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PAPER ABSTRACTS

* NB: Following the Schedule of Sessions, Abstracts Appear Alphabetically by Author's Last Name

1 A. Imperium and Priesthood? The Military and Religious Authority of the Emperor (306–741 C.E.)

Edward Mason, "Constantine's Role as Pontifex Maximus and Bishop Over 'Those Outside.'"

Ryan Strickler, "A Priest in the Order of Melchizedek: A Consideration of the Heraclian Dynasty's Priestly Ambitions."

Scott Kenkel, "Imperial Survival and Military Reform in the Reign of Justinian II."

1 B. Byzantine Christianity

Adam Schor, "Close Staging of Clerical Expertise: Bishops, Presbyters, and the Art of Catechetical Instruction, 360–430 CE."

Christopher Sweeney, "Psalms of the Passion: The Suffering of Christ and the Good Friday Psalms in Pre-Conquest Jerusalem."

Barbara Crostini, "Somatic Salvation in Byzantine Christianity, or: Whose Body on the Cross?"

1 C. Politics of Time and Space in the Byzantine Empire between the 12th and the 13th Century

Andras Kraft, "Urbs recepta: Medieval Greek Prophecies on the *halosis* of 1204."

Chiara D'Agostini, "Mapping the Empire: A New Perspective on the Revival of Ptolemaic Cartography in Byzantium."

Valeria Flavia Lovato, "Re-imagining the Empire: Alexandria and Jerusalem in Isaac Komnenos' Paraphrase of the *Letter of Aristeas* (Topkapi Sarayi [Seraglio] cod. gr. 8)."

2 A. Ninth-century Philosophy Reconsidered: Sense Perception, Imagination, and Concept Formation

Byron MacDougall, "Imagination Stations: Phantasia and the Divine from Gregory of Nazianzus to the Ninth Century."

Alexis Torrance, "Imagination and Sense Perception in the Theology of Theodore the Stoudite."

Christophe Erismann, "Depicted Deeds? Visible Essence? Photius on Perception."

2 B. Byzantine Social History

Nathan Leidholm, "Αὐθένται καὶ παίδες: Similarities of Experience among Free-born Children, Slaves, and Freedmen in the Middle Byzantine Period."

Cahit Mete Oguz, "The Conditions and Perception of the Byzantine Peasantry in Narrative Accounts from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries."

Leonora Neville, "Taxes and Civic Religion in Tenth-Century Byzantium."

2 C. Byzantine Apocalypticism

Christopher Bonura, "Who's Afraid of a Triumphal Column? The Column of Arcadius on the Xerolophos Hill in the Apocalyptic Imagination."

Michael Beshay, "'Then Shall Be the End of the World!'" The Testament of Solomon within Byzantine Imperial and Apocalyptic Traditions."

Thomas Lecaque, "The New David and the New Constantine: Competing Last World Emperors in the Time of the First Crusade."

3 A. The Mary Jaharis Center for Art and Culture Sponsored Panel, PART I: North of Byzantium: Art and Architecture at the Crossroads of the Latin, Greek, and Slavic Cultural Spheres, c. 1300–c. 1550

Jelena Bogdanovic, "Triconch Churches Sponsored by Serbian and Wallachian Nobility, ca. 1350s–1550s."

Alice Isabella Sullivan, "Cultural Interactions in Moldavian Art and Architecture."

Henry Schilb, "Mutual Peripheries: Differentiating between the Expressions of Byzantine Tradition in Wallachian and Moldavian Embroideries."

3 B. Literary and Historiographical Studies

Nicolò Sassi, "The Literary Syncretism of Eustathius of Thessalonika."

Marco Cristini, "The Historian and his Victims: Reassessing the Negotiations between the Ostrogoths and Justinian in Procopius' Wars."

Felege-Selam Yirga, "The Chronicle of John of Nikiou: Coptic Break or Byzantine Continuity?"

3 C. Byzantine Women

Ashley Purpura, "Women in The Spiritual Meadow: Furthering the 'Spiritually Beneficial Deeds of the Fathers.'"

Shaun Tougher, "The Macedonian Dynasty? Eudokia Ingerina and the Byzantine Concept of Imperial Rule."

Alicia Walker, "How Do You Solve a Problem Like Maria Skleraina?"

Nicole Inglot, "Gender as a Performance of Power in Byzantium: A Numismatic Approach."

4 A. The Mary Jaharis Center for Art and Culture Sponsored Panel, PART II: North of Byzantium: Art and Architecture at the Crossroads of the Latin, Greek, and Slavic Cultural Spheres, c. 1300–c. 1550

Ida Sinkevic, "Dečani Between East and West."

Maria Alessia Rossi, "Early Fourteenth-Century Serbian Monumental Painting: Continuation or Rupture with Byzantium?"

Justin Willson, "The Cupola Fresco of Wisdom in Chrelja's Tower (1335) Seen in Light of Philotheos Kokkinos's Discourse on Wisdom."

Alexandra Vukovich, "Performing History in Muscovite Ceremonies of Inauguration."

4 B. Complexities of Christian Identity in Pre-Modern Caucasia

Stephen Rapp, "The Persianate Bedrock of the Georgian Nino Cycle."

Sergio La Porta, "Becoming an Armenian King in the Seljuk Empire."

Alison Vacca, "Community and Interfaith Sex in the Medieval Caucasus."

4 C. Cross-cultural Studies and Diplomatic Exchange

Harper Norris, "Assessing the Significance of Diplomatic Exchange Between Byzantium and Al-Andalus during the Ninth and Tenth Centuries."

Chingyuan Wu, "Context and Transmission of a Tang Dynasty Chinese Coin in Thirteenth Century Corinth."

Sarah Brooks, "Medieval Christian Sculptures and the Islamic *Minbar*. Cases in Reuse and Appropriation c. 1400–1600."

Meredith Riedel, "Kashrut in Byzantium."

5 A. Byzantium and the Turks

Maximilian Lau, "Emperor John II Komnenos and Sultan Ahmad Sanjar: Contact and Comparison."

Roman Shliakhtin, "Death of border-broker in the land of Rûm: Apelchasem of Nicaea, Anna Komnene and Byzantine-Seljuk Relations before the First Crusade."

Wiktor Ostasz, "The Byzantine Peasant-Soldier Utopia: Locating the Impossible in Georgios Pachymeres and in Historiography."

5 B. The Fourth Crusade and Successor States

Jordan Amspacher, ""Troya Victa": Twelfth-Century Conceptions of History and the Question of the Fourth Crusade."

Jeff Brubaker, "He Dared to Sit in the Emperor's Throne: Latins Insulting the Emperor in Byzantine Narrative Accounts."

Kyle Shimoda, "'The "Gateways' of the Latinokratia: Castles, Fortifications, and Feudal Exchanges in the Crusader Morea, 1204–1261."

5 C. The Byzantine Periphery: Internal and External

Engin Gokcek, "Imperial Control over the Persecution of Pagans: The Evidence from the Justinianic Code."

Marcus Rautman, "The Champlevé Reliefs of the Synagogue at Sardis."

Christian Raffensperger, "The Kingdom of Rus': A Weak Power State."

6 A. Late Byzantine Culture and Society

Aleksandar Jovanovic, "The Afterlife of *Megas Domestikos* Andronikos Palaiologos: Palaiologan Propaganda in Laskarid Thessaloniki."

Elias Petrou, "The Transformation of the Greek Paideia in the 15th c. The Changes in the Byzantine Curriculum and the New Students."

Matthew Kinloch, "Narrating the Thirteenth Century: Constructing Collective Action and Agency in Late Byzantine Texts."

6 B. Cappodocia and Asia Minor

Robert Ousterhout, "Reading Aesop in Cappadocia."

A.L. McMichael, "Glorification of the Cross Iconography as a Signifier of Artistic Exchange Between Georgia and Cappadocia."

Jordan Pickett, "A Transitional Period Settlement? The date and function of the rock-cut complex Kırk İn (İscehisar, Afyonkarahisar, Turkey)."

Marica Cassis, "Central Anatolia in the Middle Byzantine Period: Defence and Reconstruction at Çadır Höyük."

6 C. Manuscript Studies

Warren Langford, "Secondary Illuminations: The Reader as Illustrator of Text."

Vessela Valiavitcharska, "Logic Diagrams in Rhetorical Argumentation."

Courtney Tomaselli, ""I will Instruct You and Teach You in the Way You Should Go": King David as Monastic Spiritual Father in the Psalter Vat. gr. 1927."

Earnestine Qiu, "Is White Divine? A Reevaluation of the Armeno-Crimean Lives of the Desert Fathers (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 285)."

7 A. Literary Studies and Personalities

Jovana Andelkovic, "Writing with a Rhetorical "Credo" – The Use of Persuasion and Compulsion in a Discourse on Monomachos' Reign."

Rachele Ricceri, "Michael Psellos' Poem 1 On the Inscriptions of the Psalms: Between Exegesis and Poetry."

John Duffy, "Michael Psellos at the Sickbed of Emperor Isaac Komnenos."

7 B. Classical Reception and Imagery

Marion Kruse, "Xiphilinos and the Immediate Relevance of Ancient Roman History."

Enrico Santachiara, "Scholium 75a To Aristophanes' Acharnians: Byzantine Evidence of Antique Interaction Between Exegeses Of Different Authors."

Craig Gibson, "The Myths of Crete in Byzantine Greek Progymnasmata."

Young Kim, "The Sea in the Lives of Two Saints of Cyprus."

7 C. Material Culture and Iconography

Anna Sitz and Rossana Valente, "Digging Through Byzantine and Frankish Trash: Material Culture from a Cesspit in Corinth (Greece)."

Jennifer Ball, "A Silk within a Silk: The Bamberg Tapestry."

Andrea Lam, "Ignatios' Diegesis and Christ of the Latomou: Votive or Icon?"

8 A. Fresh Methods and Approaches to Byzantine Studies

Luis Sales, "Systems Intelligence (SI) and "Transaints": Adapting and Probing the Explanatory Power of a Groundbreaking Method of Social Analysis."

Hisatsugu Kusabu, "Intercultural Approach to the De Ceremoniis - A Preliminary project report"

Andrew Walker White, "Dramatic Spaces in Byzantium: A Study of Their 'Grammatical' Roots."

8 B. Liturgy and Relics

James Rodriguez, "An Icon and Its Functions beyond the Liturgy: A Bilateral Icon at the Monastery ton Blatadōn, Thessalonike."

Brad Hostetler, "'Garb yourselves with the divine power from on high': Relics as Weapons in Byzantine Military Culture."

8 C. Byzantium and The West: Cultural Exchange and Influence

Bradley Phillis, "Byzantium in the Flemish Imagination: The View from the Twelfth Century."

Cecily Hilsdale, "Symbols of New Rome in Visigothic Iberia: Reassessing the 'Byzantineness' of the Guarrazar Treasure."

Christopher Platts, "New Haven Beinecke Marston MS 286: A New Witness to Bessarion's Latin Learning and Mediterranean Intellectual Network."

Campbell Garland, "The Application of Byzantine and Armenian Visual Components in the Anjou Bible (K.U. Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, MS 1) as Signifiers of Imperial Strength in Angevin Naples."

"*Troya Victa*": Twelfth-Century Conceptions of History and the Question of the Fourth Crusade

Jordan Amspacher (University of Tennessee, Knoxville)

Modern academic debates on the Fourth Crusade have long revolved around the so-called "Diversion Question" – was the crusader conquest of Constantinople in 1204 a pre-meditated act, or simply the end-result of a series of unfortunate events? Because of this historiographical fixation, most discussions of the twelfth-century context behind the Fourth Crusade have focused on political and diplomatic interactions between the Greeks and their western neighbors. While these factors are significant for our understanding of twelfth-century Byzanto-Latin relations prior to the Fourth Crusade, an obvious lacuna in the debate persists. The intellectual climate of twelfth-century Latin Europe has largely been ignored in these discussions, save for examinations of certain doctrinal disputes which contributed to the gradual deterioration of Byzanto-Latin relations. In the interest of contributing to a more nuanced discussion of the cultural circumstances which enabled the momentous events of 1204, this paper examines changing conceptions of salvation history and *translatio imperii* in the twelfth-century West, as well as the ways in which those changes affected Latin attitudes towards the Greeks. Its ultimate argument is that twelfth-century conversations about sacred time and cyclical history allowed contemporary audiences to both envision and accept the Latin conquest of Constantinople as an integral component of God's providential plan.

Latin authors spent much of the twelfth century questioning the role of the Greeks within Christian history. Exegetes like Anselm of Havelberg and Joachim of Fiore advocated new understandings of sacred time which explicitly linked the fulfillment of salvation history with the upcoming unification of the Greek and Latin churches. At the same time, western conceptions of *translatio imperii* (the succession of empires according to divine providence) and the Trojan war came to dominate political and literary discourse. Otto of Freising's interpretation of sacred time was rooted in the movement of imperial power from East to West. According to Otto, this process began with the Greek conquest of Troy and it would end when the current emperors of Rome expanded their dominion to include the entire known world. This process would eventually require the incorporation of the Greek world into the Latin *imperium*, placing the Greeks under the authority of both the emperor and the pope.

These twelfth-century conceptions of sacred time and *translatio imperii* directly influenced both the crusaders and their chroniclers. Robert of Clari, a knight of the Fourth Crusade, stated outright in his memoir that the crusaders who sat encamped before the walls of Constantinople utilized the language of *translatio imperii* to justify their actions. Similarly, Gunther of Pairis, the first monastic author to document the events of the Fourth Crusade, utilized the language of sacred time, *translatio imperii*, and the Trojan past to process the significance of the crusaders' actions. Thus, the historical theorists of the mid- to late-twelfth- century had a direct impact on contemporary attitudes towards the Greeks, attitudes which informed the crusaders' actions as well as the ways in which those actions were processed and interpreted.

Writing with a Rhetorical "Credo" – The Use of *Persuasion* and *Compulsion* in a Discourse on Monomachos' Reign

Jovana Andelkovic (Simon Fraser)

The nature of emperor Monomachos' dispute with "the Great Four" – dated in the early 1050s and resulting in their gradual removal from the court – remains uncharted in the written sources. In fact, only two of the four sages have left an account, however, small of this issue. Both Michael Psellos and Ioannes Mauropous expressed their discontent with the decisions of the emperor (and the patriarch Michael Keroularious), while both tried to avoid directly pinning blame on him. However, among the epistolary and rhetorical texts, they generated or edited in the 1070s, we find valuable material for understanding the nexus of literary and philosophical beliefs that framed Psellos and Mauropous' discussion of 1050s political affairs.

Ioannes Mauropous' epistolary collection it is notoriously difficult to situate in terms of time and place. This makes it hard to accurately identify those letters that might deal with his removal from the court. What makes the reading of his rather obscure messages easier are threads of subtle thematic motifs placed in letters in order to loosely group them together. For example, his departure from Constantinople is marked by the usage of storm imagery, while the time spent away from the capital is highlighted by references to friendship. In a cluster of letters positioned around the epistle no. 26 addressed to the emperor, Mauropous inserts thoughts on persuasion (πειθοῖ) and obedience (εὐπείθεια) established through force or authority. The former is linked to freedom and the latter to tyranny. He further elaborates on the benefits of persuasion as opposed to raw exercise of power when he admonishes the emperor to show mercy to the participants in Leo Tornikios' uprising. In actuality, as Mauropous' audience was well aware, the emperor choose force and blinded the rebels. By describing his service in Monomachos' court, Mauropous outlines a rhetorical and philosophical credo based on persuasion and freedom and returns to these points when he presents his "governing" program in the inaugural address to Euchaitans (or. 184 in *Cod.Vat.Gr 676*). In the same group of letters, he also examines peculiar qualities of human character, separating those traits that come from nature or birth from temporary desires or ambitions. A string of Aristotelian categories exemplified in this part, provides a key for Mauropous' assessment of the described individuals.

Psellos' encomia to Leichudes, Xiphilinos and Mauropous provide broader supporting context. Not only does Psellos confirm a similarly "rhetorical" outlook of the world in his claim that they all recognized the role of rhetoric in science and law; his speeches also serve as a useful chronological peg for Mauropous' vague and a-temporal allusions. Comparative analysis of Mauropous and Psellos' writings and their allusions to Keroularios through reference to "holy tyranny" or to clashing "war and peace clans" further illuminates the dialog between them. By highlighting logical concordances between these texts, my paper maps out a rhetorical key for decoding Mauropous' critique of Monomachos' hubris.

A Silk within a Silk: The Bamberg Tapestry

Jennifer Ball (City University of New York)

The *Gunthertuch*, or Bamberg Tapestry as it is commonly known, was discovered in 1830 in the tomb of Bishop Gunther von Bamberg where it was wrapped around his body at his death in 1065. The tapestry has long been understood as being made in the Byzantine Empire and representing an imperial *adventus* ceremony celebrating victory only making its way to Germany as a diplomatic gift. The scholarly discussion, led by Andre Grabar (1956), Gunter Prinzing (1993) and Titos Papamatorakis (2003), has focused on who is the emperor seen striding across the tapestry on horseback and which cities are represented by the personifications who walk before and behind the emperor's horse, extending crowns to him. Even when textile historians, such as Anna Muthesius, have turned their attention toward the textile, the discussion remains concerned with the iconography of the ceremony depicted.

This silk textile is the largest surviving Byzantine textile and is unique among Byzantine textiles in a few important ways. The ornate border imitates architectural border, appropriate to a piece that hung on a wall, but exceptional in Byzantine textile design. The textile depicts, I argue, the emperor walking in a fictive space, in front of another textile, an illusion enhanced by the 'architectural' border. Furthermore, Byzantine silks do not typically reference three-dimensional space, making the Bamberg Tapestry distinct from other known wall hangings. It can be understood as a *mise en abyme*, the background a tapestry on a wall with the emperor walking past.

Contemporary Byzantine silks almost invariably have animal or mythological subjects in repeating patterns, most often set in large medallions. As the edges of this textile are mostly intact we know that the design was never intended to repeat, making the Bamberg Tapestry quite unusual among its contemporaries. The focus on the imperial iconography has caused us to ignore how "un-Byzantine" this tapestry looks. The designer(s) of the Bamberg Tapestry, I posit, was inspired by foreign design, as has been argued with other Byzantine objects, such as the Troyes casket. Instead I turn my attention to Ottonian and other textiles with which the Bamberg Tapestry was in conversation to imagine this textile in its original imperial setting and its reception.

"Then Shall Be the End of the World!"
The Testament of Solomon within Byzantine Imperial and Apocalyptic Traditions

Michael Beshay (The Ohio State University)

The Greek *Testament of Solomon* is a complex tradition that relates how the legendary Israelite King used his signet ring to marshal demons for the construction of the first Jerusalem Temple. Lengthy passages catalogue the demons, their attributes, and the means by which they can be subdued. From one demon after another, Solomon discovers secrets of medicine, magic, astrology, and even prophecy, before setting them to work on the Temple. Study of the *Testament* has focused on the realm of magico-religious traditions, with rare ventures into social and cultural history, pigeon-holing the *Testament* within the realm of ancient magic and science. While such analyses shed light on how many ancient persons both utilized and shaped the *Testament*, they overlook key developments in antiquity that have great potential for addressing questions about the formation and reception of this variable tradition.

In particular, the increasing role of Solomon's prestige as a model for kingship in late antiquity and beyond illumines the *Testament*'s history. The images of Solomon and his Temple gave expression to Byzantine imperial authority and provided the basis for some of the most impressive and well-documented imperial monuments in the eastern empire. This paper argues that the *Testament of Solomon* participated in this rich and extensive chapter of Byzantine history. The analysis focuses on the narrative in chapter 22, where Solomon commands two demons to erect a heavy column in midair. Examination of this peculiar tale across the various manuscript witnesses reveals the *Testament*'s reflection of the architectural rhetoric surrounding the monuments of Constantinople. Readers of the *Testament* not only could, but indeed did identify the narrative's column as an imperial monument.

Engagement with Byzantine apocalyptic literature and connections to specific monuments of Constantinople appear at multiple stages of the Testament's redaction. In one version, between the 6th and 8th centuries, the column in the narrative became Constantine's porphyry column. Either during this stage or later, a prophecy regarding this column by a three-headed demon (ch. 12) was independently incorporated into the larger literary tradition. Finally, by as early as the 8th century, the closing segment of the "air-column" narrative was redacted into a common source for two manuscript traditions, where a demon warns Solomon that should the column fall, "Then shall be the end of the world!" This segment resonates with the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition that Constantine's porphyry column will survive a cataclysmic flood because it harbors the nails of the cross.

This chronology for the textual history of the *Testament* does not represent a linear or teleological trajectory; rather, the authors of these units display independently of one another a persisting interest in the activities of Byzantine emperors and in the monumental profile of Constantinople. Each sought to reinterpret and integrate into Solomon's legend visual and literary aspects of late antique Byzantine culture as it continued to develop. In doing so, authors of the *Testament* participated in the vibrant Byzantine tradition of situating Solomon and his Temple squarely within the complex matrix of ecclesiastical and imperial authority.

Triconch Churches Sponsored by Serbian and Wallachian Nobility, ca. 1350s–1550s

Jelena Bogdanovic (Iowa State University)

In contrast to the demise of monumental architectural activities in Constantinople after the 1330s, architectural activities of remarkable quality continued to thrive north of Byzantium under the sponsorship of Serbian and Wallachian nobility, even long after the fall of Byzantium and occasionally even in the territories under Ottoman rule. Triconch domed churches, associated with the long-lasting legacy of Middle Byzantine architecture and, especially with monastic architecture on Mount Athos, shaped notions of shared Christian Orthodox identity among Serbs and Wallachians, as opposed to the Muslim Ottoman Turks. Several scholars (Millet, Ćurčić, Bogdanović) elucidated the important role that the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos as well as Skopje—the two major cultural centers in the Balkans in ca. 1350–1400—played in the formation of the sumptuous architecture built under Serbian nobility in the Morava valley. This paper highlights the architectural experimentations and plastic treatment of triconch churches, built by Serbian and Wallachian nobility within and beyond the territories of their domain, as pervasive statements of cultural, religious, and familial identity. By doing so, this essay questions established narratives of the autonomous national development of the so-called Morava-style churches and their linear influence on churches in Wallachia. By expanding the overview of the territorial and chronological domain of the triconch churches built by Serbian and Wallachian nobility ca. 1350s and 1550s, the paper shows that the national divides that have been used to define and explain these churches are modern and incorrect constructs, whereas a focus on the architectural design of these churches points to vibrant and enriching processes within the development of Byzantine and post-Byzantine architecture.

Several triconch churches exemplify the living Byzantine legacy and how it was transformed and reinterpreted north of Byzantium after the 1350s: the Church of the Holy First Martyr Stephen (1375–78, also known as Lazarica) in Serbia, built by Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović of Serbia (r. 1373–89); the Holy Trinity Church at Cozia Monastery (1387–91) in Wallachia, built by Voivode Mirçea I of Wallachia (r. 1386–95; 1397–1418); the Church of St. Nicholas in Lapušnja Monastery (1500–1510) in Serbia, built by Voivode Radu cel Mare (r. 1495–1508) and his wife, Princess Katalina Crnojević of Zeta, with the support of *Joupan* Gergina and Prince Bogoje and his family; the Church of the Assumption of the Mother of God at Govora Monastery in Wallachia, originally built by Voivode Radu cel Mare and restored under Wallachian Voivodes Mattei Basarab and Constantin Brâncoveanu in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the *katholikon* of the Great Meteoron Monastery (1356–1372) in Greece, founded by St. Athanasios and king and later monk Ioannis-Ioasaph Uroš Palaeologos (r. 1370–1373, d. 1387/8) and remodeled in the 1540s when the territory was under Ottoman authority; and the *katholikon* of the Koutloumousiou Monastery on Mount Athos built during the Ottoman reign in 1540, and which had been established initially with support of Wallachian Voivodes Nicolae Alexandru (r. 1344–64) and Vladislav Vlaicu (r. 1364–77) around the 1350s–60s.

