THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL

BYZANTINE STUDIES CONFERENCE

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art

NOVEMBER 5-8, 2009

ABSTRACTS

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Byzantine Studies Conference
Abstracts of Papers—Byzantine Studies Conference, 1st 1975-Madison, WI
[etc.]

Key title: Abstracts of Papers—Byzantine Studies Conference
ISSN 0147-3387
I.Byzantine Empire—Congresses
DF501.5b9a 949.5 77-79346
Library of Congress MARC-S

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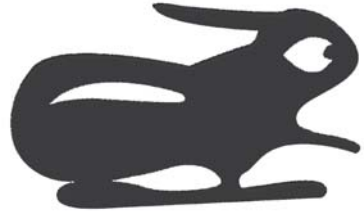

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Session IA

Late Antiquity: The Crafting of Identity

Chair: Tia Kolbaba
Rutgers University

The First Draft of the *Vita Constantini* as an Imperial Christian Funerary Oration

Diliana Angelova
University of California at Berkeley

Eusebius's *Vita Constantini* (The Life of Constantine) bears the traits of different genres. Panegyric, history, biography, church history, and hagiography, and various mixtures between them have been proposed in an attempt to explain the curious structure of the work.

One way in which scholars have approached the VC's nonconformity to traditional genres was to propose that the Life began as one type of work, which was then expanded into something altogether different. In 1910, Giorgio Pasquali suggested that the VC started out as a basilikos logos, an imperial panegyric in the Greek tradition. He also argued that the text was unfinished at Eusebius's death in 339 and that it was not a unified literary work. Since Pasquali's study, the debate has assumed two major trajectories, exemplified by the recent studies of Timothy Barnes and Averil Cameron. Barnes interprets the VC as the melding of two works, "a combination of conventional panegyric and something daringly original which hovers between ecclesiastical history and hagiography." While Averil Cameron essentially agrees with Barnes on the VC's hagiographic and panegyrical characteristics, she rejects the two-work hypothesis, and thinks of the VC as: "if not homogeneous, at least more complex than" Barnes's two-draft hypothesis. She attributes its elusive literary form to its innovative tendencies.

But innovation alone cannot account for all of the Life's contradictions. Evidence from the VC helps us see a first draft and a second draft, composed at two separate chronological moments and following two different objectives. These two drafts are in essence two separate works. This presentation argues that the first draft of the VC was an imperial Christian funerary oration. Only in the second revision did Eusebius endeavor to follow the genre requirements for an imperial oration, as prescribed by Menander.

The primary objective of the original oration was to recommend Constantine's soul to God, as it ascended to heaven, not to extol the emperor's military deeds. The first draft of the VC therefore inaugurated a new genre. The formal characteristic of this new genre endured and we see applied, for instance, in the late fourth-century imperial funerary orations by Ambrose of Milan.

The Personal and Legal Status of Provincialis in the Late Roman Empire

Ralph W. Mathisen
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

During Late Antiquity, different kinds of concepts of identity proliferated. After the issuance of the Antonine Constitution in 212 CE, the status of civis Romanus no longer was a default to which all residents of the empire aspired. Personal and legal identity could be constructed on any number of bases: one could identify not only as a "Roman," but also as a citizen or resident of a city, a member of a barbarian gens, or even as belonging to the "City of God." This paper will discuss an additional aspect of identification that became more and more common but that hitherto has been very little appreciated in the scholarship: legal or personal identification as a resident or even a "citizen" of a Roman province.

Legally, the term provincials usually referred generically to all non-servile inhabitants of provinces, and many imperial constitutions were addressed simply "Ad provincials" ("To the provincials"). Provincials had an identity separate from citizens of cities with regard to vectigales (tax imposts), military requisitions, munera (public obligations, such as maintaining the imperial post system), assigning tabularii (imperial accountants), making public benefactions, pursuing lawsuits, sending embassies to court, and obtaining favors from imperial administrators, and selected provincials had a collective identity as members of a provincial council. Some particular responsibilities incumbent upon provincials included keeping tabs on provincial governors, sending petitions to the emperor, promulgating imperial initiatives, and renewing their loyalty oaths to the emperor at the annual provincial council meetings.

A concept even of provincial "citizenship," as opposed merely to residence, developed, as seen in a ruling of 385 specifying that no one was to serve in any office "within that province in which he was considered to be a provincial and a citizen" (CJ 9.29.3). This seems to separate the two statuses of provincial resident and provincial citizen. The status of civis of a province, it seems, was based on residence and obligation, not on a juridical status parallel to the pre-imperial civis Romanus.

In additional to collective identification as "rovincials," residents of provinces could be identified with a particular province. Justinian's sixth-century Digest, for example, cites earlier examples of Campanian and Pontic legal identity. This usage made its way into popular parlance, with references to citizens of Africa, Gaul, or Spain. And in general, in epigraphic remains, people often self-identified as residents of a province, not of a city, as often had been the case during the Principate.

After establishing the existence and nature of concepts of legal and personal identity based on the status of "provincialis," this paper will discuss what this new development tells us about changes (1) in the legal and social worlds of the early Byzantine world, and (2) in the nature of how individuals constructed their own identity in an increasingly fragmented world.

However that may be, even in simple utterances I have been told that my language is peculiarly graceful, and though I do not strive after effect, there is in my words a certain natural beauty.

Michael Psellos

Hazing and Student Recruitment in the Schools of Late Antique Athens

Dallas J. DeForest
The Ohio State University

By late antiquity, Athens remained at the forefront of "university" level education in the Roman world, and its schools attracted pupils from across the empire. Students came for training in rhetoric and philosophy, and also to acquire the rudiments of *paideia*. This education prepared the next generation of the empire's elites for their public careers; it taught them how to interact with their peers, conduct themselves in public, and maintain vast personal networks of friends and associates; and it bound them by a common culture, steeped in classical literature.

There is a long tradition of scholarship on the intellectuals of Athens and their works, and we now benefit from studies of academic culture in late antiquity. E. Watts has explored the intellectual scenes in Athens and Alexandria, analyzing them alongside local power structures and empire-wide political and social changes. R. Cribiore's recent book details Libanius' famous school in Antioch in almost every respect, while R. Kaster has brought to life the interesting social world of the grammarian in late antiquity. Yet neither these excellent studies nor any others have discussed the peculiar "hazing" rituals common to academic culture in late antique Athens. This paper examines these phenomena systematically for the first time and is based on the testimony of teachers and students of the fourth century, from which many conclusions may be drawn about student life, recruitment efforts, curricula, placement after graduation and more.

My paper argues, tentatively, that the hazing rituals make sense only when viewed in their local context and alongside the competitive academic environment of late antique Athens. While Athens was a "college town" in late antiquity, it was not dominated by a single school, as college towns are today (for the most part). Rather, Athens' schools consisted of numerous teachers, their close associates and students, each group of which constituted a "school." It was, then, a fractured and highly competitive environment, in which instructors had to compete for recruits and work hard to retain them. The "hazing" rituals attempted to create a cohesive group environment and identity, avoid defections to other schools, and establish valuable long-term connections. This study has implications for the way historians understand ancient educational systems, their social context, and the larger historical forces that shaped them.

The Imperial Bureaucracy in the Reign of Justinian

Mark-Anthony Karantabias
University of Kentucky

The reign of Justinian is often considered to be a turning point of Late Antiquity. Roman civilization hit one of its many peaks in its long history as armies carrying the imperial standards plowed their way through many regions that had been lost in the fifth century. In his reign, however, the imperial financial requirements were becoming increasingly problematic and gave rise to such men as John the Cappadocian about whose reputation and methods Procopius may have been too convincing. Previous scholarship has emphasized the beastly size of the bureaucracy and its unquenchable thirst for revenue. Hence, we are under the impression that it was an oppressive institution, which crushed Roman citizens, especially those in the countryside. However, the research of G. Tate, A. Walmsley and S. Mitchell, amongst others, has demonstrated that the empire was tremendously wealthy at the local level and, thus, the problem may not have been in this area as once thought. It seems that the imperial bureaucracy was unable to draw upon the local economies' resources effectively. Hence, the problem of imperial finances and bureaucratic efficiency is an enduring one that remains a central problem in the evaluation of the empire's collapse half a century later.

In the light of new scholarly interpretations of the sixth-century macro and micro-economy like those of Sarris and Banaji, we must also revise our interpretation of imperial fiscal policy. Rather than see the imperial bureaucracy as moribund and static, seeking to squeeze money from impoverished provinces, we might consider it as a dynamic and evolving system that successfully sustained wars on all imperial frontiers. It might thus be our goal not to consider the failures of this system, but its efforts, both successful and ineffective, at internal reform. Novel XXIV reveals, for example, that Justinian's efforts to unite the civil and military branches of the bureaucracy were part of a larger scheme. The bloated bureaucracy was Justinian's designated target, for it is stated that the provincial government in place was unable to tax the locals efficiently. The population fostered what seems to be a large amount of citizens, who are described as seditious when it came to paying taxes. Yet, the revived office of the praetor, who was invested with a high degree of power, was intended to rationalize the tax system. Therefore, the inertia in the face of this issue is a misconstruction. In Novel XXIV, it is apparent that Justinian was attempting to trim the bureaucracy. Hence, this is a specific reform policy, which demonstrates an effort to resolve the bureaucracy's fiscal failures.

Jordanes, Virgil, and the Goths: Two Case Studies of Intertextuality in the *Getica*

Brian Swain
The Ohio State University

Jordanes, writing in mid-sixth century Constantinople, provides us with the only history of the Goths to survive from antiquity. Crucially, Jordanes wrote his history (known as the Getica and written in Latin) at a moment when Roman-Gothic relations had disintegrated into total war, as the emperor Justinian was engaged in the conquest of Gothic Italy. That Jordanes, a Roman/Byzantine citizen of Gothic decent, would write a history of a people with whom Rome was currently at war is clearly significant and had no precedent in Roman tradition. Yet despite this, there remains a paucity of scholarship which treats seriously Jordanes' historiographical aims and literary merit. Moreover, most of what work there is on Jordanes has denounced his alleged derivative nature, stylistic decadence, and intellectual limitation. Some recent commentators have departed from such views, but ultimately grant Jordanes only limited concessions to authorial autonomy and literary ability. This paper seeks to push this rehabilitation further.

A close reading of the Getica reveals both a marked level of authorial independence from its sources (contrary to what has been assumed before) and sophisticated literary craft at work. The latter is demonstrated by looking closely at two heretofore unappreciated allusions to the Aeneid seamlessly interwoven into the narrative of the Getica which work symbolically to incorporate the Goths into the fold of Roman history. Indeed, this is exemplary of one of Jordanes' primary thematic thrusts in the Getica: the "classicization" of Gothic history; that is, his intention at all times to draw the Goths out of the northern hinterland and into Mediterranean antiquity. It is clear that Jordanes' historical gaze is not only one that looks to the past but more importantly one that is deeply rooted in and highly conscious of the present. In other words, Jordanes means to account for the state of the Goths in the mid sixth century as an incorporated people of the Roman Empire by articulating the greater Gothic past as likewise related to a Roman past. If my reappraisal of Jordanes stands, then he must be taken seriously both as a competent author and as a singular source for understanding the dynamics of Gothic integration into the Roman Empire during the late antique period.

Session IB

Byzantium and Cross-Cultural Connections

Chair: Brian Boeck
DePaul University

Towards an Eastern Ecumene: Gregory Magistros and Intellectual Exchange in Armenian, Greek, and Syriac

Zachary Chitwood
Princeton University

Dimitry Obolensky famously postulated the existence of a "Byzantine Commonwealth", a sphere of Byzantine cultural influence which geographically corresponded to the Balkans and Russia. For the medieval Middle East, however, scholars have offered no analogue to Obolensky's Eastern European commonwealth. Instead, the literature on the various Christian sects of the post-Chalcedonian Middle East has been almost exclusively characterized by a narrative of continuous confessional conflict between Byzantine Orthodox, Armenian Miaphysite and Chalcedonian, and East- and West-Syrian sects. Recently, Christopher MacEvitt (*The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance, 2008)* has offered a new interpretation of confessional conflict under the name "Rough Tolerance" which eschews the traditional dynamic of intra-faith hostility. Instead, MacEvitt proves that, at least within the crusader states of Northern Syria, rulers adopted a laissez-faire approach to other Christian confessions, and tended to avoid outright confrontation and persecution.

The usefulness of the "Rough Tolerance" rubric is particularly suited for examining intellectual exchange along linguistic lines in the eastern half of the Byzantine Empire during the eleventh-century. While acknowledging the existence of confessional strife, this paper focuses on intellectual exchange across linguistic boundaries in the eleventh-century Byzantine Empire. During this period of economic instability and political turmoil, the intellectual endeavors of a scion of the Armenian Pahlavuni family, Gregory Magistros (985/90-1054), demonstrate the considerable interchange between scholars writing in Armenian, Greek, and Syriac. Gregory Magistros was born into the nobility of the Kingdom of Ani, and following the city's annexation during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042-1055), he entered Byzantine service and eventually attained the titles of magistros and doux. His letters (*Edition: K'. Kostaneanc', Grigor Magistrosi t'łt'erĕ, 1910*), which are a conscious imitation of Byzantine epistolography written in Classical Armenian, are invaluable for assessing the degree of cultural interchange on the eastern frontier. The interest of Gregory Magistros in natural science, philology, and philosophy, among other subjects, are mirrored by eleventh-century intellectuals like Michael Psellos, John Mauropous, and Christopher of Mytilene. This paper presents the scholarly oeuvre of Gregory Magistros as representative of an "Eastern Ecumene" of intellectual exchange—an intellectual community which included writers working

in Armenian, Greek, and Syriac—and suggests that scholars should recognize the international character of eleventh-century Byzantine culture outside of the Eastern European context.

The Art of Gift-Giving: The Multivalency of "Votive" Dedications in the Middle Byzantine Period

Brad Hostetler
Florida State University

The current scholarly use of the word votive for the Middle Byzantine period is problematic. Scholars have used votive as a universal, non-specific term grouping objects of varied donations under a monolithic definition. The difficulty with identifying a votive object lies in determining the differences among the many diverse types of gifts offered by the faithful. The level of patronage, the object of donation and its date, the location of production and deposition and the purpose for offering such gifts must all be considered when examining these objects. Sponsors, owners, commissioners, benefactors and donors provide varying levels of gift-giving according to their status and desires. Within this diverse framework of patronage, gifted objects can also vary in the wealth of materials used, the skills of the craftsmen employed and the prominence of the negotiated display. Scholars use the circumstances of the donation to reveal the intent of the patron and the function of the object.

In this paper, I examine the most prevalent methodology used by scholars to identify votive offerings in the Middle Byzantine period – relying upon an object's accompanying inscription. I demonstrate that this methodology has its limitations and that we cannot rely on the inscription alone to classify an object as votive. It is rather the combination of many elements that contribute to this identification and which enable us to clearly understand a more nuanced message than what is explicitly stated in the inscription itself. I present one object as a case study – a reliquary from the Protaton Monastery on Mount Athos. I argue that the patrons created a unified program of text, iconography and relics to convey their hope for salvation through perpetual prayer.

