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# SESSIONS

# Session I. Byzantine Music

## Elements of Ancient Hellenic Poetry in Byzantine Hymnology

Nicholas Giannoukakis (University of Pittsburgh)

Byzantine music is a unique form of melodic expression widely used throughout the Byzantine Empire during its hegemony of Europe, the Middle East and Asia Minor. It consists of secular or organic Byzantine music as well as ecclesiastical, many elements of which are in common use in many of the Eastern Orthodox Christian churches. Ecclesiastical Byzantine music has adopted many elements of ancient Hellenic music including its tonal and modal systems, its mathematics (upon which much of its theory is based) and perhaps some melodies that were left unchanged.

Byzantine ecclesiastical music is synonymous with hymnography and many talented individuals have left a plethora of works that allow a glimpse of the ancient Hellenic and perhaps Judaic hymnographic and religious musical traditions. There is strong evidence that the Byzantines adapted the literary and poetic works of ancient Hellenes, like Pindar, Sophocles and Euripides, into their hymns.

This essay demonstrates that, in fact, many Byzantine ecclesiastical hymns are metered identically to passages from Euripides, Sophocles and Pindar. This practice is very evident in the canon *troparia*. Indeed, certain *troparia* of canons acted as melodic frameworks for other subsequent *troparia*, so that ancient Hellenic meter has permeated much of Byzantine hymnography.

While the exact reasons for this adoption by the Byzantines is not fully clear, it is evident that most of the compositions were made during the first three-five centuries of Christianity, suggesting that this may have been a tool with which the early Christians were able to approach and eventually invite pagans into Christianity.

The essay is accompanied by a demonstration of the metrical identity between canon *troparia* and ancient Hellenic poetry as well as a musical interpretation of the hymns in authentic Byzantine ecclesiastical style.

## From Athens to Athos: an Investigation into Greek Drama's Enduring Musical Legacy

Andrew W. White (University of Maryland, College Park)

Traditional theatrical scholarship has analyzed the 'music' of Ancient Greek drama without reference to its actual music. But recent research into the principles of Ancient Greek 'composition' (perhaps a better translation of the term *poetics*) now enables us to return to the Theatre of Dionysus with our ears focused on how the drama sounded. It is also possible now to explore the legacy of theatrical songs on the composition of music well into Byzantine times. Using recordings and live vocal samples, this presentation will explore possible common ground between the music of the Greek drama and that of the Orthodox Church.

Only brief fragments of music from Greek tragedy remain; but thanks to the theoretical context established by Aristotle's pupil (and musician's son) Aristoxenus, as well as the commentary provided in Aristophanes' comedies, it is possible to reconstruct the process tragic poets used in composing their dramas. The Greeks worked with not one but three genera of scales: the diatonic, the chromatic, and the enharmonic; each genus of scale, in turn, had its share of modes. But enharmonic scale, because it used microtonal intervals, was regarded as the most difficult and was taught exclusively to male citizens. It was this 'masculinist' scale that served as the basis for modes used in early Greek tragedy. And it seems that Euripides' introduction of other, simpler 'effeminate' scales made him notorious in his day. Simpler scales and modes, as well as frequent tropes and modulation among scales and modes, eventually became so common in Greek tragedy that the written word soon lost its privileged place at the Dionysia.

Subsequent musical theory attempted to reconcile the Ancients' scales and modes into a 'Greater Perfect System,' a system whose principles were eventually transmitted and practiced throughout the Roman Empire. Long after the Empire moved east and was converted to Christianity, the principles of this 'Greater Perfect System' were taught to the Byzantine male elite. Members of this elite, in turn, would often move on to careers in both Church and State, carrying with them a highly sophisticated sense of music. When heard in this context, many so-called 'Turkish' or 'oriental' innovations in Orthodox chant – extended melismatic tropes, modulations, even microtonal motifs – can be recognized as but a later manifestation of the music of Greek drama, a source to which even the monks of Mount Athos still pay tribute in their devotional hymns.



## Medieval Byzantine Music Performance Practice Realization: Monophony or Polyphony?

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

All medieval Byzantine music—sacred and secular—provides a dilemma for performance practice realization. For students of medieval or even neo-Byzantine chant, there is an acceptance that this music is notated in manuscripts as a monophonic neumatic notation but is realized in a polyphonic performance practice with an *isokratema* or improvised drone accompaniment. The question therein lies as to when, how, and why this polyphonic performance practice came about. Does this mean that the Byzantines always had a polyphonic *isokratema* transmitted from antiquity and are perhaps the true inventors of this type of polyphony? Or does this mean that the Byzantines were influenced by the Latins, with their use of *organum*? These are important questions for the student of Byzantine history and musicology.

This presentation discusses the influence of the *bourdon* or drone performance practice in Ancient Greek music, in medieval Byzantine music, and in medieval Western music. It also examines the musical treatise of Ioannes Plousiadenos, a Byzantine music composer of notated polyphony, and a little-known Western medieval music treatise, *Summa Musice*, in an attempt to provide answers about the *isokratema* and the improvised polyphonic performance practice documented in Byzantium.

## The Theotokos as Protectress: The *Akathistos Hymn* & The Siege of Constantinople

Katherine Panagakos (Ohio State University)

During the siege of Constantinople in August, A.D. 626, miraculous events took place near the church dedicated to the Virgin Mary at Blachernae. According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, a woman in stately dress was seen rushing about on the land walls. Theodore Syncellus reports that the patriarch placed icons of the Theotokos near the gates of the city, and Nicephorus tells us that the Avar siege towers were destroyed by divine assistance. The people of Constantinople who had gathered together after the defeat of the enemy formed a procession to the church at Blachernae and offered prayers and thanks to the Virgin Mother. It is believed that the citizens of Constantinople sang for the first time the *Akathistos Hymn* during an all-night vigil to commemorate the intervention of the Theotokos in thwarting this siege.

Although our sources claim these extraordinary events were the impetus for the creation of the *Akathistos Hymn*, to this day scholars nevertheless debate the date of its composition, its authorship, and its placement within the Church's festal calendar. Scholars such as Trypanis and Wellesz, for example, date the hymn variously from the mid-sixth century to as late as the early eighth century. In addition, possible composers for the hymn range from Romanos the Melodist (sixth century) to Patriarch Photius (ninth century).

In this presentation, I examine the *Akathistos Hymn*, specifically the lines which recall the Virgin's role as protectress of the city. Although the second *prooemium* of the *Akathistos Hymn* sings praises to the Theotokos for her intervention in saving the city, specifically calling her an invincible leader (τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ) who has freed the city from suffering (με κινδύνου ἐλευθέρωσον), nevertheless, these lines do not overtly allude to a specific event. It is clear that the cult of Mary had been increasing considerably since the Third Ecumenical Council in 431, as is noted by Cameron and Limberis; but when was the Theotokos first associated with being the guardian of the city? Is the *Akathistos Hymn*, or are parts of it, the result of the miraculous events of 626, or is it an earlier or a later composition?

In my presentation, I show that the sections of the hymn dealing with the role of the Virgin as protectress of the city were later accretions to a pre-existing hymn to the Virgin, and that their addition was precipitated by the events of the siege. This is demonstrated by analyzing the *Akathistos Hymn* in the context of the main sources for the events and in light of the Virgin's role as guardian of Constantinople at the time.



## The Role of Women in Music in Byzantium

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

From Antiquity through the end of the Byzantine Empire, women musicians and composers were considered to be subordinate figures and were viewed as descendants of Pandora and later Eve. In the case of the Byzantine woman, misogyny taints much of the documentation of women's participation in music. In the early centuries of the Byzantine Empire, women—following the tradition of Antiquity—continued to participate in secular entertainments by performing on musical instruments but were condemned by the Church until the decline of the Empire, stifling the participation of decent, respectable women in secular music. With no other outlet for musical participation, female composers and performers turned to sacred music and created new works for the nunneries of Byzantium.

The women composers of Byzantium are few but yet their names have prevailed: Martha, mother of Symeon the Stylite; Theodosia; Thekla; Kassia; Kouvouklisena; Palaeologina; and the daughter of Ioannes Kladas. In examining the over fifty musical compositions of Kassia, the earliest woman in the history of music for whom music is preserved, we can observe that a common theme arises in her musical works: the defense of women. In championing women's causes, Kassia has written, among others, seven compositions to or for the Theotokos, five hymns to the Great martyr St. Christina, a hymn to the Pious Pelagia (a fourth century courtesan), a hymn for an abducted maiden from Edessa, and a penitential hymn on the "fallen woman," Mary Magdalene—a subject that no male hymnographer deemed worthy of attention.

## Session II. George of Amastris

## Chair: Walter Hanak (Shepherd College)

### George of Amastris as Bishop: Anomaly or Paradigm?

Andrea Sterk (University of Notre Dame)

The *Life of George of Amastris* (d. *c.* 806) has been analyzed by scholars since the late nineteenth century for clues about its authorship and dating — among others by Vasil'evskij (editor of the text), Vasiliev, and more recently, Treadgold and Efthymiadis. Russian scholars have shown particular interest in the *Life* (hereafter *VGA*) for its inclusion of a posthumous miracle that may be the earliest reference to the incursion of the Rus into Byzantine territory. In recent decades there have been several attempts, based largely on literary analysis and comparison, to locate the composition of the *VGA* in the iconoclast milieu of the period just prior to 842 (e.g., Ševčenko, Auzépy). Amidst debates about authorship, dating and style of the *VGA*, there has been relatively little discussion of George himself as a bishop of the late eighth to early ninth century.

This paper treats the career of George of Amastris as presented in the *VGA*, examining the extent to which it followed or departed from a typical Episcopal career trajectory. Several recent treatments of Byzantine bishops have referred to George as an anomaly, a bishop who willingly sacrificed a peaceful existence in the wilderness for an active ecclesiastical career. M.-F. Auzépy (*Byzantinoslavica* 53, 1992) has even suggested that the *VGA* along with three other iconoclast lives, presents the episcopate as a higher vocation than that of the monk because of its social and collective as opposed to merely individual value. While I support her placement of the *VGA* in the non-iconodule camp and have benefited from her literary analysis of the text, I disagree with this evaluation of the ecclesiastical calling as having been held in higher esteem than the monastic one. My own reading of the *VGA* suggests that its author presents George as a model monk-bishop, a leader whose monastic training and ascetic ideals equipped him perfectly for the demands of both spiritual and administrative oversight of the church and people of Amastris.

Part of a larger project on the rise of the monk-bishop in the Christian East, this paper argues that George of Amastris embodies the merging of the charismatic authority of the holy man with the institutional and sacramental authority of the church. Integral to my examination of the *VGA* is a focus on its incorporation of Gregory Nazianzen's Panegyric of Basil. While Ševčenko following Nikitin, has analyzed these borrowings from a literary perspective, I plan to focus on the way the author used his primary literary model to present a particular ideal of the episcopate. If the non-iconodule character of the *VGA* can be sustained, as I believe it can, it also contributes to our understanding of the popularity of this ideal of ecclesiastical leadership, for it often transcended theological divides. Far from being an anomaly, then, I suggest that both the actual and the literary lives of George of Amastris represent a well established Cappadocian legacy of leadership, a paradigm for the bishop that gradually came to dominate the entire Byzantine church.



### The Russians are Coming!
### Defense and Conversion in the Life of George of Amastris

Jonathan Couser (University of Notre Dame)

The *Life of George of Amastris,* a hagiographical text probably composed in the mid-ninth century, contains one of the earliest reports of a raid on Byzantine territory by the Rus. In this account, the barbarians ravage the area and violate the sanctity of the church of Amastris. They are hunting for its treasures, when their feet are miraculously frozen to the floor. Demanding the explanation for this, the Rus are told by one of their Amastrin prisoners that this is the power of God at work, and that they had better turn away from their false gods to the Christian God, which they do.

This paper treats several questions raised by the *Life's* Russian episode. Foremost is the question of what is meant by the alleged conversion of the Rus in this context. Does the Byzantine treatment of the religious state of the barbarians show continuity or discontinuity with older Roman and contemporary western models? What does the *Life* contribute to our understanding of Byzantine attitudes to barbarians? Can we speak in any sense of a Byzantine approach to missions as reflected in this passage?

## The Life of George of Amastris as a Source of Liturgical Information: "Private" Liturgy and Eucharistic Doctrine

Stefanos Alexopoulos (University of Notre Dame)

The eminent liturgist, Robert Taft, S.J., has noted that the lives of saints are an untapped source for the study of liturgy. He himself sets an example in his article "Byzantine Liturgical Evidence in the *Life of St. Marcian the Oeconomos:* Concelebration and the Preanaphoral Rites" (*Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 48, 1982, pp. 159-170). The examination of this life from a liturgical point of view provided valuable information for the study of Byzantine Liturgy.

This article by Robert Taft is the paradigm for my paper on the *Life of George of Amastris*, which is another such untapped source of liturgical information. My purpose in this paper is to analyze paragraphs 31-32 from a liturgical point of view. In these two paragraphs a private liturgy is described, celebrated in a personal oratory, in the context of which a eucharistic miracle takes place. The following are some issues of interest in this vita which deserve liturgical attention: the notion of "private" liturgy, the ritual components of its celebration, and the eucharistic miracle mentioned in its context.

The notion of private liturgy and its celebration have been discussed by Thomas Mathews in his article "'Private' Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Re-appraisal" (*Cahiers Archéologiques* 30, 1982, pp. 125-138). In this article Mathews employs the lives of saints as a source for the study of "private" liturgy. *The Life of George of Amastris* is another excellent source for the celebration of "private" liturgy, though it has not yet been examined for this purpose.

It is also striking for a life of a saint in the period of Iconoclasm that the only miracles mentioned are related to the cross and the eucharist, with no mention of any icons. Ihor Ševčenko, in his article "Hagiography of the Iconoclastic Period" (1977), argues that the *Life of George of Amastris* is an iconoclast *vita*. Given the emphasis of the iconoclasts on the eucharist, in this context the eucharistic miracle described in the text takes on greater importance. I examine this eucharistic miracle against the background of the eucharistic doctrine of the iconoclasts.



## George of Amastris and the Arab Invasions of Asia Minor

Sarah C. Davis (University of Notre Dame)

During the seventh and eighth centuries Muslim Arab troops conducted regular raids on Byzantine lands, winning several fortresses and towns but failing to capture Constantinople. The majority of these attacks took place along the border areas of southeast Anatolia and in the southern area of Cilicia, as examined by Michael Bonner in *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War.* However, Arab troops also made their way to the Bosphorus and to the southern shores of the Black Sea. As Hélène Ahrweiler has pointed out, in the "L'Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes (VIIe-IXe siècles)," it is difficult to date precisely and locate many of these Arab invasions, especially those in the northern region near the Black Sea. The northern raids are less well documented and therefore less well understood. The *vita* of St. George of Amastris relates, in c. 24-25, an incident of Arab attack and George's role in defending the people of this prosperous Black Sea town. This paper considers the episode in its historical context in order to gain a greater understanding of the Arab raids in the north of Asia Minor and their impact on one Byzantine town.

The incident also allows us to consider the manner in which local communities responded to the attacks by Muslim forces and how the Byzantine population regarded their invaders. The author's allusion to the Old Testament account of the Babylonian captivity of the Hebrews and the miracle of invisible arrows with which George fended off the attackers suggest that the Arab raids made a deep impact on the minds of contemporary Byzantines. In this paper I examine the ways in which the author of the *vita* portrayed the city's social and tactical responses, as well as the role of the local bishop in protecting and defending his town.

## George of Amastris at War

David Bachrach (University of Notre Dame)

Although much is known about the career of George of Amastris (d. *ca.* 806), the date of the composition of his *Life* is a subject of considerable debate among Byzantinists. George is reported in his *Life* to have taken an active part in the defense of Amastris against the Arabs while serving as bishop of this city. In addition, the saint's military activities are said to have continued after his death in the context of a Rus invasion of the Byzantine empire when miracles at his tomb helped to drive off and pacify the barbarian invaders. George's specific actions in military contexts, which are described in the *Life* and to which previous scholars have given relatively scant attention, may cast some light on the period during which it was written.

George's actions in protecting his city, both as a living bishop and as a dead saint, can be seen within the context of a much broader tradition of Byzantine religious figures participating in military campaigns and Byzantine warrior-saints helping their people in the face of non-Christian adversaries. Against this broader background, this paper examines the ways in which George dealt with military matters, an important subject in its own right. We have a rather good idea, in general, of the development of military religion during the course of Byzantine history. Therefore, if this project is successful in establishing the appropriate chronological context for the *Life's* depiction of George's military behavior, it may be possible to provide a more exact date for the composition of the *Life* itself by pinpointing the discussion of military affairs to a particular period in Byzantine history.



# Session III. Re-forming the Roman Empire

## Chair: Michael Gaddis (Syracuse University)

## Governing Late Roman Phoenicia: Justinian and the Reorganization of Power

Linda Jones Hall (St. Mary's College of Maryland)

Justinian was keenly interested in the efficient administration of the government, at the level of the city, the province, and the empire. A close examination of the following ruling suggests how he envisioned the control of problems in the cities of Constantinople and Berytus in 533 C.E.:

> Next we make a necessary order, with a very strong threat . . . . In this most generous *civitas* [Constantinople], the eminent man who is prefect of this generous city must take care both to observe and to enforce all these ordinances, according as the nature of the offense requires . . . ; but in the *civitas* of Berytus this task falls to the *vir clarissimus* who is governor of the Phoenician coast and to the most blessed bishop of the *civitas* and the professors of law.
>
> (*Digest Constitutio Omnis* 9-10)

This law draws attention to administration that is "city-centered." Yet within two years, the emphasis on adminstration seems to have been strengthened at the provincial level. In 535-536 the government was reorganized. In the East, the functions of the *comes Oriens* were abolished, and his title and functions were assigned to the consular of Syria. In Arabia and Phoenice Libanensis the civil governors received salary increases and the title of *moderator*. Gouillou has compared the relative compensation of governors in the empire in gold *solidi*: the praetorian prefect of Africa received 7200, while the moderator of Phoenicia received only 720. In *Edict IV*, Justinian restored an anachronistic name for the governor of Phoenicia (Novel 28.2). Troops had been stationed in late antique Phoenicia by Anastasios and were continued there by Justinian (Justinian, *Ed.* 4.2 and *Not.Dig.Or.* 7.2)

Even a cursory reading of *Edict IV* suggests that the emperor was concerned to tighten his control over this province by both civil and military means:

> Therefore, we also deem it necessary to transfer Lebanese Phoenicia from among the ordinary gubernatorial administrations to one of the rank termed *respectable* [*spectabilis*], to give it the administrative pattern of a *moderator*, and to assign to this governorship a subsistence allowance equaling ten pounds of gold . . . . Furthermore, we are granting him a select military unit . . . . They shall obey him, attend him, and carry out all the orders that he shall issue for the exaction of fiscal taxes, the management of public business, and the protection of the municipalities. He shall diligently show a high regard, first for the fisc, secondly for the good order of the municipalities, and thirdly for justice toward private citizens . . . .
>
> (Thurman, *The Thirteen Edicts of Justinian*, 1964, pp. 7-10)

The picture that thus emerges is of increasing imperial control at the provincial level and of diminishing power of local leaders.