Who's Afraid of a Triumphal Column?
The Column of Arcadius on the Xerolophos Hill in the Apocalyptic Imagination

Christopher Bonura (University of California, Berkeley)

The *Patria* of Constantinople, a collection of legendary information about the city probably compiled in the tenth century, as well as the accounts of crusaders who participated in the 1204 sack of Constantinople, indicate that the Byzantines believed that the triumphal columns in Constantinople, erected in late antiquity for purposes that had been forgotten, were engraved with mystical images about the future of the city and the end of the world. The Column of Arcadius, also known as the Xerolophos Column because it stood upon the Xerolophos Hill in Constantinople, was one such column. However, the Byzantine-era accounts focus far more on the supernatural qualities associated with other columns, such as those of Constantine, Theodosius, and Justinian.

It is surprising, then, that centuries later, in 1715 in Venice, a flysheet was printed with the image of a column labeled the "Xerolophos Column," along with prophecies in Greek and Italian translation that were supposedly engraved on the column. Produced while Venice was at war with the Ottomans in the Peloponnese, the flysheet claims that the column's prophecies predicted the imminent liberation of Constantinople and downfall of the Turks.

Taking the flysheet as a starting point, this paper traces the origin of traditions about the Xerolophos Column, exploring the re-use of Constantinople's Byzantine past in new, post-Byzantine narratives and the transmission of such ideas through the early modern Mediterranean. The imagery and prophecies on the flysheet derive from Greek manuscripts in the Marciana Library in Venice. These manuscripts provide a trail that leads back to Venetian Crete, and from Crete to Ottoman Constantinople. There, in the middle of the sixteenth century, two Greek scribes affiliated with the Patriarchate were producing manuscripts collections of prophecies in which they recovered the stories about the prophetic columns in the *Patria* and adapted them to an anti-Ottoman cause. They invented a new and far more complex tradition—claiming the existence of prophecies that showed the coming of a Christian Emperor who would liberate the city from the Turks—which they affixed to the mostly blank slate of the Xerolophos Column. These manuscripts, perhaps by design, found their way to scholars and diplomats from the Christian imperial adversaries of the Ottoman Empire.

This paper thus provides a rare glimpse of the creation of an apocalyptic tradition, and argues that it originated as a response to the contemporary political concerns of Greeks under Ottoman rule, before taking on a life of its own. Finally, it proposes a final legacy of this tradition about the Xerolophos Column: the Ottoman decision to demolish the Column of Arcadius, ostensibly for reasons of structural safety (the sincerity of which, until now, has never been doubted) in 1715, the very year the Venetian flysheet was published, may have actually been motivated by fears that the column had become an anti-Ottoman symbol.

Medieval Christian Sculptures and the Islamic *Minbar*. Cases in Reuse and Appropriation c. 1400-1600

Sarah Brooks (James Madison University)

Throughout former Byzantine territories there survive a number of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century *minbars*, or mosque pulpits, that reuse earlier Christian sculptures and architectural elements in their design. These reused stone elements range from undecorated marble panels taken from now unidentified contexts, to finely carved geometric and vegetal sculptures that have been attributed to Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Crusader originals, including stone ciboria, tomb frames, episcopal thrones, templa, and parapet walls. Some of these can be associated with specific Christian sites in their cities of origin. Such extant *minbars* attest to the practical, aesthetic, and symbolic reuse of earlier Christian sculptures in this preeminent mosque furnishing, and especially to the importance of political and religious conquest that these new sculptural works came to embody.

This paper considers three such *minbars* as case studies for the Islamic reuse of Christian spolia from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. In early Ottoman Constantinople, a *minbar* was constructed in the former Pantokrator Monastery, the Zeyrek Kilise Camii, and most likely dates to the first decades after the 1453 conquest. At this time Sultan Mehmet II converted the Byzantine church for Ottoman use, briefly as a hospital, and then as one of the city's first mosques. In Ohrid (F.Y.R. of Macedonia), conquered by the Ottomans in 1394, the original eighth-century Bulgarian church of Hagia Sophia was converted for use as one of the city's earliest mosques. In the new mosque of Aya Sofya, remnants of an episcopal throne were re-employed in the building's sculpted *minbar*. The final case study is Jerusalem's "Summer *Minbar*," located on the open plaza of the Haram al-Sharif. Built originally as a freestanding, two-story, domed pavilion (the "Dome of the Balance,") chroniclers attribute the pavilion's construction to the reign of Qadi Burhan al-Din (r. 1381-1388). By 1496, a permanent stone staircase was added to the raised pavilion and the revised monument was serving as a *minbar* with an adjacent *mihrab*. The "Summer *Minbar*" was in use throughout the period of Ottoman rule in Jerusalem (conquered 1517), an era when new Ottoman carvings and a dedication plaque were added to the staircase.

In all three Islamic foundations, the *minbar's* decoration was carefully keyed to the surrounding architecture and the larger setting in which it functioned. Choices in colored stone; the selection of precise decorative motifs; and the proportions and placement of these older Christian sculptures in the Islamic pulpit knit the *minbar* within the artistic and symbolic frameworks of the Islamic site. These three locales were important centers of conquest, where Islam and a dynasty's authority would be newly established or consolidated after decades of struggle with competing Christian states. Thus, these case studies offer important insight into the complex ways in which Islamic patrons repurposed and interpreted medieval Christian artworks.

He Dared to Sit in the Emperor's Throne:
Latins Insulting the Emperor in Byzantine Narrative Accounts

Jeff Brubaker (SUNY Geneseo)

Several Byzantine authors depict the emperor as the subject of ridicule and derision from western Latins. Especially from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, a myriad of historians describe incidents in which westerners expressed disdain or even insolence toward the Byzantine ruler, often in the presence of the emperor himself. On a few occasions, authors even describe Latins who occupied the seat of the Byzantine ruler in a mocking attitude. Anna Komnene describes one Frankish nobleman who "dared to seat himself on the emperor's throne" during the First Crusade. Niketas Choniates relates an incident in 1149 when Venetians seized the imperial galley of Manuel I Komnenos and crowned a slave in his stead, recognizing him as emperor of the Romans.

How are we to interpret such incidents? The frequency of reports of this kind indicates that they were a regular occurrence, which presents important implications. Can we understand Latin insults to have been directed at the office of the emperor or at the man himself? A casual contempt for a single individual might be easier to explain than a static and continuous disregard for the position over time. And what do we make of the emperor's tolerance of such rude behavior? Might their reaction indicate a need to maintain positive relations between east and west, or does the inability of the emperor to react swiftly and decisively to such mockery suggest a degree of impotence on their part?

Incidents of Latin scorn for the emperor say more about the Byzantine authors who recorded them, and their view of the rulers of their own day, than it does about western attitudes. By returning to the basic questions of author and audience, we can critically examine whether Latin insolence towards the emperor, as depicted in Byzantine sources, was genuine, or simply an invention of medieval historians hoping to humiliate unpopular emperors. In the same way, depictions of a merciful and forgiving reaction to Latin derision might serve to enhance the image of an emperor, showing his grace and ability to overlook the small matters of simple men to keep his focus on issues of greater importance. Latins who mocked the emperor, therefore, become a vehicle for internal dialogue and concepts of the imperial office.

Central Anatolia in the Middle Byzantine Period: Defence and Reconstruction at Çadır Höyük

Marica Cassis (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

The past three seasons of SSHRC funded excavations at the Byzantine site at Çadır Höyük have resulted in important advances in our understanding of the Middle Byzantine period fortification, particularly in relation to the defence and reuse of the mound. While Çadır Höyük is a small unnamed, rural site, it has become an important case study for understanding a largely unknown part of the Byzantine world. The construction of the fortification in the early part of the Middle Byzantine period largely destroyed complex Late Roman remains, but the destruction and rebuilding provides an example of how defensive structures were built and used in this later period. For example, recent excavation has revealed a small local metallurgical workshop on the mound, indicating local production for the immediate population. Comparison of the site to others in the region also suggests that it was part of a network of sites in rural Anatolia that served to defend the Byzantine hinterland.

The abandonment of the site in the mid-eleventh century, detailed in other presentations and publications, is also much clearer now. The ultimately failed defence of the site has now been documented through two guardrooms on the mound that were untouched in later reuse of the site, and which provide untouched evidence for weaponry and defence. The discovery of a new seal has also provided us with confirmation that Çadır Höyük was located in the *theme* of Charsianon. The end of the site came very suddenly, providing a snapshot of life for the defenders of the mound in the mid-eleventh century, during their last ditch attempt to save the site. The enemy, however, remains a mystery, and tantalizing evidence suggests that it could have been Seljuks or western mercenaries. The detail of our discoveries is quite astounding, and allows for new hypotheses about how such sites weathered attacks in this period, and how central Anatolian settlements changed in this transitional period, particularly since the excavations have also yielded evidence for the Seljuk reuse of the mound in the post-Manzikert period.

The Historian and his Victims: Reassessing the Negotiations between the Ostrogoths and Justinian in Procopius' *Wars*

Marco Cristini (Scuola Normale Superiore)

After the death of Amalasuintha, the daughter of Theoderic the Great, Justinian declared a war without truce (*aspondos polemos*) on her cousin Theodahad, who was guilty of her murder, and dispatched an army under the command of Belisarius, whose secretary, Procopius of Caesarea, wrote a detailed account of the conflict. His *Wars* relates not only battles and sieges, but also several embassies sent both to and from Constantinople.

Procopius has often been accepted at face value by modern historians, who use his books to reconstruct Justinian's diplomacy and Ostrogothic foreign policy. The picture that emerges from his pages dealing with negotiations between the Ostrogoths and the Empire, however, is quite confusing. Both Amalasuintha and Theodahad tried to surrender Italy to the emperor and to flee to Byzantium, while at the same time they did not hesitate to resort to violence and murder in order to hold or seize power. Moreover, Justinian was willing to welcome Theodahad, in exchange for his kingdom, even after the declaration of war (allegedly, without truce). Interestingly, the same situation occurred also five years later, when another Ostrogothic king, Erarichus, promised to deliver his crown to Justinian in return for a considerable sum of money and for his appointment as patrician.

According to Procopius, sailing to Byzantium was the main purpose of Amalasuintha, Theodahad and Erarichus, but this account is unlikely. Amalasuintha did not leave Italy when she had the possibility to do so, although Justinian was prepared to welcome her; Theodahad tried to flee to Ravenna, not to Belisarius's army, after the Ostrogoths deposed him and, finally, the authenticity of Erarichus' proposal is doubtful, since it closely resembles that of Theodahad. Procopius' narrative should therefore be re-evaluated, taking into consideration his aims and Justinian's policy toward Italy.

My paper builds on the scholarship of Averil Cameron, Anthony Kaldellis, Mischa Meier and Massimiliano Vitiello in order to uncover the complex pattern of lies and deception characterizing some chapters of Procopius' books. He reported real embassies and negotiations, attested also by other sources, but he intentionally misrepresented them to suit his account to Justinian's ideology of re-conquest. The first three books of the *Gothic War* were published in 550/1, when Totila had just retaken Rome and the lengthy and expensive Italian conflict seemed to be lost. The Empire had to undermine the prestige of Ostrogothic sovereigns, so Procopius wrote that Amalasuintha and Theodahad were willing to surrender Italy to the emperor, thereby justifying his claims over it. While the historian was concluding his work, Amalasuintha's exiled daughter married Justinian's cousin, who should have carried on the war against the Ostrogoths. Justinian wanted to show that Italy rightfully belonged to him, since the last heir of Theoderic was a relative of the emperor and lived in Constantinople. Procopius' purpose was exactly the same.

Somatic Salvation in Byzantine Christianity, or: Whose Body on the Cross?

Barbara Crostini (Uppsala University)

A disputed question concerning the theologically oriented diagram of the crucifixion in manuscripts of Anastasius of Sinai's Hodegon is whether the presence of Christ's body was part of the original seventh-century design. The body of the crucified is in fact first attested only in an eleventh-century manuscript. In her book *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, Anna Kartsonis dedicates a long chapter to Anastasius as the foundation for the understanding of the Crucifixion. She makes a case for the original presence of the body as key to the argument expressed.

By reviewing the textual and manuscript evidence, I suggest that the necessity for depicting Christ's body on the cross as an additional element in Anastasius's diagram did not arise until later. While iconoclasm could be thought of as the watershed that established the depiction because of Patriarch Nikephoros's strong views on the materiality of the Incarnation, a clearly anti-iconoclast manuscript still presents a bare cross in the diagram. It is therefore safer to follow the extant evidence and explore the possible reasons for the appearance of the crucified Christ in the eleventh century. The visual parallels with the *Te igitur* images in Latin Sacramentaries suggest a common context and a renewed focus on the connexion between the crucifixion and a literal understanding of the Eucharist. Emphasis on the orthodox understanding of the crucifixion was likely prompted by the Greek-Latin polemics around the 1054 'schism'.

Moreover, while empty crosses were still the ordinary visual component at ceremonies and processions at Constantinople, a growing devotion to the Passion, new developments in the ceremonies of Good Friday initiated at the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, and the related expansion of rhetorical laments on Christ's death, all converged towards the depiction of the dead and naked Christ on the cross as the best expression of Christianity's promise of somatic salvation. Psellos' Sermon on the Crucifixion recapitulates this new focus by the ekphrasis of an essentially three-dimensional image of Christ's dead body. While his text echoes the structure and meaning of St Anselm's Cur Deus homo, I propose that the object he depicts was in fact a mobile statue of Christ, perhaps an import from the West.

I would further like to discuss the relative impact of saints who increasingly imposed their presence as images on the cross. I will review a number of examples from the Menologion of Basil, that includes depictions of crucified women, as well as processional crosses where the saint has unusually gained a central position. Among hagiographical examples, the narrative of the death of Saint Lazarus of Galesion (d. 1053) demonstrates the extent to which the parallel between a saint's and Christ's death could be pushed both figuratively and practically. Among all these bodies on crosses, it became paramount to re-establish Christ's presence unequivocally according to orthodox belief. The once-for-all sacrifice was thus made ultimately significant in its connexion to the eucharist also in order to relativize the importance of saints and place their heroic deeds into perspective.

Mapping the Empire: A New Perspective on the Revival of Ptolemaic Cartography in Byzantium

Chiara D'Agostini (University of Southern Denmark)

This paper offers a new view on cartography in late 13th-century Byzantium by focusing on the epigrams devoted by Maximus Planudes to Ptolemy's work. After 1295 Planudes supervised an edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* complete with maps - a first in Byzantium, according to Planudes himself. To celebrate his enterprise, he penned five epigrams (epp. 5-9, Taxidis 2017, 126-141; 204-243), preserved by 12 manuscripts from the early 14th century to the 16th century. The epigrams stress the novelty of the maps (6-8), Planudes' enthusiasm in rediscovering Ptolemy's work (5, 9), and the interest of emperor Andronikos II in Planudes' endeavor (5). Ms. Milan B. Ambros. A 119 sup. (Martini-Bassi 043), produced in an environment chronologically and culturally close to Planudes, shows that the poems were perceived - and initially transmitted - as a consistent corpus.

In the last decade Planudes' epigrams including the corpus devoted to Ptolemy have attracted increased scholarly attention (Pontani 2010; Mazzucchi 2013, 2014; Burri 2013; Taxidis 2017). The focus however has been mainly on manuscript transmission and textual issues. My paper takes a different stance by considering the cultural and political context in which the new interest for geographic knowledge developed. In particular, taking my cues from Gregory's insights in the imperial constructions of space (Gregory 1994), I look at what Planudes' epigrams can tell us about late 13th-century Byzantine 'geographical imagination'.

To this end I concentrate on ep. 5, which is both a praise of the *Geography* and an encomium for Andronikos, who sponsored a copy of the work. This fact, disregarded by commentators, prompts a political representation of geographic and cartographic space. The poem celebrates Andronikos' military politics, aiming to expand the borders of the empire (vv. 39-42). Therefore, I argue, the new fascination for geographic knowledge in Planudes' times is not only the result of erudite interest. Rather, it is functional to an appropriation of the political and military space at a time where the empire was struggling to maintain its frontier in Asia Minor. Accordingly, the production of world and regional maps has to be understood as a way to map - and therefore to control - the borders of the empire. My paper offers a new understanding of 13th-century cartography as a quintessentially Byzantine endeavor beyond the preservation and transmission of Ptolemy's work.

Michael Psellos at the Sickbed of Emperor Isaac Komnenos

John Duffy (Harvard University)

As is well known Michael Psellos had, superficially at least, a range of interests to rival an Aristotle. He wrote on everything from allegory to meteorology, from astronomy to theology, and on a plethora of other subjects besides, including medicine. In his exhaustive bibliography of this Byzantine polymath, Paul Moore lists a dozen pieces on medical topics ascribed to him, and Robert Volk in 1990 published a monograph on the subject, under the title *Der medizinische Inhalt der Schriften des Michael Psellos*. There can be little doubt, then, about Psellos' knowledge of medical theory and literature. At the same time it is not likely that he ever involved himself directly in the practice of the art (prescribing treatments, etc.), but that did not prevent him from considering himself capable of prognosing the course of an actual illness.

The purpose of the present paper is to discuss a series of fascinating scenes played out in the pages of the *Chronographia* [Bk. 7, §§ 74-78], in which Psellos locks horns with an unnamed imperial physician at the bedside of Isaac Komnenos [1057-1059], when both of them, over the course of several days, cannot agree on the nature and progress of the emperor's illness. The episode, despite the straightforward narrative of the author, presents a problem of interpretation that is evident in the conflicting versions of modern translators of the *Chronographia*. The crux of the matter is whether Psellos sees himself as the more competent judge in this case and victor over the chief physician, or he acknowledges the expertise of the latter and bows to superior knowledge. What is at stake here is nothing less than Psellos' image of himself.

The episode has been examined in detail only once, by the distinguished French historian of medicine E. Jeanselme in a 1924 article, but he sidestepped the issue under review in his loose translation of the crucial passage. I present arguments, based on the language of the text itself and on other considerations, to clear up the confusion and to decide between the conflicting interpretations of these interesting scenes in Psellos' major historical work.

Depicted Deeds? Visible Essence? Photius on Perception

Christoph Erismann (University of Vienna)

Photius, one of the leading theologians and philosophers of the ninth century, composed his main works after the Iconoclast crisis ended in 843. Due to familial circumstances, scholarly affinities, political commitments and personal convictions, he was nevertheless extremely concerned with arguments about images and Iconoclastic views. It is therefore not surprising that we find in several of his writings – including the *Letters, Amphilochia and Homilies* – numerous discussions related to sacred images. This background has determined, at least partly, Photius's philosophical agenda, giving special importance to questions about description, representation and perception. This paper offers two contributions to our understanding of Photius's theory of vision and perception.

First, I present a new hypothesis, i.e. that Photius's claim for the primacy of the sense of sight over the sense of hearing, in his well known *Homily* 17 delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the image of the Virgin with Child in the apse of Hagia Sophia in 867, is a direct answer to an argument of the most learned iconoclast, John the Grammarian. When Photius claims that the memory of the deeds of the martyrs is contained in books, but that painting presents the deeds more vividly to our knowledge, he is directly answering John the Grammarian. For John, in the case of a given individual, neither his ancestry, nor his fatherland, his profession, his acquaintances, nor his praiseworthy or dishonourable conduct can be made known by any device whatsoever except that of discourse. I also show that John's argument is the reason for which Photius abandoned the traditional iconophile argument of John of Damascus and Theodore Abu Qurrah of the primacy of the picture over the text in books, to move to a discussion about senses.

The second aim is to reconstruct Photius's theory of vision. In the same *Homily* 17, Photius says that the eye emits optical rays that encompass the object, and that the rays send the *eidos* of the thing seen on to the mind. The Greek term *eidos* is indeed polysemous. By rendering it with the word 'essence' in his translation (p. 294), Cyril Mango attributes to Photius a strong theory. I examine the sustainability of the attribution to Photius of the thesis that through vision it is possible to perceive not only accidental properties – like size, colours, shape, etc. – but also essential properties – the set of which constitutes the essence. This question is also related to John the Grammarian, as he claims, using the Aristotelian definition of man as a 'rational, mortal being capable of knowledge', that none of these properties is present in the icon. I also discuss the question of the sources of Photius's extramission theory, according to which visual perception is accomplished by rays emitted by the eyes.

This paper offers a better assessment of Photius's relations to the debates at the time of second Iconoclasm, of his philosophical sources, and a reconstruction of an aspect of his epistemology and theory of sense perception.

The Application of Byzantine and Armenian Visual Components in the Anjou Bible (K.U. Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, MS 1) as Signifiers of Imperial Strength in Angevin Naples

Campbell Garland (University of California-Los Angeles)

Between 1340 and 1344, the Anjou Bible (K.U. Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, MS 1) was created for the Angevin court at Naples and illuminated richly by the Neapolitan illuminator, Cristoforo Orimina, in a style largely reflective of late 13th-century Italian manuscripts. While the exact patronage is unknown, the consensus stands that King Robert I played a role in the Bible's commission, which likely belonged first to the future Queen Joanna I's husband, Prince Andrew of Hungary, before it passed on to Niccolò d'Alife, an Angevin ally.

Although dominantly Gothic in style, the manuscript contains a significant amount of Eastern elements, drawn from Byzantine and Armenian sources, that are visible to the attentive viewer. These Eastern elements include Greco-Roman mythological figures, such as centaurs and Hercules, and Asian birds, along with an illumination style with close parallels to 13th-century Cilician Armenian manuscripts.

Scholars such as Rebecca Corrie and Cathleen Fleck have discussed the employment of Byzantine elements in medieval Italian manuscripts commissioned by dynasties other than the Angevins, Angevin ideology in manuscript commissions, the political aspects of the Anjou Bible, and its stylistic influence from French Gothic and central Italian workshops. This talk builds upon this scholarly foundation to examine the eastern allusions in the Anjou Bible.

In the Anjou Bible, those visual allusions to the eastern Mediterranean draw their significance from the fact that the Angevins controlled territories in the Morea and Albania, in addition to claiming the titles "Prince of Achaia," "Prince of Jerusalem" and "Latin Emperor of Constantinople" for members of their family. Furthermore, the Angevin heraldic symbols are prominently displayed in the Bible's first illuminations, which include the Jerusalem cross, a symbol of the Latin Crusader kingdoms.

Additionally, the selection of classical elements indicates the Angevin knowledge of Greek sources by way of Byzantium and the Greek populations of the Angevin Kingdom of Naples and the Morea. King Robert I was noted for his erudition and wisdom, and Joanna I would have been seen as inheriting her grandfather's virtues by means of her familiarity with these Greek texts and legends. But, the incorporation of these classical elements also hints at an Angevin statement of conquest over these Greek populations in their territories.

Due to its portability as a manuscript, the Anjou Bible served as a means to spread an imperial message for the Angevin dynasty during a period when its succession was in danger of being contested. Even after King Robert's death, Queen Joanna's ascension to the throne, and the acquisition of the Bible by Niccolo d'Alife, the Bible retained its identification with the Angevin dynasty. As a result, the Anjou Bible served a function in emphasizing the dynasty's legacy in the eastern Mediterranean, since the Angevins asserted their claim to the title of Constantinople in addition to being rulers of the Regno, even long after their active attempts at conquest had ceased and after Byzantine rule was restored at Constantinople.

The Myths of Crete in Byzantine Greek Progymnasmata

Craig Gibson (The University of Iowa)

Several Byzantine Greek progymnasmata focus on two prominent myths of Crete: Pasiphae and her passion for the bull, which led to the birth of the Minotaur, and the related story of Daedalus and Icarus in their ill-fated flight. In this paper I discuss the nature, contents, and special appeal of these exercises to Byzantine rhetoricians.

