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ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

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Cover Image: Gold *Histamenon* of Basil II and Constantine, Constantinople, (977-989), from the Archbishop Iakovos Collection

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Session IA
Jewish and Christian Hymnography
Session I: Exegesis and Theology

Chair: Susan Ashbrook Harvey
(Brown University)

Herod's Lament in Romanos the Melodist: Hymnography and the Emotions

Georgia Frank (Colgate University)

The chanted sermons by the sixth-century hymnographer Romanos the Melodist were composed for urban vigils held on the eve of feast days in Constantinople. These nocturnal assemblies attended by the lay Christians included responsorial psalmody, prayer, and readings from scripture as well as some non-scriptural sources. In these stanzaic poems various biblical characters retold their versions of events from Jesus' life as the feast day dictated. Thus, the Eve (from afar) and Mary recounted the Nativity on December 25th, the following day, the angel and Mary discussed the Annunciation, and John the Baptist and Jesus continued their dialogue on the feast commemorating the baptism of Jesus. During Holy Week, Judas retold his experiences of the Last Supper and personified versions of Death and Hell narrated Good Friday from below. Through this chorus of witnesses, audiences could share in the characters' joy, confusion, elation, grief, and even shame. Recent work by M. Alexiou, J. H. Barkhuizen, M. Cunningham, G. Frank, and D. Krueger have called attention to several of these characters, including Judas, Peter, Death, and the Virgin Mary. One character, however, has not received comparable attention: Herod.

This paper focuses on the figure of Herod in Romanos' *kontakion* composed for the Feast of the Holy Innocents (Hymn 15 in the *Sources chrétiennes* edition by Grosdidier de Matons; Hymn 3 in the Maas-Trypanis [Oxford] edition). Following a brief introduction to the evolution of the feast in early Byzantine liturgical calendars, the paper shall focus on the significance of Herod's emotional turmoil. As Romanos recounts events, the magis' report sent him into fits of rage, fear, and lamentation. Thus endowed with a vast emotional

spectrum spanning fear, rage, weeping, hatred, lamentation, and vengeance, Herod takes center stage in Romanos' drama. Why such emotional intensity? To some interpreters, parody and mockery are stock aspects of Romanos' biblical villains. Moreover, rhetorical devices such as speech-in-character (*prosopopeia*) or vividness (*enargeia*) might explain features of Herod's monologue. Building upon these explanations, this paper explores another tack: Herod's emotional landscape.

In recent years, cultural historians have explored the historicity of emotions, that is to say, the notion that emotions are shaped by their cultural and historical settings, rather than being precultural, innate, or universal. In particular, recent studies of western medieval affect and devotion (e.g., S. McNamer, B. Rosenswein) provide useful models by which to consider what inviting a congregation to sing along with Herod's frustration and wrath signified for the formation of the Christian self in early Byzantium. Thus, this work builds upon prior studies of *mimesis* in Christian identity formation (e.g., G. Vikan's study of pilgrims' identification with the magi) to consider how even a villain can reshape Christian affect. Through a historically nuanced analysis of darker emotions, such as fear, rage, and grief, this paper hopes to illuminate the impact of hymnography on the formation of lay Christians.

Dynamics between Verse and Prose in Jewish Texts from the Early Byzantine Period:

The Case of the Story of Cain and Abel

Ophir Münz-Manor (The Open University of Israel)

The biblical story of Cain and Abel was retold in various contexts and genres in Jewish texts from the early Byzantine period. One finds treatment of the story, for example, in

exegetical *midrashim* on the book of Genesis, liturgical poems (*piyyutim*) for Shabbat and the High Holidays, Aramaic translations of the biblical text and homilies for the triennial cycle of Torah-reading. This textual diversity raises an intriguing question: are there differences in the ways in which the story is presented and interpreted in each one of these genres?

In this paper I seek to explore this question by examining several texts from late antique Palestine that elaborate on the story of Cain and Abel. I examine the story as it appears in *Genesis Rabbah*, an exegetical *midrash*, in the *piyyutim* of Yose ben Yose and Yannai, in the *targum neofiti*, an expansive Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch and in the *pesiqta de-Rav Kahana*, a collection of homilies for the holidays. By exploring these texts comparatively I seek to single out the differences and the similarities between the different representation of the biblical account, to discuss the impact of the liturgical context of some of the texts on the way they treat and represent the biblical figures and, ultimately, to offer a preliminary taxonomy of the different genres and their corresponding thematic and literary characteristics. In the concluding part of the paper I consider how the picture that emerges from the Jewish texts might fit the situation in contemporary Syriac and Byzantine literature.

Imagined Speeches in early Byzantine Liturgical Poetry and Ephrem Graecus' Text on Cain and Abel

Kevin Kalish (Bridgewater State University)

An important, yet unexplored, area of early Byzantine literature is the large corpus of Greek texts attributed to Ephrem the Syrian — what modern scholarship calls the works of “Ephrem Graecus.” Granted, a multitude of

problems surround these texts: with but a few exceptions they bear no relation to the Syriac texts of Ephrem, there is no clear indication of when they were composed (perhaps the fifth or sixth centuries?), and the manuscript tradition is complicated. Even with these problems, these texts of Ephrem Graecus are of great interest as pieces of literature, beyond simply their historical and cultural importance. These texts straddle the boundaries between various genres and literary types. Many of the texts appear to be in verse, though in a style unlike anything else in the Greek tradition as it is based neither on quantity nor on stress accent but on the number of syllables, as in Syriac. As Ephrem Lash has argued, these texts also appear to have played a significant role in shaping Byzantine liturgical poetry, especially the poetry of Romanos the Melodist. This paper addresses the possible connections between Ephrem Graecus' works and Byzantine liturgical poetry by exploring how a specific literary device is used.

The device of imagined speeches — what Greek rhetoric calls *ethopoiia* or speech in character — imagines how a historical or literary person might have spoken on a given occasion. Christian literature of the fourth to sixth centuries is particularly fond of this device, as we see it used in various genres (especially homilies and poetry), and in both Greek and Syriac literature. These imagined speeches, in the hands of homilists and poets, provide a vehicle for exploring how persons from the Bible might have thought and felt; they allow an expansion upon the Biblical narrative and creative insight into how the text might be understood. In a text on Cain and Abel, Ephrem Graecus gives us a number of imagined speeches. The text, *Sermo de Cain, et de Abel caedo* (using the text of Phrantzolas 1998) imagines a speech by Cain, a dialogue between Cain and Abel, a prayer by Abel, and a lament by Eve. Discussions of this text are extremely rare (the one exception is the exhaustive work of Glenthøj 1997). This paper focuses on the speeches of Cain and Abel and

looks at how the literary construction of the speeches shows common trends with imagined speeches in liturgical poetry. The ways in which Ephrem Graecus uses these speeches has much in common with how Romanos uses these same kinds of speeches. Ephrem Graecus' texts do not appear to have been used liturgically, yet they show these shared literary devices with liturgical poetry. Thus, by exploring common literary elements such as the use of imagined speeches, we gain a better understanding of how liturgical poetry develops alongside other literary genres.

The Kanon and the Theotokos: The Development of a Middle Byzantine Hermeneutic

Mary B. Cunningham (The University of Nottingham, U.K.)

A short hymn or troparion known as the *theotokion* often appears as the last stanza of each ode in the longer Byzantine hymn known as the *kanon*. The ninth ode, which is based on the Virgin Mary's *Magnificat*, is also devoted exclusively to praise of this holy figure. This paper explores possible reasons for the central role assigned to Mary, the Theotokos, in middle Byzantine kanons. As the mortal receptacle of God, Mary symbolises the place where divinity comes together with humanity in the saving dispensation. Byzantine liturgical writers increasingly used the Old Testament as the signifier, *par excellence*, of this mystery. The numerous types that prefigure the Theotokos, including Jacob's ladder (Gen 28:10-17), the burning bush (Ex 3:1-6), the tabernacle (Ex 26, 35-36, 40), Gideon's fleece (Judges 6:37-40), the 'curdled' or shaded mountain (Ps 67/68:16; Hab. 3:3), and many others, all express the way in which God is immanent in His creation. Kanons themselves express, in a highly symbolic manner, the foreshadowing of the incarnation in Old Testament events, along with the canticles that celebrate them. This paper argues

that Mary, the Theotokos, came to act as an essential key for unlocking such typological meaning. Kanons, in attempting to convey the whole of salvation history in a succinct and symbolic form, employ an exegetical method that hinges on the Virgin Mary's mediating role. This form of biblical hermeneutics is not unique to this genre of Byzantine hymnography, but it does receive fuller and more sophisticated development in this context than it does in other liturgical or theological forms of expression. The paper also discusses the liturgical function of the middle Byzantine kanon and the significance of its location at the end of *orthros* or matins. Mary, the Theotokos, unites the old and new covenants in the same way that *orthros*, with the help of the kanon, bridges the transition between night and day.

So far, although scholars have recognised the important role of the *theotokion* in Byzantine hymnography, they have not offered any convincing theory concerning its placement within the kanon. Manuscripts suggest that the addition of a *theotokion* at the end of each ode of many kanons occurred at an early date; it may never be established, however, whether the earliest hymnographers, such as Andrew of Crete and John of Damascus, wrote these stanzas themselves and intended them to be included in their kanons. This paper argues that in spite of the distinct nature of *theotokia*, which appears to set them off from the main body of many kanons, they perform an essential role within these works by demonstrating (like the Mother of God herself) the continuity between the old and the new covenants.

The Breastfeeding Virgin in Romanos

Thomas Arentzen (Lund University, Sweden)

The paper focuses on the breastfeeding Mother of God in the poetry of Romanos Melodos (+ ca. 560): Romanos is among

the first writers to call the Virgin Mary a nursing mother. He is also among the few pre-iconoclastic writers to denote Her as 'Mother of God,' as opposed to the common title '*Theotokos*.' The motif of the nursing mother is anticipated in Syriac poetry, but in the Greek context he seems to be the first writer to stage Mary as a milk-giver, a *kourotrophousa*. Why does this motif suddenly surface in his poetry?

To represent the *galaktotrophousa* in art, it has been assumed, is a way to pinpoint the human nature of Christ, and art historians have been puzzled by the presence of such imagery in 'monophysite' Coptic monasteries. Others, such as Elizabeth Bolman, have on the contrary envisaged the same 'monophysite' breast-milk as pure *Logos* flowing via Mary into the Son. As far as I know, no scholars have examined the issue of the *galaktotrophousa* primarily from a literary perspective.

In a medium bound to have wide-ranging impact – not the prose of theological commentaries but vivid poetry written for popular nightly gatherings (the all-night vigils) – Romanos invites his audience to imagine the Virgin in a new way. Focusing on his famous first *Nativity Hymn*, I argue that in Romanos the nursing is not first and foremost Christological and the question of monophysitism is not really relevant. His Mary-oriented poetry employs nursing to promote the role of the Virgin herself. Thus he suggests a new way for the civic audience to relate to the Virgin: she emerges as their mother and nurturer and becomes a nourishing, breastfeeding provider to the people. This detaches her from the context of the Ephesus Council, in connection with which Mary is often seen as a mere prop to the Christological debate. It also places the Romanos Virgin far away from the ascetic ideal of the desert, in which virgins, losing their female weakness, lose their ability to lactate. This virgin is filled with the maternal and life-giving power of milk, the power to give life.

Session IB
The Medium is the Message

Chair: Anne McClanan
(Portland State University)

Medium and Authority: The Classicizing Stuccowork of Late Antique Italy

Kaelin M. Jewell (Temple University)

The ecclesiastical monuments of late antique Italy display a wide variety of architectural decoration. Scholarly investigations of these decorative programs have placed a significant amount of emphasis on the study of frescoes and mosaics. Recently, increased attention has been paid to less conspicuous forms of decoration. Scholars have begun to consider *opus sectile*, marble revetment, and stuccowork in their evaluations of these monuments in an effort to understand how decorative elements were visually experienced in antiquity. Of the materials used in these programs, it is stucco that remains the most enigmatic and least studied. This less costly material appeared in the most lavish late antique monuments and seamlessly mingled with mosaic, marble, and other, more expensive, materials.

Based on a survey conducted of the fourth, fifth, and sixth-century monuments of Rome, Milan, and Ravenna, approximately fifteen buildings contain evidence for the installation of decorative stuccowork. These programs can be divided into two iconographical types. The first, and most common, consists of geometric and vegetal motifs that often appeared in low relief on the interior entablatures and cornices of ecclesiastical monuments. The second type is characterized by figural elements found primarily in tombs, churches, and baptisteries. Both categories of stuccowork were part of an overall decorative program that included mosaics, frescoes, marble revetment, and *opus sectile*. Scholars have noted the visual impact of these multimedia programs and have linked it to the late antique literary notion of the “jeweled style.” (Elizabeth Bolman, “Painted Skins: The Illusions and Realities

of Architectural Polychromy, Sinai, and Egypt,” *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St. Catherine’s Monastery in the Sinai*, ed. Sharon E. J. Gerstel and Robert S. Nelson, 2010, p. 133). Additionally, the deliberately classicizing nature of several of these decorative programs, I argue, illustrates a desire among the patrons to evoke the prestige of the classical past.

This paper explores the figural stuccowork programs of three key monuments: the Mausoleum of Quirinus of Sescia at San Sebastiano in Rome, the Church of Santa Croce in Ravenna, and the Neonian (Orthodox) Baptistery also in Ravenna. These three monuments provide extant, archaeological, and literary evidence for the installation of extensive decorative programs rendered in stucco and illustrate, through their incorporation of human figures, a visible connection to classical trends in architectural decoration.

The Materiality of Late Antique Mosaic Inscriptions: Variety, Color, and Symbolism

Sean Leatherbury (University of Oxford)

The mosaics of Late Antique churches throughout the Mediterranean have long fascinated historians, art historians and epigraphers. Famously, the apse mosaic programs of the early churches of Rome, Ravenna, Thessaloniki and Sinai, among other sites, have been studied by scholars for their bright materials, including gold- and silver-glass *tesserae*; the visual dazzle created by mosaicists through their manipulation of the depth of the setting bed and the angles of *tesserae*; depictions of light within mosaics (for example, in apse at Sinai); and the contemporary reception vis-à-vis the Byzantine understanding of light and color, inherited from the Graeco-Roman tradition, as seen in Late

Antique and Byzantine texts. Recently, scholars including Liz James, whose *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art* (Oxford, 1996) forced a re-evaluation of those topics, have turned to related questions of production, distribution and reuse of glass in the Mediterranean, as well as the effects of natural and artificial light, through windows and from lamps, on the viewing of mosaics *in situ*. These new archaeological and scientific approaches provide important revelations about the production and reception of Byzantine mosaics. However, comparatively little work has been undertaken on the mosaic inscriptions, mostly dedicatory epigrams, which are in many cases as complicated as the mosaic images with which they were paired. While articles by Paul-Albert Février (1994), Eve Borsook (2000) and Erik Thunø (2007; 2011) have surveyed some of the attitudes towards light expressed in mosaic inscriptions, particularly those in Italy, the epigraphic evidence has yet to be explored to its full potential.

Accordingly, this paper begins to connect archaeological evidence with texts in a more systematic fashion, and considers the materials with which Late Antique mosaic inscriptions were made (glass, gold- or silver-glass, glass paste and stone) as well as the ways in which inscriptions refer to their own specific materiality. First, I briefly survey the specific materials which were used to produce mosaic inscriptions, focusing on the use of gold- or silver-glass in dedicatory texts inscribed in the apses and on the walls and on several floors of fifth- and sixth-century churches in Italy (especially Rome, Ravenna and Beligna), Croatia (Poreč), Greece (Philippi), and Cyprus (Kourion). I also discuss the ways in which mosaicists used materials to highlight dedicatory inscriptions and emphasize particular words, including the names of patrons. Second, I turn to the texts of the inscriptions and enumerate the range of light and color words used, connecting the epigraphic terminology to the language of Late Antique *ekphrasis* and to Graeco-Roman precedents. Finally, the paper looks at the

theological and broader symbolic functions of glass and stone as articulated by the sixth-century inscriptions themselves, which play on the themes of light, color and variety to make sophisticated statements about the love of shine and shimmer, in terms of variance of materials as well as brightness; physical versus divine light, in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Rome; and the classical *paideia* of the patron, in the East Cathedral at Apamea and the Basilica of Dometios at Nikopolis in Greece.

Prioritizing Pilgrims in Tokens of Saint Symeon the Younger

Shannon Steiner (Bryn Mawr College)

Clay tokens affiliated with the Syrian stylite saint Symeon the Younger (521-97) form a distinct iconographic subgroup within the material culture of Byzantine pilgrimage. Scholars have proposed two fundamental functions for Symeon tokens, both of which are problematic. First, the tokens were supernaturally potent and had powerful apotropaic qualities. Designating tokens as primarily amuletic, however, limits their use to their protective capacity. This view excludes tokens from participation in a complex system of religious practices. *Mimesis*, one component of this system, frames the second accepted purpose for Symeon tokens. Current scholarly opinion contends that the iconography on pilgrimage objects encouraged pilgrims to identify with scriptural archetypes, especially the Magi. Proponents of this argument have rejected a literal reading of token imagery as a depiction of actual events at pilgrimage destinations. Yet interpreting token iconography literally does not necessarily oversimplify how tokens looked and worked. The reality of practices at Symeon's shrine was sufficiently sophisticated to withstand viewing the tokens as straightforward representations of a pilgrim's lived experience.

Over 200 seventh-century tokens survive from Symeon the Younger's Miraculous Mountain outside of Aleppo. They are very consistent in their design, sharing nearly identical iconography with only occasional variation. The tokens depict a pilgrim ascending to the top of Symeon's column in anticipation of direct encounter with the saint. While earlier scholars have interpreted the devotees depicted on the tokens to be pilgrims making offerings in imitation of the Magi, I argue that these figures are instead depictions of the pilgrims as themselves. The tokens more immediately recall the pilgrims' need to enter into Symeon's presence. In addition, they display auxiliary images that show moments from biblical narratives and inscriptions that make explicit reference to Symeon's ability to heal. I suggest further that, while pilgrims certainly participated in mimetic behavior, they were not limited to the model of the Magi. The Magi make no appearance in Symeon's hagiography. Instead, his pilgrims performed the parts of recipients of baptism or of Christ's healing in order to affect the fulfillment of their own expectations. Pilgrims chose from a wide variety of exemplars, including John the Baptist, the Woman with the Issue of Blood, and the paralytic healed by Christ.

Early Byzantine pilgrimage art served a very specific audience: the pilgrims. A study of pilgrimage tokens should therefore focus on how such objects catered to a pilgrim's interests and satisfied his, or her, desires. In this paper I prioritize the experiences of pilgrims in the making and reception of tokens. I propose that pilgrimage tokens facilitated a type of grassroots extra-liturgical devotion with pilgrim-oriented and pilgrim-controlled participation. A consideration of the actual pilgrimage activity on-site at the Miraculous Mountain can help determine how token imagery appealed to pilgrims as they perceived themselves and the motivations for their journeys.

The Achieropoiitos That Wasn't There

Robert Ousterhout (University of Pennsylvania)

Until the early 18th century, visitors to the mosque Ayasofya Camii in Constantinople (the converted Hagia Sophia) could still see figural mosaic on the walls and vaults. It was only when a more conservative Islam came to the fore that it was deemed necessary to cover the images. Thus the accounts of early visitors take on great significance for the details they documented before they were covered or destroyed. Guillaume-Joseph Grelot recorded in detail the mosaics he saw *in situ* in 1672: the seraphim in the pendentives, the figures in the eastern arch, the Virgin in the apse, the angels to either side, and, what he calls, the Holy Face on the Veil of Veronica at the crown of the arch. For this last image he undoubtedly meant the Mandylion, the miraculous face of Christ imprinted on a handkerchief, a relic once kept in the Great Palace. This image appears in almost the same position in many Late Byzantine churches, for example, the 14th-century church of St Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike.

Following Grelot, later scholars occasionally included the Mandylion in reconstructions of Hagia Sophia's decorative program – as for example Antoniades in 1907. On the other hand, Cornelius Loos, who had recorded the interior of the mosque at the same time as Grelot, left this area blank in his drawing. And the Fossati brothers, who recorded the mosaics during their consolidation of the building in the 1840s, make no mention of it. When the Byzantine Institute of America uncovered the mosaics once and for all in the last century, they found only a solid field of gold *tesserae* where Grelot has seen the Mandylion. This is the cause of some puzzlement, for the gold mosaic must be Byzantine – the Ottomans didn't do mosaics – probably dating from the late ninth century, when the Virgin and Archangels were installed.

In this paper, I shall discuss what Grelot saw (or thought he saw) and the conditions that predisposed him to expect a miraculous image inside the building.

Kontoglou's Polemics and the Art Historical Canon

Dennis Raverty (New Jersey City University)

Twentieth-century artist Photios Kontoglou is largely responsible for the revival of traditional Byzantine style, now once again widely practiced in icon and mural painting among the Eastern Orthodox, a movement that has swept through the church during recent decades.

His turn towards Byzantine tradition was undoubtedly inspired at least partly by the work of the Modernists active during the decade before World War I (he spent the war years in Paris). Like his avant-garde contemporaries, he turned away from realistic representation in favor of expressive, stylized distortion and a reversion to the flatness of the picture plane.

However, whereas avant-garde artists were breaking from tradition in radical ways, Kontoglou's break with tradition was conservative rather than radical, a breakthrough into an even older tradition, a tradition that paradoxically shared a number of formal characteristics with the early twentieth-century avant-garde. One might have expected that his work would be embraced by the art-historical consensus emerging at mid-century because of its stylistic affinities with Modern art.