# "Volusianus praefectus urbis edixit": "Non-Imperial" Edicts in the Early Byzantine Empire

Ralph W. Mathisen (University of South Carolina)

During the Roman Republic, some magistrates, such as Urban and Peregrine Praetors, Aediles, and those with imperium, possessed the "*ius edicendi*"(or "*ius praetorium*" or "*ius honorarium*"), which accorded them the right to "assist, supplement, and correct the civil law" (*Digest* 1.1.7.1). They did this by publishing "edicts". This right to issue "*lex data*" (as opposed to the "*lex rogata*" issued by the popular assemblies), provided the constitutional basis, during the Principate, for the emperor's right to issue laws in his own name. The opportunity of officials other than the emperor to issue edicts quickly withered. No Consuls or Aediles after Augustus are known to have done so. Praetors lost their law-issuing ability in the 130s, when the Praetor's Edict was codified by Salvius Julianus under the emperor Hadrian. By the time the late Roman / early Byzantine period rolled around, edicts were constitutions that had an empire-wide validity and began with the words "*imperator dicit*" — "the emperor says." It has been assumed by most commentators who considered this issue at all that the right of officials other than the emperor to issue edicts had long since disappeared.

It is something of a surprise, therefore, to find, scattered here and there among disparate sources, examples of edicts still being issued by various imperial officials. In many instances, such edicts accompanied laws that initially had been issued by the emperor. Sirm.12, of AD 412, for example, was "posted at Carthage in the forum under the edict of the Proconsul Porphyrius." And Nov.Val. 23, of 447, was "posted in the forum of Trajan ... prefixed to the edict of the illustrious Albinus, Praetorian Prefect for the second time and patrician". The original text of some of these accompanying edicts survives. One issued jointly by the Praetorian Prefects Palladius, Monaxius, and Agricola in 418 began with the words "*Exemplar edicti Iunii Quarti Palladii. Iunius Quartus Palladius, Monaxius et Agricola iterum, praefecti praetorio edixerunt*," and another issued by the Prefects Himilco, Dioscurus, Aurelianus, and Protadius, on April 29, 473, accompanied an edict of Glycerius issued on March 10. In these cases, one can compare the wording of the praetorian edict with that of the accompanying imperial edict.

This paper asks several questions about edicts issued by officials other than the emperor. In what kinds of administrative and legal context were such edicts issued? What do they tell us about popular, and official, conceptions of the law-making and issuing process? Was the average Roman who saw an edict issued in the name of a Praetorian Prefect aware of the subtle legal distinction that the prefect was merely acting as a stand-in for the emperor? Why did emperors feel the need to use the middle-man at all? Why did imperial legislation have to be "validated" by an edict of a Prefect or other official? Why retain an archaizing practice that may have had a potential for confusion? To what extent, if any, did imperial officials have the opportunity to introduce novelties of their own into their edicts? Answers to questions such as these can provide us with a more nuanced picture of the role played by imperial officials in the making and issuing of legislation.



# "The Accession of Emperor Majorian"

Frank M. Clover (University of Wisconsin, Madison)

In the fourth century the City of Constantine became what its distinguished founder intended, a New Rome. The first test of the imperial city's effectiveness as an administrative center occurred in the fifth century — especially during the decades marked by the accessions of Marcian (A.D. 450) and Anastasius I (491), when the western half of the empire collapsed. In this generation-and-a-half, the accession of the western Emperor Majorian (regn. 457-461) affords a precious glimpse of the ascendant influence of Byzantium refounded.

The evidence for Majorian's ascent to the throne is scattered and challenging enough to create a first-class historical puzzle. Minor western chronicles offer TWO accession dates in the year 457 - April 1st and December 28th. The eastern chronicle of Count Marcellinus explicitly states that Majorian became "Caesar" (a title usually reserved for a boy-emperor who would one day become "Augustus") at the behest of the eastern Emperor Leo I (regn. 457-474). There are notable equivocations about eastern recognition of Majorian in a panegyric of Sidonius Apollinaris, Majorian's first edict, a votive *solidus* minted at Ravenna, and the consular *fasti*.

Did Leo I recognize Majorian as emperor? The reigning interpretation is still that of Ernst Stein (*Histoire du Bas-Empire* vol. I). In early 457, Stein argued, Leo appointed Majorian and his fellow-soldier, the Goth Ricimer, as Masters of Soldiers. Ricimer staged a proclamation of Majorian as emperor, on the first of April. This gesture, however, did not meet with Leo's approval. After months of waiting Majorian re-staged his accession, on December 28th, this time with the support of both Ricimer and the Senate of Rome.

In this paper I offer a new interpretation of Majorian's ascent to the throne. My reconstruction of events begins with the assassination of Emperor Valentinian III, in the spring of 455, on a drill ground just outside Rome. Majorian deliberately chose this location for a staged accession as Augustus, with approval of Ricimer and the Senate, on the first of April 457. Leo refused recognition, but the insecurity of his position and the realities of western politics caused him to accord Majorian the rank of Caesar, Augustus-apparent, on the 28th of December. Faced with his own insecurities, Majorian was unable to accept a diminution of rank. He kept the title of Augustus. The consular *fasti* of the next four years (458-461) show that Leo never gave Majorian full recognition. Leo's equivocation is part of an overall dynamic of the empire in the late fifth century. The New Rome on the Borsphorus was becoming the arbiter of imperial power in both East and West.

## Session IV. Liturgical Texts and Manuscripts

## Chair: John Cotsonis (Holy Cross Greek School of Theology)

### Singularities in the Arrangement of Images in the Syriac Lectionaries Vatican, Syr. 559 and London, British Library Add. 7170

Rima E. Smine (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University)

The study of Syriac Lectionaries Vatican Syr. 559 and London, British Library Add. 7170 is a source of great comparisons between the Byzantine world and the Eastern Christian communities living across the border in Islamic lands. My research provides some answers regarding the special position they hold between Byzantine iconography and other Eastern manuscripts. They are the result of a collaboration between artists in one workshop located in Mossul. Although they share several features of Byzantine iconography, they are not totally dependent on Byzantine prototypes. Rather, they indicate calculated choices designed to push a message across, one that follows the teachings of the Syriac church.

Indeed, they are the product of the same workshop and they follow a similar program, but when studying them in detail, one can determine the precise plan for each one. We know that they carry the same images for the same readings, and even in the cases of those that are missing, a reconstruction of the manuscripts will show that they must have existed when they were new. There are, however, certain images which are not shared by the two manuscripts and which can be important in determining the individuality of each volume. By following the position of the illuminations within the readings and determining the ones which are unique to one or the other, I argue that they were destined for different audiences and for different eyes. While acknowledging the similarities between the two volumes, this paper aims to show that there is ample evidence for the singularity of each one as determined by patronage.

Several examples can be used to prove this point. A clear example can be seen in the two images of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, which share a similar geometric arrangement of portraits of the saints, contrary to the Byzantine iconography in which this image is a narrative of the martyrdom. The two-page image of the Forty Martyrs serves as a frontispiece in the London manuscript, while it is inserted in the reading for the feast in the Vatican manuscript. Other images are treated in the same manner, deliberately omitted from one manuscript while inserted in the second. This discussion concludes with observations about the presumed identity of the patron in both manuscripts.



### A Taxonomy of the Recensions of the Patriarchal Liturgical Diataxis of Dimitrios Gemistos

Alexander Rentel (Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, Italy)

The *Diataxis* of Dimitrios Gemistos (?-ca. 1397) exists in sixteen known manuscripts. The manuscripts date from Athos, Vatopedi 135 (AD 1390), copied shortly after the composition of the *Diataxis* (August, 1386), to Athos, Panteleimon 677 (AD 1890). Contained in these manuscripts are three basic recensions of the *Diataxis*: the longer and original "patriarchal" form of the *Diataxis*; the abbreviated "patriarchal" form; and the later, "archieratical" redaction. The patriarchal and archieratical forms of the *Diataxis* are closely related in form and content. The distinguishing characteristics of the archieratical form are that the celebrant of the Divine Liturgy has been changed from ὁ πατριάρχης to ὁ αρχιερεύς, and that most references to the architecture of the Hagia Sophia have been removed. It would seem that these changes were made so that the *Diataxis* is could be used by other bishops in their own dioceses. The changes in the shorter, patriarchal recension of the *Diataxis* are more radical. Present are references to the patriarch, the Hagia Sophia, and various members of the patriarchal chancery. Gone, however, are the rubrics for the *prosthesis* rite along with all the euchology texts. Also present are some elements of the liturgical formulary not yet common to the strictly Constantinopolitan tradition. The redactor has also displaced all the different ordination rites to a place in the manuscript before the actual text of the *Diataxis*. So, while the taxonomy of the archieratical recension is easily explained, the shorter recension presents problems not only of classification, but also concerning its provenance and the motivation of its redactor.

## Byzantine Liturgical Typika from Southern Italy (X-XIV sec.)

Aleksei Pentkovski (Moscow Theological Academy, Moscow, Russia)

Italo-Greek typika are known from the second half of the nineteenth century. It was Theodore Toscani, the monk of Grottaferrata monastery, who in 1869 gave the first description of the Grottaferrata Typikon of 1300 and compared it with other liturgical typika. In 1895 Aleksei Dmitrievskii published the description of nine manuscripts of Italo-Greek typika and pointed out three redactions: the first one, to which belongs the Typikon of the Monastery of S. Nicola di Casole of 1174 and three typika based on it, the second one with the Mili Typikon of 1292 as the most representative text, and the third one, to which belongs the Grottaferrata Typikon of 1300.

On the basis of a comparative study of the typikon of patriarch Alexios Studites (1025-1043) and other Byzantine monastic liturgical typika, we can assert now that rather early on the Studite tradition and related texts spread to Mount Athos. The liturgical typikon which existed on Athos in the second half of the tenth century belonged to the Studite tradition, which had the Studite Synaxarion as its basis.

The main distinguishing features of the Athonite-Studite Typikon are the singing of three antiphons (psalms) instead of usual *kathismata* at festive matins and the special ending of the festive and Sunday matins, during which the *stichera aposticha* were combined with the *stichera* for lauds. This combination was caused by the presence of the Great Doxology, which reflects the similarity of the Athonite-Studite typikon to the neo-Sabaitic typikon. The Athonite liturgical *kephalaia*, connected with the Athonite-Studite typikon, regulated the particulars of the daily cycle of services in the Athonite monasteries.

No later than at the end of the tenth century, thanks to close ties between Athonite and Italo-Greek monasteries, the Athonite-Studite typikon was brought over to Southern Italy. On the basis of this typikon, various groups of Italo-Greek *typika* were created there: the Otranto group (the *Typikon* of the Monastery of S. Nicola di Casole as well as typika based on it); the Grottaferrata group (Typikon of the Patirion monastery and the Grottaferrata Typikon of 1300) and the Calabro-Sicilian group (typika of the monasteries of Messina, Mili, Trigona and others). Along with the Athonite-Studite typikon, Athonite liturgical *kephalaia* were also brought to Southern Italy. Some particularities of the Italo-Greek typika attest that the Athonite-Studite typikon was influenced in Southern Italy by Palestinian liturgical tradition.



# Session V. Byzantine Science, Magic and Medicine

## "*Status strictus*: Hysteria, Virginity and the Byzantine Medical Encyclopedists of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries"

Margaret Trenchard-Smith (University of California, Los Angeles)

It is now generally appreciated that the Byzantine medical encyclopedists did not simply compile, but culled their material with considerable discretion. So it may be of interest to note that when writing on virginity and hysteria, Aëtius of Amida (6th century) and Paulus Aegineta (7th century) adapted the gynecological writings of Galen and of Soranus of Ephesus, a second-century A.D. adherent of the Methodist medical 'sect,' rather than the Hippocratic writings. Owsei Temkin has attributed their use of the medical 'heretic' Soranus to his reputation in the area of gynecology. Another reason for this selection may have been the question of whether or not virginity was a somatically healthful state.

In the Hippocratic writings, virginity and celibacy had been characterized as contributing to pathological conditions, hysteria in particular. The uterus was believed to lead a semi-autonomous and vagrant existence in the body, and in the absence of regular 'watering' with semen in coitus, to wander within a woman's body in quest of moisture. 'Hysterical suffocation,' characterized, among other symptoms, by an epileptiform seizure, resulted when the 'wandering womb' lodged against the liver or viscera. By contrast, both Galen and Soranus taught that the uterus was incapable of such 'wandering, being anchored by membranes. To Soranus, hysterical suffocation was a *status strictus* disorder resulting from their inflammation, to which cause Galen added the retention of fluids in the womb. Further, far from leading to pathology, Soranus taught that virginity contributed to health, while Galen maintained silence on this question. By invoking Soranus' and Galen's authority, the Hippocratic aetiology of hysteria was decisively rejected by the iatrosophists of the early Byzantine period.

One effect of this early Byzantine medical view was that virginity was causally unyoked from hysteria. Despite the conservatism of medical writings, Aëtius and Paulus conformed their work to accommodate Christian values. Simply put, the view that virginity led to pathology was untenable in an empire under the protection of the Theotokos.

But the medical rejection of the notion of the 'wandering womb' did not mean its extinction within wider Byzantine culture. Amulets of the seventh to ninth centuries adjure the womb to 'lie down like a sheep.' This paper will permit the discussion of the complex relationship between medical, magical and religious beliefs, antagonistic and cooperative by turns, and the construction of female health and pathology in early Byzantium.

## The Iconography of the Seal of Solomon

Catherine Burris (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

The traditional identification of the *pentalpha*, the five-pointed star, as the "Seal of Solomon" has not been adequately addressed. It rests on the assumption of a secure body of evidence, but such a secure body of evidence does not exist. In fact, the antiquity of this identification has never been established.

In spite of references by scholars of religion, archaeology, and history to the *pentalpha* as the Seal of Solomon, it is unclear when, historically, this identification came about. Nonetheless, otherwise meticulous studies of late antique and Byzantine magic commonly cite the *pentalpha* as an accepted representation of the seal. A documented discussion of when this, or any, identification of the seal can be said to be secure is long overdue. This paper assesses the surviving archaeological and textual sources pertinent to the specific iconographic identification of the seal.

Late antique and Byzantine archaeological evidence provides a variety of images and inscriptions associated in some way with the seal. Possible identifications include the *Tetragrammaton*, the *trisagion*, a mounted figure spearing a demon, and, perhaps, a serpentine mound form. No particular image or inscription is unequivocally identifiable as an iconographic representation of the seal, and the archaeological evidence does not suggest any one figure as a typical or even common representation of the seal.

The textual evidence does not offer a simple solution to the puzzle. Modern scholars confronted with magical invocations of Solomon have, with startling unanimity, cited the *Testament of Solomon* as evidence of the widespread ancient belief in Solomon's powers as a magician. There are, however, several problems with using the *Testament* as evidence for belief and practice in late antiquity. Moving further into the Byzantine era, when the tradition might be assumed to have been more fully developed, the late Byzantine *Magical Treatise of Solomon* still does not provide an unequivocal iconographic identification of the seal.

The solution to the lack of evidence for the identification of the *pentalpha* as the Seal of Solomon has been to claim that the *pentalpha* is a magical image, and has been perceived as such since antiquity. This is taken to justify reading its specific identification with the seal back into the record. The perception of the *pentalpha* as a magical image, however, is scarcely better documented than its use as the Seal of Solomon. This leaves the claim for a late antique or Byzantine identification of the *pentalpha* with the seal with feeble support; failing the discovery of further archaeological or textual evidence, this claim must be abandoned.



## "The Most Curious Activity of Byzantine Scholars in the Field of Botany" A New Inquiry Into Byzantine Botanical Lexicology

Alain Touwaide (Independent Scholar)

"The most curious activity of Byzantine scholars in the field of Botany" — this is the final evaluation of Byzantine botanical lexica (bilingual or of lexicographical nature) proposed by Margaret Thomson, who published a list of such lexica contained in the Greek manuscripts of the now Bibliothèque Nationale de France (M. H. Thomson, "Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Paris contenant des traités anonymes de botanique," *Revue des études grecques*, 46, 1933, 334-348) and edited some of the 20 years later (*ead.*, *Textes grecs inédits relatifs aux plantes* [*Nouvelle collection de textes et documents*], Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1955).

The research project *Byzantine Botanical Lexicology*, dealing with botanical lexica, intends to inventory all the lexica of this type in Greek manuscripts, to fully analyze the manuscripts that contain them, to reconstitute the history of their texts, to critically edit the text of the lexica, to fully index these lexica and to study both the individual lexica and their genre. Among other methods employed by the project to accomplish these ends, it seeks to insert these lexica into their scientific contexts, that is, the exercise of medicine, pharmacology and therapeutics.

This work, currently in progress, has already brought significant elements to light: not only facilitating the identification of the techniques of composition of these lexica, but also helping to define the origin and function of the bilingual lexica. We can now recognize that they were situated in a well determined historical context, characterized by an Arabization of the field of medicine and of the natural sciences on the territory of the Byzantine empire, possibly from the tenth century onward.

The paper presents the research project *Byzantine Botanical Lexicology* and some of its first conclusions. To this end, it focuses on case studies, with the lexica of Neophytos Prodromenos or that of the Paris, B.N. grec 2287. The originals of both of them survive. Among other things, this fact allows us to discover that, in certain cases at least, bilingual lexica were written in collaboration by two authors, each one being responsible for a column (that is, for one language). In other cases, the lexica were directly linked with the enterprise of translation of Arabic treatises into Greek, which left untranslated a high number of technical terms (mainly plant names).

Botanical lexica prove to be not an incomprehensible scientific curiosity, but a tool for a right understanding of scientific texts resulting from the transfer of Arabic science into the Byzantine Empire. As such, they are a source of primary importance for both the study of the history of Byzantine science and the reconstruction of the intellectual activity of Byzantium from the tenth century onward, characterized by a strong pluri-culturality.

# Session VI. Spiritual Direction in Egypt

## Chair: Jane Baun (New York University)

### A Genealogy of Coptic Monasticism: The Painted Nave Program in the Monastery of St. Antony, Egypt

Elizabeth S. Bolman (Temple University)

*Secco* wall paintings from the oldest church in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea have been invisible for centuries, under obscuring soot and overpainting. A major conservation project has recently been undertaken by the American Research Center in Egypt, with funding from the United States Agency for International Development. At its completion, compelling and virtually unknown images were revealed. These paintings promise to revise dramatically our understanding of Coptic painting in the thirteenth century. They comprise the largest extant program of paintings from a Medieval Coptic church. Not only are they connected to early Byzantine art in a tradition that was never disrupted by Iconoclasm, but they also incorporate elements of Middle Byzantine and Islamic art.