In our earliest example, Libanius (fourth century) narrates Pasiphae's lust for the bull, Daedalus's invention of the wooden cow, and the birth of the Minotaur. This concise narration exercise emphasizes the inherent paradoxes and novelty of events that would continue to interest Byzantine rhetoricians. The divine-human parentage of Pasiphae and the human-animal parentage of the Minotaur also made this myth an attractive subject for exercises in refutation and confirmation, in which students were asked to break a narration into its component claims and then attack or defend them. In the fifth century, Ps.- Nicolaus composed a refutation exercise in which he questioned how Pasiphae fell in love with a bull, why she approached Daedalus with her problem, why he helped her, and how his trick of the wooden cow worked. In the corresponding confirmation exercise, he tried to circumvent charges of narrative implausibility by using allegorical interpretation to affirm the underlying message of the story: that one must beware of unrestrained passion. Refutation appears again in the eleventh century, when John Doxapatres wondered how the Sun god could have mated with Pasiphae's human mother.

The Cretan myths were of special interest to Nikephoros Basilakes (twelfth century), who wrote separate narration exercises about Icarus, Daedalus, and Pasiphae but also produced the only two *ethopoeiae* on the Cretan myths. One imagines what Pasiphae would say upon falling in love with the bull. This speech is informed by Basilakes' deep familiarity with ancient erotic poetry and is one of only three instances in Greek literature in which Pasiphae is given a voice. This Pasiphae may speak in character, but she also has the author's knowledge of myth and literature, and she resorts to that knowledge in order to try to understand the crisis that she now faces. As her new-found love for the bull is revealed in real time, she gradually realizes that it cannot be requited unless she calls on Daedalus's help.

A second *ethopoeia* by Basilakes takes an unusual approach to the Daedalus and Icarus myth in an attempt to capture its fundamental strangeness. Here Basilakes imagines what a sailor would say when he sees Daedalus and Icarus flying by. The sailor is a pious believer in the gods, possesses a compendious knowledge of their stories, and tries to filter his strange new experience through that knowledge. But apparent hybrids are hard to understand at first glance, and only after he rigorously exhausts the possibilities of mythological parallels does he recall the recent news about how the wicked Daedalus had aided Pasiphae. In a unique interpretation of the myth, the sailor predicts that Daedalus will meet with divine vengeance both in this world and beyond.

Imperial Control over the Persecution of Pagans: The Evidence from the Justinianic Code

Engin Gokcek (University of California Riverside)

Laws restricting pagan rites began with Constantine's reign, and continued to be used to advance imperial religious policy and undermine traditional rites down through the age of Justinian. This policy is also reflected in the Roman law codes. Both the Theodosian and Justinian Codes had chapters called On *Pagans, Sacrifices and Temples* (C*Th*.16.24 and C*J*.1.11). Although there were common laws included in both the Justinianic and Theodosian Codes, evidencing a growing intolerance for pagan rites, the Justinianic Code tends to also omit the more lenient laws which were included in the Theodosian Code. Given this trend it is at first surprising to find that a law survives in the Justinianic Code (C*J*.1.11.6) from the Theodosian Code (C*Th*.16.24.10) that protects the property and the lives of Jews and pagans. Moreover, compared to the other laws in the Theodosian Code, this law is unusually lenient. The law offers a direct protection of the lives and property of the pagans and Jews within the Roman Empire.

Although other scholars examined C*J*.1.11.6 with a focus on Jews (Simonsohn 2014, Boyarin 2004), this paper examines this law within its contemporary context to better understand why the compilers of the Justinianic Code included this relatively tolerant law, even if it went against the trends observed above. I argue that the inclusion of this law is best explained by Justinian's pragmatic priorities. By examining the accounts of persecution of pagans and Jews recorded by Procopius and Malalas, in comparison with earlier accounts of persecutors such as Shenoute of Atripe and Simeon Stylite, I propose that emperors wanted to keep the persecution of dissident groups under the imperial authority. In this case, more important than the restrictions of religion was Justinian's desire to monopolize violence.

Symbols of New Rome in Visigothic Iberia:
Reassessing the 'Byzantineness' of the Guarrazar Treasure

Cecily Hilsdale (McGill University)

The so-called Guarrazar treasure—a collection of sumptuous votive crowns, crosses, and pendants—was unearthed in the nineteenth century outside Toledo. Since its' finding, the hoard has been discussed primarily in terms of cultural influence. Ferdinand de Lasteryrie first described the pieces as Germanic in origin, thus aligning them with the French cultural orbit (Lasteryrie, 1860). A year later José Amador de los Rios argued emphatically that they embodied the "latin-byzantino" style native to Visigothic Spain (de los Rios, 1861). The debate persisted throughout the twentieth century, with the various pieces of the treasure understood to exhibit a tension between the local and the Byzantine (that "decadent, Easternized gorgeousness" in the words of Pedro de Palol). But what, precisely, is the Byzantine dimension of the Guarrazar treasure?

The treasure is now divided among three separate collections in Paris at the Musée du Moyen Âge de Cluny and in Madrid at the National Archaeological Museum and the Royal Armoury of the Royal Palace. Until systematic technical analysis in the early years of the present century, scholars were divided about the works' origins and their dominant cultural reference. Such debates are now complemented by a series of technical studies aimed at determining the provenance of the gold and the array of gems encrusted on the pieces. In 2001 all the pieces received in-depth technical analysis, although the provenance of the gold remained undetermined (Perea 2001). Since then, in a another series of scientific analysis, the gold alloys have been further scrutinized and compared to coins struck by Visigothic kings in Iberian mints (Guerra and Calligaro, 2003, Guerra, Calligaro, and Perea, 2007, García-Vuelta and Perea, 2014). The origins of the materials and the technical aspects of the facture of the items have thus received significant attention. In tandem with this technical scholarship, recent years have witnessed significant new archaeological and historical publications that reassess royal and aristocratic society in Visigothic Iberia more broadly (for example, Fernandez, 2017).

All of this robust interdisciplinary scholarship means that we are now in a position to rethink crucial questions of cultural influence raised by this exceptional corpus of luxury votive items. My paper argues that the expanded information about the Guarrazar treasure enables us to address in new ways what it means to describe works of art produced beyond the borders of Byzantium as adhering to a Byzantine aesthetic, facture, or ideology.

"Garb yourselves with the divine power from on high": Relics as Weapons in Byzantine Military Culture

Brad Hostetler (Kenyon College)

The presence of relics in Byzantine warfare is attested in chronicles, military treatises, and inscriptions. Relics were carried into battle, recovered in victory, translated to Constantinople, and lost in defeat. They were perceived as sacred protectors of, and divine aids to, the troops, the emperor, and the empire.

The ways in which relics were utilized, invoked, and marshaled by the Byzantine army has rarely been the focus of scholarship. When relics are discussed in this context, scholars privilege instruments of Christ's Passion, overlooking the many other types of relics that were also used in this capacity. Military historians discuss this topic tangentially, focusing on the discovery or capture of specific relics at specific battles. For art historians, the topic of relics and the military is folded within discourses on imperial visual and material culture. Most recently, Robert Nelson examined the art of war and representations of imperial victory, identifying reliquaries of the True Cross as part of a diverse propagandistic program that included monumental arts, luxury objects, and numismatic imagery.

The issues raised by Nelson deserve further attention. I focus on reliquaries of the Middle Byzantine period, and examine the visual, material, and rhetorical strategies that communicated the martial function of relics. I suggest that while this function was most frequently expressed via epigrams inscribed on reliquaries, it was also reflected by the form and adornment of the objects themselves. I demonstrate that *staurothekai* were not the only reliquaries that conveyed this function. Reliquaries of Saints George, Demetrios, and John the Baptist also summoned their contents as weapons to crush the barbarians, and as shields to protect the reliquaries' owners. Reliquaries—through their visual and textual programs—show the diverse ways in which relics were perceived, adorned, and utilized as weapons in Byzantine military culture.

Gender as a Performance of Power in Byzantium: A Numismatic Approach

Nicole Inglot (The University of British Columbia)

Empress Irene (r. 780 – 802) has variously been hailed as a feminist icon or portrayed as a ruthless usurper, views built predominantly from textual accounts of her reign. The iconography of coins issued during her regency (780 – 797), though, paints a different picture; in this paper, I use a series of these coins in the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology to demonstrate that gender performativity is a more suitable lens with which to assess Irene's distinct place in Byzantine history.

In 1986, Joan Scott's famous "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" emphasized that gender is the culmination of performative actions and that it is often used to signify power within relationships. To view gender as merely a social construct devalues the negotiable nature of gender as a facet of identity. Rather than being artificially assigned, I argue in this paper that imperial constructions of gender as represented on coins were deliberately applied to Empress Irene and Emperor Constantine VI during their co-regency and that their shared power was constantly being exchanged and reiterated through gender, as depicted in numismatic iconography. This analysis uses the coins from the David Herman Byzantine coin collection at the Museum of Anthropology to examine the extent to which this nuanced approach to gender is visible in the case study of Constantine and Irene in late eighth to early ninth century Byzantium.

Earlier accounts of Empress Irene have focused on her unique position as sole ruler from 797 to 802, often from a historical perspective. This approach has been problematic for several reasons: our literary sources for the period are limited; modern scholars direct attention toward the degree of Irene's effectiveness as female sovereign; and studies concentrate primarily on Irene herself rather than the empress within her dynastic context. Therefore, I propose that in order to better understand Irene's role as sole ruler, analysis of her co-regency with her son, Constantine VI, from 780 to 797 requires further attention. In tackling this relationship from a numismatic lens, I move away from the literary tradition toward material data and observations. I closely analyze the coins with respect to the positions, costumes, and regalia of the two rulers in order to show that through these repeated representations, gender performativity reflects the power dynamics throughout the turbulent co-regency of Constantine VI and Irene that ultimately enabled the empress to seize power in her own right. Moreover, the images on these coins must have been carefully crafted to convey such messages of imperial power, since coins were extremely mobile disseminators of information that subjects of all classes throughout Byzantium could have seen.

The Afterlife of *Megas Domestikos* Andronikos Palaiologos: Palaiologan Propaganda in Laskarid Thessaloniki

Aleksander Jovanovic (Simon Fraser University)

The *megas domestikos* Andronikos Palaiologos died in 1248 while serving as the *praitor* of the Balkans. As an imperial representative in the newly reconquered European provinces, Andronikos had spent the last two years of his life managing public affairs in the provincial capital city of Thessaloniki. Andronikos' son, Michael (VIII) Palaiologos, was at the time governor of Melnikos and Serres, and sought to use the Thessalonians appreciation of his deceased father to his own benefit. He did so by employing a logographer to commemorate the Andronikos' life and service to the Romans. Michael chose Iakobos for this task. Formerly metropolitan of Ochrid, Iakobos was a well-known figure among Thessalonians. Under commission by his patron, Iakobos produced a funerary oration and three poems about Andronikos' service. While the speech was written in classicizing Greek, the three poems were composed in registers that ranged from Homeric, classicizing, as well as the more vernacular *koine* Greek.

Ever since Paul Magdalino's work on the relevance of rhetoric in the promotion of Manuel I Komnenos' emperorship, Byzantinists have noted the importance of public speeches in crafting the positive image of an emperor. In this paper I add to this body of work by analyzing a series of works by a single author that commemorate a deceased public servant who was, however, neither emperor nor member of the imperial *oikos*. Examining Iakobos' funerary speech, as well as the three poems about Andronikos Palaiologos meant for public reading, helps us to obtain, I argue, a unique insight into the social and political life of Thessaloniki. In turn, such urban sociability and politics, outside the imperial centre, point to the relevance of public opinion not just for the reigning emperor in the capital city, but also for the members of notable households who traditionally staffed the central administration throughout the Roman polity.

Iakobos' task was to promote a young Palaiologos to the Thessalonians—be it the literati enjoying Homeric turns of phrase or the laity listening to the more vernacular poem written in the form of a witty conversation between Andronikos' gravestone and a passerby. To appeal to his diverse audience, Iakobos exclusively celebrated those among Andronikos' good deeds, which specifically related to the lives of the Thessalonians, completely omitting other moments of Andronikos' illustrious career, such as his commanding of the imperial armies and his supervision of important land surveys in Asia Minor. By thus celebrating Andronikos as a servant of the Thessalonians, the author gained his audience's attention, since the story he told was fresh in the public's memory and related directly to their everyday lives. In turn, this positive image of his father allowed this scion of a Byzantine aristocratic family to introduce himself, albeit via proxy, to the citizens of Thessaloniki. And thus with well-crafted stories of ancestral service and duty a young public servant, who would one day be emperor, took his first steps in the Roman public sphere.

Imperial Survival and Military Reform in the Reign of Justinian II

Scott Kenkel (University of Kentucky)

The seventh century was one of cultural, religious, social, and institutional transformation. In particular, the period from Justinian II to Leo III saw military defeat and civil war, but also the beginnings of a revival even as the Empire struggled for survival. In the reign of Justinian II, which is invariably described as a failed opportunity by an unstable emperor, we see new policies and reforms: population transfers, the first mention of the themes, and major offensive military operations. Unfortunately, our understanding of this critical time is limited by the muddled sources, particularly Theophanes and Nikephoros.

The Arab-Byzantine war of 692 is an excellent opportunity to examine imperial military strategy and capabilities under Justinian II. After concluding an advantageous treaty with a Caliphate distracted by civil war in 685/86, and a successful campaign against the Slavs, Justinian II sought to press his perceived military advantage against the Caliphate. The poor sources for this campaign however have led scholars (not surprisingly) to focus too narrowly on the few precious narrative details in the Greek accounts, above all, the "betrayal" of the Slavic contingent. And until the narratives of the confused and confusing sources are resolved, scholars will be unable to do more.

Theophanes and Nikephoros (and the later chroniclers who made use of Theophanes and perhaps other sources) are the major Greek sources for the reign of Justinian II, but are often unreliable. In addition, there are invaluable Armenian, Syriac and Arabic sources including the *Chronicle to 1234*, Michael the Syrian, Agapius, and al-Tabari, Further, numismatic and sigillographic evidence can correct, confirm, and supplement evidence from the written sources. The aim of this paper is to redeploy these sources, including Greek, Syriac, Armenian and Arab (and to consider the sources on which they might have relied including Trajan the Patrician, chancery narratives and other chronicles) works, in order not only to reconsider our narrative of Justinian II, but the significance of that narrative for understanding the institutional evolution of the Empire at a critical time.

An analysis of these various sources is essential to begin the process of understanding Justinian II and the imperial strategic posture at the time of its first major land offensive against the Arabs. By establishing a firm chronology from these problematic sources, we can critically reevaluate not only the reign of Justinian II, but the potential impact of his policies on his successors, and particularly Leo III. But perhaps more importantly, a firm chronology would allow scholars to begin the systematic reconstruction of the evolution of a new military administrative system that not only made such military ventures possible, but also made possible the only successful "thematic" military revolts of Leontios and Tiberios III.

The Sea in the *Lives* of Two Saints of Cyprus

Young Kim (Onassis Foundation USA)

In addition to the subject saint, the other typical *dramatis personae* of early Byzantine hagiography are deeply familiar to us: monks and clerics, imperial officials and local elites, heretics, pagans, good Christians, bad Christians, and the list goes on. At the same time, the noble or ignoble behaviors of one or more of these often drive the hagiographical narrative forward, providing opportunities for the holy protagonist to exhibit godly virtues, in word and deed. Inanimate but nevertheless "living" things— cities and their structures, rural landscapes, even the objects of daily life—also play a crucial part in saints' lives, and the focus of this paper will be the character of the sea in the *vitae* of two Cypriot holy men, Epiphanios and John the Almsgiver. The former was originally from Palestine but became one of the island's most famous Christians, second only to Barnabas, while the latter was a native son, who spent most of his ecclesiastical career as patriarch of Alexandria, forced only at the end of his life to return to his island homeland.

That the sea would have an important role in their stories should come as no surprise, given the island locale, but how it functions in each of these hagiographies illustrates a broader regional interconnectedness of the Mediterranean world, still characteristic of early Byzantium, but also hints at its gradual breakdown, at least in a literary sense. The sea facilitates and obstructs movement—of people, commodities, ideas— the fates and fortunes of many depend on the goodwill of the sea, notoriously fickle and prone to destructive behavior. In the *Life of Epiphanios*, the Mediterranean ensures that the Palestinian immigrant to Cyprus would become its spiritual and civic leader, thus augmenting the orthodox Christian standing of the island. In the *Life of John the Almsgiver*, the sea maintains a background presence but also intervenes at key moments of the narrative to give John an opportunity to demonstrate his holiness. In the end, the sea becomes a frontier, separating the civilized world of Byzantium from the barbarity of the Persians, which in turn elevates the position of Cyprus as a beacon of Christian civilization.

Narrating the Thirteenth Century: Constructing Collective Action and Agency in Late Byzantine Texts

Matthew Kinloch (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Modern historiography that purports to describe and explain the period between 1204 and 1261 almost exclusively constructs a narrative of Byzantine 'fragmentation', 'exile', and 'reconquest'. This is perhaps most apparent in the teleology that underwrites a narrative in which the Nikaian polity, although only one of many so-called successor states (including the 'Byzantine' polities that formed in Trebizond and Epiros, not to mention a plethora of Latin, Bulgarian, and Seljuk polities), is singled out as the 'legitimate' and 'natural heir' of the old Byzantine empire from its inception (c. 1204/5), simply because its forces captured Constantinople in 1261.

The consistent reproduction of this narrative of 'exile' and 'reconquest', has distorted the thirteenth-century Byzantine past in numerous ways. In this paper, I argue that this Nikaian-centric narrative has tended to isolate agency at the level of states and rulers. In other words, the narrative of 'reconquest' is explained in terms of the expansion and contraction of states and the personalities, decisions, and actions of rulers (and other elite men). This might be unsurprising given that the principal medieval texts from which this narrative was constructed, most notably the narrative history (*Chronike syngraphe*) of George Akropolites, were produced by and for such elite men, not to mention (most often) channelled by another variety of elite man in their reformulation as modern historiography. However, it means that other types of actors and agencies have tended to be erased or obscured in modern presentations of the period, because they do not contribute to the simplistic narrative of state-centric Nikaian 'reconquest'.

In this paper, I construct a more complex thirteenth-century Byzantine world, by highlighting alternative types of actors and agencies found in a variety narrative and non-narrative texts. In particular, I focus on non-state and non-elite groups and the actions they are presented as making collectively, whether as urban population and 'mob' in historiographical narratives or as smaller familial or non-familial units in the surviving monastic charters of western Asia Minor. This analysis serves not only to deconstruct modern assumptions about thirteenth-century Byzantine political history, but also moves towards a more coherent conception of the late Byzantine textual construction of agency in general.

Urbs recepta: Medieval Greek Prophecies on the *halosis* of 1204

Andras Kraft (American University of Central Asia)

This paper investigates medieval Greek prophetic writings from the thirteenth century and reconstructs the Byzantine apocalyptic response to the Latin conquest of Constantinople. It is argued that apocalyptic prophecies presented a typologically structured historiography that necessitated the reconquest of Constantinople.

Byzantine prophecies had announced the destruction of Constantinople centuries prior to 1204. However, they remained silent on its conquest and occupation (Magdalino 2005). This *lacuna* did not invalidate their veracity but rather called for further prophesy-making that would assimilate the occupation of Constantinople into the Byzantine theology of time. These prophecies include various short oracles (Pertusi 1979, discussed in Brandes 2008), the *Ultima Visio Danielis* (Schmoldt 1972, 122–145), the *Praedictio Andritzopouli* (Rigo 2002) and the *Aenigmata Leonis* (Trapp 1964). I read these prophecies as exegetical literature that weaves historical accounts pertaining to the *halosis* into biblical narratives.

Given that the Antichrist had not appeared shortly after 1204, it was believed that the *basileia tōn rhomaiōn* had survived the fall of Constantinople (cf. Podskalsky 1972, 55). The *basileia* persisted but was exiled (cf. *Choniatae Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, I, 356.33, 578.45f; P*rophecia Magni Constantini*, ed. Pertusi 1979, 23). The Byzantines, who understood themselves to be the new Israelites, could accommodate the temporal loss of the new Jerusalem with reference to the canonical book of *Isaiah*. Prophecies well testify for this tendency when referring to Constantinople as the 'vineyard' (Isa 1:8, *passim*). While the importance of *Isaiah* to thirteenth-century Byzantium has already been pointed out (Magdalino / Nelson 2010, 25f), its significance to the apocalyptic genre has not yet been made explicit.

My paper argues that the apocalyptic hypothesis was: if Jerusalem had suffered divine retribution as a prefiguration, then Constantinople suffered the same fate as the ultimate fulfillment. Concomitantly, just as Jerusalem had been reclaimed, so had the imperial city to be reconquered. The Byzantine irredentism of the thirteenth century was a typological necessity.

Xiphilinos and the Immediate Relevance of Ancient Roman History

Marion Kruse (University of Cincinnati)

The study of Cassius Dio and his *Roman History* has been enjoying a renaissance among classical scholars. Despite this resurgence of interest, however, classicists have not dealt squarely with the implications of Dio's transmission for our understanding of his work. Specifically, only eighteen of Dio's original eighty books are fully extant, covering primarily the end of the Roman Republic and the rise of Augustus. For the period after Augustus, we rely on the eleventh-century epitome of Ioannes Xiphilinos, nephew of the eponymous patriarch, while the earlier material is preserved in the twelfth- century epitome of Ioannes Zonaras. The field of classics has not yet grappled with the implications of Dio's transmission for understanding his historical agenda outside of a single article by Christopher Mallan, and continues to rely on outdated stereotypes of Byzantine encyclopedism that strip later compilers of authorial agency. Recent scholarship on materials as diverse as the corpora of Konstantinos VII Porphyrogennetos and the *Materials for History* of Nikephoros Bryennios, however, have stressed the degree to which the authorial agency of compilers and epitomators must be taken seriously.

The current paper builds upon the work of Christopher Mallan and Kai Juntunen to argue that Xiphilinos edited Dio's history in order to highlight parallels between ancient Roman and contemporary Byzantine history. The paper begins by surveying Xiphilinos' statements of purpose and scattered editorial comments, before analyzing specific editorial decisions detectable in the overlap between the opening books of the epitome and the independently extant books of Dio. The paper concludes by arguing that Xiphilinos' editorial process was neither innocent nor haphazard, but closely aligned with his stated belief that the memory of the late Republic and early Empire were politically valuable during the reign of Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071-1078). This conclusion enhances our understanding of Xiphilinos' role inside traditions of Byzantine encyclopedism, as well as having important implications for his epitome's value as a source for earlier Roman history.

Intercultural Approach to the *De Ceremoniis* - A Preliminary project report

Hisatsugu Kusabu (Osaka City University)

Thus far, important works on the study of Byzantine *De Ceremoniis* have been occasionally edited with comments, referred to in papers, and fully translated into modern languages such as those of Dagron 2000, TM 13; Moffatt-Tall 2012; and Macrides-Munitiz-Angelov 2013. However, such accessibility of the text has not contributed enough to an increase in international readership yet. Considering the remarkable characteristics of its editorship and readership from the non-Byzantinist views, *De Ceremoniis* still merits more celebration and further investigated within the context of imperialism in the Eurasia and even the Far East in the Middle Ages (900-1300 CE).

Comparative investigation of the pre-modern ceremonial documentation and codes of imperial courts in Asia and Byzantium reveals a remarkable similarity in terms of the traditional administration of ceremonies. This paper includes a case study of the comparison between the tenth century text on Japanese customs (*Engishiki*, ed. by T. Torao, 3 vols., 2000-2017) and the *De Ceremoniis* with a focus on their editing, authorship, and visual customs mentioned in them as significant examples.

