Visual Theology in Early Byzantine and Islamic Art

Rico Franses (American University of Beirut)

This paper deals primarily with non-figural abstraction in Early Byzantine and Islamic art. The topic of abstraction in Islamic art in particular has been a subject of controversy for some time. Many scholars argue that these forms have deep theological significance, while others dismissing this claim as mere speculation. This paper argues that these abstract patterns do indeed concern theological issues, and it attempts to counter some of the claims made by those who deny this.

The paper also traces the beginnings of the theological significations of non-figural abstraction to Early Byzantine art forms. These demonstrate that the fundamental process of finding, in non-figural abstraction, a modality for the investigation of theological issues was already well underway in Byzantium.

A key theme running throughout the paper is the idea that abstract forms are in themselves an independent mode of theological investigation. In this respect, they are equivalent to, yet distinct from, the work of theologians pursuing their questions in verbal form. This way of approaching art differs from standard accounts, which generally consider images to be a later, subsidiary response to the work of theologians who articulate their concerns first in writing. The paper argues, rather, that the domain of the visual opens up a field of investigation of its own specific theological concerns, ones that only really arise in relation to the visual itself, and of which, words, on their own, would barely manage to conceive. The paper thus argues for a theology not of the visual, but by the visual.

Three Women and Their Icons in the Context of the Crusades

Annemarie Weyl-Carr (Southern Methodist University)

To honor a woman who has offered extraordinary insight into the East Christian world during the Crusades, this paper turns to three icons that single out women within a crusading context. It focuses on the bilateral Vita icon in Athens, formerly Kastoria, with a tiny female devotee behind a sculpted figure of St. George bearing a crusader's shield; two female saints occupy the reverse. The panel is generally agreed to be Byzantine in its individual elements, but unusual in sum, reflecting the strangeness of the Frankish era. As such, it forms a Greek counterpart to two other icons with women from the Crusader era: the icon at Sinai with a woman kneeling before St. Sergios, and the funerary icon of the deceased Maria of 1356 on Cyprus.

Significant in the Athens icon is St. George's posture. Rare for saints other than Mary and the Baptist, the orant posture distinguishes warrior saints as martyrs. Often in confronted pairs, they turn to receive a blessing or crown from Christ. The two Theodores most frequently assume this posture, though it was eventually associated with George. Ivan Drpić has recently drawn attention to a much-venerated relief icon of the two Theodores in this pose in the Old Metropolis in Serres. Like the Athens icon, it was in relief; all other relief icons are frontal. Replicated in painted icons in Veria and Kastoria, it may have been a stimulus for the St. George.

The George of the Athens icon is thus not just orant, but belonged to an iconography of military martyrdom well known in the 13th century in the vicinity of Kastoria. The result is a George singularly unengaged with the donor. This is not just because he turns away from her, but because his engagement with Christ concerns his own status as a martyr. More than transmitting her plea, he is realizing his martyr's reward. The two saints on the back of the Athens icon adopt the same, warrior iconography. Strange in its indirectness, with martyrs turning to receive Christ's benediction rather than inviting the pleas of their devotees, the icon has an occasional quality, as though the icon had been conceived with reference to specific occasion that was powerful enough to bend the customary devotional conventions of icons. Much the same bending of devotional conventions characterizes the other two icons with women's portraits from the Crusader Levant. All three seem to have been designed for an Orthodox patron, but to serve a particular occasion in a way that was not usual in Orthodox usage. It is the occasional character of all three icons that most occupies this paper.

Two 13th Century Icons from the Monastery of St. Catherine: Byzantine or Crusader

Jaroslav Folda (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

Two 13th century icons currently in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai have consistently been attributed to Byzantine artists until very recently. Both icons represent the Virgin and Child Hodegetria. One is a mosaic icon (47.3 x 33.7 cm) bust length usually dated c. early 13th century. The other is a small panel (35 x 26 cm) with the Virgin and Child Hodegetria seated on a lyre-backed throne between flanking angels. This panel is usually dated to the second half of the 13th century.

In publications dated 2006 and 2004 respectively, Bissera Pentcheva and Elka Bakalova have proposed to reinterpret these icons as follows. For the mosaic icon, Pentcheva concludes that the "icon is … most likely the product of a Crusader (Venetian?) artist who was fascinated both with the psychological depth of a few new Byzantine iconographic formulas of the Virgin and Child and with the splendidly adorned Constantinopolitan state icons such as the Hodegetria. He created a Western hybrid… ." For the enthroned Virgin and Child Hodegetria icon, Bakalova proposes that "this small icon of great artistic merit was probably painted in the ateliers of the Monastery of Saint Catherine by a master painter working for the Crusaders."

I propose to revisit these interpretations in order to reconsider the arguments surrounding these two important icons; I will present additional evidence to support the ideas advanced by these two scholars.

The Silks of Palermo in Philagathos' *Ekphrasis* and the Byzantine Textile Industry of the Twelfth Century

Evanthia Baboula (University of Victoria, B.C.)

In a Greek sermon that dates from the 1140s Philagathos of Cerami included an *ekphrasis* of the interior of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo. After marveling at the light and shining mosaics, the gold *muqarnas* ceiling that imitates the starry sky, and the floor that looks like an eternal spring meadow, the author praises the silks woven with gold motifs. He also offers the uncharacteristically concrete piece of information that the silks were the work of Phoenicians. This use of an archaism is consistent with the appearance of ancient geographical names in Byzantine Greek texts, in which exotic nations, groups of people, and places are often mentioned with their classical equivalents rather than names that were contemporary. Such terms have proved difficult to interpret. Philagathos' Phoenicians represent an ambiguous term: both Syrians and north African Muslims have been tentatively suggested.

Historical and literary evidence, nevertheless, can be seen to support an alternative interpretation that connects these Phoenicians to the textile industry of Byzantium. The paper further considers the possibility that the inclusion of the term was based on its understanding through simultaneous, but varied layers of meaning. This new explanation bears implications for the date of the sermon, as well as for contextualizing the activities of the silk workers who were captured in 1147 from Byzantium and transferred to the Norman court of Roger II.

Autobiography or Autography: Seeking the True Self in Gregory of Nazianzus' *Poemata de seipso*

Suzanne Abrams Rebillard (Ithaca, NY)

Why did Gregory of Nazianzus write over 6600 verses about himself? He explains in a smattering of passages and in 2.1.39, "De suis versibus," by using Classical tropes — e.g., as a remedy to his ills and to sweeten the cup of instruction for the young — but these fall flat. Scholars explain by likening the poems to contemporary autobiography, emphasizing their exposition of interiority. But in addition to the problems of defining fourth-century interiority, the label "autobiography" burdens a text, not least, as Abbott discusses ("Autobiography, Autography, Fiction," *New Literary History* 19 [1988]: 597–615), by inherently tempting audiences to seek non-biographical intentions, reorienting how they see the "truth" of the text.

We might answer the question by following A. C. Spearing in his *Medieval Autographies, The "I" of the Text* (Notre Dame, IN 2012). Spearing re-identifies the "autobiographical" poetry of three medieval English poets as autography—"extended non-lyrical writings in the first person, in which 'I' and the other first-person singular pronouns function not as labels for a real or fictional individual but as means of evoking proximality and experientiality" (257). He grants that some autographical content is autobiographical, but autography allows for inconsistencies of voice, a fractured self, because it is intended to give the illusion of speech while remaining "unmistakably textual; writing that takes writing as its theme" (256).

Considering Gregory's *Poema* 2.1.68 as autography, we see a fractured self communicating its humanity through the salvation narrative; the poem's production of an emotional immediacy not specific to the author allows the audience to replicate its quest for a true self in salvation. The poem is a tirade against the bishops who called Gregory to Constantinople then dethroned him, events glossed but only fully known from other sources. The poem is about voice: over the course of 104 lines, Gregory refers to speaking thirty times. But he is "speaking" in verse, not conversing, reminding us of the artificiality of the text. The poem's self is, as Spearing describes, fractured: victimized (a corpse surrounded by vultures, 71–2), yet valiant (he is kalos k'agathos, 55); blaming Christ (74–5) then asking Christ for aid (79–80). At the end of the poem, the focus shifts from the speaking self to the episcopate: the self becomes an example for other episcopal selves and for sufferers in general as the episcopal throne (39) is replaced by Christ's throne in heaven (104).

One of the oft-mentioned difficulties with autobiography is that a life-story's true closure is death, hence its text's closure must be fictional. But 2.1.68, as most of the *Poemata de seipso*, ends in heaven and is thus structured on the salvation narrative. For the artificial autographical self created in the text, as for humans on earth, true closure and discovery of the true self lies in following that narrative. 2.1.68's autographic humanity and suffering is a guide to finding truth in salvation.

Ephrem's Economic "I" and the Problem of Early Byzantine Authorship

Jeffrey Wickes (Saint Louis University)

In print and in public oratory, early Byzantine authors presented their authorial selves in highly ambivalent language. As Derek Krueger has articulated it, literary production engaged its practitioners in claims of "authority and power" that seemed distinctly at odds with the "ascetic call to humility" (*Writing and Holiness*, Pennsylvania, 2004, p. 2). Yet, alongside this tension of authority and humility, there existed a clear sense of the spiritual—even salvific—value of authorship, not just for an audience, but for the author as well. For Byzantine authors, then, religious writing was no simple phenomenon: it could lead to salvation for oneself and others, it could shore up the faith of those doubting, but it could also lead to pride, and, through that, potential damnation.

All of these issues played out in the works of Ephrem (d.373), the majority of which took the form of metrical homilies and hymns (mîmrê and madrāšê). These hymns and homilies suffer no lack of first-person references, but the "I" of these works tends to be highly metaphoric and lacking in obvious autobiographical detail. Nevertheless, a close reading of these first person references suggests a dynamic within Ephrem's hymns that is similar to that seen elsewhere in early Byzantine authorial rhetoric. This paper examines a single family of metaphors with which Ephrem refers to his authorial self: economic metaphors. Gary Anderson has recently shown that within the late ancient Aramaic religious landscape, economic language came to predominate discourses of sin and forgiveness (*Sin: A History*, New Haven, 2009). While Anderson correctly identifies this crucial aspect of Ephrem's moral vocabulary, he fails to note that these economic metaphors function frequently as a way of constructing a theology of authorship.

Through an exegesis of Ephrem's use of the language of "gift" (mawhabtâ), "treasure" (gazzâ, bêt gazzâ, sîmtâ), and "credit" (Ephrem refers to himself as a "creditor," mārê ḥawbâ), this paper shows that, on a most basic level, Ephrem uses these metaphors to conceptualize (for himself and his audience) his own poetic speech. Divine inspiration is presented as a "gift" from God, which must then be "lent" to an audience through performance, a transaction that aids in constructing a heavenly "treasury" of poetic inspiration, from which Ephrem can continue to draw. Having established the connection between economic language and poetic self-identity, this paper argues that these economic metaphors enabled Ephrem to negotiate the tricky role of the Christian author in the early Byzantine period: by recasting his oratorical self in economic terms, Ephrem, on the one hand, constructed a rhetoric of humble authority, while, on the other hand, crafted his own speech as a work upon which his and his audience's salvation depended. Ephrem did this, moreover, in a distinctly Aramaic idiom, using a moral vocabulary recognizable to his Aramaic speaking audience. Through this language, Ephrem was able to construct theological speech in clearly moral terms.

Blindness and Self-Recognition in Nonnos of Panopolis' Metaphrasis of John 9

Scott F. Johnson (Dumbarton Oaks and Georgetown University)

The fifth-century verse *Paraphrase* (metaphrasis) of the Gospel of John by Nonnos of Panopolis (ed. Scheindler 1881) has attracted much scholarly interest of late. A confederation of Italian scholars has published new editions and commentaries on individual books. Thus far, seven new editions have appeared: Livrea 1989 = 18; Accorinti 1996 = 20; Livrea 2000 = 2; De Stefani 2002 = 1; Agosti 2003 = 5; Greco 2004 = 13; Caprara 2005 = 4; Franchi 2013 = 6. Partly because of this new work, Nonnos' titanic effect on all classicizing Greek poetry after him has been studied in more detail and affirmed in a number of publications. Comparisons between the *Dionysiaka* and the *Paraphrase* have demonstrated that Nonnos was clearly working on both poems simultaneously, contrary to the older view that a conversion led him to abandon pagan subjects. Theologically speaking, the *Paraphrase* shows an awareness of the value of John's gospel for the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation in particular.

"Selfhood" plays an important role in the *Paraphrase* in a number of scenes that are specifically Johannine: e.g., Nicodemus (John 3), the Samaritan woman at the well (4), and the man born blind (9). Focusing on John 9 as an example of the poetics of selfhood, this paper highlights the rhetoric of blindness and self-recognition. Recognition scenes from John are consistently embroidered by Nonnos for dramatic effect: the post-resurrection appearances to Mary Magdalene and Thomas are two of the more elaborate in terms of their epic diction (John 20). For John 9, Nonnos makes clever use of the dialogue of his Vorlage, such as when the man born blind, even after sparring with the Pharisees over his healing, does not come to true self- recognition until confronted again by the incarnate Jesus. Nonnos also acknowledges the forensic quality of the original — "who sinned?", "where is this man?", "who is he, Lord, that I may believe in him?" — and intensifies the interrogations of the man, both by the Jews and by Jesus at the end of the chapter. Furthermore, Nonnos is highly attuned to the language of gnosis and revelation throughout: e.g., 9.147–148, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ θαῦμα πολὺ πλέον, ὅττι περ ὑμῖν / οὗτος ἔην ἄγνωστος, ἐμὰς δ' ὤιξεν ὀπωπάς, "This is an exceedingly marvelous thing, that this man should be unknown to you, even though he opened my eyes!". And the emphasis on self-knowledge (or its absence) is reinforced through Jesus's criticism of the Jews: e.g., 9.187–188, τυφλοὶ δ' ἐστὲ νόῳ βλεφάρων πλέον· οἷσι γὰρ ἀνδρῶν / ἀμπλακίαι μίμνουσι, μάτην ὁρόωσιν ὀπωπαῖς, "You are blind in mind even while full of eyes; those men for whom faults remain vainly use their eyes to see."

The concepts of blindness and self-recognition offer a means of investigating not only Nonnos' poetic skill at verse metaphrasis but also his sensitivity to poetic and theological topoi of his own day. Primary among these in Nonnos are the reality of the Incarnation and the status of humanity in the sight of God.

Social and Personal Self in Tzetzes' *Chiliades*

Aglae Pizzone (University of Geneva)

The *Chiliades*, a verse-commentary on Tzetzes' own letter-collection, represents the first instance of self-commentary designed for publication in European literature. This genre, bound to become very popular in the West in late medieval times and beyond, is a privileged locus for reading the emergence and the construction of a writer's self. Tzetzes was well aware of such a potential, so much so that he regarded the *Chiliades* as his flag-ship work: when planning, in his older days, the edition of his work, he decided to open it with the self-commentary. The *Chiliades* are also a case in point illustrating the 12th-century evolution of the commentary genre: instead of disappearing beyond the primary text, commentators used the traditional exegetical framework to express their personal concerns and set their intellectual agenda. Such a tendency was, of course, magnified in self-commentaries. The double role (or even triple, given the presence of further scholia to the *Chiliades*) played by Tzetzes as an author and a commentator, allowed him to represent himself from different and, at times, contrasting perspectives. In my paper, I will present some examples of the multiple selves displayed by Tzetzes in the *Chiliades*.

First, I explore how the constant shift between the first (ἐγώ) and the third person (ὁ Τζέτζης) allows Tzetzes to present both his personal and his social self. In this respect, it is no coincidence that Tzetzes chose to comment on his letter collection, given the role played by epistolary communication in sustaining social networks and the relevance of self-staging in letter writing.

Second, I show how Tzetzes consciously plays with social constructions of the self, toying with his public image and jokingly using it to highlight the identity clash that social and literary expectations may bring about. In particular, Tzetzes' public identity seems to be closely connected to his published work. He and his books seem to overlap, up to the point that forgeries and false attributions impinge on his sense of the self. By establishing the boundaries of his production he thus tries to overcome his marginality, re-defining his social self and bringing it closer to his personal, somewhat idealized, self-concept.

Depiction of the Self in the Poems of Manuel Philes

Marina Bazzani (Oxford University)

Manuel Philes (1275-1335) was one of the most prolific poets of the Palaeologan era. While his poetry was widely appreciated by his contemporaries, his death inaugurated a long period of neglect for his poems. Despite the ample scope for research they offer, Philes' poems are still in need of in-depth literary study. Recent scholarship has addressed a limited number of Philes' dedicatory and ecphrastic epigrams, which, however, have been mostly considered within the wider subject of the development and use of epigrams in Byzantium, rather than from a literary perspective. Similarly, art historians have shown interest for Philes' epigrams on works of art for their detailed descriptions of objects, but have not delved into their literary dimension. The present paper looks at Philes' poetry as a literary work and as an expression of his personality; and it aims to broaden our understanding of the poet's depiction of self, as well as of the social and intellectual background in which he operated.

Philes earned his living dedicating homage and appeals to members of the imperial family, religious figures, and other wealthy patrons. Whether the poems were composed for a particular occasion, as thanks or a plea, or, more often, as a means to solicit rewards of all sorts, they exude much admiration and deference towards the addressees. Accordingly, an enduring repute of dullness and servility has tarnished Philes' occasional poetry. A detailed reading of these poems, however, reveals countless variations in the handling of topics; and it shows how the poet, behind the occasional screen of homage and plea, manages to praise or tease his patrons, rebuke their scarce liberality, or complain about unsatisfactory provisions through the manipulation of poetic style and the coexistence of several levels of meaning in the text; as, for example, in a short epigram dedicated to Theodore Patrikiotes (*Flor.* 10), where Philes vents openly and ironically — and very inappropriately — his discontent over a gift of spoiled meat.

This modus operandi demonstrates not only Philes' poetic ability, but also his skills attuning requests to his rapport with the recipients and to external circumstances, as, for instance, in poem *Par.* 69, where the sombre tone conveys the gravity of the situation and the anguish of the poet. It is precisely this feature that unearths Philes' description of the self: for different attitudes display diverse aspects of his character. By examining closely how Philes depicted himself in his verses, it is possible to gain insight into his life and his identity, as well as to try to understand what drove him to speak so often about himself in a society where autobiographical disclosure was, if not frowned upon, at least quite exceptional.

Such a close investigation brings to light Philes' multifaceted self and his complex poetic technique, and helps discard the prejudice that pictures Byzantine poetry simply as a work of mimesis of classical models and an intellectual divertissement bereft of feeling and originality.

Theodosius II and the First Council of Ephesus

G.A. Bevan (Queen's University)

The received view of the First Council of Ephesus (431) has been that Cyril of Alexandria and his party wrested control of the council away from Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, well before it ever convened in the spring of 431. Moreover, the outcome – the deposition of Nestorius – was a *fait accompli* at which the emperor Theodosius II connived due, in no small part, to his sister's staunch opposition to Nestorius for his alleged rejection of the title *Theotokos* for Mary. Considerable scholarly authority was lent to this view by Eduard Schwartz, and later by Kenneth Holum, who both argued that the deck was stacked against the hapless bishop of Constantinople. Their influential views have effaced the real historical contours of 431 and the fluidity of the situation, especially as concerned the emperor's position and that of his sister, Pulcheria.

A revisionist view of the events of 431 is proposed in which the council ordered by Theodosius was intended to prove Nestorius' orthodoxy and quell the widespread criticism of him. While opponents of Nestorius in the capital, such as the monk Basil, called for a general council to put an end to the bitter conflict, the first we hear of imperial preparations for a council is from Nestorius himself at the end of his third letter to Pope Celestine in the summer of 430. Neither Pope Celestine nor Cyril of Alexandria, Nestorius' chief opponents outside the capital, would themselves request a council, and instead pursued a strategy that saw Nestorius' acceptance of the Cyril's 12 Anathemas as sufficient to resolve the controversy. In this context, the *sacra* directed at Cyril by the emperor questioned the orthodoxy of Cyril and his Anathemas, not of Nestorius himself. Finally, the strange invitation of Augustine of Hippo to attend the Eastern council further suggests that the emperor hoped to dispel the apparent western belief that Nestorius was tainted with Pelagianism for the hospitality he had shown Pelagian exiles from the West. The eventual failure of the council to vindicate Nestorius, or even arrive at any clarification of Christological doctrine at all other than general approbation for *Theotokos*, was due not to machinations by Cyril, the emperor or his sister, but instead to Nestorius' own diffidence. The bishop lost heart early in the council and made repeated offers to resign, a tacit admission of guilt in the eyes of his opponents. What is more, Nestorius failed to attend any sessions of the council, even those held by his own partisans.