This talk briefly introduces the entire program, which includes two stylistic modes of thirteenth-century painting, as well as a small area of sixth- or seventh-century images. The central focus of this presentation is the thematic rationale for the subjects included in the nave. Included are two principal groups of figures: martyrs, at the western end, and monks, at the eastern end. Their general locations (west and east), and also their specific positions with respect to their painted neighbors, are meaningful. They express an overarching genealogical relationship between martyrs and their monastic descendants. Each figure also includes references to events in his life or spiritual afterlife. Some of these narrative references are obvious, and others are exceptionally subtle, coded into the hand gestures of the figures, or into their painted architectural frames. The nave program is explained as being particularly appropriate for a church and monastery dedicated to St. Antony the Great, who is commonly known as "the father of monasticism."

The painted program of the nave reads as a genealogy of monastic spirituality in Egypt, a path to salvation and everlasting life in Christ. The paintings did more than express the identity of the community, and the legacy of St. Antony the Great. They served several functions, including providing visual *foci* for imitation, or *mimesis*, an essential method for spiritual improvement and elevation. They served to ward off evil, and keep it outside of the physical space of the church. These exceptionally important and virtually unknown paintings enrich our understanding of Coptic art under Arab rule, and add significantly to the known corpus of painting in the eastern Mediterranean region in the thirteenth century.



### Spiritual Direction in the Early Byzantine Church: Ammonas, Athanasius and Chrysostom on Ascetic Authority

George Demacopoulos (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

In the early Byzantine church, there was no single standard for spiritual direction. Ascetic authors typically believed that successful leadership stemmed from the advisor's own ascetic accomplishment. Their pastoral techniques exemplified the ideas and ideals of their communities. In contrast, Episcopal writers often linked authority to ordination. Spiritual counseling, for these authors, took the form of doctrinal instruction. They placed little emphasis on pious behavior or ritual performance. Not surprisingly, the distinction between ascetic and Episcopal patterns of spiritual leadership became less clear as many ascetics gained Episcopal authority during the fourth century. This paper explores the methods by which three authorities, two of them bishops, capitalized on the ascetic movement as they identified the criteria for and the performance of spiritual leadership.

Three fourth-century authors, Ammonas (the successor of St. Antony), Athanasius and John Chrysostom, each provided spiritual instruction for a community of Christians. Each left written records of their pastoral strategies. And each was an avid proponent of ascetic culture. What distinguished these men was the different aspects of the ascetic traditions that they emphasized.

Ammonas, for example, identified ascetic perfection as the criterion *par excellence* which denoted a spiritual father's legitimacy. Through letters to his disciples, Ammonas justified his leadership by advancing his own ascetic achievements. At the same time, he deflated the ambitions of his subordinates by rebuking their lack of obedience and spiritual discernment, two virtues prized in ascetic culture. Athanasius' authority also derived from the ascetic community but through different means. While defending his Episcopal position from would-be usurpers, Athanasius did not stress his own ascetic achievements (as did Ammonas) but rather courted the support of powerful ascetic communities. In fact, his famous *Life of St. Antony* may have been a clever attempt to safeguard his own position. John Chrysostom's *On the Priesthood*, the most famous pastoral treatise in Byzantine literature, approached asceticism in a different fashion altogether. For Chrysostom, ascetic qualities were important, but, by themselves, they did not provide a foundation for spiritual authority. Instead, Chrysostom argued that spiritual supervision was the exclusive privilege of the clergy.

The purpose of this paper is to document the variety of approaches to spiritual direction in the early Byzantine period. Clearly, a tension existed between the ascetic community and the episcopacy in the fourth century. But even among persons committed to the ascetic way of life, the techniques of pastoral care and the criteria for leadership differed markedly.

## Transforming Monastic Authority in Fourth-Century Egypt

Bernadette McNary-Zak (Rhodes College)

The proliferation and wide transmission of texts about early fourth-century monastic practice attests to the fact that for many persons in the final decades of the fourth century, the personal experience of a monastic leader through observation and dialogue was replaced with the experience of an abba through a written account of some of his acts and teachings. What happened to the nature of spiritual guidance when the act of interpretation of a text became one's part in a spiritual relationship of discipleship? How could a relationship between spiritual guide and follower extend into a text?

This paper explores these questions in the specific context of the monastic leader, Antony. Several extant letters from the fourth century provide compelling evidence of efforts to stabilize the authority of Antony after his death. The opening greeting commonly used by Antony to introduce himself to his followers in his letters reveals how he defined and mediated his own authority as a spiritual guide. Letters composed by Bishop Serapion of Thmuis, and by the monastic leader, Ammonas, both contemporaries of Antony, are evidence of a process to concretize this authority after Antony's death.

When assessed in chronological sequence, these letters disclose an evolution in the definition and mediation of Antony's authority. The *Letters of Antony*, dated to the later period of Antony's lifetime, are evidence for a definition of authority that emerged from his personal encounters with his followers. The greeting of his letters recalled the social order of the relationship between these disciples and Antony and contained his hope for, and promise of, a continued relationship of spiritual guidance. Antony's authority as defined and mediated in these letters was unstable, however, as it was dependent on the retention of followers who validated Antony as an abba.

Serapion of Thmuis and Ammonas confronted the nature of this instability after Antony's death. Their letters offer two distinct efforts to stabilize Antony's authority by recalling for followers the experience of Antony as a spiritual guide. In his *Letter on the Death of Antony*, Serapion maintained that the authority of Antony would be stabilized by those followers who accepted Serapion's appeal to participate in the power of Antony available to them by recapitulating Antony's role as intercessor for the church. Likewise, in one of his letters, Ammonas intended to recall the prior experience of a personal relationship with Antony as the basis for the ongoing impact of his authority. Here, the attempt to stabilize Antony's authority is found in the preservation of one of his seminal teachings.

The individual efforts of these men to stabilize Antony's authority by empowering Antony's followers to manifest the actions and words of an exalted spiritual guide, and, in this, to transform and extend the sustainability of Antony's authority, are the preliminary foundation for a revised assessment of the definition and mediation of monastic authority in this period.



# Session VII. Imperial Represention

## Chair: Michael Maas (Rice University)

### A Lost Image of the Bulgar-slayer

Paul Stephenson (University of Wisconsin - Madison)

In a recent article I drew attention to the creation of the legend of Basil II (976-1025) as Bulgar-slayer (Βουλγαροκτόνος) in the later twelfth century, as well as to the recreation of that legend in the early twentieth century (P. Stephenson, The Legend of Basil the Bulgar slayer, *BMGS* 24, 2000, 102-32). In doing so I failed to register a lost work of art, a set of four imperial portraits where Basil was juxtaposed with the Komnenian emperors Alexios, John and Manuel. This work is known only from a copy of the epigram which once accompanied it, preserved in a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century manuscript (Venice, Marc. gr. 524, fol. 46r; S. Lampros, *Neos Hellenomnemon* 8, 2, 1911, 127-8). The epigram relates to the construction by Manuel I Komnenos (1143-80) of a new hall to serve as a refectory for the monastery of St. Mokios, in the western part of Constantinople. It reveals that the monastery owed much to the four emperors portrayed on the walls of the hall: Manuel and John Komnenos, who were great benefactors, Alexios who made the monastery coenobitic, and Basil who first turned the fourth-century church of St. Mokios into a monastery.

The principal point of significance in understanding how the emperors were portrayed is the martial nature of the images described, and the fact that they are described with triumphal epithets. Manuel Komnenos is lauded for his triumphs over Hungarians, Italians, Serbs, Turks and Cumans, allowing us to date the poem to the second half of his reign. Indeed, the epithets used closely resemble those in the *intitulatio* of Manuel s conciliar edict of 1166, providing a tentative *terminus post quem* for the epigram (C. Mango, The conciliar edict of 1166, *DOP* 17, 1963, 317-30, 324). John Komnenos enjoys the compound distinction of being the ruin of both Scythians and Persians (Σκυθοπερσόλεθρος), the Pechenegs and Turks. Alexios Komnenos is called the Persian-slayer (Περσοκτόνος), recalling his wars with the Seljuk Turks, and echoing an epithet used by Theodore Prodromos for John Komnenos.

Notably, Basil s victory over the Bulgarians is mentioned in a far less martial manner: the poet uses the biblical allusion to the beating of swords into plowshares. Basil is not called *Voulgaroktonos* in the body of the poem, but this epithet does appear in the introductory lemma. However, the lemma was added to explain the original location and context of the poem when it was copied into this, or an earlier manuscript. It probably dates, therefore, from the thirteenth century, and is not the earliest reference to the *Voulgarokotonos*. (This distinction is still held by Niketas Choniates.) The emperor as slayer of various barbarians had become a touchstone in the militaristic atmosphere at the courts of the Komnenian emperors, and it was here that Basil the younger, porphyrogennetos, son of Romanos, emerged as *Voulgaroktonos*.

## Saint Eudokia the Empress

Areti Papanastasiou (University of Chicago)

In 1929, an inlaid marble plaque representing a sainted empress Eudokia was discovered in the tenth-century church of the Theotokos at the Lips Monastery (Fenari Isa Camii). The saint was identified by its investigator, Theodore Makridy, with the empress Eudokia, who was commemorated, according to the Constantinopolitan *synaxarion*, on the 13th of August, at her tomb in the church of the Holy Apostles. Both the Eudokia of the *synaxarion* and the Eudokia of the plaque were then identified by Makridy with Athenais-Eudokia, the wife of Theodosios II. This identification has recently been challenged by Sharon Gerstel who rightly points out that since Athenais-Eudokia died on 20 October 460 and was buried not in Constantinople but in Jerusalem, the entry of the *synaxarion* cannot be referring to her. Instead, Gerstel proposes that both the empress Eudokia of the *synaxarion* and that of the plaque are to be identified with Eudokia Baiane, Leo VI's third wife. Eudokia's sainthood is placed within the context of Leo's attempts to accord sainthood to his two previous wives. Since Eudokia Baiane died on 12 April and was buried on 13 April 901, it is postulated that a scribal error is responsible for the replacement of the abbreviation of April with August.

A careful examination of the sources, however, reveals the existence of an empress Eudokia who both died on the 13th of August and was buried in the Justinianic mausoleum of the Holy Apostles. Fabia-Eudokia who died on the 13th of August 612 was the first wife of Herakleios I, and it is this Eudokia who is both commemorated in the *synaxarion* and represented on the plaque. In this paper I first discuss the significance of her commemoration for the seventh-century dynastic claims, and then investigate a set of unique circumstances around the middle of the tenth century that place in context the use of her image in the church of the Theotokos at the Lips monastery. I suggest that this image may be associated with Bertha-Eudokia, first wife of Romanos II, and discuss some of the implications for both patronage and dating of the tenth-century Lips church.



## Images of Theodora, Guardian of the Faith

Kriszta Kotsis (University of Washington)

The empress Theodora's role in the restoration of icons in 843 together with her position as a regent for an under-aged emperor have drawn much historical interest. Theodora also became a saint. Recent analyses of her *vita* (dated c. 871-912) and similar texts have revealed rhetorical strategies that employ figures of empresses as literary devices to articulate personal agendas of the hagiographers. Art historians, however, have given moderate attention to representations of Theodora. Her images have not been studied together as one body of evidence due to their disparity in medium, date, and function. Theodora's images comprise three categories: portraits on coins and seals, representations as a saint, and likenesses in historical narratives. This paper analyzes the first two categories of this neglected visual evidence to demonstrate how images of Theodora became vehicles of diverse messages depending on their iconography, function, and intended audience.

Theodora's portraits on coins and seals offer the only extant representations of empresses between 802 and 867. They follow the iconography established for the numismatic representation of empresses by her eighth-century predecessor, Irene. However, the images of Theodora articulate a different view of dynastic policy, one that assigns increasing importance to the wife and daughters of the emperor in representing the empire, yet downplays the significance of the empress in favor of the imperial family as a whole.

Theodora is depicted as a saint in the *Menologion of Basil II*, which also contains another imperial saint, Theophano, wife of Leo VI. The inclusion of their images here attests to the promotion of imperial saints for the benefit of the Macedonian dynasty, and may also reveal the concern of Basil in promoting holy empresses to counteract the lack of female imperial presence in his court. Basil's interest in Theodora and Theophano may also have been prompted by another personal affinity, for they shared the names of Basil's mother and aunt, and probably served as their patron saints.

The *Triumph of Orthodoxy* icon (dated *c.* 1400) also depicts Theodora and her young son in the company of iconophile saints and an icon of the *Hodegegetria*. Similar examples also survive from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This icon propagates and reaffirms the role of imperial authority in the restoration and guardianship of orthodoxy through a parallel between the earthly authority embodied by an imperial mother and child and the divine authority represented by the icon of the Virgin and child. It is striking that while the actual feast was introduced into the church calendar in the ninth century, its first extant representation comes from *c.* 1400. This raises questions about the origins of the image. I argue that it may be possible to find evidence for the existence of this image as early as the *thirteenth* century.

This paper explores the variety of concerns articulated through images of Theodora. It forms part of a larger project that analyzes representations of Middle Byzantine empresses to illuminate the complex processes in which images of imperial women were used in Byzantine society.

## The Ruler Elevated: Alexander the Great's Ascent in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Art

Nicolette S. Trahoulia (Deree College)

Byzantine images of the ascent of Alexander the Great in the context of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are the focus of this paper. In this image, Alexander is represented in a chariot raised aloft by griffins. The image illustrates an episode contained in certain versions of the Alexander Romance in which Alexander devises a way to explore the heavens. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Alexander's ascent is a popular image in court art and large-scale sculpture, such as the famous marble relief on the exterior of San Marco in Venice. Alexander is rarely depicted outside the context of the ascent, and is always given the trappings of a Byzantine emperor. Moreover, imperial epideictic of the time increasingly likens the emperor to Alexander. So, while Alexander's depiction as a Byzantine emperor in images of his ascent can be seen as the visual equivalent of comparisons made between him and the emperor in Byzantine epideictic, the question remains why the ascent was chosen as the image to express this comparison.

This paper asserts that the image had a particular resonance during this period, giving form to a complex body of ideas related to notions of Komnenian rulership. Contemporary texts, such as imperial panegyrics, are examined for their use of Alexander as an imperial paradigm. A common motif in these texts is the Byzantine emperor's ability to take flight and "soar like an eagle." This motif and its relation to the Alexander paradigm are traced from Michael Psellos to later twelfth-century panegyrists. Furthermore, the apocalyptic overtones of the ascent image are addressed and viewed in the context of apocalyptic preoccupations of the time, specifically as propagated by the Komnenoi.



# Session VIII. Late Byzantine Intellectual Life

## Chair: John Barker (University of Wisconsin)

### Paternal Imagery in Eustathios of Thessalonike's *On the Title Papas*

John D. Beetham (Catholic University of America)

While Eustathios of Thessalonike is well known among Byzantinists for his commentaries on Homer, his account of the capture of Thessalonike by the Normans, and, to a lesser degree, his treatise on the improvement of the monastic life, other writings by Eustathios receive much less attention. He was, in fact, quite a prolific writer throughout his career, both as master of rhetoric in Constantinople and as metropolitan of Thessalonike. Even his shorter works are valuable sources for religious and literary history. One such rarely cited work is his composition, *On the Title Papas*, in which Eustathios censures a fellow cleric for refusing to allow himself to be addressed by that title.

Eustathios begins his composition with a heavy dose of invective, then writes briefly on the dignity of the title, *papas*, continues with a long segment on the meaning and etymology of the word, and concludes with an exhortation. The work presents several questions. First, its specific genre is unclear. Is it a letter, a sermon, a treatise, or something else? Second, the identity of the addressee is not known. Is this a friend or a subordinate? Or is this cleric who refuses to be called *papas* a fictive character? The precise nature of what the addressee had done to inspire Eustathios to write is also unclear. Third, we do not know the date of this work, and whether it was written by Eustathios in his capacity as master of rhetoric or as metropolitan.

In spite of these problems, *On the Title Papas* offers insight into the literary world of Eustathios and Byzantium in the twelfth century. As a master of rhetoric in the patriarchal school and as a Homeric scholar, he is a prime representative of Byzantium's twelfth-century renaissance, or proto-renaissance. Eustathios' scholarly side is evident in this text, with its etymology of *papas* that traced the origins of the word back to Zeus. Its Atticizing language and spelling likewise mark him as a classicist.

*On the Title Papas* is one of several works by Eustathios that deal with clerical life, and provides a glimpse into Byzantine attitudes towards the priesthood. It is apparent that Eustathios holds the title *papas* in high regard, and believes that his reader should also. It is right that a priest be called *papas* because of his fatherly role, and he could no more give up that title than an emperor could refuse to be called *sebastos*. The addressee is admonished to accept being called *papas* and to busy himself with actions befitting the name. Although the text is notable for its lack of overt reference to Biblical or patristic authorities, the lofty view of the priesthood espoused by Eustathios is congruent with the writings of the Greek fathers, particularly John Chrysostom. It may be noted that Eustathios uses language to describe ordinary priests (or perhaps bishops) similar to the exalted rhetoric used to describe the pope of Rome by Latin writers.

## Planoudes and the Intellectual Context of Translation

Elizabeth A. Fisher (The George Washington University)

In the Byzantine literary tradition there was no niche recognized for serious authors who also translated works from other literary traditions. Figures like John Dryden, Matthew Arnold, Richmond Lattimore, or Ted Hughes did not arise through the generations to act as mediators of a foreign literature which the society considered "classical." In thirteenth-century Byzantium, however, the monk Maximos Planoudes produced several Greek translations from classical Latin equal in literary quality to the English translations from Greek and Latin of a Dryden, Lattimore, or Hughes.

This paper examines the intellectual context of Planoudes' extraordinary translations. The particulars of his activities and associations as a scribe, scholar, and teacher establish his professional position; his social and diplomatic contacts suggest the extent and influence of his reputation; his contribution to Byzantine *belles letters* indicates the nature of his own aesthetic standards and taste. It was the status of Planoudes himself within the contemporary Byzantine culture which recommended and validated his translation efforts to a scholarly public. Although Planoudes has left us no translator's preface to reveal his aims in translating Latin works into Greek, abundant comparative evidence provided by literary translators in later traditions provides some insight into his possible intentions as a translator.



## Psellus' Neoplatonic Orthodoxy

Frederick Lauritzen (Columbia University)

Michael Psellus (1018 – *ca.* 1078), *hypatus* of the philosophers under Constantine IX (1045 - 1054), wrote this essay, On Theology and Differences Between Greek Opinions (*Philosophica Minora* 2.35), in order to show the usefulness of Greek philosophy to Christian Theology. He is not interested in showing the advantage brought by all pagan philosophy, but only in that of the neoplatonists Proclus (410 - 485) and Porphyry (234 - *ca.* 305). Of these he illustrates twelve propositions taken respectively from the Elements of Theology and the *Sententiae*. He makes a distinction between those pagan statements, which he believes to fit Christian Orthodoxy, and those, which do not. He does this by implicitly connecting these words with those of Dionysys the Areopagite in "On the Divine Names". The words that do not find echo in Dionysus are rejected as pagan.

Pointing to these parallelisms lets Psellus demonstrate that similar ideas had been developed outside of Christianity and therefore that their consequences could be useful for Christian theologian. This approach can gain a personal advantage for Psellus, as it would make his studies in pagan philosophy directly relevant to current theology.