Windows into Seventh Century Galatia: Change in the Seventh Century as Shown by the Two Versions of the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon.*

Joel Dowling Soka
Texas Tech University

This paper examines the differences in the two versions of the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* and how these differences illustrate the dramatic collapse of the Late Antique Anatolian world. It follows the arguments of Derek Baker in "Theodore of Sykeon and the Historians" that the smaller versions of the *Life* in the manuscript tradition have sufficient similarity to each other to constitute a separate manuscript tradition and that this tradition does not represent a simple removal of uninteresting material for a later audience. (Baker, 1976) However, Baker's argument that the evidence suggests that the short *Life* represents something closer to the prototype original version of the text and that the differences between it and the long *Life* are the product of accretion after the translation of Theodore's relics to Constantinople ignores the sheer amount of material that dates the long version of the *Life* to no later than the end of living memory of the reign of Phocas. This paper argues that both versions of the *Life* are likely to originate from the same monastery. By this argument, the short version represents an earlier attempt to publicize the existence of St. Theodore outside of the monastery and to attempt to develop the location as a site of pilgrimage while the long version represents the monasteries' own version of the text composed over the course of the half century or so after Theodore's death in 613.

This timing allows the two versions of the *Life* to complement each other as sources concerning seventh century Galatia. Where the short version represents a fundamentally optimistic portrayal of the world surrounding the monastery, the long version demonstrates an increasingly pessimistic view. The additions, most notably the increased presence of military miracles and St. George and the presence of apocalyptic prophecy, demonstrate that a profound loss of confidence for the monastery occurred in between the release of the short version and the completion of the longer version of the *Life.* This produces a potential narrative of events in the environs of rural Galatia. It demonstrates a progression from a well to do rural monastery with a famous founding saint and to a poor establishment sitting along an invasion corridor bereft of the relics that once might have attracted pilgrimage.

The paper concludes by drawing attention to the need for further academic discourse on the relationship between the two manuscript traditions. Scholars of Byzantium and of Late Antiquity have used *The Life of Theodore of Sykeon* extensively over the last thirty years, but without any consistency. The text apparently manages

to provide primary evidence for a century long period from the mid sixth century to the mid to late seventh century. While the relationship and subsequent narrative presented above are entirely arguable, the lack of consistency in the use of St. Theodore in scholarship demonstrates the need for a framework that will allow for a more responsible use of the *Life* as evidence for the seventh century.

Borders, Monasteries and Borderless Piety

Ian Mladjov
Bowling Green State University

The history of Byzantium on the Balkans in the 13th and 14th centuries is characterized by a long succession of alternating military or diplomatic conflicts with its Slavic neighbors (Bulgaria and Serbia), while the area enefited from a degree of cultural continuity that inspired Obolensky's notion of a "Byzantine Commonwealth." This paradox is reflected in the status of monasteries and monastic estates located near the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire and its neighbors. While the borders shifted with the fortunes of war, the common bond of Orthodox piety ensured the continued existence of these monastic establishments. Monastic charters were granted to add new properties to the monasteries or to renew those granted in the past. Such actions not only demonstrated piety and solicited divine favor, but also placed the grantors of the charters in the venerable tradition of preceding donors, providing yet another venue for Bulgarian and Serbian monarchs to emulate Byzantine emperors.

The central Balkans contained a constellation of partly "international" monastic communities on Mount Athos on the one hand, and on the other the more localized monastic establishments outside of it. The monasteries of Mount Athos provide an interesting insight in the paradox at hand: here foreign monarchs could claim natural patronage of particular monasteries, such as the Bulgarian Zographou and the Serbian Hilandar, but the donation of new estates in nearby lands usually requited the consent and cooperation of the Byzantine emperor actually in possession of the area. In the rare cases of foreign control, the monastic houses scurried to obtain confirmation or even favorable re-negotiation of their rights and entitlements.

The monasteries outside of Mount Athos received as much attention by monarchs and notables alike. Their endowments often seem to provide the only clues to the donors'

territorial control, and have been used for determining the borders between states. Here the relationship between piety and the political frontier may be more difficult to establish. The Mraka monastery provides an interesting example, with both Bulgarian and Serbian charters dated in the 1330s and 1340s. This may indicate donations from across the border, or otherwise completely unattested border adjustments. A closer look at the evidence suggests a third scenario entailing an unchanging frontier between Bulgaria and Serbia, Serbian endowments to a Bulgarian monastery, and finally an attempt to curb the wealth or influence of a Bulgarian monastery within Serbia by transferring its Serbian lands to the Serbian monastery of Hilandar. This dynamic is obviously distinct from the contemporary Bulgarian and Serbian endowments to their respective Athonite monasteries with the authorization of the Byzantine emperor.

The evidence considered in this study shows a varied relationship between political borders and monastic endowments in the Late Medieval Balkans. Such grants can be used to determine political control, but sometimes they are clearly acts of piety extending beyond the donor's control. This mixture of delineation and fluidity may well contribute to a better understanding of the mercurial changes in political control during this period.

"He who loses gold or silver can find
more to replace it,
but he who loses time cannot
find more."

The Wisdom of the Desert Fathers

French Use of Byzantine Iconography at Reims Cathedral: The Deësis on the North Transept Last Judgment Portal

Jennifer M. Feltman
Florida State University

The sculptural program of the Last Judgment, located on the east portal of the north transept of Reims Cathedral (1225-30), is unique among thirteenth-century French sculptures of the Last Judgment for its use of the Byzantine iconography of the Deësis, with the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist functioning as Intercessors before the image of the enthroned Christ as Judge. Other thirteenth-century French Last Judgment sculptural programs, like those at Chartres (c. 1210-15), Notre-Dame in Paris (c. 1210-30), Amiens (c. 1225-40), and Bourges (c. 1245-50), replace the figure of John the Baptist with that of John the Evangelist as an Intercessor, following a French adaptation of the Deësis that can be traced back to its first known use on the west façade of Saint-Denis (c. 1137-40). It is unusual that the Reims Last Judgment deviates from the French model, yet no scholar has addressed the significance of the presence of John the Baptist as an Intercessor at Reims Cathedral since Donna Sadler-Davis first noted it in her 1984 dissertation on the sculptures of the verso of the west façade at Reims.

My paper examines the iconographic interactions between Byzantium and France evident in the Reims Last Judgment by focusing on the role of the Intercessors in images from both traditions. I address how the substitution of John the Evangelist for John the Baptist, and vice-versa, affects the interpretation of the image of the Last Judgment. Finally, I situate the French use of the traditional Byzantine formula for the Deësis at Reims within the political climate of thirteenth-century France, the ambitions of the local clerics at Reims, and the involvement of the Champenois in the Fourth and Fifth Crusades. I argue that the use of this Byzantine iconographic type on the façade that faced the cannons cloister served to reinforce the antiquity and authority of the Cathedral of Reims within the history of the Christian kingdom of France.

Session IIA

Retelling the Stories of Byzantium

Chair: Virginia Brilliant
Ringling Museum of Art

A Wandering Poet in Nonnos' *Dionysiaka*

Steven D. Smith
Hofstra University

In his seminal article, "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt" (*Historia* 14 [1965] 470-509), Alan Cameron described a community of professional poets from the Thebaid who traveled the Mediterranean offering their services for patrons of varying social and political stature. More recently Laura Miguélez Cavero (*Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200-600 AD*; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008) has challenged Cameron's hypothesis, arguing that sophisticated hexameter poetry could only have been produced by members of a cultural and social elite. The positions of Cameron and Miguélez Cavero are not mutually exclusive: Byzantine poets from one elite social network may be imagined as traveling and connecting themselves to the wider imperial elite precisely by means of their poetic talents. This paper identifies in Nonnos' *Dionysiaka* a mythologized representation of an early Byzantine landscape populated by elite poets who were both socially and geographically mobile.

In the opening phase of the epic, the figure of the Egyptian poet is represented by Kadmos, whose seductive musical deceptions allow Zeus to vanquish the rampaging Typhon (1.364-534). When Kadmos finally arrives at the proto-Byzantine palace of Elektra (Shorrock, Robert, *The Challenge of Epic. Allusive Engagement in the* Dionysiaca *of Nonnos*; Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 2001, 46n65), he is consoled with the advice that he should cease his wanderings and settle in a foreign city. Elektra even recalls the legendary wanderings of Byzas, whose own travels took him from the Nile to the Bosporos (3.365-371). Elektra's reference to the legendary foundation of Byzantium points unmistakably to Constantinople's future as the imperial center. This Vergilian superimposition of the present onto the mythological past is reinforced by two references to the promise of Roman hegemony represented by Elektra's absent son Dardanos (3.195-199, 425-428). Only later do we learn that the Phoenician Kadmos acquired his poetic education in Egyptian Thebes (4.259-284).

The 5th century community of socially mobile poets from Egypt is therefore humorously imagined by Nonnos to have been already in place in the distant mythological past. We are invited to consider Kadmos' career as a particularly early instance of imperial patronage. Son of the Sidonian king Agenor, Kadmos is hardly of humble origins, and it is precisely because of his father's elite social position that he is able to acquire his Egyptian education (4.264-266). But after being engaged for a performance of cosmic significance by none other than Zeus himself, king of gods and men, Kadmos is given as wife a daughter of the ruling family and thereby acquires an even more elevated social standing.

With the figure of Kadmos, Nonnos offers readers an opportunity to consider the social and political context in which the *Dionysiaka* was composed. Early Byzantine poets could capitalize on their existing social status and negotiate for themselves by means of their poetic talents positions of ever-greater authority and influence.

Daniel at Sardis

Marcus Rautman
University of Missouri

Since its discovery nearly 50 years ago, the Synagogue at Sardis has been recognized as a major component of the late Roman city. The building took shape within the monumental framework of the western Bath-Gymnasium complex, and by the fifth century included a spacious assembly hall with peristyle forecourt conspicuously located near an important public intersection. The scale was huge and the decoration lavish, with geometric floor mosaics, wall revetment and opus sectile, and a remarkable array of sculptural spolia furnishing the interior. Donor inscriptions, menorahs, and the apparent Torah shrine clearly establish the building's function as well as its prominence in local urban affairs.

Recently identified among the Synagogue's sculptural remains is an unexpected part of its decoration: a fragmentary revetment panel incised with a standing figure confronted by multiple lions. The flat, linear technique is skillfully employed and appears related to champlevé relief, a distinctive sculptural approach that is best documented in the east Mediterranean. The panel arranges at least four spirited felines to one side of a frontal, draped figure with raised arm(s), which irresistibly suggests the familiar image of Daniel in the lions' den. The encounter with lions provides the primary context for identifying the prophet across the visual spectrum, from catacomb paintings, funerary slabs, and sarcophagi to floor mosaics, architectural reliefs, and domestic crafts. The figure's long garment, a scroll held in his hand, and the menacing attitude of multiple creatures are unusual features that suggest the panel dates to a relatively early stage in the theme's iconographic development between the third and seventh centuries. The inclusion of the image in the decoration of the forecourt, moreover, represents an exceptional instance of figural art made for a synagogue of the Roman diaspora. Carved at the site and prominently displayed for over a century, this distinctive local interpretation of a popular biblical theme focuses attention on how religious art was made and perceived in one province of the late empire.

The Jewish Boy Legend, East and West

John Duffy
Harvard University

The Jewish Boy Legend, one of the most popular religious tales of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, first made its appearance, as far as the oldest evidence indicates, in sixth-century Byzantium; the earliest extant version is found in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius Scholasticus (d. circa 595). Set in Constantinople at the time of Emperor Justinian and Patriarch Menas, it tells the story of a Jewish glassblower in the capital who in a fit of anger throws his son into the furnace of his workshop, because the boy had joined his Christian schoolmates in consuming leftover communion breads at Hagia Sophia. The boy is miraculously saved by "a lady dressed in purple," he and his mother are converted to Christianity, but the criminal father, who refuses to change religion, is executed by impalement on the orders of Emperor Justinian.

The tale is found widely disseminated in Greek until at least the 12th cent. But it had already made its way into Latin, with some differences of detail, before the end of the 6th cent., appearing first in the *Miracles* of Gregory of Tours who was an exact contemporary of Evagrius. From that time on the story (with characteristic variations in time, location and other elements of the narrative) enjoyed a remarkably wide diffusion over the centuries in the West, in Latin and several European vernaculars. Among the differences that developed between Eastern and Western versions one of the most consistent involves the manner of the father's execution. On the basis of evidence available to date it always seemed a fixture that in Greek (from Evagrius onwards) the man was impaled or hanged on a gibbet, while in the West (as in Gregory) he was invariably thrown into and perished in his own furnace. However, from an unpublished and previously overlooked Greek version in an 11th cent. manuscript, now in Paris, it emerges for the first time that the execution by fire may not be just a Western "twist" on the tale. In addition to presenting the new information this paper will also discuss the implications for the one witness to the Jewish Boy Legend that straddles East and West, namely, the Latin translation of some 42 Byzantine stories (including ours) by the monk John of Amalfi who lived in a Greek monastery in Constantinople during the second half of the 11th century.

Session IIB

Images of Women of Byzantium

Chair: Alice Christ
University of Kentucky

"The great and much slandered empress": Staging Theodora in the 19th century Paris

Elena N. Boeck
DePaul University

This paper analyzes the opulent vision of Byzantium presented in the play "Theodora." First performed in Paris in 1884, it was the triumph of the best-selling play-write Victorien Sardou and his muse, the actress Sarah Bernhardt. Victorien Sardou, the play's author, stage manager, and designer, was a seasoned professional in translating exotic settings into profitable plays. His star, the sensational Sarah Bernhardt, was a veteran femme-fatale. Sardou's imagined empress was blithely divorced from the historical Theodora. In her Oriental savagery and unbridled lust she would escape from the palace in search of sexual adventures, torture prisoners in her secret chambers, and order love potions. In the end she was strangled with a silk cord at the order of Justinian.

As Sardou transformed Theodora beyond historical recognition, he simultaneously insisted on the "archaeological authenticity" of the stage's visual world. Capitalizing on the discoveries of Coptic textiles, and a flurry of recent academic publications (such as Amadee Thierry), he created a dazzling, decadent, and seductive vision of Byzantium. A flurry of controversy commenced among academics and the play continued to be publicly debated and challenged by such luminaries as Charles Diehl for years. Sardou and his detractors would argue over such issues as the Byzantine knowledge of forks, use of stained glass and pendentives, as well as the precise placement of the bronze horses in the hippodrome.

Skillful publicity insisted on the authenticity of the spectacle and promoted it as an impeccable "archaeological reconstitution." Sets designed by Sardou and costumes created by Theophile Thomas were marketed as marvels of research. In order to get into her character, Ms. Bernhardt was widely known to have traveled to Ravenna and studied the San Vitale mosaics. Her costumes would make a lasting impression on audiences across the world. They became the stuff of international admiration, gossip, and imitation for decades to come. Byzantine lavishness was symbolized by expensive embroidered silks and garments bedazzled with precious gems. Famous names in the fashion world, such as Lalique, created accessories. Celebrated society women, such as lady Randolph Churchill, would appear in the costume of Theodora at fancy-dress balls years later.

My analysis will situate the play within the broad intellectual construction of medievalism that was propagated by Viollet-le-Duc. It will evaluate the place assigned

to Byzantium in modernity's vision of the middle ages. Since this spectacle involved both the production and consumption of knowledge about Byzantium, my discussion of the debates between artists, historians and purveyors of archaeological knowledge will recover an important, but little known, episode in the history of Byzantine studies.