This revised understanding of the emperor's position has several implications. First, Pulcheria, even if she indeed personally championed *Theotokos*, had insufficient influence over her brother or his ministers to force his abandonment of Nestorius until the very end of the council. Second, Theodosius and his successor Marcian learnt from the debacle in 431 that much tighter control of agendas and attendance at council was required to ensure the desired outcome.

When the Emperor Changed his Mind

Patrick T. R. Gray (York)

In one of the most striking reversals of late antiquity, Theodosius II first suppressed a cyrillian orthodoxy asserting "out of two natures before the union" and "one incarnate nature after the union" by means of the trial and condemnation of Eutyches (Nov. 8–22, 448), then eight short months later enthusiastically embraced it by means of the trial and condemnation of Eutyches' judge and prosecutor for a miscarriage of justice at the Second Council of Ephesus (Aug. 8 & 22, 449). Partway between the two a preliminary hearing of April 13, 449, one of several held over alleged falsification of the minutes of Eutyches' trial, reveals how the principals attempted to position themselves favourably as the ground shifted under their feet, and in the face of what they were on record as having said and done in the radically different situation that had obtained only five months earlier.

Eutyches' advocates, for instance, produced his notaries' records to argue that he had never said the words which the official minutes recorded as his confession of heresy. Florentius, the patrician who had administered the *coup de grâce* at Eutyches' trial, and who now, ironically, presided over the hearing, attempted to construe what seemed evidently enough to be hostile demands he made of Eutyches as helpful hints he had been offering the defendant. Eusebius of Dorylaeum, Eutyches' prosecutor, seems to have been under the illusion that the emperor had not changed his mind, and looked for exoneration at the impending council. The Constantinopolitan notaries whose minutes were being challenged did everything they could to avoid appearing, and when they finally were forced to give evidence, pleaded that no one could have remembered the exact words of every speaker, and explained that often a notary chose what one person said to represent what "the council said." More than one bishop argued that what they might have said only by way of getting a discussion of the issues going with fellow bishops, perhaps as an *advocatus diaboli*, had somehow been quoted in the minutes as their official and public position, totally misrepresenting them.

The undignified and unprincipled haste with which officials and bishops alike at this hearing thus mostly sought to unsay what they had said suggests that perhaps Dioscorus was telling the truth when he said at Chalcedon that he had had no reason to resort to force at Ephesus, these same pliant bishops being only too willing to vote with him—though as they claimed against their consciences—without the use of force. It suggests, too, that their subscription to Marcian's officials' proposed statement of faith at Chalcedon, so unlike the statement they had clearly just been enthusiastic about, was another case of pliant submission to imperial pressure, and not the flooding in of a sudden recognition that that statement was theologically superior.

Victory Over the Enemy of the Church: The Empire, the Church and the Council of Nicaea

Edward Mason (University of Kentucky)

The Council of Nicaea, convened by Constantine in 325, was nominally to determine a solution to the Arian problem. If that was its sole aim, the results were mixed. Constantine's pronouncement "*homoousios*" resolved almost nothing. Some dissenting bishops were temporarily exiled, but Arian bishops eventually were favored at court and Constantine was baptized by one. Ultimately, the most significant result of the council was not theological, but institutional: the emperor now was the most important judge of what was "orthodox."

Indeed, what actually occurred at Nicaea is unclear. Due to the problematic nature of the sources – we have no *acta* – discovering the conciliar procedure at Nicaea has been elusive. In this vacuum, scholars have tried their best to explain the events. The tradition of Jacob Burckhardt must be rejected for failing to take into account the religious nature of the event.   But, more recent scholars, especially H.A. Drake, have challenged both the idea that Nicaea created a universal "orthodoxy" and the assumption that it had a *solely* religious function. Indeed, one might even say that any vocabulary that distinguishes politics and religion in describing fourth-century imperial culture might be potentially anachronistic.

The only clear pattern of events is that the emperor left his imprint on every aspect of the council. After calling the bishops to the imperial palace in territory recently won in the civil war with Licinius, Constantine entered in a grand ceremony marked by the silence of those present. In many ways, this ceremony resembled the *adoratio* of Diocletian or perhaps a senate meeting, a fact that should be no surprise due to his Tetrarchic background. Constantine himself played a central role in the discussions. At the conclusion of the proceedings, a massive victory feast celebrating the defeat of Licinius took place.

Nicaea is generally considered the first ecumenical council and a chronological marker for the emergence of a universal orthodoxy and church. But a closer look might lead us to ask a more basic question: what actually happened in 325? The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the possibility that Constantine, at least, understood the events of Nicaea as an imperial ceremony that, like all imperial ceremony, both Christian and non-Christian, emphasized the favor of the deity to the emperor and the Romans' gratitude both to God and to his chosen representative on earth for that favor. The actions of Constantine from the council to his death should at the least raise doubts that he viewed Nicaea as the final word on doctrine. They should also raise the possibility that he viewed Nicaea as a court event that employed or adapted Tetrarchic or earlier imperial ceremonial precedents in which bishops under the leadership of the emperor could celebrate their unity and their thanksgiving to God in order to ensure the divine favor that Constantine, like every emperor, recognized as the foundation of his rule.

What Was the Council in Trullo?

David Olster (University of Kentucky)

Historians have universally judged the Council in Trullo or the Quinisext Council of 691-92 as one of the milestones that pave the way to Iconoclasm. Its famous canon 82, which prohibited the depiction of Christ as a lamb and required a human image, has certainly been seen as a defining moment in the cultural history of icons. Particularly when coupled with the exactly contemporaneous striking of a solidus with the bust of Christ on the obverse, the canon and the Council in general have been largely understood as an imperial endorsement of icons against which Leo III reacted a generation later.

In contrast to the attention lavished on canon 82 (and to a lesser extent those canons that contrast Roman and eastern practices or shed light on other "popular" religious practices), scholars have generally overlooked how extremely peculiar the evidence of the Council itself is. This evidence consists exclusively of three documents: a short, introductory speech by Justinian II, the canons and the subscription list. There are no protocols whatsoever. The Council is called "in Trullo" because it is reported that the domed Trullan hall of the palace was the venue (where significantly Constantine IV, Justinian II's father, held the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680-81). But aside from the likelihood that a group of bishops met there in the presence of Justinian, there is no evidence that any debate occurred or even that any bishop spoke. It need not even be assumed that all the bishops whose names appear on the subscription list signed it at the council since emperors had previously circulated declarations of faith for episcopal signatures without bothering with any formal conclave: for example, the Theopaschite declaration of faith during the reign of Justinian I. In short, the evidence that should demonstrate that there was a Council as we conventionally imagine one (and an ecumenical council at that according to Justinian himself and the names on the subscription list) actually demonstrates nothing of the sort.

So what exactly was the Council in Trullo? In order to sort out this question, it is necessary to examine the broader ecclesiastical policy of Justinian II within the institutional evolution of the seventh-century imperial church. Much had changed since Justinian declared in Novel 6 that the imperial was entirely distinct from the ecclesiastical office. By the middle of the seventh century, Maximus the Confessor could be charged with treason for denying that the emperor was also a priest. So, although both Justinian I and Justinian II clearly saw ecclesiastical affairs as within their sphere of authority, it seems likely that their conceptualization of their place in the imperial church and the levers they used to impose their authority had changed. In 687, Justinian II re-issued the Acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council "from his hand" at what all scholars agree was a *silention*, as if it was imperial legislation. Similarly, when he issued his famous Christ obverse coinage, he adopted the legend for his own image on the reverse, "servus Christi" which had been up to that time employed as an episcopal, not imperial, title. And most significantly, canon 69 assigned the emperor the unique privilege of standing at the altar like a priest or deacon sharply distinguishing his status from all other laity. It is in the light of this shifting or perhaps blurred definition of emperor and priest that we will reconsider what was the Council in Trullo.

Bishop and Imperial Court, 350-430 CE:
Tracing Patterns of Social Interaction across Multiple Letter Collections

Adam M. Schor (University of South Carolina)

How did early Byzantine bishops, in diverse positions and social settings, interact with emperors and their courtiers? Scholars seek answers to this question through various sources; for the fourth and early fifth centuries, they frequently turn to collected letters. This period supplies several extant epistolary collections from bishops (or one-time bishops) east and west, including Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose of Milan, John Chrysostom, Synesius of Cyrene, and Augustine of Hippo, plus scattered notes from other figures.   And the letters offer hundreds of examples of bishops writing to figures of high imperial influence – high civil officials, top generals, relatives of the rulers, imperial friends and proximate clients, imperial teachers and spiritual advisors – seeking everything from doctrinal alliance to mundane personal favors.

Usually scholars approach these letters biographically, exploring each author's relations with imperial power, sometimes comparing him to other letter-writers from the same region or period. Illuminating textual examples may be offered to suggest larger trends. But how well these examples represent most bishop-courtier interactions is rarely explored.

This paper marks a preliminary effort to trace patterns of social interaction between bishops and the imperial court beyond a few striking anecdotes, by surveying multiple letter collections from the period 350-430 CE, and by employing "big data" methods, including social network analysis. For this project I chart the known timeframe and stated goals of each extant epistolary exchange between bishops and courtiers in this period; the identities and offices of all known people linked to the interaction; and the signals of prior social attachment and cultural affinity (such as references to shared literary or Scriptural learning, shared home region, shared ascetic or philosophical commitments, or shared doctrinal preferences) found within the text. Such charts then support a range of statistics and network maps, enabling numerous comparisons and revealing subtle correlations.   Of particular interest to this paper are the ways in which bishops in differing places and social settings sought support at court to deal with two common problems: requests from associates for financial or judicial favors, and accusations among clerics of misconduct or heresy.

Big data methods have significant limitations. We cannot assume that patterns found in sympathetically edited letter collections represent the full range of bishops' dealings with courtiers. And no general charting of letter exchanges can reveal the nuances of social interaction revealed by close reading of specific letters and dossiers.

Network analysis and other big data methods, however, can offer new context for rereading specific letter sets against a whole evidentiary corpus. And this exercise puts some famous moments of episcopal boldness in perspective. Occasionally bishops of the fourth and early fifth centuries organized against the efforts of emperors and powerful courtiers. But most of the time, bishops, even "defiant" ones, followed a narrow range of strategies to retain their achieved stature. In epistolary dealing with courtiers, bishops relied on similar ensembles of contacts and helpers. Whatever their later reputation, they showcased their trustworthiness and propriety by a few recurring rhetorical paths.

Emperor and Church Politics, 484-518: The Eastern Reception of Papal Primacy Claims

Dana Iuliana Viezure

This paper investigates the Eastern reception of Roman claims to papal primacy in matters of doctrine at the time of the Acacian schism (484-518). Papal writings from this period emphasize the universality of Rome's primacy in matters of doctrine (the letters of Pope Gelasius being the most developed example of this), as well as its timeliness, given the implementation in the East of the Henoticon-based approach to doctrinal orthodoxy, which had all but overwritten Chalcedon. The repudiation of the Henoticon and of the persons associated with its production and promotion, primarily Acacius, the bishop of Constantinople, left little room for negotiation and constructive compromise. As far as Rome was concerned, Constantinople and the East had to choose between the orthodoxy of the See of Peter and the heresy of the Henoticon (rendered even more problematic by suspicions of imperial meddling) - or, in more radical terms, between Pope Leo and Eutyches.

Correspondence between Rome and Constantinople reveals considerable Eastern opposition and closely argued retorts. However, it also reveals an increasingly better defined trend to interpret the Roman claims in such a way as to make them acceptable in the East. Imperial interests at a time when political control over the West had all but slipped away influenced this trend, motivating Eastern bishops to find ways to accommodate papal primacy claims. In the long run, such accommodations served imperial Western politics.

While a condemnation of Eutyches in the East could be secured with relative ease, and papal primacy in matters of doctrine could be construed, in a general sense and if properly contextualized, as an ongoing norm, recognition of Pope Leo's authority, and, by extension, of the authority of Leo's successors, required a more careful and nuanced dissociation of the papacy from Nestorianism. As Rome seemed less and less willing, in the wake of Leo's death, to provide theological explanations and negotiate the orthodoxy of Chalcedon and Leo's Tome, the Easterners came to develop an ideal model of what an orthodox and authoritative pope could or could not have said. Were the papacy to conform to this model, its claims at primacy were entirely justified. Correlative to this model, a pattern of explaining the worsening conflict with Rome through tales of misunderstanding and misrepresentation, of deliberately faulty translations or even forgeries, and of political manipulation, became increasingly more popular among Easterners. By 518, Easterners who favored reconciliation with Rome had a very clear sense of what Pope Leo truly stood for. It is this "taming" of Leo that made Roman claims at primacy in matters of doctrine acceptable as a basis for reconciliation. Contemporary imperial attempts to reconnect with the West and offer reassurance that no effort was being spared in pursuing a healing of the schism drew on - and at the same time enhanced - this interpretation.

The Economy of Salvation at the Red Monastery Church, Upper Egypt

Elizabeth S. Bolman (Temple University)

Surviving early Byzantine churches typically have a single monumental apse, surmounted by a semidome at the eastern end of the building. In some cases, the imagery in the apse has survived. The Red Monastery church is unusual in that not only does it have three apses in its triconch sanctuary, but the third phase of its painted decoration (ca. sixth – early seventh century) can still be discerned within each of the semidomes. All three include depictions of Christ. In the eastern lobe, he is enthroned in a mandorla and surrounded by the four incorporeal living creatures. In the north, Mary nurses the Christ child, seated on a *sella curulis* within a palatial setting. Four prophets flank them. In the southern semidome, the adult Christ sits on a throne between four standing evangelists. While images elsewhere in the church from this phase of painting also survive, these three monumental scenes are set apart, due to their larger scale and dominant position. Additionally, they are the only representations of Christ in the sanctuary.

The iconographic potential of a church with three semidomes is, of course, three times greater than that of one with a single apse. The person designing the program in the Red Monastery used this expansive space to map out in visual terms the economy of salvation, worked out through the incarnation and sacrifice of Christ. The images express in an elegantly simple formula this essential doctrine. Christ existed completely as God before time (east), chose to incarnate, so that he could die and be resurrected in order to return humans to a sinless state (north); and is the Word of God, the new covenant, disseminating the Logos to humans for their salvation (south). These paintings envelop the physical site created for the transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the consumption of which is essential for achieving eternal life in heaven. They complement the narrative of the Eucharist performed below.

The *Protevangelium of James* and the wall mosaics in the (Justinianic?) *Eufrasiana*

Thomas E. Schweigert (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater)

The mid-sixth century mosaics of the *Eufrasiana* (Cathedral of St Maurus) in ancient Parentium (Parenzo/Poreč) are the subject of a two volume study by Terry and Maguire (*Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč*). They conditionally support the view that Eufrasius, who was bishop, is the same Eufrasius denounced in a 559 letter of pope Pelagius I (556-61) which implores the *patricius* John to suppress the "Three Chapters" schismatics in *Venetia et Histria*, particularly the bishop of Aquileia. Pelagius also mentions one Eufrasius who "flees the church" and whose alleged sins include murdering his cleric brother and incestuous adultery! In their interpretive analysis, Terry and Maguire contend that a beleaguered, schismatic Eufrasius, intellectual author of the mosaic program, may well have insinuated schismatic elements and propaganda on his own behalf. In the Zacharias mosaic, the father of the Precursor holds a censer and an incense box which contain scenes identified as *Three Hebrews in the Furnace* and *Susanna and the Elders*. These stories have no obvious connection to Zacharias but are held to allude to Eufrasius's position: just as Susanna was falsely accused of sexual impropriety, so, too, Eufrasius has been unjustly accused by the bishop of Rome, but his real offense is schism.

An alternative view is that *Eufrasiana* is a Justinianic church of the *Theotokos*. I find similarities to one such, the no-longer extant Church of St Sergius in Gaza, described by Choricius. Both have a central apse mosaic of *Theotokos* enthroned with (God)-Child. Choricius describes a ceiling covered with a gospel narrative beginning with the Annunciation: Mary is "modestly spinning" when the angel arrives, and "she nearly lets fall the purple [thread] from her hand." This is not the Annunciation from *Luke* but rather the *Protevangelium of James* (*PJ*). In the *Eufrasiana* the Virgin Annunciate also has at her feet a basket of purple thread that she is working on. In both churches, the Visitation then follows, but nothing more remains in *Eufrasiana*. The *PJ* borrows from the infancy narratives of *Mathew* and *Luke* as well as containing unique material: Zacharias is martyred by Herod's henchmen rather than reveal the whereabouts of John in the Slaughter of the Innocents; Elizabeth flees with John into the hill-country and is miraculously concealed in the side of a mountain from Herod's pursuing henchmen. The scenes illustrated on Zacharias's priestly paraphernalia in the *Eufrasiana*, then, can be taken as references to his martyrdom. The three figures on the base of the censer are the Magi, who unwittingly set in motion the events leading to the Slaughter of the Innocents. On the two visible sides of the incense box, an orant female on the shorter side is being pursued by two running males on the longer side, the Flight of Elizabeth. Justinian's enthusiasm for *PJ* is attested by his Church of St Anne in Constantinople. The *Eufrasiana* dates from as early as the 540s. If Bishop Eufrasius was schismatic, he may have just become so around 559.

Painting and Ideology in 14th-Century Mistras:
The Iconographic Program of the Gallery in the Virgin Hodegetria

Nektarios Zarras (University of the Aegean)

The iconographic program of the wall-paintings in the gallery (*hyperoon*) of the Virgin Hodegetria church at Mistras is one of the most important in the art of the Late Byzantine period, which remains unpublished to this day. Its significance lies in the choice of rare iconographic subjects, as well as in the inventive way in which these are organized in the upper storey, which, in accordance with the so-called "Mistras type", is formed as cross-in-square with dome.

Preserved in the south and the north gallery of the cross arms are a few Dodecaorton scenes, while of interest is the unusual scene of the Flight into Egypt in the south tympanum. However, it is the exceptional combination of uncommon subjects that accounts for the singularity of the program in the two galleries. These are the Seventy Apostles and a likewise large number – bearing in mind the dimensions of the space – of Old Testament figures. Starting from the east conch of the galleries, the apostles are depicted on the basis of their importance on the walls and the intrados of the arches. The fifty or so surviving figures, accompanied also by the name of their See, with the omophorion denoting their Episcopal office and a rolled scroll, constitute the most remarkable representation of the subject in Byzantine painting. Correspondingly, from the southeast and the northeast conch begins the depiction of the Old Testament figures, which are divided into patriarchs, high priests and prophets, distributed in the five cupolas of the gallery. Depicted in the west gallery, from the south, are the Pentecost, the Holy Mandylion between two angels, and a concise Passion cycle, in the upper zone, and representatives of monastic life as well as the archangels Michael and Gabriel in the lower. Portrayed in groups of three in the southwest annex of the gallery are the Twelve Apostles.

The conception and the organization of the iconographic program in the gallery of the Hodegetria church negotiates a complex of ideological issues which, I believe, were expressed at the time of its execution mainly by the man of letters Nikephoros Moschopoulos, titular Bishop of Crete and president (*proedros*) of the Metropolis of Lacaedemonia (1288-1315). The present paper endeavors to link the particularities of the program to the personality and the precepts of the scholarly prelate, whose interest in and association with the said wall-paintings, as collaborator of Abbot Pachomius, although known to research has not been correlated with specific choices.

What Love Is This?: Divine Fantasy in Symeon the New Theologian's *Erotes*

Derek Krueger, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

In his *Erotes*, or *Hymns on Divine Love*, Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022) explored the mutual desire between God and the male monk through elaborate erotic metaphors. Many of the poems cast the monk in the role of a bride, shifting his gender, engaging expectations of sexual activity on a wedding night. Others left the monk gendered male, thus casting the relationship between Christ and his beloved in homoerotic terms, in some cases also figuring this activity as the consummation of a marriage. In the corpus, God remains persistently male, although not necessarily unpenetrated. The hymns employ a variety of erotic tropes of the sort known also from earlier and later romantic literature, and thus Symeon's hymns can offer important evidence for the history of sexuality in Byzantium. Filled with scenarios of longing, seduction, abduction, desire to be penetrated, interpenetration, rape, desire for rape, and sexual bondage, the hymns, while not necessarily evidence for actual erotic practices, offer a window on the scope of Byzantine sexual fantasy, perhaps especially male sexual fantasy.

