church councils stressing that the reason for that lies in the fact that the Byzantines thought of the Collegium of the Apostles as the prototype and model for the collegium of Bishops gathered in regular synods or ocasional councils. The connection between the Pentecost and the Church councils is, probably reflected in the prac= tice that the local synods of the Constantinopolitan Church met regu= larly during the Pentecost period, sitting, so it seems, in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, under the dome in which the Pentecost was represented.

The procedure is by no means unique in Byzantine art: the Comunion of the Apostles or any other representation of the Divine Liturgy are fashioned after contemporary liturgical practices. In other words, Byzantine artist did not know what the Pentecost looked like so he used the composition in which the re-anactment of the Apostolic gathe= ring was represented. From written sources, for example, we know that the collegium of Bishops discussed various important matters under the presidency of Christ who was symbolically present through His effigy, an enthroned Gospelbook, just as it is shown in several representations of Church councils in Byzantine art. Manu Church councils met in churches in which the bishops could sit either on the semicircular free-standing bench of the bema - in the center of which, indeed, a prominent throne must have served for the display of an ef= figy, or on the synthronos in the main apse. An early depiction of such a synodal bench is preserved in Castelseprio, while in the apse of the church of St. Achileios at the Prespa Lake, the seats of the bishops who participated in a church concil held there some time in the 11th century, are marked on the apsidal wall above the masonry bench.

The semicircular arrangement of the seats for the ecclesiastical councils survived untul modern times both in the Council Hall at Ka= ryes on Mount Athos and in the Hall of the Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade.

A Byzantine Anastasis in the Walters Art Gallery

Thalia Gouma-Peterson (The College of Wooster)
Mary Sebera, The Walters Art Gallery (technical report)

A Byzantine icon of the Anastasis in the Walters Art Gallery is a complex and interesting example of Palaeologan painting. In this paper we will, first, place the icon within the stylistic context of related 14th-century works and discuss its iconography. We will then present the results of recent technical analysis of the painting which has shown that it was carefully restored within, probably, the first one hundred years of its existence. Finally, we will discuss how this restoration affected the appearance of the image and suggest how the changes may contain clues about the circumstances of the restoration.

Iconographically the Walters Anastasis is complex and unusual for it combines elements from a number of different types and includes two subsidiary scenes representing the Marys at the Tomb (Matthew 27:61 and 28:2). This narrative elaboration and symbolic complexity are characteristic of mid-14th century Palaeologan art. The icon can also be dated in the fourteenth century on stylistic

grounds for it is related to a group of Palaeologan icons in Yugoslavia and Greece which span the period of c.1300 to c.1380. Of these the Walters Anastasis is closest to two icons at Meteora that can be dated between 1359 and 1384 because they contain portraits of the princess Maria Angelina Comnena Ducaena Palaeologina.

It appears that within approximately one hundred years of its creation the Walters icon had become abraded to the point of needing extensive restoration. The repainting was laid directly on the remains of the original pigments and not of the layer of oil varnish typically rubbed on finished icons as a means of protection. This suggests that perhaps the original surface was damaged while removing the sooty oil varnish. This early restoration is most evident to the unassisted eye in the ultramarine blues and vermilion reds that have been applied to large portions of the image, especially in garments. The most readily noticeable restoration is the intense and relatively course ultramarine blue that has been applied to the central oval and the figure of Christ, to garments, and to the angel's wings and, in a much thinner wash-like manner throughout the painting to create shadows and strengthen worn areas. This wash enhances and defines the original images without disguising them at all. Under magnification other parts of the restoration can be identified by their relationship to the layer of ultramarine blue. There are indications that the flesh tones throughout the image have been extensively reworked.

However, the outstanding characteristic of this early restoration is its faithfulness to the original image. Clearly both the painter and the owner wanted to preserve the style of the Palaeologan icon. This suggests that at the time of the restoration the icon was still in use as a devotional image and was valued for its authenticity. It also suggests that the restoration was undertaken in a milieu where the Palaeologan style was admired and understood. Of the possible milieus where these hypothetical conditions may have existed--Crete, Venice, the Balkan peninsula, and Russia--Russia of c.1470, and especially Moscow, appears the most likely. With its own flourishing tradition of icon painting, a direct outgrowth of Palaeologan art, and its general admiration for Byzantine culture the Russian milieu would have encouraged the preservation of a Byzantine original.