The Councilors and their Wives at Louvaras: An Early Example of Cypriot-Venetian Identity Construction

Barbara R. McNulty
Temple University

An interesting double fresco donor portrait survives in the church of St. Mamas in Louvaras and presents a thought-provoking display of identity construction with which to consider the island's socio-political climate. Two Cypriot couples portrayed over the western door in the tiny chapel jointly commissioned the frescos. The paintings in this church have been analyzed for their style, but not much has been written about the donors and their depictions. According to the dedicatory inscriptions, a priest named Constantine paid for the construction of the church in 1455, and two men, called councilors, and their wives had it decorated in 1495. Some have believed these men, like Constantine, were priests because they wear dark robes. I believe an important clue to their identity lies in the term "councilor" which they have used to describe themselves, and specific choices they have made in the portrait, particularly evident in the clothing of all four individuals.

Earlier historiographic work on Cypriot donor portraits has included cataloguing and has considered issues of style, iconography and patronage. Because of the useful foundation of this research, coupled with recent translations and publications of archival material, it is now possible to develop more nuanced readings. Our post-structuralist era has provided art historians with methodologies that problematize relationships between paintings and societies and provide opportunities to think about the Cypriot images from new perspectives. The Louvaras paintings date only six years after the Venetian takeover of the island in 1489. During the reign of Caterina Cornaro her administration began to impose Venetian methods of governing on the island. These included the establishment of town councils that replaced the earlier Lusignan *Haute*

Cour, presided over by nobles. Might these male donors have served in this capacity in the new Venetian system? By comparing the Louvaras painting of donors to other paintings of donors on Cyprus, within a period of fifty years, we can begin to see some interesting patterns. It becomes possible to see the Louvaras double portrait, as an index to, and an agent in the creation of political and social changes occurring on the island. I believe that the paintings in this church serve as an early indicator of the recently changed socio-political status of the island during this period. This joint portrayal of two families constructs the politically correct "ideal" in the nascent post-Byzantine Venetian period on Cyprus.

By considering this donor portrait as a public performance, the donors may be seen to construct an identity out of Orthodoxy, Venetian authority, and also – still – aspects of provincial Cypriot culture. The painter of the church, Philip Goul, worked in what scholars have called an Italo-Byzantine style, and the donors may have chosen him because of it. The painting style, the donors' dress, and the politically charged term of "councilor" signal the political presence of Venice on the island.

Fresco-Icons in Royal Portraits of Queen Tamar

Ida Sinkević
Lafayette College, Easton PA

Queen Tamar (1184-1213), one of the famous rulers of medieval Georgia, is well known for her military victories, political wisdom, and cultural legacy. Her patronage of art has also received considerable scholarly attention. The monuments that she commissioned have been recognized both for their esthetic appeal and for the messages implied in their complex programmatic designs.

This paper focuses on a significant yet little discussed aspects of Queen Tamar's patronage, the presence of fresco-icons in her family portraits. Fresco-icons, also known as painted icons, icons-within-icons, or fictive-icons, are found in monumental art of both Byzantium and the countries within the orbit of its influence. They appear as attributes of individual saints, seen in representations of St. Stephen the Younger, as a series of images painted on the walls, or as objects of special devotion incorporated in larger scenes. All fresco-icons were separated from other images by their location, size, and/or by their distinctive frames. To emphasize their similarity with panel paintings, some fresco-icons also included a painted hook and a nail.

Although representations of fresco-icons appear commonly in Byzantine and post-Byzantine monumental art, their inclusion into royal portraits is highly unusual and deserves further attention. In order to explain their presence, this paper examines the iconography of royal portraits of several major foundations commissioned by Queen Tamar, such as the church of the Dormition at Vardzia (1184-86), the church of St. Nicholas at Q'inc'visi (c. 1207) and the rock-cut church of the monastery of Bertubani (1212-1213). An analysis of the role and significance of fresco-icons within royal portraits of Queen Tamar and the members of her family indicates that the inclusion of these icons corresponded with some major socio-political events of the time and was intimately connected with need to construct an image of a powerful and able ruler.

Session IIIA

Byzantine Lay Religion

Chair: Georgia Frank
Colgate University

Notes on Byzantine *Panagiaria*

Ivan Drpić
Harvard University

Small containers known as *panagiaria*, designed to hold a particle of bread, or *panagia*, elevated in honor of the Virgin in a paraliturgical rite, have never been the subject of a comprehensive study. The aim of the present paper is to address this lacuna by offering some new insights into the patronage and ritual use of these objects.

It is commonly assumed that the Elevation of the *Panagia* was a monastic rite which, as we learn from Pseudo-Kodinos, came to be incorporated into the imperial ceremonial. Several previously untapped sources, however, indicate that the rite was by no means limited to monastic and courtly contexts. Quite the contrary, it could be performed virtually by anyone, whenever a person felt the need to invoke divine protection. That luxury *panagiaria* were popular among members of the Palaiologan élite is well attested by Manuel Philes' poetry. It is significant that, while Philes wrote many epigrams on these containers, some of them crafted with gold and silver, *panagiaria* are virtually absent from the list of objects on which Komnenian literati lavished occasional verse. I argue that, in late Byzantium, *panagiaria* were increasingly used as personal items, private devotional tools and at the same time fashionable *objets d'art*.

Judging by the preserved specimens, Byzantine *panagiaria* feature a fairly stable iconography centered on a representation of the Virgin, with or without the Child, surrounded by prophets, saints, or angels. They are commonly inscribed either with the invocations and prayers quoted from the rite of the Elevation or with specially composed—or reused—epigrams. Due to obvious similarities between the Eucharist and the Elevation of the *Panagia*, the poetic inscriptions, including the ones that have not been preserved *in situ*, often elaborate on themes of incarnational and eucharistic theology. In some cases, they are couched in a language directly borrowed from the rite. I argue that the epigrams inscribed on *panagiaria* may have been in fact integrated in the performance of the Elevation and chanted or recited by the celebrant. The intricate web of associations between the container, its imagery, and the *panagia*, triggered by the inscribed verses, would have been meaningful only in the ritual context.

The *Great Kanon* of Andrew of Crete, the Penitential Bible,and the Liturgical Formation of Identity in the Byzantine Dark Age

Derek Krueger,
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

The *Great Kanon* of Andrew of Crete (c. 660-740) represents an important moment in the Byzantine deployment of biblical narrative in the formation of lay identity. Most probably composed to be chanted during a single orthros service during Great Lent, its nine odes respond to the biblical canticles of the orthros service, thus augmenting and refocusing the biblical songs with new exegetical hymnography. The *Canon* runs through a catalogue of biblical figures to set up a gallery of negative and positive examples. The result is a reconfiguring of the entire corpus of the Bible as a penitential text.

Andrew introduces Old Testament personages in the first eight odes by the order of their appearance in the biblical text. Adam and Eve serve to illustrate a distinctly Byzantine theology of human responsibility in the fall from paradise and the expulsion from Eden, thus beginning a chronicle of human sin and disobedience to divine will. In each case, biblical figures offer an opportunity for the singer to reflect on his own sinfulness. In most cases, the singer's sins become reproductions of biblical sins. Cain, for example, exhibits a type for the singer's own murderous conscience. Abel, however, receives praise for his "fitting gifts" to God; but his positive example accuses the singer's conscience of failing to imitate Abel's offerings. The deeds of patriarchs, kings, and prophets present opportunities to reflect how grievously the singer has missed the mark.

The treatment of New Testament exemplars functions a bit more freely. Toward the end of each ode, Andrew invokes them as necessary to illustrate proper comportment before God during the penitential season of Lent. The ninth ode, however, returns to a chronological order, moving quickly through the narratives of the New Testament Gospels. Much of the emphasis is on the savable sinners, such as the Sinful Woman who anointed Jesus with myrrh and tears, and the Thief who was crucified with Jesus and whom Jesus promised would be with him in Paradise.

Many of Andrew's Old Testament types and all of his New Testament types appear in the sixth-century hymnography of Romanos the Melodist, composed for the service of the night vigil and keyed to the lectionary through out the course of the liturgical year. In the *Great Canon*, Andrew gathers the types into a single literary unit, bringing the entire scope of biblical narrative to bear on the formation and wounding

of the Christian conscience. In doing so, Andrew assembles in a single hymn a biblical compendium not unlike like those emerging roughly simultaneously in Jewish *Piyyutim* for the High Holidays, suggesting a shared approach to biblical narrative as a repository of for moral instruction and the formation of the penitent subject. The result frames lay experience of the sacred narrative, deploying the Bible to develop compunction and using hymns to model and to perform liturgical rites of self-accusation.

Literature has two branches. One comprises the works of the orators and the philosophers have arrogated the other. The first, knowing nothing of the deeper things, issues forth merely in a mighty torrent of noisy words

Michael Psellos

Construction of an Altar in Byzantine Liturgical Sources from 11th to 13th centuries

Vitalijs Permjakovs
University of Notre Dame

The Byzantine liturgical rite for the consecration of an altar and the dedication of a church, including the deposition of relics, is one of the most elaborate and complex ceremonies in the Byzantine liturgical tradition. The rite sets apart the central liturgical object in the Byzantine church – the altar – as a representation of the scriptural "holy of holies" and, at the same time, establishes it as both a type of Christ and of a newly-initiate individual through an apparent reenactment of the baptismal rite (washing, anointing, vesting) with respect to a material object. In contrast to the earliest witness to this ritual in the Byzantine rite, the 8th century euchologion *Barberini gr. 336*, a number of later euchologia also incorporate a set of fairly elaborate instructions pertaining to the construction of a liturgical altar before the actual ceremony of consecration. While in *Barberini gr. 336* the task of building the altar was assigned to professional marble-masons (τοὺς μαρμαραρίους), in later Constantinopolitan euchologia *Coislin 213* (1027 CE) and *Grottaferrata Γ. β. II* (13th cent.) this seemingly mundane procedure is transformed into a liturgical ceremony performed by the patriarch with the assistance of the clergy. These instructions in the post-11th century euchologia detail the way to construct an altar, made of stone or marble, out of the prepared blocks, sealing them together with wax and mastic. The detail which characterizes these instructions makes these liturgical documents an excellent textual resource which can be correlated with our knowledge about the arrangement of churches and sanctuaries in the Middle Byzantine period, particularly at the time roughly contemporaneous with the texts we study. Our particular interest lies in the arrangement of an enclosure in the altar specifically prepared for the deposition of the relics of saints, as the mid-11th century text of *Coislin 213* was the first euchologion to contain instructions foreseeing such an architectural feature. The base of an altar from the *katholikon* of the monastery in Daphni, discovered during the excavations in 1955 of the *katholikon* dated to the last quarter of the 11th century (D. I. Pallas, *RBK* 1.1130), contains precisely such a socket for the deposition of relics, as required in the 11th century and subsequent euchologia (A. Orlandos, "Νεώτερα εὑρήματα εἰς τὴν μονὴν Δαφνίου," *ABME* 8 [1955-56], 73-74, 76-77) – our goal in this paper would be to look at more archeological evidence of this kind.

Additionally, two Georgian euchologia of the Byzantine tradition, the 11th-cent. *Tbilisi S 143* and the 12th-cent. *Sinai iber. 73*, provide a different set of instructions pertaining to the construction of a new altar, without an explicit requirement to

construct an enclosure for relics in the altar itself. The codex *Tbilisi S 143* purports to be the translation from Greek by Euthymius of Athos (d. 1028) and thus may reflect a Greek manuscript tradition which did not survive in the original language. In this paper I compare the instruction for setting up the altar in these euchologia with the texts of this liturgical rite in *Coislin 213* and in the 8th-cent. *Barberini gr. 336*.

Lay Piety and Deification: The Case of Demetrios of Lampe

Daniel Larison
University of Chicago

The theological controversy surrounding Demetrios of Lampe, the twelfth-century lay theologian and preacher whose views were condemned at the council of Constantinople in 1166, centered around rival interpretations of the Gospel verse, 'My Father is greater than I' (Jn. 14:28) and has traditionally been seen as part of an anti-Latin religious reaction in Byzantium. However, Demetrios was also a representative of Comnenian idiorhythmic asceticism derived from the works of Symeon the New Theologian, and may have some loose connection to the spiritual tradition of the condemned lay ascetic Constantine Chrysomallos, whose practices were also heavily influenced by Symeon. Central to Demeterios' interpretation of the verse was his emphasis on the *kenosis* (self-emptying) of Christ and the deification of Christ's humanity. These aspects of his teaching account for the broad and enduring support his interpretation received among some ecclesiastical elites despite his status as a layman, and they help to explain why resistance to the rulings of 1166 and 1170 persisted into the exile in Nicaea.

More than the result of an anti-Latin reaction, Demetrios' interpretation combined elements of the irregular lay piety that normally inspired anxiety in ecclesiastical authorities with spiritual and theological traditions that won him the temporary approval of bishops who saw central claims of their faith at stake in this exercise in exegesis. By re-emphasizing the centrality of deification and *kenosis* to the Christological controversy of the 1160s, this study sets one of the Comnenian heresy trials in its broader intellectual and religious context.

Session IIIB

Digitizing Byzantium (Panel)

Chair: Lioba Theis
Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien

Fani Gargova
Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien

Daniel Terkl
Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien

Gerrianne Schaad
Dumbarton Oaks

Günder Varinlioğlu
Dumbarton Oaks

The Digital Research Archive for Byzantium (DiFaB) at the University of Vienna and the Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives (ICFA) at Dumbarton Oaks present and discuss their ongoing efforts to catalog and digitize their photographic collections for the study of Byzantine material culture. These two institutions aim to make their unique visual holdings available to the international community of scholars in order to foster a broader, more diverse, and holistic study of Byzantine art, architecture, and archaeology. Furthermore, the collections at both institutions are invaluable resources for the study of the historiography of Byzantine art history and archaeology in Europe and the United States. DiFaB and ICFA intend to share their approaches and methodologies for the digitization and cataloging of this large and diverse body of visual material in order to initiate a discussion about the needs of the Byzantine scholarly community. The presentations by DiFaB and ICFA also address the challenges faced in this task.

DiFaB
DIGITALES FORSCHUNGSARCHIV BYZANZ
DIGITAL RESEARCH ARCHIVE FOR BYZANTIUM

Housed at the Department of History of Art at the University of Vienna, DiFaB incorporates several private collections of visual material, such as those gathered by some of the pioneers in the history of Byzantine art who worked at the Vienna Institute, Josef Strzygowski and Otto Demus, and also the extensive photographic archives of Horst Hallensleben, Marcell Restle, as well as the Tabula Imperii Byzantini (TIB). In preserving and promoting the integrity of individual accomplishments, DiFaB is building a vast corpus of collections, which maintain their independent archival structure while being associated with each other and with contemporary digital photographs. Bringing these collections together creates a database that establishes new grounds for academic research.

DiFaB's policy is to rely on open source solutions. DiFaB digitizes the analogue visual material in publication quality, thereby preserving the historical originals. The long-term archiving of the digital counterpart using open formats enables the future translation into newer formats and media. Equally important, the collected material is made openly accessible to the scientific community while ensuring documentation of authorship. The integration of DIFAB within the University of Vienna's digital repository system, PHAIDRA, fits the project's desire to operate through a non-proprietary system. It further assures the long-term archiving and thus the security of data citation.