In *Hymns* 15.28-31, for example, the "souls of all become brides," "they yearn for the beautiful one / and they are all united to the whole of his love, / and what is more they acquire the holy seed / receiving the whole transformed God within themselves" (trans. Griggs). And in *Hymns* 17.24-27, Symeon writes, "He himself was found within me... / shining upon all my members with his rays, / folding his entire self around me He tenderly kisses all of me." Although many of these images depend on biblical passages, Symeon expounds upon them in a decidedly secular register.

Symeon composed the *Erotes* over the course of his monastic career, although most probably derive from the time of his exile across the Bosporus, where he oversaw the small monastery of St. Marina. The performance context for these poems is unclear: there is no evidence that he intended them for liturgical use. Instead it would seem that Symeon composed these poems to reflect and enhance the private meditation of his monks. In textualizing eros to illustrate and enhance the relationship between the believer and God, Symeon's poems deserve a place in Christian literature alongside Bernard of Clairvaux, John of the Cross, and John Donne.

Rather than focusing on Symeon's sexualized spirituality in itself, this paper initiates a catalogue of that erotic acts and affects that structure these literary works to illuminate the fantasy world they draw on. Indeed, the scenarios presented in the corpus require ostensive referents beyond the text in the Byzantine sexual imagination in order to be legible. To some extent, this realm recapitulates the unequal roles of lover and beloved—whether male and female or male and male—already established in ancient and late ancient Greek literature. Symeon's repeated longing for or staging of acts of domination, possession, and constraint expose a construction of sexuality that is hierarchical and even agonistic while remaining mutually pleasurable.

Inventive *Logos*, Coercive *Erōs*: The Poetics of Passion in Eustathios Makrembolites' *Hysmine and Hysminias*

Christina Christoforatou (Baruch College, CUNY)

Erōs's conniving nature in conjunction with his sadistic temperament is the single most important attribute of his character that remains intact after eight hundred years of iconographic and literary evolution. In medieval Byzantium *erōs* emerges as a formidable master who toys with his subjects' desires as he asserts his dominion from the grounds of his utopian castle. In the poetry and prose of twelfth-century court poet Eustathios Makrembolites the god of love emerges as a mighty *basileus*. Makrembolites endows his sovereign with a material court and an immaterial retinue and imbues his identity with references to servitude and bondage, establishing a firm connection between the divine ethos of *erōs* in the court of Manuel I (*erōs* as *nomos empsychos*) and its apostolic precedent in the epistles of Saint Paul. In so doing, the poet reconciles the ideals of a glorious classical past with the spiritual rewards of a Christian future, binding in a single image the volatile nature of *erōs* with the Christian concept of *agāpe*. This paper traces Makrembolites' language of subjection to the language of bodily submission in Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. It posits that the author of *Hysmine and Hysminias* borrows the apostolic language of submission to contribute to a vibrant political discourse among Greek *logioi* on the merits of Byzantine *basileia*.

The verb most frequently used to indicate captivity by *erōs* in the novel, "δουλογραφῶ," and its many variations, "δουλογραφοῦμαι" (*HH*, II. 9, III. 10, X. 8, XI. 5 Marcovich) and "συνδουλαγωγοῦμαι" (IV.20), has not been traced successfully to a particular register. Indeed, we have no record of its use prior to Makrembolites' novel and this raises significant questions about its origin and subsequent influence on *erōs*'s iconographic pedigree. The *theanthropic* hypostasis of *erōs* as it emerges in the poetry of Konstantinos Manasses, Niketas Eugenianos and Theodoros Prodromos, all near-contemporaries of Makrembolites, captures the yearnings of an increasingly sophisticated aristocracy and the aspirations of powerful patrons who sought new ways to revive the glory of the imperial image in the poetry and art they commissioned. Just as Paul reflects upon the strength required to make the body subject to the moral will, ("…ἀλλ' ὑπωπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα καὶ δουλαγωγῶ" *1. Cor.* 9.27), Makrembolites juxtaposes the emperor's *theanthropic* presence with the political hypostasis of all subjects under the will of formidable masters. Not unlike Paul's corruptible body (σῶμα τῆς σαρκός), Hysminias' body must be brought into submission because the hero's faith in his own liberties—his self-sufficiency, reason, and free will—threatens to upset the universal order the god imposes and oversees. To prevent civic unrest, Eros enrolls the hero in "a novel servitude, a servitude which no one else had experienced, involving not only the body, but also the soul" (3.10.5; "Οὕτως ἐγὼ δουλογραφοῦμαι τῷ Ἔρωτι καινήν τινα δούλωσιν καὶ ἣν οὐδεὶς οὐδέπω δεδούλωται, οὔ μόνον σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς"). This exacting politics of love and redemption is animated in the novel by the language of bodily submission, a language that is inscribed upon the material and immaterial bodies of *Erōs's* servants.

Furtive Eros, Thieving Aphrodite:
Transgressive Desire in the *Cycle* of Agathias

Steven D. Smith (Hofstra University)

In the verse preface to his anthology of epigrams by contemporary poets, published around 567, Agathias describes the contents of each of the seven books and announces that the penultimate volume is erotic: "And Kythere, stealing the sixth song, may divert elegy's course into the talk of lovers and into sweet desires" (*AP* 4.4.83-5 Waltz). The characterization of Aphrodite as "stealing" (κλέπτουσα) is programmatic, since a prominent motif in poems by Agathias and Paul the Silentiary is the association of *erōs* with theft. Their lovers "steal" (κλέπτειν) kisses or merely glances, "eluding" (ὑποκλέπτειν) the watchful gaze of nurses, parents, or jealous husbands. The lover himself becomes a "thief" (φώρ) and his erotic conquests – a grope, a kiss, an embrace – become "stolen goods" (φώρια). Of the over three-hundred *epigrammata erōtika* in Book 5 of the *Greek Anthology*, the theft motif occurs only in poems from the *Cycle* (219, 221, 267, 269, 290).

From a psychoanalytic perspective, the metaphor is apt: in cases of kleptomania, theft is symbolic of forbidden sexual activity (Stekel 1911, Tintner 2006). The thief's inability to resist laying his hands upon what does not belong to him is analogous to the erotic mania displayed in the epigrams. The *Cycle* depicts lovers who are engaged in a constant struggle with their own desires, since the social conventions of chastity (*AP* 5.218, 220, 246, 253, 272, 276, 289-91, 294) and marriage (238, 242, 267, 286, 302) present obstacles to satisfying their sexual appetites. Just as a thief experiences a rush of adrenaline at lifting another's property, the lovers of the *Cycle* thrill when they coerce young women to overcome their socially instilled *aidōs* or to break the sacred vows of marriage. For them, sinning is sexy.

But an *erōs* that exclusively flirts with danger is pathological. One lover, plagued by an erotically induced insomnia, is harassed by the singing of swallows, which he imagines are the birds of myth, accusing him of cutting out the tongue of Philomela; the reader wonders of what this lover is guilty (*AP* 5.237). Another lover claims erotic reciprocity (*isos erōs*) as his ideal, but this is far from the sexual symmetry of romance: he fantasizes being caught in the act with his beloved by a priest and her husband (286; cf. 242). Other poems shift from the realm of the imaginary to depictions of outright sexual assault and rape (248, 256, 294). In the most graphic of such poems the assailant's victim, Menecratis, curses him for resorting to violence, since in the past she could not be corrupted even by his promises of gold (275). The thief who steals what he cannot purchase is not a lover, but a rapist.

The epigrams of Agathias' *Cycle* illustrate the pathology of an *erōs* that seeks satisfaction only in that which is forbidden or denied.

The Narrative Reconfiguration of an Imperial Monument: How the Bronze Horseman Became Heraclius

Elena N. Boeck (DePaul University)

Constantinople's marvelous assemblage of ancient and late antique statuary was the object of Byzantine pride and superstition, became a subject of foreign commentary, and is the focus of modern academic longing. This paper explores the changing identities and lasting legacies of a key Constantinopolitan imperial sculptural monument, the bronze equestrian statue of the emperor Justinian. The sculpture survived pillages of the Fourth Crusade, became a centerpiece of Constantinople's identity during the Palaiologan revival, and was a sculptural victim of iconoclastic violence by Mehmet the Conqueror. An imperial marvel, this bronze statue for centuries served as a discursively complex symbol of Constantinopolitan and imperial identities.

This study argues that the Fourth Crusade was essential to the preservation of the statue and narrative reconfiguration of its power. Numerous other statues perished or were shipped off as spolia from Latin Constantinople (1204-61). Why did this imperial monument remain unmolested? By reconfiguring Justinian into Heraclius, Crusaders became invested in the statue's survival and deployed it in the service to the mythology of the Latin empire. The gradual imperial re-identification was shaped by various actors.

During the Crusades Heraclius became a particularly useful, foundational, figure and was featured in historical and literary works in France and beyond the seas, including a versified romance *Eracle* by Gautier d'Arras. Crusader literary works of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries were filled with descriptions of Constantinople that focused on the city's superlative wealth, magical works of art and marvelous monuments. While many of these narratives, like *Pèlerinage du Charlemagne*, invented exuberant fantasies of palatial ostentation, replete with rotating chambers, magical sculptures, and crystal-encrusted walls, *Eracle* offered a detailed, eye-witness description of the standing colossal Constantinopolitan bronze equestrian monument and decisively attributed it to Heraclius. An extremely popular text, it offered a glimpse of distant knowledge, provided verbal celebration of the bronze horseman, and preconditioned future Crusaders to associate the physical monument with Heraclius.

After 1261 Palaiologan emperors consciously reinstituted the monument's Justinianic identity and repeatedly restored the physical monument. Indeed, it became a centerpiece of imperial renovation efforts in the city. Until the end of its days, and even beyond, the bronze horseman became the visual, emotional, cultural, and ideological embodiment of Empire and its glory.

Who's on Top? Constantine's Column Reimagined

Robert Ousterhout (University of Pennsylvania)

Constantine's Column still stands in Istanbul, but the forum that once surrounded it has disappeared without a trace, as had the colossal gilded bronze statue that once surmounted the Column – the latter felled in a violent windstorm of 1105/6 and subsequently replaced by a cross. Although the monument is never described in detail, accounts suggest that the image of Constantine was a reused statue of Helios-Apollos, replete with solar crown and almost assuredly nude. While an integral component in Constantine's construction of an imperial urban image, in later centuries the monument was reimagined but never fully integrated into the Christian city. Indeed, a tension must have existed between the image of the emperor, who was celebrated as a Christian saint in the tiny chapel at the base of the column, and the statue on top – colossal, nude and pagan. This paper explores how that anxiety may have been manifest in legends, liturgies and visual images, as outlined below:

[1] Attempts to Christianize the column and statue include repeated claims of Christian relics housed inside the column or its pedestal. In addition, the solar crown was reimagined as the nails of the Crucifixion.

[2] The combination of column and statue was commonly used as shorthand for a venerated pagan image (as in the Menologion of Basil II or the Panteleimon Gregory), while in actuality statues of pagan gods were never mounted on columns.

[3] A more acceptable Christian columnar image was that of the stylite saint. September 1, which marked the New Year in Constantinople, was celebrated at the base of the Column; this was also the feast day of Symeon Stylites, celebrated at the same location. The obvious juxtaposition is never mentioned in Byzantine texts.

[4] There was a growing belief that the Column marked the city's special covenant with the Theotokos. The Synaxarion claims Constantine dedicated the city to the Theotokos during the foundation ceremonies, held at the base of the Column.

[5] The fall of the statue may be reflected in the development of a new iconography for the Flight into Egypt (as in the Chora exonarthex), with the 365 idols at Sotinen toppling from their pedestal when confronted with the power of the Theotokos.

[6] There was a gradual loss of memory associating the Column with Constantine. Manuel Komnenos's rededication inscription fails to mention him. In the ceremonial handbook known as Pseudo-Kodinos (mid 14th c.), the only ceremony still celebrated there was New Year's, but the location is given simply as the Porphyry Column, at a place that *used to be called* the Forum.

Pillars of the Community: Stylites as Architecture

Shannon Steiner (Bryn Mawr College)

When one envisions a stylite saint, the picture that springs to mind is usually of a single monk engrossed in prayer atop the circumscribed area of his column's capital. Representations of stylites on pilgrimage objects sometimes show one or two disciples or devotees in the act of presenting incense to the lone saint towering above. The idea of stylites as isolated hyper-hermits agrees with hagiographic tropes that describe the saints as vigorous ascetic athletes who fiercely denied worldly comforts. Yet images of solitary stylites are at odds with ample material and textual evidence of their roles as leaders of large and diverse communities. Three separate *Lives* of Saint Symeon the Elder credit him with solving community disputes, overseeing mass conversions of local Arab tribes and even writing letters back and forth with the emperor. Daniel the Stylite's *Life* presents the saint as participating in constant conversations on spiritual and administrative matters with emperors, senators and archbishops. The remains of the pilgrimage complex of Saint Symeon the Younger, the so-called "Wondrous Mountain" south of Antioch, contain numerous facilities for preserving the wellbeing of the crowds of pilgrims who built the complex themselves during the saint's lifetime and stayed on to facilitate the site in perpetuity. Given the close ties between stylites and their communities, is it possible to locate references to the followers of these holy men in visual representations that seem to show only the saints?

Among the metaphors used in descriptions of stylite saints, several make use of architectural terms and concepts and refer to the saint's community in some way. Stylite hagiographies at different historical moments, especially the *Lives* of Symeon the Elder and Symeon the Younger, describe their subjects as "builders" (οἰκοδόμοι), particularly builders of new Christian societies. The saints recount visions of angels instructing them in how to dig foundations or construct architraves for metaphysical churches. These otherworldly monuments are then populated with apparitions of people whose future health and redemption the stylite will eventually guarantee. Upon waking, the stylite conceives of himself as something like a foreman of collective salvation.

In this paper I consider images on portable objects and monuments in which the bodies of stylite saints are represented as architectural elements or assimilated with architectural structures. I raise the possibility that some of these depictions may subtly portray the saints as community leaders through their embodiment as architecture and the implicit reference of such portrayals to the metaphoric construction of communities. In particular, I examine basalt relief panels from northern Syria, the floor mosaic of Saint Stephen's church at Umm ar-Rasas (Kastrom Mefa'a) in present-day Jordan and wall paintings of stylite saints in churches where the images are executed directly on actual columns, thereby eliding the saint's body with these architectural elements. These objects and monuments serve as a point of departure for new imaginings of stylite saints as veritable pillars of community.

Motherhood in Late Byzantium:
Blessing, purification and penitential rites pertaining to childbirth and child loss

Nina Glibetic (Yale University)

A comprehensive study of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts reveals no evidence for the existence of rituals pertaining to childbirth prior to the 13th century. Rather, early manuscripts only include rites that involve the newborn child. Late Byzantine liturgical texts, on the other hand, include a number of new rituals in which the mother is the central subject. Specifically, Late Byzantine Εὐχολόγια, or Missal-Sacramentaries, offer two new rites associated with motherhood: 1) a rite for a woman when she has given birth, and 2) a rite for a woman when she has aborted/miscarried. Furthermore, in these sources the ancient "churching" rite, that is, the rite for the presentation of the child at church on the fortieth day, is significantly redacted in order to highlight the purification of the mother.

This paper traces the history of Byzantine ecclesiastical rites pertaining to motherhood, and contextualizes their emergence within the broader framework of Late Byzantine liturgical and spiritual trends. A particular emphasis is placed on the manuscript sources, which have never been systematically examined from this point of view. Other relevant evidence is also considered, such as artistic representations of childbirth and canonical texts addressing childbirth and child loss. Ultimately, this paper argues that Byzantine ecclesiastical rites pertaining to motherhood should not be isolated from broader trends characterizing Byzantium at this time, such as the emergence of elaborate liturgical rites of preparation and a popularizing of Levitical purity laws, especially as exemplified in the writing of the 14th century canonist monk Matthew Blastares.

East and West Marry: Considering *Translatio* as Women's Work in Bridging Mediterranean Empire

Megan Moore (University of Missouri)

How did ideas travel in the Middle Ages, and in what ways were their movements dependent upon the pathways promoted through trade and later promulgated through crusade? Whereas Byzantinists have long studied movement, writ large, through their empire, scholars of western medieval culture have tended to overlook in between points on the longer journey between what they have constructed as a mythicized west and variant, other "easts" – many of which end in the far reaches of the deserts of the spice trade or more closely in an othered, Muslim Middle East. Yet the influence of Byzantium's culture and wares—even of its stories—are by no means incidental, whether or not they are studied by scholars of other medieval cultures.

This paper begins by (re)claiming Byzantium as essential to constructing Mediterranean nobility, and goes further to suggest that cross-cultural Mediterranean marriage with Byzantium provided a vehicle through which women shaped empire. Though Mediterranean Studies has recently reclaimed the far East as important to fashioning the medieval nobility, I begin in this paper with the premise that manifold ties to Byzantium—through shared Christian ideology, textile trading, the market for exotic goods, and, most importantly, through narrative—make it a more important and omnipresent interlocutor for creating and shaping practices of Mediterranean nobility. Medieval Mediterranean literature consistently imagines contact with Byzantium to shape the articulation of class, as I show in readings of Old French (*Cligès*, *Floriant et Florete*, and *Flore et Blancheflor*) and medieval Greek literature (*Digenis Akritas*, *Velthandros*).

Yet it is not enough to merely suggest that cross-cultural exchange made possible through trade and crusade brought Byzantium into the imagination of the medieval west. Rather, and as I suggest here, both Byzantinists and scholars of western medieval cultures ought to consider how marriage provided a unique space for the negotiation of power, culture, and empire – a space that women were consistently imagined to manipulate and leverage to their own ends, and in service of their own vision of cultural dominion. My readings invite a consideration of women's work in cross-cultural marriage as that of *translatio*—the purposeful transformation of ideas in service of empire. Yet, as the literature shows, their work is not in service of either Byzantium or the west, but in service of preserving and propagating the hegemony and power of nobility through exotic goods and stories—essentially figuring the power of the Mediterranean elite through contact with Byzantium.

From the Imperial Palace to the Province:
The Early Formation of Byzantine Marriage Ritual

Gabriel Radle (Yale Institute of Sacred Music and Dumbarton Oaks)

Generally speaking, Christianity was slow to codify official rites for marriage. A number of sources from Late Antiquity inform us that Christians throughout the Mediterranean world continued to marry within the context of domestic wedding celebrations, as their pre-Christian Greek and Roman ancestors had done. At the same time, early authorities in the Byzantine Church, such as John Chrysostom and Gregory the Theologian, attest to a gradual process of the "ecclesialization" of domestic wedding celebrations. Priests were encouraged to attend domestic nuptials in order to offer prayer, and a number of pre-Christian symbols of marriage were gradually given new interpretations.

Parallel to these Christianized domestic weddings, the imperial custom of Constantinople began to develop a formalized Christian wedding rite as early as the sixth century. This is alluded by Theophylact Simocatta's description of the wedding of Emperor Maurice and Empress Constantina in 582. Although this imperial marriage service was still in its infancy in the sixth century, by the ninth century it had not only become the norm for marriages in Constantinople, but had spread to become common for all Christian marriages throughout the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate.

This paper studies the early development of marriage ritual within the Byzantine world, through an examination of the extant evidence offered by historical, liturgical and patristic sources. It traces the earliest indications of an ecclesiastical wedding service for the Byzantine emperor and demonstrates, via a number of unedited manuscript sources, how this rite became *the* means of marriage throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus, this paper helps to contextualize how and why the Byzantine world came to assert the necessity for a Church wedding service long before such a canonical concept existed in the West.

Early Byzantine Sarcophagi and the Iconography of Educated Susanna

Catherine C. Taylor (Brigham Young University)

Sarcophagi provide us with a rich source of Christian iconography. The narrative of Susanna and the Elders from the deuterocanonical Daniel 13 appears on a number of fourth century sarcophagi, several of which have received little attention. The earliest iconography of Susanna has traditionally been used to highlight Susanna's interaction with the Elders who peer at her through trees and vegetation or lay hands on her. The narrative was sometimes used to emphasize unjust behaviors, types of sacrifice and act as an anti-heretical allegory for the Church. However, there has been little effort to position the iconography of Susanna within the context of death and idealized memorial. A fourth-century sarcophagus with the narrative cycle of Susanna, installed in the church of St. Felix in Girona, Spain, is one center point for this argument.

