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I. ICONS AND ICONOCLASM

Presiding: Kathleen Corrigan (*Dartmouth College*)

John of Damascus on Human Cognition: An Element in His Apologetic for Icons

James R. Payton, Jr. (*Redeemer College*)

As the Chief spokesman of the iconodules during the first phase of the iconoclastic controversy, John of Damascus' apologetic for icons offered the sanction for the dogmatic decree eventually adopted at the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicea II, 787). Exegetical, hermeneutical, and Christological arguments played the dominant roles in his defense of the legitimacy of icons.

In addition to these weighty arguments, the Damascene presented other considerations of lesser but nonetheless significant moment. Among these were the pastoral concern (which would become the main defense of religious imagery in the Christian West) that icons could serve as the "books of the illiterate," his treatment of the distinction between worship and adoration, and his discussion of the relationship between an image and its prototype; these have been noticed regularly in the secondary literature on the controversy.

One which has not attracted attention is, potentially, one of the most fascinating--namely, what he has to say about human cognition. In the course of his presentation in Three Treatises on the Sacred Images, he deals explicitly with this question at 1:11, 3:12 and 3:21 (with a briefer treatment at 2:5 and closely related discussions at 1:13 and 1:17). In keeping with perspectives of Church fathers before him, John of Damascus argues that, since we are both soul and body, we are related to both the spiritual and the material realms. From that he goes on to maintain that, because we are creatures related to both the spiritual and material realms, human thought cannot restrict itself to logical, rational paths alone; we must think by means of pictures, as well. This is especially necessary in regard to sublime matters. According to the Damascene, the Scriptures always presuppose this situation as they address us: they make the invisible and

formless known by analogies from what is common in nature, so that we can attain at least a faint apprehension of what is and would otherwise remain utterly beyond us.

This argument, whatever its impact in the iconoclastic controversy itself--and it does not appear to have captured the attention of Theodore the Studite, the chief spokesman for the iconodules in the second phase of the iconoclastic controversy--offers a perspective on human cognition strikingly different from that laid out by preceding thinkers, whether in Greek antiquity or in the preceding history of the church. However, the Damascene's declarations on the question have not been treated in the secondary literature on the controversy, more narrowly, or the history of Christian thought, more broadly--nor have they been noticed in the history of psychology.

This paper examines what John of Damascus urged about human cognition. It sets what he asserted on the question against the background of Eastern Christian understandings of the creation and its relationship to the Creator, with special focus on the view of man. From that, the paper analyzes what the Damascene said in the passages noted above and seeks then to synthesize his perspective, as he offered this embryonic theory of human cognition.

Iconoclasm at the Council of Paris in 825: Theology as Politics by Other Means

Michael E. Moore (*University of Michigan*)

A study of the Council of Paris in 825 shows how the theological debate over Iconoclasm was used by both Carolingian and Byzantine emperors as a platform for imperial politics. For Michael II, Iconoclasm was a means of crushing opposition and strengthening his imperial claims as an outsider. For Louis the Pious, the presentation of a moderate Frankish position provided an opportunity to appear as the head of a unified and orthodox western church. A close reading of this council sheds new light on the function of theology in the diplomatic relations between the two Empires.

The Council of Paris in 825 was a response to an embassy from the Byzantine Emperor Michael II the previous year. The embassy had conveyed a letter which

representations of divinity. The significance of the tabernacle in eighth- and ninth-century polemic suggests that the opportunity to depict it in all its manifestations overrode the basic incompatibility of the Topography text itself with ninth-century thought. The importance of the images superseded the heretical nature of the words.

The Iconoclastic Controversy and Georgian Art During the 8th-9th cc

Zaza Skhirtladze (*Čubinašvili Institute for the History of Georgian Art*)

The notes concerning the attitude of Georgia towards the Iconoclasm are preserved both in the historical sources (Chronicle of Georgia, a work by Arseni the Monk), and hagiography (the Lives of John the bishop of Goths, Gregory of Khandzta, Serapion of Zarzma, Konstantine the Georgian). Examination of this material, alongside consideration of the monuments of fine arts, executed during the 8th-9th cc., testify to the fact that a strong Iconoclastic wave engulfing a greater part of the Byzantine World had not touched Georgia. On the contrary - continuity of artistic traditions was contributed to by the emphasized iconodule tendency which is traceable in Georgian culture during that period.

The fact that the country had avoided Iconoclasm proved to be an important event in the history of medieval Georgian culture, having left its imprint on the various aspects of its development. In this respect, special emphasis should be laid on the preservation of the stable tradition of the cult of images prevalent in the country during the whole Early Middle Ages. The continuity of the iconographic tradition, its gradual alteration and supplementation, as well as the process of a gradual establishment of the church decoration system, was possible only in conditions of the veneration of images in the course of the entire development of culture in Georgia of the period.

On the other hand, a certain isolation of the 8th-9th cc Georgia (which, besides the Iconoclastic controversy, was to a certain extent preconditioned by the Arab invasions in the Caucasus) had naturally contributed to a more intense process striving for new means of expression. Local artistic traditions with their specific accentuation of linear

tendencies had definitely played an essential part in this respect. Accordingly, Georgian fine arts had somehow been left aside of the retrospective general trend based on Hellenistic traditions, which had acquired a leading role in the Byzantine art of the Posticonoclastic period.

Icon and Rhetoric: Psellos on the Crucifixion

Elizabeth A. Fisher (*George Washington University*)

At the conclusion of a lengthy oration on the Crucifixion of Christ, Michael Psellos creates a remarkable and vivid summary image; he describes in detail an actual icon of the Crucifixion and offers his own assessment of its signal importance as an object of devotion. Since this oration remained unpublished until very recently, Psellos' description of the icon and its significance for Byzantine art is only now receiving the scholarly attention it deserves (published with French topical summary by Paul Gautier, "Un Discours inedit de Michel Psellos sur la crucifixion," Revue des Etudes byzantines 49[1991] 5-66). Study of the oration in its entirety will provide us with an unusual opportunity to gauge how the believer was expected to approach this icon.

Psellos' description of the icon focuses particularly upon the physical portrayal of the dead Christ on the cross (for a French translation of the ecphrasis of the icon, see Gautier pp. 1-12; for a summary of scholarship on the icon type of the dead Christ, see Gautier p. 13 n. 26). Psellos then surveys less specifically the other figures in the sequence --Mary, John, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and the angelic host. Psellos remarks that this icon of the dead Christ seems truly living, and his reflections upon this paradox have contributed to Hans Belting's very interesting discussion of a new icon which he identifies in the 11th and 12th century, the ἔμψυχος or "animate" icon (Hans Belting, Bild and Kult: eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst [Munich 1990] 292-303).

I propose to examine Psellos' description of the Crucifixion icon in relation to his exposition of the Crucifixion narrative. In earlier sections of this ca. 1500-line oration,

Psellos discusses the incarnation and the life of Christ, then turns to an examination of the events of the Crucifixion itself as recorded in Scripture. He rehearses the role in the Crucifixion sequence of the figures whom he will eventually describe in the icon, explicating the significance of each individual and his or her actions and interjecting his own emotional response to these persons and events. Psellos also discusses at length the repentent thief crucified with Jesus, who represents for him the Christian believer. Mentally and emotionally prepared by this narrative, Psellos' audience enters the scene of the icon so vividly recreated at the conclusion of the oration. The icon becomes a devotional summary, figure by figure and topic by topic, of Psellos' scripturally based narrative.

Old Practices in New Schemes
Maria Vassilaki (*University of Crete, Rethymnon*)

The formation of the iconographic cycles of saints in Byzantine art has been a matter of much debate, as far as the prototypes of these cycles are concerned. K. Weitzmann, N. Ševčenko and T. Mark-Weiner have tried to throw light on the problem. Some help may be offered by the study of the formation of saints' iconographic cycles in Post-Byzantine art. The cult of these saints was either newly established in Post-Byzantium or more often re-established, as the result of an increased popularity these saints achieved at this time. Consequently, new *Vitae* were written with expanded versions of martyrdoms and miracles. Depictions of them became more numerous and among these some biographical icons are to be found. As key-subjects for my analysis I have chosen two saints, namely St. Charalambos and St. Govdelaas. It is obvious that in some of their biographical icons painters have borrowed scenes from the martyrdom of St. George. The procedure of borrowing scenes from a prominent saint's martyrdom and miracles and transferring them into the cycle of another less prominent saint becomes more interesting if it is associated with the working-drawings Post Byzantine painters were using. We are lucky to have a series of such drawings from the iconographic cycle

of St. George, which were painted by the Cretan Michael Damaskinos. It appears that these drawings had been used in the biographical icons of both saints, Charalambos and Govdelaas.

I dealt with the case of St. Charalambos in the past in an article published in the Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, vol. 13 (1985-86), pp. 247-260. My research on the Benaki Museum collection of transfer drawings, the so called *anthivola*, on which I am preparing a publication, enabled me to see that the case of St. Charalambos is not an exceptional one, as I thought at the time, but is part of a much broader phenomenon in Post-Byzantine art, which is not only interesting by itself, but also for earlier periods.

Cretan Icons and Holy Images in Ethiopian Collections
Marilyn E. Heldman (*St. Louis, Missouri*)

The earliest Byzantine icons in Ethiopian collections belong to the late fifteenth/ early sixteenth century, although references to icons "painted in gold" appear in earlier fifteenth-century sources. Ethiopian interest in Byzantine icons of Our Lady Mary grew out of the mandatory ritual of veneration before her icon. This was introduced to the Ethiopian liturgy during the 1440s by Emperor Zar' a Yā 'eqob. Before this time, panel painting had not been an important facet of Ethiopian art. Another factor in the growing popularity of Byzantine icons of the Virgin was their value as luxury objects, the importation of which was generally restricted to the imperial court. By the mid-sixteenth century, Ethiopian piety had endowed Byzantine icons with a special degree of sanctity. Some gained recognition as holy images that had the power to work miracles.

The Madre della Consolazione from the Estifānosite monastery of Gundā Gundē (University Museum, Addis Ababa) is mentioned in the Life of Abbot Isāyeyyās of Gundā Gundē [1554-1572]. He affected cures with this icon. Present tradition says that the icon was presented by a venerated member of the community who had acquired it while visiting Jerusalem in the late fifteenth century. Another Madre della Consolazione

icon, still in the treasury of a monastery in northern Ethiopia, is inscribed with a note naming Emperor Lebna Dengel [r. 1508-40] as donor.

This emperor employed a Cretan painter to produce an icon of the Virgin Enthroned, saints, and portraits of himself and his queen, Sabla Wangēl. He evidently sent this impressive ex-voto to the great monastery of St. Antony in Egypt, where it remains today.

A Cretan icon of the Virgin of Tenderness (University Museum, Addis Ababa) is datable to the late fifteenth /early sixteenth century. A virtually identical icon is the property of an ex-monastery church once closely associated with Emperor Lebna Dengel. The latter icon is called the Image of Salvation and has the power to cure drought and pestilence.

In the 1440s the annual celebration of the miracle of Mary's icon at Sēdēneyā [Saidnaya] was added to the calendar of the Ethiopian church. Sixteenth-century Ethiopic collections of pious Marian tales known collectively as the Miracles of Mary include a greater number of stories concerning miracle-working Marian icons.

Evidence suggests that important factors in the development of beliefs concerning the sanctity of Cretan icons were the greater availability of Cretan panel painting and the proliferation of tales concerning miracle-working icons in Ethiopic collections of the Miracles of Mary.

II. PAPYROLOGY

Presiding: Jennifer Sheridan (*St. Joseph's University*)

Papyrology and Byzantine Historiography

James G. Keenan (*Loyola University, Chicago*)

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, papyri from Egypt were recovered by the thousands, first through the "excavations" of fellahîn, then by the excavations of European concerns. Some papyri were of Ptolemaic date, far more were Roman, still more belonged to Egypt's Byzantine period (traditionally, A.D. 284-642). Although other findspots of late papyri were important, the most significant were Oxyrhynchus and Aphrodito.

Discoveries at Oxyrhynchus were owed to B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt who, starting in 1896, dug the ancient town's rubbish heaps with astounding success. The Aphrodito discoveries were due to sheer luck. In 1905, during remodeling, a house wall collapsed, revealing at its base a cache of ancient papyri. Some vanished onto the antiquities market; the lion's share came to rest in the British Museum. Other Aphrodito papyri, the largest share, were recovered for the Cairo Museum through the efforts of G. Lefebvre.

The publication histories of the discoveries from the two sites differ greatly. Grenfell and Hunt aimed at publishing one Oxyrhynchus volume a year. In the first, 1898, to give subscribers a sense of the variety of their finds, they included a section on 6th and 7th century papyri; but it was more than 25 years later that a significant new batch of late finds from Oxyrhynchus was presented. That was in 1924 when in collaboration with H.I. Bell, Grenfell and Hunt produced the famous P.Oxy. XVI. Publication of the Cairo Aphrodito papyri was entrusted to J. Maspero, who published three massive volumes of "Cairo Maspero papyri" 1911, 1913, 1916--the last posthumous owing to his battlefield death in 1915. Meanwhile, Bell was working on the British Museum's share of Aphrodito papyri, which came to be published as part of P.Lond. V, 1917.

With Grenfell and Hunt committed to excavating and editing, with Maspero prematurely dead, it was only natural that Bell, who had had the advantage of working on both Oxyrhynchus and Aphrodito papyri, should first assess what those papyri had to say in general terms about the history of Byzantine Egypt. He did so in a classic article of 1917, "The Byzantine Servile State in Egypt." There Bell depicted a feudal world dominated by big landlords and characterized by administrative exploitation and compulsion, official corruption and violence, hereditary social stratification and "serfdom." Life in Byzantine Egypt came to be marked by its "appalling dullness." The Arab victory of 641/2 was no miracle, but "the inevitable collapse of a structure rotten at the core."

Bell's views, written with great flair, dominated scholarly thinking about Byzantine Egypt for 60 years. Only since the 1970s did the winds of change begin. This paper aims to set out in some detail the views of Bell and their influence on other scholars, then to trace recent changes and their reasons.

All in the Family: Private and Public Settlements in Late Antique Egypt
Peter van Minnen (*Duke University*) and Traianos Gagos (*University of Michigan*)

Taking our cue from papyrus from the University of Michigan collection (to appear as P. van Minnen & T. Gagos, *Settling a Dispute: The Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt*, Ann Arbor 1992), we would like to dwell briefly on dispute processing in late antique Egypt. We do this against the backdrop of both the evidence for arbitration and settlements in earlier Roman Egypt and the legislation of Justinian, notably the impact it had on the legal system and the wider social context of late antique Egypt. The subject deserves a more detailed treatment than the discussion we offered in the introduction to our edition, especially because this type of text has deservedly received much attention from social historians interested in the family.

By settling their arguments over property and debts in a more or less private way, the parties to a dispute seem to bypass the judicial courts and the legal system *per se.*

However, as the increasing number of settlements from late antique Egypt make abundantly clear, settling disputes out of court is firmly entrenched in the wider legal system of the period. It is our firm impression from the evidence on both the earlier Roman and the late antique period that settlements out of court proliferate in the latter period. In our opinion this reflects the growing importance of "law" in late antique society. The codification of the legal traditions of the Roman empire, which takes place within the framework of this society and which contributes heavily to its character, and the increasing importance of legal knowledge concur to make an alternative option even more attractive to litigants: instead of using the courts to settle their disputes they heavily rely on arbitration and private settlement. But this option is only possible in so far as they stick to the rules set by the law and avail themselves of the services offered by the legal specialists of their day and age, the public notaries. This explains the form which most of the settlements take, i.e. notarial documents, as well as the prolific use of legal formulas in the documents.

We will also have a closer look at some of the more striking examples of settlements of dispute from late antique Egypt and consider the ways in which they contribute to our understanding of this society. We will consider the type of property involved (movable and immovable) and the reasons for choosing either public or private arbitration. We will also discuss the role of family relations and property rights in disputes. Finally we will consider the changing position of women as reflected by these documents in which women play a prominent role.

A New Papyrus of a Dioscorian Poem and Marriage Contract
Clement A. Kuehn (*Loyola University of Chicago*)

Near the end of the year 1905, in a small village in southern Egypt, Gustave Lefebvre was excavating a small house which had been built during the Roman period, when he came upon a jar filled with ancient papyri. The jar was broken at its neck, but still stood about ninety centimeters tall. In it and in the soil (*sebakh*) surrounding it, Lefebvre found

seventeen leaves (thirty-four pages) of a fifth century codex of the comedy writer Menander. In Antiquity it was thought Menander's talent was surpassed only by Homer's; yet by the ninth century A.D. (for reasons not yet fully understood) the texts of his comedies had virtually disappeared, and little more than his astounding reputation survived to the modern era. The codex found by Lefebvre contained the remains of five comedies; and in Lefebvre's own words: "Les nouveaux fragments . . . sont sans contredit les plus important qui aient été découverts jusqu'à ce jour." In and around the jar were also found fragments of comedies by Eupolis and Aristophanes and part of a codex of Homer's *Iliad*. In addition to this private library were found numerous documents in Coptic and in Greek: some dealt with personal and business affairs; others dealt with the administrative and legal affairs of the village, of the city Antinoopolis (the second most important city in Egypt), and even of Constantinople. The documents made it possible to establish that their writer and collector had been a landowner, a lawyer, and a village administrator and ambassador. His life spanned the reigns of Justin I, Justinian, Justin II, Tiberius, and Maurice. His name was Flavius Dioscorus; and the village in which he and his family lived was known in Antiquity as Aphrodito. It was discovered that in addition to the poetry which he had collected, Dioscorus had used the backs of many of the documents to compose his own poetry. Outside of these papyri, there has been found no manuscript of his poetry nor mention of the poet. His pieces are the oldest autograph poems which have survived to the modern era.

The papyri which Lefebvre had found were brought to the Cairo Museum, where they were edited by the young Jean Maspero and published in three volumes. Many papyri, however, had been clandestinely removed from the site and sold to private collectors and dealers. Many of these papyri were eventually purchased by London, where they were edited by H. Idris Bell. Other Dioscorian papyri turned up in Berlin, Florence, Strasbourg, The Vatican, Baltimore, Ann Arbor, etc. Recently, among the unedited papyri in the Ägyptisches Museum SMPK in Berlin, Herwig Maehler found yet

another Dioscorian Papyrus; and Dr. William Brashear has generously allowed me to edit it.

