



Byzantine Studies Conference 2015
 New York, October 22-25

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	3
SESSION PROGRAM.....	4
ABSTRACTS.....	14

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SESSION PROGRAM

Byzantine Studies Conference 2015 New York, October 22-25

Thursday, October 22

Keynote: Thursday, 6:00

Judith Herrin, “Ravenna Springboard of Europe”

Friday, October 23

Session 1: Friday, 9:00-10:15

1-A: Asceticisms

Chair: Gregory Tucker

Ludovic Bender, “In Search of the Earthly Paradise: The Ascetics of Byzantine Laconia & their Relation to the Natural Landscape”

Alexander Miller, “The Jordan & Ascetic Life: Philoxenos of Mabbug's Miaphysite Contribution to Syriac Baptismal Theology”

Katherine Gilbert, “Understanding the Person of John Climacus: A Syriac Codex, Ladder Illuminations, & Byzantine Iconography”

1-B: Byzantine Literature & Poetry

Chair: Kostis Smyrlis

Marina Bazzani, “Homage and Subversion in the Poems of Manuel Philes”

Tomasz Labuk, “Old Comedy in the Service of Niketas Choniates: Gluttony, Politics and Mimesis in Chronike Diegesis”

Nikolaos Zagklas, “Reconciling Verse with Prose and Schedography: Rhetorical Poikilia in Twelfth-Century Byzantium”

Coffee Break 10:15-10:45

Session 2: Friday 10:45-12:00

2-A: Theological Factionalism

Chair: Christopher Sweeney

Mary Farag, “The Role of Ecclesiastical Property in the Trials of Ibas of Edessa & Dioscoros of Alexandria”

Edward Mason, “The Blasphemia at Sirmium: Constantius II & the Legacy of Nicaea”

2-B: Classical Engagements

Chair: Stratis Papaioannou

Carlos A. Martins de Jesus, “Praising Homeric Heroes: John Tzetzes & the Pseudo-Aristotelian Peplos in the Byzantine Period”

Baukje van den Berg, “Eustathios of Thessalonike on the Plausibility of Homeric Narrative: The Role of the Homeric Gods as Myth and Allegory”

Andrea Middleton, A Shared Visual Vocabulary: Isis & Harpocrates, Mary and Jesus”

2-C: Angels, Saints, and Burial

Chair: Jennifer Ball

Catherine Taylor, “The Matrilineal Cord: An Early Christian Representation of Rahab in the Via Latina Catacomb as Evidence for Her Virtuous Election”

Alison Poe, “The Deceased & the Paralytic on the Bethesda Sarcophagi”

Amy Gillette, “The Music of Angels in Byzantine Art”

Lunch 12:00-1:30

Session 3: Friday 1:30-3:30

3-A Medicine

Chair: Jon Stanfill

Sviatoslav Dmitriev, “The Doctor Jacob Psychistos: Medicine & Religion in Early Byzantium”

Christopher Sweeney, “Theodoret & the Problem of Galenic Medicine: Articulating a Health Care Paradigm in the *Historia Religiosa*”

Koray Durak, “Ambergris: the Story of a Perfume & Medical Drug in the Byzantine World”

Andrew Flemming, “A Cosmopolitan Knowledge: Bilingualism & Medical Theory in the Vienna Dioscurides”

3-B Hagiography and Literature

Chair: Ashley Purpura

Elizabeth Fisher, “Psellos the Hagiographer: Recalling St. Auxentios, Enrolling St. Symeon Metaphrastes”

Stephany Hull, “Like Teacher, Like Student: Modeling Virtue in the Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom”

Joel Dowling Soka, “Military Saints in the Alexiad”

Daria Resh, “The Byzantine Definition of Metaphrasis: A Reconsideration”

3-C Perception & Experience of Byzantine Music in the Liturgy

Chair: Susan Ashbrook Harvey

Bissera Pentcheva, “Phenomenology of Light and Sound in the Liturgy of Hagia Sophia for Easter”

Team of 6 (Donohue, Gerstel, Kyriakakis, Papalexandrou, Raptis, Antonopoulos), “Of Bodies & Spirits: Soundscapes of Byzantine Thessaloniki”

Laura Steenberge, “We Who Musically Represent the Cherubim: text painting in the Cherubikon”

Spyridon Antonopoulos, “Music, Movement, and Space: Evening Worship in Late Byzantium”

Coffee Break 3:30-4:00

Session 4: Friday 4:00-4:45

4-A Baptizing the Past

Chair: Jennifer Jamer

Brenda Llewellyn Ihssen, “Saved by the Same: Incarnational Theology and the Redemption of Artemios”

Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe, “The City, a Desert: the Ruins of Babylon in the Greek Christian Exegetical Imagination”

4-B Rewriting Byzantium

Chair: Stephen Payne

Alice Sullivan, “The Moldavian Murals of The Siege of Constantinople: Conflating Histories & Readapting a Byzantine Ideal”

Sarah Brooks, “Sites of Memory & Display in Constantinople: Sculptural Reuse at the Kalenderhane Camii and the Kariye Camii”

4-C Archeology in the Holy Land

Chair: Eric Ivison

Diliana Angelova, “Christ's Tomb in Jerusalem: Aedicule or Rotunda?”

Sarah Daiker, “Architectural Representations & Topographic Designation in the Mosaics of Jordan, 6th-8th Centuries”

An Evening at the Metropolitan Museum (6:30 – 9:00 p.m.)

Saturday, October 24

Session 5: Saturday 9:00-10:15

5-A: From Maximus to Palamas

Chair Tia Kolbaba

Luis Joshua Salés, “Maximos of Constantinople: A Political-Circumstantial Assessment of the Greek & Syriac Lives of Maximus the Confessor”

Jennifer Jamer, “Living in God's Holy Light: The Importance of Experience in Palamas' Theology”

Nataria Rusnac, “A Monastic Takeover? The Hagioritic tomos of 1340 & the Hesychast Ascent to Ecclesiastical Power”

5-B : Apocalypticisms and Fate

Chair: Alexis Torrence

Ryan Strickler, “A Priest & A Rabbi Predict the End of Days: Jewish & Christian Apocalyptic Discourse in Seventh-Century Byzantine Literature”

Christopher Bonura, “Illicit Sex, Islamic Conquest, & the Apocalypse: Role of Sexual Transgression in Byzantine Understanding of Divine Punishment”

Matthew Briel, “The Resurgence of Tyche in the Last Century of Byzantium”

5-C: Material Exchange

Chair: Holger Klein

Eunice Dauterman Maguire, “Design Exchanges between Hard and Soft”

Stefano Gulizia, “The Role of "Rationalized" Synchronisms in Manetho & Georgios Synkellos: Bridging Egyptian and Byzantine Antiquities”

Anthony Cutler, “The Madrid Pantokrator: Authenticity & Some Larger Problems in Middle Byzantine Art”

Coffee Break 10:15-10:45

Session 6: Saturday, 10:45-12:00

6-A Byzantine Liturgy I

Chair: Gregory Tucker

Stephen Shoemaker, “Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Pre-Ephesian Hymnography”

Sean Leatherbury, “Hyper Euches: Recontextualizing Votive Offerings in the Early Byzantine Period”

Ashley Purpura, “Noetic Psalters: Ascetic Practice, Mystical Ascent, & Song in Byzantine Monastic Literature”

6-B Byzantine Manuscripts

Chair: Alexander Miller

Warren Langford, ““Nearly Twins”: An Analysis of the Relationship between London, British Library, Additional MS 37002 and Lenin Library F. 181, Gr 11”

Courtney Tomaselli, “Of Kings & Prophets: Advice & Admonition in the Paris Gregory (BNF gr. 510)”

Claudia Rapp, “Uncovering the ‘Archaeology of the Page’: the Sinai Palimpsests Projects”

6-C Material Imagination I

Chair: Bissera Pentcheva

Helen Evans, “Presenting Byzantium in the Modern World”

Cynthia Hahn, “Catching Sight of Relics—Changes in Reliquaries and Display”

Olga Bush, “From Display to Performance: Gift Exchange in the Medieval Muslim World”

Business Lunch 12:00-2:00

****Generously underwritten by Mary and Michael Jaharis****

Session 7: Saturday 2:00-3:45

7-A Byzantine Liturgy II

Chair: Stephen Shoemaker

Daniel Schriever, “Memory, Architecture, Performance: Romanos the Melodist On the Prodigal Son”

Gregory Tucker, “A Harmonious Song of Theology? Notes on the Byzantine Liturgical Commemoration of the Council of Chalcedon”

Kevin Kalish, “Ephrem Graecus' Homily on the Sinful Women in its Liturgical Context”

Lora Webb, “Transfiguration: Mosaic, Liturgy, and Sacred Space in Nea Moni”

7-B Reading Circles and Cultures in 7th-Century Byzantium

****Sponsored by the Mary Jaharis Center for Byzantine Art & Culture****

Chair: Scott Johnson

Saskia Dirkse, “The Death of the Monastic Everyman in Seventh-Century Homily & Tale”

Gregory Kessel, “A Syriac Monk’s Reading: A Perspective on the Monastic Miscellanies”

Nicholas Marinides, “The Pandektes of Antiochos, a neglected witness to learned culture at the Lavra of Mar Saba in the early seventh century”

Alexis Torrance, “The Ambiguity of the Book in the Work of John Climacus”

7-C Visual Arts of Late Medieval Cyprus and Byzantium

Chair: Justine Andrews

James Rodriguez, “Is the Exceptional Exemplary? A Palaiologan Bilateral Icon at Paphos”

Ioanna Christoforaki, “Rural vs. Urban in the Visual Culture of Medieval Cyprus”

Maria Paschali, “Blurring the Lines: Devotional Imagery and Cultural Identity in Late Medieval Famagusta”

Response by Anne-Marie Weyl Carr

Coffee Break 3:45-4:15

Session 8: Saturday 4:15-5:00/5:15

8-A: Monastic Virtue

Chair: Matthew Briel

Dana Robinson, “Feeding the Twenty Thousand: Senoute's Monastic Hospitality as Model for Lay Commensal Practices in Continuing to Glorify the Lord and God is Blessed”

Agnieszka Szymanska, “The Vision of Christ as God: Picturing the Monk's Spiritual End in Byzantine Egypt”

8-B Methods and Resources

Chair: Joshua Salés

Andrew Walker White, “Orality, Memory & the Christos Paschon: the Parallel Translation Project”

Henry Schilb, “The Shape of Byzantine Art in the Index of Christian Art Database”

8-C Material Imagination 2

Chair: Elina Gertsman

Griffith Mann, "Museum Modes of Performance: Exhibition and Permanent Collection Installations in Theory and Practice"

Gudrun Buehl, "A Stuffed Tiger in a Museum is a Stuffed Tiger in a Museum and not a Tiger"

Nino Zchomelidse, "Performing the Medieval Charter"

Sunday, October 25

Session 9: Sunday 9:00-10:15

9-A Elite Objects and Economic Transitions

Chair: Christina Maranci

Joseph Kopta, "Hair, Touch, and the Ivory Comb of Leo VI as an Agent of Imperial Order"

Andrew Griebeler, "Byzantine Carvings in Serpent"

Alexander Olson, "A Landscape in Transition: Byzantines & Oak Trees in the Post-Classical Aegean Basin"

9-B Questions of Identity I

Chair Christian Raffensberger

Adam Goldwyn, "The Hunter & the Farmer: Ecocritical Approaches to Love in Digenis Akritis"

Robert Romanchuk and Thuy-Linh Pham, "Mouvance & Motifs in Digenis Akritis (Greek and Slavic)"

Eka Dughashvili, "Old Georgian Translation Traditions & Byzantine Cultural Orientation"

9-C Gifts of Devotion to Outer Places (exo chorai)

****Sponsored by the International Center of Medieval Art****

Chair: Cecily Hilsdale

Nathan Leidholm, “Constantinople as *exō chōra*: Voices Longing for *patrides* beyond the Center of Empire”

George Makris, “Viewing Mt Papikion from the Metropolis: A Note on the Byzantine ‘Love of Good Works’”

Foteni Spingou, “From Constantinople with Love: Private Devotion and Politics in the Holy Land and Other “Outer Places”

Coffee Break 10:15-10:45

Session 10: Sunday, 10:45-12:30

10-A: War, Diplomacy, and Political Postures

Chair: Brenda Llewellyn Ihssen

Scott Kenkel, “Justinian II & the Arab Byzantine Truce of 685”

Elena Boeck, “A Dynamic Duo: Imperial Dialogue & Equestrian Monuments of Constantinople & Baghdad,”

Mariana Bodnaruk, “Inscriptions of Early Byzantium: The Senatorial Self-Representation”

Kaelin Jewell, “Peacocks & the Display of Power in Late Antiquity”

10-B Questions of Identity II

Chair: George Demacopoulos

Aleksandar Jovanovic, “Turks or New Persians? Seljuk Turkish Identity in Byzantine Historiography”

Catherine A. Fernandez, “Shared Romanitas: Roman Imperial Cameos in the Byzantine East & Latin West”

Christian Raffensberger, “Questioning Titulature & Identity: the Kindom of Rus”

Grant Schrama, “Migrants & Settlers: The Presence of a European, Latin Christian Diaspora in Constantinople & Greece, 1081-1204”

10-C Archaeology of Byzantine Neighborhoods

****Sponsored by the Mary Jaharis Center for Byzantine Art and Culture****

Chair: Kostis Kourelis

Jordan Pickett, “Structuring Neighborhoods with Water in Late Antiquity”

Benjamin Anderson, “The Oxeia Without Emperors”

Eric Ivison, “The Lower City Church Complex at Amorium as a Byzantine Neighborhood (6th-9th Centuries)”

Fotini Kondyli, “Shared Spaces – Shared Lives: Community Building in the Neighborhoods of Middle Byzantine Athens”

Adam Rabinowitz, “Life and Death on the Block: Neighborhood, Space, and Social Practice in 12th/13th-Century Cherson (Crimea)”

The Oxeia Without Emperors

Anderson, Benjamin

The Oxeia (“the sharp”) was a medieval name for the hill in Constantinople on which Süleymaniye Camii now stands. According to the fifth-century *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, the surrounding area was distinguished by the highest density of domestic building within the city. Of the various written sources that mention the Oxeia, the earliest and by far the most informative is the seventh-century collection of miracles worked by Saint Artemios from his crypt within the church of Saint John the Forerunner, which was located on or near the hill. To follow a distinction drawn by Albrecht Berger, “the Oxeia” names a “topos,” not a “quarter.” However, the miracles of Artemios present an image of a distinct local culture rooted in this place.

The miracles provide an unusually wide range of data regarding the neighboring landmarks (porticos, shops, and baths), and the identities both of the visitors to the Church of Saint John and the locals whom they encountered when they arrived. The miracles’ *dramatis personae* exhibits a robust diversity of professions (deacons, physicians, actors, sailors and tanners, to name a few) and origins (from Alexandria and Rhodes, for example, and various other places in Constantinople, such as Kaisarios and “ta Kyrou”). At the same time, it is distinguished by the absence of emperors (the reigns of Maurice, Heraclius, and Constans II are invoked only as chronological markers) and the scarcity of imperial officials. Furthermore, although the tenth-century patriographers ascribe the construction of the church of the Forerunner to the Emperor Anastasios, this attribution results from a confusion with the eighth-century patriarch of the same name who owned a house by the Oxeia. The seventh-century miracles are silent on the matter of the church’s patronage.

The miracles of Artemios provide a rare (perhaps unique) contemporary witness to the emergence of one of the nuclei about which urban culture began to crystallize in the sixth century. As Paul Magdalino has argued, those same nuclei sustained the life of the capital throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, a phenomenon also attested in the case of the Oxeia by the toponym’s prominence in further early medieval sources. The absence of imperial initiative from the miracles’ representation of local culture might reasonably prompt a re-evaluation of the forces that drove the creation of these nuclei. Do we need an emperor’s intervention to explain the emergence of the Oxeia as a distinct locality?

Christ's Tomb in Jerusalem: Aedicule or Rotunda?

Angelova, Diliana

The first structure over Christ's tomb in Jerusalem was commissioned by the emperor Constantine around 325 and was dedicated in 336. That building was destroyed in the eleventh century. The tomb belonged to a complex, known in the fourth century as Christ's Martyrium. The complex consisted of a basilica, preceded by an atrium, and connected to the tomb through a courtyard. Evidence for the original tomb and the complex comes from three sources: the eyewitness accounts of the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (dated to 333) and Eusebius of Caesarea (dated to ca. 337), and the scant archaeological remains, examined and published by Virgilio Corbo in 1981. However, these two sources, the textual and the archaeological, have failed to settle the question over the shape of the original edifice over Christ's tomb. Despite Corbo's conclusion that the original building was a sizeable rotunda, seamlessly integrated into the original complex, most scholars today assume that the Rotunda over the tomb was built in the later fourth century. The majority opinion postulates a smaller aedicule that preceded the large rotunda. The Pilgrim's pithy account and Eusebius's description remain key to this two-phase reconstruction, in which Eusebius's description is seemingly supported by the Pilgrim's.

This paper argues that Eusebius's account does in fact suggest that a sizeable rotunda covered Christ's tomb, and that the Pilgrim's pithy report does not necessarily prove the lack of a rotunda. The case for a rotunda is built here as follows. First, the presentation examines the spatial logic of the bishop's description, focusing on the Pilgrim's and on Eusebius's adverbs indicating the relationship between parts of the complex. Second, when Eusebius's terms for the building are compared to those favored by the Bordeaux pilgrim, it becomes clear that the two eyewitnesses perceived the building similarly, as a complex, but that their priorities in describing it differed. Whereas past scholars have assumed that the agreement between the two narratives is born out of the presence or absence of underlying architectural features, I argue that this concordance is the chance outcome of two differing perspectives. The Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulcher that emerges from my analysis is a two-part building. It consisted of a Rotunda over the tomb and a basilica that blanketed the hill of Golgotha.

The shape of the monument over Christ's tomb is significant because it illuminates priorities, above all the priorities of Constantine and those who advised him on the construction, and therefore defined and anticipated the priorities of the pilgrims who came to visit the site. A majestic rotunda articulates underlying ideational similarities between imperial and Christian art. It contributes to understanding early Christian architecture as tapping into rather than clashing with an imperial visual idiom of power.

Music, Movement, and Space: Evening Worship in Late Byzantium

Antonopoulos, Spyridon

The *Akolouthia* was a notated chant book containing both simple and *kalophonic* (“beautified”) musical material sung in the majority of Greek churches of the Byzantine Empire following the re-conquest of Constantinople in the mid-thirteenth century. These manuscripts are rich sources of more than just medieval melodies; they contain detailed rubrics relating to solo vs. choral singing, the position of singers and choirs within the church at given moments in the services, and other detailed reminders related to performance practice. Recent collaborations between musicologists, art historians, and acoustical engineers have unveiled a great deal of acoustical information concerning a number of mid- and late-Byzantine churches. Furthermore, these collaborations have involved professional ensembles and cantors who have sung medieval chant from medieval sources within these very churches – or in acoustical settings enhanced by information gleaned from these spaces. This combination of source material and live performance has enabled scholars to reconstruct portions of specific services with more precision than was previously possible. In this paper, I will focus on chants and rubrics of *Akolouthia* manuscripts, in combination with the aforementioned acoustical data, to provide insights into the shape, sound, and experience of evening worship (Vespers) in Late Byzantium.

Homage and Subversion in the Poems of Manuel Philes

Bazzani, Marina

Manuel Philes (1275-1335), perhaps the most productive and creative poet of the Palaiologan era, is known mainly for his vast production of epigrams and occasional poems dedicated to members of the imperial family, court dignitaries, and religious figures. Although Philes enjoyed great fame during his lifetime, his work was later disregarded except when used as a source of prosopographical information or, in recent years, when considered for the study of the development of Byzantine epigrams.

No in-depth literary study of Philes' poetry has been carried out despite the variety of material that these poems offer. Hence, I felt it necessary and overdue to focus on his occasional poems and to examine them as literary works. These poems are placed in the context in which and for which they were composed; this approach provides an insight into Palaiologan society, the author's attitudes towards authority and his personality. In the present paper I investigate the poet's relation with power and powerful patrons as emerging from his verses: many of Philes' poems are works of homage addressed to wealthy benefactors, requests for gifts, and pleas for help (material or otherwise). Ostensibly they would seem to convey only an endless array of servile homage aimed at obtaining as many advantages as possible. However, I intend to show that this is not the case. In fact, a careful reading of the poems and an accurate analysis of the texts reveal unexpected variations in the way topics are treated and patrons addressed. Sometimes Philes manages to portray his relationship with the recipients on almost equal terms; sometimes he even succeeds in poking fun at his benefactors and in rebuking them for their lack of generosity. This is what happens, for instance, in poem Flor. 10: Philes remonstrates against Theodore Patrikiotes for presenting him with a decayed goose and not with the fresh wild birds he had asked for. Philes' poetry can be better understood with a careful analysis of the poetic language and of the linguistic registers: these often vary according to the taste and status of the dedicatees or to the circumstances for which a poem is composed.

Furthermore, the scrutiny of the role of rhetoric provides another precious tool for understanding the texts and their multilayered meanings. The different ways in which Philes operates show not only his poetic skill and wit, but also the way in which he manages to hide his chastising attitude and discontent behind apparently obsequious praise and harmless homage. This is evident in Par. 200, a short epigram to the emperor, where the poet chides the ruler for his tardiness in providing aid to him, a tardiness which is deemed inadmissible for the philanthropic and Christ-like sovereign.

The close textual investigation which I pursue uncovers the strategies (such as concealment, irony, and dissimulation) through which Philes manages to criticise those in authority and to divulge subversive opinions disguised under the pretence of deference and humility, thus revealing a bewildering side of his personality.

In Search of Earthly Paradise: The Ascetics of Byzantine Laconia and their Relation to the Natural Landscape

Bender, Ludovic

Intense fieldwork in Laconia in the past three years has led me to identify more than seventy caves of monastic character of which approximately thirty can be attributed to the Byzantine period. In this rocky, mountainous, and sometimes hostile landscape, the siting of hermitages depended on many parameters, including safety and sustainability. Access to water resources was one of the most critical. Careful observations of the setting of the caves leads me to the conclusion that other less obvious aspects were considered as important as the material reasons for site selection. The striking views that many hermitages enjoyed and the beautiful natural scenery in which they were sited was far from accidental and sometimes seem to have been preferred to more basic and essential parameters. In such scenery, the importance of water appeared to have played a role that goes beyond its basic requirement for life sustenance.

In order to investigate aspects of the relation of cave-chapels to the natural surroundings, two monuments can be discussed that show a specific topographic relation to water. This relation is also underscored by their dedication. The hermitage of the Zoodochos Pege close to Mistra, decorated with superb painting in the 14th century, includes two cisterns and source. The availability of the source corresponds to the dedication of the chapel. The stunning view of Mistra from the chapel also links the site to the city's promotion of Constantinopolitan cults of the Virgin, and relates the remote chapel to prestigious monastic foundations in the settlement's lower city.

Another cave-chapel located is especially remarkable, it is found at the edge of a now abandoned village near Kokkala in the Mani. There, the natural preexisting cavity was little more than a shelter, making obvious that the presence of the river that runs below it was the main reason for the foundation of the small chapel and not the suitability of the cave itself. The relation of the chapel to the river is further emphasized by its dedication to Agios Ioannes Potamites, or Saint John of the River, a unique name in Laconia. The dedication of cave-chapels to the Baptist are very common in Laconia and responds to his life as an ascetic in the desert. The proximity to the river here recalls also his Baptism of Christ in the Jordan. The view and sound of water expanded the devotional experience of the hermit, who was able to recall (if not re-enact) the life of the Baptist in visceral, sensory ways.

The study of the topographic relationship of church siting and naming is dramatically introduced in these two case studies and can be further extended through the examination of chapels dedicated to other saints in the region. The potent link of the spiritual meaning and natural features of a site of retreat appears to have been highly prized in Laconian monastic communities, an observation that can be tested in other locations in the Byzantine world.

Eustathios of Thessalonike on the Plausibility of Homeric Narrative: The Role of the Homeric Gods as Myth and Allegory

Berg, Baukje van den

‘The most skilful in rhetorical elaboration and the most plausible in his narration’ (ὁ διασκευάσαι δεινότατος, ὁ διηγέσασθαι πιθανώτατος), that is how Eustathios of Thessalonike (c. 1115-1195) describes Homer in the proem of his *Commentary on the Odyssey*. In both of his Homeric commentaries, Eustathios analyses Homer’s rhetorical elaboration and explores how the poet imbued his narrative with plausibility, which the rhetorical handbooks list among the key virtues of narrative. This paper explores Eustathios’ views on the plausibility of the mythical parts of Homeric poetry, which in his conception are scenes involving the Homeric gods.

Eustathios’ interpretation of Homeric myths is characterized by a two-stage approach: in his view, myths should first of all be studied as they are presented by the poet, before one proceeds to the interpretation of a possible allegorical meaning. Eustathios, then, commonly distinguishes between the mythical and allegorical meaning of a Homeric scene. He aims to demonstrate how Homer, a ‘master in the plausible fabrication of myths’ (μεθοδευτῆς τῆς τῶν μύθων πιθανῆς πλάσεως), employed both the mythical and the allegorical meaning to provide his narrative with plausibility.

In the first part of the paper I address the role of the Homeric gods in their mythical sense, i.e. as characters in the mythical narrative. I explore how Homer, in Eustathios’ view, employed divine plans to lend plausibility to the plot and invented divine interventions to prevent the narrative from crossing the boundaries of plausibility in problematic or ‘dangerous’ situations.

The second part of the paper discusses the stage of allegorical interpretation. In Eustathios’ view, a correspondence of allegorical meaning and mythical narrative can contribute to the plausibility of the plot, as I illustrate by means of several examples from the *Commentary on the Iliad*.

Eustathios’ analysis of Homeric poetry is indicative of a thorough awareness of narrative technique. A careful investigation of his commentaries may therefore yield valuable clues on how to understand twelfth-century narrative, which is found in texts across various genres and has only recently started to be studied for its literary merit.

Inscriptions of Early Byzantium: The Senatorial Self-representation

Bodnaruk, Mariana

Unlike the imperial representation, the role of the eastern, civic elites rapidly rising to prominence from the early fourth century onwards has received much less scholarly attention. This paper seeks to reconstruct aristocratic involvement in the political and cultural change in the Greek East in the period between Constantine and Theodosius II. Concentrating on epigraphic sources, I suggest that a shift of focus to the senatorial aristocracy elucidates more complex relationships between imperial and elite ideological representation.

With late antique aristocratic self-representation being scarcely scrutinized in existing scholarly accounts, I start by analyzing evidence that concerns the political perspectives of the eastern aristocracies. Honorary statues, which are typically conservative forms of self-expression by social elite, underwent conspicuous change between the years 324 to 450. Honorific city statuary did not decline in number or significance up into the sixth century, but rather they continued to be constructed and maintained. The change in epigraphic practice is to be explained not so much by date and stylistic transformation as by the different representations reflecting different political cultures in which they functioned. With the key shift of the power dynamics between the local civic elites of the late Roman east and the centralized imperial administration, esteem of eastern aristocrats was now measured by their proximity to the emperor. A redefinition of the political and social status of elites within the imperial system was manifested most clearly in the imperial honorifics as applied to senatorial officials. Strongly favored in the Greek-speaking part of the Empire, verse inscriptions gradually overtook laudatory prose text of *cursus honorum*, affecting statuary representation.