As an academic research database, DiFaB aims to create an environment for interdisciplinary and multimedia cooperatives. PHAIDRA facilitates the possibility of entering different kinds of data, such as books, manuscripts, inscriptions, and videos and fosters their association with each other. Additionally, the use of standards for data and metadata creation prepare DiFaB for the easy implementation of new and emerging technologies. In this respect, DiFaB is planning to cooperate with the specialists for Cartography and GIS (Geographic Information System) of the University of Vienna to link the material contained in the database with the unambiguous information connected to geographically defined space. Through this new and important visualization tool DiFaB aspires to open new horizons for the study of the material culture of Byzantium.

ICFA
IMAGE COLLECTIONS AND FIELDWORK ARCHIVES
DUMBARTON OAKS RESEARCH LIBRARY

The Image Collection and Fieldwork Archives of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library houses approximately a quarter of a million images of Byzantine art, architecture, and historic sites. The photographic collection is the result of nearly eight decades of collecting and fieldwork. It includes photographs by the Byzantine Institute of America and fieldwork photographs from prominent scholars such as Cyril Mango, Ihor Ševčenko, and Thomas F. Matthews. Most of this material has never been published and remains accessible only to researchers visiting Dumbarton Oaks. These collections are invaluable to Byzantine studies. The images are not simply illustrations; they are primary evidence and, in some cases, all that is left of some cultural heritage sites.

In the spring 2009, ICFA began a digitization project to make the images accessible beyond the walls of Dumbarton Oaks. The project uses 4D software adopted and developed by the Office for Information Systems (OIS) at Harvard University. ICFA images are cataloged in Harvard University's digital image database, along with other images of interest to Byzantine scholars. This union database, based on the Dublin Core Metadata Initiative and the Visual Resource Association's Core 4.0, offers advanced search capabilities using title, place, date, material/technique, work type, photographer/artist, copyright holder, subject heading/keyword, etc. The presenters will describe the standards of digitization and metadata management being adhered to at ICFA and the methods by which these images will be incorporated into Harvard University's VIA (Visual Information Access), which is the public interface of the digital database.

The goal of ICFA's cataloging and digitization efforts is the wider dissemination of the images via the Web in order to support education, research, and the application of new technologies to Byzantine art history and archaeology. This visual database will offer the opportunity to study remotely lost objects, deteriorating monuments, or sites that are difficult to access, while expanding the corpus of Byzantine art and architecture known to the student, scholar, and general public. It will contribute not only to the study of Byzantine material culture but also of the history of Byzantine studies.

Session IVA

Monasticism

Chair: John Shean
F.H. LaGuardia Community College/CUNY

The Origins of Ritual Brotherhood (*adelphopoiesis*)

Claudia Rapp
University of California, Los Angeles

In addition to marriage and godparenthood (*synteknia*), ritual brotherhood (*adelphopoiesis*) was a popular strategy for social networking in the middle and late Byzantine periods, but its roots reach back much further. The prayers for ritual brotherhood are recorded in over 60 manuscripts, beginning with the Barberini Euchologion of the late 8th century. As an alternative kinship strategy, this relationship and its possible interpretations have in recent years been discussed by Evelyne Patlagean, Ruth Macrides, John Boswell, Claudia Rapp, Dion Smythe and Shaun Taugher.

One question that has not yet been addressed is the origin of the ritual prayers. This paper tackles this issue with a two-pronged approach: first, a detailed study of the position of the prayers for *adelphopoiesis* in the *euchologia* will show that they appear most frequently in close proximity to rites of Christian initiation (baptism, monastic tonsure, clipping of the first beard). Second, an attentive reading of the literature generated by the early monastic movement will reveal that it was not uncommon for monks to live in pairs of two, either as hermits or in a communal setting. These two monastic brothers take responsibility for one another's spiritual progress and often expect to be buried together. The formal blessing of such relationships, I will argue, constitutes the foundation of the brotherhood ritual which was eventually appropriated by lay society.

MS BL Add. 17201: "Doctoring" Orthopraxy into Orthodoxy

David A. Michelson
University of Alabama

In her analysis of ascetic discourse, Averil Cameron has noted how the systematization of asceticism and heresiology "ran parallel" in late antique Christianity leading to a period of "ascetic closure," a narrowing of ascetic discourse into the orthodoxy of the Byzantine state. This paper clarifies and expands Cameron's theory through an examination of the relationship between ascesis and doctrinal orthodoxy in sixth- and seventh-century West Syrian *florilegia*. In particular the *Nachleben* of the miaphysite bishop Philoxenos of Mabbug (d. 523) serves to illustrate how the doctrinal standards of miaphysite theology were detached from their original ascetic contexts. For example, it is evident from Philoxenos' corpus as a whole that he framed his Christological polemics in terms of ascesis and orthopraxy. The later manuscript tradition of these works reveals how Philoxenos' synthesis of orthodoxy within orthopraxy was rapidly lost in subsequent rounds of Christological debate.

When miaphysite monks began to excerpt Philoxenos for polemical use in the late sixth century, rather than as an ascetic teacher they treated him as a "doctor" and theologian, re-framing his works to make them more amenable to scholastic disputation. Most notably, the scribes who composed the catena manuscript BL Add. 17201 (paleographically dated to the sixth or seventh century) placed Philoxenos alongside Cyril of Alexandria as a ready source against heretics. These scribes even went as far as to excerpt Philoxenos' works in a fashion that directly imitated Cyril's. In structuring the manuscript, they followed the Ὑψεμχε Γθαπυεστ and a Γοξζεττιοξ οζ Ζαιυθ of Cyril with a Γοξζεττιοξ οζ Ζαιυθ οζ Πθιμοωεξοτ αξδ Ὑψεμχε Γθαπυεστ οζ Πθιμοωεξοτ. These Ὑψεμχε Γθαπυεστ οζ Πθιμοωεξοτ are also to be found in a related catena manuscript composed by the monks of St. John of Nairab in 569 (MS BL Add. 14597). It is likely that these monks or their contemporaries created the twelve chapters by combing through the works of Philoxenos and adapting citations to serve the needs of the more speculative doctrinal debates which followed the Second Council of Constantinople in 553.

As some of Philoxenos' writings were detached from their ascetic context and flattened into those of a church doctor, other ascetic works took on a separate identity in their own right. It was his ascetic Διτγοφστετ and not his polemical works which continued to circulate as integral texts rather than in florilegia. In Syriac manuscript collections, numerous copies of the Διτγοφστετ survive to the present, while the

Philoxenian New Testament has completely disappeared and his biblical commentaries survive in only a few very early manuscripts. Thus some ascetic works became estranged from his Christological polemics. Indeed, a Greek version of Philoxenos' Μευυεσ υο Παυσιγιφτ circulated centuries later among dyophysite monasteries under the name of Isaac of Nineveh.

The historical uncoupling of Philoxenos' theological polemics from his ascetic system provides a window into how the redactors of florilegia in the sixth and seventh centuries produced theological authority.

Identity and Resistance in Representations of Military Saints in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea

Heather Badamo
University of Michigan

Executed in 1232/1233, the painting program located in the church *naos* of the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea presents the beholder with a visual history of the Egyptian Monophysite Church. The pictorial cycle begins with icons of military saints, soldiers who served in the Roman army during their lives and received martyrdom for refusing to renounce Christianity. Placed at the beginning of the program, the military saints are positioned as founders of the Coptic Church and cast as spiritual predecessors to those whose icons follow: the Late Antique monks of Egypt. As Elizabeth Bolman (2002) has demonstrated, the visual history asserts Coptic identity by selecting saints that are specifically Egyptian, representing them in a traditional Coptic style, and identifying them through Coptic inscriptions. At the same time, the paintings are executed in a visual language that combines motifs associated with Byzantine, Islamic, and Coptic pictorial traditions. Moreover, the inclusion of military martyrs whose cults originated outside of Egypt (such as George and Theodore) places the program within a long-standing practice of co-opting and localizing saints and ideas that ultimately derived from Byzantium.

Focusing on the cycle of military saints, this paper suggests that much of what is typically identified as Coptic in the program was a construct of the Egyptian

Monophysite Church consolidating its identity under Islamic rule. By the thirteenth century, the Coptic Church defined itself primarily as the authentic heir to the Late Antique Church of the Martyrs, a claim that depended on the indigenous origin of all the saints who died in the Great Persecution, ensuring the survival of the Christian community. Thus, the visual history begins by incorporating 'foreign' martyrs such as George, a gesture paralleled in contemporary Coptic hagiographical texts, which provide such figures with fictitious Egyptian origins. Although Arabic had long since rendered Coptic obsolete, the defunct language was used to identify the military martyrs, thereby deploying a strategy for marking Coptic identity that dates back to the first two Islamic centuries. In addition, the paintings depict the military martyrs performing posthumous miracles, returning to earth as mounted warriors to slay infamous persecutors of Christianity, both legendary and historical. Representing themes of heroic triumph, these images assert the ability of the Coptic Church to resist not only conquest and conversion, but also the cultural absorption that followed in its wake.

Thematically, the cycle furthers claims of Coptic identity and creates a salvation narrative independent of other religions. Yet, the paintings represent the martyrs in mixed Arab and Byzantine armor, even bearing shields with legible *kufic*. More tellingly, the pairing of monks with warriors alludes to models of the pious militant constructed in narratives of the Islamic conquest, which hailed *jihād* as the monasticism of Islam. These practices suggest that the cycle represents an essentially Coptic mode of artistic production only insofar as the category 'Coptic' was itself constructed through the elaboration of historical narratives, artistic styles, and visual motifs appropriated, paradoxically, from rival religious communities in the Arab and Byzantine spheres.

Reconstructing the Curricula of Hesychast Teachers at the Courts of the Lazarevići

Robert Romanchuk
Florida State University

In Belgrade in the 1420s, the "Serbian teacher" (*učitelj srbski*) Konstantin Kostenečki wrote his *Explanatory Treatise on the Letters* at the court of the despot Stefan Lazarević. A decade later at Herceg-Novi in Montenegro, the "teacher of the Holy Gospel" (*učitelj svetago jevanđelja*) Nikon Jerusalimac undertook the spiritual and literary formation of Stefan's sister, the regent and postulant nun Jelena Balšić. The textbooks preserved in the 1441/42 *Gorica Miscellany* (Belgrade SANU 446), a record of Jelena's study with Nikon, show borrowings from the textbooks used (and at least in part translated) by Konstantin at Stefan's court — in particular, the appendices to the so-called *Novaković Fragments*, translated from the natural-historical writings of Michael Psellus and Symeon Seth. These textual affinities, taken together with the formulaic titles of the two pedagogues, point to a continuity in literary-spiritual education at the courts of Prince Lazar's heirs, as well as its apparent patronage by the Serbian Patriarchate (on a Byzantine model: cf. the parallel titles of the head teacher at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople, *oikoumenikos didaskalos* and *didaskalos tou Euangeliou*) — none of which has been remarked by scholarship.

I reconstruct two distinct "volumes" of Konstantin's pedagogical works from the codicological distribution of his extant writings: an "orthographical" volume centered on the *Explanatory Treatise on the Letters*, and a "historical-exegetical" volume anchored by the *Novaković Fragments*. These two "volumes" represent Christian adaptations of the two main parts of the late antique/Byzantine grammar curriculum: technical grammar (which included the study of orthographical *antistoicha*) and history (including natural history, to gloss a text's realia). The second part of this curriculum was adapted by Nikon in his *Gorica Miscellany*, which compiles universal and Serbian dynastic histories as well as the anonymous geography textbook ascribed in a Greek redaction to Eustratius of Nicaea. What is more, Stefan and Jelena engaged in rhetorical composition — in verse and prose, respectively — the latter under the explicit guidance of her teacher. Yet this study of grammar (orthography and history) and rhetoric was considered a transformative exercise, one that aided the intellect in its ascent to God.

Secondary-school textbooks and exercises (grammars, histories, and geographies; orthography, textual commentary, and composition) thus formed an important part of the curricula of the Serbian courtly teachers. However, their acknowledged models were the Byzantine hesychasts, in particular Gregory of Sinai, who had settled in Bulgaria around 1330 and whose writings were soon transmitted to the South Slavs.

Gregory synthesized the classical trivium with a Platonized Christianity in c. 127 of his *Acrostic Chapters*, a text copied and read by Nikon in a second miscellany (Savina 21). Here, the verbal arts are fundamentally reimagined as a detailed ordering of mystical knowledge, leading the elect student to a supranatural union with God. Remarkably, Gregory's curriculum seems to have been put into practice at the Lazarević courts, in a distinctive Slavic contribution to the history of pedagogy.

A witty young academic sold his books when short of money. He then wrote his father, "Congratulate me father, I am already making money from my studies!"

The Philogelos

Session IVB

Texts Related to Physical Objects

Chair: Paula Gerson
Florida State University

Aër or Epitaphios: Terminology and the Functions of Liturgical Veils

Henry Schilb
Indianan University, Bloomington

The *aër* and the *epitaphios* now have distinct functions, but just when did this differentiation come about? An *epitaphios* is a liturgical veil used during Holy Week to represent Christ, while an *aër* is a cloth that covers both the chalice and the diskos together on the altar after the Great Entrance. The form and function of the *epitaphios* developed from the form and function of the *aër*. While scholars have yet to determine when these two types of liturgical textile became distinct, the Byzantine terminology for these textiles might provide an important clue. Reasoning backward from modern usage has probably affected how scholars apply the standard terminology to extant medieval textiles. In other words, the terminology itself has affected how we categorize these objects now. Will an examination of medieval usage and the subsequent development of these terms affect our interpretation of an object now categorized as either an *aër* or an *epitaphios*? Sources for the special terms applied to liturgical veils include commentaries on the liturgy, monastic typika, and inventories, but important sources that scholars usually overlook are the inscriptions on the textiles themselves.

A distinction between *aëres* and an *epitaphioi* is assumed for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries because there is such a distinction now. The functions of these two types of textiles are different, and the iconography and inscriptions also tend to be slightly different on the two types. Iconography and inscriptions are assumed to reveal what the function of an old example must have been and, therefore, which term is appropriate for any given example of a textile that might be either an *aër* or an *epitaphios*. If we examine texts and textiles from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, we find that the terminology was once used differently from the way we use it now. Multiple terms were used to refer to what we now call the "*aër*" or the "great *aër*." In general, however, the word "*aër*" was used consistently to refer to the type of textile that covers the chalice and diskos on the altar. Other terms (such as "*epitaphios*," "*sindon*," and "*amnos*") were also deployed to comment on the liturgical meaning of the *aër* but not as special terms that refer to other types of liturgical textiles. On all the examples of textiles on which the word "*epitaphios*" appears before the seventeenth century, that word is only part of the title of the iconography. In each dedicatory inscription of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that refers to the actual textile on which the inscription is embroidered, the word "*aër*" was usually used. The word "*aër*," then, referred to objects that scholars have since categorized, because of iconography or inscribed hymns, as *aëres* or as *epitaphioi*. Byzantine usage, especially

as we find it in dedicatory inscriptions, seems to indicate that the earliest examples of such textiles could be used as *aëres* or as *epitaphioi*, or as both, as we understand those categories now.