Yet curiously, despite his important role in the revival of Byzantine style and his widespread influence, Kontoglou is not mentioned in any of the standard surveys of twentieth-

century art and his work is almost unknown among art historians (other than Byzantinists). Among the reasons for his near exclusion from the canon was undoubtedly his outspoken denunciation of Modernism at mid-century, just at the time that the canon was being formed. Perhaps he felt the need to denounce Modern art, with which his work, sacred and secular, actually shared a number of stylistic features, because he felt that otherwise his semi-abstract style might estrange him from conservative Orthodox believers, and those who commission icons and murals.

More puzzling for art historians are Kontoglou's polemics against the art of the Italian Renaissance. While he denounces Modern art as self-indulgent, he passionately rails against the art of the Renaissance. He rejects Western art since the Renaissance because of its realism, which he dismisses as vulgar and incapable of representing the spiritual. Yet his rejection of Italian Renaissance art is based on a fundamental misunderstanding of it—he seems to be strangely unaware of the long-established interpretation that the divine was indicated in the art of the Italian Renaissance through the idealization of form.

The key to understanding Kontoglou's unusual polemics, it seems, is his desire to convince the Orthodox to abandon the Renaissance manner, which had had such a pernicious influence on the art of icon painting since the sixteenth century, a debased version of Renaissance representation that was often sentimental and, sometimes, even kitsch. His real quarrel was not truly with the Italian Renaissance itself, but, rather, with the insipid adaptations of it practiced in contemporaneous icon painting at mid-century.

With the triumph of Kontoglou's revival of tradition among the Eastern Orthodox churches during the last fifty years, we should now leave behind Kontoglou's rhetoric

against both the Italian Renaissance as well as the historic avant-garde, and integrate his work into the expanding canon of twentieth-century art.

Session IIA
Translation and Scholarship: The
Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library,
Byzantine Greek Series

Chair: Alice-Mary Talbot
(Dumbarton Oaks)

Conflict management: Niketas Stethatos' treatment of opposition and hostility in his *Life* of Symeon the Theologian

Richard Greenfield (Queen's University, Canada)

One day, sometime in the early eleventh century, Symeon the Theologian was sitting peacefully at his desk, absorbed in the mystical writing on which his reputation for sanctity is now founded. His work was dramatically interrupted, however, in a manner which may strike alarm in the minds of academics who still write at desks in front of windows. For a "stone smashed through the glass in the direction of the saint's skull before falling right in front of his face. Its violent motion alone made the venerable man's head spin, and, if it had reached the saint and struck his head, nothing could have stopped it from killing him outright." Niketas Stethatos, Symeon's hagiographer, depicted this incident as an example of how the saint was being tested by the Devil like Job, but the man responsible for throwing the rock clearly had very different ideas about Symeon's sanctity.

Discussion of opposition to Symeon and the doubts cast by contemporaries on his reputation is nothing new, of course. In fact it is something so central to his life that it has necessarily been a topic with which all scholarship on him has been forced to engage, although with greater or lesser enthusiasm, depending on its motivation. By considering the whole spectrum of conflict in which Symeon apparently became embroiled during his life, however, and by focusing on the ways in which Niketas has constructed and framed these episodes, I go beyond the conclusions of previous examinations. I also believe this study may be helpful in adding broader perspective to my previous work on contested sanctity and monastic foundation in the eleventh century.

Niketas, who was himself no stranger to controversy, indicates explicitly, both in the *Life* and elsewhere, that he saw himself engaged in a polemical battle against those who persisted in doubting Symeon's saintly credentials and opposing the creation of a cult around him. As Niketas depicts it, Symeon's life was one of almost perpetual struggle between the pursuit of his calling as a mystic, an inspired writer, and a monastic leader, and his entanglement with those who opposed and sought to thwart him. As my paper shows, Niketas describes opposition as coming from three separate though necessarily linked directions: from church authorities and skeptics, from family and neighbors, and from members of the monastic communities in which he lived. Although John McGuckin has described Niketas' approach to the *Life* as being "bent on minimizing every element of political and ecclesiastical controversy in his subject's life," I would rephrase this statement. As my paper argues, Niketas is actually bent on drawing attention to these controversies, but is determined to spin them in such a way as to minimize every element of lingering validity or interest (political, ecclesiastical, social or otherwise) that may have clung to the positions of those who opposed Symeon. An examination of his attempt to do so provides some interesting lessons in hagiographical technique.

The Ambigua of St. Maximos the Confessor: Reflections on a Recent Edition and Translation

Fr. Maximos Constas
(Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology)

St. Maximos the Confessor occupies a special position in the history of Byzantine philosophy, theology, and spirituality. One of the greatest Christian thinkers of late antiquity, his profound spiritual experiences and penetrating theological vision found complex and, often, provocative expression

in his unparalleled command of Greek philosophy. His reconciliation of philosophical thought with the experience of faith became a touchstone for later generations of Byzantine intellectuals, and both the Comnenian and Palaiologan periods witnessed major revivals of interest in his work.

His chief work, in which he gave free play to his formidable powers of analysis and speculation, is known as the *Ambigua*, ostensibly a commentary on 71 obscure (or “ambiguous”) passages in the writings of St. Gregory the Theologian. Some of these passages had been called into question by critics, both hostile and friendly; others had been stigmatized by heterodox sects, who claimed to find in them the doctrines of Origen. In defending Gregory’s orthodoxy, Maximos engages in far more than a simple refutation of Origenism, since the larger aim of the *Ambigua* is to undermine the most cherished principles of pagan Neoplatonism, and to create a new, positive philosophical foundation for the spiritual life.

Despite its importance, the *Ambigua* remains something of a closed book. The Confessor’s notoriously difficult writing style, the labyrinthine complexities of his thought, and his idiosyncratic use of later Greek philosophy, have conspired to make the *Ambigua* one of the most inaccessible works in the Greek patristic canon. These challenges have been further compounded by the lack of a critical edition, the absence of an English translation, and the unreliability of many English translations excerpted in secondary studies and anthologies.

This paper offers a series of observations and preliminary conclusions based on the forthcoming edition and translation of the *Ambigua* for the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library series. Items coming under general consideration include the history of the text’s transmission, the importance of the ninth-century Latin translation of the *Ambigua* by

Eriugena (which is older than any of the extant Greek manuscripts), and a survey of earlier attempts to produce a critical edition. More detailed remarks focus on how the new edition and translation may help to clarify some contested points regarding the Confessor's early life and education, and the extent to which the *Ambigua* as a work of Christian philosophy calls for a significant revision of received opinions about the "philosophy of the Church Fathers."

A Poetic Taxonomy of Pain: Towards a Translation of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Poemata de seipso*

Suzanne Abrams Rebillard (Cornell University)

Throughout his corpus, Gregory of Nazianzus laments his infirm body and his suffering due to friends, family, and political/theological opponents, and cosmically, to Satan and the human condition. The number of these remarks demands a correspondingly extensive vocabulary of pain, with a consequent challenge to translators regarding fidelity and consistency. These difficulties are particularly striking with the ninety-nine historical *Poemata de seipso* (Patrologia graeca 37, II.i.1–99), a collection unified by the author's proclamations of perseverance in suffering. Formation of a poetic taxonomy of pain for these poems aids in producing a reliable translation, and when analyzed in context, is informative as to how Gregory's first-person poetry is informed by the soteriological and anthropological web of his theology.

The vocabulary of pain in the *Poemata de seipso* rarely, if ever, appears in Gregory's prose. As comparatively little of his poetry has been translated into English, the translator of the *poemata de seipso* lacks comparanda. However, many of the modifiers (e.g. ἀναλκίς, ἀφαιρός, δύσμορος, δύστηνος, λυπρός, μογερός, and στυγερός) as well as substantives (e.g. ἄκος, ἄλγος, ἄχθος, ἄχος, κάματος, κῆδος, μέριμνα/

μέρμηρα, and πῆμα) and related verbs are drawn from Homer and Classical tragedy, which offer translation models. The particularity of these words to Gregory's poetry, moreover, suggests a significant link between Gregory's own pain and his decision to record it in poetry that is decidedly Homeric and tragic. The derivative vocabulary colors the narrator's self-portrait as heroic: his suffering seems "epic" and "tragic" in many senses, transcending the temporal and the real.

Yet as Juliette Prudhomme argues (in "Les modèles bibliques et profanes dans les *Thrènes* de Grégoire de Nazianze," in *Motivi e forme della poesia cristiana antica tra Scrittura e tradizione classica*. XXXVI Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana. Roma, 3-5 maggio 2007, *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum*, 108 [Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum 2008], 293-302), in Gregory's work Classical elements are in constant dialogue with Christian ones. His poetic vocabulary of pain thus demands that its translation reflect both traditions. Moreover, there is an obstacle to accuracy and consistency when translating the *Poemata de seipso* in the ambiguity between physical and non-physical pain in the Greek: to what extent is the ambiguity intentional? Examination of Gregory's vocabulary of pain in context (specifically in *Poemata de seipso* 16, 42, 45, 46, 50), reveals that words for pain appear regularly in contexts addressing soteriology and an anthropology rooted in human likeness to Christ: pain of all kinds is endemic to the human condition, and, as such, ultimately bound to salvation.

Creating a definitive poetic taxonomy of pain, with consistent English equivalents, that simultaneously reflects Classical and Christian, physical and non-physical, is admittedly impossible; but the exercise allows one to see how the central character of the *Poemata de seipso* emerges as an epic-tragic imitator of Christ through the location of a Classically derivative vocabulary of pain within a Christian soteriological framework. It thus aids not only in translating, but in characterizing the poetics of Gregory's first-person poems relative to his theology.

Session IIB

Crusader Worlds

Chair: Cecily Hilsdale
(McGill University)

Envisioning the Warrior Saints: Epiphany and Representation in the Medieval Levant

Heather Badamo (University of Chicago)

During the era of the Crusades, icons of warrior saints occupied a prominent position in the visual culture of Christians in the eastern Mediterranean. There, images depict the saints according to a local iconographic type: as warriors on horseback, dressed in full armor, equipped with weapons. This type is represented by a well-known group of panel paintings at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai and by a small number of painted churches in Lebanon and Syria, such as Mar Tadros in Bahdeidat and Deir Mar Musa in Nebek. Though stylistically diverse, the icons and wall paintings are related by date (twelfth - thirteenth century) and by imagery that often shows the saints performing miracles of salvation and defense. These miracles, which also appear in contemporary hagiographic texts, evoke epiphanies, moments when the saints appear on earth in visual form. The preference for depicting such miracles, as well as the congruence of hagiographic texts and iconography, suggests complicated relationships between envisioning and representing the warrior saints in the Levant.

This paper explores the ways in which epiphanies, recorded in hagiographic texts and chronicles, played a vital role in shaping perceptions of the warrior saints and their images in this region. Epiphanies defined the significance of the warrior saints through giving them specific epithets, attributes, and activities, which distinguished them from other types of saints and contributed towards delineating their particular spheres of influence. For instance, St. George was celebrated for rescuing captives and slaying heretics, establishing his role as a defender of the faithful. In many accounts, saints are recognized because they appear “in the

guise” of their icons, pointing to a circular relationship between vision and representation in which epiphanies reinforced the authenticity and efficacy of images by affirming iconographic traditions. From the theological tract on icons by Theodore Abu Qurrah, it is evident that the need for such authorization was acute. After the Arab conquest, these saintly appearances provided support not simply for individual icons, but for the entire institution of icon veneration.

This research highlights how both epiphanies and their representations could offer a versatile response to the shifting political and religious boundaries that characterized life at the frontiers. Local Christian communities utilized epiphanies to bolster their authority by recording incidents in which warrior saints inspired the conversion of Muslims and by depicting the saints slaying enemies of the faith. Such representations shed light on the role of the military martyrs in official religious practice: to affirm relationships between the spiritual and phenomenological realms, and between those who stand within and outside the Christian community. Though images and text work in close alliance to establish boundaries, they paradoxically incorporate narrative and iconographic motifs from diverse communities, suggesting considerable interchange. As this paper demonstrates, the images ultimately shed light on a region in which commerce, shared traditions, and political instability made impermeable boundaries aspirations rather than strict realities.

**Courtly Monuments and “Pathways of Portability:”
The Cappella Palatina and Nicosia Cathedral**

Amy Gillette (Temple University)

Tracing the analogies between the decorative programs of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo and St. Sophia Cathedral in Nicosia (the Selimiye Mosque since 1571) testifies to transmissions of adoption and integration, in which both

fused Latin, Byzantine, and Muslim architectural and decorative elements. The kings of Sicily and Cyprus defined their courts relationally rather than discretely, articulating their bonds with Western Europe and the Latin Church while also assuring legibility within the courtly *mise-en-scène* that enveloped and reached beyond the Mediterranean. Both courts appropriated and adapted visual culture in similar ways, and the divergent outcomes clarify these processes within each kingdom's parameters.

I have approached the chapel and cathedral's artistic programs by extending Eva Hoffman's idea that portable art objects were active agents in constructing the cultural contours of medieval courts, applying her method to a consideration of fixed architectural monuments. This provides an opportunity to explore the way in which the Hauteville and Lusignan rulers visualized and performed the authority of their kingships. Accordingly, I have sought to expand the cultural frame of reference for the Cappella Palatina and Nicosia Cathedral by emphasizing the impact of the respective Fatimid and Byzantine contributions to the monuments' figural and sculptural ornament, which forged conceptual affinities with the ceremonial traditions manifest in each building.

Specifically, I have explored how the Latin kings tapped the "pathways of portability" to craft idiosyncratic ideologies of God-sanctioned rulership. In so doing, both courts appropriated modes of figural imagery charged with theological and devotional significance to inscribe themselves into Muslim or Byzantine celestial paradigms. The Cappella Palatina's painted *muqarnas* ceiling and Byzantine-style mosaics as well as Nicosia's crown-capped icon niches articulate the two courts' intentions and methods of self-presentation. Even so, the mosaics' and icons' devotional valences qualified the image of Latin hegemony by indicating real interpenetrations in religious understanding amidst the diverse populations of each city.

John III Vatatzes' *Bíos* Enigma

Lorenzo Maria Ciolfi (Centre d'Etudes Byzantines, EHESS)

The Fourth Crusade ended with the occupation of the city of Constantinople and fragmented the old unit of the Byzantine Empire leaving behind a complex and multifaceted set of feudal principalities under western influence, and new states claiming the throne of Constantine. Among them, the Empire of Nicaea through the development of new social and cultural solutions permitted Byzantium's survival and opened, after the re-conquest, its last period.

Emperor John III Vatatzes was undoubtedly one of the key-figures during these crucial years: he was responsible for extensive and radical reforms in the economy and in the structure of the state; he led multiple military campaigns and intensified strategically diplomatic activity, primarily with the Pope and Frederick II. The route to 1261 started from his positive reign. For these reasons, and also for his temperament and charitable works for the poor and the needy, he was considered a saint and his cult was celebrated in the Orthodox Church until the early 20th century, a rare honor for an emperor. Several contemporaneous *encomia* and a later *Bíos* have been written in his honor.

In order to trace, through the study of the role and personality of John III, the main features of the Empire of Nicaea, it is important to re-discover and analyze critically his *Bíos*, which has remained in the background of Byzantine Studies since its first edition.

In this paper I contextualize all aspects and problems related to this particular text – textual typology, chronology, authorship, sources and reception – and add to the general

discussion the initial results of my research. As well as making important additions to the biographical data about that Emperor, this *Bíos* offers many clues which contribute to our understanding of that last, turbulent period of the Byzantine era, the ideals and models of secular and religious intellectual elite, and moreover, outlines the steps of the sanctification process in Byzantium, a phenomenon not yet well defined and understood.

Session IIIA
Jewish and Christian Hymnography
Session II: Aesthetics and Dramatics

Chair: Derek Krueger
(University of North Carolina at Greensboro)

Jacob of Serug on the Sounds of Liturgy

Susan Ashbrook Harvey (Brown University)

Jacob of Serug (d. 521) is known in West Syriac tradition as the “Flute of the Holy Spirit.” Jacob combined the vocations of poet and preacher with lyrical grace as an itinerant priest and bishop at the eastern edges of the late Roman, early Byzantine Empire. Crafted as verse homilies (*mimre*, in Syriac), his sermons were composed in metered couplets, usually 12 + 12, and intoned or chanted in delivery. Both poetic form and melodic performance were integral to Jacob’s artistry as a homilist.

Jacob’s verses offer occasional exhortations about and reflections upon liturgical sounds. Jacob shows high attunement to sound as a sensory experience of primary import for moral formation and condition. In his *mimre*, he distinguishes different types of liturgical sounds, at times setting these in vivid contrast to the sounds of other social settings in the late antique civic context. Thus he contrasts the “commotion” of civic life with the “sweet sounds” of liturgy, each with consequence for one’s moral disposition. In Jacob’s verses, both the civic and liturgical domains were locations of orchestrated collective interaction. Both involved sustained dialogic exchange, often of crafted vocal genres; both generated words of powerful impact, words to be heard and words to be voiced in song.

Civic and liturgical sounds present discordant counterparts in Jacob’s sung expositions. Thus he admonishes watchfulness regarding civic sounds: the distracting and disordered bustle of the marketplace; the tumultuous crowds, turbulent stories and seductive melodies of the theater; the disturbing wails of bereaved who lamented their dead in the cemeteries; the frivolity of gossip. All were sounds that

corroded the soul's disposition. By contrast, the liturgy offered a healthful "feast" of sounds: the sweet music of choirs, beautifully intoned lectionary readings, the stately cadence of chanted verse homilies, the affective strength of collectively offered prayers, the unifying harmony of congregational singing joined to the responses, hymns, and penitential verses offered in sequential exchange between clergy, choirs, and laity. These sounds, when received in fitting manner, purified and strengthened the soul. Spiritual rest, delight, and hope were the fruits. For the layperson, Jacob stressed, listening (with patience and discernment) and voicing (with penitence and praise) were critical modes of active liturgical participation. Poetry was the medium for both.

Ironically, Jacob's homilies often indicate similar issues for both civic and liturgical assemblies. Commotion and distraction were frequent aspects of liturgy that sparked Jacob's ire. While he railed against the plots of mime and pantomime, his dramatic narrative homilies retelling biblical stories utilized many of the same rhetorical strategies, including scandalous plots and extreme drama, expressed through stylistic features of excitement, humor, tragedy, grief, sorrow, and even horror. Perhaps most frustrating for Jacob, songs of the theater competed with liturgical hymns in the minds of his congregation when it came to memorable and cherished melodies. Poetry was a potent weapon in the religious competition of his time, and Jacob understood well its aural as well as its moral effects.

'Borrowed' Speech and the Scriptural Poetics of Ephrem's Hymns on Faith

Jeffrey Wickes (University of Notre Dame)

Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373 C.E.) lived and wrote in the Eastern-most parts of the Roman Empire. While composing in a

variety of genres, the majority of his surviving literary corpus takes the form of didactic, metered hymns (*madrāšê*). These hymns, written in Syriac, were composed predominantly for public, probably liturgical, performance, by all-female choirs. Toward the end of Ephrem's life, and after his death, smaller hymn collections were grouped into larger compilations, and it is these larger compilations which have come down to us. The largest such compilation is the *Hymns on Faith*, composed of 87 hymns, which represent Ephrem's response to various aspects of the controversies that followed in the aftermath of the Council of Nicaea. And while these hymns, as our earliest Syriac witness to the reception of this council in Northern Mesopotamia, do provide an intriguing insight into the development of Syriac Orthodox identity, and its relationship to early Byzantine religious identity, they also provide an example of Ephrem's poetic idiom at its most developed.

This paper examines an overlooked aspect of this poetic idiom, namely, the distinction between what Ephrem terms "true" and "borrowed" scriptural language, and its ramifications for Ephrem's own poetic project. "True" speech, as Ephrem presents it, includes divine names such as "King," "Priest," "Judge," and "God," but, for the most part develops so as to ensure the priority of the names "Father," "Son," and "Begetter," "Begotten." The speech which Ephrem presents as "borrowed," on the other hand, consists in divine names or similes within Scripture which are deemed unbecoming of God, if understood literally – that He "repents," or "grows weary," for example – but which God uses to depict Himself, and render Himself palpable to human perception. While scholars frequently note this distinction between "true" and "borrowed" scriptural language, it has never received a focused treatment, and its continued presence in Ephrem's hymns is typically taken for granted. The first part of this paper, then, aims to make a beginning at offering such a closer examination.

Having suggested some ways of nuancing and deepening our understanding of Ephrem's view of language, the second part of the paper then looks at the consequences of such a view for understanding Ephrem's use of Scripture. The connection between divine poetics and those of Ephrem himself takes place on the level of "borrowed" speech: in his articulation of this idea, Ephrem stresses the extreme metaphoricity of scriptural presentations of God. In his view, God "clothes himself" in Scripture's language so as to achieve some affect, typically, to lead a diversity of readers toward divine vision. I suggest that such a model provides insight into Ephrem's own rhetorical use of Scripture. In his hymns, Scripture is malleable, and its narratives and characters can be dislocated from their scriptural context, and used as "clothing" for Ephrem himself, his opponents and allies, the world, and even God. In this way, Ephrem's poems, by reshaping and wielding the speech which God himself has "borrowed," continue this divine act of scriptural composition.