This paper engages in an analysis of honorific practice recorded in more epigraphic form in the Greek East. Examining the representation and the self-representation of the late imperial/early Byzantine senatorial aristocracy from the sole rule of Constantine to the death of Theodosius II, I look first at honorific language and patterns of self-display in late-antique inscriptions set up for the senatorial office-holders (I). Second, shifting from honorands to awarders, I explore how the meaning of the statues to emperors was shaped in different provincial contexts through dedications set up by senatorial governors (II). Third, I survey the records of constructional benefactions as places of aristocratic self-representation (III). Then, I assess honorifics and status designators attributed to senators in their funeral inscriptions that were employed by the honorands themselves during their lifetimes (IV). I conclude with an elaboration on what the honorific monuments and texts reveal about the ways in which members of the newly reconstituted senatorial order constructed their relationship to the emperor and to the provincial subjects from the end of the first quarter of the fourth to the mid-fifth century (V). This paper also brings into focus parallels between Latin and Greek-language honorific practice, which the traditional division in scholarship on the western and eastern aristocracy has tended to obliterate.

A Dynamic Duo: Imperial Dialogue and Equestrian Monuments of Constantinople and Baghdad

Boeck, Elena

This paper explores cultural tensions, architectural display and imperial self-presentation embedded in two significant, but lost, equestrian monuments – the bronze equestrian monument of Justinian in Constantinople and the Abbasid equestrian monument which towered over Baghdad. Though Justinian's grand monument is occasionally remembered in scholarship, the equestrian monument of Baghdad is frequently forgotten. This competitive equestrian monument - the so-called 'crown of Baghdad' - was created ca. 762 by caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur and quickly became the talismanic monument of the newly established Abbasid capital. I argue that the bronze monument in the heart of Baghdad was intentionally created as a response to the bronze equestrian monument of Justinian, the Constantinopolitan symbol of imperial power.

Based on medieval verbal and visual evidence, this paper argues that the dome of the caliphal residence was crowned by a sculpture of a horseman with a spear in his hand. The sculpture immediately became an iconic feature of the city and could be seen from the outskirts of Baghdad. Toppled by a storm in 941, the horseman was never reconstructed. Its fall was interpreted as a foreboding omen presaging the fall of the Abbasid dynasty. Though al-Mansur's close interest in Byzantine visitors' impressions of his capital have been noted before, previous studies have not appreciated either the singular importance of the Baghdad equestrian monument or its relationship to the symbolic center of Constantinople. I argue that the dome and its equestrian monument were calculated statements of imperial power that exemplified the Abbasid dialogue with Byzantium.

By contextualizing Baghdad's equestrian monument within a competitive and adversarial relationship with the massive Constantinopolitan sculpture, this paper illuminates forgotten aspects of Abbasid-Byzantine competition. I argue that the two monuments became multi-dimensional manifestations of imperial power. Because they became associated with the concept of rulership in the public imagination, the two monuments transcended their sculptural form and came to stand for something much greater: talismanic power and dynastic prognostication. The paper concludes with an analysis of the menacing behavior exhibited by Constantinople's bronze horseman in ca. 840 C.E. and the extraordinary measures that emperor Theophilos undertook to make the monument whole again. I argue that his restoration of the monument must be understood within the context of the Byzantine-Abbasid rivalry and in dialogue with Baghdad's monument.

Illicit Sex, Islamic Conquest, and the Apocalypse: The Role of Sexual Transgression in Byzantine Understanding of Divine Punishment

Bonura, Christopher

The late seventh century saw an outpouring of apocalyptic literature, primarily in response to the new political and religious challenge of Islam. The most famous and influential of these was the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. The *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (written in Syriac but very quickly translated into Greek) was the single most influential apocalyptic text in the Byzantine world. Much research has been conducted on its context and its attempt to degrade Islam as an illegitimate paganism, a scourge sent by God to punish the sins of the Christians. Comparatively little attention, however, has been given to the sins that the author of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* identifies as the source of God's wrath. However, it is worth noting that the sin that the author of the apocalypse focuses on is sexual depravity. Indeed, the reason the author took on the pseudonym Methodius is little addressed in recent scholarship, even though this reason should be clear: Methodius of Olympus wrote notable works in praise of virginity. The message of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* is clear: illicit sex—incest, prostitution, homosexual acts, transvestitism, and unrestrained carnal desire—caused God to punish the Christian Empire by allowing the majority of its people to be conquered by the Muslims. This was the final and greatest punishment, in repayment for the greatest of sins, and would only end when Christians were brought to the brink of destruction and God's wrath assuaged, at which point he would initiate the ending of the world.

The message of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* was not an isolated assertion. At exactly the same time the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* is believed to have been written in Mesopotamia, the year 691, in Constantinople the Council in Trullo was laying down a number of prohibitions for Christians, among them closing the notorious theatres and proscribing images meant to arouse sexual excitement. Sexual immorality was a viable explanation for why God had seemed to abandon his chosen Christian people and grant repeated victories to a new non-Christian state, and to a religion which claimed to have superseded Christianity.

By looking at the influence of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* on later Byzantine writing, and at how the Byzantines viewed Islam as inherently carnal and thus illegitimate, this paper studies how Byzantines drew correlations between sins of the flesh and defeat at the hands of the armies of Islam. The paper shows not only were these concepts influential at the end of the seventh and throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, but they were also were reasserted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was at this time, leading up to and in the wake of the fall of Constantinople, that Byzantine and post-Byzantine scholars turned back to the apocalyptic works of the era of the first Islamic conquests to find prophetic and apocalyptic texts that could shed light upon their own time and show how Islamic victory fit into God's providential plan and how they could secure a return to God's favor.

The Resurgence of Tyche in the Last Century of Byzantium

Briel, Matthew

A lemmatized search for *tyche* on the TLG returns over 22,000 instances, 16,000 of which are from the Byzantine period (fourth to fifteenth centuries CE). The majority of these instances, especially in the early Byzantine period, are from the works of astrologers and commentaries on Aristotle for whom chance was an object of especial concern. In the later Byzantine centuries one is struck that this word occurs frequently in laws and especially historians. In the Byzantine historians the word is used, as it was by Polybios in the second century BCE, to refer to events without an apparent cause. Its use by Byzantine historians, however, is not generally the consequence of an intentional claim that, for instance, there is some irrational power causing events, some source other than God or one of God's delegated instruments. Rather, it is simply a way of stating, in imitation of classical historians, that something happens by chance. This use of *tyche* by Byzantine historians has received a fair amount of attention from scholars and is repeatedly noted by Herbert Hunger in his survey of Byzantine historians in the first volume of his *Handbuch* (1978). Indeed, in Byzantium the idea of *tyche* in the strong sense or something happening without a real cause, as opposed to something occurring whose causes are unknown, is very uncommon.

I argue in this paper, however, that a shift occurs in the second half of the Palaiologian period. Although it is well known that Pletho had a strong sense of fate, the influence of which idea can be seen clearly in his student Laonikos Chakolkondyles' *Histories*, and many Byzantine historians of the fifteenth century were impressed by the Turko-Persian concept of qismet, there was another strand of non-Christian thought that has until now received little scholarly attention, and that is the resurgence of the concept of actions occurring without cause, either by *tyche* or *to automaton*. In this paper I outline the use of *tyche* by Theodore Metochites in his *Ethikos ē peri Paideias* and compare it to fifteenth century descriptions of those who believe that many events are due to chance or happen spontaneously. In doing so I enrich our understanding of the intellectual context of the two dozen or so fifteenth century Greek responses to Pletho's doctrine of fate as well as draw attention to a largely overlooked idea which was influential in the last century of Byzantium.

Sites of Memory and Display in Constantinople: Sculptural Reuse at the Kalenderhane Camii and the Kariye Camii.

Brooks, Sarah

The reuse of Byzantine art works and buildings remains a rich subject for scholarly inquiry, and one that sheds light on how venerable monuments were received over successive generations. This paper examines the re-employment of Early Byzantine stone carvings in later Byzantine construction, and their continued use and appreciation into the Ottoman centuries. These sculptures survive in two Constantinopolitan foundations, each with a long history dating back to the sixth century: the Kalenderhane Camii, likely dedicated to the Theotokos Kyriotissa; and the Kariye Camii, the Church of Christ in Chora. A fuller understanding of these images offers new insights into both the medieval Byzantine practices of sculptural reuse, and the Ottoman appreciation for these same Christian sculptures in new mosque contexts.

Two ensembles of Early Byzantine carved doors were preserved and re-employed in medieval building phases at the Kalenderhane and Kariye. There the doors were not functional, opening and closing, but were set into the medieval church wall. Their significance was first highlighted by placement at important thresholds, at the entrances to the nave, where their richly carved surfaces contrasted with the smooth marble wall paneling that enframed them. To later Byzantine audiences, the doors would have been identified with an earlier golden age, given their carving style and iconography, which closely ally them with sixth-century examples including doors in Hagia Sophia's south gallery (Striker and Kuban, 1997; Hjort, 1979). In this context the doors celebrated the longevity of the church community at each site, and the physical buildings that once stood there.

An Ottoman appreciation for select Byzantine art works and their continued significance in new mosque settings ensured the survival of the relatively few Byzantine sculptures in Constantinople's former churches, including these doors. To date, however, the symbolic meaning of the Kalenderhane and Kariye doors has not been fully explored for Ottoman audiences. In Islam, as in Christianity, doors feature prominently in imagery of salvation and judgment. In the Qur'an, they communicate the state of salvation and mark the threshold to heaven. This is seen, for example, in Sura 78, Verse 19, "And the heaven will have been opened, and it will have become doors;" and in Sura 57, Verse 13, "...Betwixt them there will be set a high wall, wherein will be a door, the inside whereof hath mercy, while the outside thereof is toward the torment."

Preserving these Byzantine sculpted doors was a means of marking two transformations, that of the soul into heaven and that of the Byzantine church into an Ottoman mosque. In both respects, the doors marked an exercise of power, divine first and then human. To incorporate the door--the physical sculpture--was a means to subsume it into a larger schema and thereby change what the door opens into: not salvation as Byzantine Christians understood it, but salvation in Islam. In the first century of Muslim rule in Constantinople, the Kalenderhane and Kariye doors were a means of re-affirming the synthesis of moral and political authority in the new Ottoman capital.

A Stuffed Tiger in a Museum is a Stuffed Tiger in a Museum and not a Tiger

Buehl, Gudrun

When the show room at 1703 32nd Street opened to the public in 1940, briefly before the National Gallery of Art was founded in Washington, DC, it consisted of the Byzantine Collection only; since then, the institution's art holdings have grown and the areas expanded, especially with the addition of the Philip Johnson wing in the early 60's to house the Pre-Columbian Collection.

When Robert and Mildred Bliss, the founders of Dumbarton Oaks, started to collect in the early decades of the twentieth century, the art of the Byzantine Empire was still largely undiscovered by the modern scholarly world. The couple collected passionately and with the distinct appreciation of a connoisseur; they fell in love with their acquired pieces and cared most about the outstanding craftsmanship, the delicate surfaces and refined details. The excellence of their collection has been demonstrated in the rank and reputation the museum enjoys since then. The emphasis on precious material reflects not only the taste of a wealthy collector, but the general perception of Byzantine art as a luxury art. The collection was not intended to form a comprehensive cross section of Byzantine material culture. It is nevertheless sufficiently extensive to shed light on major aspects of material culture in Byzantium.

Byzantine art is mainly anonymous in manufacture, and although we may rightfully speak of 'art', we understand that the 'things' – plates, boxes, belts, vessels, lamps and jewelry – were made to fulfill a variety of functions and to play some practical role in Byzantine life. Displaying Byzantine art in a gallery setting poses a wide range of challenges. Since in most cases, all objects in museum galleries were not made and meant to be seen together – except in rare cases –, we create an artificial 'world'. This paper will argue that instead of negating the artificiality of the museum environment and lamenting the fact that galleries render any display of objects as dead and alienated from their (reconstructed) original context, we have to consider a museum display concept that is based on the simple fact that „A stuffed tiger in a museum is a stuffed tiger in a museum and not a tiger” (K. Hudson, Museum for the 1980s, Paris 1977).

But how to reference – or revive – the performative aspects of Byzantine objects in a museum setting? The paper will discuss and present distinct modes of display and analyze the question of how to establish a sense of continuous interest and experience through the different areas of the galleries while at the same time developing an awareness of characteristic features of the displayed objects and a keen sensibility towards the things on view that tell us about the various aspect of Byzantine life and culture.

From Display to Performance: Gift Exchange in the Medieval Muslim World

Bush, Olga

In the medieval Muslim world, an exchange of gifts, whether between rulers in a court ceremonial or between lovers in an intimate ritual, was often accompanied by a poetic recitation. This auditory aspect of the gift exchange enhanced the visual appeal of the luxury objects by articulating the sentiments - political and amorous alike - of donors and recipients and formed part of their display. Such social practice was further complicated when gifted objects were inscribed with verses, especially in cases where an object "speaks" in the first-person's voice through the poetic trope of prosopopeia. Rejecting the lens of mimesis through which such objects have been often understood, this paper elaborates on the theoretical issues involved in prosopopeia within the tradition of the inscription of medieval Arabic poetry on luxury objects in gift exchanges. In inscribing an "I" on the object--and ascribing a speaking "I" to it-- the gift takes on agency. The subject-object dichotomy is subverted and the social function of the gift is reconstructed: display becomes performance.

Rural vs. Urban in the Visual Culture of Medieval Cyprus

Christoforaki, Ioanna

The aim of this paper is to challenge the accepted dichotomy between the opposing notions of rural and urban in the artistic production of medieval Cyprus. The established definition of rural is an area located outside cities and towns, whereas urban is a location characterized by higher human population and human-built features. In art historical terms, the former concept invites, almost instinctively, images of crude simplicity and naive symbolization, while the latter is linked with artistic sophistication and visual refinement.

Following the acquisition of the island by the Lusignans in 1192, medieval Cypriot art remained rooted in the tradition of Byzantine visual culture, while drawing from a variety of pictorial models and creating hybrid artistic forms. This is an easily accepted fact, when applied to the magnificent cathedrals and churches built and decorated in the urban environment of multi-cultural Famagusta but seems hardly applicable in the case of the numerous, humble Orthodox churches dotting the Cypriot countryside. Using as case-study the fresco decoration of the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri, I will attempt to show that this line of interpretation can be both inaccurate and misleading.

The church lies in the outskirts of Pelendri, a village located on the southern slopes of mount Troodos, some fifteen miles to the north-east of Limassol. It is a seemingly modest structure, built in the late twelfth century, but extensively rebuilt in the middle of the fourteenth. The main naos was redecorated under the communal patronage of the pious villagers, whereas the added north aisle has been linked with John Lusignan, brother of King Peter I (1359-69) and lord of the *casale* of Pelendri since March 1353 until his assassination in 1375.

Although at first sight the murals of this rural church may look stylistically crude and provincial, close iconographic analysis reveals that the pictorial programme has assimilated a variety of visual traditions and influences. Stylistically the frescoes may look typically Palaeologan but certain distinctive iconographic details betray close artistic interactions with neighbouring cultures. Thus, they demonstrate an intricate merging of artistic styles and visual traditions representative of the cultural interpenetration among the Crusader kingdoms of the Levant.

The Madrid Pantokrator: Authenticity and Some Larger Problems in Middle Byzantine Art

Cutler, Anthony

In April 2013 a hitherto unknown ivory plaque bearing a half-length, blessing Christ was bought at auction in Munich by a Spanish architect and icon collector. He asked me to authenticate it on the basis of photographs. When I refused on principle (indirect scrutiny of this sort is rarely adequate) he invited me to Madrid to examine it. Once there, I was surprised that even autoptic examination was insufficient to determine the authenticity of the piece which in some iconographic respects seems to derive from well-known ivories of the 10th- early 11th-century, yet in others is (alarmingly?) independent. A similar dichotomy is posed by the carving style, although in terms of technique it conforms well with middle Byzantine norms. I recommended that the owner take it to the Oxford University Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art for radiocarbon dating of the material. (Results of these tests will be available in April 2015 and presented at the BSC).

Of course, a modern date for the material (or, more accurately, the death of the elephant that generated it) rules out its medieval carving. On the other hand, a medieval date, while it does not ipso facto preclude its modern carving, is a possibility the likelihood of which is next to nil. (In many years of studying ivory I have not come upon such an instance). If the material and its carving prove to be medieval, this verdict in itself raises questions beyond problems of authenticity. The sort of closely focused experiment to which the ivory has been subjected at Oxford can overawe, and cause us to forget, the larger issues that arise from the comparative study of groups of objects from the past. To what extent and by what means were Byzantine designs, workmanship, and the movement of images transmitted? Do physical modifications (the unswerving frontal gaze of the Christ on the plaque, as against the normally slightly oblique carriage of the Pantokrator's head; the rigidly vertical digits of his blessing hand, as against the customarily incurving fingers) possess iconographic significance? And how can we know this? Given that some of the plaque's optimal comparanda are in materials other than ivory (mosaics, enamels, book illustration), what does the apparent intercourse between these mediums tell us about Byzantine production, and, more important, about the demand for art in this society and the ways in which this was satisfied?

Architectural Representations and Topographic Designation in the Mosaics of Jordan, 6th–8th Centuries

Daiker, Sarah

Architectural representations of cities, villages, churches, monuments, and other structures are pervasive in the mosaics of Jordan. Mosaics with such images have been uncovered in the churches at Ma'in, Umm al-Rasas, Gerasa, Khirbat al-Samra, and perhaps most notably in Madaba. Some of these representations include toponyms while others lack verbal identification with a specific site or structure. Michele Piccirillo (*I mosaici di Giordania*, 1986; *The Mosaics of Jordan*, 1993) and Noël Duval (*Les églises de Jordanie et leurs mosaïques*, 2003) have both made significant contributions to the scholarship on these mosaics, particularly in their identification of classical and later models for the architectural representations in the mosaics. These scholars have attempted to pair architectural representations with explicit sites and structures, arguing that despite the use of models or representational conventions, the primary function of these representations was actually to represent, or depict, specific locations and monuments.

In this paper, I address the identification of architectural representations of cities and buildings with particular sites and structures by focusing on the degree to which toponyms and architectural elements can be used by the viewer to identify representations. I suggest the ways in which conventions in architectural representations can hinder identification. While it seems that some attempt at accurately depicting specific cities and structures was made in the mosaics, many of these representations share conventions—architectural elements, combinations of elements, or schemes of representation that are not unique to the representation of a single location or building—a fact that precludes the identification of a city or structure based solely on its architectural elements. The toponym, when present, is thus most frequently the element of architectural representation by which a city or structure's identity is established.

I argue that visual interest was a concern of the mosaicists and a determining factor in the way sites and structures were represented in these mosaics. I suggest that these architectural images should be regarded not necessarily as representations, but rather as evocations, a distinction made by Oleg Grabar (*The Mediation of Ornament*, 1992). In discussing the idea of evocation in architectural representations, I explore whether Richard Krautheimer's argument ("Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" 1942) regarding the indifference towards exact imitation of an architectural structure in architectural copies can also be adapted to architectural representations of specific locations and structures. In these mosaics, cities are frequently depicted as polygonal, walled structures with city gates and towers and domed buildings and basilicas within. While these elements were largely present at historical sites, in the mosaics of Jordan they become representational conventions used in the depiction of multiple cities to construct an evocation of the city, both as a specific location and as a type. More than simply uninventive, meaningless replications, these conventions are part of a visual language, elements of which were arranged and combined in order to evoke cities and structures and to arouse in viewers an interest in the locations represented in the mosaics.

Design Exchanges Between Hard and Soft

Dauterman Maguire, Eunice

The study of architectural and metalwork designs in Early Byzantine textiles from Egypt as a subject of interest calls attention to a design dialogue that has not attracted much sustained art historical notice. Looking for and comparing motifs between media opens for discussion a number of questions not usually posed by textile scholars, while offering unexpected information to other specialists about materials that have been lost, and about the significant transfer of given motifs from one medium or context to another.

The soft architecture of movable outdoor textile furnishings may be reflected in mosaic motifs. Adorning niches or apses, or else recorded on flat wall surfaces are designs evidently taken from ephemeral textile screens, canopies, and parasols that survive only in these glass-hardened reflections.

Hardware for attaching panels to doors takes the shape of angular bands that framed large-scale textiles, some of which hung in doorways. But similar shapes, down-scaled, can frame the precious cover of a Gospel codex, while a jeweled gold fixture is depicted as bracketing the corner of a large textile portrayal of a saint, and containing his inscribed name, providing firm evidence in tapestry-weave of the early encasing of icons in precious metal revetments.

Few, if any, Byzantine gold fittings survive. Yet textiles, in motifs that can be transformed by abstraction, offer evidence of jewelers' techniques applied to large-scale furnishings as well as to precious personal objects. The textiles, by their physical nature and the techniques of their making, can offer more extreme variability in scale. When a textile represents in tapestry-weave a row of pearls that could be applied to a border of a large furnishing, or else to a small personal object, by drilling a hole through each pearl to mount it on a tiny post of gold, the threads of the weaving can evoke the luxury pictorially without the costly materials. Another example is a frieze at the top of a textile hanging, featuring the linked medallions of a gold marriage belt, ceremonial or celebratory jewelry displaying allegorical busts with other propitious motifs above a jeweled arcade with gilded capitals.

Hard and soft luxury can be evoked by textile borders in the framing of large tapestry-woven textiles organized with an architectural framework of arcades surrounded by a wide band based on narrow silk trimmings found on garments, but expanded in scale and represented in another less costly material, and with a different weaving technique.

This transfer of context can be compared with the deliberate evocation of soft or fragile materials in stone, and conversely of built structures in textiles, as a notable aspect of late antique and early Byzantine aesthetics. To this end, textile representations of architectural units, columns or pilasters with their capitals and bases, demonstrate familiarity with specific developments in the design of actual architectural sculpture, not only in Egypt, but throughout the Byzantine empire, while some of the designs known from capitals, either in Proconnesian marble or in Egyptian limestone, have close parallels in textile patterns.

The Death of the Monastic Everyman in Seventh-Century Homily & Tale

Dirkse, Saskia

This paper considers two early seventh-century literary treatments of a *topos* popular in monastic literature: the ghostly interrogation of a dying monk. In such scenes, a monk in the throes of death is called to give account for his actions in life before an unseen demonic host. The dramatic spectacle unfolds before a stricken and fearful audience of fellow monks, who are able to catch only half of the exchange (answers but not questions) and at the moment of death are left painfully uncertain about the outcome of the ordeal.

The motif likely originated in the late antique tradition of edifying tales, and in the early seventh century it is used to great dramatic effect in Klimakos's *Ladder of Divine Ascent* and Anastasios's *Tales of the Sinai Fathers*, which urge their readers to contemplate their own mortality and consider how best to prepare for the relentless interrogation that they too will face at that dreadful, inevitable moment.

Around the time that accounts of this "final conversation" gain currency in the tales tradition, we find a number of homilies – the most important among these being the *Sermo in Defunctos*, traditionally though not conclusively also attributed to Anastasios of Sinai – that use the motif as a narrative platform from which to deliver an urgent *memento mori* about the importance of repentance and the daily remembrance of death.

The availability of parallel treatments of the same subject, in a language and culture that routinely borrowed literary tropes and "metaphrased" their stylistic register both up and down, makes this a good case study, allowing for a more quantifiable than impressionistic comparison. Furthermore, while the main comparison is between this sermon and these tales, the motif is also expressed (often with identical or very similar wording) in a number of other contemporary and near-contemporary sources which shed additional light on the subject.

We first consider broader questions of genre and audience: how is the motif transformed when it passes from the simple and concise language of the tales into the explicit, yet carefully oratorical, expression of the homily? Which parts of the *topos* are accentuated, expanded or omitted as they appear in each treatment and to what effect? How does the liturgical context of the sermon affect their form and content?

Next comes a more concrete comparison of styles – examining not only the choice of genres but the use of nouns vs. verbs, abstract vs. tangible, hypotactic vs. paratactic syntax, choices and uses of vocabulary, morphological difference and more – as neatly against each other as the material allows.

Both treatments of the motif are meant for oral performance and tend to the same lesson, but by different routes – the low road and the high. However we today may judge the quality of their results, both attempts were justified by scriptural precedent, the one author following the example of the Evangelists, who present their doctrines through a narrative almost approaching drama, the other working in a more expository and self-consciously rhetorical, Pauline vein.

The Doctor Jacob Psychristos: Medicine and Religion in Early Byzantium

Dmitriev, Sviatoslav

Doctor Jacob (fl. 5th cent.), known as Psychristos (for treating his patients with cold baths, although other interpretations have been suggested), enjoyed an outstanding professional reputation. An unparalleled number of sources and amount of information have survived about this one Byzantine physician. The most informative accounts of his accomplishments—the *Philosophical History* of Damaskios, the *Chronicle* of Malalas, the *Chronicle* of Marcellinus, the *Chronicon Paschale*, Photios' *Library*, and the *Souda*—span the period from the sixth to the tenth century. This information and additional relevant evidence have given us a close look at physicians of early Byzantium in a broader social, intellectual, and religious context.

Jacob's status as a public physician (*archiatros* or “*archiatros* of the city”) who received a public salary, *demosion siteresion*, reflected a tradition that survived from the classical period. His origins in Alexandria and the initial provenance of his family being from Damascus lead us to reject Thurn's recent restoration of Malalas' words as Ἰακώβου δὲ τοῦ Κίλικος and to support the original version of the siglum O as Ἰακώβου δὲ τοῦ κόμητος in the sense that Jacob held the rank of a *comes*. Although the *archiatroi* of the palace could reach the rank of a count of the first or second grade, Jacob's status as a public physician implied that he held the *dignitas* of the *comes archiattrorum* in Constantinople, and showed that public physicians were organized like other professional colleges that also had their *comites*.

References to Jacob as a “doctor and philosopher” (Malalas), who relied “on both doctrine (*logon*) and experience (*peiran*)” (Damaskios) and practiced medicine with both “natural talent (*ingenio*) and learning (*litteratura*)” (Marcellinus), qualified him as a iatrosophist like the physician Gesios, who excelled in “both medical practices and doctrines (*iatrikon ergon te kai logon*)” in the seventh century (the *Souda*). Damaskios' statement that Jacob had carried off the first prize in medical eminence among doctors of his time points to the surviving tradition of competition among public physicians.

Contenting himself with a municipal salary while refusing to collect fees from his poor patients, Jacob combined the old pagan tradition of benefactions by public physicians (those who broke their promise not to charge fees were accused of being “avaricious,” *phylargyroi*) with a response to the Christian cult of the *anargyroi*, medical saints who provided healing for free. Jacob moved beyond traditional forms of medical benefactions when he asked his rich patients to finance the ailing poor (Damaskios): the idea of a third party paying medical fees was alien to paganism but typical of Christian philanthropy. Likewise, references to Jacob as a “savior” (*soter*) marked by divine favor (*theophilos*) reflected a pagan rejoinder to the developing image of Christ as a doctor par excellence. When put together and examined within a broader historical context, the evidence about Jacob reveals how old practices continued and evolved in response to more recent developments in the medical and religious fields.

Military Saints in the Alexiad

Dowling Soka, Joel

In the middle Byzantine period the figures of soldier martyrs became quite important in Byzantine culture. The standard set of military saints, that is George, Demetrios, and the two Theodores, coalesced during the Macedonian Dynasty and became standard features of the religious landscape. While the majority of the evidence for this proliferation can be found in material culture and explicitly religious texts, the soldier saints also appear often in the historiography of the tenth through thirteenth centuries. This paper examines how Anna Komnena, in particular, employs these figures throughout the text of the *Alexiad*.