This case for the *De Ceremoniis – Engishiki* study is a part of the ongoing research project conducted by interested specialists of various historical fields and topics in Japan focusing on the imperial and royal culture of the pre-modern courts. The case study's focus on Far East generate further interest in comparative and further collective studies, such as the collective comparison of the "Book of Ceremonies" and the Tang and its following Chinese dynasties, or other known premodern courts. This multi-cultural approach to analyzing premodern imperialism elucidates and emphasizes further the significance of a visible order in diplomatic and imperial offices, physical space of imperial society, and the use of actual costumes and regalia in the Byzantine *De Ceremoniis*.

For example, in imperial and royal courts in Asia, the criticality of the actual administration of ceremonies was responsible for the high status of specialist officials. These officials had traditional knowledge that was passed on within the family or the clan. The writing and publication of documents or manuals was avoided in order to maintain the "authenticity" of this knowledge and it was shared only within a close group of intellectuals. Even in the case of dynastic discontinuity and internal crises, the people who conducted ceremonies often retained their position under successive rulers. Nevertheless, the requirements of re-editing and publication of the literary version of "*De Ceremoniis*" in the Asian empires was caused not only by the actual want of technical and practical knowledge in tradition but also by the reformative assertion of new regimes, as Averil Cameron 1987 clearly indicated in terms of the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies. The hierarchical orders of places, dress-codes, and regalia seem to be listed elaborately both in the *De Ceremoniis* and *Engishiki* laws as a static record of the cultural legacy. However, the documentation included a rather innovative declaration of new-forms than the simple factual record of traditional knowledge.

Becoming an Armenian King in the Seljuk Empire

Sergio La Porta (California State University, Fresno)

Sometime in the 1080s, the Caucasian Albanian King of Siwnik', Yovhannēs- Senek'erim, travelled to the court of the Seljuk Sultan Malikshāh to be acknowledged as king of Armenia. According to a late thirteenth century source written in Armenian, while at court Malikshāh's butler plied the king with drink until the latter promised his daughter to him. When the butler, now a Seljuk commander, showed up to collect his bride, however, Yovhannēs-Senek'erim insulted and expelled him. In retaliation for this violation of their agreement, the butler launched an attack on Yovhannēs-Senek'erim's realm and brought the kingdom to ruin.

Various Armenian sources have preserved the memory of Yovhannēs-Senek'erim, the impact of his journey, and his death. Interestingly, they differ in significant ways; so much so, in fact, that any satisfactory resolution of their information even stumped Vladimir Minorski. This paper does not rush into where Minorski feared to tread, but repositions the preserved evidence from the perspective of complex and transgressive notions of identity. Yovhannēs-Senek'erim is an enigmatic and liminal figure, who, like his name—composed of an Armenian version of the Christian name "John" and of the Assyrian name "Sennacherib"—straddled several different cultural identities and borders. Stories of his life and death are preserved in four narrative histories that date from the late eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. In addition, endowment documents promulgated by Yovhannēs-Senek'erim have been recorded by one of the historians; and a few inscriptions mention him as well.

Yovhannēs-Senek'erim's ascension to the throne was slightly unusual as he was not his predecessor's descendant or direct relative, but his brother-in-law and heir of the ruling family of Ałuank' (Caucasian Albania, Arrān). His adoption by the king of Siwnik' brought the two royal houses of Ałuank' and Siwnik' together in the person of Yovhannēs-Senek'erim, and a source composed during his lifetime extols him as the savior of both Ałuank' and Armenia. On the other hand, the later thirteenth-century source mentioned above presents Yovhannēs-Senek'erim as the cause of a Seljuk invasion that destroyed his kingdom. The other narrative accounts composed in between these two differ from both of them and each other in their designation of his ethnic identity, his title, the extent of his territory, his piety, and even his name. As noted, earlier scholars have tried to resolve the disparities between the accounts in order to establish an accurate chronology of events in his life and, in particular, for the Seljuk invasion of Siwnik'. By contrast, this paper examines the various identities created for Yovhannēs- Senek'erim, from quasi-messianic king to drunken breaker of promises, and argues that the authors employ them to promote certain claims of 'Albanian', 'Armenian', Christian, and Muslim ethno-religious identity.

Ignatios' *Diegesis* and Christ of the Latomou: Votive or Icon?

Andrea Lam (Pepperdine University, Washington, DC)

The early Byzantine apse mosaic at the Church of Hosios David (also called the "Latomou Monastery") in Thessaloniki, is generally dated between the late fifth and early seventh centuries; it is a votive image commissioned by an anonymous female patron who recorded her thanks to God with an elaborate mosaic and a dedicatory inscription. The mosaic portrays Christ seated on a rainbow in a lush landscape and surrounded by two prophets and the four symbols of the evangelists. Its landscape setting, the absence of identifying inscriptions, and the uncommon portrait features of the beardless, long-haired, youthful Christ distinguish it from most post-iconoclastic representations of Christ. The latter more often portray a bearded, mature-looking Christ, clearly inscribed with his name and sometimes an epithet. The fact that this early *ex voto* – which lacks the standard features of icons – served as the basis for two late Byzantine icons raises questions regarding the status of the early mosaic and the usual appearance of Christ icons in medieval Thessaloniki. The so-called copies of the mosaic at the Bačkovo Monastery and on the Poganovo icon announce their relationship to Christ of the Latomou in their iconography and, in one instance, an inscription, even if they replicate most aspects of the mosaic but modify the portrait features of Christ.

This paper addresses the Christ of the Latomou's transformation from votive imagery in its original context into an icon when it was integrated into funerary contexts in later representations. These issues have not been raised in previous studies of the mosaic. This re-assessment of Hosios David's apsidal imagery is based on the Bishop Ignatios' *Diegesis*. His ninth to eleventh century narrative describes the apse mosaic as an "*acheiropoietos*" (an image "not made by human hands"), recounts its medieval rediscovery and explains its importance in Thessaloniki. Ignatios' *Diegesis* indicates that "Christ of the Latomou" was considered to be a true vision of God, a theme intrinsically pertinent to icons; he also sheds light on why the two surviving depictions of the Latomou Christ appear in funerary contexts. However, Ignatios' text raises as many questions as it answers. For example, if the mosaic was believed to be a miraculous "*acheiropoietos*," and the patrons and artists of the later icons sought to portray the well- known mosaic, then why did they change his portrait features? This paper investigates Hosios David and Ignatios' *Diegesis* with regard to these and other questions related to the appearance and function of icons after iconoclasm.

Secondary Illuminations: The Reader as Illustrator of Text

Warren Langford (New Testament Textual Studies Foundation)

To what extent might the reader function as an illuminator of a text? Within the transmission of the Greek New Testament (GNT) the reader can function in multiple roles, such as scribe, interpreter, corrector. The scribal process is a creative activity, and on occasion a reader entered the illumination process post book production. For example, several GNT manuscripts have drawings in the margins that were introduced by readers or correctors with varying skill levels. The addition of artistic elements by a reader or corrector may indicate motivations or intentions based on an understanding of or connection to a section of text. Marginal textual variations in a codex are the textual parallel to this idea of artistic marginal additions in a manuscript. The proximity of the images to the txt may indicate a connection between the content of the passage and the subject matter of the image. As well, a corrector may update a manuscript by making artistic additions in the manuscript. In an initial observation, the artistic additions appear to fall into two categories: additions of art by correctors or repairers of a codex and marginal artistic additions by individual readers. The first tends to be more professional and orderly, while the second more crude and simplistic. Inspection of the artistic additions in both categories raised questions of motivation or intention.

Seeking to address the question of motivation, the added artistic elements in three GNT manuscripts will be examined: Vatican Library, Vaticani gr. 1209; Hamburg, State University and Library, Codex 91 in scrin. (Seildelianus II); and Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Apostle, 16. Vatican Library, Vaticani gr. 1209 is one of the earliest complete bibles and has added headpieces and initials. Hamburg, State University and Library, Codex 91 in scrin. (Seildelianus II) has several crude drawings in the margin of the text. The last to be observed, Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Apostle, 16 has multiple small figures drawn in the margins. In the manuscripts, the reader or corrector was motivated to add a visual/artistic element. In each of these manuscripts marginal artistic features were added post book production. What motivated the reader/corrector to add to the manuscript? Are the marginal artistic features motivated by contact with the text of the manuscript? If so, what are the intentions of the reader/corrector or the reasoning behind the illumination?

Emperor John II Komnenos and Sultan Ahmad Sanjar
Contact and Comparison

Maximilian Lau (Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo)

This paper has two goals. First, to highlight the continuing contact and interaction between Byzantium and the Great Seljuks after the battle of Manzikert in 1071 and the reign of Alexis I Komnenos (1081-1118), which has been overlooked in most historiography, that traditionally sees no further interaction after the loss of eastern Anatolia in the eleventh century. In fact, the two formerly hegemonic powers interacted both indirectly through dealings with Georgia and the Islamic powers between them, and directly as evidenced by a letter sent from Sultan Ahmad Sanjar (1118-1157 to Emperor John II Komnenos (1118-1143), and references to Byzantine troops being deployed as far as Persia in the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian. This paper will collate and draw conclusions as to how these two great powers of the Near East interacted despite no longer sharing a border, and further despite the reduced state of both of these empires.

This relates to the second goal of this paper. In accordance with the definitions of the Global Middle Ages established by Holmes and Standen, from the comparison of the contemporary polities of Byzantium and the Great Seljuk Sultanate we can learn much as to how rulers and their subjects and enemies functioned in this period, and how typical both problems and their potential solutions are to medieval polities in general. The comparison of these two powers is particularly striking due to both empires previously having held hegemonic power over their respective theo-geo- political spheres of influence, but by the reigns of John and Sanjar, both empires existed in an increasingly challenged, fallen, state. Both rulers contended with nomadic raiders together with religious and political challenges from within and without, and yet both also made claims to universal rule in accordance with their empire's former status. By coincidence, both rulers rose to unquestioned authority in 1118, and thus it is startling that they have not been compared before; the analysis of their respective successes and failures will therefore elucidate the specific features of both polities and thus enhance our knowledge of the Global Middle Ages as a whole.

As such, the original contributions of this paper include the collation and presentation of previously overlooked evidence of continuing relations between Byzantium and the Great Seljuk Sultanate in the twelfth century, and conclusions as to what such continuing relations meant for both parties. Equally, the comparison of the two polities and their rulers in this period in relation to their shared challenges. The latter in particular is thus a contribution to the study of the Global Middle Ages in particular.

The New David and the New Constantine: Competing Last World Emperors in the Time of the First Crusade

Thomas Lecaque (Grand View University)

Staring down from Mount Zion, looming over the city of Jerusalem at the end of the eleventh century, the tomb of David was a potent symbol to the First Crusaders as they mounted their siege. The hill itself, across from the citadel of the city, called the Tower of David, was an unpopular choice for the military lines; Raymond of Saint-Gilles had to pay extra wages to keep his troops there. While the siege was underway, the leaders of the crusade gathered to discuss who should be the king once they had seized the city, and the clergy, horror-struck, intervened:

"'It is wrong to elect a king where the Lord suffered and was crowned. Suppose that in the elected one's heart he said, 'I sit upon the throne of David, and I possess his dominion.' Suppose he became [unlike] David, degenerate in faith and goodness, the Lord would, no doubt, overthrow him and be angry with the place and the people." (Historia of Raymond d'Aguilers)

For the clergy responding to the concept, the choice of a king in Jerusalem was too dangerous to risk, because it provoked an eschatological problem: either the chosen king would take his crown and scepter, march to the Mount of Olives to surrender them, and help bring about the Second Coming at Jesus' side; or he would claim the throne of Jerusalem, become the abomination of desolation, and help bring about the Second Coming as the Antichrist. For Raymond of Saint-Gilles, offered the crown, the risk was too great—rather than risk becoming the Antichrist, he abjured himself of the reward.

It may simply be that the margin for eschatological error was too thin, but this paper will suggest another possible factor in Raymond's decision: his experience in Constantinople in 1097 and his alliance with Alexios Komnenos. The legend of the Last World Emperor resonated powerful with the First Crusade, but the legend also existed and resonated within Byzantine circles. As Penelope Buckley has argued, the Alexiad itself attempts to frame Alexios Komnenos as a "second Constantine," his own version of a Last Roman Emperor. Raymond's claim to divine favor and potential catalyst, based on noble Frankish blood, a capital region around the great Roman imperial city of Arles, his possession of the Holy Lance and other relics, and the supporting visions of saints, was a good one; but he had spent time in Constantinople with the actual Roman emperor, in a city of miracles, filled with relics of the Passion and living romanitas. This paper argues that the lived experience among the Byzantines was more spiritually formative for certain factions of the Crusade than has previously been argued, and that it was, in part, this experience that ended Raymond of Saint-Gilles' eschatological quest for the crown of Jerusalem in 1099.

Αὐθένται καὶ παίδες: Similarities of Experience among Free-born Children, Slaves, and Freedmen in the Middle Byzantine Period

Nathan Leidholm (Bogazici University)

Slaves were integral components of many Byzantine households and frequently maintained close ties with their former masters' families even after they had gained their freedom. Social interactions within the household and bonds of affection among its members meant that slaves and freedmen played an important role in Byzantine family life that extended far beyond issues of economic production or status symbols.

In a number of functional aspects, the social realities of unfree members of the Byzantine household mirrored those of free-born children. According to Byzantine law, children remained subject to the authority of their parents until the age of 25, even if they had married. In the eyes of the law, free children below the age of maturity had no independent legal personalities and remained subject to the will of their parents. Among both slaves and children, expectations of obedience were enforced with the constant threat of licit violence from the head of the household. The similarities are even reflected in Byzantine art, in which adolescents are often visually indistinguishable from slaves or other servants. Such blurring of the lines between free and unfree status became especially apparent after manumission. Former slaves would often be granted an inheritance, sometimes including properties dispersed among those owned or bequeathed to the master's own children or relatives. Freedmen typically maintained their connection to their former masters' families as semi-dependent members of their households (their "men"). Masters might arrange marriages for their slaves before or after emancipation, much as they would for their own children. Even the language of slavery in this period mirrored the vocabulary of the family. *Pais* (παῖς) could be either a slave or, simply, a child, while the term *authentes* (αὐθέντης) was used both for a slave's master as well as a parent.

This paper begins to explore family life among slaves and freedmen between the eighth and twelfth centuries by comparing their experiences with those of free-born children, focusing particularly on social relations and cultural attitudes surrounding the household. In doing so, it interrogates notions of family and kinship in their social and cultural contexts, including the varying definitions of the family and the dynamics of power and affection that defined it at different times and in various sources. One cannot underestimate the extent to which slave status fundamentally affected every aspect of an enslaved person's existence, and it would be a mistake to attempt to erase that entirely. At the same time, however, recent years have seen a great increase in studies of childhood and adolescence in Byzantium, aspects of which might be used to enrich the study of Byzantine slavery. By examining the two side-by-side in the context of the household, this paper seeks to contribute both to the study of the Byzantine family, in all its forms, and to our understanding of the lived realities of slaves and freedmen in the Byzantine world.

Re-imagining the Empire: Alexandria and Jerusalem in Isaac Komnenos' Paraphrase of the Letter of Aristeas (Topkapi Sarayi [Seraglio] cod. gr. 8)

Valeria Flavia Lovato (University of Lausanne)

Isaac Porphyrogenitus, the younger son of emperor Alexios I and brother of John II, was not only a skillful (albeit unsuccessful) political plotter, but also an accomplished literatus. Amongst his many works features a short paraphrase of the *Letter of Aristeas*, an apocryphal text describing how king Ptolemy II of Alexandria sponsored the translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek. Despite being integral to the design of the richly illuminated Seraglio Octateuch, Isaac's paraphrase has been almost completely neglected in scholarship. The only modern edition dates to 1907 and, despite its shortcomings, has never been reassessed ever since.

In this paper I look at the construction of Alexandria and Jerusalem in the paraphrase as alternative political spaces imagined by Isaac. The city of Jerusalem plays a key role in Isaac's crafting of his own political persona. At that time, the reconquest of the Holy Land was key to imperial propaganda, with John II presenting himself as an aggressive Crusader. Isaac's political self-styling is completely different. He was the first among the Komneni who actually visited Jerusalem and established political ties with the local rulers. He also carried out ambitious building activities. All this is reflected by the space that Jerusalem and its monuments take in Isaac's rewriting.

Equally, the political and cosmopolitan space of Alexandria becomes central in Isaac's reworking of the letter. Ptolemy II, prominently featuring in the only surviving illuminated illustration of the paraphrase, becomes the main character of the story, while other important figures from the original almost disappear. A learned man and a diplomatic ruler, the Hellenistic king is Isaac's double. As I argue, he embodies Isaac's vision of the empire as a power open to neighbour cultures.

The political use of Alexandria and Jerusalem in Isaac's paraphrase of the *Letter* shows that the Seraglio Octateuch can be construed as a magnificent political pamphlet, projecting an image of Isaac's ideal empire. In the political spaces imagined by Isaac, diplomacy, artistic patronage and cross-cultural exchanges prove to be an effective alternative to the martial ideal championed by John II, whose throne Isaac never ceased to covet.

Imagination Stations:
Phantasia and the Divine from Gregory of Nazianzus to the Ninth Century

Byron MacDougall (Princeton University)

The divine is beyond all comprehension. This principle is at the heart of the tradition of apophatic or negative theology that runs from the Cappadocian Fathers through Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite to Maximus the Confessor and beyond. It is however this same tradition that writes a role for *phantasia* in the formation of concepts of the divine. This paper shows how Gregory of Nazianzus's homily on the Nativity (Or. 38) initiates a chain of theological discussions on the formation of mental concepts of the divine that stretches through figures like Pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus to the ninth century and Photius's reflections on the mental faculties of image formation. Finally, this paper shows how Gregory's Nativity discussion—and hence the subsequent Byzantine tradition that is dependent upon Gregory—itself adapts an earlier oration on the depiction and contemplation of the divine delivered almost three centuries earlier.

Gregory's Nativity oration, delivered in Constantinople during his short-lived tenure as bishop, features an extended discussion on *theoria* and the all but insurmountable difficulties involved in the contemplation of the divine (Or. 38.7). Even allowing for Gregory's subsequent influence and reputation in Byzantium as "The Theologian," this discussion enjoys a remarkable afterlife, which however remains unexplored. This same passage is subsequently refashioned by both Pseudo-Dionysius in *On Divine Names* IV and Maximus the Confessor (*Ambigua* 10) in their respective accounts on the processes involved in the formation of concepts of the divine. Together their reflections on the role of *phantasia* in contemplation wielded significant influence on subsequent discussions of the formation of mental concepts, an influence which can be felt for example in Photius's Homily on the Image of the Virgin (*Hom*. 17).

While for his Byzantine successors Gregory may be "The Theologian" that stands at the beginning of this chain of thought, he is in fact a middle link. The final section of this paper reveals how in the Nativity homily, Gregory has carefully reworked a passage from an earlier meditation on the depiction of the divine. This is Dio Chrysostom's "Olympic" oration (Or. 12), which Dio delivered before an audience assembled to view Phidias's famous statue of Olympian Zeus. Already at Olympia we find the makings of the Christian Patristic discussions that, after several intermediate stations, will be available to the theologians of the ninth century in their discussions of the imagination and the formation of mental concepts of the divine.

Constantine's Role as Pontifex Maximus and Bishop Over "Those Outside"

Edward Mason (University of Kentucky)

Eusebius of Caesarea, the biographer to Constantine the Great, once recorded a seemingly innocuous anecdotal comment from the emperor at a dinner party: "at the banquet, he was giving for the bishops, he decreed that he was also a bishop. He added these words which I heard myself: 'you are bishops of those within the Church, but I have been appointed by God bishop of those outside'" (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 4.24). The comment and its implications were clearly troubling for Eusebius. The emperor had only recently embraced Christ as a patron deity following his decisive victory over fellow-emperor Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312, and he was not ever a baptized member of the church at that time, and would not be until directly before his death in 337. Eusebius felt compelled to explain the emperor's words: "He watched over everyone he ruled, and he encouraged them as much as in his power to follow a religious life." Scholars widely agree that Constantine was seeking to legitimate his authority in ecclesiastical affairs. However, the meaning of "bishop of those outside" has vexed historians for centuries. Scholars have primarily followed the argument of A. H. M. Jones, who claimed that Constantine's sought episcopal status in his mission to increase the prestige of the Church.

The passage is best understood by linking it to traditional discourses of imperial authority rather than a solely Christian discourse. The problem stems from the assumption of a cultural and institutional opposition between Christianity and its imperial environment. In fact, Constantine, who retained the pagan title *pontifex maximus* despite his newfound religious views, saw the episcopate as a college of priests in the traditional Roman sense. As such, Constantine saw the bishops as conduits to the divine, especially after his providential victory in 312 and his subsequent sole rule of the empire. Thus, Constantine felt his role as emperor obligated him to oversee the bishops to maintain his divine favor and the safety of the empire.

The purpose of this paper is to examine contemporary views on imperial and religious authority to elucidate further Constantine's claim to be the "bishop of those outside," viewing this enigmatic title explaining Constantine's imperial authority over the bishops as cultural continuity rather than an innovation. After Constantine's actions at the Council of Nicaea in 325, where he proposed a solution to theological controversy through imperial decree, understanding exactly how the emperor viewed his role in the church is paramount.

Glorification of the Cross Iconography as a Signifier of Artistic Exchange Between Georgia and Cappadocia

A.L. McMichael (Michigan State University)

The Glorification of the Cross is a Georgian iconographic theme that artists began to depict in vaults and domes around the tenth century. For example, in a small church in Bertubani Monastery (1212–1213), the vaulted ceiling of the nave is decorated with two angels painted on either side of an encircled cross. The cross is embellished with pearls and gemstones lining the arms and is framed by concentric blue circles with stars that suggest the heavens. The chapel's decoration was commissioned by Queen Tamar (r. 1184 to 1213) who was also responsible for the Church of Saint Nicholas at Q'inc'visi, where the scene dominates the dome. Other examples are in the twelfth-century narthex of Gelati Monastery near Kuitasi and on the exterior façade of the sixth-century Jvari Monastery near Mtskheta.

The Glorification imagery points to a Georgian manifestation of the Cult of the Cross that highlights the role of several women: Saint Nino, a fourth-century Cappadocian who Christianized Georgia by aiding in the conversion of King Mirian during the reign of Constantine the Great; Constantine's mother Helena who discovered the True Cross in Jerusalem; and Queen Tamar who promoted imagery venerating the cross in order to channel the sanctity and authority of these previous figures. According to Nino's vita (which was codified around the tenth century), cross imagery had played a prominent role in the Christianization of Georgia and inspired a deeply embedded cult. For instance, Mirian commissioned one cross for the place of his conversion, and three more from a miracle- working tree growing in the place of his baptism, all acts of patronage in the tradition of Constantine's commission for a cross on Golgotha.

An under-examined context for Tamar's images is the relationship between Georgia and the neighboring region of Cappadocia during the development of the Middle Byzantine Cult of the Cross. Not only had the Georgian royal family adopted Byzantine imperial traditions in order to channel the empire's political legitimacy into its own household, the region looked specifically to Cappadocian sources during its conversion to Christianity and development of Christian art forms. Meanwhile in Cappadocia, encircled crosses (such as the one painted in the apse of St. Stephen Chapel in Archangel Monastery near Cemil), and gemmed crosses (such as the one painted on the ceiling of St. Basil Church in Sinasos) offer visual and historical comparanda. These indicate that Glorification of the Cross imagery and the dynamic viewing experiences brought about by monumental crosses in Cappadocia are indicators of patronage and visuality that contributed to localizations of the widespread cult.

In this paper I argue that artistic patronage celebrating the Cult of the Cross was an avenue for constructing both regional and personal identities. Using an iconographic theme to examine literary and material links between monumental examples of the Glorification of the Cross in Georgian churches and monumental crosses in Cappadocian monuments, I address Constantinian threads in the Cult of the Cross during the medieval period in two regions of the Byzantine oecumene.