Drama in the Kontakia of Romanos the Melodist

Uffe Holmsgaard Eriksen (Aarhus University, Denmark)

In this paper, I re-examine the dramatic dimension in the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melodist. From the first scholarly study and edition of a selection of kontakia by cardinal J.B. Pitra in 1876, to the latest full translation of all the genuine kontakia by Johannes Koder in 2005-6, the dramatic nature of Romanos' homiletic hymns has been recognized and appreciated as one of the most admirable and persuasive forces in his works. However, the exact nature of the dramatic elements has not been fully studied, except for the notion of (embedded) dialogue between characters, or interior monologue. The scholarly debate about whether or not the

kontakia were in fact dramas has been focused on how they were actually performed. The general consensus seems to be that the kontakia were *not* performed as theatrical plays with actors, gesticulation, props and scenery. Most likely, they were sung during a night vigil by a soloist with the choir, or perhaps even the congregation joining in singing the refrain.

In the first half of this paper, I present an overview of the scholarly debate about the dramatic dimension of the kontakia, with special attention paid to the concepts of drama and theatre that lie behind them. The debate can be divided into three stages: 1) the kontakia are dramas and perhaps were performed as such; 2) the kontakia are dramatic, but were not performed as theatre; and 3) there is influence from the Greek tragedies in the kontakia, but caution is taken concerning the performance. Finally, I will touch upon a new approach which finds its methodological basis in an updated version of performance theory and the semiotics of theatre.

Given the fact that there is no external evidence of how the kontakia were actually performed, I focus on a literary analysis in the second half of the paper, presenting internal evidence in the kontakia. After outlining a typology of the kontakia based on a continuum from dramatic-dialogical to narrative-catechetical, I give examples of the Melodist's careful use of plotting techniques as *anagnorisis* and *peripeteia*. In conclusion, I argue for the value of narrative theory in the study of drama, especially in the study of the kontakia of Romanos the Melodist.

The Play's the Thing: Theatricality in Late Ancient Hymnography

Laura S. Lieber (Duke University)

The relationship between Syriac and Greek hymnography and

ancient theater has long been recognized, but considerations of theatricality have played little role in the analysis of classical Hebrew piyyut and Jewish Aramaic poetry from Late Antiquity. In this paper, issues of drama and performance provide a vocabulary and framework for engaging in the comparative study of Jewish and Christian hymnography. This approach to comparative analysis enriches more familiar comparative approaches, including thematic, formal, and exegetical comparisons.

To some extent, liturgical poetry is inherently “theatrical.” And yet, specific modes and aesthetics of performance are culturally determined and the specific engagement of Jewish poetry with the larger common aesthetic culture of Late Antiquity merits examination. The present study considers four poems, all composed for the Ninth of Av, representative of four different modes of performance: the Aramaic poem, “Sing to us (*shiru lanu*),” which is composed as antiphonal dialogue between the Israelites in exile and their Babylonian captors; the Aramaic poem, “Let Me go forth weeping” (*‘ana ‘azel ve-’evkeh*), a monologue in the divine voice; a Hebrew lament by Eleazar ha-Qallir, “When she has suffered her full measure of grief (*‘az bimel’ot sefeq*),” which creates a dialogue between Jeremiah and Lady Zion and employs riddles; and the mythologically-rich battle between Leviathan and Behemoth which concludes a Qallirian *qerova* (extended poetic cycle). These works highlight and articulate performative and dramatic features, including genre (especially tragedy and comedy), rhetorical tropes (such as dialogue, apostrophe, and narration), methods of performance (particularly the possible use of multiple “actors” or choruses), engagement with “secular” forms and norms of entertainment, and modes of audience/listener engagement. Each of these poems merits consideration individually, but each also reflects a common cultural discourse with Christian poetry from the same period. Christian poetry, both Syriac

and Greek, employs similar tropes, such as Romanos' *kontakia* "On the Victory of the Cross," which stands out for its creative conversation between Hades and Satan, and "Mary at the Cross," which consists almost exclusively of dialogue. In addition to literary analysis of poetic sources, this paper assembles evidence of Jewish familiarity with Greco-Roman and Late Ancient theater and related modes of entertainment, especially in Palestine, drawing on material artifacts, rabbinic literature, and the writings of contemporary Christians, particularly John Chrysostom.

The approach taken here highlights subtle but significant elements within the Jewish poems and also contextualizes these works in their larger socio-religious environment. The conclusions suggest ways in which this analysis permits the reconstruction of elements of synagogue (or possibly extra-synagogal) performance, for which we lack any direct evidence; at the same time, this approach to the material helps enlarge the constructive vocabulary for comparative hymnography and offers a perspective which embeds both Jewish and Christian liturgical poetry more thoroughly in the cultural milieu of classical antiquity. It is not here argued that these works were "theater," *per se*, but they were keenly aware of the theatrical potential of the liturgy. This awareness, when appreciated, adds tremendous depth and texture to the ancient works.

Compositional voice in Byzantine ecclesiastical music

Spyridon Antonopoulos (City University London)

Manuel Chrysaphes (ca. 1415-1465) was the Byzantine Empire's last *Lampadarios*, the director of the palatine chapel choir, under John VIII and Constantine XI, and one of the most important composers, scribes, and music theorists

of the Palaiologan period. His *oeuvre* includes over 300 compositions spanning all genres of ecclesiastical music, at least five autographed musical codices, and a theoretical treatise, *On the Theory of the Art of Chanting*. In this paper, I shall argue that Chrysaphes operates as a self-consciously authorial figure on two levels. On the one hand, he writes an unabashedly authoritative treatise on the technique of proper composition, allegedly to correct his ‘unscientific’ and ‘unlearned’ contemporaries, whom he harshly criticizes for promulgating untraditional compositional methods and inartistic performance practices. On the other hand, the very fact that Chrysaphes’ treatise focuses on composition is a strong statement regarding authorship. Chrysaphes articulates a conception of the musician *par excellence*, whom he refers to as the ‘perfect teacher’ (διδάσκαλος τέλειος), one who has attained such perfection in the art primarily as a result of the ability to ποιήσας ποιήματα – to author musical texts, or in other words, to compose. This paper shall analyze selected compositions by Chrysaphes (especially the *Anoixandaria* of Vespers) to highlight the compositional techniques – from his treatment of text, to his use of melodic *theseis* (phrases) and specific cadential formulas – that reveal his “voice” as composer.

More broadly, this paper shall explore Chrysaphes’ notion of variation as an expression of authorial intention. For example, why, if Chrysaphes praised his predecessors as models to be imitated, should he recompose various works of these same masters? Derek Krueger describes the inherent tension present “in Christian acts of authorship,” arising from the patristic teaching that “all virtuous acts ought to be attributed to the work of God.” Yet, for Chrysaphes and his predecessors, such as John Koukouzeles and Xenos Korones, self-assertion does not appear to have intruded upon piety, but perhaps even enhanced it. Musical manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth century attest to an explosion

of musical creativity: the codices are filled with named composers, and their margins with commentary concerning the compositions.

A rubric in one of Chrysaphes' most important autographs, MS 1120 of the Iviron monastery on Mt. Athos, reveals the author's relationship to his own work: ποιήμα παρ' ἐμοῦ, σφόδρα δοκεῖ μοι γλυκύτατον ("a composition by me, which, I think, is most sweet"). An analytical reading of selected compositions by Chrysaphes shall reveal those attributes which, "sweet" or otherwise, can be said to belong to Chrysaphes and his compositional palette.

Session IIIB

Textual Practices

Chair: Leonora Neville
(University of Wisconsin-Madison)

**The Anonymous Re-translator of *The Apocalypse of Daniel*:
The Unpublished Translator's Preface in Petropol. Bibl.
Publ. 575**

Elizabeth A. Fisher (George Washington University)

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus recommends among the books essential for a successful field commander "... a book of chances and occurrences; a book dealing with good and bad weather and storms, rain and lightning and thunder ..." (tr. J. F. Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Three Treatises* [Vienna 1990] 107). One such representative of this popular Byzantine genre is a text translated—and remarkably, retranslated—from Arabic in the last centuries of Byzantium, *The Apocalypse of Daniel*. The first translator, Alexios of Byzantium, tells us in a succinct translator's preface that he obtained the text from "rulers of the Arabs," that its early history was Greek, and that he made his translation from Arabic into Greek in 1245 CE.

At some later date, the work found a second translator, a mysterious scholar who tells us in his preface to a Greek re-translation of the same work that Alexios' translation seemed to him surely incorrect. As a result he decided to learn Arabic in order to provide a proper Greek version. The re-translator's preface survives only in a 17th century manuscript, Petropol. Bibl. Publ. 575; F. Sangin published a partial text of this preface with a section of the re-translation in CAG 12 (Brussels 1936, 153-54). The text of the Arabic original has been lost. This paper discusses the entire translator's preface and compares Alexios' Greek versions of *The Apocalypse of Daniel* with the anonymous re-translation based upon the short excerpts published by Sangin. An intriguing sketch of the energetic re-translator can be constructed even from such scant evidence.

The re-translator worked at an indeterminable date prior to the 17th century (the date of the sole surviving manuscript of the re-translation). He was a Greek to whom both Alexios' translation and the original Arabic text were accessible; he had resources of talent, time, and funds that enabled him to learn Arabic well. The literary references and quotations included in his preface establish that he was both a Christian and an educated man of some sophistication. The career of the 14th-century scholar and translator Gregory Chioniadēs provides stimulating parallels to what little can be deduced about the anonymous re-translator of *The Apocalypse of Daniel*.

Honoring Monk Gennadios of the Hodegon Monastery: A Tale of Two Scribes and Three Scripts

Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann (Glenmont, NY)

Scribal colophons in Greek manuscripts usually contain the date of a manuscript's production and the scribe's name, and they sometimes identify a place of production and a commissioner's name and rank. But Byzantine scribes rarely reveal anything personal in their colophons, and these rarities provide glimpses into a scribe's life, feelings, and thoughts. This paper investigates one such example, the scribe Gennadios, a monk of the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople. He is well-known to paleographers because he executed a part of codex Oxford, Christ Church College, MS gr. 63 (John Klimax, *The Heavenly Ladder*) in 1355/56. But an important question has not been resolved: exactly what part did he execute?

The Christ Church manuscript has an unusual colophon written by the scribe Gennadios. He stated that twenty-three quires of this manuscript were written by the monk Germanos

and that, after his death, the book remained unfinished. "So that the quires would not perish," Gennadios "completed the manuscript, and the total number of quires is forty-six." It seems clear from the colophon that two scribes executed the manuscript: the first half was written by Germanos, and the second—by Gennadios. But the manuscript displays three, not two, writing styles: formal archaizing style, formal Hodegon style, and informal cursive. Only two folios with some auxiliary material and the colophon are written in the informal cursive script. Therefore, some scholars argue that the manuscript was written by three scribes: A = anonymous, twenty-three quires in archaizing script; B = Germanos, twenty-three quires minus two folios in the Hodegon script; and C = Gennadios, who supposedly wrote only two folios in the middle of the forty-third quire and the colophon at the end of the manuscript in cursive script.

But, if the Christ Church manuscript were copied by three scribes, why did Gennadios not mention the third scribe in his colophon? If he copied only two folios with some auxiliary material and the colophon, why would he have claimed that he had "completed" the manuscript? And, if Gennadios "completed" the manuscript, why would two folios with auxiliary material, written by Gennadios, be found in the middle of a quire presumably copied by Germanos?

My identification of the scribe Gennadios' handwriting in a different manuscript (New York, Union Theological Seminary, MS 69) helps to answer these questions and substantiates Gennadios' statement that he wrote the second half of the Christ Church manuscript. My conclusions are that the Christ Church MS gr. 63 was executed by two scribes, Germanos and Gennadios; that Gennadios employed two writing styles for two types of text; and that Gennadios deserves recognition and respect not only for his scribal versatility and labors, but also for his generosity of spirit in

completing the valued work of his late fellow monk and thus making his name known and his work available to future generations.

**Thomas Magistros' *Lexicon* in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale
Universitaria, MS C.VI.9**

Erika Nuti (University of Turin, Italy)

Thomas Magistros (ca. 1280 - post 1347/8) was one of the main figures of the early Palaiologan Renaissance, along with Maximos Planudes, Demetrios Triklinios, and Manuel Moschopoulos. Before becoming a monk (ca. 1328), but perhaps afterwards as well, he taught grammar and rhetoric in Thessaloniki. The *Lexicon of Attic Words* is one of the most important fruits of his teaching activity; originally intended "to be an aspiring rhetorician's tool" (Gaul 2007) for his secondary-level, aristocratic students, it enjoyed a huge, immediate popularity within the scholarly circles in Constantinople, consequently becoming a well-known reference text in the Italian Renaissance. For this reason, we have a great number of manuscripts and printed editions of this text.

After Friedrich Ritschl's 1832 edition, nobody had reconsidered the textual situation of this *Lexicon* until Niels Gaul in «The Twitching Shroud: Collective Construction of Paideia in the Circle of Thomas Magistros» [*Segno e Testo* 5 (2007)]. Gaul reconsidered the methods and intents of Magistros's teaching through a new examination of the contexts and contents of the four earliest copies of his *Lexicon* (first half of the 14th century) in comparison with Ritschl's text, based substantially on the 15th-century copies. As a result, Gaul demonstrates that in the 14th-century the *Lexicon* was considered as an open corpus to which everybody could add material; consequently, he gives evidence that Ritschl's text

is the result of a process of enlargement and transformation originated at an early time among Magistros' students and later completed in the intellectual circle of Nikephoros Gregoras in Constantinople. This process transformed the *Lexicon*, which became mostly a reference text for quotations of ancient authors rather than a prescriptive *subsidiūm* as the original text was probably intended to be. Finally, Gaul built a hypothetic stemma *codicum* to show the main geographical and chronological stages of the textual transmission of the *Lexicon*.

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS C.VI.9 contains a copy of Magistros' *Lexicon* along with other texts to create a typical Palaiologan miscellany for the teaching and studying of grammar and rhetoric at the secondary level. A codicological and paleographical analysis shows that this manuscript could be related to Demetrius Cydones' circle and be dated in the first decades of the second half of the 14th century. Cydones came from Thessaloniki, was a pupil of Gregoras, then the director of a secondary level school and a scholarly circle. Therefore, a copy of the *Lexicon* perhaps produced in his circle is expected to have features halfway between those of Magistros' original text and those of Gregoras' established text. A *collatio* of the text in the Turin manuscript with those in the earliest manuscripts confirms this hypothesis, although it is very likely that in this copy the primitivism of a part of the *Lexicon* is the result of accidental circumstances. In any case, this deep examination enforces Gaul's reconstruction and improves it with new elements both on that *subsidiūm* and the Palaiologan scholarly circles.

Digital Collation and Stemmatics: An Examination of the *Palaea Historica*'s Textual Tradition by Means of Digital Techniques

Matthew Alexander Poulos (Catholic University of America)

In this paper I explore the application of digital tools to editing a medieval text with an open tradition. The text under examination is the *Palaea Historica*, a Byzantine text from the 10th century that retells the Old Testament narrative. The extant Greek manuscripts number thirteen, but they vary considerably from each other.

In particular, I discuss the use of software such as *CollateX*, the nascent successor to Peter Robinson's venerable *Collate*, which is used to find and display variants. The fluid nature of the *Palaea* creates problems at this stage, since it is difficult to represent variants in a useful manner. Manual correction is inevitable, though certain steps may reduce its need.

Also, I discuss the statistical analysis of these variants to create a stemma, using such models as maximum parsimony. Having been adopted from Evolutionary Biology, such methods have limitations. However, they still provide a useful technique with which to model a large set of data. I also discuss the usefulness of new methods of stemmatic analysis currently being developed explicitly for texts.

Finally, I compare the results of these digital techniques to results drawn from independent philological observations, noting what they combine to demonstrate about the history of transmission and the original text. The goal is two-fold: first, to display the usefulness of digital techniques, even with open traditions, and their comport with traditional philological methods; second, to highlight the limitations of existing tools and offer several suggestions for future editorial work.

Gregory Palamas and His Interlocutors: A Reconsideration of the Sources

Jennifer M. Jamer (Fordham University)

In previous scholarship on Gregory Palamas (1296-1359), the controversial Archbishop of Thessalonike, there has been a tendency to read him either as an Eastern hero against Western rationalism or a staunch defender of the ancient patristic tradition against heresy. However, there have been several under-examined documents relating to the Hesychast controversy that have received only minimal investigation from scholars despite their relative accessibility and importance. Among these sources are the chronicles that were written by Palamas' contemporaries Nicephorus Gregoras (an anti-Hesychast) and John Cantacuzene (the pro-Hesychast former emperor). While scholars have mined these works for biographical data about Gregory Palamas, little attention has been paid to these authors' perceptions and representations of both Palamas and his opponents.

This paper investigates the images of Gregory Palamas and his interlocutor, Barlaam of Calabria, that are presented in these histories, and also re-evaluates the way that Palamas describes his opponent Barlaam in the *Triads*. By evaluating the rhetoric used by both Nicephorus Gregoras and John Cantacuzene in their histories, this paper problematizes the modern perception of Barlaam of Calabria as someone who stood outside of Byzantium's religious sphere. Furthermore, it also investigates why non-Hesychast Byzantine elites, such as Nicephorus Gregoras, saw Gregory Palamas as an innovator and heretic.

Session IVA
Power in Early Byzantium

Chair: Meredith Riedel
(Duke University)

John Lydus' Political Message and the Byzantine Image of the Ideal Ruler

Sviatoslav Dmitriev (Ball State University)

Recent decades have seen a reconsideration of *On Powers* by John Lydus, a Byzantine author of the sixth century, as a political message, rather than merely an antiquarian composition (Maas, Dubuisson). Some acknowledge it as a panegyric for Emperor Justinian I (Chrysos). Others see it as a display of Roman political heritage: they think that Lydus sought a "reconciliation between the republican origins of Roman freedom and the consolidation of power under the emperors" (Pazdernik), or even offered an "argument against the legitimacy of the Roman emperors and in favour of the political freedom of the Republic" (Kaldellis).

Lydus' description of the individual qualities of sovereigns and officials inevitably created a collective image of a ruler. The first part of my paper approaches Lydus' image of the ideal ruler within a context of the corresponding evidence in other Byzantine texts. These conveyed similar ideas: Procopius, Theophylact, and George Acropolites praised those emperors who preserved and increased their territory. The *Epanagoge* and Michael Italicus likewise extolled the emperor's "sleepless care." Lydus was not the only one who believed that the ideal ruler should be consistent (John of Antioch), clement (*Digenes Acritis*), and generous (Josephus Genesius). Nor was Lydus unique in saying that such qualities displayed the ruler's moral and intellectual traits: Evagrius thought that the virtues exhibited by Maurice made him emperor; George Acropolites believed Theodore II became emperor due to his learning and philosophy; and, according to Leo VI, Basil I's imperial power was the deserved prize (*athlon*) of his "beauty of soul," justice, and many toils. The belief that the ruler received his power from God implied that

he was expected to imitate God and serve as a model for all (Agapetus; Kekaumenos).

Lydus, therefore, did not say anything original; like other Byzantine authors, he merely reflected the image of the ideal ruler as an embodiment of certain personal and political virtues. While different emphases could be placed on this image, reflecting social and political shifts (Kazhdan), the image remained largely consistent throughout Byzantine history. The other part of my paper traces the roots of this image to Plato's ideas of rulership and statehood, which survived in Byzantium via neoplatonic theories (e.g., O'Meara) and rhetorical tradition (e.g., Dennis). The common roots of the Byzantine perception of the ideal emperor revealed themselves in both imperial panegyrics and the so-called *Kaiserkritik*: as an image of God, the "heavenly emperor" (Auzépy), the Byzantine ruler had to display divine qualities. If he did, he was deservedly praised. Conversely, if the emperor appeared to lack these qualities and, thus, failed to correspond to the divine archetype, he could be advised or admonished. The common origin of this attitude answers the question of why criticism and praise could co-exist within the same work, like Lydus' *On Powers* or in panegyrics (Averil Cameron; Angelov).

West versus East: the Sixth Century Literary Sources and Justinian's Wars

Maria Kouroumali

(Hellenic College Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology)

The campaigns of Justinian in the sixth century have always been the subject of considerable debate amongst scholars. History textbooks abound with references to the 'Grand

Re-conquest of the West,' and the diplomatic negotiations with Persia. Scholars have expressed varied views as to the importance which each theatre of war occupied for Justinian. In most cases, though, they seem to agree that the western campaigns were central to Justinian's general scheme of foreign policy with very few dissident voices which assign a less conspicuous role to Africa and Italy. The predominant view of a grand plan for the restoration of the Roman Empire to its former glory, especially when taken alongside the other major achievements of Justinian's reign, is supported primarily by the extensive coverage of the campaigns in the historical work of Procopius of Caesarea.

Procopius' *History of the Wars* devotes five and a half out of eight books to the wars against the Vandals in Africa (Books 3 and 4) and the Ostrogoths in Italy (Books 5, 6, 7 and most of Book 8). Equally supportive of this view is the long duration of the war in Italy, which continued almost until the end of Justinian's reign in 563. While Procopius' account of the Gothic war ends in mid-553, Agathias of Myrina concluded the narrative on the Italian front in his own *History*, written in the classicizing tradition.

This paper argues that the prominence usually accorded to Procopius' testimony is the main reason for placing such emphasis on the importance of the West, especially Italy, for Justinian. Agathias of Myrina, the *Chronicles* of Marcellinus Comes and John Malalas, the works of Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the *Liber Pontificalis*, often overlooked in discussions of the campaigns in Africa and Italy, offer a challenge to the prevalent position of the importance of the West. As this paper shows, it is imperative to consider the perspective of these sources in addition to other evidence in order to reassess the priorities of Justinian's foreign policy concerns.