The papyrus consists of two fragments; their edges do not match, but they obviously belong together. On the recto is a statement of debt for six gold solidi; the names of the parties involved have not survived. It is likely that the debtor was promising the payment of a *donatio propter nuptias.* The *donatio propter nuptias* was a gift which the bridegroom gave to his bride shortly before the wedding or soon after it consummation. It may have been a *pretium pudicitiae* (a payment made for the bride's virginity). Often this gift was not given outright, but only promised; yet it was payable on demand, and the bridegroom offered all his personal and family possessions as security. Such promises were found in three marriage documents from Dioscorus's archive. The wording on the Berlin papyrus matches verbatim these promises for a *donatio propter nuptias*; thus it is likely that the Berlin papyrus too was part of a marriage contract. The contract was not written by Dioscorus's hand. It may have been a copy of the final agreement written by a clerk for Dioscorus's records, while the latter was doing legal work in Antinoopolis (c. 566 - c. 573).

Later Dioscorus, as was his practice, used the verso to compose his poetry. The Berlin papyrus contains fragments of probably eight verses. The verses are written iambic trimeter and are encomiastic in nature; most of Dioscorus's surviving poetry was written in a encomiastic style—a style which was very popular in the early Byzantine period. Because in his surviving poetry Dioscorus regularly repeated phrases, verses, and groups of verses, the verses of the Berlin papyrus can be restored with a moderate degree of certainty. The words and traces in seven of the eight verses correspond to verses in other Dioscorian poems. The present poem contains good examples of three characteristics of Dioscorus's poetic style: assonance and alliteration, a ring structure, and—what comes as no surprise—borrowings from comedy.

A Nativity Hymn from Egypt

L.S.B. MacCoull (*Society for Coptic Archaeology, North America*)

Papyrus inv.no. 3469 of the Coptic Museum in Cairo contains the text, written across the fibres, of a Greek hymn on the Nativity. It is listed by G. Robinson in ZPapEpig 70 (1987) 71 as the only Greek-Arabic bilingual papyrus in the collection photographed by the International Photographic Archive of Papyri in early 1987. The papyrus itself thus dates from after the Arab conquest of Egypt, though the literary text it bears may be older. This Greek Christian text is written on a sheet apparently cut down from what was once an Arabic administrative letter, part of the text of which can be seen on the other side (with the fibres). I studied the papyrus at first hand in January 1991.

The text is incomplete at the top. Some of what can be read runs as follows: "The Incorporeal One is born for us today, the King and Lord. Isaiah, the great prophet, cried out and said, Behold, the virgin will bear the Son of God, Emmanuel, which being interpreted means 'Christ with us.' Offspring of the virgin [womb], he also was (subject to) circumcision, and was called by a name in accordance with his birth. . . . And he truly took flesh from the Virgin. A great mystery, beyond understanding: the one whom Cherubim and Seraphim hymn and glorify lies (in the crib) . . .." The phrase μέγα καὶ παράδοξον μυστήριον parallels Patriarch Germanos' Christmas troparion Μέγα καὶ παράδοξον θαῦμα.[1] The Greek hand shows extraordinary similarities to those of BKT VIII 16 and PSI IX 1096 (nos. 53b and 53c in Cavallo and Maehler, Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period (A.D. 300-800) [London 1987]), also Greek hymn texts from Egypt written on sheets of papyrus previously used for Arabic documents. The Cairo papyrus provides a first step towards collecting a corpus of these works, which attest to a wealth of composition of Greek-language hymnography in Egypt both before and after A.D. 641 and for both Chalcedonian and Monophysite church audiences.

1. Follieri, Initia hymnorum, II.382.

III. ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE LEVANT AND NORTH AFRICA

Presiding: Kenneth Holum (*University of Maryland*)

Excavations at Sepphoris in the Galilee

Lucille A. Roussin (*New York, NY*)

Sepphoris, in the central Galilee just north of Nazareth, has been continuously occupied from the Iron Age to the present. Re-founded in the first century A.D. by Herod Antipas, the city became known as "the ornament of all Galilee." In the second century A.D. the city became the seat of the Sanhedrin, the central legal and spiritual council of the Jewish people. The city's continuing importance during the third and fourth century A.D. is evident from the major public buildings presently under excavation.

The mosaics uncovered during the 1989 and 1991 excavation seasons provide important evidence for a major public area of the city from the Herodian period through the fourth century. It was, in fact, the direction and size of the mosaic pavements that provided the first indication that part of the area was a quadriporticus surrounded by a series of square rooms. During the 1992 season we hope to uncover the remainder of this large building complex.

Several polychrome mosaic pavements have been uncovered to date. Most notable are a pseudo-emblemata pavement of a type developed at Antioch; a mosaic with a luxurious acanthus scroll border framing a small field ornamented with square panels enclosing images of birds; a fragmentary pavement with the representation of a building; another mosaic, only partially uncovered, with an as yet undeciphered Greek inscription.

The area under excavation may prove to be the lower market of Sepphoris mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud. If so, a study of this building complex will add significantly to our knowledge of the architecture and decoration of market buildings in the eastern provinces of the Roman empire.

The Built Environment: A View from the Periphery

Cherie J. Lenzen (*Madaba, Jordan*)

This paper will concentrate on the built environment of Palestina Secunda during the time period between ca. A.D. 600 to 800. Emphasis will be placed on recent archaeological data relating to the Decapolis cities presently located in modern northeastern Jordan. Although the built environment of Capitolias (modern and Islamic Beit Ras) will form the core of the paper, comparisons will be made to other cities. Two significant issues will be addressed: (1) the accommodations which were made in the built environment by the inhabitants of the city/ies to changing economic, political and environmental circumstances; and (2) whether or not there are indications within the material culture, i.e., the architectural elements and features specifically, of ethnicity.

A Byzantine Cemetery Church at Carthage: A Report on the 1990-1992 Excavations at Bir el Knissia

Susan T. Stevens (*Dumbarton Oaks/Randolph Macon Women's College*)

The goal of the University of Michigan-Earthwatch excavations at Carthage in 1990-1992 was to locate and to excavate systematically the extramural church at Bir el Knissia and its surrounding Christian cemetery. The site was selected because it would yield valuable information in a dated context about patterns of Christian burial during a crucial period of the city's history, the fifth through seventh centuries A.D. Since the structure was partially cleared in 1922-23 by the White Fathers Chales and Delattre but never properly published, one of the greatest challenges of the project has been to integrate material from original documents of the earlier excavation preserved at the Musée de Carthage with dating and phasing information gathered in 1990-1992. Although the analysis of data is ongoing and the conclusions presented here are provisional, work at the site over the last three years combined with a study of Delattre's documents has already yielded some important results.

First, the location and orientation of the church in the urban and suburban topography has been established. Thus we can begin to understand the relationship of the church to the city and its cemetery to the burial zone outside the walls. Systematic excavation and study of burials at the site will also help to interpret other Christian burial sites at Carthage.

Second, we can now document an active Byzantine phase for the church which began in the Justinianic period and extended well into the second half of the seventh century. The Byzantine church had fine mosaic floors of well-known local patterns and architectural decoration of Justinianic date, imported marble carved in Constantinopolitan style. Its plan is similar to that of other extramural basilicas at Carthage including an elaborate northeastern annex added to the church in the Byzantine period. Though the original function of this structure is still uncertain, it contained many burials and an inscription which referred to the relics of saints.

Finally, the 1992 season established another important feature of Bir el Knissia, that the church was first built in the fifth century and was in continuous use throughout the Vandal period. Although periodically renovated, the church suffered no major upheaval or change of plan under the Arian Vandals. In fact, the history of the basilica documents a smooth transition from Vandal to Byzantine rule in the sixth century.

As a result of publishing the findings of both the 1990-1992 and 1922-23 excavations, the extramural cemetery church of Bir el Knissia will be able to take its rightful place among the important Christian monuments of Carthage.

IV. A WORKSHOP ON TEACHING ABOUT BYZANTINE WOMEN

Presiding: Thalia Gouma-Peterson (*The College of Wooster*) and Anne Derbes (*Hood College*)

Women in Late Antique and Early Christian Art and Art History

Thelma K. Thomas (*University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*)

Three obstacles stand in the way of teaching effectively about women and gender issues in Late Antique and Early Christian art. The first is within the discipline. I have found it necessary in my planning for an upper level course that both teachers and students confront a dearth of published scholarship on women or gender issues in Late Antique and Early Christian art. In addition, they face a historiography that was long concerned chiefly with objects and monuments of political and ecclesiastical history, that is to say of and about men in power and in public. (Happily, this is not the case for the most recent scholarship on Late Antique and Early Christian history.) The second obstacle is outside. Until very recently, feminist art theory and criticism was overwhelmingly concerned with problems of post-renaissance--especially post-modern--artistic production and reception. These concerns remain alien to problems particular to Late Antique, Early Christian, and Byzantine art. That, of course, is the third problem: these areas of scholarship hardly intersect. I propose to discuss how we might profitably approach this situation in the classroom.

Teaching About Byzantine Women in Art History

Christine Havice (*University of Kentucky*)

The historian who wishes to include consideration of women in a survey of Byzantine art faces formidable difficulties. Deconstruction of surviving images of Byzantine women reveals less about real women than about societal values and boundaries, and we apparently have no images of women artists from Byzantium in any

case. The entry "Women" in the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium mentions nothing about women artists. A search for artists or artisans who were female leads us to some general categories of objects -- textile production in convents, for example -- but not to identifiable personalities nor even to a definable tradition of training such as we find in the West, of daughters learning a craft in their artist-fathers' workshops.

Slightly more productive avenues of exploration open when we abandon the post-medieval Western emphasis on the individual artist-creator and look instead at agency in the creation of the work as it involves the commissioner, donor, or "patron" (the asymmetry of our language here becomes apparent when we attempt to apply the corresponding female form, "matron"). The history of Western medieval art can almost be written as a history of commissions and patronage, and in the East, portraits of individuals most often reveal donors, male and female, while the study of patronage, again male and female, in Byzantium has been a fruitful undertaking. For example, names, personalities, and identifiable individuals, including a relatively large number of women, come into focus as donors of illuminated manuscripts, as early as the Vienna Dioscorides, whose commissioner Anicia Juliana dominates a self-proclamatory frontispiece miniature, and as late as the series of images recording the court status and familiar relationships of the foundress of the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Virgin of Good Hope, Theodora Synadene and her daughter Euphrosyne. In this latter the concern with family rank and posterity offers a Byzantine counterpart to Western images in which maternity and the provision of heirs are emphasized.

As we teach, refocusing upon the multiple agents, whether female or male, who are involved in the creation of a work of art can provide a useful corrective to the "great artist" approach of most Western art historiography after the late Middle Ages. We can more precisely describe the locus of decision-making in the production of art and provide the sense of how medieval, and here specifically Byzantine, society differed from more familiar contexts in its structure and in its valuation of the visual arts.

Theodora's Challenge

Carolyn L. Connor (*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*)

Including a feminist perspective in "Art in the Age of Justinian and Theodora," an advanced undergraduate course also taken by graduate students, has added a new and educationally valuable dimension to this interdisciplinary course. Some restructuring of the original course was necessary and also a rethinking of how to achieve a balance among diverse materials. But, most important, the inclusion of this perspective resulted in an expanded approach to much of the artistic and literary material from that used previously. For example, architecture is still considered from an archaeological and liturgical standpoint, while in the case of the church of Hagios Polyeuktos, knowing its builder was a women has a particular impact. Once the issue of female patronage arises in this connection, with Anicia Juliana's church, and then with the Vienna Dioscurides, the awareness that some women could play active roles within Byzantine society generates for students a significantly expanded view of its art. Theodora, of course, provides a much discussed example of a female role. Less powerful women than Theodora or Anicia Juliana appear only as names on liturgical silver and marriage jewelry, and most remain anonymous. . . . or do they?. Judith Herrin's "In Search of Byzantine Women" challenges students to seek them out. Reading between the lines of Procopius' Secret History, Corippus' In Lauden Iustini Augusti Minoris and the Life of Saint Theodore of Sykeon produces very interesting discoveries. Knowing of women's particular devotion to icons, through another of Judith Herrin's articles, helps elucidate Byzantine social structures and beliefs. Within the context of an integrative course such as this one, a feminist perspective allows today's students to form a broader and more effective assessment of Byzantine art and culture. A bibliography compiled for this course called "Women's Studies For Byzantium" helps students who wish to explore feminist topics for their term-papers do so.

Teaching about the Religious Life of Byzantine Women

Alice-Mary Talbot (*Dumbarton Oaks*)

In teaching courses on women in the medieval world, I have focused considerable attention on their religious life, since this is a subject which is relatively well documented, both for western medieval Europe and for Byzantium. With regard to Byzantium, I normally include in the syllabus such topics as the importance of religion to women who led confined lives, their special devotion to icons, their role in the defense of images during the iconoclastic period, life in the convent, and varieties of female sanctity. When teaching undergraduates, the problem is, of course, to find appropriate primary materials in English translation. For the early centuries of Byzantium we are fortunate to have a number of texts available: let me mention Ross Kraemer's Maenads, Martyrs, Matrons, Monastics, the works of Elizabeth Clark on Melania and Olympias, and Holy Women of the Syrian Orient by Sebastian Brock and Susan Harvey.

For the period after the 6th c., however, translated texts on pious women, nuns and female saints are virtually non-existent, with the exception of J.O. Rosenqvist's Life of Irene, Abbess of Chrysobalanton. It is anticipated that during the next few years two new publications should help to fill this lacuna. First of all, there should appear the long-awaited volumes of translations of 50 monastic typika (edited by John Thomas and Angela Hero), including the rules for six convents, one of the 12th c., the other five of the Palaiologan period. Secondly, I am currently coordinating the preparation of an anthology of translations of vitae of women saints of all types, including hermits, transvestite nuns, repentant harlots, married laywomen, and ascetic abbesses; saints of the 5th to 13th c. will be represented. As a result, in the future it should be much easier to incorporate primary source materials on Byzantine women into courses on Byzantine civilization or more general courses on monasticism, sanctity or the role of women in the Middle Ages.

V. BYZANTINE CERAMICS

Presiding: Theodora Stillwell MacKay (*Seattle*)

Pottery Manufacture in Byzantine Egypt: Textual and Archaeological Evidence

T. G. Wilfong (*University of Chicago*)

Pottery was one of the major commercial products of Byzantine Egypt, but comparatively little scholarly attention has been focused on the details of its manufacture. Pottery manufacture in Roman Egypt has been extensively discussed by Helen Cockle, but the diverse evidence for this industry in Byzantine Egypt has never been brought together. This paper will examine the available sources for pottery manufacture in Byzantine Egypt, with a special emphasis on Coptic documentary texts and archaeological remains.

Documentary evidence for pottery manufacture in Byzantine Egypt is primarily in Greek. Relevant Greek papyri from the sixth and seventh centuries include two leases of pottery-works (*P.Lond.* III 994, AD 517 and *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67110, AD 565) and an agreement between two potters (CPR XIV 2, VI/VII A.D.), all of which contain useful information about the types of pottery produced and the financial conditions under which pottery was made. Coptic documentary texts are less common, but of comparable interest. The two most significant Coptic texts (**CO** 306, an agreement to end a partnership in a pottery-works, and **BM** 695, an account of pottery jars in kilns) were not recognized as relating to pottery in their original publications, but are useful for understanding the organization and practical logistics of potter production. Scattered references in other Coptic texts provide additional insight into the making of pottery.

The most extensive and best-preserved evidence for pottery manufacture in Byzantine Egypt is the pottery itself. Although central to archaeological work for purposes of dating, the physical remains of pottery are rarely examined in connection with the written evidence. Functional and descriptive analyses of the pottery can result

in the matching of recognizable pottery forms with their names and descriptions in the documentary sources. The relevance of important corpora of Byzantine pottery from Egypt to the papyrological evidence will be examined, with special emphasis on unpublished material in the Oriental Institute Museum. Known sites of pottery manufacture are rare in an archaeological context, but the recently-discovered pottery kilns at Gurna provide rare evidence of the physical appearance of pottery-works and also raise interesting questions about the location of such industry with relation to settlements.

Ceramics Toward the Bottom of the Food Chain: Cypriot Kopetra

Marcus Rautman (*University of Missouri-Columbia*)

Standing at the center of the eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus figured prominently in early Byzantine affairs from the time of Helena's visit in the early 4th century to the arrival of Muawiya in the mid-7th century. The island served as an important stopping point for regional traffic since prehistoric times but rose to special prominence in the 5th through 7th centuries, when its rich farmlands, orchards, and copper mines played an increasingly important role in the early Byzantine economy. The island's ascendant prosperity has been noted at a number of its larger cities, whose urban growth reflects their rising commercial and administrative importance. Recent work in the coastal hinterland of the Vasilikos valley offers a complementary view from the perspective of a Cypriot rural landscape.

Survey and excavation have sketched the larger outlines of early Byzantine habitation across the Vasilikos region, and in greater detail the life of a small town at Kalavasos-Kopetra. First identified by the density of its surface debris, the settlement at Kopetra has recently emerged as one of the valley's larger activity areas during the later 6th and early 7th centuries. Its most conspicuous excavated features include three modest basilicas, which were variously decorated with opus sectile, floor and dome mosaics, and stucco sculpture. Early Byzantine Kopetra lacked many of the other

architectural hallmarks of urban life but remains well attested by its ceramics and terracottas. Five years of investigation have assembled a broad conspectus of locally occurring pottery. Imported fine wares reflect the valley's lingering contact with distant suppliers in north Africa and the Aegean. Amphoras for commercial transport arrived primarily from regional sources in Cilicia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Especially interesting are the local wares, which comprise a diverse repertory of Cypriot Red Slip forms in addition to utilitarian vessels and roof tiles in related fabrics. Preliminary evaluation of these ceramics documents the lifeways of one small island settlement and offers a glimpse into the lower end of the evolving commercial patterns of late antiquity.

The Slip-painted Technique in Byzantine Pottery

Demetra Papanikola - Bakirtzis (*Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessaloniki, Greece*)

The use of the decorative slip-painted technique was very widespread in the domain of Byzantine glazed pottery. It developed distinct characteristics in different places, flourished over a long period of time and survived into post-Byzantine and more recent times.

The paper deals with the methods of applying this technique, making use of the archaeological evidence and the information gained from a study of traditional pottery. It further investigates the chronological framework within which slip-painted ware was produced and examines the differences it displays through time. These observations are documented by examples of vases decorated in the slip-painted technique from different sites in the Byzantine world, extending from Cyprus to the Crimea. More specifically, slip-painted vases will be discussed and presented from Cyprus, Rhodes, Corinth, Thessaloniki and from sites in Easter Macedonia, Thrace and the Crimea.