The earliest images and texts featuring Susanna should be examined, not only because they describe her virtuous action, but precisely because the attributes used to define her virtue are intrinsically connected to her honorable and educated status. The symbols of *rotuli* or bundles of scrolls and *scrinia* or cylindrical containers for papyri are frequently found in connection with Susanna. The depiction and reception of the orant, literate Susanna indicate that her education and knowledge of the law are clear factors in her propensity to call upon the witness of God and in her ultimate deliverance from injustice. Patristic commentaries, including a new translation of a previously unpublished fourth-century papyrus manuscript by Didymus the Blind (*Commentary on the Psalms* 26.1—29.1 trans. Lincoln Blumell, forthcoming), clearly indicate the popularity of the Susanna story in earliest Byzantium. This paper draws distinct correlations between scenes of Susanna and the prevalent depiction of deceased female orant figures on sarcophagi that likewise share the attributes of *rotuli* and *scrinia* as part of their final memorialization. These specific iconographic elements, along with memorial inscriptions, provide evidence toward educated female piety and the public reception of Susanna as a salvific model.

The sarcophagi examined in this paper make it plain that early Byzantine Christians used the type of Susanna, not only as a trope for divine salvific intervention or as an archetype for marital fidelity, but to demonstrate that female literacy and education were exemplary components of Christian piety.

'Numerous Escort': Liturgical Objects in Concert during the Late Byzantine Great Entrance

Tera Lee Hedrick (Northwestern University)

By the Late Byzantine Period, the Great Entrance served as a culmination of the Divine Liturgy for lay worshippers. With a lack of frequent participation in communion and visuality impaired by the ever-expanding icon screen, the laity's closest experience of the Eucharistic elements occurred as the bread and wine were processed through the nave, as priests and deacons carried them to the altar. The bread and wine were accompanied, as Symeon of Thessaloniki evocatively notes, by "numerous escort": deacons bearing *rhipidia* on long poles overhead flanked those carrying the chalice and paten, while a large liturgical veil, the *epitaphios* picturing the dead body of Christ, was also carried through the midst of the congregation. The chalice and paten were themselves covered by smaller embroidered liturgical veils, all as the entire procession was perfumed by deacons carrying censers and lit by candle-bearers. The Great Entrance clearly had a powerful impact. Sources attest to lay worshippers' blocking the path of the procession, literally throwing themselves on the ground and interrupting the priest's movement and his prayers, while straining to touch the objects.

Despite the ritual importance of liturgical objects, they have received somewhat sporadic attention from art historians. While liturgical objects were experienced as a group by Byzantine worshippers, in contemporary scholarship they are studied primarily as examples of a type of media or technique, or part of a collection or corpus, isolated from both their ritual context and the other liturgical objects with which they were used. This paper reunites the various liturgical objects, investigating how they created a multi-sensory worship environment.

Together, liturgical objects engaged a variety of senses and encouraged the movement of the worshipper's body. Incense burners, such as a fourteenth-century bronze *katzion* in Belgrade, enveloped the procession in scent. *Rhipidia*, the ceremonial liturgical fans carried by deacons and signaling their angelic function, provided sound. A post-Byzantine set from the Banja Monastery (1557), for example, feature tassels which rubbed against the objects' surface and created noise when it moved. *Epitaphioi*, such as the earliest extant example now in Sofia and dating to ca. 1300, were carried down the backs of clergy, and lay worshippers bent and stretched their bodies in order to see and touch them. The objects all worked together to create a climactic moment. This paper, in addition to tracing the relationship between the various liturgical objects, examines their role in orchestrating lay experience of the divine during the Great Entrance.

Shaping Experience: Curtains and Veils in Middle and Late Byzantium

Maria G. Parani (University of Cyprus, Nicosia)

In contrast to the period of Late Antiquity, which has yielded a number of fragments of curtains, hardly any Middle or Late Byzantine curtains or screening veils have come down to us. Our knowledge about their continuous use in the home, in the palace and the church, as well as information about their appearance and mode of suspension derives mainly from written sources and, to a lesser extent, from representations in art. The purpose of the paper is twofold. The first goal is to present Middle and Late Byzantine curtains and veils as objects themselves using the available evidence and discussing materials, texture, colors, decoration, length, and suspension or lifting devices. The various terms used to describe the textiles in written sources (e.g. *βῆλον* [<velum], *παραπέτασμα, κο[υ]ρτίνα* [<Cortina], *καταπέτασμα, βηλόθυρον, ἔπιπλον, πέπλος, σκέπη, ἐγχείριον, μανδήλιον*) will be critically assessed. Secondly, it is aimed to analyse the functions – practical, ritual, and symbolic – in secular and religious contexts and to explore how the material properties of curtains and veils shaped the experience of spaces, other objects, and persons by manipulating, regulating, and, not least, ritualizing sensory and perceptual access and emotive response.

Curtains served as partitions and screens, albeit – being made of fabric – they were movable and permeable, billowing in a draft and – depending on texture and color – allowing light and disembodied sound to filter through. They were hung from doorways and openings protecting interior spaces from extreme cold or heat, and regulated the natural lighting of interiors both for ritual and for mundane purposes. They also helped articulate larger rooms by dividing them into smaller segments, and they screened off areas dedicated to specific functions that required privacy or other restricted access.

As artifacts, especially in the case of the more luxurious examples described in the sources, curtains contributed to the adornment of spaces, affording aesthetic pleasure and imparting a sense of opulence to their surroundings. As barriers and screens, they provided an ideal and relatively easy-to handle means for controlling vision, for directing physical movement, and for shaping perceptions and behavior. Being found in liminal spaces, simultaneously as physical boundaries and as points of access, they became associated with concepts of the private and the public, inclusion and exclusion, ignorance and knowledge, the visible and the invisible, concealment and revelation. Withdrawal of an object, a person, or even a specific area behind an opaque textile screen made it automatically appear significant, distinguished, sacred, or potentially dangerous, while at the same time creating the desire to attain what was hidden and, thus, ensuring an emotive engagement as well as conditioning specific behavioral responses. To paraphrase Daniel Miller, the fascination of Byzantine curtains and veils lies not only in their own inherent value as artifacts, but in their power to endow other artifacts, persons, and spaces with value and, not least, mystic. (D. Miller (2005), Materiality: An Introduction. In D. Miller Ed. Materiality. Durham: Duke University Press pp 1-50).

Furnishing the Household Memory Theater in Late Antiquity

Thelma K. Thomas (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University)

In the following fourth-century accounts of the transfer of garments, clothing changes its function through gifting to become a repository of memory and a cue to memory. Upon the death of the elder hermit, Paul, Anthony used his own pallium for Paul's shroud.

> … and then, that the affectionate heir might not be without something belonging to the intestate dead, [Anthony] took for himself the tunic which after the manner of wicker-work the saint had woven out of palm-leaves. And so returning to the monastery he unfolded everything in order to his disciples, and on the feast-days of Easter and Pentecost he always wore Paul's tunic.
> (Jerome, The *Life of Paulus the First Hermit,* P. Schaff and H. Wace (ed.) Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Volume 6, (Buffalo, NY, 1893), p. 302).

Upon his own death, Anthony left his clothing as his legacy to his spiritual heirs.

> Distribute my clothing. To Bishop Athanasius give the one sheepskin and the cloak on which I lie, which he gave to me new, but I have now worn out. …And each of those who received the blessed Anthony's sheepskin and the cloak worn out by him, keeps it safe like some great treasure. For even seeing these is like beholding Anthony, and wearing them is like bearing his admonitions with joy.
> (Athanasius, *Life of Antony*, 91-92, P. Schaff and H. Wace (ed.) Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Volume 4, (Buffalo, NY, 1892), p. 452-3.)

In each account, items of clothing function as a particular kind of aide-memoire symbolic of the intimate bond between the men involved in the transaction, prompting continued reflection upon lessons learned, and aiding continued teaching to successive generations (Anthony's disciples, Anthanasius's readers).

The emulation of virtuous men of the past depended upon memory of them. In this paper I explore how actual clothing could be used as memory prompts much like the imaginary instrumental settings and furnishings of advanced memory techniques employed by educated members of Late Antique society. First, I establish close affinities between outerwear (mantles, cloaks) and furnishings (covers, blankets). In Late Antiquity, clothing and furnishings were both understood to clothe the household, and the multipurpose mantles/covers of these tales provide a useful starting point for the study of the commemorative potential of household furnishings. Building upon previous research on the architectural framing of conceptual spaces for remembering, seeing, and being seen by ancestors in Graeco-Roman architectural traditions, I turn to compare the roles of these mantles in the display of Late Roman ancestral *imagines* in elite homes (which constituted in legal and popular terms a particular type of home furnishing) to the roles of similar mantles in portrayals of ascetic forefathers in roughly contemporaneous monastic dwellings. Of particular interest for this comparison is evidence for the use of such portrayals in the ongoing construction of memory for the aristocratic family and the monastic family.

Woven architecture and the early Byzantine sense of human space

Eunice Dauterman Maguire (Johns Hopkins University)

The primary function of columns on textiles is not to deceive the early Byzantine or early Islamic eye. In this respect, textiles representing columns may differ from architectural elements painted on wall surfaces in imitation of marble or another stone. Instead columns on furnishing textiles make reference to architecture purely as images without *trompe l'oeuil*; they enhance or define the social environment, relating people to both real and imaginatively projected spaces.

The challenge for scholarship today is to propose possible scenarios or settings for these images, which usually survive only as parts or fragments of unknown wholes. With this goal in mind it is interesting to look at examples of textiles presenting human figures or heads or busts in relation to columns or arches. Single arches and horizontal arcades make convenient framing units; but the history of their use by weavers reveals that both columns and arches are often honorific design elements chosen for their indexical and metaphorical power.

Specifically, the presence of these architectural units may be contrasted to the use of other framing devices in textiles of architectural scale. Some of these alternatives have precedents in Roman or late antique painted walls or ceilings, or in mosaics on walls or on pavements. Design units playing telescopically with scale include a detailed jeweler's motif appearing in large scale on a tapestry border, or a figural arcade in miniature stretching across the torso of a person wearing a tapestry-embellished tunic, as if the person were a wall. Such pre-digital zooming in and out to enlarge or diminish the scale of a motif demonstrates that such motifs were part of a repertory through which textiles added intimacy to iconic strength.

Socio-Economic and Political Institutions and Customs in Frankish Achaea

Kevin Bloomfield (Undergraduate Student, Ohio State University)

The Principality of Achaea has long been a popular topic among historians of the Latin Aegean. The preference is owed in part to the relative richness of surviving source material which does not exist for the other crusading states in the area. Many scholars have written on the 'imposition of feudalism' which occurred in the Peloponnesos following its conquest by the invading Latins. This theory, that the victorious Franks dismantled existing political, social, and economic structures in favor of an alien, Western model, is overly broad and generalizing. This paper investigates how the Principality of Achaea used preexisting Roman elements to create a unified and strong domain, something which was not replicated in the other Latin statelets.

A new method for viewing the establishment the Principality of Achaea and examining interactions between conqueror and conquered is needed. Instead of a one-sided infliction of a foreign governing ideology replacing what was already there, the Franks set up a functioning government where none was extant. The Latins instituted a hybrid method of governance that borrowed elements from what was already in place, such as the semi-hereditary archontes, and also incorporated systems of governance the conquerors were familiar with. In doing so, effective governance was restored to the Peloponnesos for the first time in years The socio-economic system set up in Frankish Morea proved a more radical departure from Roman practices and this is best exemplified through two case studies, agricultural practices and the function of castles in Frankish Morea.

One issue that has not been satisfactorily resolved is how the Principality of Achaea was able to achieve such rapid political and economic superiority in the Latin Aegean. This paper proposes that this was accomplished through the preservation of various components of Roman society and social structure. Continuity with the past and respect for local landowners secured the loyalty of the majority of the native archontes, whose integration into the new political elite was essential for the functioning of the nascent Principality. A quiet land and peaceful people allowed the governing elite to turn their eyes outside the borders of their new realm. In a few short decades the state cemented control over the Peloponnesos and also achieved hegemony over the Lordship of Athens and the Negroponte. This paper helps to bring to light a new perspective of investigating interactions between different peoples during one of the most important periods of Byzantine, and Western Medieval, history.

Symbiosis: The Survival of Greek Christianity in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily

Frank McGough (The Ohio State University)

On April 16, 1071, Robert Guiscard and his army of Normans captured the city of Bari, the final Byzantine stronghold in Italy. The loss of this city marked the close of the 500-year period of Byzantine presence in the peninsula that began with Justinian's wars of reconquest in the sixth century. By the close of the eleventh century, the Normans were the masters of the entire southern Italian peninsula and Sicily, and in 1130 Roger II officially consolidated those lands into the Kingdom of Sicily. These Norman conquerors assumed political control of southern Italy, but they represented only a tiny minority of the population. The modern Italian *regioni* of Campania, Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria, and Sicily were far from homogenous: the southernmost part of Apulia and all of Calabria were overwhelmingly Greek-speaking, while Campania and Basilicata were dominated by the Latin-speaking Lombards. Sicily, on the other hand, was a mixture of Greek and Arabic speakers. The Lombards, like the Normans, were adherents of Latin Christianity, but what of the Greeks? They practiced the liturgy differently, followed a different monastic rule, and of course spoke a different language. In a century of papal expansion and increasing tensions between Latin and Greek Christians, could these Greeks in southern Italy and Sicily—significant in number but isolated politically—retain their religious traditions?

In this paper, I argue that Greek Christianity was able to survive, and in some cases, even thrive under the Normans in the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries. The circumstances surrounding the conquest produced an environment in which the tolerance and patronage of Greek Christians was in the best interests of both the Norman conquerors and the papacy. Rome was prepared to allow the Normans considerable autonomy in terms of religious policy, as evidenced by the grant of apostolic legation to Count Roger I in 1098. In exchange, the papacy used the Normans as a check against the Holy Roman Empire to their North. Within their new territory, the Normans used this religious autonomy to allow Greek Christians to practice their faith without incident, as it was essential for the numerically inferior conquerors to secure the good conduct of the local populations. Furthermore, the Normans needed the Greeks for a variety of court functions up until the end of the twelfth century. As for the Greeks themselves, they were willing to concede the point of papal primacy in order to retain the bulk of their religious beliefs.

In making this argument, I utilize a variety of sources, including Italo-Greek hagiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Norman chronicles produced following the period of the conquest, and Norman charters granted to Greek and Latin churches and monasteries in the Kingdom of Sicily. These sources do not paint a picture of a world fractured by the religious differences supposedly exemplified in the schism of 1054, but rather one in which Greek and Latin Christians existed side by side in relative peace.

Greek Scripts and Latin Elites: (Re)Presenting Byzantine Lordship in Pre-Norman Southern Italy

Norman Underwood (University of California-Berkeley)

Despite the considerable recent attention given to the structures of power in early medieval Italy, scholarship has largely overlooked the Byzantine influence on Latin aristocratic culture in pre-Norman southern Italy—save the insightful work of Vera von Falkenhausen. Many historians take for granted that Naples, for instance, under the Sergian dynasty was a "*ducato bizantino,*" yet there has not been a systematic analysis of the self-representation of Italian aristocrats that evoked imperial associations. My paper interrogates how elite status was displayed through Byzantine gestures within documentary and literary artifacts from pre-Norman Campania (900-1100).

First, the paper explores the self-stylizing of local Lombard elites via Byzantine titles, e.g., *protospatharius* or *hypatos*, in charters, and then explores the idiosyncratic local practice of transliterating prominent Latin witness subscriptions into more fashionable Greek scripts. As the understudied charters reveal, hundreds of Latin-speaking nobles displayed their social prominence via imperial, i.e., Greek, appearances. The second half of the paper turns toward imperial flourishes within literary monuments produced for ducal courts. One of these texts is Archpriest Leo's mid-tenth-century Latin translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance*, a Byzantine classic. The translator's preface, which survives in a single copy (Ms. Bamberg Staat. Bib. E.III.14), explains how Leo copied the Greek original in Constantinople, translated it into Latin at the request of Duke John III of Naples, and how it fit into his patron's private library. Leo's translation and the other texts enumerated in its preface reveal the duke's interest in contemporary Byzantine discourses on proper leadership. The second text for examination is the slightly later *Historia Romana* of Landulf Sagax, a reworking of Anastasius Bibliothecarius' translation of Theophanes, which chronicles the reigns of "Roman" emperors and empresses up to Constantine VIII. The earliest copy (Ms. Vatican Pal Lat. 909), produced for an unnamed prince probably at Naples or Capua, bears Landulf's own handwritten notes for the prince on what to learn from each biography. With such texts, I suggest, southern Italian elites participated in the production and consumption of didactic literature, e.g., histories and moralizing military manuals, which so characterized tenth and eleventh-century Byzantine culture. Southern Italians therefore understood the comportment of Roman, i.e., Byzantine lords and tried to reproduce it textually.

My analysis stands in opposition to a long held notion among western medievalists that the Lombard duchies merely feigned loyalty towards a distant super-power with their Byzantine styling. What held elites in places such as Benevento or Naples within the Byzantine sphere, I would suggest, was not a military strong arm or ethno-linguistic affiliation, but a shared language of imperial power, that is, *Romanitas* refracted through a contemporary Byzantine lens.

Fleeing the Image Breakers: Ecclesiastical Refugees in Italy

Joseph Western (Saint Louis University)

This paper investigates the ecclesiastical refugees who fled westward during the iconoclast period (c. 726-843) - both to find support in Italy and to escape persecution. Scholars have long recognized that opponents of imperially-sanctioned orthodoxy often traveled westward to avoid the emperor's coercive tactics. While there has been debate over the exact extent of iconoclast persecution, iconophiles did immigrate to places where they found a more supportive environment.

One of the few areas identified as a destination for these self-imposed exiles was Italy. In many ways it was a natural destination: Rome could be a center of opposition theology, and those who fled the emperor could find support there. Prior to the eighth century, the emperor had, at least occasionally, been able to limit opposition through the use of force, but as Italy slipped out of the imperial orbit in the eighth and ninth centuries, this was no longer possible. This made Italy safer than it had ever been for ecclesiastical dissidents. While anecdotal evidence has provided examples of the presence of Eastern ecclesiastical dissidents in the West, this study uses a more comprehensive tool to provide a more complete picture of religious refugees during the iconoclast period.

The *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit (PMbZ)* helped identify individuals who appear both in Eastern geographical regions as well as in Italy during the period of interest. This allows a narrowing of the list to figures connected to iconoclasm, and a comparison of the numbers of that subset to the list of people found in both locations, with the goal of understanding the proportion of individuals found in both places who were in Italy because of iconoclasm. The prosopography identifies a variety of sources that enable a fuller investigation of these figures.

The research is divided into three specific areas. First, this study examines the places of origin for these individuals as well as their destinations and activity within Italy, allowing for an analysis of ecclesiastical demographic patterns. Secondly, the study looks at what these figures did once they reached Italy, particularly how they integrated into ecclesiastical communities in the West. Finally, it investigates the interaction these figures had with the East, specifically as it related to the reason for their exile. Research for this study is ongoing and conclusions are not yet complete.

This study offers insight into a number of related topics. In addition to shedding light on iconoclasm and its associated persecutions, it also improves understanding of the relationship between religious communities in the East and West at a formative time of ecclesiastical differentiation. It also helps to understand imperial persecutions in a more general way, and offers insight into the place of Italy in the early medieval world as a point of contact between East and West.

They Who First Are Granted the Divine Enlightenment:
Angels, Translucency, and Light in Byzantine Art

Magdalene Bethge Breidenthal (Yale University)

A fourteenth-century icon in the Byzantine Museum in Athens depicts Archangel Michael clasping a staff in his right hand and, in his left, a *globus cruciger* inscribed with the *nomina sacra* XΔK, signifying "Christ the Just Judge." Angels holding globes are not uncommon in Byzantine art, and such representations have often been understood in terms of imperial iconography. Not only were globes symbols of divine and royal authority but the heavenly and earthly courts were also understood to parallel each other. A tenth-century ivory in Berlin's Staatliche Museen makes this connection explicit: an emperor and Archangel Gabriel flank the Mother of God; juxtaposed, both ruler and angel wear the *loros* and brandish scepters and globes. At first glance, the Athens icon appears to engage this kind of iconographic tradition, yet closer inspection reveals that a courtly reading misses the whole picture. Although Michael bears the regalia, he does not wear royal vestments. Furthermore, the globe he holds is translucent—light passes through the glass-like sphere so that the angel's drapery and part of his hand are clearly visible on the other side.