Icon and Relic on the Eustratios Beam

Paroma Chatterjee
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

The epistyle beam depicting the miracles of St. Eustratios, dated to the late twelfth century and located in the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai, is an unusual object for at least three reasons. (See Ševčenko, 2006). First, it depicts a series of posthumous miracles of the saint, which is rare in the repertory of Byzantine art. Second, images of a saint's life on a beam are uncommon, the other known example being an abraded beam depicting the life of St. Nicholas, also located in the Monastery. Finally, in three of the depicted scenes the saint is shown along with his relics – an unexpected pictorial conjunction.

This paper will explore the third enigma, focusing on the mode in which the saint is figured in relation to his relics. Each scene concerns a healing miracle, picturing the interactions between the saint, the afflicted, and the relics which are mediated by a clerical figure. As a result, each scene displays and stages a contestation between different and potentially rival modes of sacred presence. While the saint is depicted in more or less uniform postures and positions, the relics are depicted in a more complex fashion, assuming an increasing visibility as the scenes progress. The Byzantine viewer is thus confronted with an incremental drama of complementary and/or competing force fields of holiness, and is urged to assess the powers and limits of each.

Such self-reflexive attention to sacred presence and the varied forms it assumes in the human world is intriguing when one recalls that a Byzantine viewer often responded to an image of a saint as though it were invested with presence; in short, as though it were a relic. The Eustratios beam, in contrast, is an invitation to the viewer to distinguish between the icon and the relic. In this respect, the beam aligns itself with concerns over sacred presence and nuances of vision that were current in the eleventh century (Barber, 2007). It indicates the persistence of these issues well into the twelfth century in a pithy but sophisticated and compelling pictorial form.

Tears of the Great Church: Some Observations on a Late Byzantine Anonymous Poem

Marios Philippides
University of Massachusetts at Amherst

The late Byzantine genre of Lamentations on the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 includes numerous poems, most of them anonymous, whose contents passed into modern Greek folklore and into folk songs extremely popular in the *Tourkokratia*. The shortest of these poems-folk songs is entitled *Lamentatio Sanctae Sophiae* and it is supposed to portray the last liturgy on May 28, shortly before the sack of Constantinople commenced. In addition to its charm through the *dekapentasyllabos* meter, the contents of this threnody have elicited emotional responses, as it portrays the death throes of Constantinople within its greatest building, the Church of Santa Sophia. Moreover, it promises eventual salvation within scenes of pathos and its atmosphere of doom, through a late medieval *deus ex machina* who voices optimistic millennial prophecies for the future. Its popularity continued well into the twentieth century, as it also formed the climax of Nikos Kazantzakis' play entitled *Constantine Palaeologus*.

Outside of Greece this poem has not received much scholarly attention, aside from the publication of its numerous variants. Within Greece attention has focused on its imagery and artistry. I will provide the first formal analysis of this poem, by examination of numerous variants, to establish the oldest version, stripped of all later additions and elaborations. For the first time this poem will be placed within its proper historical context. The analysis and examination will conclude with a number of surprises, the most important of which will be the demonstration that the earliest nucleus of this poem does not deal with the sack of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, nor with the last liturgy that supposedly took place in the great Church shortly before the sack; such moving scenes do not reflect historical reality. There was no last liturgy before the sack and the Great Church had been avoided by the Orthodox, as it had been previously "contaminated" by Latin masses. The oldest nucleus of this immensely popular poem, my analysis will demonstrate, originated with another event: the celebration the formal union of the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches on December 12, 1452, months before the fall. This original anti-union nucleus was in time elaborated and misunderstood and the scene was transferred to a more immediate disaster, the fall in 1453. In fact, the poem's original target was the celebration of the union in 1452, which took place against the wishes of the majority, who deplored the formal acceptance of the union and went on to form a political anti-unionist party which may have even served

as a fifth column during the siege by the Ottomans. The poem rejects the union and, in its earliest form, does not belong to the genre of the *lamentatio* on the fall. It has different origins and different objectives. Formally speaking, it amounts to despair resulting from the celebration of the union, which the majority of Constantinopolitans in 1453-1453 found deplorable. Contrary to the general conclusion, it promises no secular salvation but the restoration of the Great Church to Orthodoxy.

The Problematic of Iconoclasm in Byzantine Art History

Adam Levine
Corpus Christi College, Oxford

The history of Byzantine art has focused increasingly on icons since the (re-)discovery of the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. Saint Catherine's suite of pre-iconoclastic icons made it appear for the first time that a full history of Byzantine icons was possible. The icons at Sinai were first published by Georgios Soteriou in 1956, but they were not described or analyzed comprehensively until Kurt Weitzmann's *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons*, published in 1976.

The shift to the study of icons was in part precipitated by the potential that the corpus of pre-iconoclastic icons had to elucidate different dimensions of the Christological debates of Late Antiquity and Byzantium. The icon figured prominently in debates over Christ's dual nature; the fact that icon veneration was condemned as one of a heresy at the council of 754 C.E. underscores the icon's interface with Byzantine theology.

This paper, however, argues that the art history of pre-iconoclastic Byzantium over the past three decades both has focused disproportionately on icons and has fit these icons into a teleological history that culminates with Iconoclasm. Said differently, the (re-)discovery of Saint Catherine's Monastery and its icons did not challenge the narrative of Byzantine art history; instead, pre-iconoclastic icons have been read through the lens of Iconoclasm and its corresponding theological controversies.

The reason that icons have been so-interpreted is historiographical. Byzantine art history is grounded in the Hegelian approach espoused by Alois Riegl. Riegl

identified a *Kunstwollen*, a "will to form" that defined each culture. This paper argues that Byzantine art history in the past thirty years has categorized the early Byzantine period as an epoch with a single *Kunstwollen*. Iconoclasm thus becomes reified as final point in the evolution of early Byzantine icon worship.

The implications of this historiographical legacy and historical bias are profound. First, pre-iconoclastic Byzantines neither knew nor believed that there would be an Iconoclasm. As such, to focus on their relationship to icons in the context of Iconoclasm is entirely anachronistic. Second, by studying pre-iconoclastic icons predominantly within the context of Iconoclasm and its accompanying theological debates, Byzantine art history largely has neglected the study of important dimensions of icons' meaning and function before Iconoclasm, including (but not limited to) the aesthetics of icons as well as their social function. Finally, the social agency of the icon itself is removed when the icon becomes an instrument used only in the service of Christology. In addition to providing a historiographical critique, this paper presents an alternative methodology for the study of Byzantine art history that eschews the current derivative of *Kunstwollen* in place of a less deterministic alternative where, following Alfred Gell's work, the icon itself is given agency as a social agent.

Session V

Exhibiting Byzantium: Perspectives and Directions (Panel)

Organizer: Glenn Peers,
University of Texas at Austin

Annemarie Weyl Carr,
Southern Methodist University (emerita)

Griffith Mann,
The Cleveland Museum of Art

Kristina Van Dyke,
The Menil Collection

In the past dozen years, major exhibitions on Byzantine art have been organized in North America and Western Europe, and they have increased interest in and appreciation of that culture's art through focus on the high quality and extreme beauty of the objects. Moreover, Byzantine culture's connections with modern spiritual practice have also made those exhibitions compelling to another kind of audience not always attracted to major museum shows. For these reasons, perhaps, exhibition practice has tended toward emphasis either on the surface appeal or on the reverential attraction of the objects. A consistent premise appears to have been that those objects largely speak for themselves, either as beautiful things or devotional devices. Beyond some chronological, geographic or thematic grouping, that premise has offered little or no curatorial intervention for generating new understandings or reappraisals.

This panel seeks to examine results of recent exhibition practices and to propose ideas about other goals and methods in exhibiting Byzantine art. Discussion points include the disposition and lighting of objects in museum spaces. In their presentation, objects are normally evenly, dimly or strongly lighted, so that objects are presented in stable, static form not typical of original settings. In that sense, the degree to which exhibitions should aim for, and can achieve, authentic viewing conditions (insofar as we can reconstruct them), needs discussion. In most cases, objects cannot always express their individual material identity, and they conform to types, periods and subjects not envisioned probably by their creators and users. Contexts for these objects were multiple and changing, and means by which such contexts can be realized can be profitably addressed—while acknowledging and even embracing the ultimate frustration of the exercise. Goals of exhibitions need examining, because the conceptual and historical difficulties of such exhibitions are seldom raised. Educational and social roles of exhibitions are important points for all museums, and they have an impact on how Byzantine material culture is presented and then digested by various groups that see those shows. The panel aims to address these issues as a way of re-engaging museum practice and of recognizing its part in ratifying received notions and in advancing the field of Byzantine art history.

Session VIA

19th Century and Byzantium

Chair: Walter Hanak, emeritus
Shepherd University

John Henry Haynes's Travels and Photographs of Byzantine Anatolia in 1884-87

Robert Ousterhout
University of Pennsylvania

The career of archaeologist and photographer John Henry Haynes (1849-1910) is all but unknown today. After studying Classics at Williams College, he apparently grew bored with life as a high school principal and jumped ship in 1880 to join the first American archaeological expedition to the eastern Mediterranean. When his team was unable to obtain a permit to excavate on Crete, Haynes found himself in Athens, where he learned photography from W.J. Stillman as the latter prepared his second Acropolis folio. After that time, Haynes traveled with a camera, documenting his journeys through Anatolia, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Following his participation in the Assos excavations, 1881-83 (the first American venture in Classical archaeology), Haynes taught at Robert College in Constantinople and at the American mission school in Aintab (Gaziantep). He subsequently joined the Wolfe Expedition of 1884-1885, a reconnaissance mission to Mesopotamia, out of which grew the excavations at Nippur, which Haynes oversaw.

With the exception of select excavation photographs from Assos and Nippur, the work of Haynes is unknown. After years of isolation at Nippur, working under harsh and hostile conditions, Haynes's accomplishments were discredited by the noted Babylonian scholar Hermann Hilprecht, who also claimed responsibility for Haynes's discoveries. His career in shambles, Haynes succumbed to mental illness, ending his life in an asylum. He was, however, an accomplished and prolific photographer: several hundred unpublished photographs survive in the archives at Penn and Harvard, notably from journeys he took in 1884 and 1887 across Phrygia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, and into Syria—the earliest photographs for the most of the inland sites. These are accompanied by journals recording his impressions of people and landscapes.

Haynes took dozens of photographs in Cappadocia, but more of the curious landforms than of the architecture. Although he contemplated writing a book about the volcanic region, this never came to fruition. His photographs from Binbirkilise (the Thousand and One Churches) are perhaps his most valuable. The early Byzantine site in Lycaonia is best known from the 1905-09 photographs by Gertrude Bell, but an earthquake leveled many of the buildings in the lower city sometime between Haynes's visit and hers. Thus Haynes's photographs of churches 8, 10, and 13 in particular clarify numerous apsects of these buildings unknown to Bell. Haynes also photographed extensively the Byzantine rock-cut settlement at Ayazin (Phrygia) and the church of St. Symeon at Qalat Saman (Syria), as well as a variety of Hittite, Classical, Phrygian,

Sasanian, and early Islamic sites. Haynes's photographs will be featured in the exhibit "Archaeologists and Travelers in Ottoman Lands," at the University of Pennsyvania Museum during fall 2010.


Reassessing Arnold J. Toynbee the Byzantine Historian

Walter E. Kaegi,
The University of Chicago

2009 is the 120th anniversary of the birth of the eminent and erudite although now seldom read but prolific English historian Arnold J. Toynbee (d. 1975), sometime Koraes Professor in the University of London. I propose to evaluate his little studied coverage of Byzantium and how his concepts fit into his broader historical theories of civilization. He possessed a strong familiarity with many original sources, traveled extensively, and developed a solid familiarity with modern Greek. His historical scope was breathtakingly large. His views circulated widely in the middle decades of the twentieth century. He enjoyed a wide educated readership. I shall investigate not only his well-known *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (Oxford University Press 1973), but more particularly his views of Byzantium in his massive ultimately twelve volume magnum opus *A Study of History* (the full integral volumes, not the more familiar abridged D. C. Somerville volume), which he started publishing in 1934. I shall concentrate on his theories about Middle Byzantine History, most notably his views on Emperor Leo III (for Toynbee, "Leo Syrus") and Leo's military reforming activities, as well as those of Constans II. He also developed ideas about the evolution of Byzantium from ancient contexts. He was an independent historical thinker. I try to assess how his ideas emerged from nineteenth-century scholarship and how he developed his own independent ideas that diverged from what became the main lines of Byzantine historical interpretation in the years that followed World War II. The emphasis will

be on Toynbee's writings about Byzantium not his biography (covered by his former assistant, William H. McNeill, in *Arnold J. Toynbee: A Life*) or on his acerbic disputes with many Greeks in the wake of the 1922 Greco-Turkish War. His position at the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the financial and other exigencies of the 1930s and 1940s did not allow him to produce any Ph.D.s in Byzantine history. I shall try to assess the significance of Toynbee's ideas about Byzantium for the twentieth century and their possible relevance for the twenty-first century. I also shall try to explain why his explanatory theories about Byzantium and Orthodox Civilization enjoyed some but only limited success. His limitations need exploration. The investigation should help to illuminate certain trends in Anglophone historical scholarship on Byzantium from the Victorian Era to the end of the Cold War. Some reference will be made to George Finlay, John B. Bury, and Steven Runciman however without the usual heavy allusion to the heritage of Edward Gibbon.

Balkan Nations and The Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople/RAIC (1896—1914)

Asen Kirin
The University of Georgia, Athens

The conviction that archaeology can exert influence over current politics played a key role in the establishment of the RAIC. The institute's scholarly pursuits reflected the Russian experience of nation building for the benefit of new Balkan states, in particular Bulgaria and Serbia, who were to stand for the interests of the tsar's government in the region.

In Russia, throughout the 1880s and early 1890s, a heated discussion focused on the goals of the archaeological institute abroad. The issues of contention involved the location—Athens, Rome or Constantinople—and also whether the institute should study both ancient classical and Byzantine monuments or focus exclusively on the latter. Even though Constantinople won, the Ministry of Education made an important addition to the draft of the institute's bylaws stating emphatically that as with Russian archaeology in general, the institute's main goals should include the study of both classical Greek and eastern Christian monuments.

Regardless of this, the institute was reluctant to embrace projects in classical archaeology because of a host of reasons. Above all one must acknowledge the dedication to the new field of Byzantine studies, which indeed would make a great deal of progress because of the research and the publications of the institute in Constantinople. Projects in classical archaeology could not have yielded political benefits for either Bulgaria or Serbia. If anybody stood to gain from these endeavors, it would be their adversaries, Greece and Rumania, who by the late nineteenth century had already placed their claims on ancient Greek and Roman heritages respectively. Precisely because of this the RAIC's director insisted on excavating the pre-classical sites that might allow Bulgarians and Serbs to extend the claims on their current territories back in time well beyond the medieval era. Rumanians had already done this by asserting that their origins sprang not only from the Romans but also from the Dacians, inhabiting the territory of Rumania for many centuries before Rome conquered these lands (101-106 CE).