The archaeological evidence has helped to identify the sites where slip-painted ware was produced.

Lastly, the paper discusses the survival of the slip-painted technique into post-Byzantine and recent times.

Byzantine Glazed Pottery from Western Thrace

Ch. Bakirtzis (*Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, Greece*)

Excavations carried out in recent years in Western Thrace have brought to light numerous examples of Byzantine glazed pottery. These allow us to form a general idea, for the first time, of glazed pottery in this area of the Byzantine world, an area which was close to the capital and lay between the latter and Thessaloniki.

The finds come from: I. The coast and lowlands of Western Thrace: Polystylon (Abdera), Poroi (Porto Lago), Anastasioupolis - Peritheorion, Maroneia and Synaxis. II. The highlands of Western Thrace (Rhodope Mountains): the monastic centre of Mount Papikion, Paterma, Gratsianou (Gratine). III. The west bank of the River Evros: Pherrai, Didymoteichon, Pythion.

The glazed pottery found in Western Thrace closely resembles that of Constantinople. It may be divided into the following main groups: Polychrome ware, Impressed ware, Plain glazed ware, Slip painted ware, Sgraffito ware, Painted ware, Sgraffito and painted ware.

The pottery dates from the Macedonian, The Comnenian and the Palaeologan period. The pottery from the Macedonian period is mainly white biscuit, while the pottery from the other two periods is red biscuit. Finds from Didymoteichon, Pythion and Polystylon enable us to distinguish the pottery which was circulating in Western Thrace in the second half of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century.

The pottery of the Macedonian and Comnenian periods seems to have been imported into Western Thrace, while that of the Palaeologan period was made there. Traces of pottery workshops have been found at Gratine. Another centre was Didymoteichon, where a number of pottery workshops are known to have been operating in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Phoenix and Falcon, Rhythm and Rhyme in Serres Pottery

Eunice Dauterman Maguire (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*)

The exhibition of pottery from the Paleologue period accompanying this conference at Krannert Art Museum offers a rare opportunity to study a group of glazed polychrome sgraffito ware made in one time and place, and scientifically excavated. Until now, even for medievalists, and in spite of individual studies by able scholars, Byzantine pottery has hardly existed on the art historical map. There apparently never before has been an exhibition devoted to it in this country. This small ceramic group of known provenance, from a Macedonian workshop for which a kiln site with discarded wasters has been found, allows us to examine various aspects of creative contribution and the substance by which invention and convention nourished each other in the Byzantine potter's art. To begin with, there is a calculated yet imprecise coincidence of color and line very different from the familiar vocabulary of Byzantine painting in other media. The sgraffito technique here consists of engraving a linear design through white slip coating the surface of a darker earthenware; the engraving, as on metal, removes some of the surface and may thus be distinguished technically from mere incising. Over this bold linear pattern another design, composed of color, fuses with the uppermost clear glaze. The Serres potters applied the color in relation to the engraved design in significant ways, emphasizing repeated rhythms and visual rhymes. Yet the rhyming colors are never wholly subordinate to the rhythmic outlines they complement with bold strokes and bands or splashes and drips of color.

Sgraffito ware has been found in households and in burials. The secular nature of the vessels as tableware means that this pottery is a vernacular art in the sense of being intended for popular consumption. It is free from the iconographic constraints of sacred art, as well as from a churchly solemnity of expression. Nevertheless the potter, like the painter, benefitted from centuries of inherited experience, which in the case of sgraffito ware reaches back across Asia. Within Asia, there had been successive periods of active give and take, with Mediterranean contributions and appropriations mediated through Iran and the near East. Intercultural conceptions in sgraffito pottery, as well as some specific distinctions, show themselves in the shapes of the vessels, in the techniques of decoration, in the technology of production, and in the vocabulary chosen for engraved designs.

Birds are a popular subject. Two kinds of birds on the Serres plates and bowls can be proposed from Asian and Byzantine comparisons: the falcon and the phoenix. Among the six exhibited examples of avian designs however, some may be doves, or even less specific composite birds. Whatever their identities, the ways in which these birds are presented characterize many of the more abstract elements which are prominent among the non-figural vessels from Serres. Examples of linear rhythm are a type of border ultimately derived from one with a Kufic inscription regularly interrupted by medallions; the patterning of birds' bodies with broad bands of hatching in alternate directions; the curves and countercurves of a rinceau filler; and the petal-like division of the field outside a central medallion, with triangular spandrels under the rim filled with their own repeated decoration. The colors, working with these rhythms, set up emphatic rhymes to function like schemes of reflection, alternating light and dark. Using the designs with birds, this paper will explore certain features which help to place these plates and bowls in wider groups, and others which may reveal the particular strengths of the potters of Serres in the Paleologue period.

VI. STUDIES IN BYZANTINE TEXTS

Presiding: John Duffy (*University of Maryland*)

Three Levels of Style in Gregory of Nazianzus: The Case of *Oratio 43*

Čelica Milovanović-Barham (*Millersville University of Pennsylvania*)

In fourth-century literary theory and oratorical practice the phrase "three levels of style" refers to the intensity of emotional impact on the audience. The plain (or low) style, based on logical demonstration or argument, does not require any emotional involvement by the audience. The middle style, liberally endowed with sound and structure correspondences, is pleasing to the ear, but does not elicit a vivid emotional response. The grand style, on the other hand, is highly emotional and bent on stirring the strongest feelings in the audience. The three styles are used in conjunction with each other, and they ought to alternate frequently in the course of a speech. The one exception to this rule is to be found in the encomiastic genre: a speech of praise or blame is supposed to be predominantly in the middle style, with no use at all of the grand style.

The technical means for achieving different effects are to be found in the specific forms of the sentences (periods) and their constituent cola. (I have shown this in my article "Three levels of style in Gregory of Nazianzus and Augustine of Hippo"). Of the other stylistic devices, which are present in various degrees in the three styles, none is as decisively linked to the level of style as the shape of the periods.

Gregory of Nazianzus in his oratory makes extensive use of two distinctive types of sentences, the periodic and the so-called kommatic (M. Guignet). My understanding, however, is that these two types correspond to the two levels of style (periodic—plain, kommatic—middle style), and that they alternate according to the laws of the genres. Also, a third type of sentence structure, corresponding to the grand style, can be detected here. All three styles are represented in Gregory's moral and circumstantial

speeches; in his encomiastic speeches, on the other hand, the grand style is absent, while the middle one predominates.

Oratio 43, Funeral Speech for Basil the Great, was chosen for analysis as Gregory's best speech in the genre, and one that greatly influenced the encomiastic literature (Byzantine and Slavic) of the subsequent centuries. Examples of different sentence structures are given to illustrate different levels of emotional involvement. On the whole, this speech strikes a modern reader as rather subdued in its display of emotions. That, however, is not a shortcoming of the speech, or its author, but a well-established law of the genre -- witness Gregory's eleventh-century commentator, Michael Psellos.

Metrodora: The Only Surviving Text by an Ancient Woman Doctor

Holt N. Parker (*University of Cincinnati*)

A unique 12th cent. codex in the Laurentiana (Plut. 75. 3, 4v-26r) titled ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρας· περὶ τῶν γυναικ<ε>ίων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας contains the sole work to survive from antiquity by a woman doctor. Other than a prima facie disbelief in the possibility of a woman's authorship, there is no reason to doubt the ascription. The uniform and accepted style of ancient (as well as modern) medical writing is not conducive to personal revelation. Apart from the usual claims to direct experience (διὰ πείρας), and a single statement (comparable to other texts): "But I decided to make the ointment as Alexander [Philalethes] used it," the text provides no direct information about the author.

Metrodora cites only a few authorities by name: Cleopatra on cosmetics, Andromachus, Damocritus, Alexander (from the context, Philalethes not Trallianus); the latest is Galen. One section is quoted verbatim from Aetius. Unless Metrodora is drawing on Aetius's own source or else this is an addition to the MS, we have a terminus post quem of c. A.D. 550. The language of the text is consistant with a date from the 3rd-7th cent. A.D. This report precedes a new edition now in preparation under funding from the NEH.

The work consist of selections from four books similar in style to Oribasius or Aetius. The first, (63 chapters) is gynecological and falls into seven basic sections: 1) general conditions of the womb, including hysteria, inflammation, suppuration, hardness, cancer, discharges, hemorrhages, prolapses, "coldness," and inflation; 2) diseases caused by excessive moisture; 3) conception and contraception; 4) drug therapy for childbirth; 5) magical recipes for fertility, virginity, aphrodisiacs; 6) diseases of the breasts; 7) cosmetics and recipes for incense.

A new numbering indicates the second section, which contains theriacs. A lacuna precedes a new section of just six extracts from a materia medica. The final section begins with a series of cures in alphabetical order based on the first key word in the lemma. The chapters run from 1-31 and cover only A-E. These show the same strong gynecological bent as the first book but also include, inter alia, cures for coughs, spitting up blood, dysentery, mouth diseases.

Metrodora represents the mainstream of tradition from Hippocrates to Galen to Alexander of Tralles (bypassing Soranus). Tradition imposes its own necessities. Like other women in medicine, science and scholarship until very recently, Metrodora assumes no distinctive voice. Her language and assumed audience is male. Feminine experience yields to male authority.

Originality in the *Poliorcetica* of "Heron" of Byzantium

Denis F. Sullivan (*University of Maryland*)

"Heron" of Byzantium (10th century), has been variously described as a compiler, commentator and plagiarist. His extant works, a *Poliorcetica* and a *Geodesia*, are found in the richly illustrated and as yet unedited archetype, Vat. Gr. 1605, a manuscript attributed to the 11th century, but perhaps of the 10th. In his introduction to the Poliorcetica the author, after listing his classical predecessors, indicates that he will present "μόνα δὲ τὰ 'Απολλοδώρου ἅπερ εἰς τέλος διασαφήσαντες δι' ἐπεργασιῶν καὶ ἐπενθυμημάτων συνεπεράναμεν, πλεῖστα καὶ αὐτοὶ σύμφωνα προσευρόντες καὶ

παραθέμενοι." He thus uses the work of Trajan's architect as a base, seeks to clarify it, and adds other material; in part this added information is drawn from other cited classical sources, but also includes contemporary material. Together with this discussion of content, the Byzantine author notes that the expository method used in his sources is no longer appropriate, because of the unfamiliar technical vocabulary (ἀσυνήθη κοινοῖς τυγχάνει λόγοις τὰ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν ὀνόματα), and because the classical illustrations do not provide the kind of clarity needed for actual construction (τῶν σχημάτων ... ὅτε μὴ πᾶσιν ὄντων εὐκόλων τε καὶ γνωστῶν, μήτε μὴν πρὸς κατασκευὴν καὶ τεκτόνευσιν εὐχερῶν). While such complaints are obviously not without precedent, HB's text and illustrations reflect a significant and deliberate break with his predecessors.

In this presentation I will examine three aspects of the "originality" of Heron of Byzantium's method. First I will compare examples of his text with that of his source to determine what changes he has made in arrangement of ideas, vocabulary and content, with an emphasis on levels of vocabulary. Secondly I will examine his treatment of devices which have no precedent in surviving classical sources (e.g., the wicker tortoise termed λαίσα). Finally I will contrast the major differences between classical illustrations (as contained in the 10th century ms. Paris sup. 607, a likely sibling of that used by Heron for his classical sources) and those in Vat. 1605. HB indicates that he will precisely (ἀκριβῶς) clarify his text with illustrations, εἰδότες ὅτι δύναται καὶ μόνος σχηματισμὸς καλῶς διορισθεὶς τὸ περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν σκοτεινὸν καὶ δύσφραστον κατάδηλον ἀπεργάζεσθαι. The striking differences between the illustrations in Vat. gr. 1605 and Paris sup. 607 of the same siege devices (three dimensional vs. two dimensional rendering, completed device vs. plan, human figures present and absent) would seem to reflect HB's concept of a "carefully rendered drawing."

Thus while the *Poliorcetica* of Heron of Byzantium is without question a heavily derivative product, I will argue that it nevertheless reflects 10th century realities and a new Byzantine view of what constitutes a practical technical manual.

Theodorus Prodromus, Rhodanthe et Dosicles

Miroslav Marcovich (*University of Illinois*)

The romantic novel in verses (4,164 of them), De Rhodanthes et Dosiclis amoribus libri IX (text: Marcovich: Bibliotheca Teubneriana, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1992), by the learned poet Theodorus Prodromus (ca. 1100-1158) comprises at least one surprising and refreshing side anecdote in each one of the nine books.

Example	Probable Source
1. Iudicium Dei (1.377-89)	Heliod. Aethiop. 10.8-9
2. Alii . . . ego Rhodanthen (2.111-39)	Horace, Carm. 1.7; Ioann. Geom. Carm. 54; Christoph. Mityl. Carm. 19.1-4
3. Sparrows flying out of a roast lamb (4.122-32)	Petronius, Satyricon 40.3
4. The fake death of the comedian Satyrion (4.226-42)	Achill. Tatius 3.21.3-5
5. Frogmen destroy the enemy's fleet (6.8-38)	Paus. 10.19.1; Arriani Anab. 2.21.6; Dion. Cass. 42.12.1-2; 74.12.2; Syriani Naumach. 4.4 Dain
6. Cratander's argument against human sacrifices (7.482-515)	
7. Pyre with a human sacrifice extinguished by a sudden rain (8.113-40)	Xenoph. Ephes. 4.2.8-10; Parthenius, Narrat. amat.6; Acta Pauli et Theclae 22
8. The plant Ranunculus (crowfoot) as a miraculous cure for paralysis (8.464-86; 504-09)	Paulus Aegineta 3.18.3 and Dioscorides 2.175 (= Pliny NH 25.172-74)

9. An ambiguous Delphic oracle solved (9.196-229)	Xenoph. Ephes. 1.6.2; Heliod. Aethiop. 2.26 & 35

In conclusion, Prodromus proves to be an engaging poeta doctissimus.

VII. CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION

Presiding: Henry Maguire (*University of Illinois and Dumbarton Oaks*)

Documentary Significance of the Prophets in Chapel XII at Bawit

Ljubica D. Popovich (*Vanderbilt University*)

Among the many painted chapels at Bawit, one holds special significance since it contributes uniquely to a better understanding of the development of Byzantine iconographic programs during the period of Justinian and beyond. Chapel XII was a small, slightly irregular, domed rectangle, its decoration generally attributed to the 6th century. This paper will examine only the standing figures of prophets holding inscribed scrolls painted in the uppermost zone and will address a number of questions: What kind of textual selection is featured here, common or rare? Were these texts a part of the liturgical reading? What message do they convey? Does the significance of these figures transcend the confines of a Coptic monastery?

In his 1904 study, J. Cledat thoroughly described the chapel's decoration and identified the prophets and their texts. Despite his identifications, no analysis has been made of the texts' liturgical usage or of the theological concepts they convey. Since such figures with texts have no surviving precedents or even close contemporaries in monumental painting, Post-Iconoclastic selections of the prophets' texts will have to provide the basis for comparison. From such comparisons, the following observations can be made: the texts chosen from the books of Isaiah, Ezekiel and Habakkuk are well known quotations, frequently employed in Byzantine monumental painting. They also testify to the existence of an established tradition of these quotations as early as the 6th century. The lines on the scrolls of Joel, Obadiah and Micah, although found in the Palaeologan period, belong to the category of seldom-used quotations. The remaining ten textual selections appear to be unique among examples preserved in monumental painting. Even considering the incalculable loss of monuments, the large number of unusual and unique textual selections remains unexpected. This could indicate either a

formative phase in textual choices, or that the texts were selected to fulfill the theological requirements of a site-specific iconographic program. The latter hypothesis seems to be further strengthened by the fact that only half of the sixteen prophetic texts were part of the liturgical reading.

The theological message delivered through these prophetic selections is, in part, familiar and easy to interpret. It is also, in part, difficult to decipher due to its unique components. Briefly, the ideas expressed can be grouped as follows: The First and the Second Coming of Christ, the Passion, and Punishment and Salvation.

J. Cledat previously determined that certain formal elements in Chapel XII indicate ambitious aspirations on the part of the artist(s) in the attempt to render mosaics in painting. Also, the iconographic program of this chapel shares many common features with the apsidal mosaic in St. Catherine on Sinai. Such similarities seem to suggest that there existed a tradition of full figures of prophets holding scrolls with inscribed texts in monumental paintings of the Justinianic age which is reflected in the surviving prophets in Chapel XII. But, above all, the significance of the Chapel XII figures lies in the fact that they are the only surviving monumental representations of prophets with textual messages which predate the Iconoclasm.

For Whom Prays Theodotus in his Chapel in S. Maria Antiqua: Interpretation of the Program

Natalia Teteriatnikov (*Dumbarton Oaks*)

Chapel Quiricus and Julitta was identified as a private chapel commissioned by the high ranking official Theodotus, and decorated under Pope Zachrias (741-752). The chapel's program still poses a question about the purpose of ktetors' panels and their relation to the cycle of SS Quiricus and Julitta which will be the purpose of this paper.

I would like to suggest here that the Theodotus family panel provides the key for understanding the context of the chapel's program. This panel is located on the western part of the south wall. It represents the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child and

flanked by Theodotus (with two candles) with his son (left) and Theodotus' wife (with a veil over her left hand) and their daughter (right). The identity of the children in this panel has not been of interest to art historians. But it is their presence that helps to explain the iconographic, social and political context of this chapel. The boy shown with realistic expression in his face stands near Theodotus and before the Virgin. From historical sources we learn that Theodotus adopted him when he was little after the death of his father Theodore, a wealthy man in Rome, and brought him up in his house. It is likely that the portrait of the boy is Hadrian, a future pope of Rome. The portrait of Theodotus' daughter also bears interesting features. Contrary to the members of her family she is not shown with her hands raised toward the Virgin, but still, frontal, looking at the viewer. Her right hand is a gesture of supplication (found in representations of saints), and her left hand holds a rose - an attribute of martyrdom and Paradise as found in the funeral art of this period as well as interpreted by the literary sources. While all members of the family are shown standing on the ground, she is elevated high above indicating that she is in a different place. All this suggests that she is represented as deceased. Theodotus' family then are shown presenting an offering to Christ for the soul of their daughter.