What is the significance of this diaphanous object? In this paper I consider its relation to Archangel Michael in terms of the link between angels and light as the Byzantines understood it, beginning with the fifth-century *Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, which outlines the hierarchic participation of angelic beings in divine light. As the lowest rank of celestial beings, angels and archangels occupy a mediating cosmological position that allows them to illumine humanity below. Their physical properties inform this function. Angels are called *asomatoi* and comprise fire and spirit, which suggests that light is able to pass through them physically. Arguably the translucent globe on the Athens icon calls attention to Michael's incorporeal nature and mediating place in the hierarchy, while the *nomina sacra* inscribed on it suggest that the angel specifically offers access to the light and presence of Christ.

Yet the archangel's position is hardly static. Pseudo-Dionysos' text describes a kinetic and spatial system in which angels traverse cosmic levels, raising souls toward participation in the divine. How does Michael's translucent globe relate to such movement through space? I propose that when the motif is incorporated into monumental church decoration, for example on the sanctuary arch of the Parakklesion at the Chora Monastery (1316-1321), it becomes part of a network of visual imagery, lighting effects, and ritual performance that work together to help connect the faithful, both living and dead, to the divine rites within the sanctuary. This paper considers a variety of visual, liturgical, and textual evidence to indicate the broader eschatological and Eucharistic significance of the connective power of divine light and its angelic conduits.

A Reinterpretation of Silk in the Middle Byzantine Period

Julia Galliker (University of Birmingham, UK)

This presentation redefines the conventional understanding of Byzantine silk by demonstrating its social importance, contribution to technology development, and role in the regional economy. In the middle Byzantine period, silk was extensively integrated into the social and economic framework of the court as a means to project imperial concepts through ceremonies, diplomatic gestures, and rewards. The coherent point of view provided by some prescriptive texts and the state's success in projecting meaning through the material has shaped existing scholarship. The research presented here shows that the current interpretation of silk as an imperial prerogative confined to elite use is poorly integrated with the larger body of evidence and lacks explanatory value.

A broad survey of Byzantine writing from the period including histories, chronicles, and testamentary documents reveals hundreds of textile mentions pertaining to silk. However, the scattered references and difficult terminology pose a research challenge. Most mentions contain only partial information, but may include some specific details such as production place, material type, weave structure, end use, design, quality, and usage context. The fragmentary nature of each mention limits the amount of data that can be gathered through conventional textual analysis. Sources also discussed silk at various production stages with references to fiber, woven materials, and finished goods co-mingled. What is broadly described as 'Byzantine' silk actually comprised a number of distinctive products at various processing stages with different market and usage characteristics.

To provide a more secure historical basis for silk research, I developed a database of textile mentions similar in concept and form to a prosopography. This data management tool provided a means to assemble widely distributed data into a consolidated resource while retaining contextual information about processes, exchange, and use. The resulting corpus represents an evidentiary basis to discern patterns that are difficult to perceive with conventional methods. Analysis suggests that the historical process involving silk was shaped by a continuing cycle of elite differentiation and imitative reproduction that contributed to the transmission of the material and production in the region. From this perspective, silk provides an example of the dynamic role of certain elite goods in Byzantine material culture.

Epigrams and Reliquaries in the Middle Byzantine Period

Brad Hostetler (Florida State University)

To what extent were relics visually and haptically accessible to the faithful in the Middle Byzantine Period? Rainer Rückert, focusing on the material evidence, argues that it was custom to have reliquaries display the sacred matter, giving the viewer unhindered access to the relics. Bissera Pentcheva challenges this assessment. Focusing on the tenth-century description of the service for the veneration of the Mandylion in Hagia Sophia during Lent, she argues that relics, being "sacred energy," were hidden within their containers, removed from sight and touch.

I turn to a different, and relatively unexplored, body of evidence: epigrams inscribed on Middle Byzantine reliquaries. I argue that these texts convey important details about the practice of relic presentation, concealment, access, and veneration that have heretofore gone unrecognized in scholarship. In contrast to the public setting for the veneration of the Mandylion, reliquaries inscribed with epigrams offer a more intimate context, or at least one with a limited audience. Using three Middle Byzantine reliquaries of the True Cross as case studies, I examine the visual and rhetorical ways in which epigrams engage and prepare the viewer to both see and touch the relics.

I begin my analysis on the placement of inscriptions. The tenth-century "Enkolpion of Constantine," now at St. Peter's, has a four-verse epigram placed on the front and back (ed. Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme II*, Me110). I demonstrate that this two-part arrangement dictates the process and sequence by which the viewer reads the inscription, sees the golden surface of the enkolpion, and finds the relics displayed within it.

Next, I focus on the manner with which epigrams rhetorically engage the viewer to look and to see the reliquary and its sacred contents. The tenth- to eleventh-century Stauroteca Maggiore Vaticana, also at St. Peter's, is a double-armed gold cross that displays relics of the True Cross on the front and an eight-verse epigram on the back (ed. Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme II*, Me111). I discuss the significance of the epigram engaging the sight of the viewer by referencing the wood that "has been seen" (ὀφθὲν) and demonstratively directing him/her to "this reliquary" (τήνδε θήκην).

Last, I analyze the ways in which epigrams describe the viewer's act of touch. I focus on an epigram written by John Mauropous for a reliquary of the True Cross that once belonged to Constantine IX Monomachos (ed. Lagarde, *Quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt,* no. 58). I examine the meaning behind the epigram's claim that Constantine sees, holds, and carries the cross in his hands.

When integrated with the material evidence, reliquary epigrams, I argue, allow for a more nuanced contextualization of relic presentation and access in the Middle Byzantine period. They convey what was symbolic and what was real; what was open and what was closed; what was within reach and what was not. They suggest how reliquaries mediated the viewer's interaction with sacred matter.

Divinely-Mandated Regime Change:
Elijah and "Macedonian" Dynastic Ideology in the Paris Gregory

Christopher Timm (Florida State University)

The court of Emperor Basil, the founder of the so-called Macedonian dynasty, promoted the cult of Elijah. The earliest extant evidence of this is found in the frontispiece of the Paris manuscript of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, in which Basil is shown flanked by the archangel Gabriel and the prophet Elijah. I suggest this image and its accompanying inscription function as polemic against Basil's Amorian predecessors by appropriating Elijah's role as a denouncer of heretical kings and by contrasting Basil to oligarchic tyrants.

I argue that the Paris Gregory miniature appropriates Elijah's role as a denouncer of apostasy in order to denounce the iconoclasm of the Amorian emperors. Scholars have interpreted the inclusion of Elijah in the frontispiece as a reference to the prophet's appearance to Basil's mother in the *Vita Basilii,* a tenth-century panegyric of Basil. This is problematic because the legend postdates the Paris Gregory by at least seventy years. I argue that we must rather look to ninth-century interpretations of the prophet and consider sources such as the marginal illustrations of the *Sacra Parallela* and hagiographies contemporary to Basil's rise to power. This approach reveals that in the ninth century Elijah was interpreted as a prophet of divinely-mandated usurpation and featured in iconophile polemic.

I argue that the word choice of the frontispiece's framing inscription complements the polemical use of Elijah by further condemning the Amorians as oligarchic. I suggest Basil's title προστάτης ("protector" or "patron") is a reference to Platonic dialogue that moralizes the corrupting power of rulership. The inscription celebrates Basil's alleged humble origins while at the same time framing the established Amorians as tyrants. Together, the biblical and Platonic themes of the Paris Gregory frontispiece legitimize Basil's overthrow of an apostate, tyrannical dynasty.

apostate, tyrannical dynasty.

Praise of a Teacher or Periautology?:
Theodore II Laskaris' Self-Representation in the *Encomium of George Akropolites*

Aleksandar Jovanović (Simon Fraser University)

In recent years, scholars have revisited the literary works of the Byzantine Empire's *period in exile* in order to understand better the ways in which the Empire understood and presented itself discursively during this era. Specifically, critics have investigated how historiography and rhetoric survived after the loss of Constantinople and the ways it affected the emperors' representations. For example, Ruth Macrides has explored the rhetoric of George Akropolites' *The History* and suggested that the negative image of the Laskarid emperors comes from glorifying Michael VIII Palaiologos, who was Akropolites' main patron at the time when he wrote his work. Furthermore, Dimiter Angelov has ascertained that the image of emperors' was altered after the fall of Constantinople in 1204. In my paper, which engages with such scholarship, I focus on Theodore II Laskaris' laudatory speech dedicated to his teacher, George Akropolites. I explore the ways in which Theodore II, the heir to the throne, depicted George Akropolites by following and modifying oratorical guidelines provided by rhetoricians such as Hermogenes, Aphthonios, and Menander Rhetor.

What makes Theodore II Laskaris' speech different from other encomia of the period is the fact that an heir apparent composed it for his subject. Emperors were usually the epicentres of praise and they rarely wrote speeches for people of lower birth. As such, Theodore II's encomium represents a unique work in the history of Byzantine literature. In the encomium Theodore II Laskaris praises the knowledge and education of his teacher George Akropolites in order to demonstrate his gratitude for all that he had been taught by him. In so doing, I argue that the author followed the rules for composing encomia provided by the rhetoricians of Late Antiquity. However, Theodore II had to modify some pre-set rules in order to compose an encomium that praises his teacher: for instance, he had to omit Akropolites' triumphs in warfare since the historian was not engaged in war affairs.

In analysing Laskaris's text, I explore the content of the encomium and the place of Akropolites in it. Specifically, although the laudatory speech focuses on George Akropolites's origin, education, and virtues, more space is in fact devoted to praising the abstract terms *education* and *erudition* and explaining how these are two of the most important virtues in one's life. I argue that by focusing on education and erudition, Theodore II Laskaris positioned himself towards Akropolites exactly as a ruler would towards his subject, since he elected to foreground abstract values, rather than his teacher, in the encomium. This argument is further sustained by the fact that the author discretely inserts himself in the encomium and praises his own education, under the pretence of providing an example of Akropolites' capabilities as a teacher. Taking into consideration the time of the speech's composition— just after Theodore II finished his education with Akropolites by 1252— I suggest that Theodore II used the encomium more so to promote an image of himself as an emperor-philosopher than to offer gratitude to his teacher.

Teaching Methods and Educational Practice in the Eleventh Century

Sergei Mariev (Ludwig Maximilians University of Munich)

We possess a significant number of biographical details about John Italos, one of the most important and at the same time highly controversial intellectual figures of the second half of the eleventh century. However, all the information provided in the records of his trial for heresy and the extensive biographical sketch found in the fifth book of the Alexiad of Anna Komnene and in other sources such as Michael Psellos, Niketas Choniates and the Timarion, allow little or no insight into the content and method of his teachings. This is a significant deficiency if we consider the fact that John Italos, as the "consul of the philosophers", was in charge of philosophical education in Constantinople from 1054/55 till 1082. Nonetheless, a much more comprehensive insight into the content and method of his teachings, and therefore also into the educational practices of this period in general, can be gained from an examination of the corpus of his extant writings. Upon careful examination the writings attributed to John Italos reveal much material that was intended by him as a kind of "blueprint" for his lectures as well the presence of lecture notes written by the students who attended his lessons. The present contribution briefly surveys the extant sources that preserve contemporary judgements of Italos' teaching methods and concentrates on several key passages in the Quaestiones Quodlibetales that provide surprisingly detailed information about John Italos' approach to the teaching of philosophy.

Rethinking the biography of Anna Komnene

Leonora Neville (University of Wisconsin Madison)

Like many medieval texts, the *Alexiad* is often interpreted in light of what we believe we know about the life of its author, Anna Komnene. At the same time, key ideas about Anna's biography derive from common readings of the *Alexiad*. Yet recent research into Byzantine authorial practices warns against taking authorial self-presentation in a text as a simple window onto that author's life. Byzantine authors seem to have crafted their textual presentation of themselves so as to evoke particular affective responses in their audiences. Attention to Anna's rhetorical stances in her *Alexiad* can tell us about how she wished to be perceived, but less about her life. This paper explores how new interpretations of Anna's authorial self may affect our understanding of her biography.

Detailed analysis of Anna's self-presentation reveals that she endeavored to provoke pity and condescending sympathy among her audience. Particularly whenever she needed to substantiate her historical abilities by claiming education, access to sources, and the rational capacity to evaluate and narrate deeds of the public sphere, she attempted to mitigate the fundamental self-aggrandizement and gender transgression of these activities by presenting herself as piteous and suffering. Whenever she had reason to think her audience would be affronted by her audacity and arrogance, she humbled herself by professing her own misery in an attempt to elicit pity from her audience.

This new understanding of Anna's self-expression should have significant impact on how we assess her life. Standard reconstructions of Anna's life take her effort to have her husband Nikephoros succeed Alexios in 1118, rather than John, as the central defining moment of her life. Anna is generally portrayed as the mastermind working behind the scenes to elevate her husband, who is himself entirely passive. She is then taken as having been forced to retire to a monastery where she languished in isolation, continually nursing her grudge against her brother, until her death decades later.

Some of this fundamental plot line stems from descriptions of politics in the histories of Zonaras and Choniates. The idea of Anna's forced monastic confinement, her isolation, and her increasing bitterness, however, all derive ultimately from readings of the *Alexiad*. Moreover, the standard interpretation of Zonaras and Choniates is driven by the need to construct a political explanation for the misery and suffering of Anna, as she appears in the *Alexiad*.

Anna's expressions of misery have not functioned as humbling gestures for modern historians, who rather take them as expressing truths about Anna's emotional state. Nineteenth-century readers perceived Anna as arrogant, often in response to precisely those authorizing discourses that she attempted to mitigate with expressions of piteousness. Hence she becomes both arrogant and miserable. The attempt to reconcile this arrogance and misery fueled the received construction of Anna as consumed with hatred and dwelling on her failed political ambitions. When we understand her pleas for pity as an attempt *not* to appear arrogant, we need to rethink her actual unhappiness, her pride, and, ultimately, her ambition. Anna needs a new biography.

Byzantinophilia in the Letters of Grigor Magistros Pahwaluni?

AnnaLinden Weller (Rutgers University)

This paper explores the Armenian letter collection of Grigor Magistros Pahwaluni, an Armenian aristocrat and intellectual of the eleventh century, who in 1045 exchanged his hereditary lands in Bjni for a Byzantine title – *magistros* – and territory in Byzantine Mesopotamia.

The image of Byzantine imperial authority in liminal/'frontier' space on the Eastern edge of the Empire in the early eleventh century is incomplete if it is constructed from documents which primarily portray the mentality of Byzantine actors as they move into that liminal space. In order to consider the process of Byzantine cultural interpolation into contested multi-cultural areas during this period of rapid expansion, it is thus necessary to bring in non-Byzantine actors who inhabit Byzantine or Byzantinized space. An examination of some of the letters of Grigor Magistros, written in a Hellenized Armenian, which shed light on his interactions with Byzantine authority, is thus of substantial value in understanding the effects of Byzantine imperialism. This paper focuses on letters which discuss Grigor's work while holding the title of *doux* of Mesopotamia, with reference to his opinions about events, accomplishments, and commands that he finds worth mentioning when describing his service to Byzantium in epistolary communication.

In telling his fellow Armenians about his activities, Grigor does not shy away from acknowledging the authority under which he is operating – he is clearly working in the Byzantine interest – but he nevertheless maintains a personal autonomy and individual differentiation from that authority. His letter collection was undoubtably Hellenophile, fluent in and enamored with the classical Greek education which animated his life as a teacher and scholar, and equally fluent in and enamored with Byzantine-style literary communication and maintenance of cultural ties. Nevertheless, when he describes his service to Byzantine masters in his letters, he does not demonstrate an affection for Byzantine imperial policy as much as a employment of the portions of Byzantine culture which he found valuable, while attempting to maintain personal and cultural loyalty to his own native Armenia.

King David Narratives in the Dura-Europos Synagogue

Kära L. Schenk (Austin, TX)

In "The Art of Comparing in Byzantium" (1988), Henry Maguire demonstrated how pictorial narratives of King David's life in some Byzantine works of art were structured to offer a comparison between the biblical king and certain Byzantine emperors. Maguire contended that the works did not present a "straightforward telling" of biblical narratives, but a retelling according to Byzantine principles of rhetoric. Going beyond the general Byzantine tendency to envision the emperor as a "new David," they exhibit David narratives specifically tailored to the life of each emperor. Thus, a quite different portrait of the king appears in each work: in one work, his conflict with Saul is paramount; in contrast, his penitence after adultery with Bathsheba is central in another work.

Images of King David in the third-century Dura-Europos synagogue are rarely treated with this level of subtlety. Discussions of the king are often limited to acknowledging (or denying) David's status in connection to Jewish hopes for an "anointed" (messianic) ruler in his line, and with reference to the possible messianic "theme" of the synagogue decoration. Although the specific rhetorical framework that Maguire used to analyze later Byzantine images is not appropriate here, his nuanced consideration of the David narratives and their significance could set the standard for a more thorough analysis of the *kind* of king (or, possibly, messiah) presented in the synagogue.

Such an analysis of the synagogue's David narratives reveals the king as a powerful but pious ruler, submissive to heaven and to other earthly leaders. His status as king is divinely ordained, not individually initiated. His marshal prowess is deemphasized, and he is reluctant to claim his authority through aggressive military action. In contrast, Israel's *heavenly* king is shown with great ingenuity throughout the synagogue as a warrior fighting on behalf of his people and against their enemies. It is this divine king, and not David, who serves as Israel's military savior and represents the preeminent power in the synagogue decoration as a whole.

This image of a powerful, pious, but also passive, David *may* respond to the current Jewish political situation. First, it is possible that the emphasis on other human rulers (such as priests) in the synagogue decoration reflects the lack of an actual Jewish king in Israel in this period, as well as the significance of alternative types of authority on the local communal level. Second, it is possible that this image responds to previous centuries of failed messianically-inspired revolts which left devastation in their wake. Some texts of the contemporary period emphasize the need to restrain overzealous military leaders and to depend more fully on heavenly power and timing for Israel's salvation.

The David narratives thus do not reflect the political power and individual biography of a current king, as in the later Byzantine period Maguire considers; rather, they deemphasize or balance the significance of kingship in comparison to both divine and other earthly authorities.

New Evidence for Middle-Byzantine Court Dress: The Clasp from Tahancha

Warren T. Woodfin (Queens College, CUNY)

Although much Byzantine jewelry survives that could be considered personal adornment, we possess virtually nothing that could be identified as belonging to Byzantine court costume. An outstanding exception to this gap in our knowledge is provided by a silver-gilt clasp for a cloak, unearthed in 1894 in the area of the town known in Russian as Tagancha, in Polish as Tahańcza, now in Ukraine. Previous publications of the burial finds from Tahancha identified the clasp as a belt buckle, but it is clear from the form that it is a clasp for fastening a mantle or *chlamys*. While numerous early-Byzantine fibulae survive, Middle-Byzantine clasps have hitherto been known only from painted representations, none of which presents such an object in detail.

The clasp takes the form of a rectangular box made from two silver-gilt sheets cladding a wooden core, which is padded with felted wool fibers. Five (originally six) octagonal buttons project from the ends. The buttons must have been fitted through loops on the edges of the mantle or *chlamys,* and they are attached with hinges to the two ends of the clasp, allowing the clasp to flex as the mantle moves on the body of the wearer. The form of the clasp clearly indicates that it was worn at the breast, in a manner demonstrated by the couriers in Paris BN, MS Coislin 79, rather than at the shoulder in the Antique manner of wearing the *chlamys*.

The surface of the clasp bears repoussé decoration on both sides: the front side shows the so-called Sasanian rosette framed in a double heart-shaped interlace of vines; the back side features similar rosettes issuing from a cup of acanthus. The quality of the workmanship is high, as can be seen, for instance, in the perfect uniformity of the pearled repoussé ornament of the borders. The vegetal motifs can be compared to a number of works—both in silver and in ivory—featuring elaborate rosettes, mostly dated to the tenth-early eleventh centuries.

I. A. Khoinovskii, who first published the finds in 1896, correctly surmised that the assemblage had to belong to a ruler. Because the burial practices—including the horse buried with the deceased—were incompatible with an Orthodox Christian prince, he surmised that the grave might be that of Iaropolk Sviatoslavich, among the last of the pagan rulers of Rus' in the tenth century. Subsequent study has revealed that burial dates rather to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. The shift to a later date raises two issues. First, since the clasp's foliate decoration is generally associated with works dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries, is the default attribution of finely executed, orientalizing ornament to the tenth century in need of re-examination? Second, the later dating of the burial makes clear that the élite individual at Tahancha was likely not a Rus' prince, but a Turkic steppe nomad, indicating that Byzantine courtly regalia be adapted in a context outside the Orthodox Christian "family of princes."

