

Forty-Seventh Annual

BYZANTINE STUDIES
CONFERENCE

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Case Western Reserve University and the Cleveland Museum of Art

ABSTRACTS

The Byzantine Studies Conference is an annual forum for the presentation and discussion of papers embodying current research on all aspects of Byzantine history and culture. The Abstracts of Papers is produced from electronic copies supplied by the speakers. Copyright © is reserved by the individual speakers.

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Chair: Fotini Kondyli

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Justin Mann, An Archaeological Narrative of the Holy: Landscapes of the Sacred in Middle Byzantine Central Greece

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Sponsored by the Mary Jaharis Center

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Ayşe Henry, Zooming in and out at Medieval Antioch: Kozkalesi (Antakya/Turkey) in its Regional Context

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***Grigory Kessel**, Between Constantinople and Sinai: A Previously Unknown Syriac Manuscript from Crusader Jerusalem

Giulia Rossetto, Multi-Lingual Annotations in Sinai Greek Prayer Books: A Contribution to the Investigation of Cultural Interactions at Saint Catherine's Monastery

Daniel Galadza, The Communities and Contexts of Sabaite Liturgical Manuscripts in the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai

ABSTRACTS

(Organized in alphabetical order)

Expanding Byzantium: Helen Evans' Remarkable Acquisition History at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Andrea Myers Achi (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Through the Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries of Byzantine Art and large-scale exhibitions centered on Byzantium, The Metropolitan Museum of Art has helped expand the scholarly and public perception of the Byzantine world. Curator Helen Evans' groundbreaking exhibitions, *The Glory of Byzantium* (1997), *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (2004), *Byzantium and Islam* (2012), *Armenia!* (2018) were transformational to the study of Byzantine Art and brought many objects to the United States for the first time. Innovatively, the exhibitions included works from the "peripheries" of the Byzantine empire, such as Russia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Armenia, and Christian communities in the Islamic East.

While the significance of Evans' galleries and exhibitions is well-known and celebrated, her astute acquisition history during her tenure has not yet received the same amount of attention. Her acquisitions shifted and stretched the canon of Byzantine art. Incorporating research from The Met's comprehensive object files, curatorial notes, and Helen Evans' archive, this talk focuses on little-known stories of four pivotal acquisitions: *Christian Sarcophagus with a scene from the Lives of Saint Peter and Christ* (1991.366), *Ethiopian Illuminated Gospels* (1998.66), *Jaharis Byzantine Lectionary* (2007.286), and *Four miniatures of the life of Christ from a gospel book* (2020.142.1-.4). The talk describes how these four objects represent the breadth of Evan's acquisitions, which coincided with preparations for the renovations of the Jaharis galleries and her significant exhibitions that incorporated arts of Byzantine-adjacent regions.

Overall, Helen Evans' renovations of the Jaharis Galleries, award-winning exhibitions, and significant acquisitions counteracted longstanding misperceptions and separations of artworks made and used by communities beyond the borders of Byzantium and those originating within the Empire. Because of Evans' work, Byzantinists can no longer view those traditionally marginalized regions as peripheral; instead, the exhibitions and acquisitions, together, encourages the field to recognize the multiple religious, intellectual, and economic centers of the Empire and beyond.

Byzantine Fortifications Beyond Incastellamento: The Example of Sardis

Benjamin Anderson (Cornell University)

Jordan Pickett (University of Georgia)

The southern ridge of the Acropolis summit (ca. 400 m asl) above the ancient city of Sardis (modern Sart, western Turkey) is dominated by a single curtain wall, 253 meters long and three meters thick, to which is joined a brick-vaulted interior space at its eastern end. Faced entirely with well-coursed, spoliated blocks from Roman buildings in the lower city, the wall is a textbook example of early medieval (“dark age”) fortification. Taken jointly, new analyses of the preserved fabric alongside older excavations of the adjoining medieval settlement encourage revision of standard models of Anatolian “incastellamento” in response to seventh- or eighth-century Arab invasions.

Although an excellent plan of the wall was prepared by surveyors in the 1970s, study of the elevation has been hindered by overgrowth and (especially) topography. Under the auspices of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, we conducted a systematic, face-by-face documentation of standing remains, employing remote aerial (“drone”) photography when necessary. The resulting dossier permits conclusions regarding the nature of builders’ interactions with an erosion-prone substrate bedrock, the volumes of materials transported from the lower city, and the specific Roman structures that served as sources (for example, architectural sculpture from the Bath-Gymnasium Complex, and seats from the stadium and theater). Analyses of materials, their sources, local topography, and the expertise and labor required, strongly suggest that construction was sponsored by the state; analysis of the fabric indicates that it was limited to a single phase.

A single intensive investment of state resources accords well with a response to Arab incursions in western Anatolia. However, and even if the wall was built by the state, nothing suggests that it was designed to defend against prolonged siege, or that it ever sheltered a permanent military settlement. From the side of the texts, we note that Sardis was never a thematic capital, and that the fourteenth-century history of George Pachymeres describes the residents of the Acropolis as farmers. From the side of the archaeology, we may consider the excavations of the acropolis summit, which were undertaken between 1960 and 1975. Although these uncovered roughly 3000 square meters (of ~7500 square meters total), including multiple phases of dense Byzantine occupation, our preliminary analysis of the fieldbooks and archival plans suggests a settlement that was entirely civilian in nature.

In their foundational studies of Anatolian fortifications, Hugh Barnes and Mark Whittow distinguished between state-built “theme castles” and locally-built “communal fortifications.” Our study of the medieval Acropolis of Sardis suggests that it was somewhere in-between: a resource-intensive investment driven by reasons of state that ultimately served the very different needs of a local community. It accordingly suggests an understanding of Anatolian castles less as temporary refuges, more as the anchors of new, permanent settlements.

Observations on the Role of Women in the Greek Manuscript Culture

Louiza Argyriou (Universität Hamburg)

The aim of this paper is to give an overview on the role of women in the Greek manuscript culture during the Palaiologan period (1261-1453), as one aspect of their position in late Byzantine society. Nineteen Palaiologan women engaged in the production and circulation of manuscripts by undertaking roles as scribes, commissioners and owners of manuscripts.

Among these women, three were copyists, which suggests that female scribal activity was a unique phenomenon during the late 13th and early 14th centuries. Furthermore, Palaiologan women stemming from all social classes were commissioners – as part of the Palaiologan patronage movement – and owners of religious and secular manuscripts, which they donated to monasteries or kept in their personal or monastic libraries. The aim of patronage was to achieve political goals and in general to enhance the patrons' social profile by presenting themselves as pious and learned. Moreover, a unique historical figure was Theodora Raoulaina (1240-1300), who succeeded in making a name for herself as the most erudite woman of her time. She was a commissioner and owner of a large library and she supposedly copied two manuscripts. Contrary to what has for decades been assumed, these codices were not copied by the same person and Raoulaina's scribal status is under dispute. As evidence has shown, Palaiologan women went beyond the expected social role of Byzantine women, by contributing to the Greek manuscript culture.

Keywords: Byzantine manuscripts, Palaiologan period, Palaiologan women, women scribes, Palaiologan patronage, Theodora Raoulaina

John Tzetzes and Minucianus: polemic and self-representation in the commentary on Hermogenes.

Elisabetta Barili (University of Southern Denmark/Centre for Medieval Literature)

Commentaries on ancient texts represent the quintessential product of Byzantine school education, being a privileged site for displaying polemics and rivalries between teachers. In the 12th-century Constantinople, John Tzetzes' authorial voice stands out in this respect. The present paper focuses on his commentary on Hermogenes' *Περὶ στάσεων*, the most important among the four "Hermogenian" treatises within the curriculum taught in Byzantium. In Tzetzes' commentary – only partially edited (Cramer 1835-1837, 1-148) and preserved in full by the ms. *Vossianus Graecus* Q1 – critiques against his predecessors become a means of self-affirmation in the eyes of patrons and sponsors.

The paper focuses on how Tzetzes reinforces his exegetical voice by adopting the stance of another theoretician, possibly a contemporary of Hermogenes, namely Minucianus, whose views on rhetoric are contrasted with Hermogenes' approach. Being edited and glossed in Tzetzes' own hand the *Vossianus Graecus* Q1 represents an invaluable source to understand Tzetzes' identity-building process. Besides additions, corrections, and rants against the scribe, Tzetzes also adds a series of σημειώσεις notes, highlighting passages of the commentary to which the reader is meant to pay closer attention.

By looking specifically at the occurrences of the name of Minucianus in the σημειώσεις notes, this paper aims to demonstrate that the imperial rhetor was particularly important to Tzetzes, who shows a keen interest in Minucianus' controversy with Hermogenes. Tzetzes takes Minucianus as the main authority on a set of crucial topics for which the latter's approach was fiercely criticized by Hermogenes. Taking into account the importance of Minucianus' Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ, the present contribution shows how Tzetzes establishes a personal correspondence with Hermogenes' chief competitor, so as to define his own standpoint on rhetoric.

By emphasizing the alleged plagiarism of Hermogenes, Tzetzes seems to suggest that he himself shares with Minucianus similar uneasy cultural and personal dynamics. Such an approach is consistent with one of Tzetzes' most recurring discursive strategies. Time and again Tzetzes tends to identify with mythical and literary characters that can grant him a position of superiority and power over his contemporaries (Cullhed 2014, Lovato 2016). Minucianus becomes a proxy allowing Tzetzes to stand out among the cohort of Byzantine commentators, who are unanimous in preferring Hermogenes' approach. The present paper analyzes how Tzetzes uses Minucianus to strengthen his personal polemic against Hermogenes, as well as to impose his authorial voice against his adversaries, thus shedding new light on the debates animating the cultural scene of Komnenian Constantinople around the 1140s.

Essential references

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Painter as Hierophant in Eleventh-Century Sinai

Ravinder Binning (The Ohio State University)

The figure of the “artist” in Byzantium, whether in monastic or courtly settings, remains notoriously difficult to picture. The issue was the subject of a conference at the Scuola Normale in 2003 and earlier, in several studies by Sophia Kalopissi-Verti and Anthony Cutler. In spite of their insights, the field of art history continues to focus on the perception and ritual reception of objects rather than the psychosomatic processes inherent to their facture. But can we uncover more about how the artist romanticized the process of making objects? Was the arduous task of producing religious art so separate from spiritual exercises or ritual processes? Was the artist so innocent?

The issue requires us to consider a model of the “artist” different from the familiar figure of the itinerant painter shaping monumental programs according to a patron’s request. And it requires us to conceive of a different artisan than the courtly craftsman. One object from the monastic sphere opens a new set of issues. It is the eleventh-century hexptych, a six panel painting at Saint Catherine’s in Sinai. The object’s four central wings depict the *menologion*, a cycle of three hundred and sixty martyrdom scenes, a pictorial calendar for ritual commemorations. But one of the object’s wings shows the Last Judgment and, on its reverse, there survives an unusual epigram written by the painter.

The dodecasyllabic verse, however, does not simply follow the familiar scheme of Middle Byzantine supplicatory epigrams. Rather, the painter Ioannes Tohabi, a Georgian hieromonk, likely educated in Constantinople before Sinai, uses the verse to elaborate upon his painterly process. Veiled by a language of lament and anguish are rather bold statements by the monk. He compares his image to those oneiric experiences received by visionary prophets. He subtly references the Aristotelian theory of embodied memory and his mastery of it. These abilities were all extolled at Sinai, as attested by the encomium to the monastic vocation by John Climacus (579-659).

The epigram claimed the labor of the painting was not just an expression of his devotion and humility to Christ but also an extension of his powerful status as a hierophant. It was a claim to genius and prophetic power. And gender cannot be divorced from this mode of self-fashioning, this statement of monastic ability. Ioannes’ self-portrayal as stricken and anguished yet visionary is, in fact, inseparable from the monastic idealization of the “mourning soul,” the sacred melancholia attained by the “holy man.”

In the footsteps of John Geometres: a comparative study of four Byzantine commentaries on ps.Hermogenes' *On Method of Forceful Speaking*

Anna Bistaffa (Università degli Studi di Verona)

This paper focuses on four Byzantine commentaries devoted to the ps.Hermogenian treatise *On Method of Forceful Speaking*, i.e. the works of John Geometres, Gregory of Corinth, John 'Deacon and Logothetes of the Great Church' and John Tzetzes. This paper attempts for the first time to disentangle the relationship between these commentaries written in a period spanning from the 10th to the 12th centuries. The most ancient of these authors is Geometres (second half of the 10th c.). Geometres' commentary is not preserved by direct tradition but it is quoted by two later authors, Gregory Metropolitan of Corinth (first half of the 12th c.) and John Logothetes (first half of the 12th c.?) whose prosopographic profile has not been clarified yet. Whereas Gregory's work is published (Walz 1834), the Logothetes' is only partially edited (Rabe 1908). The fourth author is John Tzetzes (1110-1180) whose commentary to date does not have an updated edition (Cramer's 1837 edition is based only on *Bodleianus Auct.* T 05.06 and does not consider *Voss. Gr.* Q1, recently investigated by Pizzone (2020). These commentaries are rich in quotations from both classical and Christian authors and, apart from Tzetzes' personal commentary, appear to be mostly a compilation of sources consisting of earlier works on ps.Hermogenes.

This paper looks first at Gregory of Corinth and John Logothetes' commentaries in comparison. These texts present often identical parts, since the authors apparently shared the same sources. The most relevant thereof is Geometres' commentary. Geometres is also quoted in four occasions by Tzetzes, who criticizes some passages of his earlier exegesis which can be found also in Gregory's and Logothetes' texts. Gerber (1891) was the first to notice the correspondence between Tzetzes' and Gregory's commentaries, but to this day the issue has not been investigated any further and Geometres' commentary is thought to be lost beyond recovery except for the explicit quotations by Tzetzes.

By capitalizing on Gerber's intuition, and based on the collation of the main manuscripts bequaething the Logothetes' text (*Vat. Gr.* 2228, *Vat. Gr.* 105, *Scor.* T III 10), this paper aims to demonstrate that the structure of both Gregory's and Logothetes' commentaries follows a recurrent pattern. Through an understanding of the rationale behind this pattern it is therefore possible to trace the remnants of John Geometres' commentary, filling an important gap in the Byzantine cultural history.

Beyond Archaization: Recalibrating Time in the Melbourne Gospels' Canon Tables

Peter Boudreau (McGill University)

Serving as decoration for the Canon Tables of Melbourne's twelfth century Gospel book (MS Felton 710/5), twelve miniature representations of the labors of the months stand atop the columns supporting the tables' architectural framework. It is frequently remarked that the appearance of these temporal personifications in the Canon Tables reinvigorates an artistic subject that had otherwise laid dormant since the sixth century. But despite the potential of these monthly poster boys to illuminate broader conceptions of time and attitudes toward the past in Byzantium, the few studies devoted to the Melbourne Gospels' decorative program discuss the adoption of this archaic motif in one of two ways. Some scholars have drawn on iconographic readings to stress the months' obscurity by pointing to their historically distant prototypes in late antique foundations (Webster, 1938; Levi, 1941; Akerström-Hougen, 1974). Alternatively, others have suggested that their presence reveals the emergence of a so-called profane aesthetic citing parallels with frivolous marginalia or notions of God's control over secular time observed in the Latin West (Maguire, 1999; Manion 2005).

Far from reflecting antiquarian or trivial interests in its decoration, the manuscript was produced at a moment when matters of time emerged as a significant topic within twelfth-century circles. Historians of science have recently returned to the often-ignored area of Byzantine astronomy to show how understandings of celestial cycles of time, planetary movements, and seasonal or monthly effects were debated, diagrammed, and updated by leading court intellectuals throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Magdalino 2006; Caudano, 2012). Similarly, literary scholars have commented on how the experience of months and seasons also appeared in the eccentric court performances of prominent poets who artistically shaped various cycles of time through verse (Follieri, 1959; Longo 1983; Jeffreys, 2005). Yet, while the validity of a purely monastic context for the Melbourne Gospels has rightly been challenged (Nelson, 1987; Sevchenko, 2006), the manuscript's connection to this explosion of calendrical models surrounding the Komnenian court has yet to be pursued by art historians.

This paper proposes an alternative to the perceived formulaic nature of the personifications of the months in the Melbourne Gospels. I argue that the reappearance of the months is not a nostalgic reproduction of earlier traditions but rather part of a burgeoning interest in exploring different layers of time, whether earthly or divine; lived or historical. As frames for calibrating key stories across the canonical Gospels, the temporal decoration of the manuscript's Canon Tables moves beyond mere embellishment for textual correspondences to instead visualize unique tensions of transience and timelessness. Ultimately, by connecting the miniatures to elaborate metrical calendars and temporal diagrams and images in contemporary manuscripts, I show how the personifications are deeply entrenched within current debates about not only the nature of time but its diverse uses.

‘The Church is like a Rapacious Bird’: Why an English monk put words into the mouth
of a Greek patriarch
Jeff Brubaker, Nazareth College

In 1232, Germanos II, the Patriarch of Constantinople, penned a letter to the cardinals of the Roman Church calling on them to encourage Pope Gregory IX to embrace a position of compromise on the issue of a union of the churches. This letter was sent along with another to the pope himself, in which Germanos II laid out his understanding of the causes of the schism between the Western Roman and Eastern Greek Churches. This correspondence culminated in the union negotiations of 1234 in Nicaea and Nymphaion, which are among the most important and well-documented attempts to end the schism in the medieval period. The report on the meetings, authored by the four friars who represented Gregory IX, is the most detailed account of any encounter intended to reunite the churches in the thirteenth century. Less attention is given, however, to the letters that preceded the gathering.

The letters from Germanos II to the cardinals and to the pope present a puzzle for historians. A copy of this correspondence is preserved in the work of Matthew Paris, a monk in the Benedictine monastery of St Albans. In his *Chronica majora*, Paris included a Latin translation of the patriarch’s letters, but the text found in his work does not exactly match the text of the letters found in the papal register. In his edition of the register of Gregory IX, Aloysius Tautu offered some possible solutions to these anomalies, suggesting that Paris may have made his translation from a lost Greek original, or that the edition in the papal register omitted certain parts that Paris did not leave out. This interpretation, that Paris had access to a now lost original version of the letters, is almost certainly incorrect.

Numerous scholars have noted the tendency of Paris to embellish his account. Richard Vaughan characterized Paris as a ‘careless, inaccurate, and frequently unreliable writer.’ Björn Weiler noted that Paris had a tendency to rewrite the letters that he copied into his chronicle, and Suzanne Lewis explained that Paris frequently altered texts to reflect his own opinions and prejudices. None of these authors, however, have offered a thorough examination of the correspondence from Germanos II to the leaders of the Roman Church in 1232, nor have they suggested a convincing explanation for why Paris may have wished to put words into the patriarch’s mouth. When we put his Latin version of the letters into the context of the overall correspondence, and when considering the report of the dialogue of 1234 left by the friars, the discrepancies in the comments by Germanos II emerge as clear interpolations by Paris. The Greek patriarch presented an opportunity for Paris to offer his own criticisms of the papacy and what he considered to be the corrupt practices of the Roman Church. Understanding the motivation behind these additions sheds new light on our understanding of critiques of church hierarchy in the west, as well as the greater narrative of attempts to achieve union between the Greek and Roman Churches.

The Curious Case of “Basileolatry”: A Chapter in the Reception of Byzantine Caesaropapism

Sergio Carlos Tamez (Ohio State University)

Coined by the Abbé Henri Gregoire, Bishop of Blois, in his tract *Histoire de Sectes Religieuses* (1828), “basileolatry” was identified as a “sect removed from all morals, from all religion,” a “Greek form of adulation” accorded to the Byzantine Emperors. To the liberal and Republican French Abbé, the “contagion” of Byzantine basileolatry had once more reared its head in eighteenth-century Europe, afflicting Anglicans, Napoleon’s French subjects, and the growing movement of ultramontane Roman Catholics who claimed ever-expanding spiritual and temporal authority for the pope in opposition to the rising tide of European nationalism. The cardinal sin and defining feature of Byzantine “basileolatry” was what Abbé Gregoire called “flattery,” or the subservience of the clergy to the emperor and their recognition of him as a divine and sacral figure. Though the Abbé recognized that the idolatrous king-worship of the Byzantines was founded in part on the pagan heritage of the classical Roman Empire, his construction of Byzantine basileolatry was also influenced by his anti-Semitic understanding of Davidic Kingship and its alleged adoption in Byzantine imperial ideology. It was better to imitate “the simplicity of Gideon and the Maccabees than the magnificence of Solomon.”

“Basileolatry” became a learned word among theologians and scholars of religion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and is closely linked to the development of “caesaropapism” as a discourse in modern Europe, which was retrojected onto Byzantium. Like caesaropapism, the pejorative use of “basileolatry” was initially deployed by liberal intellectuals as a criticism of authoritarian secular leaders and the pope, though it was later repurposed by ultramontane Catholics in polemics against national churches, such as the Church of England, and in disputes during the Gallican Controversy in France. The recognition of autocephalous churches, common in the broader world of Orthodox Christianity, was a significant threat to papal authority in the age of Vatican I and papal infallibility. As a result, Catholic sects such as the Jansenists and schismatic Christians in the Gallican Church and Church of England were accused at best of Byzantinizing caesaropapism, and at worst of Byzantinizing basileolatry.

With some exceptions, Gallican-oriented French Catholics did not offer a rehabilitated version of Byzantine caesaropapism that would justify their own ecclesiology, and instead advocated, based on the poor reception of church councils in Byzantium among liberal theologians, that the episcopate ought to maintain the distinction between “the two powers.” In contrast, Anglican theologians, notably Henry Chadwick, one of the most prominent theologians of the early twentieth century, defended the role of Henry VIII in establishing the Church of England and saw in the British kings a continuation of the model of Christian emperor established by Byzantium.

This paper provides a critical examination of the reception of Byzantium among ecclesiastics in late modern Europe through the prism of the heretofore unrecognized nonce-word “basileiolatry.” It aims to expand the ongoing conversation about the perpetuation of negative stereotypes of Byzantium in the modern west.

Experience and Aesthetics in Two Early Byzantine Textiles in the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Stephanie R. Caruso (Dumbarton Oaks)

In the early Byzantine period, textiles were an important source of visual stimuli in the domestic sphere, which helped construct a dynamic social environment. The technique of tapestry weave was particularly well suited to creating visually sophisticated and complex textiles. A number of examples of such large-scale tapestry-weave textiles are preserved in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, including a wall hanging (acc. no. 31.9.3) and a curtain (acc. no. 90.5.905). While functionally and stylistically quite different, these two textiles from Egypt share a motif in common: an intricate combination of multiple framed busts with sharply turned heads and active gazes that are placed in a matrix of non-figural ornament. Throughout their storied exhibition history, the numerous catalogue entries devoted to these textiles have focused on identifying the busts that are represented in them. The non-figural components of the motif, such as the vine scrolls in the wall hanging or the garland in the curtain, are commonly understood to serve as frames that are secondary to the figural designs and receive little attention.