The paper opens with a brief overview of the middle Byzantine Soldier saint, especially focusing on the figure's role in Byzantine historical texts. While there is not an overabundance of scholarship on the subject, the battle of Dorostolon in Leo the Deacon has received a good deal of academic attention. In this narrative, Theodore Stratelates appeared in the midst of a battle with the Rus, turning the tide of the engagement. This trope was later turned on its head by Niketas Choniates, who copies the narrative structure of the Leo the Deacon example with the twist that the military saints were all too busy or lazy to come to Manuel's aid at Myriokephalon.

Stories such as these are just the most elaborate examples of purposeful use of military saints in historical writing. The examples used by Anna Komnena are significantly more subtle. Anna mentions various military saints fifteen times throughout her text. These mentions come in three basic categories: landmarks, feast days, and one direct vision. In most, though not all, cases the placement of these mentions does not seem accidental. Rather, they are used to aid the overall narrative. A church of St. George becomes the site of Alexios' triumph over the Normans (*Alexiad* 6.1) while prayers by the Normans at a church of St. Theodore the day before the battle of Dyrrachion foreshadows Alexios' defeat (*Alexiad* 4.6). At another point, Alexios has a dream vision of St. Demetrios that prophesizes Alexios' defeat of Bohemond as the culmination of a campaign that began on the feast day of St. George (*Alexiad* 5.5). Anna's use of these figures as foreshadowing is not limited to battle. Two assassination plots follow mentions of Alexios' presence at a church dedicated to a military saint (*Alexiad* 8.9 and 12.4). Both plots are, of course, doomed to fail. I argue that all of this represents too many examples to be coincidence. Therefore, either Anna or Anna's sources have chosen to prioritize the soldier saints in their memory of the events of Alexios' life, yet they also chose to avoid direct interventions along the lines of Dorostolon.

The paper concludes by taking this evidence from the *Alexiad* back to the larger picture of Military Saints in the middle Byzantine period. Anna's oblique use of the soldier saints provides evidence for the increasing popularity of the figures and their legends in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Old Georgian Translation Traditions and Byzantine Cultural Orientation

Dughashvili, Eka

Translations of Eastern and Western literature have passed a path from free translation to accurate, formal, Hellenophilic translation, from dynamic, expositive to literary. The principle of free translation of Classical authors (from Greek into Latin) in the Middle Ages gradually was replaced by principle of accurate translation. Along with this, cultural-ideological and historical-literary process was underway from Pre-Hellenophilic period to Hellenophilic. Among various Christian nations Hellenophilia implied demonstration of special interest in the ideas typical of particular periods of Byzantine culture. Georgian translated literature witnessed this process from the 8th c. to 11th c., which was reflected in translations of Byzantine theological literature made in different periods. In this respect, different redactions of Georgian translations of the Bible, as well as Pre-Hellenophilic and Hellenophilic translations of Byzantine homiletic and hymnographic literature are especially noteworthy. The present article discusses old Georgian translation traditions on the basis of translations of homilies by Gregory the Theologian and hymnography by John Damascene and Cosmas of Jerusalem.

Old translation principles changed, due to a translator's or reader's new, different attitude towards literary phenomena, according to new requirements of the period.

To demonstrate different translation styles, we analyzed different translations of homilies by Gregory the Theologian, by Euthymius the Hagiorite, 10th-c. figure and translator at the Georgian monastery of Mount Athos and Ephraim Mtsire, 11th-c. translator at Antioch (who started Hellenophilic translation tradition). The translation by Euthymius the Hagiorite is intended for a wide circle of readers and represents a simplified and free version of the original, with commentaries. The translation by Ephraim Mtsire is intended for fewer readers. It fully retains theological-rhetorical style of Gregory the Theologian, all rhetorical-philosophical details. The same difference is found between translations of Byzantine hymnography (hymns by John Damascene and Cosmas of Jerusalem) made in the 10th and the 11th cc.

According to hymnographic manuscripts and literary sources, in the 10th-c. translations, interpretation of the musical principle of hymns is as free as the translation method, being classified as dynamic equivalent type translation, with minor textual extraction-addition (for explanatory purposes), simplification of sophisticated theological content; plain style, absence of Greek lexical and syntactic calques; sometimes creation of a redaction differing from the original, this difference naturally does not affect the idea of the original and represents the translator's interpretation of the original. From the viewpoint of arrangement of the hymn according to the original ekhos (ἤχος) and translation method, Hellenophilic tradition is manifested to a greater extent in 11th-c. translations, where translations of poetic texts manifest maximum closeness to the original.

Thus, formation of Hellenophilic translation trend in Georgian literature was facilitated by linguistic and ideological requirements: increase of importance of Greek as the language of the original and increase of prestige of Byzantine education in the Eastern Christian world. Translators' cultural orientation towards thinking processes in Byzantium became active, critical study and commentary of texts, interest in actual issues of Byzantine literary theory and philosophical-scholarly concepts.

Ambergris: the Story of a Perfume and a Medical Drug in the Byzantine World

Durak, Koray

Ambergris, a substance coming from the intestines of sperm whales, was a much sought-after item among perfumers and physicians of the medieval world. It was used for enhancing the scent of perfumes and was an ingredient in compound drugs prescribed to patients. While there are studies on ambergris in the medieval western world, such as the works of John M. Riddle and Christopher Kemp, the story of ambergris in the Byzantine world remains unexplored, except for a short treatment by Andrew Dalby. Byzantine and Arabic medical and non-medical sources let us piece together valuable information about the place of ambergris in Byzantine culture. Ambergris, which dries and changes scent as it floats on the sea and washes ashore, was found abundantly in the Indian Ocean. It was traded in the Islamic markets of the Near East and found its way into the Byzantine markets. The present research explores the availability of ambergris as a commodity, the commercial routes used for carrying it, as well as the date of its first appearance in Byzantine markets. An examination of Byzantine pharmacological texts shows that the use of ambergris for the treatment of a number of medical problems became common by the middle and late Byzantine period.

Presenting Byzantium in the Modern World

Evans, Helen

Galleries at The Metropolitan Museum of Art over the last nearly twenty years have succeeded in successfully evoking public and scholarly interest in Byzantine religious and secular art. Relating works of the past to the present is a complex process, which includes understanding the variety of materials available for display while recognizing the limits of our understanding of their original environment. No work existed in a static space. Oil lamps provided flickering light at certain hours; daylight filled spaces at others. A manuscript appeared in one context in a liturgical service, another laid on its side on a book shelf, and another as read in a monastic or private library. Works for secular use – bronze weights, silver platters, ivory boxes – existed in spaces that we do not fully understand.

Color, labels, object arrangement, and light are tools a museum uses to bring the viewer to a work of art. The Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries of Byzantine Art at the Museum, the first galleries in a major encyclopedic museum devoted to Byzantine art as an expression of Byzantine culture, interests the visitor unaware of the Empire's history or the many religious communities within and near its borders through cases devoted to secular and religious works of art. A crypt under the Museum's Great Stairs offered a sense of one type of medieval pilgrimage site. In 2008 a Middle Byzantine apse was added to the galleries modeled on the interior of the church of St. Catherine at Sinai. The cases following the curve of the apse echo cases at Sinai; the even lighting of the gallery is like that of the interior of the church during daylight hours. Reviewers described the works and installation of *The Glory of Byzantium* in 1997 as so powerful that they proved Gibbon wrong about the *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*. The galleries of religious works, including the evocation of the interior of the Church at Sinai, in 2004 in *Byzantium: Faith and Power* moved visitors to venerate the icons on display.

This paper will explore what the Museum has done well, areas which could be improved, and possibilities for the future, including effective use of digital media both online and in galleries. It should be increasingly possible to provide music in varying languages for specific works. A voice might read from a text. Lighting may be able to go from daylight to the flickering light of candles on a repeat cycle that would allow both careful study of the work and an evocation of its presence in a lower light. Maybe the noises of the market where weights were used could be created and the voices of elite citizens at dinner parties. The issue is the most effective way to make works of the past accessible and understood in the modern world.

The Role of Ecclesial Property in the Trials of Ibas of Edessa and Dioscoros of Alexandria

Farag, Mary

Two bishops, Ibas of Edessa and Dioscoros of Alexandria, stood as defendants at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The latter suffered deposition; the former was rehabilitated after more than a decade of deposition. Why were they tried? The christological controversies of the fifth century do not hold the sole answer to such a question. In fact, the bishops' administration of ecclesial property also played an important role. The purpose of this paper is, first, to analyze the legal context in which lawyers and bishops treated ecclesial property in late antiquity and, second, to read Ibas and Dioscoros's trials within that context. It will be shown that to overlook the administrative charges against the two bishops is to overlook a significant part, not only of the trials, but of any given bishop's job description in late antiquity.

Ecclesial properties fell under the Roman legal category of *res sacrae* ("sacred things"), which meant that, by virtue of their consecration, they were inviolable and divinely protected. Sacred places, such as churches, extended their inviolability and divine protection to others by offering sanctuary to asylum-seekers. Over the course of the fourth through sixth centuries, lawyers composed laws and bishops issued canons that gave definition to ecclesial property as *res sacrae*. Ibas and Dioscoros were accused of violating some laws and canons; other laws and canons were composed as a result of their trials. This paper examines laws, canons, and conciliar proceedings to analyze the status of ecclesial property, define the administrative dimension of the episcopate, and reinterpret the trials of two bishops in the fifth century.

Shared *Romanitas*: Roman Imperial Cameos in the Byzantine East and the Latin West

Fernandez, Catherine A.

Roman imperial cameos are displayed as singular masterpieces in the antiquities collections of major museums, yet they do not readily allude to their rich and varied medieval pasts. That ancient figured gems ornamented reliquaries, book covers, and liturgical implements in the medieval Latin West is well known. However, direct and circumstantial evidence suggests that some of the most spectacular Julio-Claudian cameos with western medieval “afterlives” were originally in circulation in Constantinople. This paper addresses eastern and western medieval responses to ancient cameos with a Byzantine provenance. Using specific case studies, I investigate the presumably courtly context from within which these gems circulated as a way to ascertain a Byzantine reception. I also examine the western medieval desire to designate specific imperial cameos as having Constantinopolitan origins. In so doing, I contend that the material and visual language of Roman cameos exemplified a shared notion of *romanitas* that underscored their symbolic potency as objects.

Unlike the ample documentation concerning the migration of antique statuary from cities throughout the Roman Empire to Constantinople in the fourth century CE, we lack written evidence on the presence of Roman imperial cameos in the new capital. Yet given the existence of many ancient gems with Middle Byzantine inscriptions, we must assume that such smaller, portable luxury objects were brought there as well. As the inscriptions indicate, these imperial glyptic portraits underwent an *interpretatio christiana* within a Byzantine context. Nevertheless, such examples represent only a fraction of the extant imperial gems purportedly in Constantinople, including the Grand Camée de France (Cabinet de Médailles 264), the Gemma Augustea (Kunsthistorisches Museum 7), and the Apotheosis of Claudius (Cabinet de Médailles 265). One feature that they all share is a conspicuous absence of any kind of inscription. In this paper, I explore how Byzantine viewers would have perceived these cameos, and I suggest that the deliberate exclusion of identificatory inscriptions underscores a specific mode of viewing within a Byzantine courtly milieu.

Although the Byzantine reception of Roman imperial cameos must necessarily remain somewhat speculative, the belief that such gems came from Constantinople played an integral role in their western medieval reception. By the mid thirteenth century, the aforementioned Julio-Claudian cameos were housed in three significant French treasuries. Although a variety of events brought the cameos to Paris, Toulouse, and Toul respectively, their association with Byzantium remained palpable even after their actual historical trajectories became obscured. By considering both the “origin narratives” constructed by their western medieval owners and modes of display that reference their Byzantine derivation, I propose that the cameo as an object type became a tactile emblem of the East. While the reception of Roman cameos differed in the Byzantine East and the Latin West, these objects remained prized by both for their ability to convey imperial power through a recognized iconography of material and classical visual language that spoke to contemporary concerns.

Psellos the Hagiographer: Recalling St. Auxentios, Enrolling St. Symeon Metaphrastes

Fisher, Elizabeth

Among Psellos' hagiographical writings, it is widely agreed that only two resemble the traditional saint's *vita*, the "Life of St. Auxentios" and the "Encomium for Symeon the Metaphrast." These two compositions represent very different aspects of Psellos' hagiographical activities.

The "Life of St. Auxentios" is very long (94 pp. in the Teubner edition) and closely depends upon an earlier *vita* that Psellos recast or "metaphrased" into the learned level of diction typical of his other writings. In structure and use of literary devices, it resembles a charming novella, featuring a varied cast of characters, exciting narrative episodes, and a dramatic and eccentric central figure who performs miraculous deeds, provides the rule for a women's monastery, and leaves his disciples to compete for his holy remains.

In contrast, the "Encomium for Symeon the Metaphrast" is relatively short (21 pp. in the Teubner edition) and corresponds to no known source for its biographical details and famous description of the Metaphrast's scholarly methodology. Although the narrative is loosely chronological, it presents few concrete details of Symeon's life, no other characters or dramatic episodes, and a central figure who is charming, elegant, learned and closely associated with the imperial court—in short, a hero who resembles Psellos' own self-image. Psellos' narrative voice inserts parallels between Symeon's activities and those typical of a saint—heroic struggles, self-denial, devotion to the Gospel message, and a posthumous miracle. Psellos explicitly states his ambition to match his subject's success as a hagiographer, forming a link between Symeon's metaphrastic lives and Psellos' own "Life of St. Auxentios."

An *akolouthia* in honor of Symeon Metaphrastes is included among Psellos' poetic works (*Psellus Poemata*, ed. Westerink [Leipzig 1992] 277-283), and was a necessity for celebrating a saint in the liturgy of the Church. Both encomium and *akolouthia* contain references to Symeon Metaphrastes' career and character, numerous scriptural citations, and some shared metaphors. A comparison of these elements in the two works provides a basis for assessing the relationship between Psellos' practices in prose and in poetry. However, the two manuscripts preserving the *akolouthia* attribute only its canon to Psellos, although editors since the time of Allatius have considered not only the canon but also the *akolouthia* to be genuine works of Psellos. Is their assumption correct? Comparison of the elements shared between canon, encomium, and *akolouthia* offer an opportunity to explore the observation of Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*Schediasma* [St. Petersburg 1894] 357) that a single author usually composed not only the canon but also the *akolouthia*.

A Cosmopolitan Knowledge: Bilingualism and Medical Theory in the Vienna Dioscurides

Fleming, Andrew

This research examines bilingual representations of medical knowledge as they appear in the *Vienna Dioscurides*, and how such representations may be seen as intercultural processes of knowledge creation. The Vienna manuscript offers a rich, yet often overlooked, housing of medical annotations in both Greek and Arabic which offer an invaluable insight to the exchange of scientific and medical knowledge between late antique and medieval cultures. Specifically, this study aims to investigate how written elements within the *Dioscurides*, as bilingual semiotic structures, affected an intercultural transmission of knowledge during the Late Antique and Middle Ages. Broadly, this study also seeks to understand how such linguistic instances might represent further evidence for a cosmopolitan relationship between the Byzantine Empire and Abbasid Caliphate. Thus further aiding recent scholarship in bringing the many nuances of Byzantine scientific and medical knowledge out from the shadows of Victorian-era historiographies of decline.

Such a task demands an interdisciplinary approach, including both historical and philosophical methods. The historical methods utilized in this research borrow largely from the works of Maria Mavroudi, Peter Pormann, and Simon Franklin, and strive to strike a balance between an empirically-based examination of the Vienna manuscript's language and a more subjective analysis of the cultural importance of bilingualism as it pertained to Byzantine knowledge production. The philosophical methods utilized are particularly informed by the works of Jean Baudrillard, Jacques Derrida, and Michel Foucault, and aim at building an understanding of how language itself, both in the *Vienna Dioscurides* and other Byzantine herbals, can be seen to be representative of an overarching cosmopolitan ideology within Byzantine and Abbasid scholarly communities.

Understanding the Person of John Climacus: A Syriac Codex, Ladder Illuminations, and Byzantine Iconography

Gilbert, Katherine

This paper discusses the life, works, and influence of John Climacus, an abbot of St. Catherine's monastery in the sixth century and highlights the historical and cultural significance of Mount Sinai, where he lived. It includes a discussion of primary and secondary sources, an introduction to the life of John Climacus and traditions of Mount Sinai. Besides offering a strong historical analysis of the cultural and theological atmosphere around the time of John Climacus, I also map out the way that his peers and immediate predecessors received and reproduced his ideas.

For instance I focus on two chapters of his book, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, which I have translated from Syriac. This particular manuscript is called the Codex Climaci rescriptus and also known as Uncial 0250 in Gregory-Aland numbering (A.S. Lewis, "Codex Climaci rescriptus", *Horae semiticae* 8 (1909), pp. 27-31.) The codex is a palimpsest that is a 137 leaf remnant of eight separate manuscripts, six of which are in Syriac that are dated to the sixth century AD; and two of which are in Greek that are dated to the seventh and eighth century. The significance of this Syriac manuscript in my paper is that it shows a continued interest in John Climacus in that it was translated into Syriac, even though his original work is in Greek.

One unexpected element of this Syriac manuscript is that it has illuminations that serve as an index for the chapters of the book. These illuminations are small drawings of ladders with rungs that correspond to the number of each chapter of the book. Since *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* is a guidebook to the spiritual life of a monk, these chapters represent different virtues and vices that one must climb and overcome to reach the top rung, which is union with God. In the manuscript these illuminations provide a Syrian perspective on the interpretation of the structure of the book. I explain in my paper how the images suggest that while the ladder is segmented into steps it is possible to be on multiple steps of the spiritual journey simultaneously.

These same ideas are replicated in iconography that is attributed to John Climacus and *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*. In fact, there are more depictions of the ladder of John Climacus, than of John Climacus himself. This suggests that it is not just the life of John Climacus that is remembered, but also his theology and spiritual advice that are portrayed in sacred artwork. While we can examine his life to some degree, this paper focuses on achieving a deeper understanding of the person of John Climacus in the way that he was influenced by his forefathers and in turn how he impacted those around him.

The Music of Angels in Byzantine Art

Gillette, Amy

The problems and rewards of depicting angels, and the spiritual reality of liturgical concelebration with the angels, are topics familiar to the study of Byzantine art. Yet the representation of angels performing liturgical song has evaded explicit scholarly attention, even in spite of the fact that this topic functionally unites the other two: angels' icons were exceptionally useful for achieving the exalted spiritual state with which one could celebrate the liturgy in mystical union with the angels. Therefore, I propose an overview of the iconography and devotional utility of Byzantine images featuring the music of angels, with sensitivity to object typology. My concentration on later monuments notwithstanding, I acknowledge an essential thematic continuity from the early to the post-Byzantine periods.

I begin by describing a few key relations between fundamental "angelic" hymns, specific angelic beings, functional object types, and the angels' placement thereupon. The seraphim, for example, initiated the Trisagion (Isaiah 6:1-3) and frequently manifested on rhipidia as well as the higher parts of church interiors and ciboria, both instantiations of heaven on earth. A sixth-century instance is the Dumbarton Oaks rhipidion; a sixteenth-century one is the ciborium of St. Mamas in Morphou, Cyprus. Also, to celebrate Christ's Nativity, the "heavenly hosts" exclaiming "Glory to God in the highest, and peace on Earth to men of good will" (Luke 2:13-4) appeared in feast cycles in portable and monumental art. Thus a twelfth-century icon from Sinai presents Michael and Gabriel, dressed in loroi, at the head of a vast angelic army. Next, to emphasize these images' mimetic capacity, I highlight a couple salient depictions of moments in the Divine Liturgy featuring angelic singing, and in which angels sublimate the actions of the human clergy. A fresco in the Peribleptos Church, Mistra, shows angel-priests and angel-deacons carrying veiled chalices and patens toward the altar in accord with liturgical directives for the Great Entrance, throughout which angels and humans sing the Cherubic Hymn. Likewise, the Thessaloniki epitaphios shows angel-deacons waving rhipidia over Christ's sacrificed body while seraphim, cherubim, and thrones chant the Trisagion.

Having delineated the basic contours of angels' music in Byzantine art, the latter half of my paper draws out critical interpretive issues. My first priority concerns the intersections of object typology with the liturgical or devotional use of these items. For example, hymns, sermons, and candles empowered feast icons as vectors of mystical ascent on their designated holidays. Priests and deacons engaged ciboria and rhipidia as embodiments of Christ and the angels, a cosmology underscored by depictions of angel-clergy in sacred architectural space. In addition, I investigate why the angels performing liturgical song retained blank faces despite the belief that they felt love and joy in this act, while mourning angels consistently raged in storms of weeping. Relatedly, at a time when Gothic artists rendered angels joyously singing or strumming harps, blowing horns, beating drums, and so on, why were there no angel-instrumentalists in Byzantium? I argue that part of the disparity had to do with the idea of angel-instrumentalists hinging on the harps of Revelation 5:8, a book that never touched the Byzantine liturgy. More significantly, Western images were detached from heavenly prototypes and consequently relied on exoteric strategies to stir angelic sentiment. In contrast, the visual reticence of Byzantine musical angels expressed their participation in the "great chain of images," in which angels, human beings, and icons were all images or "impressions" of God united in inherent liturgical praise.

The Hunter and the Farmer: Ecocritical Approaches to Love in *Digenis Akritis*

Goldwyn, Adam

Byzantine Studies may be among the last of the literary and humanistic disciplines to embrace ecocriticism for the study of literature and culture. Ecocriticism and its subfield of ecofeminism, which Greta Gaard defines as an awareness that “the ideology which authorizes oppressions such as those based on race, class, gender, sexuality, physical abilities, and species is the same ideology which sanctions the oppression of nature” (*Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature*. Temple University Press [1993], p. 1), seek to emphasize the ways in which human power over the natural world is depicted in literary texts. Because ecocriticism has yet to be brought into the mainstream of Byzantine Studies, a test-case may be found in *Digenis Akritis*, the first romance of the medieval Greek literary revival of the twelfth century. As the supreme political and military authority, the fiercest hunter and best lover, the eponymous hero of the work dominates society, nature and women: the three manifestations of patriarchal power which ecocriticism addresses.

Two kinds of nature metaphors which reveal the patriarchal attitudes of control and domination over both the female and the natural in these works: zoomorphic metaphors, that is, metaphors comparing humans to wild and domesticated animals; and anthomorphic metaphors, that is, metaphors comparing humans to both individual plants and flowers as well as larger units of organization, such as forests, cultivated gardens and agricultural and pasture land. In *Digenis*, the man’s courtship of his lover is expressed in terms either of the hunt (either animal predator and prey or human predator and animal prey) or as a reflection of the natural affinity of animals (particularly birds). While the initial act of falling in love is thus primarily zoomorphic, the consummation of that love is primarily anthomorphic. The lover/beloved who is coerced into marriage or who dies before s/he can consummate his/her love is often rendered metaphorically as a plant harvested before its time, while the two-sided or mutual love between the hero and his beloved is often depicted as a grafted or hybridized tree.

Such a reading suggests two considerations from the ecofeminist perspective. Love civilizes and socializes men and women differently. For men, the hunter becomes the farmer: he is still a free agent with power and control over his environment (indeed, perhaps even more control), but it is a control brought well within the confines of civilized life, one lived within the city walls and subject to its laws and social norms, unlike the wilds where the beloved was initially found. Love, it seems, civilizes a man. For women, the reverse process is true. The beloveds of the medieval romance start out as the free and wild bird and end up the cultivated plant subject to the male gardener’s cultivation. Thus, the metaphors themselves lay out important ideological claims for the nature and consequences of love.

Byzantine Carvings in Serpentine

Griebeler, Andrew

Serpentine, ophites, snakestone—evokes images of snakes in both name and appearance. Ancient writers long ago saw scaly snakeskin in the dark mottled stone. Medical authorities also held that the stone could heal snakebites among other things and could also repel snakes and other wild animals. The stone was then believed to counteract what it was held to resemble in both name and form. In contrast to steatite, a stone prized for its spotless, uniform pallor, serpentine was valued for its dark, dappled appearance, as well as its supposed healing properties. This paper examines how this tension between resemblance and purported effect, as well as the difficulty of identifying the stone in the first place, play out in a series of Byzantine carvings in serpentine: the Nikephoros III Botaneiates roundel in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, a Middle Byzantine chalice in the treasury of San Marco in Venice, and a Late Byzantine pendant in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. In doing so, it applies Michael Podro's understanding of depiction as sustained recognition, that is, the process whereby a viewer imagines the content of a picture through a protracted oscillation between recognition and misrecognition of the depicted subject in conjunction with the manner and medium through which it is cast.

Through these examples, the study shows that the purported therapeutic and prophylactic properties of serpentine play an important role in establishing the pictorial content and potential use of these objects. The medium of serpentine thereby both extends and reinforces the pictures and inscriptions carved into it. The stone may have even allowed viewers to conjure subjects not pictured explicitly through the medium, though alluded to in part. Serpentine carvings also deploy the alleged properties of the stone metaphorically in relation to the subjects depicted in it, by using, for example, bodily healing to suggest spiritual salvation. The paper contributes to the study of Byzantine *materia medica* as well as the growing conversation on the role of materials and materiality in Byzantine visual culture.

The Role of “Rationalized” Synchronisms in Manetho and Georgios Synkellos: Bridging Egyptian and Byzantine Antiquities

Gulizia, Stefano

This paper re-evaluates the significance attributed to Manetho’s historiography, and his seemingly original combination of lengthy king-lists with narrative segments, by setting it against the evidence of representations of the past from the middle Byzantine period. My central argument is that the surviving evidence of Manetho’s fragments in the *Chronography* of Synkellos (ca. 800) should be seen not only as an episode of anthropological encounter, however interpreted, between Greek colonizing habits and Egyptian “indigenous” consciousness, but also as a useful springboard to assess how and why their middle Byzantine adaptations judged foundation stories and chronological records from Egypt useful and worthy of inclusion. In other words, the profound imbrication of world history contained in Manetho’s priestly genealogies depends as much on a watershed of Greek and Egyptian intellectual history as on a well-documented array of Byzantine apologetics. Incidentally, this is also the case of the Jewish historian Josephus, whose treatise *Contra Apionem* represents our most extensive abbreviation of Manetho. Finally, as a corollary, this accentuation of a Byzantine bias in the coverage of ancient history complements recent scholarly interest in the framework of historical fragments, as one sees, for instance, in the renewed study of Athenaeus as a ‘container’ of fourth-century historians such as Theopompus of Chios.

In the first part a critique is offered of various approaches classicists have taken to the *Aegyptiaca* and the impact of Greek historiography on Manetho. Scholars have generally imagined the chain of events as a fragmentary *Königsnovelle* on its own rights, and they have reconstructed the available evidence either to fit a center-periphery model of Hellenistic influence in Egypt, or, as Ian S. Moyer brilliantly argued, to show that both sides shaped the outcome. But the Egyptian civilization that we confront in Manetho is also the result of Byzantine agency, to the effect that self-representations by the Ptolemies and pharaonic kingships had already been re-organized and harmonized, at a specific historical moment, within Byzantium’s own understanding of its long past. The second part presents evidence of Georgios Synkellos’ position inside these archaizing and antiquarian tendencies. In particular, I discuss at some length his role vis-à-vis Sextus Julius Africanus and Eusebius’ *Chronicon*, his use of exegetical catenae in citations from *Jubilees*, and the imposition of simultaneous synchronisms on Dionysios of Halikarnassos regarding Pontic kingdoms. The third and smaller part of the essay argues that even the marveling of Renaissance humanists like J. J. Scaliger and Francesco Patrizi at Manetho’s “elegant order” and their fascination with Mosaic physics ultimately depend on Byzantine chronology. On the basis of this discussion, the paper concludes by urging a reconsideration of the importance of Byzantine historiography for imaging the encounter between Greeks and non-Greek informants in ethnographic discourse; if Manetho was able to “write back” at Herodotus in Greek from an intensely local and annalistic point of view, his writings in the hands of Synkellos become part of a successful attempt to educate the Romano-centric Byzantine court in the meaning of Egyptian history.