The Kanon for "He who is at the Point of Death" and its Iconography in Leimonos MS 295

Vasileios Marinis (Yale University)

The *Kanon eis Psychorragounta* ("Kanon for he who is at the point of death") is the main component of a homonymous *akolouthia*, a liturgical service meant to be read and sung on one's behalf shortly before death. The kanon's extensive use and impact during the Byzantine period are evident in that it has been depicted at least three times, which is unusual given the rarity of illustrations of minor services. The earliest cycle is found in a *horologion* now in the library of the Leimonos monastery in Lesbos, Greece (MS 295), dated by Panagiotes Vocotopoulos to the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth. It contains eighteen illuminations in total, some of them badly flaked. They include the dying monk, in full monastic dress, lying on a draped bed, which is surrounded by angels, demons, fellow monks, or combinations thereof, depending on the content of the illustrated hymn; the monk, alone or joined by his friends, addressing their entreaties to icons of Christ, the Theotokos, and the Archangel Michael; the separation of the soul from the body; the ascension of two angels with the soul toward an icon of Christ; a provisional judgment in the form of scales; the soul in Hades, arms and legs bound and secured with a rope attached to its neck.

In this paper I investigate the relationship of the kanon with its iconography, as well as the function of both. Leimonos MS 295 contains only the hymns (or most of them) of the kanon without the rest of the akolouthia, which furthermore would have been out of place in a horologion, a book of monastic hours, rather than an euchologion, where it truly belongs. A hymn accompanies each illustration, an arrangement quite unusual in the manuscript, which contains very few other illustrations, primarily at the beginning of services. This, in other words, was not meant to be the proper record of a service (because many of its parts are missing) but rather to allow the members of the monastic community that owned the manuscript to contemplate the meaning of the kanon alongside its illustrations. I argue that, while on a basic level the iconographic cycle illustrates the text of the kanon, its purpose is more nuanced: it elucidates the occasional vagueness of the text, it harmonizes the various conventions pertaining to the provisional judgment, and, through the inclusion of extra-textual elements, it amplifies the cautionary tone of the kanon. As a result the kanon and its iconography were valued and used primarily as a didactic and contemplative tools for those still alive in both private and public contexts.

A Byzantine Cameo and the Rhetoric of Paradise

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A Byzantine cameo of the twelfth or thirteenth century offers a rare example of its intended reception in the epigram on its mount. The purple amethyst cameo of the Theotokos Hagiosoritissa in the Vatopedi Monastery on Mt. Athos is enclosed in a golden jewel with pearls and emeralds surrounding the cameo on the obverse with the metrical inscription engraved on the reverse. The epigram curiously describes the cameo as an amethyst stone (λίθος ἀμέθυσος) that represents the Virgin in verdure (ἐν χλόῃ γράφει). The poetry's figurative language further juxtaposes the drunkenness of passions with a plea for the Virgin to shelter the author in a verdant gentle place (χλοώδη τρυφερὸν...τόπ[ον]). Because green stones comprise the great majority of Byzantine cameos, the disjunction between the cameo's purple material and the epigram's rhetoric of greenery offers an explanation of what Byzantine cameos were meant to be, namely visions of paradise.

This paper reassesses the cameo in terms of the middle versus late Byzantine cameo. While the middle Byzantine cameo usually is a dark green and opaque bloodstone, the late Byzantine cameo also is cut in a variety of transparent stones, such as amethyst, chalcedony or sapphire. The iconography of the Hagiosoritissa certainly enjoyed growing popularity from the twelfth century on, but cameos of the Theotokos in the middle Byzantine period remained mostly frontal compositions.

The paper also compares the cameo with Byzantine representations of stone and epigrams on stone to understand Byzantine expectations of stone as an artistic material. Where others have found aesthetic or metaphysical motivations in Byzantine stone works, I suggest that the trope of the garden specifically accounts for the motivation of middle Byzantine cameos, as well as features of stone icons more generally. The location of the paradise that the Byzantine cameo envisions remains correspondingly ambiguous, somewhere between the villas of Constantinople and the heavenly court. As a fruitful metaphor that united physical and spiritual vision, the garden provides another possible explanation for the growing color, complexity and diversity of the Byzantine icon from the twelfth century on.

Jaroslav I's Political Ideology in the Northern Chapels of Saint Sophia, Kiev

Sarah C. Simmons (Florida State University)

Jaroslav I (1019-1054), the Grand Prince of Rus', claimed the Kievan throne by means of a civil war. Jaroslav constructed his palatine church, Saint Sophia in Kiev, within one year of his victory. The decoration of the church provided an opportunity for the prince to assert his claim to power. I argue that the fresco programs of the four subsidiary chapels of Kiev Sophia convey a cohesive message of Jaroslav's legitimacy and authority. I suggest that the frescoes of Kiev Sophia are not a slavish imitation of Byzantine Church decoration, but a nuanced integration of Byzantine visual vocabulary into a new visual program promoting Jaroslav's authority.

I have considered the ways in which the frescoes in the adjacent south chapels assert the Prince's legitimacy by aggrandizing his dynastic lineage. In this paper I expand my discussion to include the northern chapels dedicated to St. George and Sts. Peter and Paul. While the decorative programs of the southern chapels convey Jaroslav's dynastic legitimacy, I argue that the northern chapels present Jaroslav's authority as a military and ecclesiastical leader to the Rus' court. This paper considers how Rus' ceremonial traditions and homiletic rhetoric supported Jaroslav's visual expression of power in Kiev Sophia.

Current scholarship acknowledges the continuation of certain aspects of local Rus' iconography but continues to approach Kievan Rus' as a peripheral state that imitated the visual and ceremonial languages of Constantinople. I suggest that this approach ignores the agency of the Kievan rulers in their reception and reinterpretation of Byzantine visual language.

And their eyes were opened:
The perceptions of Christ's Miracle Cycle in the early Palaiologan period

Maria Alessia Rossi (Courtauld Institute of Art, London)

In the years between 1290 and 1330, innovative frescoes depicting miracles performed by Christ appear in thirteen churches in the Byzantine Empire and the Serbian Kingdom. The sudden proliferation of this iconography in both territories and its subsequent disappearance thirty years later, clearly suggests a link between the two trends. This paper challenges the idea of an empty repetition of Byzantine iconographies in the Serbian territories, suggesting instead that the Miracle Cycle was reinterpreted, assuming different meanings and functions, ranging from a vehicle of propaganda, to that of cultural identity or a religious policy.

The early Palaiologan period is characterized by the political acme of the Serbian Kingdom. King Milutin (1282-1321) felt the need to legitimize his power and wealth by constructing and renovating churches and monasteries, and by creating a new cultural identity via innovative and original iconographies. Churches housing Miracle Cycles, such as Gračanica and St Nikita near Čučer, are the focus of this study and are compared to instances within the Byzantine Empire.

Specifically, I suggest a new reading of the perception of these frescoes. The commission of these churches has been ascribed to King Milutin. This presents us with the opportunity to investigate the way these episodes functioned, in connection to the eyes of the patron and those of the audience. In order to unravel the balance between the Cycle envisioned by the *ktetor* and that interpreted by the viewer, I take into consideration the iconography, grouping and layout of the episodes as well as their setting within the interior space of the church.

This paper aims to pinpoint and interpret the different role the Cycle assumed in the Serbian territories, in comparison to the contemporary instances in Byzantium, challenging the idea of imitation of Byzantine iconographies in neighboring countries, and suggesting instead they came to convey new values. Furthermore, the comparison of the program as viewed by the patron and by the beholder, makes it possible to suggest that there was indeed a blank space open to interpretation.

Antiquarianism in Late Byzantine Mystras

Andrea Mattiello (University of Birmingham – UK)

From its foundation as a small military outpost, the city of Mystra developed into a full Imperial city by the year of its surrender to the Ottomans in 1460. In particular, the imperial Kantakouzenos and Palaiologan families invested heavily to raise the city to this preeminent role.

Diverse interests converged onto the city and its surrounding region, determining a complex social-political environment that the Kantakouzenos first, and then the Palaiologos, managed through constant negotiations with the Franks, Florentines, Venetians, Slavs, Ottomans who were active in the region.

As a result, the diverse Imperial and political elites of the city of Mystra distinguished themselves as nodal, independent, and culturally active, always in dialogue with other elites operating in other centres of the Empire, while developing a distinctive cultural taste specific to Mystra.

This paper in general substantiates the unique independence achieved by the main cultural producers of the Despotate of Morea and of the city of Mystra. It presents a selection of case studies that can be related to patrons whose achievements – I am arguing - were inspired by cultural factors acting autonomously in the city, rather than imported by other centres of the Empire.

In particular this paper analyses the production of the artistic workshop responsible for the frescoed decorations of the katholikon of the monastery of the Pantanassa. Through this analysis this paper aims to demonstrate the presence of a distinct sense of antiquarianism and iconographical antique revival in the visual repertoire adopted in these frescoes. It connects these features to other artistic endeavours pursued by other workshops that were active in the Late Byzantine Mystras, both from the Kantakouzenos and the Palaiologan ruling periods.

What Was the Council in Trullo?

David Olster (University of Kentucky)

Historians have universally judged the Council in Trullo or the Quinisext Council of 691-92 as one of the milestones that pave the way to Iconoclasm. Its famous canon 82, which prohibited the depiction of Christ as a lamb and required a human image, has certainly been seen as a defining moment in the cultural history of icons. Particularly when coupled with the exactly contemporaneous striking of a solidus with the bust of Christ on the obverse, the canon and the Council in general have been largely understood as an imperial endorsement of icons against which Leo III reacted a generation later.

In contrast to the attention lavished on canon 82 (and to a lesser extent those canons that contrast Roman and eastern practices or shed light on other "popular" religious practices), scholars have generally overlooked how extremely peculiar the evidence of the Council itself is. This evidence consists exclusively of three documents: a short, introductory speech by Justinian II, the canons and the subscription list. There are no protocols whatsoever. The Council is called "in Trullo" because it is reported that the domed Trullan hall of the palace was the venue (where significantly Constantine IV, Justinian II's father, held the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680-81). But aside from the likelihood that a group of bishops met there in the presence of Justinian, there is no evidence that any debate occurred or even that any bishop spoke. It need not even be assumed that all the bishops whose names appear on the subscription list signed it at the council since emperors had previously circulated declarations of faith for episcopal signatures without bothering with any formal conclave: for example, the Theopaschite declaration of faith during the reign of Justinian I. In short, the evidence that should demonstrate that there was a Council as we conventionally imagine one (and an ecumenical council at that according to Justinian himself and the names on the subscription list) actually demonstrates nothing of the sort.

So what exactly was the Council in Trullo? In order to sort out this question, it is necessary to examine the broader ecclesiastical policy of Justinian II within the institutional evolution of the seventh-century imperial church. Much had changed since Justinian declared in Novel 6 that the imperial was entirely distinct from the ecclesiastical office. By the middle of the seventh century, Maximus the Confessor could be charged with treason for denying that the emperor was also a priest. So, although both Justinian I and Justinian II clearly saw ecclesiastical affairs as within their sphere of authority, it seems likely that their conceptualization of their place in the imperial church and the levers they used to impose their authority had changed. In 687, Justinian II re-issued the Acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council "from his hand" at what all scholars agree was a *silention*, as if it was imperial legislation. Similarly, when he issued his famous Christ obverse coinage, he adopted the legend for his own image on the reverse, "servus Christi" which had been up to that time employed as an episcopal, not imperial, title. And most significantly, canon 69 assigned the emperor the unique privilege of standing at the altar like a priest or deacon sharply distinguishing his status from all other laity. It is in the light of this shifting or perhaps blurred definition of emperor and priest that we will reconsider what was the Council in Trullo.

Bishop and Imperial Court, 350-430 CE:
Tracing Patterns of Social Interaction across Multiple Letter Collections

Adam M. Schor (University of South Carolina)

How did early Byzantine bishops, in diverse positions and social settings, interact with emperors and their courtiers? Scholars seek answers to this question through various sources; for the fourth and early fifth centuries, they frequently turn to collected letters. This period supplies several extant epistolary collections from bishops (or one-time bishops) east and west, including Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose of Milan, John Chrysostom, Synesius of Cyrene, and Augustine of Hippo, plus scattered notes from other figures. And the letters offer hundreds of examples of bishops writing to figures of high imperial influence – high civil officials, top generals, relatives of the rulers, imperial friends and proximate clients, imperial teachers and spiritual advisors – seeking everything from doctrinal alliance to mundane personal favors.

Usually scholars approach these letters biographically, exploring each author's relations with imperial power, sometimes comparing him to other letter-writers from the same region or period. Illuminating textual examples may be offered to suggest larger trends. But how well these examples represent most bishop-courtier interactions is rarely explored.

This paper marks a preliminary effort to trace patterns of social interaction between bishops and the imperial court beyond a few striking anecdotes, by surveying multiple letter collections from the period 350-430 CE, and by employing "big data" methods, including social network analysis. For this project I chart the known timeframe and stated goals of each extant epistolary exchange between bishops and courtiers in this period; the identities and offices of all known people linked to the interaction; and the signals of prior social attachment and cultural affinity (such as references to shared literary or Scriptural learning, shared home region, shared ascetic or philosophical commitments, or shared doctrinal preferences) found within the text. Such charts then support a range of statistics and network maps, enabling numerous comparisons and revealing subtle correlations. Of particular interest to this paper are the ways in which bishops in differing places and social settings sought support at court to deal with two common problems: requests from associates for financial or judicial favors, and accusations among clerics of misconduct or heresy.

Big data methods have significant limitations. We cannot assume that patterns found in sympathetically edited letter collections represent the full range of bishops' dealings with courtiers. And no general charting of letter exchanges can reveal the nuances of social interaction revealed by close reading of specific letters and dossiers.

Network analysis and other big data methods, however, can offer new context for rereading specific letter sets against a whole evidentiary corpus. And this exercise puts some famous moments of episcopal boldness in perspective. Occasionally bishops of the fourth and early fifth centuries organized against the efforts of emperors and powerful courtiers. But most of the time, bishops, even "defiant" ones, followed a narrow range of strategies to retain their achieved stature. In epistolary dealing with courtiers, bishops relied on similar ensembles of contacts and helpers. Whatever their later reputation, they showcased their trustworthiness and propriety by a few recurring rhetorical paths.

Emperor and Church Politics, 484-518: The Eastern Reception of Papal Primacy Claims

Dana Iuliana Viezure (Seton Hall University)

This paper investigates the Eastern reception of Roman claims to papal primacy in matters of doctrine at the time of the Acacian schism (484-518). Papal writings from this period emphasize the universality of Rome's primacy in matters of doctrine (the letters of Pope Gelasius being the most developed example of this), as well as its timeliness, given the implementation in the East of the Henoticon-based approach to doctrinal orthodoxy, which had all but overwritten Chalcedon. The repudiation of the Henoticon and of the persons associated with its production and promotion, primarily Acacius, the bishop of Constantinople, left little room for negotiation and constructive compromise. As far as Rome was concerned, Constantinople and the East had to choose between the orthodoxy of the See of Peter and the heresy of the Henoticon (rendered even more problematic by suspicions of imperial meddling) - or, in more radical terms, between Pope Leo and Eutyches.

Correspondence between Rome and Constantinople reveals considerable Eastern opposition and closely argued retorts. However, it also reveals an increasingly better defined trend to interpret the Roman claims in such a way as to make them acceptable in the East. Imperial interests at a time when political control over the West had all but slipped away influenced this trend, motivating Eastern bishops to find ways to accommodate papal primacy claims. In the long run, such accommodations served imperial Western politics.

While a condemnation of Eutyches in the East could be secured with relative ease, and papal primacy in matters of doctrine could be construed, in a general sense and if properly contextualized, as an ongoing norm, recognition of Pope Leo's authority, and, by extension, of the authority of Leo's successors, required a more careful and nuanced dissociation of the papacy from Nestorianism. As Rome seemed less and less willing, in the wake of Leo's death, to provide theological explanations and negotiate the orthodoxy of Chalcedon and Leo's Tome, the Easterners came to develop an ideal model of what an orthodox and authoritative pope could or could not have said. Were the papacy to conform to this model, its claims at primacy were entirely justified. Correlative to this model, a pattern of explaining the worsening conflict with Rome through tales of misunderstanding and misrepresentation, of deliberately faulty translations or even forgeries, and of political manipulation, became increasingly more popular among Easterners. By 518, Easterners who favored reconciliation with Rome had a very clear sense of what Pope Leo truly stood for. It is this "taming" of Leo that made Roman claims at primacy in matters of doctrine acceptable as a basis for reconciliation. Contemporary imperial attempts to reconnect with the West and offer reassurance that no effort was being spared in pursuing a healing of the schism drew on - and at the same time enhanced - this interpretation.

Spaces of Encounter and Plurality:
Architectural Transformation at the Sanctuary of St. George in Lydda

Heather A. Badamo (University of Chicago)

Traveling through Acre in the twelfth century, the Spanish Muslim traveler Ibn Jubayr observed Christians and Muslims engaging in shared veneration at the Spring of the Ox: "…Muslims and infidels meet there – although it belongs to the Christians – and each one says his prayers, facing in the direction that his faith prescribes (LeStrange, 318-319)." This passage describes a pattern of interaction in which members of different faiths shared sacred spaces but maintained separate religious practices and beliefs. In doing so, it aligns with the writings of Muslim theologians, who often approached the perceived threats of religious plurality by insisting on the integrity of communal boundaries. In contrast to this image of orthopraxy, the dynamics of interfaith encounter at other sanctuaries in the Holy Land suggest that patterns of interaction were more complicated – and boundaries more porous – than the writings of Ibn Jubayr suggest.

This paper focuses on the sanctuary of St. George at Lydda to consider how architecture participated in the dynamics of conflict and coexistence, exclusion and incorporation that governed relationships among a range of religious communities in the Holy Land during the middle ages: Muslims, Latin Christians, Byzantines, and east Christians of various sectarian affiliation. Over the course of its history, the site underwent numerous political and socio-religious transformations as the Holy Land passed from Byzantine to Islamic rule, then from Islamic to Crusader. In correspondence with these shifts, conquering armies and victorious elites in turn demolished, appropriated, and rebuilt the shrine, changing its symbolic resonances and reconfiguring hierarchical relationships among communities. By examining how the medium of building took part in the negotiation of religious difference, this paper demonstrates that religious practice and theory often existed in a dialectical relationship, with architecture working both to establish religious boundaries and render them porous.

The Authority of Place and the Church of the Nativity

Lisa Mahoney (DePaul University)

One of the greatest projects undertaken in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was the decoration of the interior of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, a lavish program of mosaics involving royal and ecclesiastical patronage dated to 1169. Despite this, the heavy losses that today define the walls and the presumed straightforwardness of the program once in place—known from pilgrimage descriptions, transcriptions, and drawings—have discouraged scholarly attention. Indeed, only isolated facets of the program have inspired a search for meaning. The names of artists and two Christian rulers, the Latin king Amalric and the Byzantine emperor Manuel Komnenos, are paramount among these. The names of artists provoke interest because they are tantalizingly local and ethnically varied and so promise to contribute to our understanding of workshop practices in the Latin Kingdom, while the names of the Christian rulers do so because they suggest not only that an alliance in the political sphere affected art, but also that the Byzantine emperor maintained a custodial commitment to *loca sancta* even when they were in the hands of the Franks. But this program is not straightforward. If we press the Second Council of Nicaea text found in the nave and the dedicatory inscription (where our two Christian rulers are mentioned) found in the bema into action, we are rewarded with the emergence of an entire program dedicated to an elaborate and sophisticated, and ultimately wholly unprecedented, portrayal of the coming of Christ, and one that is Frankish in design. I have argued elsewhere that the impetus for this program came, in part, from its larger multi-cultural environment. Here, I argue that the individual characteristics of the program were inspired by its more immediate multi-confessional community (in ways additional to its textual content, which has been identified by others). Taking into consideration the fact that the Church of the Nativity was the original coronation church of the Latin Kingdom, that it had a Latin bishop at its helm, and that it seems to have served both a Christian and a Muslim population, we should recognize here an opportunity for the material articulation of Frankish power. In so doing, we might also read its program as a statement regarding the primacy of Christianity as a revealed religion, in the very place where this revelation happened and in the pictorial language proper to it.