The choice of the Crucifixion icon on the western wall - a salvation image - and the cycle of martyr-child Quiricus - an intercessor - was appropriate for Theodotus' daughter. The story the mother and the son, who were the Greek saints, had a personal attachment for the family of Greek origin. This paper will demonstrate the connection between the ktetors' panels and the martyr's cycle in the architectural setting of this chapel. In sum, this paper will show that the chapel's program expresses the commemorative program for Theodotus' deceased daughter, and the future of their adopted son, the future pope of Rome. The presence of this chapel in S. Maria Antiqua appears as a manifestation of the strong bond between the ktetor Theodotus and Pope Zacharias, both belong to the Greek communities from which many of the clergy and Popes of the Roman church came during the eighth century.

The Decorative Program of the Church of the Holy Cross at Aghtamar

Lynn Jones (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*)

The exterior sculptural program of the Church of the Holy Cross at Aghtamar has received much scholarly attention. It is generally agreed that the program expresses a central theme which is directly related to the struggle for political legitimacy by Gagik Artzruni, King of Vaspurakan and founder of the church. The poorly preserved frescoes of the interior have received less attention. The purpose of this paper is to suggest that the exterior and interior decorative programs are linked, that they were designed to convey the same message through the repeated association of the same elements: Adam, the King, the Naming of the Animals, and animal-head protomes.

Two sculptural registers begin and end on the east facade. The upper register consists of an inhabited vine scroll that wraps around the building, extending from either side of a central medallion which depicts a king sitting cross-legged, eating grapes and drinking wine. He is waited on by attendants and accompanied by a lion. Below this, a second register contains a central medallion with a bust portrait of Adam. An inscription to the left of this medallion reads "and Adam gave names to all the animals and wild beasts." Animal-head protomes and animals carved in low relief extend around the building from either side of this medallion. This facade thus combines a depiction of Adam, the Naming of the Animals, animal head protomes and an image of a King, which if not intended as a literal portrait of Gagik is surely meant to represent him.

In the interior of the church these same elements are linked in a more complex design which involves the orientation of two fresco cycles in combination with the sculpture of the royal gallery balustrade and the living presence of King Gagik. The lower fresco cycle begins above the royal gallery and ends below it, effectively framing the king, who when present was himself part of the decorative program. The balustrade of the royal gallery, now lost, was originally decorated with carved animal head protomes. It is possible to suggest a reconstruction of the damaged Genesis cycle in the drum of the dome which would pair the extant scene of God Giving Adam Dominion

Over the Animals with that of Adam Naming the Animals, both scenes being placed directly above the royal gallery.

The message conveyed by this repeated association of elements is directly connected to the political ambitions of King Gagik Artzruni. In both the interior and exterior of his palatine church Gagik is likened to Adam in Paradise, the ruler of a peaceful land who was established with divine aid and approval. This message is complemented on the exterior of the church by the messages conveyed by the main figural register. It may be suggested that the famous donor portrait of King Gagik on the west facade of the church combines with the iconography of the vine scroll above it to represent Gagik symbolically as the ruler of a peaceful land, the legitimate King of a Christian Paradise.

The Lost Porch Decoration of Cefalù Cathedral

Mark J. Johnson (*Brigham Young University*)

The west porch of the Cathedral of Cefalù was originally decorated with six figural panels done in mosaic or fresco representing the rulers of Sicily from Roger II to Frederick II. A description of this decoration is preserved in a document dating to 1329. The Bishop Elect of the time, Thomas de Butera, was concerned about the deteriorating condition of the panels and ordered the notary Roger to document their appearance and, especially, to record the privileges granted to the Cathedral depicted in the panels.

The first panel showed Roger II offering with his right hand a model of the church to a seated Christ, and with his left holding an open scroll inscribed with privileges. The second is not described, presumably for lack of a depicted legal document. The third and fourth panels featured the other Norman rulers, William I and his son, William II, each with opened scroll. Constantia, queen and regent of Sicily, was shown in the fifth panel. The series ended with a depiction of a seated Frederick II handing a document to Cefalù bishop at that time, John.

Reconstructions of these panels will be offered here, based first on the descriptions of the notary Roger. In addition, there are comparable decorations surviving in the form of

mosaic panels of Roger II and George of Antioch in the Martorana Church in Palermo as well as the two royal panels of William II in the Cathedral of Monreale that can be used to visualize the appearance of the lost panels of Cefalù.

Finally, this paper will look at the broader question of porch decoration in this period to see how the lost decoration was part of a larger, unrecognized, tradition, such as the lost scenes from St. John Lateran and Old St. Peter's in Rome. It will also consider the function of these "pictorial legal documents" in this period.

Margaret of Navarre and the Holy Women of Monreale

Maggie Duncan-Flowers (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*)

According to the foundation charter issued in 1176, William II of Sicily built and endowed the cathedral and monastery church of Monreale, in the royal parklands outside the city of Palermo. The charter is a straightforward statement of the endowments, privileges and exemptions to be enjoyed by the monastic community that served Monreale. But does this document present a true picture of the personal forces that brought this great monument into being? Was it the brainchild of King William alone, or were other significant patrons involved? Through a consideration of the mosaics in the burial chapel in the north transept of the church, the documentary evidence, and the political circumstances out of which the royal monument emerged, I will suggest the King's mother, Margaret of Navarre, though out of the public limelight since her retirement in 1171, may have been a prime mover in the foundation of Monreale. She had both the motive and the means to promote her son's carefully planned and executed project.

While sometimes off-handedly referred to as the Sicilian St.-Denis, one of the least explored aspects of Monreale is its function as a burial church. When Queen Margaret died in 1183, the King buried his mother and his two brothers, who had died in their youth, in the north transept. Then sometime before his own death in 1189, the King had the body of his father transferred from the crypt of the Cappella Palatina to a newly-

carved porphyry sarcophagus in the south transept. Lello, the author of the first monograph on Monreale published in the late sixteenth century, indicates that it was Queen Margaret who was responsible for the transfer of her husband to Monreale. If he is correct, then the Queen may have been the guiding force in the burial arrangements carried out by her son after her death. All the more suggestive of Margaret's will at work is the personalization of her burial chapel through the choice of holy women on the south wall and piers, some of whom seem to relate to the Queen's troubled life, her piety, and dynastic affiliations. No one has previously connected this group of female saints with the presence of the Queen.

The idea of building a sumptuous monastery church to serve as a royal mausoleum may have been foremost in her mind during the early years of the 1170's for both pious and political reasons. That she was thinking of her spiritual welfare may been seen in the construction and endowment of the Benedictine Abbey of Santa Maria de Maniace in her royal domain in the northern slopes of Mt. Etna sometime during the harrowing years of her regency. When plans were made for the construction of King William's monastic burial church, her readiness to redirect her patronage was expressed in a great donation to Monreale that signaled its legal existence. In a charter dating to 1174, Archbishop Nicholas of Messina, at the Queen's request, frees the Abbey of Santa Maria di Maniace and all its vast possessions from his jurisdiction and transfers all rights over to the abbot of Monreale.

The piety of Margaret and William was only one component of the motives that led to the building of Monreale. The overriding political character of the foundation was recognized and commented upon by contemporaries. The plan was to gradually and methodically shift the ecclesiastical center of the kingdom away from the see of Palermo, controlled by the ambitious Archbishop Walter, to the see of Monreale, where the King as founder, patron and acting papal legate could better control the growing influence of the anti-royalist ecclesiastical party. Bitterly aware of the increasing threat Walter presented to royal authority, Margaret attempted earlier to block his election to the see of Palermo. But in this, as in all her other efforts to govern the realm for her son, she

was outsmarted by Walter and his colleagues. The urgent need to check Walter's quest for power may have prompted Queen Margaret to assume an active role in the creation of a counter monument that not only surpassed the Palermo Cathedral in prestige, beauty, and wealth, but also remained outside the control of its archbishop.

The Virgin of the Chora

Robert Ousterhout (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*)

The decoration of the church now known as the Kariye Camii in Constantinople was a part of the large-scale renovation of the Chora Monastery undertaken by the statesman and scholar, Theodore Metochites, ca. 1316-21. Its extensive programs of mosaic and fresco decoration were probably planned in conjunction with the architectural setting: the interaction of setting and image often adds a new level of meaning to the figural decoration--one which is absent if the images are considered in isolation. In this study I shall concentrate on the mosaic image of the Virgin Blachernitissa positioned above the main entrance to the exonarthex. Flanked by angels in proskynesis and bearing the Christ child in her womb, the orant Virgin is inscribed "M [et] er Th [eo] u he chora tou achoretou:" Mother of God, container (or dwelling place) of the Uncontainable. I shall discuss how the image can be understood in several contexts.

[1] The selection of the Blachernitissa image establishes a relationship with the nearby Blachernae monastery, which contained the sacred palladium of the city, the maphorion of the Virgin. The epithets Episkepsis and Platytera are also applied to this iconic type, and the Chora image draws on their associations of miraculous protection and the Virgin as the vessel of the Incarnation. Moreover, the Blachernitissa was an imperial image, and it may thus be viewed as part of Metochites' program of self-promotion in the decoration of the Chora.

[2] The image relates to the dedication of the monastery to the Virgin. "To thee I have dedicated this noble monastery which is called by thy precious name of Chora," wrote Metochites in a poem addressed to the Virgin. The epithet "he chora tou

achoretou" is similar to numerous word plays found in Byzantine hymns to the Virgin, which emphasize the role of the Virgin as God-bearer.

[3] The iconic image interacts with the narrative programs of the narthexes. The images of Christ and the Virgin in the central bay of the exonarthex relate to the narrative scenes of the Marriage at Cana and of the Multiplication of the Loaves between them: the Godhead is "contained" through the mystery of the incarnation and the union of the two natures of Christ. Salvation is promised through Christ's incarnation and sacrifice. A link with the scenes of the Virgin in the Temple on the same axis in the inner narthex is also noteworthy.

[4] Throughout the programs, the role of the Virgin as container (= chora) is stressed. The exonarthex mosaic of the Virgin "containing" Christ is set against prominently displayed baskets and pithoi in the narrative scenes, containers of bread and wine, the symbols of Christ's sacrifice. Elsewhere in the iconography of the narthexes and of the parekklesion, the Virgin is equated with Old Testament containers: the stamnos, the tabernacle, and the Temple. This parallels the language of Byzantine hymns.

[5] The image of the Virgin also relates to the architectural setting. The Blachernitissa was commonly associated with portals, representing "the gate of the Logos." In the language of Joseph the Hymnographer, she is the "pyle theochoretos." The symbolism joins seemingly irreconcilable open and closed imagery--which perhaps alludes to the Virgin as both an inviolable container and as the vehicle for the incarnation--at once a barrier and an entrance.

[6] Since the seventh century, the protection of the city walls was attributed to the miraculous intervention of the Virgin and her maphorion. One can argue that the placement of the Chora Virgin relates to its setting in a larger, urban context. She is often depicted in a protective role, surrounded by city walls, on Late Byzantine coinage. Moreover, the Land Wall of Constantinople was visible directly out the west door of the church, and thus the view from the Chora would have been framed by the image of the Virgin, emphasizing her role as protector of the city and guardian of the walls.

The mosaic could thus be read on several levels: the Virgin can be understood simultaneously as the container (chora) of the Logos, of the Chora Monastery, and of Constantinople.

The Roots of the Tree of Nemanja

George Stričević (*University of Cincinnati*)

The Tree of Nemanja, the most interesting type of historical painting in Serbian medieval art, seems to be, also, quite unique: a monumental dynastic portrait of this format has not been found in any other land of the Byzantine commonwealth. The only case in which Byzantine and Bulgarian rulers are portrayed as members of such a painting, comes again from medieval Serbian kingdom (Matejča), and even there they are included only to prove (?) that the Nemanjids are related to imperial families of the Comneni and Aseni.

The tree at Matejča as well as the other three such paintings in Serbia (Gračanica, Peć, Dečani), show that its schema is borrowed from the Tree of Jesse, known in Byzantine monumental art in the 13th cent., if not earlier. The parallel between the two genealogies, alluded to in contemporary Serbian literature, is recognized in Dečani, where the Nemanja's Tree and the Tree of Jesse are painted on the opposite sides of the same wall, and in Matejča, where they flank the door in the western wall of the narthex. From the Tree of Jesse which is, of course, also a royal family tree, derives the ascending order of the Nemanjids, and the fact that the branches of the tree grow directly from the body of Nemanja, the founder of the Serbian royal dynasty.

The reasons for the introduction of the royal Tree in Serbia could be easily understood. Its earliest example (Gračanica, 1314-1317), was painted at the time when King Milutin, the ktitor of the church - portrayed at the apex, as he is about to receive royal insignia, brought by two angels - was trying to legitimize his royal title and secure the Serbian throne for his own son, and that explains a somewhat incorrect arrangement of the King's predecessors within the branches of the Tree. It has been suggested that

the placement of the baptismal font in Dečani, - in front of the wall on which the Tree is depicted, manifests a connection between baptismal sacrament and royal dignity. However, in Peć and Matejča such an arrangement is quite uncertain, and in Gračanica hypothetical at best. On the other hand, in three out of four cases, the Tree of Nemanja is painted on the eastern wall of the narthex, on the reverse side of which, in the south-western corner of the naos, the ktitor of the church was - or intended to be - buried, reminding us that Jesse is almost always represented sleeping at the base of the Tree, sometimes shown laying in an open sarcophagus. The association between the tomb of a fore-father and the tree of his family is illustrated in Chilandari on Mount Athos where Nemanja was buried when he died, as monk Symeon, in 1199, as well as in Studenica, where his body was transferred to seven years later. It is true that there is neither in Chilandari nor in Studenica the painting of the Tree of Nemanja, but in both churches, a grapevine, growing from the tomb of the canonized founder of the dynasty (and ktitor of both of these monasteries), passed through the wall, to form a grape-bearing arbor. According to a centuries-old - and still living - tradition, the grapes from the Nemanja's Vine in Chilandari act as an agent of procreation by helping the barren women conceive. Life-giving plant, growing from the roots in St. Symeon's tomb must have inspired the metaphors used in Serbian literature of the late 14th century in which the founder of the dynasty is called "the good and holy roots" while his descendents are "the grapes-bearing branches." Is it simply, one might ask, a coincidence that the genealogical tree of the Nemanjids is in Serbian literature called the Grapevine (Loza), and that post-medieval replicas of the Tree of Nemanja show Serbian medieval rulers within the branches of a vine from which hang bunches of grapes?

VIII. LATE ANTIQUITY

Presiding: Ronald Weber (*University of Texas at El Paso*)

Ammianus Marcellinus's Tragic History of Ursicinus

Jacqueline Long (*The University of Texas at Austin*)

Ammianus consciously aimed at a high style for his national history, the *Res Gestae*, not only in his notoriously complex Latin, but also in what he told and how he told it (cf. 31.16.9). He concentrated on politics and wars, and deliberately eschewed private minutiae (26.1.1). Yet he hardly avoided personal perspectives. His own experiences concretize and enliven much of his account. His moral characterizations of emperors, of officials and of the Roman citizenry at large focus his narrative and reflect his premises. Through the structure of the *Res Gestae* Ammianus built up yet another type of personal commentary: key figures reappearing in different episodes establish patterns of interaction through which national events develop. They illustrate and justify Ammianus's verdicts. His general Ursicinus exemplifies this technique prominently. As E.A. Thompson observed, Ammianus highlighted him beyond his strictly historical significance. Thompson discerned in this prominence only partisanship; indeed he argued that Ammianus's personal loyalty to Ursicinus prejudiced him against Constantius enough to distort his history. Yet although historians must interpret Ammianus's reportage with caution, this perspective loses sight of the importance within history which Ammianus intended Ursicinus to bear. Like Julian he is an exemplary hero. As a subject he supplies a more generally apposite paradigm. Moreover, his undeserved fall demonstrates how the bad rulership of emperors like Constantius destroys its most loyal assets. Ursicinus is tragically victimized. He rouses emotions that propel Ammianus's moral and political verdicts to conviction.

Ursicinus moves through a matrix of traitors. He first appears trapped as the presiding officer over Gallus's treason trials at Antioch (14.9.1). Then Constantius ominously summons him and Gallus in parallel to Milan. Ursicinus is suspected of

treasonous ambition on grounds of his success in the East. Gallus contemplates insurrection when it is too late; eventually he is executed (14.11). From Milan Ursicinus is sent to Gaul to suppress the usurpation of Silvanus (15.5). Later, when he has returned to the Eastern front, Ursicinus is confronted in battle by the deserter Antoninus (18.8.4-6). Silvanus and Antoninus exemplify especially clearly a narrative pattern which Ammianus with more strain applied to Gallus as well: they commit their treasons as a last defense against the intrigues of Constantius's officials. They also implicitly link Ursicinus with themselves in their desperate straits. Ammianus juxtaposes them in order to underline the fact the Ursicinus faces uncompromised all the provocations that move defectors and usurpers. Yet despite his loyalty, he falls to the same malign forces: Constantius's courtiers maliciously misrepresent his complaints against their domination, and he is dismissed (20.2). Ammianus used the figure of Ursicinus to personalize the irony, tragic for the sake of the whole Empire, with which Constantius's suspicious nature blinds him to the true advantage of the whole.

Ammianus Marcellinus and the Status of Ethnography in Late Antiquity
Michael Maas (*Rice University*)

Ethnography predated writing history in the classical world, and conventions of representing "other" peoples developed that lasted through the late antique period. Study of ethnographic material from the late Roman period has tended to be either source criticism or discussion of the accuracy of depictions of foreign peoples based on archaeological and other information. Through consideration of Ammianus Marcellinus this paper sets out an additional range of questions: What "authority" did ethnographic writings have? How and why was ethnography ancillary to other kinds of discussion? Did ethnography generate theories about society? How was it connected to conceptions of government and imperial authority? Approaching Ammianus' ethnographic materials with such questions in mind contributes to our understanding of the late antique social imagination.

The Prefect of Constantinople for 362 AD: Themistius
Thomas Brauch (*Central Michigan University*)

Until the nineteenth century scholars considered Themistius to have been the Emperor Julian's Prefect of Constantinople for 362 AD on the authority of the Souda entry on Themistius. However, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries two passages from Themistius' orations have been interpreted to mean that the orator did not serve as Prefect of the eastern capital under Julian. In the exordium of Oration 17, Themistius says that he had recently accepted the office of Prefect of Constantinople for 384 AD from Theodosius I because that emperor had honored him for his philosophical attainments; he had rejected official positions from earlier emperors because they had honored him only for his oratorical talents. In Oration 34, Chapter 13, Themistius says that he had refused the offer of the prefectship of Constantinople from an unnamed emperor who had greatly honored philosophy; this emperor has been identified as Julian. The Souda report of Themistius' office under Julian is now considered an error and Themistius is thought to have been Prefect of Constantinople only in 384 AD.