Psellus uses the analogies between the pagan and Christian thoughts in order to defend his own orthodoxy. By demonstrating that he understands the differences between what is heretical of pagan philosophy and was is not, he indirectly shows that he has a clearly orthodox view of these problems. Thus he is averting a direct clash between those who hold that pagan philosophy was a damaging study, and himself.

The choice of Porphyry and Proclus is interesting as it could point to Psellus' understanding of orthodox Christianity as being torn by a Porphyrian origenist view of the world, and a Proclean-Maximian view. If this were the case Psellus would demonstrate an even greater understanding of his own religion and would escape further accusations of paganism.

This essay, although short and, at first sight puzzling, seems to reveal the basic strands of the contemporary debate and thus sheds greater clarity on the atmosphere which brought about the misunderstandings of the *filioque*. Psellus' needs for self-justification and demonstration of his orthodoxy fit with the debate between the court and the patriarchate at the time of the schism between eastern and western Christianity. Thus it is through the very nature of orthodox theology and of the benefits of studying and teaching pagan philosophy that this essay can reveal the intellectual tensions of the time and Psellus' place in this world.

## The Διάστασις τοῦ Θεοῦ in Psellos' Praise of Italos

David Jenkins (University of Notre Dame)

It is understandable that a fair amount of attention has been paid to the famous trial of the philosopher John Italos in 1082 since it bears witness to such fundamental tensions in both Byzantine political and spiritual life at the very start of Comnenian rule. Lowell Clucas has studied the political and intellectual issues of the trial in the greatest detail (*The Trial of John Italos and the Crisis of Intellectual Values in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century*, Munich, 1981), and Pericles Ioannou has provided us with the most comprehensive study of Italos' philosophical thought (*Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Joannes Italos*, Ettal, 1956). However both give little notice to a curious oration by Italos' teacher, Michael Psellos, delivered early on in the controversy (1076?), in which he praises Italos for his own defense and makes a specific reference to what is arguably the fundamental theological issue at stake (Ἔπαινος τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ, *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria Minora* [Leipzig, 1985] p. 69-72).

In commending Italos for calmly bearing the charges against him, Psellos says that he tolerated all of them except one, τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κἂν τῷ λόγῳ διάστασιν. Psellos tells us further that Italos became angry when he heard it and struck back at his accusers "using reason as a spear." What did Psellos mean by τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ καν τῷ λόγῳ διάστασιν? And why of all the charges did it anger Italos the most?

While it is difficult to assess the thought of Psellos in particular, given that he wrote in many genres and from seemingly contradictory world-views, there is little doubt that both Psellos and Italos appropriated into their philosophical thought the metaphysical structure of Proclus' Neoplatonism. Much of Psellos' *Omnifaria doctrina* is lifted directly from Proclus, and many of his shorter theological and philosophical essays deal with the elements of this particular metaphysical scheme. Italos discusses aspects of the doctrine throughout his *Quaestiones quodlibetales* and specifically in the chapter, Περὶ τῆς τριττῆς ὑποστάσεως. I argue from passages of both writers that the elements of this metaphysical structure could not help but become analogous to, and in conflict with, Orthodox trinitarian formulations. These subtle though seemingly necessary analogies led to some of Italos' questionable expressions condemned at his trial, and his opponents' suspicion of them to their sometimes exaggerated charges, in particular to the charge of attributing a heretical διάστασις to God, violating an important Orthodox doctrine formulated by Gregory of Nyssa.



# Session IX. Imperial Power, Imperial Weakness

## Chair: Paul Halsall (University of North Florida)

### Representing Murderous Reality: Imperial Demise in the Madrid Skylitzes.

Elena Boeck (Yale University)

This paper investigates some of the most unusual surviving images of Byzantine emperors: the gruesome representations of imperial murders in the Madrid Skylitzes. The depictions of imperial assassinations stand out against the surviving body of Byzantine art, which glorifies the imperial office. In contrast to influential studies that view imperial imagery as a tool for representing the power of the emperor (Grabar), this paper focuses on images that display imperial vulnerability, humanity, and insecurity of office. Although the total number of images of imperial murders is small, these are some of the most vivid and iconographically creative images in the manuscript. Imperial murders are often presented in conjunction with images of successful challenges to imperial authority. The traditional iconographic vocabulary of majesty is in several cases juxtaposed with humiliating images of imperial death. For example, the murder of Leo the Armenian (f. 26a, f. 26va), who in vain waves a cross at his assassin, is juxtaposed with the traditional image of the succession of Michael II (f. 26vb), who plotted his death.

Other images further emphasize imperial vulnerability. The murder of Romanos Argyros (f. 206va) takes place in a bath. The presence of half-naked attendants strangling the submerged naked body of Romanos is a far cry from the timeless images of frontal, majestically clothed and crowned, emperors basking in the immediate presence of the divine that predominate in official imagery. Images of imperial murders highlight a struggle for power that is absent in official imperial imagery, which employs an iconographic vocabulary that stresses legitimacy.

Analysis of imperial murders sheds new light on the iconographic program of the Madrid Skylitzes. There was a conscious choice to vividly depict imperial murders, but two modes of representation were employed. In the visual narrative of the manuscript, the myriad challenges to the holders of the imperial office (betrayal, rebellion, intrigue, murder, etc.) were often depicted using a "non-official" (in contrast to the official imagery surveyed by Grabar) vocabulary of imperial poses, which range from powerless to lifeless. The official iconographic vocabulary was also employed, often to depict those who had just plotted the downfall of sitting emperors. Whether the images in the Madrid Skylitzes reflect the variety of lost Byzantine imperial representations, or whether they were constructed for a Sicilian patron, the visual narrative of the manuscript suggests that iconographic humiliation of individual emperors could peacefully coincide with the visual exaltation of the imperial office.

## Imitator, Partner or Covalent: Christ and the Emperor in Ritual

Dean A. Miller (University of Rochester)

Calling the Byzantine emperor Christomimetic is almost too easy; it merely elevates the theological principle of *Christomimesis* as available to any Christian believer to the highest level: subject and ruler are essentially equal here. Certainly any imperial system (within the medieval Christian world) sees the emperor raised above ordinary humankind and ordinary kings (as the Hohenstaufen house and the king of France — "emperor in his own kingdom" — declared) and their semi-priestly status moves them to a special place where, one might say, *saeculum* and *imperium* are conjoined, with priestly *magisterium* seen as subordinate. Byzantium — East Rome — went further. Jaroslav Pelikan says that Christ and the Byzantine emperor were counted as partners, more or less in balance — one ruling on Earth, the other reigning in Heaven. However, the tradition of the divinization (or beyond this, the actual deifying) of the ruler, which Byzantium inherited from the Hellenistic theory of kingship, reinforced by some late Imperial Roman patterns, eventually produced an imperial figure who, in the magical atmosphere of ritual, was equated to or seen as covalent with Christ. This equivalence is evident in certain acclamations recorded by Constantine VII in the *De ceremoniis*. This paper argues that the divinization/deification of the emperor, in ritual (and related iconic) terms, was inevitable, especially given the particular Byzantine view of sovereignty.



## Gender, Politics, and Imperial Legitimation in Byzantium 1028-1057

Ruma Niyogi (The University of Chicago)

In regards to Zoe and Theodora, the last surviving members of the Macedonian dynasty, Edward Gibbon writes, ". . . I have hastily reviewed and gladly dismiss this shameful and destructive period of twenty-eight years, in which the Greeks, degraded below the common level of servitude, were transferred like a herd of cattle by the choice or caprice of two impotent females" (*The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Bury, chap. 28.) Indeed, many scholars consider the eleventh century as the nadir of Byzantine political history, calling the period of rule of Zoe and Theodora as "The Time of Troubles." The "troubling" aspects of this period are perhaps clear: namely, that without a clear dynastic succession for the throne the political events were thrown into chaos. Simply put, Zoe and Theodora, as women, were incapable of running an empire. This simplistic reductionism, however, presents a certain facile deceptiveness with regard to the understanding of the period. Zoe and Theodora had unusual power and influence; they were responsible for legitimating five emperors, as well as ruling jointly by themselves for ten months. Thus, to simply dismiss this period as shameful and destructive, without examining the internal machinations and development of imperial ideology, runs the risk of seriously misinterpreting the development of Byzantine political history.

In this paper I argue that imperial women, through their role as political legitimators, aided in creating and sustaining a unique and specific imperial political view during the eleventh century—a political view that was affected by and contributed to the instability and fragmentation of this period. First, I examine how political legitimation and imperial ideology have been previously understood in Byzantium. Then, through textual analysis of key passages in narrative histories, I show how Zoe and Theodora played an active role in legitimating emperors and exercising real power. I focus my discussion upon Psellos' Chronographia, for, unlike the conclusions of some scholars, Zoe and Theodora were not simply performing acts of imperial renovatio by legitimating emperors; they were acting as the figural embodiment of power themselves within Byzantium.

## The Emperor's Manipulation of Punishment Spectacles in Constantinople

Galina Tirnanic (University of Chicago)

When Emperor Justinian II was overthrown by his opponents in 695, he was taken to the Hippodrome, where his nose was slit and his tongue cut off, before he was exiled from Constantinople to Cherson. He was thus subjected to the public humiliation and punishment reserved for criminals, and thus the "surplus power" he possessed as an emperor was replaced by the "lack of power" of the condemned. Upon his return to the throne in 702, he sought revenge upon the enemies who publicly shamed him: during the races at the Hippodrome, he trampled on the necks of Apsimaros and Leontios, after having them publicly dragged before him and thrown at his feet as slaves. The two were then processed to the Kynegion and beheaded. They too were forced into the roles of punished criminals, and thus publicly stripped of their power. This was neither the first nor the last time an emperor established his power by juxtaposing it with the "lack of power" of the condemned. It is this aspect of public punishment that lends itself to such manipulation that I address in this paper. On a broader plane, this paper introduces an interpretation of public punishment as ritual. This ritual unified the physical spaces and citizens of Constantinople into a single body and purified it by extracting its deviant elements. Specifically, this paper shows how Constantinople's main street, the Mese, and the fora and arenas situated along it contributed to the symbolic and ritual nature of public punishment, and how both the spaces and the ritual were ultimately manipulated by the emperor.

Up to this point the Mese has been considered primarily for its purpose as the route for the rituals of triumphal imperial entry from the Golden Gate, at the southern end of the Theodosian walls, to the church of Saint Sophia in the administrative, political, and religious heart of the city. Unexplored, in contrast, is the use of Mese in the opposite direction for the procession of condemned criminals and public enemies. Along the Mese lay the primary public spaces involved in punishment spectacles: the Hippodrome (often used for humiliation), the Kynegion (a site of many beheadings), the Forum of Constantine (used for execution and pronouncement of exile), the Forum of the Ox (where public enemies were burned), and the Pelagios and Kriseis cemeteries (where criminals were buried). In a likely scenario, the offender would be dragged along the Mese to be humiliated at the Hippodrome, beheaded at the Kynegion, and buried at the Kriseis cemetery near the western walls of the city. Punishment processions therefore ultimately moved from the heart of the city towards its walls. Yet, in spite of their opposed directions of movement, both triumphal and punishment rituals were spectacles that contributed to the communal good: a returning emperor would unite the city in a triumphal procession, bringing victory into the city, while the outbound procession of criminals symbolized the expulsion of impurity from the city. Nevertheless, I propose that Justinian II and many other emperors and tyrants often exploited the highly public rituals of punishment toward a personal end.



## Session X.

## Round Table on Byzantine Studies at the beginning of the 21st Century

## Chair: Sharon Gerstel (University of Maryland)

# Session XI. Archaeology

## Chair: Susan Madigan (Michigan State University)

### A Roman Bath as "Heaven on Earth"— The Re-use and Perception of Roman Buildings in Byzantium

Asen Kirin (University of Georgia)

This paper discusses the Rotunda of St. George in Sofia, ancient Serdica. Originally, the building was a part of a Roman bath belonging to an imperial palace, constructed by Constantine the Great (306-337). Around mid-fifth century the Rotunda was converted into a church; it suffered damage in 809 and was restored and decorated with frescoes in the early eleventh century. Two more layers of frescoes were painted in the late twelfth and the late fourteenth century. During the period between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries the Rotunda served as a mosque, a storehouse, a mausoleum, a church, and a museum. The curious aspect of this epic sequence of conversions is that apart from loosing some adjacent chambers the Rotunda has retained its original form. This consists of a centralized space extending into four diagonally situated semicircular niches, all of which is surmounted by a dome resting on a drum featuring large windows. The entrance and an oriented rectangular niche face each other, both lying on the central east-west axis. The question then arises: how can one account for a building whose form remained unchanged through so many transformations of function?

It is not surprising that this solidly built structure, located at the city center and symbolizing the imperial part of Serdica, has been in continuous use for sixteen centuries. While acknowledging the importance of structural stability and topography one asks whether the architectural form itself was a factor defining or facilitating the conversions and if so in what way?

The late antique imperial bath was reconstructed in the fifth and in the eleventh century. The building became a part of two distinct architectural contexts with parallels among the architectural creations of the respective periods. The Rotunda and the octagonal hall in immediate proximity of it are central plan palace halls converted into churches. So far only two such examples have been documented. Introducing the Serdica monuments into the discussion of late antique architecture contributes to seeing these conversions not as random, unrelated instances, but rather as manifestations of a particular trend in ecclesiastical architecture. This trend had to do with transferring forms from the realm of palatial design into that of church architecture. With regard to the Rotunda's re-use in the eleventh century, the issues raised in this paper focus on the architectural design commonly defined as a domed-octagon. Scholars have been preoccupied with its origin: Armenian, Hellenistic *via* Constantinople, or Islamic. To these hypothetical sources for the domed octagon churches this paper adds certain late antique architectural designs.

Virtually unknown, the discussed material from Serdica demonstrates that architectural form, topography and historic memory together define the meaning of a building. In addition it shows how important it is to study the history of Byzantine architecture by including not only newly created buildings, but also certain re-used older structures, since these were an integral—and in some cases a seminal—part of the story.



### A Middle Byzantine Monastery Near Doyran Village (Antalya, Turkey)

Engin Akyürek (Istanbul University)

The purpose of this paper is to introduce a middle Byzantine monastery located in the mountainous area of Doyran Village, 35 kilometers west of Antalya, Turkey. Located on the top of a wooded hill, the complex is surrounded by a fortification wall and is relatively well preserved. Although mentioned in some surveys, the monastery has not been studied previously by Byzantinists.

The entrance to the monastery is through a gate in the north wall. Across from the entrance is a large barrel-vaulted building, which might have been a storeroom. Adjacent to the south wall of this building are two burial chambers.

The plan of the centrally positioned church is difficult to identify without clearing the rubble of the collapsed roofing in the naos. The elevations of the south and north walls, however, as well as the traces of arch springings on the inner walls, lead us to hypothesize that it had a cross-in-square plan. The main apse projects out and is flanked by two niches with narrow windows. A room at the northeast, communicating solely with the naos, might have been used for liturgical purposes, perhaps substituting for pastophoria (sacristies).

At the southeast corner of the complex is a large, two storied building, which may have been the trapeza. Its basement was only partly usable due to the sloping bedrock, with an entrance through a small door at the south. The main floor, probably used as the dining hall, is entered from the west and has windows along the east wall. An upper floor was probably accessible from the interior. The building was covered by a pitched wooden roof, evident from the pediments of the short sides.

Several small spaces at the south of the church might originally have been the cells for the monks, but most were reconfigured at a later date, probably during the Seljuk period, as some architectural forms and small finds suggest. Two niches in the south surrounding wall seem to have functioned as toilets, designed to eliminate waste outside of the enclosure. A simple barrel-vaulted cistern at the northeast corner is connected to the remains of a small aqueduct, which supplied water to the cistern.

The technique of the wall construction is rubble masonry with white mortar and occasional thin pieces of roofing tiles set irregularly between the stones. In the church, some pieces of plaster and traces of fresco still survive, while on the exterior, the moldings around the windows of the apse are the only decoration. We have not found columns or significant architectural sculpture at the site.

At least two construction periods can be identified for this middle-Byzantine monastery. A dendrochronological study of the wooden beams running within the walls of the church might provide a more exact dating. In spite of its modest character, the site represents one of the best preserved Byzantine monasteries from Anatolia and adds considerable new information to our growing picture of the physical setting of Byzantine monasticism.

## Archaeological "Signatures" of Byzantine Churches: Survey Archaeology and the Creation of a Byzantine Landscape

William Caraher, Timothy E. Gregory, and David K. Pettegrew
(Ohio State University)

Archaeological survey is a tool designed to elucidate the broad human and natural landscape in various periods. This tool has, generally speaking, not been utilized fully for the Byzantine period, in part because Byzantine material is often remarkably thin on the ground. Churches are naturally more plentiful than other classes of objects, and they are the best known of Byzantine buildings. In addition, churches are certainly important in any attempt to understand the Byzantine landscape, since they will have played a primary role in the way the Byzantines understood the physical world around them. Nonetheless, all too little is understood about the distribution of churches and the settings in which these buildings existed. Although standing churches have finally begun to make their way into the publication of archaeological surveys (witness the fine example of the Methana Survey), interest in Byzantine survey archaeology continues to lag. This paper seeks to make a significant methodological contribution by the identification of the archaeological "signature" of Byzantine churches, especially when there are no standing architectural remains. It makes use of the plentiful evidence from the Australian Paliochora-Kythera Archaeological Survey, where to date some 47 churches have been discovered, to investigate the kinds of archaeological material which one might reasonable associate with a church (as opposed, for example, to domestic structures). Issues of chronology and function are also discussed and real, practical suggestions are made that will, hopefully, lead to greater interest in the kind of information that can be derived from survey archaeology for the Byzantine period.



# Session XII. Reading Liturgical and Ritual Symbolism

## Niketas and the True Cross: Some Critical Observations on the *Chronicon Paschale ad annum* 614

Holger A. Klein (Columbia University)

Under the year 614, the *Chronicon Paschale* records the following three events: (1) The Persian conquest of Jerusalem in the second indiction, followed by the abduction of patriarch Zacharias, the relic of the True Cross, and numerous *vasa sacra*, (2) Patrikios Niketas' rescue of the relic of the Holy Sponge from the Persians and its transfer to Constantinople, where it was solemnly exaltated with the relic of the True Cross on September 14 of the third indiction, and (3) the arrival of the relic of the Holy Lance in the capital on October 28, a Saturday, and its subsequent four-day veneration by the inhabitants of Constantinople.

Since the overall chronology of events fits with the dates given in the *Chronicon Paschale* as the second and third indiction, i.e. June through October 614, and a Patrikios Niketas is mentioned only a few paragraphs earlier in connection with the Byzantine efforts to prevent a Persian invasion, the validity and coherence of this account has, so far, never been questioned. The translation of the relics of the Holy Sponge and Lance has been regarded as an immediate result of the Persian conquest of Syria-Palestine. Likewise, the introduction of new liturgical ceremonies in the capital has been characterized as an official response to the loss of Jerusalem as the most important cult center for the veneration of the relics of Christ's Passion.