BYZANTINE LITERATURE AND MUSIC .....Presiding: George T. Dennis (The Catholic University of America)

The Wolf and the Lion: Synesius' Egyptian Sources

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In his introduction to the two-part Egyptian Tale Synesius calls attention to the riddle of the wolf and the lion with which the first part closes. Grutzmacher (1913) and, following him, Lacombrade (1947) have argued that the lion here represents the Goths and the wolf the Huns, who in the end killed Gainas. But it is scarcely likely that Synesius could have predicted such an event at the time he claims to have written Part I. Nor does it appear that he wrote after the fact, for the riddle represents a future choice of allies by Horus, who then never reappears in the tale. Druon's suggestion (1878) that the beasts are figures from Egyptian mythology is on a better track, but remains unsatisfyingly vague. Synesius derived the Egyptian traditions of the Egyptian Tale from Greek sources. Examination of them suggests that his riddle is only a teasing literary allusion.

Close verbal echoes and curious details reveal Synesius' reliance on Herodotus' History. He shares some more general reflections of Egyptian culture with Diodorus Siculus also. In particular, many details of the royal election closely resemble elements of the funerary practices described by Diodorus at 1.72.4-6 and 1.92. Since the Diodoran passages seem only slightly differentiated versions of a single observance, and since Synesius uses elements of both, it appears that he knew one of Diodorus' sources, rather than Diodorus' history itself.

The major source for the myth of Osiris and Typhos, for Synesius as for us, is Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride, as close verbal echoes again confirm. Yet Synesius also revises Plutarch's plot and cast considerably, in order to oppose his models of immoderate and philosophical men in a setting tailored to current court politics. Horus all but vanishes from the actual narrative; at the close of Part I, Synesius merely looks forward to his eventual triumph in the alliance of the wolf rather than the lion. It has long been recognized that this passage is related to that of Plutarch in which Osiris, returned from the dead to help his son prepare for battle against Typhos, is surprised that Horus finds the horse more useful than the lion for such a contest (DIO 358B-C). Diodorus' account of the myth is much less detailed than Plutarch's, but it is from his parallel passage that we can finish elucidating the riddle. Diodorus' Osiris does not quiz Horus on potential allies, but he does return from the dead 'likened in appearance to a wolf' (D.S. 1.88.6). Synesius seems to have created his enigma by conflating the two sources. It need bear no particular historical significance. Indeed, this allusion to his literary traditions specifically returns the reader from grim current history to the world of the myth, where there is some reason to expect Typhos eventually to fall. It forms a suitable conclusion to the work Synesius had originally planned.

ROMAN EMPERORS IN BYZANTINE PANEGYRIC

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The tradition of Byzantine panegyric was remarkably persistent; similar topoi appear almost unchanged from the fourth century (or earlier) to the fifteenth. The tradition of the fourth-century Latin panegyrics, those of Dio Chrysostom, of Pseudo-Aristides Eis Basilea, and of Libanius and Themistius, contain many features, some of Hellenistic origin, which they contribute to the Byzantine tradition. Despite recent intensive study of this tradition, relatively little attention has been devoted to the use of earlier Roman emperors as historical exempla of the "good king" or "tyrant" after the fall of the Western Empire. Among the scholars who have examined this theme in the fourth century has been Syme, who noted the persistent tendency to regard Trajan and Marcus Aurelius as best emperors and Nero and Caligula as archetypal tyrants. Such references appear in pagan panegyrics, but a change might be expected with the Empire's Christianization. Eusebius, in his writings on Constantine, made the appropriate changes in the language of panegyric, but the tradition remained unaltered in many essential respects. However, in a Christian Empire, praise of pagans as great rulers of the past with whom the current ruler is compared might be expected to decrease. Although Byzantine panegyric contains references to Biblical ideas of kingship and references to pagan emperors decrease, the latter do not disappear as models. Synesius, a Christian bishop with admittedly "Hellenic" sympathies, praises Carinus in De Regno 10-12, echoing the generally favorable attitude of pagan sources. Some seven centuries later Niculitzas includes an

anecdote about Augustus in De Officio Regis. He then praises a series of emperors who "ruled in Byzantium," after citing unnamed emperors who ruled in Rome as exemplars, including not only Constantine, Constantius II, Jovian, and Theodosius, but also Julian. An eleventh-century oration of Theophylact praises Hadrian and the Antonines. Thus under Christianity the traditional canon of good and bad emperors was not entirely displaced, although a strong tendency to give greater emphasis to emperors who ruled in Constantinople, and to Christians, is visible in historical exempla. Although the Byzantines considered themselves successors of the Romans, they praised, influenced by fourth-century Greek orators and the Second Sophistic, famous, and of course pagan, heroes of classical Greece. There was a similar, less pronounced, tendency to praise pagan Roman emperors. A thorough investigation of the corpus of Byzantine pagegyric for references to pagan Roman emperors would be useful in demonstrating and expanding on this point.