Nevertheless, this part of the institute's agenda did not inspire much enthusiasm at the time. In fact, the unrealized projects of the RAIC concerned pre-medieval monuments throughout the Balkans and Asia Minor. Apart from their potential political resonance, these projects were important to the Russian scholars for understanding the connections between the classical world and the cultures that neighbored it. Instead, Bulgarians and Serbs wanted to study the medieval sites of Macedonia—a region

remaining under Ottoman rule. Macedonia was yet to be liberated and joined with the already existing independent countries. Three of these countries—Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia—firmly believed that the medieval monuments of Macedonia supported their respective claims on this region of the Balkan Peninsula. In the early 1900s as an ominous preview of the imminent conflicts to come, Bulgarians and Serbian delegates attending the negotiations organized by the Russian institute quarreled, wrote angry letters, and stormed out of the negotiation hall. The Balkan wars erupted and in 1914 the RAIC was closed.

Byzantine Revival Stained Glass: Bavarian Meets Russian Byzantine Revival

Jeanne-Marie Musto
Sewanee: The University of the South

The first Byzantine revival style, developed in Bavaria during the Greek War of Independence (1821-30), drew on limited empirical evidence and broad hypotheses of the transfer of ancient Greek and Eastern culture into medieval Germany. The Bavarian Byzantine style thus mediated between Gothic, understood as the fully formed German style, and what were taken to be the two fundamental sources of European culture. The style's liminal quality gave way to a Russian Byzantine revival style that represented geopolitical continuity rather than transformation, and drew more stringently on empirical evidence. Today the Russian Byzantine revival style is still easily recognized as such, whereas the Bavarian Byzantine revival style has been forgotten or ignored in much later literature. This paper explores a surprising, if limited, intersection between these styles.

Already in 1840, when Nicholas I instituted Byzantine revival as Russia's official style, his architects largely ignored the Bavarian version. Bavarian-Byzantine revival stained glass nevertheless retained enough cachet that it was integrated into the Cathedral of St. Isaac of Dalmatia in St. Petersburg (1818-52) – conceived from the start as an eclectic building. Over two decades after construction began, with pressure to work in a Byzantine style mounting, a Bavarian Byzantine stained glass window was commissioned for it at the suggestion of the Bavarian court architect Leo von Klenze.

This window, fully visible to the congregation only when the Holy Doors are wide open, was conceptually unified with the iconostasis so as to dramatize a central experiential aspect of Russian sacred architecture – the opening of the Holy Doors. At the same time, the window's image of the Resurrected Christ, which mixes classical with Byzantine and Gothic elements, echoes the Bavarian approach to Byzantium as a bridge.

The other primary integration of the Bavarian-Byzantine style with that of Russia occurred at the Russian Orthodox Church of St. Elizabeth in Wiesbaden – one of the first Russian-Byzantine revival buildings outside of Russia. The glazing, installed in 1854, was again the primary element adopted from the Bavarian example. Philipp Hoffmann, who had studied with Friedrich von Gärtner, Klenze's primary rival in Bavaria, designed this church as a memorial for a member of the Russian ruling family. He placed a stained glass Resurrection of Christ over the altar, behind the Holy Gates, at St. Isaac's. The rest of St. Elizabeth's glazing, however, consists of a type developed under Gärtner in 1828. This was modeled on the grisaille windows of the Cistercian order and attributed to Islamic and Byzantine sources. The glazing at St. Elizabeth's thus incorporated Gärtner's interest in Eastern inflections for his Byzantine style, and Klenze's successful intervention at St. Isaac's, which looked to Greek and Gothic sources. What was essentially a Russian Byzantine revival building on the Rhine thus epitomizes a moment when the success of Bavarian efforts to imagine a Byzantine style could still hold their own against the new geopolitical as well as scholarly claims that would be their undoing.

Session VIB

Byzantine Market and Economy

Chair: Michael Decker
University of South Florida

Byzantine amphora graffiti from the 13th century A.D. Novy Svet shipwreck

Claire Aliki Collins
Texas A&M University

This paper focuses on the graffiti found on Günsenin Type 4 amphorae raised from a ship wrecked off the Crimean coast of the Black Sea. Since 1999, archaeologists from the Center for Underwater Archaeology at Taras Schevchenko National University under the direction of Dr. Sergiy Zelenko have been excavating the remains of the wreck near Novy Svet, Ukraine. The Novy Svet wreck, or 'Pisa' Wreck as it is sometimes called, has been tentatively identified as a merchant ship from Pisa sunk in 1277 by the Genoese, based on a passage from the *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi Continuatori*, which describes the sinking and burning of a ship in the precise location where this wreck lies in the Bay of Sudak. Five major amphora types have been identified on the wreck, but the majority of the raised examples are Günsenin Type 4. This amphora type is thought to have been produced in the 12th and 13th centuries at various sites around the Sea of Marmara. Fired at a high temperature and well made, this type is associated with the medieval wine transport throughout the Black Sea. This corpus is particularly significant because the assemblage dates to the 13th century, when amphorae are beginning to fall out of use in the Mediterranean as they are replaced with wooden barrels or animal skins.

The graffiti fall into in five basic categories: (1) Greek or Cyrillic letters, (2) Arabic letters, (3) Turkic runes, (4) geometric signs/symbols, and (5) numerical designations. Several examples of different types occur on almost every vessel, usually at the base of handles or on the shoulders. Almost every graffito was incised after firing with a sharp, pointed object. These signs have many potential functions or meanings; some most likely reflect the amphora production process (production sites, workshops, potters), while others refer to aspects of trade and transport (merchants, owners, contents, customs officials). This research illuminates how graffiti were utilized and understood by the multilingual economic system of the Black Sea. These graffiti provide a glimpse into the Late Byzantine economy of the region, illuminating the processes by which certain products, such as wine, were distributed throughout a discrete area. Their study confirms the participation of Byzantine Greeks, Bulgarians, and Seljuk Turks along with the dominant Italians in the 13th century maritime economic system in the Black Sea.

A Seventh-Century Byzantine Merchant Ship from the Theodosian Harbor of Constantinople: a Preliminary Analysis

Rebecca S. Ingram
Texas A&M University

The Theodosian Harbor (*portus Theodosiacus)* was one of two artificial harbors constructed on Constantinople's Marmara coast in the latter half of the fourth century. Developed on the site of a natural bay, it was perhaps the largest harbor in Constantinople, used extensively from the late fourth century until the eleventh century. Soon after its construction, silt from the Lycus River began filling in the harbor, from its western extremity outward, so that, by the twelfth century, it could only be used by smaller ships and fishing boats. Remains of the harbor were discovered in 2004 during construction work on the Marmaray Bosphorus Tunnel Project in the Yenikapı district of Istanbul, Turkey. Excavations carried out at the site by the Istanbul Archaeological Museums have revealed more than thirty Byzantine shipwrecks, eight of which were recorded by a team of archaeologists led by Dr. Cemal Pulak of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology at Texas A&M University.

Shipwreck MRY5, one of the oldest ships found at Yenikapı, has been tentatively dated to the seventh century. This well-preserved shipwreck was located near the harbor's western end, which was the first area to become silted in. MRY5 was a relatively small ship, approximately twelve meters in length, reflecting a general trend toward the use of smaller ships which began around the end of Late Antiquity. The ship was constructed primarily of *Pinus brutia* (Calabrian pine), a softwood, in contrast to later merchant vessels at the site, which utilized stronger hardwoods such as oak (wood identifications by Dr. Nili Liphschitz of Tel Aviv University). Although full recording is still in progress, preliminary analysis revealed that the planks were edge-joined with unpegged mortise-and-tenon joints, while frames were fastened to the planking solely with iron nails. Extensive repairs to this ship show that it had been in use for several years at the time it was sunk, perhaps as a derelict. Many of the ship's planks had been patched or replaced, including almost the entire bottom of the ship on one side. Evidence of economizing may also be seen in the use of recycled timbers on this ship. Based on both the ship's size and the nature of trade in the seventh century, it is likely that this ship engaged in coastal or short-range trade based in Constantinople. Research on this recently-excavated shipwreck will help to shed light on both the construction of seventh-century merchant vessels as well as the nature of trade during this complex period.

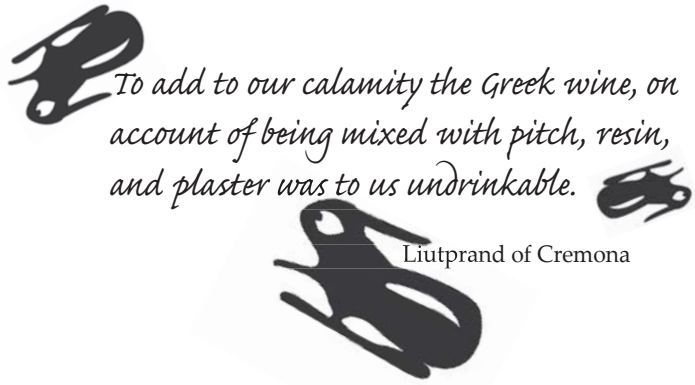
A Late Ninth or Early Tenth Century Byzantine Merchant Vessel from the Yenikapı Excavations in Istanbul, Turkey

Michael Jones
Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas

Between 2005 and 2009, a salvage excavation conducted at Yenikapı in Istanbul, Turkey uncovered the remains of at least 34 Byzantine period shipwrecks, along with loose ship timbers, ships' equipment and thousands of other artifacts. The site has been identified as the remains of Constantinople's Theodosian harbor (*Portus Theodosiacus*), used between the fourth and the eleventh centuries AD. My paper focuses on the remains of Yenikapı Wreck 14, excavated by a team from the Institute of Nautical Archaeology at Texas A&M University in 2007 under Dr. Cemal Pulak. Yenikapı 14 is the remains of a merchant vessel tentatively dated to the late ninth or early tenth century. The ship appears to be a small, lightly built coastal vessel, probably intended for local trade along the Sea of Marmara. Analyses of the ship's timbers show that it was built from common, locally available wood species.

This paper explores the place of Yenikapı Wreck 14 in the larger context of Byzantine shipbuilding and commerce in the ninth and tenth centuries. Yenikapı 14 appears to be a fairly typical vessel type from the Theodosian harbor in the later stages of its use; small vessels of approximately 10-15 m are well represented at the Yenikapı site. Such vessels would have been vital for supplying grain and other commodities to Constantinople, and appear to have supplanted the role of the larger grain ships used in earlier centuries. Yenikapı 14 exhibits many of the techniques used to construct the tenth or eleventh century merchant vessels found at Yenikapı. The lower hull of Yenikapı 14 was built using a shell-first method, in which planks were edge-fastened together before the insertion of the ship's frames; this concept was the basis of Mediterranean ship construction from the Bronze Age through classical antiquity. The upper parts of the hull were built using a frame-based technique, in which erected frames were used as a framework for determining the shape of the hull's upper section. Byzantine shipwrecks from other sites suggest that this method was being superseded by an entirely frame-based technique by the early eleventh century AD in Anatolia and likely earlier in the Levant; however, Yenikapı 14 and nearly all of the other Yenikapı shipwrecks are squarely in the older, shell-first tradition. Yenikapı 14 appears to be the product of a relatively conservative yet prolific Byzantine shipbuilding industry, which produced cargo vessels using local resources and largely traditional methods of construction. Such small vessels played a vital role in the economic life of the capital of the Byzantine Empire. The apparent conservatism of local shipwrights could be due

to many reasons, such as the organization of the shipbuilding industry, a preference for smaller vessels for economic or social reasons, or easy access to raw materials for building and outfitting ships.



To add to our calamity the Greek wine, on account of being mixed with pitch, resin, and plaster was to us undrinkable.

Liutprand of Cremona

The Corinth Connection: Was there a Commercial Revival in Greece in the Ninth Century?

Florin Curta
University of Florida

It has recently been affirmed that a trade route from the Adriatic and Italy opened around 830 through the Gulf of Corinth and that from this moment onwards it became a regular point of passage for travelers heading north to Constantinople. In support of such contention, the 'unmistakable refurbishing of older structures in Corinth' is cited, which is dated to 'the tenth and possibly ninth centuries' (Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900* [Cambridge, 2001], pp. 535-6). As far as the ninth century is concerned, the evidence in question is simply missing. No buildings of any significance have so far been found in Corinth, which could be dated to the ninth century. However, many more coins struck for Theophilos (829-842) have been found in Corinth than coins minted for Michael II (820-829). Since the north Italian fairs grew dramatically during the ninth century, this monetary surge has been interpreted as evidence of the development of trade routes from Italy across the Isthmus. But ceramic finds from Corinth strongly suggest that commercial contacts between the city and the Aegean and Adriatic seas were drastically curtailed by Arab fleets from Crete, Africa, and Sicily. With no substantial evidence for the alleged explosion of commercial transactions, the remaining problem is that of the remarkable increase in coins recuperated from excavations in Corinth. This paper proposes a new model for the interpretation of that phenomenon, which instead of trade, stresses the role of the army in the monetization of southern Greece during the ninth century. The main argument is that the multiple surges in finds of ninth-, tenth- and early eleventh-century coins may in fact have been associated with the periodical appearance of troops in the theme of Peloponnesus. There can be no doubt that the money brought by the soldiers temporarily stationed in Corinth was used to purchase goods from the local market, but the trade in question was neither as developed as previously thought, nor based on commodities that would have transformed the city into a center of regional or international trade. To judge from the archaeological evidence, there was little difference between the seventh- and eighth-century troops stationed in Corinth, on one hand, and those visiting the city in the ninth, on the other hand. In both cases, the large amount of money available almost exclusively in low and very low denominations served for the purchase of relatively cheap goods, perhaps food and other means of daily subsistence.

Plenary Session on the Legacy of Angeliki Laiou

Chair: Sharon E. J. Gerstel
University of California, Los Angeles

The Female of the Species: Women in Byzantium 1981-Now
Margaret Mullett
Director of Byzantine Studies, Dumbarton Oaks

Getting to Markets: Information, Shipwrecks, and Exchange, A.D. 300-1000
Michael McCormick
Francis Goelet Professor of Medieval History, Harvard University

Session VIIA

Archaeology and Our Knowledge of the Past

Chair: Will Hanley
Florida State University

Burial Practices and Tomb Assemblages from Late Antique Beth She'an

Emerson Avery
University of Pennsylvania

The University of Pennsylvania Museum excavations at Beth She'an-Scythopolis in the 1920s and 1930s uncovered significant Late Antique and Byzantine monuments and artifacts, but this material has never been properly published. The two volumes treating aspects of the city's Late Roman and Byzantine past, *Beth Shan Excavations 1921-1923: The Byzantine and Arab Levels* and *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth Shan*, covered only a fraction of the recovered material, and what was perhaps the most impressive find was never published at all: an extramural cemetery of some 300 graves, many of them in use from the first-sixth centuries CE. *Excavations in the Northern Cemetery Area, 1922-1931*, a typescript prepared by G.M. FitzGerald, the last director of excavations, was left unfinished at his untimely death, and no further study of the excavated materials was ever undertaken.

Inasmuch as the Beth She'an northern cemetery represents a mortuary assemblage of importance comparable with those of Beth She'arim and Beth Guvrin-Maresha, so long a period of inattention is difficult to justify. This paper represents the first fruits of an ongoing effort to reexamine the ceramic vessels and lamps, glass unguentaria, jewelry, and indeed all other classes of excavated materials in conjunction with the unpublished report and the archaeologists' excavation notebooks. The entire contents of a representative sample of tombs are catalogued and analyzed as reflective of two related phenomena: Roman funerary ritual in the Southern Galilee (which played host to a diverse population of Pagans, Jews, and Christians during the Early Byzantine Period), and the construction of identity in the tomb.