This paper takes the position that there is reason to doubt not only the chronology of events recorded in the *Chronicon Paschale*, but also the identification of the Patrikios Niketas with the well-known general and cousin of emperor Herakleios. The curious fact that day and date given for the arrival for the Holy Lance in Constantinople (Saturday, October 28 of the third indiction) do not match up in 614, but rather one indiction cycle later, in 629, provides the basis for an investigation into the complicated history of the loss and recovery of the relic of the true Cross and its cultic veneration in Constantinople. The placement of the two events recording the recovery and translation of the relics can best be explained as the result of an effort to restore the corrupted end of the Byzantine manuscript that served as a model for the tenth-century scribe who compiled cod. Vatican gr. 1941, the earliest surviving copy of the *Chronicon Paschale*.

## Cleanliness, Not a Condition for Godliness: *Alousia* as a Canonical Requirement in Late Byzantium

Patrick Viscuso (Chantilly, Virginia)

Ablutions often constitute an important element of rituals associated with initiation, prayer, and purgation. Such cleansing is frequently related to contact with sacred objects and placement within a spiritual hierarchy. In late Byzantium, ritual washing occurred through baptismal rites of initiation. Full immersion is a major stipulation of Byzantine canon law governing baptism and becomes a feature of late Byzantine polemic against the Latin use of infusion and aspersion.

Nevertheless, in spite of the requirement of ritual washing for initiation into Orthodox Christianity and for reception of Communion, late Byzantine canonical regulations stipulate that prior to and after celebration of the Eucharist, presbyters may not cleanse themselves or bathe. As an ascetical usage, *alousia*, or abstinence from cleansing, is frequently found in monastic writings where it is viewed as an element of Byzantine piety, but it is generally unexamined as a legal requirement for participation in sacred rituals.

This study examines the canonical regulations for *alousia* or abstinence from cleansing in late Byzantine law especially in connection with the celebration and reception of the Eucharist. The major focus is on less examined late Byzantine canonical sources including commentaries, ecclesiastical responses, and synodal decisions. Topics explored include the assimilation of monastic piety to secular clergy and fixing ritual patterns of behavior between secular and religious classes. Conclusions not only address Byzantine canonical regulations, but also contribute to a broader understanding of spiritual hierarchy, social order, and the dialectical relationship between clergy and laity in late Byzantine society.



## Buried Relics and Invisible Inscriptions in Byzantine North Africa

Ann Marie Yasin (American Academy in Rome)

Though many North African churches no longer preserve archaeological traces of the original position of their holy relics, several inscriptions and reliquaries that do survive compel us to question what kind of memorials they provided for the saints. Many of the inscriptions mark the historical moment at which a reliquary container and its sacred contents were buried beneath the floor of a church. In early Christian North Africa, these deposition records are mainly a late phenomenon with approximately twenty examples surviving from the sixth and early seventh centuries. This type of inscription, dubbed by modern scholars a *procès-verbal*, or report, of deposition, recorded the key "facts" concerning the burial of saintly remains. What scholars have not addressed, however, is that buried beneath the floor of the church or set underneath the altar, these objects could not have been legible from the *quadratum populi* of the church. The deposition records are thus paradoxical: though permanently inscribed they could not be seen, though commemorative they had no viewer to whom they communicated their message.

In one sense, the deposition inscriptions clearly memorialize the martyrs—they hail the individuals as *sancti*, record their names and mark the sites of their buried remains. On the other hand, they lack many features we would expect of martyrs' *memoriae*: there is no reference to the martyrs' persecution or sufferings, no report of their means or circumstances of death, and no indication of their anniversary dates. Extremely un-hagiographical in their content, the inscriptions in no way recall the misty past of the Age of Persecutions. They are, instead, fully concerned with recording the present, the here and now of the Byzantine North Africa in which they were produced. The inscriptions pay great attention to the details of the burial of sacred remains under the altar, including the names and titles of the presiding ecclesiastics and the specific days and years in which the depositions took place. The archaeological contexts of the deposition inscriptions indicate that, although fixed in indelible writing, they were, nevertheless, not intended to be read—they were not visible, monumental memorials, but buried records. The act of writing on these objects was itself a way of preserving and legitimating the sacred events of the day of deposition, as on a certificate deposited in an archive. The ceremony sanctified the altar, bolstered the claims of the local clergy, and established a new annual celebration. By celebrating a martyr's *dies depositionis*, as opposed to his or her *dies natalis*, the annual event was localized. *The dies depositionis* was site-specific; it authenticated a particular set of relics deposited in a particular church by particular members of the local clergy. Thus, while the *procès-verbal* inscriptions are commemorative, they commemorate not the saints themselves, their lives and martyrdoms, but the deposition of saintly remains under the church altars in which they were placed.

## Session XIII. Iconography in Context

## Chair: Anne Marie Weyl Carr (Southern Methodist University)

### An Interpretation of the Images in the South Bay of the Chora Esonarthex

Rossitza B. Roussanova (University of Maryland)

The subject of this paper is the fourteenth-century mosaic decoration of the south bay of Chora esonarthex. This bay is larger than the others and is architecturally articulated by projecting pilasters and a dome. The subject matter of the mosaics also suggests that it was treated as a separate unit. The Life of the Virgin, represented in the north and central bays of the esonarthex, is interrupted in the south bay by depictions of eight of Christ's healing miracles. Moreover, a grandiose *deesis* on the east wall of the bay rises 1.16 m above the pavement, bringing the protective images of Christ Chalkites and the Virgin closer to the viewer.

In studies of Palaeologan church architecture the two-domed narthex is thought to define a space for funerary and commemorative rites. This paper elaborates on current views regarding the function of Chora's esonarthex, suggesting that the images in the south bay were an appropriate backdrop for prayers, penitence and private reflections on the benevolence and redemptive powers of Christ. It takes the particular association of Christ Chalkites with the healing miracles, specifically with the Miracle of the *Haemorrhoisa*, as an expression of the religious mentality of the Palaeologan era and as a visualization of the sensitivity of the monastery's Constantinopolitan patron and monastic audience.



### Clothing the Icon: The *Podea* and Analogous Liturgical Textiles

Warren T. Woodfin (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

The display practice for icons in Byzantium is *ipso facto* important for our understanding of these central objects of its art. This paper concerns two overlapping groups of Byzantine textiles: fabrics used to drape or veil icons and fabrics that themselves bear sacred images executed in weaving or embroidery.

The Greek terms used for such tissues are varied and difficult to define with precision. *Podea* clearly designates a cloth hung at the foot of an icon. Other terms, such as *katapetasma*, *parapetasma*, and *encheirion* are used (but not exclusively) to designate veils hung over the face of an icon, while *peplos* and *blattion* are used generally for any sort of liturgical veil. These definitions are necessarily vague; nevertheless, it is important to define the terminology as closely as the evidence will bear, since textual references far outnumber surviving examples. In this paper I attempt to gather and coordinate some parts of the evidence of texts, painting, and the surviving textiles.

The practice of displaying icons with decorative fabrics appears to be a fairly late development. In documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, we find the *podea* already established in use. The *Diataxis* of Michael Atteleiates (1077) records the gift of a pair of cloths for an icon of St. John the Baptist, one to be draped over its top and the other to be hung as a *podea*. As far as we know, these textiles were aniconic. However, Psellos informs us in his description of the "Habitual Miracle" at the Blachernai church that the icon of the Theotokos was covered with a curtain (*katapetasma*) bearing an embroidered border of holy figures. The image on a *podea* might either double or complement the subject of the icon: an epigram by Nicholas Kallikles describes a *podea* for the icon of the Theotokos at the Hodegon as "an image of the image," while the typikon of the Bebaia Elpis nunnery records a *podea* for an icon of the Dormition, embroidered with four Marian feast scenes.

Evidence from the imperial sphere (triumphal entries, the *prokypsis* ceremony, private healings) argues for the role of court ceremonies in shaping the use and interpretation of the *podea* in the Byzantine church. Particularly intriguing is Niketas Choniates' account of the use of textile icons at the entry processions of Komnenian emperors. Other visual and textual evidence illuminating ecclesiastical use of the *podea* and other icon veils betrays connections with such imperial rituals, e.g., the use of the imperial portrait as the main subject on certain *podeai*. In short, these liturgical textiles present a particularly interesting case of artistic and ritual cross-fertilization between the imperial and ecclesiastical spheres.

## The Russian Brass Icon: Its Byzantine Origins and Evolution

George Contis (Arlington, Virginia)

In their content and style, Russian brass icons have their roots in the Byzantine iconographic tradition. Protective amulets and pilgrim badges were carried to Kiev by Byzantine traders, travelers, and soldiers as early as the 10th Century. Beginning about the 16th Century, brass icons made in Russia became increasingly popular as personal objects of religious veneration. Because they were reproduced by the thousands and were the products of imperfect metal casting techniques, they have not received much attention for their artistic or historical merits. Yet, these simple metallic icons were an essential part of people's everyday lives and an expression of their spiritual faith. This paper traces the evolution of the Russian brass icons' content, style and form from their Byzantine origins to the nineteenth century.

Sixteenth-century brass icons were rather crudely made and small in size (8 x 6 cm). The majority were rectangular or round in shape, with plain edges often surmounted by various crests or motives such as a Mandylion, the Old Testament Trinity, and seraphim. Some were perforated. A rare form, known as a travel *panagia*, was a diptych reliquary which contained a piece of blessed bread and was carried by those going on a journey. About this time, small triptychs appeared.

Casting techniques and the constraints imposed by the Orthodox Church limited the artistic expression of Russian brass iconographers. These artisans copied themes and images of the most revered Russian painted icons. Only about 130 different subjects are known including Christ *Pantocrator*, the Mother of God in various stylistic presentations, the *deesis*, individual saints (especially St. Nicholas and St. George), Russian saints such as St. Sergius of Radonezh, and Orthodox feast days. Old Testament themes were rarely employed, the most common being Elijah's Ascension. Some variety was introduced by changing the icon's outer borders to incorporate floral designs, geometric patterns, or small medallions of apostles, saints, and angels.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, casting technology was advanced enough that a single icon might be as large as 27 x 25 cm and might include several small scenes surrounding a central subject such as the Dormition of the Virgin. Triptychs of saints and tetraptychs of the twelve Orthodox feast days were highly detailed and were often highlighted by up to seven different shades of cloisonné or champlevé enamel. By the end of the nineteenth century, thin stamped icons were introduced.

The Russian brass icon was primarily an object of spiritual veneration. In its rendition of older painted icons, in the artisans' mastery of metal casting and enameling technology, and in its role in the daily lives of common people, the metal icon is worthy of greater appreciation and study. More information is needed on the dating of icons, the casting and enameling techniques that were employed, and the identity and location of the artisans who produced them.



## The Wallpaintings in the Tower Chapel of St. George at Chilandar Monastery Instruments of Salvation

Monika Hirschbichler (University of Maryland)

In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Athonite monks of Chilandar Monastery commissioned the decoration of a *parekklesion* at the top of the monastery's oldest *pyrgos*, the tower of St. George. Of particular interest to the present study are the paintings of the chapel's ambulatory. The program is composed of scenes of the martyrdom of St. George and one of only two known monumental cycles illustrating the twelfth-century text of the "Canon for Someone Who is in the Throes of Dying" attributed to Andrew of Crete. This text describes the agonies of the soul on its way to judgment. The choice of such rare subject matter, its combination with the seemingly unrelated martyrdom narrative, as well as the placement in the ambulatory of a tower chapel invite further inquiry into the specific function of the program. Recently, Nancy „evπenko has linked the Chilandar images of the Canon to the notion of monastic life as a "living death." Svetlana Popoviç has suggested that the Chilandar paintings form part of an extensive eschatological program connected to the tower's use as an ossuary. Building upon these studies, I examine the two pictorial cycles within the context of the monastic life at Chilandar as laid out in its typicon. I argue that the paintings in the *pyrgos* of St. George fulfilled a particular role in the striving of the Chilandar monks towards salvation; a function that was promoted, if not made possible, by their placement within a monastic tower.

The late-twelfth-century typicon composed by the monk Sabbas provides strict guidelines for the communal remembrance of the deceased and highlights the importance of the daily commemoration of the dead. Seen in conjunction with the influential writings of John Climacus in *The Heavenly Ladder*, the Chilandar typicon also emphasizes the importance of personal reflection on ones own mortality. Within this context of monastic commemoration and contemplation of death, the location of the Chilandar paintings takes on specific importance. In its setting within the confines of a monastic tower with clear funerary connotations, the fresco decoration aids such meditations both on the communal and individual level.

# Session XIV. Issues in Patristic Literature

## Chair: David Olster (University of Kentucky)

### The Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*: Rufinus' Translation of the *Recognitions*

Lisa R. Holliday (University of Kentucky)

The Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* are a member of a larger group of writings generally refered to as the *Clementina*. Comprised of the *Recognitions*, *Homilies*, 2 Epitomes, some Syriac fragments and several letters, the *Clementina* share the same basic story, but differ dramatically in terms of theology, philosophy, and audience.

The *Clementina* were originally a collection of works that were later bound by Pseudo-Clement around the fictional story of Clement of Rome. Three accepted texts and two possible others comprise the bulk of the works: the *Teachings of Peter*, Peter's dialogue with Apion, the Clementine romance, and the *Travels of Peter* and the transformation of Simon. These texts were incorporated into the Clementine romance and form the base text of the Clementine writings.

The origins of the *Recognitions* and *Homilies* have been questioned since their publication by Cotelierius in the 17th century. Scholars originally argued that perhaps one text was a copy or one was built off of the other. However, no decisive argument was made for the precedence of either text. Scholars now hold that there was a *Grundschrift*, a common text, from which both the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies* were drawn. Several theories exist as to the composition and content of the *Grundschrift*.

Rufinus, writing in the fourth century, translated the *Recognitions* into Latin. As with our modern versions, the *Recognitions* and *Homilies* shared the fictional story of Clement of Rome's search for his parents, though one text contained the transformation of Clement's father while the other did not. Concerning the vast theological differences, Rufinus admits to altering the *Recognitions* by removing unorthodox passages which describe Christ as a creation of God. Prior to Rufinus' translation, the *Recognitions* and *Homilies* shared this Christological argument. Rufinus' rendering of the *Recognitions* is typical of his style. He was not interested in an exact translation and was not averse to altering texts which did not agree with the religious climate in which he wrote.

When looking for a fuller picture of the *Grundschrift*, the value of the *Homilies* cannot be underestimated. From Rufinus' admission in his preface, it is clear that the *Recognitions* and *Homilies* shared Christological doctrines prior to his translation. Rufinus removed these doctrines because they were unorthodox. Although the *Homilies* undoubtedly went through a transformation similar to that of the *Recognitions*, they are truer to the original text on which the *Clementina* were based than the *Recognitions* are.



### An Excursus in the Byzantine Theological Terminology of Maximus the Confessor: *Hypostasis, Ousia,* and *Physis*

Oleh Kindiy (The Catholic University of America)

This paper investigates the key words of the theological vocabulary invented by the Greek philosophical schools long before Maximus the Confessor and the Cappadocian Fathers, but elaborated and put in the Christian context by the pundits of the Christian church. Formation of this vocabulary culminates in the theological synthesis of Maximus. My argument is that, having grasped what *hypostasis, ousia,* and *physis* mean in Byzantine theological thought, one may claim that (s)he has understood the basic ideas of Eastern Christian theology. The church Father in particular who made this claim is Maximus the Confessor.

In Letter 15, Maximus deals with the concept of *enhypostatization.* He defines the doctrine of God, which belongs to the sphere of ontology, by yoking it to the concept of the person. Jean Zizioulas, in his work, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church*, accurately indicates that when one says that God "is," God's personal freedom is not bound, and God's being is not an ontological necessity or a simple "reality" of God (Crestwood N.Y., 1978, p. 41). Thus God, as the *hypostasis* of the Father, makes the one divine substance (*ousia*) into himself, the one God. In other words, the substance never exists in a "naked" state, that is, without *hypostasis*, without "a mode of existence." Maximus thus develops his concept of *hypostatic union*, which brings together concepts of *hypostasis*, *ousia*, and *physis* in one soteriological scheme. Furthermore, Maximus places it in a *soteriological* framework reflected in Maximus's "Mystagogy," i.e. man's practical participation in the liturgy of heaven and earth. The soteriological scheme of the *hypostatic union* addresses the orthodox christological formula, which explains who Christ is: the true God and the true man in one person.

Concisely speaking, this paper contends that in the seventh century, Maximus the Confessor considered spiritual perfection and virtuous being as divinely appointed goals of man. In this act, Maximus adheres to the Greek Patristic view of the *hypostasis*, *physis*, and *ousia*, particularly to the Fathers of the Chalcedonian Council (451), the theological terminology of Cappadocian Fathers, and pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. These goals are accomplished, first, through the ecclesial initiation of baptism, and second, through man's participation in the divine nature (*ousia*). As George Telepneff rightly showed in his dissertation, *The Concept of the Person in the Christian Hellenism of the Greek Fathers: a Study of Origen, St. Gregory the Theologian, and St. Maximus the Confessor*, these goals are achieved precisely within the parameters of the embodied existence and include the process of transfiguration of the entire human person, including the will and physical body (Graduate Theological Union, 1991, pp. 313ff.). Therefore, after man is immersed in baptism, both the freely developed or re-created empirical moral personality and the physical aspect of the human constitution represent the ontological content and the definition of the person in participation in the mystery of Christ's incarnation.

## Public Speaking in Early Byzantine Cities: Philosophers, Orators and Preachers

Jaclyn Maxwell (Western Michigan University)

Public preaching brought both popularity and authority to a number of Christian leaders in Byzantine cities during the fourth and fifth centuries. These men attracted crowds, attempting to teach religious beliefs and behavior while entertaining their listeners with Christian oratory. The content of these sermons and descriptions of their presentations indicate that they were addressed to a wide range of people, including men and women, and the uneducated as well as the learned. By focusing upon the reception of preachers by their audiences, it is possible to learn more about how the dramatic religious changes of this period affected the ordinary lay Christians.

This paper investigates how the role of the Christian preacher in society was related to that of public orators and philosophers. The preachers consciously modeled themselves on previous—ultimately, biblical—Christian teachers. But, since most of them were trained in classical rhetoric, pagan learning invariably influenced the way in which they presented their subject. Likewise, the precedents of non-Christian philosophers and orators shaped the expectations of the congregations who listened to the sermons. Other scholars have traced the Christian adaptation of classical philosophy and rhetoric. In this paper, I intend to focus on the social roles played by the public philosophers, orators and preachers. Keeping in mind that early Byzantine preachers had to compete with the appeal of theatrical performances in order to keep the attention of their listeners, it is useful to ask how much the preacher had in common with other types of performers. Did the Christian sermon resemble any of the other public speaking events in the city? How did the listening public react to the speakers in these different contexts?