Taxes and Civic Religion in Tenth-Century Byzantium

Leonora Neville (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

The vocabulary used by tenth-century tax assessors in the Byzantine Empire had a remarkable overlap with the vocabulary priests used to talk about divine salvation. That a *sympatheia* could be a form of tax relief for the indigent, or divine compassion for the sinner, has been treated so far as a simple matter of a word with two meanings. Yet medieval people were different from us, and we ought to let them surprise us. If taxation was assessed and collected on religious terms, we should spend some time trying to figure out how and why taxes and religion were connected, instead of ignoring it because we 'know' that taxation was not religious. Other religious aspects of imperial administration, such as the prayers for commissioning new officials, have been ascribed simplistically to 'ideology,' and also not taken seriously as expressions of Byzantine religion.

This paper examines religious aspects of the tenth-century taxation system and attempts to show how taxation was part of a meaningful Orthodox civic religion. It is part of a larger project that uses scholarship on ancient civic religion to understand the governmental religion visible in ninth and tenth centuries and the disappearance of that civic religion by the twelfth century. Research so far indicates that—even though no one was converting to or away from Christianity—the eleventh century was an era of key religious change.

Judging from the surviving records of the imperial administration, the tenth-century taxation system was part of a symbolic and ritual system that placed nearly every citizen in the empire in a relationship with the emperor and with God. Geographically organized registers of all the taxpayers contributed to a sense of imperial omniscience and set the citizens and emperor in a mimetic relationship with Augustus and the Holy Family, whose registration for taxation is recorded in the Gospel of Mark. Policies of forgiving taxes for those who were unable to pay and later either restoring those taxes or repurposing the lands were conducting using the standard theological vocabulary for falling into sin, redemption, and divine compassion. The theological meanings of the fiscal vocabulary equated the emperor with God who has compassion for his people and redeems them after they have fallen. The imperial mercy that declared land temporarily tax-free was a form of grace that materially mimicked the grace of God.

Those facing chaos can find comfort in religions that emphasize order, stability, and placement within a cosmic hierarchy—what Jonathan Z. Smith calls the 'locative' religious mode and what Constantine VII called divine *taxis*. Given that taxes were forgiven when the citizens had suffered from plagues, famine, or barbarian raids, calling the re-imposition of taxation 'redemption' was not cynical, but part of an existentially pacifying religious system that rejoiced in how the maintenance of a polity with an orderly taxation system reflects peacefulness, sufficiency, and divine *taxis*. Citizens able to make an offering for the benefit of their polity had a role in the cosmic ordering of divine Creation.

Assessing the Significance of Diplomatic Exchange Between Byzantium and Al-Andalus during the Ninth and Tenth Centuries

Harper Norris (University of Central Florida)

Diplomacy continues to play a pivotal way in shaping the way that scholars view the polities and developments of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries. This paper aims to study the Diplomatic Relations maintained between two of the most administratively advanced states during this time, the Byzantine Empire and the Government of Cordoba. The time frame it examines begins with the accession of Emperor Theophilos in 813 and ends with the death of Emperor John I Tzimiskes in 976. It uses the lens of diplomacy to assess cultural, political, and ideological exchange between these two major Mediterranean powers, and the impact of these exchanges on developments in the administrations of both governments.

This paper categorizes diplomatic exchange between the Umayyad Dynasty and Byzantium in two main phases; the first from 839 to 847, and the second from 945 to 956. By using these phases agents to examine diplomatic relations, this paper can assess the products and environment of diplomatic relations, yielding a more precise analysis of diplomacy.

This paper articulates the political attitude and reform mindset of the Umayyads between these two phases to conclude that the Byzantine court was relatively successful in exporting imperial ideology to Cordoba. It also articulates on the factional break that occurred in both courts regarding acceptance of diplomacy, and how impactful this was on the continuation of diplomatic exchange.

This paper argues that those involved in diplomatic relations realized that a strong military or political alliance was not plausible, and therefore had ulterior motives for diplomacy. An analysis of both powers' ceremonial protocol, commissioned literature, and diplomatic relations supports this argument.

For the Umayyad court, particularly under Caliph And al-Rahman III, diplomatic relations with Byzantium was a tool to project the budding dynasty's power and legitimacy. While the Umayyad's use of jihad and military expeditions as a way to project power is well documented, this paper argues that diplomacy increasingly played a significant role in legitimacy for the Dynasty. This paper also examines to what extent this increase is related to Byzantine diplomatic exchange, as well as the tangible benefits that Cordoba received from the government of Constantinople.

For the Byzantines, this paper looks to source material, such as Emperor Constantine VII's *De Ceremoniis*, to examine the attitudes exhibited by the Byzantine court toward the Umayyads. It cross- references Constantine's categorical approach to diplomatic protocol with the actual ceremony executed for Umayyad ambassadors to analyze the attitude of the court toward a new and powerful potential ally. This paper also utilizes an analysis of the Byzantine political situation to examine non-military motives of establishing diplomatic relations with Cordoba. It also assesses the tangible benefits of diplomacy, the most prominent of which was the cessation of raids on Byzantine frontier towns.

The Conditions and Perception of the Byzantine Peasantry in Narrative Accounts from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Cahit Mete Oguz (Bogazici University)

Just as the moon has a dark side which we cannot see directly, Byzantine literary sources also have a 'dark side', the peasant voice, which cannot be seen directly as it is completely absent, but must be deduced indirectly. The written word belonged to the Byzantine high/elite culture, which itself was centred on Constantinople. Through analysing in-between the lines of writings by eleventh- and twelfth-century authors such as Michael Attaleiates, Anna Komnene, Niketas Choniates, John Skylitzes, John Kinnamos and Michael Psellos we can construct a picture of the cultural and social interactions that bound these two polar opposites of the social fabric together. This paper is focused on deconstructing the perception and representation of the peasantry within such narratives by categorically analyzing specific channels of interactions such as countryside taxation issues, the military role of the peasantry and associated consequences, settlement policies, transportation and mobility related contacts, and the cultural/social perception of the peasantry. These narrative sources show that according to the elite Byzantine discourse the Byzantine peasant had no identity as an individual but instead existed as part of a larger segment, and was portrayed as such in social, economic and administrative matters. The peasantry is represented as the outsider in all of these narratives, being pushed out onto the margins of civilized society, yet ironically also recognized as vital in the maintenance of that society. This dichotomy of necessity yet contempt resonates in the veiled remarks of these authors/historians and when analyzed in detail reveals an attitude towards the countryside folk that still appears to exist within modern historiography. Amongst such different world-views and backgrounds the fact that the comments and opinions that these authors have on the peasantry are so similar is worthy of note. It is clear that the attitudes towards the peasantry underlined in this study are the result of a general cultural separation, rather than individual views. These notions are visibly enhanced by the military doctrines of the time and other official documentation which confirms that the dichotomy separating the urban-elite from the rural-commoner existed as part of a long established imperial trend. Byzantine village life has often been studied by modern scholarship from an official viewpoint, through utilization of administrative and documentary source material. While this material allows for the construction of much statistical data on the peasantry and the broader countryside, what it lacks is the crucially personal and 'informal' details which are necessary in understanding the socio-cultural world of this segment of the population and its relationship with others, which this study somewhat remedies.

The Byzantine Peasant-Soldier Utopia: Locating the Impossible in Georgios Pachymeres and in Historiography

Wiktor Ostasz (University of Oxford)

The historical work of Georgios Pachymeres bears witness to the Turkish conquest of western Asia Minor. It opens with the image of a once-flourishing frontier society ruined by the fiscal and military measures of Michael VIII. Despite the efforts of many scholars, it remains unclear what the reforms consisted in, who was subjected to them, or why their impact should have been so shattering. The mysterious highlanders lost their tax exemptions and their commanders their *pronoia* grants – but fiscal reviews and confiscations were standard Byzantine practice, also in the preceding period of Nikaian prosperity. Anatolians had already served as mercenaries during campaigns in Europe and complaints about poor pay or misappropriated booty were hardly endemic to the early Palaiologan rule. They fit instead into a long tradition of perceiving the neglect of the army in Byzantium.

No less doomed is the task of determining the social status of Pachymeres' frontiersmen. Their extensive flocks and the level of rewards received would situate them firmly among the aristocracy – yet they remain nameless. Mark Bartusis, who stops just short of declaring smallholding soldiers non-existent, concludes that the *akritai* were not professional troops but irregular militia defending their lands. Angeliki Laiou proposes to see them as rebellious peasants. Ultimately, however, the Nikaian highlanders belong to no class at all – they represent an ideal type. It is equally impossible to decide whether it was the emperor who oppressed the soldiers, or the soldiers who threatened the dynasty in the scenario described. We have arrived at the fundamental contradiction of Byzantine society.

It used to be believed the *stratiotai* hailed from communities of free peasants protected by the government. But when later historians stripped off what they saw as a romantic layer of ideology to uncover the reality beneath it, this too entailed idealisation of what actually existed. Rather than expurgating the myth, we must take it seriously in order to perceive the deadlock it concealed. Andronikos II set out to recover Asia Minor by turning elite *pronoiai* into little *stratiotika ktemata*, 'so that thereby the people would stay and fight the enemy on behalf of their own property'. The plan was never carried out, for the citizen-soldiers it purported to revive would first need to be created.

This paper uses the contradictory evidence of Pachymeres to deny that it had *ever* been possible for anybody to be simultaneously a peasant and a soldier in Byzantium. While the unstable character of army service favoured ethnically organised mercenary recruitment, the legal fiction of small military holdings proved necessary to manage the power struggle between the emperor and the army, and to maintain the promise of upward mobility. If the stratiotic utopia were to be acted upon, it would take a revolutionary upheaval to follow through. Instead, since social frustrations could not be addressed within the Byzantine polity when a general crisis struck Europe in the late thirteenth century, they found an alternative outlet in the Turkish expansion and led to the overthrow of Byzantium by the Ottomans.

Reading Aesop in Cappadocia

Robert Ousterhout (University of Pennsylvania)

The rock-carved complex known as Eski Gümüş, located near Niğde in Byzantine Cappadocia, was first studied by Michael Gough in the early 1960s, although his results were never fully published (*AnatSt* 14 [1964]: 147-61; 15 [1965]: 157-64). Two decades later, Lyn Rodley included the complex in her compendium of the rock-cut monasteries of Cappadocia, based on Gough's preliminary reports (*Cave monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 103-18). Both scholars identified the enclosed courtyard complex as monastic, although in light of more recent studies, I shall argue that the complex was intended to be a secular residence. Uniquely, the complex preserves the only non-ecclesiastical, secularly-themed monumental wall painting to survive from Byzantium. Anecdotes from Aesop's *Fables* decorate one wall of an isolated room on the upper level of the complex, each accompanied by an inscription, derived from the ninth- century metrical paraphrase of Babrios attributed to Ignatios Diakonos.

Although the presence of the painting has been noted, it has never been examined in detail, nor have its epigrams been fully published. Nevertheless, the painting may provide a crucial piece of evidence for establishing the identity of the complex. I argue that Eski Gümüş was a secular residence, and that the decorated room was the private salon or reception room of a provincial magistrate.

An examination of the complex and its painting also encourages a re-examination of the position of Aesop's *Fables* in Byzantine literature. Marc Lauxtermann and others have encouraged a monastic reading for Aesop (*Byzantine Poetry from from Pisides to Geometres*, I: 177, 258-59). Part of the reasoning for this conclusion was the representation of Aesop's Fables at the 'monastery' of Eski Gümüş. This may now be called into question. Indeed, the subject matter is often at odds with monastic ideals: the morals (*epimythia*) spelled out in the painting, such as "Do the wicked no good," or "Beware of an unequal partnership," sound more Machiavellian than monastic.

In fact, texts of Aesop are often found in compilations of secular advice literature of the eleventh century concerned with issues of governance. Charlotte Roueché has recently placed the text of Kekaumenos in a similar context, noting that it provides advice for a provincial governor (*toparches*): "it is precisely this type of minor noble who requires guidance in gentlemanly conduct – a moral code which will in fact reinforce his status." ("The Place of Kekaumenos in the Admonitory Tradition," in *L'Éducation au gouvernement et à la vie: La tradition des "règles de vie" de l'antiquité au moyen-âge* [Paris, 2005], 129-44). Indeed, the only surviving copy of Kekaumenos was bound together with Aesopic literature. In short, while many may have read Aesop in Byzantium, his primary reader at Eski Gümüş was more likely to have been a local magistrate than a solitary monk.

The Transformation of the Greek Paideia in the 15th Century.
The Changes in the Byzantine Curriculum and the New Students

Elias Petrou (TLG-University of California Irvine)

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 signifies the end of the Byzantine Empire and its presence in the Easter Mediterranean world. However, Byzantine culture and scholarship not only managed to survive this catastrophic event but also to spread all over the known world through the various Byzantine teachers and the multitudinous Greek manuscripts that fled to the West. Especially in Italy, it reached its peak with the Academy of Plato in Florence, the editions of the Greek classical texts by Aldus Manutius in Venice and in a more general form through the Italian *Rinascimento*. Nothing of that would have happened if a flourish and a preparation of Greek Education did not take place in the Byzantine capital during the first half of the 15th c.

The ascension to the throne of Constantinople of the scholar Emperor Manuel II Palaeologos in 1391 along with the defeat of the Ottoman Turks by the Mongols at the battle of Ankara in 1402, gave a 50-year extension of life to the Byzantine state. During this period of ephemeral peace, the byzantine scholars are revisiting the Greek classical authors by copying and writing commentaries on a great variety of classical texts. At the same time the western approach of the Empire through various embassies in order to acquire help against the Ottoman thread, introduced the Greek literature to the wealthy Italian scholars and many of them travelled to the Byzantine capital in order to study next to famous byzantine teachers. The two above mentioned factors played a significant role to the transformation of the Byzantine educational *curriculum*, which changed in order to be more understandable and approachable by the new foreign students, who carried all their new knowledge back to the Italian cities. Among others, new grammar textbooks are being prepared with significant differences than the previous ones while various classical authors such as the Greek tragic poets are being taught in a different way than they used to. In addition, new manuscripts are being copied in order to satisfy the high standards of the wealthy Italians and prepare new luxurious private collections.

The paper examines the changes which occurred in the various courses of *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* of the Byzantine educational system in the early 15th c., especially after the arrival of the first foreign students. What was the significance of this new high-intellectual market in the collapsing Byzantine capital, which was full of well-trained scholars but with no financial sources to sustain them? How these transformations managed to save Greek *Paideia* by making it accessible to a broader audience outside the borders of the so called Greek world?

Byzantium in the Flemish Imagination: The View from the Twelfth Century

Bradley Phillis (University of Tennessee-Knoxville)

Before the eleventh century, there is little evidence of contact between the Byzantine Empire and the county of Flanders. From the mid-eleventh century on, however, a steady stream of noteworthy Flemings journeyed east to Jerusalem, and when they returned they brought their impressions of Byzantium with them. The best-known of these pilgrims, Count Robert I, surnamed "the Frisian," is well-known among Byzantinists and crusades historians as the recipient of an infamous letter, purportedly sent by Alexios Komnenos, imploring the count to come to the emperor's aid against the Turks and promising the relics and treasures of Constantinople in exchange.

A great deal of ink has been spilled over the question of the authenticity of this letter. Relatively little has been written, however, about either the effect that Robert's pilgrimage and acquaintance with Alexios had on Flemish conduct during and after the First Crusade or its impact on Flemish perception of Byzantium later in the twelfth century. This paper takes up these topics. It considers Count Robert II's interactions with Alexios and his imperial agents before and during the First Crusade. It then analyzes the treatment of the Byzantine emperor and his subjects in Flemish commemoration of the First Crusade, focusing on the transmission of crusade-related texts in the first half of the twelfth century. I argue, on the basis of both textual and manuscript evidence, that attitudes toward Byzantium were far more favorable in Flanders during this period than they were among the Franks elsewhere. This suggests that the relationship that Alexios had cultivated with Robert the Frisian in the late 1080s continued to bear fruit throughout the reign of Robert's son and well into the twelfth century.

A Transitional Period Settlement? The date and function of the rock-cut complex Kırk İn (İscehisar, Afyonkarahisar, Turkey)

Jordan Pickett (University of Georgia)

While the evolution of juridical vocabulary for categories of settlement in the Early Byzantine and Transitional Period is well understood – viz. the transition from *polis* to *kastron* or *kome* – archaeology offers any number of settlements whose function and place in juridical hierarchies remains difficult to decipher. In this paper we offer a case in point for closer examination : the site called Kırk İn is a strikingly well-preserved multi-level rock-cut complex located in the foothills of the Emir Dağları in Phrygia near the ancient and medieval city of Akroinos / modern Afyonkarahisar. The Byzantine name for the site is not known; however, it may easily be located within a network of identified Byzantine settlements including the late antique and medieval fortress of Kedrea on Asar Tepesi, and the ancient and medieval city of Dokimion / mod. İscehisar, then as now a major site of marble quarrying. Kırk İn was visited by William Hamilton in 1837 (who interpreted its remains as "the habitations of some troglodytic race in the first ages of the occupation of Asia Minor"); by Erich Brandenburg in 1907 who postulated a pre-Christian cult at the site that was unwittingly supplanted by Byzantine Greek monks in a later phase; and by Klaus Belke with Norbert Mersich in 1985, who drew attention to the decoration of the ecclesiastical space with Maltese crosses in relief and advanced an *ikonoklastisch* date without argument or speculation as to the site's function. Most recently, B. Yelda Olcay Uçkan produced excellent plans of Kırk İn and argued that the presence of "Celtic" or "Norman" crosses in the decoration of the chapels may be viewed as "a reflection of the Norman soldiers' cultures" referring to the soldiers of Roussel de Bailleul who were present in the area during the later 11th century, though Uçkan hesitated to extend the role of Norman influence to the spatial arrangement of the complex, or to describe Kırk İn as a monastery. Thus despite the relatively little attention that has been paid to the site of Kırk İn there is no consensus as to its date or to its function. To the first question there have been (unsupported) proposals of an "iconoclastic" date, and of a late eleventh century date for aspects of the decoration (based on the typology of the crosses). Thus both the question of the date of the initial complex and of the execution of the decoration must be addressed. We argue that a seventh – eighth century date for both is most likely. To the question of the function, there have been proposals of monastic and more vaguely "religious" functions. We cautiously argue that the site cannot represent a permanent settlement, but rather must have been intended for short-term use, and that aspects of its siting and execution are more suggestive of a military than a religious or monastic function.

New Haven Beinecke Marston MS 286:
A New Witness to Bessarion's Latin Learning and Mediterranean Intellectual Network

Christopher Platts (Yale University)

Basilios Bessarion (1403-72), the Greek scholar and Metropolitan of Nicaea, was instrumental in uniting the Latin and Greek Orthodox Churches during the Council of Ferrara- Florence in 1438-39. One of his accomplishments was helping to convince the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos and his delegation to accept the union. When Bessarion converted to Catholicism in 1439 and was subsequently named cardinal, he returned to Italy and began studying Latin intensely and collecting humanist texts. Several scholars have reconstructed Bessarion's Latin library, but they have neglected New Haven Beinecke Marston MS 286, a mid-fifteenth-century Latin grammar incorporating texts by the Italian humanist and professor of Greek Guarino da Verona.

Briefly catalogued in 1992 but otherwise unpublished, this manuscript contains visual and textual evidence that point to its provenance, patronage, and early circulation. The coat of arms in the *bas-de-page* on f. 1r indicates that the book originally belonged to a member of the Venetian Valaresso family, but more exciting is the manuscript's subsequent ownership by Bessarion, whose own coat of arms is painted in the right margin. The title page of Marston MS 286 raises two questions: what was the relationship between Bessarion and the Valaresso family, and in what context would Bessarion have used this Latin grammar?

When the newly minted cardinal moved to Italy and began his Latin studies, he would have had an urgent need for the most current grammar available, which was Guarino's. Was Marston MS 286 Bessarion's textbook? Similarly suggestive are Bessarion's ties to the Valaresso family, specifically to Fantino Valaresso (ca. 1392-1443), a Venetian-born, Greek-speaking humanist who served as archbishop of Crete from 1426 to 1443. Like Bessarion, Fantino was an avid supporter of the Unionist cause and played a key role in uniting the Latin and Greek Orthodox Churches at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. In fact, Pope Eugene IV chose Fantino to deliver the Latin Church's final proposal to the Byzantine emperor and his entourage, which included Bessarion.

Fantino and Bessarion doubtless knew each other, and it is my hypothesis that Marston MS 286 was originally commissioned and used by Fantino before he gave it to Bessarion at the Council or shortly thereafter when the cardinal was immersing himself in Latin humanist scholarship and forming his famous library. This supposition draws support from several sources: first, the book's script has been convincingly dated to the 1430s; second, the style of illumination fits well in Venice in the second quarter of the fifteenth century; and third, Fantino studied directly with Guarino in Venice and therefore would likely have owned a book of his teacher's writings. In other words, I believe that Marston MS 286 is witness not only to Bessarion's documented Latin studies and humanist book-collecting in the early 1440s, but also to his relationship with Fantino Valaresso, a likeminded Unionist and fellow prelate in the eastern Mediterranean who worked toward the same ecclesiastical goals as Bessarion.

Women in *The Spiritual Meadow*: Furthering the "Spiritually Beneficial Deeds of the Fathers"

Ashley Purpura (Purdue University)

Several of the stories attributed to John Moschos's early seventh-century *The Spiritual Meadow*, contain (amidst didactic and entertaining stories) significantly varied depictions of female figures. Despite the variations and complexities in its manuscript tradition, this collection of brief scenes and stories presented early Byzantine holiness to later audiences in a popularized yet still spiritually edifying form. Carried within these sayings and narratives, are religious beliefs and seemingly unquestioned cultural constructs about gender. By vacillating between gendered hagiographical tropes and the theologically idealized insignificance of one's particular sex in relation to holiness, *The Spiritual Meadow* provides insight into how Byzantine Christians patriarchally constructed and textually used "women" as a category of religious identity.

Although gender has been a topic of scholarly interest for Byzantinists for some time, the way particular categories of gender are constructed as religious ideals and reflect points of tension between social and religious realities remains far from conclusive. Consequently, by offering a rereading *The Spiritual Meadow*'s female characters—ranging from a child-murdering widow, to the imperially vested Mother of God—I posit that women within and beyond the narratives primarily function to edify male textual counterparts and corresponding male audiences. Predominating is the depiction of the *Theotokos* as an instructive defender of the orthodox faith, of righteousness, and of chastity. Additional lay and religious women despite their diversity, function similarly in the text by bringing about the instruction and defense of male spiritual goals (albeit many times indirectly). This continuity, underpinning the many varied ways gender appears negotiated in *The Spiritual Meadow*, provides insight into how gender functions and is conceived of in religious terms within and beyond Byzantine texts.

By drawing on critical theory and Moschos's historical context, I conclude that *The Spiritual Meadow*'s portrayal of women in authoritative roles (i.e., directly or indirectly instructing men) and their use in furthering narrative spiritual pedagogy, is predicated on the seemingly sanctified use and determination of women as "other". Obviously, this patriarchal construction and textual use of women is not surprising given the cultural milieu, but it does inform understandings of how Byzantine Christians negotiated religious ideals amidst complex gendered realities. The tension and ambiguity surrounding women, authority, and holiness yoked with the narrative motif of women as significantly informing male spiritual progress, as evidenced in the *The Spiritual Meadow*, prompts a reconsideration of the way gender may be constructed, negotiated, and idealized in other Byzantine religious sources.