The modern consensus on this issue needs revision. Both of the above passages of Themistius' oratory have been misinterpreted. Concerning the exordium of Oration 17, Themistius' rhetorical program does not permit him to admit to any previous office holding other than his last position which he took under Theodosius I. Themistius held an office under Constantius II in 358 AD. Also, an evaluation of the emperor in Oration 34 from whom Themistius refused the office shows that the emperor is not Julian but Valens. Available evidence strongly suggests that Themistius was Julian's Prefect of Constantinople for 362 AD. This evidence comes from a source analysis of the Souda entry on Themistius, Himerius' Oration 7 addressed in 362 AD to Julian and the current but unnamed Prefect of the city, and Medieval Arabic scholarly references to Themistius' holding an office under Julian. A consideration of the political situation in early 362 AD supports the likelihood of Julian's appointment of Themistius to this office.

The conclusions of this study are as follows. Modern prosopography of Themistius should include a prefectship of Constantinople under Julian. It is possible that

Themistius served as Prefect of Constantinople yet another time. In addition, since so much of the modern understanding of the relationship of Themistius and Julian has been based on the questionable view that Themistius refused Julian's offer of the chief magistracy of Constantinople, a complete reevaluation of their interactions should be made. Finally, the participation of Themistius in Julian's regime testifies to the support that Julian was able to achieve early in his sole rule of the Empire.

The Empress, the Widow and the Patriarch or: Who is Responsible for the Exile of John Chrysostom?

Claudia Rapp (*Los Angeles*)

One of the more embarassing episodes in the history of Early Byzantium is the condemnation of John Chrysostom by the Synod of the Oak in 402. The church historians Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, writing several decades after the event, attribute John's downfall to the antagonism of Theophilus of Alexandria over the question of a group of Egyptian monks, the Tall Brothers, who had sought refuge from their Patriarch's machinations with John in Constantinople. Recent studies by Liebeschutz and van Ommeslaeghe emphasize the importance of contemporary pro-Chrysostomic sources for a reconstruction of the historical events. The careful study of all the documents reveals that there was a strong local opposition against John Chrysostom. Through his administration of the church's property and his unbending personality, the Bishop of Constantinople caused offence to both the local nobility and to some groups of monks and clergy in the city.

A different motivation for the condemnation of John Chrysostom is given in the hagiographical accounts of his life, beginning - as it seemed - with his *Vita* by George of Alexandria, composed in the mid-seventh century. Here, it is the wrath of the Empress Eudoxia that cost the Patriarch his see. John had reprimanded her for appropriating the vineyard of a widow. When during an audience she refused to return the property, he compared the Empress to the biblical Queen Jezabel. The outraged Empress had the

Patriarch thown out of the palace, the Patriarch retorted by refusing her entrance into the church.

This paper intends to investigate the origins of the story of Eudoxia and the widow's vineyard. It is alluded to in a passing remark in the *Vita* of Porphyry of Gaza (ob.418). This allusion has been held to be a later interpolation on the basis of the Chrysostomic hagiographical tradition which sets in with the seventh century. There is, however, new evidence that allows us to place this story much earlier. While there can be no doubt that it originates in pro-Chryosostomic circles in the capital, the story of Eudoxia and the widow's vineyard is first elaborated in written form in the *Vita* of Epiphanius of Cyprus which dates from the mid-fifth century. Epiphanius played an active role in the events leading to the condemnation of John Chrysostom. It is not surprising, therefore, that the hagiographer of Epiphanius chose to employ this story which illustrates the sense of charity and justice of John Chrysostom combined with the motive of the wicked empress in order to distract from his saint's involvement in the exile of the Patriarch.

"Et manu divina: The Voice of the Emperor"

Ralph W. Mathisen (*University of South Carolina*)

Very few of the *ipsissima verba* of the early Byzantine emperors survive. We do occasionally find writings of emperors themselves, Julian being a noteworthy example. But most emperors remain shadowy, distant individuals. The vast majority of the documents published in the emperor's name, ranging from letters to laws, actually were written by members of the emperor's staff. The emperor may have glanced over them before they were issued, but that usually was the most that he did. The *quaestor sacri palatii*, for example, was generally responsible for the legislation issued in the name of the emperor. In the *Notitia dignitatum* his duty is given as "leges dictandi." Other clerks of the *sacra scrinia* under the *magister officiorum* handled other kinds of imperial correspondence.

In a few official documents, however, we do have survivals of the actual words of the emperors. They include, in particular, the postscripts appended to some laws and letters. These addenda customarily are identified by such formulae as "et alia manu principis," "et manu imperatoris," and, in particular, "et manu divina." These imperial subscriptions usually contain some final personal thoughts of the emperor himself, ranging from greetings to expressions of encouragement to particular words of advice.

In 458, for example, the emperor Majorian courteously remarked at the end of a law addressed to the senate, "optamus vos felicissimos et florentissimos per multos annos bene valere, sanctissimi ordinis patres conscripti." In a letter of 421 the emperor Honorius was rather more specific, declaring to the *praefectus urbi* Volusianus, "impleatur quod iussimus, quia hoc famae tuae expedit."

This paper will investigate just what we can learn from these personal comments and instructions. What was the emperor's personal role in the issuance of legislation and correspondence? Why did he comment on some of it, but not on the rest? Do any of these personal notes give any insight into any private interests or concerns of the emperors?

In general, the early Byzantine emperors were withdrawn and secluded, and usually spoke through mouthpieces and representatives. These subscriptions, however, give us the rare opportunity for personal contact with the emperors themselves. An analysis of them should help us to gain a bit more insight into the emperors' personalities.

IX. BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

Presiding: Lawrence E. Butler (*George Mason University*)

Justinianic Impost Capitals: Some Questions Regarding Their Origins and Meaning

Slobodan Ćurčić (*Princeton University*)

The appearance of the so-called impost capitals in Byzantine architecture after ca. 500 is generally recognized as a milestone development in the architectural sculpture of Late Antiquity. Seen as the final stage in the process of dissolution of the classical orders, Justinianic impost capitals have also been viewed as the ultimate triumph of Late Antique aesthetics--"a pure manifestation of the sculptor's own aesthetic preference and intent" (E. Kitzinger, Byzantine Art in the Making, p. 79). In this paper I will challenge this and other entrenched views regarding Justinianic impost capitals.

My investigation will begin by re-examining the proposed structural and aesthetic origins of fifth-century impost blocks. I hope to demonstrate that their genesis had little to do with these two considerations. Dominated as they were by the depiction of the cross, the impost blocks, I believe, were an idiosyncratic creation of the age which embraced the cross as the paramount symbol of Christian Triumph. In the context of vast architectural production, the symbolic purification of pagan forms (i.e. classical orders) must have been deemed necessary. This was particularly relevant in the cases where the actual re-use of pagan spoils may have been practiced, contemplated, or simply feared. Thus, the creation of a cross-bearing impost block would have eliminated any further need for concern. In the process, a new architectural order was created which effectively added a new component -- the impost -- to the classical orders with their conventional components (base, shaft, capital).

Soon after 500, the impost block disappears, replaced by the so-called impost capital. This development was the result of the physical fusion of the capital with the impost block whereby the classical sense of 'order' was once again restored. The reasons considered as possibly having led to the merger of the impost and capital forms did not

include the probable structural vulnerability of impost blocks, particularly in earthquakes. Thus, the seemingly conservative return to certain conventions associated with classical orders may have been the factor of structural rationale. The conservative backlash is all the more striking because it was accompanied by the disappearance of the cross as well. Only on rare occasions do Justinianic impost capitals include the cross in their design. The apparent paradox can be explained, I believe, in two ways. First, the impost capital is structurally far more stable a solution than the precarious 'order' featuring impost blocks. Second, and more important, in the age which saw the final demise of paganism the fear of pagan 'pollution' must have been significantly diminished. Likewise, the availability and re-use of pagan building material and parts must have been substantially reduced largely because conversion of temples had become commonplace. Thus, the process of purification must have been directed toward specific sites, and was no longer an integral issue of the production process.

Seen in this light the Justinianic impost capital, despite its undeniable aesthetic qualities, was essentially a conservative solution which restored the classical paradigm of an 'order.' Such a development was undoubtedly a by-product of an age in which Christianity was no longer a threatened 'new' religion, but an established social and political force.

Metropolitan Sources for the Church of Skripou

Amy Cassens (*Princeton University*)

The ninth-century church of the Dormition of the Virgin "of Skripou" has most often been studied within its immediate context of central Greece. Since its initial publication in the late nineteenth century, scholars have consistently recognized its importance as a precisely dated monument marking the end of the Byzantine Dark Ages. Unfortunately, most scholarship on the architecture of the building has relied heavily on typological analysis, examining the church almost exclusively in terms of its plan. Its derivation was initially seen in the Near East, but it has since been viewed as a provincial building, the product of local developments and clumsy workmanship. It is in this context that the building has received the most attention, as a monument reflecting the backward condition of the Byzantine provinces in the years following Iconoclasm.

It is the purpose of this paper to seek more tangible and concrete sources for the church of Skripou within the context of Constantinople. This direction has been taken by scholars in past years, but almost exclusively in terms of the architectural sculpture of the building's templon screen. Inspiration for the architecture of the church must now be considered as well. In terms of its plan, the Skripou church will be investigated in the context of its multi-functional capacity rather than as representative of a particular type. Its incorporation of *parekklesia* into the overall layout and how these are identified and emphasized will prove to be of primary importance. The church also contains a considerable ensemble of decorative cornices, consoles, friezes and sculpted inscriptions which are often ignored when considering the overall form and appearance of the building. These components must be considered together with the building's plan and formal arrangement in an attempt to understand the single, unified scheme which was intended by the original builders.

Evidence for comparison can be found in literary descriptions of the monuments built or renewed by the emperor Basil I. Actual standing monuments will also be considered, most notably the monastery of Constantine Lips. This foundation provides the best comparison for Skripou in terms of its ornamental sculpture and building inscriptions, its general layout, and individual features of its architecture. Through a general comparison of the Skripou church with metropolitan examples, a direct line of communication between the capital and the provinces may be detected in the late ninth century.

The Byzantine Settlement at Panakton, Boiotia

Sharon E. Gerstel (*Institute of Fine Arts*)

Excavation at the settlement of Panakton, a classical fortress on the border of Attica and Boiotia, was begun in 1991 under the auspices of Stanford University and the Greek Archaeological Service. In addition to a Frankish tower, medieval remains include the foundations and standing walls of two small chapels and a larger hall church with narthex. This church, which was excavated in 1991 and 1992, contained large pieces of a Middle Byzantine templon beam decorated with two beautifully carved birds on either side of a fruit-laden basket. Additional finds included sections of a marble altar table, numerous fragments of wall paintings, glass, ceramics, and metal objects.

Present excavation aims to define the chronology and the extent of the medieval inhabitation of the site. This paper will present the medieval remains at Panakton and discuss their relationship to neighboring Byzantine monuments in this section of Boiotia. Panakton is located in close proximity to the well-known Byzantine monastery of Zoodochos Pege in Pyli as well as a number of smaller, unpublished churches in the Skourta Valley.

Some Observations on the Unpublished Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Western Anatolia

Zeynep Mercangöz (*Ege University, Izmir, Turkey*)

One of my projects of the long term research on the findings of archaeological evidence of Byzantine history in Western Anatolia, is "The Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in the Cities of Izmir (old Smyrna) and Manisa (old Magnesia)." This project has not been finished yet, but I would like to introduce some of them to my colleagues: e.g. the capitals, the slabs, the fragments of the templon architraves, some pieces of the knotted columns, etc.. The double knotted collonettes of a templon which were reused to support a Turkish "mahfil" in the Great Mosque in Akhisar (old Thyatira) are

especially very interesting. Compared with the other Byzantine samples, they seem to be more unique with their knot shapes and their carved capitals.

Until now, I have worked on the sculptures of the museums in Izmir and Manisa, and the reused materials of the Turkish buildings in the centers and the environment of these cities. It is still possible to see the Byzantine sculptural fragments in rural areas of the region. It is not easy to estimate the exact original places where these fragments came from. Unfortunately, the same is valid for pieces in the museum, because all these can easily be carried to any place.

Having observed the architectural sculptures, it may be concluded that the main features of the designs are similar to the Constantinopolitan, Anatolian and Greek styles. Some of them seem to be imitations of Constantinopolitan work in the local workshops. And it can be assumed that there has rarely been local forms and designs on the architectural sculpture in the region. However, the exact conclusion is apt to change when this survey is finished thoroughly.

The Provençal Baptistery of Riez: Medieval Afterlife of Early Christian Architecture

Nora Laos (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign* [*Versailles*])

The baptistery of Riez (France) has been traditionally viewed by scholars as the sole survivor of the Early Christian ecclesiastical complex of this Provençal town. The Early Christian cathedral of Riez, located directly east of the baptistery, was destroyed some time in the early Middle Ages; only its foundations remain in situ. In contrast, the baptistery stands to full height, though its exterior was severely altered by a rather injudicious restoration in 1817-1818.

The Riez baptistery has been generally grouped with other such Provençal monuments, believed to belong to the same time span (fifth-sixth centuries A.D.) and to be based on a common building type. Its ground plan consists of an octagon inscribed within a square, measuring 10.80 by 11.10 meters. The diagonal sides of the octagon are opened by semicircular niches, and the central space is articulated by a freestanding

columnar arcade, composed of Roman spolia which include column shafts, bases and beautiful Corinthian capitals. This arcade supports a masonry drum and an eight-sided, ribbed cloister vault whose occulus is directly above an octagonal font sunk into the floor of the building.

The upper part of the building was considerably modified in 1818. However, a seventeenth-century description, several eighteenth and early nineteenth-century drawings and engravings, as well as more recent documents from the archives of the Commission des Monuments Historiques allow for a hypothetical reconstruction before the nineteenth-century alterations. Individual structural and aesthetic details as well as the general architectural nature of this reconstruction lead to the conclusion that the baptistery was probably rebuilt in the Middle Ages: most likely in the eleventh/twelfth centuries. The masonry techniques, vaulting types, as well as the overall proportions and general tower-like appearance of the reconstructed exterior suggest that the extant baptistery is probably a medieval successor to the Early Christian one.

A recent archaeological excavation of the baptistery at Aix-en-Provence and a thorough examination of its masonry have demonstrated the presence of a Romanesque construction built on fifth century foundations. Unfortunately, the interior walls of the baptistery at Riez are presently covered with a coat of whitewash. And moreover, the floor of the building has not been properly excavated. Thus its foundations cannot be precisely dated. Nevertheless, a preliminary architectural analysis of the visible structure combined with knowledge gleaned from older documents lead us to tentatively consider the Riez baptistery as a Romanesque construction as well, probably placed on Early Christian foundations. This information presents an opportunity to question the general notion of the Early Christian "Provençal baptistery type," the presently accepted chronology of these monuments, and their place in the history of Provençal architecture in general.

Mattoni Giulianei

Jon Harstone (*Toronto*)

In the second quarter of the sixth century Julianus Argentarius founded the churches of San Vitale, and San Michele in Africisco in Ravenna and the church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe. All three churches were built with a distinctive brick. Italian scholars refer to these bricks as *mattoni giulianei.* They are rectangular and average 30 cm. by 45 cm. This was not an unusual size for a brick. Bricks very similar to the *mattoni giulianei* were used in bonding courses throughout the Roman Empire. What is unusual is the Julianus' churches were built entirely with this one size of brick.

The few scholars who have commented on the *mattoni giulianei* have suggested that the use of this brick indicates an eastern source or reflects an eastern construction technique. There is no basis for this assumption. A review of contemporary buildings throughout the empire fails to reveal any monument which could have served as an inspiration to Julianus or his architect.

Julianus broke with tradition when he decided not to use the 30 cm. square *pedalis.* The *pedalis* had been the standard brick used since the time of Augustus. In the sixth century the *pedalis* was still being produced in bulk by the government brickyards, and obtaining this type of brick must have been relatively straightforward. However, obtaining enough of the larger *mattoni giulianei* would have required a special production run. Julianus made a deliberated decision to build his churches with a larger size of brick. In discussions with modern brick layers, I have learned that a brick like the *mattoni giulianei* would allow a building to be built more quickly and efficiently than if the *pedalis* was used. There was a real advantage to using the *mattoni giulianei;* the churches would be built more quickly.

There are several factors which lead me to believe the Julianus did not have access to the government brickyards at Pansiana which supplied most of the bricks for Ravenna, and that he was forced to make his own bricks. This gave him the opportunity to have the larger *mattoni giulianei* custom made.

The use of the *mattoni giulianei* never caught on. Other than Julianus' foundations the brick was used to build a small church south of Ravenna, and for repairs to two others. The *mattoni giulianei* provides an interesting commentary on innovation and change in the late empire. A resourceful entrepreneur could obtain innovative construction materials for his foundations, but the inertia of the system made it difficult for the innovation to become widespread. I suspect that when the brickyards were reopened after the Gothic War it was easier and cheaper to use the mass produced *pedalis*, rather than placing a special order for the *mattoni giulianei.*

The Significance of the Domed Bema in the Orthodox Churches of Calabria and Sicily

Charles E. Nicklies (*Wheaton College, Norton MA*)

During the Byzantine Studies Conference of 1977 held in New York City, Slobodan Ćurčić presented an insightful paper regarding the use of domed bemas in Byzantine churches. His discussion focused upon how both iconographic and structural issues influenced the placement of domes either over the bema or the naos, or in some instances, over both areas. It was asserted that such ambivalent attitudes as to the placement of domed units suggest that throughout Byzantine architecture the dome itself never assumed one fixed meaning or preference in terms of its iconographic or architectural significance. Although Professor Ćurčić's arguments were exceptionally astute, I would like to offer some additional comments regarding his proposal that attitudes toward the location of domes in the ecclesiastical architecture of southern Italy and Sicily during the central Middle Ages were related to contemporary concerns in Byzantine architecture. Whereas the use of a dome over the central bay of a nave or naos in the churches of these regions is undoubtedly of Byzantine inspiration, in my opinion, the majority of applications of domed bemas in Calabria and Sicily is best viewed as an independent development that was derived from the Islamic building tradition.