In this paper I argue that the tombs were regularly utilized for a period of several centuries; that materials found in them display a marked conservatism with respect to ostensible function; and that a variety of different items may be associated with the practice of funeral banqueting, which appears to have survived into the Early Byzantine period of Christian ascendancy despite the opprobrium of the church fathers. Regarding the identity of the tomb occupants, I go beyond the focus on religious identification—the characterization of which is shown to be complex, at least on the basis of mortuary furnishings—to consider gender and occupation, and the ways in which they all may interrelate.

Barbarians, Byzantines, and Baths: Anchialus at the Crossroads of Thrace

Craig H. Caldwell, III
University of Georgia

Lying along the road to better-known places like Odessus and Constantinople, Anchialus (modern Pomorie in Bulgaria) was one of many Byzantine cities on the Thracian coast of the Black Sea. The nearby "Aquae Calidae" (warm mineral springs), however, gave Anchialus a distinction among its neighbors and attracted attention from varied passersby. In particular, the recorded encounters between trans-Danubian "barbarians" and Byzantines at the baths near Anchialus provide insight into the local impact of the transformation of Thrace in late antiquity.

From his vantage point in the sixth century, Jordanes relates how a third-century band of Goths came to Anchialus. After they sacked the city – to which Jordanes curiously assigns an Assyrian foundation – the Goths were said to have enjoyed the warm waters of the nearby springs for many days. Could something like this have happened at Anchialus, or has Jordanes invented the incident along with the city's origin? The story's details suggest that the descent of invaders into bucolic Thrace was at least a contemporary sixth-century concern.

The emperor Justinian took action in response to such fears. Procopius reviews the menace of nearby barbarians at Anchialus, describing how would-be bathers exchanged their safety for the hope of curing their ailments in the warm water. Justinianic fortifications thus not only secured the city of Anchialus, but also protected the baths themselves with walls. The security of the springs was then manifest enough to attract the visit of at least one Byzantine empress. Within Justinian's program of reconstruction and defense, the Anchialus project seems unusual, but was it the region or the resource that elicited such a response? As the source of healing water, this site can be profitably compared to other measures to guarantee water supplies in Procopius's catalog and to those uncovered by archaeologists.

The patronage of important women remained vital to the baths toward the end of the sixth century, when the wives of the Avar khagan dissuaded him from razing the baths. According to Theophylact Simocatta, the khagan permitted the women to reside there and enjoy the springs while he campaigned against the Byzantines. Anchialus itself was an important outpost in these wars, but the Avar protection of the nearby baths is remarkable. Did the khagan have anything else to gain by this action besides appeasing his wives? Within Theophylact's history, the Avars might be considered the successors of earlier barbarians such as Jordanes's Goths.

No other history of Thrace has drawn attention to this particular site and contextualized the meetings of "barbarians" and Byzantines at Anchialus. By combining and comparing anecdotes, historical analysis can yield an understanding of how life in Byzantine Thrace was recorded and lived in the sixth century.

A Regional Logistics Study: Three Examples from Cappadocia

Jordan Pickett
University of Pennsylvania

Can the examination of Byzantine architecture reveal changing social and political relationships, beyond what their formal characteristics might tell us? Is "power in patronage" simply an abstract concept, or can the products of patronage -- standing architectural remains -- reflect specific priorities and capacities for the organization of resources and labor across a landscape? This study attempts to answer such questions as these by examining in detail three medieval buildings from Western Cappadocia. Using digital models to determine the volumes of their building materials, it is also possible project the time required for their extraction or production, as well as processing and installation. Food supply and coordination of materials and labor must also be considered. Comparison of the categories and quantities of construction materials and processes expose a wide range of patterns of exploitation across Cappadocian history and landscapes.

For the Late Antique period, a study of construction and labor at the Kizil Kilise at Sivrihisar (6th c.) reveals how fragmenting centralized powers (large-scale landholders) and distant building materials made construction a more participatory enterprise, between cooperating entities: these might have been commercial/artisanal, military, or uncoerced/independent civilian groups. In the medieval period, a case study of the remains at Çanli Kilise near Akhisar (early 11th c.) indicates the probable use of corvee or military labor: this has implications for how we perceive the nature and extent of power and landscape for the eleventh-century *dunatoi* in Central Anatolia. Finally, a study of the Sultan Han Caravanserai on the Aksaray Road (13th c.) shows how the Seljuk conquest saw not only a move to different genres of building and significantly

larger-scale constructions, but also a radical standardization of materials and labor.

Though attention has been given to the identity and role of Late Antique and medieval architects and master-builders, the unskilled labor which constituted the bulk of a site's workforce is too often left without a voice. By shifting the discourse about Byzantine architecture to quantitative studies of materials and labor, it is hoped that we might add nuance and depth to scholarly views of the history of landholder/tenant relationships and rural life in Cappadocia, hinting at the nature and extent of "power in patronage," rather than leaving it as a conceptual blank slate.

Session VIIB

Envisioning Power in Byzantium

Chair: Eunice Maguire
Johns Hopkins University

The Making of Agents of Holy Power on Earth: Circulating Constantine's Labarum in Late Antiquity

Hallie G. Meredith
University of Colorado, Boulder

In his AD fourth century imperial biography, Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea renders a key object as an agentive union of divine and imperial features. Constantine's *labarum* (battle standard) is presented: first as an image; the meaning within the divine symbol is then interpreted; Emperor Constantine as earthly intermediary is urged to duplicate the symbol in material form; the replicas are then shown in use, material objects endowed with holy power. It is through the portrayal of social interactions – showing the *labarum* as a circulating object with agency – that Eusebius' religious interpretations were conveyed and disseminated. The production of the cultural form occurred outside of the historical origin revealed by the text.

This paper focuses on the question: what did the portrayal of *making* contribute to the description of the divinely inspired *labarum*? How were readers meant to interpret the extended visual description of Constantine's battle standard and its lifecycle? Eusebius uses his visual description as a means by which to offer a Christian interpretative framework for the divinely inspired object. The transformation of an ephemeral image – one seen in a vision – to a tangible, physical form allowed for the transference of divine, apotropaic power to a material, non-corporeal agent on earth. Drawing upon the theoretical work of Bill Brown and Alfred Gell, this paper will address the means by which this agentive Late Antique conceptual category of material culture was constructed (A. Gell, *Art and Agency, an Anthropological Theory*, 1998; B. Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry,* (2001): 28**,** 1-21).

The Emperor, the Archangel, and the City: Images of Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Restoration of Constantinople

Cecily J. Hilsdale
Northwestern University

Situated around the 1261 Byzantine restoration of Constantinople, this paper investigates the construction of the generous imperial image in the opening years of the Later Byzantine Empire. In particular it addresses three key monuments depicting Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259-1282) alongside his namesake, the Archangel Michael: the now-lost bronze sculptural group erected before the Church of the Holy Apostles, the embroidered silk textile in Genoa associated with the Treaty of Nymphaion (1261), and the imagery of the emperor's new gold *hyperpyron* struck after Constantinople's re-conquest. In differing visual and thematic manners, each of these engaged the Byzantine restoration of the imperial city by the first Palaiologan emperor. By bringing together these varied images—in bronze, silk, and gold—this paper sheds light on the inauguration of a new and distinctly Palaiologan imperial image. The positioning of Michael VIII alongside his saintly namesake inaugurated a new iconography of the prostrate emperor, one that not only signals a profound shift in imperial ideology but also invokes an inversion of traditional notions of imperial largesse and gift-giving. Key to these changes was the promotion of the emperor's piety, coupled with an emphasis on thanksgiving. Some aspects of this new ideal were particular to Michael VIII's reign while others endured through to the empire's final two centuries.

While the early years of Palaiologan rule have received much scholarly attention from historians and literary specialists, this paper examines how visual and material culture participate in the construction of a new imperial ideal. My paper thus offers an art historical analysis that complements Alice-Mary Talbot's seminal research on Michael VIII's restoration of Constantinople, Ruth Macrides' study of his renewal efforts and cultivation of the epithet of the New Constantine, and Dimiter Angelov's recent scholarship on the imperial ideology and rhetoric of the early Palaiologoi. It also enters into direct dialog with Cécile Morrisson's study of the Late Byzantine coinage of Thessaloniki, especially issues which combine an image of the city's ruler and its patron saint, Demetrios, with a micro-architectural model of Thessalonike on the reverse. The rich body of comparative material, both the literary and the numismatic, highlights the very special character of Michael VIII's surviving Constantinopolitan imagery, allowing us to understand, ultimately, how traditional models of imperium were reconfigured under the early Palaiologoi.

Narrative and Discourse of Legitimization in Manuel II Palaiologos' Funeral Oration for *His Brother Theodore*

Florin Leonte
Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

For more than three decades, Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391-1425) acted as one of the last emperors of the Byzantines during a period of extreme political turmoil. His political ability helped Byzantium maintain a certain degree of independence against the Ottomans who controlled most of the former imperial possessions including the hinterland of Constantinople. But Manuel acted also as a true *philosopher king* authoring an impressive number of texts: theological treatises, orations, letters, or rhetorical exercises

In some of his works he reflects on the experience as emperor and frequently offers advice for future action. One of these texts, *The Funeral Oration for His Brother Theodore,* is particularly interesting: while Manuel does not depart significantly from the rules of composition enunciated long before him by Menander Rhetor, he innovates especially when it comes to treating the *epitēdeumata,* that is the account of his brother's deeds. In this section, the emperor discusses not only Theodore' s achievements, but, most of all, the implications which the conflicts in the peninsula had on the general situation of the Byzantine state. By including this account, Manuel seems to attempt to justify certain difficult political choices, such as an alliance between the Byzantines and the Latins or the compromises with the Ottomans.

Manuel' s account of the events in the Peloponnese during Theodore' s despotate has been extensively used as a source for the history of Morea. Scholars like D. Zakynthinos (1953), J. Chrysostomides (1985) or N. Neçipoglu (1990) have all discussed the reliability of the information provided by Manuel, reaching different conclusions. So far, only few scholars approached the *Funeral Oration* as an individual political text which entertained certain functions in the late Byzantine political landscape.

In this paper I argue that the *Oration* was meant to be more than just a piece of commemorative literature. Actually, it stood rather as a medium for conveying messages of legitimization and justification of political authority. More often than not, these messages were couched in the narrative accounts which Manuel weaved around his brother's personality. Therefore it is crucial to analyze the mechanisms according to which these accounts worked in an allegedly laudatory text. For this reason, I am dealing firstly with the author' s ways of constructing the narrative, by studying its emplotting, embedded plots, dénouement, and the fashioning of characters' ethos.

Secondly, I attempt to integrate this narrative in an overarching discourse of political justification which can be grasped both from the emperor's other political writings and from contemporary texts, such as imperial orations or addresses to high ranking officials. The impact of Manuel's ideas is also assessed on the basis of the extant commentaries on the *Oration*, like those of Manuel Chrysoloras, Gemisthos Plethon, or Isidore of Kiev. Finally, I argue that, the *Funeral Oration* stood for a political statement expressing the emperor's desire to assert a stronger control over Morea, which, by that time, was a remote Byzantine province, far from the capital, Constantinople.

Why do we not believe the Byzantines when they say that they were Romans?

Anthony Kaldellis
The Ohio State University

What did the Byzantines mean when they said that they were Romans? The field of Byzantine Studies has refused to engage with this question in a detailed or theoretical manner, even though the ideology of Romanía is written upon most of our evidence. Many prominent Byzantinists have even flatly denied that the Byzantines were Romans despite what they themselves may have believed. They were, we have been told, Orthodox Christians, medieval Greeks, or a multi-ethnic conglomerate artificially united by that name only because the emperor used it. Yet the right of none of these (contradictory) alternatives to replace the Byzantine term Romaios has ever been systematically proven by scholarship. They have instead been inherited from the prehistory of the field, when they served other, often polemical, ideological interests. Moreover, such an approach violates the theoretical imperative in the (modern) social sciences to examine emic claims from the inside and not based on pseudo-objective outside categories. In fact, these alternatives are false: Roman and Christian meant different kinds of things; Byzantium did not have a Greek identity (except for a few intellectuals at the end, pressured into that subject-position in reaction to Latin hegemony); and the ethnicities that allegedly made up the so-called "mosaic of peoples" has yet to be documented and falters before the Byzantines' own division of the world into Romans and barbarians (many of these so-called ethnicities were regional labels for otherwise mainstream Byzantine Romans).

This paper does not contest our use of the term Byzantine but what we designate by it. We often read (and write) that the "Byzantines called themselves Romans," but why are we unwilling to do so? In part, it is because the Roman tradition has, since the Middle Ages, been claimed in exclusivity by western and Latin centers of power and our field has accepted its place within the theoretical space created by those other, more prestigious disciplines and discourses (and to this state of affairs modern Greek scholars have happily consented since the late nineteenth century for the purpose of claiming the Byzantines as Greeks, a move with obvious nationalist benefits). But most of those cognate fields now, especially those that in the past would scoff at the Byzantines' claim to be Romans, have now made theoretical turns that have led them to renounce any exclusive rights to fixed traditions. Traditions and identities are now widely seen as historically constructed, malleable, and contestable. And so Byzantine Studies has been left holding an outdated ideology that was forced upon it by other fields, a set of restrictions that work against our own research interests. We still have no idea what the Byzantines meant when they said they were Romans, what existential sites that ethnonym shaped for them and according to what discourses, how it affected their view of history and political community. This paper argues for opening the door to these fields of new research. We no longer need to feel apologetic that our subjects called themselves Romans.

Session VIIIA

Byzantium and Islam

Chair: David Olster
University of Kentucky

The Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion and the Memory of Byzantium

Meredith L.D. Riedel
Exeter College, Oxford

Byzantine Christians in the ninth century were not especially interested in the Muslim religion of their neighbours, except to attack it. However, between the siege of Amorion in 838 and the sack of Thessalonike in 904, the hostile intentions of Muslim military forces compelled the production of anti-Muslim writing in Constantinople. In particular, the sack of Amorion, located deep within Anatolia far from the lands of the caliphate, proved an enduring symbol of Muslim military capability. The capture of the fortified city and the execution in Baghdad seven years later of 42 high-ranking prisoners triggered not only the account of their martyrdom, but resulted in renewed interest among Byzantine Christians in refuting Islam.

A certain Evodios, probably commissioned by the patriarch, penned a memorial to the 42 martyrs just a few years after their deaths. This text is of primary importance in exploring Byzantine attitudes toward their Muslim neighbours because it presents a deliberately slanted version of events, and gives a thoroughly subjective interpretation of those events. It is because it 'deforms reality' that it is useful for studying 'la mentalité des chrètiens orthodoxes face à l'islam.'[Alain Ducellier, *Chrètiens d'Orient et Islam au Moyen Âge, VIIe-XVe siècle* (Paris, 1996) 22] The mystery around the caliph's decision to execute high-ranking prisoners after holding them for six and a half years remains dense. An exchange had finally been negotiated with al-Mu'tasim's successor, al-Wāthiq, some months before the execution, making the decision to kill them even more mysterious. What induced al-Wāthiq to eliminate his best leverage vis-à-vis Byzantium? He certainly did not take the decision spontaneously, because rumours of the execution were spread in advance, so that masses of people both Muslim and Christian gathered on the banks of the river to witness the beheadings.