Catching Sight of Relics—Changes in Reliquaries and Display

Hahn, Cynthia

In a paper that will consist primarily of a few case studies of particular relics in reliquaries that present complex arrays or have been substantially revised in their physical and spatial presentation, I will attempt to show the importance of multi-sensory environments on the ‘performance’ and ‘reception’ of reliquaries. Of particular interest will be the visibility of relics and comparative presentation and materials East and West. Examples will include the enamel altar frontal of Stavelot with the life of Remaclus and its removable chasse which parallels the development of reliquaries that present as the ends of chasse but which are not, such as those at the shrine of Servatius at Maastricht. Triptych use in the West (as well as other formats for True Cross relics that can be manipulated) probably is derived from Eastern objects, a proposition that is especially clear in examples that contain Byzantine inserts in Western reliquaries, such as those in New York, in Liege and in Paris. Such triptychs present almost infinite potential for presentation of relics and also introduce the extensive use of crystals and transparent housings for relics. Finally I will conclude with a discussion of the Ste Chapelle and the multiple housings and rehousings of relics in a shrine that itself has been compared to a reliquary but which contains a “grand chasse” which in turn contains a display of Western and Byzantine reliquaries in an environment that can be opened, turned, visited or gazed upon from multiple sites within the chapel. Lighting and liturgy, incense and chant, procession and revelation are all elements used by the medieval Church in creating an environment in which relics can ‘perform’ optimally, stirring the ‘hearts’ of the faithful.

**Like Teacher, Like Student:
Modeling Virtue in the *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom***

Hull, Stephany

The *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom* has long been of interest to scholars owing to the insights it provides into the life and death of its protagonist. John Chrysostom, the renowned bishop of Constantinople, died in 407 CE while in exile imposed as result of ecclesiastical conflict with Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria. The dialogue was most likely written by John's disciple, Palladius of Helenopolis, and can be dated via internal evidence to 407 or 408, shortly after John's death. The main purpose of the dialogue is subject to an ongoing scholarly debate, as the work is a mélange of generic resonances, each of which points to a different aspiration of the work. It is partly historiographical, providing details and narratives that purport to recount events of John's life and in particular the conflict that led to his exile and death. But it is also biographical, contrasting portraits of John as a positive exemplum with Theophilus as a negative one. It is apologetic, seeking to exonerate John's legacy. And, of course, it is a dialogue, in which a bishop from the East instructs a deacon of Rome about the life and character of John.

In this paper, I aim to further our understanding of this dialogue *qua* dialogue by examining the mentorship dynamic between the two participants, the bishop and the deacon Theodore. I argue that the bishop, whose role is to vindicate John's name by clarifying questionable aspects of John's behavior to Theodore, is presented as a model teacher who is represented as exemplary in many of the same ways that John Chrysostom is upheld as an exemplum in the same text. The bishop is depicted as stepping into John's role as teacher; in a similar vein, the deacon Theodore is depicted as a model disciple, stepping into the role of the bishop (presumably Palladius himself), who in this text is a model disciple of John Chrysostom's. Thus, the participants of the dialogue become not only part of John Chrysostom's episcopal genealogy by continuing his legacy, but the dialogue form serves by its very nature as a model for the way in which disciples should imitate their teachers. The significant amount of attention the *Dialogue* devotes to facts about John's followers is not incidental; one of the ways this text vindicates John is by demonstrating the success of his teaching in multi-generational succession—the virtuous teacher is known by the fruit of his virtuous disciples.

The Lower City Church Complex at Amorium as a Byzantine Neighborhood (6th-9th Centuries)

Iverson, Eric

The ecclesiastical complex designated the Lower City Church (or Basilica A) is located near the center of the site of Byzantine Amorium, a city of the late Roman province of Galatia II Salutaris, which in the 7th century became headquarters of the military and civil administration of the new command of Anatolikon. The excavated parts of the church complex extend to approximately 2,250 square meters, with survey indicating that additional, unexcavated structures extend beyond the excavation areas on all sides. Given the known extent of the complex, it seems likely that it was a significant landmark in the city plan.

The Lower City Church complex was first constructed in a number of building campaigns during the late 5th and 6th centuries, at a time when Amorium was undergoing significant urban reconstruction and expansion. The early Byzantine complex comprised of a basilica church, with attached atrium, baptistery, and other buildings linked by corridors and courtyards. Between the 6th to 9th centuries the church complex underwent significant addition and modification, a period that ended with the destruction of the complex and the city in the Arab attack of 838. Repairs and additions were made to the basilica during these centuries, but just as significant was construction in the surrounding complex, where open spaces were filled in with new buildings of mud-brick and cobblestone, including a winery and a wine press vat.

By exploring the development of the Lower City Church complex from its foundation through the early 9th century, this paper explores the religious, social and even commercial use of space, and also seeks to reconstruct the social profile of its users and occupants. By doing so, this paper seeks to interpret the Lower City Church complex not only as an ecclesiastical monument, but also as a multifunctional and evolving “neighborhood” in its own right, that was used and adapted to meet the needs of successive generations. This paper explores questions of the church’s religious status and function, and thus seeks to understand what communities or social groupings used the complex. This paper argues that on a civic level, the church complex served as a communal focus of civic religious ritual and cult veneration. However, on a local level, the church complex also served its resident ecclesiastical community and the surrounding urban quarter. The evolution of the Church complex from the 6th to 9th centuries therefore offers insights on how this “neighborhood” and its inhabitants responded to urban, social and economic change during this period.

Living in God's Holy Light: The Importance of Experience in Palamas' Theology

Jamer, Jennifer

This paper presents a previously uninvestigated aspect of Gregory Palamas' theological vision: the lionization of experience, or *peira*, as a legitimate source of theological enlightenment. This feature of Palamas' theological system is a natural extension of the emphasis on the body in Palamite prayer practices and Palamas' belief in the significance of the human body as a medium for divine revelation. Palamas was not the first theologian to use *peira* as a significant concept — the word is part of a wider semantic field (which included two related verbs and a synonym, *peirasmos*) that was widely used by earlier theologians like Maximos the Confessor and Symeon the New Theologian. However, a close reading of the *Triads* indicates that Gregory Palamas' use of the term presents scholars with a useful key for understanding his broader theological project. He uses this word in a number of significant passages to describe several somewhat disparate ideas like monastic rules, trials, proof, and the pursuit of the divine. It is my contention that for Palamas, the category of experience links the body, the mind, and the soul in a way that allows the whole human person to journey towards God effectively and in an integrated fashion.

This paper begins with an examination of how Palamas' use of the term *peira* is distinctive from important predecessors like Maximos the Confessor and Symeon the New Theologian. It continues by addressing how this difference in use indicates a different theological status for the human experience in Palamas' theology; it is not only an important part of the Christian life, it is also a legitimizing criterion for the monastic order. The experience of the divine light through the eyes of the human body legitimizes the other experiences that his monastic community has, from the rules they live under, the prayer practices they have, and their participation in conversations with others outside of the monastery — and many of these elements were under attack from Barlaam of Calabria and others. Barlaam's admitted lack of experience, conversely, delegitimizes him in Palamas's eyes and the eyes of his fellow monastics. Finally, this paper argues that Palamas' concept of experience is a locus for the whole human person — body, soul and mind — to become integrated in a way that can lead the human person towards divinization or *theosis*.

Praising Homeric Heroes. Tzetzes and the ‘Aristotelian’ Peplos in the Byzantine period

Jesus, Carlos A. Martins de

The anonymous *Life of Aristotle* first published by Menagius (1663) is the only one that mentions the *Peplos*, twice in its catalogue of Aristotelian works, by only stating that it contained “a miscellaneous narrative”. As for the original nature of the *Peplos*, the first direct testimony belongs to Eustathius (in *Il.* 2.557), in the twelfth century, when saying that the work established “the genealogies of leaders [and] the number of ships each one of them had”, besides referring to a collection of epitaphs on those heroes. Therefore, one must conceive a prose mythic-historiographical book that included poetic epitaphs placed most probably at the end of the story of each character, when describing his death, burial and even cult. As for their authorship, these epitaphs must always be considered pseudo-Aristotelian, i.e., arranged in the structure of the entire book after collected and adapted from traditional sources (tombstones, ceramics, and even oral recitation in festivals), even if some of them might have been composed *ad hoc* for that treatise.

The first 48 epitaphs ascribed to the *Peplos* came to light thanks to a thirteenth century manuscript (*Laurentianus* gr. 56.1), for the first time identified as part of the *Peplos* by G. Canter (1566) and published, previously in the same year, by Éstienne. As far as known, that was the *corpus* edited until 1798, when T. Burgess added fifteen components to the collection, copied from a late-fifteenth century manuscript (*Lond. Harleianus* gr. 5662) that contained Tzetzes’ *Carmina Iliaca* and his *Scholia*. Besides these new components, Tzetzes’ *Scholia* transmit fourteen epitaphs that can also be read in the *Laurentianus*, along with other eight composed by him on some heroes he felt worthy of it.

After some preliminary questions on the *Peplos*’ state of art and edition, my paper revisits its acquaintance during the Byzantine period and investigates Tzetzes’ efforts on its completion, by means of the composition of the aforementioned eight *apochrypha*, shaped according to the features of the *authentic* ones (i.e. the ones transmitted by the *Laurentianus*). While working in a more comprehensive critical edition of the funerary epigrams of the *Peplos* (which also prints these *apochrypha Tetziana*), I propose a new textual edition for these components, for the first time taking into direct consideration two manuscripts held at the National Library of Spain (Matrit. BN 4562, ff. 127v-128r [M], and Matrit. BN 4621, ff. 128r-v [Ma]), where two anthologies of 31 and 22 epitaphs, respectively, can be found.

Peacocks and the Display of Power in Late Antiquity

Jewell, Kaelin

Sometime during the 520s CE, the noble woman Anicia Juliana consecrated a church dedicated to St. Polyeuktos on the grounds of her father's palace in Constantinople. The patron, a member of the legendarily powerful Anicii family, spared no expense in the materials used to erect her church, which appears to have served as an architectural statement of aristocratic and dynastic authority during the politically tumultuous first quarter of the sixth century. Although Anicia Juliana's church is no longer standing, its exposed foundations and the remaining pieces of its once extravagant decoration provide important evidence for a building that upset the status quo of what was deemed appropriate for monumental architecture in the imperial capital. As a privately financed church located just off the main ceremonial route of the city, St. Polyeuktos and its ostentatious display of aristocratic wealth must have offended members of the imperial court and very likely prompted them to respond architecturally with the construction of their own sacred spaces of power including Saints Sergios and Bakchos and Hagia Sophia.

Although this rich and complicated period of Constantinople's architectural history has been the focus of recent scholarship by Jonathan Bardill, Brian Croke, Robert Ousterhout, and others, questions still remain. The present paper seeks to re-visit this historical moment and focuses on the mechanics of self-presentation and display as visible in the material remains of St. Polyeuktos. Through a careful consideration of the archaeological remains, and various *dissecta membra* of the monument now scattered across the Mediterranean, this paper investigates the art historical underpinnings of design choices made on the part of Anicia Juliana for what must have been her final performance of power before her death in 526/7 CE.

Building from this foundational scholarship, I propose that the proliferation of St. Polyeuktos' peacock imagery should be understood within the context of late Roman displays of power. The popularity of the peacock is well attested in the scholarship of late antique sacred spaces, as demonstrated by the work of Helmut Lothar, Jean Pierre Sodini, and Henry Maguire. Often interpreting the inclusion of peacocks in decorative programs as terrestrial symbols for the beauty and abundance of heavenly paradise, these scholars consistently overlook the knowledge elites must have had regarding living peacocks. It is important to remember that when we gaze upon peacock imagery from late antique and Byzantine contexts, we are encountering only the male members of the species who, as Pliny tells us, take delight in the display of their extravagant tail feathers. (Pliny, *Natural History*, Book X, Ch. 22).

In St. Polyeuktos, we have material evidence for approximately thirty peacocks forming arcades and niche-heads of the monument's architecture. The remains of this architectural sculpture indicate that each of these male birds was positioned so that their polychrome tails unfurled behind them and framed their sculpted bodies. In this paper, I argue that we should consider the multivalency of late antique imagery to understand peacocks as birds that can be both evocative of paradise and also as animals associated with proud display. Therefore, when visitors to St. Polyeuktos, including the imperial court, entered into Anicia Juliana's church, they would have been confronted by dozens of male peacocks engaging in vibrant displays of power, on behalf of their illustrious patron.

Turks or New Persians? Seljuk Turkish Identity in Byzantine Historiography

Jovanovic, Aleksandar

Beginning in the late 11th century, Byzantine historiographers deployed a set of classicizing and vernacular ethnonyms in their descriptions of the Seljuk Turks who gradually settled in Anatolia and arguably came to be the arch-nemesis of the empire in the East. Thus, eleventh-century authors like Michael Attaleiates, who first wrote in some detail about the Seljuk Turks in Anatolia, felt the need to explain that the Persians in their texts were in fact the nomadic or semi-nomadic Turks. In the 12th and 13th centuries, however, when part of these Turks established a Sultanate of at Ikonion under strong influences of Persian culture, Byzantine historiographers no-longer equated 'Persian' with a Turk. On the contrary, twelfth- and thirteenth-century authors used the label 'Persian' to clearly distinguish those Turks accustomed to what the Byzantines perceived as civilized ways of living from those who were semi-nomads.

By examining classicizing and contemporary ethnonyms in major historiographical works from the late eleventh century to the early Palaiologian era, I argue that the deployment of the term 'Persian' in association with the Seljuk Turks of Anatolia was nuanced and sensitive to Seljuk political and cultural realities. In this paper I therefore examine how such ethnonyms when employed in historiography, demonstrate the ways in which the Byzantines perceived non-Roman societies and communities.

In recent years such scholars as Koray Durak and Anthony Kaldellis have revisited the use of classical ethnonyms in Byzantine historiography. In his *Ethnography after Antiquity*, Kaldellis advocates for "the politization of classical ethnonyms" (114), while arguing "that the term 'Persian' was used to refer to the enemies of the empire in a way that evoked ancient stereotypes" (116). Engaging with such scholarship, I ascertain that even though the ethnonym 'Persian' conveniently refers back to the empire's virtually eternal arch-enemy, it also corresponds to the Byzantines' contemporaneous perception of the Ikonian Turks as the a Persianizing dynasty. Specifically, I show that in Byzantine historiography, the ethnonym 'Persian' was gradually associated with Turkish groups whose allegiances were with the highly Persianized Sultanate of Ikonion. On the other hand, the ethnonyms 'Turk' and 'Turkemen' were used for non-Persianized Turks; that is, for those who lived on the Sultanate's western outskirts preserving nomadic and Turkic customs. Thus the evolution of the term 'Persian' in Byzantine historiography since the Seljuk Turks' appearance in Anatolia, I suggest, provides us with an opportunity not only to assess the Byzantines' taste in literary usage of ethnonyms, but to better understand their notions of foreign political entities in particular and the "other" in general.

Ephrem Graecus' Homily on the Sinful Women in its Liturgical Context

Kalish, Kevin

Extra-biblical material is not uncommon in Byzantine liturgical texts; at times these expansions upon the biblical narrative can develop entirely new episodes and plot lines. A prime example of this tendency is the expansions upon the story of the sinful woman (Luke 7:36-50 combined with Matthew 26:6-13). While the Gospel accounts provide little details on who she was, where she came from, how she acquired the ointment, or how she knew where Jesus was dining, Syriac and Greek texts of the 4th to 6th centuries filled in many of these details.

This paper takes as its starting point a homily attributed to Ephrem the Syrian, though surviving only in Greek and thus part of the works known as “Ephrem Graecus.” The homily is found in the printed editions of Thwaites (1709) and Assemani (1732-1746) and the modern Greek edition uses these editions (Phrantzolas 1998, v. 7). This homily, likely from the 5th century, clearly knows of narrative expansions already developed in other writers, and it develops these plot elements even further. For instance, it develops a long interaction between the perfume-seller and the sinful woman, a theme found in other Syriac and Greek texts but absent from the Gospel narrative.

While the precise dating of this homily and the authorship are unknown, surviving rubrics do provide an exact sense of when the homily was later used in the liturgical tradition. In the *Lenten Triodion*, which contains the services of the forty-day Great Lent and Holy Week in the Byzantine Rite, this homily is appointed for the office of Matins on Holy Wednesday. Within the same liturgical office one finds other hymns that also use the Sinful Woman as a model of repentance, including the famous hymn by the 9th century poet Kassia. Even though the various elements of the *Lenten Triodion* take shape over a long period of time, the basic structure is in place by the ninth century. As a result, we can witness in the development of the liturgical office for this day the ways that homilies and hymns work together to develop details not present in the Gospel accounts.

This homily of Ephrem Graecus is not the first to provide a back-story for the sinful woman, but the evidence for its liturgical use provides the unique opportunity to see how the homily forms connections with the other texts used within this liturgical setting. One of the hymns also appointed for Matins of Holy Wednesday (the doxasticon at the Praises) references the sinful woman crying out to the perfume-seller. In isolation, this makes little sense, since there is no perfume-seller in the Gospel accounts. The homily of Ephrem Graecus, however, develops a long scene between the sinful woman and the perfume-seller, who at first refuses to sell to her. Thus attention to this liturgical context provides insight into how these various hymns and homilies interweave particular themes and narrative elements.

Justinian II and the Arab Byzantine Truce of 685

Kenkel, Scott

The late seventh century was a time of crisis and reduced resources for Byzantium. Although Byzantium briefly held a diplomatic and military advantage in the east after fending off the Arab attacks on Constantinople in the 670's, a series of Byzantine defeats beginning with the battle of Sebastopolis in 692, revealed Byzantium's weakness. This period, dubbed the "Time of Troubles" by Ostrogorsky, is a critical period of military and administrative challenges leading to the reign of Leo III and the successes of the Isaurians. Population transfers, logistical reorganization and even the first clear reference to Themes occurred in the reign of Justinian II, but unfortunately, the state of the sources has severely limited scholarly consideration of Justinian II's chronology and policies. In order to pursue the analysis of this understudied reign, it is necessary to evaluate and critique the sources at our disposal.

Theophanes' *Chronicle* and Nicephorus' *Short History* are the two major Greek narratives for the period. Theophanes's account is often confused and Nicephorus's account is frustratingly sparse, although both relied on a now lost source, Trajan the Patrician. Beyond Trajan, however, Theophanes used sources in common with the Syriac chroniclers, including Michael the Syrian's late but important twelfth century chronicle. Additionally, Stephan of Taron and other Armenian sources offer alternative chronologies of Justinian's campaigns in the east. Finally, al-Tabari provides important information from the Islamic historical tradition. This diverse set of sources is often contradictory and incomplete, and until a thorough *Quellenkritik* of the sources is attempted, Justinian's actions cannot be evaluated.

Justinian II's truce with the Arabs provides an excellent opportunity to begin re-evaluating the sources. The Greek, Arab and Syriac traditions give dates ranging from 683/84 to 687/88. These traditions also differ significantly regarding what territory (if any) was ceded to the Byzantines, and the unusual (and unprecedented) condominium to share Cypriot revenue and perhaps the revenue of other regions as well.

Although fixing the date of this treaty may seem like a mere detail, determining whether the opening years of Justinian II's reign were a period of aggressive campaigning or a consolidation of gains would allow us to consider Justinian's broader policies. Byzantium's military posture in the east is important for understanding Justinian's campaign in 687-88 against the Slavs, his policy of population transfers from the Balkans to the Opsikion theme, and ultimately his use of relocated populations in supplying recruits for his army and settlers in lands possibly depopulated by Arab incursions. Indeed, without a clear understanding of the chronology, Justinian's defeat at Sebastopolis in 692 due (according to some sources) on his reliance on Slavic soldiery cannot be clearly understood. The reign of Justinian II should not be dismissed as a brief interlude between the first and second Arab sieges of Constantinople. On the contrary, establishing a firm chronology is the first step in considering these broader aspects of the evolving Byzantine response to seventh century military and economic challenges.

A Syriac Monk's Reading: A Perspective on the Monastic Miscellanies

Kessel, Grigory

As in other Christian traditions, reading played an important role in Syriac Christianity. However, in contrast to these other traditions – particularly the Greek-speaking one – the development of reading practices and book culture within the Syriac Christian tradition has not yet received the attention it deserves. As heirs of the ancient Mesopotamian scribes, Syriac Christians placed great value on books and reading. And as with many other aspects of their Christianity, the Syriac attitude towards reading and learning had certain traits unique to its tradition.

In the field of Byzantine Studies it is hagiographic works that provide the most interesting material for the study of book culture in a monastic milieu. The lives of the Syriac monks provide intriguing evidence about monks' reading practices. Thus, for example, we read in the life of Rabban Bar 'Edta (d. 611) that he memorized the magnum opus of Nestorius, the *Book of Heraclides* (521 pages in the modern edition!), as well as learning the entire Bible by heart and the works of Abba Isaiah, Mark the Monk, and Evagrius of Pontus.

A scholar of Syriac Christianity is therefore in a very fortunate position, as we have in our possession the actual products that reflect the changes and developments that took place within the Syriac monastic tradition from the sixth century onwards. A large number of Syriac manuscripts have been preserved, drawn from collections of texts that were selected and copied by the scribes for their brethren.

Miscellanies were the main vehicle for the transmission of monastic literature and were deemed essential for a monk's spiritual formation. Already in the earliest extant examples (dating to the sixth century) we can detect unique content, which characterizes this type of literature during its entire history and which sets it apart from the non-Syriac traditions. Such collections of texts thus offer us a unique glimpse into the Syriac monastic milieu of their day. They show us, for example, which texts were given preference in copying and which texts fell out of use after a period of circulation. Through miscellanies we can observe clearly how Syriac monasticism was shifting from admiration of the Byzantine monastic tradition to the establishment of its own extensive corpus.

The paper therefore considers Syriac miscellanies containing ascetic texts as a possible source for the study of intellectual activity in Syriac monasteries of the seventh century. It also discusses the particular character and defining features of the miscellanies of this period, in contrast to those of other times.

Hair, Touch, and the Ivory Comb of Leo VI as an Agent of Imperial Order

Kopta, Joseph

Recent studies on the ivory object in Berlin depicting Leo VI, now recognized as a comb fragment, have successfully connected the Mother of God's presence on its surface to the royal sphere of Constantinopolitan court ceremony. However, despite this scholarship— which validates a visual construction mirroring imperial stability with that of heaven— there is not yet a precise determination regarding the object's performative aspects in the Middle Byzantine court. In light of these recent studies, this paper reconsiders the rhetorical and artistic strategies employed in the ivory comb of Leo VI from the historically constructed Byzantine perspective of touch.

An examination of extant visual, literary, and object-based evidence positions the ivory comb within a milieu of *kosmos*— seen as an ordered universe— in several discreet ways. Beginning with two historical events where Leo VI's hair played a central role as participant in the assurance of dynastic succession, this study moves to an experiential consideration of the ivory object in use. Akin to modern notions of straightening out a tangled head of hair, Byzantine users understood a comb's role as an instrument bringing order (*kosmos*) from disorder (*chaos*) in the disposition of a harmonic arrangement (*taxis*). More importantly, the object of the comb's attention— hair— served both as signifier and signified of court decorum and conveyed apposite notions of order and hierarchy establishing *taxis*. The Byzantines activated these often gender-specific bodily understandings of their comb-arranged hair through the experience of touch, important as the sense unifying all the others under its aegis.

Taken in the context of court ceremony, the haptic qualities of Leo's comb, along with the act of combing, contribute to a sensory reading that positions Leo's court alongside the court of heaven— in ways germane to the iconographic and epigraphic strategies already well articulated by scholars. Although it remains unclear whether Leo's court intended the comb for particular ceremonial use or as an intra-court or diplomatic gift, the material of the object— ivory— plays a key role in fostering haptic strategies that legitimize Leo's position as emperor at the side of heavenly figures.

Shared Spaces – Shared Lives: Community Building in the Neighborhoods of Middle Byzantine Athens

Kondyli, Fotini

The beginning of the Athenian Agora excavations in the 1930s by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens marked the discovery of the Byzantine settlement overlying the ancient Greek Agora. During that first decade of excavations alone, hundreds of Byzantine houses were brought to light together with public spaces, churches, burials, streets and industrial spaces. The excavations in the Athenian Agora continue to this day, revealing more about Athens' Byzantine past with each field season. Despite the volume of the excavated material and its significance, only a couple of Byzantine houses have been published and a synthesis of the discoveries in the Athenian Agora pertaining to Middle and Late Byzantine urban living has yet to be attempted. Thus, the idea of Byzantine Athens as a small and rather insignificant town continues to prevail in scholarship and the extraordinary body of evidence from the Agora excavations remains unexploited.

This paper seeks to rectify this situation and contribute to a better understanding of Middle Byzantine Athens based on unpublished material from the Athenian Agora excavations. It argues for a bottom-up approach to the study of the city and points to the importance of micro-scale spatial and social relationships in reconstructing urban environments and accounting for the participation of all social actors in the making of cities. Hence this paper presents preliminary results from the study and reconstruction of Middle Byzantine neighborhoods located to the north and northwest side of the Athenian Agora and discusses their spatial and temporal qualities. Moving beyond house typologies, it follows the biography of houses and their surrounding spaces from the 10th to the 13th c. It specifically explores the coexistence of residential areas with burial sites, public spaces and industrial features that speak to the diverse role of neighborhoods as spaces of economic, social and political interaction. Particular attention is paid to architectural changes, repurposing of spaces, and placemaking activities at the level of the neighborhood that reconfigure the function and meaning of spaces and ultimately condition urban living.

This paper argues that the shared rights, responsibilities and experiences involved in the building and maintenance of the city's neighborhoods enhanced collectiveness and allowed Athenians to self-identify through membership in their local communities. It furthermore suggests that the variable and irregular Imperial control of the Byzantine periphery created a power vacuum that ultimately gave local communities at Athens the autonomy to become the architects, administrators and protectors of their own cities.

Old Comedy in the Service of Nikētas Choniātēs: Gluttony, Politics and Mimēsis in *Χρονικὴ Διήγησις*

Labuk, Tomasz

Two literary genres – tragedy and comedy – are inextricably linked to historical narrative in Nikētas Choniātēs' *History*. This is patent from the very outset of work – the chief aim of historical discourse, according to the author, is to provide the best models of behaviour. To this end, the task of the historian is to praise the men of noble sentiments and to ridicule in the manner of comedy the ignominy of others (*Nic. Chon. Hist.* 1.6: κακία κωμωδομένη). Yet, it takes much more than laughter, invective and harsh comedic rebuffs to heal city's *politeia*. Alexander Kazhdan has already remarked that the core theme of Choniātēs' *opus magnum* is a terminal societal disease which caused the downfall of the empire in 1204 (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 229). The record of this fall required solemnity (σεμνότης) and venerability (αἰδέσιμος), which the genre of tragedy could furnish it with (*Chon. Hist.* 3.52). Historical narrative, presenting characters of lower type (φαυλότεροι, cf. *Poet.* 1449a) along with those of noble motives (σπουδαῖοι, cf. *Poet.* 1449b.8-9) must, by necessity, blend comedic with tragic elements.