For this paper, I shall narrow my comments to the corpus of churches in Calabria and Sicily that supposedly functioned as parts of Orthodox monasteries, which includes S. Filomena at S. Severina (before ca. 1050?), S. Giovanni *vecchio* at Bivongi, and S. Maria dei Tridetti at Staiti (both late 11th or early 12th c.) in Calabria, and S. Maria at Mili S. Pietro (ca. 1091), S. Pietro e Paolo at Itàla (ca. 1092), S. Alfio at S. Fratello (late 11th-early 12th c.), and SS. Pietro e Paolo d' Agrò (1116-1171/72) in Sicily. All of these churches are organized as either single- or three- aisled basilicas with tripartite sanctuaries that are articulated with domed bemas. Such designs are in contrast to the centralized types, such the cross-in-square or cross-domed church, which were more popular in the mainstream of contemporary Byzantine architecture. The fact that the cross-in-square appears in numerous other churches in southern Italy and Sicily, from at least the 11th to 12th centuries, indicates that current trends in Byzantine church design exerted a good deal of influence upon the ecclesiastic architecture of these regions. However, the connection between Middle Byzantine planning and the Italian basilicas with domed bemas seems quite tenuous. I suggest that the use of the domed bema in the group of churches under discussion may have been inspired by the Muslim architecture of North Africa or Egypt, where it was standard practice for the niched *mihrabs* of mosques to be preceded by a domed bay.

An examination of the specific articulation of the domes in all of the churches within this group confirms their marked alignment with Muslim architecture. The definition of the zone of transitional vaulting by squinches composed of multiple set-backs, the predilection for the smooth, hemispherical shape of the dome on the interior and exterior, as well as the structural character of the domed units, clearly relate the Italian domes to developments in Islamic building practices. Notably, a similar usurpation of Muslim architectural forms into Christian building types has been used to explain the similarity in appearance of the apses in several churches from the Norman period in Sicily to the *mihrabs* of mosques. Considering the impact that Islamic culture exerted upon Sicily and southern Italy, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the *mihrab*/dome arrangement of mosques served as a model for the definition of sanctuaries in Christian

churches. If this theory is correct, then the domed bema should be viewed as having developed autonomously from the domed naos in the Orthodox churches of Calabria and Sicily.

X. TOPICS IN BYZANTINE HISTORY

Presiding: Charles Brand (*Bryn Mawr College*)

Justinian's Legislation as a Source for Understanding the Concrete Workings of Power in Early Byzantium

Patrick T. R. Gray (*York University*)

No better corrective can be found to fanciful notions of imperial "autocracy" and "caesaropapism" than the study of how, in the concrete situation, power actually worked in the age of Justinian. One of the chief vehicles for the exercise of power in any age is, of course, legislation. A study of the legislation in the *Codex Justinianus* and in the *Novellae*, particularly on matters which provoked a series of laws or revisions of laws, reveals a rich history of interaction between concerned parties of all kinds throughout the empire and the imperial offices in Constantinople. Bishops, monks, and notables could, often by means of the ubiquitous petition to the emperor, initiate the process by which legislation was produced, or cause legislation to be changed. When the evidence from the legislation is correlated with other evidence pertaining to concrete situations, a picture emerges of power as--in the concrete, as opposed to theory--dispersed over a "network," rather than as centralized in the person of Justinian.

Shahrbaraz and Heraclius

Walter Emil Kaegi (*The University of Chicago*)

The generally sound ninth-century Muslim historian Ibn 'Adb al-Ḥakam in his Futuḥ Miṣr, or History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain, provides neglected material for evaluating stories in the histories of Nikephoros and "Theophanes" (Synkellos?) concerning the alleged reasons why the Sasanian General Shahrbaraz became disaffected with his sovereign, Khosro II Parviz, and made a separate peace and alliance with Heraclius. Recent attempts to critique the Byzantine and Christian Syrian

historical traditions have overlooked the Muslim historiographical traditions about this key defection. Yet no reasonable judgment is possible until the very early Muslim traditions have also received investigation. Muslim traditions illuminate the pact that Shahrbaraz and Heraclius made at Arabissos in July, 629.

The source for Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam is the Muslim traditionist al-Zuhrī (ca. 670-741/2), who is usually regarded as a trustworthy transmitter.[1] The transmitter for al-Tabarī is the also reliable 'Ikrima (d. 723/4).[2] Both traditionists agree that Chosroes became dissatisfied with Shahrbaraz. Neither one claims that Heraclius intercepted a letter from Chosroes. Instead, both claim that Chosroes became angry. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam states that Chosroes became frustrated with the length of time Shahrbaraz spent in the west and ordered his execution, replacement, and the return of his armies to Chosroes. Chosroes wrote to an unidentified great lord among the Persians, whom he ordered to kill Shahrbaraz. The refusal of that man to follow his instructions led Chosroes to order Shahrbaraz to kill him, but Shahrbaraz personally visited that lord and read him the contents of the letter, whereupon he read to Shahrbaraz the letter Chosroes sent to him ordering him to kill Shahrbaraz. After Shahrbaraz read the contents of these three letters he initiated correspondence with Heraclius and requested a personal summit conference with him. He offered peace terms for the entire length of Heraclius' realm. Heraclius consulted with his own elite, many of whom first suspected a trick on the part of Chosroes. Heraclius agreed to meet Shahrbaraz with each bringing 4000 men of whom 500 were to accompany their leader to the conference. After initial suspicions on both sides, the two leaders met in a brocaded tent, together with an interpreter, and settled their affairs. Heraclius asked Shahrbaraz to kill the interpreter, which he did. Shahrbaraz then raised armies. The Persian evacuation of Byzantine territory followed. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam stresses the craftiness of the Byzantines and their propensity to use stratagems. Neither traditionist specifically mentions Arabissos.

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam provides important neglected testimony in favor of the identity of Shahrbaraz, not Shahin, as the Sasanian conqueror of Egypt, even though he offers no details about the conquest itself or the actions of the conquerors in Egypt. Because the

Futuḥ Miṣr is not translated, it has been ignored by Byzantinists. As the most trustworthy Muslim narrative of seventh-century Egyptian history, it indicates, of course, what intelligent Muslims thought had happened to Egypt in the seventh century.

Muslim accounts do not make Heraclius the key actor; instead, they stress the last wicked days of the old Sasanian regime and its allegedly evil or warped leader, Chosroes II. This may be a topos. The Byzantine versions (e.g. Theophanes and Nikephoros) stress the role of Heraclius as an intervener, perhaps as part of a Byzantine historical tradition to emphasize the wisdom of Heraclius; this tendency is found in other characterizations of Heraclius that derive from Byzantine originals. Muslim sources say nothing about restitution of Christian relics, including alleged fragments of the Cross, as part of a pact with Shahrbaraz. They are somewhat vague about certain details of the negotiations.

In any case, it appears that strife did develop between Chosroes and Shahrbaraz, and as a result Shahrbaraz, probably out of fear as much as any rage, initiated correspondence with Heraclius. The fact is that Chosroes had recently treacherously slain the Lakhmid Arab king; it is entirely conceivable that he might have also ordered such a fate for Shahrbaraz. Both Byzantine and Muslim traditions are hostile to the memory of Chosroes II. The intrigues, treachery, and hatreds are not inconsistent with that period. It is wrong to reject the accounts of Heraclius and Shahrbaraz as devoid of historical foundation.

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[1] Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futuḥ Miṣr (ed. Charles Torrey [New Haven: Yale, 1922]) 35-37. See J. Horovitz, "al-Zuhrī," Encyclopedia of Islam (1st ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1927) 4: 1239-41.

[2] Abū Ja 'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh al-rusūl wa l'mulūk (ed. M.J. De Goeje) i 1007-9. W.E. Kaegi, Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

"Computer Technology in the Study of Byzantine Texts: A Preliminary Report."
Stamatina Fatalas-Papadopoulos (*The Catholic University of America*)

Computer technology has revolutionized the tools available to historians for the analysis and study of Byzantine texts. The continuous improvement of computers, software packages, optical scanners and networks of communication can greatly enhance the ability of the historian to work with large volumes of information, while providing a different approach to the material.

This paper will present some of the options available in various types of computers (IBM, Macintosh), software packages for word processing, scanning, and analyzing Greek texts. Scanners can prove extremely efficient in the input of large volumes of text in word processing files for further study by the researcher. For the successful accomplishment of such a task, historians should familiarize themselves with the equipment, and work in conjunction with computer specialists who can minimize the time devoted to unproductive quests.

Examples from the chronicle of Skylitzes will illustrate some of the possibilities of computer assisted study. After the scanning of the document in word processing files, several correlation tests are performed in order to determine if there are any relationships between surnames and place of origin, family names and title holding patterns, political activities of individuals and kinship relations, marriage alliances or patronage relationships. Such tests will reveal additional information on the composition and activities of Byzantine aristocracy between the ninth and eleventh centuries.

Scandinavians in Byzantium
Emily Albu Hanawalt (*Boston University*)

The Vikings who settled in Normandy and Kievan Rus' readily assimilated into the societies they dominated. The grandchildren of the first Scandinavian settlers around Rouen, for instance, had largely surrendered their ancestral language and religion; successive generations eagerly renounced their embarrassing Viking past. At Novgorod and Kiev the Slavs absorbed Vikings more slowly but just as thoroughly. But in Byzantium, where they served the empire and notably the emperor in his Varangian guard, Scandinavians seem to have maintained a distinct identity for centuries. Though that identity is confused by the Byzantines' habit of putting Vikings and their cultural kin into the same category -- often failing to differentiate Northmen from Normans, Vikings from Anglo-Saxons, or Scandinavians from Slavs of Kievan Rus' -- nonetheless, the Scandinavians and their diaspora heirs clearly remained "other" to the Byzantines.

This paper surveys the distinctive characteristics that identified and defined Scandinavians in Byzantium -- their language, appearance, dress, weaponry, temperament, religion, and customs -- and suggests to what extent and for what reasons these qualities survived in Byzantium while Scandinavians assimilated elsewhere.

"Medieval Catalan Accounts of Eastern Christendom: Cultural Poetics and Politics of Crusades"
Roberto J. González-Casanovas (*Catholic University of America*)

This paper continues a study begun last year on Western literary interpretations of Byzantine history during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. It employs the methods of cultural historicism (as practiced by Greenblatt, Montrose, and Said), as well as of the rhetorical and mythopoetic analysis of historical literature as propaganda (as established by Hampton, Stierle, and White), to focus on two Catalan works: Ramon Muntaner's *Crònica* (1325-28) and Joannot Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc* (1460-90). These works of

history and fiction, respectively, deal with the crusader knights and mercenary soldiers from the Crowns of Aragón and Sicily who fought for Byzantium against the Turks.

Last year the first stage of the study considered the propagandistic role of the *almogavars* as Western heroes in Byzantium in the Catalan chronicle and novel. The present stage of the study examines the problematic ways in which the very concept of Christendom is defined according to three levels of culture: first, the ideological complex of cultural identity, similarity/opposition, and superiority/inferiority is considered in the contexts of Mediterranean Latin and Byzantine Greek traditions; second, the literary strategies of Catalan historiography and mythography about the Byzantine wars and crusades are interpreted according to the cultural poetics of such issues as ethnicity, religious authority, geopolitics of warfare, and the sociology of élites; third, the evolving interpretations of Byzantine history (late-medieval to early-Renaissance) by Western authors are studied with respect to the cultural politics of the texts.

What emerges from such a critical reading of these works is the rationalization of the *Realpolitik* of Western dominance of territories within the Greek empire, such as the Catalan duchy of Athens, as well as the exemplification of chivalric virtue by an international élite in the defense of the Christian East (Byzantine and Latin) from the Turks, as occurs in Rhodes. Once again, as in the first stage of this study, the central questions about the two texts concern the literary interpretation of what is perceived to be a heroic age of crusade, mission, and expansion. In Muntaner's and Martorell's accounts, Western chivalry's self-image is framed, reflected, challenged, and reformed in the Byzantine mirror of Christendom. For the Catalan chronicler and romancer, the history of the crusades in the Greek East should be read by the West as a mythical story and as an exemplary lesson on Christianity's own survival and transformation.

Some Documentary Light on Late Byzantine Albania

Barry Baldwin (*University of Calgary, Canada*)

The topic of the proposed paper is self-evident from its title. It would be based on a collection of sources entitled *Dokumente Për Historinë E Shqipërisë Të Shek.* XV (Documents for 15th Century Albanian History), published as the first volume in a projected series in 1987, in Tirana, by Injac Zamputi and Luan Malltezi under the general editorship of Albania's most distinguished mediaeval historian, Aleks Buda.

The first volume contains 577 documents, commingling both previously published and unpublished items. They are drawn in the main from the archives of Venice and Dubrovnik (Ragusa), an agreeable collocation of La Serenissima and Byron's Pearl of the Adriatic. The period covered is 1400-1405. Because of the recent upheavals in Albania and its present problems (an acute shortage of paper being sadly pertinent), it is quite unclear when or even if the projected further volumes will appear.

Depending upon the amount of time allotted, the proposed paper would glance in both general and particular ways at these documents. Some distinctions between the nature of the Venetian and Ragusan materials can be seen. Individual items throw various shafts of light on to the social and cultural history of the times, for instance:

One document has to do with the use of Albanian vernacular, of special interest because it precedes the earliest extant examples of written Albanian and enhances the very tentative treatment of these issues in (e.g.) the official *Fjalori Enciklopedik Shqiptar* (Tirana, 1985). Another has to do with the format, content, and price of Bibles at the time, thus adding a widow's mite to our knowledge of the history of mediaeval books and booktrade. Some items may be adduced to supplement such modern accounts as the recent *ODB* notices of matters as various as the status of tailors, silver icons, chalices, and the state of public health in Ragusa a generation or so after the Black Death. Larger matters include (e.g.) occasional references to Constantinople and the Byzantine emperor, the status of women, the treatment of Jews, and the notorious Albanian blood feud—this last recently made well or at least better known in the West thanks to English

translation of the novel *Prill i Thyer*—under the title *Broken April*—by the self-exiled contemporary novelist Ismail Kadare.

By way of coda, some correlation would be essayed between the picture of late Byzantine Albania and Albanians presented by these documents and that in Byzantine literature of the period, for notable instance the highly unflattering vignette offered by the anonymous satire *Mazaris*.

The First Siege of Rhodes (1480) and the Ottoman Command

Marios Philippides (*University of Massachusetts, Amherst*)

This paper will concentrate on the first Ottoman attempt (1480) to conquer the island of Rhodes (ruled by the Knights of Saint John), which was the last campaign of Mehmed II Fatih (1451-1481), the conqueror of Constantinople. Our main source for this siege is an eyewitness account, composed in elegant Latin, by Guillaume Caoursin, the vice Chancellor of Piere d'Aubusson, the grand master of the Order of the Hospitallers. Caoursin's text was published in 1481; a number of manuscripts also exist and are illustrated with exquisite miniatures of the siege.

Prosopographical items will provide the focus of the paper. Caoursin preserved for us the names of several important participants in the expedition. I propose to concentrate on a number of individuals, who were originally Christian but had converted to Islam and fought on the Ottoman side. These individuals are treated with contempt by Caoursin, as they are, from his point of view, "renegades" and traitors to the Christian cause. Caoursin goes out of his way to provide a slanderous account of such people (cf., e.g.,: *Euboicus quidam Demetrius Sophiana uir quidem superstitiosus & maleficus; qui post euboycam direptionem ad Turcum defecit*, and *uir nepharius & proditi ingenii Antonius Meligalo Rhodius*). In addition, Caoursin mentions other western "renegades," such as Meister Georg from Germany who became the expert artilleryman of the Ottoman army. Caoursin's "star" in the Ottoman command was Mesih Paşa, a member of the Greek imperial Palaeologan family who had converted to Islam and then

rose in the seraglio to become Mehmed II's general: *quendam bassam [= paşa] Graeculum ex nobil Poliologorum [= Palaeologorum] familia natum*.

Through several Greek and Ottoman sources (which have been neglected by modern scholars) it will be shown that these individuals were valued members of the Ottoman Porte and not just "renegades" of lowly status. Moreover, a secure identification of the Palaeologus Pasha in charge of the Ottoman army will be provided. Based on Venetian, contemporary documents, I will show that he was indeed related to the Palaeologi and to the Notaras family and that he probably converted to Islam immediately after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The whole western concept of the Christian "renegade" will then be re-evaluated.

XI. CORINTHIA

Presiding: Joseph Alchermes (*University of Minnesota and Dumbarton Oaks*)

Pagans and Christians in Early Byzantine Corinth: The Archaeology of Sacred Space

Richard M. Rothaus (*The Ohio State University*)

Pagan cult remained a vital issue for Christians in fifth and sixth century Corinth. Although the literary sources are silent on this subject, and the material record shows nothing directly, an analysis of the spatial relationship between pagan sites and Christian burials reveals this phenomenon. Clearly Christians were aware of active or only recently inactive pagan sites. They deliberately congregated burials around the borders of these sites in an attempt both to emphasize Christianity as an alternative to paganism and to disturb pagan cult practices. Corpses, and anything or anyone that had come into contact with a corpse were, of course, forbidden in most pagan sanctuaries. By placing burials in close proximity to pagan sanctuaries the Christians threatened the sanctuaries and those entering them with pollution.

Pagan cult continued at the site of the temple of Asklepios at Corinth at least into the beginning of the fifth century. Although the temple collapsed in the late fourth century and its blocks were carted away for re-use by the middle of the fifth century, an altar was installed in front of the temple remains by the early fifth century. Christian burials appeared in this region in the fifth century and continued through the sixth. During the sixth century a number of graves were cut into the bedrock several meters away from the by then bare and exposed foundations of the temple. A similar situation occurred at Temple E, where several Early Christian graves bordered but did not intrude upon the foundations of the temple.

The Christians must have been reacting to contemporary activity. Their response was to avoid intruding upon the active or only recently defunct pagan sites, but to place burials close by to "advertise" Christianity and to contaminate pagan sacred ground. The spatial relationship of the graves and the pagan cult sites reveals the concern of

Christians with persistent or recently demised pagan cult, and the contentious but not overtly hostile interaction between pagans and Christians in sixth century Corinth. By forcing the remaining pagans to walk through a Christian cemetery before they could worship at the temples, the Christians not only threatened to vitiate by pollution any pagan ceremony but also emphasized the powerful position of Christianity. Nevertheless, at the Asklepieion and Temple E at least, the Christians never took the final step of defiling the sanctuary itself, and this may reflect not only fear on the part of the Christians but also a relatively secure position for the pagans of Early Byzantine Corinth.