Is White Divine? A Reevaluation of the Armeno-Crimean *Lives of the Desert Fathers* (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 285)

Earnestine Qiu (Tufts University)

The illustrated fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Lives of the Desert Fathers* (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 285) produced in Crimea belongs to a long textual tradition of copies of the *Lives*, but is nevertheless a rare and early example of an illustrated version, and copiously so, with sixty quarter- to full-page illustrations, 500 smaller illuminations, and a number of large headpieces. Nonetheless, Jerusalem 285 has received very little art historical attention since its initial publication by Nira Stone. Stone focused on the rise of hesychasm on Mount Athos in the early 14th century and concluded that this rise slowly spread eastwards throughout the next century and set off new developments of monasticism and the emergence of a corresponding Armeno-Crimean style amongst the Armenian Christians in Crimea.

This paper explores the political and theological context of the manuscript, with particular focus on the revival of interest in asceticism in the 15th century Armenian community of Crimea. Stone's now over 20-year-old study argued that the Armeno-Crimean style seen in MS 285 developed as a result of religious and artistic influence from the Byzantine centers such as Constantinople and Mount Athos. She focuses on the use of the color white, linking it to the expression of the "divine light" emphasized in hesychastic practices. The comparative images which Stone selects come primarily from earlier Greek and Coptic manuscripts and frescoes at Mount Athos, ranging from the 9th century to the 14th century. While MS 285 bears stylistic and thematic resemblances to Byzantine and Coptic manuscripts and wall paintings, Stone's explanation for the increased use of the color white leaves room for questioning. My work places MS 285 in conversation with geographically and temporally closer examples to examine stylistic conventions of the period in the Balkan region.

Additionally, the position of Armenians in Crimea—away from their homeland and ethnically and religiously distinct from the Genoese Catholics and Byzantine Christians—contributed to tensions and a sense of exclusion. I suggest that members of this Armenian community recognized in the desert fathers a way of seeking salvation outside of the state and surrounding religious ideologies. Rather than assuming a delayed reception of hesychasm and without disregarding monastic exchanges and relations with Byzantium, my study adds to the previous work in examining the social and political conditions of 15th century Crimea that gave rise to a work such as MS 285.

The Kingdom of Rus': A Weak Power State

Christian Raffensperger (Wittenberg University)

Clifford Ando and Seth Richardson's edited volume, *Ancient States and Infrastructural Power* (2017) reinvigorated the study of political history with cutting edge theories about negotiated governance and empire. One of the main contributions in the volume comes from Seth Richardson's question - what does 'weak power' look like in action? Richardson's Babylon is not all powerful, instead the ruler engages in a series of negotiations with various constituencies who have power to help mold the larger state.

This paper takes the ideas developed by Richardson for ancient states and sees how they apply to a medieval polity, in this case the Kingdom of Rus'. The picture of Rus' that has persisted for decades is one in which there are multiple principalities and that they are ruled, tentatively, by a "grand prince" of Kiev, at least until the middle of twelfth century when everything falls apart. This view has shifted in recent years with new entrants into the discussion. Donald Ostrowski has suggested utilizing the headless state model to best characterize Rus'. Valerie Kivelson and Ronald Suny have suggested a more complicated model of a "galactic polity." And Christian Raffensperger has suggested a more hierarchical Rus', in which the ruler of Kiev is a "king."

Utilizing the model suggested by Richardson, we can attempt to get away from some of the more traditional questions which have defined the ideas of medieval states and governance, such as was there a bureaucracy and/or a monopoly on violence. Instead, we can examine the various 'social actors' in Rus' and how the ruler(s) negotiated with them to construct a polity in which these 'social actors' accepted the the actions of the ruler as normative practice for the realm - creating a weak power state. Though assuredly not the final word, utilizing these ideas and applying them to Rus' will allow for us to not only see Rus' in a different light, but by examining Rus' with the same theoretical models used for Babylon, Rome, and Byzantium, this will assist in the integration of Rus' into the wider medieval scholarly world.

The Persianate Bedrock of the Georgian Nino Cycle

Stephen Rapp (Sam Houston State University)

When King Mirian converted to Christianity around the year 326, eastern Georgia's place in the Romano-Byzantine world was cemented. Thenceforth, the realm existed a remote Christian outpost on the edge of the menacing Iranian and then Islamic worlds. This is the typical image repeated incessantly in scholarship, including that produced in Georgia itself. The underlying assumption that Christian affiliation equals—or at least must be intimately associated with the Christian Roman Empire—has rarely been subjected to serious critique. To be sure, this supposition simplifies a complex socio-political situation requiring unusual linguistic training and access to rare materials. At the same time, it has heightened the gaze of Euro-American scholars upon Georgia. Yet this convenient vision is fundamentally flawed, for it downplays and even disregards the longstanding socio-cultural nexus of Iran and Caucasia. Indeed, this nexus was so profound that it undergirds literary and material monuments long identified as quintessentially Christian, and hence, to some degree, as Romano- Byzantine. Among these monuments is the late antique and medieval cycle of texts devoted to Mirian's Christianization which transpired through the intercessions of the holy woman Nino. Chief among its texts are *The Conversion of Kartli* (seventh century) and *The Life of Nino* (ninth or tenth century). A careful investigation and contextualization of these sources reveals that the structure, content, and vocabulary of the Georgian Nino Cycle was constructed upon a firm Persianate foundation, one that often had more in common with the expansive world of Iran than Rome-Byzantium.

The Champlevé Reliefs of the Synagogue at Sardis

Marcus Rautman (University of Missouri)

The large Synagogue that once stood in western Sardis was a prominent feature of the late Roman city, and since the time of its discovery has played a key role in the site's public presentation. Excavation of the building in the 1960s recovered hundreds of fragments of marble revetment and architectural ornament, including many that were carved in the distinctive technique known as champlevé relief. Most of these pieces belonged to a flat arcade whose spandrels were filled by a series of kraters with flanking birds and scrolling vines. The smooth surface of the images contrasts with the unevenly finished, recessed ground, which originally was covered by red-tinted plaster. The design and presentation extended a larger decorative program that included opus sectile and revetment on the walls and mosaic floors. The arcade seems to have been created for the forecourt of the Synagogue as part of its renovation in the early or mid-sixth century.

The Sardis reliefs belong to a short-lived sculptural tradition that has been widely if unevenly reported across the east Mediterranean in contexts dating mainly to the fifth and sixth centuries. The champlevé technique is best known from three other archaeological projects carried out in the mid-20th century: the tetraconch church at Seleucia-Pieria near Antioch in north Syria, the episcopal basilica at Kourion in Cyprus, and the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi in western Phrygia. At each site the reliefs come primarily from a single building and present a narrow range of figural or architectural ornament. Many of the Antioch reliefs feature biblical subjects, for example, while classical figures appear at Aizanoi. The extensive sculpture from Kourion includes lozenges, vines, birds, and animals, but no figures at all. The Sardis Synagogue makes a significant addition to this group by establishing the presence of the technique in a Jewish setting as well as a major city of western Asia around the same time. The reliefs were carved by sculptors who clearly were familiar with the site, but also with current work in other metropolitan centers and especially the imperial capital. As an integral part of a conspicuous public space, the inlaid champlevé arcade preserves the interwoven threads of artistic patronage, tradition, and innovation in a provincial city of the late empire.

Michael Psellos' Poem 1 *On the Inscriptions of the Psalms*: Between Exegesis and Poetry

Rachele Ricceri (Ghent University)

This paper provides an insight into the reception of the Psalms in Byzantine poetry by analyzing Michael Psellos' Poem 1 Westerink, *De inscriptionibus Psalmorum*. This poem is composed of 302 decapentasyllables and its prompt diffusion is testified by its presence in the earliest dated manuscript of Psellian works, the Cambridge (MA) ms. gr. 3, a. 1105, as well as in the Bodl. Clarke 15, a. 1078 (though in a fragmentary form). The fortune of the poem is also witnessed by its insertion as a metrical paratext in some Psalter books, in which it precedes the biblical text.

The paper proposes a literary analysis of the poem and includes a detailed examination of its structure. Firstly, Psellos addresses an emperor (either Constantine Monomachos or Michael Doukas, according to the titles preserved in different manuscript branches), to which the poem is dedicated. Then the poet explains what the Psalms are, i.e. poems (v. 7: ἐμμέτρως γεγραμμένοι). The core of the composition (vv. 14–291) is devoted to a meticulous examination of the inscriptions preceding the Psalms in the Septuagint text. This conspicuous section of the poem has mainly a didactic character, as a short exegesis of the psalm text is offered to the readers. When talking about psalmody, the poet explicitly refers to Gregory of Nyssa's *In inscriptiones Psalmorum* (v. 279), which indeed constitutes a remarkable antecedent to our poem, but he underlines that his own interpretation of technical terms (v. 271: διάψαλμα) can be different. The final section of the poem (vv. 292–302) concerns an explanation of the choice of the style and of the topic of the poem.

Two more decapentasyllabic poems on a similar topic are a relevant parallel to Poem 1, namely the Pseudo-Psellos' Poem 53 Westerink, *Introductio in Psalmos*, written in 780 lines, and Poem 54 Westerink, *Commentarius in Psalmos*, a lengthy metrical comment on the Psalms written in 1323 verses. These poems, which are not considered as genuinely Psellian, present an analogous structure, both opening with a didactic prologue, which provides some general information on the Psalms, followed by a systematic interpretation of each Psalm.

The analytic reading of Psellos' Poem 1, also in the light of the two pseudo-Psellian Poem 53 and Poem 54 and of Gregory of Nyssa's *Treatise on the Inscriptions of the Psalms*, allows to draw some conclusions on the function of the didactic poems of one of the major eleventh-century intellectuals and poets. To modern eyes, it is interesting to note how Psellos wisely adapts both the psalm inscriptions, that he often quotes literally, and various exegetical remarks to the decapentasyllabic pattern. He creates a fascinating text that aptly mixes the long-standing tradition of the biblical metaphrasis with the features of the contemporary didactic poetry.

Kashrut in Byzantium

Meredith Riedel (Duke University)

Byzantium is often considered deeply anti-Semitic because of its longstanding practice of restricting the religious and economic freedom of Jews. Beginning with Justinian in the sixth century, Jews were forbidden to serve in public office – a stipulation which the empire never rescinded. In the late seventh century, canon law prohibited the observance of Jewish celebrations, notably Passover, but also made other such ritual practices subject to the death penalty if performed by non-Jews (Starr 1939). Throughout the history of Byzantium, however, some Christians did observe Jewish traditions, but these groups have not yet received much scholarly analysis (Gardette 2012). In at least one notable case, Jewish tradition was upheld by the highest authorities, which offers the opportunity to illuminate a more nuanced understanding of this characterization of the Byzantines.

Emperor Leo VI (r. 886-912) instituted a new law that forbade the consumption of blood, a distinctively Jewish prohibition (Lev. 7:25-26; 17:10-15). Could this be considered evidence of a softening of Byzantine attitudes toward Jews in the middle Byzantine era? If so, it would be highly surprising: Leo's father, Basil I, had famously decreed forced baptisms for Jews in the empire, and Justinianic legislation was still in effect when Leo wrote his new law. Although Judaizing practices were not new among eastern Christians, those who followed them were usually from Anatolia or further east (Gardette 2012). This novel thus appears to mark an unusual departure from imperial Christian practice in Constantinople, and thus deserves further investigation.

A closer look at Leo's novel reveals his rationale. He cites the Old Testament, the New Testament, and previous canon law. Citing the OT was common for Byzantine lawgivers, because "the Byzantine concept of law had its origin in the Old Testament *Nomos*" (Troianos 1992). Citing the NT was perhaps less common, but in this case, Leo references the council at Jerusalem that decided new Christians from non-Jewish backgrounds ought to obey certain Jewish laws, including the prohibition against eating blood (Acts 15:20). Leo expands the punishment in canon law for this offense, revealing the intensity of his reaction. His disgust with the practice is evident because he considers anyone who eats blood to be acting from either greed or gluttony (Noailles and Dain, 1943). The background of the canon law cites patristic authorities: Chrysostom, Origen, and Ephrem.

Leo finds the eating of blood so culpable that he increases the penalty far beyond the biblical one. He decrees that anyone who eats or indeed sells such food shall not only suffer exile for life, but even before this shall have his property confiscated, be severely beaten, and be shaved to the skin to indicate visibly his disgrace. This practice was so disgusting even to later Byzantines that they accused the Latins of it in 13th-century polemical literature (Kaldellis 2017). This paper proposes to analyze the biblical, theological and legal evidence cited by Leo VI and its contemporary and later interpretations, in order to nuance the Byzantine position on Jewish religious observance in Byzantium.

Liturgical Memory, Creativity, and a Bilateral Icon at the Monastery ton Blatadōn, Thessalonike

James Rodriguez (Yale University)

Individual, seminal publications by André Grabar, Demetrios Pallas, and Hans Belting have defined scholars' perceptions of and approaches toward Byzantine bilateral icons. According to these studies, texts read at monastic liturgical services (including homilies, kanons, and *stavrotheotokia*) account for the choice of images on a bilateral icon, as well as support its hypothetical insertion into services as a processional panel. Art historians have thus represented bilateral icons as objects processed over the course of the liturgy.

More recent investigations have questioned this predominant interpretive framework. Despite the assertion that bilateral icons were processed, there is little evidence to argue for this scenario. Written accounts indicate that, in the Palaiologan period, Constantinople's bilateral icon of the *Hodegetria* did not participate in the city-wide stational liturgy of an earlier period but was exhibited in a courtyard near its monastery. Moreover, one example's possible processional use does not indicate a function assigned to all bilateral icons. Recent scholarship demonstrates the ways delivery of liturgical readings shaped a Byzantine Christian's sense of self. This scholarship evokes intermediate factors between liturgical texts, their audiences, and artworks, and thus, it compels reassessment of the approach that represents bilateral icons in direct dialogue with texts.

Focusing on a fifteenth-century bilateral icon located at Thessalonike's Monastery *ton Blatadōn*, this paper proposes a different understanding of the relationship between bilateral icons and liturgical services. The bilateral icon pairs the Crucifixion with a three-tiered divine hierarchy that includes bust-length figures of Christ, archangels, apostles, and saints. At this hierarchy's center is a small, two-tiered icon with Christ, angels, the Mother of God, and John the Baptist. Written on the inset icon are abbreviated verses spoken at the Hours of regular services and certain Feast days. I argue that this bilateral icon's separate images and abbreviated inscriptions represent fragmented compositions that the donor, a monk represented by the Crucifixion, reassembled. This process of reassembling involved the recitation of verses impressed upon the monk's memory, as well as an ability to forge new compositions from images distributed among the panel's two prominent sides—an ability understood here as creativity. Although this process depended on familiarity with the liturgy and its concomitant lections, hymns, and prayers, it was the monk's acts of creativity and mnemonic recall that brought this bilateral icon's multiple images into meaningful dialogue. This bilateral icon's functions were determined neither by the liturgy, nor by any involvement in processions. Instead, the donor's cerebral and creative capabilities, shaped by attendance at liturgical services, assigned the bilateral icon its functions. The paper revises iconographic approaches established in earlier scholarship, demonstrating the need to engage with immaterial aspects a liturgically shaped Byzantine viewer brought to any bilateral icon.

Early Fourteenth-Century Serbian Monumental Painting: Continuation or Rupture with Byzantium?

Maria Alessia Rossi (Index of Medieval Art, Princeton University)

The fourteenth century was a turning point for the Serbian Kingdom. In particular, Milutin's reign (1282–1321) was a time of military expansion, of wealth and of religious fervor. During the first years of his rule he enlarged the frontiers of the Serbian Kingdom, especially to the south at the expense of the Byzantine Empire. However, in 1299 a peace treaty was signed between Milutin and the Byzantine Emperor, Andronikos II. The former was not to continue his military attacks and, in exchange, all the territories he had conquered up till then were officially to come under Serbian jurisdiction. To seal this treaty, Milutin married the daughter of Andronikos II, the five-year-old Simonis, thus becoming the son-in-law of the Byzantine Emperor.

This union sanctioned a change in Serbian policies and opened the door to the so-called 'cultural byzantinisation' of Serbia. The geographic proximity, the numerous diplomatic missions, and the newly developed family ties between the Byzantine Empire and the Serbian Kingdom, allowed for literary and artistic exchanges. But how strong was the Byzantine cultural influence on its neighbor? Was the Serbian artistic production overwhelmed by the former? Or is it possible to identify instances where the Byzantine heritage was appropriated and transformed to shape a new visual rhetoric?

In order to address and answer these questions, this paper focuses on Christ's miracle cycle in monumental decorations. The sudden proliferation of this iconography in both Byzantine and Serbian territories in the early Palaiologan period clearly suggests a link between these regions. Examples of Serbian churches housing this cycle, such as St George at Staro Nagoričino (1315–1317) and the katholikon of the monastery of Gračanica (1320– 1321), will be compared with Byzantine instances. This paper examines similarities and dissimilarities, showing how this iconography was transmitted, exchanged, and altered in order to convey different meanings in different contexts. More specifically, a twofold interpretation of the treatment of the miracle cycle in Serbian churches is suggested stemming from the desire to prove a shared Byzantine heritage and at the same time, a need for innovation as a means to express a newly developing identity.

Systems Intelligence (SI) and "Transaints":
Adapting and Probing the Explanatory Power of a Groundbreaking Method of Social Analysis

Luis Sales (Scripps College)

This presentation introduces for the first time the analytical methods of Systems Intelligence (SI) to the interdisciplinary conglomerate of Byzantine studies through three case studies of problematically-so- called "transvestite nuns," which I will deliberately call, embracing every possible ambiguity in doing so, "transaints." SI is a groundbreaking social studies method concerned with explaining interhuman dynamics in personal and organizational contexts; it was first articulated by the Finnish scholars Esa Saarinen and Raimo Hämäläinen in 2004 within the context of the Finnish education and social work systems. Saarinen and Hämäläinen argue that earlier systems of interhuman dynamics, such as "emotional intelligence" (Salovey and Mayer 1990), "multiple intelligences" (Gardner 1983), and "triartic intelligences" (Sternberg 1985) miss "a key form of human intelligence," which they call Systems Intelligence (Saarinen & Hämäläinen 2004). SI is concerned with feedback-intensive contexts, where systems are created by its individuals and the micro-level interactions between those individuals; it is particularly concerned with the micro-behavioral elements that determine incessantly fluid social relations that are both constituted by these micro-behavioral elements and constantly being changed by them. What is especially important for our purposes is the idea that humans are capable of intelligently navigating complex systems without resorting to discursive reasoning and that they in some qualified sense innately operate within these systems while creating them through their interrelationship with others through virtually imperceptible—but ostensibly intelligent—actions.

While this method is not necessarily a contender with current prevalent methods in the field (largely, the historical-critical and critical-theoretical methods, especially as informed by a strong poststructuralist sensitivity), it nevertheless offers a new, illuming, and untested resource for examining ancient social relations. If SI has merit, we can expect that social clues were embedded in every tier of cultural productions, such as the subgenre of hagiographies here in view. Doubtless, gender and sexuality studies in their current form, particularly as informed by great luminaries of the field like Rosario Castellanos, Judith Butler, and Luce Irigaray, can make much sense of these rather fascinating accounts through *deshistoria*, performativity theory, or phallogocentric critique, respectively. However, I contend in this presentation that an entire layer of social relations has remained beyond the reach of the poststructuralist-informed methods that have recently dominated Byzantine studies and that SI can expose this layer. Thus, I examine three of these lives, *Mary/Marinos*, *Matrona/Babylas of Perge*, and *Pelagia/Pelagios of Antioch* through the lens of SI. Specifically, I analyze the clues embedded in the texts that point to successes or failures of systems intelligence that resulted in the affirmation or negation by others in the same system of the (non-) femininity of our protagonists. I expect that the conclusions will demonstrate that greater fluidity than even the most progressive models of gender/sexuality imagined today existed in late antiquity, much as now, but have yet to be understood in fuller complexity.

Scholium 75a To Aristophanes' *Acharnians*: Byzantine Evidence Of Antique Interaction Between Exegeses Of Different Authors

Enrico Santachiara (University of Exeter)

It has long been noticed by modern scholars that using literary quotations to comment upon classical texts, or explain the meanings of obscure literary words, was widely common among Alexandrian philologists and their successors: this is evidenced by a plethora of glosses, papyri and parchment fragments of commentaries, and last but not least Byzantine *scholia*. Indeed, scholiastic *corpora* offer fundamental perspectives on earlier grammarians' works as they derive from the *hypomenmata* now lost, namely the antique commentaries to Ancient Greek texts, by means of a centuries-long selection process. However, while classical authors were employed as touchstones, or as examples of linguistic, historical and other matters concerning any text commented upon, there might have been even cases when explaining-modes coined for a particular author were used in a commentary upon another one. This fluidity and broad interdependence existing between exegetic traditions of different texts is the focus of my paper.

In *scholium* 75a to Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (edition of Wilson 1975), one the explanations advanced for Athens' epithet Κραναά/Κραναί refers to the τραχύτης, "roughness" (cf. LSJ⁹) of its land. Furthermore, from the *apparatus testimoniorum* to *Suda* κ 2320 Κραναῶν – Aristophanic gloss from *Aves* 123 – we observe that the synonymy between the two adjectives κραναή and τραχεῖα became a lexicographic pattern in a series of Homeric entries and *scholia* to Homeric lines, from the 1st century AD at least: Apollonius Sophist's gloss 103, 27 (1st AD); Hesychius κ 3946 (6th AD); *schol*. D *Il*. III 201; *schol*. V *Od*. I 247. The frequency of this equivalence τραχεῖα = κραναή in the Homeric scholarship should not go unnoticed, and a very significant point is that both terms occur in Homeric poems referring to Ithaca: κραναή in *Il*. III 201, *Od*. I 247, XV 510, XVI 124, XXI 346; τρηχεῖα, ionic form of τραχεῖα, in *Od*. IX 27. Thus, it would be not absurd at all to suppose that at some point the meaning of κραναῆς became obscure and commentators or readers, intending to clarify it, found in τρηχεῖα a plausible semantic parallel, maybe led also by the direct resemblance between the two passages *Il*. III 200s. and *Od*. IX 27 (both of which introduce the character Odysseus). As a result of this, the Homeric *glossierende Synonymie* κραναή = τραχεῖα was used in an ancient commentary upon Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and thereupon, at a later date, entered the Byzantine *scholia* to the Athenian dramatist.

My paper demonstrates how vital it is to review more deeply the relationship between *scholia* and lexicography – Antique and Byzantine as well, which have not been taken into account properly so far and are only outlined in specific *apparatus testimoniorum* in the current editions of *scholia* and other scholarly collections. Admittedly such work would require the aid of modern critical editions unfortunately not yet existing for every scholiastic *corpus* or lexicon (and when they exist, the completeness of the information provided should not be taken for granted), but this does not mean our commitment to carrying it out should be delayed.

The Literary Syncretism of Eustathius of Thessalonika

Nicolò Sassi (Indiana University)

There is something profoundly melancholic in Byzantine literature. The Byzantines believed that everything relevant had already been said, everything important and good had already been written. Written by the ancient poets, the ancient theologians, the ancient mystics, and the ancient tragedians. The only thing that we, the heirs of the classical worlds, can do is preserve and interpret those treasures of beauty and wisdom. For this reason, Byzantine literature is often a mosaic of citations: Eustathius of Thessalonika's *Exegesis in Canonem Iambicum Pentecostalem* is a perfect example of this antiquarian costume of Byzantine literature. The complex prose of Eustathius is characterized by a continuous flow of quotes from the Bible, from the ancient pagan authors, and from the fathers of the church.

In this paper, after briefly presenting Eustathius' work, I focus on a few passages of the proem of this obscure and fascinating text – recently edited by Italian scholars Silvia Ronchey and Paolo Cesaretti, yet still critically unexplored – while underscoring the rich *apparatus fontium* composed by the two editors. The aim of this exploration is to show how the antiquarian costume of Byzantine literature produces incredibly fascinating phenomena of syncretism and *métissage* between the sacred texts of the pagan past and the sacred text of the Christian bishop, between Homer and the Bible.