By concentrating on literary portraits of two gluttonous tax officials, John of Poutzē and John Kamatēros, this paper intends to explore how the historian used the material from Old Comedy and incorporated it within his historical discourse. To be sure, Aristophanic comedies provided an ample source of inspiration for Choniātēs. The author himself was familiar at least with three texts of Athenian comedian which stood at the core of Byzantine *curriculum studiorum* – the *Frogs*, the *Clouds* and *Ploutos* (Garland 2006: 186). Metonymical use of food and body embedded within the genre of Old Attic Comedy perfectly served Choniātēs' purpose, who chose to lodge his social critique within bodily discourse (Wilkins 2000, Kazhdan 1990). In the *History*, gluttony, drunkenness and lewdness form the triad of symptoms of the already mentioned social disease which plagues the empire – they stand as metaphorical representations of destructive extravagance and degeneration. The inept and self-indulgent ruling elites devoured the substance of Byzantine state.

I contend that three intertextual strategies are at play in the passages in question (Genette 1992, Nilsson 2010). Primarily, Choniātēs makes intentional use of specific food- and comedy-related words, e.g. ζωμός, κυαμός, σπογγιάς, τράγημα, κόρδαξ, ὀψοφαγία, which serve as indexes that link the reader to the texts of Aristophanes; in particular –to the *Frogs* and the *Knights*. Secondly, further connection is established by exploration of analogous themes, such as elucidating one's mind with large quantities of wine (*Eq.* 85 ff., *Chon. Hist.* 114.4-6), or the implicit sexuality conveyed by both the mini-narratives of Nikētas' *History* as well as the excerpts of Attic Comedy which they refer to. Lastly, the linkage is further reinforced by mentioning the person of Heraklēs, whose notoriety for gluttony and lewdness is explored in the *Frogs* and the *Birds*. I am firmly convinced that an in-depth comparative analysis of the selected excerpts from *Χρονικὴ Διήγησις* against the relevant passages from the Old Comedy might contribute to broadening of our understanding of Byzantine literary *mimēsis*.

“Nearly Twins:” An Analysis of the Relationship between London, British Library Additional MS 37002 and Moscow, Lenin Library F. 304/III.28, Gr. 11

Langford, Warren

In her work on the Decorative Style Group, A. Weyl Carr identified a subset of the Initial Subgroup around London, British Library, Additional MS 37002 and called it the London Subgroup. The London Subgroup is composed of five tetraevangelion codices from the 12th and 13th centuries (London, British Library Additional MS 37002; Moscow, Lenin Library F. 304/III.28, Gr. 11; Athos, Dochiariou 39; Munster, Biblical Museum Ms. 10; and Istanbul, Ecumenical Patriarchate ehem. Chalki, Kamariotissis 92). In her research on the artistic features of the subset Carr goes so far as to note that London, British Library Additional MS 37002 and Moscow, Lenin Library F. 304/III.28, gr. 11 were “nearly twins” (Carr, *Byzantine Illumination 1150-1250*).

A cursory observation of the text of the two manuscripts by way of the Claremont Profile Method presents a substantial degree of relationship along with one other London Subgroup manuscript - Munster, Biblical Museum 10 (Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence*). Even with this limited amount of data (three chapters in the Gospel of Luke) one may still pose the question, “How far does this kinship go?” An increase in textual data through fuller collations and a textual analysis provide a discussion of kinship as well as create comments on the production process of the subset. Does the artistic and textual analysis of the subset open a window into the manuscript production of the Decorative Style Group? Does the text of the other London Subgroup MSS strengthen the kinship of the subset?

Through a textual analysis of London, British Library Additional MS 37002, Moscow, Lenin Library F. 304/III.28, Gr. 11, and Munster, Biblical Museum Ms. 10 the “nearly twin” status is assessed. In examining the kinship of these three manuscripts unique textual variants are observed as key markers of relationship and a secondary question concerning genealogy.

Do Carr’s conclusions on the manuscripts hold true within the textual analysis? Textual analysis on other Decorative Style Groups has been fruitful in producing a broader image of the relationship among the subgroupings. In light of Carr’s research and a textual analysis one can determine whether ‘style’ is the only distinguishing element among the London Subgroup manuscripts.

Υπὲρ εὐχῆς: Recontextualizing Votive Offerings in the Early Byzantine Period

Leatherbury, Sean

Few artifacts from the early Byzantine period are more evocative of popular piety than are votives. Dedicated by Christian and Jewish faithful to fulfill vows made to God and the saints, these objects were material testaments to prayers answered. Their presence bespoke the power of the divine, and their aesthetic effects of brilliance, color, and accumulation contributed to the aura of holiness at shrines. However, despite the persistent scholarly interest in pagan Greek and Roman votives, early Byzantine votives, objects dedicated from the fourth to eighth centuries, have been overlooked as scholars have focused instead on the “souvenirs” that faithful pilgrims took away from sacred sites, such as the ampullae and other small flasks known as *eulogiae* (“blessings”). While scholars including Gary Vikan, Thomas Mathews, and Janette Witt have begun to chart the forms and meanings of early Byzantine votives, much work remains to be done to replace these objects properly into their original architectural, liturgical and devotional contexts.

This paper focuses on votives as objects intentionally left behind in churches and synagogues, interpreting these objects of popular piety within their Byzantine settings. After briefly surveying the wide range of both “high” and “low” votives from the Near East and Egypt, this paper reimagines votives as parts of multimedia assemblages, from the grouped statuettes of pregnant women that hung from rods in the church of Abu Mena in Egypt, to the masses of golden jewelry adorning the tomb of Christ in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, to the assembled mosaics, wall-paintings, inscriptions, icons, metal plaques with images of body parts, liturgical vessels, and lamps that decorated the interiors of village churches in the region. By looking at votives as they were grouped in their original contexts, we can envision how popular rituals of votive dedication played out in the period, reconstruct how votive deposition happened over time and within real architectural spaces, and tease out the delicate balance between the religious and social motivations behind such dedications. Focusing on the inscriptions and aesthetics of these works, including expensive as well as mass-produced, “cheap” objects, this paper discerns their essential visual and material features: their pleasing appearance; fitness for their intended task in the church or synagogue; and function as individual objects meant to fit within larger assemblages. Replacing these artworks in their original contexts, this paper argues for a new appreciation of votives as objects that intentionally break down distinctions between media, between text and image, and between representation and reality, creating intricate and potent networks of sacred meaning.

Constantinople as *exō chōra*: Voices Longing for *patrides* beyond the Center of Empire

Leidholm, Nathan

The city of Constantinople, New Rome, looms large in Byzantine history as the center not only of imperial government and ecclesiastical organization, but also as the core of Byzantine identity. So much so, in fact, that the Byzantine Empire itself has been described as a city-state writ large, both ideologically and in real, socio-economic terms. Surviving sources from the twelfth century are replete with examples of the “snobbery” of social and political elites, who viewed those provincials living in the *exō chōrai* (‘outer places,’ i.e. outside of the city) as scarcely better than the ‘barbarians’ residing beyond the empire’s borders. While the Komnenian aristocracy’s glorification of their self-identified ancestors on the former eastern frontiers is well known, as exemplified in the *Digenes* legends, they did so without necessarily diminishing their identification with or interest in the capital.

Yet the Queen of Cities could be a cruel mistress, even for members of the social and political elite who otherwise embodied the kind of “snobbery” scholars have come to associate so strongly with the twelfth-century Byzantine aristocracy. For some who found themselves living and working in Constantinople (or, for foreigners, in Byzantium in general), the empire’s center was itself a place of exile, an *exō chōra* far removed from their own *patris* (“fatherland”). Not every mention of an individual’s or family’s origins in a place outside of Constantinople (of which there are many in this period) can or should be written off as simply rhetoric. Identification with a *patris* outside of the *koinē patris* of Constantinople could be persistent, strong, and genuine, whether as a matter of personal or familial pride or of a personal dissatisfaction with the kind of life available in the political and ideological center of the empire. This identification with a place outside of the capital, combined with the desire to maintain visibility in such localities and to memorialize one’s family into perpetuity, was a powerful motivator for the foundation of and donations to monasteries. Such acts were a means of expressing this attachment and, in the case of foreigners, of creating a microcosm of the “outer places” they considered home.

This paper analyzes this attachment to places outside of Constantinople and explores the voices of some of those for whom Constantinople or its environs was an *exō chōra*, an ‘outer space,’ as they are recorded in surviving literary sources and lead seals originating in the long twelfth century (1081-1204). Using a selection of letters, orations, and monastic documents (including *typika*), it argues that a certain form of regionalism, encapsulated in the term *patris* and particularly visible in the outbreak of separatist unrest from the mid-1180s, is detectable in the sources from as much as a century earlier, and that this identification with a *patris* outside of Constantinople was as foundational to individual and family identity as lineage (*genos*) in this period.

Saved by the Same: Incarnational Theology and the Redemption of Artemios

Llewellyn Ihssen, Brenda

The *Oxeia* district in Constantinople was the epicenter of a mid-seventh century healing-cult that served almost exclusively men suffering from diseases related to their genitalia, primarily hernias in the groin or testicular area. Enclosed in a sarcophagus beneath the altar of the Church of St. John the Forerunner lay the body of St. Artemios, a fourth-century, pro-Arian *dux Aegypti* around whose relics gathered predominantly working class men seeking cures for humiliating and painful ailments. *The Miracles of St. Artemios* (BHG 173) presents in vivid language a catalogue of physical and social suffering that provides a window into seventh century attitudes about the ill; as the single body represented the social body and—by extension—the empire, disease, suffering or disfigurement suggest more than singular pain, they reveal theological constructs and attempts to answer for illnesses with theodicy. The response of Byzantine Christianity to bodies in pain has been much considered, as of late; analysis of bodies made anxious by, ashamed of or fearful of pain, contagion, disease or death, less so. This paper employs the “New Intellectual History” (NIH) theoretical model to consider how medical ailments (and/or their effects) create conditions for the theological transformation of a suspect saint.

Concerned with the “material imbeddedness of ideas and their relation to power (Clark, 2004),” the NIH model provides opportunity to question if *The Miracles* present suffering bodies that function as a mediating method of healing for the saint, at the same time that the saint is mediator for the suffering body. The age in which *The Miracles* were compiled entertained many questions about orthodox belief and its relationship with right behavior. Though alarming to read, the “visceral seeing” (Miller, 2004) of these bodies cannot distract us from the theological and civic underpinnings. In light of late antique attitudes regarding masculinity in general and male genitalia in particular, this paper builds on recent studies of the Artemios *Miracles*, including the anthropological and medical inquiry of Dr. Anne P. Alwis (“Men in Pain,” 2012) and the literary analysis of Dr. Stavroula Constantinou (“Grotesque Bodies, 2010). This paper concludes with an exploration of the way in which Incarnational Theology expands the ethical dimensions of *The Miracles* as it plays out in historic and pragmatic solutions to medical problems at a healing shrine historically linked to an Arian Christian. The taming of history through representations of Nicene theology opens up the possibility for far more humane treatment for those who suffer and for those who seek to aid the suffering, and suggests a radical rethinking of socio-moral queries about who deserves medical care.

The City, a Desert: the Ruins of Babylon in the Greek Christian Exegetical Imagination

Lunn-Rockliffe, Sophie

In his *Commentary on Isaiah* 13.19-20, Eusebius of Caesarea noted that the scriptural prophecy against Babylon had been fulfilled, as ‘Babylon is even now uninhabited and absolutely desolate, as the reports of these places that reach us testify’. A number of commentators on Isaiah writing after Eusebius, and probably using his work – John Chrysostom, Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyrrhus – also wrote at length about the desolation of Babylon as an accomplished (and still observable) fact. Scholars have tended to concentrate on how Greek exegetes grappled with the range of Greek translations of Isaiah, but this paper looks instead at how they imagined contemporary Babylon as a ruined city that had become a desert (ἐρημος and ἐρημία) teeming with *daimones* and strange beasts.

It is unlikely that any of these commentators, writing in the cities of Caesarea, Antioch, and Alexandria, had seen Babylon themselves. Indeed, there were probably few Roman visitors to the city in the fourth and fifth centuries, except in the context of military campaigns. Barnes argues for the plausibility of Constantine’s claim, in his *Oration to the Saints*, to have seen the ruins of Babylon, on the grounds that he had served on Galerius’ campaign against Persia. By contrast, the emperor Julian, who claimed prematurely that the death of his horse Babylonianus signaled that ‘Babylon had fallen’ (Ammianus, *Res Gestae* 23.3.6) did not, in fact, see the city on his ill-fated campaign; Ammianus’ Herodotean excursus on the Persian Empire (Ammianus, *Res Gestae* 23.6.1-88) is also rather vague about the state of Babylon. An exceptional visitor was Abba John ‘the Little’, whom Coptic *Lives* recount making a miraculous visit to Babylon at the behest of Theophilus of Alexandria, to collect relics of Nebuchednezzar’s three boys; however, these accounts offer no passing observations on the state of the city.

This paper argues that Greek Christian imaginings of the desolation of Babylon were based primarily on the elaboration of scriptural tradition and classical reportage (e.g. Pliny, *Natural History* 6.121, Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.33.3), rather than on contemporary eyewitness accounts. Although some later exegetes made use of earlier commentaries, their inflections of Isaiah’s prophecy nonetheless differed. Pseudo-Basil and Theodoret emphasized the desolation of Babylon’s soundscape, where noises echoed in an environment devoid of any objects or beings to deflect them. Cyril explained how wild animals made their homes in the nooks and crannies of the deserted buildings of the city. Theodoret suggested that the mention of hedgehogs living in former pleasure palaces drew attention to the city’s previous history of luxury and decadence. Overall, this paper will show how exegetes brought Babylon to life in vivid terms as a contemporary, not just a past, ruin. This contributed to the creation of a vivid imaginary landscape well beyond the borders of the eastern Roman empire which could continue to teach powerful moral lessons, and which had particular resonance in the great cities of the eastern Mediterranean.

Viewing Mt Papikion from the Metropolis: A Note on the Byzantine “Love of Good Works”

Makris, George

In his fourteenth-century *Rhomaïke Historia*, the prolific Nikephoros Gregoras described the settlements on the southern slopes of the Rhodope Mountains as *abata choria* (untrodden places), thus indicating the isolation and remoteness of such sites as Gratianou, Mosynopolis, or indeed Mt Papikion. This paper challenges the notion of the “untrodden” by examining the cultural and economic interchanges between the holy mountain of Papikion and the imperial capital, Constantinople. I pose one basic question: how can we use material culture in a discussion about artifact circulation and movement of peoples? By bringing together diverse, hitherto un-contextualized, archaeological data with new evidence, as drawn from two seasons of extensive fieldwork, I address the act of donation within an understudied monastic milieu. For religious patronage at Papikion involved local inhabitants but also members of the higher social ranks and the imperial court. As elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, the tenth and eleventh centuries saw the remarkable resurgence of monastic life in urban as well as in rural settings across the south-eastern Balkans. In the twelfth century, there was a growing view that the ideal place for monks was in coenobitic establishments. During the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, Mt Papikion was one of the most important monastic centers situated on the mainland routes between Constantinople and Mt Athos. Throughout their lifecycle, monasteries and hermitages attracted to the holy mountain influential monastic figures such as Maximos Kausokalyvites or Gregory Palamas but also elite benefactors such as Gregory Pakourianos or ex-empress Maria “of Alania.”

The purpose of this paper is two-fold: first, to consider the reasons that led eponymous lay individuals to become involved in monastic donation at Papikion. The second is to trace the evolution of monastic settlements over time in order to understand the dynamic (or not) changes they experienced long after the process of donation. This is a key issue because we should not expect to observe the spatial organization or usage patterns which are found in civic centers like Constantinople.

In the absence of monastic foundation documents, I shall discuss the material remains of monastic complexes (churches, tombs) including the fragmentarily surviving interior decoration. Contextualizing such visual evidence can help us check the mechanisms through which settlements managed to survive the turbulent thirteenth century and remain connected with the secular world during the Late Byzantine period. The monastic communities of Mt Papikion are a useful case study because the sites form undisturbed archaeological contexts that allow a relatively accurate reconstruction of their history. Though, in our case study, texts do not provide answers to questions concerning the form and function of monasteries, archaeological remains testify to the commission of these large-scale projects by founders and patrons. Finally, apart from explaining the reasons for gift offering, this paper indicates that patronage and protection was only one of the factors that determined the success or failure of a monastic community: a strategic geographic location and high spiritual value were deemed equally important.

Museum Modes of Performance: Exhibition and Permanent Collection Installations in Theory and Practice

Mann, Griffith

The modern museum has two primary vehicles for presenting and interpreting medieval art for specialists and for general audiences: permanent collection installations and special exhibitions. In these projects, the performative potential of medieval objects and the settings that gave them meaning can be reinforced, accommodated, subverted or compromised. For museums, permanent collection galleries and the special exhibition halls often involve different modes of display, not to mention interpretive goals. The conventional explanation for this can often be found in practical considerations. Permanent collection installations begin with a clear understanding of a museum's holdings, and the narratives that can be generated from them. While these installations are sometimes inflected by contemporary scholarship, they are also driven by museological practice and convention. Longevity and flexibility are often principal goals, and these displays often take a broad approach to core concepts. Special exhibitions, while often rooted in the strength of a particular part of the collection, are assembled around concentrated ideas and bring objects together for time-limited period. Here, museums often venture bolder ideas, work to generate and even inspire scholarship, and take greater liberties with design and staging. Both kinds of projects must contend with original works of art and with contemporary audiences, and a critical aspect of their success centers on creating meaningful encounters between them.

Multimedia, performance, and immersion are all terms that apply to medieval artistic practice, and are also tools that the modern museum can bring to bear on interpretive projects. This paper takes the opportunity to consider several recent permanent collection re-installations, and contrasts these projects with special exhibitions. The selective consideration of the different modes that institutions have adopted in the display of Byzantine and western medieval art in these two museological contexts poses important questions about the impact museums have on how we understand historical objects. Are special exhibitions, which often venture more adventurous or experimental approaches to the display of works of art, the primary locus for new approaches to the interpretation of medieval objects? What role does the permanent collection play in helping to frame or inspire new scholarship? How do these different modes of display relate to each other and how can museums best present seemingly distant material to contemporary audiences? If our work is to generate meaningful encounters art and people, then our success in doing so—indeed, the vitality of our field—depends on our ability to engage modern audiences in medieval art and to make that art relevant in today's world.

Hermippos, Hermodotos and Musokles – three Byzantine dialogues and their Lucianic background

Marciniak, Przemysław

The corpus of the so-called ‘Pseudo-Lucianic’ dialogues testifies both to the popularity of Lucian in the Byzantine period as well as to the lasting success of the dialogue as a literary mode. ‘Dialogue’ as a literary genre, though considered an important device in the literary arsenal of Byzantine writers only recently became studied more intensely.

My paper will discuss three underappreciated Byzantine dialogues – ‘Hermippos or on Astrology’; ‘Hermodotos or on Beauty’ and ‘Musokles or on the Best Way of Life’. Their dating is uncertain and many different dates were proposed - according to some researchers the texts might have originated in the 5th century, while other authors proposed the Paleologean period. The authors of the recently published German translation suggested that the dialogues were created sometime between the 11th and 14th century (the oldest extant manuscript of ‘Hermippos’ comes from 1322). Therefore, it was believed, and not without a good reason, that they were penned by the same person, John Katrares, a late Byzantine copyist and intellectual. However, different candidates were also proposed as possible authors. It is plausible, however, that even though the texts were not authored by the same person, they originated in the same intellectual milieu (theatron?). Yet, there is not enough evidence to accept any of these theories and the dialogues remain anonymous.

The texts received very little scholarly attention and they were studied mostly by German speaking scholars. The bulk of scholarship is focused on possible dates and authorships. However, since it is impossible to ascribe the text to an author and to locate it in a precisely defined period a different methodological approach is needed. Therefore I intend to study the texts within a literary tradition in which they locate themselves that is the Lucianic dialogues.

I plan to show how the Lucianic tradition was used and how it was reworked to fit the new socio-literary context – how the dialogic form influenced the narrative and the exposition of the arguments, what kind of Lucianic sources have been used and to what end. Such a dependence on Lucianic (or to say it more precisely – Pseudo-Lucianic) hypotext is especially interesting in the case of ‘Hermodotos’ which is clearly modelled on ‘Charidemus’ - also dated variously and ascribed to different authors. There exists only one, 19th century study of this subject which in the light of new research on the use of Lucianic (and more generally ancient) writings in Byzantium is simply insufficient. Instead I will employ the transtextual approach as proposed by G. Genette, which has already been used in analysing Byzantine literature.

The *Pandektes* of Antiochos, a neglected witness to learned culture at the Lavra of Mar Saba in the early seventh century

Marinides, Nicholas

The *Pandektes* of Antiochos of Mar Saba is one of a large dossier of writings that were provoked by the Persian conquest of Jerusalem and related vicissitudes in the first third of the seventh century. It is often cited by historians for its few but valuable details about contemporary historical events, and occasionally used by patrologists to unearth new patristic citations. But the work's purpose and its *Sitz-im-Leben* in a monastic culture of intensive reading and conversation has been largely neglected: a gap that the present paper begins to address.

The work consists of a series of ethical discourses, prefaced by a letter to an abbot Eustathios and concluded by a lengthy penitential prayer. Eustathios directed a monastery named Attalinē, in Ankyra of Galatia, where Antiochos had begun his monastic life before moving to Mar Saba. Due to the Persian invasion, the monks of Attalinē had been forced to leave behind their monastery, library included. Eustathios requested of Antiochos a digest of the Scriptures, as an edifying vade mecum for the homeless monks.

Each of the 130 chapters deals with a particular virtue or vice, addressing it primarily through patristic quotations, followed by a collection of supporting scriptural texts. It is not exactly a florilegium, because Antiochos plays an active role in paraphrasing and adapting his texts. The patristic sources include both pre-Nicene Fathers—such as Ignatios of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna, Hermas of Rome, Irenaios of Lyons, the pseudo-Clementine *Epistles to Virgins*—and post-Nicene ascetical authors—such as Evagrius of Pontos, Diadochos of Photikê, and John of Karpathos. The selection must reflect to some degree the availability of books in the monasteries in the environs of Jerusalem. It thus provides us with evidence for how authors at the end of late antiquity drew on the developing patristic canon and interpreted it for their own didactic purposes.

Antiochos primarily speaks to the monastic readership for which the work was requested, but he also sought to make it useful to a wider readership. At certain points he hints at oral delivery; he may have tried the discourses out on a local audience before sending off the polished form to the distant Galatians. Furthermore, in the course of the work, Antiochos provides evidence for the ubiquity of interactions between monks and laypeople, including frequent conversations on spiritual topics, and seeks to advise monks on how such visits should be conducted in order to edify laypeople while preserving monastic detachment.

With its traces of both written citations and spoken teachings, the *Pandektes* offers an important window into both the literate and oral culture of Palestinian monasticism in the early seventh century. It also shows how the two were organically interwoven and mutually influential, and how the fruits of such interaction might be collected in a book that was sent far away, in a monastic and literary network extending to Galatia. As such, it is an important test case for reading circles and cultures in the early Byzantine period.

The *Blasphemia* at Sirmium: Constantius II and the Legacy of Nicaea

Mason, Edward

In 357, Constantius II organized an imperial gathering at Sirmium that produced a creed which Athanasian polemicists, arguing that it unequivocally subordinated the Son to the Father, named the *blasphemia* at Sirmium. Ostensibly Nicaea in 325 had settled the Trinitarian debates; however, Constantine had not enforced the decisions of Nicaea, merely setting a precedent of addressing ecclesiastical concerns with imperial pronouncement. The result of Sirmium only stands to reinforce one of the most important institutional developments of the fourth century: the emperor was now the most important judge of what was “orthodox.”

In general historians have overlooked Sirmium, assuming that it is a dead end. The event appears merely as a footnote in most scholarly treatments, a fact that is not surprising considering the paucity of the sources. The event is only briefly discussed by the church historians, and the accounts of Athanasian polemicists made have left a distorted view of event. Indeed, these authors made concerted efforts to serve Constantius’ connection to Constantine’s legacy. Their narrative stated that Constantine allowed an autonomous church to make theological decisions, a narrative constructed to sever Constantius’ claim to authority over the episcopate. But in fact, Constantius envisioned Sirmium as a seamless continuation of his father’s imperial policy rather than a rejection of it. This continuity ultimately renders questions of whether Sirmium was to replace or supplement Nicaea or whether Constantius was Arian or Nicene anachronistic.

The connections to Nicaea are even deeper though. Preceding Nicaea, Constantine had recently concluded a civil war against Licinius in 324, which parallels Constantius’ completion of a civil war against the usurper Magnentius in 351. The important question is how Constantius attempted to create consensus among church officials in order to maintain the dynasty’s divine favor that had initially drawn Constantine to Christ.

The purpose of this paper is to further elucidate, emphasizing the continuity of the Constantinian dynasty, the role the imperial office played in providing solutions to ecclesiastical problems. Sirmium allows us the opportunity to examine the issue of ecclesiastical politics, its relationship to imperial authority, and the development of institutional structures aimed at creating and enforcing orthodoxy in the earliest stages of late antique Christianity. Furthermore, understanding the events at Sirmium help further illuminate the impetus for imperial operation - insuring divine favor - in the fourth century.

A Shared Visual Vocabulary: Isis and Harpocrates, Mary and Jesus

Middleton, Andrea

The shared visual vocabulary of Isis nursing her infant son Horus, also known as Harpocrates, and Mary nursing the Christ Child has long been noticed by scholars. Scholarship has explained this phenomenon as the appropriation of popular Isiac cult practice by Christian churchmen. In her study of the Coptic *Galaktotrophousa* Elizabeth Bolman interprets the iconography of Mary nursing the infant Jesus in a monastic setting as a metaphor for the Eucharist. However, this hypothesis would account mainly for male viewers, as Bolman specifically discusses objects from monastic settings where the female presence is hardly marked. In this paper, I argue that the shared iconography represents the presence of the holy female in the domestic sphere, in which the women engaged personally with the objects of their devotion. The inherently feminine biological act of nursing is a gender-specific representation meant to engage women, whether they were worshippers of Isis or early adherents of Christianity.

Household shrines dedicated to pagan gods and goddesses become prevalent during Late Antiquity due in large part to the decline of state patronage of temples. Studied at length in this paper is a wall painting from a household shrine dedicated to Isis in the town of Karanis, Egypt. Similarly, the household played a key role in early Christian worship. In the centuries immediately following the death of Jesus, the absence of a centralized religious authority and the lack of financial means to build public places of worship fostered an environment of worship in household settings. Therefore, because of the importance of the domestic sphere for early expressions of Christian worship, it is reasonable to extrapolate to personal households the use of didactic liturgical devices as devotional images. Two examples of Christian objects from non-monastic settings are examined in this paper. The first is a grave stele from Medinet el-Fayoum, Egypt that depicts Mary and Jesus, and the second is a Coptic textile that depicts the same figures in a bucolic context. Since women most likely made this textile, these women can be seen as principal mediators of this particular iconography of Mary and the Christ Child in early Christian folk art.

Further connections between Isis and Mary can be found in the protection they likewise offered to viewers—Isis as the great healer and mother and Mary as the supreme intercessor. It is no coincidence that the act of nursing is the key moment shown in representations of both Isis and Harpocrates and Mary and Jesus. Thus, the physicality of both Isis and Mary is the means by which the female viewer can connect with the divine. In the domestic context it is not necessary to strip the figures of their humanity in order to illustrate a theological point; rather, the physical relationship between mother and child can be seen as the initial reason for the desire to represent both Isis and Harpocrates and the Virgin and Child in this manner.