Rooted in Kantian aesthetics, the implications of such readings are that the “framing” ornament does not serve as a critical element within the overall image design. Recent research into ancient aesthetics questions such hierarchies and promotes the idea of looking at the image fields of ancient art in their entirety, rather than parsing out specific features for individual examination. In this paper I argue for understanding the two components of the motif – the figure and the ornament – as inextricably linked. Ekphrasis, a popular early Byzantine rhetorical device, provides a model for understanding the complex relationship between figure and ornament in these two textiles and how they would have been experienced by contemporary viewers. As instructional devices about *how* to look, ekphrases frequently connect responses to architectural settings with an aesthetic of *thauma*, or wonder. The ornament and figures in these textiles, when approached as unified “imagescapes”, share formal and structural qualities with contemporary ekphrasis, and create surfaces that similarly generate a sense of wonder. Through a reunification of the traditionally cleaved figures and ornament of both textiles, it is possible to extrapolate the early Byzantine viewers’ phenomenological response to the wall hanging and curtain while furthering our understanding of early Byzantine aesthetics.

Byzantine Household Archaeology in Anatolia

Marica Cassis

University of Calgary

Byzantine archaeology remains a very masculinized field, primarily due to the consistent and prevailing attention paid to subjects like road networks, *kastra*, and landscape archaeology. Integral to all of these fields is the activity of *doing*, a concept largely connected to Byzantine men. All of these examples are places where things are done or are actively participated in: travel, military exploits, conquest, and agriculture. There is a subtle and insidious connection here to the masculinized activities which characterize textbooks on Byzantine history: men *do*, while women *wait* passively at home. Yet, roads lead to villages, *kastra* protect countrysides, which are populated by villages and farmhouses, where women and children also *do* things, and landscapes contain multiple genders and generations, all with roles integral to the survival of communities. Yet, although understanding the household is essential in understanding medieval communities, the literature on villages and households in the archaeological record remains limited (with notable exceptions, such Gerstel 2016), particularly in Anatolia.

I will use the data from several sites in Anatolia to illustrate that we neglect the household in rural Anatolia to our disadvantage in Byzantine studies. In fact, a comparison of the types of households visible even in the limited data set from the region provides a very different image of the Byzantine countryside, one in which households are a locus of activity. Artifact and ceramic comparisons between sites like Çadır Höyük in central Anatolia and sites in eastern Turkey, such as Sos Höyük, provides a view of these sites that is at once both more detailed than we have previously assumed. This proves that removing households from the realm of the passive and the static creates an understanding of a vibrant and interconnected medieval world in Anatolia.

Further, the inclusion of a more robust household archaeology in Byzantine studies is also key to issues of gender equity in the field. First, the household has often been ignored, seen as the purview of women studying “women’s history/archaeology”, and thus neglected as a soft science (Conkey 2007). Second, in order to understand medieval society, we must rescue the members of the Byzantine household from their perceived passivity. There is ample evidence from other fields of medieval archaeology that, in fact, theorizing households provides a gateway to understanding communities more holistically. This paper will rely on the theoretical work on feminist and gender archaeology of Alison Wylie; on the practice of household archaeology presented by Penelope Allison; and on the archaeology of the lifecycle by Roberta Gilchrist. In utilizing such approaches, we can create a more comprehensive view of entire communities and demand increased inclusion for all communities in the academic discipline.

Sources:

Conkey, Margaret W. "Questioning Theory: Is There a Gender of Theory in Archaeology?" *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 14.3 (2007): 285-310.

Gerstel, Sharon E. J. *Rural Lives and Landscapes in Late Byzantium : Art, Archaeology and Ethnography*. Cambridge: 2016.

Visual And Spatial Displacement In The Monastery Of St. Catherine At Sinai

Paroma Chatterjee (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

The Sinai archive is the most comprehensive body of evidence regarding one of the most significant sites of Byzantine art: the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai. Thus, the archive's importance is paramount in allowing scholars to reimagine the relationship of the Sinai material to the larger domain of Byzantine art, as well as our established ideas regarding the role of images in monasticism, pilgrimage, the Crusades, and the post-Byzantine world, among other subjects.

My paper draws on recent studies on the inscriptions, apse mosaics, and pilgrimage paths within and around the Monastery (Coleman and Elsner 1994; Elsner and Wolf 2010 ; Leatherbury 2016; Forsyth with Sears 2016), and particularly on the 2016 publication of George Forsyth's investigations of the site during the Michigan-Princeton expeditions, to suggest that in the late antique era (probably until the arrival and placement of St. Catherine's relics within its precincts; Elsner and Wolf 2010), the Monastery operated on the principle of consistent and cumulative visual and spatial displacement, thereby urging both pilgrims and resident monks toward an overarching sacred experience situated *outside and elsewhere*. To give just one example: the mosaics of the Transfiguration in the apse and of Moses flanking the latter depict events on Mt. Tabor and Mt. Sinai, but those sites are emphatically situated outside the monastic boundaries. In a similar vein, Forsyth's updated ideas regarding the architectural plan of the Church (Forsyth with Sears 2016) show that pilgrims had to *exit* the building in order to see the Burning Bush. In short, the images and texts, by virtue of their locations, are conspicuous signifiers of the fact that the particular sites and visions they describe are not situated where the viewer is currently positioned. This principle of displacement does not lessen the effects of the images and texts, but its implications are nonetheless important: first, it aligns with and enhances prevailing accounts of the complexities of vision enabled by the Transfiguration mosaic and its inscription in the late antique era, particularly their play on the visible and invisible dimensions of divinity (Elsner 1994; Leatherbury 2016); second, it frames the Monastery as a literal door, or portal, without the traversal of which the spiritual experience of the pilgrim is necessarily incomplete.

Towards Modeling the Complexities of Byzantine Manuscripts in the Sinai Manuscripts Digital Library

Dawn Childress (UCLA)

The Sinai Palimpsests Project and Sinai Manuscripts Digital Library have brought unprecedented access to an extensive collection of religious texts and historical documents through the digitization and publication of the manuscript holdings of St. Catherine's Monastery of the Sinai, offering an exceptional view into early Christian communities and their relationships to various communities across the Mediterranean. However, as with any digital manuscript collections, researchers cannot rely on the manuscript images alone to provide the crucial physical evidence needed for studying the complexities of early manuscripts and, in many cases, these images do not replace the need for examination of the physical materials *in situ*. In the past few decades, new technologies and tools, such as multi-spectral imaging, have radically impacted our ability to interrogate material objects through digital means, mitigating to some degree the need for onsite visits to examine copies, as well as opening up new avenues of exploration in the field of manuscript studies. With the development of such tools and technologies comes an extraordinary opportunity to curate, interrogate, and contextualize digital manuscripts and their data, the results of which can also help us to represent and untangle the inherent complexities of Byzantine and other early manuscripts in their digital representations, such as those related to works, versions, and witnesses; structural design, anomalies, and lacunae; and relationships between codices, witnesses, fragments, and the collection as a whole.

In this talk, the author discusses the approaches the project team are implementing in the Sinai Manuscripts Digital Library to incorporate material evidence into a user experience that allows researchers and learners to explore the physical and contextual nature of the manuscripts and interrogate the codicological evidence in order to make new discoveries and gain new insights into Byzantine scribal and religious cultures. The author considers the opportunities and limitations offered by digital images and manuscript-related metadata, as well as the interfaces that mediate the relationship between user and data in the context of early manuscripts and their complexities. Specifically, the talk highlights the uses of metadata, interface, and other technologies that aid in 1) modeling the materiality and structure of manuscripts as well as content and context; 2) representing uncertainty and lacunae; and 3) digital reconstruction of dispersed collections and disbound or repurposed manuscripts, folios, and fragments.

At the close of the talk, Childress shares the project's plans for upcoming Sinai Manuscripts Digital Library work to further efforts related to the representation of manuscripts in digital environments, including work on shared standards within the larger manuscripts community, onsite collection of new types of codicological data, and tools for analyzing and visualizing manuscript data in aggregate, the outcomes of which will hopefully provide scholars with the tools and data needed to further study the manuscripts and their components as "parts to whole" and to reconfigure and recontextualize within the digital space.

Imagined Communities: Commemorative Networks on (and beyond) Mount Athos, 9th-12th Centuries

Zachary Chitwood (Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz)

One aspect of the development of the major monasteries on Mount Athos in the Middle Byzantine period consisted of the physical formation of actual monastic communities: constructing the requisite buildings, staffing them with monks and outfitting them with tools, both for their physical upkeep as well as for the liturgy. For some of the monasteries established during this period, such as the Great Lavra, their foundation is described in some detail by the relevant sources (in particular hagiography) and, for the most part, is well studied.

Of course, Athonite monasteries were enmeshed within broader personal networks, whether of secular patronage, affiliated monastic establishments (*metochia* or other dependencies) or relationships with the Orthodox Church. Such personal connections were created and maintained in numerous ways, such as through the endowment of objects, money or lands, the practice of spiritual fatherhood (confessors), godparenthood or ritual brotherhood, or even mere friendship. These sorts of interactions can be mapped with modern tools of network analysis to reveal the degree to which Athonite monasteries were connected with persons on and beyond Mount Athos.

One practice which bound monastic communities together and connected them with the wider world that has hitherto been almost completely overlooked in scholarship is *memoria* (μνημόσυνα). Commemorative prayer and liturgies were a privilege of each member of a monastic community, which through gifts, endowments or other special favors could be acquired by persons, especially the laity, outside of the monastery itself. Such commemorative networks – communities bound by the obligation of the main monastery to intercede and pray for a specific group of persons – might offer a different picture of connectedness than that of other mechanisms of interaction often employed by researchers, such as networks of correspondence.

The abundant material archival material that has survived for the major Athonite monasteries and published within the excellent *Achives de l'Athos* series, as well as less well-known commemorative lists, including the so-called *Agape Book* or *Synodikon* of Iviron, is employed in this presentation to sketch the extent of Athonite commemorative networks in the Middle Byzantine period, that is from the 9th to the 12th centuries. The persons within these commemorative networks are currently being entered into a larger database built with the open-source OpenAtlas software. An analysis of these networks demonstrates a geographically vast Athonite commemorative network with strong links not only to Constantinople, but also with other monastic communities throughout the Byzantine Empire and stretching as far as the Caucasus.

Theoktiste's Dolls: Questions of Gender and Narratology

Anthony Cutler (Pennsylvania State University)

In the last half-century several editions and translations of Skylitzes' *Synopsis historiarum*, a larger number of discussions of the text, and more or less useful selections of the images in the MS (vitr. 26-2) in Madrid have been produced. None, however, has commented adequately on the miniature (fol. 44v) in which Theoktiste, the mother of the empress Theodora, teaches the five daughters of the emperor Theophilos to revere icons. Singled out as the chief recipient is Maria, the emperor's favorite daughter. No matter whether the scene is an invention of the twelfth-century Sicilian artist or derived from a lost Byzantine model, more than Iconoclasm is at stake here. First, despite the fact that six females appear, it is of some importance that the icon held by Theoktiste shows a (half-length) unnimbed Christ, rather than the Mother of God, as might be expected. (It appears to be on a book cover.) Secondly, in the words of Skylitzes, Theoktiste urges her grandchildren "not to remain the women they were, but to play the man and to think the kind of thoughts that were worthy of and appropriate to their mother's breast." In accord with Skylitzes' unusually detailed *History*, the five younger women are all labeled. Finally, the event is shown to have occurred in Theoktiste's house. Pulcheria, in the middle of the scene, refers in the text to the many dolls (νυνίαι) in her grandmother's chest. Each of these phenomena requires explication, no matter whether we are considering the text or its illustration.

Ekphrasis and Emotion in Homily: Basil of Seleucia on the Massacre of the Innocents

Sarah Epplin (Cornell University)

Little is known about the fifth-century bishop Basil of Seleucia outside of his involvement in the Council of Chalcedon in 451 C.E., convened to settle the matter of a Christological debate stirred up by the Eutychian controversy. We do, however, have forty-one sermons on scriptural subjects attributed to him, thirty-nine of which are considered genuine. Most of them have never been translated into English, nor read closely for their literary and rhetorical effect.

This paper presents the results of an original translation and close reading of Basil's *Sermo XXXVII* ("On the infants killed in Bethlehem by Herod"), focusing on the homilist's use of ekphrasis. As Ruth Webb has defined it, the purpose of ancient ekphrasis was to "spark a corresponding image, with corresponding emotional associations, in the mind of the listener." (Webb 2009) This paper therefore explores how Basil's incredibly vivid and detailed account of the slaughter of the Holy Innocents was constructed to bring the story to life for his audience and engage them in a specific sensory and emotional experience.

Sermo XXXVII tells the story of the Holy Innocents, based on Matthew 2:16-18. This event occurs after the wise men have been sent by Herod to find the newborn king of the Jews. The wise men are warned in a dream not to return to Herod, while Mary and Joseph are warned to flee the country. Herod, infuriated, orders all of the infants in Bethlehem slaughtered, in hopes that Jesus will be among them. The story of the slaughter was a popular topic among homilists and hymnists and eventually became part of the liturgical calendar. The children slaughtered by Herod, often referred to as the "Holy Innocents", were considered by many to be the first martyrs, dying in place of the infant Jesus.

Basil of Seleucia's sermon on the Innocents is unique for its lengthy and descriptive expansion of what is really a very brief biblical story. Split into three parts – a prelude, the action, and the aftermath – on the model of the Greek orator and writer of rhetorical treatises Hermogenes (and possibly also on the three-verse model of the scriptural passage), the majority of the sermon is taken up with an extended ekphrastic description of the slaughter, full of details which have no counterpart in the biblical version. Basil's highly imaginative and emotional version of the story had an influence on later Christian literature, notably Romanos the Melodist, whose own hymn *On the Massacre of the Innocents* has been argued to have been modelled on Basil's sermon. Through a deep dive into Basil's rhetoric, this paper explores the emotive power of his language, the type of emotional experience he may have wanted his congregation to have, and the reasons for its effectiveness and subsequent influence on later Byzantine writers.

Archaeology of an ‘Imperial Abbey’ in Constantinople: The Mangana Complex in Sarayburnu, Istanbul

Ayşe Ercan Kydonakis (Columbia University)

Of the hundreds of monastic complexes that once existed in Byzantine Constantinople, only a handful of *katholika* survive today. Scattered physical evidence of monastic architecture uncovered at archaeological excavations in Istanbul, such as the Pantokrator, Pammakaristos and Vefa Kilise complexes, are often neither adequately considered, nor valued by the archaeologists who regard these remains simply as miscellaneous walls. A great majority of the architectural remains discovered in the vicinity of the *katholika*, are refilled subsequent to the excavations, with priorities given to the timely conclusion of construction and infrastructure projects.

One exception to this negligence is the architectural complex situated in the gardens of the Topkapı Palace, on the eastern slopes of the former Acropolis of Byzantium. Excavated between 1921 and 1923 under the supervision of Robert Demangel and Ernest Mamboury, the vast archaeological site consisting of massive substructures, was identified as the Mangana monastery commissioned by Constantine IX Monomachos (r.1042–1055) following his controversial enthronement. Demangel and Mamboury associated these remains with the churches once situated in the Mangana quarter, which contained at its center the Mangana palace. The untimely conclusion of the fieldwork left a plethora of unresolved problems behind, along with access restrictions further hindering a better comprehension of these unique architectural remains. A new excavation campaign that started in 2018 brought further evidence to light, expanding the limits of the Mangana complex and yielding new architectural remains to be considered within a broader discussion on monastic architecture.

In this context, this paper focuses on the architectural complex discovered in Sarayburnu, Istanbul, within the eastern gardens of the Topkapı Palace, and in light of new archaeological evidence, discusses the way in which the recent fieldwork contributes to our understanding of both the so-called Mangana complex as the physical remains of an imperial monastery in Constantinople and of urban monastic architecture. Comparative examples from the provinces, with Mt. Athos and Mt. Latros as the most representative cases both architecturally and archaeologically, will be examined in order to elucidate how a Byzantine monastery should be defined archaeologically, and how archaeology can help us distinguish functional differences between architectural spaces. With the premise that monasteries do not solely consist of churches, the analysis of the architectural complex in Sarayburnu presented in this study seeks to throw light upon alternative ways of considering urban monastic architecture with regard to surface area, spatial arrangement, and hierarchy of buildings. In this regard, this paper contributes for the first time to the comprehension of urban monastic architecture in Constantinople on the basis of new archaeological evidence.

Crafting the Unfinished Christian: The Baptistry as Workshop in Early Byzantine Preaching

Georgia Frank (Colgate University)

Water was arguably the most potent and multivalent symbol in early Christian initiation. Preachers compared ritual ablution of baptism to the rivers of paradise, the flood that carried Noah's ark, the Red Sea that drowned Pharaoh's army then parted to save God's people, or the Jordan River where Jesus himself was baptized. Shapeless and refreshing, water produced total and instant transformation. And images of water appeared on the walls and floors of baptisteries. (Jensen 2011). Yet, water did not capture all dimensions baptismal experience, notably the slow and painstaking process of becoming Christian. As artisans know, making tends to be slower, lurching, occasionally botched, and somewhat unstable or unfinished (Ludlow 2020).

This paper focuses on preachers who described baptism as a craft involving makers, making, and materials. In sermons addressed to the nearly and newly baptized, their teachers called on catechumens to think of themselves both as works in progress as well as apprentices learning to make things. An initiate might be compared to a sketch, a sculpture, a pot, or some metal object. In short, baptismal teachers likened the baptistry into a workshop, or *ergastêrion*, a place where craftspeople learned a skill through apprenticeship, cooperation, and long periods of training. Catechumens, those preparing for baptism, were taught to imagine themselves as an object to be smelted, melted, kiln-fired, scraped, sculpted, drawn, painted, or dyed. They also saw themselves as trainees, who learned through failure and frustrated designs, do-overs and damage. Unlike water metaphors, craft metaphors invited initiands to regard self-making as a messy process, involving rough material with vibrant plasticity, yet also bearing signs of prior defects, including warping, friability, cracks, dents, rust. The maker had to understand the properties of the material – its resistances and affordances--in order to create the desired product.

My analysis explores how metaphors of fabrication shaped baptismal instructions in the Greek-speaking East, particularly in the sermons of John Chrysostom (d. 407), Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), and Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446). The paper proceeds in three stages: 1) An overview of recent research on workshops (building on the insights from the BSC 2020 "Makerspace" session) and craft training in Mediterranean antiquity, as a context for 2) fabrication metaphors in catechetical instruction, and 3) exploring the implications of fabrication metaphors for early Byzantine Christian conceptions of agency, emotions, materiality, and subjectivities surrounding adult initiation. As I argue, plasticity and collectivity were central to early Byzantine conceptions of new religious identity formed through baptism.

The Communities and Contexts of Sabaite Liturgical Manuscripts in the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai

Daniel Galadza

The connections between Mount Sinai and Jerusalem forged in Late Antiquity and documented in pilgrimage accounts between the fourth and seventh centuries continued through monastic networks of scribes and manuscripts between the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai and the Lavra of St. Sabas near Jerusalem, documented through colophons in liturgical manuscripts from the tenth to twelfth centuries. Much of this flourishing literary and scribal activity attributed to the community of the Lavra of St. Sabas has been preserved on the folios of manuscripts today housed at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai.

This paper examines several of the liturgical manuscripts preserved today at Mount Sinai and associated with the Lavra of St. Sabas in order to better understand the communities and contexts of liturgy at the Sabaite Lavra. The most noteworthy Sabaite manuscripts to be examined here include: Sinai gr. 863, the oldest Greek Horologion of St. Sabas Lavra; Sinai gr. 741/742, a Lenten Triodion copied in 1099 at the Lavra of St. Sabas, which is the oldest dated Greek manuscript from St. Sabas Lavra; and Sinai gr. 1096, a liturgical Typikon describing rites associated with the topography of the Lavra of St. Sabas.

These Horologion, Triodion, and Typikon manuscripts will not only serve to help compare the diverse liturgical traditions of the Sabas Lavra preserved in manuscripts of other languages (particularly in Georgian) and contextualize Sabaite liturgical practice within the broader scope of Byzantine liturgy. On a larger plane, this presentation will contribute to a deeper understanding of the contact and interaction between the monasteries of St. Catherine on Sinai and St. Sabas near Jerusalem.

The *New* Sinai Icons Website and Its Future

Julia Gearhart (Princeton University)

The Sinai Expedition material within the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University comprises 5x7 color Ektachrome transparencies, color 35mm Kodachrome slides, black and white negatives and thousands of black and white prints. When I started working at Princeton, in late 2014, I was assigned to the ongoing project of making these materials accessible online. We created a digital collection of the Sinai image material (only the icons) in conjunction with the April 2015 conference *A New Look: Sinai and Its Icons in Light of the Digitization of the Weitzmann Archive*. Between April 2015 and February 2017, additional images of the icons from the many 35mm slides, along with improved descriptive metadata provided by the Index of Medieval Art, were added to this platform, which was built using the open source digital collections software Omeka. In March 2017, Omeka S integrated the IIIF standard, new image viewers, and other improvements that prompted renewed discussions with the Department of the History of Art at the University of Michigan about an update to the 2015 website. Between working on the first website and being responsible for fulfilling requests for the collection, I have learned a great deal about the collection, which I have tried to apply to improving the discoverability and functionality of the site for scholars, students, and the wider public. In this presentation, I will introduce the new website, what it contains (and what it does not), the challenges of incorporating this material into a templated open source platform with limited programming skills, and what the next steps will be to reach the ultimate goal of a single website that will bring together the vast collections related to the Michigan-Princeton expeditions.

Amy Gillette (Barnes Foundation) and Kaelin Jewell (Barnes Foundation)

The Byzantine Tradition at the Barnes Foundation

The Barnes Foundation, while celebrated as a treasury of modern French paintings, is at heart an educational institution that connects works of art from the past—including Byzantium—to those of the present. This paper is a joint venture by two colleagues to evaluate the roles of Byzantine visual culture at the Barnes. First, we describe the identities and installation of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine objects in the collection, emphasizing Dr. Albert C. Barnes's pedagogical motives for acquiring them. Next, we consider a set of twentieth-century paintings within the collection that depict Late Byzantine architecture. Then, we propose some ways in which Byzantine studies and the Barnes approach to art education might shed light on each other.