A Tale of Two Commanders: Ammianus on Hard and Soft Power on the Northern Frontiers under Constantius and Julian

Moysés Marcos (University of California, Riverside)

For some time now, studies of Ammianus, such as T. D. Barnes' *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality* and, more recently, Gavin Kelly's *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian*, have shown just how subtle and clever a writer this last great Latin historian is. The skill which Ammianus employs to advance his own biases and perspective is nowhere more evident than in comparisons of Constantius with Julian, often to the detriment of the former, where descriptions of the frontier policy of each emperor, in particular that on the Rhine and Danube, constitutes a chief stage for their presentation in the *Res Gestae*.

In relation to Constantius' campaigns on the eastern frontier, Barnes has pointed out that 'Constantius' achievement on the northern frontiers is far harder to assess' as our knowledge of the emperor's campaigns on the Rhine and Danube is incomplete (1998: 138). However, despite Ammianus' failure to elaborate on Constantius' second campaign in Raetia in A. D. 356 (16.12.15–16), or the possible loss of an earlier telling of the campaign via corruption of the textual transmission notwithstanding (Barnes, 1998: 138), Ammianus' is the fullest account available; and, in fact, there is enough in what we do know about the campaigning seasons of 354–9 to be able to discern Constantius' and Julian's pattern of thinking, and thus what each considered to be 'achievement.'

While Ammianus uses carefully crafted language in which to portray Constantius in a lesser light (*ut cunctator et cautus*, 14.10.14) when compared with Julian (*bellicosi ductoris*, 16.12.18), nonetheless these descriptions appear to be

enhancements of the thought worlds and tendencies of each. Indeed, Ammianus' language and remarks may very well represent genuine observations of two commanders and the actual manner of implementing what each saw as successful policy, which are valuable as they reveal: i) a standardized formula or approach used by both Roman emperors to police the northern frontiers; ii) the emphasis given by each emperor to certain aspects of frontier policy which reflect their individual characters; iii) both the enhancement and suppression of certain *acta* to advance his story that Constantius, on the whole, preferred soft power, meaning diplomatic overtures and limited punitive military responses, and so departed from superior military practice; while Julian, on the other hand, exclusively favored hard power as a more traditional Roman general, indicated by unrestrained offensive operations and preemptive strikes on the frontiers; and, iv) Ammianus' purposeful omissions, discovered through other sources such as Libanius and Eunapius (via Zosimus), among others, which in turn allow us to better reconstruct and contextualize the frontier concerns and corresponding policy of each emperor.

The Papacy and the Imperial Court in the Aftermath of the Acacian Schism

Dana Iuliana Viezure (Seton Hall University)

The Acacian schism (484-518) marked a period of religious and diplomatic crisis that redefined substantively the relations between Rome and Constantinople. In 482 the *Henoticon*, a statement of faith that attempted to bypass adherence to the Council of Chalcedon, was published in Constantinople. It was immediately endorsed throughout the East and was used as a basis for inter-ecclesial communion. The papacy challenged the orthodoxy of the *Henoticon*. When all attempts to suppress the document failed, Pope Felix III anathematized Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople (484). Rome and the

East remained in schism until the accession of Justin I on the imperial throne in Constantinople in 518. Over a period of several years (518-521) the terms of the reconciliation were negotiated and power relations between the Pope and the Emperor underwent considerable transformation.

Given the highly charged rhetoric of the extant correspondence between Rome and Constantinople from the period 518-521, assessing the power wielded by Pope Hormisdas (514-523) in the Eastern parts of the Empire in the aftermath of the schism is not an easy task. On first examination, the healing of the schism seems to have restored the Pope as a figure of authority in the East and, before all else, the primary guardian of orthodoxy in the Imperial church. This paper uses literary and historical analysis in an attempt to look beyond this stereotype and to provide a more nuanced understanding of papal authority in this period.

While, formally, the terms of the reconciliation were defined by Pope Hormisdas and accepted as such in Constantinople, the actual implementation of the Pope's terms was not a smooth process. In fact, it reveals constant hesitancy in Constantinople to abide by these terms, as well as continuous imperial opposition to some of the most significant papal requests. Additionally, papal claims to authority, strongly formulated in letters sent to Constantinople, appear unsubstantiated when analyzed against the increasingly more relaxed papal reactions to imperial interference in ecclesiastical affairs. Moreover, the Pope's lack of criticism against imperial influence in the selection of candidates for episcopal sees in the East (especially in the Patriarchate of Antioch), his faltering position in the Theopaschite controversy, and his lack of success in reinstating Eastern Chalcedonian bishops who had been removed from their sees at the time of the schism further depict a situation in which Hormisdas' control over ecclesiastical affairs in the East did not increase as a result of the reconciliation.

Session IVB
Exhibiting Byzantium Today

Chair: Christina Nielsen
(Art Institute of Chicago)

Byzantine Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Helen C. Evans (Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Display of Byzantine art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art has evolved significantly over the more than a century since the first Byzantine works entered the Museum's collections. Originally, works of the Byzantine era were installed as evidence of early Christian traditions that influenced western European art and/or as examples of elegant decorative art, whether "Coptic" textiles or cloisonné enamels. In the early twentieth century, icons added to the collection included ones acquired for their presumed role in inspiring contemporary artists. In the mid-twentieth century the Museum held exhibitions related to Byzantine art. Russian icons were displayed in part in reaction to the Bolshevik rule and as the Second World War ended, copies of the newly cleaned mosaics of Hagia Sophia were displayed in an exhibition meant to encourage recognition of Turkey as integral to postwar Europe. In the same period the Antioch Chalice was acquired for The Cloisters, largely for its association with the legend of the Holy Grail. Kurt Weitzmann and Margaret Frazier's seminal exhibition "Age of Spirituality" in 1977-78 can be understood as culminating the Museum's installation of Byzantine art for its role in the evolution of Christian imagery. Exploring aspects of Roman/Early Christian culture from the fourth to seventh centuries, the exhibition focused primarily on the emergence of Christian imagery from that of the classical world's religious and secular traditions.

In the late 1990's the Metropolitan Museum redirected and expanded its installation of Byzantine art to focus on the works as an expression of the culture of the Byzantine world and by expansion exemplars of the origins of Christian art influencing both the Latin West and other east Christian communities. In 1997, the Museum's exhibition "The Glory

of Byzantium,” encouraged larger public recognition of the importance of Byzantine art in the centuries after Justinian. The Museum’s 2004 exhibition “Byzantium: Faith and Power” encouraged recognition of the importance of the arts of the Empire and its Christian neighbors even as the power of the state declined. Its 2012 exhibition “Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition (7th – 9th Centuries)” expanded on aspects of the 1997 and 2004 exhibition to demonstrate the importance of Byzantine culture in the seventh century and its impact on the emerging arts of the Islamic world.

These shows were complimented by Mary and Michael Jaharis’ funding of dramatically expanded Byzantine galleries in 2000 and again in 2008. Works from all regions of the Empire, including Egypt and the mercenaries on the border of the Empire, are now displayed together. By focusing on the role of the state, not religion, Judaica can now be meaningfully included in the galleries. The whole for the first time in a major museum displays the secular and religious visual voice of the empire ruled from Constantinople, New Rome, for its importance to its own people in its own time.

Objects and Objectives in the Design of the New Early Christian and Byzantine Galleries at the Cleveland Museum of Art

Holger A. Klein (Columbia University)

In September 2005, the Cleveland Museum of Art closed its permanent collection galleries for the first time since the building opened to the public on 6 June 1916. It did so to embark on an ambitious renovation and expansion project that is scheduled to come to completion in December 2013. While the closure of the museum’s galleries was a painful temporary loss for the local and regional art communities, it provided the director and curatorial staff of the museum with a unique

opportunity to rethink and re-conceptualize the display of its permanent collections in a hitherto unprecedented manner.

This paper focuses on the objects and objectives that guided the installation of the Cleveland Museum's recently reopened galleries of Early Christian and Byzantine art. It highlights the practical, intellectual and didactic challenges and concerns that informed the planning of these galleries and the presentation of Late Roman and Byzantine artifacts for the use of a predominantly local and regional audience, which includes both the general public and the faculty and students from nearby universities and colleges. General questions about display strategies and the benefits and drawbacks of a thematic versus a chronological or geographic presentations of artifacts will be addressed as much as the challenges of providing heterogeneous audiences with insightful information on a variety of interpretive levels ranging from wall and object labels to maps, comparative photographs, and audio guides.

Byzantine Art at the Art Institute of Chicago

Christina Nielsen (Art Institute of Chicago)

This presentation considers how the Byzantine collection at the Art Institute of Chicago was formed, and how it will be presented anew when a gallery devoted to it—the first of its kind in the institutional history of the museum—opens on November 11, 2012. As part of the new Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Art, this gallery comes as the culmination to a chronological survey that positions the arts of Byzantium as heir to those of the classical world. In many respects, this is a fitting tribute

to the early benefactors of the museum who, captivated by antiquity in general, left a small legacy of Late Antique and early Byzantine art upon which we now hope to build. Noteworthy loans from other cultural institutions in Chicago, including the Field Museum, The Oriental Institute, and the Smart Museum of Art, have allowed us to present a thematic narrative that explores, among other topics: Beauty and Adornment; Byzantine North Africa; Domestic Luxury; and the Art of Religious Practices from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries.

Within the suite of the Jaharis Galleries is a space for temporary exhibitions. Two special installations, devoted to Byzantine art, will open concurrently with the rest of the galleries in November. Both exhibitions will be on view for nearly one year. The first, featuring four artworks from the collection of the Dom-Museum, Hildesheim, examines the cultural and artistic exchanges between Byzantium and Germany and Byzantium and Russia in the High Middle Ages. The other special exhibition, entitled *Tradition Transformed: Late Roman and Early Byzantine Treasures from the British Museum*, includes fifty exceptional works, including the *Projecta Casket*, the *Lycurgus Cup*, and the *Saint Menas Pyxis*, that reflect the splendor of wealthy households and important ecclesiastical sites in the Mediterranean world of Late Antiquity. While the objects themselves were employed in a variety of civic, domestic, and sacred contexts, they nevertheless allow us to explore three specific themes: the ways in which classical subjects co-existed with early Christian iconography; the refinement and spectacle of dining; and the gradual stylistic shift from naturalism towards a more spiritually charged and abstract aesthetic.

In an effort to engage with as broad an audience as possible, we will be offering both traditional didactic formats, including labels and wall texts, alongside more in-depth and

interactive ones. Within the galleries themselves, a number of interactive, multimedia stations, seamlessly integrated into our new design, will allow visitors to access information about the works of art according to their level of interest, whether general or more specialized. Similarly, all of the Art Institute works on view in the galleries will be accessible virtually via the museum's website.

Exhibiting Byzantium at the Menil Collection, Houston Texas: Coming and Going

Glenn Peers (University of Texas at Austin)

Byzantium has been very much on view at the Menil Collection in 2011-12, and then it hasn't: in the wake of Annemarie Weyl Carr's beautiful presentation of the Collection's icons in the show *Imprinting the Divine*, along with its excellent catalogue, the Byzantine Fresco Chapel Museum ceased to exist in March 2012. Both are causes for celebration: on the one hand the long awaited publication of the Menil's icons is now available and done at the hands of scholars who know and love the material; and on the other, the repatriation of important works of art. The latter celebration must be tempered, however, by the loss of an important resource for teaching and outreach in a North American museum, and by the admission that the frescoes are not going to their real home, only another museum setting. These issues need to be addressed: is their return to Cyprus sufficient to overcome their still-orphaned status? And does it trump education beyond the boundaries of the home state (even when those boundaries are still in dispute)? Such questions naturally force respondents to choose sides, but they might be raised productively, at least insofar as they allow us to discuss the Byzantine Fresco Chapel Museum as an historical moment in the display of Byzantine art in the US.

The Menil also has a long history now of interventions in its holdings, and another show will be opening in the summer of 2013, *Byzantine Things in the World*, which I am guest curating. The show will argue for a particular understanding of Byzantine materiality not only through particular display strategies of Byzantine objects, but also through analogy with non-Western and post-war objects. Drawing on recent research in anthropology and theory, I try to position these Byzantine things (instead of art) in a context that is closer to “animism” than traditional categories of representation and relation we have normally assigned them. And I am conscious of the particular freedoms and support of this institution that first let Andy Warhol present his rummagings in the basement (*Raid the Icebox 1*, 1969-70) and also Robert Gober’s stimulating interventions (*The Meat Wagon*, 2005-06). I aim for an historically valid presentation of Byzantine objects, but the Menil encourages creative presentation and original arguments *through* exhibition, through objects speaking for *themselves* as much as possible.

The Byzantine Fresco Chapel Museum was a tremendously compelling moment of a balance of modernism and medieval, and the lessons learned from that period of stay by these frescoes can now be addressed. At the Menil, *Byzantine Things in the World* attempts a temporary recapturing of the dynamic, transformative experience museums can offer Americans to an often forbidding, art-bound past.

Kontoglou: The Return of the Byzantine Icon

Very Rev. Joachim (John) Cotsonis
(Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology)

The exhibition, *Kontoglou: The Return of the Byzantine Icon*, took place as one of the events marking the inauguration of the Mary Jaharis Center for Byzantine Art & Culture (MJCBAAC)

in October of 2010 at Hellenic College-Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology. The Center provides funds for the advancement and promotion of Byzantine studies broadly conceived with a particular emphasis on the arts and culture of Byzantium. For an institution such as Hellenic College Holy Cross, which is part of the contemporary Orthodox Church, Byzantium, with all its cultural treasures and religious expressions is not an historical artifact of the past but an ongoing, living tradition that continues to inform the Church today. Given this mission of the Mary Jaharis Center for Byzantine Art and Culture and that of the School, the icon painting of Photis Kontoglou (1895-1965) was seen as an emblematic tribute to the inauguration since he was the leading figure in the revival of icon painting in the Byzantine style and technique, beginning in the early decades of the 20th century in Greece, and later in the United States. This was the third exhibition in the United States to display Kontoglou icons and the images in this show had never previously been shown.

Since Hellenic College Holy Cross does not have a museum or available exhibition space, the Reading Room of the Archbishop Iakovos Library was selected for the location of the exhibition. With the assistance of an exhibition designer, the space was transformed to recall the interior of a church. Nine icons by Kontoglou and two by one of his closest students, Petros Vampoules, were loaned from various private collections and ecclesiastical institutions. Several other works by Kontoglou were represented via photographic reproductions. The exhibition outlined the path from the Western European style of painting that dominated 19th-century religious art in Greece to the Greek cultural context of the 1920s and 1930s that fostered Kontoglou's return to the Byzantine artistic tradition for ecclesiastical painting. Continuation of Kontoglou's revival was demonstrated through the works of his students, one of whom, Demetrios

Dukas, created most of the iconography found in the campus' chapel of the Holy Cross.

The exhibition was intended for a varied constituency: faculty, students, visiting academics, parish groups and the general public; in short for those with a great familiarity with the Byzantine artistic and devotional tradition and for those with no previous exposure. The timing of the exhibition reflects the more recent interest in exhibitions devoted to Byzantium and in scholarly work on Kontoglou.

The Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Galleries

Gudrun Bühl (Dumbarton Oaks)

The Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection ranks among the most important holdings of Byzantine objects in the world and distinguishes itself as one of the finest in the media of the so-called minor arts. This status was achieved in only a few decades thanks to the wealth and refined taste of the founders, Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss, and their advisors. They collected passionately - often falling in love with items they discovered - and always concentrating on an 'objet d'art' quality and appreciation. Of course, the collection was not built to become a representative or comprehensive cross-section of Byzantine material culture, and the museum visitor aiming for an understanding of Byzantine art will have not an easy task.

The curators' decision to group and classify the collected objects within the given gallery space is a challenging one. The objects were collected by chance, by the choice and taste of the collectors, and finally are selected by the curators to be fitted into the inspired context of a permanent display or temporary show; the objects are disconnected to their original setting and have lost their original functions; any kind of

museum display is based on these fundamental conditions and any display within a museum setting further enhances the perception of the lost original context by bringing those lost objects together.

The paper outlines some major thoughts about the concept of the new installation at Dumbarton Oaks. The main questions are: How can we resolve the challenge of presenting visitors with a satisfactory amount of information about “Byzantium” and the objects, yet maintain the character of the installation as a part of a private collection built up on mainly aesthetic choices? How can we transfer information about the original context of the artifacts and visualize the former function and role of the objects?

Besides presenting the goals of the display and the concept of the new installation of the permanent galleries on the one hand, the paper discusses a more experimental display making on selected special exhibitions that regularly populate the galleries since the redesign and reopening in April of 2008.

Session VA
Iconographic Complexities

Chair: Roland Betancourt
(Yale University)

The Complexity of the *Threnos*: the Elaboration of Iconography, and the Interpretation of Meaning and Function

Henry D. Schilb (Index of Christian Art, Princeton University)

The iconography of the *Threnos*, which shows the Virgin Mary lamenting over the dead body of Christ, has received close scrutiny from Kurt Weitzmann, Maria Sotiriou and Hans Belting, among others, but no single account of the origin, development, meanings and functions of this iconography has adequately addressed the complexity of the *Threnos*. If we could impose a synthesis on the ideas of Weitzmann, Sotiriou, and Belting, could we come to a better understanding of the meaning of the image and its function in the liturgy? A unified theory of the *Threnos* may always elude us only because there is so much variation from one example to another.

Expanding an idea proposed by Gabriel Millet, Kurt Weitzmann described how the *Threnos* developed gradually from the Entombment. Weitzmann's central idea is not wrong, but it is not the whole story. Embroidered versions of the *Threnos*, while emulating wall paintings, developed by the gradual addition of figures to the *Amnos* iconography, the image of Christ as the sacrificed lamb, rather than the Entombment. Weitzmann also claimed that the Entombment and the *Threnos* were interchangeable and never occurred side by side, but the *Epitaphios Threnos* and the Entombment are found together in a fourteenth-century cycle of paintings in Wallachia and in a post-Byzantine cycle at the Dochiariou Monastery on Athos. Such programs demonstrate a tendency to separate the two scenes once again.

Maria Sotiriou offered a different account of how the two scenes developed. Suggesting that one iconography did

not simply evolve into the other, Sotiriou also differentiated the Entombment from the *Threnos*, and from the *Epitaphios Threnos*. Nevertheless, Soteriou did not consider all the variants of this iconography.

Hans Belting focused on the liturgical function of the image. Belting proposed that the image of the *Amnos*, Christ as the sacrificed lamb, was embroidered on *aëres* precisely because the cloth itself was understood to stand for the shroud of Christ during the performance of the liturgy, and that the embroidered *Amnos* always has the same meaning whether or not it is elaborated with figures from the *Threnos* iconography. Belting's interpretation may be too narrowly focused, however, imposing a very strictly liturgical interpretation on the embroidered iconography. While the figure of Christ was always central, it is clear that embroiderers did not always feel bound to emulate versions of the *Threnos* that emphasize Christ as *Amnos* at the expense of the narrative of the *Threnos*. Some embroidered examples present the Deposition or the *Threnos*, or both, and one fifteenth-century example even adds the *Anastasis*. The object on which such iconography was embroidered imparted the necessary liturgical meaning to the image, but the liturgical functions of *aëres* and *epitaphioi* did not limit the possibilities available to embroiderers for elaborating the iconography of the *Threnos*.

By the Hand of the Laity: *Epitaphioi* in the Late Byzantine Liturgy

Tera Lee Hedrick (Northwestern University)

By the Late Byzantine Period, the Divine Liturgy was at its most complex and elaborated point, making use of more prayers, processions, and objects than ever before. At the same time, lay worshippers were increasingly distanced from the

culmination of the Liturgy, the blessing and distribution of the Eucharist, which they took as seldom as once a year. Nor did they have full aural or visual access to the sanctuary: priests recited prayers of consecration inaudibly as the developing iconostasis further blocked the laity's view of the sanctuary. Faced with these circumstances, scholars have struggled to locate lay agency in Byzantine religious ritual, and have increasingly focused on the way Byzantine worshippers manipulated space, objects, and images to shape their religious experience. This paper examines one object from the Byzantine liturgy, the *epitaphios*, and the ways its production, donation, and use facilitated lay access to the divine.

The *epitaphios*, a type of liturgical veil used in contemporary Orthodox worship only during Holy Week services, was used in the Late Byzantine period during the Great Entrance procession and to cover the gifts on the altar. *Epitaphioi* are distinguished from their predecessors, termed great *aeres*, by their imagery: the first examples, such as the *Epitaphios of the Shepherd of the Bulgarians* (ca. 1300), show Christ's body laid out for burial. Beginning in the early fifteenth century, examples such as the *Cozia Epitaphios* (1395-6) began to picture not just Christ, but Mary, John, and others weeping over his body. The textiles also feature an unprecedented number of donor inscriptions, more than any other type of liturgical object, evidencing the popularity of their donation by the laity.

This paper argues that *epitaphioi* provided worshippers with an alternate link to the holy, one outside of the Eucharist and the control of priests. In a society that functioned according to a gift economy, any donation implied power on the part of the giver. The paper also explores the possibility that some textiles were embroidered by female donors, allowing them to contribute to the liturgical celebration more personally. Once donated, the imagery on the textiles would still have directly

appealed to the laity, with the scene of Christ's Burial and Lament referencing trends in personal piety and encouraging lay identification with the biblical mourners.