This paper is based on information from Eunapius, Philostratus, Julian, Libanius, and Themistius, as well as Christian authors such as John Chrysostom, the Cappadocian Fathers, Jerome, and Theodoret. It draws on current scholarship regarding the importance of sermons as historical sources, debates over the intricacies of the process of Christianization of society, and the history of education in Roman and Byzantine times. Its purpose to demonstrate how the Christian preacher's role in urban society was related to that of non-Christian public speakers, especially in view of their popularity with the general public.



## Slavery and Social Status in the Cappadocian Fathers

Noel Lenski (University of Colorado)

In *Ep.* 239, Basil of Caesarea lamented that the see of Nyssa had been removed from the care of his brother Gregory and turned over to "a man, or rather a slave worth only a few obols" and that nearby Doara had also received as bishop "a wretched person, an orphans' domestic (*orphanon oiketen*), who ran away from his masters." It is nearly impossible to tell whether Basil alludes here to the transfer of these bishoprics to actual slaves or perhaps only to the installation of servile personalities, lackeys to his Arian enemies. It is not unthinkable that the first is true. Gregory of Nazianzus was himself involved in the consecration of a slave to a minor bishopric, an action which violated both civil and canon law (*Ep.* 79). Regardless of how we read Basil's comments, though, we must admit that slaves were simultaneously regarded as capable of, yet beneath, ecclesiastical office. The contrast between Basil's and Gregory's reactions to slave bishops confirms that fourth-century Cappadocians grappled with a fundamental tension when faced with the question of slavery.

In this paper I examine the tension between the Christian notion that all humans are equal before God and should thus be immune to subservience, and the readiness of the Cappadocian fathers to accept the social reality of slavery in their own world. Gregory of Nyssa, for example, stressed that all people are created in the image of God and should thus not be subject to sale like so many trade goods (*PG* 44.664). Yet his brother Basil used similar biblical underpinnings for his argument that the division of humanity into free and slave was part of God's plan (*PG* 29.336). This tension between Christian idealism and fourth-century reality informs much of the Cappadocian discourse on the question of slavery.

I argue that this tension was easier to resolve primarily because ultimately slavery in the late Roman world was not one thing. Rather, servile status could be categorized into a fairly sophisticated hierarchy which slotted some slaves as nearly subhuman while it exalted others as virtual equals to their masters. Thus, the slaves with whom the Cappadocians had closest contact were often members of an intellectual elite whose education afforded them a large measure of social prestige. Gregory of Nazianzus referred to his favorite slave as "my loyal servant" and eventually manumitted him and granted him a share of his patrimony (*PG* 37.392). Such elite slaves stood in stark contrast to the nameless slave girl whom Basil describes pushing a grinding mill (*Ep.* 204) and to those slaves whom Basil tried to free from the often deadly consequences of physical torture (*PG* 31.220; *Ep.* 188 *can.* 8). Slave status was thus, like free status, a complex social phenomenon. As such it could not simply be denigrated as entirely evil but also could not be accepted as entirely just. Although it was questioned, slavery was ultimately integrated into a Christian world which was fully willing to accept social hierarchies as part of a divinely ordained reality.

## Session XV. Jerusalem was the Goal

## Chair: Jaroslav Folda (University of North Carolina)

### Holy Men in the Holy Land: Armenian Monasteries in Byzantine Jerusalem

Karen C. Britt (Indiana University)

Armenia established connections with Palestine, particularly Jerusalem, quite early in the Byzantine period. In part, this was likely due to the early conversion of Armenia to Christianity and the subsequent flood of pilgrims to Palestine even before the discovery of the Holy Places. Until recently, knowledge of the Armenian presence in Byzantine Palestine rested largely upon written sources. Literary evidence attests to communication between Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem and Bishop Vertaness, the head of the Armenian Church. An epistle (325-35 CE) that Bishop Macarius wrote to him addresses certain ecclesiastical questions and conveys greetings to the bishops, priests, and people of Armenia. Cyril of Scythopolis (ca. 524-58 CE), in his *Vita of Euthymius*, chronicles the activities of the Armenian monk from Melitene including his foundation of the first laura in Palestine. The literary sources make it clear that the Armenians possessed many monasteries and churches of their own in the area. The Armenian historian/monk Anastasius (7th century CE) compiled a list of the Armenian churches and monasteries in Palestine; he recorded seventy religious establishments. Many of the sites mentioned by Anastasius have not been located and thus knowledge of them is largely based upon the literary evidence. A fortuitous archaeological discovery in the last decade in Israel has begun to remedy the dearth of physical evidence for the Armenian presence in Jerusalem.

The discovery of a complex that has been identified as the earliest Armenian monastery in Jerusalem in the area northwest of the Damascus Gate is certainly significant in itself. However, the discovery of this monastic complex is more significant when considered in the context of the other previously identified Armenian religious establishments: the nearby Chapel of St. Polyeuctos (6th century CE) and the abundant evidence for Armenian churches and monasteries on the Mt. of Olives. The common thread that unites these sites and provides indisputable evidence for an Armenian presence in Byzantine Jerusalem is the mosaic pavements that have been discovered in the churches and monastic edifices. Heretofore, these mosaics have never been examined together as a group.

The mosaics, both decorative and epigraphic, that paved these ecclesiastical buildings enable us to elucidate the physical nature and extent of the Armenian monastic presence in Jerusalem. A comparison of the distribution of mosaic pavements in churches and monasteries serves as a method for determining whether there was consistency in architectural layout and design among Armenian establishments. An examination of the iconography and style of the mosaics reveals whether an instinctive Armenian style or mosaic workshop can be identified. Consideration is also given to the evidence provided by the inscriptions, particularly regarding the issue of patronage. The paper demonstrates that at least two substantial Armenian districts with a certain degree of homogeneity existed outside the city walls of Jerusalem during the early Byzantine period.



### The Byzantine Navy and the Success of the First Crusade

Bernard S. Bachrach (University of Minnesota)

The Byzantine emperor Alexios is depicted in many contemporary and near contemporary sources as promising to provide substantial aid to the armies of the First Crusade at the end of the eleventh century. Most of the Western sources, however, either neglect the contribution of the Byzantines or specifically indicate that they did very little or nothing to aid in the efforts of the crusaders. This view that Alexios failed to meet his obligations has been widely accepted by modern scholars. In this paper, however, I show through a detailed examination of the written sources combined with the methods of *Sachkritik*, which enable us to identify the objective realities that undergirded Crusader logistics, that the Byzantines made major contributions to the success of the First Crusade. The Byzantine effort has been given insufficient attention due to the *parti pris* of the Western sources and the inclination of medievalists to look suspiciously upon the East Roman empire.

## The Fourth Crusade in Light of a Century of Western Hostilities

Leon Stratikis (University of Tennessee, Knoxville)

Some recent scholarship has made light of what to cultural historians is easily the most tragic circumstance of the High Middle Ages: the sacking of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade. Hailed as the "standard" work on the subject, the newly-revised history by Queller and Madden defends the thesis that the Crusade had no intention, at the outset, to sack Constantinople, but was diverted by mitigating circumstances. Even worse, a still popular medieval textbook by C. Warren Hollister treats the entire episode as a joke, although this is not made clear to students encountering his work for the first time. In his words, the Crusade 'was spectacularly successful... [Innocent III] realized the 'great blessings' that had befallen Christendom by the capture of the schismatic city. The crusaders... returned to Europe with immense booty... [including] the immense store of holy relics that the Westerners liberated...".

The fall of Constantinople to the crusaders is not only the greatest cultural debacle of the Middle Ages, with its senseless destruction of priceless relics and manuscripts, but it is also the focal point of the shifting cultural balance away from Byzantium and towards the rising West. It is shocking that an event so central to medieval history should be treated so flippantly in respected publications. For this reason, a re-examination of the subject is necessary. Several works, disagreeing with the Queller thesis, have already analyzed, thoroughly, the Venetian angle in this controversy, and the alleged conspiracy to divert the Fourth Crusade from its course (see Alvise Zorzi's *Venice: The Golden Age*, J. J. Norwich's *A History of Venice*, and his three-volume *Byzantium*). The current study offers a re-examination of a much broader canvas, the relations between Byzantium, the Crusaders, and her Western neighbors over the century preceding the Fourth Crusade. Such an examination reveals not only that the results of the Fourth Crusade were no accident, but also that perhaps the real accident was the survival of the Empire during an entire century of Western hostility and abortive assaults.

By considering Robert Guiscard's ambitions in the 1080's, with the strange foreshadowing of the pretext for the Fourth Crusade in his alleged attempt to restore an impostor to the throne of Constantinople, the subsequent fighting at Durazzo and throughout Northern Greece, both before and after the First Crusade, the uneasy situation between Crusaders and Byzantines around Constantinople during the First Crusade and actual confrontation at the walls of Theodosius during Holy Week, followed by the breakdown of the alliance at Antioch, the creation of independent crusader states, the plotting in Louis the Pious' camp against the official eastern allies in Odo of Deuil's chronicle of the Second Crusade, Frederick Barbarossa's plans to attack Constantinople and Richard the Lionheart's seizure of Cyprus in the Third, Henry VI's hostility mitigated by an early death, and, most significantly, the capture, plunder, and desecration of Thessalonica by the Normans of Sicily just two decades before the Fourth Crusade, we are led to the conclusion that a more successful attack against Constantinople was not only premeditated, but also a matter of time.



# Session XVI. New Approaches to Byzantine Manuscripts

## Chair: Robert W. Allison (Bates College)

### A Child Bride and Her Representation

Cecily Jane Hennessy (Courtauld Institute of Art)

Vatican Ms. gr. 1851 is composed of four bifolia, which contain the partial text of a poem and seven illuminations. Scholars have agreed that the manuscript is unique and perplexing. Studies have focused on the identity of the protagonists described in the pages, who are a Byzantine emperor, his youthful son, his daughter, and a young foreign princess to whom the son is betrothed. The poem and the images tell of the arrival of the princess as a newcomer to an imperial city, her reception by the women of the court, her visual transformation into a Byzantine *augusta*, and a first encounter with her sister-in-law in the splendor of an imperial tent.

Two principal views have been put forward as to the identification of the subjects. J. Strzygowski's initial study, in 1901, linked the manuscript to a marriage of the son of Michael VIII, Andronikos II, either in 1272 or in 1285. S. Papadimitriu, in 1902, argued that the poem concerns the marriage of Agnes, renamed Anna, the daughter of Louis VII of France, and Alexios, the son of Manuel I, which took place in 1179, when the children were probably aged about ten and eight. It is this second view that is largely held, and most recent studies have accepted a twelfth-century date with little question.

However, by comparison with other examples of imperial dress, it seems evident that the illustrations in the manuscript are Palaiologan and not Komnenian, and probably fourteenth-century. Furthermore, the arguments for the twelfth-century dating are debatable. In light of these considerations, I suggest possible alternate identities for the main characters in the narrative.

The miniatures certainly depict children, and probably pre-pubescent juveniles, who are placed in official and responsible positions in a diplomatic setting. The images reconstruct the ritual encounter between two young girls, the foreign and the Byzantine princesses. The young bride is welcomed by the sister of the groom, a girl, perhaps of her own age, who was clearly given familial and ambassadorial duties. The manuscript provides a valuable view of the roles played by children at court, particularly girls, and the attention given to affinities between children of the same age.

The images emphasize the role of women, both young and adult, in aspects of court custom and contrast with formal imperial portraits, dominated by sons and dynastic hopes. The illuminations depict the princess's liminal experiences, arriving as sylph-like foreigner, shedding her native appearance and becoming transformed into a Byzantine bride, changed from a girl to a woman, and from an outsider to an insider. The manuscript appears to be a memento of this turn in her life and to have been made for her. This paper questions whether it was perhaps intentionally designed for her youthful eyes and what aspects of the book might make it suited to a child.

## Patronage and Ethnicity in the Fourteenth-Century Manuscript Paris B.N. Grec. 135

Justine M. Andrews (University of California, Los Angeles)

Categorizing the manuscript Paris, B.N. grec. 135 has always been difficult given its Greek format and text, which are illustrated with images that immediately recall Western styles. Historians of this fourteenth-century manuscript produced in Mistra have adopted the ethnic categories created by political boundaries between Latin and Byzantine rule in the Morea after 1204. Ethnic identity has been fundamentally linked with the diverse images of this Commentary on Job. The assumption is that certain aspects of the miniatures, such as the iconography of a king, or the elongation of a figure, can be grouped by ethnicity. With two presumed categories of images represented in grec. 135, scholars have speculated on the ethnicity of the artist and patron, identifying them according to these two categories, Latin or Greek.

What is important to recognize, however, is that the distinct division modern scholars draw between these two categories is informed by out contemporary understanding of two distinct languages and religions as well as the political divisions between the Byzantine Empire and Latin Crusader kingdoms. For the grec. 135 and its imagery we must look beyond the strict political borders between Byzantine and the West. Outside of the political divisions the border becomes blurred and we must reconsider whether the grec. 135 should be understood in terms of two distinct ethnic categories.

The manner in which an art historian approaches style as an expression of identity, however, must begin with historical or archeological evidence. Beginning with a stylistic description alone, it is difficult to link the imagery to an expression of a specific historical entity. For example, the connection from the stylistic elements in grec. 135 to the historical groups, western or Byzantine, is essentially uninformative, since ethnic groups have the ability to communicate a variety of ideas. Although scholars have speculated on the ethnic identity of the artist, the evidence of patrons and intellectual interests at Mistra has been overlooked.

The patron of grec. 135 has until now been identified based on the language of the text and the location of production. Scholars have insisted that the ethnicity of the patron has influenced the choices of the artist. The investigation into the ethnic background of the patron of grec. 135 seems futile since there is no documentary evidence to support or suggest who the actual patron was. Rather than focus solely upon an enigmatic patron of grec. 135, I examine evidence of documented patrons active in Mistra during the fourteenth century. Without a clear patron for grec. 135, however, the agent(s) affecting the imagery and contributing to its unique character can only be sought in a general reflection of the circle of patrons from Mistra. While any identification of the patron of grec. 135 will remain speculative, a study which uses the available documentary evidence brings us closer to those who wanted a manuscript with imagery reflective of many cultures.



## The Repainting of the Vienna Genesis in Renaissance Italy

Maureen Reissner-O'Brien (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

After the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, the Reverend Thomas Frognall Dibdin of England traveled throughout the mainland of Europe on a "bibliographical, antiquarian, and picturesque" tour. Upon his arrival in Vienna in September 1818, he achieved one of the main goals of his journey: to examine the precious fragment of an illustrated Greek book of Genesis in the possession of the Imperial Library. In his publication of his travels, Dibdin expressed his wonder at the codex known today as the Vienna Genesis (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 31). He also noted that he thought the manuscript bore traces of later overpainting. Dibdin's theory did not remain in vogue for long; in 1867 the prominent German art historian Gustav Friedrich Waagen firmly rejected the possibility of the repainting of the Vienna Genesis. Although research on the manuscript has been extensive since Waagen's day, most of the focus with regard to the clear differences in the execution of the forty-eight miniatures has been on the number of hands involved. While the proposed number of artists' hands identified in the codex has ranged from two (as theorized in the nineteenth century) to eleven (as recently postulated in Otto Mazal's new facsimile commentary), art historians writing on the issue of the multiplicity of hands in the Vienna Genesis have assumed the unified creation of the manuscript in Late Antiquity.

This paper proposes that the early Byzantine Vienna Genesis, while largely a product of the Late Antique period, is not exclusively a product of the sixth century. Through examination of stylistic anomalies, older paint traces, and discrepancies between word and image, I argue that the manuscript bears strong evidence of a hand not involved at the codex's inception, but instead typical of artistic production in the Italian Renaissance almost a thousand years later. That the Vienna Genesis was in Italy before its acquisition by the Hapsburgs in the seventeenth century has long been recognized; written Italian has been identified under the Greek text on folio 1 recto and verso. It is my contention that the Italian additions to the manuscript also included the repainting of certain folios in a style designed both to blend in and compete with what Italian artists would have viewed as the manner of the ancients. The repainting and reworking of ancient and Early Christian art in Renaissance Italy is a well-documented phenomenon. The Vienna Genesis, I argue, should be viewed as part of, and as important evidence for, this phenomenon. Although I ultimately disagree with the Reverend Dibdin's analysis of exactly how and when the Vienna Genesis came to bear signs of overpainting, this paper returns to and acknowledges the very important contribution of the English antiquarian to research on the manuscript. The Vienna Genesis was indeed repainted.

# Session XVII. Economy and Trade in the Byzntine Empire

## Chair: Walter Kaegi (The University of Chicago)

### Reassessing the Magnitude of Late Antiquity/Early Byzantine Trade: Changing Morphologies of Merchantmen and Amphorae

Jeffrey G. Royal (Texas A&M University and
Archaeological Foundation for Maritime Sciences)

It has been widely held that the Late Antiquity/Early Byzantine economy took a drastic downturn from that of the Roman Imperial period. Though there was undoubtedly some reduction in monetary purchasing power, in the industries of luxury items, and in the overall amount of goods traded, the increasing number of excavated sites in the period has shown that there continued to be large-scale architectural building projects, weapons production, land under cultivation, and overseas shipping of cargoes. The reduction in overall merchantmen sizes, and by extension the magnitude of cargo they transported, have provided support for a hypothesized severe downturn in the trade sector of the economy from the 2nd to 7th century AD. Merchantmen do appear to have been constructed on a smaller scale; however, Mediterranean ships of this period were undergoing other changes in their design and construction characteristics that to a large degree ameliorated the effects of decreased size on the magnitude of cargo shipping. Generally, sea-going vessels were moving from construction techniques based on thick hull strakes to those where internal timbers played an increasing role in providing strength to vessels. This shifting of construction techniques also allowed a more developed control over vessel shape. New research indicates that the smaller merchantmen were generally lighter, required less timber to construct, and provided more efficient hold space for cargos.

In addition to the factor of changing ship construction and design, amphorae used in shipping during the Late Antiquity/Early Byzantine period were also undergoing changes that ameliorated the decrease in overall vessel size. A research project was conducted whereby forty examples of amphorae from the 2nd – 7th century were computer modeled in order to obtain the average volume of amphora material and capacity volumes and obtain estimates of the changes in amphorae efficiency (capacity volume/material volume) over time. From this project a clear increase in the efficiency of amphorae was discovered over time for several content types.

Increases in the efficiency of amphorae translated into more actual product being shipped in relation to container weight over the period. Thus, more product could be shipped in a given hold space full of 7th century amphorae than in one laden with 2nd century amphorae. Taking the increasing amphorae efficiency into account with the changes in ship construction and design, vessels from later in the period could hold more amphorae than vessels of similar size from earlier in the period, and these amphorae could contain more product. Hence the reduction in merchantmen sizes from the 2nd - 7th centuries may not indicate so drastic a decrease in the amount of goods being shipped or the scale of trading ventures that were financed.