A Byzantine Dark-Age Settlement at Isthmia in the Korinthia

Timothy E. Gregory (*Ohio State University*)

Excavation in upper levels of the Roman Bath at the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia has uncovered the remains of a settlement of the Byzantine Dark Ages. This evidence includes the foundations of several structures, probably houses, built atop the collapsed ruins of the Bath, and large quantities of so-called Slavic pottery as well as other types of associated ceramics. The pottery immediately suggest the possibility that the inhabitants of the settlement were Slavs who had settled in the Peloponnesos. Further, the proximity of the settlement to the Hexamilion, the great Byzantine barrier wall that shut off the Isthmus of Korinth, raises important issues of defense. The paper will present a preliminary analysis of the material from this settlement, especially the pottery, and it will discuss the question of the date of the settlement and the identity of its inhabitants. As is well known, the archaeological evidence for the Byzantine Dark Ages is especially rare and the question of ethnic movements in the southern Balkans is an especially heated one. The material from this settlement promises to make significant contributions to the discussion of these issues.

Pottery from Medieval Corinth

Anna Kartsonis (*University of Washington*)

The Excavations of Medieval Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies has yielded over the years a wealth of materials and information that is still awaiting its rightful place in the mainstream of Byzantine scholarly literature.

This is particularly true of the Medieval pottery from the site. In spite of the seminal study by Charles H. Morgan, II, Corinth. Vol XI. The Byzantine Pottery (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), many questions remain open as regards the typological classification, attribution, and the relative chronology of the surviving material. There are also questions regarding the relation of Corinthian ware to pottery from the broader region of Northern Peloponnesus and Athens, as well as to more distant centers of production. Similarly, the historical information that may be gleaned as regards the commercial, cultural and artistic significance of the Corinthian material has hardly been touched in spite of growing interest in the study of everyday material culture of Byzantium.

Happily, the Director of the Corinth Excavations, Charles K. Williams, II, has added a great impetus to its study during the Medieval period. His on-going work has significantly expanded our knowledge of Corinth during the Crusades. Moreover, it has made possible important studies of recent finds of Frankish pottery by G.D.R. Sanders, and of Frankish coins by Orestes H. Zervos.

In this paper I will present a selection of Medieval Corinthian pottery excavated since Morgan's monograph, with the intention of drawing attention to some of the broader implications of their iconographic and stylistic analysis for the study of later Byzantine art. I wish to thank Charles K. Williams, II, for giving me permission to study this material, and, along with Nancy Bookidis, for generously making accessible to me the resources of the Corinth Excavations.

Re: Protomaiolica in 12th Century Corinth

Mary Lee Coulson (*Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London*)

The importance of the excavations at Corinth for the study of pottery in general is well known; for Byzantine and later wares, Charles Morgan's 1942 publication, The Byzantine Potter, volume XI in the Corinth series, is still a primary source. Morgan's book was supplemented in 1967 by Theodora Stillwell Mackay's article entitled "More Byzantine and Frankish Pottery from Corinth," Hesperia 36, which has also become a standard reference work. Recently, on-going excavations with statistical analysis of excavated pottery have been testing the published chronology of imports in the Frankish period at Corinth. Of special interest in this respect is the question of the date at which Protomaiolica makes its first appearance at the site.

In her publication, Mackay noted an error in a coin identification in one of Morgan's catalogue entries that referred to a Sgraffito plate from a pottery log also containing fragments of Protomaiolica. The re-identification of the coin as Manuel I required Mackay to conclude that Protomaiolica may have been introduced into Greece before the 13th century. This caveat has now permeated the literature on Protomaiolica and bears on the arguments for the terminus post quem for the pottery's inclusion in the walls of churches in neighboring areas, such as that of Merbaka. However, a re-examination of Morgan's material in light of Michael Hendy's 1969 publication, Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261, now indicates that the evidence upon which a 12th century date had been suggested must be reassessed; furthermore, results of the excavation of Frankish levels in Corinth in 1990-1992 confirm that Protomaiolica was not imported there in any quantity before the mid-13th century.

Rural Settlement in Medieval Nemea: Results of a Survey

Effie F. Athanassopoulou (*University of Pennsylvania*)

In the past, historians viewed the 11th century A.D. as a turning point marking the beginning of economic stagnation and decline affecting all regions of the Byzantine empire. However, a number of economic historians have argued against such an interpretation and have presented the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. as a time of prosperity. This latter interpretation has gained considerable ground in recent years. Additional support for a trend of economic and demographic expansion during this period comes from the results of archaeological surveys. Extensive surveys focusing on the Medieval period in Greece have been rapidly multiplying. In addition, a number of recent intensive surveys, sharing similar methodology and overall scope, have paid greater attention to the Byzantine and post-Byzantine material. Intensive surveys provide detailed information about settlement, by recording the density and distribution of sites and off-site material over a restricted area. Such surveys have the potential to improve our knowledge of Medieval rural settlement and land use, a rather neglected topic, due to the lack of documentary evidence about the situation in the countryside and agricultural development in general. Survey data can also be used to trace and explain interregional variability in settlement.

The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (NVAP) is an intensive survey whose primary goal has been to document and explain changes in patterns of settlement and land use at all times in the past within a small region of approximately 80 sq. km. in southern Greece, centered on the Nemea Valley. In this paper I present a brief analysis of the pattern of settlement in the Nemea Valley during the Medieval period, especially from the 11th to the 14th centuries A.D., a period which is abundantly represented throughout the surveyed area on the basis of the ceramic evidence. In the Nemea area there are a few large residential sites with archaeological material of this period. What is striking, however, is the increase in the number of small sites, a pattern which must reflect the intense level of agriculture activity in the countryside at this time.

The current proliferation of regional surveys in Greece has also awakened interest in the subject of Medieval pottery. I discuss gaps and related problems in our current knowledge of Medieval pottery, which limit our ability to refine regional chronology, and I suggest possible ways to remedy this situation.

XII. HAGIOGRAPHY AND THEOLOGY

Presiding: George Dennis (*The Catholic University of America*)

The Syriac Lives of the Monastic Founders of Scetis

Monica J. Blanchard (*The Catholic University of America*)

On of the most famous sites of ancient Christianity is Scetis, center of early monastic activity in Egypt. This place, identified with the Wadi Natrun Egypt, was the proving ground for the spiritual exploits of the fathers and mothers of the Apophthegmata Patrum et Matrum, of Palladius' Historia Lausiaca, and of the Conlationes of John Cassian. In the course of the fourth century four great monasteries were founded there: the Monastery of St. Macarius the Egyptian, the Monastery of John the Little, the Monastery of the holy Abba Bishoi, and the Monastery of al-Baramūs.

Among extant Syriac hagiographical documents are translations of individual Lives of the founders of these four great monasteries--Lives originally written in Coptic, and later translated into Arabic. They are the Life of Macarius of Egypt attributed to Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis; the Life of John the Little by Zacharias, Bishop of Sakka; the Lives of Maximus and Dometius, the Romaioi in whose honor the Monastery of al-Baramūs was founded, written by a certain Pshoi of Constantinople; and the Life of Abba Bishoi composed by John the Little. These Lives, which are in fact panegyrics honoring the saints, appear together in a small group of Syriac manuscripts dating mainly from the tenth to thirteenth centuries. Along with them are Lives of Egyptian desert fathers and monks, including the Life of Shenoute, whose fame was limited to Coptic Egypt. These Lives testify to ongoing translation activity from Arabic into Syriac of Coptic originals at least as early as 936 in the Wadi Natrun. A number of the Syriac manuscripts have some connection with the Monastery of the Syrians in the Wadi Natrun.

The Syriac translations introduce some new elements and themes into the founders' Lives. My communication will focus on this Syriac perspective. These Syriac Lives offer valuable insights into how later Syriac translators and their audience viewed and interpreted that "golden age" of Christian asceticism, eremitism and early monasticism in the Egyptian desert.

Constantine Acropolites' Oration on a ... Barbarian Saint

Daniel J. Sahas (*University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada*)

A peculiar story in the form of an Oration, delivered perhaps in the context of a supplicatory celebration ("τά δέ τῆς ἱκετηρίας ἀρχήν λαμβανέτω") of an even more enigmatic saint, has been preserved in a Jerusalem Codex (Taphou 40, ff. 88-104a; ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, I, (405-20) composed by Constantine Acropolites (d. *ca.* 1324), *logothetes tou genikou* and *megas logothetes*, son of the unionist civil official George Acropolites (1217-1282).

The hero can, albeit painfully, be distinguished among three very similar but conflicting personages appearing in existing hagiologia and synaxares under the name "St. Barbaros," all of them celebrated in the month of May: the myrovlete saint of Acropolites, an Egyptian saint celebrated also as myrovlete in Ochrid (Kallistos I, in Miklosich-Müller, I, No. 1086) narrated in a Bulgarian *vita*, and one from Pentapolis (which one?) with clear references to the fifteenth century. The St. Barbaros eulogised in an eighteenth-century acolouthia (Venice and Kerkyra, ed. by Papakyriakos) can be any of these saints. A fourth century martyr Barbaros seems to be a distinct and clearer case. The paper will argue that, in spite of the many and confusing similarities, "St. Barbaros" of Acropolites can not be outrightly treated as a fictitious saint (Delehaye, AB, 1910), and that the evidence from the Oration itself, the author's own earlier personal testimony (*Epistula* 52), as well as recent archaeological evidence dated in the twelfth century (Bokotopoulos, 1967), point to a well established cult of such a saint in Akarnania.

In fact the Oration of the erudite "Neos Metaphrastes" seems to be based on an earlier (written?) source ("ὡς ἡ περί αὐτοῦ φησιν ιστορία") unknown to us. It confirms independently identifiable toponymia and historical events (Zakythenos; Soustal) during the reign of Michael II Traulos (820-829), and it provides us with interesting insights into contemporary Byzantine-Muslim relations. The hero was a deserter of an Arab army which had overtaken Nikopolis but was defeated in Ambrakia and Dragamestos of Epirus. He remained hiding, terrorising the local population. He converted to Christianity and was baptized after the experience of a eucharistic vision in a (monastery?) chapel of St. George in Nysa. Treating himself like an animal as a way of penance, he tied himself in chains and lived an austere ascetic life in the forests of Nysa. He was killed accidentally by hunters from Nikopolis who mistook him for a beast. The body slipped out and hid away from the hands of his Nikopolitan killers who wanted to honour him in Nikopolis. When myrh started springing out of his tomb, the saint entered the local martyrologion as ... "St. Barbaros [more correctly, St. barbarian], the myrovlete," his real name remaining for ever unknown!

In addition to being an interesting document on its own merit, and for its value as a source in multiple areas of scholarship, Acropolites' Oration becomes an even more intriguing piece of comparative hagiological literature when seen in conjunction with a thematically similar hagiological-eucharistic oration, of an equally forceful iconophilic sentiment, attributed to Gregory Decapolites (d. 842), some five hundred years earlier, on yet another Muslim convert -- almost contemporary to St. Barbaros!

"John of Skythopolis's Defense of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite Against the Charge of Apollinarianism: A Chapter in the History of the Origenist Christology?"

David B. Evans (*St. John's University, Jamaica NY*)

In the early Byzantine sixth century, there appeared a corpus of theological writings in Greek under the name of a convert of the apostle Paul (Acts 17), Dionysios the Areopagite: the corpus dionysiacum (CD). In 1895, Koch and Stiglmayr independently

established Dionysios's links to Proklos and the Late Athenian school of Neoplatonism. His links to his ecclesiastical community, however, have hitherto remained a mystery.

Elsewhere I have offered a speculation intended to resolve this problem: Dionysios represents a sect of the heretical Origenist party called the protoktistoi, for whom the identity of Jesus lay in a nous who enjoyed eternal primacy over the hierarchies of noes not only for a time--as their Origenist adversaries, the isochristoi, taught--but for all eternity. This paper advances another speculation in support of the former.

First an introduction. Attached to the CD in the manuscript tradition is a collection of scholia by different persons at different times: e. g. John of Skythopolis and Maximos the Confessor. Recently John Lamoreaux and Paul Rorem (depending on studies by Beate-Regina Suchla) have identified the scholia by John of Skythopolis, and will soon publish an article on the scholia which concern us here.

These texts? In this scholia John refutes several charges intended to discredit the CD: among them, that Dionysios was a disciple of the heretic Apollinaris of Laodicea (D. C. 390), who had taught that the soul of Jesus was not a human soul, but the Work of God himself. John in turn calls Apollinaris a chiliast. Neither charge seems to have a basis in fact; both seem polemical fabrications. Who could have constructed them? My speculation: both charges reflect the polemic of the Origenist isochristoi against their Origenist adversaries, the protoktistoi--among whom the isochristoi seem to number Dionysios.

What element of Dionysios's teaching allows the isochristoi to liken it to the heresy of Apollinaris? Dionysios says that Jesus was an incarnate nous--the doctrine common to all Origenists, so called. For Dionysios, however, the nous incarnate as Jesus is not the nous which lies at the base of each human soul, but rather the thearchotatos nous; that is, "the nous most proximate to the thearchy." Jesus therefore is a nous--or, in ordinary language, has a soul--other than human in that it is greater than human--and this teaching reminds the isochristoi of the heresy of Apollinaris. --John's response that Apollinaris is a chiliast reflects another element of isochristos polemic: Apollinaris's rejection of the doctrine of Evagrios of Pontos that, in the eschaton, the physical world

will vanish and all incarnate noes will revert to their pristine spiritual purity. Yes, John replies in effect: Apollinaris was a chiliast; but Dionysios is not, and so cannot be a disciple of Apollinaris.

If this interpretation is correct, the charges against which John of Skythopolis defends the CD seem to arise among Origenist isochristoi who are treating Dionysios as a member of the Origenist protoktistoi--in accord with my earlier speculation.

XIII. THE LATE ANTIQUE AND BYZANTINE CITY

Presiding: George Majeska (*University of Maryland*)

A Late Roman Domus on the NE Slope of the Palatine Hill

Eric Hostetter (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*), Archer St. Clair (*Rutgers University*), Maryline Parca (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*), Theodore Peña (*State University of New York at Albany*), Thomas N. Howe (*Southwestern University*), and J. Rasmus Brandt (*Norwegian Institute, Rome*)

Between 1989 and 1991, the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma and the American Academy in Rome investigated a late Roman domus on the NE slope of the Palatine Hill. Beneath the post-Severan domus lie structures dating from the mid-Republican period onward, including constructions of the second century A.D. The structures of the domus include a formal reception hall, a suite of freely designed apsidal chambers, a probable courtyard, and a series of other associated constructions, possibly including a circular ornamental fountain. At the end of the third century A.D., the S apsidal structures of the domus were deliberately put out of use by infilling dumps. The reception hall and its substructures continue in use, in a variety of forms, into the early medieval period.

Among the problems posed by the investigation of the domus are:

The recovery of a second phase of frescoes in a blocked room, which were executed in an unusual mud-mortar and plaster technique and which imitate marble incrustation of the type popular from the Tetrarchy through the 4th century. These probably reflect the colors and patterns of opus sectile in nearby monumental models, such as the Basilica of Maxentius. Across the upper band of the S wall of this late painting is a fragmentary and problematic Latin inscription written in Greek letters, which may hint at possible late functions of this room.

Over 900 bone and ivory objects, the largest collection documented to date for the city of Rome, were recovered in the dump layers sealing the S part of the domus. A wide range of objects is represented, including utensils, furniture mounts and inlays,

gaming pieces, jewelry, and articulated dolls. In addition to highly finished pieces, there are partially finished and rough cut objects, as well as blanks and carving debris which provide valuable insights into working of bone and ivory in the city of Rome.

Pottery recovered from beneath and to the S of the apsidal hall dates from the late 3rd to the early 6th century A.D. To date, over six tons of material has been classified and entered into a database. Its analysis should provide valuable insight into the stability and change in the economy of the city from the time of the Tetrarchy to that of the Gothic Wars.

Among the many varieties of ceramics represented is a substantial amount of green glazed pottery of the 4th and 5th centuries. It bears a certain resemblance to "Forum Ware," a distinctive glazed ware manufactured at or near Rome beginning in the mid-8th century. Finds of 4th and 5th century green-glazed pottery elsewhere in Rome have been adduced as evidence for continuity in the manufacture of glazed pottery in the Rome area from classical and medieval times. Compositional analysis of the Palatine material, however, indicates that it was in all likelihood produced outside west-central Italy, perhaps in NE Italy, and probably bears no direct connection with "Forum Ware."

The Dissolution of Urban Public Space in Late Antiquity: The Evidence of the Imperial Legislation

Helen Sarandi (*University of Guelph*)

The disintegration of urban public space in Late Antiquity is a very complex phenomenon. It is directly related to administrative and cultural changes. The decline of city administration and the gradual abandonment of civic services affected the function and the architectural form of many public buildings. The spread of Christianity created the need for new buildings to serve the new religion, while at the same time some pagan buildings were destroyed by Christians or re-assigned for Christian use. The imperial legislation and other sources testify also to a removal of material, such as statues, columns, slabs of marble and other ornaments from public buildings. This

phenomenon has been studied until now only from the point of view of imperial initiative: Constantine set an example by decorating his new capital with statues from provincial cities.

A series of imperial decrees on public buildings, however, suggests that provincial governors were also removing marble embellishments of public buildings with the pretext of using them for constructing new buildings in major cities. Other laws concerning the violation of sepulchres indicate that private individuals were often removing ornaments from tombs to use them for building purposes or with the intention of selling them, or even for decorating banqueting halls or porticoes.

The aim of this paper is to discern the circumstances of this phenomenon which has escaped the attention of scholars. It is a generally held view that there was a shortage of materials and qualified artists in the 4th c. A.D., in consequence of the economic crisis of the 3rd c. It seems that the breaking-up of public buildings can be explained differently. Although Christians were responsible for the destruction of many pagan monuments, there is no reference to them in the decrees on public buildings.

I would suggest approaching the problem from other directions: 1) Patronage and city finance. It has often been demonstrated that patronage is directly related with economic conditions. According to the imperial legislation, the patrons of public works were mainly provincial governors who were interested in decorating their provincial capitals (the other cities provided ready material). On the other hand, because of the decline of the decurions, the municipal administration lacked interest in protecting the public buildings in the smaller cities. 2) The diminishing importance of public space. Various sources of Late Antiquity testify to an invasion of private individuals into the urban public space: houses were built into the public areas, porticoes were closed by the erection of modest temporary or permanent dwellings, etc. Economic, administrative

and cultural changes have been suggested to explain this tendency. 3) Consequences of transformation of Late Antique Art. It may well be that the emergence and development of Christian Art in the 3rd and 4th c. A.D. affected the production of non-Christian Art and that the phenomenon we have observed could be explained also as a natural reaction towards appropriating objects of art which already belonged to the past.