Title: THE WORKS OF MICHAEL PSELLUS, THEIR MANUSCRIPTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Paul Moore, Greek Index Project, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, University of Toronto

This research project involves the production of a comprehensive listing of all the works - some 540 epistulae and over 300 other opera and opuscula varia - attributed to the XIth century Byzantine polymath, Michael Psellus. It includes a survey of all the known (and many hitherto unknown) manuscript locations throughout the world of each work. Also included, as an ancillary tool, is a complete bibliography, both general and specific, from 1985 back to 1497 (the date of Marsilio Ficino's translation of Psellus' little treatise, Oratio de daemonibus, utrum corporis expertes, an corporei sint, et de angelis et an discrimen intersit inter angelorum corpora et daemonum).

The need for such research into the manuscripts of Psellus had already been signalled in the XVIIth century by the Vatican librarian, Leo Allatius in his De Psellis et Eorum Scriptis Diatriba (reprinted in PG 122:532B-C), "Multa sunt, ut vides, huius auctoris haec, quae vides, scripta. Non tamen explent sitim, sed adhuc anxius sortem meam accuso, quod non habuerim omnia. Relatum namque mihi est ab homine fide digno, et chirographo significatum, in bibliotheca quadam hic Romae multa huius auctoris manuscripta neglecta iacere. Forsan aliquando, id enim totis viribus conabor, dabitur potestas visendi, legendi ac demum conferendi cum aliis". This need was again reinforced by modern scholars, such as Jean Darrouzès of Paris in 1954 and Paul Canart of the Vatican Library - both in Revue des Études Byzantines - and by Günter Weiss who published an article in Byzantina in 1972 entitled "Forschungen zu den noch nicht edierten Schriften des Michael Psellos".

The information gathered since 1971 by the Greek Index Project offered a unique opportunity to accomplish this research. The Greek Index Project, centred at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in the University of Toronto, has been drawing up a list of all the works, and all their manuscript locations, of all the Greek authors of the Classical, Patristic, and Byzantine eras. This information is based on the data contained in all the catalogues listed in Marcel Richard's Repertoire des Bibliothèques et des Catalogues de Manuscrits grecs in 1958, his Supplément of 1963 and all the catalogues that have appeared since (the total is over 1200 catalogues). The information taken from these catalogues was followed by an examination, on microfilm or photograph, of some of the major Psellan manuscripts, such as Laurentianus 57,40 and Parisinus gr. 1182. In addition, all editions of works by Psellus and relevant articles in journals were consulted for information more complete than that found in many of the catalogues. Finally, correspondence with scholars in divers locations such as Leningrad, Paris, the Vatican, Venice, and Thessalonica provided information on numerous isolated items that were described inadequately or not at all in the catalogues.

The Psellus research, when published, will provide scholars for the first time with a comprehensive overview of all the known mansucripts of all the works attributed to Psellus, thereby facilitating the establishment on a scientific basis of the manuscript tradition of the entire Psellan corpus. As well, there will be appendices listing all the manuscripts and their dates - so far some 650 manuscripts have been noted - and an alphabetical list of all Psellan incipits. Finally, the first comprehensive Psellan bibliography will give all the editions and translations of each work as well as all books and articles devoted to Psellus,

Iliad and Alexiad: On Anna Comnena's Homeric Reminiscences

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When Scleraena, the mistress of Constantine IX, first entered the palace, one of the courtiers was heard to mutter οὐ νέμεσις -- an allusion to the comment of the Trojan elders when Helen mounted to their city's tower: οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς / τοῖβ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν (Iliad 3.156-57). Alas, the recipient had to have the compliment explained to her (Psellus, Chronographia 6.1.61 = 1.146 R.).