With respect to the first part of our paper, Dr. Barnes formed his educational mission in collaboration with John Dewey and other educators, seeking to “establish a reaction between the qualities common to all human beings” as manifest in “a collection of works of old and modern art” displayed side-by-side.¹ They believed that aesthetic experience grew from two other types: that of daily life, and knowledge of past aesthetic traditions (something that modern art required to be impactful). As a result, among the “old” art is a handful of Byzantine objects, including Late Antique bone carvings and Post-Byzantine panel paintings. Further, in his magnum opus, *The Art in Painting* (1937), Dr. Barnes used the word “Byzantine” sixty-two times to describe its creative adaptations by recent and contemporary painters in his collection, e.g., Vincent van Gogh, Henri Matisse, Georges Rouault, Giorgio de Chirico, Alexis Gritchenko, and Maurice and Charles Prendergast.²

In the second part of the paper, we develop one facet of Dr. Barnes's explorations of modernism through Byzantium, focusing on paintings of Byzantine architecture within the physical and conceptual framework of the Barnes galleries.³ Perhaps the most exquisite Byzantine object at the Barnes is an icon of the Nativity made on Crete, designed from a fresco at the Peribleptos church in Mystras. Dr. Barnes juxtaposed this icon with scenes by Gritchenko of Mystras and Crete, and by de Chirico of Byzantine sanctuaries rendered archetypal (in his *Italian Piazza* and *Mysterious Baths* series). Intriguingly, these paintings, the Byzantine churches and castles that they depict, and the Barnes galleries are all experiential sites that candidly discourse with past artistic traditions, with various goals of edification. Their creators moreover intended that meanings/interpretations would continuously accrue through future encounters.⁴

Accordingly, we propose the concept of repetition as one that unifies and illuminates each topic under consideration: the Barnes, the Byzantine objects here, the paintings by Gritchenko and de Chirico, and also Byzantine buildings (examples of repetition include the liturgy, artistic traditions, and de Chirico's fascination with eternal return).⁵ Lastly, to construe the recurrences of these sites in present-day life and scholarship, we adapt Robert Venturi's and Charles Jencks's definition of postmodern architecture as effecting a multivalent, “difficult whole” by organizing human experience through an iterative process of perception and reflection.⁶

¹ Mary Mullen with Albert C. Barnes, *An Approach to Art* (Merion, PA, 1923).

² Albert C. Barnes, *The Art in Painting*, 3rd edition (Merion, PA, 1937). Barnes's engagement with these artists also drove his grasp of scholarship and criticism by pioneering Byzantinist-modernists including Matthew Prichard and Thomas Whittemore. N.B. Dr. Barnes used the famous sixth-century mosaics of S. Vitale, Ravenna, as a touchstone for Byzantine artistic production.

³ The focus is on architecture because there are already many excellent studies of modern art and Byzantine icons in, e.g., Roland Betancourt and Maria Taroutina, eds., *Byzantium/Modernism: The Byzantine as Method in Modernity* (Leiden, 2015).

⁴ See Jennifer M. Feltman and Sarah Thompson, eds., *The Long Lives of Medieval Art and Architecture* (New York, 2019).

⁵ In the words of Dr. Barnes's director of education, Violette de Mazia, "Tradition is a live thing... [It] both remains what it has come to be [and] keeps changing through time and place in concert with human development. Tomorrow started long ago," in "Tradition, an Inquiry," *Vistas* 3.1 (1984-86), p. 97; cf. Umberto Eco's analysis of medieval returns in postmodernity, in *Travels in Hyperreality* (Boston, 1990).

⁶ Inspired by Robert Ousterhout, "Reading Difficult Buildings: The Lessons of the Kariye Camii," in H. Klein, R. Ousterhout, and B. Pitarakis, eds., *The Kariye Camii Reconsidered* (Istanbul, 2011); see Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York, 1966), p. 88, and Charles Jencks, *Modern Movements in Architecture* (New York, 1973), p. 26.

The Works of Nikon of the Black Mountain in Greek and Arabic Manuscripts at the Sinai

Joe Glynias (Princeton University)

The Library at the Monastery of St. Catherine's in the Sinai is the most important repository of medieval Melkite manuscripts, particularly those deriving from the thriving Melkite community under Byzantine and Crusader control in northwestern Syria in the 10th-13th centuries. Numerous manuscripts written in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic were brought there from these areas via links between Sinai and the Black Mountain outside Antioch, and via Syrians who became monks and scribes at the Sinai. The Library of St. Catherine's has preserved many of the oldest, most significant, and in a number of cases, unique examples of texts composed and translated from Greek to Arabic in Byzantine Antioch (969-1084). Without St. Catherine's, the great Melkite efflorescence and large-scale Greco-Arabic translation movement in Antioch would be all too difficult to trace.

One Antiochene figure for whose work we depend on Sinai manuscripts is Nikon of the Black Mountain, an 11th century monastic who mediated between the monasteries of the Black Mountain and the Patriarchate of Antioch. In this paper, I consider the underappreciated role played by Nikon in Melkite history with respect to monasticism and canon law. I discuss the dissemination of his three works in Greek, two of which—the *Taktikon* and *Little Book*—are found in full only in a unicum at the Sinai, though excerpts of both circulated otherwise. Because the *Little Book* has been little studied by scholars to this date, I introduce the arguments of the text, based on my study of the Sinai manuscript, and address its place within Nikon's attempts to reform Antiochene monasticism in the somewhat chaotic power vacuum of the late 1080s, when both the loss of Antioch to the Seljuks and a patriarchal interregnum in the city had left the prominent Melkite community there rudderless.

Furthermore, I discuss how in the wake of Byzantine power, the texts of Nikon were translated into Arabic. I argue that we can date these Arabic translations at least in part immediately after Nikon's death in the early 12th century, and that in them, we may see how Greco-Arabic translation persisted after the period of Byzantine control, with the continued coordination of officials who worked in the Patriarchate of Antioch and monks who lived on the Black Mountain. I consider the significance of the Arabic translation of the *Pandektes*, a florilegium-like compilation, whose wide medieval circulation in Greek and Arabic has been largely overlooked. This is in spite of the fact that the numerous 13th-century Arabic manuscripts of it at St. Catherine's indicate its importance as a Melkite canon law work, and that its translation thus gave Arabic-speaking Melkites access to a multitude of Greek legal texts organized by topic—texts that were in many cases not otherwise translated into Arabic. I situate this translation alongside that of other Byzantine civil and canon law works in the 10th-13th centuries, as part of the wider Byzantinization of Melkite legal practice both under and beyond Byzantine rule.

Rural Identity Through the Lens of Paganism in Early Byzantine Asia Minor

Engin Mert Gokcek (University of California Riverside)

This paper examines the conditions of rural identity and its relationship with the Christian authority in the early period of the Byzantine Empire through the employment of pagan motifs in hagiographies. Previous scholarship concerning Byzantine paganism primarily focused on the urban areas such as Rome or Alexandria (Cameron 2010, Watts 2010). Attention was given to the upper strata of the society, with examination of individuals like Julian, Libanius, Zosimus, the pagan senatorial elite (Bowersock 1997, Cribiore 2013, Ridley 1982, Salzman 2002). A viable source that mentions paganism outside urban centers and urban elites are Hagiographies. While the focus of hagiographies are the lives of the holy men, they are also important source of evidence about the conditions of the rural populace in the Byzantine Empire. Certain scholars have examined hagiographies on a variety of topics. Concerning monasticism, the role of holy men in Late Antiquity and on authorship (Rizos 2018, Brown 1971, Bartelink 1974). Other scholars have examined the mentions of paganism in hagiographies to argue a case for continuation and survival (Trombley 1993).

Through the holy men's interactions with the rustics, the readers of these hagiographies find examples from the religious lives of rural individuals. While certain hagiographies mention sacred trees, springs, demons and ongoing pagan festivals, the open admission of paganism in the hagiographies is rare and only happens in certain conditions. It is difficult to reconstruct paganism through Christian writings; therefore accepting these hagiographies as open evidence for pagan beliefs is problematic. On the other hand, a total denial of the records can lead to the assumption that mentions of pagans and paganism were employed only as a rhetorical tool to embellish the Holy men.

This paper argues against the notion that the paganism found in the hagiographies were creative lies to glorify the Holy men. Rather than giving a concrete definition who is and who is not a pagan, this paper argues that paganism recorded in the hagiographies can be used in defining the rural identity. Particular attention is given to the hagiographies from Early Medieval Asia Minor from 5th to 7th centuries; *The Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon*, *The Life of Nicholas of Sion*, *The Life of Hypatius of Bithynia* and *The Lives of Eastern Saints* of John of Ephesus. These hagiographies record many rural individuals who were only nominally Christian, some of whom maintained certain pagan practices, while others forgetting the tenets of the Christianity or manipulating Christians to avoid persecution. By examining how the holy men presented themselves and how the rural individuals conducted themselves against the holy men this paper argues that paganism in the hagiographies signifies that the rural individuals created new mechanisms and methods to deal with the usually unpredictable and violent actions of the holy men.

Carving Out Religious Landscapes on the Strandzha Massif, Eastern Thrace

Görkem Günay (Koç University, Istanbul Technical University)

Rock-cut architecture is an integral part of Byzantine landscapes, monastic or otherwise. As a primary way through which medieval societies interacted with their surrounding environments, rock-carving is omnipresent within the Empire, albeit in varying assemblages. The presence of rupestrian spaces at an individual site is, above all, dependent on the available rock formations. The Strandzha Massif, currently divided between the modern states of Turkey and Bulgaria, displays a rather dense concentration of rock-cut sites in a geologically defined area: on a narrow band of carbonate rock series extending along Eastern Thrace. Despite its prominent position in the defense and provisioning of the capital city, Constantinople, many aspects of Byzantine Thrace and its micro-regions are yet to be discovered. Similarly, the regional phenomenon of rock-cut architecture has been poorly discussed in the scholarly literature. After a series of preliminary site visits and an examination of earlier survey reports, I have identified nine study areas with rupestrian architecture, housing about twenty ecclesiastical structures, which are then included in my ongoing dissertation project. In this paper, I present and discuss the spatial characteristics and contextual data of these carved-out monuments in order to gain insights into the religious landscapes and rural settlement networks on the Strandzha Massif. This particular assemblage of hewn-out spaces constitutes a significant portion of *in-situ* archaeological material in the mountainous region, together with numerous medieval fortifications and a couple of surviving masonry ecclesiastical structures. Carved-out churches, in particular, assume multiple distinctive roles in the religious landscape, such as outlying chapels at the fringes of the settlements, funerary churches, and parts of hermitages or larger monastic sites, at times also indicating extensive pilgrimage activities. The detailed architectural and topographical analyses and limited epigraphic and art historical evidence shed light on the functioning of these carved spaces and their relations to the nearby settlements and medieval thoroughfares in Thrace. Offering substantial information for the life and society in a marginal region of the Empire, examination of the rock-cut spaces on Strandzha Massif is crucial to capture a holistic picture of the medieval landscape of Eastern Thrace. I aim to compile a plausible history of these rupestrian structures and their surrounding environment which they are not only a part of but truly embedded in. I interpret them as living spaces, responding to the specific needs of the medieval inhabitants of the mountainous region. In this way, I hope to contribute to our understanding of the strategies employed by the Byzantine society to carve out the unique landscape of Eastern Thrace and the meanings that they attach to their natural and human-made surroundings.

What's the End of the World Got to Do With It? The Riddle of Apocalypticism in Late Antiquity

David Gyllenhaal (Princeton University)

This paper argues that Byzantine Studies has reached a dead end in the study of apocalyptic discourse, and that the terms of inquiry need to be fundamentally rethought. Two crude narratives continue to dominate the interpretation of apocalyptic thought within the field. The first interprets “apocalyptic expectancy” as a linear outcome of crisis or traumatic change. The second interprets that same apocalyptic expectancy as a privileged motor of historical change: a galvanizing force which allows us to explain the otherwise unexplainable.

The purpose of this paper is to propose a new approach. The theoretical tool selected is the concept of the “social imaginary,” in the form used by the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor to describe how overlapping circles of community “imagine” their collective social life into existence. The inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire were imbricated in a complex set of overlapping social imaginaries, able to conceive of themselves by turns as citizens of a *komē* or *polis*, subjects of an emperor, and prospective members of the transhistorical communion of saints. The key venture of this paper is to suggest that apocalyptic discourse is best seen as a device for *calibrating the horizons of a social imaginary*. Since the end times drama bodies forth the inner life of history as a whole, the rhetorical power of narrating that drama lies in its ability to separate the noise from the signal in the events of the here and now. It beats the bounds of the social imaginary by distinguishing those values, institutions, and practices that will really count at the end of all things, from those which will ultimately prove insubstantial under the penetrating light of the eschaton.

With these preliminaries out of the way, the paper goes on to demonstrate the richer and more varied possibilities that this approach affords us by analyzing the “mundane” or “quotidian” apocalypticism that we find in homilies. The old approach pays little attention to homilies, and generally confines itself to playing “connect the dots” with longform historical apocalypses. By paying close attention to the use of apocalyptic discourse in homilies by Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzus, Ephrem of Nisibis, and Isaac of Antioch, we gain a deeper insight into how apocalypticism functioned “on the ground,” where its key function was not to forecast the imminent end but to beat the bounds of the social imaginary. The central conclusion of the new approach is that apocalyptic discourse can be enlisted in service of an astonishing variety of rhetorical ends. It can galvanize, but it can also comfort. It can stabilize, but it can also disrupt. Rather than seeing “apocalyptic expectancy” as a fungible commodity travelling an express rail line from Constantinople to the Hijāz, we are better off trying to understand how individual Late Antique authors or communities used apocalyptic discourse to beat the bounds of their overlapping social imaginaries, imagining and reimagining themselves into existence.

Zooming in and out at Medieval Antioch: Kozkalesi (Antakya/Turkey) in its Regional Context.

Ayşe Belgin-Henry (Bilkent University)

‘Medieval Antioch/Antakiya’ is a difficult concept to define. The first reason is the complexity created by the dynamic interaction of numerous cultures, while this aspect is certainly not limited to Antioch. This said, the essential difficulty that impacts our understanding of Medieval Antioch and its close vicinity is the scarcity of the archeological evidence. The recent regional surveys in the area were highly beneficial for identifying regional/temporal patterns and putting forward significant questions. However, a perspective merely based on a regional scale cannot be considered sufficient on its own. The number of adequately studied ‘Medieval’ sites in and around Antioch still remains too few, obstructing the possibility to test or revise the macro-scaled results from the regional surveys.

The present paper therefore focuses on Kozkalesi as a case study for the significance of alternating focus of research from detailed fieldwork at individual sites to the regional surveys in order to establish a better understanding for Medieval Antioch. Kozkalesi is a crusader castle identified as *Cursat*/ *Cursarium* in the primary sources, located ca. 15 km from Antioch at the northernmost edge of the Kuseyr Plateau. It is conventionally dated to the 12th and 13th centuries through textual evidence.

The significance of Kozkalesi as an example in the proposed discussion is based on several issues. The first is straightforward; there are not yet any Crusader settlements in and around Antioch that is examined in detail and we need *comparanda* in order to discuss interactions. Moreover, Kozkalesi is a peculiar example in the present discussion due to its strong ties with the city, since it belonged to the Antiochene patriarchate throughout the 12th and 13th centuries. Kozkalesi served as the summer residence for the patriarchs and Aimery of Limoges left Antioch and resided five years in Kozkalesi from 1165 onwards. Hence, the life at the castle can be proposed to somehow mirror the life at the city center itself, while its relation with the surrounding countryside emerges as a critical question to consider.

The final point concerns the question of dating and evaluating the occupation at Kozkalesi prior to the 12th century and after its siege by Memluks in 1275. The name *Cursat*, which is the Latinized version of Arabic *Qusayr* (the small castle) suggests a (Byzantine?) defensive structure prior to the 12th century occupation. The present study proposes that some sections can tentatively be dated to prior to 12th century and evaluates the site’s significance as a part of the castle network that extended throughout Kuseyr. The post-1275 developments on the site is also critical; there seems to be sufficient evidence to suggest that the site was destroyed at this period, except for a tower constructed at its southwest corner as a control tower. This suggests a rupture unlike observed at other crusader castles such as Bakras, which should be discussed in the context of Mamluk occupation in the region.

The vestibule mosaic, Hagia Sophia: visual opposition to Macedonian imperial ideology

Lynn Jones (Florida State University)

The tenth-century vestibule mosaic in Hagia Sophia is one of only a few *in situ* Constantinopolitan mosaics remaining from the middle Byzantine period. It depicts the emperors Justinian and Constantine, identified by inscriptions, presenting models of Hagia Sophia and Constantinople to the Virgin and Child. The mosaic was conserved in the 1930s and described in 1977 as a commemorative image; this interpretation has gone unchallenged. Its placement in the southwest vestibule, once a liminal space between the imperial and patriarchal palaces, has most recently focused scholarly attention on issues of liturgy and ceremonial. It is currently accepted as a standard representation of imperial patronage and piety, tied to the space in which it was placed, functioning as a *speculum princeps*.

I argue that this mosaic was a result of patriarchal, and not imperial, patronage. I re-examine this work in the context of Macedonian dynastic ambitions, and suggest a new reading and thus a new original function. I suggest that the mosaic offered a visual corrective by the patriarch to emergent Macedonian imperial ideologies, in which the imperial family attempted to incorporate Constantine I into their actual and spiritual genealogy.

I demonstrate the ways in which this is evident, focusing mostly, but not solely, on the figure of Constantine: in the choice to depict Constantine without Helena; in the rank and status accorded to the emperors in their inscriptions; in the types and forms of imperial regalia; in the representation of age. Taken together, these elements create an imperial image that, I argue, could *not* visually serve as a model for middle Byzantine imperial rulership. The figures of Justinian and Constantine are archaizing; no middle Byzantine emperor looking at the mosaic would see himself reflected as a “new Constantine,” a standard trope of Middle Byzantine art and rhetoric.

Why there was a need to convey such a message will be my primary focus. This re-examination and interpretation of this canonical mosaic offers fresh views on Macedonian imperial ideology and the visual expression of patriarch resistance to it.

Defending the Island Periphery: The Seventh-Century Roman *Kastra* of Kalymnos and Telendos

Drosos Kardulias (Ohio State University)

Few nations in history have experienced a reversal of fortunes as sharp as that suffered by the seventh-century Roman Empire. Much has been written about the consequences of this collapse, but comparatively little focus has been given to what became one of the key frontiers of the ensuing wars: the Aegean Islands. The marks of conflict are evident in the histories as well as upon the landscape itself, as wars and raids transformed island societies. The island of Kalymnos is no exception, and its potential to inform an understanding of the cost of Roman-Arab warfare in the periphery has barely been tapped. This paper examines the Roman fortifications of Kalymnos, evaluating hypotheses about the process of their construction, their purpose, and how they link into fortification schemes on larger scales, at the island and regional levels. In addition, this paper seeks to elucidate the dynamics of fortifications on the island, and of the fortified island as a component of the Empire.

In order to address these questions, this paper first describes the sites in question and considers the state of primary historical sources and archaeological data. Next, I analyze the potential motivations and necessities behind the construction of the fortifications through examination of contemporary threats, and argue for interpretations of the Kalymnian *kastra* as fortified permanent settlements rather than refuges. Informed by this foundation, as well as an evaluation of the nature of defensive systems in peripheral regions of the Roman Empire, I move to an exploration of the process of constructing such fortifications. The *kastra* of Kalymnos were developed in parallel to the theme system, and, after several decades, eventually became part of it in some capacity. This naturally creates questions as to the level of authority involved in their construction, and what degree of local autonomy was exercised in the process of fortifying the island, both issues which this paper examines in detail.

Informed by the hypothesis of locally-motivated construction, this study has implications for the extension and maintenance of imperial hegemony through the self-preservation impulses of its subjects, the responses of insular communities under threat, the ways in which communities can survive cyclical violence, and the tactical details of a civilian populace's response to armed incursions.

Among the conclusions of this study are that the seventh-century Kalymnian *kastra* were permanent settlements rather than refuges, that peripheral areas like Kalymnos were largely militarily left to their own devices, that Kalymnians were the primary actors in fortifying the island, and that, even as raiding transformed the lifestyles of islanders, they continued to interact with the broader Empire, while pursuing their own local defensive strategy.

St. Catherine's Library (Sinai) through a photographic lens: between scholarship and monasticism

Damianos Kasotakis (PhD Student: Kapodistrian University of Athens, Director of Imaging: Early Manuscripts Electronic Library)

Saint Catherine's Monastery of the Sinai is a refuge for cultural heritage treasures, with an uninterrupted history of more than 1500 years. Today we know of the existence of 4500 manuscripts in the monastery library. This knowledge was not widely available to the public one hundred years ago. The hard work of scholars and monks establishing a relationship of collaboration made possible the promotion and advancement of scholarship through the study of this ancient library.

The remote location of the monastery contributed to the survival of the manuscripts, but it also posed difficulties for scholars wanting to reach and study the physical objects. By the end of the 19th century a new technology was used to assist the scholarly effort: still image capturing by photographic means. The photography and reproduction off-site of manuscript images allowed the better and broader study of many objects, without the limitation of time or difficulties of long travel. In the 20th century this technology advanced even more; expeditions were now made specifically to the Sinai desert for the reproduction of manuscripts in St. Catherine's library.

This paper deals with the history of photographic expeditions at St. Catherine's that focused specifically on manuscript photography, the unknown contributors who made access to the library possible, and the effects these interactions had on the local monastic community from the 19th to the 21st century. It is the first time that an attempt has been made to document the photographic record at St. Catherine's library by collecting information not only from well known publications, but also from the private correspondence of the organizers of photographic projects and the monastery's leadership. This approach enables us to look into the human side of the scholars' and monks' interactions and not just the final product of their expeditions.

Between Constantinople and Sinai: A Previously Unknown Syriac Manuscript from Crusader Jerusalem

Grigory Kessel (Austrian Academy of Sciences / Institute for Advanced Study)

The first part of the composite manuscript Sinai syr. 82 once belonged to a Syrian Orthodox manuscript that was produced in Jerusalem in 1142/3 CE. Only half of its content was briefly documented by A.S. Lewis in her catalogue, though overlooking the presence of the scribal note mentioning date, scribe's name and place of copying.