Herakleios' Handlebar: Contextualizing a Change in Imperial Imagery

Joel DowlingSoka (The Ohio State University)

In 629 CE, the year the Persian war ended, the Emperor Herakleios changed his numismatic image from one that mirrored Phokas' short beard and mustache to coinage that featured an image of the emperor with a massive beard and handlebar mustache. This paper argues that none of the previous explanations for the change of imagery are compelling. The facial hair does not demonstrate that Herakleios had aged or that he was adopting the image of a Persian king as a symbol of victory. I argue that the change in imperial imagery was designed with an eye towards improving Herakleios' ability to interact with the Armenian and Sassanian dynasts whose allegiances dominated the last years of the war with Khusrow II.

The paper begins with a brief discussion of the imperial image on coinage in the run up to Khusrow II's war and a discussion of the symbolism of beards in the same period. This discussion will serve to illustrate just how dramatic a departure Herakleios' 629 image was from previous imperial images. Next, it will go through the models of facial hair that were available at the time and conclude that the hairstyle is not based on a religious or Gothic model. It will demonstrate that there are rather more parallels from the eastern examples, which regularly feature impressive facial hair, but that the hair taken up by Herakleios is not similar to any of the images of Sassanian kingship present either in Persian or in Byzantine imagery. Out of the examples that predate Herakleios, the

Parthian (rather than Sassanian) royal images are the closest to the form adopted by Herakleios. Furthermore, the single closest comparison from anywhere in the region comes in the images of the Bagratuni family several centuries later. These particular similarities become important when we consider the politics of the 620s CE.

The paper concludes with a discussion of Herackleios' and his family's activities in Armenia both before and during the war with Persia and demonstrates a series of contacts between the Herakleioi and the Bagratuni. The Bagratuni were of importance both in the 590s CE campaign to support Khusrow II and in the 628 CE coup to overthrow Khusrow II. In the latter, they were allied specifically with a coalition of Parthian dynasts. It seems unlikely that it is entirely a coincidence that the closest visual comparisons to Herakleios' new appearance happen to be related to the factions that supported him in the war with Khusrow. Given this, I argue that we should understand Herakleios' change of appearance in the context of the alliance of the Bagratuni and the Parthian families that organized Khusrow II's downfall and that it almost certainly made the Byzantine Emperor seem less alien to the Sassanian generals who were both the most effective at defeating the Byzantines and responsible for the coup that ended the war.

The Shared Byzantine-Islamic Imagery of the Boukoleon Palace and its Diplomatic Function

Christopher Timm (Florida State University)

The Boukoleon was an imperial palace and landing on the southeast shore of Constantinople. In the tenth century it featured two elements no longer extant: a stone sculpture depicting a lion attacking a bull and a triple-arched viewing pavilion flanked by sculptures of lions. Scholarship on

the Boukoleon has focused on identification, date, and topography. My focus is the iconography of the site. I first identify a unified sculptural program with shared Byzantine and Islamic imperial iconography readily understood by both audiences. I then consider the program's function, suggesting it presented a recognizable imperial message to visiting members of the Islamic courts in the tenth century.

The Boukoleon statue is first described in the tenth century by Leo the Deacon as a stone lion seizing a bull by the neck, a description confirmed by later accounts. The statue survived the sack of 1204 and stood until the earthquake of 1532. Sixteenth-century visitors describe the Boukoleon statue as situated beneath a triple-arched viewing pavilion flanked by two additional lion statues. This structure was photographed prior to its destruction in 1871 during the construction of the railroad and its flanking lion statues are now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. I suggest that the Boukoleon featured a unified sculptural program utilizing shared Byzantine-Islamic imperial iconography.

This program used the statue of a lion savaging a bull as an allegory of the emperor's ability to defend his domain against aggressors, an allegory supported by the flanking lion statues. This imagery conveyed meaning to both a Byzantine and Islamic audience and I discuss supporting comparanda.

This suggested visual program at the Boukoleon landing contrasts with the Great Palace's other entrance at the Chalke gate which featured an image of Christ. I suggest that the program at the Boukoleon instead represents a monumental form of the "shared culture" of luxury objects identified by Oleg Grabar and Anthony Cutler as common to the Byzantine and Islamic courts. The monumental use of this shared iconography in tenth-century Constantinople suggests a conscious effort to create imagery understood by the multiple courtly audiences visiting the capital. This

multivalent sculptural program confirmed the Byzantine emperor as head of the “family of rulers.”

Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Life of St. Basil the Younger

Denis Sullivan (University of Maryland College Park)

The great majority of anti-Jewish polemics in Byzantium appear as dialogues (between a Christian and a Jew) and as homilies or tracts. *The Life of St. Basil the Younger* (10th century) presents another approach with some unique features. Based on his extensive reading of the Old Testament, Gregory, the saint’s spiritual advisee and narrator of the vita, is tempted by the thought (*logismos*) that the faith of the Jews is a valid one. His convictions are presented as an internal monologue with numerous scriptural quotations. He then decides to consult his spiritual advisor on the matter and receives a stern lecture, in which Basil deploys numerous additional biblical references to illustrate the errors of his thinking. Gregory, the Christian tempted to Judaize, then asks to receive a vision to confirm what Basil has told him.

The vision of the Last Judgment Gregory receives is fulsome (174 pages of printed Greek), including the resurrection of the dead, the *Hetoimasia*, the judgment and commitment to hellfire of the damned in numerous categories and, likewise, the entrance of the saints into heaven. While the Jews (specifically those post Incarnation, led by Annas and Caiaphas) are only one group among many sinners, their prominence and presentation in the narrative are used with high drama to further Basil’s polemic. The risen Jews, fearing who the coming judge may be, detail their ill treatment of Christ (“our fathers subjected Him to reproaches and ridicule and mockery, . . . scourging Him they handed Him over to execution”). When Christ arrives He does the same (“Am I

not Jesus Whom you shouted together . . . *'Away with Him, away with Him, crucify Him and let His blood be on us and our children?'*"). When the Jews appeal to Moses, Christ calls on him to appear and he lectures them on their failure to see the passages prefiguring Christ in the Old Testament ("did I not clearly impart to you about Him in the law, and did I not reveal in an awesome manner and teach you clearly?"). The ultimate testimony comes with the appearance of God the Father as "Ancient of Days" amid constant flashes of lightning and fragrant breezes to confirm that Christ is His co-eternal Son ("I and my beloved Son are one and he who hated Him hated Me first"). In his concluding speech directly to Gregory, Christ says: "I have shown you that you should be assured that their veneration of the law is vain and foolish; *for the one not honoring the Son does not honor the Father*" (John 5:23). In the *vita* this and two other citations from John ("*I and the Father are One,*" and "*The Father judges no one, but gave judgment to the Son*" John 10:30 and 5:22) have been among the most frequently employed justifications for the edification of Gregory on the error of the Jews. The dramatic context, however, and the "witnesses" are the most powerful aspect of the polemic.

Session VB
Church Fathers

Chair: George Demacopoulos
(Fordham University)

Divine Comeuppance: Beauty and Order in Gregory of Nazianzus and Theodoret of Cyrrhus

Todd French (Columbia University)

This paper addresses the theme of comeuppance through two integral figures in the development of Eastern Christian thought during the late fourth and early fifth centuries: Gregory of Nazianzus and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. To any student of early Christianity this seems like an odd pairing given Theodoret's relation as student to Diodore of Tarsus, and Gregory's public falling out with Diodore during his deposition in 381. Their uneasy connection through Diodore might bespeak disjunction if one was to focus only on the minutiae of the political landscape. Both of these thinkers, however, are champions of Nicene Christology and can be examined not only for a high level of theological discourse, but also more generally for their influence on contemporary Christian belief. On the level of providence and judgment, they make a very interesting pair. They are not at all the same, but their juxtaposition gives the historian a perspective on how fourth and fifth century Byzantine Christians understood providence and retribution, especially as it related to persecutors of *right* thinking.

Comeuppance is an important and ubiquitous theme in ancient narrative. It has been given little attention in the study of Late Ancient Christianity and is thus worth examining by its own right. In the context of Gregory and Theodoret, it gives the historian an indication of how the beauty of God's providence was understood by educated Christian bishops, and their less educated communities of followers. I posit that the notion of Beauty in the ancient world is translatable in terms of order and symmetry to the Byzantine context—particularly in the *Orations* of Gregory of Nazianzus, but also in Theodoret's treatise, *De providentia*. Utilizing the pair, I show

that within the two possible scenarios available to the late ancient mind—immediate and otherworldly comeuppance—there is a diversity of explanatory motivations for crafting these retributive narratives and explanatory excursuses. All of these contributed to the Byzantine notion of a beautifully ordered cosmos.

Of primary importance to this study is the captivating collection of Saints' lives found in Theodoret's *History of the Monks of Syria*. Within these narratives one witnesses the continual reliance upon retribution within the economy of holiness. Saints, like James of Nisibis, effect death and raise to life through the power of their prayers. More intriguing than these feats, however, is Theodoret's commentary on how they fit into the providentially arranged world. Drawing upon his reflections and placing them in conversation with Gregory's writings yields a vivid picture of how Christianity developed in its Eastern context. I argue that if Christianity was to maintain its position as the religion of the empire *par excellence*, it required evidence of divine interest and efficacy.

The Holy Spirit as Rhetor: Gregory of Nazianzus, *enargeia*, and the Feast of Pentecost

Byron MacDougall (Brown University)

The impact of rhetorical culture on the thought and career of Gregory of Nazianzus is as profound as it is widely recognized. No less appreciated is Gregory's personal devotion to the Holy Spirit and his outspoken affirmation of the Spirit's full divinity. Particularly interesting is where the one side of his cultural - religious personality meets the other; that is, where Gregory the theorist and practitioner of rhetoric inhabits, or informs, Gregory the Theologian. Foundational studies like R. Ruether's *Gregory of Nazianzus: Rhetor and Philosopher*

(Oxford 1969) have shown how Gregory's rhetorical training determines the form and style of his theological discourse. However, in my paper I investigate how the actual content of Gregory's theology – how he thinks of the Trinity and conceives of the activities of God – draws upon the methods and aims of rhetorical theory. Focusing on *Oration* 41 ("On Pentecost"), I show how Gregory presents, in marked terms, the key activity of the Holy Spirit as none other than communication through *enargeia*, the rhetorical device of creating vividness in the minds of one's audience.

At the Feast of Pentecost the parallel between the Holy Spirit and the Christian preacher as an imitator of the Spirit and purveyor of the Gospel is especially apparent, but Gregory perfects the analogy by revealing the Spirit as the ideal rhetor. In this oration, as often in Gregory's work, we see how he identifies his own role and methods with those of the Holy Spirit, in this case through their shared purpose of making their audience seem to see what they hear. In the two figures of Gregory and the Spirit working in tandem as producers of vivid imagery and expression, we find a key aspect to Gregory's pneumatology and his conception of the purposes of an ideal Christian rhetoric.

On Virtuous Heroes and Beneficial Books: Homer in Saint Basil

Stamatia Dova (Hellenic College)

The purpose of this paper is to shed new light on the discourse on Classics in a Christian education as articulated by Saint Basil, Bishop of Caesarea. Since antiquity, Saint Basil's work *Πρὸς τοὺς νέους ὅπως ἂν ἐξ ἑλληνικῶν ὠφελοῖντο λόγων* (*leg.lib.gent.*) has epitomized the debate on the value of Greek

Classics for the character formation of Christian youths. His thesis that they may benefit considerably from reading the works of pagan authors is based on the lessons in morality offered in them. Thus, the educational philosophy that allows Homer to enter the minds and souls of Basil's spiritual pupils revolves around the concept of virtue (*ἀρετή*) and its definition in several of his homilies.

Saint Basil's perspective on virtue (*hex.9.4.7, leg.lib.gent.3.6*) combines the notions of symmetry, health, and beauty to highlight the connection between intellectual robustness and moral aptitude. In an effort to integrate pedagogy and spiritual formation, Basil employs Odysseus as a model of behavior (*leg.lib.gent.5.26*); he revisits several of the hero's adventures, including his conduct at the episode with the Sirens, the encounter with Nausicaa, and the *apologoi* at the court of king Alcinous (*leg.lib.gent.5.39*).

Furthermore, Odysseus in Basil seems to play a role similar to the one Achilles plays in the (surprisingly similar) discussion on the usefulness of poetry for the education of the future warriors in Plato's *Republic*. As Socrates and Adeimantus engage in a censorial discourse on the Homeric corpus, they also articulate the criteria by which passages must be deleted; their concern that tales of the underworld may lessen the future soldiers' resolve to defend and (die for) the *polis* results in the rejection of several famous passages, including *Od.11.489-91*, where the ghost of Achilles admits that he would prefer to be a servant's servant on earth than rule over all of the dead (*R.3.386c3-7*). Plato, however, revisits this much-discussed excerpt from the *Odyssey* later, in his description of the cave, exhibiting astonishing sensitivity and poetic grasp in his use of the passage (*R.7.516c7-e3*).

Similarly, Basil adopts a moralistic and utilitarian point of view regarding Odysseus, whom he considers a good

example for Christian students. Yet, under this academic pragmatism, I argue, we can discern a subtext of genuine appreciation for the *Odyssey* in particular and poetry in general, as manifested in Basil's references to Homer in the context of mere display of erudition (*ep.*14.2.8, 74.1.15) or narrative engagement with models of Homeric heroism (*ep.*1.1.14, 147.1.2). It is also noteworthy, I believe, that Odysseus, the mortal and peaceful Homeric hero par excellence, appeals to St. Basil on account of his civil deportment (*leg.lib.gent* 5.36) and strength of character (*leg.lib.gent* 4.10), qualities that St. Basil associates with his own intellectual and spiritual journey.

A Greek Thomist: Gennadios II Scholarios on Providence

Matthew Briel (Fordham University)

Written between 1459 and his death in 1472, Gennadios Scholarios' tracts on predetermination are among his most original and significant theological works. Orthodox theologians in the two centuries after Scholarios such as Maximos Margunios (1549-1602), Peter Mogila (1596-1646), and George Koressios (1570-1660) studied, commented on, and recommended these tracts to friends. They mark the summit of Byzantine reflection on the question of divine providence. While heavily influenced by Thomas Aquinas in both terminology and content, the high literary register, the emphasis on the experience of prayer, the claim to draw on the Greek Fathers, and the author's engagement with the authority of ascetics in theology all give these treatises a distinctively Eastern character.

In these treatises Scholarios draws on Thomistic vocabulary and distinctions but uses them in an Orthodox key

and within the Greek tradition that asks different questions than Latin scholastic theology. The resulting anthropology and teaching on providence differ in emphasis and some details from Aquinas. For example, Scholarios emphasizes human liberty and overlooks, to a certain extent, the question of divine foreknowledge. Furthermore, he gives more attention to the Orthodox teaching of *synergy* than Aquinas does to the similar scholastic concept of *gratia cooperans* (*Summa Theologiae* I-II 111 a. 2). In this paper I examine Scholarios' use of Thomistic concepts, demonstrate the different understanding of the human person in relation to God, and argue that Scholarios' theology and use of Aquinas fits within a Greek theological framework.

Eunomius' Philosophy of Language; its Significance and Conceptual Roots

Sergey Trostyanskiy (Union Theological Seminary)

During the late stage of the Arian controversy (late 4th century AD) Eunomius of Cyzicus, one of the major protagonists of the controversy, offered a definitive account of the nature of the divine names. This philosophy of language introduced an apparently sound doctrine of various relations between names and their referents. Two types of relations were emphasized in this context: one characterized by an essential connection between name and its referent (onoma - God given name), and the other characterized by the conventional assignment of a common name to the referent (eponym). This account re-introduced to Christian discourse notions of classical philosophy of language on the basis of a Scriptural justification (examples drawn from the book of Genesis).

After his general setting out of semantic grounds, Eunomius went on to the question regarding the attribution of

divine names. If an essential connection between name and its referent is affirmed, name ought to express essence (*ousia*). In this case the divine *ousia* should be knowable and expressible. If, on the contrary, the referents of names are energies, in other words the divine works (the position of his opponents, the Cappadocian Fathers, which later became established as Christian Orthodoxy), an essential connection between name and its referent is denied and human invention is justified in designating energies.

Eunomius maintained that the primary referent of the divine name, the divine *ousia*, is simple, and that a single name is capable of expressing it (*agenetos*). But if the divine name provides a formula of essence, what kind of formula is it? If such essence is simple, it ought not to be expressed by any names, as their referent is beyond being and intelligibility. On the other hand, if simplicity should be affirmed with qualifications, the question of the possibility of defining essence through the use of a single name would imply the existence of a non-traditional form of definition (since the traditional type runs through the schema of genus-differentiae). What kind of definition is it? Unless these questions are answered, the whole discourse of Eunomius seems to necessarily slip into an *aporia*, and thus be incoherent.

In order to clarify this important Christian logical stance, one needs to enquire into the sources of his philosophy of names. It is commonly accepted that the Aristotelian philosophy constituted the intellectual underpinning of Eunomius' theology. Such an evaluation does not completely miss the point. However, it is quite obvious that proposing Aristotelian roots for Eunomius' theology is not sufficient to explain the ground of his theory of names, essences, and definition. Accordingly, a critical re-evaluation of Eunomius' philosophy of language is demanded by the circumstances described. In this presentation I provide a critical re-

assessment of the scholarly output related to this chief Arian philosopher. I argue that the philosophy of language introduced by Eunomius is coherent and is most profoundly indebted to the Stoic logic and philosophy of names.

Session VIA
Settlement Archaeology

Chair: Benjamin Anderson
(Cornell University)

Hidden Communities in Anatolia: Archaeological Material from Çadir Höyük and the Cide Archaeological Project

Marica Cassis (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Although written sources, such as the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* and the seventh/eighth century *Farmers' Law*, illustrate that there were active populations throughout the Byzantine hinterlands from the early Byzantine period through to the middle Byzantine period, we lack detailed knowledge of these communities. Until recently, little work has been done on the archaeology of these regions, largely because the physical remains represent the non-elite communities and dwellings of peasants and farmers. These structures have often disappeared due to the transitory nature of their building materials (such as mud-brick), or are difficult to find and/or excavate. At times they have also been considered unimportant precisely because of their connection to the poor and the rural. Yet, the redistribution of land to the lower classes allowed for the creation of a new type of medieval society in these regions, one which was largely characterized by small rural communities. These remains are visible in the archaeological record and are significant if we are to more fully understand this period. Careful archaeological work through excavation and survey allows for a more nuanced view of this period, one which allows us to define and explain the period more completely.

Through the results of two archaeological projects – the Byzantine excavations at Çadir Höyük on the Anatolian Plateau and the Cide Archaeological Survey Project on the Black Sea – it is possible to identify particular characteristics of these communities and, in the case of Çadir Höyük, to trace the development of the settlement through precisely this time period. Both Çadir Höyük and the various settlements

identified through the Cide survey can be characterized by a large dependence on coarse ware; rural and agricultural architecture; and small, independent communities. Such evidence illuminates the shift from the early Byzantine period through the so-called Dark Ages to the start of the middle Byzantine period.

The State of the 'No Man's Land': A Reinterpretation of 7th and 8th century Cilicia and Isauria

David A. Heayn (Graduate Center, City University of New York)

The seventh-century Persian conquest of the Roman East was followed by a Roman resurgence. This rapid turn of events was immediately followed by the Arab conquests of the entire Persian Empire and the recently recovered Roman provinces. After the initial expansion, the Islamic Civil Wars and the realities of military over extension resulted in the creation of an undefined border between the truncated Roman Empire and the burgeoning Umayyad Caliphate. This border stretched roughly along the line of the Taurus Mountains from Armenia and the Black Sea to the Mediterranean coasts of Cilicia and Isauria. The Taurus thus served as a line of fortification for Anatolia, while passages, such as the Cilician Gates, provided access between Syria and the plateau.

The geographic importance of Cilicia and Isauria, at the most common point of entry between the two powers, can be seen as essential to the interaction between the two states. The region was established as a border region, a point of military tension, and the primary location for the exchange of prisoners, ideas, and goods. Within the historiographical tradition, this region, lacking its own literary tradition,

compared to Constantinople or Baghdad, has been designated by modern scholars as a “no man’s land”, where constant warfare resulted in depopulation and devastation. Nearly all scholarship addressing these regions perpetuate this same perspective with little, if any, critical analysis or evidence. Starting in the 1980’s scholars concerned with peripheral and border regions began to recognize the fluidity and nuance of the situation. Their investigations have paved the way for future inquiries. Over the last two decades archaeological studies have contributed further to our understanding of the region; however, both historians and archaeologists share the fundamental assumption of the ‘no man’s land’ model, often eschewing even careful and professional surveys.

Through a re-examination of the literary evidence, along with a fresh analysis of archaeological evidence, this paper provides a prolegomena to future research in this critical region of Byzantine Arab interaction. The available evidence within the military narrative and the known settlement patterns are capable of demonstrating the ebb and flow of Byzantine and Arab, political, cultural, and religious control, and argues for a picture of continued, though complex, occupation. The limitations of current archaeological methodologies and typologies restrict and complicate our current capacity to establish a firmly dated chronology. Alternative models must be constructed based upon an understanding of the limits of ecclesiastical and military institutions and their reliance on imperial largess. By broadening the historical perspective to include the archaeological evidence showing the changes in material culture, and the later Greek and Arabic traditions, and not relying on reductive models, it is possible to date and understand the level of interaction and control in this border region. The critical re-examination of traditional sources such as Theophanes, al-Tabari, and al-Baladhuri, while acknowledging their limitations, biases, and rhetorical purposes, alongside the material evidence, provides a new

chronology of conquests and defensive policy explaining the 'no man's land' model within its later 9th century literary context.