### Harbors and Trade in Late Antiquity: A Case Study from Cyprus

R. Scott Moore (University of Dayton)

The study of the nature and extent of trade in Late Antiquity is a particularly intractable and difficult issue. The literary and epigraphic sources which deal with the subject of trade are both problematic and few in number, and the archaeological information—although promising—is not yet widely available to most researchers. Another approach that can be employed in understanding trade is to examine what can best be described as indirect evidence for the limitation or constraint of trade. For example, for maritime shipping deep anchorages and protected harbors were essential and vessels were unable to load or unload cargo at many points due to geographical factors. This means that any examination of trading patterns or routes must take into account the location of harbors and the technology of shipbuilding and harbor construction in a particular period. Other related limiting factors include water currents and wind patterns that can be reconstructed for past ages. Evidence includes the portolan charts, although these are admittedly from a later period. This paper uses the limited area of the island of Cyprus as a case study of the method used in this approach to understanding trade in Late Antiquity and the place of Cyprus in pan-Mediterranean trading patterns in this period.

As recent archaeological work on Cyprus has demonstrated, the island had an active trading network that connected it to other regions of the Mediterranean (such as North Africa, Asia Minor, and the Levant) as well as a vibrant local network that connected the coastal cities. The application of these limiting factors to the study of trade on Cyprus in Late Antiquity shows that trade and even travel to the island from other regions of the Mediterranean was limited to specific seasonal periods. These constraining factors also limited the points of entry for goods and people from the eastern Mediterranean to specific ports and harbors. Furthermore, these factors illustrate the important sites (ports, harbors, and anchorages) in the island's local coastal trade, the directional movement of goods within this network, and how this trade was also limited to certain seasonal periods.

## Transient Reality and Eternal Bureaucracy: Change in Byzantine Fiscal Practice

Leonora Neville (The Catholic University of America)

Study of the Marcian Treatise on Taxation reveals that the Byzantine fiscal system evolved and changed over time in response to changes in provincial demographic and economic realities. In time this adaptive changing made the system complicated and obtuse as reality shifted away from the categories established to describe it. Originally clear labels became confused as the nature of the things they stood for changed. By the eleventh century, the only way the author of the Marcian Treatise could explain the terms used by the fisc was to narrate the past history of institutions.

Historical rather than analytical explanations appear to have been used for two basic reasons. First, historical explanations were effective because at one time the categories of the fiscal system did correspond clearly to practice and provincial realities. Second, because of the slow accumulation of *ad hoc* adaptations over centuries, the fiscal system did not make much analytical sense. Rather, as with an old university, the only way to understand arcane irregularities was to know the history of the institution.

The change in physical reality or fiscal practice took place first and then the fiscal bureaucracy created new categories to deal with the new situation. Some lands were classified as *idiostata*, "separately-standing," not because of anything peculiar in the nature of those lands, but because some anomaly in their fiscal history caused their taxes to be recorded in a place separate from tax records of the surrounding lands.

Yet, the fundamental conservatism of the fiscal administration worked to prevent obsolete categories from passing out of use. *Idiostata* lands persisted in that category in perpetuity, generations after their anomalous registration. Although the fiscal system developed in response to changing situations, its rate of change was not so swift as to avoid confusion.

That fiscal categories arose in response to changing reality meant that over time the fiscal organization became less systematic and rational. By the eleventh century there were a number of overlapping and poorly defined fiscal categories that caused confusion and disparities in the methods of revenue extraction. The reality to which these categories had clearly corresponded in the past had changed, but the fisc had not yet adapted in response to the confusion.

This paper explains how some confusions in fiscal practice, as described in the Marcian Treatise, were caused by the widening disparity between fiscal categories and the matter taxed. It also explores the role of combating *ataxia* in that author's explanatory method.



# Session XVIII. Art and Architecture Between East and West

## Chair: Kathleen Maxwell (Santa Clara University)

## Decoration of 'Morava School' Churches in the Context of Late Byzantine Architecture

Jelena Trkulja (Princeton University)

Between the Battle of Marica in 1371 and the fall of the medieval Serbian state in 1459, a new architectural style emerged in the valley of the Morava river in central Serbia. The origins of this style, the so-called 'Morava School', have been much discussed over the years, but without consensus as to where its system of façade articulation and its decorative motifs stem from. The roots of its decoration have been variably sought in France, Italy, Serbia, Byzantium, Georgia, Armenia, and the Islamic East, in periods close to or far removed from the fourteenth century. This paper demonstrates the central role of Byzantine art and architecture in the formation of the 'Morava School'.

Façade articulation and the unique architectural ornaments are the distinguishing features of Morava churches. The architectural ornaments, the subject of this paper, are made either of ceramic or of stone. Ceramoplastic elements unequivocally derive from Byzantine and, by extension, Roman sources. The *opus reticulatum*, one of the ubiquitous motifs on many buildings throughout Greece, stems from the Roman building tradition. Ceramoplastic quatrefoils, small cross-shaped ceramic vessels inserted into the walls, abound in the Balkans throughout the Byzantine period.

The roots of stone sculpture are somewhat less obvious. Variety of motifs presumes many different sources; this paper attempts to demonstrate, however, that most of them, if not all, were previously employed in Byzantine art and architecture. The most prominent ornaments are the rosettes, generally considered to reflect Italian influence imported into Serbia by artisans from the Adriatic Littoral. However, their position in rows across the walls and centered within tympana of blind arches is unlike the great Romanesque and Gothic rose windows that singularly pierce individual walls and admit abundance of light. Rather, they remind one of glazed ceramic bowls that similarly line the walls of many Islamic buildings. The same bowls appear in the Middle and Late Byzantine period on the Peloponnesus and in Macedonia. Another possible source for Morava rosettes are round openings, or *oculi*, that from Roman times onward recur in Byzantine architecture (e.g. Constantinople's Myrelaion and a number of fourteenth-century churches). The design motifs appearing on Morava rosettes, while different from their Western counterparts, are comparable to motifs found in Byzantine and Serbian manuscripts, woodwork, and metalwork. Occasionally, the designs may even be identical (a relief from a parapet slab in the Katholikon of Hosios Lukas monastery and a rosette from Naupara, Serbia).

Cordon table friezes, ascribed to Western influence, are also nothing but Byzantine dog-tooth friezes executed in stone and embellished by motifs used during Roman times. Similarly, the 'twisted rope' motif that on many Byzantine façades is formed by specially cut bricks is here carved in stone. Most other ornaments have geometric and plant motifs that can be found in Byzantine art, especially in manuscripts, as this paper illustrates.

This paper also considers a plethora of other motifs, originally Islamic, but adopted and incorporated into Byzantine decorative vocabulary. These include palmettes, ogee and pointed arches, and figural representations such as affronted animals and birds. The polychromy of 'Morava School' façades is reminiscent of Epirote ad Macedonian churches. During the Middle Byzantine period, the trend of colorfully decorating buildings came from Islamic art, as can be seen on the church of Theotokos at Hosios Lukas Monastery. The motif of two griffins, symmetrically positioned within a medallion embedded in the façade of Ravanica church, was present in both Islamic and Byzantine art.

In conclusion, the postulated impact of Romanesque and Gothic art has been exaggerated. The 'Morava School', as a result, emerges as a logical extension of the Late Byzantine tradition within which many Western and Islamic characteristics had already been fully assimilated

## The Impact of Mongol Investiture Rituals on the Visual Culture of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia

Matthew P. Canepa, The University of Chicago

The purpose of this analysis is to examine several Far-Eastern visual elements in manuscript illuminations produced during the period of Mongol suzerainty (1247-1304 CE) in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198-1375 CE). The first section of this talk focuses on possible sources and modes of transmission of such imagery while the second section deals with the meaning that these elements held in Cilician court culture. Far-Eastern elements, including dragons, tigers, and phoenixes, occur in two manuscripts (Erevan 197 and 979) created within a three-year period (1286 to 1289) for two patrons from the Het'umid royal house.

There are several possible routes by which these elements could have entered Armenian visual culture, some of which have been discussed in the only other treatment of this material. I make two major breaks from this previous study. First of all, there has been no attempt to understand the societal and intercultural reasons for such a transmission and this is one specific area I intend to redress. I maintain that these images were not passively acquired exotica or merely decorative motifs. The dragon and the phoenix were animals that carried a decidedly imperial symbolism in pre-Mongolian Chinese visual culture, a symbolism whose significance the Mongol court adopted, elaborated and even legislated. I argue that they had a definite meaning in the Mongol imperial *oikoumene* and that the Armenian appropriators understood and capitalized on this original significance.

Secondly, the previous study of this Armenian 'chinoiserie' posited that its transmission could have occurred through any number of imported elements including bronzes, pottery, tiles, and paintings. I argue that silk was the sole means of transmission and in particular the silk of robes of investiture and imperial donatives given personally by the Great Qan Möngke and the Persian Il-Qans to King Het'um I and his successors during their half century of alliance. In Central Asia, especially nomadic societies, silk textiles were the main means of displaying and bestowing "great honor and wealth" of the sort that Grigor of Ankac' described Het'um I as having received from Möngke Qan. I proceed methodologically by examining fragments of contemporary silk *kesi* and *nasij* preserved in European church treasuries, Tibetan monasteries, and the sands of Central Asia, as well as by analyzing a wide array of textual sources including Latin missionaries and travelers, Armenian chronicles and travelers, the Persian historians, and the official Mongol History, the *Yuan Shih.*



## 1992-2001 Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey A Crusader-Armenian Port Town

Scott Redford (Georgetown University)

Kinet (Crusader Canamella, Islamic al-Tinat), Turkey is the only stratigraphically excavated medieval site in the northern tier of Crusader states and the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia. As such, it offers insight into the material culture of the region at a time when thriving commerce between Christian and Islamic states in the eastern Mediterranean coincided with military conflict, and with the end of the Latin states of the Levant.

Bilkent University excavations in medieval levels at Kinet, Turkey, are uncovering remains of a port town that dates from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century. The livelihood of the settlement was derived from industry, agriculture, an animal husbandry, as well as from regional and international trade. The wars of the time pitted the local Christian powers against one another and against the Islamic dynasties of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Medieval Kinet thrived in spite of being sacked three times; here iron implements, glazed ceramics, and cloth were manufactured, and timber was exported. Ceramics and glass found at the site indicate maritime trade around the Mediterranean as far as the Aegean and Italy (Venice & southern Italy) as well as overland trade with Islamic Syria.

Kinet was inhabited by Christians and situated near the southern border of the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia astride the major trade, communication, and invasion route between northern Syria and Cilicia. The medieval settlement was orthogonally laid out, bespeaking foundation by a central military authority, probably the Knights Templar. In spite of the probable presence of this Latin Crusader force, there is no evidence of physical or cultural separation: indeed the data indicate a mixture of peoples and cultures.

# Session XIX. Gender and Kinship Relationships

## Chair: Carolyn L. Connor (University of North Carolina)

### Autonomy, Patronage, Intellectualism: Essential Components of the Spiritual Dynasties of Fourth-Century Ascetic Christian Women

D. Kay Woods (University of Kentucky)

Jerome, Chrysostom, and Rufinus reportedly had an uncanny ability to attract Christian women to their ascetic ideology, but this thesis demands examination. The men have been portrayed as spiritual fathers, friends, and benefactors to an elite circle of fourth-century Christian women. Their role as spiritual mentors has been viewed as a dominant factor in the women's conversion to spiritual asceticism. These men's efforts to appear as uncontested spiritual guides, however, have been overshadowed by the ladies' personal as well as professional ambitions in their desire to become autonomous and powerful patrons. This ambition can best be identified in the lives of Paula and her relationship with Jerome, Olympias and her relationship with John Chrysostom, and Melania the Elder's relationship with Rufinus. Their success in achieving financial independence and control over their destinies as well as their influence as patrons is validated by examining the letters they received from their clients, the biographies of their lives, and the legacies they were able to leave as a result of founding their own monastic communities.

Extensive correspondence to and about women has revealed details concerning personal goals, motives, and accomplishments of a number of women in an ascetic circle of fellowship. Furthermore, the evolution of Roman family law and inheritance laws, as demonstrated in the Theodosian Code and the Code of Justinian, provided fourth-century women options. This relationship between the content of Jerome's letters, information from biographies, and legal changes, as indicated in the Codes from the second through the fifth centuries, sheds new light on fourth-century female Christian asceticism. Behind this veil of piety, women engaged in financial, civic, and intellectual pursuits from their superior status as patron. For motives of their own, Jerome, Chrysostom, and Rufinus aided and abetted women in their pursuit of personal autonomy and intellectual equality.

This study demonstrates how evolution of family law and how men, as clients, encouraged senatorial widows to circumvent the traditional practice of maintaining family dynasties through secular marriage by creating their own pious dynasties through spiritual marriage to Christ in the guise of asceticism. Their status as senatorial wives granted them privileges and power for exercising options open to few women. Existing evidence shows Paula, Olympias, and Melania jettisoned their femaleness in order to create a spiritual dynasty in the East that established their autonomy and patronage, provided for their intellectual growth, and ensured enduring legacies to their families and future generations of women.



### Familial Relationships in the Writings of Theoleptos of Philadelphia to Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina

Greg Peters (University of St. Michael's College, Toronto)

Although he was archbishop of Philadelphia, Theoleptos served as spiritual director to Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, abbess of the Constantinopolitan double monastery Philanthropos Soter. Having been tonsured at his hands, Irene was directed for fourteen years by Theoleptos who visited her on several occasions. Five of the archbishop's letters to Irene survive, as do several works delivered orally to the nuns and monks of the Philanthropos Soter. This corpus of texts is a valuable source of information for many questions, among them that of the proper relationships between a monastic and her family.

The theological and spiritual writings of Theoleptos of Philadelphia were edited, translated and studied recently by Robert R. Sinkewicz. In addition, the letters of Theoleptos to Irene have been edited, translated and commented upon by Angela C. Hero. However, neither editor explored in detail the unique relationship of Theoleptos and Irene as spiritual director and directed, nor did either editor make special reference to Theoleptos' repeated exhortations to Irene concerning her inappropriate familial relationships. A study of these exhortations leads to several important observations: (1) in spite of Theoleptos' insistence, Irene continued to have regular visits from her family; (2) Theoleptos' preoccupation with stopping this aspect of Irene's behavior shows that he viewed it as inappropriate to her status as a monastic *hegumenissa*; (3) Irene, as the one being directed, repeatedly ignored the advice of their spiritual director yet continued to place herself under his direction; and (4) in spite of her disobedience, Theoleptos continued to provide spiritual direction to Irene.

In light of these observations, this paper examines the writings of Theoleptos to Irene to cast light on the nature of late Byzantine spiritual direction, the independent character of aristocratic monastics in their familial relationships, and differences between monastic legislation and monastic practice. Most importantly, this paper explores the place of family in the monastic milieu of the late Byzantine church, showing that, while the family remained an important institution in aristocratic understanding, familial considerations were seen as improper in the monastery. Although other studies have reached the same conclusion, this paper builds not upon the traditional monastic legislation, but upon the private and personal correspondence of Theoleptos to Irene. This approach demonstrates that proper familial relationships were the concern not only of monastic founders and legislators, but also of monastic spiritual directors. It also illustrates the importance of epistolary and homiletic sources in painting a complete picture of late Byzantine monasticism.

## All in the Family—The 'New Regime' of 610: Heraclius, Nicetas and John the Almsgiver

Claudia Rapp (University of California, Los Angeles)

The conspiracy to overthrow Phocas in 610 originated in Africa. It was the brainchild of the governor of Africa Heraclius (the Elder) and his brother and *hypostrategos* Gregoras. The implementers were their respective sons, Heraclius and Nicetas. Some sources tell the unlikely story of a race between Heraclius' ships and Nicetas' cavalry for Constantinople and the imperial throne (Nicephorus, *Brev.* 1, Theophanes, *Chron.*, AM 6101). Soon after the demise of Phocas, Heraclius was firmly established in the capital, while Egypt was under the joint control of Nicetas as governor and John 'the Almsgiver' as patriarch. Like the other two, John came from a politically distinguished family, as his father was the governor of Cyprus.

The familial ties between the cousins Heraclius and Nicetas were further cemented when Heraclius's son Heraclius Constantine married Nicetas' daughter Gregoria. But the relationship of John to Nicetas is no less interesting. According to a later hagiographical re-working of an earlier saints' *Life*, they were in fact 'adopted brothers', and John later became godfather to Nicetas' children.

This paper focuses on the relations between these three men. A careful examination of the available sources, both historiographical as well as hagiographical, highlights the use of kinship terminology to describe their connections. It is argued that they had entered into the bond of *adelphopoiesis* (ritual brotherhood) in order to attain their political goals. Further support for this thesis comes from similar, later cases, where the bond of ritual brotherhood is strengthened by relations through marriage or godparenthood. This re-evaluation of the evidence leads to two conclusions: (1) John 'the Almsgiver' was, like Ambrose before him, a politician-turned-bishop; and (2) the web of relations between Heraclius, Nicetas and John represents one of the earliest cases of ritual brotherhood that was contracted for a specific political purpose.



# Session XX. Archaeology and Topography

## Chair: Eric Ivison (College of Staten Island SUNY)

## The Environs of Saint John Prodromos Monastery Near Serres A Topography of Monastic Life

Nikolas Bakirtzis (Princeton University)

The monastery of Saint John Prodromos, founded in 1270, is located on the slopes of Mount Menoikion near the town of Serres in northern Greece. The surrounding countryside, hitherto unexplored, was organized to serve the daily monastic needs and to define the sacred symbolic limits of the ascetic community. Until now, Byzantine monastic art and architecture has been studied in isolation from the exterior walls of monastic complexes, and in many cases only the Katholikon churches have received scholarly attention. As a result, our understanding of monastic art and architecture is partial, missing the wider context of monastic life by neglecting the vital relations of monasteries with their surrounding environment, the organization of their economy, communication routes with neighboring settlements and towns, as well as their location within the natural landscape. In the case of Saint John Prodromos, a more synthetic methodological strategy needs to be applied in order to place the monastic community in its wider context of existence. Daily life was set and organized within a sub-monastic environment featuring a complete economy of buildings and people that protected religious and spiritual life.

Well concealed in a valley, the monastery of Saint John Prodromos is organized in four wings surrounding the Katholikon and arranged in terraces adjusted to the sloping terrain. The main gate on the west side and a tall rectangular buttressed tower on the south-west corner negotiate an actual and symbolic transition between interior and exterior. Detached from the main monastic complex, rural chapels dedicated to the Taxiarches, Haghia Paraskevi and the Dormition of the Virgin occupy key locations guarding monastic property but also fulfilling an apotropaic role. Caves on the surrounding slopes are related, according to tradition verified by archaeological finds, to eremitic usage as early as the foundation by monk Ioannikios. Landscape features such as cypress trees demarcate the location of exterior chapels as well as paths to the olive groves and the small gardens. A winding road following the natural topography of a gorge connects the monastery to the major urban center of Serres. Two deserted villages, Lakkos and Chionochori, are in close proximity to the monastic ensemble. Their presence is related to the monastery's economy especially in the maintenance of its livestock and its olive groves. Two medieval bridges preserved intact offer safe passage over the stream running through the ravine. An archaeological consideration of all the elements which make up the monastic countryside should enrich our understanding of Saint John Prodromos in Serres and Byzantine monastic life in general.