Jerusalem as "Middle Ground":
Eastern Christian Art and Identity in the Crusader Period

Glenn Peers (University of Texas at Austin)

One model for understanding contact among colonizing and indigenous peoples is the Middle Ground, developed by the historian Richard White. His model has been applied to other contexts, perhaps most successfully in zones of open beaches not islands, zones between discrete cultures in which peoples adjust to differences and create new understandings in the process. The cultural outcome is a form of bricolage. On the one hand, Middle Ground emerges as an expression of mutual need, so it is pragmatic, and on the other, it has productive outcomes from the lack of full understanding one group has for another (or others).

This paper examines one example of Middle Ground: the recently discovered (1999) fragment of fresco from the Refectory of the Monastery of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem, now in the Israel Museum. The passage of fresco is large (9 x 2.7 m), but comprises only the lowest section of wall decoration. It shows the feet of three figures, with the bottom part of a throne framing the middle figure's feet, a clear indication that it was the well-known Byzantine and Eastern Christian iconographical theme of the Deesis. In the next register below the Deesis is a two-line inscription in Latin from the fifth-century vita of St. Augustine written by Possidius. Between the two lines of Latin, a frieze is decorated with acanthus vines and flowers, and in the lowest level of the fresco, two passages of fabric are represented. Finally, two other figures are shown to either lateral end of the fresco.

The particular assemblage of motifs in this fragmentary fresco (always now provisionally) reveals processes working in accord with the cultural logics followed by all agents in the twelfth-century Kingdom of Jerusalem. The components that survive show that merging, where Latin Christians, Muslims and Eastern Christians created new, common ground—a middle ground, in an important sense. The fresco reveals aspects identifiable from both cultures, broadly speaking: decorating a refectory with an epiphany of God, painted curtains in the dado, recalling St. Augustine, acanthus rolls as a central ornamental motif, all these can be claimed for Latin Christian cultural conventions; while the Deesis, particularly in refectories, and silk hangings recall strongly Byzantine and Eastern Christian cultural modes. The innovatory aspects of the (now-abridged) fresco exist in a 'ground' newly formed by the meeting and merging of Christianities in the Middle East in this period. All the while, one must recognize that the example of St. Mary's is weighted toward Benedictine and Cluniac cultural norms. The practice of creating a middle ground is not based on symmetry between grounds to form a harmonious middle; dissimilarity and misunderstanding leads productively to a new expression of understanding of the other, if not acculturation or accommodation.

"Lest some discord arise":
The Resafa Heraldry Cup at the Siege of Acre

Richard A. Leson (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

In 1982, an excavation led by Thilo Ulbert of the German Archaeological Institute of Damascus unearthed a hoard of liturgical silver beneath the pavement of the north peristyle of the former basilica of the Church of the Holy Cross at Resafa-Sergiopolis. The hoard was likely deposited there for safekeeping sometime before 1259, the year of the great Mongol invasion that saw the destruction of the basilica. Of the five objects that comprise the hoard, perhaps the most important is a drinking cup (now Syria National Museum, Damascus, Inv. Nr. 29313/14), the basin of which is engraved with eleven heraldic shields. The heraldrist Hervé de Pinoteau, engaged by Ulbert to identify the shields, associated the most prominent of these devices with the Coucy family of Picardy, one of the most powerful and ambitious dynasties of medieval France. Almost certainly, Pinoteau showed, the central arms refer to Radolphus I, called Raoul, Lord of Coucy (ca.1135–1191/92), who was present at the great siege of Acre during the Third Crusade. The cup, therefore, is a rare example of a luxury object to survive from the siege. Subsequently it exchanged hands, as proved by an Arabic inscription added to its rim that reads, "This was given by Zayn al-Dār, daughter of master Abū Durra, to the blessed church of Qalʿat Jaʿbar."

Pinoteau's determination of the cup's provenance was made possible by the four variations of the Coucy arms that appear in the basin. The cadency or differencing of the Coucy arms points with near certainty to Raoul and his three eligible heirs. Shortly before he departed on crusade, probably in the spring of 1190, Raoul divided the barony among his adolescent sons and awarded title and rights to each of them "lest some discord arise" in the future. These arrangements were recorded in his *ordinatio*, or testament, of 1190, deposited at the abbey of Prémontré, near Coucy. There is little doubt that the heraldry cup is somehow tied to these developments, as Pinoteau argued, but more precise conditions of its creation and decoration eluded him. While the cup itself was probably crafted in Western Europe, as originally suggested by Ulbert, this paper presents new textual evidence that indicates its heraldic decoration was undertaken at the siege of Acre, rather than in France before Raoul's departure. In this fraught context, far from his home and children, the cup's ensemble of authentic arms emerged as an agent and sustainer of Raoul's dynastic aspirations while on crusade, ultimately substantiating those accusatory passages in the chronicles that describe noblemen more concerned with their own self-interests than the achievement of Jerusalem.

Repentant Demons in Medieval Syrian Orthodox Thought

Elizabeth Anderson (Yale University)

Medieval Syrian Orthodox writers wrestled with the questions of whether demons were capable of repentance and whether, if they did repent, God's grace might be extended to them also. Did the salvation accomplished by Christ extend to all of creation, including fallen angels, or was it available only to human sinners?

This theme is discussed in many texts, both theological and narrative. This paper considers three of these, which represent the spectrum of possibilities that different authors considered. The ninth century writer John of Dara argued in his work *On Demons* that God's mercy does extend to demons if they repent, but cautioned that it is nevertheless wise to refrain from speculation about whether they ultimately will repent or not, as this is not something that has been given to human beings to know.

In the thirteenth century, Bar Hebraeus argued that it was naive and illogical to think that demons would repent, for although they were not evil by nature, they had become so habituated to evil that it was now their second nature. Even so, however, he insisted that God's mercy was infinite, and that therefore in the hypothetical situation in which a demon repented, God would certainly forgive even a demon. Both authors differ on this question from their Latin Christian contemporaries, among whom the consensus was that salvation was only possible for human beings, and that the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ were not efficacious for fallen angels.

The final text is of a different genre, but perhaps reveals the sort of speculation that prompted these theologians to engage at such length with this question in the first place. This is a narrative, entitled "The story of a demon, who repented and was accepted by God". It appears to have been widely read, surviving in a number of different manuscripts in collections of religious stories. It seems likely that the primary focus of this tale was not to engage in theological speculation about the ultimate fate of demons, but rather to provide hope and comfort to human sinners by using a repentant and forgiven demon to "think with". Nevertheless, the popularity of this story in the Syrian Orthodox Church may have raised the question, and challenged theologians to articulate a response.

Lastly, at least two of these three texts show an awareness of Islamic traditions. It may, therefore, also be the case that Muslim beliefs about the possibility of salvation for jinn prompted Christians to reflect on whether their tradition offered a similar opportunity, or if Christian grace was, by comparison, more narrow and limited. Perhaps a desire to avoid such an implication is why all of these authors are so keen to stress God's ability and willingness to forgive demons as well as human beings, even while they differ in the degree of their optimism regarding whether that salvation would ultimately occur.

Bishops Behaving Badly: The Life and Times of Theophilus of Alexandria

Young Richard Kim (Calvin College)

Theophilus of Alexandria is infamous for his involvement in the destruction of the Serapeum in Egypt and the Origenist controversy of the late fourth century. In particular his role in the deposition of John Chrysostom at the Synod of the Oak made it difficult for some ancient writers to fit him neatly into the story of a unified pro-Nicene Christianity. Modern scholarship has not received the legacy of Theophilus very kindly, and he has been derided for his theological waffling, the use of violent tactics to assert his will, and an almost insatiable ambition to augment the authority of the see of Alexandria. The ancient and modern characterizations (and caricatures) of Theophilus and his behavior consistently underscore a similar perspective: Theophilus was not a nice man.

At the same time, he was entirely a product of his times. Theophilus was indeed a worthy successor to the life and legacy of Athanasius, who almost singlehandedly reimagined the narrative of the fourth century as a universal conflict between an "Arian" heretical conspiracy and a persecuted but resolute orthodox minority. In Athanasius' version of history, the triumph of a unified Nicene orthodoxy was predestined to prevail over the disparate and manifold manifestations of Arian heresy. And at the heart of his drama was the singular authority of the protagonist, the bishop of Alexandria, to define and defend orthodoxy, combat heresy, and lead all of Christendom. This was the "policy" pursued by Theophilus' most immediate predecessors, Peter and Timothy, and thus Theophilus' behavior must be viewed as a continuation of an established mode of leadership.

What Athanasius had accomplished in words, Theophilus attempted in deeds. He operated in the post-Council of Constantinople dispensation, in which his own bishopric was seemingly secure and the Arian crisis over. He had to find other avenues to continue the Athanasian narrative and to augment his authority, and thus his turn to anti-pagan practices and mediation/meddling in the affairs of other bishoprics, including that of the imperial capital. In his protracted conflict with Constantinople in particular vis-à-vis the Origenist controversy, Theophilus demonstrated his mastery of the chess game of ecclesiastical politics. This paper reexamines his strategy, his movement and manipulation of various pieces to accomplish his goals, including the elimination of the opposing bishop. Despite the seemingly despicable character of Theophilus, he must be understood in his own context, in continuity with the rhetoric and policies of Athanasius. And in the end, Theophilus set the stage for the rise of the ultimate archbishop of Alexandria: Cyril.

Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite's Festival Rhetoric: *Theoria* at the Dormition

By Byron MacDougall (Brown University)

This paper examines Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite's depiction of the Dormition scene (*On Divine Names* III.2 ed. Suchla) against the larger tradition of fourth and fifth century festal oratory, particularly that of the Cappadocian Fathers and Proclus of Constantinople. Though once mistakenly believed to describe the Eucharist, the consensus is now that the passage does represent the Dormition. It was certainly understood to do so by its Byzantine readers, and it should be compared with the early Dormition narratives proper.

A common feature of many of these earliest Dormition accounts is a rhetorical performance by Peter during the all-night vigil kept by the apostles assembled at Mary's side. Such a scene appears in the Ethiopic translation (the *Liber Requiei*, translated by Stephen Shoemaker in *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* [Oxford 2002]) of a 5th-6th century Syriac text (the *Obsequies of the Holy Virgin*) which survives only in fragments and represents perhaps the earliest Dormition narrative. As Shoemaker has conveniently demonstrated, Peter's oration is paralleled in the earliest extant Greek account of the Dormition (van Esbroeck's G1) as well as in John of Thessaloniki's 7th century homily. Ps.-Dionysius' strikingly different take on the scene in question is inflected, characteristically, by the author's concerns with Neoplatonism and rhetorical theory.

The assembled apostles take turns hymning the Virgin, and in so doing lead one another in what is marked as a depiction of *theoria* or contemplation of the spectacle before them. The author constructs the Dormition scene so as to anticipate rhetorically informed festal celebrations of the Dormition, and he casts the apostles in the role of *rhetors* who lead their congregations in communal contemplation of the spiritual significance of the festival in question. Moreover, I show how Ps.-Dionysius is attuned to how, over the course of the late fourth and fifth centuries, the dynamics and purpose of festal rhetoric had been articulated by its foremost practitioners. For example, among the assembled apostles, Dionysius' "teacher" Hierotheos distinguishes himself through what we might call "homeopathic" rhetoric: he experiences the same *pathe* as the subjects of his discourse. For the *rhetor* to experience the *pathos* of his subject and then to communicate that *pathos* to his congregation was a much-discussed goal of classical rhetorical theory, and the idea entered Christian festival discourse through *rhetors* like the Cappadocian Fathers.

Finally, I examine one chapter in the reception of Ps.-Dionysius' text: Andrew of Crete's second homily from his triptych on the Dormition (PG 97.1045-1072). Andrew quotes extensively from the scene, and his interpretation of the *theoria* performed there offers a useful control on the reading offered in this paper. Ps.-Dionysius' incorporation of 4th-5th century festival theory into his Dormition scene, and his subsequent influence on the homilies of Andrew of Crete, together offer an ideal case study for the diachronic development of performed *theoria* in Early Byzantine festival rhetoric.

Polemics and Emperors in Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*

Joseph J Reidy (Saint Louis University)

The four ecclesiastical historians of the fifth century wrote their accounts for particular reasons. The Heterousian Philostorgius crafted a narrative that apparently explained the declining fortunes of his creed in apocalyptic tones. Two others, Socrates and Sozomen, both took issue with the shortcomings of previous historians and sought to replace or enhance former narratives according to their own tastes and purposes. These three figures, however, represent minor players with relatively little to win or lose: Philostorgius' branch of Christianity had entered a final decline, while both Socrates and Sozomen would be unknown to most had they not written their histories. In contrast stands the author of the fourth ecclesiastical history of this period, Theodoret of Cyrrhus. This bishop was a prominent figure in the Christological debates of the fifth century and had much at stake in the composition of his history, and yet his motivation behind the composition of his *Ecclesiastical History* is often neglected by scholarly study.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus defended the Antiochene perspective that viewed the teachings of Eutyches as a negation of Jesus Christ's humanity. Theodoret and the other proponents of his theological position witnessed a range of setbacks and defeats as bishops attended three ecumenical councils from 431 to 451. One of these gatherings, the pro-Eutychian Council of Ephesus in 449, declared Theodoret to be a heretic, deposed him from his see, and exiled the bishop.

Many scholars believe that it was during the years leading up to, and possibly including the years of, his exile that Theodoret composed his own *Ecclesiastical History*. Given the acerbic religious debates of the time, one would assume that his *Ecclesiastical History* would have a pronounced polemical bent, much like that of Philostorgius. Theodoret could have easily exploited his narrative in order to vilify, at least implicitly, those responsible for the anathematization of his colleagues and the persecution of his Christology. Nonetheless, his tone is not that of an obvious polemic, and the author refrains from even the temptation to spin recent events in a partisan light by concluding his narrative in 429, two years before the first assembly met at Ephesus.

This lack of overt polemical intent combines with other factors to raise the question for what purpose Theodoret wrote his account of the Christian Church. It is possible that we can come to a better understanding of his motivation and even a more precise dating of its composition by studying the role of the various emperors within his narrative. When we do so, we discover reasons to believe that Theodoret wrote his history while in exile and with Theodosius II in mind. Theodoret's account may thus be a crafted narrative designed to convince Theodosius II that Theodoret's own theological position was the orthodox one.

Pulcheria Redivivus: The Cult of the Virgin and the Nestorian Controversy

Stephen J. Shoemaker, University of Oregon

In the later twentieth century a number of important studies drew new attention to the impact that an already vibrant Marian piety seems to have had in galvanizing the resistance to Nestorius in Constantinople and elsewhere. These studies also frequently identify the Empress Pulcheria, sister of Emperor Theodosius II, as an instrumental figure who was particularly responsible for deploying popular devotion to Mary as a means to accomplish Nestorius' downfall, in part for personal reasons. More recently, however, Pulcheria's direct involvement in all of this has come into serious question, and several studies have argued that this narrative of Pulcheria's conflict with Nestorius derives from later and possibly tendentious sources. It is true that some of the sources utilized in previous studies are questionable, but on the whole the evidence that both Pulcheria and Marian piety played a significant role in fomenting the opposition to Nestorius is quite solid.

We know that a feast of the Virgin had already become a part of the city's annual liturgical cycle in advance of Nestorius' arrival, and likewise that the discourse of Mary as the model of virginity had become established. In the years leading up to the council, Proclus had been active in promoting the cult of the Virgin in the imperial capital. The emperor Pulcheria was closely allied with Proclus and his circle, and seemingly had been from her childhood: by all indications, Proclus was her spiritual mentor. We know from Nestorius himself, as well as other sources, that Pulcheria had actively opposed Nestorius and was instrumental in his downfall. Given that she herself was a consecrated virgin (or at least presented herself as such) and was strongly influenced by Proclus, it stands to reason that her opposition to Nestorius was largely determined by his perceived criticism of Marian devotion and the Virgin herself. Recent efforts to marginalize her from this controversy or even to argue that she actually supported Nestorius in the controversy are simply not persuasive in light of the accumulation evidence to the contrary.

Moreover, the role played by Pulcheria's own personal Marian piety, significant though it must have been, was apparently not singular, and devotion to the Virgin in general seems to have been a much more powerful force in this controversy than the traditional narrowly Christological accounts of the Third Council have recognized. Popular response to the council both in Ephesus and in Constantinople demonstrates that devotion to the Virgin was an important factor in the outcome. And the fact that the controversy erupted over the term Theotokos is itself quite telling. This term taken from the language of devotion only secondarily became the catalyst for a raging Christological debate. Indeed, on the whole it is rather difficult to disregard the evidence that Marian piety was looming large in the backdrop of the recondite Christological issues that were contested in the church of Mary the Theotokos at the Council of Ephesus.

Theodoros Balsamon's Monks: Byzantine Monasticism in the Commentaries on the Canons

Hannah Ewing (Rollins College)

Of the great twelfth-century canonists, Theodoros Balsamon is noteworthy for often bringing his present day into his commentaries on canon law, interspersing these texts with contemporary anecdotes and recent imperial legislation. As such, scholars have often used these rich commentaries to reflect on Balsamon's sympathetic attitudes towards the emperors and imperial authority, as well as on ecclesiastical topics including the evolution of Byzantine canon law and the church's views on magic. These commentaries are likewise a valuable source for ecclesiastical views of monasticism in the later twelfth century—as shown by Paul Magdalino ("The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century" and *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*) and Michael Angold (*Church and Society under the Comneni, 1081-1261*), albeit more in passing than in any truly sustained discussion of Balsamon's perspective. This paper builds on Magdalino and Angold's monastic usage of these texts, to reconstruct the canonist's outlook on monasticism and its place in the Byzantine world, in a more focused and deeper manner than yet exists in the scholarship.

By analyzing Balsamon's canon law commentaries alongside his other extant writings, including epigrams and legal opinions, this paper argues that the canonist approved of coenobitic monasticism, but pushed for the monasticism around him to adopt greater obedience towards religious and political leaders (including *hegoumenoi*, bishops, and the emperor) and to avoid any hint of moral scandal or material excess. He pushed for a monasticism that better embraced the contemplative life, cut off from the distractions or trappings of the secular world. While Balsamon's critiques of contemporary monasticism cannot speak to any twelfth-century decline in monastic practices, they are notable in illustrating the church's growing cultural ascendency over monasticism in this period. By adding Balsamon's evidence and voice more distinctly to discussions of this topic, we achieve a deeper understanding of Byzantine ecclesiastical culture in the later Komnenian period.

Picnics, Processions, and *Panegyreis* in *The Miracles of Thekla*

Linda Honey (Millarville, Canada)

This paper investigates fifth-century Christian worship in southern Rough Cilicia as evidenced in *The Miracles of Thekla* by Ps.-Basil and a companion text, the anonymous *Myrtle Wood,* based upon my English translation of the two Greek texts (as published by Dagron, 1978) in their entireties. In regard to the nature of late antique/early Byzantine Christianity, scholarship to date has largely focused on individual saints and, consequently, has conceptualized the nature of the worshipping community as reflective, cloistered, and hushed, engaged in the pursuit of interior spirituality; however, these two texts open a window onto the celebratory and frequently outdoor and, at times, raucous nature of the Church's festivals and its activities replete with *panegyreis*, processions, and picnics (including dancing on the lawn!).

As evidenced by *The Miracles of Thekla*, *panegyreis* were an integral part of fifth-century Christian worship in southern Asia Minor. The festival fervor of Ps-Basil and his fellow-Christians as presented in *The Miracles of Thekla* is representative of a deeply and widely held philosophical persuasion in the Greco-Roman world that was seamlessly assimilated into Christianity. Corroborating evidence that *panegyreis* were an integral, important, and enduring element of the historical religio-cultural landscape of southern Rough Cilicia, this paper argues that the conceptual universe of *panegyreis* was a formative factor in the writing of the text and that Ps.-Basil weaves the festal thread of *panegyris* throughout his miracle collection. *Panegyris* is a hitherto unidentified but overarching theme and the literary lynchpin of the text which is in itself a panegryric to St. Thekla in which Ps.-Basil, the author-orator, enthusiastically regales his audience with details about the saint and her deeds, her festivals, and his and others' participation in them. This paper elaborates upon the various elements of *panegyreis* as contained in the two texts including sacred groves, festival memorabilia, victor crowns, and dance, elements often not connected with Christian worship. Finally, this paper compares and contrasts the celebrations and *panegyreis* for St. Thekla with that which is known of the festivals of other contemporary and contiguous saints.

These two texts paint with broad strokes the picture of an active, itinerant, bustling Christian community, a community on the move by means of ferries, mules and horses, and ships going to and fro. While the reader is rarely invited into a Christian's home or into the sanctuary, and then but for a moment, he is treated to walks in the woods, to picnics, to gardens, to bird sanctuaries, and invited to outdoor worship celebrations and vigils to await a visitation of Thekla's fiery chariot across the night sky.