The Theodosian Obelisk Base in Context
Linda Safran (*The Catholic University of America and Dumbarton Oaks*)

The obelisk base of Theodosios I still *in situ* in Constantinople is a pivotal monument of Late Antiquity, included in every survey book. Much attention has been given to the identification of individual carved figures and to questions of style and dating. However, the base and its plinth have not been fully appreciated in terms of their immediate original context, the Hippodrome of the late fourth century C.E. This paper will demonstrate that seating patterns in the circus dictated the language of each of the four sides of the base, with language referring both to inscriptions and artistic vocabulary.

The use of Greek and Latin inscriptions on two sides of the base presupposes literacy in the relevant language on the part of spectators seated on those sides. Similarly, the content—both literal and symbolic—of all four sculpted sides, as well as certain qualities of their execution, were related to the perceptions and comprehension of the audiences on each side. The different "modes" employed on the obelisk base were cleverly planned to appeal to and communicate with its diverse simultaneous audiences, for whom the sculpture and inscriptions served as effective props and mimetic agents.

Robertson's Photographic Views of Constantinople (1853)
W. Eugene Kleinbauer (*Indiana University-Bloomington*)

James Robertson (1813/14-88) enjoyed a successful career of perhaps only seven years (1853-60) as a major British photographer of Athens, Jerusalem, Malta, the Crimean War, and especially Constantinople. After having exhibited his work as a "gem engraver" at the Royal Academy in London between 1833 and 1840, Robertson was hired by the Ottoman government sometime in the 1840s to work in the newly equipped imperial mint in Constantinople where no later than 1849 he had become its chief engraver and superintendent. His autographed medallion of 1849 commemorating the restoration of St. Sophia by the Fossati Brothers and other medallions he designed, as well as sketches, have come down to us. He continued working at the mint until 1881, when he retired because of failing health and sailed with his family to Japan, where he died in 1888.

Many prints of Robertson's photographs survive, though all his glass negatives are presumably lost. His work is of exceptional quality and documentary value. In 1854 an album of his architectural views of Athens appeared, entitled Photographic Views of the Antiquities of Athens, Corinth, Aegina, etc., which includes an exterior view of the church of the Little Metropolis. In 1857 he issued an album of the monuments of Jerusalem. He is better known for his several dozen images of Constantinople, including a spectacular panorama of Istanbul and the Bosporus from the Seraskier tower consisting of five salt prints. Historians of photography have long known that in late 1853 the firm of Joseph Cundall in London issued an album of his photographs of Constantinople, but they are unaware that at least one copy of it still survives. Last year I discovered a finely preserved copy of this album, Photographic Views of Constantinople, in a European library. Consisting of twenty images of varying dimensions and all signed J. Robertson, illustrating Ottoman and Byzantine buildings, including the earliest dated photograph of the exterior of St. Sophia, the vestiges of the spina of the hippodrome, and the Column of Constantine, this is the first recorded album of photographs devoted exclusively to Constantinople, and its prints are the

earliest securely dated examples of Robertson's photographic oeuvre. It earned high praise for Robertson the photographer in London.

My paper will examine both what documentary value these photographs have for the monuments they record and the principles of selection which Robertson seems to have employed for the monuments in the album, including whether earlier non-photographic sources, such as guide books and illustrated travel accounts, shaped his choice and interpretation of them.

The Urban Layout of Two Byzantine Port Cities: Chandax and Thessaloniki

Maria Georgopoulou (*Yale University*)

A comparison of two important Byzantine coastal cities, Thessaloniki and Chandax (Crete), may offer new insights for the understanding of urban patterns in Byzantine cities of the middle Byzantine period. Thessaloniki was the second largest city of the empire, and a significant pilgrimage center. Chandax, on the other hand, was the capital city of the remote theme of Crete. Both cities were significant centers for Mediterranean trade, housed different ethnic communities, shared certain architectural features, and were shaped by similar historical events in the Middle Byzantine period. Nevertheless, there are major differences in the development of their urban texture: Thessaloniki was a flourishing city in the Hellenistic and Roman Period. Hence, the development of the Byzantine city was based on a "classical" foundation. Many of these classical architectural elements survived into the Byzantine city: the fortification walls, the palaces, and the port. In contrast, Chandax became an important city only after the Muslim conquest in the 9th century. Did the urban layout of Chandax conform with the tradition of a Byzantine city? Did such a tradition exist at any point in time?

The historical and archaeological material that we possess for each city is of a different nature. Many of the Byzantine structures of Thessaloniki are still extant, and with the combination of historical records have helped archaeologists and historians define what the Byzantine city looked like. On the contrary, hardly any Byzantine

structures survive from Chandax. However, one can deduce what Byzantine Chandax looked like from the surviving evidence about the appearance of Venetian Candia (1211-1669). For example, the Byzantine walls continued to exist until the 15th century, the street pattern of the Byzantine city remained the same during the Venetian period, the Venetians reused the palace of the Byzantine duc, and they appropriated the Greek Orthodox cathedral.

The questions that this paper will address concern the types of buildings that functioned in the two cities and their placement within the urban space. How important was the physical aspect of the public structures, or their spatial interrelationships for defining the cities as parts of the Byzantine empire? Was there a plan specifying the design of the city walls, the location and naming of the city gates, the market place and the port? Finally, I will evaluate the evidence against the paradigm of Constantinople, the Byzantine city *par excellence*, in an attempt to see whether there existed a pattern in the urban layout of the Byzantine city.

XIV. TOPICS IN ART HISTORY

Presiding: Sheila Campbell (*Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies*)

The Rediscovery of a Lost Early Christian Sarcophagus

Helen C. Evans (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art*)

In 1879 Garrucci published volume V of his Storia dell 'arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli. Included were engravings of the face and ends of a damaged Early Christian sarcophagus dated to the first third of the fourth century and attributed to Rome (pl. 314, figs, 2, 3, and 4). The sarcophagus, identified as then standing on the grounds of the Villa de Felice in Rome, was decorated with a series of narrative scenes on its face and ends including images considered most important to historians of the art of Christian Rome. Of the five scenes on the face, two survived in full - the Petrine themes of Peter Drawing Water from the Rock and the Arrest of Peter. While most of the rest of the face of the sarcophagus was lost, the lower third of the three other scenes, all Christological, survived - the Entry into Jerusalem, the Miracle of the Loaves, and the Raising of Lazarus. On the ends of the sarcophagus Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge and the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace were depicted. Garrucci's identification of the sarcophagus was confirmed by Grousset, Wilpert and ultimately Deichmann in their studies of the sarcophagi of Rome (Étude sur l'histoire des sarcophages chrétiens (Paris, 1885); I sarcophagi cristiani antichi (Rome, 1929); and Deichmann, Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage: Rom und Ostia (Wiesbaden, 1967)). Garrucci's engravings of the face and ends remained, however, the only published images of the work and thus were the basis for all subsequent studies, i.e. the above and Stuhlfauth in Die apokryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristlichen Kunst (Berlin, 1925), Sotomayor in S. Pedro en la iconografia paleocristiana (Granada, 1962) Dinkler in Der Einzug in Jerusalem (Opladen, 1970).

In 1909 Becker in Das Quellwunder des Moses in der altchristlichen Kunst (Strassburg, 1909) was the first to recognize the loss of the sarcophagus from its setting

at the Villa de Felice. No subsequent trace of the work was discovered as late as Deichmann's review of the literature. However, the lost sarcophagus has now been found and identified as the core of a complete sarcophagus formerly on the grounds of an estate in Cold Springs Harbor, Long Island, and newly acquired for the Early Christian collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Research indicates that the work was brought to the United States in 1908, the year before Becker's publication, by the estate's owner Walter Jennings after an extended sojourn in Rome buying objects for his newly constructed property. This paper will demonstrate that the sarcophagus newly acquired for The Metropolitan Museum of Art has, as its core, the lost, iconographically important, damaged sarcophagus published by Garrucci in 1879. Consideration will be given to the significance of the iconographic mistakes made in the early 20th century restoration of the work as well as the condition of the original sections and their usefulness as indices for the style of sarcophagi from the first third of the fourth century in Rome.

The Early Byzantine Amulet (Phylakterion)

Gary Vikan (*The Walters Art Gallery*)

It has been exactly one hundred years since Gustave Schlumberger's pioneering study of the Early Byzantine amulet ("Amulettes byzantins anciens," REG, 5), and no one has reexamined the subject, in a comprehensive way, since. Yet in the meantime, the material evidence has increased dramatically, thanks to the publications of Maspero (1905), Mouterde (1942/43), Bonner (1950), Grabar (1958), Engemann (1973), Vikan (1984, 1991, 1992), Rahmani (1985), the Maguires (1989), and Walter (1989/90) -- and to the Frank Sternberg auction catalogues of 1989 to 1991, which include scores of "new" Early Byzantine amuletic pendants, rings, armbands, and intaglios. Moreover, there has been the concurrent publication of the critical related materials: the magical papyri by Preisendanz (1928/31) and Betz (1986); Graeco-Egyptian gem amulets by Bonner (1950), Delatte and Derchain (1964), and by the team responsible for the Antike Gemmen

catalogues (ongoing); and the lamellae by Kotansky (ongoing) -- plus Duling's new translation with commentary of the Testament of Solomon (1983). This has been complemented by research devoted to magical numbers, letters, words, phrases, incantations, and signs and symbols by Prentice (1906), Dornsteiff (1925), Peterson (1926), Laurent (1936), Tjäder (1970), Feissel (1984) -- and, for the Evil Eye, by Dunbabin and Dickie (1983) and Limberis (1991). And finally, there have been significant advances in our understanding of Late Antique magic generally, thanks to articles by A. A. Barb, Campbell Bonner, Morton Smith, and Peter Brown, and the brilliant synthetic review of the issue by D. E. Aune ("Magic in Early Christianity") in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (1980).

The time has come for a thorough reexamination of the Early Byzantine amulet, and I intend that this paper be the first step toward that goal. How does one define the amulet within the broader category of contemporary jewelry, and what are its most characteristic forms? How can the magical efficacy of the amulet be differentiated from the more conventional sort of religiously invoked supernatural power? What was the attitude of the Church toward the use of amulets? What explicitly Christian images, signs, and words appear on amulets, and how do they function there magically? What are the amulet's most characteristic words and phrases, signs, symbols, and scenes? What were its specific medical "targets" (e.g., back pain, stomach disorders), and how did doctors use amulets? And what is the relationship between the Early Byzantine amulet, as so identified by its date, imagery, and inscriptions, and Graeco-Egyptian gem amulets, the magical papyri, pilgrimage eulogiai, and the non-portable sorts of household magic (e.g., inscribed lintels)? And what are the Early Byzantine amulet's geographical and chronological "hot spots;" that is, where and when were they most popular.

A big puzzle, certainly, but one whose pieces are now lying before us. In a twenty-minute presentation I intend to provide an overview of the subject, with special attention to definitions and typologies, dating and localization.

"Observations on the Design and Significance of the St. Petersburg Jonah Pyxis"

Karl Sandin (*Denison University*)

Contemporary study of Byzantine ivories has demonstrated that carvers exploited the properties of this material for its beauty and to enhance the communication power of religious imagery. A sixth-century pyxis with scenes of Jonah being cast overboard and resting under the vine, now in the Hermitage, exemplifies such artisanship. Earlier scholars focused on anomalies such as the way Jonah reclines on the back of the ketos, and why angels are present. In the light of current analysis, a recent personal examination of the object resolves these questions and leads to a broader understanding of the pyxis.

The habit of utilizing the "optimum material available" (A. Cutler) from the most appropriate parts and dimensions of the tusk is evident. The carver placed the widest diameter of the section at the top to emphasize upper torsos and faces, then centered each scene--angels included--on the thickest walls to maximize relief. The angels' height takes advantage of the height of the section, as the recumbent Jonah's figure exploits the circumference, emphasizing clarity above unity of scale. The ketos below Jonah is a space-saving conflation with the scene of casting up, creating an opposed, two-part composition.

Angels appear only occasionally in Jonah scenes in the fourth through sixth centuries. The formal balance of the angels with the Jonah component of each scene indicates their importance on this pyxis. They function in the narrative, as they do in other miraculous salvation scenes, by virtue of their vigorous movement toward Jonah with gestures. At the same time they dramatically present each scene to the viewer by means of their large scale and orientation toward the viewer, away from the narrative. The reflective distance created between the angels and the narrative underscores the typological use of Jonah's three days in the belly of the great fish based on Mat. 12.40: from Irenaeus to Romanos the Melodist, Jonah is a metaphor for Christ's bodily Resurrection. The angel's scroll in the scene of Jonah resting alludes to Christ's

fulfillment of prophecy and to the Gospel of salvation through his victory over death, reinforcing the typology. Chalcedonian dogma is unmistakable.

While angels function similarly on several other objects, the best model of their structural role and significance is the kontakia of Romanos the Melodist, where biblical events are often presented dramatically by angels that are inserted, or whose roles are expanded, non-textually. This parallel may have a liturgical context. Performed antiphonally, perhaps with gestures, kontakia were part of the urban ceremonial that engendered sensitivity to dramatic setting, scale and gesture. Is the pyxis, then, an index of how liturgical song (with homily and other spoken forms) helped create expectations of dramatic presentations of biblical narratives, and the means of expression in the pyxis and kontakia?

Adam and Eve on Middle Byzantine Ivory Boxes

Areti Papanastasiou (*University of Chicago*)

Scenes from the Adam and Eve story decorate a small number of Middle Byzantine ivory boxes, among them an ivory box at the Cleveland Museum of Art, no.24.747. Based on the Genesis text and the iconographic tradition of the Octateuchs the story as represented on the Cleveland box may be reconstructed as a sequence of events from the creation of Adam to the murder of Abel. This reconstruction reveals a number of inconsistencies and departures from the comparative models used, such as the scene of Adam and Eve working in a forge, and the order of placement of specific scenes.

These departures from the biblical account and the breaks in the linear narrative cannot simply be seen as failures to accurately and effectively record the sequence of events as found in Genesis. On the contrary, they should be understood as strategies for both drawing attention to and expressing a new discourse, one specific to the representation of the story on these ivory panels. As this discourse is made more explicit at exactly those junctures where the flow of the narrative is interrupted, modified, added to or changed in any other way, a consideration of narrative solely

from the point of view of a chronological sequence of events does not exhaust what the story is able to tell us, and even more importantly, it does not help us discover the arguments specific to its representation on the box panels.

An alternative is to examine the role of the box as the framework for the placement of the panels of the Adam-and-Eve story. It will be argued that the parallel and oppositional relationships among the sides of the box were exploited, so that their purely spatial character was redefined to include binary relations of good versus bad, happiness vs. sadness, life vs. death, Eden vs. earth, Adam vs. Eve, male vs. female. The box as a whole can be understood as a bipolar schema with good vs. bad arranged on each of two sides. By placement, as well as in terms of content, the two poles of this schema are the two short sides of the box, around which are found scenes of similar content. The lamentation of Adam and Eve is surrounded by scenes suggesting a similar state of mind: confrontation of Adam with God, expulsion from Eden and the murder of Abel by Cain. The forge scene is surrounded by scenes of positive aspects: Adam harvesting (or carrying the harvest), Adam and Eve in Eden flanking a tree, and the creation of Adam and "then" of Eve. This arrangement would have enabled the viewer to perceive and understand these scenes in their relationships rather than as separate scenes belonging to different time segments of the linear narrative. Furthermore, through the clustering of oppositional values around the figures of Adam and Eve, the prototypical couple became a vehicle for communicating current ideology concerning gender roles.

An Overlooked Iconographic Detail on Lead Seals: The Virgin Flanked By Tear-Shaped Globules

John Cotsonis (*Washington, DC*)

Since the monumental works of Lihačev and Kondakov, Byzantine lead seals have long been employed in studies devoted to the iconography of the Virgin. The vast number of seals that bear her image exhibit a variety of Marian iconographic types. One

category of such seals, however, has received little to no attention. Those that constitute this group share a common iconographic detail: above the customary sigla that flank the Virgin, there appear tear-shaped globules. Although these devices accompany various iconographic types of the Theotokos on seals, they are not found in surviving images of the Virgin in other media except for a few numismatic examples. In addition, the sphragistic and numismatic specimens all belong to the eleventh century. When discussing the coins, numismatists have noted the presence of these devices but did not elaborate upon them. For the seals, Zacos attempted an explanation of this iconographic detail. In light of contemporary texts, however, this paper offers a different interpretation of the globules that flank the Virgin's image which is related to cultic developments within the period.

How the Miniatures in Two Quires of the Parisinus Graecus 74 Were Painted

Jean-Guy Violette (*Université Laval*)

This paper will present the order of the different operations which were required for the painting of the miniatures in quire 5 (fols. 33-40) and quire 7 (fols. 49-56) of the MS Greek 74 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), a very extensively illustrated Gospels of the eleventh century. The implications of these results will be analysed and the evidence found in some other Greek manuscripts will be considered.

The method which was used consisted in registering with a special magnifying glass (8x) all the superpositions of two different colors in each miniature of one quire and in putting in order different types of superposition (for example, red on blue, green on blue, rose on red, etc.) In these two quires the main phases of work are the same: 1) the under drawing, 2) the gold surfaces (first the gold paint of the nimbuses and secondly the gold sheet), 3) the different colors, 4) the lines (including the details of the faces and the gold lines). The main difference between the two quires concerns the order of the colors which is very different. I have not been able to establish the complete order of the

operations in any other quire, but at least it is possible to say that the same procedure of painting was used in the last 21 of the 27 quires.

A first implication of these results is that in each miniature each color was applied at only one time. This way of proceeding, which is confirmed by many manuscripts with unfinished miniatures, is perhaps explained by the necessity of letting the paint dry sufficiently to prevent mixing of colors. But why the same order of colors in the eleven miniatures of quire 5 or the fifteen miniatures of quire 7? One possible explanation is that many miniatures were painted at the same time and so the work could be done more quickly. This means that, instead of distributing the patches of one color (for example, a dark tone of blue) in only one miniature at one time, they were distributed in many miniatures at one time. The miniatures to be done together may be on the same page or on two pages facing each other in the manuscript or on two pages situated on the same side of the sheet. All these three ways of working together many miniatures are found in the Greek 74.

In the first quires to painted the work of painting is not standardized as in quires 5 and 7. For example, there are changes of color between the miniatures of the same quire. So it appears that the beginning of the illustration of the manuscript was done with more care, with more attention to the individual miniatures, and very probably much more slowly.

One interesting question is whether there is a relationship between the repetitive character of the iconography in the miniatures of the Greek 74 and such a standardization of the work of painting. This seems to be the case.

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