**A Reappraisal of the Published Ceramic Data from Ancient
Olympia (Peloponnese):
A Contribution to the History of the Early Byzantine
Settlement**

Anna Lambropoulou and Anastasia G. Yangaki (Institute for
Byzantine Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation)

Ancient Olympia, famous for the Olympic games and the classical temple dedicated to Zeus, was the most important sanctuary in the Peloponnese. Excavations conducted by the German Archaeological Institute reveal that a Christian population had settled in the former sanctuary soon after the Games ended and the cult in honor of Zeus ceased. The 'Byzantine' settlement was situated to the west of the Altis grounds built in a semi-arc around its most important building: the early Christian church, which was built on top of what was formerly Phidias' workshop. According to German archaeologists T. Völling (T. Völling,† "The Last Christian Greeks and the First Pagan Slavs in Olympia" in: *The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7th-9th c.)*, ed. E. Kountoura-Galake, Athens 2001, 303-323) and J. Schilbach (J. Schilbach, "Die Datierung der Schichten im Südöstgebiet" in: ed. A. Mallwitz,† *XI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia, Frühjahr 1977-Herbst 1981*, Berlin-New York 1999, 70-151) the site was abandoned by its Christian population some time in the early 7th century AD. The Slavic cemetery excavated in the adjacent area (T. Völling, T. Vida, *Das slawische Brandgräberfeld von Olympia*, [Archäologie in Eurasien, Band 9], Leidorf 2000) indicates an important Slavic presence on the outskirts

of the settlement, as a result of Slavic penetration into the Peloponnese in the late 6th and early 7th century AD.

However, a reappraisal of some of the early Byzantine pottery (amphorae, household wares, etc), sheds a new light on the period in which the settlement was abandoned. Thus, the comparison of published pottery types from the site with related material newly published from adjacent sites in the Peloponnese and other regions in the Aegean allows for a new interpretation on the history of the early Byzantine settlement.

Population Genetics and Byzantine History

Adam M. Schor (University of South Carolina)

For most historians (beyond those of disease and the environment), biological science is not the prime academic field that informs their research. Human genetics, in particular, has drawn little interest since the demise of academic racialism in the mid 20th century. Byzantinists have had special reasons to avoid discussing human descent, when studying regions recently troubled by nationalist conflicts.

And yet, most of us have probably noticed the ongoing revolution in genetics. Technological advances have enabled powerful techniques for analyzing human DNA, as it varies globally. Ten years ago, geneticists could only effectively compare samples from a few genetic sites (e.g., Y-chromosome and mitochondrial DNA). Now they can compare whole genomes, seeking Single Nucleotide Polymorphisms (SNPs, “one-letter” code variations) and Copy Number Variations (CNVs, added or deleted copies of sections of DNA). Meanwhile, genomic analysis has grown cheaper. Selectively charting one person’s genetic variants costs about \$300. Mapping an entire genome runs to about \$1000.

With these tools, population geneticists have begun addressing specifically historical questions. They have assembled global databases of genetic variations. And they have started measuring how closely different regional and ethnic populations are related, to trace out probable average lines of descent. Some recent studies have made grandiose claims, touting iconic ancestors and reifying groups. Most have been more careful – including recent far-reaching, if incomplete, work on the Jewish community and its relatedness to various regional populations (Atzmon, Hao et al., “Abraham’s Children in the Genome Era,” *American Journal of Human Genetics* 86.6).

This paper thus challenges Byzantinists to engage with human genetics as one part of historical research. We pre-modernists have much to gain from genetics. Genetic studies tell us virtually nothing about the heritability of common traits (genetic influences on behavior are too complicated, and deeply inflected by the environment, to reconstruct). They do help us to explore one key behavior: the effective reproductive “choices” of men and women (with what population a set of people generally conduct reproductive sexual relations). Byzantinists may derive special benefits. Pre-modern Mediterranean history features countless stories of migrations, expulsions, conquests and absorptions. Religious, ethnic, and political identities are transformed, in ways that may or may not align with patterns of endogamy. The issues can be contentious; early genetic study often served to reinforce nationalist ideology. But current genetic research is more nuanced. Practitioners acknowledge its limited explanatory capacity, even while reaching finer-grained results.

Pre-modernist historians also have benefits to offer geneticists. We may better comprehend the instabilities of past communal identity. We also may better understand

the fraught modern politics of “descent.” Finally, we know the pull of historical narratives, as they sway all knowledge, consciously and unconsciously. Thus we may aid geneticists by suggesting new explanations for data, advising public presentations, and pointing out the influence of the stories we all tell.

Population genetics offers one added tool, besides text and artifacts, to explore the complexities of group behavior and communal identity. With these studies proceeding already, it behooves us to join the conversation.

Session VIB
Byzantine Women

Chair: Christian Raffensperger
(Wittenberg University)

The Virgin Augusta: Empress Pulcheria's Identification with the Theotokos

Sophia Sinopoulos Lloyd (Claremont Graduate University)

In 412 CE, the orphaned empress Pulcheria conspired with her younger brother, Theodosius II, to dismiss the eunuch who had been appointed as their guardian. She was proclaimed Augusta by the eleven-year old Theodosius, and, shortly thereafter, memorialized her vow of virginity in the Great Church in a public move that would inaugurate her unique career as a virgin Augusta and enable new strategies of synergy between Church and State. Pulcheria's ability to secure power and influence for herself are partially explained by roles traditionalized by previous empresses. However, she deviated from her antecedents in key ways that can be elucidated by examining the theological milieu of the contemporary Roman world.

The honor and virtue of an empress had come to be associated with her ability to bear future rulers. Interacting with these notions, previous Augustae had set important precedents for the nature of imperial women's patronage. These duties had become increasingly Christianized in the environment in which Pulcheria was raised, and she expanded this process through a discourse that would define her reign during a critically formative era in the evolution of Orthodox doctrine. Pulcheria enacted her authority neither from established typologies of wifely consort nor maternal advisor, but rather from those of consecrated virgin and holy woman. In the newly official Christian Empire, virginity allowed women to gain status and autonomy, and consequently female virginity became a favored treatise topic for Church heirarchs who exhorted their parishioners to imitate a retroactively constructed Mary, framed as the Arch-Virgin and exemplar of the most austere urban asceticism.

This paper examines not only Pulcheria's vow of virginity and the enduring effect of her performance on the imperial court, but also its connection with the literary theme of *imitatio mariae* that existed contemporaneously and with which she was probably very familiar. Cultural studies scholar José Muñoz's theory of disidentification is invoked, which argues that minority subjects—in a process both reflexive and reflective—respond to representations produced by, and for, the cultural majority and use them to productively advance unintended or subversive identities and affinities. Pulcheria can be seen as a minority subject because of her femaleness, but not because of her class status—and as others have noted it is vitally important to address the intersectionality of class and gender when discussing Byzantine Empresses and power. Pulcheria's conscious adoption of identity with the Theotokos differed from previous configurations that had objectively or retroactively compared Mary with Empresses. This paper argues that Pulcheria successfully engaged in multiple male discourses of power, blending convention with culturally timely deviation. She interacted with the image of the Virgin Mary in a similar way that male rulers in the Greco-Roman tradition had with male deities, subverting the visions of male promoters of holy virginity. In the bureaucratic and ceremonial atmosphere of the early Byzantine imperial court—and in the theologically inclined city beyond the palace walls—this proved to be an effective strategy for enacting political agency.

**The Uxoricide of the *Nobilissima Femina*:
The Damnation and Rehabilitation of the Empress Fausta
in Early Byzantine Thought**

Carly Maris (University of California, Irvine)

Around the year 326, Fausta was accused of a transgression so heinous in the eyes of Constantine that he committed

uxoricide by, allegedly, locking her inside an overheated bath. After she died Constantine issued the most extreme form of punishment available against the empress, a *damnatio memoriae*. Recently, scholars have examined her horrific execution via overheated bath and looked at the rumored relations with her stepson Crispus as the crime that led to her execution, the earliest extant account of which is found in the fifth-century historian Zosimus' unabashedly anti-Christian *Nova Historia*. While Zosimus has been deplored by Gibbon and more recently labeled as "clumsy," his account of the execution of Fausta is of great value for scholars attempting to unveil the mystery surrounding her death and subsequent *damnatio memoriae*.

I intend to explore the significance of sentencing Fausta to *damnatio memoriae* not only by reviewing the punishment itself, but more specifically by examining how Fausta's memory was preserved and manipulated in early Byzantine thought. To do this, I consider the paradox inherent within the act of *damnatio memoriae* as illuminated by Charles Hedrick in 2000, paying attention to the "dichotomy between memory and forgetfulness" in accounts of Constantine's life that completely avoid mentioning Fausta. Then I reconsider Gibbon's claim that Fausta's memory was restored under the son of Fausta and Constantine, Constantius II, by looking more closely at the nature of rehabilitation of memory. "Rehabilitation" at its most basic level is a technical term, referring to the correction (emendatio) of a corrupted manuscript. At a deeper level, however, Hedrick argues that rehabilitation does not simply alter words, but plays into the "dynamic of memory" by transforming the past, "understood as an admission that an emperor...made a mistake—and so, might consequently be construed as a censure of that emperor." Gibbon's argument that Fausta's memory was restored hinges on Julian the Apostate's praise of Fausta in the panegyric to Constantius II—however Julian never names the empress, and moreover,

Julian was no supporter of Constantine. Can this truly be considered a complete restoration, and if so, why is Julian the Apostate the restorer? How can we then account for later sources that continue to participate in the *damnatio memoriae* or continue to treat her memory as tainted? What does the *damnatio memoriae* and rehabilitation of Fausta tell us about the ongoing political and religious debate between pagans and Christians in the early Byzantine period?

Divine Providence, Human Agency and *Tyche*: the Causation System in Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*

Marin Cerchez (University of Wisconsin – Madison)

To analyze how Byzantine authors explained the flow of events in history is another way to better understand their worldview. In this study I argue that the causation system of Anna Komnene is complex and is determined by the contexts of stories she tells the reader. Anna uses all the three elements of her causation system - Divine Providence, human agency and *tyche* - inconsistently throughout the *Alexiad* and in various combinations, depending on whether she talks about (imperial) authority, military affairs and battles, the state of the Roman Empire, or personal stories.

Human agency is the most important causative factor throughout the *Alexiad*. On the other hand, Divine Providence, a traditional Christian causative factor, is employed by Anna mostly in the context of a pious and reverential presentation of imperial authority. Anna does not seem to be interested in the divine causes of one's authority when it is not related to her father. However, when it comes to Alexios Komnenos she introduces Divine Providence to highlight Alexios' legitimacy to rule the Roman Empire. We can identify two interwoven

discourses in Alexios' case: one is about an emperor who is chosen and protected by Divine Providence, and the other one is about an emperor who is brought to power in consequence of palace politics. In this interplay the human agency discourse is dominant.

Anna also introduces *tyche* as an alternative (and inferior) force to Divine Providence. Anna associates *tyche* with Alexios' adversaries when there is a need to create a foil for Alexios' divinely ordained rule. In contrast when Alexios is not involved in her narrative, Anna allows Divine Providence to help Alexios' rivals too. Although Anna uses the non-Christian concept of *tyche* it does not have any theological meaning, and is merely used by Anna compositionally and rhetorically. Anna gives *tyche* a variety of meanings: *tyche*-goddess, *tyche*-chance, *tyche* – a personal cause, *tyche* – rank.

Anna also describes many battles in the *Alexiad*. Most of the battles, regardless of whether it is about Alexios or his rivals, whether they lose or win, are described by Anna in terms of human agency – good or bad generalship. Divine Providence is barely mentioned. Occasionally, *tyche* as a chance is applied both to Alexios and his adversaries. Here Anna appears to borrow and adapt some images from classical authors, who describe battles, e.g. Thucydides.

Anna's presentation of causative factors in the political and military life of the Empire is complex and varies depending on the type of story she relates. According to Anna, God may appoint emperors, and *tyche* may oppose them, but human agency nevertheless is crucial in human affairs.

Session VIIA

Egypt

Chair: Eunice Dauterman Maguire
(Johns Hopkins University)

From Mortuary Temple to Church: Memory and Appropriation in Upper Egypt

Anna Marie Sitz (University of Pennsylvania)

Very little remains of the late antique main church of Jeme (ancient Medinet Habu in Upper Egypt), and scholars have written correspondingly little about it. Constructed in the courtyard of the New Kingdom mortuary temple of Pharaoh Ramses III, the church of Jeme was a part of a wider trend of temple reuse in late antiquity. Unfortunately, the remains of the church were removed without documentation in the nineteenth century in order to return the site to its original pharaonic form. The University of Chicago carried out further excavations at Jeme, under the direction of Uvo Hölscher, in the 1920s and 30s. The ruins of a thriving late antique town were recorded both in and around the large mortuary temple, and numerous documentary papyri were found that give glimpses of life in Jeme.

When viewing the courtyard of the mortuary temple, early modern travelers, such as Harriet Martineau, were struck by the contrast between the late antique remains of the moderately-sized church and the massive ancient pillars and columns that enclosed it. A series of antitheses seemed to be at play: the grandeur of the pharaonic period versus the decline of late antiquity; carefully-carved pharaonic sculpture versus Christian destruction of this sculpture; pagan temple versus Christian church. Initially, at least, the church of Jeme seems to lend support to the “triumphalist” theory of late antique temple reuse: the “triumph” of Christianity automatically resulted in the appropriation and destruction of pagan sites so churches could be built on the remains of the old religion. Recent scholarship, however, has brought attention to the many different types of temple reuse and many different methods of interpreting these “conversions.” In this paper, I

place the church at Jeme in this broader conversation on late antique temple reuse.

I interrogate the remains of the church with questions of cultural memory (how much the late antique inhabitants of Jeme might have known about the 1,500 year old temple they repurposed, and how they interacted with the past through the physical fabric of their settlement) and of appropriation (how much of the pharaonic structure and decoration would have been visible within and immediately outside of the church, and whether an attempt was made to hide pagan decorative elements). After reviewing the archaeological evidence for the main church and nineteenth-century photographs of the site, I propose some modifications to the current architectural reconstruction of the church found in Hölscher's excavation volume. With the site context and archaeological remains in mind, I move away from the assumption that religious ideology was a main factor in this temple reuse. By viewing the main church at Jeme through the lens of appropriation and cultural memory, I propose that the church was less concerned with conquering the past and more concerned with creating a space for the community at the late antique present.

Moses, Christ and the Burning Bush: Painting a Theophany at the Red Monastery, Egypt

Elizabeth S. Bolman (Temple University)

Early Byzantines chose events in the life of Moses to adorn monumental church mosaics and also smaller objects, such as ivory pyxides and silver reliquaries. Within the Christian interpretive system, Moses functioned in many ways, one of which was as a type for Christ. Moses received the law, the precursor of Christ as Logos, who brings the new covenant.

The Old Testament patriarch also represented the potential for humans to see the divine. Later Christian tradition cast him as a model of leadership for patriarchs and monks.

Newly conserved *secco* paintings at the Red Monastery Church, near Sohag in Upper Egypt, have revealed two additions to this corpus, within an interesting iconographic context. Depictions of Moses receiving the law and encountering the burning bush are located in the spandrels framing the eastern semidome of this triconch basilica. In many ways these paintings parallel the famous mosaics at Sinai, in approximate date, iconography, and basic position (although the placement of the scenes is reversed). However, the Egyptian paintings contain an unusual and perhaps unique iconographic element: the depiction of a bust of Christ in the burning bush, with a *dipinto* (painted inscription) reading: "Jesus speaks with Moses in the bush." In contrast, the scene at Sinai includes a flaming bush, but no anthropomorphic figure. The scene at the Red Monastery additionally includes a partially preserved snake, positioned vertically with its head towards the ground. The semidome between the two scenes in the Egyptian monument depicted an enormous Christ in Majesty, now poorly preserved.

This iconographic ensemble conveys a complex series of message. Within it, the image of *Moses and the Burning Bush* with a bust of Christ and a serpent raises intriguing questions of interpretation that I explore in this paper. For example, the juxtaposition of this scene with one of Christ in Majesty, suggests an association with John 3:13-15: "No one has ever gone into heaven except the one who came from heaven—the Son of Man. Just as Moses lifted up the snake in the wilderness, so the Son of Man must be lifted up, that everyone who believes may have eternal life in him." Also, in later versions of *Moses and the Burning Bush*, at Sinai and elsewhere, the bush that burns but is not consumed often

contains the Christ Child held by Mary, but in the Red Monastery painting he is an adult and alone. Is this image of Christ as God within the bush an antecedent to the later Byzantine representations of the Virgin and Child in the bush, or a representation of a theophany that excludes the Mother of God? A consideration of the significance of looking at God in a monastic context further enriches our understanding of this previously unknown painting.

Greek-Syriac-Coptic: Sites of Trilingual Interaction in Early Byzantine Egypt

Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (Georgetown University and
Dumbarton Oaks)

It has been recognized for more than twenty years that translations of Syriac and Greek works were being made into Coptic (and back) by Manichaean scholars in fourth-century Egypt. This intellectual work, which also included scholiasts writing in Coptic in the margins of both Greek and Syriac manuscripts, was taking place in the town of Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis (there is ample evidence of Latin at the same site). What has not thus far been attempted is to try to situate this impressive archive of trilingual documents into a broader framework of multilingual interaction at other sites in Egypt.

What, for instance, can this Manichaean scriptorium elucidate about the translation of the “Harklean version” of the Syriac Bible at the Enaton monastery southwest of Alexandria (at the “ninth” mile marker), by Thomas of Harkel and Paul of Tella, in the early seventh century? Additionally, the monastery of Dayr al-Suryan in the Wadi al-Natrun continues to be one of the most important sources of new Syriac manuscripts: many new texts have just been discovered, but even already a century ago this monastery revealed the earliest dated Syriac MS (411 CE). Like Kellis, Dayr al-Suryan

offers evidence of Coptic scholia in the margins of both Syriac and Greek manuscripts. These very significant flashpoints of multilingual interaction seem to cross religious and denominational divides and speak to eastern Christian scribal practices globally in the period. On the basis of this evidence (presented here only in survey), this paper argues that such interactions need to be more prominent in discussions about language identity in early Byzantium. Contrary to recent theories about the dominance of Greek (over Syriac) in early Byzantine Syria, a view championed especially by Fergus Millar, the widespread evidence of multilingualism in Byzantine Egypt suggests a more fluid model of language interaction, a model which might profitably be applied also to the Syrian milieu.

Sarah Clackson famously decried the bifurcation of Coptic and Greek papyri in archaeological reports as “the compartmentalization of scholarship” and showed how detrimental it has been to the cultural history of language in late antique Egypt to separate these languages unnecessarily. Roger Bagnall has recently expressed a similar lament in his Sather Classical Lectures. Both of them echo Leslie MacCoull in her epochal book on Dioskoros of Aphroditos. By looking at sites of trilingual interaction, starting with the exciting new well-documented finds at Kellis and Dayr al-Suryan, we have the opportunity to keep three early Byzantine languages firmly together and perhaps to write a whole new chapter in the history of Byzantine language use. My hope is that such a new vision of language interaction can have an effect on other parts of the Byzantine empire that have thus far been treated as monolingual. Ultimately, the language of Greek was a dynamic component of Byzantine society which especially thrived in multilingual environments.

Authority and Non-Judgment: The Merciful Patriarch and his Monks

Nicholas Marinides (Princeton University)

The Vita of John the Merciful by Leontios of Neapolis has been much mentioned but little studied. Apart from questions concerning the text and its various recensions, there has been some literary and historical analysis of the methods of Leontios and his reliability. In this paper I would like to venture into a study of the authority of the patriarch John vis-à-vis the monks of his city.

John is primarily known for his charitable activities, the exceeding liberality of which lends him the air of a holy fool, like that other subject of Leontios' pen, Symeon of Emesa. But his epithet of "Merciful" could be equally applied to his gentle use of the wide-ranging authority he exercised as patriarch of the third see of the Roman Empire, Alexandria. In particular, his reticence in judging (seemingly) wayward monks stands out as a consistent tenet of his time in office, and its (seemingly) indiscriminate application marks him out as a holy fool just as much as his alms-giving. This practice must be considered in the context of John's own *bios* and *politeia*: a widower rather than a life-long celibate, but a strict ascetic who relied on monastic advisers such as John Moschos and Sophronios, founded monasteries and virtually turned Alexandria into a vast monastery (according to the pious rhetoric of the hagiographer). His own ascetic self-cultivation and his relationships with the monks mark him out as a model holy bishop in late antiquity. Yet to understand his particular place within this paradigm, it is necessary to consider more closely the older theological sources of his renunciation of judgment and the actual mechanics of his interactions with the monks and other clergy. Such study reveals that he does not completely abandon his role as judge, but rather exercises

it in the, sometimes, theatrical but always discerning exercise of arbitration, mediation, and correction—precisely as did the Desert Fathers whose own radical renunciation of judgment, depicted in texts of the apophthegmatic genre, informed his own practice.

The fact that most of this comes from the pen of Leontios of course complicates and enriches the question. The extent to which he reworked his sources is a serious question, but, in this particular study, it must be remembered that he too was a bishop who had authority and monks on his mind, and was also working within the same broader literary tradition of theology and ascetic spirituality as his subject John.