Far different the case of Anna Comnena, whose Homeric learning is on display throughout her Alexiad, though even she, if George Tornikes can be believed, had to begin her studies of profane literature clandestinely. E. Oster and G. Buckler have collected Homeric allusions in the Alexiad; what is still needed is a study of the uses which Anna found for them.

Various rhetorical functions were possible. She could, for instance, appeal to Homeric precedent for quoting barbarian names. Others were mere clichés. But most were a conscious part of her literary arsenal.

The rhetorical problem posed by the Alexiad was that of the credibility of a (supposedly) objective historian writing about the deeds of her own father. The prologue and the chapter on method (13.173.21-176.17 Leib) show Anna's awareness of this problem as well as her attempts to convince the reader by asserting her concern with facts (prologue) and her devotion to truth (chapter on method). What she found in the world of Homeric gods and heroes was a readily decipherable means of encoding an encomium that should not appear on the surface.

In general, Alexius is equated with, or made to appear even superior to, Homeric heroes, particularly Agamemnon, the leader of the Greek host before Troy. Thus, the incident of the captured Bryennius being tempted to seize a sword and slay the sleeping Alexius is modelled on Achilles' impulse to kill Agamemnon, an urge thwarted by Athena's intervention (Alexiad 1.28.4-6; Iliad 1. 188 ff.). Anna can thus invest Alexius with an aura of divine protection.

Conversely, Alexius' enemies are equated with, or reduced to a lower level than, Homer's rogues. The Frankish lords with whom Alexius must negotiate are equated with Thersites (Alexiad 3.163.6-8; Iliad 2.212). Anna applies to her father's would-be assassin Nicephorus Diogenes the tag "a trembling seized his limbs and a pallor his cheek," used in a simile comparing Paris to a person who steps on a snake in a mountain glen (Alexiad 2.170.25; Iliad 3.34-35); but in Nicephorus' case the reaction is provoked by the sight of -- a little girl!

Finally, Anna clothes some of her most personal statements about herself and her work in Homeric guise, including a prideful outburst in which the words οὐ νέμεσις equate her history with the beautiful Helen (Alexiad 3.109.6-13).

The Literary Criticism of John Tzetzes

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John Tzetzes naturally receives notice in the handbooks of Krumbacher and Hunger, and in recent years has attracted the expert attentions of Browning (Past & Present 28, 1964), Jeffries (DOP 28, 1974), and Wilson (Scholars of Byzantium, 1983, pp. 190-96). This, however, is invariably in connection with other things. The fullest particular treatment of Tzetzes remains that of Wendel in Pauly-Wissowa, RE VII A (1942), cols. 1959-2012, in German. Some special anglophone attention to him is warranted, all the more so since he does not get it in the recent Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries of A. P. Kazhdan (Cambridge, 1984, in collaboration with Simon Franklin). Hence, in part, the present offering.

Tzetzes has tended to get a disconcertingly bad press from his most expert modern students. His character is objected to as cantankerous, venomous, and vain ("tetchy Tzetzes" might be a useful mnemonic summary), whilst his scholarship is impugned as defective overall, particularly for the inaccuracy of his quotations.

There is some truth in this, especially the former. Any critic who dubs a rival as "bull-father, moon-struck son of a goat", as Tzetzes does (and this is by no means the least mild of his animadversions), may afford some cheap belly laughs, and create the image of a Byzantine Housman. But such stuff can be hard to take, especially from one whose own scholarship is imperfect: feelings of Schadenfreude may be satisfied, but little else.

In my opinion, scholars have gone somewhat astray on this. Due allowance has not been made for the known ill-health and many personal difficulties suffered by Tzetzes. Also, he was on the receiving as well as the giving end of personal abuse; some of his worse (i.e. best) passages of invective are in response to attacks. Furthermore, his style of abuse, notably the compounding of offensive adjectives, is not unique to himself, but part of the common coin of Byzantine odium academicum. All of this can be illustrated from other writers, whilst for Tzetzes himself some little remembered verses published by Pétridès in BZ 12 (1903), providing both a stylistic paradigm and prosopographical puzzle, will be adduced.

Apart from his lengthier and more familiar commentaries, Tzetzes made much use of the epigram as a combined vehicle for literary criticism and academic crossfire. When read with due attention to their parody of conventions and linguistic niceties, they can give a more encouraging picture than is usual of his knowledge and judgement. This contention can and will be most economically illustrated by a look at his dismissive verses on Thucydides contained in the scholia to that historian.