In my talk, I will present the contents of this this miscellany of apocryphal and hagiographic texts (that were for the most part translated from the Greek), while highlighting its manifold significance and tracing its historical and textual connections.

It will be demonstrated that besides being a rare Syriac manuscript produced in the aftermath of the crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem, it is a unique copy for a number of texts as well as for particular recensions. Unattested elsewhere are the Syriac version of the *Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians* by the monk Strategios, an account of the early life of Empress Helena and her Edessene origin, and a narrative about the conquests of Jerusalem.

Furthermore, the evidence suggests that one of the exemplars of the Sinai manuscript was a manuscript produced in Constantinople; and the Sinai manuscript in its turn served as *Vorlage* of the manuscript BnF syr. 234, probably copied in the 13th century in Antioch.

The Social Life of Byzantine Houses at Athens

Fotini Kondyli
(University of Virginia)

Byzantine houses are often defined in terms of binaries such as public-private and male-female spaces, despite archaeological discoveries that point to houses as spaces of socioeconomic, religious, and political activities involving different groups. Such binaries promote the idea of private and secluded domestic spaces and thus align with notions of an introverted Byzantine society where emphasis is placed on the individual and the family unit instead of the community.

I employ a close reading of the excavated Middle Byzantine houses (9th -12th c) at the Athenian Agora to explore some of the ways in which these houses articulated their relationship to the outside world, such as to nearby houses, streets, and communal wells. In doing so, I take a more holistic view of the Byzantine house to include spaces and activities located immediately outside and around it. I pay particular attention to entrances and courtyards that connected the house to the street and the rest of the neighborhood. I approach these features as part of a dialog between the house and the city and between the family and the community that both created and reproduced social norms and participated in the negotiation of power between the house occupants and their communities through different degrees of accessibility.

The evidence from the Byzantine houses at the Athenian Agora allows us to place domestic spaces within a broader framework of Byzantine-specific spatial and social practices that might not conform to modern notions of practicality and privacy. Frequent alterations to these houses' architecture point to a constant reworking of these spaces to match people's changing needs and aspirations. The location and architecture of entrances and courtyards also suggests that while safety and privacy were main concerns for the Byzantines, interaction and a sense of community were equally important.

Refugees and the Archaeology of Byzantine Houses

Kostis Kourelis (Franklin & Marshall College)

The archaeology of Byzantine houses developed in the 1920s during a time of intense violence and displacement. Housing refugees became the greatest challenge that Greece phased since its War of Independence a century earlier. This housing crisis orientated research towards Greece's medieval domestic heritage scattered in the agrarian landscape. Unlike the monumental polis of antiquity, Byzantine settlements displayed tactics of resistance, adaptation, and resilience through adversity. Emerging theories of feminine agency (among newly liberated American women), moreover, legitimized the scholarly attention to domestic reform over the monumental field of public buildings. Leadership in the League of Nations' Greek Refugee Resettlement Commission was coupled by pioneering scholarship on the Byzantine house by American archaeologists. Research on Byzantine houses indirectly contributed to the Commission's construction of 2,089 refugee settlements.

The Johns Hopkins excavations at Olynthus were housed in a recently built refugee camp and employed 300 displaced residents. In the largest excavation of a Byzantine city at Ancient Corinth, American archaeologists collaborated in the management of an orphanage for the victims of the Armenian genocide. They also supported Nea Kios, a model refugee settlement nearby, centered around silk production and textiles. At the same time, the American Farm School in Thessaloniki sponsored a Byzantine textile revival housed out of a restored Byzantine house. The workshop copied patterns from Byzantine originals in Mount Athos. Similarly, American celebrity Isadora Duncan revived the study of Byzantine music. Craft workshops created by her brother in Macedonia established economic sustainability to refugees.

In 2016, Greece witnessed a new refugee crisis as thousands of migrants crossed the Aegean and found themselves trapped in government camps. The communal investment made by American archaeologists in the refugee crisis of the 1910s and 1920s raises important questions about the social responsibilities of American scholars today in addressing the recent tragedy of Mediterranean migration. The paper critiques the institutional silence of American scholarship in debates of contemporary migration and features a sample of projects that have responded to that silence with a new archaeology of care. We look at Byzantine scholars that have turned their attention to contemporary migrant shipwrecks. We look at the appropriation of Byzantine archaeological sites as refugee camps. And, finally, we look at a vibrant underground network of American archaeologists who have sustained migrant squatters in Athens, Ancient Corinth, and abroad. Housing occupies a central scholarly role in all diachronic examples. Compared to icons and churches, houses have played a marginal role in Byzantine Studies. Their very marginality, however, reflects a space of activist engagement that have enriched the archaeological discipline with a conversation over social justice and global ethics.

The Athenian Areopagus in the Byzantine Imagination

Trevor Lee (The Ohio State University)

The Areopagus council's formal existence had ended by the fifth century CE. It had been a powerful political force in classical Athens, a recognized and respected location for trials of homicide, and the leading political body of Roman Athens. In addition, classical literature consistently praised the council. Whether it was an impartial judiciary body, a political actor for the maintenance of virtue and stability, or even a hoary participant in mythical events, classical authors often used the Areopagus to reimagine a past, idealized, Athens. But despite its elevated status, the Areopagus council ceased operation and the city of Athens substantially declined in importance in the middle Byzantine period.

Even so, the Byzantine intellectual world maintained a lively and generally fond memory of the Areopagus as one window to the Athens of antiquity. Byzantine authors devised new ways to reconstruct the council in their imagined pasts, especially in the context of the Christianization of the Empire and the urban deterioration of Athens. Modern scholarship is aware of the Areopagus' prominence in the literatures of ancient Athens and the Roman world, yet there has been no discussion on how its reputation persisted beyond antiquity.

This paper addresses the Areopagus's representations in Byzantine literature by examining a wide range of literary genres. In doing so, three distinct memory-forms of the Areopagus will be explored. The first of these is the mythological Areopagus. This depiction is most often found in encyclopedic sources with representations of the Areopagus's most popularly associated myths, such as the trial of Ares, the trial of Orestes, and the encampment of the Amazons on the Areopagus hill. Next is the political Areopagus, pertaining to the council's appearance as a judicial and political body in Athenian politics and history as remembered by Byzantine authors. And lastly there is the pagan Areopagus, the body as depicted by Christian authors who either noted its traditional associations with mythology or its encounter with the Apostle Paul during his visit to Athens in Acts. By exploring this facet of the Byzantine imagination, I hope to explain some of the ways in which Byzantine authors reconstructed and coopted the image of Athenian democracy and the non-Christian Greek past.

Former Slaves in Byzantium: A State of Perpetual Childhood?

Nathan Leidholm, Bilkent University

Slavery remained a reality in Byzantium for the duration of its existence. Although scholars continue to debate the extent to which medieval Byzantium qualifies as a “slave society,” and much work remains to be done on enslaved people in Byzantium, those who had been freed from this condition, former slaves and their families, remain even less understood and less well-represented in modern scholarship. These freedmen often appear as a little more than a footnote in studies focused on slave systems or enslaved people. Freed people are indeed difficult to identify in many sources. And yet, we know that there must have been a large number of former slaves and their descendants living and participating in Byzantine society at any given time, even if the sources are often less than ideal for this segment of the population. For as long as slavery remained in Byzantium, so too did it remain common practice to manumit those slaves.

Slavery has been described as “social death” and enslaved people are the quintessential example of disenfranchised, marginalized members of any society in which they are found, including Byzantium. Yet freedmen occupied a social space that is more difficult to define, especially if we view freedom and slavery as the only possible statuses available at any given time. Former slaves occupied a liminal space, somewhere between free and unfree. Thus, the concept of unfreedom, which has gained traction in recent years thanks largely to its flexibility and its conceptualization of slavery and freedom on a sliding scale, offers a particularly valuable tool for the researcher interested in Byzantine freedmen. Intersectionality might also prove to be a useful theoretical tool for analyzing Byzantine freedmen, whose social and legal status was not easily isolated into a singular category.

Emancipation did not come without obligations or limitations. Freed people remained bound to their former masters’ families into perpetuity, at least in theory, including their descendants. In some ways, they were (legally) trapped in a state of perpetual childhood, remaining dependent upon their former masters or their families in many ways. And by arranging marriages and an inheritance for their newly freed slaves, for example, masters were fulfilling two of their most important roles for their free-born children as well. This, in fact, places Byzantine freedmen squarely within a broader Mediterranean context. Manumitted slaves in most of the Islamicate world, for example, faced a similar situation, as did those formerly enslaved among the Jewish population attested in the Geniza documents. The blending of servile and kinship terminology, also prevalent in Byzantium, likewise appears in many of these other contexts and further links the status of freed person with that of a free-born child.

This paper will offer an introduction to the major issues, sources, and methodological considerations for the study of Byzantine freedmen, especially through the lens of the family, and will present some potential ways forward for future research.

Imperial Purple, Trimmed with Pearls: Byzantine Material Culture in Medieval England

Amanda Luyster (College of the Holy Cross)

The English king Edward II was crowned in 1307. Edward's own regal appearance was, however, outshone on this occasion by his close companion and probable lover, Piers Gaveston. According to a chronicler, Gaveston arrived at the coronation's after-party wearing imperial purple, trimmed with pearls. This outfit caused comment; it was thought to draw too much attention to Gaveston himself, as if he were "the god Mars" (*Annales Paulini* p. 262 and *Flores* III p. 331). Indeed, the chronicler noted that when a count saw the king's favorite in this costume, the count wanted to strike Gaveston down. It is striking to read that a sartorial choice seems to provoke a murderous urge. However, this outfit, I suggest, functioned as an allusion to Byzantine imperial dress. In dressing like an emperor, Piers would indeed visually outstrip the English king, a situation which was simply not palatable to some of those present. The hubris of Piers, expressed in dress, was not appropriate to mortals; rather, it brought to mind the splendor of the pagan gods ("Mars"). We might read here a victory-celebration by the king's "best man" – now that Edward was king, Gaveston was not, exactly, queen, but he was certainly someone special. Gaveston articulated his unusual role through a costume that bystanders could read as Byzantine.

Piers Gaveston's costume and the ire it aroused highlight the dramatic role that elite and imported textiles and textile traditions could play in medieval England. This example also highlights gaps in current scholarship: I have discovered no previous scholarship that has recognized or analyzed this English historical episode in the context of Byzantine dress. The aim of this paper, therefore, is twofold: first, to explore the example provided by Piers Gaveston's costume, and second, to explore the role that Byzantine textiles and textile traditions played in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England.

In addition to actual Byzantine silks which remain from medieval English contexts, some of the ideological structures underpinning Byzantine visual traditions — as I argue — were also adopted by the English. I support this argument through an analysis of textile-related Latin vocabulary in use in England, much of which derives from Byzantine Greek terminology; e.g., *baudekin*, *purpureus*, and *imperial*. My findings expand upon Christian Raffensperger's useful concept of the "Byzantine Ideal," which proposes that Byzantine regnal titles, coinage, and practices were adopted by many political groups across Europe in an attempt to assert legitimacy. Other scholars, too, like William Tronzo and Elena Boeck, have shown how a variety of cultures relied upon Byzantine visual language for their own purposes. In this study, I move into a time and place which is largely absent from Raffensperger's and other previous studies of the adoption of Byzantine objects and mores. I show that the value of Byzantine cultural ideals lasts through the thirteenth and into the fourteenth century in England, where it is conveyed through the use of textiles and other media. In summary, I argue that Byzantine visual traditions played an ongoing, significant, but largely-unrecognized role in the English court through at least the early fourteenth century.

The Ladder and the Banquet: An Image of Divine Ascent at the Vatopedi Monastery

Elliot Mackin (University of Pennsylvania)

The north wall of the exonarthex of the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos bears a scene of radical disharmony. To the right, grey-clad monks struggle arduously up the rungs of a precariously bent ladder while swarmed by demons seeking to pull them into the abyss below. To the left, well-coiffed men lounge at a luxuriously laid table, dining on rich food and red wine. At the very center of the composition, an elderly monk is led away from the chaos surrounding the ladder by a small demon who guides him to the banquet hall. Far below, at the northeast corner of the exonarthex, a group of monks gather before their monastery gazing up the ladder into the swirling scene above.

This group-portrait depicts the community of the Vatopedi Monastery around the year 1311/12 when their Katholikon was decorated by an elaborate fresco-cycle, of which the depiction of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* is the most remarkable. While little is known for certain about the patronage of this cycle, it is sufficient to note that at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Vatopedi Monastery—a monastic community long composed of aristocrats from Byzantium, Bulgaria, Georgia, and Serbia—had its exonarthex decorated with a dramatic scene that set monastic ascent in sharp opposition to the life of the cosmopolitan elite. This image of John Climacus' *Ladder of Divine Ascent* is specifically calibrated to address the particular demographics of the Vatopedi Monastery. The exonarthex—a space long associated with confession, repentance, and the penitential liturgies of Great Lent—was thus inflected by an image that set the monks' new lives in opposition to their past lives as aristocrats. The fashionable clothing and headwear of the dinner-guests signal the very sort of transient vanities that the monks at Vatopedi were to have renounced. This sartorial specificity allowed the image to serve as a tool of self-assessment, predicated on a type of guilt-by-recognition. As such, the wall-painting of the *Ladder* is a potent image of moral tutelage that encouraged a critical self-assessment in the monastic subject who could recognize in themselves the dichotomy played out above them. The personal struggle that was internal and private was made external, monumental—and indeed, communal. The wall-painting builds on conventions found in both monumental and portable depictions of John's *Ladder* while lending the composition a remarkable specificity and psychological potency as a tool of self-reflection.

This wall-painting offers a valuable case-study for the psychological potency of monumental images in communal religious spaces in Byzantium. The image is a visualization of the type of cognitive techniques that served as a foundation for the practices of spiritual self-formation central to Byzantine Christianity. An examination of the technologies of subject-formation in Byzantium sharpens our understanding of the pictorialization of devotional texts in later Byzantium and in turn provides an opportunity to investigate both the private and communal experience of the psychologically provocative image in Byzantium.

The Archaeology of Byzantine Monasteries: Landscape and Material Culture

Georgios Makris (University of British Columbia)

Monasticism certainly represents one of most distinct social phenomena of the Byzantine world, for which many types of sources are unusually rich and informative. The desire of pious individuals and groups of people to escape from the secular world and lead a life of prayer is documented in a wide range of written sources. These have been marshalled by important studies, which investigate the different forms of monastic life, processes of monastic founding, organization, patronage, and the economy, among other topics.

Archaeological and architectural approaches to Byzantine monasteries have focused on single complexes, their buildings, and, to a lesser extent, the neighboring landscape. Unlike archaeological studies of monastic remains in the medieval West that have addressed issues such as monastic economy, and, more recently, the bodily experience of religion within a monastery over time, the archaeology of the Byzantine monastery has, with some notable exceptions, centered upon the architectural documentation of the main church, the layout of the precinct wall or that of subsidiary spaces like the refectory. This paper uses the material culture of several excavated monastic sites in the southern Balkans in order to examine how Byzantine rural monasteries created and reimagined their sacred landscapes over time while interweaving topographical features, physical spaces, religious traditions, and memory. I suggest that material culture can help us illuminate the role of individuals—beyond the *hegoumenos* or the founder—in shaping monastic life through the study of spaces and their relation to the natural environment, portable objects used in daily routine, and collective ideas about the past, as evinced in archaeological remains and written sources.

Why do we need to consider monastic communities over an extended timespan? Byzantine monasteries had long lives, often lasting for more than three or four centuries. Yet, there is a tendency to present them at the moment of foundation, without considering the transformations monastic spaces went through or the complex and evolving negotiation processes that communities maintained with the landscapes they occupied. I focus on three substantially different examples: a monastic complex built over the foundations of an early Christian basilica near the site of Maroneia in northern Greece; a compound established at an uninhabited location, yet within a wider area of monastic activity in Aetolia, southwestern Greece; and a small monastery founded on the remains of an ancient pagan temple on the southern slopes of the Rhodope mountain range in northern Greece. Considering these little-known sites with different stories of foundation helps us visualize diverse strategies of constructing a sense of monastic place and then examine how people used and reconfigured their spaces and material culture such as pottery and metal tools. Ultimately, this exercise gives primacy to the experience of monastic practice by the more ordinary members of a community. The reconstruction of the specific micro-histories of modest monasteries challenges narratives that emphasize the roles of wealthy patrons or powerful monastic leaders, and demonstrates the value of holistic interpretations of archaeological remains.

Women in Hell: Crime and Punishment in Byzantine, Post-Byzantine, and Slavic Monumental Painting

Marina Mandrikova
(Case Western Reserve University)

Starting with images of Eve, pictures of sinful women gradually appeared on the walls of Byzantine churches. Unlike Eve, however, artists and patrons punished her ‘daughters’ for their sins using even more ruthless methods than expulsion from paradise and suffering in childbirth. This paper focuses on dramatic images of female sinners found in monumental painting of the Byzantine sphere. It explores the nature of the crimes of these painted perpetrators, and the diversity and severity of the resulting punishments they suffered, both symbolic and real, in Hell and on Earth. By discussing the original visual evidence from multiple regions, this study considers the apparent perception of these marginal members of society by local church authorities, patrons, and artists. It offers a disturbing visual record of how Orthodox Christian communities constructed gender stereotypes and used images of the damned and their torments as powerful tools of visual instruction and intimidation in rural, monastic, and urban settlements throughout the Byzantine and Slavic spheres of power. Medieval artists typically represented sinful women as having committed a narrow range of crimes, such as prostitution, abortion, or witchcraft. This study consults the secondary juridical sources and demonstrates that contemporaneous legislation and criminal records contradict such a limited picture of female sins.

Painted images of damned women exist within the broader iconographic tradition of the Last Judgment. Scholarship on representations of the Last Judgment in Byzantine art is voluminous, but the individual images of the damned and their torments remain to be thoroughly studied. Until very recently, art historians have concentrated on the iconography, style, theological meaning, and functions of the holy and aristocratic figures in Byzantine painting. Images of the unrighteous were perceived as less formative and valuable for the entire monumental program of decoration and have not attracted much scholarly attention. With the notable exception of French, Italian, and Greek researchers, specialists have started exploring this marginalized topic only recently. Besides the work of a few art historians, images of sinners, especially of female sinners, have only rarely been discussed in English-speaking publications. Sharon Gerstel, Annemarie Weyl Carr, Vasiliki Tsamakda, Angeliki Lymberopoulou, and Rembrandt Duits have placed prominent emphasis on the imagery of Byzantine Hell and individual sinners in their recent research but have based their discussions primarily on the images from the Greek mainland, Crete, and Cyprus (Gerstel, 2015; Lymberopoulou and Duits, eds., 2020). The more sporadically surviving wall paintings of the damned from Slavic-speaking countries have never been the subject of an extensive study. While in dialogue with the existing scholarship, this paper contributes to the topic by adding Slavic examples, most not yet considered in the West, to the international discussion and raises concerns about issues of their preservation.

An Archaeological Narrative of the Holy: Landscapes of the Sacred in Middle Byzantine Central Greece

Justin Anthony Mann (University of Virginia)

Recent scholarship portrays the Byzantine monastery as a cultural microcosm that embodied broader social structures. However, the understanding of monastery as microcosm put forth by modern scholars is often focused primarily on the core monastic complex, and not on how monastic communities could greatly alter natural and cultural landscapes, or, on the other hand, be influenced by the same landscapes. The work to be presented in this paper focuses on a compelling narrative of sacred foundation and competition, which connects three Middle Byzantine monasteries in Central Greece: Hosios Meletios, Zoodochos Pege, and Sagmata.

To illustrate fully this narrative, the present research envisions the landscape created and maintained by monasteries (i.e., the monastic landscape) as a composite entity composed of interwoven cultural landscapes of authority, economy, and the sacred. The threads tying these elements together into a single ‘monastic landscape’ were contingent on specific human relationships, of particular relevance to this paper, in relationships grounded in the built environment, ritual, memory, movement and sensory experience, and the natural topography.

The focus here will be on these threads as they relate to the sacred and as one fundamental aspect of a broader monastic landscape. Through the case studies of Hosios Meletios, Zoodochos Pege, and Sagmata, one can trace the foundation, development, and replication of distinctly monastic sacred landscapes in Central Greece. The primary goals of the paper, therefore, are threefold. First is to reevaluate *katholika* in Central Greece not as lone islands of sanctity in the uncivilized wilderness, as is the common *topos* of monastic hagiographers, but to put these monumental structures into dialogue with other places that also had a significant role in shaping the experience of the sacred, such as caves, springs, and the sites of a holy man’s miracles. Moreover, the second goal is to highlight the importance of less commonly studied monastic sites in the formation of a particularly monastic sacred landscape, such as the outlying chapels, monastic dependencies, towers, footpaths, and elements of the natural topography. For example, the small chapels dotting Mount Sagmaton, in addition to the *skete* of Hosios Clement, were linked through a prominent footpath that brought the visitor from a nearby village and guided them up the holy mountain to the *katholikon* of Sagmata and ultimately to the tomb of the saint. In this way, such features could be used to both sacralize topography and as a means to delimit, navigate, and control one’s sacred experience. Third, this research emphasizes the multivalent purposes of monastic sites in the context of a multi-layered monastic landscape, which allowed *metochia*, for example, to function as sacralizing features within a sacred landscape, nodes of monastic power on an authoritative landscape, and centers of commerce on an economic landscape. Thus, this final goal will point to future areas of research for this project, especially as it regards the authoritative and economic layers of a composite monastic landscape.

Parodies at the court of Emperor Michael III revisited: New evidence, dating and interpretation

Ivan Marić (Princeton University)

Various sources report that Emperor Michael III (regency 842-855, sole r. 855-867) and members of his entourage staged parodies of holy rites and ecclesiastical hierarchy, especially the patriarchal dignity. The surviving texts present several issues: all are polemical against Michael and date after his assassination by Basil I (r. 867-886), also presenting different contexts, agents, and dating of the event(s). Nevertheless, several aspects about the incident(s) are shared by the sources: Emperor Michael and members of his entourage, all belonging to the senatorial order, obtained and wore priestly clothing, with the *protospatharios* Theophlios *Gryllos* elected as the patriarch; they are said to have performed mock processions and ministration of communion, misusing the holy vessels with food, and ridiculed the consecration and promotions of bishops. To the known evidence, I propose to add the tenth canon of the council held in Constantinople in the Church of the Holy Apostles in March-April 861, which sanctions misappropriation and misuse of sacerdotal garments and vessels from the sanctuary ‘for unholy purpose’ for oneself and/or for others. The canon specifically mentions ‘those that reshape the honourable garment of the holy table into their own tunic or another garment’ and ‘those polluting the holy cups and the venerable patens [by using them] for ministration of food’.