The *Miracles of Thekla* and *The Myrtle Wood* are an expression of the joyous and vibrant Christianity of southern Asia Minor and breathe fresh air onto the common characterization assigned to fifth-century Christian worship. A detailed reading of the two texts presents a breathtaking kaleidoscope of Christian worship tinged with popular religion so appealing to the early Byzantine mind.

Monks, Monasteries and Holy Mountains: the Monastic Topography of Byzantine Thrace (10th-14th centuries)

George Makris (University of Birmingham)

Thrace was the most important hinterland of the imperial capital throughout the Byzantine millennium. But despite its proximity to Constantinople, Thrace remains largely a gray area in the field of Byzantine Studies; in fact, a conspicuously limited volume of studies have managed to transcend the national boundaries of Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey that divide the area. It is well known that the fertile plain was at times the breadbox of the capital, but at other times was the site of military operations which, in turn, caused the destruction of many of the urban and rural settlements. The large number of ruins coupled with infrequent archaeological surveys of urban sites complicates the visualisation of daily life in Thrace. However, surviving evidence from a substantial number of monastic sites, often situated outside of urban contexts, allows us to evaluate the role of monasteries in forming the profile of Byzantine Thrace as hinterland.

Monasticism witnessed a demonstrable prosperity in the area between the tenth and the late fourteenth centuries. This paper uses monastic foundations and their communities to shed light on the cultural and spiritual tradition of Thrace. Drawing upon a wide range of sources, including a rich body of hagiographical and archaeological material, it is possible to identify important and hitherto unrecognised features of the organisation and function of monastic life in Thrace. The case studies in question are the three monastic centres of Mount Ganos, Mount Papikion and Paroria. Building remains and archaeological finds take the centre stage in the study of the community of Papikion while epigraphy and informative saints' *lives* are utilised in the investigation of Ganos and Paroria. The different life-cycles of these holy mountains are capable of providing fresh insights into the process of foundation, patronage networks and issues of monastic survival. At the same time, the discussion of these sites together examines the differing views and perspectives recorded in contemporary textual and visual sources on the development of monasticism in Thrace. This is important because of the association of the region with Constantinople. While modern scholarship normally emphasises the dominant position of the capital in surveys of its immediate surroundings, the present paper raises new working hypotheses regarding this relation and, secondarily, attempts to demonstrate that the shaping of the sacred topography of Thrace did not necessarily depend on Constantinopolitan influences.

The constellation of written sources and material culture yields a better understanding of monastic life and lay patronage networks in the provincial settings of the Byzantine world. Thrace emerges as a place of monastic growth which attracted monastic figures such as Gregory the Sinaite and Maximos Kausokalyves but also members of the laity, for instance Empress Maria 'of Alania'. The different aspirations of such individuals are reflected in the establishments they founded, re-founded or sponsored. My analysis highlights the importance of dedicating equal space to the exploitation of physical and written evidence in any study of Byzantine monasticism.

Nature and Conflict in Byzantine Lakonia.

Alexander Olson (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

To analyze how Byzantine authors described their landscape allows us to better understand both their worldview and the physical environment in which they lived. In this paper, which focuses on descriptions of the landscape in the *Life of Nikon*, I argue that the text's depiction of the environment is complicated, with the reality of the eleventh-century Lakonian environment, the hagiographer's monastery's conflicts with neighbours, and the need to demonstrate Nikon's holiness, all affecting the way that the environment is described in the text. Thus, the paper argues that representations and descriptions of the topography reveal both the agendas of those making the description and (to an extent) the physical environment itself.

Nikon was a tenth-century Saint from Pontos who came to the Peloponnese and spent his last years near Sparta where he founded a monastery, of which his hagiographer was probably the mid-eleventh-century superior. Consequently, the *Life of Nikon* provides anecdotes and stories that can be placed in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and therefore gives the reader a window into Byzantine provincial society in this period in Lakonia. Indeed, the *Life of Nikon* is a text that probably reflects the activities of the Lakonian provincial population rather well, deviating from idealized stories about saintly behaviour.

The *Life of Nikon* tells us about brigands, demons, Slavic tribes, rustics, and the monastery's properties all against a backdrop of woods, marshes, and the urban center of Sparta. The landscape plays several roles in that conflict: as a rhetorical technique to cast the monastery's opponents in a negative light, to legitimize Nikon's holiness, and to strengthen the monastery's claim to the local topography. By making a landscape look empty or dangerous in the past, the hagiographer could strengthen the monastery's position against its neighbours' contemporary challenges. The hagiographer's use of weather miracles makes the Saint's power clearer to the reader, but also establishes the monastery's position more directly in the local topography. The hagiographer also explains features of the local environment (such as the presence of a lake or marsh) as a product of Nikon's miracles, thus historicizing the landscape and giving the monastery's founder a prominent influence in the local topography. Descriptions of brigands and Slavic tribesmen as rustics, pagans, and shepherds, further make them look barbaric and therefore worthy foes for the *vita*'s hero.

Despite the literary strategies and objectives of the hagiographer, we need to place the text in the context of its physical environment by looking at available archaeological evidence and references in other texts. With these materials in mind, the paper suggests that Lakonia probably had significant marshes and marsh-meadows. In addition, the social conflict depicted in the *Life of Nikon* revolves around livestock, reinforcing the probability that Lakonia had a sylvo-pastoral economy in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The interaction between the text, the Lakonian environment, and society in tenth and eleventh-century Lakonia was complex, making any simple claims for this interaction impossible.

Constantinople's Gate to the Mediterranean World:
An Archaeological Study of the Harbor of Theodosius in Yenikapı

Ayşe Ercan (Columbia University)

Constantinople was by all means the largest consumer city of the Medieval Mediterranean World. Hence access to the Byzantine capital was strictly regulated. Two customs points on the Bosphorus and Dardanelles controlled the maritime traffic in the Sea of Marmara. Once permission was granted in these custom points, in Hieron and Abydos, seafarers could safely sail towards Constantinople's harbors, considered as the main entrances to the capital.

In 2004, the rescue archaeological project conducted by the Istanbul Archaeological Museums started to reveal, for the first time, the remains of one of the harbors of Constantinople, the harbor of Theodosius, in today's Yenikapı. In the past 10 years, the archaeological excavations uncovered a great abundance of groundbreaking finds that triggered renewed interests and ample debates about the Byzantine capital's social, economic and political networks, which tied it to the Mediterranean world through its harbors.

Based on a critical synthesis of the Byzantine primary sources and the recently uncovered archaeological evidence, this paper seeks to construct a comprehensive historical account of the harbor in Yenikapı. It considers the harbor of Theodosius as a representative microcosm that mirrors the urban networks between Constantinople and the Mediterranean, and explores the *raison d'être* of the largest harbor of the capital. In particular, it discusses the crucial role of the harbor for the capital in terms of enabling the transportation of the construction materials for the monumental late antique construction works, the grain supply for *annona* and many other commodities that shaped the economy of Constantinople.

Transition or Decline? Hierapytna and Crete in the Seventh Century A.D.

Scott Gallimore (Wilfrid Laurier University)

Increased focus on Mediterranean history between the seventh and tenth century A.D. is helping to augment our understanding of this underappreciated era. One result is that the supposed 'Dark Age' which afflicted many regions is no longer a tenable interpretation. The Greek island of Crete is one region that underwent a number of changes during this period. The difficulty with Crete, however, is that scholars tend to discuss the island as a single entity, hindering our ability to analyze distinctions between its numerous regions and cities. Some parts of the island do appear to have suffered a decline during this period, while others had a stable transition into the Byzantine world. This paper aims to examine Crete from an intraregional perspective that highlights a range of transformations across the island. Following a case study of one particular site, several different parts of Crete are examined.

The city of Hierapytna, located along the southeast coast of Crete, serves as an informative case study for this topic. Founded by at least the fifth century B.C., Hierapytna quickly grew into one of the most prosperous Hellenistic and Roman centers on the island based on ties to Mediterranean-wide trade networks. By the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., however, the city began a steady decline, becoming a shell of its former self by the seventh century. Why Hierapytna went from large port center to small hamlet is poorly understood, although ecological factors, including the silting up of the main harbor, threats from Arab raids, and greater economic focus on Crete's north coast may have all contributed. Analysis of other regions of Crete shows that many did not share the same fate of Hierapytna. Instead, numerous centers appear to have maintained international ties with limited evidence for decline. Literary evidence, including the Geniza Archive from Cairo, for instance, shows that cities on Crete continued to export a number of goods into the tenth century. Examining Crete from an intraregional perspective provides greater nuance in understanding the island's history during the seventh century and enables us to move beyond generalized statements about Crete's historical trajectory.

The Imperial Image Imprinted: Circulation, Materiality, and Translation in Kievan Coinage, c. 988-1240

Alexandra Kelebay (McGill University)

Cultural, artistic, and imperial ties between Kievan Rus' and Byzantium flourished between the late 10th and early 13th centuries. However, despite the dynamic nature of this relationship, scholars have categorized the cross-cultural exchange either as passive and unidirectional by examining Byzantine influence on Kievan art, or as nationalistic and triumphant, viewing Kievan art as the victorious culmination of local styles and artistic practices. This paper calls for a critical reassessment of both polarizing views by insisting on a more nuanced approach to Kievan-Byzantine material culture. Using Kievan coins as a case study, this paper reorients the discussion towards two less explored issues: firstly, it considers the ways in which aspects of Kievan material culture intersected with, but also diverged from, Byzantine artistic and iconographic conventions; and secondly, it challenges the notion that medieval coins were artistically stagnant by emphasizing the active role they played in visually constructing the imperial image throughout a period of thriving Kievan-Byzantine relations.

Grand Prince Volodymyr (r. 980-1015) was the first Kievan ruler to strike his own coins. Taking this phenomenon as a point of departure, this paper investigates how and why such a practice became central to, yet failed to thrive beyond, the late 10th-early 13th-century Kievan court. It is my contention that the striking of Kievan coins was an essential feature of empire-building at precisely a historical moment during which Kievan-Byzantine relations were strongest and the success of imperial posturing hinged upon the circulation of portable objects that could be easily recognized and widely disseminated. Crucially, despite geographic distance and linguistic difference, Volodymyr imprinted on his coins translated variations of the imagery and iconography from the wealthiest and most powerful city of the Byzantine Empire: Constantinople. Yet his sources were not exclusively Byzantine; he also selectively appropriated other symbols of power by incorporating aspects from Sassanian and Khazarian culture in the clever crafting of a uniquely Kievan imperial image. Such an active, strategic, and dynamic process reveals a shared understanding—yet also a distinct translation—of the visual vocabulary used to convey imperial power, identity, and ideology in Kievan Rus' specifically and across the medieval Mediterranean more broadly.

This paper thus builds upon the recent and interdisciplinary (re)turn to the object in medieval art history. While medieval coins have been categorized as 'minor' objects due to their identical nature and formulaic imagery, this paradigmatic shift has broadened the scope of what can and should be considered worthy of scholarly investigation and has further necessitated a reevaluation of the applicability—or perhaps usefulness—of traditional art historical methodologies to the study of medieval objects. Scholars have begun to negotiate this disciplinary shift by considering not only an object's network(s) of exchange and circulation, but also its physical and material properties. In asking what questions such objects demand of their viewers, users, and makers, medieval art historians account for the objects' agency within dynamic contexts of cross-cultural interaction.

A Matter of Degree: A Re-Assessment of the Evidence for Urban Continuity Despite Disruption in Seventh-Century Byzantium

Daniel J. E. Kelly (St. John's University)

On the surface, a study of Byzantine archaeology dating from the period surrounding the seventh- century crisis indicates significant urban decline, especially well pronounced in many of the provincial cities which constituted the economic core of the Empire. This paper will argue, however, that decline needs to be interpreted as a matter of degree and that there is actually evidence of considerable continuity and resilience, and a brief comparison will be made to the archaeological record of the post-Roman West, specifically Francia and Britain, where truly profound urban crisis and collapse can be witnessed. Crisis-period Byzantine archaeology indicates that the urban area of many cities shrank, generally by about half, with some cities such as Athens contracting by more than half, while other cities, such as Ephesus, saw their urban cores moved to more defensible positions. Although, many urban areas shrank, sometimes drastically, the fact remains that most pre-crisis urban sites remained occupied in the crisis and post-crisis period, demonstrating, at the very least, the survival of the Byzantine urban tradition. Moreover, the fact that the imperial government was able to fortify the newly condensed urban areas shows that the state was functioning well enough to protect its urban settlements, and that they continued to be crucial. Furthermore, the crisis period did not see urban contraction in all Byzantine cities. In Constantinople, the walls remained occupied and repaired and, by the early-eighth century, the imperial exchequer had recovered enough to make repairs to the public spaces and public utilities. Thessaloniki, in the Balkans, continued to occupy the same urban area as in the pre-crisis period, which is especially impressive as the city was repeatedly attacked by the Slavic settlers. The city of Gortyn, in Crete, is another example of an urban unit that retained its occupied space and here there are even obvious examples of public expenditure on the public space of the city, dating to the crisis period. In the post-crises period we also see the relocation and resettlement of cities, which would have been impossible if the state on the verge of collapse or if the fundamental necessity of urban life to the state had been undermined. Quite apart from the evidence of the physical fabric of Byzantine cities, evidence from numismatics, and the distribution of lead seals attached to trade products supports the interpretation of continuity. Contemporary hagiography also supports this view in incidentally revealed urban descriptions: the *Life of St. Theodore of Skykeon* refers to a well-maintained and policed imperial highway system, and the *Miracles of St. Artemios* indicate that Constantinople remained the nucleus of a far-flung trading network, while the *Life of St. Symeon the Fool* reveals continued multi-national and ethnic diversity in Byzantine cities. When it comes to urban disruption during the crisis period we should not talk of collapse but of a matter of degrees, for while contraction and change occurred, the fundamental ideas and organization of a highly urban state remained and were re-asserted in the post-crisis period.

Resurrecting the (Byzantine?) Law: State Formation and Legal Debates in Nineteenth Century Greece

Evdoxios Doxiadis (Simon Fraser University)

This paper discusses the legal debates of 19th century Greece and the attempts to produce a Civil Code following the establishment of the Modern Greek State. The question that Greek legal scholars faced was whether to accept the use of customary law, or to reject it, and if so what laws should replace it. Existing historiography has argued that through the influence of Pavlos Kalligas, the preeminent Greek legal scholar of the 19th century, custom was abandoned in favor of a strict interpretation of Byzantine law that rejected customary law, the Napoleonic Code, and even later Byzantine codes (like the *Exavivlos* by Armenopoulos). In this paper I examine this debate within the context of European legal developments and the process of codification undertaken throughout Europe from the late 18th to the late 19th centuries, and the ideological and practical implications of the debate.

I argue that despite the belief that the efforts of Kalligas and his cohort led to the elimination of the use of customary law from the Greek judicial system in favor of Roman (Byzantine) Law as presented in the *Pandectes*, my research in the archival material of the Appeals Court of Athens indicates that customary law was predominant a generation after the establishment of the Modern Greek State. I conclude that a reexamination of the role and practices of the Greek courts in the 19th century is much needed as their remarkable flexibility thirty years after the creation of the Greek state is closer to the flexibility of the courts of the Ottoman period than to the model advocated by the contemporary legal scholars who demanded a "modern" judicial system (Byzantine and Western-civil code based) to assist the renaissance of the Greek nation.

Between Culture and Politics: Identity, the Balkan Enlightenment, and the Greek War of Independence

Alex Tipei (Indiana University, Bloomington)

In 1935, the Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga published *Byzance après Byzance*. In this text, Iorga argued that the Ottoman conquest did not erase all traces of Byzantine civilization. Instead, he contended that from the fall of Constantinople in 1453 on, Byzantium's legacy shaped cultural, religious, and political institutions in the Balkans. Profoundly impacted by the Balkan Wars, Iorga sought to emphasize the region's historical and cultural unity over difference. More recently, and perhaps encouraged in part by post-Cold War geopolitical shifts, scholars like Paschalis Kitromilides and Marie Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou have championed a similar line of thinking. These historians point not only to the region's shared traditions, but also to the ideological uses of a Byzantine ideal from the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries. Kitromilides's calls for a reexamination of the Balkan history from a transnational perspective are certainly justified. Yet, he himself has characterized the Balkan Enlightenment as a confrontation between tradition and West European thought in the region. This paper poses the question: can either the *Byzance après Byzance* or tradition-modernity model help historians make sense of individuals' complicated public and private identities during this period? In order to test the conceptual and chronological limits these hypotheses, this presentation analyzes the political, philanthropic, and cultural endeavors of Iordache Rosetti-Roznovanu and his son Nicolae.

The Rosetti-Roznovanus belonged to a "Phanariot" family that settled in Moldova in the seventeenth century. By the late eighteenth century, they were among the wealthiest and most political well-connected men in the Principality, actively participating in administration and commerce. Peasants working their lands considered them "Greek" foreigners, yet according to Moldovan legal codes they were second-degree boyars, or native nobles. Though they supported Greek independence, they often complained about Phanariot princes and courtiers in their correspondence with Russian officials. A polyglot family with ties to Constantinople, the Hellenic diaspora, and the Russian court, they wrote to one another, as well as contacts in the Ottoman and Russian Empires, France, and Italy in Greek, French, and "Moldovan." Moreover, the Rosetti-Roznovanus were instrumental in bringing Western texts, popular education, and economic reforms to the region. After the Greek War of Independence, they remained in Moldova, but began to bill themselves as Phanariots.

The Rosetti-Roznovanus' correspondence, political writing, and memoires provide a glimpse into the shifting political, cultural, and personal identifications and allegiances that characterized this moment in Balkan history. While the notion of a Byzantium after Byzantium or a pan-Balkan Orthodox community undoubtedly impacted their outlook and personas, they also participated in a trans-European cultural, economic, and political community that stretched from the Atlantic to the Urals. Using them as a case study, tensions between and within traditionalist and modernizing political and cultural forces can be more closely examined.

Resisting the West, Excluding the Byzantine: The Heritage of Turkey's Heritage Institutions

Daniel David Shoup (Oakland, California)

The very richness and diversity of Turkey's rich cultural heritage poses serious management challenges. The public reception of Anatolian history is wildly imbalanced, with Neolithic, Bronze Age, and especially Greco-Roman sites and monuments wildly overemphasized, to the exclusion of later periods. This situation is a legacy of Turkey's historical and development (a sort of 'heritage' in itself), where the concept of the museum and discipline of archaeology were adopted by late Ottomans and then by the Turkish Republic as a form of resistance to European desire for the artifacts and monuments of Anatolia. The Byzantine period is the most extreme example of this imbalance: aside from a few very high-profile monuments in Istanbul such as the Hagia Sofia and Chora museums, the ten centuries of the later Roman Empire are largely invisible to locals and tourists alike all across Anatolia and Thrace.

The role of public administration and disciplinary structures in shaping public understanding of the past is an underexplored topic in cultural heritage studies; this paper, therefore, seeks to understand the institutional mechanisms behind the exclusion of Byzantium from Turkish heritage discourses. State heritage agencies and the academic discipline of archaeology are the two key institutions that shape public reception of the past in contemporary Turkey, but both suffer from a dual identity that works to exclude Byzantine monuments and material culture from the public understanding of Turkey's and Anatolia's past.

Public administration of cultural heritage is divided between the Museum Directorates of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, which manage archaeological sites and museums, and the General Directorate of Foundations, which manages property of historic pious foundations including the major works of Ottoman architecture. The Turkish state museum system was conceived of a site of resistance to European archaeologists and collectors, which led to a focus on the Bronze Age, Classical, and Roman artifacts and monuments most desired by their adversaries, while post-Roman sites and artifacts were neglected.

Historically, the discipline of archaeology in Turkey showed a similar schizophrenia. Early Turkish Republican archaeology sent young scholars to train in France and Germany, where they were formed as Classicists or prehistorians. Today, Turkish archaeology still reflects these roots: very few surveys, excavations, or academic archaeology programs focus on post-Roman periods. The Byzantine and Islamic periods, by contrast, tend to be studied within the context of Art History programs, creating a disciplinary divide and minimizing the study of Byzantine material culture.

In both academic and state museum settings, then, Byzantine monuments and sites are occluded from view. Yet both institutions were formed as sites of resistance to, and competition with European practices, which complicates a facile indictment of Turkish nationalism. Rather, the exclusion of Byzantium has its origin not only in the refashioning of Turkish identity during the 20th century, but also with the practices and values of Europe and the West.