For broader treatment of his scholarship, and its defects real or alleged, this paper considers the letters of Tzetzes and his own commentary upon them, the Histories or Chiliades. Lack of time compels a choice, and other scholars have dealt more fully with his work on Homer and Aristophanes. It will be shown that cross-reference between his letters and his occasional verses can help in the elucidation of some problems of context and prosopography. Similarly, comparison of his remarks on certain literary issues with passages in,

e.g., the Timarion, helps to focus contemporary 12th century issues. Finally, examples will be given of items in the Chiliades obscured or unexplained in the commentaries of Kiessling and Leone which add to our knowledge of ancient texts.

As Alexander Kazhdan has so well remarked in the context of historiography and rhetoric, Byzantine texts can tell us a lot - if we will let them. The same is true of John Tzetzes, and the paper here proposed will show some of the ways in which we should listen to him.

"A Common Source for Pseudo-Sphrantzes, Manuel Malaxos, and Crusius"

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In 1584 M. Crusius, one of the very few western scholars to display an interest in late medieval and contemporary Greece, published his famous Turco-Graecia. For the compilation of his material, Crusius turned for help to S. Gerlach, a Lutheran chaplain at Constantinople, who brought him into contact with officials at the Patriarchate.(1) Crusius began a regular correspondence with the Greek *litterati* of the Patriarchal court. His most important informant was Theodosius Zygomalas, a πρωτονοτάριος, whose scholarly interests had already involved him in numerous searches for manuscripts of ancient authors.(2) Zygomalas provided a great deal of information and supplied Crusius with actual works which appear in the Turco-Graecia. He also answered Crusius' questions on the fate of the last Greek emperor of Constantinople, Constantine XI Palaeologus-Dragazes (Dragaš) (1448-1453), thus preserving for us some of the earliest legends that were in circulation c. 1550.

This paper will examine Crusius' debt to the literary sources that were supplied to him by his contacts at the Patriarchate. Specifically, attention will be focused on the sources that deal with the elevation of George Kourtetsis Scholarius (Gennadius II) to the patriarchal throne by Mehmed II Fatih, the Osmanli conqueror of Constantinople. His elevation to the throne and the accompnying ceremonies are described in the Turco-Graecia and in other texts such as the Chronicon Maius by Pseudo-Sphrantzes (i.e., Makarios Melissenos-Melissourgos)(3), which was published c. 1582. Both Crusius' version and the one supplied by Pseudo-Sphrantzes in his well-known forgery display similarities, indicating that both authors worked from the same source. This source has been identified as Manuel Malaxos, a member of the immediate circle of the patriarch. In fact, Malaxos' work formed a substantial part of the Turco-Graecia, as this work was copied, corrected, and then sent to Crusius in Tübingen by Zygomalas himself. Melissenos-Melissourgos was also familiar with this work, which he consulted while he was involved in "research" for the composition of the Maius.(4)

Manuel Malaxos, however, remains a puzzling figure, as there is doubt in regard to the authorship of the texts attributed to him. Gerlach believed that Malaxos was only the copyist and not the actual author of the two histories assigned to him, the sources of the Turco-Graecia. Moreover, Malaxos himself states that he μετεγλώττισεν (sc. the work attributed to his pen) εἰς κοινὴν φράσιν, implying that he had been working from a prototype. The paper will identify as the source of Malaxos, of Pseudo-Sphrantzes, and of Crusius, the History of the Patriarchs of Constantinople by Damascenus the Studite, a literary figure that has been neglected by modern scholarship. Damascenus was from Thessalonica and served as the metropolitan of Arta and Naupaktos. He composed his work c. 1572; this work was then "paraphrased" by Malaxos, Zygomalas, Crusius, and Pseudo-Sphrantzes. (5) Comparison of a few relevant passages will make this interdependence clear. Damascenus' work, MS 569, still awaits a modern editor; the manuscript is housed in the Patriarchal library.