## "A Pillar in the Temple of God": Simeon Stylites and the Qal'at Sim'an

Travis Clark (Temple University)

The Church of St. Simeon Stylites the Elder at Qal at Sim an has been the object of much discussion and analysis by scholars over the last two centuries. They have established its artistic uniqueness and significance for the pilgrimage trade. These studies lack a more comprehensive understanding of how St. Simeon himself shaped the site and how his contemporaries would have seen the pilgrimage church. Using previously unconsidered evidence from his biographies, this paper re-examines the pilgrimage church in light of Simeon s life and environment and presents a new interpretation of the church at Qal at Sim an.

Architecture and liturgical furnishings are used consistently as metaphors for religious experiences throughout the biographies of Simeon. Simeon s visions are frequently couched in architectural terms;

. . . the vision led him up the mountain and placed him on top of it and showed him some stones lying there, and said to Simeon, Take and build. But the blessed Mar Simeon said to him, My Lord, I do not know how to build, for during my life I have not built for myself any building. He said to him, Stand close by , then, and I will teach you how to build . . . .

(Syriac *Vita Symeonis*, 5)

In response to this vision Simeon builds up the church not only metaphorically, but literally as well. The biographies also describe actual buildings constructed by Simeon and his disciples, prior to the establishment of the existing pilgrimage church. The descriptions of these early structures that were built under Simeon s direction demonstrate a clear affinity with the later church at Qal at Sim an, and may even be seen as prototypes for the later building.

These architectural metaphors and references to early structures expand our understanding of how architecture related to the religious experience of the age and give new and fascinating insights into the possible meanings and interpretations of the pilgrimage church of Simeon and pilgrimage churches in general.



## Cappadocia Revisited

Robert Ousterhout (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

Combining the scenic volcanic beauty of the Tertiary period with the arcane art history of the Byzantine period, the region of Cappadocia in central Turkey is today better known to tourists than to scholars. Cappadocia preserves at least 700 rock-cut churches, of which perhaps one-third retain significant elements of painted decoration, as well as monasteries, hermitages, and countless examples of non-ecclesiastical architecture. In terms of material culture, the area is unrivaled, and yet the monuments of Cappadocia have not found their rightful place in the canon of Byzantine cultural achievement. In this paper, I focus on the rock-cut churches, suggesting how a better knowledge of them might broaden the study of Byzantine art and architecture.

The wealth of surviving monuments allows the identification of numerous individual artists and workshops, making possible the detailed analysis of stylistic development and iconographic variation within closed groups. This has been attempted at the "column churches" at Göreme, where the differences are as telling as the similarities. Similarly analyses are possible in several other groupings.

The well-preserved churches are also instructive concerning the relationship of painted program to architectural setting. For most examples, it would seem that workshops of carvers and painters worked independently, with many churches left only partially decorated. In some examples, as at Kılıçlar Kuşluk Kilise or St. Theodore at Tağar, the unusual iconographic or architectural features may have resulted from difficulties of the site.

In more regular churches, a clearer relationship of painted program to the architectural framework is evident. The barrel-vaulted churches of the tenth century, as for example old Tokalı Kilise, are decorated with bands of continuous narration, while the eleventh-century column churches normally contain framed iconic images. Transitional monuments, such as new Tokalı Kilise and Kılıçlar Kilise, help to clarify the development of the standard Middle Byzantine church program.

Painters familiar with the four-column, domed format occasionally found difficulties in addressing the variations in scale and detail. At the Karanlık Kilise, perhaps the most well-organized example, architectonic elements were suppressed to accommodate the painted program. At the Çarıklı Kilise, the painter struggled to adjust framed compositions to irregular spaces. The artist of the Elmalı Kilise, on the other hand, seems to have been energized by the same limitations, developing unique spatial compositions.

In rock-cut architecture, the carved forms do not have same structural logic as in masonry churches and thus allow for imaginative variation. Rarely are four-column churches truly "cross-in-square." At Elmalı Kilise, for example, the format is adapted for natural lighting, with numerous shallow domes of similar height. In other churches, structural elements are transformed into carved decoration, for example, with bosses or folded plates in the place of pendentives. At St. Theodore at Tağar, the result is a unique "proto-Seljuk" transition to dome.

All told, the numerous variations in church design and decoration may be best regarded as regional innovation rather than as provincialism.

## Session XXI. The End of the Empire

## Chair: Walter Hanak (Shepherd College)

### Orthodoxy and "Latinism" at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-39)

Constantina Scourtis (University of Notre Dame and Dumbarton Oaks)

The Council of Ferrara-Florence was intended to be the ecumenical council that would unite the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches and end the schism that had lasted since the eleventh century. In exchange for church union, the Byzantines were promised military help for defense against the Ottoman Turks. Although union was successfully concluded at the council, anti-unionist opposition prevented its full acceptance in Byzantium. In the past, scholars have identified the Byzantines' traditional antipathy towards the Latins as the primary cause for their rejection of this council. However, others have suggested that the Byzantines' anti-Latinism has been exaggerated, and that in addition to the political and ethnic factors, the religious context must be taken into consideration. The anti-unionists could theologically justify their rejection of the Council of Florence by arguing that this council was not a "true" ecumenical council, both in terms of its procedure and in the theology expressed in its *Decree*.

The anti-unionist leaders were theologians and churchmen, who provided theological reasons for rejection of the union. They were able successfully to convince many of their Byzantine compatriots that the *Definition* of the Council of Florence was contrary to their ancestral Orthodox faith. The Definition treated five areas of difference between the churches: (1) the procession of the Holy Spirit; (2) the addition of the word, *filioque*, into the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed; (3) the type of bread (leavened or unleavened) used in the Eucharist: (4) Purgatory; and (5) papal primacy. This union was not based on mutual agreement or even compromise. Rather, on every one of these points the traditional Latin doctrine was confirmed, sometimes in direct contradiction to traditional Byzantine teaching.

In this paper, I focus on the most serious obstacle to union: agreement on the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit. I examine an alternative formula of union proposed by the Byzantines at the Council, which attempted to harmonize the different Trinitarian theologies by juxtaposing traditional Greek and Latin formulations and thereby implying their equivalence. The proposal was based on variant wordings of the phrase, "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son," drawn from the Byzantine tradition. The Latins rejected the Byzantine compromise formula on the grounds of its ambiguity, insisting that the doctrine must be interpreted according to the Latin tradition.

The anti-unionists saw themselves as the true Orthodox, in contrast to the Byzantine unionists. To them, these "Latinizers" had betrayed the traditional Orthodox faith by adding to it — symbolized by acceptance of the *filioque* addition to the Creed, which taught the Latin doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit "from the Father and the Son." In this context, I argue that the accusation of "Latinism" made against the advocates of the union was not of an ethnic, but rather of a theological nature.



### "Better off than before": The 1454 Moreote Submission to Mehmet II

Diana Wright (New School University)

This paper presents a small and messy scroll of 16 December 1454 in which Mehmet II accepts the submission of a group of prominent Moreote archons and family groups. The names mentioned in this well known document provide a larger window on post-1453 events in the Morea than has been previously noticed and suggest a particular scenario prompting the submission. All the names can be shown to be persons tending to support the Despot Demetrios Palaiologos, landholders in the central and northern areas of the Morea.

After the fall of the City, a massive revolt of Albanians in the Morea prompted intense Venetian scrutiny; over the subsequent 12 months Venetian policy shifted in an effort to follow changing events and increasingly friable relationships. At first supportive of the Albanians in policy and materiel, Venetian emissaries (instructed not to put anything in writing) tested various proposals with both despots and with the Albanian leaders, hoping to obtain several ports, including Clarenza, Patras (under Albanian siege), and Corinth. The archons making submission held land in these areas; this fact must have been a strong motivation for their submission. Simultaneously with the Ottomans' final solution to the Albanian revolt, Venetian awareness of the archons' submission and anxiety about the Ottoman presence in the Morea prompted their concern to reconcile the despots to each other and to the Albanians. Subsequently, several Albanians and Albanian allies countered the archons' submission by handing over castles into Venetian safe-keeping.

## A Military Assessment of the Ottoman Strategy against the Land Walls in the Siege of Constantinople (1453)

Marios Philippides (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

Historians have viewed the Ottoman artillery in the siege of 1453 in two mutually exclusive ways. One side has declared that Sultan Mehmed II's artillery was the single most important factor in the conquest of Constantinople, introducing the era of gunpowder. The other side maintains that the Ottoman artillery was hopelessly antiquated and simply underscored the futility of the old fashioned bronze bombard, something that Europeans had already realized. Both views minimize the "elastic" offense that Mehmed utilized in his operations against Constantinople. Mehmed II was a competent strategist and a brilliant tactician who did not rely exclusively on a single, monolithic approach. His strong point consisted of his ability to modify his methods according to the demands of the situation. His "elastic" offense, marked by three distinct stages of modifications/adjustments in his strategy, has not been examined by scholarship.

**Stage I:** In the beginning of the siege, Mehmed deployed bombards, expecting the total destruction of both inner and outer walls in the μεσοτειχιον so that his troops could overwhelm and overrun the outnumbered defenders. In other words, the bronze bombards were used as old-fashioned, although infinitely more powerful, battering rams. This approach did not yield results.

**Stage II:** The end of April and the beginning of May must have witnessed the first adjustment in the sultan's strategy. At this point the Turks apparently modified their method of targeting the walls and devised a more effective way to direct their fire: they learned to triangulate their fire and concentrated their efforts against the Saint Romanus – Πέμπτον sector.

**Stage III:** As the second stage also failed to deliver the city, Mehmed fell back on more traditional stratagems, which had been widely used in late antiquity and the Middle Ages: mines and siege towers. This stage failed as well. The Ottoman command then decided to rely on their numerical superiority and launched, in successive waves, a final assault to exhaust the enemy and overrun his positions in the early hours of May 29.

This final, simplistic, even desperate, approach came as a climax to the previous three stages of elastic offense and it ultimately proved successful only because Giovanni Giustiniani's professional band of *condottieri* retreated. Modern historians are satisfied by extolling the "gallantry" of the besieged or the "determination" of the besiegers. Gallantry and determination, however, are subordinate to strategy and, instead, one detects despair on both sides as the drama is brought to its conclusion. This analysis is only a part of the overall picture, and it deals with land walls alone; further examination of defensive and offensive strategy is needed, in regard to the naval sector, on the role of intelligence and counter-intelligence operations by both sides, and on the role of diplomacy in the dissemination of (mis)information, before scholarship can come to a proper understanding regarding the major event in the history of the Levant: the fall of Constantinople in 1453.



# Session XXII. Ammianus Marcellinus

## Chair: Kevin Uhalde (Princeton University)

## Ammianus and the Ciceronian *Gloria* of Murdering Silvanus

Alex Mozner (Loyola University Chicago)

Ammianus' narrative of the short-lived rebellion of Silvanus in 355 has proven to be morally distasteful, if not outright offensive, to modern scholars. E. A. Thompson declared "there is no need to recount in detail the sordid story of how Ursicinus succeeded in overthrowing Silvanus" (*The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus*, 1947). W. den Boer tells us that "the vile treachery of Ursicinus" and "the cowardly manner" in which he exploited "Silvanus' good faith" is well worthy to be "censured" and "condemned" ('The Emperor Silvanus and his Army' in *Acta Classica* 3, 1960). For Robin Seager, it is a case "where the workings of *necessitas* serve to excuse in part conduct that would otherwise be wholly reprehensible" (*Ammianus Marcellinus. Seven Studies in his Language and Thought*, 1986). John Drinkwater finds the treatment of Silvanus, as Thompson did, to be "sordid" ("Silvanus, Ursicinus and Ammianus: Fact or Fiction?" in C. Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* VII, Collection Latomus 227, 1994). More recently, David Hunt states that Ammianus allowed "the whole 'sordid' story of deceit, corruption and treachery to unfold without the least hint of disapproval or consciousness of the moral contradictions which it poses" (David Hunt, 'The Outsider Inside: Ammianus on the rebellion of Silvanus' in J.W. Drijvers & E. D. Hunt, *The Late Roman World and its Historian. Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus*, 1999). While one may admire the moral perspective of such outstanding scholars, nevertheless, it is this very perspective that has prevented any inroads to discovering what Ammianus had in mind when narrating the rebellion of Silvanus.

This paper shows that Ammianus constructed his Silvanus narrative in order to exemplify a deed meriting the highest *gloria* and that, moreover, Ammianus' understanding of *gloria* was particularly Ciceronian. In order to make a proper assessment of the ethical nature of Ammianus' treatment of the usurpation of Silvanus, this paper examines what Ammianus both explicitly and implicitly tells us has shaped his understanding of legitimacy and rebellion: the political and moral writings and actions of Cicero. As John Matthews notes, the quotation of Cicero which Ammianus inserts into the Silvanus narrative is an "early indication of the fundamental importance of Cicero" (J.F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 1989 484-485, n. 9). In general, my method is to examine various quotations from and references to Cicero in Ammianus' History (e.g., 15.5.23, 19.12.17 and 22.7.3-4) and explore the context in which they occur in both his own and Cicero's work in order to reach a deeper understanding of their meaning. I also examine various passages of Cicero to demonstrate their manifest likeness and congruity to what Ammianus has to say about legitimacy, rebellion, and the use of violence. This paper reveals that what modern scholars take to be "sordid" was meant by Ammianus to be a prime example of what the attainment of the highest *gloria* entails, and thus how the moral compass of modern thought has prevented us from finding any starting point for a satisfactory exploration of Ammianus' Silvanus narrative.

## Was Ammianus Marcellinus an *agens in rebus*?

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Modern readers of the *Res Gestae* have long identified its author as a *protector domesticus* (Theodor Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* 8, 1913, 419-446; E.A. Thompson, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus*, 1947, 1-19; A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 1964, 115; H.-J. Diesner, *RE Suppl.* XI, 1968, 1113-23). John Matthews (*The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 1989, 74-80) has used this identification to deduce the career of Ammianus, noting the exceptional preference that as a young man (76, 79; cf. Amm. 16.10.21) he enjoyed to receive such an appointment (cf. *CIL* 11. 1836). Frank Trombley makes the identification the basis of his recent account of the sources and emphases of the *Res Gestae* ("Ammianus Marcellinus and Fourth-Century Warfare" in *The Late Roman World and its Historian*, 1999, 17-27). But this identification is problematic, since the position of protector appears to have been reserved for older men with substantial military service (*CIL* 11.1836; *SHA*, V. Cari 13.1; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.28; *PLRE* 1121-24). On the contrary, as I shall argue, the position of Ammianus in Roman imperial service and the insights it afforded for his historiography, are better understood if he is identified as an agens in rebus.

Though Ammianus views the *agentes in rebus* as malicious and rapacious secret agents (Amm. 14.11.19; 16.8.3; 27.7.5; cf. 16.5.11; 28.1.44-5), other sources (Aug. *Conf.* 8.6.14-15, 9.8.17; *CIL* 3.8712, 10.7200; Lib. *Ep.* 233, 382, 602-4, 607, 699, 1118, 1121, 1151; Symm. *Ep.* 2.62-3, 7.107; cf. *Rel.* 49) suggest the post did not hurt either one's reputation or future advancement. Domnus, from a provincial curial family (Lib. *Ep.* 50; CTh VI.29.2), used the post as an opportunity for promotion to *princeps officii* of the *praefectus praetorio* (cf. CTh I.9.1). He married the daughter of Celsus, a wealthy Latin rhetorician in Antioch (Lib. *Ep.* 363, cf. *Ep.* 50, 1108) and became a man of property (Lib. *Ep.* 53). But the most compelling example is an *agens* named Ammianus who operated in the East about 360, leaving first the army to join the corps of *agentes in rebus*, from there to philosophical pursuits (Lib. *Ep.* 233; cf. Amm. 31.16.9).

Considering these above examples and in light of Lib. *Ep.* 233, the disapproving regard Ammianus Marcellinus has towards the *agentes in rebus* makes little sense unless one reads the *Res Gestae* in the context of majesty of empire. Apodemius and Gaudentius, like the eunuchs and palace functionaries, exceeded their place and undermined the imperial structure (Amm. 14.11.19; 16.8.3; 27.7.5; cf. 14.5.6, 8; 15.3.4, 6.1, 5.11; 19.12.1; 28.1.44-5). In addition, Ammianus uses Julian's censure of the rapacious agent as an exemplum to counterbalance the Caesar against Constantius as a strong, manly ruler (Amm.16.5.11). Nevertheless, they performed an important and necessary imperial function by transmitting and receiving information of a type that the historian frequently uses (Trombley *supra*). Ammianus distances himself from excessive, malicious *agentes* whose influence on Constantius he deplored, though his own job shared their proper duties.



## Great Stable of Empire: the Forum of Trajan in Late Antique Memory

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Climaxing the tour of Rome's monuments, it is the Forum of Trajan that Ammianus Marcellinus identifies as finally overawing Constantius II's monumental ambitions (Amm. 16.13-17). He declares himself, at best, able to equal Trajan's equestrian statue; the Persian Hormisdas advises him not to attempt it unless he can match the "stable" as well. Although it must have been possible at the time to refer this remark strictly to the Forum itself (Cameron, *HSCP* 1989), scholars naturally have felt some reference to the scope of the Empire Trajan had extended to its maximum (e.g., Blockley, *Ammianus Marcellinus, A Selection*, 1980; Edbrooke, *Mnemosyne* 1975): the Forum, both in its funding *ex manubiis* and ornamentation, enshrined Trajan's military achievements at the frontiers, within the very heart of the city's public life (references conveniently assembled by Packer in Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 1995, cf. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: a Study of the Monuments*, 1997).

This paper analyzes late antique literary references to the use emperors made of Trajan's Forum against archaeological and epigraphic testimony to the physical place. The *Historia Augusta* is particularly intrigued by the Forum's commemorative statues of great Romans (*Marc.* 22.7, *Sev.Alex.* 26.4, *Tac.* 9.2). That Tacitus should have placed a silver statue of Aurelian there links powerfully the commemorative function such statues actually had (*CIL* VI.959, 996, 1377, etc.; cf. on statues in the Forum of Augustus, Luce in Raaflaub and Toher, *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, 1990) to the *Historia Augusta*'s fancy that Tacitus promoted imperial memory, in the footsteps of his namesake (*Tac.* 10.3, cf. McMahon in *DIR*, http://www.roman-emperors.org/tacitus.htm, 2000). The combination of real and invented mechanisms of Roman heritage particularly characterizes the *Historia Augusta*.

The Forum of Trajan was also a place where emperors made, or in late antiquity were remembered as having made, particular shows of concern to release their citizens from fears of imperial power (*HA* Hadr. 7.6, cf. *CIL* VI.967; *HA* Marc. 17.4, 21.9, cf. Eutr.8.13, Vict. *Caes.* 16.9; *HA Aurel.* 39.3). Just as Augustus made his Forum a museum and working center of citizenship, resting on the military achievement of Augustan Peace (Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, 1996, Zanker, tr. Shapiro, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 1988), so in late antiquity the Forum of Trajan monumentalized the peak of Roman greatness and placed it at Rome's citizens' feet as a public space. Literary texts transmit this memory to us.

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