Session VIIB
Liminal Characters

Chair: Stratis Papaioannou
(Brown University)

The Romance of Drosilla and Charikles: Evaluation of Kleandros as a Tragic Figure

C. René Chaffins (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

From the pagan revival of the twelfth century CE, four Byzantine romance texts have survived to modernity. Characteristic of the literature of the time period, these romances contain frequent allusions to classical works and rely heavily upon the tradition provided by the early Greek novels as well as the erotic language found within the biblical Song of Songs. I would like to add to the discussion of the Byzantine novel by delineating the rhetorical function of the character Kleandros within Niketas Eugenianos' *Drosilla and Charikles* and proposing a new reading which concerns his untimely and tragic death.

At first glance, Kleandros performs a secondary role within the text; he is the cellmate of Charikles and provides him with encouragement as they search for Charikles' abducted love, Drosilla. The misadventures of the title characters dictate the direction of the plot, but Kleandros serves a purpose necessary for the Byzantine audience. As the *formulae* for romances were well-established, Eugenianos would have been aware that a strict adherence to tradition would have left his audience without any suspense which they could mentally engage with while reading. Thus, a careful analysis of Kleandros' characterization allows for both foreshadowing and suspense which would have been at odds with the audience's preconceptions.

Eugenianos begins his work by describing the entire plot in eight lines. It appears as though he will follow tradition, narrative expectation, and common *topoi*. The audience's expectations have been reaffirmed by the writer himself. However, when Kleandros enters the novel, his

characterization would have prompted readers to question the direction of the romance. At II.170, Kleandros describes a love letter that he wrote to Kalligone in which he asks Charon whether the ferryman will take her away or withdraw when he gazes at such beauty. To this two-part question, Charon answers in the affirmative without specifying which question he had answered. This foreshadowing is reinforced in the next few lines in which Kalligone's *katabasis* is alluded to and Kleandros bids her farewell (II.205-210). Just as Kalligone's eventual death is foreshadowed by the letter, Kleandros emerges as a tragic figure. He describes Eros as a pursuing Fury with the term *δρακοντώδης* (II.217) which is rarely found outside of Euripides' *Orestes*. He also exclaims that he suffers from a snakebite which parallels Orestes' own fatal snakebite in Arcadia. Furthermore, Joan Burton has identified numerous occurrences in which Kleandros can be understood as an Orphic figure. The adoption of tragic language is perhaps not a new theme for romance novels, but Kleandros becomes the first individual to actually succumb to heartbreak when he learns of his lover's demise.

Although the language of tragedy surrounds him, the audience would not have suspected Kleandros' death especially amidst the joyous reunion of Drosilla and Charikles. The final sections continue with moments of joy interspersed with tragedy and Drosilla's excessive grieving. The cathartic nature of the mourning and extensive use of *peripeteiai* must be recognized for their Aristotelian purpose within the text; a purpose which indicates that this composition is not meant to be taken directly as a romance, but rather as an experimental cross-genre work between romance and tragedy.

God's Servants, Working Together: Liminality and Laity in John Moschos' *Pratum spirituale*

Brenda Llewellyn Ihssen (Pacific Lutheran University)

Prominent in monastic literature are distinct criteria such as visions, demons and ascetic endeavors, all of which serve intentional literary or theological functions for the edification of the audience. In addition to these standard elements, the role of secular society—or lay Christians—also feature in the genre, making these texts a recognized rich source for social history. Though John Moschos' late sixth century *Pratum spirituale* (PG 87.2851-3116) was collected and composed by a monk, within a monastic milieu, for monastic audiences and to preserve monastic tales, the presence of a relationship between laity and the professional religious in several of the tales reveals important details of the social history of the early Byzantine Empire, exterior to the monastery. Like contemporary ecclesiastical histories and other collections of spiritually beneficial tales, the multiple ways that monastic figures aided the lives of lay Christians is documented in Moschos' account; present also, however, is disclosure of the occasional dependence of monastic figures on laity for their own needs. Through manual labor, health care, education or shame, the monks receive from those counted as "fellow workers with God" (I Cor. 3.9).

Though the author of the *Rule of the Master* criticizes those who wander from monastery to monastery, social and political factors in the sixth century—war, disease, poverty—resulted in shifting populations, and lively movement and activity is reflected in the *Pratum*. This is true for monks as well as lay persons; they cannot avoid each other, and they do not necessarily choose to, and this presents challenges. To illustrate, Moschos writes that a monk who is sent to live with a farmer became "disturbed" about the farmer's

daughter; when he is presented with an opportunity to force himself upon her, she chastises and shames the monk, who returns to his monastery, greatly edified (PG 87.2889-2892). His placement in the house of a lay Christian introduces his relationship with this young woman, from whom he learns to value his ascetic vocation.

Through examples such as this, this paper uses select texts in Moschos' *Pratum* that address the interdependence of laity and monastics, and argues that the degree to which these two parties encountered and relied upon one another speaks to the liminal boundaries between secular and religious. Ultimately, less structured forms of monasticism present in the *Pratum spirituale* allow for creative interplay between laity and monastic, for the physical and spiritual benefit of both parties as well as the edification of the recipient of the tale.

Marina and Marinos: Contact and Confusion

Wendy R. Larson (Roanoke College)

The cult of Agia Marina of Antioch was well-established in the Byzantine East, with the earliest extant life dating to the 8th century. This cult spread to the Latin West, where the saint is known as Margaret and she became the patroness of women in childbirth. Similarly, the cult of the transvestite female saint Maria, known as Marinos in her male guise, also moved from the East to the West. The saint's life appears in the *Golden Legend* as Marina.

It is not difficult to see the potential for confusion between the two saints, but two specific locations at which the confusion is significant have something in common: both are sites of contact between eastern and western Christianity. The first is the primary site for the cult of Maria / Marinos at

Qalamoun in present-day Lebanon. This site is near one of the monasteries which may be where Maria lived out her life as the monk Marinos. The site is a grotto decorated with early 13th-century scenes from the life of Maria / Marinos, but it also includes an image of Marina of Antioch. While the site has clear local significance, there is evidence that the patrons may have been both local devotees and Franks connected with the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The confused mixture of images may be due in part to the mix of patrons and their traditions. It is possible that the Franks introduced to the Qalamoun site a Byzantine image that was not yet established in that area – a case of western patrons introducing a Byzantine image to another eastern Christian community, which may account for the conflation of the two Marinas.

The second location is Venice in 1213 when a reliquary from Constantinople, bearing the name and image of Agia Marina, was given to the Church of San Liberale. In honor of the newly acquired relic, the church was rededicated to St. Marina. Although the reliquary is unmistakably associated with Marina of Antioch, the newly renamed church of St. Marina became the locus of the cult of St. Maria / Marinos in Italy.

The cults of Marina of Antioch and Maria / Marinos are both long-standing and spread through the East and West. Marina of Antioch is the better-known saint, especially in the West, but the two cults are distinctive in both regions. In the two locations examined in this paper, the saints are confused or conflated in ways which suggest that it is the contact between East and West which may be provoking the problem. Exploring this phenomenon offers an opportunity for comparative study of the development and spread of cults.

Session VIIIA

Food and Water

Chair: Jennifer Ball
(Brooklyn College)

Flooding In Byzantium: Occurrences and Attitudes from the Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries

Alexander Olson (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

According to both Michael Attaleiates and Anna Komnene, the Emperor Isaakios I Komnenos' decision to retire and found a monastery was partly precipitated by his narrow escape from a flash flood that swamped the Byzantine army on the campaign of 1059. Just under a hundred years later, a contingent of German Crusaders was washed out to sea by a flash flood on the plain of Choirobacchoi in Thrace. The Byzantine historians Ioannes Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates give slightly different explanations for the flood's cause, but both agree that the event was both catastrophic and an expression of divine power. From the eleventh century onwards, floods feature more prominently in Byzantine narrative sources than previously.

This paper analyzes the presence of floods in Byzantine sources as both literary and environmental phenomena. First, it examines a handful of floods described in Byzantine sources and their use as literary devices. In doing so, it demonstrates the cultural idioms that were associated with floods among Byzantine authors. Byzantine historians' and chroniclers' accounts of floods are often interspersed with major political, religious, and military events, as well as the decisions of powerful figures. The texts' treatment of floods vary: they can serve to foreshadow the death of an Emperor; as a divine sign warning an Emperor to abdicate; or as a saviour of a besieged Byzantine city. At other times the flood is positioned more subtly in a narrative, for example, acting as an indirect criticism of those in power. Regardless of how the event is described and positioned, these portrayals of floods all serve a literary purpose, thereby furthering the agenda of the texts in which they are contained. This literary use of floods

forces one to be skeptical about whether or not a given flood “actually happened.”

Despite the function of floods as literary devices and analogies, it is important to acknowledge that floods did occur in Byzantium. They altered the landscape and physical well-being of Byzantines situated near them, and also their sense of security in a changeable world. After all, floods are a feature of the Mediterranean environment, particularly flash floods that are the result of heavy, and seasonal (usually in autumn) precipitation (often on west-facing coasts). With the physical causes and features of Mediterranean floods in mind, this paper attempts to determine the veracity of Byzantine accounts of these natural phenomena, investigating a handful of examples to approximate in which cases they function solely as a literary device, or as an account of a natural disaster. Once the veracity of the flood is considered, the paper then investigates the ways in which various Byzantine authors explained how and why floods occurred.

Contrasting Organizational Schemes for Water Management in Late Antiquity: Bottom-Up and Top-Down Approaches in Hagiography and Procopius’ *Buildings*

Jordan Pickett (University of Pennsylvania)

This paper examines conflicting schemes for Late Antique urban water management that are depicted in the *Buildings* of Procopius and a selection of Late Antique saints’ lives.

If the first book of Procopius’s *Buildings* discourses on Justinian’s munificent patronage of churches and infrastructure in Constantinople, the remaining second to sixth books extend that discourse to the provinces, with a particular and hitherto under-acknowledged stress on the relationship

between empire and water. Problems of urban water shortage or superabundance are often described consequentially – in each case the problem is followed by a solution discovered by the Emperor (sometimes with the help of divine inspiration), his military officers, or engineers (sometimes including the famous Anthemius and Isidore, now moonlighting as hydraulic specialists) sent from the capital. Execution of the solution is, like Caesar in Gaul, swift and impersonal – Procopius renders an image of highly effective imperial administration that was deeply concerned for the proper provision of water in cities of the empire, and apparently capable of enacting complex, top-down solutions. So, for instance, in Helenopolis (V.ii.1-5): “[Justinian] observed that the city was suffering from shortage of water and was cruelly oppressed by thirst, and [so he]... improvised a marvelous aqueduct and provided it with an unlooked for supply of water, sufficient for the people there not only to drink but also to use for bathing and for all the other luxuries in which men indulge who have an unstinted supply of water. Besides this he [built and restored baths damaged by lack of water and abandonment or neglect].” This is immediately followed by a description of the river Dracon (V.ii.6-13), near Helenopolis, whose superabundance/frequent flooding was managed with imperially directed forest clearance, river diversion, and bridges.

On the other hand, hagiographic sources describe the responsibility of Late Antique saints for the very same problems of urban water management, but from a distinctly bottom-up perspective that favors miracles, smaller scale solutions, and communal participation over large-scale investment and external interference in local concerns: saints are variously credited with divining sources of water before well construction or finding fresh springs, blessing water that was efficacious for healings and miracles, changing the weather on behalf of communities during periods of

extraordinary scarcity/superabundance, intervening on behalf of communities with imperial authorities or dishonest contractors during bridge building/dam construction, and initiation of community agricultural improvements (including irrigation) and fertilization projects (e.g., Theodore of Sykeon, 43, 45, 50-51; Symeon the Elder, 64 and 85). Elite saints, like Melania the Elder, are also credited with building water works (including spring heads, latrines, baths, and fountains) for monasteries and communities.

While studies of Late Antique water management have often been content with questions of continuity and catastrophe in the condition of the empire's infrastructure, this paper attempts to use contemporary sources to better understand how urban water management was hotly contested (and represented in literature) by local and state actors with very different strategies and objectives.

Subsistence and Starvation: Economics of the Fast in the Early Church

Irene SanPietro (Columbia University)

Anchorites, the 'holy men' of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts, sometimes practiced starvation unto death, cultivating a charisma that excited legions of imitators and a host of responses calling for moderation. Cenobitic monks criticized the spectacular self-destruction of the anchorites, modeling bodily self-control as a means to prayer rather than an end in itself. Each group produced dozens of manuals and sayings collections theorizing the elusive mean between denial and indulgence, spirituality and hubris.

Against this backdrop bishops cultivated a third kind of ascetic authority, that of the ideal householder, and slowly

built up a festal calendar to unify disparate individual fasts into communal practices with collective norms and goals. These became the great stationary fasts of the Church which organized the liturgical calendar. The episcopal fast was conceived with monastic insights on paring down bodily needs in preparation for sanctification, but was qualitatively different in motivation. As an alternative to monastic models which advocated *askesis* as an end in itself or an alternative to house-holding, the episcopal fast was conciliatory to the house-holding laity. In fact, the stationary fasts of the Church saw fasting not as a mere component of piety, necessary but not sufficient without prayer and alms. Bishops used homiletics, epistolography and pastoral manuals to broaden the possibilities of *askesis* and direct the practice according to a new idea of charity open to everyone.

The subordination of ascetic practice to a superior ideal markedly changed the trajectory of ascetic practice as well as diocesan and monastic relations. The laity were positively discouraged from the hubris of heroic *askesis* and instead encouraged to use the fast as a component of piety lived in the community of the church. The fast became public, interpreted through hierarchy of virtues proposed by such bishops as Augustine and Chrysostom. Participating in the fast marked orthodoxy through *orthopraxy* - participation in the communal behavior of the pious marked one as a true believer. As a polemic, the regulation of *askesis* by appeal to the ideal of charity combated the mystique of ascetic heroes and ultimately changed the institutional economy of the Church through the development of charitable ministries. As importantly, it changed the consumption patterns of individual households subjected to regimens of communal fasting that could last up to a third of each year. Applied to households, ascetic regimens of fasting were capable of producing significant savings to meet the demands of charity, which were collected on feast days. Ancient economic scholarship still tends to use

the Roman army or WHO calorie counts as the gold standard of subsistence, but it was Christian monastics who perfected the art of truly minimal intake, and Christian bishops who discovered the fast as an institution-building technology.

Feeding Asceticism: Monastic Kitchens and Consumption Habits in Byzantine Egypt

Darlene L. Brooks Hedstrom (Wittenberg University)

Household archaeology uses theoretical readings of archaeological evidence to reconstruct dynamic social actions and activities within a domestic area. Monastic settlements, in contrast, are often not regarded as domestic spaces because of the religious and sacred nature of many of the activities linked to the residents. What value could there be to viewing monastic settlements as extended households or as domestic spaces? While it is true that monastic settlements have specific types of architectural features which help define a settlement as a monastic one, there are equally valid reasons to find commonalities between a secular village and a monastic settlement. The inclusion of spaces for religious devotion, for example, is not unique to monastic spaces. Archaeology provides several examples of household shrines, devotional spaces, and sacralized spaces within domestic contexts. Do these types of households differ in substantive ways from other domestic contexts where residents have spaces dedicated to religious rituals, performative acts, or devotional spaces?

One space that is not considered overtly ritualized in the same ways as devotional spaces is the kitchen. Constructed with ovens, stoves, and storage facilities, a kitchen provides ample evidence for examining the importance of food, methods of preparation, and diet. Fortunately, several Egyptian monastic settlements include complex kitchen

units which can be studied as part of the archaeology of the household. The kitchen forms a central part in the domestic design of most monastic residences in Egypt. Archaeobotanical and architectural evidence from sites such as Kom el-Nana, John the Little, Deir el-Bachit, Bawit, Sohag and Thebes, illustrates the need to revisit the history of asceticism and consumption habits at monastic settlements. The monastic narrative of the bland and mostly vegetarian diet is not substantiated by the excavated evidence of a diet rich in fish, vegetables, and seasonings. By using the methodologies employed by household archaeology, I examine Egyptian monastic kitchens, storage areas, and documentary evidence to establish a broad overview of consumption habits in early Byzantine Egypt. Spatial design, construction methods, and objects all inform my theoretical reading of Egypt's monastic kitchens for refining the narrative of asceticism, consumption and monastic households in Byzantine Egypt.

Session VIIIB
Byzantium and Italy

Chair: Joseph D. Alcheres
(Connecticut College)

Greek and Latin (and a Canoodling Couple) in a South Italian Church

Linda Safran (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies,
Toronto)

The small subterranean church known as Li Monaci (near Copertino, in southern Apulia) contains a long dedicatory inscription that immediately betrays its hybrid nature. Written in Greek and dedicated to the *archistrategos* Michael, the text is dated 6823 (1314/15) according to the reign of the Angevin king on behalf of a man with a French-sounding name. Other inscriptions in the church identify painted saints and scenes in Greek, Latin, or both languages. The iconography of the frescoes also reveals a blending of traditions: John the Theologian is the elderly Byzantine-type apostle, while the Crucifixion, with the single nail piercing Christ's feet and the blood flowing from his hand, follows "Western" iconography. Stylistically, too, the frescoes divide into two groups. Understanding this culturally hybrid interior is further complicated by the unexpected presence on the ceiling of a couple locked in a close embrace. The two figures, dressed in contemporary clothing, have no accompanying text. Even though one scholar has assumed they are the patron and his wife, this is very unlikely.

This paper analyzes the complete decorative program of Li Monaci for the first time. It uncovers textual and liturgical sources for certain fresco juxtapositions and posits an identification of the mysterious couple. The Orthodox rite was likely celebrated in the church, but its frescoes reveal that the artists and users were conversant with diverse cultural markers. And while Li Monaci is a unique amalgamation, hybridity is characteristic of churches in this region.

**Rialto before *San Marco* (as we know it):
The Church of *San Zaccaria* on *Rivus Altus* in the *Istoria
Veneticorum* of John the Deacon**

Thomas E Schweigert (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater)

"The old church and monastery of Saint Zacharias date from the beginning of the ninth century; they were founded by the emperor Leon, but the zealous Venetians pretend that...the Greeks never exercised authority over Venice." Travels in Italy, Antoine Valery, 1839

Valery is a bit unfair to modern Venetians, for the Church of San Zaccaria contains a Baroque painting that depicts Leo V personally accompanying the relics of Saint Zacharias to the Venetian Lagoon! The attitude noted by Valery, however, is found already in the *Istoria Veneticorum* (ca. 1008) of John the Deacon—JD. JD records the founding of the monastery during the rule of the Particiaco dukes [811-836], but he is vague on the exact date and makes no mention of imperial foundation or the translation of relics. JD's overarching theme—Rialtine and ducal grandeur—and the rhetorical strategies deployed in its service mean that confused chronology and "silences" are often telltale signs that something important is happening. JD records almost all of the eastern emperors beginning with Justin II, but he has Leo III expire in 726—Iconoclasm never happens; he passes over in silence the reigns of Nikephoros II Phokas and John I Tzimiskes, along with their "great" western contemporary, Otto I.

Accepting that the relics of Saint Zacharias were translated to the homonymous church under Leo, the more interesting question arises as to which Zacharias, for there are two fathers of the Precursor, Western and Eastern. The minor Western saint is the strictly canonical one of *Luke*; the Eastern Zacharias is martyred during the Slaughter of the Innocents

for refusing to betray the whereabouts of Elizabeth and the infant John, themselves miraculously saved from Herod's soldiers. The story is found in the *Protevangelium of James*, whose explanation for the siblings of Jesus, despite Mary's being ever-virgin—Joseph was a widower with children from a previous marriage—was at odds with Jerome's linguistic explanation—a mistranslation, as they were really just his cousins. Eastern iconography consistently depicts the apocryphal martyrdom/miracle narrative.

Unfortunately “not a solitary stone of this [ninth century] church has been handed down to us.” The oldest extant artwork, the *Polyptych of the Virgin* (Antonio Vivarini *et al.*, 1443), provides a visual record of the saints whose relics the church contains, most prominently Zacharias, but the depiction is of the Western Zacharias. We are thus left with the problematic textual evidence of JD. For the period of the Macedonian and Ottonian emperors and Orseolo dukes which concludes the *Istoria*, and for which JD is eyewitness and actor within his own narrative, the church of *San Zaccaria*, as well as the ducal *San Marco* and episcopal *San Pietro*, occur frequently in what is essentially a political history. *San Zaccaria* emerges as arguably the most prominent church on late tenth century Rialto, and the behaviors of people *vis-à-vis* the church that emerge in JD's narrative are most consistent with this having been a church believed to house the relics of a holy martyr.

The Celestial Firmament and the Geometric Construction of the *Mugarnas*

Agnieszka E. Szymańska (Temple University)

Medieval architecture could use tectonic means to express ideas about divine and earthly ruler-ship. In an encomium to Roger II, Norman king of Sicily from 1130 to 1154, the

monk Philagathos attributed the prosperity of Palermo to the munificence of its ruler and the grace of God. He praised Roger II as the patron of the Cappella Palatina, and compared the roof above this structure's nave to "the clear sky of heaven, illuminated by the choir of the stars." Executed between 1131 and 1153, the ceiling consists of two rows of ten stellate octagons, which are surrounded by *muqarnas* units. Beginning with Ugo Monneret de Villard, scholars have focused on the iconography of the vault's figural, vegetal and epigraphic painted decoration. In this paper, I examine the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo from a different perspective, by considering its mathematical design. To that end, I discuss the vault in the context of the geometric construction of *muqarnas* domes in the dar al-Islam.