In my paper, I present an overview of the sources before going into a more detailed analysis of the new evidence and why I strongly argue to connect this canon with the charades at Michael III’s court, which would also provide the terminus quem ante: March/April 861, for at least some of these incidents. Such dating places the events within the context of the struggle over Patriarch Ignatios’ deposition and Photios’ election (858-) which was characterized by a plethora of political machinations, including bribery, forged signatures, fraudulent testimonies, switching of allegiances etc. Such conduct would have provided material for the young emperor Michael and his entourage to ridicule the ecclesiastic hierarchy, especially when we look at the earliest surviving text, the canon 16 of the ‘anti-Photian’ council held in Hagia Sophia (October 869-February 870): ‘They insulted and made a mockery of a variety of holy things, such as elections, promotions and consecrations of bishops, or by bringing subtle but false accusations against bishops, and condemning and deposing them, switching in turn from distress to collusion as prosecutors and defendants’. However, I also argue that these were never staged outside of the imperial palace complex, as claimed in later sources (namely, *Vita Basilii* and *Theophanes Continuatus*). In conclusion, I propose several questions concerning the parodies. Given the proposed dating, that is, early in Michael III’s sole rule, to what extent the parodies reflect the emperor’s relative weakness to impose himself as an authority in state matters? Do the parodies represent a reaction to the attempts from the ecclesiastical and monastic hierarchy to impose moral rectitude on to the palatine society? Does the theatric amusement of the immediate imperial surrounding also relate to the revival of learning in the period?

Let Your Clothes Do the Talking: Iconography and Identity in a Cappadocian Rock-Cut Church

Sarah Mathiesen (Florida State University)

No focused, in-depth scholarship yet exists on Yılanlı Kilise, a rock-cut church located in the Ihlara Valley of Cappadocia. Typically dated to the late ninth century and positioned as an outlier in Cappadocian art due to its style and idiosyncratic iconographies, Yılanlı is often cited in scholarship as an example of the early development of Byzantine iconographies and as a holdover of foreign, non-Byzantine influence, such as Syriac and Coptic. I suggest that the dating of the church is incorrect and its particularities overemphasized. I argue that Yılanlı is a tenth-eleventh century monument and that its visual program reflects a Byzantine cultural and religious identity particular to its Cappadocian context located at the intersection of Byzantium, Armenia, and the Islamic Caliphates. I offer a case study focused on the representations of military saints in the narthex – the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and Demetrios.

Both the Forty Martyrs and Demetrios were popular military saints in Byzantium. The Forty are among the most popular of the Cappadocian saints, and are frequently represented in the visual programs of rock-cut churches in the region. Representations of Demetrios as a warrior, on the other hand, are rarer in Cappadocia and do not occur before the eleventh century.

The Yılanlı narthex program covers three walls and the ceiling, and is divided into three main figural registers. The Forty occupy the middle; this register is the only one to stretch over all three walls, making it the most extensive figural element in the space. The martyrs are depicted full-length, frontally, standing shoulder-to-shoulder; each has a naming inscription and is nimbed, holds a small cross, and wears an ankle-length robe with a distinctive white slit up the middle. Isolated in a panel on the south wall below the register containing the Forty is Demetrios. The saint grasps a sword in both of his hands and wears the same robe as the Forty, over which is layered a chain cuirass.

The presence alone of Demetrios in his guise as a warrior raises questions about the early dating of the church. The iconography of both the Forty and Demetrios is also noteworthy. Contrary to other depictions of the martyrs as stripped bare, huddled together, and freezing in a lake, the Forty are instead removed from the moment of their martyrdom. Demetrios brandishes only an unsheathed sword, unlike other images in which he holds a spear and shield. The type of robe worn by both parties has previously been described as Syriac or “Arab-Persian” in origin and visibly differs from the short dress and tight trousers usually worn by Byzantine military saints.

The depictions of these saints is significant for two reasons: first, they provide iconographical data that can be used to re-date the church to the tenth-eleventh century and, second, their distinctive dress demonstrates the transference and absorption of non-Byzantine visual and cultural elements into Byzantine Cappadocia. The decorative program of Yılanlı thus presents new evidence through which we can examine the rich socio-cultural and artistic interactions of the eastern medieval world.

“Passible in the Flesh”: The Cross and Imperial Orthodoxy in the Sixth Century

A.E.T. (Tiggy) McLaughlin (Gannon University)

While recent scholarship on Justinian has appreciated the emperor's theological sophistication, his theology is too often considered in the context of imperial policy, especially with regards to miaphysite Christians in the major cities of Antioch, Alexandria, and even Constantinople. Specifically, his theopaschite doctrine that became canonized in his Council of Constantinople of 553 is typically understood as a conciliation to miaphysites in an attempt at unity which ultimately failed rather than as a theological development in its own right (Cf., however, Price (2009), *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553*, TTH 51). While Justinian certainly did desire to achieve ecclesiastical unity by convincing miaphysites to accept Chalcedon, as is obvious from his condemnation of the Three Chapters, the text of the Christological edicts published throughout his reign deserves independent attention.

In this paper, I propose that a consideration of Justinian's Christology in the context of contemporary theological developments in the orthodox (i.e. pro-Chalcedonian) realm suggests an earnest move towards theopaschism that would have made it an attractive doctrine for the orthodox emperor to accept. The cult of relics had developed considerably over the previous century and veneration of the True Cross was experiencing a revival, which can be detected in references to gifts of cross fragments and in liturgical material, such as hymns on the cross. This paper therefore traces developments in Chalcedonian Christology in the east from 451-553 alongside contemporary worship practices, and argues that in this theology the cross (both the symbol and the relic) became a way to signify that the second person of the Trinity suffered in the flesh.

By placing Justinian's theopaschite theology in the context of theology and veneration of the cross, this paper contributes to the narrative of Justinian's ecclesiastical policy toward miaphysite Christians during his reign. Further, such a nuanced understanding of his theology also contextualizes his successor Justin II's gifts of pieces of the True Cross to both a pope and an abbey in Francia, as well as the theology developed by Venantius Fortunatus in his poems written to commemorate the arrival of the piece of the relic. A theological analysis of Justinian's edicts on Christology will therefore help explain imperial religious policy in the sixth century as a dynamic move to unite Christians in the west as well as the east under the theology of Cyril and the universally-accepted symbol of the cross.

John Mauropous. Constantinople and Mount Athos in Eleventh Century and Beyond

Ugo Mondini (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

John Mauropous († after 1082) was a prominent figure in eleventh-century Byzantine society. Before his 'exile' to Euchaita, whose reason remains unclear, he was probably the most appreciated intellectual at the court of Constantine IX Monomachos (†1055) as his speeches for the events of 1047 (see Lefort 1967) and several poems attest.

Mauropous and Athos are linked in two different, probably interrelated ways. Within the *corpus* of poems of Mauropous as preserved by ms. Vat. gr. 676, two poems are entitled *On the chrysobull of the Lavra* (Poem 46) and *On the typikon of the Lavra* (Poem 50). Within these verses there is no explicit reference to the Great Lavra, but, on the basis of Kazhdan 1995, De Gregorio 2010 convincingly linked the two poems to the acts (namely a chrysobull and a typikon) that Constantine IX Monomachos promulgated in 1046 in favor of the Great Lavra in Athos. The first part of this paper deals with these documents and explains the context of their production within the cultural politics during the reign of Constantine IX.

The second part of this paper addresses the reception of John Mauropous in Mount Athos. On the Holy Mountain, there are several manuscripts that preserve works by Mauropous, above all his canons and two of his orations (Oration 177 and 178 Bollig – De Lagarde). Once they arrived at Athos, these works had been read and copied for more than eight centuries. In particular, the circulation of Oration 178 on the Three Hierarchs (John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea) since the twelfth century most probably represents a crucial phase in the reception of John Mauropous. The oration represented a fundamental source for the establishment of one of the most important Orthodox festivities and caused the fortune of certain religious works by Mauropous after his life.

By providing new evidence that I gathered from an autoptic survey of the manuscripts, the paper reconstructs the ways and the context in which these works by Mauropous came to Athos, how they were received by Athonite monks and which role they played within these communities. By offering the first comprehensive study of all the preserved evidence on the topic, my aim is to evaluate how and if there is a link between this Athonite reception and the role that John Mauropous had in middle Byzantine culture.

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Paper Abstract

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Title: Frequently Asked Questions: Canonical *Erotapokriseis* and Religious Orthodoxy in the Komnenian Era

Abstract

The Komnenian era of Byzantine history (1081–1185) was a crucial period in the emergence of an Orthodox Christian religious identity distinct from that of Western Christendom. One significant yet little-studied aspect of this development was the rise of professional legal scholarship in the Church of Constantinople. The twelfth century is known as the ‘golden age’ of Byzantine canon law writing, producing Byzantium’s three most famous canonists: Alexios Aristenos, John Zonaras, and Theodore Balsamon. The outpouring of canon law scholarship in the Komnenian era played a decisive role in shaping late medieval Byzantine views of orthodox belief and practice.

This paper will examine the development of one subset of this scholarship, the genre of canonical *erotapokriseis* (‘question-and-answer’ literature). Consisting of sets of short ‘frequently asked questions’ (and related answers) on aspects of canon law, *erotapokriseis* had been popular in late antiquity but became less common in the eighth to eleventh centuries. However, Byzantine legal scholars such as the *chartophylakes* Peter and Nikephoros and Metropolitan Elias of Crete began to revive the genre in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118). These *erotapokriseis* form an important background to the work of the better-known later canonists.

After introducing the most important sets of surviving canonical *erotapokriseis* and their authors in the Komnenian era, the paper will highlight their major themes, from fasting practices and marriage customs to relations between orthodox Christians and heretics. It will situate these writings in the historical context of institutional change in the Byzantine church in the Komnenian era, arguing that they reflect efforts by imperial and ecclesiastical authorities to use law as a tool for shaping and enforcing religious orthodoxy. It will further argue that they illustrate the under-appreciated role of canon law and legal scholarship in defining the borders of Byzantine religious identity in this period, contributing to the growing rift with Latin-rite Christians in the medieval West.

Will the Real ‘Souldanos’ Please Stand Up?: Conflation and Caricature of the “Islamic Prince” in the *Madrid Skylitzes*

Tirumular (Drew) Narayanan (University of Wisconsin—Madison)

This paper discusses the text-image treatment of Souldanos, *Emir of Bari* in the *Madrid Skylitzes* produced during the reign of King Roger II. The Muslim prince first appears sitting on a golden carpet and wearing a black robe preparing to attack Benevento (Figure 1). Having captured an Italian ambassador outside the city, Souldanos gives the man an ultimatum: either he betrays his city for gold, or he dies. The verso of this folio depicts a different Islamic Prince, Yazman *Emir of Tarsus*, dressed in a blue tunic, besieging Euripos. As he blankly stares at the oncoming enemies, Yazman points to the shield at his feet, filled with gold, promising this reward to any soldier who braves the city walls.

Despite their visual differences, the two Islamic princes share one very important similarity. While the main text differentiates “Souldanos” and “Yazman,” the maroon captions above their respective visual figures refer to both men as “Souldanos.” What is the explanation of such a conflation beyond that of error? Could it be that “Souldanos” is cast as a stereotypically villainous “Saracen” character within the Italian tradition? If so, how does such a negative racialization fit into the prevailing scholarly narrative that characterizes twelfth-century Norman Sicily as a diverse, multicultural, “utopia”?

The visual and textual narratives conflate two historical Muslim princes (Souldanos and Yazman) into a racialized type betraying a polemical, anti-Islamic construction within the *Madrid Skylitzes*. Even though the manuscript does not actively engage in crusader propaganda, the imagery reinforces Orientalizing narratives by presenting both princes as greedy, money worshipping conquerors who seek to utilize gold as a means of tempting others to do their bidding. Moreover, Souldanos is not only a character who appears in the *Skylitzes* chronicle, but one who appears repeatedly throughout Italian Latin Christian narratives. By captioning Yazman with the name “Souldanos,” Sicilian manuscript makers may have sought to render the *Emir of Tarsus* (who attacks the Byzantine polity Euripos) in the guise of their own villain. This textual identification would allow the Sicilians to imagine themselves as allied with the Byzantine Empire against a mutual foe. Such text-image mismatches pertaining to race have been relatively undiscussed but could nuance the scholarly understanding of a pluralistic Sicily and Byzantium. This is to say that the presence of multiculturalism does not mean the absence of polemical stereotypes.

The Byzantine-Revival Synagogue of Tifereth Israel in Cleveland

Robert S. Nelson (Yale University)

In honor of the BSC returning to Cleveland, I introduce the synagogue that the Boston architect Charles R. Greco designed for the Congregation of Tifereth Israel; presently it is the Maltz Performing Arts Center of Case Western University. Together with Temple Isaiah in Chicago, designed by Alfred Alschuler, The Temple, as it was known, initiated a series of Byzantine inspired synagogues during the 1920s and early 1930s. The Cleveland and Chicago synagogues were dedicated in the fall of 1924, and initially drew upon Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Alschuler, however, was required to reduce the cost of his building and substituted a plan based on San Vitale in Ravenna. Thus, only Greco's synagogue retained the grandeur of Hagia Sophia, aided by a budget four times larger than that of Temple Isaiah. To cope with triangular plot of land between two converging streets, Greco devised a seven-side sanctuary. Its low dome recalls Hagia Sophia and the nineteenth-century Hurva synagogue in Jerusalem, as seen in an early twentieth-century photograph. The Ottoman sultan's chief architect designed the Hurva Synagogue in the style of Ottoman mosques, which had been adapted from Hagia Sophia centuries earlier. The limestone facing of the Cleveland synagogue was laid in bands of smooth and rough stone that simulated the painted strips that the Fossati brothers gave Hagia Sophia in the mid nineteenth century.

Inside the Temple, the center of the vestibule floor has a marble design of interlaced circles, derived from Byzantine sources, most likely Hosios Loukas, because the marble wall decoration of the vestibule resembles a color plate in the book on Hosios Loukas that Schultz and Barnsley published in 1901. Walking into the heptangular sanctuary of the Temple little appears Byzantine at first glance, but a closer examination of the sides flanking the bimah reveals that Greco adapted the north and south nave elevations of Hagia Sophia and transformed them into an abstract Art Deco pattern.

The Byzantine-revival synagogues in Cleveland and Chicago break with the prevailing fashion for classical synagogues and are a consequence of larger developments. As a result of the Balfour Declaration in 1917 that promised a home for the Jewish nation in Palestine, Jewish immigration to that area surged. Both the architect and the rabbi of Temple Isaiah in Chicago wrote that Byzantine architecture recalled that of Palestine and expressed a desired association with that region. Abba Hillel Silver, the rabbi of Temple Tifereth Israel in Cleveland, was less forthcoming, and the papers of Charles Greco do not survive. However, Greco's voice is heard in a review of the new temple by a friend: "The architect and the [building] committee felt that [its architecture] should... be developed from the basic forms of those regions where the Jewish race passed the period of its national existence." The word "national" is key, because it refers to Zionism, the nationalistic movement to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. Silver was then a leading figure in the Zionist movement in America. Thus, the Byzantine style of the Cleveland Temple can also be understood as a political, as well as an aesthetic statement.

***Τὸ Σύμπαν Ἔθνος* (?): The Social and Ethnic Background of Deljan's Revolt**

Arie Neuhauser (Oxford University)

In 1040, Peter Deljan started a revolt in Belgrade, on Byzantium's northern frontier. This event was described both in Byzantine sources and in modern nationalist historiography as an attempt by the Bulgarians to shake off the "yoke of Roman domination" (*ζυγὸν τῆς Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς*). According to Michael Psellos, "the entire people (*τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος*) was set on rebellion against the Romans." This paper revisits these statements in order to examine the social and ethnic background of the revolt.

Ethnic violence seems to have played a part in Deljan's revolt; Skylitzes reports that during the Bulgarian revolt of 1040-1, as the army of Peter Deljan went south to Thessaloniki, they "mercilessly and inhumanely put to death every Roman they encountered." However, the revolt of Peter Deljan was joined by the *Romaioi* inhabitants of the theme of Nicopolis, who first revolted separately due to an oppressive tax-collector and then joined the Bulgars. This behaviour contrasts with that of the *Romaioi* of Demetrias, a city captured by Deljan, who on their own initiative contacted the *doux* of Thessaloniki, took over the town and handed it back to an agent of the emperor.

This paper makes use of Deljan's revolt as a case study for how different ethnic groups fought or co-operated with each other. This issue is crucial to the study of revolts and contestation in the Byzantine Balkans. Furthermore, this question is also relevant to the much debated issue of national identity in Byzantium. One view sees the Byzantine Empire, or *Romanía*, as the "nation-state of the Romans", and Roman national identity as common to aristocrats and peasants, Constantinopolitans and provincials (Kaldellis, 2019). An opposing approach argues that the Byzantine Empire was the "domain of an imperial city-state" and that Roman national identity was the "political and cultural discourse of the ruling elite" that was imposed upon the provincials and at times resisted by them (Stouraitis, 2014). My study aims to contribute to this discussion by shedding light on the role that social class and national identity played, during revolts, in the actions of provincial *Romaioi* and *Bulgaroi*.

How to imitate Christ in the Tenth Century: Civic Religion of the Macedonian Emperors

Leonora Neville (University of Wisconsin Madison)

It is often said that the Byzantine emperors engaged in Christomimesis throughout the history of the empire, and that this was a key aspect of Byzantine Imperial ideology. While it may be true that many eastern Roman emperors tried to imitate Christ, that in itself does not say much because Christ can mean so many different things to different people and so many contradictory behaviors can all be identified as attempts to imitate him.

The different ways people go about imitating Christ reveal how they imagine him to be and what aspects of Christianity are particularly important to them. Even Christians confessing the same creed can have radically different ideas about the nature of the Godhead and what is entailed in being a good Christian. Identifying an emperor as engaged in Christomimesis is therefore the beginning rather than the end of the discussion.

By examining tenth-century texts such as the Ceremony Book and the *Life of Basil I*, this paper explores what Macedonian emperors did when they tried to be like Christ. Here Christ was imagined as a cosmic ruler and the emperor imitated Christ as a cosmic ruler, putting everything in order and keeping everything stable. We learn from the Ceremony Book that as soon as the emperors woke up in the morning, they prayed before an image of God in the form of God and Man seated on a throne: they prayed to Christ the ruler, not Christ the Teacher, the Shepherd, or the Sacrifice.

That this image of Christ was not universal, even among medieval Roman emperors, is shown through the contrast with two twelfth-century texts, Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* and Alexios Komnenos's law on the clergy, which portray the emperor as imitating Christ by suffering on behalf of his people. Here Christ was imagined as the Man of Sorrows who suffered for our sins, as a Sacrifice, and as a Teacher. Alexios I was described as imitating Christ by suffering on behalf of the Empire and providing moral guidance. Both the emperor and Christ had become suffering men.

While both Basil I and Alexios were portrayed as engaged in Christomimesis, their actions reflected radically different understandings of what Christ, and salvation, meant. The decline of the Macedonian emperors' conception of Christ as divine ruler entailed a change in medieval Roman religion. Not a change in formal theology, but nonetheless a change in what the religion meant for participants.

That the Macedonian emperors seem to have imagined Christ and God as cosmic rulers, sitting on thrones, surrounded by courtiers, giving justice, and creating order, indicates that they saw government as holy business. Their well-known efforts to arrange their earthly court and government to mirror the heavenly court further constructed their government as an aspect of their religious practice. This intertwining of government and religion is not 'imperial ideology' but rather a form of civic religion particular to their era.

The Twilight Of The Career Of Belisarius (549-553)

David Alan Parnell (Indiana University Northwest)

Interest in the career of the famed general Belisarius (ca. 500-565) is rather unevenly distributed, following the availability of the sources. Thanks to the works of Procopius of Caesarea, we are very well informed about the middle third of the general's life, from approximately 527 to 549. There is almost no information about Belisarius' early life (500-527). In contrast, there is enough evidence to form a hypothesis of how his career wound down in the period between when he left Italy for the last time (549) and when he reappeared briefly to repulse the attack of the Kutrigurs of Zabergan (559). And yet, this period of his life does not receive much attention from modern historians, who are drawn to the period of his great Western campaigns and to his last military hurrah against Zabergan, but often neglect the period in between.

A brief statement by Procopius indicates that when Belisarius returned from Italy in 549 he was reappointed General of the East (*History of the Wars* 8.21.1). This has been interpreted as a hollow honor given the general by the emperor Justinian in recognition for his years of service (see Ian Hughes, *Belisarius* [2009], 232 and Ernest Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* [1949], 2.592). On the contrary, it is possible to demonstrate through comparison with the military situation in the East at the time that this was a serious appointment which might have resulted in Belisarius commanding in the field again if events required it. It has also been argued that Belisarius resented being sidelined in the 550s and longed for further military glory, but Justinian denied him this out of jealousy (J.A.S. Evans, *The Power Game in Byzantium* [2011], 204 and Hughes 2009, 241). This is an incorrect interpretation based primarily on the later commentary of Agathias with regards to the 559 action against Zabergan (Agathias, *The Histories* 5.20.4-6).

I suggest a new interpretation of these critical twilight years of Belisarius' career. The general himself was ready to retire from military life, and only agreed to a last stint as General of the East as a favor to the emperor he had served for so long already. That Belisarius remained on good terms with Justinian, and was not forced to retire because of the latter's supposed jealousy, can be demonstrated by his continued work on behalf of the emperor as a messenger to Pope Vigilius in 552 and 553 (*The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553*). Aside from setting the record straight on the life and career of Belisarius, this absolves Justinian of the charge of jealousy of Belisarius – at least in the period 549-553. This analysis also demonstrates the way a career military man like Belisarius might successfully integrate into the upper echelons of elite, civilian Constantinopolitan society upon retirement.