With this analysis I aim to contribute to the field of literary studies by displaying an example of the richness and potentialities of literary objects in the shaping of religious discourse, and to the field of Byzantine Studies by underscoring the limits of the narrative that sees the endless dialogue that Byzantium entertained with the past as the ultimate sign of its cultural decadence, thus bringing to light the sophisticated Byzantine understanding of creativity, the sumptuous and almost baroque sense of beauty of the eastern Romans, and their unexhausted capacity to re-read the past and to find always new wisdom in it.

Mutual Peripheries: Differentiating between the Expressions of Byzantine Tradition in Wallachian and Moldavian Embroideries

Henry Schilb (Index of Medieval Art, Princeton University)

Since Nicolae Iorga published his book *Byzance après Byzance* in 1935, the phrase "Byzantium after Byzantium" has come to be used interchangeably with the term "post-Byzantine." Iorga's project actually outlined a specifically Romanian history of Byzantium after Byzantium. Although somewhat misunderstood, Iorga's phrase, if not his whole theory, has resonated with historians and art historians. Typically, however, when historians of post-Byzantine art discuss Romanian art of the first century or two after the end of the Byzantine Empire, the traditions of Wallachia and Moldavia are presented as though they were all but indistinguishable. Specialists will sometimes cite greater originality in Moldavian church art compared to the art of Wallachia, but Wallachia had its own distinctive set of cultural circumstances driving the transmission and transformation of the Byzantine tradition, even in ecclesiastical embroidery.

While the corpus of Moldavian embroideries of the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries is famously large, thanks especially to the patronage of the Stephen III of Moldavia (Ştefan cel Mare, r. 1457–1504), Wallachia offers a rather small sample size. There are, nonetheless, a few details worth contemplating on the examples of Wallachian embroidery that we do have. Aspects of style and technique used in an embroidery given by Neagoe Basarab (r. 1512–21) to the Cathedral of Argeş recur in an epitaphios from the period of Vlad Vintilă (r. 1532–35). Compositional features of the same tradition appear later still in an epitaphios associated with Şerban Cantacuzino (1678–88). While the tradition of Moldavian embroidery owed a particular debt to the Serbian nun Jefimija, Wallachian embroidery looked toward Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and even Crete. The image on the epitaphios dated to the period of Vlad Vintilă is similar in style and composition to one of the fourteenth-century wall paintings at the Church of Saint Nicholas at Curtea de Argeş, a cycle clearly influenced by the mosaics and paintings at the Kariye Camii in Constantinople. The unusually extensive use of gold thread in some of this textile suggests a connection to the tradition of the well-known Thessaloniki epitaphios. The composition is closer still to a sixteenth-century icon formerly at Curtea de Argeş. Possibly from Crete, the icon in question is at least in the Cretan tradition, a tradition that the Wallachian epitaphios therefore emulates.

Whether differences in the embroideries of Moldavia and Wallachia parallel or illuminate differences in the political circumstances of the two principalities may be an impossible question to answer. Even if the answer to that question is "not really," the respective embroidery traditions of these principalities were distinctive nonetheless. This is not to suggest that Wallachian donors and embroiderers were self-consciously differentiating themselves from their Moldavian counterparts, only that there are some differences to consider. By recognizing the distinctive characteristics of Wallachian transformations of the Byzantine tradition in embroidery, perhaps art historians can perceive Wallachian art, and Wallachia generally, as something more than Moldavia's sidekick on the road to Byzantium after Byzantium.

Close Staging of Clerical Expertise:
Bishops, Presbyters, and the Art of Catechetical Instruction, 360-430 CE

Adam Schor (University of South Carolina)

Christian clerics of late antiquity expended constant effort showcasing the special status, knowledge and acumen that enabled them to usefully serve their communities. Yet the display of clerical expertise was a complicated art. Not only did it entail diverse forms of ritual, oral, and written performance; it required institutional awareness, carefully controlled personal comportment, specific and general literary learning, and flexible rhetorical skills. Scholars have scrutinized preaching as a medium for leadership performance and the (interactive) construction of clerical authority. But weekly and holiday homilies were hardly the only setting for bishops and some presbyters to enact their roles. "Church orders" (like the *Apostolic Constitutions*) guided many basic activities (ritual, charitable, judicial, and instructional) that re-marked clerical status. Moral treatises on the priesthood or episcopate, scriptural commentaries, and letters all furnished literary settings for displaying clerical know-how.

One of the most important settings for a cleric to stage expertise, however, was catechetical instruction. Catechism placed a smaller group (in this era, mostly adults) in (temporarily) regular contact with the high clergy. And because liturgical attendance was effectively optional (even after baptism), catechism furnished a rare captive moment to shape supportive attitudes in preparation for the main rite of Christian affiliation.

This paper explores how catechism-related texts of the late fourth and early fifth century revealed clerics' efforts to play Christian expert. Four main extant sets of texts deal with catechetical instruction: Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical Homilies*, John Chrysostom's sequence of lessons, Theodore of Mopsuestia's doctrinally pointed lectures, and Augustine's advice to teachers on how to impress catechumen-attendees. This paper explores aspects of all of these works in the context of what church orders and treatises tell us about the catechetical process.

Our deepest interest in this paper falls on two interrelated phenomena. First, it looks at the institutional issues that these texts confronted. Early Christian writings did not always require clerics to serve as the main catechetical teachers. By the later fourth century, the task was managed by bishops, presbyters, and deacons in different ensembles. Catechetical lectures thus served to (variously) explain the clerical roles, and they differed depending on the author's office, his relationship to subordinates and his links to superiors. Second, I explore the marks of skill and learnedness that the authors posit as central to catechetical teaching. Intriguingly, the set of skills they highlight combines basic Christian moral instruction and guidance excerpted from Scripture with idiosyncratic displays of ascetic sensibility or doctrinal detail, and a lot of older Roman ideas about effective pedagogy. What emerges from these texts is a vision of the teaching cleric as a hybrid performance, simultaneously as Christian institutional participant, captivating sophist, and broadly capable elite man.

The "Gateways" of the *Latinokratia*: Castles, Fortifications, and Feudal Exchanges in the Crusader Morea, 1204-1261

Kyle Shimoda (The Ohio State University)

The crusader state known as the Principality of Achaea, established after the Fourth Crusade in the Morea (Peloponnese) in Greece, has been seen as an example of "pure" Western European feudalism transplanted into the former lands of the Byzantine Empire. The numerous castles constructed by the crusaders that still stand in the Morea testify to this feudal presence. The castle provided a base by which a feudal lord could establish and maintain local dominance in the area, by both resisting and threatening attack. In addition, the castles stood as testaments to the cultural views of the society that created them.

I argue that the history of castles in the Morea emphasized intra-Frankish feudal conflict. The castle in the early years of the crusader Morea was a tool by which the princes intended to keep their feudal subordinates under control, which aligns with the political trends occurring in contemporary Western Europe. As central authority in the former Byzantine lands was weakened, however, mass construction of castles by the feudal lords occurred as they attempted to assert their independence from the central authority of the prince, effectively establishing a "feudalized landscape" in the Morea during the mid-thirteenth century.

The castles of the Frankish Morea were also key elements in the development of a distinctively "Moreot" style of architecture. Building on Heather Grossman's arguments about the church architecture of Frankish Greece, I further conclude that the castles were also designed to communicate to the people of the Morea that a new and unique style of architecture had been born out of the fusion of Western European and Byzantine architectural styles. The Frankish Morea conceived of itself as a unique society that combined the histories of Western Europe, the crusades, and Byzantium, and this view is reflected in the construction of its fortifications.

Ultimately, I conclude that a thorough understanding of the castles allows us to reevaluate the political and cultural history of the Frankish Morea during the thirteenth century, and that they have been underappreciated in this capacity. The story of the rise of the Moreot castles is also the history of understanding how the Frankish system of governance in the Peloponnese was molded by how the crusaders related to one another and to their conquered Byzantine subordinates. The proliferation of castles in the Morea split the society along feudal lines, and in 1261, when this study ends, the Franks of the Peloponnese had transformed their society into a thoroughly feudalized one in which both Frankish lords and Byzantine subjects played their part. The Franks of Greece were, essentially, prepared for war with one another. And so, while the narrative sources do give us the framework for understanding these developments, the castles are the best tools to fill in the details.

Death of border-broker in the land of Rûm: Apelchasem of Nicaea, Anna Komnene and Byzantine-Seljuk Relations before the First Crusade

Roman Shliakhtin (Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies, Koç University)

The thirteenth-century Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athīr, included into his *Perfection of History* a story about Byzantine tribute to the Great Seljuks. According to Ibn al-Athīr, in the year 186 AH (16.03.1089 – 5.03.1090) Byzantine ambassador arrived at the court of sultan Malikshāh (r. 1072-1092) and brought tribute imposed on the emperor of Byzantium (at that time it was Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118). To impress the ambassador, Malikshāh's vizier Nizam al-Mulk brought him to the eastern end of the Great Seljuks' realm to Kashgar (present-day China). The chronicler did not report whether the ambassador reached Constantinople or not.

The paper investigates the Byzantine context of this embassy. First, it summarizes the evidence of the tribute that the Byzantines paid to the Great Seljuks after the battle of Manzikert (1071). The paper argues that Alexios I Komnenos had his reasons to pay tribute to Malikshāh. In late 1080s both Byzantines and Great Seljuks had Sulaiman ibn Qutlamish of Niceae as their enemy. Sulaiman competed with the Great Seljuks and died in the battle in the year 1086.

Secondly, the paper analyzes the information on Byzantine-Seljuk relations in the Alexiad of Anna Komnene. According to Anna Komnene, Malikshāh of the Great Seljuks supported Byzantine claims for the coastal cities of Asia Minor in 1086-1089. While Alexios dealt with the main heir of Sulaiman in Bithynia, Apelchasem of Nicaea, Malikshāh sent to Asia Minor his *amīrs* who attacked from the East. In return, sultan of the Great Seljuks also demanded the daughter of Alexios as a bride for his son. Apelchasem found himself between upper and nether millstone, between the Byzantines and the Great Seljuks. According to Anna, he went to Constantinople, submitted to Alexios, became Byzantine sebastos and attended the games at Hippodrome. Sometime later Apelchasem decided to negotiate with the Great Seljuks. He departed to the court of Malikshāh with "fifteen mules of gold". According to Anna, sultan of the Great Seljuks took the gold and send Apelchasem back. In the vicinity of Niceae group of 200 prominent Turks sent by sultan strangled Apelchasem with a bowstring.

The paper suggests to identify Apelchasem with the anonymous Byzantine ambassador from Ibn al-Athīr's story. According to this interpretation, Alexios did not want to risk the life of his diplomats in the complex negotiations with . He sent to the Turks his new servant Apelchasem. This act allowed Byzantine emperor to deliver the tribute to Great Seljuks and get rid of the problematic *amīr*-turned-*sebastos*. Writing her Alexiad some seventy years after the events, daughter of Alexios Anna Komnene described the death of Apelchasem but omitted the humiliating tribute, that her father paid to the Turks. In his turn, Ibn al-Athīr focused his story on the tribute, omitting the political union between the Byzantines and the Great Seljuks one decade before the First Crusade.

Dečani Between East and West

Ida Sinkevic (Lafayette College)

The katholikon of the monastery of Dečani, dedicated to Christ Pantokrator, is one of the most important monuments of medieval Serbia. It is a royal foundation distinguished both by its unique architecture and by the wealth, beauty and encyclopedic character of its painted decoration. Built between 1327-1335, the church was begun by the Serbian King Stefan Dečanski (1321–1331) and completed by his son, Stefan Dušan (1331-1355). It is a mausoleum of Stefan Dečanski who was interred there along with his wife. The inscription, located on the south portal of the church reveals the name and origin of the master builder, Fra Vita, a Franciscan friar from the town of Kotor on the Adriatic coast.

One of the most distinguishing features of this monument is a combination of Byzantine and western architectural and sculptural features. While painted decoration of the church is strongly rooted in the tradition of Byzantine monumental painting, its sculpture reveals western, mostly Romanesque stylistic tendencies. Western style is also apparent in the exterior articulation and decoration of the church. Façades of the church display white and pink marble and Romanesque decoration. Moreover, the church is a basilica composed of a large three-aisled narthex, five-aisled nave crowned with a dome, and a deep altar space. Notably, the basilican form of the church accommodates centralized space of the interior, so articulated to house the needs of the Orthodox liturgy.

The patron of Dečani, King Stefan Dečanski and his son, belonged to a distinguished line of the Nemanjić dynasty that ruled Serbia from c. 1166 to 1371. When founding Dečani, Stefan Dečanski chose a spiritual adviser, Archbishop Danilo II, who also assisted his father, King Milutin (1282-1321) in building another Nemanjić foundation, the church at Banjska (1313-1315); the latter also combined western and Byzantine structural and esthetic features. Both Dečani and Banjska are related to the twelfth-century architectural and decorative design of the Church of the Virign in the Monastery of Studenica (1183-96) often defined as a prototype for later royal foundations of the Nemanjić dynasty.

Due to the importance of this monument, its architecture, sculpture and painted decoration received considerable scholarly attention. It is a purpose of this paper to provide yet another reading of Dečani by looking at the elements of its architectural and decorative program as a reflection of the identity of its patrons and the messages that they intended to project by a significant number of unique esthetic and structural choices. Rather than extolling an analysis of individual iconographic and architectural features as a topic within itself, the paper focusses on major issues that illuminate personality and intentions of the patrons and their main advisor responsible for the building of the church, Archbishop Danilo II.

Digging Through Byzantine and Frankish Trash: Material Culture from a Cesspit in Corinth, Greece

Anna Sitz (Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies) and
Rossana Valente (The University of Edinburgh)

The site of Corinth has played a central role in our understanding of medieval Greece thanks to the on-going excavations, carried out by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. As one of the major Byzantine and Frankish cities continuously excavated for more than a century, Corinth is a critical case study and an almost unique example for charting the transformations that came with the Frankish take-over of Byzantine Greece after the fall of Constantinople in 1204.

As members of the Corinth team in 2015, we excavated and studied the finds from a sealed Byzantine context located just below a Frankish neighborhood: a cesspit filled with trash including ceramics, bones, and organic materials. These finds, dated from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, reveal the quality of life at Corinth before and after the Frankish invasion and make it possible to further assess the impact of the conquest on the city's population.

Excavations together with literary sources document how Corinth was a crucial node in interregional trade networks in the Middle Byzantine period. In 1154 Corinth was described as 'large and flourishing' by the geographer Al-Idrīsī. Furthermore, in the late 12th century, Nicetas Choniates recorded that Corinth was a wealthy 'emporion,' prosperous from trade at its two harbors, one serving boats from Asia and the other those from Europe, especially Italy, demonstrating contacts with both east and west.

In 1210, the city succumbed to the Latin conquest, becoming the personal domain of the Frankish Villehardouin family, who used it as a base to rule the surrounding region. The impact of this take-over on the local Greek population and the built environment of the city has been debated. Excavations in the Frankish Quarter, carried out by Charles Williams from 1989–96 and by Guy Sanders from 2014–17 have explored life in the Latin city, including the construction of new churches, monasteries, and a hospice. The 2015 excavations season revealed the opening of an older, Byzantine cesspit, which was stratigraphically excavated and 100% sieved, with artefacts and ecofacts collected from the 4.20m deep shaft. Based on the ceramics, the deposits continued in the decades after the Frankish conquest. This cesspit therefore offers the ideal context to investigate the immediate changes brought about by the city's new overlords.

In this paper, we present the finds from the cesspit and comparisons with other Byzantine waste receptacles. Our material, which we are preparing for publication in an article, sheds light on life in Byzantine Corinth before and after the Frankish take-over. This deposit provides a glimpse of how Corinthian pottery production does not seem to be negatively impacted by the Frankish conquest in 1210, with transformations in the decorative styles and shapes of table and utilitarian vessels; ceramics were not only locally produced but also imported, suggesting multiple interregional connections.

In conclusion, this cesspit offers the rare opportunity to chart ceramic development in a sequenced deposit over the course of a century and contributes to scholarly discussions of cultural changes in medieval Greece at the time of the Latin conquest.

A Priest in the Order of Melchizedek:
A Consideration of the Heraclian Dynasty's Priestly Ambitions

Ryan Strickler (Macquarie University)

Throughout the history of the Byzantine Empire, emperors sought in varying ways to inject themselves into doctrinal affairs. Whether presiding over councils or issuing edicts, safeguarding orthodoxy quickly became a matter of strategic concern and imperial prerogative. Over time, emperors sought to endow their office with its own priesthood. As Dagron (2003) has noted in his now seminal study on the subject, such ideas had been present, if not voiced in Byzantine society since Constantine the Great claimed to be a "bishop of outsiders" and found its most infamous expression in Leo III's declaration, "I am Emperor and Priest". This phenomenon led to the theory of "caesaropapism", which asserted that the emperor was head of state and church, though scholars such as Meyendorff (1983) and Dagron (2003) have put this to rest by demonstrating that imperial ambitions were frequently checked by outspoken clergy and monastics. Moreover, between Constantine and Leo III, very little direct evidence survives of the development an imperial priesthood.

The seventh century provides a signal exception beginning with the ascent of the emperor Heraclius. In the unique opening dialogue of his *Historiae*, Theophylact Simocatta praises an unnamed patron as "hierophant" and "great high priest of the inhabited world", while simultaneously associating the patron Heracles and his labors, a reference used by George of Pisidia to describe Heraclius, due to the obvious pun on his name. This dual identification has led to competing identifications of Theophylact's patron, with Pertusi (1959), Hunger (1978), and Frendo (1988) identifying Heraclius, and Michael and Mary Whitby (1986) identifying Patriarch Sergius, based on the priestly titles given.

By the reign of Heraclius's grandson Constans II, the monk Maximus the Confessor found himself under trial for treason in Constantinople. Among the charges leveled against the confessor was his denial that the emperor was a priest. This accusation and exchange surrounding it represents the first explicit claim of the priesthood of the emperor, and suggests that by the reign of Constans II, the Heraclian dynasty had developed a sophisticated claim to priestly office based on the biblical Melchizedek.

Despite the boldness of such claims, little work has been done to examine the development of the idea of an imperial priesthood during the long reign of the Heraclian dynasty. It receives no attention in Dagron, and scholars of Theophylact do not consider the question in their identification of the historian's unnamed patron. Considering the fact that in the following century Leo III would cite an apparently established imperial priesthood in defense of his iconoclastic policies, the claims of the Heraclian dynasty warrant further attention.

This paper considers the priestly ambitions of the Heraclian dynasty and its supporters, and its opposition by opponents, to bring some clarity to the question. Here, we discuss the claims of imperial patrons such as Theophylact and George of Pisidia, the imperial edicts issued during the monenergist and monothelete controversies, as well as the arguments of opponents, such as Maximus the Confessor, against imperial priestly ambitions.

Cultural Interactions in Moldavian Art and Architecture

Alice Isabell Sullivan (Lawrence University)

The principality of Moldavia—lying within the borders of northeastern modern Romania and the Republic of Moldova—emerged as a Christian frontier, indeed a bastions, in the decades after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Standing at the crossroads of western European, Slavic-Byzantine, and Ottoman cultures, the principality developed under princely patronage new visual forms in art and architecture. Local assimilation of select elements from distinct visual traditions became most evident in the painted and fortified Orthodox monastic churches built in the region under the aegis of two rulers: Stephen III "the Great" (r. 1457-1504) and Peter Rareş (r. 1527-1538; 1541-1546), Stephen's illegitimate son and heir.

These buildings display an eclecticism with respect to sources. The layouts, organizations, ritual customs, and image cycles of the Moldavian monastic churches reinterpret Greek-Orthodox examples alongside local traditions, while distinct architectural features reveal western Gothic prototypes. At these sites, moreover, architects and artists in collaboration with the patron and ecclesiastical officials developed something new: churches with extensive, brightly colored image cycles in multiple registers wrapping around the whole of the church both inside and outside. The mural cycles painted on the interior and exterior walls of these churches show religious scenes interspersed with historical narratives adapted to address contemporary anxieties about a perceived Ottoman threat against the region's political independence and religious identity. These extensive image cycles, emulating Byzantine stylistic and iconographic patterns, were carefully conceived in dialogue with the distinctive architecture of the buildings and their interior image programs. They were also carefully designed to present a response to, and also a commentary on, contemporary political, military, religious, and princely concerns in the region. The distinctive architecture and iconographic programs of the Moldavian katholika under consideration elucidate local processes of image translations, the transfer of artistic ideas, and the particular dynamics of cultural contact in a region that developed at the crossroads of distinct traditions and took on a central role in the continuation and refashioning of Byzantine artistic and architectural forms after the events of 1453.

In examining the "hybrid" nature of these monastic churches expressive of complex social and religious politics, I address in this paper the ways in which the study of the Moldavian corpus can reveal aspects of how cross-cultural exchange and translation operated in frontier regions (like Moldavia) in moments of crisis, and how, in turn, these critical moments were articulated artistically.

**Psalms of the Passion: The Suffering of Christ and the Good Friday Psalms
in Pre-Conquest Jerusalem**

Christopher Sweeney (Fordham University)

In the last generation, scholars have sought to identify the emergence of Byzantine 'Affective Piety.' Once thought to be a middle-Byzantine development, several scholars— including Susan Ashbrook Harvey and Stephen Shoemaker—have recently sought to more squarely place the emergence of emotional devotion to the Passion and Mary's Lament to the centuries prior to the Arab Invasions. In this paper, I look at the interpretation of Jerusalem's Good Friday liturgy by lay Christians and theologians, Egeria and Hesychius in particular, for evidence of how the Passion was understood in the city.

Thanks to the survival of most of Jerusalem's late antique liturgical sources—including a Georgian and an Armenian lectionary, as well as a complete translation of the hymnal into Georgian—scholars have been able to reconstruct nearly the entirety of the Good Friday liturgy as it existed between the mid-fifth century and the Persian conquest in 614. This lengthy liturgy provides us with one of our most intensive looks at early Christian devotion to the Passion. Yet, knowing the Psalms, lections, and hymns that were read and sung does not give us insight into how this liturgy was understood. Fortunately, we have several texts which bear witness to the interpretation of this liturgy.

This paper argues that the Good Friday liturgy, and the Psalms sung on this occasion in particular, functioned as a site of theological contention within the city during late antiquity. In particular, there was an on-going struggle regarding how the emotional expression of these Psalms should be understood. Egeria provides us with direct evidence that these Psalms were popularly understood as expressions of Christ's own suffering and dereliction on the Cross, and testifies to an early, indigenous Passion piety. The popularity of this interpretation is reinforced by how commonly theologians in the city argued against it.

When we compare her understanding of these texts with the writings of Jerusalemite clergy and monastics, we can identify a tension between the interpretative practices of lay persons and those who were theologically trained. Looking in particular at the commentaries of Hesychius of Jerusalem on the Psalms chanted for the Good Friday liturgy, supplemented with references to them in Cyril of Jerusalem, and other Jerusalemite theologians, we can identify a concerted attempt to persuade lay Christians that these Psalms do not speak of Christ's emotional state. Hesychius, as other theologians, deployed exegetical strategies to minimize the dolorous affective component that lay Christians identified in this liturgy.

"I will Instruct You and Teach You in the Way You Should Go:"
King David as Monastic Spiritual Father in the Psalter Vat. gr. 1927

Courtney Tomaselli (Harvard University)

The illustrated psalter, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1927, is a late-eleventh or early twelfth-century manuscript painted with a large prefatory image before each psalm and ode. This differs significantly from nearly all other illustrated Byzantine psalters, which have either periodic large images or marginal vignettes throughout. Vat. gr. 1927 is filled with didactic imagery emphasizing the route to salvation. Painted at a time when many Byzantines were turning to a monastic spiritual father for guidance, Vat. gr. 1927 is notable for assigning this role to King David both implicitly and explicitly. Such illustrative choice manifests the increased interest in monasticism and discipleship with a spiritual father occurring at that time.