Amorion remained a symbol of the conflict between Muslims and Christians for decades to come. So overwhelming was its defeat in 838 that it was previously thought the destruction must have been complete, causing Amorion thereafter to be abandoned. Although the burnt husk of the city may have lain empty for some time, recent archaeological evidence has shown that it was indeed rebuilt by the early tenth century and occupied until the late eleventh century by Byzantines. [M.A.V. Gill, *Amorium Reports, Finds I* (Oxford, 2002)] The martyrion of Evodios offered a theological explanation for the shock of the defeat, drew a stark comparison with the tenets of a rival religion, and enjoyed an influence that was kept fresh by the annual

observance of the 42 martyrs' feast day in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople. The city of Amorion, and the siege of 838 in particular was granted a place in Byzantine myth that simultaneously kept alive the virtue of Christian martyrdom and provided a clear antithesis for the perceived vice (in Byzantine eyes) of Muslim martyrdom through jihad.

Niketas Byzantios and the "Solid" God of Islam

Benjamin de Lee
University of California, Los Angeles

Niketas Byzantios' *Treatise Against Islam* is the earliest Byzantine text that shows genuine engagement with Islam. Composed sometime in the latter half of the ninth-century by Niketas Byzantios, a respected teacher and philosopher in Constantinople about whom little else is known, it uses philosophical methods borrowed from Aristotle to demonstrate the logical superiority of Christianity to Islam. For all its cultural significance, the work has been dismissed by most modern scholars as turgid, verbose, and misrepresenting Islam. The text is notable, however, since it is quite clear that Niketas is using a Greek translation of the Quran, although a translation that seems to have been excessively literal and inaccurate. However, his chapter entitled "Against the Same [Muhammed] who says that God is *holosphyros* [a compact whole]," reveals that Niketas closely read certain sections of the Quran and that he understood that the main divergence between Orthodox Christianity and Islam was the former's insistence on the Trinity and the latter's on the unicity of God. It seems that Niketas was the first to apply this word, *holosphyros*, to the Quranic conception of God as *ṣamad*, solid and unchanging, but also a refuge for believers. Niketas' metaphorical use of *holosphyros* to represent the Arabic *ṣamad* is not merely a slavishly literal translation. Although Niketas' word choice misses the varied meanings of the Arabic word, it still recognizes the Quranic context's use of the word in a specific passage (Sura 112) that rejects the Christian notion of the Trinity. Rather than merely ridiculing or insulting Islam, Niketas attempts to systematically prove that the Trinity is a logical necessity for a truly omnipotent God. Earlier scholars like Norman Daniel, who dismissed Niketas' treatise as "inclined to niggling pettiness, and a dialectical subtlety that one would suppose could convince nobody, least of all a Muslim," have failed to recognize Niketas' own efforts to understand Islam and create a truly logical argument that was intented to confront the illogical other in the renewed philosophical and intellectual climate of ninth-century Byzantium and the Abbasid caliphate.

An Unpublished Byzantine Translator's Preface in BN Marciana gr. 309

Elizabeth A. Fisher
The George Washington University

In the learned circles of early Palaiologan Constantinople, the scientific study of astronomy occupied such notable intellectual figures as Manuel Bryennios, Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Gregoras, whose combined activities revived the Ptolemaic system of astronomy that continued to influence Byzantine science into the fifteenth century. Parallel to this revival was the translation into Greek of astronomical works from Persian and Arabic representing Islamic scholarship. The first identifiable scholar to translate Islamic astronomical treatises was Gregory Chioniades, astronomer, physician, and teacher who traveled between Constantinople, Trebizond and Tabriz in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and who studied with the Persian astronomer Shams ad-Din al-Bukhari at the Ilkhanid court of Tabriz. As a result of this association, Chioniades obtained and translated into Greek Persian and Arabic astronomical tables as well as works of Shams himself.

Although the biography of Chioniades is known only incompletely, he seems to have spent some years teaching in Constantinople in the 1290s and also took up permanent residence in Trebizond after his stay in Tabriz. Chioniades died in Trebizond as a monk after 1315. In the intellectual world of the early Palaiologan period, he is probably among the first and surely the most prominent purveyor of Islamic astronomy to Byzantium.

A Greek translation of Shams' Persian treatise on the astrolabe is frequently attributed to Chioniades, although the translation is anonymous and has also been credited to the "school of Chioniades." The astrolabe translation is particularly interesting because three manuscripts of it contain evidence of a brief translator's preface addressed to Andronikos II Palaiologos. This one-page translator's preface exists in complete form only in a mid-fourteenth century manuscript now in Venice (BN Marciana gr. 309). The preface has never been edited in full. I am preparing an edition and translation of this translator's preface. On the basis of this preface, I analyze the translator's self-representation to the Emperor. He speaks in his own person, expressing his high estimation of Shams' original text but explaining that his translation is also an abridgment. In his preface, he plays a complicated game of allusion between the function of the astrolabe and the names of Shams and of the Emperor. The translator refers to his own relationship to Shams and portrays himself as a man of sophisticated literary tastes and also of scientific acumen, while skillfully disguising his own identity.

Beyond Boundaries, Beyond Beliefs: Byzantine and Muslim Interaction in the early Islamic Near East

Karen C. Britt
University of Louisville

Long before the Muslim conquest of the Near East, Byzantines residing along the periphery of the Empire came into frequent contact with the Sasanians followed by the pre-Islamic Arab chiefdoms, the Ghassanid and Lakhmid, which formed a buffer between Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia in the north and southern Arabia. The donations of Ghassanids and Lakhmids are documented in portraits and inscriptions in Byzantine churches in Jordan as well as in textual sources. Sozomen (*Historia ecclesiastica* 6.38.14) records that Arabs were in contact with the priests and monks who lived close to them. As these northern states began to decline, tribes engaged in caravan trade from the southern peninsula moved more freely to the north. Therefore, the frontier had long served as both a barrier as well as a point of contact. The result of the interpenetration along the border was the diffusion of culture, customs, and institutions. In the same way, there was sustained contact between Byzantines and Muslims in the Near East after the conquest. Paradoxically, permanent warfare coexisted with less adversarial relations: exchange of embassies, negotiation of treaties, conclusions of truces, commercial interactions, and so forth. A tendency to view the impact of the Muslim Conquest, in primary sources and scholarship, from the perspective of the center, Constantinople, provides one view. A different view emerges when the evidence—both material and textual—from the periphery itself is examined.

Life in towns and villages as well as monastic communities in the Transjordan during the Umayyad caliphate appears to have gone on much the same as before the conquest. Churches and monasteries in this region continued to be decorated or redecorated, attesting to an environment of economic, social and religious stability. Yet, during the same years, the deliberate defacement of figural mosaic pavements in numerous churches in Jordan is indicative of the complex relationships among various Christian groups as well as between Muslims and Christians. Like their pre-Islamic predecessors, Muslims maintained frequent contact with Christians, including priest and monks. In addition to constructing mosques near Christian holy sites, Umayyad caliphs often built their desert palaces near monasteries and seem, in both their setting and decoration, to share elements with them. Considered altogether, the evidence leads to a more nuanced interpretation of Byzantine and Muslim interaction, one in which Christianity continued to play a pivotal role in shaping the landscape of the early Islamic Near East.

Session VIIIB

Re-building the Past: Byzantine Architecture

Chair: Caroline Downing
State University of New York, Potsdam

The Hırami Ahmet Paşa Camii in Istanbul: Evidence for and historical significance of a ninth-century date of the building

Matthew Savage
University of Vienna

The Byzantine cross-in-square church located in Istanbul and known today as the Hırami Ahmet Paşa Camii has previously attracted only scant attention from historians of art and architecture. Reasons for this neglect include the building's ruinous condition throughout much of the twentieth century and, before it could be studied, its thorough restoration (in 1960) for use as a mosque in a campaign that itself was not accompanied by an art historical or archaeological investigation. Nevertheless, brief mentions of the building in scholarly literature have generally assigned the building to the twelfth century.

The author has identified remains of the building's original substance through on-site work and an examination of evidence found in historical photographic material. This investigation has produced evidence for dating the building to a period well before the twelfth century, namely to the late ninth century. Thus, the Hırami Ahmet Paşa Camii should rank as the earliest cross-in-square church surviving in the former Byzantine capital. This paper presents the evidence for and discusses some historical ramifications of a ninth-century date of the building.

The Architectural Projects of Nikephoros I Komnenos Doukas (1266/8-1296/8) and Anna Palaiologina in Arta, Epiros

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The city of Arta in northwest Greece remained a provincial town of only moderate development throughout the middle Byzantine period. With the fall of Constantinople and much of the Byzantine Empire to the Latin Crusaders in 1204, however, Arta became the seat of the ruling family, the Komnenodoukas (1204-1318). With a court in residence, new fortifications, secular and religious structures, the city gradually evolved into the capital of the so-called "Despotate of Epiros". Building activity in the city of Arta intensified during the reign of Nikephoros I Komnenos Doukas (1266/8-1296/8) and his wife Anna Palaiologina—regent for their son Thomas after Nikephoros' death—until it came to a halt with the fall of the Komnenodoukas dynasty in 1318. This paper examines the architectural projects commissioned by Nikephoros and Anna as material embodiments of the rulers' interests, politics, audiences, and workshop practices, and attempts to supplement the fragmented historic record of the city's life and visual culture.

Nikephoros and Anna did not initiate any new building projects. Rather, they directed their attention towards expanding, remodeling and rebuilding pre-existing foundations. Their reign endowed the city of Arta with a royal mausoleum (the Vlacherna), a pilgrimage church (Saint Theodora) and probably a new cathedral (the Paregoritissa). In an effort to manifest their authority and secure their independence against the pretensions of the Angevins of Naples and the Byzantine emperor, they exploited architecture to its full potential and transformed Arta into a royal capital city, following the Constantinopolitan model. These projects reveal knowledge of both Byzantine standards of patronage and the use of art and architecture as propaganda by the ruling family of Arta. Moreover, the role of Anna Palaiologina, the only Constantinopolitan among the Epirote rulers, seems to be undeniable. At the same time, Epiros had been a dependency of the Angevins of Naples since 1279, and the cultural association is seen most clearly in the Paregoretissa's eclectic character.

The few remaining religious foundations from this period within or in close proximity to the city combine features from local, Constantinopolitan and Western traditions, resulting in an eclectic character. Studies of these sophisticated projects have often focused on their provincial and idiosyncratic character, relegating them as marginal manifestations. However, the nature and patterns of patronage, the role of women as agents, patrons and audiences, and the unorthodox introduction of a

Western-inspired sculptural and architectural vocabulary present scholarly voids worth addressing.

The religious buildings of Arta, as material records of the shifting political, ideological, and religious concerns of the society that produced them, can address these voids. Analysis of the monuments indicates that building activity in the city of Arta was inextricably related to contemporaneous political events, dynastic intermarriages, and the will of the rulers to assert their authority and legitimacy.

The Rhetoric of Architecture and Memory of the Holy Sepulchre in Byzantium

Jelena Bogdanović
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The actual physical appearance of the *Anastasis*-Golgotha complex in Jerusalem during Byzantine times is not documented archaeologically. The extent and significance of the Byzantine interventions between the seventh and eleventh centuries, after the destructions by the Persians, from earthquakes, and devastating fire set by the Caliph al-Hākim in 1009, remain understudied. Presumably, after each destruction the first structure restored for veneration was the major *locus sanctus*, the Holy Sepulchre. Because it is doubtful that the Byzantines kept records on the architectural design of the Holy Sepulchre, their reconstructions were not based on a definite pictorial scheme, but rather on the combination of particular motifs, which the Byzantines built upon their belief system and related imagery. In this paper, I examine mnemonic links the Byzantines may have used for their reconstructions of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

The Byzantine descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre often rely on theological and exegetical accounts and not on personal experience. In the ninth century, when Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople writes *About the Tomb of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, it is not the first-hand experience. Yet, the description is echoed in the pilgrim account by the Russian abbot Daniel of Chernigov, who visited Jerusalem in 1106/08. Similarly, surviving imagery from the *eulogiai*, ivories, illuminated manuscripts, or monumental decorative programs, may have depicted the physical appearance of the Holy Sepulchre or its constitutive parts, but these sources also include imagined features of

the Tomb. Textual and visual evidence is repetitive and suggests the significant role of the ornaments, such as columns, lamps, enclosing features, canopy-like roof, as well as materials, such as copper, silver and marble, for descriptions and memory of the Tomb.

The emphasis on repetitive descriptions, often borrowing its images from the Gospels, hymnography, and/or liturgical practices, are analogous with the medieval construct of memory the method of loci, or mnemonic link system based on places. The Byzantines did not distinguish "verbal" from "visual" memory. Rhetorical pedagogy, *progymnasmata* and *ekphrasis* were crucial for the recollecting, remembering, and visualizing works of architecture, both real and imagined. Though mnemonic images for the Holy Sepulchre may differ, their cognitive value representing the essence of the Holy Sepulchre as the place of testimony of Christ's Resurrection, however, remained unchangeable regardless whether any or neither of these images resembled the actual architecture. The role of ornaments in the Holy Sepulchre mirrors the role of ornaments in rhetorical composition for concentration, contemplation, and remembrance, gathering site-related associations into a "place." Consequently, mnemonic images could enable each Byzantine rebuilding of the Holy Sepulchre, which was never an exact replica of the previous building. Moreover, under the Byzantines, the Holy Sepulchre also functioned as a church, while its Tomb aedicula acquired canopy-like roof to resonate the miracle of the Holy Fire. These new elements marked the discontinuity in the physical reality of the original, fourth-century Holy Sepulchre, while their cognitive value of novelty was crucial for the collective memory of the Holy Sepulchre by the Byzantines, for we remember best what is unusual.

The Church of Saint Sophia in Sofia

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The Church dedicated to Holy Wisdom, which stands at the centre of Sofia is one of the most important structures on the present-day territory of Bulgaria. Its significance is related not only to the history of the city, to which the church gave its name, but also to the history of architecture in Byzantium. The church was erected on the site of the Roman and Early Christian necropolis of the city. Excavations beneath the church have brought to light remnants of at least two predecessor buildings and many burial chambers which date from second to the sixth century.

With the exception of minor changes, the major elements of the building's original structure are exceptionally well preserved. The church, which is of great size (46,45 x 20,20 m), was constructed as a vaulted basilica with nave, aisles, transept, and chancel bay. A blind dome on pendentives rises over the crossing, which is segregated from the nave transept wings and chancel bay. A two-storied narthex in the west is flanked by annexes. Important feature includes the building's construction technique, which shows brick with broad mortar bands.

Various scholars have assigned dates ranging from the fifth or sixth century through the twelfth century for the construction of the church; today, a date for construction of the building is generally accepted for the fifth/sixth century. The lack of consistency in the dating of this key monument has resulted in it being connection with various cultural-geographic regions and trends. The opinions of researchers concerning the date of the church remain, however, controversial, as no documentary evidence exists.

Supplemented by a critical reassessment of older archaeological reports and descriptions of the building, and taking into consideration the history of the city, an examination of new findings and a thorough evaluation of the existing structure as well as a comparison to other buildings suggest that the date of Saint Sophia should be revised to the Transitional period between the mid eighth century and 811. Thus, Saint Sophia should be seen as a rare example of a structure surviving from the Transitional period. This fact helps explain many of the building's singular construction features in the context of the particular political, cultural and geographic situation in the Balkan during the early Middle Ages.


THE
END

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