The Jordan and Ascetic Life: Philoxenos of Mabbug's Miaphysite Contribution to Syriac Baptismal Theology

Miller, Alexander

Philoxenos of Mabbug's legacy is marked by miaphysite polemic and ascetic spirituality. Frequently, these two areas have been strictly separated in modern scholarship. A major step has been taken to remedy this false dichotomy in the 2014 study of David A. Michelson, *The Practical Christology of Philoxenos of Mabbug*, wherein he attempts to show that Christian practice is the focus of Philoxenos' christology. For instance, Philoxenos' warns that dyophysite christology separating the divine and human in the incarnation would also render baptism of limited effect; such christology would deny the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the human being, whether it be Christ or the baptized.

From the time of Aphrahat and the *bnay qyama*, the Syriac tradition tied baptism to a new ascetic form of life, a connection that could only be lost as infant baptism became common. Nonetheless, the Syriac rites of baptism maintained the womb and rebirth imagery of their tradition, and as Brock demonstrates, various authors attempted to close the experiential gap between the rite of baptism and a later charismatic "rebirth".

In this tradition, the baptism in the Jordan was interpreted as representative. It could not be for the remission of sins nor for the reception of the Holy Spirit as the Arians had suggested. So, the Greek and Syriac traditions (from Ignatius of Antioch to Theodore of Mopsuestia) concluded that the perplexing baptism of Christ was representative, and it effected baptism by calling the Spirit upon the waters of the Jordan to make the womb of water fertile.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how Philoxenos' miaphysite polemics offer a unique resolution of the scandal of the baptism in the Jordan, as well as to the difficulty of a traditional Syriac connection between baptism and ascetic "rebirth". Philoxenos takes up this pericope in the first of his "practical" discourses on the ascetic life, those on poverty (*Ascetical Discourses* 8 and 9), and he parallels Jesus' baptism and subsequent period in the desert with the reader's entry upon the ascetic life. In so doing, Philoxenos posits three "births" for both the Word of God and the ascetic, the final "births" being the parallel in question. I argue that as Philoxenos insists upon the unity of Christ in his polemics, his ascetic theology cannot admit that the baptism in the Jordan is merely representative, but in the juxtaposition with embarking upon the ascetic life, the baptism is no longer tied to the remission of sins and the new descent of the Holy Spirit. Instead, both are the manifestation of the perfect nature of each, Christ and ascetic. It marks Christ's movement from simply the righteous Jew to his revelation as Son of God incarnate and conqueror of Satan. For the ascetic, the charismatic "rebirth" that gives rise to the ascetic life becomes the manifestation and perfection of the fruits of the rite of baptism undergone in infancy.

A Landscape in Transition: Byzantines and Oak Trees in the Post-Classical Aegean Basin.

Olson, Alexander

Thanks to environmental archaeology, we now think that the landscape surrounding the Aegean Basin was more wooded by the end of the seventh century than it had been for some time. Population decline, destructive raids, cultural transformations that placed less emphasis on elite conspicuous consumption and evergetism, and a decline in markets for redistributing surplus production, all contributed to transform the Aegean Basin's landscape. Cities shrunk, and so did the presence of the crops that had fed them. In their place, oak and pine filled the gap, remaining rather dominant in the region for a few centuries.

The initial reasons for oak's success were a combination of the species' "natural" reproductive traits and the reduced presence of humans, cereals, and other crops that had fed the larger human population of late antiquity. But what explains the longer-term success of this species in the Aegean Basin (at least until the eleventh century, and in spite of human population growth)? And how did Byzantines interact with this more wooded world?

This paper posits that these two questions share an answer. A key theme in environmental history is the dialectic between human culture and economy on the one hand and the natural environment on the other. Thus, this paper argues that the long-term success of oak had to do with the postclassical Byzantine peasantry's relationship with the tree. The more wooded landscape of the seventh- through eleventh-century Aegean Basin meshed nicely with the economic situation of most Byzantines in this period, a time of diminished security and reduced markets. Oak provided food for livestock (and by extension, people), and, unlike vineyards or fields of cereal, livestock could easily be relocated in times of imminent raids. Oak also provided fuel and building materials.

This paper initiates its argument by utilizing environmental proxy data to demonstrate that oak's profile increased in various locales around the Aegean in the middle Byzantine period. After establishing this increased presence, the paper discusses, primarily by means of textual evidence, how peasants could and did make use of these trees. The *Farmer's Law* and some key Athonite documents reflect that Byzantine people were living in a more wooded world in this period, and that their material existence was firmly rooted in it. Essentially, people, livestock, and trees were in very close proximity with one another. Finally, by looking at how these texts discuss woodland, I suggest that Byzantines in this period had rather fluid ideas about such property, indicating flexible notions regarding land use and ownership. Such dynamism also indicates blurred lines between "nature" and "culture."

The limitations of the textual sources have often severely hampered discussion of the Byzantine economy between the seventh and tenth centuries. By placing Byzantine society more firmly in its physical environment, we can improve our understanding of this fascinating transitional period.

Phenomenology of Light and Sound in the Liturgy of Hagia Sophia for Easter

Pentcheva, Bissera

This paper combines visual and aural evidence to address how the liturgy of the Great Church carried out a dramatic performance whose emotional depth and multi-sensorial richness produced a proleptic experience of Salvation. On the visual side, this study relies on eleventh and twelfth-century lectionaries and explores the role played by their use of chrysography. Rather than approaching the miniatures and the gospel texts as static entities, this analysis engages questions of temporality, phenomenology, and even environmental factors. For example, what is the time of the day or night when these texts and miniatures were encountered? Further how does this temporal framework activate what becomes visually accessible to the eye and ear? How is the memory of the chanted poetry of the canon reflected in these miniatures? To expand upon these questions my analysis turns to select stichera for Holy Week and their performance by Cappella Romana, digitally imprinted with the acoustics of the Great Church. In one of these examples — the sticheron of the Holy Passion written by the emperor Leo sung at orthros — we encounter the compelling rupture of sight and sound: the Mother's eyes resist sight and cannot lift up to look at her Son on the Cross. This deracination of sight is confronted with the contrasting expansiveness of sound. The phenomenology of the long opening melismas challenge the linear semantics of the words. What is the affective power of this rupture of sight conveyed through the melismatic mode of singing? How is this emotional impact intensified by Hagia Sophia's reverberant acoustics? How can modern technology recuperate aspects of the sensorial richness of the liturgy of the Great Church and thus create an experience that dramatically contrasts with the mostly syllabic chant of today's Orthodox churches?

Structuring Neighborhoods with Water in Late Antiquity

Pickett, Jordan

This paper examines how water infrastructure and management contributed to neighborhood formation in Late Antiquity, with particular attention to the variable behaviors of churches as regards water planning at the service of city-dwellers. A three-dimensional, bipolar model is offered as an heuristic to help categorize a wide spectrum of historical behaviors that played out in cities across the Later Roman Empire, with regard to water. If imagined as a Cartesian plot, its x axis might be defined as the measure of state control over water resources, as indicated especially by the relationship of water networks to fortifications and other strategic locations within cities. Its y axis might be defined as the degree to which churches were integrated into municipal water networks (whether as suppliers or merely down-line consumers); its z axis as a measure of the variety of hydraulic installations around churches (for liturgy, water-storage, industry, bathing, etc.).

Case-studies from Apamea and Jarash are offered by which this model is explained, and its broader applicability is demonstrated. At Apamea, state control over water *intra muros* was maintained by placing distribution equipment for an inner aqueduct (6th century) within the line of fortifications; churches at Apamea offered little in the way of storage, and were integrated into water networks only as consumers with fountains, akin to elite residences. At Jarash, state control over water is less visible, and church-planners worked with a freer hand: the Cathedral-St. Theodore complex adopted an aqueduct water supply from the obsolescent Temple of Artemis, and also converted Roman rainwater drains descending from the temple platform into supplies for newly built cisterns, around which sprang up a neighborhood of middling residences, food preparation areas, and industrial installations.

From these introductory examples, we underline the variability of water management practices by which the church did or did not contribute to neighborhood formation: where the church acted only as a consumer, akin to a large residence, the church played little role in restructuring Late Antique neighborhoods away from Roman precedents. However, where the church more actively engaged in water planning, we might see how the church could both encourage a break away from Roman drainage- and display-oriented water management models, towards storage and utility, and also stimulate the development of new, middling, production-oriented neighborhoods within cities.

The Deceased and the Paralytic on the Bethesda Sarcophagi

Poe, Alison

This paper considers a debated scene on the “Bethesda Sarcophagi,” a group of roughly a dozen sarcophagi and fragments all with the same sequence of scenes likely produced in Rome and Gaul in the late fourth century. Scholars universally interpret the images as biblical narratives, although they disagree on some of the specific biblical referents. At the center, between full-height scenes of Christ healing two or three blind men (Matthew 20:29-34?), Christ healing a kneeling woman (the *haemorrhoeissa*?), Zacchaeus hiding in the sycamore tree (Luke 19:1-10), and Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem, the reliefs are divided into two registers, the upper of which presents a standard scene of Christ healing the paralytic (John 5:2-9). A wave pattern and an arcade representing a *stoa*, additions to the usual iconography, specify the location as the Bethesda pool.

The lower central scene, the focus of this paper, depicts a male figure reclining on a draped *kline*, in some cases resting with his arm over his head, in others exchanging gestures with the full-height figure of Christ outside the register or turning toward one of three or four surrounding attendants. Many scholars identify this reclining figure as the paralytic before his healing, but Françoise Monfrin (1985) has noted that the man wears a long tunic and *pallium* (unless it is a toga without *balteus* folds?) while the paralytic above wears a short *exomis* tunic, his normal garb in early Christian art. For Monfrin, the reclining figure is the centurion’s slave healed at Capernum (Matthew 8:5-13; Luke 7:1-10), perhaps conflated with the official’s son healed just before the miracle at Bethesda (John 4:46-54).

This paper proposes that the change of costume, as well as the removal of any indicators of place, encouraged contemporary audiences to see this figure as the deceased, possibly in addition to viewing him as one or more biblical recipients of healing. The image adheres compositionally to countless pre-Christian funerary portraits of the deceased alive or dead on a *kline*, whether alone or as the centerpiece of a *conclamatio*, banquet, or mythological narrative. On other fourth-century Christian sarcophagi, portrait subjects can wear very similar drapery (e.g., the “Two Brothers” on the eponymous sarcophagus in the Vatican), and small-scale generic figures of contemporary men and women can occupy the same pictorial space as Christ (e.g., on the massive “City Gate” sarcophagi of Milan and Ancona). The arm over the head in some examples links the figure through a deeply rooted iconographic tradition to both sleep and death.

On a unique variant of the Bethesda type, the first column of a verse epitaph takes the place of the Healing of the Paralytic and *kline* scenes, opening with the line *Bassa caret membris vivens per saecula XPO* (“Bassa is free of her limbs, living through the ages in Christ”: Trout 2011, 340-1). In this vein, the two superposed scenes on the other Bethesda sarcophagi may equate the deceased with the biblical paralytic: Both are liberated by Christ from the limitations of their mortal limbs.

Noetic Psalters: Ascetic Practice, Mystical Ascent, and Song in Byzantine Monastic Literature

Purpura, Ashley

In addition to experiences of divine light and apophatic silence profoundly characterizing Byzantine spirituality, song pervades instructive and reflective writings of Byzantine monastic authors across disparate historical contexts. Although recent scholarship has drawn attention to Byzantine liturgical hymnic practices and texts as constructive for Christian identities, the function of song in shaping “fixed” liminal Byzantine ascetic and mystical identities remains without consideration. Highly influential monastic authors such as John Climacus (d. 606), Isaac of Nineveh (d. 700), and Symeon the New Theologian (d. 1022) employ song as a unified duality essential to ascetic advancement and indicative of authentic mystical experience by constructing song as a holistic mode of sanctified *eros*. Examples from the writings of these three authors reflect a thematic conception of hymnody as the appropriate medium for cultivating and embodying (even beyond the body) divine love. Although each author has particular nuances to his spiritual schema and literary contexts, each renders singing as both a means and the end of the spiritual life in a way that performs and subsequently produces human identity as most fundamentally oriented by divine *eros*. Hymning therefore functions within the monastic texts attributed to the aforementioned three authors as a transcendent means of accessing and producing a paradoxically unified duality of belonging to both heaven and earth in a deified identity. The mediation and production of a totalizing deified-human identity through song by John Climacus, Isaac of Nineveh, and Symeon the New Theologian is evinced by three points of commonality in their writings: a) hymning God is configured as the remedy for numerous spiritual ills and temptations, but also has the potential to reveal the presence of these dangers to an experienced elder through its style of execution, b) hymning is reflective of the monastic vocation as imitative of the angelic rank in this life, and is promised as the rewarding activity in the next, and c) interior hymnody coincides with mystical experience and unceasing “silent” prayer as a marker of participation in divine unity. Consequently song reveals and furthers one’s ascetic progress in the spiritual life by cultivating and inscribing oneself as a subject of divine love who is in love with the divine through objectively internalizing initially external hymns. Simultaneously song is rendered as the appropriate and inevitable response to the mystical experience of divine union by externalizing an uncontainable internalized song of one dwelling in God and being one in whom God dwells. By critically considering the place of song within Byzantine ascetic and mystical discourses insight is gained about how Byzantine Christians conceived of themselves and the spiritual pursuers they acknowledged around them, and the practices they engaged to recognize and augment their identities as human participants in divinity.

Life and Death on the Block: Neighborhood, Space, and Social Practice in 12th/13th-Century Cherson (Crimea)

Rabinowitz, Adam

Traditional evidence for Byzantine urban life is rich, but heavily biased toward text and unevenly distributed in space and time. Documentary papyri elucidate neighborhood life in Early Byzantine Egypt; regulatory texts like the Book of the Eparch reveal the ideals of urban administrators in Middle Byzantine Constantinople; works of literature like the Prodic poems add additional color to our picture of daily life in the City in the 12th and 13th centuries. None of these sources, however, offer a holistic account of how life was lived by a group of people in a particular neighborhood at a particular time. Archaeological research has been better able to address this question, but it has largely been limited to the excavation of single neighborhoods at sites like Athens or Corinth, or to the exploration of ecclesiastical and aristocratic topography in continuously-occupied centers like Thessaloniki or Constantinople itself. These limitations make it difficult to identify the boundaries between central planning, neighborhood norms, and individual initiative in commerce, housing, and religious practice. Furthermore, the archaeological record rarely allows us to reconstruct the human population of a neighborhood, instead forcing us to use buildings and objects as proxies for status and identity.

The site of Cherson (ancient Chersonesos, at the southwest tip of Crimea) is an exception. Most of the city's 40-hectare urban core was extensively rebuilt in the 11th and 12th centuries, and then much of it was violently destroyed in the 13th century and never reoccupied. About a third of that area has been excavated over the last hundred and fifty years, and as a result the site provides an unparalleled opportunity to explore the workings of a number of different neighborhoods across a century or two of continuous use. The joint excavations of the Institute of Classical Archaeology and the National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos in a block in the city's South Region between 2001 and 2006 offer an especially exhaustive case-study of the intersection between private life, economic activity, and religious space in a well-defined neighborhood of the 12th and 13th centuries. The construction and modification history of the buildings in the block affords us a chance to explore both public control of development and private choices about the use and division of residential and commercial space. The presence of a chapel within the block itself and the use of this chapel for the burial of the block's residents informs us about both religious practice – especially in the context of the broader religious topography of the city – and the people in the neighborhood, from whose remains we have reconstructed demographic, pathological, and dietary information. Finally, the fiery destruction of the block around the middle of the 13th century has preserved extensive evidence for the patterning of social practice in this neighborhood at a particular moment, which can in turn be compared to evidence from other neighborhoods destroyed at the same time across the city.

Questioning Titulature and Identity: The Kingdom of Rus'

Raffensberger, Christian

In nearly every scholarly work written in English in the last century, the rulers of Rus' are referred to by the title, "prince." The rare exceptions to this are the inclusion of a modifier, "grand prince," or the titles "duke" and "grand duke" which seemed to have gone out of style around the beginning of the twentieth century. In the Old East Slavic that the Russian sources were written in, the title for those rulers was *kniaz'* which shares roots with the Germanic words **kuningaz*, *cyning*, *konungr*, and even the modern English king. Why, then has this translation as "prince" persisted all this time? And what ramifications does it have for the perception of the medieval polity?

Recent studies by scholars such as Anthony Kaldellis and Florin Curta have called into question modern perceptions of titulature and identity of not just Byzantium, but the polities with which Byzantium interacted, specifically for Curta in southeastern Europe. For Kaldellis, these changes have been especially bold, suggesting that the idea of empire has been radically overstated and needs serious reexamination and revision in the scholarship. The ramifications of this are enormous. What does a Roman republic in the twelfth century, led by a ruler seeking consensus of the polity, change for our picture of Byzantine foreign relations, just as one example?

This work on the titulature of Rus' has similar themes in revising and questioning the existing dominant interpretation of what Rus' was and thus how it related to the world around it. If Rus' was ruled by kings, as suggested by the regular label of these rulers (*rex*) in Latin writings of the medieval period, what other changes does that then require? Does a medieval kingdom of Rus' relate differently to a Byzantine republic than the prince of Rus' did to the Byzantine emperor? The changes required in interpretation and evaluation are clear simply in the rephrasing present in the preceding sentence.

I argue that the complexity of medieval titulature (for instance, Russian rulers referred to in various languages as *kniaz'*, *rex*, *arkhon*, *senior*, *konungr* all reduced to prince in English) has largely been ignored in favor of modern, reductionist, political ideas that often elevate the West over the East. A careful, scholarly reexamination of the primary sources and their use of titulature for themselves and for others allows us to reconstruct a medieval view of Europe where titulature is much more flexible. This revision to the current scholarly image of Rus' shifts its identity, and requires us to reexamine medieval Europe as a whole through the lens of the sources themselves and not modern ideology.

Uncovering the ‘Archaeology of the Page’: The Sinai Palimpsests Project

Rapp, Claudia

The Monastery of Saint Catherine’s is home to the world’s largest single collection of palimpsested manuscripts, more than 130 at current count, representing in the under-text nine different languages of the Christian Orient (Greek, Syriac, Georgian, Arabic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Latin, Caucasian Albanian, Armenian, and Ethiopic) and preserving evidence of early scripts.

At the invitation of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, the Sinai Palimpsests Project, organized by the Early Manuscript Electronic Library (EMEL) and supported by the Arcadia Fund, has since 2011 undertaken work to render erased ancient texts on Sinai palimpsests legible again via spectral digital imaging, with the aim to publish an online, searchable library of palimpsest images for scholarly access.

This paper will begin with a description of the working methods of the project: initial codicological examination, multi-spectral imaging, digital processing, scholarly description, and website presentation, all supported by custom-made software. The second part of the paper will present the new texts, new scripts and new insights into the methods of palimpsestation that the Sinai Palimpsests Project is bringing to light.

Byzantine Definitions of Metaphrasis: A Reconsideration

Resh, Daria

Around 980, Byzantine literature experiences a major shift. By imperial commission, Symeon Logothetes creates a new Menologion, a collection of Saints' Lives, arranged according to their calendar sequence. Almost immediately, Symeon's oeuvre acquires wide popularity that lasts for generations of Byzantine readers who refer to it as αἱ μεταφράσεις. Symeon and his team did not produce entirely new texts, but rewrote ancient Lives according to contemporary literary taste. This success marked the appearance of metaphrasis as a genre that dominated Byzantine hagiographical discourse from this point onward, involving a significant number of writers, scribes, illustrators, readers, and listeners. With metaphrasis, hagiography transcended its traditional limits and became aligned with the higher register of Byzantine *logoi*, namely rhetoric. That is, the success of metaphrasis resided not only in its popularity, but also in the high appreciation that it enjoyed among the learned rhetoricians; the praises of Michael Psellos, the frequent citations in the Suda as well as in the Barlaam and Ioasaph, a Byzantine bestseller in its own right, and, finally, the imitations by writers of the Palaiologan period are the most telling examples.

Considering the impact of Symeon's menologion and the ongoing discussion on the origins of the metaphrastic movement — Symeon Logothetes' menologion was only the culmination of a trend, which started at least in the early ninth century—, it is crucial to ask whether Byzantine sources contain any theoretical reflections on the notion of metaphrasis. The present study surveys the references to the term metaphrasis, conceived as a hagiographical practice, in the field of the Byzantine rhetorical theory. Important contributions regarding this subject have been made recently. Nevertheless, several Byzantine discussions of metaphrasis remain unexplored or call for a new interpretation. My purpose is twofold: to investigate whether the fusion of hagiography and rhetoric in metaphraseis was also conceptualized on a theoretical level—whether, that is, Byzantine intellectuals incorporated metaphrasis among the categories of literary discourse; and to elucidate further the origins of rhetorical rewriting. A critical examination of evidence that comes from the works of Ioannes of Sardeis, Photios, Georgios Choïroboskos and, presumably, Bessarion, reveals new highlights in the history of the term metaphrasis as applied to hagiographical discourse.

Feeding the Twenty Thousand: Shenoute's Monastic Hospitality as a Model for Lay Commensal Practices in *Continuing to Glorify the Lord* and *God is Blessed*

Robinson, Dana

The refugee crisis described in *Continuing to Glorify the Lord*, in which Shenoute claims to have housed and fed 20,000 refugees for three months, is one of the best known incidents of his tenure as head of the White Monastery Federation. Stephen Emmel undertook a detailed historical analysis which identified another homily, *God Is Blessed*, as being delivered to the refugees themselves during this period. Recently, Ariel Lopez focused on the economic implications of Shenoute's claims in *Continuing to Glorify*. While these studies provide valuable insight, no one has paid sufficient attention to the rhetorical and social implications of the episode as a food-centered event.

A crisis event is far from festal in the experience of the participants, but Shenoute's rhetoric treats it like a feast in both functional and symbolic ways. He emphasizes the unusual logistics of food production on this scale, and he reinterprets the episode with symbolic values common to feasts: as a marker of extraordinary blessing and as a ritual enactment of community solidarity. These two sermons establish different symbolic definitions of what constitutes a Christian meal gathering, and these definitions illuminate remarks that Shenoute makes elsewhere about lay dining practices.

In *Continuing to Glorify*, Shenoute presents an image of abundance, a dramatic feat of charitable hospitality and economic power. From this angle, the primary marker of a Christian meal is that it is openly funded by God's miraculous resources. The moral responsibility devolves on the host (here, Shenoute himself) not only to share those resources, but to give the credit to God. In this light, his obscure remarks in *God Says Through Those Who Are His* about when it is acceptable for a Christian to dine socially with an unbeliever make far more sense.

In *God Is Blessed*, Shenoute intentionally minimizes the importance of literal food in the refugee experience and argues that the real value of this gathering is not its common meal, but its common worship. The food insecurity of his audience shows through even the triumphal rhetoric and Shenoute responds by emphasizing spiritual food over literal food. Furthermore, this reorientation toward worship as the true meal is mirrored by a physical orientation toward the monumental church, the "great house" of *Canons* 7.

Thus Shenoute rhetorically stages the whole event as a charitable "banquet" in symbiosis with a ritual space, simultaneously a model of domestic hospitality and a model of corporate worship. But elsewhere, Shenoute denigrates the spiritual opportunities of the domestic or lay-sponsored meal by insisting on a sharp separation between home and church, between social and ritual meals, that many in his lay audience would not have accepted (particularly in relation to the martyr cult). Ultimately, he sees home and church as distinctively fused in the monastery but potentially at odds in the lay community, which affects all his judgments on Christian meal practices in a non-monastic setting.

Is the Exceptional Exemplary? A Palaiologan Bilateral Icon at Paphos

Rodriguez, James

Byzantine art historians are well-acquainted with bilateral icons that pair the Mother of God with an image (either the Crucifixion, the Deposition or the Man of Sorrows) related to Christ's passion. No less than thirty-two such panels remain from the period between 1150 and 1500. Demetrios Pallas and Hans Belting have allied the panels' iconography with kanons and hymns recited on Good Friday and proposed that such icons participated alongside this day's services. Specifically, Belting represented a twelfth-century panel with the Mother of God and the Man of Sorrows as a "visual counterpart" to Good Friday hymns. Subsequent art historians have repeated this hypothesis, and thus, the boundaries of this Feast day have defined scholars' understanding of many bilateral icons.

Although common, such panels are not the only pairings found among bilateral icons. Other pairings include the Mother of God with a scene related to Mary's biography, or the Crucifixion with a saint of general or regional significance. Bilateral icons popularized through studies by Pallas and Belting have, however, directed attention away from these latter panels. Many are little known, and some remain unpublished.

This paper focuses on one such lesser-known bilateral icon in the Byzantine Museum at Paphos. Attributed to the period between the late fourteenth and fifteenth century, the panel depicts the Mother of God on one side, and on the other, the prophet Elijah, seated and looking over his shoulder at a bird that offers bread. The paper proposes that sources in hymnography underlie the pairing of images. The Akathistos, recited every Friday in the Palaiologan era, and certain late-Byzantine hymns describe Mary as nourishment succeeding the manna (*τροφή τοῦ μάννα διὰδοχος*). Elijah may be understood, then, as looking literally at a bird that bears food, as well as prophetically to her who, on the opposite side, bore him who replaced sustenance and substance of the Old Testament. Comparison with a triptych at Sinai, as well as associations between the Theotokos and Old Testament prophecies voiced on Marian Feast days reinforce this reading.

The paper further considers words painted above Mary's right shoulder, "consolation of the suffering and of sinners" (*ἡ παραμυθία [sic] τῶν θλιβομένων καὶ ἀδικουμένων*). Whereas certain hymns to the Theotokos label Mary as "consolation," these words also recall the incipit for a common funerary prayer in which the faithful address Christ as "consolation of the suffering, comfort of those who mourn." Every Friday evening, when monks performed funerary rites for their deceased brethren, Christ was as much *παραμυθία τῶν θλιβομένων* as was Mary. The weekly meeting of the Akathistos and funerary prayers not only informs a reading of the Paphos icon, it also suggests that services other than those for Good Friday inspired painters to pair two images on the same panel. The paper closes by considering the larger significance of this reading of the Paphos panel for the prevailing interpretation of bilateral icons as visual accompaniments of Good Friday.

Mouvance and Motifs in Digenis Akritis (Greek and Slavic)

Romanchuk, Robert & Pham, Thuy-Linh

Paul Zumthor's concept of the *mouvance*, or instability, of vernacular medieval literatures is useful for understanding the transformations of the romantic epic *Digenis Akritis*. An approach focused on *mouvance* is, on the one hand, more insightful than Albert B. Lord's now generally rejected claim that *Digenis* was a lengthy rhapsode song — and that the Escorial MS transcribes some version of it, while the Grottaferrata MS was taken down by a scribe who preferred the "current romances of chivalry." On the other hand, it is more flexible than Roderick Beaton's ingenious thesis (proposed, in any case, for the romances of the 14th and 15th c.) of groups of self- and inter-conscious writers imitating and improving on each others' works in an effort to "forge a new literary idiom" and generic form. The "intervocalic network" of *movuance*, echoing in formal recitations and vernacular compositions alike — indeed, mediating between them — motivates the tendencies in the Greek and Slavic manuscripts of *Digenis* toward oral-formulaic (re-) composition *and* "literaturization," sometimes in one and the same copy.