Slavic Manuscripts on Middle-Byzantine Athos

Georgi Parpulov (University of Birmingham)

Several pre-thirteenth century Glagolitic and Cyrillic manuscripts were discovered in the nineteenth century at various monastic libraries on Mount Athos. An inventory compiled in 1142 for the Athonite hermitage (σκήτη) of Xylourgou (TLG 5306.007) lists no less than forty-nine Russian books (βιβλία ρούσικα). Thus, there is both bibliographic and archival evidence that Slavic monks were culturally active on the Holy Mountain alongside their Greek, Georgian, and Italian brethren. My paper will analyse this evidence and offer some general conclusions about multilingualism in the middle-Byzantine period

The Man in the Moon, Triclinius's Mirror and Media Studies

Glenn Peers (Syracuse University)

Under a full moon, Demetrius Triclinius and Ioannes Astrapas climbed to a rooftop in Thessaloniki, carrying with them a mirror and some writing materials. Triclinius then wrote a text in the early years of the thirteenth century about his theories around the moon and about how to see and interpret its reflective surface. Moreover, Astrapas, who was (the text states) one of the best *γραφεύς* of his time, wrote and/or illustrated the text, which survives only in nine copies. One of these copies (BN gr. 2381, fols. 78r-78v, fifteenth century) includes text and diagrams that explain the text's arguments. One component in that manuscript version was a drawing of the man that they saw in the moon, proof that their scientific enterprise gained insight into the authentic forms of the moon *and* of the earth.

This paper specifically examines the media of the highly unusual claims of these intellectuals, which have not been seriously treated since the text was edited by Abraham Wasserstein in the 1967 *JöB*. For those two Thessalonikians themselves observed the moon primarily by means of a mirror. Viewing that mirror, they saw the schema of man on the surface of the moon. They saw then what is really on the moon all along, but invisible until the mediation of this instrument makes it seen: the man on the moon. Furthermore, they were seeing a reflection of a reflection, because Triclinius described the moon as an airy body that caught the image of the earth, the moon being like a mirroring body itself. In other words, the moon seen in the mirror is showing us the form of the man that is embedded in 'our sea,' that is the Mediterranean, which can only be seen by the reflection caught in the mirror in the men's hands. The third refraction in this media process of human self-seeing was the image in the manuscript, which authenticates and makes visible what the double-mirroring claimed but could not establish with sufficient predictability and clarity.

This paper attempts to bridge Media Theory and Byzantine studies in order to show the mechanisms of subject formation in that culture. Media Theory concerns itself with the ways a medium can invisibly and persuasively make human subjects. The mirror is crucial for Triclinius, but scarcely treated by him; it invisibly shows the men that the human form is in the earth, in a way their own eyes could not see otherwise. And the manuscript representation, likewise, is the very truth of that vision. Both media revealed and demonstrated the human at the center of the cosmos. That human was there along, but those Byzantine men (and then the manuscript readers and viewers) could *only* know it when their natural vision was supplanted and perfected by the media that came to define and make them. Three centuries before Galileo's telescope, Triclinius's mirror and Astrapas's drawing claim to know and thus make 'Byzantine man.'

The Sinai Palimpsests Project: methods, discoveries, and implications

Michael Phelps (Early Manuscripts Electronic Library)

St. Catherine's Monastery of the Sinai can trace its manuscript collection to the 4th century, making it one of the world's oldest continually operating libraries. The erased layers of its 160 known palimpsests constitute a major—though only partially explored—resource for reconstructing the religious, cultural and intellectual history of the Eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

The Sinai Palimpsests Project was the first major program to recover unstudied texts preserved in the Monastery's palimpsests, and it remains the largest and most ambitious project to date to apply scientific imaging to manuscripts. This paper describes the methods used to render erased texts in Sinai's library legible; discusses new identifications of undertexts made as recently as spring 2021; and proposes research agendas that exploit both the spectral image data and the metadata compiled by the project as evidence for the history of production of the palimpsests.

Over six years, the Sinai Palimpsests Project applied spectral imaging to 74 of Sinai's palimpsests or 6,800 palimpsest pages. Among the 305 recovered undertexts are numerous examples of previously unknown Christian, Jewish, and Classical texts; the oldest extant copies of known texts; and the first attestations of known texts in new languages (e.g., Christian Palestinian Aramaic translations of Greek texts).

Each of the modalities of spectral imaging applied to Sinai's palimpsests — spectral reflectance, spectral fluorescence, transmissive illumination, and raking illumination — was developed in response to specific features of the manuscripts. Likewise, methods to process the spectral data and elucidate erased texts were developed in response to features of the erased inks.

As would be expected with the recovery of a large corpus of medieval texts, the identification and description of the undertexts is ongoing. During the project, 26 participating scholars identified 305 discrete erased texts that date from the 5th to the 12th centuries and include 10 languages. As recently as March–April 2021, two undertexts were identified for the first time, including an early copy of the Athanasian Creed.

The Sinai Palimpsests Project created a rich dataset that is much more than images and identifications of individual undertexts. Creativity is now needed to exploit both the spectral data and the metadata and formulate broad questions about the production of the palimpsests and the communities that produced them. For example, the spectral data can be used to classify inks. Anomalies in the fluorescence of some erased inks in Sinai are associated with specific linguistic communities. Further, the association of under- and over-texts in palimpsest codices can be evidence about the communities that produced the manuscripts. For example, of the nine erased Latin texts in Ms. Arabic NF 8, six are part of double palimpsests with Latin written over Latin. What context in the Monastery's environment would produce multiple instances of Latin written over Latin? Probing the project dataset will open new horizons of research into the production and circulation of texts in the Eastern Mediterranean.

**A New Context for the so-called Melisende Psalter (British Library, Ms. Egerton 1139):
Codicology, *Computus*, Calendars, and Chronicling”**

Naomi Ruth Pitamber, Pennsylvania State University, University Park

Housed at the British Library since 1845, the so-called *Melisende Psalter* (British Library, Ms. Egerton 1139) has been exhibited and discussed as an exemplar of early crusader art since it was published by Hugo Buchthal in 1957. At the time, Buchthal grouped it with several other manuscripts he thought to have been produced in the newly established Levantine crusader states following the success of the First Crusade (1095-1099). In its current role as the centerpiece of early crusader manuscript production, the psalter has been discussed primarily in terms of its extraordinary imagery, particularly its heavily gilded and brilliantly colored Byzantinizing illuminations which include twenty-four frontispieces and several large historiated and decorated initial pages and portraits of saints. The admixture of styles said to be present in the manuscript—English, Byzantine, and Islamic—has been touted as proof of the hybrid artistic *milieu* of the new crusader state called the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This mixture of cultures and religions has been argued to reflect the Latin and Orthodox, eastern and western comingling within the person of Queen Melisende (1105-1161) herself, to whom the psalter has long been attributed. With most scholarly attention paid to the psalter’s vivid illuminations and Melisende’s patronage, the textual material of the psalter—its calendar, *computus*, martyrology, litany, and prayers—was not accorded equal weight in previous analyses of the manuscript.

This lecture presents codicological evidence from within the psalter itself that argues for an entirely new context, one that argues that the psalter was made and used in the diocese of Winchester, England, and not, as has been previously supposed, in Jerusalem. The psalter, in fact, had no direct physical connection to Jerusalem, to the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher, or to the Holy Land. In demonstrating the evidence it will become clear that Egerton 1139 must be separated from Queen Melisende’s patronage and recontextualized both temporally and geographically to the Anglo-Norman kingdom around the period of the Anarchy, also known as the War of Norman Succession (1135-1154). Based on an analysis of the psalter’s *computus* cycle, the psalter can be specifically redated to either 1139 or 1140. Given that the psalter was originally intended for use by a high-ranking woman who may have eventually become a nun, the geographical shift to Anglo-Norman England means that this female individual was a member of a religious community with strong connections to Winchester; the most likely candidates either Romsey Abbey or Nunnaminster. The practice of recording *obits* of one’s own family even in personal calendars was quite rare: thus, the presence of obits for King Baldwin II and Queen Morphia I, rulers of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in the psalter’s calendar derive from one of two traditions: either as a record of including patrons’ death dates in calendars associated with the religious foundations they patronized, or, as evidence of an increasing interest in enmeshing contemporary royal historical chronologies with sacred events commemorated in liturgical calendars often included in devotional psalters.

In sum, recontextualizing Egerton 1139 to Anglo-Norman England ultimately separates it from Queen Melisende’s biography, and necessitates a reorientation within the scholarship on this important manuscript particularly with respect to direct artistic appropriations of Byzantine art in the west during the first half of the twelfth century in Anglo-Norman England and France.

Joy and Laughter in 12th-Century Urban Culture: New Evidence from the *Vossianus Graecus* Q1.

Aglæ Pizzone (University of Southern Denmark)

In recent years both laughter and the emotions have attracted much attention in the field of Byzantine literature and Byzantine studies at large. Yet, emic definitions and theorizations of laughter remain tantalizingly rare, save in preceptive texts, often designed for monastic audiences and therefore mostly characterized by an antigelastical attitude. As a consequence, it is particularly hard for the scholar interested in the history of Byzantine emotions to define the whole affective range of laughter at any point in the history of Byzantium. In this respect John Tzetzes' work on rhetoric represents a blatant exception.

The text of the *Logismoi*, recently uncovered in the ms. *Vossianus Graecus* Q1, and the commentary on Hermogenes – currently only partially edited – preserved by the same manuscript both offer invaluable information about the secular perception of laughter in the 12th century. This paper will present for the first time a new set of texts, from the *Logismoi* as well as from the commentaries on (ps.) Hermogenes' *Περὶ ιδεῶν* and *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος*, engaging explicitly with the emotional and cultural value of laughter.

In the *Logismoi*, building on ps. Herm. *Progymnasmata* 9.6, where the dialogue between Hector and Andromache is introduced to exemplify “διόλου τὸ πάθος”, Tzetzes denies that only negative emotions count among *πάθη*. He vindicates a central cultural role also for positive emotions, among which he includes *χαρμονή* and *γέλως* (*Vossianus Graecus* Q1 222r-v). That the topic was particularly dear to him is proven by the addition to the main text of further lines in his own hand, so as to better qualify *πάθος* and distinguish it from *ἔξις*. Interestingly joy and laughter are presented as a mark of culture: Tzetzes argues that only barbarians believe the whole affective range to be limited to *τὰ θλίβοντα* (i.e. affliction).

The lines from the *Logismoi* tie in with the commentary on the *corpus Hermogenianum*. The exegesis on *Περὶ ιδεῶν*, in particular, offers the extraordinary description of a wedding celebration witnessed by Tzetzes himself (*Vossianus Graecus* Q1 169r-v). On that occasion the communal joy stirred by the celebration was transformed into sorrow by the musical performance of one son of Abramios. While in awe at the power of music, Tzetzes motivates this choice with the musician's ultimately suicidal disposition. The rich first-hand account opens up to considerations on the social importance of joy and laughter in the urban rituals of the capital from a secular perspective.

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The Palimpsests of the Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai and the Circulation of Writing Material across Religious and Linguistic Boundaries

Claudia Rapp (University of Vienna and Austrian Academy of Sciences)

The manuscript collection of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai has attracted the interest of scholars and *savants* for many centuries, usually in search of individual (Biblical) texts or with a view to gain a broader understanding of the written heritage and scribal features of a single language tradition.

Thanks to the recent Sinai Palimpsests Project, multi-spectral images of 74 out of the more than 170 currently known palimpsested objects in the library have been made accessible online (www.sinaipalimpsests.org). This makes it possible for the first time to study a large number of palimpsested manuscripts as a group. The overtext writing is in Greek, but also in Arabic, Syriac, Georgian and other languages. The erased layers contain texts written in many languages of the medieval Christian world, some of them no longer in use, such as Caucasian Albanian or Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Their identifications offer rich material for the study of the interaction of language communities in Byzantium and beyond.

After a brief introduction of the Sinai Palimpsests Project and its scholarly achievements, this paper addresses the question of who shared palimpsested writing material with whom. Correlating the erased layers with the extant overtext shows the extent to which recycled writing material circulated across different language communities. Further insights into the use of palimpsested sheets within or across religious communities can be gained from comparisons with similar deposits in the Jewish (Cairo Genizah) and the Muslim (Qubbat al - Khaznah, Damascus) traditions.

The Sinai palimpsests thus open up new perspectives on the practices of book production and the circulation of writing material as well as on the layered history of multilingualism in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Kommenian Poetry in Mount Athos libraries

Alberto Ravani (Exeter College, University of Oxford)

Monasteries on Mount Athos are famous for their invaluable collections of manuscripts. Most of them are written in Greek and their content is mainly religious. It is certainly not surprising to find religious texts in monastical libraries; however, catalogues provide details about manuscripts which contain non-religious texts both from Classical antiquity and Byzantine period. While some manuscripts with classical content have been the subject of studies (see *e.g.* Rudbgerg 1956), there has been very little general research on manuscripts with secular Byzantine content – with the exception of papers focused on single manuscripts or authors. The present paper addresses this lack of knowledge, focusing in particular on manuscripts which contain 12th century Byzantine poetry. There is, in fact, evidence of a few manuscripts which, among others, preserve the works of the three main poets of this age, namely Theodore Prodromos, John Tzetzes and Constantine Manasses.

The choice of the 12th century is not without reason. The foundation of most Athonite monasteries can be traced back to the middle Byzantine period; Komnenian poetry was therefore written and started circulating in exactly the same years that monks and novices populated the Holy Mountain. On the other hand, a broader range of profane Byzantine text would be too much material for a single paper. In addition, as Anthony Kaldellis has demonstrated (2007), 12th century authors play a pivotal role in the definition of a new Byzantine identity, also opposed to the Latin West; the 12th century also stages serious disputations between Byzantium and Latins in the religious sphere – and consequently in Theological literature (see *e.g.* Calia-Bucossi 2020). This might indicate that the presence of 12th century literature – and especially profane poetry – helped to shape the identity of those newly-founded communities. My initial surveys have found that, surprisingly, some of those manuscripts contain 12th century poems written in vernacular Greek: this definitely suggests that non-religious texts were used also as a source of entertainment and this could shed light on the social composition of the communities.

Studies by Irigoin (1975) and Lamberz (1991) have proved the presence of Athonite scriptoria before 1453; they singled out several hands in those manuscripts and identified some of the scribes who worked there. Nonetheless, evidence of autochthon production of manuscripts has never been proved for non-religious texts. In addition, there is the even bigger question of where and when manuscripts containing 12th century Byzantine poetry come from.

In conclusion, this paper first looks at the dating of the manuscripts which contain 12th century Byzantine poetry and evaluates how many of them can be traced back to the 12th century. After that, is there any evidence of production of manuscripts containing non-religious texts? In other words, this paper addresses an important lack of knowledge in our understanding of Byzantine literature and circulation of texts but provides also new evidence on the social and cultural background of those new monastic communities.

Metaphrastic Poetry in the Palaiologan Period – The Case of Manuel Philes

Andreas Rhoby (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Manuel Philes (1270 – 1330s or 1340s) was one of the most productive Byzantine poets. Working on commission for the imperial household and the aristocracy, he wrote approximately 25.000 verses, adopting both dodecasyllable and political verses. His poetry is mainly encomiastic, but he also composed epigrams, and a *protheoria* (in prose), i.e. an introduction to the encomium of Saint John by Nicephorus Blemmydes. In addition, Philes was also the author of several poems labelled as *metaphraseis*. In this respect, Philes recasted many texts, both religious and profane. He composed a metaphrasis of the Akathistos hymn (Carm. II, 317-333 App. 1 Miller), of three troparia (Tsolakakis 1971, pp. 335-336), of an Aesopian fable (Carm. I, 213-214 F3 Miller), of the ekphrastic section of the tale Herodotus and Aetion by Lucian (Carm. II, 336-337 App. 3 Miller), and of a part of Basil of Caesarea's homily on the Famine and Drought (Carm. II, 273-275 App. 3 Miller). His major metaphrastic poem, however, is the so-called Metaphrasis of the Psalms which is only partly published (Stickler 1991). It is currently being critically edited within a project financed by the Austrian Science Fund (running from 2018 to 2022). This is Philes' only metaphrasis in political verse; for all the others, he adopted the dodecasyllable.

Philes is not the only author of *metaphraseis* in the fourteenth century. The early Palaeologan period, in the decades between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, saw a great flourish of this 'genre': the *Alexias* by Anna Komnene and the *Chronike diegesis* by Nicetas Choniates both received metaphrases during this time. Also Philes' contemporary Nicephorus Xanthopoulos is an attested author of *metaphraseis*.

Composing a metaphrasis was undoubtedly a good exercise to develop rhetorical and poetical skills, as it allowed poets to explore various stylistic registers and to perfect their abilities in the selection of the most appropriate word order, the most suitable rhetorical figures, and the most engaging style. These skills proved useful for the rest of Philes' and other authors' careers, regardless of the kind of poems that would be commissioned.

Using some examples drawn from Philes' *metaphraseis*, my paper aims to shed light on Philes' technique of rewriting in order to answer broader questions about the flourishing of metaphrastic literature in the Paleologan period. How did Philes' *metaphraseis* fit into the contemporary poetic production, both metaphrastic and not? Why was the production of *metaphraseis* so widespread among intellectuals during this time? In particular, we will explore the possibility that these poems were born in school milieu, as useful teaching devices for rhetoric and poetic composition.

Predecessors, Seers, and the King of Glory: Eschatological Interpretations of the Byzantine Bilateral Icon

James A. Rodriguez (Independent Scholar)

For the past forty years, liturgical offices and hymns assigned to eleventh-century monastic services of Good Friday have shaped the predominant interpretive framework for Byzantine bilateral icons, particularly those that pair the Mother of God with an image of the deceased Christ. This combination of images characterizes twenty-five of the seventy-eight bilateral icons preserved mostly or entirely in their original condition from the years between 1100 and 1500.

Less attention has been given to bilateral icons that deviate from the latter combination of images yet are, collectively, numerically formidable. From the same group of seventy-eight, seventeen bilateral icons pair the Mother of God with a single holy figure, seven juxtapose the Mother of God with a group of two or more saints, and ten bear images showing exclusively saints other than Christ's mother. There are, then, thirty-four bilateral icons (just over forty percent of the seventy-eight preserved examples) with large-scale depictions of martyrs, ascetics, apostles, archangels, bishops, and Old Testament prophets—a large group whose significance for the history of the bilateral icon is not yet understood.

This paper participates in a process of revising that history. It focuses on three bilateral icons that, individually, have one side reserved for a holy figure other than Mary or Christ. All three examples date to the fourteenth century yet are attributed to different sites; they include: a bilateral icon at Naxos pairing the Mother of God and John the Baptist; a bilateral icon at Mytilene combining Christ and John the Theologian; and a bilateral icon at Paphos juxtaposing the Mother of God and the prophet Elijah. The paper demonstrates that each holy figure, in its own way, prompts awareness of Christ's Second Coming and the concomitant judgment of souls.

Yet, as the paper argues further, such eschatological dimensions are limited neither to these three examples nor to their imagery. Byzantine Christians saw an image depicted on one side of a bilateral panel independent of that image's counterpart, which appears on the panel's reverse. One's encounter with Christ on the three aforementioned examples was thereby delayed by realities involved in viewing a bilateral icon. The bilateral format, which imposes a temporal anticipation upon viewers, resonates with the proleptic and eschatological possibilities argued for the forerunner's, apostle's, and prophet's respective images. Scriptural accounts of Christ's Second Coming referencing bilateral objects and recent scholarship on Byzantine perceptions of the final judgment reinforce connections made between representation, the bilateral format, and eschatological meanings.

Finally, this paper closes with a discussion of the *Akra Tapeinosis*. This image of the deceased Christ appears on five bilateral icons. Of these five, two, including one of the earliest preserved bilateral icons, have the epithet "King of Glory" (*ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης*), a proleptically rich title alluding to Christ's Second Coming. This closing discussion proposes that eschatological possibilities argued for the fourteenth century were present from the bilateral icon's beginnings—a proposal that throws new light on what is an oft-referenced yet still unclear trajectory of the Byzantine bilateral icon.

Multi-Lingual Annotations in Sinai Greek Prayer Books: A Contribution to the Investigation of Cultural Interactions at Saint Catherine's Monastery

Giulia Rossetto (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

The Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai Peninsula, built in the sixth century by order of Emperor Justinian, holds one of the oldest and richest collection of manuscripts of the Christian East. The collection amounts to over 4500 handwritten books in twelve different languages including Arabic, Syriac and Georgian, but predominantly Greek. The presence of manuscripts in these many languages reflects the multilingualism of the monastic community and its visitors, with all the concomitant changes in its long evolution. The study of the interaction of these many languages at the monastery seen from the point of view of its manuscripts is a topic that has so far remained unexplored.

The greatest part of the collection is made up of Christian texts: *in primis* liturgical books. Among them are the *Euchologia*, or else Byzantine prayer books reserved to bishops and priests, and essential for the celebration of all the services of the Byzantine Rite. A number of them were certainly produced in the Sinai and used *in loco* by priestmonks, while some others were brought to the monastery from visitors and pilgrims originating from places such as Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Crete, Cyprus, Southern Italy. Because of their utilitarian character these books were often thoroughly annotated – frequently in languages other than the main text – and considerably worn out by their possessors, carriers and users over the centuries. Saint Catherine's houses ca. 80 Byzantine *Euchologia* written in Greek language, which have not yet been adequately investigated.

The Greek *Euchologia* of Saint Catherine's constitute the foundation of my paper. For the first time, a selected sample of the Sinai collection is systematically analysed with the goal of searching for information about the interaction between different language groups. To this end, I study the annotations in languages other than Greek in Sinai Greek *Euchologia* in order to answer to research questions like the following: which language communities had access to Greek prayer books? What did they comment on? In which sections of the prayer books were the readers most interested in? When were language interactions of non-Greeks with Greek books more frequent?

Carried from many places and used by several people, these books enshrine a real stratification of languages, practices, traditions. This paper contributes to better understand the interplay of languages in the manuscript holdings of the Sinai.

Houses and Community in Seventh Century Isthmia, Greece

Richard Rothaus (Central Michigan University)

An Early Byzantine community of undetermined size dating to the seventh century was situated upon the ruins of the Roman Bath at Isthmia and environs. This location, proximate to the Hexamilion, the wall across the isthmus of Greece, placed the settlement near water supplies, agricultural land, and abundant building materials from abandoned structures. While of little interest to archaeologists chasing the Roman Bath, excavations revealed several floors and buildings, including two apsidal structures, an associated water line, and an E-shaped stove. Abundant sherds of so-called Slavic ware, distinctive for its large quartz inclusions and voids, were found associated with these floors and structures, as were several fragments of rotary millstones, solidifying the identification of the structures as houses associated with an agricultural settlement.

The archaeological evidence of the seventh century community at Isthmia helps capture the complexity of understanding house and society in early Byzantine Greece. While the community is clustered along the Hexamilion fortification, it is unclear whether that is coincidental to the great wall, or indicative of the focus of the community. The so-called Slavic ware associated with the community, once attributed to moving populations, has to be understood in the context of a resurgence of localized production of coarse wares in the period. The presence of apsidal ends on the structures show, however a marked break from earlier, and indeed later, housing styles. Recent archaeological excavations and surveys in the Korinthia have likewise indicated that the seventh century was hardly the period of contraction and poverty once thought, and the community at Isthmia is likely part of the regional agricultural production. Interpretation of this period has been hampered by disinterest by earlier excavators, but with care, the evidence can be teased out.