This paper will attempt to place Damascenus in proper historiographical context, as he was probably the last Byzantine historian and first post-Byzantine historian to deal with the history of the Great Church under the Osmanli sultans. As is well-known, documents of any sort, patriarchal or Ottoman, for the history of the Great Church in the period after the fall are lacking. Although we hear of the existence of early documents that may go as far back as the reign of Mehmed II Fatih, no imperial berat or firman has survived. The earliest documents of this nature date from the reign of Sultan Ahmed I (February 1604) and from 1662, a long time after the Osmanli conquest of Constantinople.(6)

Thus we know very little about the transitional period from Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Istanbul in connection with the Patriarchate. The elevation of Gennadius II to the patriarchal throne, as head of the Greek millet, is described in Pseudo-Sphrantzes, in Crusius, and in Malaxos. All information ultimately derives from Damascenus. Thus his work assumes an important position, as it is here shown to be the source of most Greek accounts about the events after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

(1) Stefan Gerlachs des Aelteren Tagebuch (Frankfort am Main 1674). E. Benz, Ostkirche im Licht der protestantischen Geschichtschreibung (Freiburg 1952).

(2) G. T. Zoras, "Αἱ Τελευταῖαι Στιγμαὶ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου καὶ τοῦ Μαΐμεθ τοῦ Κατακτητοῦ," Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία 8 (1951), 202-210, and M. Philippides, "Patriarchal Chronicles of the Sixteenth Century," GRBS 25 (1984), 87-94.

(3) M. Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople: Bishop Leonard and the Greek Accounts," GRBS 22 (1981), 281-300. M. Philippides, The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401-1477 (Amherst 1980)..

(4) M. Philippides, "An 'Unknown' Source for Book III of the Chronicon Maius by Pseudo-Sphrantzes," Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines, forthcoming; F. H. Marshall, "The Chronicle of Manuel Malaxos," ByzZ 16 (1922), 137-190; and M. Philippides, "Σύγχρονες Ἔρευνες στὰ Κείμενα τοῦ Σφραντζῆ," Παρνασσός 25 (1983), 94-99.

(5) M. Philippides (above, n. 2).

(6) Cf., among others, S. Runciman, The Great Church in Captivity (Cambridge 1968), T. Papadopoullos, Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination (Brussels 1952), G. G. Arnakis, "The Greek Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire," Journal of Modern History 24 (1952), 235-250, V. Laurent, "Les Chrétiens sous les sultans," EchO 28 (1929), 398-404, A. Comnenus-Hypsilantes, Τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν 1453-1789 (Constantinople 1870), and M. Philippides, Emperors, Patriarchs, and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373-1512: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century, forthcoming.

Nonsense Syllables in the Music of the Ancient Greek and Byzantine Traditions

Diane Touliatos-Banker, (University of Missouri-St.Louis)

[Abstract not received in time for publication]

BYZANTINE MANUSCRIPTS .....Presiding: Nancy P. Ševčenko (Cambridge, Massachusetts)

Vaticanus Graecus 1927 and Pre-Iconoclastic Psalters
Christine Havice (University of Kentucky)
[Abstract not received in time for publication]

THE INVENTION OF MARGINAL COMMENTARY ILLUSTRATION

Kathleen Corrigan, Dartmouth College

The most distinctive feature of the group of Byzantine manuscripts known as the marginal psalters is their exploitation of the marginal format to create visual commentaries on the psalms. This method of illustration is in fact unique to the marginal psalters. It was apparently invented by those who produced the ninth-century manuscripts and was utilized in the following centuries only for copies of new editions of this psalter type.

The origins and cultural context of this method of illustration are in need of further exploration. Two scholars have discussed the origins of marginal commentary illustration: K. Weitzmann (Roll and Codex, 1970, pp. 118 ff. and 250) and A. Cutler (In Iconoclasm, eds. Bryer and Herrin, 1977). Both agree that marginal illustration was already utilized in the early Christian period. Cutler further argued that there were pre-Iconoclastic psalters with marginal illustrations on which the creators of the ninth-century manuscripts relied.

I will argue that marginal illustration was essentially an invention of the ninth century. The lack of any early Christian manuscripts with marginal illustrations placed alongside a text column, the seemingly experimental nature of manuscripts such as the Milan Gregory (Ambros. Lib. Cod. E.49-50) and the Job manuscripts on Patmos (Cod. 171) and in the Vatican (Vat gr. 749), and the reflections in the Bristol Psalter of ca. 1000 A.D. of a pre-Iconoclastic psalter with column pictures lend support to the conclusion that in fact it was the artists of the ninth-century marginal psalters who perfected this new method in order to enhance the interpretive character of their illustrations.