Focusing on the reworking of plot and dialogue, traits of oral-formulaic composition, and recurring motifs of folktales and romance in the individual manuscripts **G**rottaferrata, **E**scorial, and the **Slavic** MSS, we are seeking the facts of *mouvance* proper to *Digenis*. Our work to date focuses on motifs in the first episode of *Digenis*, the so-called "Lay of the Emir." Stith Thompson's motif-indexes of European folk literature and romance and Hasan El-Shamy's counterparts for Arabic tales help evaluate continuity and change in the romantic epic. While Beaton argues that the "Lay" in both E and G employs romantic conventions (more prevalent, however, in G), and others have conveyed their impression of the fairy-tale atmosphere of Slav, we are able to qualify and quantify these claims. We identify instances in which folktale motifs in Slav reinterpret specific romantic conventions of E and G — which have nonetheless left traces in Slav. Furthermore, while Beaton proposes that romantic conventions provide cohesion to G and E, we show that folktale motifs serve the same function for Slav. *Digenis* was recomposed by each scribe to resemble romance more closely in one milieu, oral text in another. Reworking of text gives rise to motifs and other "cohesive" conventions; they in turn prompt further instability in the text.

Finally, by comparing Slav to Beaton's reconstruction of the original "Lay," we offer qualified support for his thesis that the protograph of the epic was "headless," the opening plot sections of G probably being derived from recapitulations of the opening preserved later in E. However, if the scribe of G's antigraph wrote an opening in keeping with the conventions of learned romance, very different models — oral epic (the song of brothers rescuing their sister from a "pagan" abductor, attested in Serbian, Bulgarian, and Ukrainian) and folk wondertale (the source of various motifs in Slav's opening section) — were used by the translator/compiler of Slav.

Maximos of Constantinople:

A Political-Circumstantial Assessment of the *Greek* and *Syriac* Lives of *Maximos the Confessor*

Salés, Luis

Two *Vitae* of Maximos the Confessor (580–662) are extant. The earlier, written in Syriac by the monk's detractors, dates from the century of his death; the latter, written in Greek by an avid Studite admirer, was composed some four centuries later. These two *Vitae* differ immensely with respect to the first thirty years of Maximos' life. The *Greek Vita* follows the childhood details of Theodore the Studite, whereby the Confessor was born into the Constantinopolitan aristocracy, was educated by the best tutors available in capitaline walls, and quickly ascended to one of the most prestigious positions in the Byzantine bureaucracy. The *Syriac Vita*, on the other hand, invokes every cherished trope of infamy; by its account, he was born in Palestine, the illegitimate offspring of a Persian slave girl and a Samaritan, was orphaned before ten, was brought up at an infamous Origenist monastery, etc.

Despite Maximos' rise in prominence in the scholarship of Byzantine thinkers, precious few attempts have been undertaken to assess the plausibility of the *Syriac Life of Maximos the Confessor's* depiction of Maximos' youth. Studies that have considered this or related questions are scarce, tentative, and inconclusive. Thus, the famed Maximos scholar Paul Blowers concluded at the end of his presentation at the NAPS conference in 2014 (Maximus of Palestine?: A Response to New Scholarship on the *Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor*), that the verdict on the Confessor's birth and upbringing remains very much undecided.

This presentation argues in favor of the basic outline of the *Greek Life's* account of Maximos' early years. In order to explore the plausibility of the *Greek Life's* details of Maximos' youth, I employ an idea developed by Pierre Bourdieu, that of the 'conditions of possibility' inherent in what he terms a 'field.' In 610, at the unprecedented age of thirty, Herakleios appointed Maximos as his first secretary, a position of sufficient prestige that even an emperor and numerous Patriarchs were drawn from its ranks. By considering the historical 'conditions of possibility' in the 'field' of the Byzantine political landscape that would make possible the Confessor's appointment to this powerful position, I seek to demonstrate that while the specifics of Maximos' early years (the name of his tutors, the specific birthplace, etc.) cannot be pinpointed exactly, his ascent to the rank of first secretary by the age of thirty narrows the options considerably, lending credence to the *Greek Life* and significantly problematizing the *Syriac Life's* account of his youth as a plausible alternative. The attempt to determine more exactly his birthplace and place of education, moreover, is not only an antiquarian's quest, but sheds light on how several of his most important works (*Ambigua to John*, *Chapters on Charity*, and *Chapters on Theology*) can be interpreted, making this investigation's conclusions meaningful contributions to the field of Maximian studies.

The Shape of Byzantine Art in the Index of Christian Art Database

Schilb, Henry D.

Byzantinists attempting to use the Index of Christian Art database often find the results disappointing. After joining the Index in 2012 as the specialist in Byzantine art, I quickly developed a sense of what could be done to improve the Index as a tool for Byzantinists—expanding our coverage being only the most obvious—and I also began to wonder what a careful analysis of the database might reveal. Is it possible to view the whole shape of Byzantine art as it appears through the lens of the Index of Christian Art? What can we learn from a systematic study of the coverage of Byzantine art in the Index database?

At its inception in 1917, the Index of Christian art at Princeton University was meant to identify all examples of Early Christian iconography. Though the current scope of the Index might have surprised Charles Rufus Morey, the founder of the Index, his original project remains incomplete. Quite probably, it always will. The Index of Christian Art was a quixotic enterprise to begin with. The various expansions of the ICA's remit, as well as the advent of digital tools, have complicated matters. Unsurprisingly, Byzantine art, broadly defined, appears to have enjoyed or endured periods of close attention and relative neglect at the Index over the last one hundred years. Does analyzing the Index database corroborate this impression?

Even a cursory analysis reveals changing priorities among previous generations of Indexers, answering questions of possible interest to historiographers. What types of objects, such as icons or manuscripts, have been favored? How does coverage of Byzantine art within the Index compare to similar categories, such as Gothic or Romanesque? Other questions will be less obvious. As it stands, the database includes information seen only by Index staff. For example, entries in the original card catalog include the year in which an object was first added to the Index, and that information has been added to each digital record as well, but researchers who use the Index never see it. What can we learn by analyzing such hidden information? Also, what does the picture of Byzantine art as seen through the Index database look like next to the view through other databases? JSTOR's "Data for Research" service offers the opportunity to develop a rough outline of the coverage of Byzantine art in scholarly literature during the period the Index of Christian Art has existed. Is it possible to devise specific searches for instructive comparison?

All these questions have become more pressing as the Index of Christian Art works toward developing improved software for entering data and presenting it to researchers. Although it is a laborious process when using the Index in its current state, it is already quite possible to view the shape of Byzantine art as it appears within the Index database. What we see may also help us to understand the Index of Christian Art as it is and to improve it for the next century.

Migrants and Settlers:

The Presence of a European, Latin Christian Diaspora in Constantinople and Greece, 1081-1204

Schrama, Grant

Within Byzantine historiography, the Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki Laiou edited *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* is the only published study to my knowledge that has specifically dealt with diasporas in the Byzantine Empire. However, for all the merits that the individual papers in the collection have, there was very little discussion of actual diaspora theory by the contributors. In addition, the focus was placed primarily on eastern and/or Balkan migrants (with one contribution focusing on an Italo-Byzantine identity). There was almost no mention of northern and western European migrants to the Empire, although their impact and presence within Byzantine history was more significant than some of the migratory groups discussed in the collection.

The focus of my paper is on explaining the presence and nature of a European, Latin Christian diaspora within Constantinople and Greece from c. 1081 to 1204. Although northern and western European migrants have been noted by previous scholars, my paper is the first to label these migrants as a 'diaspora.' Using modern diaspora theory, I examine how Latin migrants to Constantinople and Greece from 1081 to 1204 formed a diaspora, and the various characteristics of such a group. The collective identity of this diaspora is analyzed, as well as the placement and role that such migrants had within Byzantine society. From 1081 to 1204, migrants from France, Germany, England, Scandinavia and the Italian city states travelled to and settled in Constantinople and Greece, becoming active members in the Empire's economy and adding to its multiculturalism. However, these Latin Europeans remained culturally segregated from the rest of Byzantine society, retaining aspects of their homeland's culture and maintaining some connection to where they migrated from. In conforming to the modern definition of a 'diaspora,' these migrants spoke their native language, practiced Latin religious rites and for the most part remained physically separate from the general Byzantine population in their designated urban quarters. Using William Safran's and Robin Cohen's definition of a 'diaspora,' my paper examines the cultural history of migratory groups from northern and western Europe, applying modern postcolonial theory to explain the characteristics and identity of such migrants in Constantinople and Greece during the period at focus.

Memory, Architecture, Performance: Romanos the Melodist *On the Prodigal Son*

Schriever, Daniel

Where is collective memory located? In recent decades, scholars have begun to interrogate the “sites” or “realms”—the *lieux* or *Erinnerungsräume*—in which cultural memory is ritually produced. Recollection, in some accounts, draws support from material spaces and the rituals performed therein. The final such locus is the body, in which the past becomes sedimented through gestures, habits, and sensory experience. But the interchange of memory-space and bodily knowledge remains less well defined. In this connection, the present paper investigates the functions of spatial memory in the hymns of Romanos the Melodist. Performed in night vigils in churches around Constantinople, the kontakia offer important evidence for the interplay of bodies, spaces, and ritual performance. Scholars have already drawn attention to Romanos’ use of bodily memory: as his characters puzzle over sounds or smells, they provide somatic cues for worshipers to enter into biblical events. The work of this paper is to situate these bodies in the spaces where kontakia were performed. For the Byzantine sanctuary was no neutral stage; it was charged with the memories of Christian ceremony, filled with the sights, sounds, smells, and movements of the liturgy. It was also ornamented with iconography and architectural furnishings, whose rich symbolism was realized not just in commentary but in ritual performance.

In addition to bodily gestures and sensory cues, much of the memory-work in Romanos’ hymns is accomplished by vivid description (ekphrasis) of imagined biblical scenes. Romanos constructs a narrative world in three dimensions, with time and space collapsed into every biblical moment in the microcosm of the church. Worshipers could enter these moments through their scriptural memories, as well as cues drawn from the images, spectacles, and structures “sited” in the visual stage of the church. To illustrate these dynamics, I offer a reading of Romanos’s most liturgically rich kontakion: the hymn *On the Prodigal Son*. Here, worshippers are invited to contemplate a heavenly feast rife with liturgical allusions. Romanos alludes to worshipers’ knowledge of the movements, sounds, and decorations of the sanctuary, mapping the visualized world of the bible onto the visible space of the church. Thus a pair of entrances in the hymn mirror the entrances of the Divine Liturgy, first as the guests take their seats at “the all-holy supper,” and then as “the virgin calf” is led joyfully to slaughter. The feast commences and the diners burst into liturgical song, filling the Father’s house with the “mystical sound” of the Eucharistic celebration; the heavenly house becomes the sanctuary through which the kontakion itself is resounding. Romanos’ hymn thus functions as a mystagogy in song, collecting fragments of embodied memory in the liturgical space of the night vigil and the physical space of the church—the “site” of Christian memory par excellence.

A Monastic Takeover?

The Hagioritic *tomos* of 1340 and the Hesychast Ascent to Ecclesiastical Power

Sherwan, Natalia

In the summer of 1340, twenty Hesychast monks and hieromonks came together in a synod on Mt. Athos to refute the accusations of Messalianism brought against them by Barlaam of Calabria. The outcome of the synod was a *tomos* which used Gregory Palamas' theology to give a doctrinal foundation to Hesychast ascetic discipline. In the spring of 1341, the tome received the signature of the bishop of Mt. Athos. But even with an episcopal signature, the entire procedure was in violation of canon law. Only bishops gathered in a provincial synod under the leadership of a metropolitan could issue formal dogmatic statements. Monks and hieromonks could not, however versed in theology they might have been. The content of the tome was likewise breaking away from orthodoxy. It proposed an elitist interpretation of history, which divided the Christian past into three eras corresponding to God's progressive revelation of His nature. In each era, only a select few had access to the fullness of Truth. The Hesychasts were the fortunate ones from the third and final era: to them God was revealing His uncreated energies through which one could become purified and deified.

The Hagioritic tome was accepted by the Church councils of 1341, 1347 and 1351. Its procedural and theological irregularities were overlooked in order to fully consider and ascertain the orthodoxy of Palamas' teachings, which postulated an ontological distinction between divine energies and divine essence. Modern scholarship on Hesychasm, with few exceptions, has followed in the same vein.

This paper looks at the tome from a different perspective, placing its discussion in the wider context of imperial and patriarchal attempts to redefine the relationship between state and Church in the post-1261 Byzantine world. The tangle of interests, patronage networks and political maneuvering that made possible the access of the Athonite party to ecclesiastical power is closely examined. The paper argues that the acceptance of unorthodox monastic meddling with theology was a defining moment in the rise of Hesychast patriarchs who yielded unprecedented authority vis-à-vis the imperial office, and could afford to pursue policies of their own, often at variance with those of the emperor. The *tomos* of 1340 provides therefore a key to understanding the shift which took place at the highest level of Church hierarchy and impacted late Byzantine society in fundamental ways.

Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Pre-Ephesian Hymnography

Shoemaker, Stephen

The Armenian and Georgian Lectionaries of Jerusalem open up the world of the Holy City's early liturgies in a spectacular way that is truly unique within late ancient Christianity. They specify not only the appointed readings for dozens of annual liturgical feasts, but they also provide the specific locations for their celebration in Jerusalem and its immediate environs. Yet, while these two documents are unequaled for what they reveal about the evolving feasts of the Palestinian church in late antiquity, their terse accounts of these annual commemorations offer little sense of how these celebrations came to life in the context of early Christian worship.

Thankfully, however, there is now another important early liturgical source that can provide such a perspective, the ancient Chantbook of the Jerusalem church, a work that survives only in Old Georgian where it bears the title *Iadgari* (*Tropologion* in Greek). This remarkable collection of texts reveals for the first time the hymns that were sung in the churches of Jerusalem during the sixth, the fifth, and even the fourth century. Not surprisingly, the Virgin Mary figures prominently in these early Christian hymns, and not only on the occasion of feasts in her honor, but also in the course of regular Sunday worship as observed throughout the course of the year. This paper explores these hymns as evidence for significant liturgical devotion to Mary well in advance of the Third Council.

The hymns reveal a remarkably advanced level of devotion to the Virgin already at the heart of the Sunday liturgy much earlier than most scholars would have thought to expect. The hymns focus especially on praising Mary's purity and holiness and her Divine Maternity, themes that one might anticipate from such an early source. Nevertheless, alongside of these acclamations are also frequent pleas for Mary's intercessions with her son, an indication that the cult of the Virgin had already begun to take root within the Jerusalem church. Moreover, these early hymns envision Mary's pleas as having an unequaled ability to influence her son, a sign that already by this time veneration of the Virgin was beginning to assume its unique position within Christian devotion to the saints.

From Constantinople with Love: Private Devotion and Politics in the Holy Land and Other “Outer Places”

Spingou, Foteini

Constantine Manasses, a twelfth-century political agent, describing his trip to the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem complains for the torture of travelling far away from his beloved Constantinople, at the “outer places”. Even if Manasses confers a mainstream view of his time, members of the Constantinopolitan court (from its higher to lower echelons) were donating portable objects to monastic establishments in the Holy Land. Often the gifts were accompanied by elaborate epigrams expressing the donor’s piety. In my view, the radiance of the Holy Shrines alone is incapable to explain why did donors send precious gifts to a hazardous trip far away from the “New Jerusalem” and to accompany them with elusive rhetorical texts. I argue that such gifts of private devotion to “outer places” struggle to confirm the “Orthodox”, hereditary, dominance in enclaves of Byzantine influence at the turbulent time of the Crusaders.

My discussion focuses on four epigrams from the middle of the twelfth century, all of which survive in a poetic collection, the *Anthologia Marciana* (= *AM*, in MS Marcianus Graecus 524). The first three epigrams record the donation of three icons to the monastery of St John the Forerunner by the River Jordan on behalf of *basilikos* Constantine, his wife Irene from the family of Angeloi, and their deceased son, Manuel (*AM*, nos. 83, 264, 265). Intriguingly, in the last epigram the donor, Constantine, appears to fulfill the wish of his deceased son (*βουλὴν περατῶ*). To my knowledge, there is only more instance that an epigram attests that a donor fulfills the promise of a deceased relative towards the Holy: Manuel I Komnenos appears as a private donor to fulfill the wish of his deceased father, John II – John’s wish is also attested by the historian John Kinnamos (ed. Meineke, p. 25; *AM*, no. 266). According to the epigram, Manuel presented a precious lamp to the church of the Holy Sepulcher following an ethical commitment (*τοῖς νόμοις νόμοις*).

Trying to recover as much as possible of the epigrams’ original context and considering their length and their strongly offertory vocabulary, I suggest that these texts were destined to be performed at the moment of the donation. To support further my argument that dedicatory texts were performed at this very moment I use internal evidence from epigrams sent to other “outer places” (namely to Sofia, Feraï, and Corinth), as well as from hymnographic texts and verse prologues for orations. I propose that such texts could have been performed by a messenger, instead of the donor himself, as epigrams known to function as verse letters. Taking this argument further, the very act of performing an epigram would have activated a piece of Constantinopolitan culture (and a ritual) at a place with an endangered Byzantine identity. Furthermore, referring to the wish of a deceased relative would have assured the beholder that this was not an “outer place” for the donor, but another homeland.

We Who Musically Represent the Cherubim: Text Painting in the Cherubikon

Streenberge, Laura

Two of the oldest hymns in the Byzantine liturgy, the Trisagion and the Cheroubikon, have been a continuous part of the liturgical rite since they were introduced in the 5th and 6th century, respectively. These two hymns are textually intertwined, with both interpreting the vocalizations of angels who cry, “Holy, holy, holy” and “Alleluia”. Furthermore, a reference to the Trisagion hymn is contained in the first line of the Cheroubikon text, “We who mystically represent the cherubim and sing to the life-giving Trinity the Trisagion hymn.” Analysis of the seventeen settings of Cheroubika transcribed by Dimitri Conomos in his *Trisagia and Cheroubika of the 14th and 15th Centuries* suggests that this case of the hymn-inside-a-hymn is paralleled in the music, with melodic references to the Trisagion hymn embedded in the Cheroubika.

Conomos states, “Nowhere in the Byzantine liturgy is the interaction of drama and music more marked than in the singing of the Cheroubic hymn.” As the clergy perform the rite, the hymn text narrates their symbolic actions of mystically representing the cherubim and seraphim and preparing the people to receive Christ in the Eucharist. By the 14th century an elaborately choreographed procession occurs during the singing of the hymn, including a premeditated interruption at the text, “King of All”. He notes that a certain melodic motif that appears at “King of All” in medieval transmissions of the Cheroubikon also appears in a special processional setting of the Trisagion that is sung at the Feast of the Adoration of the Cross, and proposes that this motif could mark the notion of procession. Carrying forward from this point, the current study considers further evidence of text painting in the medieval Cheroubika. The melodic fragments in the processional motif are identified and analyzed in a number of cases that link the chant melody to the hymn text and the singing of the angels. Additionally, descending motifs on the words “mystically”, “King of All” and “receive” are analyzed as depictions of the descent of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist rite.

A Priest and a Rabbi Predict the End of Days: Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Discourse in Seventh-Century Byzantine Literature

Strickler, Ryan

The seventh century has been rightly understood as a period of significant crisis in the Byzantine Empire. In addition to the imperial throne, the emperor Heraclius inherited from his predecessor Phocas a divided Church and an entrenched defensive war against the Sassanid Persians. Before his costly victory in 628, Heraclius would see the loss of Jerusalem and with it the True Cross taken as spoils to Ctesiphon. This victory, which saw the restoration of the Cross in the newly recovered Jerusalem nearly bankrupted both Empires, and would leave the field open to the ascendant Arab forces, united under the new religion of Islam. By 637 Jerusalem would once again be lost as Muslim forces swept Palestine.

The crises of the Persian and Arab invasions led to increased strain between the Christian and Jewish communities, a subject which has received a great deal of scholarly attention throughout the twentieth century. Beginning in the 1930s with Joshua Starr, up until modern debates by Robert Lewis Wilken, David Olster, Vincent Déroche, and Averil Cameron about the historicity of numerous anti-Jewish dialogues which survive from the period, much ink has been spilled in analyzing Christian hostility toward the Jews and its implication for the nature of Christian and Jewish interaction, and Christian (mis)understandings of rising Islam.

A subject which has received less attention is the numerous areas of common response to the shared experience of the Persian and Arab invasions, particularly the use of an apocalyptic discourse to interpret contemporary events. The two major generic apocalypses produced during this period, the *Sefer Zarubabel* and *Apocalypse* of pseudo-Methodius bear striking similarities to each other, despite the former's Jewish Hebrew origin and the latter's Syriac Christian provenance. Moreover, both communities employed apocalyptic discourse in other genres as well. Christian *Vitae*, such as the life of George of Choziba or Theodore of Sykeon employ *ex eventu* prophecies predicting destruction as punishment for sins. Sophronius, the patriarch of Jerusalem who surrendered the city to the caliph Umar in 637, lamented the loss of Bethlehem three years earlier using apocalyptic rhetoric in his Nativity sermon. Although fewer Jewish documents survive from the period, several liturgical *piyyutim* composed at the time exhibit messianic hopes for the enemies of Byzantium.

This paper examines these interactions through the lens of comparative apocalyptic discourse, highlighting common apocalyptic literary tropes, as well as shared interests and concerns such as the role of the emperor and the risk of apostasy. Ultimately this essay argues that despite a well-documented mutual hostility, Christians and Jews of the seventh-century Byzantine Empire ultimately shared a common culture which was manifested through a strikingly similar apocalyptic response to the Persian and Arab invasions. This shared culture reveals a significant exchange of ideas, one which reveals a common imperial response to external crises.

The Moldavian Murals of *The Siege of Constantinople*: Conflating Histories and Readapting a Byzantine Ideal

Sullivan, Alice

The principality of Moldavia, located on the eastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains in northeastern modern Romania, fostered political, military, and religious relations with the Byzantine Empire from the fourteenth century onwards. After the dramatic capture of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Turks began to threaten increasingly the political stability and religious identity of this region, along with that of other Black Sea states such as the principality of Theodoro (Gothia) and the Empire of Trebizond, among others. From these struggles, Moldavia emerged as a Christian frontier situated at the crossroads of western European and Slavic-Byzantine cultures. Increased contact with its closer and more distant neighbors at this time resulted in the transformation and assimilation of select elements from the Latin and the Greek ecclesiastical domains into local traditions, giving rise to an artistic output eclectic with respect to sources. The painted and fortified Orthodox monastic churches from this region, built in the decades following the demise of the Byzantine Empire under the patronage of two of its most illustrious princes, Stephen the Great (*reg.* 1457-1504) and Peter Rareș (*reg.* 1527-1538; 1541-1546), are characteristic of these cross-cultural currents and present a way in which Moldavia remembered, perpetuated, and transformed Byzantium's heritage after the empire's collapse.

As Moldavia sought to free itself from the Turkish dominance, it readapted in its context a certain model, namely, the miraculous deliverances of Constantinople at key moments throughout its history. These narratives were conflated into one distinctive image type identified as *The Siege of Constantinople* and painted on the south facades of eight churches from Moldavia that received extensive murals both inside and outside between 1530 and 1541 under the guidance of Prince Peter Rareș. The Church of the Annunciation at Moldovița Monastery, founded in 1532 and painted in 1537, displays the best preserved example and the most elaborate rendition of this image type.

The mural of *The Siege* at Moldovița, and elsewhere in Moldavia, presents a layered image with multiple historical allusions combined and adapted to address local anxieties. The images, thus, resonate with contemporary concerns and present in this guise a resolution to Moldavia's own political and military struggles in the face of the rapidly advancing Ottoman Turks. As such, the images of *The Siege* are indicative of the contemporary circumstances from which they emerged, revealing particular understandings of temporality and conceptions of history in early sixteenth-century Moldavia. The rich iconographical vocabulary and historical references of the images of *The Siege* also present a particular kind of response from the Moldavians to the crisis of 1453 and to its reverberations into the century that followed, as well as to the Reformation that was sweeping across Europe at this time.

Theodoret and the Problem of Galenic Medicine: Articulating a Health Care Paradigm in the *Historia Religiosa*

Sweeney, Christopher

In his *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, Theodoret employs tropes drawn from the Galenic and Hippocratic healing traditions to describe the power and truth of Christianity over against paganism's errors and superstitions. But, in another text, his *Historia Religiosa*, Theodoret aims not only to expound a model of truth and sanctity, but to advocate a new model of the healer, one which is in competition with those very Galenic doctors whose rhetoric Theodoret elsewhere employs for tropes of power, efficacy, and truth. This paper analyzes how Theodoret navigates this apparent conundrum. Despite employing tropes of Galenic medicine as an accepted authoritative language, Theodoret subverts Galenic medicine. In his competitive promotion of the holy men as healers, he shows how they transcend the authority of Galenic doctors. They re-create their own bodies, in such a way that the Galenic paradigm becomes inapplicable to them. Because, unlike Galenic doctors, the holy men are able to stand above the Galenic system, they alone can stand as truly legitimate healers. This affirmation of the holy men's personal superiority acts as a means of legitimizing the otherwise problematic sorts of medical care that they offered others. It allows Theodoret to show the holy men engaged in healing practices largely identical to those magical-medical—that is, “superstitious”—practices common in the Syrian countryside without them bearing the negative connotations that those practices might have otherwise had.

The Vision of Christ as God: Picturing the Monk's Spiritual End in Byzantine Egypt

Szymanska, Agnieszka

The early Byzantine monastic sites noteworthy for their painted decoration include the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit and the Monastery of Apa Jeremiah at Saqqara, Egypt. Several prayer niches found there depict a composition typically called the *Majestas Domini*. To this corpus we can add the east semidome of the triconch sanctuary at the Red Monastery. Unlike the prayer niches from Bawit and Saqqara, the painted decoration of the Red Monastery triconch is in situ and can be viewed within its fifth- and sixth-century ensemble of architecture and architectural sculpture. The *Majestas Domini* has been linked to the early Christian debate over the anthropomorphic image of the Godhead. My aim is to draw attention to the significance of the *Majestas Domini* for the ascetic life of pure prayer. Central to this discussion is the concept of *θεωρία*. The literal meaning of this term is seeing, but it was used in the more specific sense of spiritual beholding and contemplation.

In addition to the *Majestas Domini* in the east semidome the Red Monastery triconch features the Galaktotrophousa and Old Testament prophets in the north semidome. The south semidome shows the enthroned Christ as Logos in the company of the four evangelists. The two compositions are structured with the prophets as the clear counterparts of the evangelists. This visual juxtaposition makes a statement about the nature of Scripture, which was a topic discussed at length by Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444). In brief, Cyril distinguished two interpretive layers of Scripture, and he used a metaphor of painting to explain their relationship. The prescriptive layer provides an outline that is then refined by the Logos. The complete pictures thus receive the second interpretive layer, namely the revelatory *θεωρία*, which is also the Scripture's *σκοπός* (goal). The two layers together paint the image of the self-revealed God in Christ, which Cyril considered to be the Scripture's *τέλος* (end). Likewise, the monk's *σκοπός* was defined as *θεωρία*, and his *τέλος* was the vision of God.

Cyril is depicted in the Red Monastery triconch, and the three semidomes encapsulate his idea of the twofold purpose of Scripture. The scrolls held by the Old Testament prophets in the north semidome are infused with the Logos of the south semidome. Enhanced by *θεωρία*, the scrolls foreshadow the incarnation of Christ, represented in the north semidome by the Galaktotrophousa. Through the workings of *θεωρία*, the messages revealed in the north and south semidomes converge in the east with the vision of Christ as God at the end of time. The triconch provides an architectonic support for this interpretation. It draws on the design of Roman aedicular façades that in turn evoke the scaenae frons of theater architecture. In the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods, theaters were places of festivals (sg. *θεωρία*). Their origins were rooted in the Panhellenic festivals whose participants experienced deific presence. Thus both the painting and the architecture of the Red Monastery triconch participated in picturing the monk's spiritual end.