An all-encompassing Library: Classical and Christian Authors in John Geometres' Commentary on ps. Hermogenes' *On Method of Forceful Speaking*

Paolo Scattolin (Università degli Studi di Verona)

This paper examines the content of the 'library' employed by John Geometres (ca. 950-1000) to comment on the pseudo-Hermogenian treatise *On Method of Forceful Speaking*.

The aim is twofold: (1) to verify what can be ascribed to Geometres among the amount of quotations from classical and Christian authors characterizing John Logothetes' commentary (12th century); (2) to evaluate the purpose of the quotations in the context of the teaching of rhetoric in the transition between the 10th and 11th centuries.

Firstly, the backdating of a part of the material contained in the 12th century commentaries enables us to verify what traditional branches of the classical authors were available to Geometres in Constantinople. Secondly, this analysis singles out the range of Geometres' sources in commenting on Hermogenes, and highlights the relevance of the quotations from Gregory of Nazianzos that tend to unseat those from Demosthenes in a process of 'dethronement' – to use an image by Conley – in favor of the Cappadocian.

Conley identified John Sikeliotes, active during the reign of Basil II, as the first Hermogenian commentator to enact such 'dethronement' but John Geometres preceded Sikeliotes or, at any rate, competed with him in a practice prompted by the special position attributed to Gregory as the undisputed authority on eloquence, poetry and orthodoxy, just after the time (around 950) in which his remains were transferred to the capital by order of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos.

Getting the Message Out: Coins, Imperial Ideology, and the Politics of Exclusion

Jonathan Shea (Dumbarton Oaks)

The Macedonian dynasty expressed and disseminated its imperial ideology in many different ways, but the most widely circulated visual medium it employed was coins. Ranging from the staunchly conservative to wildly radical the various design choices of the imperial regimes of the ninth to eleventh centuries cast light on the projection of imperial power and ideology, and particularly on the question of the succession.

Coins were an excellent way for emperors to express their hopes for dynastic continuity and placing an heir's image on the coinage was a powerful and public statement of intent. However, just as important under the Macedonian emperors was who was not depicted on coins. Exclusion, from some or all denominations, reveals much about the tensions and dynastic politics in Constantinople. This is as true under the three usurpers who ruled alongside the Macedonian emperors as it was for members of the legitimate dynasty. Furthermore, it was the imperial need to exclude troublesome partners from a visible place of authority that led to many of the Macedonians' most innovative choices in coin design, while at the same time influencing the operation of the Byzantine mint.

Immanent Light: The Transfiguration and Monochrome Backgrounds of Paris gr. 510

Maria Shevelkina (Stanford University)

Forty-six luxurious miniatures accompany Gregory Nazianzus' *Homilies* in Paris BnF codex graecus 510, commissioned by Patriarch Photios as a gift to Emperor Basil I around 880. Although the intensely colored and delicately gilded sheets have undergone extensive scholarly probes, studies have all the while neglected and misconstrued key aspects integral to the miniatures' formal presentation. This paper takes its cue directly from the painted miniatures of the Paris gr. 510. It follows the brushstrokes and pigment layers as telling guides into post-iconoclastic contentions regarding pertinent issues of light made manifest in lived and divine experiences. I argue that certain detailed formal elements visible in the paintings' backgrounds work in concert with the unconventional scene of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor (fol. 75r), reflecting iconophile issues of light and transparency. Both Nazianzus and Photios' homilies reveal a deep concern regarding the depiction of prototypes, particularly Christ-Light (Dell'Acqua) embodied by the incarnation.

In search of models, scholars have examined Paris gr. 510's classicizing or 'Hellenizing' tendencies evident in the figures and iconography, ensuing from either the artists or the commissioner (Weitzmann, Cormack). Later scholars enacted in-depth analyses of the effects and correlations between the miniatures and relevant liturgy, text, and theology (der Nersessian, Brubaker). At the core of each scholarly engagement was the question: why were certain narratives chosen and represented? This study notes that the lavish gift from the erudite Photios to the Emperor was carefully rendered with architectural and figural naturalism, as acknowledgement of Basil I's active re-building of Constantinople and identifying him with an Imperial lineage extending back to antiquity. I further show that illusionistic space and the desire for an empathetic response from naturalistic imagery cannot be ignored. This study looks deeper at the carefully rendered backgrounds of monochrome light and shadow, which produce a particularly airy atmosphere that in turn complicate basic illusionism. As opposed to the prevalence of gold-leaf ground, Paris gr. 510 formulates spaces that are meditations on brightness, darkness, and transparency—light pervasively moving through space—rather than hue, linear structure, or embodied air as medium (Betancourt).

Light is extrapolated and examined in conjunction with issues of realism and Christology throughout the literature of the ninth century and the pre-iconoclastic eras, referenced by the Paris gr. 510 text and images. These include Nazianzus' homily on Holy Baptism, Photios' mosaic inaugurations, Ephrem the Syrian's homily on the Transfiguration feast, among others. Analyzing later centuries' *ekphrases* on the Transfiguration by Constantine of Rhodes and Nikolaos Mesarites, I further propose the no-longer-extant church of the Holy Apostles as a source for the Paris gr. 510 Transfiguration miniature, which I set in opposition to the oft-cited apse mosaic of St. Catherine's Monastery in Mount Sinai. When studied in opposition to the form and theological function of gold-leaf manuscript grounds and the mosaic in Mt. Sinai, Paris gr. 510's unique form within the Transfiguration folio, along with the intricate backgrounds throughout the manuscript, reveal a particular slant on the understanding of light as all-encompassing and constantly present.

"Be our emperors' fellow-general, O Logos": An unpublished *kanon* for Joshua the son of Nun

Kosta Simic (Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame)

The traditional Christian perception of the Old Testament as prefiguring the Christian era found its continuity and further elaboration in the Byzantine tradition. The concept of the new chosen people or the new Israel, initially applied to the Christian Church, gradually expanded to the Byzantines. Prominent leaders of ancient Israel, especially Moses, David and Joshua the son of Nun, were commonly compared with Byzantine leaders, both spiritual and political, in various genres of Byzantine literature.

In order to contribute to the study of the relationship that Byzantine authors established between the Israelite rulers and the Byzantine emperors, this paper aims to present and briefly examine an unpublished hymn, a nine-ode *kanon*, for Joshua the son of Nun. The *kanon* is preserved in a single manuscript, Sin. gr. 552, dated to the 11th century. The fact that Joshua, in comparison to other biblical figures, is not as frequently invoked in liturgical poetry renders this hymn unique. Maintaining the firmly established tradition, the hymnographer first associates Joshua with Christ by seeing him as one of Christ's principal prefigurations. However, particularly noteworthy is the emphasis laid on Joshua's military exploits and his strong association with the emperor. The poet appeals to God to protect the emperor and help him against his enemies in a similar way He protected and helped Joshua in waging wars against his foes. Furthermore, the author of the hymn also makes an explicit reference to sacred icons venerated by pious emperors.

Based on the connection that the hymnographer establishes between the emperor and the Old Testament's leader and successful warrior, who led the chosen people to the Promised Land, I would argue that the composition of this *kanon* needs to be situated in the period of the Byzantine-Arab wars during the reign of the Macedonian dynasty. Hence, this piece of liturgical poetry is examined within that context. It is well-known that the rulers from the Macedonian dynasty sought to conquer Palestine and return it to Byzantine control. Furthermore, the widespread interest in Joshua, also expressed in the artistic production of the period, such as the Joshua Roll and some wall paintings from Cappadocia depicting him in close proximity to the Byzantine emperor (e.g. Nikephoros Phokas), point to this conclusion.

The Digital Photography of the Sinai Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts

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Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt

The Sinai library contains 266 Syriac manuscripts in the Old Collection, the oldest dating from the fifth century. The collection includes manuscripts written in Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Sinai has 696 Arabic manuscripts in the Old Collection, the oldest of which are dated to the eighth century. Both collections were considerably enhanced in 1975 with the recovery of what are known as the New Finds.

In 2018, St. Catherine's Monastery embarked on a project for the digital photography of all the Sinai manuscripts in Syriac, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Arabic. They comprise a total of some 400,000 pages. The digital photography of these manuscripts seemed an ambitious goal, but one that could be achieved in a reasonable amount of time. This project was a direct continuation of the Sinai Palimpsests Project. The infrastructure that was in place for that project was enhanced with the purchase of additional equipment, and the hiring of additional staff. The digital photography program had as its goals both preservation and access. Allowing scholars to study these texts from photographs makes them more accessible. But it is also a way of protecting the originals.

The challenge was to find a way to photograph the collection efficiently, while at the same time, handling these fragile manuscripts in a way that did not damage them. This was achieved by tailoring the equipment to the needs of the manuscripts, and working closely with conservators for the review of each manuscript. There is no hesitation to set a manuscript aside if we judge it is impossible to photograph safely in its present state.

These manuscripts are of exceptional interest to scholars. The Syriac manuscripts form the largest extant collection of Syriac texts written by those who accepted the Council of Chalcedon. In the Sinai Arabic manuscripts, we can listen to a Christianity of the Middle East that resolutely combined engagement with the Islamic present and loyalty to its own past.

The manuscripts allow us to recover the history of the monastery from those times when no formal history survives. They are a witness to the spiritual heritage of Sinai. They show us that the monastery became a center where speakers of Greek, Syriac, Aramaic, and Arabic worked together for the production, translation, and copying of important texts. Today, when many Christians are leaving the Middle East, they, and the world at large, need to be reminded of their own rich heritage.

At a time when nationalism seems an increasing phenomenon on a worldwide scale, the Sinai Arabic manuscripts are evidence that the Sinai monastery, Greek and Orthodox throughout the centuries, has also been an intrinsic part of Egypt's long and multi-faceted history. All of these observations make the photography of the Syriac and Arabic manuscripts especially relevant today.

Mass-Production Techniques in Byzantine Cyprus

Charles Anthony Stewart (Benedictine College, Kansas)

Architecture reflects society. Changes in construction and design often indicate a shift in population, culture, economy, and technologies of a local community or wider region. During the fourth through eighth centuries, several construction techniques appear in Cyprus that had no previous history on the island. Archaeologists have uncovered two Late Antique monuments (an urban villa in Salamis-Constantia and a church in Kalavasos) decorated with relief sculpture made from molded gypsum plaster; this was surprising since the island had a long tradition in stone carving. Likewise, a new type of technique was developed in which rubble masonry courses were constructed using wood framing (as discovered at the Katalymata ton Plakoton martyrium), similar to the construction technique known as *pisé* (rammed earth) more common in Central Asia. What would prompt Cypriot builders to adopt these new architectural forms?

Centuries prior to the establishment of the Byzantine Empire, considerable architectural methods were developed in Persia and Egypt. Mudbrick, *pisé*, plaster and clay relief molding played (and continues to play) a role in construction especially in arid regions where lack of precipitation prevents erosion and foliage from taking root on roofs and walls. The island of Cyprus and other Byzantine provinces, such as Egypt and Syria, have had a long tradition of mudbrick construction, but these have rarely been recognized as significant by architectural historians. Even so, mudbrick construction and mass-produced relief moldings had several advantages, such as their inexpensive production costs, locally-resourced ingredients, light-weight, and relatively faster manufacturing and construction process, when compared to fired brick and ashlar masonry. Advanced construction techniques, such as vaulting and double-shell domes, seems to have first been experimented in mudbrick and, after their forms were observed to be stable, later translated for use in other more expensive materials.

Architectural innovation includes the advancement of more efficient means of production both in terms of time and funding. In assessing the evidence of mass production of plaster decoration and mudbrick in Byzantine Cyprus, this presentation will provide an overview of earlier technologies in Sassanid Persia, Byzantine Egypt, and Umayyad Palestine. My main thesis is that these often-overlooked construction techniques were rooted in ancient building traditions and were influential in the development of medieval monuments. By studying these methods we can better understand the continuity of building traditions and incremental changes in technology and design.

Stasis and Kinesis in the Kokkinobaphos Illustrations

Nava Streiter (Bryn Mawr College)

The twin Kokkinobaphos homiliaries, Vat. gr. 1162 and BnF 1208, use an unusual series of images to illustrate the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary. Each manuscript contains six paintings of the Annunciation, which are dispersed across the fifth homily. In each manuscript, three of these images are simple, almost identical, iconic compositions, which show the Archangel Gabriel addressing the Virgin. Above each painting, even the repeated ones, there is a distinct descriptive heading.

It is unusual to find a continuous sequence of nearly identical narrative illustrations in any middle Byzantine book. Moreover, the Annunciation scenes starkly contrast with the rest of the Kokkinobaphos paintings. The homilies, which expand on the *Protevangelion of James*, tell the story of the Virgin's life, from her conception into her pregnancy. The two manuscripts balance elaborate, typological frontispieces with engaging narrative illustrations that are inventive, energetic, and, as several scholars have shown, highly exegetical. They adapt earlier iconographies in creative ways, relying on the impact of nuanced iconographic details. Repeated gestures and compositional elements are key to understanding the Kokkinobaphos images in general, but only the Annunciation scene appears in multiple, highly similar images across several folios. Far from static, the rest of the homilies and their illustrations focus heavily on a series of journeys and processions, including to the Temple, to Joseph's house, and to visit Elizabeth, which mark key events in the Virgin's early life.

My paper approaches the extended, formulaic repetition of the Annunciation sequence as a meditation on the dramatic impact of iconic *stasis* and human movement. Appearing at the climax of the homiletic narrative, the repeated images – already rendered in the still medium of painting – encompass a fluid series of related but distinct narrative events. In contrast with the manuscript's other images, especially its depictions of journeys, which use body language to suggest movement, the subtle transformations of the Annunciation cycle happen in the viewer's mind or when the viewer turns the pages of the book, looking from one Annunciation to the next. Building on the themes of *kinesis* (as embodied in images of journeys) and *stasis* (found in iconic depictions), I discuss the Annunciation cycle in relation to processional icons of the Virgin Mary that gained major cultural importance in Constantinople after Iconoclasm. I argue that the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts, produced in a culture that valued living images, intentionally play with the limits and imaginative potential of represented body language, repeating the Annunciation scenes in order to simulate the movement of an icon through a physical space. The manuscript therefore creates a division between narrative images, which are activated through representations of *kinesis*, and iconic images, which come alive through the intellectual and ritual gestures of their viewers and users.

Byzantium in a point cloud. Potentials and Limitations of Augmented Reality (AR) for Byzantine Architectural Studies

(Fabian Stroth, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität)

Although excavation projects and museums have put 3D tools to good use in recent years, archaeological research is still characterized by two-dimensional “mechanical reproductions” of its three-dimensional research objects. Technologies such as virtual and augmented reality (VR/AR) offer potentials for architectural research at universities that have not yet been fully recognized.

The paper discusses two new projects at the department of Byzantine Archaeology at Freiburg University (Germany), one focused on research, the other on teaching. The aim of the project “Making Sense of 3D-printing: The reassembly of St. Polyeuktos Church” is to carry out scans of the most significant marble components of St. Polyeuktos church in Istanbul, Venice, Barcelona, Vienna and Milano. These components can be virtually restored and reassembled. The result will be 3D-printable scale models of the northern and southern central exedrae of the building with accurate placement of the famous epigram verses.

The goal of the second project, “*MARBLE - Mixed and Augmented Reality in Blended Learning Environments*,” is the implementation of three-dimensional imaging processes in object-related fields of study. In MARBLE it will be possible for researchers and students of Byzantine Archaeology to undertake *virtual fieldtrips* and directly walk on ancient mosaics to examine their images and inscriptions in small teams. Built and Cave-architecture can be walked around in the seminar room. Beyond that, places can be visited virtually, which are difficult or impossible to access in real life due to conservation fragility (caves, catacombs) or armed conflicts (Syria). One key is to understand the project not only in technical manner, but to develop MARBLE primarily as a didactic, curricular and structural research project. The paper will present first methodological and practical results of the project and discuss the potentials and limits (!) of AR for Byzantine Archaeological Studies. The paper will present first methodological and practical results of the project and discuss the potentials and limits (!) of AR for Byzantine archaeological studies.

The Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Sinai: Archives and New Discoveries

Alice Isabella Sullivan (Tufts University)

In 1956, George H. Forsyth, then professor of art history at the University of Michigan, embarked on his first trip to the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The monastery, founded by Justinian and Theodora in the sixth century (548-565), holds a prominent place in Christianity and Orthodox spirituality, as well as among scholars of medieval and Byzantine art, history, and culture.

Between 1958 and 1965, Forsyth organized a team of experts—among them Prof. Kurt Weitzmann from Princeton University—and led four research expeditions to Sinai. The Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions, as they came to be known, enabled the researchers to study firsthand the church and its monastic complex, as well as document its vast collections of icons, manuscripts, metalwork, and embroideries. The field notes and photographic material gathered during these expeditions are preserved in “Sinai Archives” at the respective institutions. Princeton’s archive centers on a smaller portion of the collection, primarily the colored icon photographs, manuscript pages, and the mosaics, which were of most interest to Weitzmann during his scholarly career. Michigan’s collection, in turn, consists of correspondences, drawings, research notes, as well as images created in black and white, 35 mm color, and Ektachrome film of the site and its large multi-media holdings.

This three-part paper discusses, first, the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai during 1958, 1960, 1963, and 1965, the kind of work that was assumed during these different excursions, and the value of the documentary and photographic evidence gathered. Second, the paper outlines the new work undertaken on the Sinai archives over the past three years, as efforts have sought to reunite, streamline, and enhance the metadata of the Michigan and Princeton collections. This initiative has also led to the design of a new Sinai website, which aims to hold and make accessible the entire archive from the expeditions, and which will serve as an invaluable resource to students, researchers, and the wider public, now and in the future. Finally, the last part of the presentation introduces several peculiarities within the collection and how the photographs, taken over a period of seven years, preserve certain changes and transformations in individual objects. The study concludes with a new discovery in the Sinai archive at Michigan. The object, misidentified and relegated to a group of icon fragments with little information about them, is in fact a very rare (and complete) image that speaks to the far-reaching connections between Sinai and regions of the Orthodox cultural spheres, and the important role the monastery at Sinai held in the post-Byzantine world. The final “case study” speaks to the vastness of the material in the Sinai collections, both actual and digitized, as well as their value as archival sources for current and future generations of researchers.

The Episcopal Catalogues: A Documentary Approach to Nicene Historiography

Jonas Tai (University of Oxford/Stanford University)

Recent scholarship has argued that the “Arian” controversy emerged largely from the pen of Athanasius of Alexandria, who, in the decades following the First Council of Nicaea (325), portrayed himself as a staunch defender of Nicene Christianity and Arius as the chief heresiarch standing in blatant opposition to Christ, orthodoxy, and the church (e.g., Lyman 1993; Barnes 1998; Ferguson 2005). As Athanasius vilified Arius, so too did he aggrandize the memory of Nicaea, whose actual proceedings remain largely conjectural. The major ecclesiastical historians, namely Theodoret, Sozomen, Socrates, and Rufinus, have also been regarded as unreliable conciliar sources, especially in their perpetuation of this ‘Athanasian’ narrative. Likewise, the counter-polemics of their contemporary, the Anomoean historian Philostorgius, as epitomized by Photius, render him no more dependable an authority than his pro-Nicene counterparts, and all of them wrote about a century after the council. Moreover, we are not aided by the absence of stenographic records, nor does the contemporary though still opaque account of the council in the eulogizing *Vita Constantini* of Eusebius Pamphili provide many procedural details. Thus, we are left with the canons, the epistolary documents, and the lists of attending bishops.

Of these, the episcopal lists have received the scantest attention since they were the subject of scholarly investigation conducted mostly by German philologists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, especially in the manner of *Quellenforschung* (Gelzer and Hilgenfeld 1899; Schwartz 1937; Honigsmann 1939, 1942). Copied from a Greek original into their respective Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Arabic manuscript traditions, the lists are composed of roughly two hundred episcopal names grouped by province and ordered by precedence of see.

Despite the interpretation of some that these were merely attendance lists, the indices should instead be considered subscription lists, having originated from the practice of affixing the names of approving bishops to synodical promulgations sent out as epistles, which can be seen, for example, in the epistolary decisions of the synods of Antioch (269), Arles (314), and Antioch (325). Because of their intrinsically conservative nature, and by showing that they constitute a documentary tradition distinct from the historiographical sources and their references, we can use them to evaluate the veracity of those historical narratives, and in turn, refer back to the historiographies to identify interpolations within the lists, without the fallacy of cyclical reasoning when cross-referencing the two evidential corpora. Such interpolations also suggest the development of later traditions of certain bishops as Arianizing ‘boogeymen.’

In continuing to revise the Athanasian narrative of Nicaea and Arianism, some scholarship has gone so far as to argue that no bishops were actually excommunicated at Nicaea, and that Arianism played little part in the Nicene proceedings, dismissing the narratives of the 5th century historians entirely (Pietras 2016). However, a study of the catalogues may advocate for those church historians by corroborating aspects of their accounts and, in turn, moderate the extent of present revisionism on Nicaea and its historiographical legacy. There is exciting potential in the study of the Nicene catalogues and conciliar subscription lists, and only by clarifying their textual origins, purposes, and historiographical contexts can we lay a firm foundation for their subsequent analysis as historical sources for the evolving geopolitics and structure of the imperial and post-imperial church in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the medieval West.

Double-Sided Objects and Visual Assimilation: The Case of Thecla

Katherine Taronas (Kenyon College)

One face of a thin stucco roundel unearthed in the Princeton-led excavations at the Antiochene suburb of Daphne bears an intaglio image that can, despite significant damage, be identified as St. Thecla. As is usual in representations of this popular saint, Thecla's arms extend in prayer, and she stands surrounded by the fearsome animals from the amphitheater trials detailed in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. However, the placement of this image on one side of a bifacial object that I suggest was meant to rotate activates it visually and typologically through comparison with the image of the reverse—a jeweled cross. This paper uses this object as a primary case study to explore how themes of mimetic imitation and formal similarity, well known concerns in the works of Early Christian commentators, manifest in art. Building on Gary Vikan's work on mimesis in pilgrimage art, I introduce a new category of objects that effect this mimetic assimilation through handling and motion.