Weitzmann suggested that the invention of marginal commentary illustrations depended on the development of marginal commentaries in unillustrated manuscripts, the origin of which has been somewhat controversial, but which seems now to belong to around the eighth century. This being the case, I would argue that the development of marginal commentary illustration can best be understood within the context of the revival of interest in literary and scholarly activity which began around 800 A.D., and more specifically, within the context of the scholarly activities of those who were engaged in locating and compiling exerpts from the Bible and the church fathers in the support of Orthodox Christianity and the condemnation of its enemies.

The Introduction of Painted Initials in Byzantium

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Unlike the Latin West, Byzantium did not gradually develop an elaborate repertory of painted initial letters. Until the second half of the ninth century, manuscripts from the eastern empire had no painted letters at all, and only rarely had enlarged initials penned by the scribe responsible for the book. The first Byzantine manuscript with painted initials—Paris. gr. 510, dated 879-883—is therefore doubly surprising, for it not only has over 1600 illuminated initials, but these initials were painted by a discrete atelier distinct from both the scribes and the miniature painters.

The impetus behind the sudden proliferation of decorated initials in post-iconoclastic Byzantium merits scrutiny, and much can be gleaned from a study of the sources of the letter types. The initials in Paris. gr. 510 come from three principal sources. About half are painted versions of older Byzantine scribal pen and ink ornament. Another smaller group reflects contemporary Constantinopolitan tastes. The remainder, significantly, derives from western sources. These sources are not generic, but may be specifically identified as the italo-greek scriptorium associated with Anastasios and the Carolingian scriptorium at Tours. Both Anastasios and the Carolingian illuminators drew on and developed letter types indigenous to the Latin West. The parallel forms that appear in Paris. gr. 510 should thus not be seen as later reflections of hypothetical early Byzantine letter types that also influenced western illuminators, as some have argued. Instead, the "western" initials in Paris. gr. 510 indicate Byzantine borrowings from manuscripts of the Anastasios and Tours groups.

This modest assumption has broader implications. It suggests that italo-greek and Carolingian books were available in Constantinople in the years after Iconoclasm, and that Byzantium was receptive to their influence.

More Light on the Dionysiou Lectionary

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In a previous paper, BSC 10(1984), concerning the eleventh-century lectionary Dionysiou codex 587, it was shown that the relationship between several images and their accompanying texts can be properly understood only in conjunction with illustrations found in marginal psalters and the rubrics of several typika. That discussion focused on illustrations which once had been regarded as anomalous because of discrepancies existing between image and text. Further investigation has shown that even where several images appear to correspond with their texts, refined liturgical influences better clarify the specific choice of miniatures.

A marginal miniature of Christ asleep in a boat with His disciples appears with the lection for one of the gospel readings for the 26 October. Typika call for the commemoration of the Constantinopolitan earthquake of 740 and the reading of the Matthean account of Christ calming the tempest. Illustrated gospel books provide the pericope with narrative cycles while marginal psalters depict only the

moment of Christ rebuking the storm. In light of the specifications prescribed by the typika, it becomes evident why our illustrator has selected only the depiction of Christ asleep in the boat to convey the interpretation of the commemoration. This is further supported by a reading of the Synax. CP.

The method can be used to provide us with a fuller understanding of other images which appear in the lectionary, such as the unusual selections for the Sunday of Antipascha and the feast of the Birth of the Virgin. Such an investigation serves to fortify the conclusion that the theological subtleties of the images in the Dionysiou lectionary can properly be understood only within a complete liturgical and historical context, even when images appear on the surface to reflect only a straightforward illustration of the text.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MINIATURES OF THE SECOND GOSPELS OF DJRUTCHI WITH THOSE OF THE PARIS. GR. 74

Jean-Guy Violette, Université Laval, Québec.

There is a very close relationship between the miniatures of the second Gospels of Djrutchi (Tbilisi, MSS Institute of the Academy of Sciences, Ms. No. H 1667), a georgian manuscript of the XIIth century, and those of the Paris. Gr. 74 of the XIth century.

What are the similarities? First the cycle of miniatures in both manuscripts is nearly the same. In some cases, the place of the miniatures in the page is even the same. Secondly many scenes are very similar: same composition, same figures, sometimes same secondary elements (trees, for example). Thirdly many miniatures have the same juxtaposition of scenes, sometimes with the first scene on the right and the second scene on the left. Finally some miniatures exhibit the same departure from the text.