A spiritual father was to be a guide on the road to salvation. The position has its roots in the earliest Eastern monastic practices. His prayers interceded for his disciples, and they were to go to him for *logismoi*, or "disclosure of thoughts," after which he directed them in behavior leading to salvation. This role, always present in monasteries, was promoted and expanded upon by Symeon the New Theologian (d. 1022), who acted as a spiritual father to many, both monks and lay people.

No other Byzantine psalter presents David in such a way. David is normally depicted as prophet, ruler, musician, or repentant sinner. In Vat. gr. 1927 he is usually shown in the role of monk or spiritual father, acting as a guide for proper behavior. One example illustrates the para-liturgical monastic practice of processing from the narthex of the church to the refectory for dining. This image prefaces Psalm 144, and monks chanted verses of this psalm as they processed. David takes on the role of the monk leading his brethren, as was called for in a number of monastic *typika*, especially those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

More often, David is illustrated as visual mediator and teacher, directing the viewer's gaze to important visual lessons. With his gestures toward vignettes of good and bad behavior, martyrdom, and Heaven, he is shown offering a stark choice to the viewer: would you rather suffer in this life, or the next? In addition to numerous positive and negative exemplars of behavior, graphic scenes of martyrdom abound in this manuscript, with David often pointing to bloody martyrs with one hand while gesturing to an arc of Heaven or Christ with the other. Following the Edict of Milan in 313, monasticism came to be known as the "new martyrdom" or "white martyrdom," replacing the "red martyrdom" that occurred during the times of persecution.

Finally, there is a large group of images in which David appears in *proskynesis* alone in a barren landscape. Their captions state that David prays, but here he is not simply a model for repentant sinners. Spiritual fathers have a characteristic period of ascetic withdrawal from society and intense prayer and contemplation; here David models for the viewer intense worldly withdrawal and the intercessory prayer of a spiritual father.

Imagination and Sense Perception in the Theology of Theodore the Stoudite

Alexis Torrance (University of Notre Dame)

In the midst of iconological and broader theological discussion and reflection, Theodore deploys the concepts of imagination and sense perception in interesting and sometimes contrasting ways. On the one hand, the imagination can be treated positively as one of the "five powers of the soul," a power ratified in the act of image-making (*Letter* 380). On the other hand, one of Theodore's most biting critiques of the iconoclasts uses $\phi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha$ in a more derogatory sense: by refusing to depict Christ, the iconoclasts posit an incarnation that took place simply "in the imagination," and not in reality (*Refutations* 3:15). Similarly, with regard to sense perception, while the dangers of the illicit use of the senses is repeatedly frowned upon in pastoral exhortations to his monks, Theodore nonetheless reserves an important conceptual place in his theology for sense perception itself, in particular the sense of sight (linked to his defense of images) and that of taste (seen in his understanding of the Eucharist). This paper is primarily concerned with drawing out the theological context and impetus that spurs Theodore's comments on the imagination and sense perception. What is highlighted in particular is the manner in which his theological concerns result in a rather nuanced philosophical position regarding these concepts. Furthermore, despite the imagination's "higher" position vis-à-vis the senses in the constitution of a human being, Theodore's theological priorities lead him to be far more interested in sanctioning and exalting the "lower" physical senses, a stance that, it is argued, is also reflected in Theodore's lofty approach to the mundane physical tasks of the monastic coenobium.

The Macedonian Dynasty?
Eudokia Ingerina and the Byzantine Concept of Imperial Rule

Shaun Tougher (Cardiff University)

It is usual for Byzantinists to define Byzantine imperial families as 'dynasties'. It is commonly observed, for instance, that the 'Macedonian Dynasty' is one of the longest-lived dynasties of the Byzantine empire. Recently, however, historians have begun to ask whether it is appropriate to use the term dynasty when referring to rulership before the Early Modern period. Further, it has been highlighted that commonly accepted dynasty labels used to define periods need to be questioned. The late Cliff Davies argued that the term 'Tudor' was not used by contemporaries and thus concepts of of the history the period need to be revised (2012), while there have been conferences on 'Dynasty and Dynasticism 1400-1770' (Oxford 2015) and 'The Modern Invention of Dynasty: A Gobal Intellectual History, 1500-2000' (Birmingham 2017). Inspired by these developments this paper addresses both how valid the label 'Macedonian' is (i.e. did the Byzantines use it during the lifetime of the imperial family), and whether Byzantines had a concept of 'dynasty'. In order to address these questions in the time available, the paper focuses on the figure of Eudokia Ingerina, the wife of 'dynasty-founder' Basil I (867-886) and possible mistress of his predecessor Michael III (840-867). While Basil and Michael have been the subject of much sustained attention (e.g. on questions of legitimacy and of sexuality), Eudokia has been side-lined in terms of her 'dynastic' role. This paper puts her centre stage with regards to the question of the labels 'dynasty' and 'Macedonian'. As wife of Basil I and mother of Leo VI, Eudokia is of the utmost relevance here. She serves as an excellent case study as there survive several sources from the early period of the 'Macedonian dynasty' in which she features prominently. Thus contemporary concepts of imperial power can be explored in relation to her. These sources are panegyrical poems; the illustrated manuscript of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus; the Palazzo Venezia ivory casket; and a solidus of Basil I depicting Eudokia and Constantine. The paper also draws on the description in the *Life of Basil* of a mosaic of the imperial family in the Kainourgion, Leo VI's funeral oration for his parents, and the depiction of the family in the *Life of the Patriarch Ignatius* (as well as on data on Eudokia's status as augusta and her burial in Holy Apostles). These are not unfamiliar sources but the paper interrogates them in new ways. The paper analyses these sources to establish how Eudokia is depicted, what the images reveal of her role within the imperial family, and how this affects our understanding of the term dynasty and the identity of this family. The paper argues that it is through the figure of Eudokia that we see clearly the articulation of Byzantine perceptions of imperial power and inheritance. The paper concludes that there was no 'Macedonian dynasty', but there was a concept of family rule secured through the figure of the empress.

Community and Interfaith Sex in the Medieval Caucasus

Alison Vacca (University of Tennessee)

In 238/852-3, a general of the ʿAbbāsid army laid siege to the city of Tiflīs (modern Tbilisi). At his back were contingents of Arab soldiers from Egypt, Turkish slave soldiers, and Armenian cavalry. Tiflīs, at the time a Muslim city, was protected by "clients" of Arab tribes (*mawālī*) and their Syrian Christian allies. Caliphal forces won the battle that day, reportedly burning the wooden city with naphtha, killing tens of thousands of the city's inhabitants, and capturing the city's *amīr* and his son. In a desperate attempt to save his life, the *amīr's* wife confronted the ʿAbbāsid general. This woman, whose name has not survived, plays a central role in both the Arabic and the Armenian retellings of this story. She wanders the camp unveiled, lamenting the fate of her husband, and begs the general to release him. The general instead crucifies her husband in order to be free to marry her.

While medieval sources harness ethnicity and religion as the primary principles dictating societal organization (very notably in the context of this particular ninth-century military campaign), the loyalties at play here reveal a fractured space of local concerns. At no point of this conflict could we simplify the story into Muslim v. Christian or Arab v. Georgian. Rather, this conflict reveals the diversity of identity markers in the Caucasus and, more specifically, the loyalties that cut across the borders that we use to simplify medieval Caucasian history. The wife of the *amīr* of Tiflis was a diplomatic bride, the daughter of the Lord of the Throne; she served as a reminder of the close relations between the Avar Christians in the North Caucasus and the Muslim *amīrate* of Tiflīs. Elite families in the Caucasus arranged diplomatic marriages in order to foster local alliances in the face of external threats, such as the caliphal, Khazar, or Byzantine forces. The prevalence of such arrangements places women at the center of a number of conflicts and, interestingly, at the heart of discussions about community. These women are mediators of local concerns and visible reminders of local allegiances.

This paper relies predominantly on Arabic and Armenian sources to explore both diplomatic marriages and, more broadly, intercommunal sex in the early medieval Caucasus. Caucasian women married men from communities that were linguistically, religiously, and ethnically different from their own and raised children who belonged to multiple communities. As such, their stories inform us about the nature of Caucasian communities in a way that completely avoids the national and civilizational borders we commonly find in modern histories. Building on modern studies of gender in the medieval Near East, this paper places women in the discourse of alterity as a reflection of historians' perceptions of the permeability and unity of communal identity.

Logic Diagrams in Rhetorical Argumentation

Vessela Valiavitcharska (University of Maryland)

A twelfth-century commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* by one Stephanus of Constantinople contains several large diagrams, intended to serve as illustrations of Aristotle's theory of the rhetorical syllogism known as *enthymeme*. The diagrams only make sense in the context of the Byzantine tradition of visualizing Aristotelian logic, whose "language" appears to have been worked out even before the ninth century and continued to be in use well into the fifteenth. The purpose of this paper is twofold: 1) to present the system of diagramming Aristotle's syllogistic, and 2) to argue that its adoption by Stephanus reflects a view of argumentation which highlights the discreteness of logical terms as well as the necessity of creating opportunities for quick inference.

Unlike a number of influential contemporary textbooks of logic, which present Aristotelian syllogistic by means of Venn diagrams (that is, overlapping circles), most Byzantine manuscripts of the *Prior Analytics* deploy a system which consists of half-moons, triangles, or a combination of both. The geometrical shapes are meant illustrate the relations between logical terms as well as the rules for inference in the three syllogistic figures. The first figure is represented as a half-moon; the second is an isosceles triangle; the third is an upside-down triangle. A combination of a half-moon with a triangle visualizes the way one would reduce the second or third figure to the first in order to prove (or disprove) the validity of the inference. This way of visualizing the syllogism reflects an understanding of predication which intends to keep the terms distinct and separate, without conflating predication with identity.

The "separateness" of terms is something highlighted in ninth- and tenth-century Hermogenean commentaries as a distinguishing mark of the enthymeme. The commentators reject Stoic logical procedure and insist on using the Peripatetic syllogism, because its conclusion, as they say, is not implied in the premises – in other words, because it creates for the listener opportunities for heuristic inferencing. It is the same insistence on the discreteness of logical terms that leads Stephanus to deploy the syllogistic diagrams in his commentary on the *Rhetoric*; his use indicates not merely a desire to demonstrate the logical validity of the examples in Aristotle's text but also to demonstrate their potential for inducing quick, unexpected conclusions.

Performing History in Muscovite Ceremonies of Inauguration

Alexandra Vukovich (University of Cambridge)

The Grand Principality of Moscow or "Muscovy"—referring to an area that would eventually stretch from Western Ukraine to Central Asia in the period before 1700—rose to regional power in the fourteenth century following the weakening of the Mongol empire. From the early fifteenth century, the grand prince of Muscovy and his entourage consolidated power and conquered neighbouring principalities. The reigns of Ivan III (1462-1505), his son Vasilii III (1505-1533), and his grandson Ivan IV (1533-1584) demonstrated a new set of possibilities for governing this vast territory, many of which were centered on Byzantine notions of rulership and the political and moral authorities of the emperor. A diverse set of Byzantine sources (historical, homiletic, theological) became available in Muscovy in the wake of the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The court, the Church, and the literate elite all contributed to rendering accessible Byzantine court culture and notions of power, which were incorporated into Muscovite historiography and, in turn, informed practice. Much like other early-modern and Renaissance rulers, the Muscovite rulers sought legitimacy through intellectual and physical contact with the past, and the Eastern Roman Empire was a key source of legitimacy. Historians of Muscovy have tended to focus on notions of power and practice within the Muscovite state without examining the new historicism that developed through contact with the Byzantine world, for example by marriage (the daughter, Zoë-Sofiia Palaiologina, of the last Byzantine emperor was married to Ivan III).

A new set of new political practices developed both based on the interpolation of new textual sources and constant innovations attested by contemporary texts. These practices included ceremonies of inauguration that developed through the transmission and reception of Byzantine sources following the Ottoman conquest of the eastern Mediterranean. However, while the Byzantine past informed the shaping of the inauguration ritual in Muscovy, the performance and setting for ceremony were designed to respond to the local landscape. Byzantine sources informed the reshaping of historical narratives for the purpose of ceremonial enactment of rulership. The interplay between the transmission of Byzantine sources to Muscovy, their emendation and interpolation were followed by the reshaping of historical narratives and building of myth-history to inform practice. This intricate set of relations between text and practice responded to local requirements. For example, Metropolitan Macarius created an elaborate ceremony of inauguration for Ivan IV based on a Byzantine template that both recycled the (already Byzantine) inauguration of Ivan III, while introducing newly-interpolated elements. By tracing the intextuality of ceremonies of inauguration in Muscovy, a hybrid story emerges, one that reflects both the considerable importation of Byzantine texts and the innovation of Byzantine sources to respond to local circumstances. The modes of textual transmission and the transformation of textual sources through practice make salient the dynamism of Muscovy both as a successor to Byzantium and as an emergent court-based culture.

How Do You Solve a Problem Like Maria Skleraina?

Alicia Walker (Bryn Mawr College)

The presence and prominence of mistresses at the middle Byzantine court is well-known. Yet these women rarely have been studied as a discrete social group. This paper assesses the limited textual evidence relating to high-ranking middle Byzantine mistresses, asking if we can discern patterns in the ways that they are said to have attained and wielded social and political power. The paper focuses on imperial mistresses like Maria Skleraina, the well-known companion of Constantine IX Monomachos, who accompanied him to the imperial court when he married the Empress Zoe in 1042. Beauty is among the most common characteristics of high-ranking mistresses, and I consider how these women are said to have deployed their natural and cultivated physical assets to serve larger goals.

Noting the morally compromised social category that these nonconforming women occupied, I explore their status within the largely Christian world view of Byzantine society. I pay special attention to the typologies used to characterize and classify them, and propose that their incommensurability with Christian norms led to the marshalling of other systems of meaning—including Greco-Roman mythological and literary models—to conceptualize their social identities and value.

Dramatic Spaces in Byzantium: A Study of Their 'Grammatical' Roots

Andrew Walker White (George Mason University)

The fate of dramatic literature in Byzantium remains a murky one; dialogue poetry, like Michael Haplucheiros' *Dramation*, was referred to simply as *stichoi*—"verses". And the only explicitly dramatic poem we possess, the *Christos Paschon*, reveals that the author's sense of performance space was quite different from that of Euripides. Theatre historian Walter Puchner has asserted the *Paschon* was never intended for the stage; but if that's the case, what was it intended for? What constituted a stage for a Byzantine poet? Was there a pulpit, platform, or orchestra? Was there any sense of movement? Just what did it mean to *perform* dramatic dialogues in a Byzantine context?

One way to answer these questions is to examine Middle Byzantine classical dramatic texts for evidence of their awareness of spatial dynamics. The poets, especially those of Byzantium's 'Long Twelfth Century,' spent their formative years in grammar school memorizing and performing the dramas of Athens' golden age. This paper explores selected Euripidean dramatic *scholia* for evidence of their spatial dynamics: not just how students were taught to perform the drama, but also whether they were taught about the classical stage and its movements, or 'blocking.'

There may have been some sense of performance spaces, past and present, taught as a part of the grammar-school curriculum. These lessons, in turn, would have played a fundamental role in how Byzantine poets conceived of their own compositions. In the past, questions of the 'theatricality' of Byzantine dialogue poetry have veered wildly from purely (modern, western) theatrical assumptions to largely (modern, western) linguistic ones; both approaches have ignored the *scholia*, which provide the ultimate context in which theatrical performance was transmitted and embodied in Byzantine times. This presentation points towards a new method of analysis.

There is added value here, beyond the discipline of Byzantine Studies; for theatre historians, the dramatic *scholia* represent a crucial link with ancient performance practice – as it was understood and taught in later years. These notes, long neglected by Classicists, would not be out of place in a modern- day rehearsal room, where dramaturgs and directors advise professional actors on how to deliver and understand their lines. The fact that these notes were offered to pre-pubescents does not mitigate the fact that dramatic *scholia* functioned, effectively, as a kind of masterclass in (Neo-) Classical acting technique.

It is in the context of grammar-school *scholia*, and their evidence for spatial awareness, we must consider the implied spatial dynamics of Haplucheiros' *Dramation* and the anonymous *Christos Paschon* (which I believe, *pace* Tuilier, to be from the Middle Byzantine period). Although both have potential for 'staging' in the traditional theatrical sense, there is evidence that the public stage was hardly a consideration for either poet.

The Cupola Fresco of Wisdom in Chrelja's Tower (1335)
Seen in Light of Philotheos Kokkinos's Discourse on Wisdom

Justin Willson (Princeton University)

This paper is a reflection on medium in the cupola fresco of Wisdom in Chrelja's Tower (1335) at Rila monastery. It focuses on the agency of the painter. The Rila painter interprets the allegory of Wisdom in Proverbs so as to create ambiguity between the builder and the built. (9:1–5) Solomon says that "Wisdom has built her house and carved out her seven pillars." (9:1) The Rila painter writes this verse on a scroll in Solomon's hand. Solomon stands gesturing up to a cupola divided into a six-part ribbed vault. The painter employs these six surfaces as the seven pillars of Wisdom's house. He does not *represent* the house but allows the chapel architecture to *be* that house. He shows the spirits of the messiah reclined on the six vaulted surfaces, with the seventh spirit by Solomon's hand. (Isai. 11:2) Displaying Wisdom seated on a rainbow with her arms stretched over the spirits, he equates her gesture with an act of building. Ostensibly, the house that she has built is the chapel in which the viewer stands.

However, the painter leaves it unclear who the builder of this house is. As iconography, the fresco thematizes construction even as it erases the materiality of construction. This artistic choice can be understood through Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1353–54; 1364–76), the author of a discourse on Wisdom. Kokkinos describes the messiah's spirits as the means through which believers "edify" (οἰκοδομεῖν) one another. The Rila painter suggests this very thought. He shows the saints in the lower band of the drum not acknowledging Wisdom's gesture. Instead, he invites viewers to acknowledge her and to receive the spirits she gives. Acknowledging her act of building, viewers are equipped with the means of edifying her house. In this way, viewers become the builders of Wisdom's house even as they constitute the house that she has built. It is painting which allows for this ambiguity. On the one hand, the painter literalizes the theme of building when he allows architecture to complete the iconography of the house. On the other hand, he spiritualizes the building by employing the messiah's spirits as the pillars of that house. Viewer-builder and house-built meet in the phenomenological site of the fresco. The fresco insinuates builder and built into one another through a prophetic vision of labor.

When the Rila painter's choices are understood through Kokkinos's discourse, it becomes clear that the allegory of Wisdom was concerned with more than the Eucharist or incarnation, which scholars have tended to emphasize with this iconography (Meyendorff, Prashkov, Briusova, Felmy). Both Kokkinos and the painter indicate that the allegory could be interpreted as a reflection on the way media mediate one another in the concretization of a prophecy concerned with building. This shared understanding of the labor of building transcends the divide between the Greek and Slavic worlds at this time. It also transcends the divide between art history and literature. It is hoped that such an interpretation will encourage future work across disciplines and languages in Byzantine studies.

Context and Transmission of a Tang Dynasty Chinese Coin in Thirteenth Century Corinth

Chingyuang Wu (University of Pennsylvania)

An unpublished Tang Dynasty Chinese coin (mid-8th century CE) was found during excavation work carried out at Corinth in 1960 in a discrete "ash and charcoal" context containing ash and tiles, coins, and pottery. A Chinese coin in a closed archaeological context in Europe is rare, and the Corinth Chinese Coin represents an unique opportunity to discuss indirect trans-continental transmission of objects in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries CE. This paper first discusses briefly the archaeological context of this find using excavation notebooks and published archaeological reports of the Corinth Excavations, then move on to discuss the typology of the Corinth Chinese Coin and its transmission.

The Corinth Chinese Coin is identified as a diminuitive class of the series of bronze coins called the *Qian-Yuan-zhong-bao* (乾元重寶)**.** The series introduced in 759 CE was part of a drastic response to the collapse of imperial finances during the *An Lushan* Rebellion. Official historical records gave specific measurements and weight information for this series of coins, which included a large and a small module. Since the series were produced to cover government and military expenditure during a crisis, it debased quickly, deviating from the imperial system to form different localized types. When compared with a corpus of 270 coins collated in the *Ancient Chinese Historical Coins*, the Corinth Chinese Coin belongs to a diminuitive class that may have been a localized version of the imperial small module. This paper proposes a system of classification that reconciles the classification recorded in the official histories with the physical evidence of the 270-coin corpus in order to clarify the typology of the Corinth Chinese Coin.

The third section of the paper is a discussion on the possible transmission of the Corinth Chinese Coin. The transmission of the Corinth Chinese Coin to Corinth was unlikely a result of direct contact between China and Corinth during the late Tang Dynasty. Rather, the coin was perhaps transmitted through a series of intermediary transactions or hand-offs, with maritime trade being a possible route of transmission. The overlapping trade activities between Jewish, Islamic, and East Asian merchants could have created the serendipitous conditions. It requires more than a transaction, because it is uncertain how such a small bronze coin would pertain its monetary value beyond the Indian Ocean trade network, to which the furthest recorded hoards of Chinese coins – currently in Al-Qatif (12 Northern Song and 8 Southern Song coins), Ad-Damman (2 Northern Song coins), and Bahrain (53 and 19 coins, latest Southern Song) – might have still belonged. It may be that a person operating at the periphery of the monetary systems of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean chose to demonetize the Chinese coin by making it into a symbolic, exotic or even sentimental item, and either brought it to Corinth during the early to mid-thirteenth century personally, or the coin was handed off to acquaintances, at which point the coin has become fully converted into a symbolic item.

The *Chronicle* of John of Nikiou: Coptic Break or Byzantine Continuity?

Felege-Selam Yirga (The Ohio State University)

At the turn of the 8th century, John, bishop of Nikiou in the Nile Delta, composed a Christian world history, largely based on the *Chronographia* of John Malalas, beginning with the creation of the world and ending with the Arab conquest of Egypt. Initially composed in Coptic, the chronicle was translated into Arabic during the middle ages likely at some point after the 10th century. The text was translated once again, this time into Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez) in 1602, by an Egyptian deacon named Gabriel, at the request of Athanasius, the commander of the Ethiopian army, and Maryam Sena the wife of the Emperor Malak Sagad II . The Ge'ez translation is the only surviving version, and it is preserved in four known manuscripts. The text itself is further burdened by the 17th-century translator's linguistic shortcomings.

Scholars of Byzantine historiography, as well as Copticists and those interested in non-Islamic sources of the early Arab conquest of Egypt, have regularly turned to John of Nikiou's *Chronicle* as evidence in discussions of Egyptian national identity and the post-Chalcedonian political and cultural landscape. The scholarly consensus seems to characterize the text as, at best, reflecting a narrowing of geographical horizons that was seen across the late Byzantine world, particularly in areas seized during the Arab conquest. In its most extreme form this argument even manifests itself as a claim that the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiou was an anti-Roman tract.

The aim of this study is twofold: First, it aims to reopen the question of John of Nikiou's supposed parochialism by enumerating some depictions of Egypt and Egyptians within the text of his *Chronicle*. By paying particular attention to the way John of Nikiou used and modified his Greek sources, as well as the norms of the genres from which John of Nikiou drew and which he emulated, the study demonstrates that John of Nikiou's vision of history, far from parochial, and though not composed within the boundaries of the Byzantine empire, was nevertheless distinctly Byzantine in its interests and outlook.

Second, the study uses these depictions to answer the question of exactly how Egyptian this text was, and if so in what way this text was "Egyptianized". John of Nikiou clearly does not see Egypt as a nation in the Eusebian or proto-nationalist sense. Rather, Egypt is simply one battleground, albeit a particularly important one, upon which Christians fought both with non-believers and schismatics within their own faith, for the maintenance of a primordial theological orthodoxy. As such, while privileging Egypt to some extent, the text does not represent a meaningful break with the Byzantine historiographical tradition.