While the original function of the stucco disc has long been uncertain, the survival of a possible suspension hole suggests it once hung in the manner of the better-known class of Roman cultic discs known as *oscilla*. Any rotation of the object would visually superimpose Thecla onto the cross, overlapping two vertical figures with extended arms and highlighting their obvious visual similarity. The act of suspension and oscillation in the breeze would visually perform the typology on the Thecla roundel, enacting her christomimetic embrace of suffering in the arena.

Early Christian authors, for example Tertullian, express that prayer with outstretched hands transforms the supplicant into a representation of the cross and consequently a type for Christ. This thematic and visual linkage is also present in Thecla's hagiography: the author of her *Life* evocatively describes how Thecla “render[ed] her whole self in the form of the cross through the extending of both her hands. . .” (trans. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson) as she faced torments in the arena. Thecla adopts the orant posture, and in doing so conforms herself to the image of the cross. The roundel thus illustrates a theme from a key moment in Thecla's life and makes the point through its material form and configuration and its potential for kinetic activation.

To underscore the importance of visual mimesis in Early Christian thought and devotion, I touch on additional examples of this phenomenon, including a lost ivory comb from Akhmim that constructs a relationship between Thecla and the Old Testament prophet Daniel by depicting them in identical attitudes on its two faces. Terracotta ampullae similarly pair Thecla with Daniel and Thecla with St. Menas. Rotating double-sided objects like the comb and pilgrimage ampullae resulted in a blurring between these holy figures that performs an idea of an approach towards a divine archetype. Seeing these holy figures assimilated to the same image suggests the impulse to bring oneself into accord with the saints and ultimately with Christ.

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Non-Greek scholars between Athos and Constantinople: a Georgian case of the 11th century

Georgian communities were the first non-Greek people who settled on Mount Athos in the 960s; almost immediately after this, Athanasios the Athonite built the monastery of Great Lavra. In 983 they established their own monastery named Iveron, and its founders dedicated it to scholarly activities. In 1044 a hagiographic text written by George the Athonite, a Georgian scholar, (1009-1065) attests that translation of any kind of theological works from Greek into Georgian – as well as reproduction and rewriting of manuscripts – was set as the main priority of the Iveron monastery. Due to a very fruitful translation activity of Efthymios the Athonite (950s?-1028, second abbot of the Iveron in 1005-1019), the monastery became such an important center for Georgian texts to have significant impact on monastic and literary traditions even within Georgia. Furthermore, Iveron Monastery was set within a network of translation and literary centers in the Byzantine Empire. While its connection with Georgian monasteries on the Black Mountain in Antioch and in Jerusalem is well investigated by scholars, scholarship neglected the study of the cultural connections between the Iveron Monastery and Constantinople. My paper addresses this problem through a case study offering a first survey of the available data about this relationship during the Middle Byzantine period.

There is evidence that some Georgian manuscripts were moved from the Iveron monastery to the monastery of Triantafyllou in Constantinople. Though little is known, its name (τριαντάφυλλο), which in Greek means ‘rose’, might indicate that it was dedicated to the Holy Virgin. My paper illustrates information about the Monastery of Triantafyllou through the analysis of colophons that mention its name. The paper will also deal with his manuscripts, which were produced in Constantinople in order to be offered to the Iveron Monastery. In this analysis, special emphasis will be given to texts which provide significant information about Theophilos the Hieromonk, the most important scholar that lived in this Constantinopolitan monastery. Biographical data about him is extremely scarce and there are a few studies about this important figure. The only source are the colophons he wrote for his manuscripts. However, we do know that he lived in the 11th century and knew Efthymios’ work quite well. At the moment studies about Theophilos are only a few and his translation method is still under full investigation. In fact, it was never compared with the one of Efthymios or Ephrem Mtsire which are, on the contrary, widely studied.

The above-mentioned colophons and their analysis will enable us to make a first attempt to understand literary relationships between two Georgian monastic communities within the Byzantine Empire. One of them was situated in the capital and one was slightly far from it on the Holy Mountain. It is interesting that, in monastic terms, the latter was the center. It is also important to analyze how, why and under which circumstances the Iveron monastery became a spiritual center of all Georgians during the medieval period.

**Enjoying the Fruits of Salvation:
Seeing the Wicked Suffer in the Psalter Vat. gr. 1927**

Courtney Tomaselli (Loyola University Chicago)

Images of physical suffering in Byzantine and medieval art can structure the viewing experience so that audiences imagine themselves in the place of those undergoing torment. Devotional images of Christ or martyrs encourage deep contemplation and meditation on their passions. Another type of image proffers sinners or malefactors being punished as object lessons to keep a viewer on the straight and narrow — scaring people into submission, so to speak. The late eleventh-century Byzantine psalter MS Vat. gr. 1927 restructures how one sees suffering. Evildoers in the psalter's compositions are paralleled and contrasted with the righteous, those who behave or believe correctly. These evildoers are often unidentified, every-person sinners. Rather than situating the viewer as potential suffering martyr or sinner, Vat. gr. 1927 structures the viewer as a righteous observer and allows them to revel in the sight of sinners meeting their just and grotesque “rewards” through a wide-ranging variety of tortures.

This paper examines a selection of images in which the punishment of sinners should be understood as both didactic and scopophilic, wherein looking at and objectifying an other becomes a source of pleasure. In some images Christ himself is shown enacting these punishments, either on earth or from heaven. In fact, in one example, traditional iconography associated with Psalm 74 in the ninth and eleventh-century marginal psalters has been altered to include Christ himself enacting part of the final verse “And I will break all the horns of sinners...” with Christ impaling a sinner with a spear. This alteration dramatizes the effect of sinning and suggests the ultimate judgment waiting for a sinner at the *Parousia*. The righteous man exalted as per the end of Psalm 74 is now depicted as an everyman so that any viewer might better identify as the righteous rather than the sinner, while taking pleasure in the sight of Christ himself punishing the wicked.

Vat. gr. 1927 was a didactic manuscript intended to teach monastic values and the charismatic path to *theosis* and salvation espoused by Symeon the New Theologian. Small, detailed, and complex, the manuscript's moralizing compositions are designed for very careful looking and deep reflection. The reward for properly parsing and understanding its images was juxtaposed and highlighted by images of divine punishment on the folios of the manuscript — the knowledge that with proper instruction from his or her spiritual father, the student would not meet such terrible fates and could be counted among the righteous. These images of suffering were at once a terrifying reminder of the consequences of sin and an invitation to delight in avoiding such results through a monastic lifestyle and devotion to a spiritual father.

**To Translate Time:
The *Chronographia* of George and Theophanes at the 870 Council of Constantinople**

Jesse W. Torgerson
(Wesleyan University)

Manuscripts are historical sources on much more than the text(s) they contain. Filippo Ronconi recently outlined a program whereby treating each manuscript book as a complex historical source in its own right we could “make a considerable contribution to the history of societies” (Ronconi, “Stratified Social Objects,” 2018). This paper demonstrates the promise of Ronconi’s approach via three manuscripts of the well-known *Chronographia* of George the Synkellos and Theophanes (written ca. 815). Examining changes these recensions made to the original work’s notation of time gives us new evidence for the milieu of the 870 Council of Constantinople.

Of what are the manuscripts evidence? The manuscript *Vatican, BAV, pal. lat. 826* (s. ix) can serve as a two-fold source: on Anastasius’ translation and adaptation of the *Chronographia* at the 870 Council of Constantinople, the *Historia Tripartita*; and, on the reception thereof at the time this manuscript copy was made. I build first from the former point, from the latter in my conclusion. We can also locate the production of two surviving Greek manuscripts of the *Chronographia* in the same milieu: *Oxford, Christ Church College, Wake gr. 5* and *Vatican, BAV, gr. 155*. Though Juan Signes Codoñer located these sister manuscripts’ production at the turn of the early ninth century (“Theophanes at the Time of Leo VI,” 2015), the lists of patriarchs and emperors in *Wake gr. 5* make the reign of Patriarch Ignatios (r. 867-877) more likely. All three manuscripts preserve, in this way, evidence for activity on the *Chronographia* in the milieu of the Council of Constantinople.

What was the nature of that activity? These recensions (the Latin and the Greek) made changes to the *Chronographia* as it had previously existed. Comparing the *Chronographia* in the earlier manuscript *Paris, BNF, gr. 1710*—mid-ninth-century (Ronconi, “La première circulation,” 2015)—the most notable change is the dating framework. The *Chronographia* in *Paris gr. 1710* subdivided the text into imperial reigns, but the recensions of 870 atomized the *Chronographia* by dividing it into annual entries (compare Jankowiak, “Framing Universal History,” 2015), each in similar but significantly different ways.

Why does a change in the notation of time matter? These two new frameworks for historical time translated the *Chronographia* into two distinct political paradigms. The Greek recension brought the *Chronographia* into line with the new temporal framework of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, reestablishing the gaze of Constantinople over a chronological *oikoumene*. The Latin recension brought the *Chronographia* into line with the temporal framework of *translatio imperii*, creating a Roman gaze over a renewed *latinitas*. Identifying the textual changes made in the recensions allows us to read these manuscripts as sources on how contemporaries explained the present by translating the past. Treating these manuscripts as complex sources in their own right can in this case provide evidence for how the late ninth-century paradigms of The Triumph of Orthodoxy and *translatio imperii* developed as ad hoc explanations for radical change.

Sainted Dynasty: The Menologion of Basil II

Shaun Tougher (Cardiff University)

The Menologion of Basil II is one of the most famous Byzantine manuscripts (*Vaticanus Graecus* 1613). This luxury artefact is renowned for its extensive depictions of saints and the question of how it was produced. This paper, however, considers it as a dynastic artefact. Produced by or for the Macedonian emperor Basil II in the late tenth or early eleventh century, the Menologion is in fact a synaxarion, comprising accounts and depictions of saints or feasts by the days of the year. Only the first volume of the Menologion survives (September to February). It comprises 430 miniatures, each accompanied by a text (always of 16 lines); thus some days of the year have more than one saint/feast to commemorate.

From a dynastic point of view, it is noteworthy that the Menologion is based on the Synaxarion of Constantinople, a hagiographic collection produced under an earlier Macedonian emperor, generally thought to be Constantine VII but possibly Leo VI. Thus the Menologion already has a dynastic character. The dynastic aspect of the manuscript is explored further through the dedicatory poem within it. The poem refers to the manuscript itself but also celebrates the emperor. Basil is said to mirror Christ in his character, and is described as 'ruler of the whole Earth, Sun of the purple, reared in purple robes, excelling both in victories and in learning'. The saints and other divine agents depicted in the manuscript are presented as 'active helpers [of the emperor], sustainers of the State, allies in battles'. Since most of the saints are martyrs, the majority shown suffering brutal deaths, there is the possibility that this reflects the perceived imperial persona of Basil II himself, as a terrifying warrior.

A further way the dynastic dimension of the manuscript is analysed is through its selection of particular saints. It is notable that several of the most recent figures included in it are individuals connected to the history of the Macedonian dynasty: these are Theodora the mother of Michael III, the eunuch Ignatius who was twice patriarch of Constantinople (the second time under Basil I), Theophano the first wife of Leo VI, and Antony Kauleas, patriarch of Constantinople (893-901) under Leo VI. The inclusion of these individuals and the texts provided about them is analysed to consider what they reveal about the dynastic concerns of the artefact. What is particularly interesting is the fact that they were included at all. It is striking that the latest saints included by the contemporary Metaphrastian Menologion are the Graptoi brothers (9th century) and Luke the Younger of Greece (died c. 946) (it is also interesting that Basil II reputedly had the Metaphrastian Menologion destroyed for including material hostile to the Macedonian dynasty).

Thus the paper argues that the dynastic aspect of the Menologion Basil II has been neglected and that the artefact is also significant for what it reveals about ideological concerns of the Macedonian dynasty.

**The Genre of Scholia in the Writings of Evagrius Ponticus:
Classical Antecedents and Byzantine Heritage**

Carl Vennerstrom
Catholic University of America

Evagrius Ponticus' corpus of scholia have received scant attention, and perhaps for good reason. They have a tangled manuscript history, and the largest collection, *Scholia on Psalms*, has only been published in a critical edition this year. Furthermore, the genre of scholia as it appears in Evagrius—short marginal comments on scattered scriptural verses—can be confusing. Innumerable definitions of scriptural terms, seemingly disconnected from context, test the reader's patience. In this paper, I untangle some of the terminological difficulties associated with the term “scholia” as it is used by scholars in Classical Studies to describe a form of editing and compilation found in Byzantine commentary collections on the great works of ancient Greece. I compare this use of the term with the way that Evagrius himself uses it to describe his commentaries, as a form of writing. Furthermore, I show how Evagrius' commentaries relate to certain Hellenic antecedents both in their form and function, especially their relationship to forms of late antique education and the advancements in scribal technology that were necessary for significant marginal annotation. For both Evagrius and his Hellenistic forebearers, the use of scholia became necessary to unearth and understand texts that were by then ancient and distant. The addition in the margins of a schoolteacher's translation of a Homeric word in the *Odyssey* or Evagrius' definition of a term in Proverbs could make the text accessible and new to their contemporary readers. Finally, I illustrate these theoretical distinctions through an examination of the exegetical strategies that Evagrius uses across the scholia collections and highlight those places in which the relationship between text and margin yields interesting insights. These observations, it is hoped, will offer a more nuanced portrait of Evagrius that goes beyond the confines of the monastic cell.

Notes on the Orality of the Orestes Scholia: Grammar School Reconsidered

Andrew Walker White (George Mason University)

As it becomes clearer that Byzantine manuscripts manifested the presence of the human voice, it pays to reconsider those myriad, seemingly pointless commentaries that accompany every classic text from Antiquity. The poetic *scholia* are finally receiving more attention, beginning with Gregory Nagy's *Homer Multitext Project*, and a forthcoming translation of the *scholia vetera* from the *Iliad*.

Complementing these efforts, this presentation offers a brief guide to Donald Mastronarde's online collection of extant scholia for Euripides' *Orestes*, from the perspective of performance. The *Orestes Scholia* website currently consists of notes collected, so far, from dozens of manuscripts, for Lines 1-500. Unlike traditional print editions, which offer a relative handful of selections based on the editor's (often idiosyncratic) standards, Mastronarde's site is all-inclusive, varying from interlinear definite articles and synonyms to diagrams, to detailed glosses and paraphrases of the text.

While it relies on traditional modes of periodization (*vetera-recentiora*), the *Orestes Scholia* site often specifies Late Byzantine scholiasts by name. This synoptic, synchronistic approach enables us to quantify what kinds of information were regarded as most important, and most commonly taught, in a typical, Late-Byzantine grammar school context.

Of special interest is the evidence that performance of the *Orestes* was one of the goals, if not the primary goal, of the *scholia*. Parts of speech, and related concepts we associate with grammar and syntax today, are hardly mentioned; instead, students were expected to master Attic Greek and its dialects (several of which are in evidence here) as an elite, living language. Strategies indicated here are various, and bear some comparison to the rehearsal process for professional theatre companies today. We are not only on the cusp of understanding Greek techniques for immersive language training, more importantly we can get a grasp on the deep, performative roots of Byzantine culture.

“Woe to Assyria!” Isaiah in the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*

James Wolfe (Princeton University)

The sixth-century Syriac chronicle known as the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite* presents itself as a “memorial” (*‘uhdānā*) of the events that occurred in Edessa and the surrounding regions in the years leading up to and during the war between Rome and Persia from 502–507 CE. Its anonymous author, commonly called Pseudo-Joshua, explains that he intends the *Chronicle* to be not only a “memorial” of these events, but also a didactic text that will instruct future generations to “guard against our sins and escape our punishments” (*Chronicle* 1). I suggest, therefore, that when Pseudo-Joshua directly cites the book of Isaiah in the *Chronicle*, he does so in order to deploy Isaiah as a source of historical and theological precedent for his particular interpretation of recent history.

Scholars, such as John W. Watt and Frank R. Trombley, have already analyzed several explicit citations of the book of Isaiah in the *Chronicle*, and have briefly discussed the importance of the text of Isaiah to Pseudo-Joshua’s literary programme. Moreover, Watt and Trombley recognized that Pseudo-Joshua chose to cite Isaiah at three key structural points in the *Chronicle*: in the prologue, in the transition between the first part of the text in the form of a chronicle and the second in the form of a narrative history, and, finally, in the conclusion to the *Chronicle*. For example, in his prologue, Pseudo-Joshua explains to Sergius, his interlocutor, that God had punished the citizens of Edessa for their sinfulness by means of the Persians who acted as his “rod of anger,” which is a direct reference to Isaiah 10:5 (*Chronicle* 5).

I contend, however, that Pseudo-Joshua’s implicit references and allusions to Isaiah, which have not been analyzed in previous scholarship, are more revealing of his literary programme as a whole. This is perhaps most apparent in his account of the failed Persian siege of Edessa, which recalls Isaiah 37:33-35. Pseudo-Joshua explains that Edessa was saved thanks to Christ’s guarantee to protect Edessa from its enemies, thus referencing the so-called Abgar Legend. Pseudo-Joshua continues, harmonizing his account of the events of the war with Persia both with the Abgar Legend and with biblical precedent from the book of Isaiah. As a result, Pseudo-Joshua uses Isaian authority to reaffirm the authority of the Abgar Legend and the authority of his own historical narrative simultaneously.

In this paper, I first analyze Pseudo-Joshua’s explicit references to the book of Isaiah in the *Chronicle*, before identifying and analyzing the numerous implicit references and allusions to Isaiah that Pseudo-Joshua embeds in his text. Second, I examine how Pseudo-Joshua’s use of Isaiah furthers the goals of his narrative. My ultimate contention is that the *Chronicle* functions as an example of the discursive processes necessary for the integration of local histories into the broader, convergent histories of the late Roman empire and of Christianity in the late antique Near East.

The Patriarch's Polychromatic Pamphlet: 'Chromatomachoi' and Nikephoros I's *Adversus Iconomachos*.

Julian Wood (University of Cambridge)

The Patriarch Nikephoros I of Constantinople (d.828) is a man who fell by the historical wayside. A skilled theologian, caught amid the iconoclastic convulsion that gripped Byzantine Christianity between 815-843, he was a titanic defender of image-veneration. Nikephoros' surviving corpus of specifically *iconophile* writings is more extensive than any other, yet, save a fleeting French translation of one work (Mondzain-Baudinet, 1989), not a single example has been translated. Only two, now long-dated, in-depth studies explored him (Alexander, 1958; Travis, 1982), and the Greek text of his longest work has only recently received a published critical edition (Featherstone, 1997).

Even amongst stiff competition of neglect, Nikephoros' small pamphlet, the *Adversus Iconomachos* (Pitra, 1858 cols.223-291), has been almost un-noted. Despite its composition as an effectively 'digestible' thought distillation, which could offer unique opportunity to assess the salient points of the patriarch's image-theory, the pamphlet's study has been confined to fragments. More than any other, a single quotation has constituted these: Nikephoros' declaration that iconoclasts were "persecutors of colour [Chromatomachoi], rather, persecutors of Christ [Christomachoi]" (20.52-53). It was utilised by Travis (1984), James (1996), and Brubaker (1999), but always in isolation; used merely to state broadly that Nikephoros' was interested in color, without elaboration or synthesis with the rest of the work, despite his c.20 other references to it. The phrase is pregnant with potential, inviting us to question how much Nikephoros' pun reflected reality, and implied color's importance within Byzantine Iconoclasm. Yet it has never been developed, and its place within the ideas of the wider pamphlet, and indeed within Byzantine Iconoclasm more broadly, remains unknown.

My paper addresses this lacuna. Colour is an inescapable aspect aesthetic experience, and I offer fresh appreciation of its centrality to Nikephoros' views on divinity's interactions with such experience. Collating his references to colour evaluates not only their content, but their lexical trickery. 'Chroma', the dominant 'color' term, is polysemous: able to denote physical media, the concept of colour, and even flesh. I suggest that all three were important to Nikephoros' icon-theory, and to his rhetorical strategies. On the one hand, having icons as 'made' of 'chroma' meant re-emphasising, as one scholar noted incidentally, that they were 'inert' media (Tsakiridou 2013). On the other, Nikephoros' may also have theologized the Byzantine color-theory's prioritisation of light over hue, demonstrated by James in *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art* (1996), since which scholarship on Byzantine colour has stalled. My paper also examines Nikephoros' clear preference for polychromy in relation to contemporary delight in it; thereby allowing icons to touch emotions and facilitate noetic contemplation of the firmly Chalcedonian idea of Christ's separate, invisible, yet palpable divine nature. I also explore how 'chroma's relationship to flesh may link to contemporary interest in 'faithful' icons, which appropriately mirrored properties of once-living figures, and thereby confirmed Christ's Incarnation as tangible, depictable reality. Overall, I suggest that this neglected work, by a neglected figure, may begin to elucidate the literally colorful nature one of Byzantium's most fascinating, yet poorly understood, periods.

Attributing “Greekness” in Warfare in the Crusading State of Frankish Morea: Another case of Western Orientalism?

Evangelos Zarkadas (University of Maine)

In the fourteenth century, the *Chronicle of Morea* which described the creation and governance of the Principality of the Morea by the Villehardouin dynasty, and the reconquest of the principality by the Byzantines made references to a “Greek” type of warfare. The *Chronicle* found the presence of a “Greek” type of warfare worthy of attention, while this interest to the “Greekness” of warfare generated broad judgments of the Byzantine/Greek culture. Certain crusading texts and ideas used an existing anti-Greek bias from previous western literary sources, and intensified the idea of easterners, and “Greekness” as negative connotations with their move East after the Fourth Crusade. The concept of “Greekness” is seen as a polemic construct that referred to deception, misinformation, treachery, cowardice, heresy, and in various senses anything that did not resemble or look like the western way of the Chivalric warfare. For contemporary writers, “Greekness” in the Morea was politically contrived as a tool by the western conquerors to gain political power over the conquered. Such attitudes of categorization between western and eastern have been widely accepted to belong to the context of the idea of Orientalism, an idea which rose into the scholarly prominence with Edward Said’s work *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Although Said does not necessarily mention warfare between Franks and Greeks in the Latin States after the Fourth Crusade, this research will argue that the western identification of the Byzantine warfare as “Greek” and all the characteristics that tailed that name have a place under the broader framework of Orientalism and the idea of empowerment and disempowerment between the West and the East.

This paper first defines the meaning and characteristics of “Greekness” as it was used by the Franks in warfare in the Principality of Morea, and then evaluates how this definition of “Greekness” fits into the study of Orientalism and how this definition was used to understand Byzantine strategy and tactics in war and judge them as socially and culturally inferior to those used by the West.