Islamic building process has the potential to enhance our understanding of the architectonic materialization of ideas. In this project, I employ Renata Holod's and Alpay Özdural's notion of the transmission of architectural knowledge to probe some meanings of the *tarh* (plan or drawing) of the *muqarnas* domes. An exploration of theoretical and practical geometry elucidates their design and significance. The conceptual creators, or mathematicians, of the *muqarnas* drawings surviving in a fifteenth-century scroll in the Topkapı based their work on Greek scientific treatises, including Euclid's *Elements*. Drawing on the concept of visuality, I postulate that the eye in Euclidean propositions corresponds to the position of the dome's apex. Islamic scientists considered Euclid's works in tandem with Ptolemy's astronomical treatise, the *Almagest*. The objective of the geometric construction of the *muqarnas* vaults was to create a proportional and harmonious map of the cosmos, which functioned like a mirror wherein the beholder united with the divine. The designers of the *muqarnas* ceilings intended them to be perceived as the heavenly firmament, and to transfix the beholder in an otherworldly experience.

Textual evidence suggests that Roger II was familiar with Arabic scientific literature employed by the designers of the *muqarnas* domes in the dar al-Islam. The king surrounded himself with Muslim scholars, including the cartographer Abu Abdallah al-Idrisi (1100-ca.1165). Euclid's works were available at the Sicilian court, and Roger II is said to have consulted Ptolemy's *Almagest*. The Norman dynasty negotiated expressions of authority by drawing on Byzantine and Islamic sources, which complemented each other in a dynamic way. The Byzantine mosaics used in the Cappella Palatina elevated Roger II's royal status. The monument's vault employs the *muqarnas*, a technique known in the dar al-Islam since the ninth or the tenth century. The choice of this architectural element in Palermo not only manifested Roger II's participation in multiple cultural traditions, but also indicates a desire to use geometric principles to construct a celestial sphere that expressed a union of divine and earthly ruler-ship.

Eugenios of Palermo's Theory of Kingship: Its Intellectual and Historical Setting

Mircea Dulus (Central European University, Budapest, Hungary)

Eugenios of Palermo (1130 – 1203), a Sicilian Greek with the reputation of a mathematician, poet and translator, puts forward, in one of his poems, a theory of kingship which is silent on the king's divine rights or of his ministry through the will of God. He explains society entirely as a human achievement. The legitimate ruler is the one "we chose from among ourselves to rule with our consent." This theory becomes even more peculiar when we consider that Eugenios had had a long official career at the court of Norman kings in the second half of the twelfth century being an intimate of

King William I (1154 – 1166), an official of William II (1166 – 1189) and Tancred of Lecce's (1190 – 1194) highest official. In light of contemporary political thought, Byzantine as well as Western, Eugenios' theory is, to say the least unusual.

The composition of the poem is placed during the reign of William I (cf. Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily. His Life and Work*, Oxford University Press, 1957). It is argued that the ideas expressed in the poem *On Kingship* need to be taken into consideration together with Eugenios's panegyric to a King William, again identified with William I and that together they express a unified view of kingship. The difference between them would derive from the fact that the panegyric addressed to King William is colored by a specific purpose of praising William while the poem *On Kingship* "undoubtedly reveals Eugenios' approach to one of the great political problems of his day."

This paper proposes to explore the intellectual and historical setting that lies behind these compositions arguing that the poem *On Kingship* and *To the Most Glorious and Triumphant King William* stand in a most blatant contrast. The panegyric to King William is a conventional Byzantine panegyric. It speaks of the king as ruling through the will of God, while the poem *On Kingship* expresses a view of kingship and government as a necessary expedient devised by human reason, formulating therefore a theory that differs fundamentally from the current view of Byzantium and Western Europe in the twelfth century. In fact Eugenios presents a theory of the origins of human society that leads him to a rather peculiar understanding of kingship.

Next by addressing Eugenios' selection of sources I situate the poem *On Kingship* within Byzantine political writing; thereafter, by looking briefly at the Norman ideology and Eugenios' career, I show that the likeliest moment for

the composition of the poem is after the demise of William II in 1189. I assert that its inner argumentation and the reasons that stand behind the selection of its sources could be better explained if we consider the poem as a propaganda piece written to deny Henry IV's rights and legitimacy to the Norman crown on the one hand, while on the other hand at the same time, to support Tancred of Lecce's claims to the Sicilian kingdom.

Session IXA
Perceptions of the Body and Sacred Space in
the Medieval Mediterranean
(Panel Sponsored by the ICMA)

Chair: Annemarie Weyl Carr
(Southern Methodist University)

Approaching the Sacred, Guided by Text Spatial Practice and Calligraphy in Medieval Islamic Architecture in Anatolia

Patricia Blessing (Stanford University)

Religious monuments in the medieval Islamic world are devoid of images, especially in the interiors of spaces, even though some exceptions on façades appear. Instead, inscriptions adorn the buildings, emphasizing important elements of the architecture, such as the niche indicating the direction of Mecca towards which worshippers turn during prayers. This paper considers how such inscriptions were used to guide the beholder through a sacred space, replacing the images familiar in churches. With a focus on Islamic religious buildings in thirteenth-century Anatolia, a region formerly marked by Byzantine architecture, this paper shows that text, often of sacred content, accentuated specific architectural features, leading the visitor into and through the building.

In this region, shaped by its Byzantine heritage as well as by the newly introduced religion of Islam, negotiating visual practices was particularly important. Thus, similar to images in Byzantine sacred spaces, in Islamic monuments inscriptions became points of access and framing devices, directing the visitor, determining the position of the body while walking through the monument. This applies not only to mosques, the most obvious spaces for worship, but also to other religious monuments such as *madrasas*, colleges of Islamic law where classes could be held, prayers read, students housed, and where (unlike in mosques) founders were often buried. Thus, in the Buruciye Medrese in Sivas, the viewer is guided across the courtyard of the *madrasa* to the prayer niche, then back to the mausoleum of the founder, located in a small domed chamber near the entrance. This journey through the building was achieved through an alternation of sacred and secular

texts, carefully distinguished hierarchically. In the multi-functional complex of Sahib Ata in Konya, the foundation inscription over the portal is written in small script on a simple panel, whereas in the interior, the viewer eventually enters the tomb chamber of the founder, heavily decorated with tiles and Qur'anic inscriptions.

The inscriptions were placed in conspicuous locations that would lead the viewer's eye through the space of the monument. This visual function of the inscriptions is connected to their content. The size and decoration of the inscriptions were used to indicate a hierarchy, often emphasizing religious texts, such as passages from the Qur'an or prayers. These are generally written in larger and more elaborate script than foundation inscriptions. The latter contain the name of the patron and the date of the monument. This visual hierarchy of inscriptions allowed the viewer to guess content without actually reading the text, an important feature in a society such as medieval Anatolia where many recent converts to Islam would not have been familiar with the Arabic language, or literate in it. Thus, the body of the visitor became involved in a planned approach to the monument outlined in the architecture, not just in the intellectual endeavor of reading the often complicated calligraphy of the inscriptions.

Micro-architecture as a Spatial and Conceptual Frame in Byzantium: Canopies in the Monastery of Hosios Loukas

Jelena Bogdanović (Iowa State University)

The use of architecture as a visual and conceptual frame is well attested in medieval art. For example, in medieval illuminations, architectural frames are often used to separate images from the accompanying texts. Such architectural

frames signify potent transparent boundaries between the space of the beholder and the space of that which is seen and, therefore, define perceptible liminal spaces. Actual architectural frames and their role in defining sacred space, however, have been studied far less.

This paper examines architectural and conceptual frames in Byzantium by going beyond the Kantian notion of frame as pure embellishment (*parergon*) and by re-examining Derrida's concept of frame as an integral part of the content that in fact negates the separation of the two different realms — within and outside of the frame. Architectural canopies provide an elucidating means of exploring this issue. In particular, I discuss examples from the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Boeotia, Greece: the altar canopy, the tomb-shrine canopy, and the canopy that signifies the Temple in the scene of the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* depicted in one of the squinches of the massive domed core of the *katholikon* – also a canopy.

These canopies of different origins, sizes, materials and locations within the monastery's *katholikon*, framed and combined different and independent though not necessarily mutually exclusive “glorious spaces,” as they were recurrently described in primary sources. Such spaces were perceived by the monks, pilgrims, and churchgoers as characteristic of the divine. Images and canopies associated with Hosios Loukas reveal different experiential and material frames within the church and polyvalent relations between the sacred space and the human body (of the beholders and of the holy beings).

The Kantian construct of the frame as a purely decorative feature is not applicable in the Byzantine cultural sphere, while Derrida's framing when applied to Byzantine architecture transgresses the boundaries dividing the divine and human realms. John of Damascus writes about the framing of the universe, imbuing aspects of the divine and

earthly in overlapping spaces, each within the other, and yet also distinct. Using the Damascene's thought as a basis, the Byzantine understanding of framing is examined as a way to signify meaning through the specific examples of different canopies at Hosios Loukas. This analysis demonstrates that canopies were perceived as architectural and conceptual frames that provided both divine and earthly entities with their appropriate properties, while preserving their true natures as divine or earthly, even if occasionally seemingly overlapping within the liminal space of the frame and the framed. By combining philosophical, textual, visual and architectural evidence, this paper ultimately suggests that micro-architectural forms functioned as "spatial icons" that aided the believers in their spiritual quests while never fully dissolving the strongly perceived distinction between the earthly and heavenly realms.

Imperial Bodies and Sacred Space? Imperial Images between Monumental Decoration and Space Definition

Maria Cristina Carile (Università di Bologna, Italy)

Since the first edition of André Grabar's *L'empereur dans l'art Byzantine* (Paris, 1936), scholarly literature has devoted much attention to representations of the emperor – and, in more recent years, of the empress – in a wide range of media (from mosaics to coins, weights and manuscript illumination). Much has also been written about monumental images of the imperial couple and family, which appear to have proliferated from the age of Basil I (867-886) onwards and become a *leitmotiv* in the territories of Byzantine tradition outside Constantinople at a later period. However, monumental images of the imperial couple and family were not exceptional even in Late Antiquity. At that time, just as in Byzantium, they were used

to decorate churches and palaces, spaces that for their own nature were commonly considered as sacred. Unfortunately, little, if anything, of these images or of the buildings that they decorated has survived the centuries. In most cases, the only extant evidence is bound to texts, which describe images mediated by the perception or intention of the ancient writer – a beholder of those images but also often a biased witness with interests in conveying a determined view through his/her own writings.

It is precisely through these perceptions and intentions that I contextualize monumental imperial dynastic representations into their own cultural, geo-chronological and, when possible, architectural context, in order to define their meaning. This analysis clarifies the development of the theme of dynastic imperial representations, revealing patterns of continuity or radical changes between Late Antiquity and Byzantium, and determines the function of these images within their surrounding spaces. Monumental imperial dynastic depictions center on the body: the representation of the imperial family members as simple portraits or within narrative scenes; the perception of beholders who approach the images and of writers who record their impressions of monumental representations to their audiences; the intentions of patrons for buildings and their decoration; and the sensitivity of iconographers who conceived images as part of specific architectural spaces.

Ultimately, this paper investigates the relationship between imperial representations and the sacred spaces in which they could be seen. It defines the meaning of these spaces to the patron or the beholder and the ways in which such images affected the perception of space. This approach sheds new light on a crucial point for the conceptualization of sacred space in Byzantium: whether space also became sacred by the presence of the imperial images, or if imperial

representations just added an imperial feature to a space already considered as sacred.

The Influence of Icons on the Perception the Human Body

Katherine Marsengill (Independent scholar, New York)

Textual sources describing holy icons in Byzantium reiterate the necessity that icons be true portraits presenting the features of the subjects, even though to a modern viewer the appearance of the human body in icons has been flattened into two dimensions, the features made abstract. How one explains the acceptance of icons as true portraits in the eyes of the Byzantine requires an understanding that icons were not meant to preserve the images of persons as they had appeared before the mantle of holiness had settled on their shoulders. Icons were described and defended by contemporaries as portraits of people whose spiritual purity was made manifest in their appearances. For one who had achieved spiritual perfection, his or her physical features transformed accordingly. The icon was meant to express the true, spiritual nature of man—not his physical materiality, but his transcendent likeness.

How icons influenced visions of saints has been discussed brilliantly by Gilbert Dagron (*DOP* 45, 1991). Byzantine people recognized and identified the saints when they appeared because saints always looked exactly as they did in their images, despite the fact that these images were typified, spiritualized portraits. Georgia Frank (Los Angeles, 2000) has explored encounters with holy men in hagiographical texts and resituated these as informative about how people perceived these encounters. Not just rhetoric, these descriptions are based on preconceptions that conditioned responses. However, there continues to be a gap in our understanding of the role of holy icons in the direct experience of holy faces and bodies.

How did the representation of holiness in icons as portraits that presented the countenances of the subjects affect the visual experience of seeing living holy persons? That an exalted person should look like an image was not a new notion. Ammianus describes Constantius II as perfectly static and composed, as though a moving statue. As Henry Maguire (Washington D. C., 1997) has shown, Middle and Late Byzantine depictions of emperors represent them in ways that are often visually akin to icons of military saints, King David, and angels. Closer scrutiny of this phenomenon reveals that the advent and proliferation of icons had a profound impact not just on the depiction of the faces and bodies of exalted persons, but also on viewers' perceptions of their faces and bodies in the actual experience of seeing them in the flesh. We find in hagiography and imperial encomia the same terms used to describe icons applied to describing the faces and bodies of living holy persons and emperors. This paper argues that icons affected contemporary audiences, influencing their ways of seeing to such an extent that often the conception of the icon replaced the physical reality of the person. Descriptions that rely upon the terms associated with icons are indicative of a true shift in perception: how a holy person was expected to look, as most contemporaries had experienced through viewing icons, became how a person was visually perceived.

Session IXB
Hybrids and Mixtures: Genre-Crossing in
Byzantine Literature

Chairs: Aglae Pizzone
(Durham University)
&
Alexander Riehle
(University of Vienna)

Where *ekphrasis* meets *enkômion* and *diêgêsis*: Mesarites' *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles* reconsidered

Beatrice Daskas (Università degli Studi, Milano)

This paper provides a reappraisal of the widely known *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles* by Nikolaos Mesarites. Through a systematic reinvestigation of the text I show that the traditional approach considering it narrowly as an *ekphrasis* of a church building does not adequately account for its complexity. A close examination of the text reveals in fact a more articulated structure combining *ekphrasis* with *enkômion* and *diêgêsis*. Such an hybridization is fully in tune with rhetorical theory: as recent scholarship has shown, *ekphrasis* must not be regarded as an independent rhetorical exercise, but as one closely connected to other *progymnasmata* (Ps.-Hermog. *RhG* VI 23.15-18 Rabe; Nic. *RhG* XI 70.2-3 Felten).

In order to delve into the relationship between *ekphrasis* and *enkômion* this contribution explores the first part of Mesarites' text (*Descr.*, [I]-[XI], 861-867 Downey), commonly believed to describe the surroundings of the church of the Holy Apostles along with its external features. Instead, this part could be more suitably interpreted as an *enkômion* of Constantinople. Indeed we may recognize praise of the physical environment of the "queen of cities" (the site: [II]-[III].1-2 Downey; its geographic features and resources: [III].3-[IV]; the sea [V].1-2; the city planning, the walls, the palace, the baths: [V].3-[VI].3) and of the accomplishments of its citizens, among which the educational achievements—or, in the authors' words, 'the treasure of learning'—occupy a particular place ([VII]-[XI]). This part is developed according to the rules of the city *enkômion*, as defined by the third-century orator Menander (Men. *Rh. RhG* III 344-367 Spengel). Hence, it is no accident that for this section Mesarites makes reference to a widely popular example of the type in Byzantium, i.e.

Libanius' *Antiochikos*.

All the above considerations call for a redefinition of Mesarites' *Description*: not an '*ekphrasis*' then, but a '*logos*' that accounts for a flexible (but consistent with rhetorical theory) use of the system of *modi dicendi*, the nature of which is to be explored in detail for an in-depth understanding of its significance.

"I, Sergia...": The *Narration* about St. Olympias between hagiography and testament

Alexander Riehle (University of Vienna)

When, in the early seventh century, the Persians during one of their raids on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus set the monastery of St. Thomas in Brochthoi on fire, the abbess of the convent of St. Olympias, Sergia, rushed to the monastery to save single-handedly the relics of the foundress of her convent, which rested at St. Thomas. After Olympias had appeared in a dream vision to a nun of this convent saying that "after so many years I have come to dwell among you and I will not ever leave you", Sergia approached the patriarch of Constantinople Sergios I asking "to have her precious remains deposited in the monastery of her servants."

These are the abbess' own words in her account of the translation of the relics (BHG 1376) which is a rather exceptional piece of monastic literature. Although Sergia claims to write an edifying hagiographical account (*διήγησις*), —and previous scholarship has all too quickly accepted this classification — the hagiographical repertoire and narrative structure are permeated by a set of genre markers and authorial strategies that belong to different literary traditions. This paper proposes that, in terms of both form and function, the *Narration* is a generic hybrid.

One of the most striking stylistic features of the text are the formulaic elements— most notably the repetitious use of the phrase “I, the sinner Sergia”—at the beginning of each narrative unit. As it is argued, Sergia employs such formulae in order to impose herself as a mediator between Olympias and the (past and future) superiors of the convent: she is the one who prompted the translation of the saint’s relics to the monastery and who passes on (*παραδοῦναι*) the oral tradition about her miracles to the next generations of abbesses (“my successors in the administration of the monastery”). These future superiors as well as the present nuns of the convent are the intended audience of this text as becomes evident from the direct addresses as well as from another set of formulae (e.g., “as you all know”) that establish a connection between the saint and her servants through the intervention of Sergia. Moreover, Sergia employs various narrative strategies that aim to lend credibility and authority to her account and, hence, to her initiative to have the relics transferred to her monastery. For instance, the aforementioned dream vision and the narration of the miracles performed by the relics during the translation clearly serve the purpose of sanctioning the translation by that very saint. Finally, the account concludes with extensive admonitions to her audience, framed in pleas to pray for Sergia’s soul after her death.

These observations point to the conclusion that the account is not merely a *diēgēsis* aiming to provide believers with an edifying reading, but served as Sergia’s testament that was to testify to, and perpetuate, her effort to reinforce the monastic continuity of Olympia’s convent.

The funerary epigram for Mauricius in Byzantine chronicles: A case of genre-mixture

Raimondo Tocci (Democritus University of Thrace, Greece)

Recent studies have shown that the composition of Byzantine chronicles should by no means be regarded as an act of assembling more or less incoherent accounts with an uncritical stance towards the available sources. The re-working of pre-existing elements and blocks of information is a conscious authorial act that aims to fit such units into the specific personal or socio-historical context, or to comply with the contemporary literary taste, while remaining fully within the ideological confines of the genre. Historical reality is thus structured and contextualized through an alternation of accounting and narrating as well as through the incorporation of various genres and types of texts often entailing a shift in tone or function. What emerges is a flexible, utterly heterogeneous kind of writing, which could be compared to the (modern) novel as an open, fluid and polyphonic genre. It would definitely be erroneous to equate the Byzantine chronicle with the modern novel or even to suggest that within the context of Byzantine literature the chronicles from the 4th through the 12th centuries occupy the position previously held by the novel. However, it is a worthwhile endeavor to trace narrative techniques employed by the (modern) novel in Byzantine chronicles and to assess such “novelistic” strategies in connection to the overall function of chronicles as vehicles of the Byzantine worldview.

This paper wishes to contribute to a better understanding of the Byzantine chronicle as a genre by shedding light on the technique of generic inclusion. The analysis will be focusing on specific examples, notably the funerary epigram for emperor Mauricius (?), which found its way through the *Anthologia Palatina* (III 217. no. 732) into

Byzantine chronicles (Sym. Log. 108. app.cr. ad l.20, Georg. Cedr. I 707.12-708.2, Io. Zon. III 197.16-198.12, Theod. Scut. 106.18-30). More specifically, starting off from the original function of the epigram and the tradition of the genre and taking into account the changes in content, form or perspective of the epigram in the aforementioned chronicles, the paper aims to construe the purposes and the functions that its inclusion fulfilled in each case in connection with ideological issues. What consequences does the incorporation of the epigram in question have for the structure of the chronicle(s) or for the reception of the stereotypical structural element and consequently for the image of Mauricius? In what ways does the re-working of the epigram in each of the aforementioned chronicles affect the evolution of the Byzantine chronicle as a genre?

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Schweigert, Thomas E. (VIIIB),
Sinopoulos Lloyd, Sophia (VIB),
Sitz, Anna Marie (VIIA),
Steiner, Shanon (IB),
Sullivan, Denis (VA),
Szymańska, Agnieszka E. (VIIIB),
Timm, Christopher (VIIIA),
Tocci, Raimondo (IXB),
Trostyanskiy, Sergey (VB),
Viezure, Dana Iuliana (IVA),
Wickes, Jeffrey (IIIA),
Yangaki, Anastasia G., (6A),

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Vice President: Cecily Hilsdale, McGill University

Secretary: Kathleen Maxwell, Santa Clara University

Treasurer: Leonora Neville, University of Wisconsin, Madison

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Vasileios Marinis

Alice-Mary Talbot

Warren Woodfin

To serve until 2014:

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Scott Johnson (Georgetown University and Dumbarton Oaks)

Eunice Dauterman Maguire (Johns Hopkins University)

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