The Matrilineal Cord: An Early Christian Representation of Rahab in the Via Latina Catacomb as Evidence for Her Virtuous Election

Taylor, Catherine

The iconography of Rahab (Joshua 2; 6:22-26) is rare and seemingly obscure within the context of early Christian death and burial. Cubiculum B in the Via Latina catacombs in Rome features a unique fourth-century fresco depiction of Rahab lowering the Israelite spies out of the walls of Jericho in a basket from her window. For the first time, this paper situates this iconography and its reception in context with the other unusual scenes of Samson and Absalom found in the same cubiculum.

The story of Rahab has long been recognized as a narrative of salvation, reconciliation, hospitality, faith and mercy. Iconographic exegesis of the story in text and image has focused on these tropes in both anagogical and literal ways. Additionally, the scarlet cord given to Rahab by the spies has received much attention in Patristic sources as a symbol of the blood of Christ by which she, her household, and all nations would be saved. While much has been made of Rahab's status as a gentile harlot, little attention has been given to her associations with Wisdom, the Gates of Zion, and the matrilineal evidence for her posterity, even Jesus Christ. Origen (*Homilies on Joshua* 3.3) will comment on Rahab as a signifier of "wideness" as she allows her house to be opened to the Israelite spies. Furthermore, her wideness is to be heard of around the world through her descendants. The imagery of birth, womb, and offspring is elaborated in both the patristic exegesis and the catacomb painting where Rahab is literally connected by a cord to the Israelite spies.

This paper examines these themes within the context of late antique biblical reception, earliest Christian burial motifs, and the highly charged locus of death and rebirth. It draws new and distinct correlations between the narrative of Israelite deliverance and the matrilineal iconography of Rahab, through whom both King David and Christ will be born.

Of Kings and Prophets: Advice and Admonition in the Paris Gregory (BNF gr. 510)

Tomaselli, Courtney

In Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Leslie Brubaker carefully uncovered the complex ways in which text and image relate to one another in the ninth-century illustrated copy of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus made for Emperor Basil I (BNF gr. 510). By determining that many of the manuscript's elaborated letters and marginal signs intentionally demarcated specific sections of each text, thus providing a framework through which each full-page prefatory painting could be understood, she was able to demonstrate that the patriarch Photios must have been the manuscript's patron. Of its 46 extant full-page miniatures, only two were left without systematic interpretation.

One of these is the miniature found on folio 435v, which introduces Gregory's spurious letter to Evagrius on the topic of the consubstantiality of the Trinity. This miniature, which is visually distinct amongst the manuscript's extant paintings for its quadripartite arrangement, depicts four Old Testament subjects: Daniel and the lion's den, the three Hebrews in the furnace, King Manasses, and Hezekiah on his deathbed with Isaiah. Each of these scenes is related to, but does not necessarily directly illustrate, one of the odes.

Utilizing the methodology employed by Leslie Brubaker in her book, I propose a new interpretation of the relationship between text and image in folio 435v. Close analysis of the formal properties of each scene in the painting, and consideration of the biblical texts of each Old Testament story, reveals the order in which the four scenes should be read. This examination highlights two common themes in the miniature: high-ranking holy advisors to royalty who suffered for their adherence to the true faith, and kings who were delivered from harm because they repented their sins. The story of Isaiah and Hezekiah, in which Hezekiah is saved by following the advice of his prophet-advisor, is highlighted visually through its formal deviation from the other three scenes.

The text illustrated by this painting, on the consubstantiality of the Trinity, explicates a relationship between the three persons of the Trinity that aligns with Photios' Trinitarian doctrine. When the events surrounding the Council of Constantinople of 867, the ensuing exile and recall of Photios by the emperor, and the personal histories of patron and recipient are considered in relation to text and image, the miniature reveals itself to be one of the most important of the manuscript. It contains a subtle yet strong message to the emperor regarding orthodoxy. But more importantly, it speaks to the necessity of a spiritual advisor for a ruler. It was through this miniature that Photios sought to convey his importance and solidify his position as patriarch and holy advisor.

The Ambiguity of the Book in the Work of John Climacus

Torrance, Alexis

The complex and multilayered literary sophistication of John of Sinai's *Ladder of Divine Ascent* has been the subject of a recent fruitful study by Henrik Rydell Johnsen. He demonstrates the depth and breadth of John's rhetorical and literary skill in which ancient forms of discourse (like the moral treatise) are adapted and put to highly effective use for a Christian ascetic audience. This paper begins by summarizing Johnsen's significant contribution to our understanding of reading culture in Byzantine monasticism at "the close" of late antiquity. Building on this, the paper then turns to some of John of Sinai's own intimations regarding one of the key issues at stake: the nature and role of books.

Concentrating on relevant passages in both the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* and *To the Shepherd*, the ambiguous role of the book is highlighted. As a tool and weapon in the ascetic arsenal, the book is in one sense indispensable. Aside from the more obvious benefit of the book as conveyor of Scripture and the writings of the fathers, we also learn in Step 4 of the *Ladder* of the key role notebooks could have: attached to the belt, they were repositories for the monk's daily thoughts which could then be read or shown to one's spiritual guide. In the brief vita of John by Daniel of Raithou, the activity of writing books was likewise viewed as beneficial in the combat with *acedia*.

However, there is a noticeable strand in John's work that questions the ultimate need for the book, going so far as to posit an ascetic ideal that dispenses with all books. Three contexts in which such a view is deployed are examined. The first, in Step 5, juxtaposes having a "living image" for repentant ascetic life with the need for books. The second, in Step 25, shifts the ideal mode of ascetic learning away from books to a kind of immediate apprenticeship to Jesus Christ, more particularly to the humility of Christ. While the book is negated here, the locus of such apprenticeship, interestingly, is nonetheless conceived as an inscription inscribed directly within the body of the believer. Finally, in *To the Shepherd*, a similar motif emerges at the outset, according to which the true spiritual guide should have no need of books, just as teachers, John claims, are clearly defective if they give instruction using others' writings.

Having analyzed these instances, the presence of an overall ambiguity with regard to the book is emphasized. It is argued, moreover, that the more negative understanding of the book is in fact dependent upon its continuing presence at some level (if only as "the tablet of the heart"). In particular, the positive assessments surrounding books in John of Sinai paradoxically serve to give the book an integral, even definitive, role in bringing about an idealized mode of ascetic learning and knowledge divested of books, a role exemplified by John's own literary masterwork, the *Ladder*.

“A Harmonious Song of Theology”?
Notes on the Byzantine Liturgical Commemoration of the Council of Chalcedon

Tucker, Gregory

This paper explores a mode of Byzantine reception of the Council of Chalcedon that has been overlooked hitherto—its explicit commemoration in the annual liturgical cycle. An extraordinary number of texts in the canon of Byzantine liturgical hymnography bear the imprint of Chalcedonian theology, especially in their use of key Christological terminology from the conciliar definition, testifying to the enduring significance of this council and the pervasive influence of its vocabulary. But this paper concerns itself principally with the festal commemoration of the council itself, especially the *stichera* at Great Vespers and the Canon at Matins. This feast must be understood alongside the liturgical remembrance of the other six ecumenical councils as constituting part of a genre of conciliar feasts celebrating the doctrinal orthodoxy of the Byzantine church. The hymnography for these feasts (generally composed some time after the councils were convened) sketches their most important doctrinal contributions, lauds the exponents of Christian orthodoxy, and enthusiastically lambasts those who were condemned as heretics. But, at least in the case of the commemoration of Chalcedon, unlike the conciliar definition of 451, the later liturgical texts are found to be general, imprecise, and sometimes even factually incorrect. Therefore, the texts for the commemoration of Chalcedon may suggest that the function of this feast was not primarily the exposition of orthodox doctrine, but the celebration of the distinction between the Byzantine Chalcedonian church and the heretical non-Chalcedonian churches, which also were located outside the Byzantine *oikoumenē*. This paper highlights the synergy between liturgy and “academic” theology in Byzantine orthodoxy, and points to a potential avenue for further exploration of the reception of theological ideas by the Byzantine church. It also touches lightly on how a careful reconsideration of this dimension of the Byzantine liturgical tradition might be relevant for contemporary ecumenical dialogue.

Transfiguration: Mosaic, Liturgy, and Sacred Space in Nea Moni

Webb, Lora

This paper focuses on the eleventh-century Transfiguration mosaic in the katholikon of Nea Moni on Chios. It asks how liturgical ritual implicated this particular mosaic and how the image projects into the physical space of the church. This analysis, therefore, has two strands: the first explores what is visible within the image, including the strategies of representation, and the second addresses the rituals that interlocked with the mosaic. Following the first thread, this analysis draws on the work of Robert Nelson and Otto Demus, ultimately deriving from Alois Riegl's idea of "external cohesion," in order to show how the Transfiguration advanced into the space of the church and forced its viewers to take part in the image. In terms of the liturgy, this paper relies on the *Synaxarion of Theotokos Evergetis*. Since the latter serves as a model for many aristocratic foundations in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and because Nea Moni has no surviving typikon of its own, the Evergetis synaxarion provides a plausible point of reference for the rituals on Chios. This essay focuses on the Feast of the Transfiguration culminating in the Eucharist liturgy in order to envision how the mosaic worked with the rituals performed in the naos. Ultimately, through close looking and close reading, I argue that both ritual and image function to transfigure the earthly church into a heavenly realm where the monks could have their own visions of God. Both the mosaic and the liturgy set up a space for human participation in the divine.

Orality, Memory & the *Christos Paschon*: the Parallel Translation Project

White, Andrew Walker

The *Christos Paschon*, attributed to St. Gregory of Nazienzus, has offered a formidable puzzle to generations of philologists. This presentation argues that, contrary to conventional wisdom, the ever-popular authorship question is actually among the *least* interesting.

Given the performativity inherent in every manuscript from the pre-Gutenberg era, and the vital role of oral recitation and rote memorization of the Euripides canon in Byzantium's schools, far more interesting questions include: what evidence does the *Christos Paschon* offer of latter-day readings of Tragedy? More to the point, what does it reveal about the interpretation of ancient tragedy by an Orthodox Christian reader? How does Euripides help this educated Byzantine to articulate some of the more visceral, emotional aspects of the Gospel narrative?

A project currently underway at Dumbarton Oaks is developing a repertory of performance texts, consisting of parallel translations of key passages from both Euripides and the *Christos Paschon*. In addition to consultation of the relevant texts and the relevant *scholia*, the project incorporates performance considerations drawn from the rhetorical *progymnasmata*—the guidelines for *ethopoieia* in particular. The ultimate goal is to create translations that reflect back on each other in verbal, topical and emotional terms, offering a rough equivalent of the experience a literate Byzantine audience might have had with these texts.

Past studies have established that the author of the *Christos Paschon* had little if any acquaintance with traditional theatre. Accordingly, this parallel-translation project assumes it was designed for live rhetorical performance. In addition to thoughts on the broader context for the *Christos Paschon* this presentation will include brief sample texts and readings from this 'Passion According to Euripides (*kat' euripidēn*).'

Reconciling Verse with Prose and Schedography: Rhetorical *Poikilia* in Twelfth-Century Byzantium

Zagklas, Nikolaos

In twelfth-century literature the distinction between form and genre becomes even more blurred and certain genres traditionally written in prose (e.g. novels and chronicles) make their debut in verse form. There are also cases where prose and verse co-exist harmoniously within the same work. The most telling example are the *schede*, which are short teaching exercises, normally written by a *grammatikos*, filled with numerous grammatical, syntactical and orthographical shortcomings. Though they are not *prosimetrum* in strict sense, many *schede* were written in prose with verse epilogues which usually summarize the content of the prose part or constitute an address to the student(s) or various imperial and aristocratic addressees.

Around the mid-twelfth century, when many ground-breaking literary experimentations occur, the *schedos* is transformed from a mere teaching exercise into a separate literary genre. Within this context, schedography is occasionally used together with verse and prose for the celebration of an event, the praise of an individual or the commemoration of a deceased individual. The most well-known representative of this practice is Theodore Prodromos, one of the most celebrated Komnenian poets. For example, in a praise poem directed to the *Orphanotrophos* Alexios Aristenos, we are explicitly told that the latter had previously been praised in a prose work and a *schedos*. However, the *oeuvres* of Theodore Prodromos and his peers (e.g. Niketas Eugenianos) are not the only witnesses to this practice. Leo *tou Megistou* commemorated the death of his patron *Megas Hetairiarches* Georgios Palaiologos not only in a prose work but also in a poem which remains still unpublished. Likewise, Niketas Choniates celebrated the wedding of the emperor Isaakios II Angelos with Margaret, the daughter of King Béla III of Hungary, not only in a prose oration but also in verse.

In addition to this practice, there also many Komnenian poetic works penned in different meters. Once again, though Theodore Prodromos' corpus includes many such examples, similar poetic works were composed by earlier, contemporary and later poets, such as Theophylaktos of Ochrid, John Tzetzes, and Euthymios Tornikios.

In sum, the purpose of this paper is to discuss the case of poetic works written in sundry meters and works in different forms used for the same occasion. Most of these works purport to serve either a didactic or ceremonial purpose, while some other both. Based upon the recent observations of Floris Bernard that prose and poetry are sub-categories of *hoi logoi*, I attempt to show that the Komnenian poets, who were considering themselves *rhetors*, were seeking to achieve rhetorical variety by mixing different forms and inventing new genres.

Performing the Medieval Charter

Zchomelidse, Nino

The afterlife of medieval charters is dull. Mostly they are kept in security cases in the magazines of an archive waiting to be looked at and studied by medieval scholars or, more recently, for being digitized. Occasionally they make it into the display cases of an exhibition of medieval art and/or history. This paper in contrast explores the sensuous medieval environment in which medieval charters operated. I discuss their specific materiality, animal skin (vellum), ink or at times blood, imprinted with waxen seals and their complex visuality that consists of various signs and letters. The cursive elongated calligraphy, difficult to be read, was specifically developed for the creation of such legal documents and driven by the desire of the issuing party of making them exclusive and accessible only for a selected and privileged audience.

I will explore the symbolic signs that feature prominently on the charters. Among these, the invocation of the Christian god, the Crismon appears in the form of an artfully drawn letter C. The monogram of the issuing person in the signum line is usually followed by the affixed seal and the scribe's recognition sign in that same line. These graphic signs appear like a frame in the top and bottom part of the text emphasizing those parts of the document that name the issuing authority of the document as well as the executing scribe. I argue that the magic component, created by the combination of text and iconic signs and the materials of the vellum wax, and the ink (or blood), was inseparable from the performative acts by which these documents were sealed, received, kissed, and read aloud. In its public declamation, the medieval charter unfolded its suggestive power created by the simultaneity of visual, oral, haptic, and also olfactory stimulation of the senses.

Of Bodies & Spirits: Soundscapes of Byzantine Thessaloniki

Team of 6 (Donohue, Gerstel, Kyriakakis, Papalexandrou, Raptis, Antonopoulos)

With the notable exception of musicologists and chanters, the acoustic world of Byzantium has historically been overlooked by researchers. As part of a growing interest in the sensorium, however, sound is making its entrance into the scholarly landscape as a feature of Byzantine culture and civilization that rewards investigation. In June 2014 an interdisciplinary team of researchers supported by a UCLA OVCR-COR Transdisciplinary Seed Grant embarked on a new project to measure the acoustic properties of eight Byzantine churches in the city of Thessaloniki. This urban arena was chosen, in part, because of the range in age and type of churches to be found there, with buildings dating from the fifth to the fourteenth century and featuring basilicas of varying sizes together with centrally-planned churches crowned by domes and often augmented by surrounding ambulatories. This differentiation of building types offers the possibility of a fairly large dataset with which to begin a serious comparative study of sonic spaces in Byzantium. Permission was granted by both the Greek Ministry of Culture and the Archbishop of Thessaloniki to study and measure eight churches over a period of eight days (one church per day, for approximately four hours each day, with doors closed). Our dataset included the Acheiropoietos basilica and the churches of Hagia Sophia, Panagia Chalkeon, Hagia Ekaterini, Prophites Elias, Holy Apostles, St Nicholas Orphanos, and the tiny Church of the Savior.

The acoustical measurements were based on the principle of system identification. A full frequency range stimulus signal is reproduced over loudspeakers and recorded by several microphones in the space under test. The test signal consisted of a long (8 second) logarithmic sine sweep that was averaged multiple times to overcome the background noise and rumble from the city. Deconvolution of the measured response in each microphone produces an impulse response that can be analyzed to determine several acoustical parameters about the space including Reverberation Time, Clarity, Definition and Early Decay Time using the specifications of the ISO3382 Standard. This impulse response method produces significantly more accurate results as compared to balloon pop measurements that do not produce enough low frequency energy to overcome the background noise and capture the acoustical characteristics of these large spaces.

Our interdisciplinary team is composed of art and architectural historians, acoustic engineers, a musicologist, and a team of dedicated chanters. We focus on the church as performance space by analyzing architectural form, acoustic properties, the development of chant, and the introduction of decorative themes relevant to music and ritual settings. We are interested in the interrelationship of all these elements, how buildings – and music – changed over time, and whether shifts in architectural style and structure may have been related to sonic as well as liturgical considerations.

Panel Title: The Archaeology of Byzantine Neighborhoods

****The panel is sponsored by the Mary Jaharis Center for Byzantine Art and Culture****

Neighborhoods are multifunctional spaces that facilitate and frame social interactions. They include sites of religious and civic ritual (churches and fora), small-scale commerce (shops), contact with the state (notaries), education, and leisure. Neighborhoods give shape to daily rituals that cross divides of status and gender, blur the boundaries between “public” and “private,” and are fundamental to the negotiation of communal identities. The formation of neighborhoods and their transformation provides an intermediate perspective on urban development between the “official” (armature) and the “domestic” (housing).

The spatial and administrative organization of neighborhoods within late antique and Byzantine cities remains understudied. By relying on textual references to monumental patronage, scholars have represented the organization of Byzantine cities as the result of imperial and elite will. In this model, informal urban development is defined, implicitly or explicitly, as chaotic and undesirable. The result is a top-down view of urban history that obscures the significance of the practices of daily life.

Investigation of the structure, organization, and function of neighborhoods provides a corrective to this model. Papers in the proposed session present geographically and chronologically diverse case studies, and analyze architectural, archaeological, and textual evidence through different methodologies and theoretical frameworks. They are united by a shared focus on the range of activities that occur in neighborhoods and the agents and forces that drive their architectural transformation. Multiple papers reframe the relationship between religion, sacred spaces, and communal identity by examining the centrality of churches in neighborhood formation and demarcation. Our goal is to provide a new perspective on Byzantine cities as built environments and as spaces of social and political interaction. The five papers are to be delivered in the order (roughly chronological) in which the abstracts have been arranged, after which chair, speakers, and audience will engage in open discussion.

Panel Title: Problematizing the space “in between”: Visual Arts of Late Medieval Cyprus

While the question of the art of Cyprus being between East and West has been given much attention, the notion of exactly what the space in between means has yet to be determined. This session seeks to expand that dialogue and incorporate new theories arising from Medieval Mediterranean studies as well as archeological and literary studies. Our session will explore the important issue of transmission across the Mediterranean to Italy (Anthi Andronikou), as well as the effect of exchange on local production of material culture (Cristina Stancioiu). Painting in Cyprus from urban (Maria Paschali) and rural contexts (Ioanna Christoforaki) will be compared through a consideration of theological controversy and public reception. These new studies on the art of Cyprus continue to expand the study of Cypriot art beyond a limited dialogue with discreet centers of power in Constantinople, Jerusalem, or Rome. In an effort to problematize what the space of “in between” means for Cypriot art and more broadly for the art from the Medieval Mediterranean, this session offers new perspectives on the visual culture of the deep rural interior of the island, the glittering surface of its urban centers, as well as the fluid borderland of the Mediterranean Sea.

The format of the session will be four papers delivered for 15 minutes each with time after each for questions and concluding remarks by the chairperson of the session. This session works ideally as a group because it brings together scholars from Cyprus, Greece and the U.S. who can give unique insight into new archeological and literary approaches to the study of the Medieval Mediterranean. Annemarie Weyl Carr has agreed to be chairperson for this session. Her depth of experience and knowledge of Cyprus will be an important counterpoint and foundation for these new approaches to the material.

Panel Title: The Perception and Experience of Music in the Byzantine Liturgy

Music's ethical power and its ability to evoke profound emotions has been acknowledged since Late Antiquity. Yet, even today, there is far from consensus on the degree to which this statement is true, not to speak of the vexing (and understudied) question of *how* music exercises this influence over humans (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008). For the medieval historian, the difficulty of grappling with these issues would seem to be even more acute, since sound has the unique property of being perhaps the most ephemeral of the senses. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of the soundscape of various environments in Byzantium where the performance of music played an integral role is not the chimera that it may appear to be. An increased interest in the interplay of space, image, and sound in the liturgy has resulted in new, exciting collaborations, drawing in historians of art and architecture, liturgists, musicologists, acoustical engineers, and singers, whose aim is to explore both the overall ceremonial *gestalt* of worship in Byzantium, with a particular focus on sound – music – and its impact on the individual.

The proposed panel is a series of four papers followed by discussion, whose aim is three-fold: to privilege the often marginalized realm of sound – and especially, music – within the larger Byzantine sensorium; to provide a forum for addressing the above-mentioned questions with different materials and approaches (comparative analyses of acoustical spaces; text and music; music and vision; singers and ritual); and finally, to provide a forum to discuss the objectives, obstacles, and successes of recent collaborations whose aim has been to assess how medieval Byzantine chant might have been heard and experienced in its native context – the buildings and divine offices for which it was composed.

Panel Title: The Material Imagination: Critical Inquiry into Performance and Display of Byzantine, Islamic, and Western Medieval Art

Session 1 of Two Sessions

Medieval visual culture sought to immerse its participants in sensually saturated phenomena and appealed to the complexity of the material imagination in the way the services intertwined psalmody and hymnody with the jewel aesthetic of gold, glass, and marble. The medieval ceremonial spaces and objects attracted with their glitter and chameleonic appearances, triggered by the shifting diurnal light and burning candles and oil lamps. This ambience affected by the ephemerality of light is very different from the steady illumination of the modern museum display. This session has a two-fold agenda. First, it will explore the practices of original display of medieval objects, and the way that these practices -- which included not only visual, but also auditory, haptic, gustatory, and olfactory aspects, and fostered somatic and cognitive, performative engagement -- have defined new methodological directions in the critical approaches to medieval art. Second, it will consider the afterlife of such active objects and the fate of their performative potential as it is reinforced, accommodated, subverted, or compromised by the modern museum. We seek a platform to bring together specialists in Byzantine, Islamic, and western medieval art thus attempting to complicate the divide between east and west that has predicated and defined scholarship in our field since its inception. We propose a panel consisting **of two sessions**, with each featuring three papers from different fields, followed by a discussion.

Panel Title: The Material Imagination: Critical Inquiry into Performance and Display of Byzantine, Islamic, and Western Medieval Art

Session 2 of Two Sessions

Medieval visual culture sought to immerse its participants in sensually saturated phenomena and appealed to the complexity of the material imagination in the way the services intertwined psalmody and hymnody with the jewel aesthetic of gold, glass, and marble. The medieval ceremonial spaces and objects attracted with their glitter and chameleonic appearances, triggered by the shifting diurnal light and burning candles and oil lamps. This ambience affected by the ephemerality of light is very different from the steady illumination of the modern museum display. This session has a two-fold agenda. First, it will explore the practices of original display of medieval objects, and the way that these practices -- which included not only visual, but also auditory, haptic, gustatory, and olfactory aspects, and fostered somatic and cognitive, performative engagement -- have defined new methodological directions in the critical approaches to medieval art. Second, it will consider the afterlife of such active objects and the fate of their performative potential as it is reinforced, accommodated, subverted, or compromised by the modern museum. We seek a platform to bring together specialists in Byzantine, Islamic, and western medieval art thus attempting to complicate the divide between east and west that has predicated and defined scholarship in our field since its inception. We propose a panel consisting **of two sessions**, with each featuring three papers from different fields, followed by a discussion.

Panel Title: Reading Circles and Reading Culture in Seventh-Century Byzantine Monasticism

****The panel is sponsored by the Jaharis Center for Byzantine Art and Culture****

The seventh century in Byzantium was once viewed as a Dark Age, but it is now recognized as a period of intensive literary production, which, read in innovative ways, can be used to write a new history of the period. One of the most promising areas of research is ascetic literature. It was not limited to the cloister but written for a broad audience, and responded to the sweeping changes affecting the Empire. This panel considers circles of ascetic writers and readers and how their texts and ideas were exchanged along networks with wide geographical and social reach.

In investigating the role of reading culture in the formation of seventh-century asceticism, the presentations examine how monks read, discussed, and reinterpreted both earlier and contemporary texts, seeking to render them relevant and edifying for fellow believers, both monastic and lay. This involved attention to the interaction between formal doctrine and practical teaching, especially when translating austere desert asceticism for lay audiences in the world. The combined papers touch on topics such as teaching and discipleship in ascetic circles, school and scribal culture in monasteries and cities, the reception and reinterpretation of older patristic sources, the ways that genre shaped the use of authorities and *topoi*, the reflection of contemporary polemics in ascetic texts, and interaction of oral and written culture. Given the prominence of asceticism in the Byzantine thought-world, consideration of the above improves understanding of the sociology of knowledge and belief in this period.

These topics form a web, where the answers to one question shed light on another. Covering them together thus provides a fuller and more accurate treatment. Presentation of all the papers first is followed by discussion at the end, so that conversation can be informed by all the contributions.

Gifts of devotion to “outer places” (*exō chōrai*)

****The panel is sponsored by the International Center of Medieval Art****

Constantinople monopolized the interest of twelfth-century rhetoricians, who saw places outside of the Capital city as *exō chōrai* (“outer places”). The notion of *exō chōrai* has been mostly discussed in relation to literature. Such considerations rarely account the ample body of artistic evidence. This session brings together different approaches for understanding what *exō chōrai* truly meant in the relentlessly interconnected world of the Medieval Mediterranean. !! ! Although Constantinopolitan authors criticized rich provincial monasteries as pointless endeavors (since only in the capital were things done properly), Constantinopolitan patrons were prone to present devotional gifts to “the back and beyond”. This session investigates the function of gifts by comparing archaeological, artistic, literary, and sigillographic material from the mainland of Greece, Thrace and the Balkans, the Holy Land and even Constantinople (considered as an *exō chora*). By presenting case studies from around the Empire, it sheds light on what motivated individuals to instigate donations to places that they consider foreign and uncovers various understandings of the notion of “outer places”, before and after the political break at the end of the twelfth century.

The papers of the panel look at a diverse evidence facilitating interregional comparisons. The first paper examines how different definitions of *exō chōrai* affected private donations. The second discusses monastic establishments on the borders of Macedonia and Thrace and how material culture evince notions relevant to “the far and beyond”. The third paper looks at expressions of private piety in the Holy Land and compares them to similar ones from the Balkans and Greece. The chair of the session addresses field questions, setting the floor for a fervent discussion. The discussion aims to compare practices from different regions of the empire, highlight individualities and similarities, and to even challenge the very idea of “outer places”. The papers are limited to 20 minutes length, offering ample time for discussion and debate.

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