What are the differences? We find in many miniatures different iconographic formulas; in these cases, the miniature of the Djrutchi Gospels is often similar to the corresponding one in the Gospels of Florence (Laur. VI 23). The most remarkable difference is that a great number of miniatures in the Djrutchi Gospels are more simple and more strictly related to the text, without the superfluous and confusing elements found abundantly in the Greek 74.

The conclusion of this comparative analysis is that the Djrutchi Gospels, in spite of his very striking similarities with the Greek 74, is not a copy of that manuscript, or at least cannot be reduced to be only a copy of the Greek 74.

The relationship between the two manuscripts may be seen in two different ways: a) the Djrutchi Gospels is partly a copy of the Greek 74, which explains the similarities, and partly a copy of another manuscript (or many other manuscripts), which explains the differences; b) the Djrutchi Gospels does not depend on the Greek 74, in which case the similarities between the two manuscripts would be explained by a common prototype.

The first type of explanation has to be discarded for the following reason: the iconography of many miniatures of the Greek 74, if compared with the corresponding ones in the Djrutchi Gospels, appears much corrupted. The basic formulas are the same, but they have reached in the Greek 74 an ulterior stage of development. It is then impossible that these miniatures of the Djrutchi Gospels have been copied from the Greek 74.

If we conclude that the explanation of a common prototype is the most satisfactory, what can be said about that unknown prototype? I suggest that it was rather recent, not earlier than the end of the IXth century; that it was made in a monastery, since there is a scene of monastic penance in both manuscripts, and that it represents an intermediary stage in the development of the illustration of the Gospels (in a text disposed on two columns, there was a combination of small images inserted in a column and of large miniatures extending to the whole width of the page, which is the disposition preserved in the Djrutchi Gospels).

VATICANUS GRAECUS 300: A NEW APPROACH

John M. Duffy (University of Maryland)

The parchment codex no. 300 in the Vatican library, consisting of medical treatises and copied around the middle of the 12th century, has always impressed people because of its script, physical features and contents; it struck Daremberg as "magnificent" and Mercati admitted that it was uncommon. The main text in it is the Ephodia, a Greek translation in seven books (not published) of a well-known Arabic handbook Zād al-Musāfir ("Provisions for the Traveller") composed by Abū Ǧa'far ibn al-Ǧazzār (d. 1004). The manuscript has been in the news again recently, playing a role in the discussion of the so-called Reggio style of Greek writing, and one of the hands has been used by Nigel Wilson to redate the famous Madrid Scylitzes. Wilson has also corrected the earlier view on the number of scribes involved in writing Vat. 300, four or five, as against Mercati's two or three.

Earlier scholars concerned themselves more with the book's contents and, in the case of Mercati, with the history of the manuscript itself. In fact Mercati devoted two studies to it, a detailed description for the Vatican catalog and a short monograph; in the latter he concentrated on two matters: a) his own discovery in this manuscript of fragments of an Alexandrian commentary on Hippocrates' Epidemics VI by John of Alexandria, and b) his belief that Vat. 300 was originally the personal copy of a Reggio family called Xeros and that it was written under the direct supervision of a member of this family, one Phillip Xeros, a doctor, who wrote into the margins in numerous places his own medical prescriptions. This attractive theory, which could at first glance be well supported by the compositional features of the codex, also led Mercati to the assumption that Vat. 300 is the progenitor of all other copies of the Ephodia, over thirty in number.

In the course of my preparing an edition of the Alexandrian commentary material discovered by Mercati, some doubts began to emerge about the dependence of the other copies on the Vaticanus. I have pursued the matter further by comparing the Greek version of Abū Ǧa'far's work with the Arabic original (unpublished) and can now present evidence to prove that the other manuscripts of the Ephodia are completely independent of Vat. 300. This fact is not only important for the edition of texts in these manuscripts but also has repercussions for the story of the Vatican copy. I will take a different approach from Mercati's and still try to account for the manuscript's peculiar features. The question of the otherwise unknown Xeros family and the nature of its connection with the Ephodia will be looked at afresh and I hope to report on findings in a Paris manuscript which contains the only known work of Phillip Xeros, a small collection of medical recipes.

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